A STUDY OF A WEST SEPIK PEOPLE, NEW GUINEA,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR SYSTEM OF
BELIEFS, KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE, AND
PRINCIPLES OF THOUGHT

Volume II

by

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a. Marriage and Matrilateral Cross-Cousins

To begin with an introductory account of marriage in Puang. The prospective bride goes to stay with the prospective bridegroom and his parents for a period of three weeks or so, in the course of which she spends most of her time helping his mother in daily work, and the mother tries to make sure that the girl is sufficiently competent in performing domestic duties, sago-pounding and so on. During that period the girl and the man are
ashamed to be seen together frequently or to eat together. At meal times if one of them joins the parents the other will refuse to do so and will eat separately. At the end of the trial period, if everything goes well, one evening, after having sexual intercourse (for the first time ideally) in the forest during the day, the girl cooks for the man, the two eat together, and are considered formally married.

Afterwards the bride returns to her own family, who reside in another hamlet or village. Then one day the bride's family and many of her relatives take her back to the bridegroom's home for good, and are invited to a meal there by his family and relatives. The bridegroom may not join in the meal out of shyness and may, for the same reason, leave for another hamlet temporarily. In taking the bride to the bridegroom's home her family and relatives also take some food-stuffs (and food) with them as gifts, and are given some food-stuffs in return when they decide to go back to their own hamlet or village. The bride's relatives all go back on the same day except her parents, who remain there overnight. When the bride's parents are about to leave her, her mother may cry because of losing her daughter. A mother may also cry when her daughter leaves her to begin the trial period mentioned above.
The above account is concerned with the ceremonial aspect of marriage, which is not very elaborate. Marriage as a contract is, however, incomplete without further gift-exchanges, especially the payment of bridewealth, which should, ideally, be made before the bride is taken to the bridegroom's home for good. Traditionally bridewealth consists of some 50-70 shell rings, and nowadays it is paid in Australian dollars and was as much as A$150 in 1972. Bridewealth, which a nuclear family cannot afford, is paid with the help of the bridegroom's clan. Moreover, approximately one-third of bridewealth, namely, 20-25 shell rings in the past and A$50 in 1972, is contributed by the bridegroom's mother's brother (and the latter's clan). Bridewealth received by the bride's family is likewise distributed in her clan, and one-third of it is given to her mother's brother.

In return for bridewealth the bride's clan gives two or three pigs to the bridegroom's clan; and the latter clan hands over one of the pigs to the bridegroom's mother's brother. Sometimes the payment of bridewealth is not completed unless one pig is already received. Bridewealth is worth more than the pigs received, as a pig is only worth some 15 shell rings (in the past) or A$30-35 (in 1972).
Divorce is extremely rare. In 1972 there were, to my knowledge, only two cases (1.6%) out of 121 marriages considered in Puang, and these two cases had been caused by the husband taking a second wife. Adultery on the part of the wife does not normally result in divorce, as in adultery it is usually the male partner who is blamed and consequently punished. Nor does barrenness by itself cause divorce, as a couple may easily adopt one or more children. The conditions which might lead to divorce are chiefly three, in the first two of which bridewealth is not returned: the husband takes a second wife; the husband beats his wife frequently; the difficulties of the early period of marriage before a child is produced.

For the Puang, the early period of marriage in which the wife has not yet borne a child is still a trial stage. In that stage bridewealth is not distributed in case the couple decide to separate, for one reason or another, and consequently bridewealth has to be returned. After the birth of the first child bridewealth is distributed and a further payment, namely, some 20 shell rings (A$30-50 in 1972), is made by the husband's clan to the wife's clan. In return for this payment the wife's clan gives another pig. The mother's brother does not take part in this exchange.
The divorce rate mentioned above is concerned with divorces after the birth of the first child, since before that, as just shown, the marriage contract is not yet completed. The dissolution of marriage before the birth of the first child has considerably increased in recent decades. As stated earlier, one of the post-contact changes is that men frequently leave their newly married wives alone in the village for two or four, if not more, years in order to work as indentured labourers on coastal plantations. Sometimes such a newly married wife, if she does not yet have a child, becomes pregnant by another man and marries him. As a result, her marriage with her absent husband is dissolved and the bridewealth given by his clan is returned.

Polygyny, in which a man is permitted to have not more than two wives at a time, is also rare. In 1972 three (2.4%) out of 121 marriages were of this type. There were also two cases in which, as mentioned above, the first wives had deserted their husbands. It may be that post-contact changes, especially the influence of the Catholic mission, have slightly lowered the rate of polygyny.

At the time of marriage girls are about 18-20 years old. The age of menarche is later than that in Europe at the present time.1 Husbands are a few, and sometimes

1. It is estimated that the average age of menarche is 17.8 near the Lumi Station: M.L. Wark and L.A. Malcolm, 'Growth and Development in the Lumi People of the Sepik District of New Guinea', in Medical Journal of Australia, 1969, No.2.
several, years older than their wives. An illegitimate child causes shame and is often adopted. Widow-inheritance is a well established custom. A younger brother is expected to marry his elder brother's widow, without paying further bridewealth, in order to keep her children within the clan. Sometimes the younger brother does not, however, marry the widow, if he or she do not wish to do so.

Having given an introductory account of marriage, we wish to examine a more complex issue; that is, the type of marriage which is, for the Puang, the 'ideal' \(^1\) one. A man is forbidden, as seen in the chapter on kinship, to marry the women of his own clan (which includes his patrilateral parallel-cousins), clan-cluster, and phratry. He is also forbidden to marry his matrilateral parallel-cousins and his cross-cousins. The ideal marriage is that between a man and one of his second cross-cousins, namely, his FMBSD, whom he calls **wosai** (A.).

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\(^1\) As shown below, the term 'ideal' seems to be more appropriate than other terms in expressing the Puang's point of view.
Although the wosai is FMBSD, marriage with her is matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. As will be seen below, marriage with the wosai relates to MB's rightful claims over ZS. In the above figure, a (MB) has the right to claim b (ZS)'s S as his SDH. Moreover, it should be noted that in matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, marriage with MBD is, when repeated in the next generation, that with FMBSD as well as MBD.
The term wosai, which is used in both the actual and the classificatory sense,¹ has also some other denotations examined in the last section of this chapter. However, for the Puang wosai denotes, above all, FMBS; and it is marriage with her which is regarded as the ideal marriage. Sometimes a man and his FMBS are betrothed to one another when they are still children.

While a man may marry his FMBS he is forbidden to marry his FFZS. In other words, ego may marry his wosai, but the wosai's B may not marry ego's Z (see Figure 8). As a result, since clans are the alliance units, a clan may not take wives from the clan to which it gives wives. Clans may exchange women unidirectionally.²

The unidirectional aspect of a matrilateral alliance system based on second cross-cousin marriage (FMBS) is, however, different from that of the same type of system based on first cross-cousin marriage (MBD). In the latter system the minimum number of alliance units required is, needless to say, three. Unit A gives wives to unit B, B to C, and C to A: \( A + B + C + A \).

1. Notice should be taken that, as explained earlier, sometimes 'actual' or 'classificatory' relationship is not believed to be based on genealogical connections in Puang.

2. I wish to make it clear here that I do not fully support Lévi-Strauss's idea that marriage is the exchange of women. Marriage is certainly concerned with exchange and communication, but Lévi-Strauss's conception of exchange and communication seems to be, especially in relation to women, inadequate and dehumanizing. This complex issue cannot, however, be discussed within the limitations of the present chapter.

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But in the former system the number of alliance units (or clans in the present case) has to be at least five, as marriage with FMBSD can take place in every other generation and not every generation (see Figure 8), and consequently each unit requires at least four - not two - other units for the purpose of exchanging women.

FIGURE 10: Minimum number of alliance units in matrilateral alliance system based on marriage with second cross-cousin (FMBSD)

FIGURE 11: Kinship diagram of matrilateral alliance system based on marriage with second cross-cousin (FMBSD)

\[ \text{Direction in which wives are given} \]
\[ A, B, C \ldots \text{Alliance units represented by descent lines} \]
\[ 1, 2, 3 \ldots \text{Generations} \]
The fact that the above system requires five alliance units does not mean that each Au village, such as Puang, must at the minimum have five clans (i.e. alliance units), although even if that were so it would not have created a problem at least for Puang, which is a large Au village (see Table 1) and has, as we know, eight clans. In the area in which Puang is located each village, whether Au or not, is not a closed and self-sufficient alliance system, as it also exchanges women with other villages to a considerable degree. In Puang half of the marriages are, and have been in the past, contracted with neighbouring villages, which are, occasionally, not Au-speaking.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>In living generations</th>
<th>In deceased generations</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recorded cases</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra-village (No.)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>45.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-village (No.)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>54.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The question which arises now is the extent to which the unidirectional or asymmetric system of matrilateral alliance is put into practice in Puang. In this regard I have studied only the intra-village marriages in Puang. The study of the Puang's inter-village marriages would have required detailed knowledge of the marriages and clan affiliations of over 2,000 people of some ten other villages; and this was beyond the limitations of my fieldwork and my interest in kinship and marriage. The number of intra-village marriages, both of living and deceased generations, examined is 121 (see above table). Out of these, 90 (74.38%) are 'right' marriages and 31 (25.61%) are 'wrong' ones. The 'right' marriages do not, necessarily, produce cycles of alliance, for the obvious reason that the village is not a closed system of alliance and half of its marriages are contracted with other villages. There are, however, a number of such cycles in Puang.
### TABLE 25 : EXAMPLES OF ALLIANCE CYCLES

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tan → Mei → Mir → Tar → B → Tan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Tan → Mei → Mir → Tar → S → Tan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tan → Mei → Mir → Tar → Tan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Tan → Mei → Tar → B → Tan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Tan → Mei → Tar → S → Tan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Tan → Mei → B → Tan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Tan → Mei → S → Tan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>H → Mei → Mir → Tar → H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>H → Mei → Tar → H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Abbreviations:**

Tan: Tanik Ninik clan (excluding H)  
Mei: Meinemonak clan  
Mir: Miripluk clan  
Tar: Taruwap clan  
B: Buluwa clan  
S: Suluk clan  
H: Hasi Yankok lineage, from the Tanik Ninik clan, which is numerically the largest clan (see Table 10)

The following diagram shows the above cycles more clearly.
We have said that 74.38% of intra-village marriages are, as far as matrilateral alliance is concerned, 'right' marriages. It may be added that, firstly, this does not mean that in the case of such marriages each clan always takes wives from another clan (or other clans) regularly; that is, the male members of the former clan continue to marry the women of the latter clan in every other generation. In a
take place in every three generations. In a matrilateral alliance system what matters is that the exchange of women between two clans, apart from being unidirectional, is renewed; but this renewal does not need to be regular or too frequent.

Secondly, in a matrilateral alliance system based on second cross-cousin marriage each alliance unit requires four other units: two to give wives to and two to take wives from. But this is, as shown before, only the minimum number of units required by each unit. In Puang each clan often exchanges wives with more than four clans. In Figure 9, despite the fact that it does not represent all the 'right' intra-village marriages, we can see that the Meinemonak clan (Mei) has six exchange partners and the Taruwap clan (Tar) five. Moreover, these two as well as other clans also exchange women with one or more clans in other villages.

Thirdly, in regarding a marriage as 'right' we have been more interested in a man's marriage from the 'right' clan (or alliance unit) than that with the 'right' woman (or women) in the same clan. The extent to which the right woman is married in Puang is a question which may be answered differently. From the orthodox anthropological stance, a man's marriage with
his wosai cannot always be called matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, because sometimes he and she are not believed to be related to one another genealogically. In contrast, for the Puang marriage with the wosai has always a kinship basis, since the Puang, as shown before, do not equate kinship with genealogical connections. Moreover, in a matrilateral alliance system marriage from the right alliance unit is more important than that with the right woman. In such a system marriage from the 'wrong' unit (i.e. taking wives from a unit to which wives are given), unlike that with the 'wrong' woman (in the 'right' unit), undermines the very basis of the system, namely, the unidirectional exchange of women. The Puang also attach special importance to marriage from the right clan. For instance, although they forbid marriage with both MBD and FZD, they are more tolerant of the former than the latter. It is true that MB's clan is not—the right clan, but it is, relatively speaking, more nearly right than FZ's clan. Marrying MBD, unlike FZD, does not change the direction in which women are exchanged. Also, a man's MB's clan is a clan from which, in the next generation, that man's son will take his wosai (see Figure 8).

Despite all this, it should be emphasized that what are regarded as right marriages here include many
cases in which a man marries a woman who is, genealogically speaking, his actual or classificatory wosai.

FIGURE 13: Examples of marriage with actual and classificatory wosai (FMBSD)


+ : Direction in which women are given

Tan. clan : Tanik Ninik clan
Tou. clan : Touninuk
Tar. clan : Taruwap
Mei. clan : Meinemonak
S. clan : Suluk

S. clan (1) and S. clan (2) are two genealogically unrelated parts of the Suluk clan. The diagram is slightly simplified due to the limitation of space here. The women exchanged are, for the sake of clarity, divided into five series:

A, A¹, A², A³, A⁴, A⁵
B, B¹, B², B³
C, C¹, C², C³
D, D¹
E, E¹

The marriages of the women of each series are connected with each other. The women of each series, with the exception of the first one in the series (e.g. A), are all wosai, actual or classificatory.

Two-thirds of the persons in this diagram are deceased.

It should also be emphasized that although I have not statistically studied inter-village marriages, they do not appear, by any means, to be random. When the Puang state that a man may marry his wosai they never add that this rule is, or should be, applied only to intra-village marriages. In many instances in which I was told that such-and-such a man has married his wosai, she happened to come from another village. For
the Puang a wosai is a wosai irrespective of whether she happens to reside in that or any other village.

We have said that 25.61% of intra-village marriages are 'wrong'. A marriage is classified as wrong here for any one of the following reasons: (a) if it hinders the exchange of women; that is, if it breaks the rule of exogamy with regard to the clan, the clan-cluster, or the phratry; (b) if it accelerates the exchange of women; that is, if it is marriage with MBD (the occurrence of this marriage means that a clan has given wives to another clan in two successive generations and not in every other generation); (c) if it changes the direction of the exchange in question into the opposite direction, such as marriage with FZD, FFZSD, and FFFZSSD; (d) if it neutralizes the directional aspect of the exchange in question; that is, if it is contracted at random.

