

1969 - JABLONKO/GODELIER - BARUYA

A RESEARCH FILM OF FIELDWORK AMONG THE BARUYA,  
A KUKAKUKA TRIBE OF THE EASTERN HIGHLANDS  
NEW GUINEA

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Film-makers - Allison & Marek Jablonko  
Resident Anthropologist - Maurice Godelier

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Summary, Index & Film Event Descriptions  
written in the field

by

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SUMMARY

1.

Between March 8 and April 14, 1969, Allison and Marek Jablonko joined Maurice Godelier, of the Laboratory of Social Anthropology, College de France, Paris, at his field location in Wonenara, Eastern Highlands District.

During this time 29,500 feet of film were taken: 27,800 ft. of color, 1700 feet of black-and-white, 10,000 feet with synchronous sound, 12,250 feet with wild sound, and 7250 silent. The following equipment was used: one 16mm. Arriflex BL cine camera, one 16 mm. Bolex Reflex with motor drive, one Nagra tape recorder, and one Uher tape recorder.

Eighty-three different events were filmed, ranging in filming time from one minute to fifty-five minutes length:

1	-	2½ min.	-	24 events
3	-	5½ min.	-	17 events
6	-	10 min.	-	17 events
11	-	20 min.	-	15 events
25	-	55 min.	-	11 events

The average length of each uninterrupted shot is estimated at 50 feet, or about one minute.

The filming was based on a script covering twelve main points which were designed (a) to show various techniques used by the anthropologist, (b) to show the relationship of the anthropologist to the local people, and (c) to record the understanding of the local culture which the anthropologist had as of the time of filming. The completion of the plan was influenced by the unexpected continuation of the rainy season and by the unpredicted occurrence of a number of special events and ceremonies (see especially Film Events 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 14, 27, 28, 36, 37, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51). The broad outline provided by the script was filled in with only a village census, a patrol to another tribe, and a section on linguistics omitted due to lack of time and film.

INDEX

2.

1. The Village            4000 feet            1 hour 50 min.        16 film events  
    10, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 34, 40, 44, 48, 49, 51, 53, 65, 68, 78
2. Ecology                4000 feet            1 hour 50 min.        16 film events  
    Land types and uses - 1, 2, 53, 66, 68, 78  
    Garden types: sweet potato - 16; taro - 53; sugarcane - 15, 55;  
                         irrigated - 18, 19; salt pitpit - 3, 53;  
                         magic - 18  
    Botanical sampling: - 64  
    Soil sampling - 19, 20  
    Working patterns - 16, 17  
    Second growth forest - 60  
    Micro-environments - 16, 55  
    Crop succession - 15, 16  
    Weather - 32, 35
3. Land Tenure - 3200 ft.            1 hour 15 min.        8 events  
    Mapping a garden - 22, 26, 42  
    Measuring long distances - 41  
    Drawing up maps - 63  
    Markers - 68, 3, 55
4. Garden Work            4500 feet            2 hours                8 events  
    Harvesting sweet potatoes - 16  
    Experiment in clearing primary and secondary forest  
    with stone tools - 56, 57, 58, 60
5. Trade                    4000 feet            1 hour 50 min.        11 events  
    The making of salt - 3, 5, 8, 14  
    Exchange of salt and piglets - 4, 28  
    The making of a bark-cloth beater - 21, 25  
    A wealth inventory - 35, 59, 69  
    Market survey in a trade store - 72
6. Kinship                1500 feet            40 min.                3 events  
    Anthropologist interviews informants - 30  
    Anthropologist diagrams & files information - 63  
    The Baruya greeting - an instance of  
    terms of address - 74

7. Social Organization 6000 ft. 2 hours 42 min. 18 events  
 Male age groups - 24, 65  
 Female "space" and ceremonies - 27, 36, 39, 43, 45, 47, 48  
 49, 62, 67  
 Male "space" and ceremonies - 46, 51, 65  
 Parallel male/female activities - 7, 9, 14
8. Individuals - approx. 1000 ft. 30 min. extracts from  
 29 events
- Dawatnie - the first man to have gone to the Markham Valley  
 and to have seen an airstrip - 6, 14, 19
- Warineu - the leading male of the Andavakia clan in Wiaveu  
 village, main informant of the anthropologist - 5, 8, 14,  
 21, 25
- Pandjaouye - second son of Warineu, becoming more and more  
 the spokesman of his clan in Wiaveu as his father gradually  
 draws into the background, helpful friend to the  
 Jablonko's while filming - 10, 14, 65, 67
- Tultul - a man with little influence in terms of his own  
 culture - appointed to position of Tultul by the Patrol  
 Officer - was drawn into the anthropological work during  
 the filming - 22, 25, 26, 31, 38
- Yambagwe - a mature, quiet, intelligent man with two wives  
 and three daughters, a solid helper in carrying the  
 filming equipment - 26, 46, 48
- Yuvarande - a shy man, who was never drawn into the filming,  
 but occasionally came to the fringes of our activity -  
 7, 9, 10, 57
- Watchimaiac - one of Yambagwe's wives, a lively, strong,  
 good natured woman who gave birth to her 2nd daughter  
 on March 21 - 16, 17, 27, 49, 62.
- Ymbaingac - a daughter of the Tultul - she has a very strong  
 personality and was a leader of the young girls. On ~~March~~ <sup>May</sup> 15  
 she got her first period and women's initiation ceremonies  
 followed - 27, 36, 43, 45, 61
9. Myth & Religion 1400 feet 35 min. 9 events
- Avoidance of sacred space - 10  
 Magic garden - 18  
 Ritual clay - 20  
 Preparations for healing ceremony - 31  
 Sacred pond - 54  
 Propitiatory rituals during clearing of primary forest - 57, 58

9. (Cont'd)
- A ritual for pig growth - 62
- A cliff with a myth - 68
10. The Village in 1969 - 5600 ft. 2 hr. 30 min. 16 events
- Interview with J. Sinclair, D.D.C., who first contacted  
the area in 1951 - 83
- Interview with Patrol Officer - 11
- Life around the Patrol Post - 12, 13, 70
- Life around the Lutheran Mission - 50, 71, 72, 73, 75,  
76, 77, 79, 80
- The anthropologist introduces three local men  
to life in Goroka - 81, 82
11. The Life and Work of the anthropologist  
9600 ft. 4 hrs. 28 min. 42 events
- The household - 6, 29, 33, 35, 38
- Observation and measurements - 3, 4, 14, 16, 19, 36, 46, 53
- Participation - 9, 65, 74
- Interaction - 10, 13, 27, 34, 37, 40, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59  
69, 72, 81, 82
- Interview - 11, 30, 83
- Measurements & collecting - 15, 17, 19, 20, 56, 57, 58,  
59, 64, 72
- Mapping - 22, 26, 41, 42
- Writing up - 52, 63

FILM EVENT DESCRIPTIONS

1.

KEY:

<u>Film Event no.</u>	<u>Roll no.</u>	<u>Total footage</u>	<u>Running time</u>
	B = Bolex (100ft. roll)		
	A = Arriflex (400ft. ")		
	AB = Arriflex (100ft. ")		

<u>Date : time</u>	<u>Film Type</u>	<u>Tape no.</u>
	CE = Commercial Ektachrome	N = Nagra
	HE = Hispeed Ektachrome	U = Uher
	TX = Tri-X	

Place

Cameraman      Soundman

Persons appearing in film

AJ = Allison Jablonko  
MJ = Marek Jablonko  
MG = Maurice Godelier  
O = no soundman

Description of Event

(Items in parentheses are not actually seen on the film, but are included to place the visible activities in a broader context).

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1. Aerial shots	B 1-3	300 ft.	8 min.
69/2/6, 69/2/10: @ 1000	CE	silent	
Coming into, and leaving Wonenara from Goroka.			
MJ/AJ	O		

The Wonenara Patrol Post and airstrip are seen upon arrival. Upon leaving the Asiana River is seen, the Lamari River Valley, and various villages on the route north from Wonenara to Goroka.

2. Aerial shots	B 4	100 ft.	2½ min.
69/3/8: 1000	CE	silent	
Approaching Wonenara from the south			
MJ	O		

(Flying in to Wonenara on the Lutheran Mission plane, MG asks the pilot to divert to the west over the Asiana, and then the Wantikia tribal areas.) The film is taken as the plane crosses the ridge and flies over Wiaveu Village and from thence into Wonenara. The high, dry taro garden is seen, and the village, with MG's house, is seen. The landing on the airstrip is filmed.

