IDENTITY AND INEQUALITY AMONG THE WAWAGA VALLEY BARAI, ORO PROVINCE, PNG

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Abstract: The question of leadership among the Barai, a Papuan mountain people, is considered. Although Barai ceremonial exchange is not incremental and thus not capable of providing a single gradient on which to rank the "bigness" of men, degrees of male power as expressed through identification with a hierarchy of totems serve to distinguish group leaders. The conflicts between the elder and younger brothers, and between contenders for leadership within one group are discussed in relation to inheritance, sorcery and the control of resources. It is concluded that hierarchy and competition have a different locus among the Barai than among peoples where incremental and enchained exchanges exist.

Résumé: Il s'agit du "leadership" parmi les Barai, un peuple montagnard de Papoua. Même si l'échange cérémonieux chez les Barai n'est pas accroissant donc, incapable d'offrir un gradient de la "grandeur" des hommes, il semble que l'étendu du pouvoir est exprimé par l'identification avec une hiérarchie de totems. Les conflits entre frères ainés et cadets, ainsi que ceux qui occurent entre concurrents pour le pouvoir, sont examinés par rapport aux héritages, à la sorcellerie et au contrôle des ressources. L'auteur conclut que l'hiérarchie et la rivalité assument, chez les Barai, un lieu autre que chez les peuples ayant des échanges accroissants et enchainés.

For the groups of people lying between the Central Highlands and the Papuan Gulf it was felt that a "distinctive set of models of leadership was necessary" (Strathern 1982:161 fn. 9). One set of models would be indicated for societies where leadership was a function of control of the products of labour, another set of models for those where this was not, or was substantially less markedly the case. It would seem that the Wawaga Barai also demand an alternate set of models.

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In what are perhaps over-general terms, social systems such as those of the Barai are assumed not to be able to support "real" bigmanship and incremental exchange (Gregory 1980:641). This assumption is made by some writers for those societies where the preferred form of marriage is sister exchange, where production levels are "low" and, where, as among the Barai, enchainment and increment (Strathern 1969), of and in exchange are, for practical purposes, absent.

This article attempts to deal with the question of whether there is a single gradient, or multiple gradients identifiable in the constitution and development of leadership. Morauta (1972) indicated simultaneous economic and religious criteria for leadership in groups found in the foothills behind Lae. Godelier (1982, 1986) seems to have proposed something similar for the Baruya Anga. This model of differentially constituted specialists—warrior, shaman, cassowary hunter and salt maker creates a picture reminiscent of caste-like organic solidarity.[1]

It will be shown that for the Wawaga Barai there is a single gradient of leadership. Further, the significance of this gradient will be demonstrated through an examination of some of the political and material bases of the totemic system. The suggestion is that degrees of communally valuated male power are reflected in the identification of individuals with a hierarchy of emblems.

In contrast to Sahlins (1970:206; 1974:136), it is argued that the demonstration of a single gradient of leadership does not logically entail the use of "bigman" as a political title. This absence of logical entailment is derived from several levels of analysis. An *e bo* is literally "big man" or "eldest man." The Barai leader is not simply a "man of renown." Nor does this "bigman" emerge definitively from the "careful" deployment of the products of labour and the resultant debt of others (1974:136). Barai leadership, as presented here, shares Sahlins' materialist bent, but it is not satisfactorily reducible to control or management of wealth as products. It does however conform to the control of wealth as the means of production, of land, labour and technology.[2]

The Barai

The Wawaga Barai comprise a small population (about 900) of Papuan mountain people (Weiner 1988a:3) surrounded by fragmented, but broadly riverine and foothill traditions. The Barai group in question, the Wawaga Barai, inhabits the Wawaga Valley. The valley is formed by the headwaters of the Kumusi River, descending the northern slopes of the Owen Stanley Range in the Oro Province of Papua New Guinea. The population of the Wawaga Valley in 1975 was 1887 (Awoma 380, Emo River 272, Emo River

#2 150, Ijaro 231, Kovio 149, Managube 183, Namanaija 293, Tetebede 97, Ujilo 87, Muni 45). The Wawaga Barai are concentrated on the banks of the O River, a tributary of the Kumusi River, and share boundaries with Managalasi Barai, Mimai River Barai, Mountain Koiari and Ömie speakers. All of these groups have in common a pervasive system of emblems at whose apex stands the hornbill associated with a common myth of origin. Although totemic references appear in the writings of several authors on "highland fringe" type societies, as well as on the Sepik, such systems have not been given due consideration in the more recent discussions of group formation and the development of leadership. Williams, (1925; 1969) writing of the Orokaiva, attempted to link clan totems—assuming they are not cut, killed or eaten—and the plant emblem specifically to the founding ancestor of the group and bigmen (1925:417). He thus associated the concept with analytical notions of descent. The Barai system of emblems or *ma'i ma'i*, as well as those of neighbouring mountain peoples, is perhaps more emphasised than those of other Papuan Mountain groups, and it is hoped that by demonstrating its significance as a codification of male inequality, a dimension will be added to the understanding of the political process in small scale, low production societies.

Barai Clans

Throughout the Wawaga Valley, the Ai'i, Ömie and Mountain Koiari, are sets of paired clans with contiguous territories invariably divided by a river. The principal settlements which they form were until recent times defended with stockades, trenching, and overlooked by a watchtower (*so*). Present day settlements are surrounded by gardens. The clan territories are a patchwork of such settlements and more distant garden and hunting lands. These garden settlements are the sites of pig sacrifices and in some cases form paired-clan villages (*are*).

Wawaga Barai paired-clans, a prominent feature of the late colonial period, are tied together by a dense series of intermarriages and by an extensive calendar of ritual events. The pairing of clans and intermarriage results in statements of community solidarity in the idiom of consanguineal relationship such as "we are one blood." A single localized clan states that its members are "one father."

Traditionally Wawaga Barai clans lived in longhouses. These were ideally occupied by brothers and the partners to simultaneous, double sister exchanges. The opposite longhouse, or a section of a single longhouse under the best conditions, might house the affines produced by double sister exchange with the principal clan. The preferred marriage was and still is with *siba*, the "wild" or "unknown" person. This is the person with whom nei-

ther sharing (*waju*) nor formal exchange (*ehi*) relations exist; in such a way new alliances are formed. This preference complements another, marriage with the *vine* or cross-cousin. The ideal form of marriage is direct sister exchange. The major marriage prohibition is with a person of the same plant emblem. The plant emblem is known as *ani* (see also Williams 1925; 1969).