Wrong marriages may lead to quarrels or in the case of (a) and (c) fights; they, excluding (d), also cause shame to a lesser or greater degree. Marriages which break the rule of exogamy usually take place between the members of the clan (or clan-cluster) and the persons who have been newly adopted by the clan. In the clan there is sometimes sexual temptation between the members and the first generation of the
adoptees. It is only the second and later generations of the adoptees who become incorporated into the clan fully, that is, psychologically as well as practically. In 1973 a man who had made one of his adopted (and classificatory) sisters pregnant and intended to marry her continued to insist, 'But she is not really my sister'. This statement did not, however, fully justify his wrongdoing in the opinion of the other people in the village, especially that clansman of his who had adopted the girl when she was still a child.

Marriages which are in the wrong or opposite direction, that is, those in which a man takes a wife from a clan to which his clan should only give wives, create special problems for the Puang. As will be seen, the wife-giving clan is superior to the wife-taking clan; as a result, a marriage in the wrong direction creates a situation in which the members of the two clans (or at least the two lineages) concerned have to play the roles of a superior and an inferior, in relation to each other, alternatively. This is to some extent similar to being alternatively a person's teacher and student, or employer and employee, in modern societies. Moreover, a marriage in the wrong direction also changes the direction of gift-exchanges continued after marriage over the generations. We
will see shortly that the same objects used as gifts should, like women, be circulated only unidirectionally.

It may be that the percentage of wrong marriages are, in fact, less than 25.61%, as my study of marriage in this regard was not as detailed as I would have wished. We have already seen that one of the lineages of the Tanik Ninik clan acts as an independent alliance unit (see Table 25 and Figure 12). This is most likely because this clan is numerically large and indeed the largest clan in Puang. It may be that in the case of some other clans, especially the Touninuk and the Meinemonak, which are relatively large (see Table 21), certain lineages also make their marital alliances independently. As a result, it may be that some marriages appeared to me to be in the wrong direction because I did not sufficiently take into account that in those marriages the alliance units concerned were probably lineages rather than clans.

As far as wrong marriages are concerned, a reference should also be made to sister-exchange, which is frequently reported from the Sepik region and

Papua New Guinea as a whole.\footnote{See for example R.M. Glasse and M.J. Meggitt (eds), Pigs, Pearshells, and Women. Marriage in the New Guinea Highlands, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1969; F.E. Williams, Papuans of the Trans-Fly, Oxford, 1936.} Sister-exchange is, needless to say, in direct opposition to asymmetric alliance and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, because it results in symmetric alliance and bilateral cross-cousin marriage. It should, however, be noted that in this regard there are some differences between marriage with matrilateral first cross-cousin (MBD) and that with matrilateral second cross-cousin (FMBSD). When the former marriage is combined with sister-exchange, and consequently is bilateral, the same woman is two types of cross-cousin at the same time.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\begin{tikzpicture}
\node (Ego) at (0,0) {$\bigtriangleup$};
\node (MBD) at (1,-1) {$\bigtriangleup$};
\node (FZD) at (-1,-1) {$\bigtriangleup$};
\draw (Ego) -- (MBD);
\draw (Ego) -- (FZD);
\end{tikzpicture}
\caption{Marriage with matrilateral first cross-cousin combined with sister-exchange}
\end{figure}

In contrast, when the latter marriage is combined with sister-exchange, and consequently is bilateral, the same woman is four types of cross-cousin at the same time.
FIGURE 15: Marriage with matrilateral second cross-cousin (FMBSD) combined with sister-exchange

→ ← Women are given in both directions

A,B,C,D Alliance units represented by descent lines

1,2,3 Generations

Moreover, as can also be seen in Figures 14 and 15, the former combination (marriage with MBD plus sister-exchange) requires at least two alliance units, which can exchange women in every generation. In contrast,
the latter combination (marriage with FMBSD plus sister-exchange) requires at the minimum four alliance units, as in it marriage with MBD is forbidden and marriage with FMBSD takes place only in every other generation, and consequently two units cannot exchange women in every generation.

![Diagram](image)

**FIGURE 16** : Minimum number of alliance units when marriage with FMBSD is combined with sister-exchange (cf. Figures 10 and 15)

The fact that sister-exchange is opposed to the matrilateral alliance system does not, necessarily, mean that the Puang do not, or cannot, practise sister-exchange. All the types of wrong marriages, mentioned above, are also opposed to this system to a lesser or greater degree. Wrong marriages, whether sister-exchange or not, can destroy this system only if they are practised persistently and not occasionally. As a matter of fact, sisters are occasionally exchanged
in Au villages, though this occurs much less frequently in Puang than in some other Au villages, such as Wulukum and Anguganak; and even in such other villages the number of cases seems to be very limited. In Puang elderly men insist that sister-exchange is 'wrong' and that it has been introduced into the Au area, from the neighbouring areas, in the post-contact period. It is worthy of note that Australian patrol officers also take the view that sister-exchange is a newly-introduced phenomenon in the Au area and some other parts of the Lumi Sub-District. In a Lumi Patrol Report dated 1956/57 regarding the Wapei, who form the largest linguistic group in the Sub-District, we are told, '... the Wapei sister-exchange system was only introduced several years ago following mass destruction of amulets, etc., in a cargo cult'. And in another Report dated 1957/58 it is observed,

'Sister-exchange with its often undesirable results is also filtering into the [Au West] Division from N.E. Wapei [in Somolo and Lumi Local Divisions: see map 2] who have adopted the system from the Aitape Sub-District.'

The Au people might well have exchanged sisters occasionally even in pre-contact times. However, what seems to be certain is that in recent decades the degree of this practice has increased among the Au if not some other peoples of the Lumi Sub-District; an increase which has something to do with the amount of bridewealth being
repeatedly on the increase in the post-contact period. In Puang, for example, while bridewealth was A$150 towards the end of 1971 and the early part of 1972, it had increased to A$200 and sometimes A$250 by the time I left the field (September 1973). Although the Puang disapprove of sister-exchange, they are aware of its immediate advantage: it does not require the full payment of bridewealth.

So much for the extent to which matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is and is not practised in Puang. The last issue to be discussed in this section is the Puang's attitude towards this type of marriage. The man who may marry his wosai (FMBSD), and who is her FFZSS, is called by her meneki (A.). For the Puang it is the wosai who has the right to claim the meneki as her future husband; and consequently the meneki has only the duty to claim the wosai as his wife. If the meneki decides to marry someone else his wosai, whether she is betrothed to him or not, may say, 'The food he is going to give another girl is my food; it is from the trees which my ancestors have planted and left for me'. In this statement, which may also be made by the wosai in many other situations, the term 'ancestors' refers to her FFZ as well as her FFZH (see Figure 8),
as sometimes women help men in planting trees. When the meneki marries someone else, it is said that in extreme cases the wosai may, out of love or jealousy, try after her death to 'visit' him as a ghost and have sexual intercourse with him; and this is believed to result in his death, as copulation between a ghost and a person (male or female) is thought to cause the latter's death.

The wosai's father has also the right to claim the meneki as his daughter's future husband. If the meneki marries another girl, the wosai's father may go to the meneki's hamlet and express his indignation loudly and publicly; and in extreme cases he may try to destroy that girl's food and belongings, and perhaps to tear her fibre-skirt, to force her to leave the hamlet, and to ask the wosai to replace her. Moreover, if the meneki does not decide to marry his wosai, her father may, though rarely, using a small piece of bone from his own dead F or FF, touch the meneki; and this is believed to result in the illness of the meneki; an illness which can only be cured by the wosai's father.

In general, the wife-giving clan has the right to give women to the wife-taking clan in every other generation. This right begins to show itself in the
MB-ZC relationship, that is, in the very first generation after the former clan has provided the latter clan with a woman. We have already seen that MB pays and receives one-third of bridewealth in the marriages of his ZS and ZD respectively. In this way MB exercises influence on these marriages. His influence is, however, more than this. When the Puang are asked whose consent is sought for a person's marriage, the answer is, his MB's. The consent of a person's father is also sought, but in this regard MB is considered to be more important, and sometimes more of a problem. Moreover, a person is occasionally betrothed when he is still a child; and this cannot take place without his MB's consent.

Although MB exerts considerable influence on the marriages of his ZD and especially his ZS, he does not expect them to marry his own children. As we know, marriage with the first cross-cousin, matrilateral or patrilateral, is forbidden in Puang. MB has, however, the right to claim his ZSS (i.e. meneki) as the husband of his SD (i.e. wosai; see Figure 8). Thus the rightful claim of the wosai and her father over the meneki in marriage is connected with the MB-ZS relationship; a relationship the significance of which will be seen more clearly later. We have just noted that if the
meneki does not decide to marry his wosai her father may, using a bone from his dead F or FF, make the meneki ill. The bone is, of course, from the above MB (or his F). The reason why the bone is capable of sickening the meneki is that it is thought to be associated with the ghost of the above MB, which is believed to become indignant and harmful to the meneki if he refuses to marry his wosai.

We have described the Puang's attitude towards matrilateral cross-cousin in terms of right and duty. But attitudes are often complex and have different, if not contrary, components. The fact that the wife-giving clan has the right to give women to the wife-taking clan, which has consequently the duty to receive those women, does not mean that the two clans, or at least the latter one, do not usually wish to have this relationship. Indeed the menaki's father, like the wosai's father, usually wishes to follow the above marriage rule. If the meneki shows interest in marrying a girl other than his wosai, his father may tell him angrily, 'Go and marry with your own excrement. I am not going to give you shell rings'. Moreover, it should be noted that, firstly, it is not the case that some

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1. See table 41.
clans have only the right to give women and others only the duty to receive women. As we know, each clan is, though in relation to different clans, both wife-giving and wife-taking; that is, each clan has both the right to give, and the duty to receive, women from other clans. From this it follows that the marriage rule in question is not to the advantage of some clans as against others; and consequently the rule does not make certain clans unwilling to participate in putting it into practice.

Secondly, the above marriage rule, which is so essential to Puang society and so equally advantageous to its members, is, and is bound to be, 'internalized' as a value to a lesser or greater degree; that is, in the process of socialization a person usually accepts this value as part of his (or her) own self. As a result, in marrying the second cross-cousin a person tends to feel not only that this is his duty or right, but also, if not especially, that this is what he himself wishes to do. As a matter of fact, for the Puang marriage with the wosai is not simply proper; it is what may be called 'ideal', that is, in accord with one's highest wishes. It is said that marriage with someone other than the wosai is weinim (A.), which means 'without a purpose' or 'meaningless'. With regard to
the wosai it is said, Hapik mira yaaim (A.), meaning 'Her grime [and menstruating blood] is pure'.\(^1\) As will be seen later, a woman's grime and menstruating blood are the subject of a large variety of taboos and are believed to be ritually impure and dangerous. Although the wosai is not an exception in this regard, the above statement about her is perhaps the highest compliment which a man may pay to a woman.

What is said in the above passage is substantiated at great length in the last part of the present thesis, where the Puang's beliefs regarding the bird of paradise is examined in detail. We shall see in that part that the bird of paradise, which is identified with the wosai, is conceived to be closely and uniquely associated with love and sex, and to have feminine beauty and charm to an extreme degree. We shall also see there that in the Puangs' minds the idea that the wosai is the ideal marriage partner is a deeply-rooted idea, with many conscious and unconscious manifestations in the social life and beliefs of the Puang.

The marriage rule in question is internalized especially by the meneki and the wosai, who tend to develop affection for one another in childhood and often

\(^{1}\) Hapik literally means 'grime', but is also a euphemism for 'menstruating blood'.
loving relationship after puberty, irrespective of whether they are betrothed or not. Needless to say, this is not, and cannot be, true of the relationship between a meneki and all of his wosai, or of that between a wosai and all of her meneki. The meneki and the wosai are often self-conscious and shy in relation to one another, at least in public. If the families or lineages of the two meet for a meal, the two or one of them may avoid joining others for the meal. In private if the meneki tries to caress his wosai, she may say, 'You should not ...', to which he may reply, 'But you are my wosai'. The shyness in question is not fully a matter of convention, as the two may behave towards one another indifferently if they are not interested in one another.

In the very first week of my fieldwork I developed a friendship with a teen-aged boy who often taught me the local language in my house and who was not indifferent to one of his wosai at all. Whenever she passed by the window he could not avoid telling me about it. He was shy to talk to her, but an exchange of glances or smiles between them was enough to make him happy the whole day. Since I regularly gave him a payment for his assistance, one day she sent him a message, through a girl, asking if he would like to
buy her a present from a missionary store. He replied, 'Yes, I will', and reluctantly added, 'but my elder brother has not married yet'. It is proper, the Puang believe, that elder siblings marry before younger ones. The boy's elder brother was working on a coastal plantation at that time and the boy was not sure if his elder brother did not wish to marry the same wosai. Then his wosai sent the message, 'I do not like your elder brother and do not want to marry him'.

To describe the Puang's attitude towards their marriage rule merely in terms of right and duty is not only to tell half the truth, but also to give a distorted image of that attitude. Let us illustrate the point. We have seen at the beginning of this section that the prospective bride goes to stay with the prospective bridegroom (who is ideally her meneki) and his parents for a trial period of three weeks or so. This act of the bride or the wosai appears to be voluntary, as no one seems to ask or force her to do so. In fact she usually does so even without the prior knowledge of her parents, who are informed of it later by her intimate female friends. Thus it appears that the marriage proposal is practically made by the wosai and not the meneki, and that this is in accord with the fact that the wosai and her clan have the
right to claim the meneki as her future husband.

But appearances are misleading. As the Puang say, the wosai also happens to wish to marry that particular meneki of hers with whom she decides to go to stay. And what is more, firstly, the Puang, and especially she, believe that the reason why she wishes to marry him is that he has already and secretly performed love-magic on her. In Puang, as perhaps in any other society, women make sure, or wish to feel, that in love and marriage the initiative is taken by men. Secondly, he also usually says that he has already done love-magic on her, as a Puang man, perhaps like any other man, is proud of making the first move in love and marriage. We shall see in a later chapter that love-magic, which is exclusively carried out by men, is very popular with young men.