3. The Filtering of Salt Ash B 5-9 500 ft. 13 min.  
 69/3/9: @ 1030-1146 CE silent  
 Yambwibwinieu  
 MJ 0

Djiwawakac, Tchagoulinac, Meandoringac, Daruvei, Gwataie, MG

(At the edge of Wiaveu village is a large salt pitpit field. Previously the pitpit was cut and burned, and the heaps of ash remained in the small houses until the filtration process. The salt pitpit field is partly owned by Warineu who has divided it between his two sons. There is a salt ash house and a filter for each son.) The young woman, Tchagoulinac, filters ash for her husband, Pandjaouye. The older mother, Djiwawakac, filters the salt ash for her first son, Dabui, who is away, working as an indentured laborer on the coast. Gourds are filled with the ash and put into a framework. Water from the stream flowing through the salt pitpit field is poured from bamboo tubes into each gourd and the water slowly filters through the ash, dripping out the bottom of the gourd into a trough made of a banana leaf which leads into another bamboo tube. (The salt water is stored in these bamboo tubes until time for the evaporation process.) The woman tastes the water dripping from a gourd to find out whether that portion of ash is exhausted. When it is, she empties it on a heap and refills the gourd with fresh ash. Children suck the salt water, or dribble it on tomatoes which they are eating. (After recording this process, MG walked through the salt pitpit field to one of the springs feeding it.) The spring is explained as the place where one of the leg-bones of an ancestral woman who was killed fell down: her other leg bone is a spring not far away, and her skull rolled down hill to make a sacred spring on a terrace lower down. At the end of the sequence, MG walks along the edge of the field and his informant, Gwataie, interpreter, shows him the crotons which mark the property line between the two brothers.

4. Exchange of salt bars for barkcloth B 10-13½ 350 ft. 10 min.  
 69/3/10: 0839-0920 CE N 2  
 Nilaoundje's yard  
 MJ AJ

MG, Nilaoundje, Tamabwatnouiac, Djonangaliac, Bousaraiac, Toianamwac, Asana men

(The Baruya people make salt, and the neighboring tribe, Asana, make barkcloth. The two groups exchange these items, the Asana coming to their trade partners, who are all of the Andavakia lineage, receiving hospitality, and completing the exchange). This occasion takes place at Nilaoundje's house,

his wife, Djonangaliak first helping him to spread out the capes, while his other wife, Tamabwatnouiac sits on the side of the yard preparing reeds from which to make skirts. The two men from Asana, wearing long hair, stand across from the barkcloths. (The Asana woman remains inside the house). MG counts the barkcloths and distinguishes between the large blankets, smaller capes, and very small pieces to cover the buttocks. Bars of salt are placed on the piles of bark cloth, and MG checks that the rate of exchange is between 5 and 7 bark cloths for one bar of salt. The Asana men take the salt bars and go into the house. Note their big bellies from the enlarged spleen of malaria - they live at a lower altitude than the Baruya. MG plays with a baby before leaving the scene.

5. The Salt-Evaporation House of Kandavatche      B 13½      50 ft.      1 min.

69/3/10: 0937      CE      silent

Kandavatche's Salt house

MJ      O

Warineu, Pandjaouye

(In Wiaveu there are three salt specialists. Two have their own salt evaporation house. The owner of the salt, in this case Warineu, is responsible for preparing the salt water and bringing the firewood for the process. Women and children are not allowed near the house while the evaporation process is going on, and no light may be lit in the house at night, lest the salt come out poorly.) The salt water that was prepared by filtering ash (see FE 3) is now heated in banana leaf molds. (It will take five days and nights before solid bars of salt remain.) Pandjaouye comes to the house, and his father, Warineu, puts in another log.

6. Anthropologist and local men      B 14      100 ft.      2½ min.

69/3/10: 1020      HE      U1: 290 - end

Inside Anthropologist's House

MJ      AJ

MG, Dawatnie, Meyarimbie, Yuemeye, Moundainai, Gwataie

(This film was loaded to take pictures inside the salt-evaporation house, but the salt owner, Warineu, objected, afraid that the salt would not turn out well if we did. Arrived back to house with a number of men), MG sat down on the floor and had a joking conversation with them - introducing to them the idea that we will all go out in the bush together and they will clear a garden using stone tools. Gwataie translates while wiping the table. MG explains that the pictures will go to his home so his mama, papa, and boss can see the Baruya too.





and tubers are being peeled. Women hide in their capes when MJ comes with camera. A large group of people is gathered in the house cook and some are smoking pipes. (One man turns away when a boy points out that MJ is filming him). The centerpole of the house is put up and a scaffolding tied. (After the roof is finished the centerpole will be cut out - so it, too, is in the nature of a scaffolding). Rafters are held up to measure slope of roof and the centerpole is cut. (At about 1300 we went up to MG's house to eat. A big rain came). View of the new house from MG's office window. (At 1528 we resume filming on location). The roof is continued, and the protruding lower ends of the rafters are sawed off by the visiting Luluai. (This is not a traditional roof at all. The carved wooden "center piece" MG had never seen before, and it finally became clear that it was simply a base upon which to nail the rafters. MG was disappointed from the point of view of the film that it was not the traditional technique). The women meanwhile brought bilums full of cooked food and stopped in a group about 30 feet from the house. Their husbands each came and fetched food. Yuvarande gave a bilum full of food to the Luluai. (About this time MJ became very upset because he felt people did not want to be filmed - especially the house owner, Yuvarande, but also Warineu who was eating. He declares he will no longer film Yuvarande). Luckily, just before the upset, Yuvarande brought sugar, a man's crop, to the women at the house cook and MJ was able to film this flow of male food in the opposite direction from the female food. The kunai grass is beginning to be put on the roof, and girls are handing, and later throwing, bundles of grass up to the men.

10. MG walks through the village B 21- 23 300 ft. 8 min.  
69/3/12: 1000 - 1235 CE U 3

Women's menstrual huts, shaman's house, Yuvarande's house

MJ AJ

MG, Koumaineu, Pandjaouye, Yuvarande, older men

(MG proposes to try to bring men with him to the area of the women's menstrual huts as a demonstration of what "women's space" means in practice). He pulls Pandjaouye by the arm, and Pandjaouye runs, shouts, swings axe, and goes off separately. Koumaineu stays separate from the beginning. Next, MG goes into the shaman's yard. By then, a number of older men joined us and they all stood outside the gate with disapproving looks. They explain to MG the reasons. (MG goes in with MJ and then, when they come out), MG replaces the few pitpit reeds across the stile which is a sign of taboo. One can also see the garden number MG identified the fence with (see FE 22). (We continue to walk, going through the lower hamlet where) Yuvarande is finishing his roof alone. MG talks with Pandjaouye and others. (The first part of this film

represents the avoidance of female space by males, the second shows the avoidance of a sacred (dangerous) place by non-sacred people).

11. The anthropologist interviews the Patrol Officer  
A 1: 42-121m. 240 ft. 7 min.

69/3/13: @ 0900

N3, 4

Office, Patrol Post, Wonenara

MJ AJ

MG, Rob Stott, A.D.O.

MG interviews the patrol officer to ellicit the relationship between the administration and the local people. The structure and location of the sub-district is described, and such things as law enforcement, the building of roads, cash crops, and the shift of the station to another location because of the unsafe airstrip are touched upon.

12. The Police perform "Retreat" A 4: 0-90m. 270 ft. 7 min.  
69/3/13: @ 1000 CE N 4

Flag pole, Wonenara

MJ AJ

Sargeant, Police, Warders, Luluai, Dawatnie, Gwataie, his son

Rob Stott arranged for the police to perform this ceremony so we could film it. Usually it is performed at six o'clock every evening (or three times a week). Usually it is performed only by police, but most of the force had already been transferred to the new patrol post at Marawaka, so a "representative force" was made by using warders. The old man with the jungle helmet, watching, was present when J. Sinclair made the first patrol through the area, and Sinclair named this man the first Luluai of the area. Dawatnie, the old man in native attire, was the first man in the area to travel to the Markham Valley and to see an airstrip.