Barai, and their neighbours, frame virtually all references to levels of political organisation and leadership in terms of *ma'i ma'i*. It is for this reason that the *ma'i ma'i* and their major interrelations are examined here. A *ma'i ma'i* may be a species or class of flora, fauna or, geographical features such as large boulders, streams, caves and the like. There is a hierarchy of *ma'i ma'i*. Barai *ma'i ma'i* are "forbidden" or *itaho* to those who subscribe to them. They may not be killed or eaten by those associated with them. Clan territories are distinguished by a name, for example, Gudire (grease) and, at the second most inclusive level, by the named New Guinea eagle, or *buru* (*Harpyopsis novae guineae*).[3]

The *buru* or proper name + *duna* or *tuna* may also be a simple appellation. Many invocations of the *buru* or *duna ma'i ma'i* have the form of "Na . . . ," whichever totem is referred to, for example, "*Na Vaburaduna.*" "I am Vaburaduna." To declare identification with the named eagle is to claim formal leadership. By contrast in the context of successful hunting and warfare any man who is a member of a clan may use the eagle *ma'i ma'i* name. However it is used only in the form of "*Sa gigigigigigi Vaburaduna*!" The same invocation is found in the investiture which accompanies first mankilling. The mankiller "perches" in the branches of a tree like a bird of prey, but rather than being accorded identity with a *buru* at this time, he is again met with "*Sa gigigigigigi Vaburaduna*!"[4] There is no statement of equivalence between man and *ma'i ma'i* in these instances. This form is invoked in connection with successful completion of any significant activity which is considered a matter of competition.[5]

The name of the eagle *ma'i ma'i* is invoked most often in inter-clan affairs. Its wings are likened to the roof of the longhouse under which reside all other *ma'i ma'i* and men. A less common form of invocation of the eagle *ma'i ma'i* is "I am Vaburaduna, I am over the pig." In this form, a man asserts his leadership. He also states that he is "over" or has control of the totemic grandmother pig which, in the case of Vaburaduna, is Awahaja. The invocation is explained as the right of the leader to direct formal exchanges, and to adjudicate disputed formal exchanges and determine whether or not any sanction is applicable.

Each named eagle has associated with it a named tree (*ma'i ma'i*) and named pool of water (*a'a*).[6] Although *ma'i ma'i* can refer to the collectivity of clan emblems, its more exact referent is a large, named, usually banyan-like tree. This tree is central to the clan territory. In the extended example of

Vaburaduna clan, their *ma'i ma'i* is called *Sunamo*. *Sunamo* may be referred to as a *buru*, *ani* or *ma'i ma'i*. It is thought of as the residence of the named eagle, other associated emblems, and as the principal residence of agnatic spirits (*juoe*). The *ma'i ma'i* is invoked, by a leader, principally in the context of war rites designed to enlist the aid of the clan (*tabaibo*) snake and the most ancient spirits.

Also thought to live in the pool are a named snake, an eel and grandmother pig. The name of the pig is used only during formal pig sacrifices or during the negotiations of leaders. Verbal challenges issued in formal exchange procedures incorporate the donor's pig name, or *ihi ma*. Named stones, *mui*, exist in association with the pools. In addition to these major *ma'i ma'i*, we should also mention minor items such as the named cassowary, cuscus and wallaby.

The "sacred" pool and its associated *ma'i ma'i* are central to the social, political and territorial definition of a clan. In the Wawaga Valley each clan *ma'i ma'i* centre is conceived of as identical to all others. This can be taken as underlining the ecological homogeneity of territories, while emphasising the individuality and independent productive capacity of clans. These are the principal features of the politico-emblem system. It remains for us to consider the finer divisions of the political system.

In Wawaga Barai mythology it was the python named Simo who created the rivers and creeks which bound tracts of garden and hunting land. The actual boundaries of garden and hunting land are referred to as *idua ihi*, "water names." More frequently invoked to describe parcels of garden land and their personnel are the named birds of paradise or *rabijo*. *Rabijo* refer to the two-wire bird of paradise (*Paradisiae raggianna*) of a particular garden, at a particular time. The *rabijo* names have the suffix *-bire* meaning "flesh." Similar to *ma'i ma'i* are *idi maruri*, the named breadfruit tree. The breadfruit tree is planted in a particular garden.[7] It is central to the group of trees, palms, lianas and cultigens known as *eje*. The *rabijo* of a garden is thought to live in the *eje*. The *eje*, other than the breadfruit, usually includes all the valued non-staple food and utilitarian trees, bushes and vines: black-palm for making weapons, the drumwood tree, *mara*, a fig-type tree, *okari*, the tree whose bark is used in making cloth, the vine used in fire making, ginger, and dependent upon the altitude, red oil pandanus.

Eje and faunal and floral emblems which live in and around them represent the "first man," "father," and possibly the founder of a garden. By contrast the current owner of a men's or women's longhouse, or yam house on a certain garden tract is the "man with the lifeforce of the longhouse" (*do oi'i*). *Oi* is compared to mist or breath. It is the force of man which resides under the breast bone (*do*) and which parts on death. The *bo aja* is the person who may become the *do oi'i*. He may eventually, allowing for fallow

periods and political vicissitudes, form a pig-killing village, or *are*. *Oi* is coterminous with, but separate from "spirit" or *arui*.

The possession of, or association with, the spirits of the dead buried in conjunction with an *eje* indicate pre-eminence over a specific tract of garden land which is the distinguishing attribute of the "father" (*asoi*) or controller. Ties with spirits are concretized in the fact of claiming a *rabijo*, and its associated *eje*. The *rabijo* denotes a garden, its *eje* and its "father." It is the named bird of paradise which "calls out for its owner" at his death. The man who claims responsibility or is thought responsible for the death of another adds the plumage of the bird of paradise, again a *rabijo*, to his headdress. At the death of the owner of a garden, all or selected plants and trees of the eje may be cut down. This is the temporality of the garden *rabijo*. Ownership of and use rights in garden land are determined and expressed by claim to the *eje* or right of access to its products. Equally the establishment of or claim to pig fencing, drainage channels, longhouses, yam houses, burials and births in conjunction with the *eje* of a named garden tract is equivalent to ownership. Collectively those who garden a certain named tract of land are "men of the ground." Principal settlements or villages usually combine many such groups in residence.

The village or principal settlement may be described as having a set of *ma'i ma'i* which indicate the dominant person or persons resident. The village can be spoken of as having an *ani bo* and *rabijo bo*, that is, a "big" named plant emblem and a "big" named bird of paradise emblem. Ideally, the "big" plant and bird of paradise emblems resident in the village or *are* coalesce in the political identity of the person of the leader. The majority of men who are resident can only make claim to these emblems indirectly through ties with the leader of the principal settlement. Complementary to the designation of men with *ma'i ma'i* is the application of totems in transactions.

In formal transactions, participants may be conceptualized as a "line" (*da*) of men or "men of the line." The "line" may, analytically and representationally, be made to support contentions of genealogy, descent and filiation. It is at base, however, a category based upon nurturance. More specifically it relates to the meat of wild animals and pigs consumed by men of the line. It is used to distinguish exchange units. These exchange units are spatially and politically represented by *rabijo* within the clan. In formal exchanges between clans, recipients are physically identified by donors with their plant emblem, not their *rabijo*. Entitlement to a "plant emblem" is gained through inheritance of hunting grounds, the creation of new hunting grounds and new plant emblems and, rarely, through the combination of two or more plant emblems. As much as the *rabijo* is composed of a number of elements and relations, it also represents a particular commensal unit.