It is still correct to regard the wosai's act in question in the initial stage of marriage as the expression of her right in marrying the meneki, who does not, after all, make the first move to ask for her hand openly and publicly. But this is not the whole truth, as it overlooks the loving relationship between the two and the prior and the secret performance of love-magic by him on her; and consequently it distorts the Puang's image of men, women, and the ideal marriage.
Earlier we showed that if the meneki does not, or does not wish, to marry his wosai, she, her father, and sometimes his father may react disapprovingly in one form or another. It should be noted that such reactions are usually verbal and not expected to make the meneki change his mind. For instance, his father may, as mentioned earlier, tell him angrily, 'Go and marry with your own excrement. I am not going to give you shell rings'. But his father will not practically refuse to provide him with shell rings, of which bride-wealth is made. Taking action against a meneki (or a wosai) who has not followed the marriage rule is extremely rare. In fact, the Puang did not, for example, ever explain the death of any man to me by saying that he had not married his wosai, and that consequently her ghost, as mentioned earlier, copulated with him and caused his death. Nor did I ever come to know of any case in which a man had married a girl other than his wosai, and the wosai's father, as described earlier, had forced the girl to leave the man and had asked the wosai to replace the girl.

Thanks to the process of internalization, when the meneki decides to marry his wosai he usually does so not because of any outside pressure and threat, but because of the fact that he himself feels that he
wishes to marry her. Moreover, parents (and MB) are usually very considerate of the wishes of their sons and daughters in marriage, and feel that having such consideration is something natural and self-evident. Sons and daughters are usually and practically allowed to marry whoever they wish. In this regard note that, as previously mentioned, in a matrilateral alliance system alliances need to be renewed, but not regularly or too frequently.

b. Superiority of Wife-Givers over Wife-Takers

Matrilateral alliance systems are often, though not necessarily, associated with the following traits: (1) arranged marriages, (2) corporate involvement of descent groups in marriage payments, (3) widow-inheritance, (4) sororal polygyny, and (5) absence of divorce. ¹

These traits are partly or wholly found among the Puang. As we have seen, in Puang traits (2) and (3)


Sometimes the systems in question are also associated with another trait, namely, the exchange of 'masculine' and 'feminine' goods between descent groups in connection with marriage. This trait, because of its complexity and the limitation of space here, is not discussed in the present chapter.
are fully present. Divorce is allowed, but is extremely rare: only 1.6% of marriages end in divorce. Polygyny is practised and its present rate (2.4%) is, because of post-contact changes and especially the influence of the Catholic mission, probably lower than its traditional rate. I did not inquire into sororal polygyny; this type of marriage is, however, frequently found in myths, such as myth No.1, concerning the bird of paradise and described in detail later. Marriages are arranged to a limited degree and occasionally meneki and wosai are betrothed to one another when they are still children.

As far as the social structure is concerned, the most important characteristic of a matrilateral alliance system is, however, that in such a system there is inequality between the wife-giving group and the wife-taking group (i.e. anisogamy).¹ This inequality either takes the form of the superiority of the former group over the latter (i.e. hypogamy), as among the Kachin² and the Purum,³ or of the latter group over

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the former (i.e. hypergamy), as among the Gilyak.¹

We have already given some evidence for the superiority of the wife-giving clan over the wife-taking clan in Puang: in marriage the first clan has the right to give women to the second; whereas the second has the duty to receive women from the first. However, the relationship between the two clans requires further examination, in its own right and for the light it throws on the superiority in question.

We have seen before that in marriage and after the birth of the first child the wife-taking clan gives shell rings to the wife-giving clan and the latter clan reciprocates with pigs. These exchanges, which take place through the bridegroom's F and the bride's F respectively, do not, however, end the circulation of prestations between the two clans. After the marriage contract is completed, that is, after the birth of the first child and the above exchanges, every year ZH gives taro and yams (and some other produce from his garden) and a long bamboo of sago flour to his WB, who reciprocates with meat, especially pig portions, and a short bamboo of sago flour. This annual exchange is sometimes repeated in Singing Rituals, irrespective of whether these rituals are performed in ZH's or WB's hamlet (or village).

¹. C. Lévi-Strauss, 1970, _op.cit._
The first thing to note about the above exchanges in and after marriage is that wife-givers and wife-takers do not give the same goods to each other: the latter give shell rings and taro and yams and the former pigs and meat. It is true that both ZH and WB also present sago flour; but, firstly, the sago flour of the two is not by quantity and name the same: that of ZH is in a long bamboo and called niu nun (A.), whereas that of WB is in a short bamboo and called niu tamin (A.). Secondly, the difference between these types of sago flour is more than this, as the Puang have different beliefs about them. The sago flour of the long bamboo, unlike that of the short bamboo, is ritually dangerous in some contexts; in pointing-magic, for instance, the novice is forbidden to eat the former but not the latter. Sometimes ZH like WB, presents meat; but once again there are significant differences between the two prestations. The amount of ZH's meat is smaller; and what is more, it is cooked, whereas that of WB is smoked. Cooked meat, in contrast to smoked meat, is believed to be ritually dangerous and to cause illness in certain situations. Thus in their gift-exchanges wife-givers and wife-takers present different goods, or goods which are conceived to be different, and consequently, like
women, same goods are circulated unidirectionally. This point is further substantiated in the rest of the present section.

The next point to note is that it is the wife-giving clan which receives shell rings (or valuables) from the wife-taking clan. This prestation is made not merely to the bride's F; as will be seen shortly, MB and MBS are also given shell rings on certain occasions. Moreover, there are occasions on which ZH makes the same prestation to his WB. In Singing Rituals ZH may present his WB not only with taro and yams, a large bamboo of sago flour, and sometimes cooked meat, but also with two shell rings. When there is an ill-feeling or quarrel between ZH and his WB, the latter may rub soil on his face in front of, or before approaching, the former. This act, which is said to make ZH feel ashamed, causes ZH to make peace with his WB and give him two shell rings and taro and yams. Finally, if ZH dies his clan presents his WB with some ten shell rings. Significantly enough, if WB dies his clan does not give any shell rings to his ZH. As can be seen in the whole course of this section, as a matter of fact, wife-givers never present wife-takers with shell rings on any occasion. In marital alliance receiving shell rings
is the prerogative only of wife-givers.

Now in many contexts shell rings, as an offering, express respect, indebtedness, and submission and are given by an inferior to a superior. Shell rings are offered to the ancestors as propitiation. Sometimes when an illness is believed to have been caused by an ancestor, a propitiatory ritual is held in which the ancestor is offered a few shell rings. It is believed that the ancestor takes the 'soul' (A. himin) of the rings. As mentioned in chapter six, the major spirits associated with Singing Rituals are sometimes 'bought' with shell rings; and so sometimes are magical spells, which are a means of communication with the ancestors and spirits. Shell rings are also offered to someone who plays the role of a teacher. In pointing magic, after learning the art of this magic the novice presents his master with a few shell rings. Moreover, we have seen in chapter five that compensation for homicide is paid in the form of shell rings. In offering the rings the slayer, who is said to be ashamed of his act, shows his submission and his desire to appease the victim's ghost and close relatives.¹

The superiority of wife-givers over wife-takers

can also be seen in the following facts. WF is called 'grandfather' (A. maam), whereas HF, 'father' (A. haai). Likewise, WM is called 'grandmother' (A. maam), whereas HM 'mother' (A.miiya). When the Puang speak of the wife-taking clan, what they tend to stress are the duties of that clan; in contrast, with regard to the wife-giving clan what the Puang tend to stress are the rights of that clan. In the Puang's view, it is the duty of the bridegroom's F to give bridewealth and ZH to give taro and yams; whereas it is the right of the bride's F to obtain bridewealth and WB to obtain taro and yams. It may be objected that the wife-giving clan has also reciprocal duties to fulfil, such as the duty of WB to give meat in return for taro and yams. This is not, however, what the Puang are inclined to stress. Note that in a sense the duties of the wife-giving clan, which are usually reciprocal, are easier to fulfil than those of the wife-taking clan. In other words, the gift exchanges between the two clans are of some, though limited, economic advantage to the former clan. We have already seen that the pigs given in return for bridewealth cost less than bridewealth. The short bamboo of sago flour given by WB is, evidently, of less economic value than the large bamboo of sago flour given by ZH.
Moreover, the duties of the wife-giving clan are conceived by the Puang not so much as duties but as means by which that clan sustains its rights and superiority over the wife-taking clan. This can be seen in the fact that wife-givers are far more prepared to fulfil their obligations than wife-takers. In chapters five and six we have examined the occasional conflicts between affines and between patrilateral and matrilateral relatives, which may lead to the accusations and practice of magic, warfare, and homicide. Such conflicts usually arise not because wife-giving affines and matrilateral relatives do not fulfil their share of kinship obligations, but because wife-taking affines and patrilateral relatives refuse to fulfil, or excessively delay the fulfilment of, their share in this regard. It is, of course, not surprising that occasionally wife-takers do not carry out what are believed to be their duties, as a duty, even if internalized, may sometimes be felt to be a burden.

Furthermore, wife-givers tend to have an exacting attitude towards wife-takers. If the latter do not fulfil their duties, they may be penalized by the former, magically or otherwise, or by the former's ancestors. This point is illustrated in the examination of the above-mentioned conflicts in chapters five and six, and will be further illustrated below.
may here add that if ZH does not give taro and yams to his WB, the latter's ancestors may make the former fail in his gardening. In contrast, if WB does not give meat to his ZH, the latter's ancestors do not, and cannot, make the former fail in his hunting.

We have so far discussed the relationships between the wife-giving clan and the wife-taking clan with reference to bridegroom's F/bride's F and ZH/WB. The gift-exchanges of the two clans are, however, continued in the next generation between male cross-cousins, FZS and MBS, that is, between the male children of ZH and WB. Ideally that is the last generation in which the gift-exchanges are continued, as the children of male cross-cousins, namely, meneki (FFZSS) and wosai (FMBSD), are expected to marry one another; a marriage which renews the alliance between the two clans and produces a new series of gift-exchanges.

The gift-exchanges between FZS and MBS are the same as those between ZH and WB. FZS gives taro and yams, a large bamboo of sago flour, and sometimes cooked meat, and MBS reciprocates with smoked meat and a short bamboo of sago flour. We have seen that WB receives shell rings if he rubs soil on his face to shame his ZH; if his ZH dies; and probably if a Singing Ritual is held. Likewise, MBS is presented with shell rings
if he shames his FZS in the same way; if his FZS
dies, and perhaps in a Singing Ritual. Thus once
again same goods, like women, are circulated uni-
directionally, and shell rings, the receiving of which
shows superiority, are presented only to wife-givers.

What has been said above concerning rights and
duties also applies to the FZS-MBS relationship.
Indeed it applies to this relationship to a greater
degree, because what WB (or rather his F) has given
ZH is a wife; whereas what MBS (or rather his F) has
given FZS is a mother and, in the Puang's view, life.
Thus MBS has stronger claims over FZS than WB over ZH;
and as a result if FZS and ZH do not fulfil their
duties, the former may be more penalized than the
latter. As we have seen, it is believed that if ZH
does not present WB with taro and yams, the latter's
ancestors are likely to make ZH fail in his gardening.
This belief is, however, held more strongly with regard
to FZS; that is, if he does not present MBS with taro
and yams, the latter's ancestors are more likely to
cause FZS to fail in his gardening. ZH and FZS ought
not to harm magically, or actually (e.g. in warfare),
WB and MBS respectively. But the breach of this rule
is especially dangerous for FZS. If FZS breaks this
rule, he will bring a great deal of shame on himself,
and MBS's ancestors will certainly try, it is believed, to kill him or sicken him. It is noteworthy that I know of some cases in which ZH has performed destructive magic against WB; but I do not know of any case in which FZS has practised, or has been accused of practising, destructive magic against MBS.

This leads us to the MB-ZS relationship which is far more important than the relationships considered so far, as the characteristics of the opposition between wife-givers and wife-takers are manifested in it in their most vivid and unmistakable forms. In many respects the MB-ZS relationship is indeed the epitome not only of the Puang social life, but also of the Puang system of beliefs. In the study of the bird of paradise we shall see that the Puang beliefs concerning birds and plants are, not infrequently, related to MB, or cannot fully be understood without taking the Puang conception of MB into account. MB and the Puang conception of him also relate to this people's magic, mythology, and even cargoist beliefs, as described below. Since the relationship between MB and ZS is so fundamental to the understanding of the Puang world and world-view, an examination of it requires a separate chapter, and consequently the following account is bound to be highly summarized.
Puberty rites are the most important *rite de passage* in Puang, and are performed for both boys and girls, who are at the stage of puberty. The rites are often held for a few boys and/or girls, who may belong to more than one village, at the same time; and they are usually performed in association with certain Singing Rituals, in which peoples of different villages may take part. The rites last only one day, but their preparations may take a month or so and some of their taboos have to be observed for three months.

The Puang are very explicit about the purpose of puberty rites, which is to ensure the physical growth and health of pubescent boys and girls. An informant of mine said, 'We would not have performed these rites if we had, like Europeans, access to so many nourishing foods'. The rites cannot fulfil their purpose, it is believed, without MB, who is the protagonist in them. When a young person is very thin or weakly, it is sometime said that his MB has not performed the rites well. Since ZC's health depends on MB's role in the rites, MB himself should be healthy before performing his ritual role. If the actual MB is ill or very thin at the time of the rites, one of his clansmen takes his place.

In puberty rites MB's role chiefly consists of two parts. In the first part he cuts SZ's penis so
that it bleeds. Puang men say that penis-cutting in men is like menarche in women. They believe that penis-cutting is necessary for a man as menarche is for a woman. In Puang men's view, both penis-cutting and menarche are revitalizing; that is, in both a person gains new blood by discharging his or her 'bad' (A. anuk) blood. There is a myth, also known to Puang women, according to which at first it was men who had menarche by urinating blood and it was women who had beards. Thus by cutting ZS's penis for the first time, MB makes ZS a man, gives him a new vitality, and teaches him the art of revitalization.