13. Blanket weaving - an introduced cottage industry  
A 4: 90 - 121m. 200 ft. 6 min.

B24

69/3/13: @ 1100

CE

N 4

Between the Haus Blanket and the Calaboose, Wonenara

MJ AJ

MG, two women

(The weaving of blankets has been started in a wide area with a headquarters at Goroka. The wool, raw, is imported from

Australia. In Wonenara both men and women work at the looms. There are four looms, and more people have been taught to weave, so they must take turns. The blankets are sent out to Goroka for sale). In this scene one woman works at the loom, twisting the raw wool as she needs it, and the other woman cards the wool. MG speaks to the carder who was one of his informants early in his fieldwork from whom he learned many things about the life and rituals of women.

14. The Wrapping of Salt Bars A 5-7, B 25-31 1900 ft. 55 min.  
69/3/14: 0900-1605 CE N 4-7

Kandavatche's yard and Nilaundje's yard

MJ

AJ

MG, Warineu, Pandjaouye, Dawatnie, Gwataie, Kwambeuteumac, Pandjaouye's mother, wife, and sisters, grandmother, Djonangaliac, and other men and women

(After five days and nights the salt evaporation process was complete, and Warineu, the owner of the salt, and his son, Pandjaouye, and friends came to the salt makers yard to wrap the salt bars in the skin of banana trunks and in bark strips). The completed bars are taken out of the evaporation house by Pandjaouye and laid on a mat. Ashes and adherent dust are brushed off, and the edges of the bars scraped to make them regular. MG weighs and measures each of the fifteen bars. His interpreter, Gwataie, helps, and the shaman, Inamwe, holds the scale. (There was a total of 29 kg. of salt). When the men are well into the job of sewing up the bars in strips of bark, Pandjaouye takes a bundle of the salty flakes and ashes to the house cook in Nilaoundje's yard where women are putting food and hot stones together to form the earth oven. Pandjaouye helps cover the oven with earth. (Three hours and twenty-five minutes later) the women begin to open the oven. Women fill their string bags with cooked food and take it to Kandavatche's yard - (each giving to Warineu who further redistributed it). A young man in the 2nd stage of initiation comes down to the yard from the men's house and, in silence, receives a bag of food from his mother, who watches him turn and walk back up to the men's house. The men eat. Pandjaouye brings more salt flakes to the women. (Although it rained off and on through the afternoon, the shots of the earth oven were comfortably accomplished with the Arri set up in an empty salt-ash house. The earth oven had been opened too soon, so) a second fire is built to reheat the stones and to recook the under-done taro. Pandjaouye brings the two bundles of completed salt bars to Nilaoundje's yard. (He waits while his wife helps build the second oven,) and then he puts one bundle on her head and both go down to his house. (MG felt that Pandjaouye wanted to perform for the picture, and that otherwise he would have given both bundles to his wife to carry. One bundle is for

his absent brother, the man for whom his mother was filtering in FE 3. This scene shows parallel, communal work of both sexes. MG expected that the salt bars would be distributed. But there are not enough to distribute to all the people necessary, so distribution will be put off for another year, after another batch of salt has been made. During this event we felt that the people were beginning to accept us comfortably).

15. Sugarcane gardens - old and new A 8:0-73m B 32 310 ft. i min.  
69/3/17: 1410 - 1500 CE U 5

Nilalundje's garden

MJ AJ

MG, Gwataie

MG's mapping/land tenure team goes down from his house and arrives at the garden. MG, and Gwataie go into the garden, make a soil sample, and measure the circumference of the pollarded regrowth tree. The contrast between the old garden on the left, and the new garden, on the right, is sharp: the sugar in the old garden is mature, and the area in the foreground has already been harvested. In the new garden there is a mixture of sugar with the "vegetable crops" of the first stage of any garden - corn, beans, tomatoes. Additionally, it may be possible to see the contrast between the two adjacent plots: in one the plants are sparser than in the other, reflecting the individual preferences in the two garden users. (It should be noted that sugar cane is a male crop, planted and harvested by males, and distributed by males. Only in the very first stage of the garden, when the vegetables are growing, do women have anything to do with the sugar garden. The old garden is 28 months old. The new garden is five months old. In order to use as little film as possible, but still cover the points MG indicated were essential, we had rehearsed this sequence the day before, and had written an outline. This time a platform was built across the two fences separating the two gardens and MJ stood on it with the Arri on the tripod. Even so, the view of the two gardens wasn't as graphic as had been hoped. MG waited till MJ was ready, and tried to wait each time, before beginning to make a new point. But it didn't work. MG felt this truncated action to an extent that he characterized the whole scene as "It is a bit dead, all of that thing". From now on, therefore, even at the expense of film, we shall follow MG as he interacts with people and techniques, and only when absolutely needed, ask him to repeat something.)

16. A sweet potato garden A 8:73-121m. B 33,34 350 ft. 9 min.  
69/3/17: 1530 CE U 5

Yambagwe's garden

MJ AJ





## 20. (Cont'd)

MJ AJ

MG, Gwataie, Yuvarande's daughter, Koumaineu

(Walking up from the irrigated gardens to the cliffs above), MG collects samples of three colored soils. The first type, supposed to be white (Gwala) is here very much mixed with other earths. (In pure form it is found about four hours walk along the road to Marawaka, and is used both to decorate warriors before fighting, and to decorate all the children at the time of the initiation ceremony). The next soil, bright yellow (Ytcheaka) is found in a hollow at the bottom of the ditch (commanded by the Kiap to separate pigs from the village, but not in use). Yuvarande's daughter digs this earth out and puts it into a plastic bag with MG. (This earth color is used by menstruating women, also as a protection against sickness, and for simple decoration. It is used at the initiation ceremony of women after they have washed and beaten themselves with stinging nettles (see FE36). Finally, we walk up to the cliffs (seen in FE 19) where) there is a small cave in which there is hard, dark red clay (Eogwaka). (This was used to rub arrows and the bodies of warriors before battle. It is also used to rub the stakes used in building the large men's house). Kumaineu decorates himself with this earth.

21. Warineu makes a barkcloth beater B41,42 200 ft. 5 min.

69/3/21: @ 0945

CE U<sub>6</sub><sub>I</sub>

MG's yard

MJ AJ

Warineu, Kandavatche

Warineu is smoothing a stone which he is making into a barkcloth beater. Although the Baruya do not make barkcloth, but get it in trade from the neighboring Asana tribe (see FE 4, 28) they occasionally make beaters which they trade to the Asanas. Warineu himself is not going to trade this, but the Tultul wants it for his trading partner and has asked Warineu to make it for him. Joining him later is Kandavatche, one of the three salt specialists. He is making a frame on which he will later sew cowries to make a forehead decoration.

22. MG maps the Tultul's garden No. 159 A11,12, B43-45 1100ft. 30 min.

69/3/21: 1136-1315

N9, U6<sub>I</sub>

Yammougouniaveu

MJ AJ

MG, Gwataie, Tultul, Yambagwe, Gwadamaiwe

The process of mapping a garden is started with painting a number on one of the fence posts. This is the 159th garden



belonging to the Wiaveu people that MG has mapped. Most of his mapping was done in September, October and November 1968. Since people re-use the posts from old gardens for new gardens, MG has had to instruct the people to leave the numbered posts in place. MG sets up his table in the middle of the garden and Gwadamaiwe brings his note book. MG then goes through the land tenure interview with the Tultul: place name, owner, user, women users. That done, MG takes a soil sample. It is a beautiful soil profile and he puts each different type into a plastic bag, carefully labelled. Meanwhile, the Tultul is occupying himself stringing cowrie shells. Some shouting is heard from women below, and Tultul backs their talk. MG and Koumaineu count the number of stumps in the garden and measure their circumference to get some idea of the state of the regrowth before the garden was cleared. These basic procedures having been done, the actual mapping begins - Koumaineu holds and reads the measuring tape, MG takes the compass siting to the "diwai cross". While MG maps with his team, the Tultul sits down and continues to string his shells, and Prawaekac digs up the garden. The team returns to the original corner - "station one". (With that, the rain came and we returned home. The process continued in FE 26).