The named *rabijo* in its basic form represents a unit of consumption of the flesh of all animals (*simie*), especially pig, cassowary and human flesh. It is also the primary form or unit which has identifiable leaders. This unit may also be referred to as "his men" or *e ahui*. In this way leadership is constituted in the ownership of hunting grounds, the plant emblem and the control, in every sense, of specified garden land.

If the "small" *rabijo* also constitutes a male unit in the consumption of flesh, the plant emblem identifies participants in exchange and exchange lines as *dahai*, the hunting ground, or morphophonemically, the "line of breastbones." The human breastbone is *hai* and represents the male spirit.[8] The convergence of "small" plant emblen and named bird of paradise totem in the one person represents leadership in its elemental form. This is the nascent leadership of the *bo aja*, the elder brother with the power. The convergence of "big" plant emblem and bird of paradise is the *aja bo*, the political leader of the village or *are*. Most males (72%) use the same *buru*, or named eagle, as their fathers, but only a minority exploit the same garden lands.

Table 1

Clan Name	Using Father's *buru*	Not Using Father's *buru* or Undecided
Vaburaduna (1)*	38	9
Aredaduna (1)	13	8
U'iduna (2)	15	13
I'eduna (2)	13	2
Uronebire (2)	5	1
Gogoduna (3)	16	3
Gara'iduna (3)	11	4
Jasisahuwa (4)	2	0
Misoiduna (4)	21	6
Jovaduna (5)	7	4
Sigaveduna (6)	4	1
Nanievaduna(6)	5	6
Munibaduna (7)	4	1

* Numerals indicate pairing, a third clan in a pairing is small and effectively "joins" with one of the others.

For the thirteen principal Barai, or predominantly Barai, clans of the valley the numbers of fully adult resident males using and not using their fathers' *buru* are listed in Table 1. In Table 1, 31 percent of those not using their father's *buru* claim one or more of their father's principal gardens, while 18 percent of those using their father's *buru* lay claim to and signifi-

cantly exploit their father's major gardens. An average of 58 percent of adult males maintain extensive gardens with contiguous clans, beyond the paired clan, and 23 percent of these had, or effectively had, changed their set of *ma'i ma'i* identities to suit their new garden-hunting ground sets. 76 percent of the latter changes occurred outside the context of a ceremonial mother's brother relationship, that is, not through a matrilateral link. It is in the context of these processes of adjustment, realignment and change that an average of 68 percent of men changed their principal garden-hunting ground within the clan, the paired clan or contiguous clan. Absolute change as in the situation which finds a man or group definitively moving to unoccupied or non-contiguous clan land is less than 0.5 percent. These changes were recorded for the period 1958-75, seventeen years.

The vast majority of these changes of principal gardens and hunting grounds within the clan represents the normal process of shifting cultivation (three to seven years dependent upon soil type and altitude). However, over the two-year period in question, 9.4 percent of those adult males who were interviewed described themselves as having, for various reasons, been attracted to acknowledged competing groups within the clan, paired clan and/or contiguous clan set. It is proposed that these attractions and the labour they represent are the practical foundation of the development and exercise of leadership.

Attributes of Leadership

It is commonplace in the literature on Papua New Guinean leadership that an "ethno-catalogue of dimensions of inequality" (Modjeska 1982:92) is offered. These descriptive attributes run the range of ability in speech making, "grease," physical prowess, success in transaction and the like. More generally they relate in economics to production and distribution, superiority in ritual and its content and social-psychological traits requisite in conflictual and normal affairs. Two interrelated attributes, public speaking and success in transaction, will be examined as aspects of Barai leadership practices.

Fundamental to the art of public speaking (*uwa remo*) among the Wawaga Barai are certain ideas concerning individuals who speak with both authority and persuasiveness. The formal speech of a man prominent in modern endeavours would be categorized as *uwa remo*. He might better be referred to as a spokesman rather than leader. Only the traditional Barai leader speaks the "truth" (*ijui*) and the prescriptions (*aniu*) of *seni seni*. *Seni seni* is the word of the "first men" or *e ma'i*. It encompasses history, truth, mythology and cultural appropriateness. *Seni seni* is invoked only in the context of ultimate leadership decisions around crucial events and activ-

ities, such as warfare and general management of gardens. In this context, it is not that the leader is able to convince his listeners. Rather his word is *aruvo*. It is authority in its simplest sense. For this reason such a man is "set apart" or *agwoe*. The leader speaks and "his word is done," He speaks softly (*sahi sahi*). He maintains an air of humbleness or *mamui*. He is not an *e hiahia'i*, a "rough man." *Aruvo* is especially significant in intergroup transaction. In speaking the middle finger of the leader is crossed over the index fingers. This is said to resemble the beak of the hornbill. This gesture is called *i bubwori duana uwa*, "finger-hand hornbill on top of message." The hornbill or *buboi* is the ultimate composite emblem and refers to the most ancient of spirits. Facility in public speaking, an attribute of leadership cited in the literature, follows closely on the Barai notion of strength and ability, but also, among the Barai, it must be seen as more than the persuasiveness of the leader. Authoritative speech is an enactment and acceptance of group solidarity around the figure of the *e bo*. The limits of authoritative speech are tested by any catastrophe which threatens the integrity of the group, epidemic, defeat in war, widespread damage to cultigens, pigs, hunting dogs and failures of garden management.

The second attribute referred to in the literature on leadership is wealth. Here wealth will be linked to the notion of increment in transaction. In a formal transaction Barai seek equivalence (*niriare*) between donor and recipient. To close an exchange cycle, negotiated adjustments are made. In the course of an exchange or in ending a cycle a recipient may reject or claim a particular item or items in order to achieve balance. All exchanges are judged by the form of the presentation, as to whether they correspond to the normative prescriptions (*seni seni*). In exchange, one may offer more than agreed but it is considered a "bad thing." Such action may be interpreted as competition, as an indication of an intent to ensorcell, or, in the case of affinal exchanges, as evidence of intention to "return" the donor's wife to her brother or to kill him. This must not be taken to mean that Barai have no accepted form of competition. It is found in the multiple dance competitions between donor and recipient groups which precede actual transactions and includes "shoulder knocking" (*ginyaravano*). Shoulder knocking was banned by the colonial administration in the 1950s, since it is always violent and often lethal. Competition is also expressed in the quality of all items exchanged and consumed. At another level, the integrity of the recipient is judged by whether presentations are accepted and removed without "slipping," "sliding" or "falling," that is, without being overwhelmed by the donor's generosity.