After puberty rites penis-cutting, which is done with a sharp object, such as a cassowary's bone or bamboo-knife, is continued, but each man cuts his own penis. Ideally this should, it is believed, be done monthly, as a a woman has menarche once a month. But this belief is hardly put into practice regularly, at least at the present time. There are, however, a number of occasions on which a man may resort to bleeding himself by the penis. One of such occasions is when he is walking or climbing a hill and feels loss of vitality. Another occasion is when a man has performed contagious magic and his victim has died. Here penis-cutting is believed to strengthen the man and consequently
make him immune against the attack made by the victim's ghost. Likewise, in pointing magic, the novice's blood-letting is intended to make him strong, so that he is protected from magical shooting done by other magicians and the attacks made by his victims' ghosts. In pointing magic blood-letting is, however, carried out in a different way. The novice places a red leech on the penis, and the leech sucks the blood until it becomes satisfied and falls off.

In puberty rites the second part of MB's role is that he cuts his own penis, uses his penile blood to smear ZS's, or ZD's, body, and mixes the blood with watu (A.; it is made of meat, coconut, and vegetable food) and gives the mixture to ZS, or ZD, to eat. Thus MB practically gives ZC's part of his blood and indeed his life. For the Puang, life in its essence is closely connected with blood. We have just seen that in many contexts blood is equated with vitality and physical vigour. The Puang believe that as a person grows old his blood diminishes; and thus a young person, who has more life in him, has more blood than an old person. After the first child reaches the age of puberty parents tend to avoid having more children, as they believe that they do not have enough blood any longer to produce more children and to make them physically strong.
The facts that penis-cutting takes place in and after puberty rites and that, in the rites MB's penile blood is eaten by ZS and ZD and is smeared on their bodies, are said to be entirely unknown to women (including ZD). Puang men say that they will feel 'ashamed' if women come to know of any of these facts. My informants told me emphatically time and again that I must not disclose these secrets to any woman in Puang or elsewhere under any circumstances. Puang men try to ensure that their secrets are well hidden from women. After puberty rites, penis-cutting is always carried out where no woman is around. In the rites MB cuts his own penis and ZS's penis, not in the village but outside near a river, from which women are kept away. What women are told is that MB takes ZS to the river to 'wash' him. MB's penile blood is smeared and eaten in the village. But this does not mean that women come to know of it. Firstly the amount of blood used is strictly limited. Secondly, before smearing the blood, a red liquid which is indistinguishable from blood and which results from betel nut being chewed with betal pepper and lime is spat out and smeared on ZS's, or ZD's, body. Thirdly, the blood to be eaten is mixed with a very small piece of the above-mentioned food; and this may easily be done secretly.
For his role in puberty rites MB is presented with some 10-15 or more shell rings; and he reciprocates with meat. MB is also presented with shell rings if ZS dies. Once again we can see that the same goods are transferred unidirectionally. It may be argued that the most characteristic gift given by the wife-taking clan is shell rings and by the wife-giving clan meat (or rather smoked meat). These gifts express the most important aspects of the relationship between the two clans: shell rings express the superiority/inferiority aspect and meat the life-giving/life-receiving aspect.

We have observed that the presentation of shell rings shows the inequality of the two clans and that the clan which gives wives also gives life. To give meat is a life-giving act in the sense that meat is food and is indeed believed to be the most nourishing food. It is true that the wife-taking clan also presents food, namely, sago, taro, and yams. But, firstly, these foods are not thought to be as essential for the physical growth and the health of a person as meat. Secondly, sago, and at times some other vegetable foods, are given by the wife-giving clan as well. Thirdly, we have seen in chapter four that in the past the Puang relied far more on hunting than gardening and that the Puang still attach more importance to hunting than gardening.

The importance of shell rings and meat in gift-exchanges and the importance of hunting or animal food as
against gardening or vegetable food are reflected in Puang kinship terminology. As will be seen, wife-takers (ZH, FZS, FZH) are referred to as relatives 'of shell rings' (A. ka pawak) and not of taro, yams, or something else; and wife-givers (WB, MBS, MB) are spoken of as relatives 'of meat' (A. ka miak).

After puberty rites the major duty of ZS is that the first time he hunts a pig, a cassowary, a wallaby, an opossum, and a bird of paradise he must give certain parts of each to MB (or MBS). On the face of it, this is surprising, as we have just shown that meat is characteristically given by the wife-giving clan. But in this regard the following remarks should be taken into account.

In the first place, what MB gives ZS in return is a smaller amount of meat, and not shell rings. In the second place, the meat given by ZS is a further repayment for MB's role in puberty rites, that is, for MB making ZS into a man. It is appropriate that this repayment is in the form of hunting meat, as hunting is a man's most characteristic work. Hunting is also done by pre-pubescent boys, but to a very limited degree. Boys do not go hunting large and important animals, especially pigs and cassowaries. Another characteristic of a man as against a boy is a man's competence in attracting, or performing love-magic on, women, and consequently in marrying one of them, who is ideally his wosai. That is why ZS also presents MB with a bird of paradise. In the
Puangs view, the ability to shoot this bird is an indication of the ability to 'catch' women. As will be seen later, the bird of paradise is conceived to be a woman, or rather the wosai, and one of its major hunting-spells is also used by men in love-magic.

Furthermore, we have seen earlier that sometimes the gifts presented by wife-takers and wife-givers are basically the same, but are not exactly identical and are associated with different beliefs. ZH and WB, for instance, both present sago flour; but that of the former is in a long bamboo, which is ritually dangerous in certain contexts, whereas that of the latter is in a short bamboo and is not associated with ritual danger. The same holds true here. Although both ZS and MB give portions of animals, the portions given by the former are not the same as those of the latter. ZS, unlike MB, is forbidden to present the navel of the pig, the cassowary, the wallaby, and the opossum. ZS's present includes the cassowary's plumes and the opossum's skin, whereas that of MB does not. As far as the bird of paradise is concerned, ZS presents only its plumes; in contrast MB does not present either its plumes or its other parts. All such differences are significant in the context of Puangs beliefs. For instance, unlike ZS, MB may give the navel of the above animals, because the navel relates to the umbilical
cord and consequently motherhood, which is associated with wife-givers, who are also mother-givers and life-givers.

The last issue to be discussed with regard to the MB-ZS relationship is that, as mentioned above, the characteristics of the opposition between wife-givers and wife-takers are manifested in this relationship most vividly. One of these characteristics is that the clan which gives wives, and on that account mothers, is life-giving, and consequently the clan which receives wives is life-receiving. This can be seen in the most striking aspects of puberty rites. As we know, in the rites MB cuts ZS's penis, and thus revitalizes him and teaches him the art of bleeding by the penis, which is, for men, the art of revitalization. And what is more, MB actually smears his own blood on ZS's body and gives the blood to him to eat with a nourishing food. With regard to life-giving, for the Puang the roles of the mother and MB are complementary, and the role of the latter is as essential as that of the former. The mother gives birth to a person and MB ensures the physical growth of a person; in other words, the mother is responsible for the emergence of life and MB for its maturation. Thus the wife-giving clan is believed to be life-giving because it provides a person not only with a mother, but also with a MB.
Two further characteristics are that the wife-giving clan has rights, and consequently the wife-taking clan has duties; and that the former clan has an exacting attitude towards the latter clan. These two related characteristics take their extreme forms in the MB-ZS relationship. The rights of MB to play his role in puberty rites and to be presented with shell rings in the rites and with certain portions of the above-mentioned animals later, are in a sense absolute rights. If he does not obtain his rights he is, and is entitled to be, greatly insulted and may rightfully take the most punitive measures, especially against ZS. Also, unlike WB and MBS, MB has the right to determine how many shell rings he wishes to be given. In other words, no matter how great is the number of the shell rings given, MB's right is encroached upon if he is not consulted beforehand and if the number of the rings given does not correspond with his voiced expectations.

The punitive measures which MB may take against ZS are in the form of magic, by which MB tries to sicken ZS and even threatens to kill him. One type of magic used by MB is called him anuk (A.), that is, 'evil spell' (him: spell; anuk: evil), which is, as its name indicates, a harmful spell. Another type, which is the one usually used by MB, is contagious magic. In this magic MB takes some personal belonging of ZS or a severed part of his
body, such as hair, places it in a bundle, and as a result, in the Puang's view, 'fastens' ZS's soul. It is believed that this magic sickens ZS and the destruction of its bundle causes his death. MB does not, however, destroy the bundle; he only threatens to do so until ZS fulfils his duties. After ZS has completed his obligations MB loosens the bundle or places it in water, and consequently makes it ineffective.

Since MB does not normally intend to kill ZS, his form of contagious magic, which is exclusive to him, is different from the ordinary form of this magic described in chapter six. The differences between these two forms cannot, due to the limitations of space, be shown here. We may only point out that the components of MB's bundle are less harmful than those of the ordinary bundle, though the destruction of the former bundle can, in the Puang's view, still cause ZS's death.

Another exclusive characteristic of MB in relation to magic is that, unlike other people, he does not try to hide the fact that he has performed magic. Indeed he informs others, especially ZS, of this fact, and sometimes does so frequently and loudly. This is because, firstly, MB does not intend to kill ZS, but to bring pressure to bear upon him, so that he fulfils his duties. Secondly, MB's resort to magic is believed to be entirely legitimate:
he has the right to punish ZS if the latter ignores his obligations. Thirdly, MB is fully confident that no retaliatory action, magically or otherwise, will be taken against him by ZS or his clan. Such retaliation is believed to cause MB's patrilineal ancestors to kill the wrongdoer. Moreover, it is, for the Puang, one of the most shameful and immoral acts to commit. Even if MB kills ZS with an arrow or supposedly by magic - and such instances do, though rarely, occur, as seen in chapters five and six - retaliation or compensation for homicide is out of the question.

In taking punitive measures against ZS, MB is greatly helped by his own patrilineal ancestors. We have seen an illustration of this in the above passage. Sometimes MB, using a piece of bone from one of his ancestors, touches ZS and consequently, in the Puang's belief, sickens him. Sometimes MB sickens ZS with an ancestral bone but without touching or approaching him. On such occasions MB merely addresses the bone, or rather the ancestral ghost believed to be associated with the bone, and asks it to sicken ZS. There are also instances in which despite the fact that MB does not ask his ancestors for help and does not wish to do any harm, the ancestors are more strict and cause illness. The following instance, though concerned with ZD, will make the point clear.
In 1972 an unusual event took place. In the Witikin village a father held puberty rites for his own daughter without inviting or informing her MB in the Nikis hamlet, Puang. This is not as unusual as it appears to be, since as far as puberty rites are concerned MB is responsible only for the first male and female child; the rites for other children are performed, though in a less elaborate form, by the father. However, what the Witikin father did was unusual, as it was his first daughter for whom he held the rites. Afterwards he came to Puang, gave the Puang MB the generous amount of $A 40, which is almost one-third of bridewealth, and said apologetically and honestly, 'I wished to invite you, but if I had invited you I should have had to invite many other people. I did not have enough meat and food for a large crowd'. The Puang MB said, 'You could have invited me secretly'. The Witikin father replied, 'Yes, but your sister [i.e. the Witikin man's wife] told me that if I invited you many people would come to know'. The Puang MB, who was an understanding man and who had received a large payment for his unperformed role in the rites, seemed satisfied; and so the Witikin father left for his own village with great relief.

After a few days the Witikin father's daughter was, however, taken ill and began vomiting, and no one had any doubts that the cause of the illness was her MB or her MB's ancestors. Once again her father - this time together with her mother - came to Puang and, while looking apprehensive, presented the Puang MB with another
$A 40, which was an unexpected and exceptionally generous amount. The Puang MB, who was no doubt more satisfied, firmly said that he had not tried to sicken the girl in any way. He also promised to hold a ritual asking his ancestors to leave the girl alone.

Later the Puang told me that the girl's illness was not accidental at all and was caused by her MB's ancestors, because although her father's first payment was enough, firstly, he should have consulted her MB about the payment beforehand, as a MB must say how much he wishes to receive as a payment. Secondly, her MB's ancestors were still indignant with her father for not having invited her MB to play his role in her puberty rites.

We have examined the superiority of wife-givers over wife-takers in some detail and with reference to the relationship between the bride's F and the groom's F, WB and ZH, MBS and FZS, and MB and ZS. As will be shown in the study of the bird of paradise this superiority is reflected in many aspects of the Puang beliefs. An example of these reflections, to be seen in chapter fifteen, is that the bird called tinousik (A.), identified with the wosai, and associated with wife-givers is large, noisy, and self-assertive, whereas the bird called hauripik (A.), identified with the meneki, and associated with wife-takers is by comparison small, quiet, and submissive.
There is a great deal more to be said regarding the superiority in question; let it suffice here to discuss two further fundamental questions in this connection.

1. The first question is why the wife-giving clan is believed to be superior to the wife-taking clan. The answer to this question is briefly that the latter clan is believed to be indebted to the former clan; in other words, the relationship between the two clans is basically conceived to be the relationship between a creditor and a debtor. Earlier we have shown that the exchange of goods between the two clans is, economically speaking, to the advantage of the wife-giving clan. This may give the impression that it is this clan which should be regarded as being in debt to the other clan. But the gifts presented by the wife-giving clan are not, of course, merely goods. The supreme gift of this clan is women; and in the Puang's view that is incomparable to other gifts and makes the wife-taking clan permanently indebted to its wife-givers. In the field when I asked a man why he had such a demanding attitude towards his ZH, he said emphatically, 'I have given him my sister. What he gives me can never be comparable'. There is a famous saying which is frequently used by MB to show the legitimacy of his claims over his ZS and ZH and which expresses the basis of the indebtedness of wife-takers.
in a nutshell: 'He [ZS] has not come out of a tree-hole; he has come out of the genitalia of my sister'.

For the Puang, what is important about a woman given as a wife is not so much her sexual and domestic services as her reproductive or life-giving capacity. We have already shown in different contexts that the wife-giving clan is life-giving; and it is so in more than one respect. We have seen that this clan is responsible for both the emergence and the maturation of life, as it provides a person with a mother, who has given birth to him, and a MB, on whom the physical growth of that person is believed to depend. It could be said that this clan is also responsible for a person's continuation of life to a significant degree, as wife-givers are meat-givers and meat is believed to be the most nourishing food. The same points hold true of a person's clan as a whole: without wife-givers a clan cannot continue to exist and grow numerically, and its members cannot come into existence and, in the Puang's view, grow up.