23. Women prepare reeds to make pulpuls B46,47,(49) 200ft. 5 min.  
 69/3/22: @ 0815 CE U6<sub>I</sub>  
 MG's yard  
 MJ AJ  
 Gwataie's wife, Koumaineu's sister, and other women and children  
 Women bring bundles of reeds to the water where they stamp on them and let them soak. Their little daughters enjoy helping. Gwataie's wife comes and washes herself, while her daughter plays with the bundles of reeds. (We missed several women taking the bundles away to their yards, and finally asked Koumaineu's sister to back-track and carry her bundle again to Gwataie's yard so we could see.) (This bit we got just before filming Warineu preparing a stone beater on B49 - the sequence was also interrupted by the filming of boys playing - FE 24).
24. Men tease boys with marbles B47-48 150 ft. 3 min.  
 69/3/22 CE U6<sub>I</sub>  
 By house cook, on path, and in MG's garden  
 MJ AJ  
 The little boys, Daruvei, etc., Koumaineu, Pandjaouye and other young men  
 (Koumaineu was throwing the marbles up in the air for the boys to catch. The clear division between the young, uninitiated boys, and between the young men who are in the 3rd stage of

initiation could be seen. The boys of the first stage are excluded from this bi-sexual space and spend all their time in male space. When we began filming the marbles had been thrown into the garden and) all the little boys were searching for them. The tallest, Daruvei, is the only one who is sure to be initiated during the ceremony expected in September. After all the marbles are collected the boys line up and they are each given two marbles.

25. Warineu makes a barkcloth beater B49,50,51 @ 250ft. 6 min.  
69/3/22 CE U6<sub>I</sub>

Behind the house cook

MJ AJ

Warineu, Tultul, other men

Warineu is now preparing another long stone to be made into a barkcloth beater. He is going through the first stage of the process (FE 21 shows the second stage). He is using a small stone blade, the rough end used for hafting, to beat away the outside "skin" of the stone. (When this is finished, he will polish it by rubbing it with a pumice stone and water, and finally, he will scratch (engrave) a grid on the beating surface which will give the proper texture to the barkcloth.) The Tultul is sitting close by, twisting bark and braiding it in four strands for his cowrie shells.

26. MG finishes mapping the Tultul's garden no. 159  
B51-54 1040 ft. 28 min.  
69/3/22: 1030-1235 A13, 14:0-82,4m  
CE N 10, U6<sub>I, II</sub>

Yammougouniaveu

MJ AJ

MG, Gwataie, Gwadamaiwe, Yambagwe, Tultul, others

(Returned to garden, MG checks the mistake in yesterday's plotting, and measures the positions of individual women's plots.) The last quarter of the fence is mapped again (the view out over the village) and the team returns to "station one". MG now returns to his table in the middle of the garden and draws the map - both ends meet. Women begin shouting crossly from the village and the Tultul again backs their talk. MG asks "Wonem Kain kros i-gat?" - as the Tultul continues shouting to the women, MG continues drawing his map, making occasional asides, such as, "Maski, maski, stori nating. Bel bilong meri hat long morning." (It later became clear that these women were angry because we had not chosen them to work with and therefore they were not earning any money and they felt left out). MG is now ready to measure the slope of the garden. While he establishes himself at the first lower



28. Piglet-barkcloth exchange B 59,60, 61:0-40 240 ft. 6 min.  
69/3/23: 0844-0930 CE U7<sub>I</sub>

Yuanna's house

MJ AJ

MG, Yuanna, Asana trader and wife, Yuanna's wife, Kandavatche

(This Asana trade expedition came the day before and did some trading at Nilaundje's house where Ourambi bought capes for a salt bar (see a previous similar event in FE 4). This morning they will trade barkcloths for a piglet. Early in the morning the piglet was still not caught, but at 0830 it was caught, so the exchange could proceed.) The barkcloth is laid out and counted. Two types of arrows are put with the barkcloths. Gathered around watching the transaction are men working on woven armbands and shell necklaces. Yuanna's wife brings the piglet out of the house. It is sewn in a new bilum supplied by the Asana woman. The bilum is unsewn so we can have a look at the piglet. It is then sewn up again and given to the Asana woman who takes it into the house. Note the tribal scarification marks on her shoulder. Little boys who have accompanied us run on the path from Yuanna's house out into the garden. The trading couple leave, carrying the piglet, and the bar of salt they received yesterday.

(Comment: MG is delighted with the anthropological context of this event. MJ is depressed because we limited ourselves too strictly with film - originally we thought of taking only 100 feet - but that was impossible. Still, the film record is scanty).

29. Morning in Mg's house and yard B 61:40-100 100 ft. 2½ min.  
B 62:0-61 ft.

69/3/23:1000 CE silent

MG's house

MJ O

Gwataie, his son, little boys

Outside, little boys play a marble game on the ground - drawing a circle, shooting marbles, and starting a new game. Gwataie sits in the door polishing MG's shoes. His son sits beside him enjoying the smooth floor to roll his marbles on.

30. Kinship interview A 15-17, B63 1300 ft. 35 min.  
69/3/23:1053-1307 TX N11

MG's office

MJ AJ

MG, Gwataie, Warineu, Djirinnac, Tultul, Kandavatche

(The interview was planned the day before for first thing in

the morning. But the piglet-barkcloth exchange came up unexpectedly, and while we were filming it (FE 28), one of MG's principal informants, Warineu, went off to his reed garden. We sang out for him when we returned to the house and he eventually came. The plan had been to have Gwataie as interpreter, and as informants the following: Warineu, one of MG's most faithful informants, Djirinnac, a woman with an incredible memory for names and geneologies, and the Tultul, an example of a man uninterested in geneologies. In fact the Tultul had hardly worked with MG until the mapping of his garden (FE 22 and 26). MG put it to the group that the Tultul could now learn to help in this work. Actually, he was chosen to show the contrast in different informants. At the last minute, it came up that Kandavatche, one of the salt specialists, and one of MG's good informants, was outside and was going to feel very badly if left out. So he was called in too.

The office was chosen as the usual place where MG works with his informants, a place they enjoy being and are used to working hard in. It is smaller than the living room, so more difficult to get a good camera position. Because of the problem of camera-angle, the usual seating arrangement was changed. At the beginning MG explains that he is going to work again just as he worked when he was first here. He passes out cigarettes. As the interview progresses a number of lively stories come up: a man was shot and died at the site of this house; the terminology for the marriage of the types "sister-exchange", patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, and the taking of a woman by force; the taboo against parallel cousin marriage; the terminology for grandparents and grandchildren; and finally a lively discussion of fighting. (Unfortunately, at this point, the Arri battery was exhausted, and the demonstration given by the men using pencils as models of people to be killed was recorded on the Bolex). At 1307 the group exits - some uncertainty among the informants and they wait to leave till they are told a second time. Afterwards, the informants join us at the table for a lunch of rice and tinned fish. Only Djirinnac, the woman, stoops separately on the floor to eat. It should also be noticed during the interview, that although four informants were seated closely on one bench, Djirinnac kept herself out of contact distance to Warineu (he is her brother-in-law and therefore they may not touch). She sat somewhat closer to the Tultul as he is no close relation of hers.

31. Preparations for healing ceremony B 64-67 400 ft. 11 min.  
 69/3/23: 1730-1805 HE U7  
 Meyawinoumwe's house  
 MJ AJ  
 Tultul, the hunchback Yuandanna, Pisangwe, woman  
 (When we first arrived in Wiaveu (69/3/9), the sorcerer,

Inamwe, was sick. He got over it in a few days (also with the aid of the vitamin C pills dispensed by MG) and now a ceremony is being held for him. Sorcerers from surrounding villages are gathered. During the day they went into the bush to cut magic plants that will be necessary for the ceremony). At 1345 some magic plants were brought back and were laid in the stream to soak. (By 1730 it seemed that the ceremony might begin soon. Arrived at the house) we found the Tultul putting some leaves into bamboo tubes. Other leaves were laid on the bank in front of the house. On a shelf above were bilums full of sweet potatoes. A woman brought some European potatoes and had a little boy put them on this shelf for her. (Was there a ritual reason why she herself did not go closer?) A man goes below the house and cuts more target leaves off a nearby tree. The Tultul sings out to call people to come. The hunchback, Yuandanna, has arrived from Wapme for the ceremony and picks up the target leaves cut by the other man. (Yuandanna is a sorcerer himself, who was taught by Inamwe, as he is of the same lineage (Andavakia) even though from a different village. He has just returned from two years working as a coastal laborer). Pisangwe, also an Andavakia, arrives in the yard, and, seeing Yuandanna for the first time in several years, shakes his hand and then they embrace - later stylizing the embrace for the benefit of the camera and loudly saying "migwe" (a Kinship term) to each other. Now the Tultul begins to pass the bamboo tubes into the house, and various of the magic leaves. A waiting man weaves an armband. The Tultul sings out again. (At this point it was too dark for filming. Only MJ and AJ had been present and there was absolutely no more problem - the people accepting us comfortably. By 1844 all the people who will take part were inside the house and the door was closed. Until 1925 the men sat inside (and women) talking sparsely at the beginning and then sitting meditating in silence. The first song started at 1925 and songs were recorded until 2015 from outside. The ceremony went on until past midnight).