Foodstuffs and wealth items to be given away are identified with the plant emblem of the leader who directs the exchange. The recipient jumps to his feet and calls out the name of his *buru*. Moreover, received items of wealth

may not be exchanged, or worn, until their equivalent has been given to the original donor. The transactional set implies a system of "alternating disequilibrium" (Strathern 1979:152, fn. 1) between donor and recipient, their respective clans and villages. What links *aruvo*, or the authoritative speech of a Barai leader and a transaction is not the possibility of the advantage gained or demonstrated through increment, but the fact that the leader is the negotiator and arbiter of the overall transaction. It is *aruvo* which determines the form of the exchange for donors and recipients. Control of wealth is renounced for control of the means of production. What is suggested is that in the context of formal exchanges transaction and production are near equivalents. Such prestations necessarily entail the demonstrated control of cultigens, tubers, game, domestic animals for consumption, the range of manufactured items and those who produced them. The control of wealth, which is what these things may be thought to objectify is secondary.[9] For these reasons and in these circumstances Barai may well view production and transaction as more or less equivalent.

In sum, the social, psychological, religious and physical characteristics of the leader must be recognized as descriptive attributes only, secondary to the fact of leadership and secondary to the grounding of leadership in male power expressed in *ma'i ma'i*. There are many technical specialists reported in the literature, and many among the Barai. Their expertise may be in hunting, fighting, singing, dancing, salt-making, exorcism, shamanism,[10] divination or in particular varieties of sorcery. These, however, do not constitute leadership in its formal sense, nor are they complementary forms of leadership. Among the Barai all specialists are subject to leadership. These specialists are overridden by the recognized increment of male power manifested in the "powerful" man (the *aja bo*) the junctures of which are given by identity as *ma'i ma'i*.

Male Inequality and the Disaffected Individual

It is inappropriate to discuss the process whereby individuals are recognized as leaders and identified with group *ma'i ma'i* without discussing a concomitant and complementary notion, that of inequality. Two points can be considered here. First, as with the Foi (Weiner 1987), Barai have no terminology for a man who is not "big," except as a lesser man, an *e seibia*, or a younger or "raw" man, *io*. This does not necessarily imply that the ideology of the community is that "all men are equal." Rather, there is an equality of aspiration. Societies like the Wawaga Barai are no less competitive than those of the Melpa type. What distinguishes the two is the locus of the gradient line. Barai affairs are dominated by a single gradient line mapping the intrinsic identity of men at various stages of their lives within the hierar-

chy of *ma'i ma'i*. This local model of the single gradient of inheritance seems to mask the articulation of politico-historical "trajectories" of individuals and groups (see Godelier 1986; Barker 1991). However there are a number of senses in which *ma'i ma'i* are injured, destroyed, abandoned, created, recreated and combined. Further, inheritance is "as much a matter of receiving as getting, keeping and using."

The explanation of inequality among men can proceed from an examination of the development of identity with *ma'i ma'i* during the course of the life cycle. Consider the example of Hallpike's (1977) Tuade who are neither dissimilar nor distant from the Wawaga Barai.[11] Tuade also share a conceptualization of leadership which involves identification with the *tuna* or *duna*, the named New Guinea Eagle. When demonstrating differential status Barai focus on those objects and aspects of inheritance directly related to male power and its acquisition as *ijia rumugu*. Their view encompasses inheritance as evidenced in the description of male power as the inclusive patrimony. Material and immaterial patrimony is also known as *ihi*, the "memory" or "name" of the deceased.

The measure of male inequality, in the local model, concentrates on older and younger brothers and power (*aja*). For these purposes the elder sibling becomes the *bo aja*, the elder brother with the power, and potentially the *aja bo*, the "big" power. This older-younger brother dichotomy will be examined.

The ability of the leader to attract adherents is, in substantial part, represented in the continuum of *bo aja—aja bo*. The older brother is the recipient of the most detailed ritual attention relative to his siblings. This observation would certainly conform to Modjeska's (1982:107) suggestion that "ritual hierarchy tends to replace economic inequality" in areas of low production. As much as this seems a common sense matter it is also entangled with the practicalities of access to the means of production. Inequality of access to the means of production and resources generally is perceived by the *ive*, "tail" or youngest brother, as injustice. The juniors are attracted to a new or competing gardening-hunting (*rabijo*) unit, either as a temporary result of the older brother's intimidation or as a permanent change of *rabijo* unit, but this tendency can be obviated in the case of the sons of leaders. In the local model it is often only the eldest and youngest brother who are the objects of complete investiture. In practice, however, it is only the oldest, the *bo aja*. One way in which such inequality may be redressed might consist in the junior's witholding his service to his older brother. The service is usually labour. But it is not possible for the younger brother directly to withhold meaningful cooperation or labour. Rather there is a cultural mechanism universal to the region which allows the resolution of this conflict.

Labour denied to an older brother is offered to another *e bo*.[12] In this manner adherents are attracted temporarily or permanently. The ritual state-

ment of attraction involves the offering of cooked pork to the disaffected junior by an *e bo* of another *rabijo* unit. The pork is offered in a specific manner: "*ji abe haigera ma.*" This may be translated as "take this small piece of pig meat." The spoken, and usually clandestine offer, deliberately omits the kinship relation and proper name of the recipient.[13] Since *rabijo* are conceptually the units for the production and consumption of flesh, accepting cooked pork from another *rabijo* unit is in effect entertaining a change of *rabijo* within the clan or paired-clan. In this way affiliation and political leadership in clan or clan segments may be achieved, negotiated and changed within the paired-clan settlement.

The mechanism described above may involve any meat, not just pig or cassowary. Further, it is an exchange which is not clearly classified as either *waju*, the informal and ideologically unreciprocated prestation, or *ehi*, reciprocated formal prestation. This particular presentation of pig meat across *rabijo* lines is of a different order. It is interstitial and in a real sense contravenes past, present and future transactions. The acceptance of meat in the context of the disaffected younger brother's proposed change of *rabijo* unit does not truly fall into the categories of *waju* or *ehi* because it is in effect a liminal rite. Nevertheless, if the consumption of cooked meat in this context is left unreciprocated it brings the recipient into a *waju* relationship with the *bo aja* or leader and represents a potential change of *rabijo* and political affiliation. At a more practical level, it is clearly the case that the ingested meat is located in the context of formal commensality, and that such meat is completely equated with the spirit and labour of the unit which produced it (see also Modjeska 1982:95).[14] This does not mean that all other things produced for exchange are incompletely identified with the labour of the unit which produced them. It does mean that the particular rite of change of *rabijo* formally links a particular product, meat, with identity—even though incipient—and affiliation of the individual. Other, more general, forms of partial or complete transformation of kinship relationship, referred to as "making" and "unmaking," for example, *siba me'a* or "made a marriageable partner," are accomplished through the change or creation of the exchange categories (*waju*/*ehi*). Such changes are viewed as enhancing exchange or trade relationships, and more usually as accommodating what are considered to be "close" marriages. In these situations the question of identity is secondary to affiliation proper.

When an individual moves to a new *rabijo* unit, his subsequent service to his new *e bo* is constituted primarily by garden work. The products of such labour represent an alienable surplus to the new *bo aja*. Such work is a temporary situation similar in length to the period of garden service owed by a sister's son to his ceremonial mother's brother, two to three years. At issue

is the final identity of the junior, i.e. who will assist the junior with maternal and affinal exchanges and where he will garden. In spite of the temporary or permanent change of partial identity the obligations owed to maternal kin remain to be discharged.