Thus the most important characteristic of the wife-giving clan is that it is life-giving; and it is this characteristic which makes wife-takers indebted, and consequently inferior, to that clan. It may now be asked why life-giving is of such fundamental value to the

1. See also
puang. This is a complex issue and we wish here to point out only the major economic factor. In Puang, people form the most important element of productive forces; that is, as far as production is concerned people are of far more importance than land and tools. To put the matter in a different way. In Puang, means of production are, economically speaking, much less significant than 'means of reproduction', namely, women, by whom human beings or producers are produced. This point should be clear in the light of what has been said in the preceding chapters. In the Au area arable land is abundant, and tools, such as stone adzes, are simple and can easily be made. In contrast, the area is underpopulated and, owing to malnutrition and lack of hygiene, untimely deaths are not uncommon. Moreover, the Puang need to preserve, if not to increase, the population of the clan and the village for both production and numerical strength in warfare. Note that this need has a significant influence not only on the Puang's conception of wife-givers and consequently marriage, but also on this people's conception of kinship. We have seen in the last chapter that it is the same need which makes the Puang adopt non-agnates and non-relatives into their clans easily and frequently.

2. The last question to be examined is that in the
egalitarian system of Puang society how the relationship
between wife-givers and wife-takers, which is so essential
to that system, can be based on inequality. First of all,
this inequality is relative, as each clan is, needless to
say, both wife-giving and wife-taking; that is, each clan
is, on the one hand in a superior position, in relation to
the clans to which it gives wives, and on the other in an
inferior position, in relation to the clans from which it
takes wives. Thus the inequality in question is radically
different from the type of inequality which characterizes
stratified societies, such as that between peasants and
landlords. Secondly, Puang society is organized in terms
of kinship, which usually includes many examples of
relative inequality. In a kinship system there is, for
instance, usually some form of inequality between success-
ive generations, namely, parents and children; and this
inequality is relative, as each person can ideally be a
child and a parent, in relation to different people, at
the same time or in different periods of his life. It
is noteworthy here that sometimes the lack of equality
between wife-givers and wife-takers is expressed by the
Puang in terms of generational differences: we have seen
that HF is called 'father', whereas WF, 'grandfather';
similarly HM is called 'mother', whereas WM, 'grandmother'.

Thirdly, in the present section we have so far
explained the relationship between the wife-giving clan and the wife-taking clan by concepts of superiority/inferiority, and right/duty. It is crucial to bear in mind that this relationship cannot fully be understood merely in terms of these concepts. We made a similar point in the last chapter with regard to the Puang's attitude towards their ideal rule of marriage, and attempted to demonstrate that the concepts of right and duty explain the complexity of this attitude only to a certain degree.

To illustrate the point we may give further consideration to the MB-ZS relationship, which, as shown before, tends to reflect the characteristics of the relationship between the two clans in question vividly, if not in an extreme form. It is true that MB's rights over ZS are almost absolute and that MB may take punitive measures against ZS if the latter does not fulfil his duties. But this is only half the truth, as the relationship between these two persons is not reducible to a power struggle in which one of whom tries to obtain his rights at any cost and the other to avoid fulfilling his duties as far as possible. The other half, however paradoxical it may seem, is that ZS is regarded by MB as an extension of his self, and that the latter's attitude towards the former is protective and caring to a significant degree. As the Puang emphasize, MB is the person who gives his
own blood to ZS and who is anxious for ZS to grow up well and remain healthy. The term of address and reference used by MB for ZS is *nikan* (A.), which means 'son' and which is the same term used by a father for his own son. Sometimes MB refers to ZS as 'chicken' (A. *suwara*) or 'little egg' (A. *suwara yini*, which literally means 'chicken egg'; *suwara*: chicken; *yini*: egg); and these terms of endearment are exclusively used for ZS. If ZS is a victim of destructive magic, retaliatory action against the magician may be taken not only by his father or clansmen but also by MB. When ZS has a quarrel with his father or others, he may seek protection from MB; when he wishes to leave his father or clan for one reason or another, he may go to live with MB temporarily or for good. ZS's major duty, as previously mentioned, is that the first time he shoots large animals and the bird of paradise he should present certain parts of them to MB. The basic reason why MB wishes to receive these presents is that otherwise he feels humiliated; and he feels so because he wishes his role in puberty rites to be appreciated by ZS and his clan, and would like to show these presents to others as the evidence for ZS having achieved manhood. The presents in question include, as seen before, the plumes of the cassowary and of the bird of paradise. MB wears the plumes in collective Singing
Rituals and proudly informs others that the plumes are from ZS.

A large number of Au myths have bearings on the MB-ZS relationship. In such myths the attitude attributed to MB is, significantly enough, not demanding and authoritarian, but protective and caring. There is a myth in which MB and ZS go pig-hunting together. A harmful ghost begins to approach ZS. MB realizes this and warns ZS of it. Later the ghost seizes ZS to pull him away, and MB makes a great effort to prevent the ghost from doing so. In another myth MB and ZS, who is only a child, go to the forest to cut a tree called hirip (A.). In the course of cutting the tree MB badly injures his big toe (which is associated with a person's soul). He does not let ZS know of this, returns to his own village, which is different from ZS's village, and dies of the injury there. Later ZS goes to MB's garden and sees the latter's corpse in a platform (this is a traditional way of disposing of a dead body). MB, although dead, talks to ZS. Then a harmful ghost appears. MB hides ZS inside his own body (a motherly gesture). The struggle between MB and the ghost goes on for some time. Finally MB is taken away by the ghost, but he succeeds in saving ZS and guiding him to return home safely.
In daily life the Puang tend to call a helpful and kind outsider paab, which is the Au term for MB, or kandere, which is a pidgin English term without an exact Au equivalent and meaning 'matrilateral relative'. As mentioned in chapter eight, in the field the present writer was sometimes addressed as paab or kandere. At times the Puang use the same terms for Americans, as during the Second World War Americans were more helpful to the local people, with regard to money and food, than Australians and Japanese. The Puang have still the cargoist hope that one day Americans may return with a great deal of cargo and with the intention of disclosing the secret of cargo to the local people.

Cargoist beliefs have a further bearing on the present point. In 1957 a Puang man called Yankaliya was sent by the missionaries to the coastal town of Wewak for medical treatment. In Wewak he met a stranger who is believed to have told Yankaliya that the local people's share of cargo will arrive soon and that, after returning to Puang, he should ask the people to make preparations for it. Yankaliya did so and this is how the famous 1957 cargo cult started in Puang and spread to many villages in the Au area and other parts of the Lumi Sub-District. The Puang hardly know anything about that stranger whom Yankaliya met in the coastal town; but
they regard him as highly benevolent, and sometimes refer to him as paab or kandere.

Finally it may be added that the Puang tend to conceive God as a MB rather than a father. This can be seen in the fact that a major role attributed to God is sometimes attributed to MB instead. We have seen in chapter nine that, in the post-contact period, the Puang have come to believe that after death every black-skinned person is beheaded and that his blood, resulting from his head being cut off, develops into a person, who is the same person except that he can speak English, his skin colour is, like that of Europeans, red, and his eyes are spiritually 'clear'. Some informants state that the beheading is carried out by God, and others say by the MB of the person concerned.

The reason why the Puang are inclined to conceive God as MB is that, firstly, they regard God as an outsider, that is, as the remote ancestor of Europeans and not of black-skinned people. We have just seen that certain other outsiders are also conceived as MB. That is because MB is, unlike the father, outside the clan to which a person belongs by descent. Secondly, the Puang have come to believe that God has, or may have, a protective and caring attitude towards both Europeans and non-Europeans. If the Puang did not believe so they would
not have thought that, in the next world, God may transform black-skinned people into English-speaking and red-skinned ones; a transformation which is for the Puang, because of their cargoist beliefs, of utmost value. The belief in the universality of the benevolence of God, which so far has had very little effect on social life in Puang, is also reflected in other contexts of the Puang thought. More recently some Puang men have developed the idea that at first God and, as they put it, his 'wife' lived on earth. After death the two went up to the sky and transformed themselves into the sun and the moon respectively, in order to watch over everyone on earth. This creative idea clearly expresses the universality in question, as the sun and the moon are everywhere in the sky and do not exclusively belong to certain people as against others. The idea has also a traditional basis, in the sense that traditionally the Puang believe that the sun is a man and the moon a woman.

c. Kinship Terminology

TABLE 26: PUANG KIN TERMS OF ADDRESS AND REFERENCE

Key:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>S</th>
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<tr>
<td>= father</td>
<td>= spouse</td>
<td>= son</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= mother</td>
<td>= brother</td>
<td>= daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= husband</td>
<td>= sister</td>
<td>= child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>m.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= wife</td>
<td>= elder</td>
<td>= man speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OW</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Co-wife</td>
<td>= younger</td>
<td>= woman speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maam nepu</td>
<td>FF, MMM, FFM, MMF, FMM, MFF, FFFB, MMMZ, FFFZ, MMMB, FFMB, MMPZ, WFF, WFM, WMM, WMF</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>maam</td>
<td>FF, MM, FM, MF, FFZ, MMZ, MFZ, FFB, FFBW, FFZH, MMZH, FMB, FMBW, MMB, MMBW, WF, WM, HFF, HMM, WMB, WMBW, WFZ, WFZH, HFMB, FMBS, FMBSW, FMBD, FMBDH, MMBS, MMBSW, MMBD, MMBDH, MFZS, MFZSW, MFZD, MFZDH, FFFZS, FFMZC, MFMZC, FFFBC, MFFBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>haai</td>
<td>F, HF, FFZS(w.s.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>miiya</td>
<td>M, HM, FFZSW(w.s.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>haaiwa</td>
<td>FeB, MeZH, FFeBS, MMeZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>miiwa</td>
<td>FeBW, MeZ, FFeBSW, MMeZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>tata</td>
<td>FyB, MyZ, FyBW, MyZH, FFyBS, FFyBSW, MMyZS, MMyZSW</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>paab</td>
<td>MB, FZH, MFBS, MMZS, FFBDH, FMZDH, HMB, HFZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>taait</td>
<td>MBW, FZ, FFBD, FMZD, MFBSW, MMZSW, HMBW, HFZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>hiitaam</td>
<td>SWF, SWM, DHF, DHM, FBSSWF(m.s.), FBSSWM(m.s.), MZSSWF(m.s.), MZSSWM(m.s.), MBSW(m.s.), FZSW(m.s.), HMBS, HFZS, HMBSW, HFZSW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. **hanmok**  
ZH(m.s.), WB, WBW, HZH, ZHB(m.s.),  
BWB(m.s.)

12. **sepi**  
MBDH(m.s.), FZDH(m.s.), WMBS,  
WFZS, WMBSW, WFZSW

13. **yii**  
HZ, BW(w.s.), MBSW(w.s.), FZSW(w.s.),  
HMBD, HFZD, HMBDH, HFZDH

14. **wokna**  
MBS, FZS, FFBDS, FMZDS, MFBSS, MMZSS

15. **wokanii**  
MBD, FZD, FFBDD, FMZDD, MFBSD, MMZSD

16. **meneki**  
FFZSS, FFZSD, MFFZSSS, MFFZSSD,  
MFZDS, MFZDD, FFZDS, FFZDD, MFZSS,  
MFZSD

17. **wosai**  
FMBSD, FMBSS, FFMBSDD, FFMBSDS,  
MMBDD, MMBDS, MMBSD, MMBSS, FMBDD,  
FMBDS

18. **metik**  
H

19. **meta**  
W

20. **tariya**  
OW, FFZSSW, HFMBSD

21. **yaii**  
DH, ZDH, BDH, WBDH

22. **yanii**  
SW, ZSW, BSW, WBSW, MBSD, MBSSW

23. **wuluk**  
MBSS

24. **hiniik**  
FFZS(m.s.), HFFZS

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25. hinii  FFZD
26. tokiik  MeBDS, MeBDD, MFeZS, MFeZD
27. himiik  MyBDS, MyBDD, MFyZS, MFyZD
28. heiwa (or uwa)  
eB(m.s.), eZ(w.s.), FeBS(m.s.), 
FeBD(w.s.), MeZS(m.s.), MeZD(w.s.), 
WeZ, HeB, eBW(m.s.), eZH(w.s.), 
WeZH, HeBW, MeBDH(w.s.), FeZDH(w.s.), 
WFeZD, WMeBD, WFeZDH, WMeBDH
29. mikiik (or kiika)  
yB(m.s.), FyBS(m.s.), MyZS(m.s.), 
HyB, yBW(m.s.), yZH(m.s.), WyZH, 
HyBW, MyBDH(w.s.), FyZDH(w.s.), 
WFyZDH, WMyBDH
30. kiikir (or kiika)  
yZ(w.s.), FyBD(w.s.), MyZD(w.s.), 
WyZ, WFyZD, WMyBD, WFyZD
31. yantan  
B(w.s.), Z(m.s.), FBS(w.s.), FBD(m.s.), 
MZS(w.s.), MZD(m.s.), FFBS(w.s.), 
FFBSD(m.s.), MFBDS (w.s.), MFBDD(m.s.), 
MMZDS(w.s.), MMZDD(m.s.), FMZSS(w.s.), 
FMZSD(m.s.)
32. nikan  
S, BS, ZS, WBS, WZS, HBS, HZS, 
PBSS, PBDS, MZSS, MZDS
33. nikii  
D, BD, ZD, WBD, WZD, HBD, HZD, 
FBSD, FBDD, MZSD, MZDD

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When the above kin terms are used referentially, they are suffixed by possessive pronouns. Thus a person addresses his mother as miiya meaning 'mother', and refers to her as miiya pai meaning 'my mother'. As can be seen, some of the kin terms are employed for both sexes. When a kin term is suffixed by a possessive pronoun and used in reference, the pronoun specifies the sex of the person referred to and is not, consequently, the same for the male and the female. Thus while both FF and MM are addressed as maam, i.e. 'grandparent', the former person is referred to as maam pai meaning 'my female grandparent' (or 'my grandmother'), and the latter as maam kai meaning 'my male grandparent' (or 'my grandfather'). In the Au language the possessive pronoun of an animate object always shows the sex of the object: napara kirak denotes 'his male dog' and napara pirak 'his female dog' (napara:dog)
Sometimes personal names are used instead of kin terms. A person calls his own spouse, siblings, children, brother's and sister's children, and often distant classificatory kin and affines by personal names. Sometimes the use of personal names is forbidden. A person is strictly forbidden to address his own MB, WB, ZH, by personal names. This taboo is observed even after the death of MB and WB. If a person breaks this taboo he feels ashamed, and he is believed to cause the ancestors of these relatives to harm the growth of his or her plants, particularly garden crops, or to reduce the amount of sago flour produced by her sago-pounding.