32.	Rain at Yani	B 68	100 ft.	2½ min.
	69/3/24: @ 1600	HE	U	
	Yani			
	MJ	MJ		

A house is being built for a newly married couple, and there is a large crowd at Yani to help. A rainstorm comes and people pull their barkcloth capes tighter around themselves. Some take shelter under umbrellas.



somehow stiff, either because the film missed the first joking moments, or because we didn't sit around long enough for the people to forget our presence as much as possible and begin interacting more normally with MG).

35. MG walks to Yambagwe's house B 72, 73:0-50 ft. 150 ft. 3½ min.  
69/3/25: 1230 & rain HE

Wiaveu

MJ 0

MG, Pandjaouye, Gwataie

MG walks from his house down to Yambagwe's house in the lower hamlet of Wiaveu. He goes into Yambagwe's house (where he spends the next five hours making an inventory of all the objects in the house). Pandjaouye and Gwataie go into the house too. When everyone is in the house a very strong rain and wind comes.

36. The women's initiation ceremony B73:50-100ft. 1000ft. 27 min.  
69/3/25 - 26: 0000-1200 B74-81, A19:0-57m.  
HE U10,11,12

Kandev, Dandagareu

AJ (MJ) AJ

Women, Ymbaingac, Darawinac, etc.

(Ymbaingac got her first period on the afternoon of March 15, and she immediately went to the women's menstrual huts. There she was not allowed to eat or drink for two days, and barkcloth capes were given to her - she covered herself with as many as five at one time (see FE 27). In the meantime, all the women and girls of the village began to make new reed skirts for themselves, and groups of women working on skirts could be seen in many yards of the village (see FE 27,34). When all the women had finished making their skirts, the ceremony could take place. During the day of 69/3/25 we were told that the ceremony would be that night. At 1930 MG and AJ went down to the menstrual huts in a pouring rain and arrived to find only Ymbaingac and Gammaiac in the hut. At 2200 Prawaekac and other young women began to arrive, and at 2230 we were all told to come. We walked for about 15 minutes along the narrow paths - the girls had donned their new skirts which swung thick and full from side to side as they walked. At last we got to a slope, at the bottom of which women were building a great fire. We were told to wait until the fire was ablaze and then we all went close to it. All the mature girls who had not yet born children then sat within about 7 feet of the fire, and behind them sat all the women with children). For about one hour the girls were lectured by older women, (then dancing began and continued until about 0300. From then until the unmarried girls went down to the







MG and his crew go on the path to Naboulangaveu where the steep garden is. On the way they pass near the women's menstrual huts and MG makes a detour to talk to whoever is there. The men of his crew skirt the area, staying as far away from the huts as possible, only a girl accompanying him. Then he rejoins the male members of his crew further along the path.

41. MG works with a "compteur a fil perdu"  
 A 20:50-117m 190ft. 5 min.  
 69/3/27: @ 1100 CE U13<sub>I</sub>: 235-end

MJ AJ

MG, Gwataie, Gwadamaiwe, Tultul, Yuemeye, Koumaineu

Between the menstrual huts (FE 40) and the steep garden (FE 42) MG demonstrates the use of his "compteur a fil perdu" for long distances. (With this measuring device one can measure the distances even while on patrol - measuring lineage territories, and other such large-scale areas). Gwataie holds the machine, and Gwadamaiwe takes the free end and pulls it to the next land mark (a garden's house) together with the "diwai cross". Then MG can take a compass reading of the direction. Afterwards he asks the Tultul and Dawatnie about who owns the land. Then he moves on to the next station. (This was done as a demonstration for filming, and no more stations were actually measured). While waiting, Gwataie's oldest son amused himself by building a model house. The women's huts are clearly visible from here. Koumaineu waits to carry our camera and rolls up the "lost thread", which here is not wasted. (Yuvarande's daughter gathered it up and rolled it up and gave it to Koumaineu.) Koumaineu plays with Pandjaouye's dog.

42. MG measures the slope of steep garden A20:117-121 70 ft. 1½ min.  
 A19:100-121  
 69/3/27: @ 1215 CE U13<sub>II</sub>: 0-

MJ AJ

MG, Gwadamaiwe, Darawinac

MG sights with the theodolite from the middle to the top of the garden where Gwadamaiwe holds the "diwai cross". They then move down, MG to the bottom of the garden, Gwadamaiwe to the middle. It begins to rain.

43. Ymbaingac goes to Yani B 85 100 ft. 2½ min.  
 69/3/27: @ 1500 CE silent

Path leaving Wiaveu to Yani

MJ O

Tultul, Ymbaingac, others



is most elaborate at the birth of the first child, and decreases in importance for each subsequent child. The ceremony is always held in this sacred place under the large pandanus tree. Only males who are fathers may attend. The men sit facing the tree and are given betel nut. They also eat sugar cane. The child was born on 69/3/21 (see FE 27).

47. A new house is built for Watchimaiac B87 100 ft. 2½ min.  
 69/3/31: 1125 CE U14<sub>I</sub>: 0-30  
 Warineu's old garden in Wiaveu  
 AJ AJ  
 Weyagoulianac, other women

(Watchimaiac gave birth to a daughter (her second) on 69/3/21 and has been living in the women's menstrual huts since then. In this time her husband has been hunting possums in the bush, as have other men of the village, and now they have more than a dozen kapuls, so the ceremony can be held. During the morning the fathers of the village are gathered around a sacred pandanus tree and are chewing betel-nut together (FE46). Watchimaiac spends the morning in her hut, finishing a bilum for sweet potatoes. Other women of the village build her a small hut in the village, which will serve as a temporary house until the time after which she can move back into the same house with her husband.)  
 The framework of the house has already been built and now women bring kunai grass to make the thatch.

48. The possums are cooked for Watchimaiac A23 400 ft. 11 min.  
 69/3/31: @ 1400 HE N 18  
 MJ AJ  
 Yambagwe, Natchinamaiec, other men and women

The fur of the possums is first burned over a fire inside house by Gandarimembiac, Watchimaiac's sister, and Oumarouakac, sister of the second wife of Yambagwe. Meanwhile a woman is peeling taros which will go into the earth oven with the possums. A bundle of possums is unwrapped (it is said that if they are bundled tightly and put high in a pandanus tree, they will stay good for at least days.) After the fur is burned, they are brought out and put on a banana leaf next to the "house cook". Yambagwe gives his daughter a small cooked bird to eat. Later he sits down and makes himself a pulpul out of the reeds his wife has prepared for him during her stay in the menstrual hut. Finally the possums and taro are put together with the hot rocks to form the earth oven, which will cook for perhaps two to four hours.



## 51. The pitpit taboo is lifted

B 94: 50-100,  
 B 95-97                      350 ft.                      9 min.  
 69/4/3:1430-1536              Ce/HE                      U15

II

Yani Men's House

MJ                      MJ

Boys in first stage of initiation, older men, Kandavatche,  
 Tultul, Yambagwe

Men in all the four stages of initiation are gathered at the new men's house in Yani for the ceremony of lifting the taboo on eating pitpit which the boys in the first stage of initiation have had since they were initiated two years before. The lifting of the taboo is in preparation for the next initiation ceremony, which is expected in September or October, at which time the boys in the first stage will move into the second stage. While the men and boys eat ceremonial food in the house cook near the men's house, and sit and sing in the men's house, women, children, and a few men are busy at the house cook below in the bi-sexual space (making an earth oven in which pitpit (New Guinea asparagus) and sweet potatoes are cooked. The lifting of the taboo is done through the eating of various foods: geumeuleuka, grubs <sup>lavala</sup> cooked in bamboo tubes, and/roots.) Salt is chewed and spit over both of these, they are then passed out from older men to younger men, and finally to the boys. (MG was told that this ceremony was very informal: in the past men sat in four rows according to the four stages of initiation, and the ceremony was ended by a fight between two mixed sides throwing very hard fruits at one another.)