It has already been suggested that sons of leaders are at an advantage in becoming leaders. The sons of leaders are less susceptible to change of *rabijo* whereas it is a commonplace for others. One aspect of this advantage is that a leader may have several gardens, represented by several *eje* and *rabijo*. A leader may distribute these gardens almost individually among his sons, or he may distribute the births of his children strategically over different gardens. This practice may eventually maintain the unity of the male siblings by reducing the frequency and intensity of conflicts over garden and hunting land. However, there is a centrifugal force at work. It falls upon the *bo aja* to "retrace his father's gardens." That is, he is expected, when appropriate, to garden in the same places as his father. This is done to assure that no claims to land lapse. As a result, the first-born son of a leader is again advantaged because he chronologically precedes his brothers. The institution whereby the eldest son "retraces his garden" acts to his advantage in the disposition of any later claims to it advanced by his younger siblings and himself. Nevertheless, there is still the strong possibility that younger siblings are able to develop separate *rabijo* units by maintaining separate gardens.

The active attempt on the part of a junior to change *rabijo*, or the attempt of a leader to attract a junior to his *rabijo* unit is founded on rational economic grounds. These include the choice of marriage partner, disputes over land, despotism and general violence.[15] Such efforts are, then, not exclusively matters of perceived socio-psychological disadvantage. The latter are a commonplace and usually settled within a short period of time. What has been described above is not a horticultural strategy of small productive units (see Strathern 1984:117). It involves not merely the maintenance and exploitation of two tracts of named garden land and their associated hunting grounds, but rather the entire process of horticultural production in the locality. It affects horticultural production generally because the individual changing production unit will also provide labour to many other gardens encompassed or assisted by his new *bo aja*.

Leaders depend heavily on unmarried brothers, very junior brothers and married brothers. They are also dependent upon polygyny to maintain pigs, and in connection with weeding and the transportation of garden produce. They rely only in small part on the produce of their wives' gardens. Women's gardens are within current named garden lands of their husbands, or if unmarried, of their natal kinsmen. The garden segments and gardens of a leader's sons and brothers produce as much as possible of subsistence

needs, leaving the *bo aja's* garden surplus for designated formal exchanges. If the younger brother attempts a change of *rabijo* unit because of perceived economic injustice, he is often actively encouraged in his quest to create a surplus to support life-cycle and compensation payments. The need to create such a horticultural surplus fluctuates. Major pig sacrifices occur at intervals of four to seven years. Consequently, the demand for surplus labour and attempts to change *rabijo* coincide with the periods of intensification associated with pig-sacrifices. However, despite the oscillatory nature of the discharge of maternal and affinal obligations, there is a linear progression. The paired-clan village becomes a potential source of labour. Large production units are formed. While the finalization of *rabijo*, *ani* and clan identity within the paired-clan units generates smaller, larger and new clan segments, it also determines the balance of power between clans of the village and between segments of a clan.

The process of changing of *rabijo* acts, and is perceived to act, as a direct check on the despotic tendencies in leadership and male inequality generally. It is important to state that the redress of social inequality and injustice, as discussed, acts contrapuntally to competition for political ascendancy within a clan, the creation of new clans and change of residence or migration.

Contested Leadership

The extant sorcery specialists of the Wawaga Valley and the region are those who have lost in the bid for a particular leadership. They perceive themselves as having been victimized and scapegoated while their reputations grow with the number of deaths attributed to them. Often they reach such an impasse because of the number of aspirants for leadership and their own lack of sibling support. They sometimes live uxorilocally, with or in association with a mother's brother. Most often they have changed their linguistic affiliation. The sorcerer's perfected form of sorcery, or any new forms which they may develop are usually associated with or inspired by the differentiating characteristics of the host group. The most powerful of the remaining sorcerers are thought to locate themselves on particular trade routes, or ideally, at the convergence of several such routes. They are usually brothers or cross-cousins to successful leaders with different "small" plant and "small" bird of paradise emblems. Along these same lines one may speak of "false" (*arui*) and "true" (*ho*) brothers and co-resident first cousins (see Kelly 1977:85-6). The "false" brother is one who "misleads," "tricks," and ultimately, practises or is thought to practise sorcery against his closest kin.

The sorcery expert himself is assumed to be a threat to whole communities. His power (*aja*) is perceived as a threat because it is not a function of

legitimate augmentation of power associated with the natal group and its land. The conditions under which a failed leader left the community are usually recorded in secondary hunting ground narratives. Each set of such narratives are particular to specific hunting grounds. Leadership at the level of the clan implies, as given, the communally acknowledged right to identity with the *buru* or individually named eagle of the clan. The sorcerer, at a distance, claims the secondary totem, the named grandmother pig. In his narrative, he may state that the pig has "followed him" to his new area. The implication is that his father's clan is, as a result of his departure, less able to acquit itself in inter-clan pig sacrifices and in inter-clan affairs generally. Furthermore, the leader of the father's clan can no longer exhort that he is "over the pig," the director of the sacrifices.

Like political leaders, sorcery experts capitalize on their personal situation to attract politically disenchanted persons to their cause. Equally, since all calamity is initially assumed to be the manifestation of the displeasure of agnatic spirits, adept sorcerers may and should be able to convince others of their ability to resolve such problems. The sorcery expert is sorcerer, diviner and exorcist. He is also the practical, institutionalized opposition to a particular leadership (see Lindenbaum 1979). Failure to successfully challenge the leader identified with the *buru* or *duna,* and failure to gain public support leads to loss of resources and the abandonment of claims whereby male power is normally augmented. The sorcerer can no longer lay claim to any of the hierarchy of *ma'i ma'i* except that it may be said that he was followed by a secondary emblem, such as a clan pig. Moreover, he may recount meeting a secondary *ma'i ma'i* animal by chance. Such assertions serve only to underscore the rivalry between groups, which is manifested in such activities as feasting, hunting and horticultural production, as well as the residual legitimacy of the sorcerer's claim to his former *ma'i ma'i.*[16]

Conflictual ascendancy to a *buru*, which is rare, evolves over the better part of the lifespan of the claimants. More generally, in the Barai approach to the issues of male identity and equality, there exist strong implied and direct elements of incremental time. As the disputed ascendancy to leadership indicates, the possibility of there being a niche, leadership, which the elder succeeds to, simply by becoming an *elder*, is denied. Hallpike (1977:138) also judged the notion of *elder*, to be inappropriate for the Tuade. For Barai, late accession to leadership appears as the normal progression of life for a male (also see Weiner 1987). According to Hallpike's (1977) interpretation of the Tuade, late accession, coupled with a primacy and exclusivity granted to individual social relations as opposed to inter-group relations, confirms the non-existence of *elders* as a general social category. Wawaga Barai are certainly not unconcerned with inter-clan relations. They do not, however,

foreclose the possibility of accession to a leadership status to all but the most senior male.