Kin terms can often have plural forms, which are made with the suffix rir. Thus the plurals of paab, MB, FZH, and wokna, MBS, FZS, are paabrir and woknarir. The term for 'husband', metik, also denotes 'man' and 'male'; likewise the term for 'wife', meta, also denotes 'woman' and 'female'. Tokiik, MeBDC, MFeZC, literally means 'old', and himiik, MyBDC, MFyZC, 'new'. Uwa, eB(m.s.), eZ(w.s.), literally means 'big', and kika, yB(m.s.), yZ(w.s.), 'small'. Haaiwa, FeB, MeZH, means 'elder father', or more exactly 'big father'. It consists of haai, 'father', and uwa, 'big', the first vowel of uwa being elided. Likewise, miiwa, MeZ, FeBW, literally means 'big mother', as it consists of miiya, 'mother' and
uwa, though in this case more than one vowel is elided. Also heiwa, eB(m.s.), eZ(w.s.), which is probably a transformation of haaiwa, is made of hei (from which a vowel may have been omitted) and uwa, and means 'big brother' (m.s.) and 'big sister' (w.s.) Hei is not, however, used by itself as a kin term.

The first-born child, male or female, is called uwa or uwa paan (paan: head). Sometimes heiwa (or uwa) is used only for the eldest B(m.s.) and the eldest Z(w.s.), and kika (or nikiik and kiikir) only for the youngest B(m.s.) and the youngest Z(w.s.). In such cases the term nemonak, which literally means 'middle', is used by a man for his other (i.e. 'middle') brother(s) and by a woman for her other (i.e. 'middle') sister(s). Nemonak may be applied to the same types of relatives covered by the terms heiwa and kika, provided that these relatives are neither the eldest nor the youngest members of their own types. Thus the following are sometimes called nemonak (m:'middle'):

1. FmBS(m.s.)
2. FmBD(w.s.)
3. MmZS(m.s.)
4. MmZD(w.s.)
5. WmZ
6. HmB
When the ideal marriage between meneki (FFZSS) and wosai (FMBSD) does not take place and each marries another person, firstly, wosai and meneki's wife call each tariya, 'co-wife'. Secondly, meneki's son and wosai's daughter may marry and she calls him meneki and is called by him wosai. That is why in the above table the denotations of the following terms include:

1. tariya : FFZSSW, HFMBSD
2. meneki : MFFZSSS
3. wosai : FFMBSDD

In the above table nikān is used for ZS(m.s.) as well as S, and nikii for ZD(m.s.) as well as D. The Puang have, however, other kin terms which are applied to SC's but are not applicable to C's. These terms are used in reference rather than address. Also, they are not used frequently, as they are terms of endearment and consequently appropriate for certain situations.

TABLE 27: PUANG KIN TERMS AS TERMS OF ENDEARMENT

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. nikān suwara or suwara</td>
<td>ZS(m.s.), FBDS(m.s.), MZDS(m.s.), BS(w.s.), FBSS(w.s.), MZSS(w.s.), WBS, HZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nikān yinii or suwara yinii</td>
<td>as above</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. nikii suwara
   or suwara ZD(m.s.), FBDD(m.s.), MZDD(m.s.),
   BD(w.s.), FBSD(w.s.), MZSD(w.s.),
   WBD, HZD

4. nikii yinii
   or suwara yinii as above

Suwara means 'chicken' and yinii, another form of
which is yiniu, means 'egg' and in the present context
'chicken egg'. Thus the literal translation of the
terms used for ZS, in the order in which they are written
above, is as follows: 'chicken son'; 'chicken';
'(chicken) egg son'; 'chicken egg'. The translation
of the terms for ZD is the same, except that the word
'son' (nikan) should be replaced by 'daughter' (nikii).

Although the above terms are explicitly terms of
endearment, they also implicitly express MB's claims
over ZS (or ZD). As we have seen before, MB's claims
are based on the fact that it is his Z who has given life
to ZS; or as MB puts it, 'He [ZS] has not come out of
a tree-hole; he has come out of the genitalia of my
sister'. Similarly, chickens are believed to have
originated from water-holes associated with ancestral
ghosts; and one of the Au terms for these holes, taank,
is a euphemism for the female genitalia.¹ There is

1. See also pp.539-40.
also a myth in which a chicken is closely associated with an elderly mother. Thus the terms of endearment are in fact ambivalent, in the same way that MB's attitude towards ZS is ambivalent.

In table 26 some of the relatives in the wife-giving clan and the wife-taking clan, the relationships between whom were examined in the preceding section of this chapter, are terminologically equated:

TABLE 28: SOME KIN TERMS OF ADDRESS AND REFERENCE IN RELATION TO THE WIFE-GIVING CLAN AND THE WIFE-TAKING CLAN (Cf. Tables 26, 29)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WIFE-TAKING CLAN</th>
<th>WIFE-GIVING CLAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ZH: hanmok (brother-in-law)</td>
<td>1. WB: hanmok (brother-in-law)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. FZS: wokna (cousin)</td>
<td>2. MBS: wokna (cousin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. FZH: paab (uncle)</td>
<td>3. MB: paab (uncle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The English equivalents are intended to facilitate the comparison between the terms in this and the following table

Sometimes the above terms are, however, used with certain adjectives (see table below) which make a distinction between the wife-giving and the wife-taking
relatives in question and show the asymmetric character of their relationships. The above terms with the adjectives added to them are employed only in reference and in situations in which it is practically necessary to point out which one of the two types of relatives is being spoken of.

**TABLE 29: KIN TERMS OF REFERENCE IN RELATION TO THE WIFE-GIVING CLAN AND THE WIFE-TAKING CLAN** (Cf. Table 28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE WIFE-TAKING CLAN</th>
<th>THE WIFE-GIVING CLAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ZH: hanmok ka pawak (brother-in-law of shell rings)</td>
<td>1. WB: hanmok ka miak (brother-in-law of meat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. FZS: wokna ka pawak (cousin of shell rings)</td>
<td>2. MBS: wokna ka miak (cousin of meat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. FZH: paab ka pawak (uncle of shell rings)</td>
<td>3. MB: paab ka miak (uncle of meat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The term *ka pawak* means 'of shell ring(s)' [*ka:*of; *pawak*:shell ring(s)], and the term *ka miak* 'of meat' (*ka:*of; *miak*:meat). Although *miak* denotes 'meat' here, its usual and literal denotation is 'marsupial'. In
the present context **miak** is the shortened form of **sakmiak**, meaning 'meat' in general. **Sakmiak** is a compound word consisting of **sak**, 'pig', and **miak**, 'marsupial'. The reason why **sakmiak** is shortened to **miak** here, or **miak** is used in the sense of 'meat' in general rather than 'marsupial', is that **miak** and **pawak** rhyme. The meat presented by wife-givers may be (or include) that of marsupials, but it may also be (or include) that of other animals, especially pigs.

It is of course very appropriate that the above wife-giving and wife-taking relatives are respectively called relatives 'of meat' and relatives 'of shell rings'. We have seen earlier that the most characteristic gift presented by the wife-giving clan is meat and by the wife-taking clan shell rings. It may be that **ka miak** and **ka pawak** are respectively applied to a number of other wife-giving and wife-taking relatives; and it may be that the Puang have further terms by which wife-givers are distinguished from wife-takers. My ethnographic data in this regard are very limited.

We have so far presented Puang kinship terminology and made some explanatory comments on it. The following analysis of this terminology is based on tables 27 and 29 as well as table 26. Also, it does not take into account the question of relative age, which does not relate to
the issues considered below. Thus, for instance, F and FB are said to be terminologically equated, as the difference between haai (F) and haaiwa (FeB) only shows the age difference between the two. The kinship terminology of the Puang is not partly in accord with their rule of ideal marriage. Before considering this matter, let us observe the extent to which the terminology is in accord with the structure of kinship and marriage in Puang.

**TABLE 30: THE EXTENT TO WHICH PUANG KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY IS LINEAL**

| 1. F = FB    | 1. FB ≠ MB |
| 2. M = MZ    | 2. MZ ≠ FZ |
| 3. FBW = M   | 3. FBW ≠ MBW |
| 5. Z = FBD, MZD | 5. Z ≠ MBD, FZD |
| 7. D = WZD, MBD | 7. D ≠ WBD, HZD |
| 8. C = BC(m.s.), FBSC(m.s.), MZSC(m.s.) | 8. C ≠ BC(w.s.), FBSC (w.s.), MZSC(w.s.) |
| 9. C = ZC(w.s.), FBDC(w.s.), MZDC(w.s.) | 9. C ≠ ZC(m.s.), FBDC (m.s.), MZDC(m.s.) |
TABLE 31: SUPERIORITY OF WIFE-GIVERS OVER WIFE-TAKERS AS REFLECTED IN PUANG KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>WF = FF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>WM = MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>WFF = FFF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>WMM = MMM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>WMB = FMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>WFZ = FFZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>WMBW = FMBW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>WFZH = FFZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>FMBS (ideal WF) = FF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>FMBSW (ideal WM) = MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>HF = F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>HM = M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>HFF = FF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>HMM = MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>HMB = MB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>HFZ = FZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>HMBW = MBW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>HFZH = FZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>FFZS (ideal HF) = F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>FFZSW (ideal HM) = M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 32: THE EXTENT TO WHICH PUANG KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY IS IN ACCORD WITH ASYMMETRIC ALLIANCE BASED ON MARRIAGE WITH WOSAI (FMBSD)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>FB = MZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>FBW = MZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>B = MZS, WZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>S = WZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>MBSD = SW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>FFZSSW = OW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>FMBS = WF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>FFZS = HF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>FMBSW = WM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>FFZSW = HM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>MBSD (m.s.) = CEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>FZSW (m.s.) = CEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>HMBSW = CEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>HFZSW = CEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>MB ≠ FZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>MBS ≠ FZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>MBD ≠ FZD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Z ≠ WBW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>MBSD ≠ FZSD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>MBSS ≠ FZSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>MBSSW ≠ FZSSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>WB ≠ ZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>WF ≠ HF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>WM ≠ HM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>WMB ≠ HMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>WFZ ≠ HFZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>MBDH ≠ CEF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>FZDH ≠ CEF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The term *wosai* requires further comments. As table 26 shows, *wosai* and its reciprocal *meneki* are each used for both sexes of certain types of second cross-cousins. The equation of male and female cross-cousins, or their male and female children, is found in many kinship terminologies. The table also shows that, as far as female second cross-cousins are concerned, *wosai* applies not only to FMBSD, but also to MMBDD, MMBSD, FMBDD; and that consequently, as far as male second cross-cousins are concerned, *meneki* is used for MFZDS, FFZDS, MFZSS as well as FFZSS. In this regard the Puang say that the 'true' *wosai* and *meneki* are respectively FMBSD and FFZSS, and that it is the marriage between these two which is the ideal marriage. This is well reflected in Puang kinship terminology, as demonstrated in table 32, and can also be seen in the fact that when the Puang discuss the *wosai-meneki* relationship,
they have usually FMBSD and FFZSS in mind. Moreover, the Puang must have come to realize by common sense and/or in the course of practice that marriage with FMBSD has a fundamental advantage over that with the other female second cross-cousins: the former marriage, unlike the latter, allows the same clans (or alliance units) to renew their asymmetric alliance in every other generation, and consequently can produce an orderly and repetitive alliance relationship between wife-givers and wife-takers over the generations. It should be borne in mind here that in Puang symmetric alliance and marriage with first cross-cousins are forbidden.
FIGURE 17: Marriage with the four types of wosai, showing that only marriage with FMBSD results in the renewal of asymmetric alliance between the same clans in every other generation.

A, B, C, ... Clans or alliance units represented by descent lines

1, 2, 3 Generations

a MB (to Ego's F or M)

Ego ZCS (to a)

b CD (to a)
The above figure is concerned with three generations. If we consider more generations and, as a consequence, the repetition of the above marriages, marriage with FMBSD has still the same result (see Fig.11), whereas marriage with other types of wosai, exemplified in the following figure, becomes more complicated without resulting in the regular renewal of alliances.

FIGURE 18: Marriage with FMBDD in two alternate generations (Cf. Fig.17: marriage No.3)

A,B,C,... Clans or Alliance units represented by descent lines
1,2,3 Generations
a,b FMBDD
We have seen that in relation to females the term wosai is only applied to four types of female second cross-cousins. As shown in table 26, the other four types, namely, FFZSD, FFZDD, MFZSD, MFZDD, are, like their brothers, classified as meneki. The four types called wosai have two characteristics in common: they are on the one hand 'matrilateral' (see below) and on the other, 'potential wives' with FMBSD being the ideal 'potential wife'. In contrast, the other four types called meneki are 'patrilateral' and marriage with them is forbidden. Thus the female cousins in question are divided into two opposing kin categories which are terminologically distinguished from each other; and this is another asymmetric feature of Puang kinship terminology. The same holds true for male second cross-cousins. Four of these are named meneki and are patrilateral and potential husbands, with FFZSS being the ideal potential husband, whereas the other four are named wosai and are matrilateral and marriage with them is forbidden (see table 26).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'matrilateral'</td>
<td>'patrilateral'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; marriageable</td>
<td>&amp; marriageable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. FMBSD</td>
<td>1. FFZSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># FFZSD</td>
<td># FMBSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. FMDD</td>
<td>2. MFZSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># MFZSD</td>
<td># FMBS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. MMBS</td>
<td>3. FFZDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># FFZDD</td>
<td># MMBSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. MMBDD</td>
<td>4. MFZDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># MFZDD</td>
<td># MMBD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above passage the four types of wosai (and their brothers) are said to be 'matrilateral', and consequently their counterparts 'patrilateral', for the following reasons. As described in the other sections of this chapter, MB has a major role in the lives and marriage of his ZS and ZD. MB cannot, however, give his D to his ZS in marriage, as marriage between first cross-cousins is forbidden in Puang; instead MB has the right to expect his SD to be married to his ZSS. Hence FMBSD is called wosai or 'potential wife'. The fact that FMDD, MMBS, and MMBDD are also called wosai, 'potential wife', relates to the wider form of the same right; that is, MB's right to expect his CD, whether SD or DD, to be married to his ZCS, whether ZSS or ZDS (see Fig. 17 for diagrammatic representations). Notice should be taken here that this point partly explains why marriage
with these three types of wosai, unlike that with FMBSD, is not regarded as the ideal marriage: MB has a greater degree of right or control over his SD than DD, as SD, unlike DD, is of the same clan as MB. Likewise, MB has a greater degree of right or control over his ZSS, to whose clan MB has given his Z, than his ZDS, who is of another clan (see Fig.17).