## 52. Wiaveu at night                      B 98; 0-60 ft.                      60 ft.                      1½ min.

69/4/3-4:2200 & 0530              HE                      silent

Wiaveu

MJ      0

First MG's house is seen with the light of two Petromax shining through the plastic windows and gables. Later the full moon is seen over the ridge to the West of Wiaveu.

## 53. View of Wiaveu from Bramangeu

A 24, 25:0-62m.                      600 ft.                      16 min.  
 69/4/4      1100-1255              CE                      U16I,II

Bramangeu

MJ/AJ                      AJ

(MG, Tultul, Pandjacouye, Dawatnie, Yambagwe) mostly landscape

We are looking at the valley of the Yaiga River flowing out of the mountains to the south of Wiaveu. (It was over these mountains that the original Baruya settlers, and the later refugees from Marawaka came.) The thick bush at the head of the valley is visible. As the view shifts slowly to the west, one can see a few high, dry taro gardens in the primary forest, and one can distinguish between the canopies of primary forest (higher up) and secondary forest (lower down). Then the terraces utilised by the Baruya can be seen: on the terraces and interconnecting slopes are gardens in various stages - predominantly sweet potato gardens - patches of second-growth forest, and patches of kunai grass, as well as some salt pit-pit marshes. The village of Wiaveu is spread along a small ridge and above on a terrace. Higher up are gardens among the secondary forest, and higher yet is the primary forest again. On the extreme left of the terrace is a large tongue of kunai grass rising up a ridge to the peak of a mountain, side by side with primary forest. This kunai was, apparently, not man-made - at least it was not the result of gardening. To the right of the village there is a large slope covered with rough grass - a mixture of kunai and pit-pit - this is man-made. On the extreme right of this slope is a ridge on which very smooth kunai is growing - this was also man-made, but of a different type. The camera continues turning until the view is to the north. Three ranges of mountains can be seen in the distance: the first range is the Lamari Divide.

The view returns to a small hut to the south of Wiaveu. This was the location of a bush-house belonging to Gwataie's grandfather from where he hunted in the bush. MG is shown talking to his informants to find out the location of the original settlers in the valley. They point to the salt house of Inamwe as being the point of original settlement. (After that, the people moved down to Yani village, but they split up later after a fight about the severity of an initiation ceremony, and many people moved back to Wiaveu.) The village then stretched from Inamwe's sorcery house - marked by the large clump of bamboos and a line of very old targets, up to the men's house, which was located close to the wild pandanus tree behind Yuvarande's new house. Still later, the men's house was moved higher up the ridge to its present location. From the beginning, there were also houses down below at the present site of Yuanna's house. After the Kiap came, he told people to nucleate their villages more, and houses were moved from the lower terrace (by Inamwe's salt house) to the upper terrace, where MG's house was later built. (The view of the original settlement pattern was filmed twice - once by MJ, then by AJ.) Now the view concentrates on the smooth kunai ridge to the north, shifting across the rough kunai-pit-pit slope, where the pulpul gardens are located, and comes to rest on the terrace garden and second-growth area to the south. The concentration shifts to the salt-pit-pit field on the lower terrace and then



up to the salt field on the upper terrace (where FE 3 was filmed). There is a brief glimpse of the women's menstrual huts and the view shifts along the lip of that terrace to the steep garden which goes down toward the river (measured in FE 42). (For A 25 the location is shifted slightly to the north on the top of the knoll.) We see the high taro garden above Wiaveu which was used for the previous initiation ceremony, the view moves north and down in the valley to Yani Village, and then around to the northeast, where the taro gardens that have been planted for the coming initiation ceremony are located. (These are used by people living in Wiaveu. The location of the camera is shifted again to a location about  $\frac{1}{2}$  way down the mountain from where) Wiaveu willage is seen and the view then shifts to the north to Yani, along the road toward Wonenara, and the mountain ranges in the distance.

54. Sacred Pond at Yani      A 25: 62-75m.      40 ft.      1 min.  
 69/4/4: 1405      CE      silent  
 On Kiap Road close to Yani  
 MJ      0

55. Plot markers and sugar gardens  
                                  A 25: 75-91.4m.      47 ft.      1 min.  
 69/4/4: 1502      CE      silent  
 From path below lower hamlet of Wiaveu  
 MJ      0

The red plants mark the boundary between the plots of two women in old sweet potato garden. In the background are the two sugarcane gardens of FE 15.

56. First Day of Gardening Experiment  
                                  B 98:60-100      240 ft.      6 min.  
                                  B 99, 100  
 69/4/5: 1120-1400      HE      U16<sub>II</sub>, U17<sub>I, II</sub>  
 Primary forest above Wiaveu  
 MJ      AJ  
 Gwataie, Yuanna, Tultul, Gwadamaiwe women

(The experiment, which is to last four days, is to find out the following things: what ways of clearing the forest were used before steel axes were introduced, how were fences built then, and what is the efficiency of steel axes as compared to stone adzes. This experiment is recorded in FE 56, 57, 58 and 60. On the first day the site was selected. An interesting problem of land tenure arose: the site was in a bush now owned by the Boulimambakia lineage but obtained in the

past from the enemy tribe, Wantikia. Women and shells were exchanged at the time of the transfer of land, and the shells still remain in the house of the oldest men of the two lineages party to the exchange as a contract. It was decided, on this basis, to use the site. Ecologically the site was far enough away from secondary growth forests to be a pure stand of primary growth. The people said that it was in this kind of forests that dry taro gardens were and are made. After selection, ) the area to be cleared for MG's garden was measured with the "Compteur a fil perdu" and adjacent trees were cleared with steel axes so we could observe the experimental area more easily. (Simultaneously two huts were built as shelters in case of rain. Then MG went to the lower edge of the garden, having been informed that the cutting proceeds from downhill to uphill, and he numbered about 20 trees with white paint so people could start work. At about 1230, after eating, work was begun.) Simultaneously several men began cutting trees with stone blades, and eight women, assisted by 3 men, cleared the underbrush. (This team, in one hour and 5 minutes, succeeded in clearing the underbrush of the total area of 680 sq. m. The clouds were thick and dark at this time, so only minimal film could be taken. That first afternoon 10 men chopped down 32 trees. The party departed for Wiaveu, a half hour walk down-hill, shortly after 6 p.m.)

57. Second Day of Gardening Experiment

	A 25:91-121m.	1000 ft.	27 min.
69/4/6: 1000-1445	A 26: 0-85m.	U17 <sub>II</sub> , 18	
	A 27, B101, 102		

Primary forest above Wiaveu

CE/HE

MJ

AJ/MG

Djiravenia, Gwataie, Warineu, Weyagoulianac, Pandjaouye, Kumaineu, Gwadamaiwe, etc.

(During the night Inamwe, the sorcerer, who has not worked with MG all during this month, had a dream: throughout the night the spirits of everyone involved in clearing this bush has flown up to the bush and joined the spirits of the trees. He is afraid that something bad may happen to us all, that we will get sick, and that the pierced septums of people will be broken, if the proper magic is not performed. He told his dream to all the experiment team as they gathered in the village this morning, so they have brought many magic leaves up to the site, and the Tultul brought some black feathers in a bamboo tube.) Before work is begun, one large tree is decorated: two vines are tied around its girth about 1m 25 cm. apart and into these vines coloured leaves are stuck, the Tultul's black feathers, Djiravenia's and Pandjaouie's strings of shells are hung, and tip ends of bamboo are stuck in. Meanwhile girls clear the area around the tree and then help

Warineu and Kandavatche to plant various coloured shrubs - this was explained as being a decorative garden. MG sits above with Kumaineu getting an explanation of the proceedings. The Tultul and others are also tying single vines around stumps of trees cut yesterday and sticking leaves into them. Warineu has a leaf full of clay and goes about the garden rubbing cut stumps with it. He later tells the muttered phrase to Pandjaouye. Warineu rubs mud on the tree that Dawatnie is cutting. Yuanna and Karandai begin cutting trees uphill from the decorated tree. Yuanna climbs the tree to cut a liana free. When he resumes chopping he sings a song about MG. Pandjaouye comes with a leaf full of mud and rubs Yuanna's and Kwaraadai's trees just before they fall. Djiravenia chops a tree further downhill and in the background MG can be seen painting numbers on new trees and measuring their circumference with the help of Koumaineu.