Wawaga Barai ethnography indicates that male identity with territorial groups, the land and its products is acquired by individual men through communally recognized degrees of the attainment of male power symbolized in a hierarchy of emblems. The group itself, the *buru*, is constituted by those individuals subsumed by the "big" emblems. These individuals are involved in economic relations with the leader and exploit parts of the hunting and garden lands he comes to represent. This point is crucial to the analysis, since it dictates a reversal of the relationship between group composition and leadership (see also Weiner 1988). The group is not a descent-ordered organism attending succession of an elder to leadership. Such an interpretation would yield the chieftaincy of Hallpike. Rather, the *ma'i ma'i* await a claimant. Everything else is in flux. Conflictual claimants to ascendancy and, possibly, sorcerers who live at a distance from their communities are exaggerated examples of the same basic process which can disunite male siblings. The process which disunites the siblings is the direct access to the means of production itself.

In summary, some of the ideological bases of *aja*, or male power have been presented along with its material bases. The augmentation of *aja* has been taken as fundamental to leadership in the village and garden settlement, and is linked to the "big" and "small" ranges of emblems and the hierarchy the *ma'i ma'i* form. There are many such emblems, which are common to the clans of the Wawaga Valley, as is their hierarchal system. Only certain key emblems are considered in this paper: *ma'i ma'i, duna* or *buru, ani* and *rabijo*. Their relation to garden, hunting and village land, and the resources of each have been indicated. "Small" plant emblems, the hunting ground and its spirits, and "small" named birds of paradise define a specific unity, not simply geographically, but in relation to production, labour and elemental leadership. Likewise, in the higher range, convergence of "big" *ani* and "big" *rabijo* denotes potential leadership in the context of the paired-clan. Conflict over unequal access to resources and sibling inequality in general contains the possibility of the exchange of identity for labour and the potential of surplus it generates. Conflict for ascendancy at the most inclusive levels, claim to *buru* or *duna*, can result only in the expulsion of the loser. Expulsion involving either change of group or *ma'i ma'i* set is the limit of the gradient of leadership.

Barai Symbolic Classification: Sorcery and Male Power

For the Barai, the first born son or daughter is the *ami gama* or "sunrise child." A first born male is referred to as the *bo aja*, literally the "eldest

with the power," or the "elder brother with the power." It is here that an element of succession appears. Male power is transmitted through proximity to the father and his land by various forms of investiture, and through the inheritance of his sacra. These sacra consist of magical stones of various classes, especially a pair of male and female yam stones, feasting stones and garden protection stones, sorcery exuviae, hunting implements and weapons, specific shell ornaments, dwellings, seed yams, the esoteric names of ancestors and corresponding rites and, in particular, the father's lime gourd and spatula. The previous items and shell ornaments are collectively referred to as *ijia rumugu*, "ancestor things." This term is sometimes used in a general way to refer to wealth objects and secret incantations. The latter are most often secret or "hidden" names of remote ancestors. *Ijia rumugu* largely pertains to the *bo aja*. Barai state that a first-born male is advantaged in the bid for the status of leader (see also Strathern 1971:210).

In general, these observations about the attainment of political leadership among the Barai do not deny the role of directed political activity in leadership. They do, however, indicate that achievement can be analytically overvalued, or that leadership is a function of more than minimal ascription. Inheritance of one's father's things, by virtue of being a first-born son, presents the possibility of succession to leadership. Notwithstanding this, there is a culturally recognized mechanism to establish individual identity which circumvents inheritance as a precondition of the possibility of leadership. The following account attempts to describe this aspect of Wawaga Barai leadership.

The major life-cycle exchanges concern the acquisition of male power. Such investiture includes birth, marriage, the first eating of what are categorized as female yams, first naming, bestowal of the perineal band, first hair dressing, first hair cutting, nose piercing, second naming, first ceremonial dressing with the shell and bone nose ornaments and final dressing of the complete man upon man-killing. These rites, in part, represent male power directly in the form of the eel which may also be referred to as *aja*. The eel may be presented as an initiatory gift before all major exchanges. Its anal section is ingested by the bride at the time of the birth of the first male child; a newborn is groomed with a live, young eel, and its tails are worn woven into the hair of males during investiture. This ritual use of the eel is practised by leaders as well as lesser men for their juniors, but there is also a degree of male power which is set apart, "hot power."

The form of power associated directly with the substance of leadership is *aja huhuta*. *Aja huhuta* is "hot power." It is gained progressively from association with the pool of a clan. In particular it is gained and expended in conjunction with yam planting rites (*iro ina*) in which lichen and moss scrapings from the abode of ancestral spirits, the named clan stones, and

water from pools are sprayed, by mouth, over seed yams. Such scrapings are likened to the excreta of the named clan eel. Similarly, the tails of young eels from the sacred pool, and their protective mucus coating may be used in planting rites. Yams themselves are seen as having spirits. Spent seed yams receive a burial much like that of human beings. As a result of the conceptualization of yams as spirit-persons there is a direct and reversible relation between yam rites, birth rites and curative and prophylactic rites. Heightened male power is evidenced in the prohibitions surrounding the various rites and activities. The *aja huhuta* of the leader is evidenced in the manner in which it affects quotidian affairs.

The deaths of wives and younger persons are frequently categorized as *aja ugave*, "dead of male power" (1.4% of all deaths).[17] Inadvertently or as a result of malice, persons are thought to die because of untimely or contextually inappropriate exposure to heightened male power. In one instance, it was said, a big man was digging a post-hole for his new house and his wife approached too closely. She was believed to have been killed by his *aja* which had descended into the hole in the form of his "sweat" and "smell." It had subsequently drawn her *aja* into the hole, causing her to sicken and die. The matter of whether the woman's death was premeditated remained open. The possibility of causing such death remains a prerogative of the "bigman." This heightened male power is thought to develop in the context of horticultural rites as can be seen from the restrictions surrounding them.

Food prohibitions (*agwoe*) are observed before and after the execution of yam planting rites. During the procedures all but the leader performing the ritual are banned from the garden. At its completion the leader avoids contact with all other members of his clan. He reduces his *aja* to a level acceptable to others primarily through drinking and bathing in cold, running water and not entering the village for a period of three days. The use of the eel and its products in yam planting rites are among the normally expected public and private expressions of the source of heightened male power or *aja huhuta*. By contrast, female power is "cold" and "weak."[18] In these ways, "hot" male power is predicated in Barai leadership. If exposure to heightened male power may result in death, it is possible to consider it in the context of the Wawaga Barai generic form of sorcery.

The regional form of sorcery is known as *iri*, and its practitioners as *e iri*, or "man mouth." All men are capable of it in varying degrees. What permits the variation in degree is the level of *aja* attained by the individual. Just as with yam planting rites there are food prohibitions which apply. In particular the sorcerer must avoid cold running water. He must also avoid contact with the victim and all others during the activity. It is likely that the *exuviae*[19] of the victim represents his *aja*. The *aja* attracts the victim's spirit when heated. The *exuviae* may then be eaten by the sorcerer who believes

that he takes the form of a flying fox for the purpose. Alternatively, the heated *exuviae* may be crushed or incinerated. The victim subsequently dies within three days. *Aja* is relative in its concentration. The augmentation of *aja* of the sorcerer is greater than that of ordinary men but the leader is believed to be impervious to sorcery attack. In the form of sorcery which is basic to the Wawaga Barai, *iri*, there is no formal distinction between the practitioner of *iri* and the leader.[20] Heightened male power associated with yam production rites and associated *ma'i ma'i* defines the leader. The leader or *e bo* is thought to be unassailable except in one respect.