Thus the above four types of wosai are matrilateral relatives, as the fact that they are marriageable and are so named or classified is, and is conceived to be, connected with MB and his rights. As can be seen in Fig.17, the MB in question is not the MB of Ego, that is, of the male who calls the above female relatives wosai. For Ego these relatives are the grand-daughters of his FMB or MMB, and only the grand-daughters of MMB are, by anthropological convention, matrilateral relatives. But for Ego's F or M, whose MB is the MB in question, the above females named wosai are all matrilateral relatives. The standpoint adopted here is that of Ego's F or M rather than of Ego, because, as we have seen before, Ego's relationship and marriage with his wosai are arrangements made by his senior generation and are based on his parents' (especially his F's) obligations towards their own MB.

The question of laterality with regard to second cross-cousins has not sufficiently been examined in
anthropology. Sometimes laterality is assumed to depend on the first relative linking ego with alter. Thus FMBSD is said to be 'patrilateral', as the first link between ego and alter is F. Conversely, MFZSD is said to be 'matrilateral', as the first link is M. Sometimes laterality is assumed to depend on the first two linking relatives. Thus both FMBSD and MFZSD are considered to be 'bilateral', because the first two links are either FM or MF.

The first above-mentioned assumption is, in fact, only applicable to first cross-cousins, and has unduly been extended to second cross-cousins. It is of course true that MBD, having M as the first link, is matrilateral and FZD, having F as the first link, patrilateral; but from this it does not follow naturally or inevitably that the same rule is applicable to the classification of second cross-cousins such as FMBSD. We have just shown that in Puang FMBSD is conceived as a matrilateral relative. We have also seen in the first section of the present chapter that in a matrilateral system of alliance based on MBD marriage, FMBSD and MBD are bound to be the same person (see also Fig.19).

The second above-mentioned assumption, which derives from the first, also presupposes that with regard to the question of laterality the same rules apply to both types
of cross-cousins. Since F as the initial link makes FZD patrilateral and since M as the initial link makes MBD matrilateral, it is inferred that F and M as initial links make FMBSD bilateral. But in Puang the decisive factor in the laterality of second cross-cousins, in contrast with first cross-cousins, seems to be only the second linking relative. Thus, as shown in table 33, all the second cross-cousins classified as matrilateral have M as the second link in common: FMBSC, FMBDC, MMBSC, MMBDC; whereas the rest classified as patrilateral have F as the second link in common: FFZSC, FFZDC, MFZSC, MFZDC.

The above factor is not, however, the only factor to be taken into account. In general, another major factor in the laterality in question is the type of alliance system concerned. To illustrate this point, let us see the laterality of FMBSD and MMBDD in three types of alliance system based on marriage with first cross-cousins. In a matrilateral system, being equated with MBD, FMBSD and MMBDD are matrilateral; in a patrilateral system, being equated with FZD, they are patrilateral; and in a bilateral system, being equated with both MBD and FZD, they are bilateral.
1. Matrilateral System

2. Patrilateral System

3. Bilateral System

FIGURE 19.  FMBSD and MMBDD in three types of alliance systems based on marriage with first cross-cousins

A, B, C  Alliance units represented by descent lines

1, 2, 3  Generations
The above remarks are intended not to solve the problem of the laterality in question fully, but to draw attention to the complexity of this problem and to the need for a detailed examination of it in its own right. The remarks are also intended to show that, firstly, as the rules of the cross-parallel distinction are not the same for first and second cousins, so the rules of matrilateral-patrilateral distinction may not be identical for these two types of cousins. Secondly, as the rules of the former distinction, applicable to second cousins, are different in different systems of kinship and marriage, so the rules of the latter distinction in this regard may not remain the same in every type of such systems.

We have discussed the extent to which Puang kinship terminology is in accord with the characteristics of kinship and marriage in Puang. We now wish to describe and explain the extent to which this terminology is

symmetric and consequently in contradiction with asymmetric alliance practised by the Puang. As will be recalled, we have presented Puang kinship terminology in three tables: tables 26, 27 and 29. The first table is more basic than the other two not only in the sense that it covers the largest number of kin terms, but also in the sense that, firstly, when the Puang are asked about kinship terminology the terms which they mention are those in table 26. It is only after further enquiries that one comes to know of the terms in the other two tables. Secondly, the terms in table 26 are used in daily life far more frequently and are both terms of address and of reference; whereas the terms in table 29 are employed only referentially and those in table 27 often referentially.

Apart from being more basic, table 26 is the one which shows terminological symmetry to a considerable degree. In the following table we have taken into account table 27 as well as table 26, as the former table completes the lineal character of the terminology and this character is the pre-requisite of both terminological symmetry and asymmetry.
Thus at its basis Puang kinship terminology is chiefly symmetric; and this will be more clear if we bear in mind that, as shown below, the terms in table 29, which are so essential to the asymmetric aspect of the terminology, do not seem to have originally been part of the terminology. The symmetric basis in question can also be observed in the fact that the terminology is basically of the 'Dravidian-Iroquois' type, which is symmetric and often associated with bilateral cross-cousin marriage. The terminology is of this type, as in it generation and relative age are two major factors in kin classification and first cross-cousins are distinguished from first parallel-cousins, who are equated with siblings (table 26).
The Dravidian-Iroquois type, as its hybrid name indicates, has two subtypes: the Dravidian and the Iroquois. As far as the present discussion is concerned, the difference between the two subtypes lies in their classification of second cross-cousins, that is, the children of first cross-cousins. Briefly speaking, in Dravidian terminologies the children of same-sex first cross-cousins are 'cross-cousins', whereas the children of opposite-sex first cross-cousins are 'siblings'. In Iroquois terminologies the exact opposite is true; that is, if first cross-cousins are same-sex their children are 'siblings', and if opposite-sex, their children are 'cross-cousins'.

In this connection Puang kinship terminology is neither Dravidian nor Iroquois. As we have seen, in Puang second cross-cousins are divided into wosai, who are 'matrilateral' and, if female, marriageable, and meneki, who are 'patrilateral' and, if male, marriageable. Those called wosai may be the children of same-sex first cross-cousins, such as FMBSD, or of opposite-sex first cross-cousins, such as FMBDD. The same holds true for those called meneki, such as FFZSS and FFZDS. Moreover, the terms wosai and meneki are not used for first cross-cousins or siblings and

1. See the references given on p.434.

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are translatable as 'potential wife' and 'potential husband' respectively. Thus in the Puang classification of second cross-cousins the marriage rule overrides other considerations. It should be added that the Puang are not the only people whose kinship terminology is, at base, Dravidian-Iroquois and whose classification in question does not correspond with Dravidian or Iroquois rules. The Kuma in New Guinea and the Mualevu in Fiji are two further examples.¹

The question which arises now is why in Puang, on the one hand, the marriage rule, which is put into practice to a considerable degree, is asymmetric and, on the other, the kinship terminology is only partly asymmetric and is indeed basically symmetric? First of all, I wish to take this opportunity to emphasize that in the field I did not study the kinship terminology as much as I would have wished and that a thorough analysis of this matter definitely requires further fieldwork. I do not, however, believe that such fieldwork will resolve the above question. Indeed it appears to me that further ethnographic research may well prove that the kinship terminology is even more symmetric than it is assumed here to be.

Moreover, it is known in anthropology to be a fact that sometimes alliance systems and the terminologies associated with them are not congruent; a fact especially established by alliance theorists, such as Levi-Strauss, Dumont, and Needham, who stress the connection between marriage rules and kinship terminologies. For instance, Dumont has shown that sometimes in India Dravidian terminologies, which are symmetric, accompany asymmetric systems of alliance. In his detailed studies of a number of asymmetric systems, Needham has demonstrated more than once that a 'symmetric terminology does not entail symmetric (reciprocal) alliances but, on the contrary, may govern a strictly asymmetric transference of women'. Referring to Garo society in Assam, he observes

'The Garo case thus illustrates the theoretical issue with splendid clarity. It demonstrates, namely, that it is impossible to infer from the structure of the terminology that there will be a direct correspondence in social action.'


The terminology is symmetric; the alliances are asymmetric.¹

The reason why some asymmetric alliance systems have, partly or wholly, symmetric terminologies seems to be that, as shown by Needham in his above-mentioned studies,² these systems are originally symmetric systems which have been changing into asymmetric ones structurally and terminologically. Structural changes in a society may, of course, be accompanied by changes in its kinship terminology.³ Kin terms are, however, less susceptible to change than many other social phenomena; consequently it is no wonder that in the alliance systems in question kin terms are still symmetric to a lesser or greater degree. The conservative character of kin terms has long been recognized in

anthropology. It was on the basis of this recognition that Morgan maintained that kinship terminologies could be used to trace a 'record of ancient society which otherwise would have been entirely lost to human knowledge'.

As early as 1920 Lowie observed, 'Kinship terms represent a linguistic phenomenon, and language is notoriously conservative ...'. More recently Murdock wrote that 'the last aspect' of a social system to change is 'kinship terminology'.

It may be asked if there is any evidence for the possibility of social change in Puang in pre-contact times. Some of the preceding chapters provide us with ample evidence in this respect. Chapter ten shows that geographical mobility has been a major and recurrent characteristic of the whole Lumi Sub-District, and that the Au people, living in an under-populated area with abundant arable land, have been eager to expand numerically. Chapter four shows that before a major northward migration, the Au people, if not many of the neighbouring peoples, most likely had a different economic system (and perhaps a different system of alliance). Chapter seven

is wholly concerned with the linguistic and cultural impact of Malay contact on the Au people in the recent and the remote past. It is pertinent to recall that, as shown in that chapter (table 13), the Au kin term for father, *haai*, and its equivalents in no less than 22 other languages spoken in the Lumi Sub-District and its neighbouring Sub-Districts seem to have derived from *ayah*, the Malay word for father.

The influence of Malay and other southeast Asian cultures on the Au people is far deeper than what has been said within the limitations of chapter seven. It may be added here that, firstly, the Malay term *ayah* seems to be itself derived from the Indian term *ayya* meaning 'father'.¹ Secondly, a few Au kin terms are, at least seemingly, similar to their equivalents or near equivalents in many Dravidian type kinship terminologies in India and Ceylon. The term *tata* (FyB) and *nikan* [S, BS(m.s.), ZS(w.s.)] in the Au language resemble *tata* (F, FB) and *makan* [S, BS(m.s.), ZS(w.s.)] in the above Dravidian terminologies.² In at least two Au-speaking villages (see below) the kin term for WM and

2. I. Karve, 1965, *op. cit.*, pp.28,38,87,91,99,228-30, 269,281,284(for *tata*), and 236,239,259,264,289, 331(for *makan*). See also anthropological research on India and Ceylon, such as N. Yalman, 1967, *op. cit.*, p.211.
WF is mami. Likewise, in many Dravidian terminologies in question mami may denote WM as well as MBW or FZ, and mama may denote WF as well as MB or FZH. The fact that in these terminologies mami and mama each has more than one denotation is not surprising, as bilateral cross-cousin marriage, which is often the marriage rule in Dravidian systems, results in the equations MBW=FZ=WM and MB=FZH=WF.

Moreover, as shown in the following notes, the kinship terminologies of some Au villages seem to be different from, and more symmetric than, that of Puang in some respects (that is why we have so far spoken of Puang, and not Au, kinship terminology). It may, therefore, be inferred that Au villages are, at least terminologically, still in the process of moving from symmetry to asymmetry, and that in this movement some are more advanced than the others.

After leaving the field I have come to know of three accounts concerning Au kinship, marriage and kinship terminologies. These accounts are brief, lack some or many of the kin terms, or their equivalents,

1. I. Karve, 1965, op.cit., pp.185,201,261,273,285, 311(for mami as WM), and 170-71,185,237,260(for mama as WF); N. Yalman, 1967, op.cit., p.211. It is noteworthy that mami and mama are also used as kin terms in the Malay language. See R.J. Wilkinson, 1957, op.cit., pp.731-32; R. Winstedt, 1949, op.cit., pp.27,490.
mentioned here, and are made by writers who are not anthropologists or students of anthropology. Thus the accounts can not be relied upon fully, especially because in the Au area kinship and marriage are, as we have seen, structurally and terminologically very complex. As a result, the following notes which are based on these accounts should be viewed with caution, despite the fact that the notes are only concerned with a few kin terms which are, at least by appearances, reported correctly. I do not wish in this limited space to draw attention to the almost inevitable shortcomings in the accounts;

1.(a) O.C. Fountain, 1966, M.A. thesis in geography, New Zealand, op. cit., pp.14-19 and Fig.3.1. As can be seen, this thesis had been submitted before I began my fieldwork. In fact I was given a roneographed copy of it by the Anguganak Mission Station in the field, but that copy was, as I came to know after leaving the field, incomplete, lacking Fig.3.1 concerning kinship terms and many other figures and tables. It was after I left the field that I obtained the microfilm of the complete copy of the thesis, with Fountain's kind permission, from New Zealand.

(b) D.P. Scorza, 'Au Social Relations ... And Please Behave', in Kinship Studies in Papua New Guinea, ed. by D. Shaw, 1974, pp.187-210. Scorza, who intends to translate the Bible into the Au language, has also written a pamphlet: Au Anthropology Statement, 1970, mimiographed by S.K.L. in Ukrumpa, Papua New Guinea. This pamphlet, which presumably includes a section on kinship, was not made available to me by Scorza, despite my request. Nor have I been able to obtain a copy of it after my fieldwork.