(At 1245 work stopped in a drizzle and a hot lunch of rice and tinned fish was served in the little lean-to sheltering from a driving rain. At 1332 work resumes. While our team cuts with stone blades,) Yuvarande uses his steel axe outside the experimental garden, (deriving an enormous excitement from felling one large tree after another.) At 1443 Gwadamaiwe was filmed. (The clouds are thick and dark and no more filming was possible. Work continued until 1725 when we all left in a pouring rain.)

58. Third Day of Gardening Experiment

	A 28:30-121m.,	A 29	1370 ft.	36 min.
	B 103-109	N		
69/4/7:1036-1629	CE/HE	U		

Primary forest above Wiaveu

MJ                   AJ

Gwadamaiwe, Peuandje, Dawatnie, Kwarandai, Yambagwe, Gwataie, Djiravenia, etc.

The work begins with an experiment in clocking the strokes and time of two teams cutting down two large remaining trees: Gwadamaiwe and Peuandje cut one, Dawatnie, Yambagwe and Kwarandai cut the other. The trees both fall at 1256.5. Their falling is accompanied by a ceremony of all the other people standing up-hill and throwing sticks wrapped with coloured leaves at the falling trees. One tree's spirit was sent to the Wantekia, the other (spirit) was sent to the Yawarrouhatche. (At that point an enormous rain falls and we all retire to lunch in the hut, which is leaking badly now as the thatching leaves are drying out. By 1410 the rain is over and we are ready to record the final ceremony. Now the tree which was decorated the previous morning will be felled. Yesterday the shells and other wealth items were taken off the tree when it rained.) Gwataie and Djiravenia cut the tree down in ten



on the coast. The space for firewood and women's bilums full of food and handicraft materials is also seen in the "entrance hall" just inside the door. (A commentary for all these things is available on the wealth inventory tape: U8<sub>I,II</sub>, U9<sub>I,II</sub>.)

60. Fourth Day of Gardening Experiment  
 AB111, B112-115 500 ft. 13½ min.  
 69/4/8: CE N 21  
 Nangwatac U19<sub>I,II</sub>  
 MJ AJ  
 Peuandje, Keunatnyie (Peuandje's son), Gwadamaiwe, Kwarandai, Yambagwe

(For the final stage of the experiment, we have moved to a secondary growth forest consisting of very little undergrowth and large Gawala trees, which MG estimated are between 12 and 15 years old on the basis of the people's report that the area was under garden when Pandjaouie was the size that Keunatnyie is now. Yambagwe marks the trees that may be cut and MG paints the numbers. A pair of trees are selected for each of the four men who have especially distinguished themselves as good workers in the past three days. The largest of the pair is cut with steel axe, the smaller with a stone adze. Each man works one at a time with the steel axes, as the cutting is too short to observe all working at once. Since cutting with a stone adze takes longer, Gwadamaiwe, Peuandje, and Kwarandai all start at once on their second tree. Yambagwe has to wait, as only three good stone blades remain from the original eight at the beginning of the experiment.

	<u>Circumference</u> (in meters)	<u>Time</u>	<u>Order</u>
Gwadamaiwe	1.10 (cut with steel)	9.5 min.	1
	1.08 (" " Stone)	33.0 min.	5
Peuandje	1.02 (" " steel)	6.0 min.	2
	1.00 (" " stone)	33.0 min.	5
Kwarandai	0.86 (" " steel)	5.0 min.	3
	0.83 (" " stone)	13.0 min.	5
Yambagwe	0.74 (" " steel)	4.0 min.	4
	0.67 (" " stone)	10.0 min.	6

We look at the stumps, to compare the stumps created by steel and stone axes. There is no time to collect chips and count tree rings as an enormous rain comes.

61. Afternoon Scenes                    B 116,117                    200 ft.                    5 min.  
 69/4/8: @ 1600                    HE                    silent  
 Wiaveu village  
 MJ

Ymbaingac, her little sister, Yuvarande's daughter (Nadjiwaliec), pigs, dogs

MJ goes out in the grey afternoon and films people walking on the village paths which are now all muddy. Later, in Gwataie's yard, he films Ymbaingac and her little sister playing with a cat, piglet and several dogs. Nadjiwaliec is also there.

62. Feeding Watchimaiac's pigs                    B 118, 119                    200 ft.                    5 min.  
 69/4/8: @ 1750                    U 20 (bad quality)  
 Wiaveu (on lower terrace)  
 MJ                    AJ

Watchimaiac, her sister (Gandarimambiac), daughter (Natchinamaiec) and Yuvarande's daughter

The two women and the daughter go down to feed pigs (after having the produce weighed by MG. As long as Watchimaiac is living in the little house (see FE 47,49), it is taboo for her to give food to the pigs but she may watch. In this whole period since her child was born, her sister has been feeding her pigs.) The pigs are let into a very large enclosure where they are fed (unfortunately in the darkest part underneath thick regrowth saplings and they are kept in the enclosure throughout the night.) This time the ears of the little piglets are cut. It takes rather a long time to catch each one. Watchimaiac holds the first two piglets while her sister cuts off the ears - this is to distinguish domestic pigs from wild pigs. Natchinamaiec gets the ears, though Yuvarande's daughter holds them. (Later some will be cooked and eaten by children. Others will be slipped inside the skin of a pig banana and left to rot. This ensures that the piglets will grow well. Watchimaiac's pigs are put in an enclosure at night because they have gotten into another man's garden and spoiled it. Pandjaouie's wife's pigs have not caused any trouble and they roam free both day and night. If pigs don't show up at night they are called and fed the next morning, and they may again be fed that same afternoon. It is interesting to observe the "arm's length" relationship to the pigs and the continuous shouting throughout the feeding period - it seems to be an example of conditioning. The relationship with the piglets is closer than with the adult pigs: before the piglet's ears were cut, it was held and burs and things







Gwataie's house where small boys are playing marbles with potatoes. She carries her son but puts him down to cross a difficult fence. Pandjaouye comes and lifts his son across the fence to his mother. Tchagoulinac continues walking to the pig feeding place, calling as she goes. She arrives and throws the sweet potatoes handful by handful to the pigs. She chews up bits for the piglets. Whenever the pigs begin to fight, she shouts. (Rain comes and Pandjaouye, Yuemeye and son stand under one umbrella, MJ and AJ under the other umbrella.) Before the big rain, the son was nursing while his mother fed the pigs. Tchagoulinac's mother comes to ask for some sweet potatoes for her own supper and Tchagoulinac hands her some handfuls. She stands, waiting in the rain until the pigs have actually finished eating before she goes away.

68. View of Wiaveu Village A 30: 0-46.8      140 ft.      3 min.  
 69/4/10: @ 0900      CE      silent  
 From above men's house  
 MJ      0

Various people in distance

The whole village of the upper hamlet can be seen from above the men's house. Smoke is being made from an earth oven being prepared for the occasion of building Iravandae's new house. The whole upper terrace is seen with the mountains rising to the south and west. A close-up view of Pandjaouye's pandanus grove on a higher, small terrace. (It should be noted that pandanus groves are planted along paths cleared in the forest and mark the hunting territories of the men who actually cleared the paths and of their lineage.) A close-up view of the secondary forest area where the fourth day of the garden experiment was conducted (FE 60). A view of the mountain peak named Apmuralie to which a myth is attached, which says that the cliff is a man who was carried there by a woman in a bilum and died, hung along the rock. A close-up view of the yard of Inamwe, the shaman, where Mearimbie is walking around.