The Wawaga Barai visualize the leader as a man who is subject to *navae* which may tentatively be translated as a specific set of signs of death. The leader wears the nose ornaments *e* and *mui*. It is believed that these give him the appearance of the eel. His reflection as an eel is a premonition of his death. Leaders are not thought to be vulnerable to mystical attack. Power builds up within them to the point where they visit the clan pool and their reflection in the pool is that of the eel. They are identified with power and are consumed by it. For Barai, the final consumption of the leaders by *aja* is the obvious localized theoretical limit of the augmentation of male power. It is also viewed as the ultimate mechanism in redressing inequality between males, especially leaders and younger adult males.[21]

The foregoing manifestations of male power and its correlates underscore its extrinsic, material quality. It is clear, however, that there has been an internalization of male power as well. Male power is literally incorporated into the person. The sweat, spittle, breath and exhaled tobacco smoke of leaders are believed to be lethal. Because of the close association of these elements, the lime gourd and spatula are central to generic sorcery and power generally. To illustrate the interrelation of internal and external qualities of male power and their political expression it is necessary to consider the system of *ma'i ma'i*. Emblems converge to demarcate individuals and land to produce social, and more correctly, political beings.

Wawaga Barai provide a generalized scale which goes beyond the simple idea of leaders (*e bo*) and "smaller" men (*e seibia*). The scale is not represented in the number of reeds symbolizing pig transactions as among the Melpa, nor is it found in the differentiation of titles claimed by various powerful men. The Wawaga Barai distinguish degrees of male power and acknowledge transactional performance in the communally acceded right of men to construct an identity from spatially, temporally and resource-typed sets of major and minor hierarchized emblems which converge differentially.[22]

Separately and, to a degree, independently, one may claim a plant emblem and a named bird of paradise. These may be "small" or "large" indicating the degree of increment of male power. But it is with the hierarchy

and interrelation of *ma'i ma'i* that Barai express the political and economic differences between men. Identification with "big" emblems or *ma'i ma'i* reflects the area of land a man has the right to exploit. It also reflects the labour that he can marshall in the form of men and women whose identities are subsumed by these "larger" emblems, and the male power perceived as a precondition of production using these resources.

Conclusions

The Wawaga Valley Barai provide a single cultural focus or principle in which male inequality and competition are codified. The single gradient is the degree of male power (*aja*), seen as informing and enabling human action, whose variation is expressed in a hierarchical system of emblems generating the identity of leaders. The system of emblems is itself defined by the degree of male power. This contrasts with, for example, Modjeska's assertion that Duna ascendancy is based on the evaluated qualities of oratory, knowledge, wealth, transaction and warfare. He sees Duna leadership as a "pretotalization . . . of the more unitary ideal of the leader in high production societies" (Modjeska 1982:86). It is clear though that in the statement of principal leadership types, big man, great man and despot, Duna like the Barai are interstitial. They fall somewhere between the Big Man and Great Man forms but appear to tend toward the Great Man pattern.

Barai male power (*aja*) may be analyzed as the epistemological basis of male agency. Culturally circumscribed, its augmentation can be seen to be founded in control of land and the resources of land and labour. It is obvious that Wawaga Barai must be considered a "low" production society.[23] However, Barai are no less concerned with production of surplus for all that. Nor are they exclusively reliant on the appropriation of the labour of women either ideologically or practically. Again, the codification of inequality among men is related to the hierarchy of *ma'i ma'i*. It is not found exclusively in the amount they transact, nor in finance of exchanges, nor in being "good at something or other." By extension, the list of attributes of "what makes a bigman" cannot structurally determine Barai leadership. It is, in part, what makes a good cassowary hunter, salt maker or other technical specialist, but not a leader.

The simple fact of a man being identified with the *rabijo* of a garden, the *ani* of a hunting ground, or the *buru* of a clan illustrates that *aja* accompanies success or failure in all activities. The elder brother as the *bo aja* and village leader as the *aja bo* present leadership and group formation as a singular and unified process. This is best exemplified in the exchange of identity for labour, an exchange of equivalences. Godelier conveniently pondered when the exchange of equivalences is supplanted against "labour

and the product of labour'' (1982:33). It is clear that Wawaga Barai redefine extant relations, redress inequality between males of the clan segment, clan, paired-clan and contiguous clans through exchange of identities against labour and the surplus it generates. But it is equally clear that this occurs along an ''unequivocal'' cultural gradient of male power expressed as individual identity with a given *ma'i ma'i*. Stated differently, leadership positions are attained by appropriating the labour of others, bestowed by others for lesser rights of identity in consideration of their labour. In the end there may be no redress gained in change of affiliation, or positive effects may be achieved. In any case the individual believes he has removed himself from a non-productive situation.

The expression of inequality between men may be said to speak to a ritual hierarchy in low production societies. However, the attainment of various positions in the hierarchy is open to competition. It is a competition for the control and deployment of basic resources on the basis of a number of cardinal factors: devolution of these resources, and willingness to exchange labour for new or incipient identity for another. Inequality and hierarchy among the Barai have a different locus from that found in societies which utilize increments and enchainments in transactions.[24]

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Notes

1. Leadership specialists comprising a necessary whole are conceived along the same lines as groups specializing in particular economic activities. The point is that some totemic systems in Papua New Guinea have been presented as a matter of organic solidarity. As noted, Avatip (Harrison 1988) ''exchange'' the ''pre-conditions of production.'' This is not the occasion for a review of the Papua New Guinea totemism literature. It is important to note that Forge (1972:531) categorically denies the possibility of organic solidarity in non-Melanesian groups of the interior. Forge states, ''Here mechanical solidarity reigns supreme''(p. 531). He illustrates the point with the Iatmul where the homology between environment and human groups is not tenable as each clan has the same set of totems differentiated only by the names with which they are vested. This type of totemic system stands firmly in contrast to those analyzed by Lévi-Strauss (1963).
2. This interpretation of Barai power and leadership applies to a particular period of *pax australiana* The delineation of early to late colonial periods through modernism is considered in Barker and Rohatynskyj (n.d.). This article does not exhaust ideas of identity and inequality in the two modes of exchange. It ignores ''free giving'' and ''gift-economic'' exchange.

3. *Buru, duna* and *tuna* in formal usage refer to any bird of prey or "diving bird" and to the named New Guinea Eagle of a clan. *Duna* and *tuna* are equivalent. They are also the affixes applied to the names of the clan eagles. For example, the eagle named Vabura becomes Vaburaduna or Vaburatuna. The use of such forms is a commonplace among the Barai of the Mimai River system, the Ömie, the Mountain Koiari of the Northern and Central Provinces, and extends to some Managalase groups and to the Orokaiva of Sirorata, Sairope and the Wasida. In lower areas *duna* may refer more regularly to Doria's hawk. F. E. Williams (1969:128) speaks of the "children of the eagle-hawk." This particular emblem is also present among the Biage and Chirima. Hallpike (1977:156; see pp. 264, 265) states that "it was clear that there was a vital association in their minds between the principal chiefs and birds (especially the *tuna*, a bird of prey) and sacred oaks."
4. *Sa gigigigigi* itself is without translation, it is from a stock of phrases referred to as the "first people's language." It may be equated to a "battle cry."
5. The activities may be as diverse as the felling of a large tree or litigation at the sub-District Office.

   There are also small hardwood trees which have proper names without affixes. Their names are invoked in "fights" within the paired clan. They are employed when invocation of a *buru* would not be appropriate, or when defeat is a likelihood. I do not classify these items as part of the *ma'i ma'i* set proper.
6. Certain hunting grounds are considered to be *ai urie* or "wild places," The central *ma'i ma'i* sites are found in such places. The very places themselves and their attendant spirits revolt at alien things, whether European or female.
7. If such an *idi maruri* falls, or dies it is replanted and renamed.
8. The *hai*, as the carved breastbone of the cassowary, was replaced in the last 60 or so years by a bailer shell. This shell often has a tortoise skin inlay. The cassowary breastbone and the bailer shell are symbolic representations of the human breastbone which is the location of the living spirit of man.
9. Gregory (1982:41) differentiates systems which objectify people and systems which personify things (M. Strathern 1988:18).
10. Shamanism exists among the Barai as a technical specialty. It is potentially practised by all leaders. There is usually an adept. This adept does not have a title. The medium has a named spirit familiar. These spirits are a class apart. They live under the rivers which bound territories at Horotihaha and are referred to as Horu. These spirits, for the most part, punish infractions of rules of propriety—especially, but not exclusively, of a sexual nature (cf. Kelly 1977:62 fn. 28, 29). Horu are considered to be unpredictable.
11. Intense trade existed between the Fuyughe, Chirima, Biage and the Tuade.
12. As regards the formerly few Local Government Council positions, various committee men and modern entrepreneurial activity the following may be observed. There was a clear division between younger and older siblings: the younger ones concentrating on these activities as opposed to traditional activities. Barai consciously held the question of traditional leadership apart from modern activities. They actively excluded modernists from almost every aspect of traditional leadership. Similarly European goods, clothing and cultigens are forbidden from most hunting grounds and many gardens. However there was a pronounced tendency for such enterprises as experimental trade stores to be promoted by the traditional leadership as a matter of inter-clan rivalry while they denigrated their operators publicly.

    I have said little of these matters because there was no form of entrepreneurial activity that actually succeeded in the time in which I was in the Valley; nor is there now. This continual record of failure did not of course mean that the practitioner had any choice but to continue along his road.

13. The consumption of cooked meat is similar to the gifts of cooked pork which an unrelated female receives clandestinely as an invitation to sexual intercourse. Whether the former indicates illegitimate sexual relations and the latter illegitimate affiliation is appealing to consider but not demonstrable.
14. Barai do not believe that ingested meat is excreted, rather it goes directly to form muscle.
15. The despotic leader who "forces people to do heavy work" is rare but in the two known examples expulsion and assassination were the result.
16. The regional belief that the clan grandmother pig and her children can be sent to destroy the gardens of individuals and groups of villages is known as *mahe*. It is greatly feared and a determinant of behaviour.
17. The figure of 1.4% represents the number of persons generally agreed to have died from *aja* in the village of Emo River in ego's generation and the two ascending and descending generations. It is fairly evenly divided as to age categories and sex.
18. Barai female power, *aja babaimo*, the "power the wife makes" is explored elsewhere. *Aja*, power, is attributed to both men and women. The wife's power is seen as an ability to arrest male projects but it is not conceptualized as being generically different. It is "weak" and "less," but not inherently "other." This observation might be contrasted with that of Young (1987:229) who sees the power of men as "incremental, something extrinsic to be appropriated" while female power remains "intrinsic."
19. The word *exuviae*' is used in an extended sense as those food remains discarded by the individual, anything which is thought to be contacted by his breath, saliva, excrement, sweat, blood. In fact anything closely associated with or carried by the individual.
20. There are several qualifications to present here. First, the sorcery form, *iri* is considered here in its quotidian aspect. The matter of the specialist, or *e iri dinu* is held apart. It is the rule that such a specialist is not a leader. Second, notwithstanding the first point, the *e bo* who makes recourse to *iri* has in a sense put his standing in question. The Barai view does not preclude the leader from being competent and/or excelling in sorcery, hunting or some other endeavour. It means simply that he is not a "base" or "root" man in the practice.
21. At each locally recognized politico-historical juncture Barai *navae* remains the limit on male power – barring cult reversals. At the time of research it was the practical limit on horticultural production (*iro ina*). This produced regional cults and extreme sexual antagonism. The foundation of sexual antagonism being the insistence of a general male parthenogenesis in opposition to female reproduction or *ina* (Barker and Rohatynskyj 1989). At a mundane level *navae* connotes a specific set of signs of death.
22. As noted, *e ma'i* refers to the demarcation between hunting-gathering and domesticated pig traditions. The full set of major clan emblems is referred to as *namie* which is a direct reference to *mie* the class of marsupials including cassowary.
23. I have used the phrase "low production society" throughout. Its use is justified by the fact that pig herds over the Wawaga Valley do not surpass 0.7 per capita. The peak periods of pig production for large pig sacrifices (maximum of 25) does not significantly alter the average. Pigs are fed cooked food perhaps once a day, after which they forage. Only in the last 6 to 9 months before its sacrifice is a large pig blinded to keep it near to hand when it is more intensively fed.

    Approximately 30 varieties of yam are culturally central to Barai ideas of production. Production levels for them are obviously limited. Sweet potato is cultivated on an extremely restricted scale and resisted. Taro is cultivated for ritual purposes as a vestige of a cult and is left to putrify as fertilizer for yams, but is not otherwise significant. There is no real scarcity of marsupials and birds in the higher forest. Similarly gather-

ing in the strict sense of the term forms a significant part of diet and there is a seasonal reliance on it. There is also a seasonal reliance on red oil pandanus and breadfruit.

24. A wider comparative net could be cast in terms of the determinacy of male power in matters of male inequality and identity. The Wawaga Valley Barai ideas of efficacy and male agency provide a very different starting point, from say Melpa *ndating*. *Ndating* is identified by Strathern as the "paternal substance," and a proximate descent principle (Strathern 1972:10-13). Although *ndating* may also be interpreted as enabling effective action, Barai *aja* must be seen to diverge distinctly. Given Strathern's interpretation of *ndating* it is not surprising, in the Melpa case, that the extrinsic attributes of male power should thus turn toward increment in inter-group transaction and appear to be determinant of a particular type of New Guinea society.

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