69. A Look at Some of Yambagwe's Possessions  
    AB 130, B 131      200 ft.      5 min.  
 69/4/10: @ 1030      CE      silent  
 Yambagwe's yard  
 MJ      0

Yambagwe, MG, Daruvei, Dedeinac, Dawatnie, Tultul

(This was the third of a series of efforts to make and represent a wealth interview. The main wealth interview was made







arily greeted each other before the wide adoption of the European fashion of hand-shaking- which now little children are all encouraged to do. Having not recorded this greeting pattern earlier, we chose the last possible time and set up the situation in the front yard of the mission house at Anagiri.) First we asked Gwataie and Dawatnie to do it and Gwataie arranged that they would walk from opposite directions and meet each other (being a natural actor). This they did, and although Gwataie performed with his usual sparkle, Dawatnie was stiff and rather silent, so the whole thing did not "come off". They repeated to each other over and over again the term of address "noumwe" (father). (MG asked them subsequently why they used only one term, instead of a whole catalogue. The answer was that they had always used a whole list of various terms with MG to teach him the terms of address (these people are excellent teachers!) but in an actual case they only used the one term of address proper to the person encountered.) The two perform again but it is still a wooden performance. MG asks all five to perform in order to get an example of the natural range of terms. Since Pandjaouye and Gwadamaiwe have put on shorts and shirts at the occasion of coming to Wonenara, MG suggests that they pretend to be returning from plantation and meeting the local men after an absence. This performance dissolves in laughter and is obscured by the older men turning their barkcape covered backs to us. We finally decide that the most natural situation will be the one of teaching MG. So all five come to teach him. He suddenly hears a new term - Nindatnyungwe. Asking what it means, MG discovers for the first time a separate term of address for parallel-cousin (the term of reference is identical to the term for brother).

75. The Lutheran Mission Bush House  
 AB 145-147 300 ft. 7½ min.  
 69/4/12: 1521-1610 CE N

Anagiri

MJ AJ

The workboys and their wives, Rev. Tuerschmann, the house girls, the English reacher, Ruape.

(We take advantage of the sunny afternoon to film activities around the house which the Tuerschmann's have suggested, and which they now arrange.) The grass is cut behind the house both with a gasoline lawn-mower and with a bushknife. In the foreground a new kaukau garden is visible planted in the Chimbu style with mounds. (Men of Wiaveu say they have tried this method after seeing it around the station but that the yield is less and the work input more than their own system, so they have gone back to their own way.) The wives and children of the two workboys stand on the cement sidewalk.

The two house girls, Wagai and Inalufe from Tarabo near Okapa, carry water to the house (from a large tank where rain is caught off the office roof). Rev. Tuerschmann comes out of his office and meets the English teacher, Ruape, A Kamano, who is on his way to go hunting possums in the bush. The house girls pass by on their way to the laundry room. Finally, the house girls, finished with the laundry, hang it on the line to dry.

76. The English Teacher at Home  
 AB 148-149 200 ft. 5 min.  
 69/4/12: 1636-1700 CE N  
 Anagiri  
 MJ AJ

The English Teacher, Ruape, his wife, her brother, children, Rev. and Mrs. Tuerschmann

We go to interview the English teacher (who did not go hunting after all). He stands in the yard between his house (uphill to right) and his house-cook (downhill to left). Rev. Tuerschmann introduces him. He says both he and his wife are from Tarabo and Ruape describes the various steps in his education towards becoming a teacher. He is the president of the local ELCONG (Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea), working in co-operation with the local European missionary. Mr. and Mrs. Tuerschmann go to his "kitchen table", where Ruape's wife's brother is grating manioc to be cooked for dinner. They shake hands with the little girl who the teacher adopted after her mother died. Her father is an evangelist in Marawaka but, as a father alone, he cannot care for children.

77. Lotu at Imane AB 150-156 700 ft. 920 ft. 26 min.  
 A 30: 46.8-121m.220 ft.  
 69/4/13: 0905-1345 CE N  
 Anagiri to Imane  
 MJ AJ

Rev. & Mrs. Tuerschmann, English teacher, evangelist, local men and women, other mission folk

(We set off in grey and misting weather.) Rev. Tuerschmann leaves his house and goes by the sawmill and the storekeeper, Ringke's, house toward Wonenara on the way to Imane, an hour's walk away. Arrived in Imane a Lotu service is held for the local non-Christians, with the inclusion of some Christian prayers for the Christians of the party - in particular the English teacher and the local evangelist. The service starts



80. Mission Life AB 159 100 ft. 2½ min.  
 69/4/13: @ 1700 CE N

Anagiri

MJ AJ

Two workboys, Ringke, the storekeeper, his wife and child

The mission has a gasoline run circular saw, cooled by water, (which was brought in to Anagiri in order to cut all the timber for building the houses of the station. Now that the building is finished, the station is going to be moved to Marawaka), the saw is principally used for cutting large logs into chunks suitable for chopping into firewood.

Downhill from the saw-mill is Ringke's house. (It was built in 1964 by Ziling, a man from the Jimi Valley who became a carpenter mainly through Lutheran Mission training. He had seen a log house construction at a Swiss Mission somewhere and built in the same style here. He also built MG's house together with MG.) Ringke goes out of his house and meets his wife and child coming from the direction of the other houses of Mission workers.

81. Baruya in Goroka - Second Day  
 B 160-168 900 ft. 25 min.  
 69/4/16: 0955 - 1600 CE U 21<sub>II</sub>,22

Goroka

MJ MG

MG, Gwataie, Warineu, Inamwe, people at market, salesmen, firemen, etc.

(On April 15, MG came in on the Lutheran Mission plan with three Baruya men in their best clothing. Gwataie, his interpreter, Warineu, his chief informant and Inamwe, one of the sorcerers of Wiaveu. The three Baruya were given a hut to live in on the edge of the grounds of Goroka Teachers College. The first afternoon, MG drove the three around the outskirts of Goroka and showed them the hospital and the vocational school.)

On the morning of the second day in town, Wednesday, the bi-weekly market was taking place and MG took his friends through, showing them the various items for sale - such as coconuts, pork, dresses, taro, piglets, etc. They meet a young agricultural assistant who had earlier worked with MG in Wiaveu helping map gardens. The people of the market gather around the group - local unmarried girls with their bead belts and long twisted hair. European tourists crowd around to have a look and take pictures. Outside the market again, Gwataie says he would like to buy some betel-nut.



It is not sold inside the market but outside. (While they buy betel, they meet a policeman who was once serving in Wonenara and is delighted to see some Baruya people.) Outside the market place two European girls are distributing the magazine "The Watchtower" (Jehovah's Witnesses). (Having finished this visit to the market, the agricultural assistant takes us out to the "piggery" where pigs are bred and raised and then distributed about the Highlands to try to improve the local stock.) MG and the Baruya are shown through and they look at the various breeds and express interest in getting a piglet. (MG later ascertains that he will be able to buy a piglet in about a month which he will be able to present to his friends. It should be noticed that here the men appear to be more on their own ground - not so much the centre of attention. Inamwe himself shakes hands several times with one of the locals accompanying the group - a sort of gesture of himself making contact with the outside world.)

In the afternoon at 1422, (after having retired to their little hut to cook themselves a good rice lunch), MG took them into the centre of Goroka to show them the stores. The stores started at the large native trade store New Guinea Company. As soon as they got out of the truck (locking their bows and arrows inside the cab to ensure against stealing), a large crowd of local people gathered, (it looked like the crowd that gathers around an accident). Slowly the whole crowd moved into the store. (The two European personnel "officiated", giving the three free pineapple juice and a ring for each one. The native personnel were made anxious by the big crowd and several times yelled for people to clear. MG said quietly that it didn't matter. Gwataie made a strong speech about how they were all of one skin - apparently he was made nervous, too, by being the centre of such a lot of attention.) The group moved out of the store again and up the street, meeting another policeman who had once served in Wonenara, then moving across the street to Goroka Motors. The group proceeded along the street coming into the main European centre. Note particularly a young local couple holding hands as they form part of the parade. A few Europeans run out of the stores and stretch their necks over the top of the crowd to get a glimpse of what is going on. MG explains the pharmacy to the men, and then they go to the New Guinea Auto Supplies, where they are shown new cars and are each given an advertising brochure. From there they proceed to the Native Arts Store. A European brings an ice-cream cone to one of the girls working at the Clothes Horse. Just as MG and the Baruya leave the Native Arts shop, Mr. J. Sinclair, Deputy District Commissioner, who made the first Patrol into their area in 1951, drives up and shakes hands all round. The group then proceeds on to the bank and up the street, meeting



focus of the interview then shifts to the present and the place of Wonenara sub-district is described in the context of the Eastern Highlands District and the Territory as a whole. The introduction of a local Government Council is touched upon.