(c) R.J. Sturt, 'Social Structure', chap.IV of an M.D. thesis to be submitted to the University of Melbourne, typescript, pp.5-9,21-32,38-45. Dr Sturt kindly sent his chapter on social structure to me from New Zealand in 1977.
shortcomings which can mostly be detected by any anthropologist who has read the present and the preceding chapters. On the contrary, I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the three writers for the trouble they have taken to provide further stimulating data on the Au.

I. It is said that in the village of Anguganak, if not some other Au villages as well, the term for WF and WM is mami. The term (or terms) for HF and HM is not given in any of the above-mentioned accounts. But, as we know, in Puang WF and WM are called maam, 'grandparent', in contrast to HF and HM, who are called haai, 'father', and miiya, 'mother'. In this way the Puang express the superiority of wife-givers over wife-takers; a superiority which is also reflected in some other terms used by the Puang (table 31) and which is a major characteristic of asymmetric alliance. The list of the Anguganak kin terms given is incomplete; it contains only 28 terms (the number of kin terms presented in this chapter is 45). One can not, therefore, observe if the superiority in question is reflected in other parts of the terminology used in Anguganak.

2. Ibid.
The people of the village of Wulukum are also said to call WF and WM mami and not maam. The difference between the Anguganak and the Wulukum is that the former, like the Puang, call grandparents maam, whereas the latter do not have this term and their term for grandparents is mama. Mami and mama are not too different and are, as we have just seen, closely related in Dravidian terminologies. The fact however remains that in Anguganak and Wulukum, unlike Puang, WF and WM are not equated with grandparents, and consequently in this regard the superiority of wife-givers over wife-takers is not terminologically expressed and the asymmetric aspect of the terminology is weakened.

II. It is said that in Anguganak a man calls the children of his male cross-cousins nikan yinii, 'nephew', and nikii yinii, 'niece'. From this, which is in accord with the Dravidian mode of classification of second cross-cousins, it follows that both MBSD and FZSD are called by a man 'niece'. In contrast, in Puang nikan yinii and nikii yinii are used for ZS and ZD (in Anguganak ZS and ZD are said to be called only nikan suwara and nikii suwara: cf. table 27), and a man

1. O.C. Fountain, 1966, op.cit., Fig.3.1.
addresses MBSD as yanii, 'daughter-in-law', and FZSD as nepenya, 'grand-daughter' (table 26). Thus in this connection the Anguganak terms, unlike the Puang terms, do not reflect marriage with FMBSD, which is the asymmetric and ideal marriage rule in Anguganak\(^1\) as well as Puang.

III. In one of the above-mentioned three accounts, which is with regard to the kinship terminology more detailed and accurate than the other two, it is said that in the village of Tumentonik female second cross-cousins, including FMBSD (marriage with whom is said to be the ideal marriage), are called menekii.\(^2\) The term (or terms) for male second cross-cousins is not given, and the term wosai is not, as in the other two accounts, ever mentioned. The reported term for the female cousins in question is, if true, a significant terminological difference between the alliance systems of Tumentonik and Puang. As we have seen, in Puang the term for FMBSD is wosai; and it is her potential husband FFZSS, who is called menekii. Moreover, in Puang female (or male) second cross-cousins are not all called by the same term, but are terminologically classified and the classification is asymmetric (table 33).

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1. Ibid., pp.21-22.
The following chapter consists of the annotated text of myth No.1 relating to the bird of paradise. What needs to be emphasized is that myth No.1 is not intended to be analyzed per se and as a whole, and certainly not in terms of Lévi-Strauss's theories. Myth No.1 is taken here merely as a point of departure for the examination of the Puang beliefs concerning the bird of paradise. As far as the Puang are concerned, the myth deals not only with the transformation of women into, and their identification with, birds of paradise, but also, though to a lesser degree, with puberty rites. As will be seen in the myth, the two women who transform themselves into birds of paradise also perform puberty rites for a male adolescent.

Myth No.1 was recorded five times, narrated by four informants, and its details were frequently discussed with the Tumentonik as well as the Puang. The following text is the version given by Heikne, my best informant in mythology. His version is compared with other versions (in the footnotes), the main one of which is the Tumentonik version. As it is acknowledged in Puang, the myth is 'owned' by Tumentonik, an Au-speaking and neighbouring village, or rather by one of
the clans in that village.

The following three chapters are all concerned, directly or indirectly, with the identification of birds of paradise with women, which is manifested in numerous contexts and which has bearings on many aspects of Puang thought and social life, including the ideal marriage rule, the superiority of wife-givers over wife-takers, and the MB-ZS relationship. These chapters seem to constitute, if I am not mistaken, the most detailed ethnographic examination, so far carried out in anthropology, of the above type of identification which has aroused a great deal of interest and controversy since the time of L. Levy-Bruhl.

I wish to add that the following study of the bird of paradise was written before the preceding chapters on kinship and marriage and without knowing that I would have sufficient time to examine kinship and marriage at such length. Had I written those chapters first, or had I known that they would be rather detailed, I would have been able in the following study to show further implications of the Puang beliefs concerning this bird and to analyze myth No.1 in terms of the four principles of thought mentioned in the conclusion.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

INTRODUCTION:

THE ANNOTATED TEXT OF

MYTH NO. 1 - THE BIRD OF PARADISE

In the Tumentonik village, there was a man who did not have intercourse with his two wives. He made a hole in each of two banana trees (A. Hasik; P.E. wail banana) in the forest, and had intercourse with the holes every day after sunset.

After some time, his wives, who did their daily work, processing sago and so forth, in a part of the forest not far from the banana trees, grew suspicious of

1. As is often the case with Au myths, this myth is not associated with the remote past. Tumentonik informants said that they knew this man's name, Wunam, and also his two wives' names, Hauken and Hauna. My major Puang informant on mythology said: "I do not recall his and his two wives' names. But he was of the Tebalu clan and his son, Nemes Markayin, begot three sons: Maituapu, Watem and Mauniyai. Maitapu and Watem are dead, but Mauniyai is alive and his son, Kapisiyo, is in the Nipin hamlet now. Watem's daughter, Yunai, is, as you see, now here, in the Nikis hamlet, and has married my son Yaku". The Tebalu clan, referred to in the above statement is another name for the Tanik Ninik clan, as this clan originated from a place called Tebalu.

2. An inedible banana which grows wild. 'Wail banana' (F. Mihalic's Dictionary, op. cit., p.64) is pronounced 'wel banana' in Puang. In other cases, 'wail' (E. wild) is also pronounced 'wel' in Puang.

3. In the version given by Tumentonik informants, he puts the red flowers of the raintree (A. timan; P.E. marmar) (cont.)
his frequent going to the location of these trees so late. Thus one day the wives decided to stay on in the forest after finishing their daily work, and go and watch what he did. The younger wife went to watch closely, and seeing him copulating with the trees, she said to herself: "I see! So he copulates with his wives every evening here. We are not his wives, we are just banana trees! Very well!" Then she told her co-wife what she had seen; and they decided to do something about it. They cut some sago thorns (A. tik; P.E. nil) and went to the village.

The next day, they got up early in the morning, went to the forest, and placed the sago thorns in the holes of the banana trees. In the evening, when their husband tried to have intercourse with the holes the thorns badly injured his penis (A. helpa; P.E. kok). He felt ashamed (A. yink anuk) immediately, as he quickly realized that his wives had placed the thorns in the holes.

3. (continued from the previous page) in the holes before intercourse. He has intercourse with more than two banana trees the number of which is unspecified; that is, he copulates with a tree until it sprouts and then starts with another tree, and so on.

4. In the Tumentonik version, these two co-wives (A. tariya, tariya), are sisters.

1. According to Tumentonik informants, the location of the wives' daily work, and of the banana trees, still exists and is known in Tumentonik.
He began walking slowly towards the village, and after reaching it, without talking to anybody, he quietly went to the men's ceremonial house (A. pak; P.E. haus tambaran) and lay in bed. After some time his wives, who had not seen him returning to the village wondered what had happened to him, until they found out that he was in bed in the men's ceremonial house. He would not say a word to them, except that he was not well and had to rest. The wives understood that the sago thorns had injured him and kept laughing. Also, the day after they went to the location of the banana trees and saw that some of the thorns, in friction with his penis, had broken. He took out the thorns remaining in his penis and stayed in bed for some days, until he recovered and bathed.

He had two dogs, a male and a female. He went with his dogs to a part of the forest, Yahyaan,¹ and killed two opossums (A. saiwak; P.E. kapul)². He took out the opossums' musk (A. taank)³, hid it in some leaves, and returned to the village. In the village, after having his evening meal, including the opossums' meat, with his

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1. It is near the Tumentonik village.
2. Saiwak is an arboreal marsupial and one of the varieties of the opossum. The Puang classify all marsupials into terrestrial and arboreal:
   1. miak ka te (A.) - marsupial(s) of ground
   2. miak ka nu (A.) - marsupial(s) of tree(s).
3. It is usually eaten with sago-jelly.
wives, he pretended that he wished to copulate with them. In the course of copulation, he secretly placed the musk in the genitalia (A. pâwe; P.E. kan) of each of them.

The next morning was sunny, and all the village people were sitting together in the sun. One of the dogs smelt the musk, went towards the younger wife, and tried to 'eat' her genitalia. The people all laughed. She felt ashamed (A. yink anuk), left them, and stayed in her house. The other dog did the same to the older wife. Again the people all laughed. The older wife also left the gathering out of shame and went to her house [the same house]. Their husband laughed too, was very self-satisfied, and said to himself: "They did me wrong and this was my retaliation".

After a short while, the people of the village had their breakfast and left for their daily work in the forest. But the two wives did not have, and did not cook, their meal and remained in the village. When the village appeared to be vacant the two wives came out of their house and cooked sago-jelly (A. taipa; P.E. hatwara), the fruit (A. kauka; P.E. kapiak) of the breadfruit tree,

1. The word 'eat' has a sexual connotation here. 'To eat female or male genitalia' means 'to have sexual intercourse':
   (a) Ti ahik pâwe kira (A.;E. You have sexual You eat genitalia hers intercourse with her.)
   (b) Ti ahik helpa kirak (A.;E. You have sexual You eat penis his intercourse with him.)

2. The breadfruit tree itself is called tapir (A.; P.E. kapiak).
and some meat. They ate part of their cooked food and put the rest of it inside their netbags (A. *tanik*; P.E. *bilum*). [They did not leave any food for their husband as they were angry with him.]

Having made these preparations, the wives attempted to become birds of paradise (A. *haura* *tinousik*; P.E. *kumul*). They took parts of a plant (A. *wuk*) and of the feathers of the Eclectus parrot (A. *meraken*; P.E. *kalangar*; L. *Eclectus roratus*) and fastened these parts, which look like bird-of-paradise feathers, on their arms and backs. They burned the stems of sago palm (A. *yeno*; P.E. *pankan*) mixed its ashes (A. *siak*) with water, and rubbed them on their necks and heads. They blackened only a small part of their necks and heads in this way, as is the case with birds of paradise. Then they made two holes in the ceiling of their house, firmly closed the door from the inside, and inside the house began, like birds of paradise, to fly and to call "kiya, kiya, kiya" ..." They were now like birds of paradise, and the sound of their flying and calling was heard by an old woman who had remained in the village.

Meanwhile in the forest, their husband felt that the sun was staying too long; and said to himself: "Why is

1. In another version, they began, like birds of paradise, to fly and to laugh loudly (A. *wakairar*). Some of the sounds made by the bird is believed to be its laughter.
the sun staying so long today? I made my wives angry today. I think that they have made the sun stay so long (A. Hir nari wapni nokik). They have fastened (A. nasankakik) the sun [by magic]¹. His wives had in fact done so. He thus left his work in the forest and returned to the village.

After he arrived in the village, the old woman asked him:

"Have you shot a bird of paradise and left it in your house?"

"No, I have not."

When he went to see the inside of his house, the door was firmly closed. He had to make several efforts before he could open the door. When he opened the door, his wives flew to the top of the house, went out through

1. The magic for delaying the sunset is simple. A person looks at the sun while holding a victory leaf (A. yurik; P.E. tangket) in front of the sun. Then he (or she) ties a knot in the leaf, moves one of his hands holding the leaf around his head, and puts the leaf inside his netbag. If he decides to stop delaying the sunset he unties the knot and throws the leaf away.

There is also a simple magic for hastening the sunset. A person places grass (A. yankis) or sago leaves (A. nipin) on the point of his arrow, and 'shoots' the sun. Afterwards he turns with his back to the sun. The two kinds of magic are performed for the purpose of delaying and hastening (respectively) either a person's own, or other people's departure from the forest. The case of other people is illustrated in the above myth. A person decides to delay his own departure when he is, for example, working in his garden in the forest and feels that he may not be able to finish his intended work on that day. He decides to hasten his departure when, for instance, he begins to feel hungry in the course of his gardening or hunting in the forest.
the two holes in the ceiling, and stayed on a type of breadfruit tree (A. tapir weipin; P.E. kapiak). He tried to shoot them with his bow and arrow, but they flew further away and stayed on a raintree (A. timan; P.E. marmar)\(^1\). In a passion, he broke his arrow and began weeping. His wives said to him:

"It was your fault. You shamed us. We are going to leave here and from now on you will have to prepare and cook your own meals."\(^2\)

Now other people of the village returned from their daily work in the forest. Then the villagers all sat on the Areca palm mats (A. tekalup; P.E. limbum) near the raintree and began weeping. They did not have their evening meal and only ate breadfruit and chewed betel nut with lime.\(^3\) They tried to persuade the two women to change into human beings and remain in the village, but they did not succeed. The women remained on the raintree, had their evening meal there, and dropped the leaves on which they had eaten their sago jelly.\(^4\) The people remained under the tree until the next morning.

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1. I am doubtful as to the identification of this tree in Latin and pidgin English. The Latin name of this tree, which is ever-green and has red flowers, may be Casuarina (P.E. yar).
2. In the present myth, women turn into birds of paradise because they are shamed by men. There is another myth (see myth No. 3) in which men turn into flying foxes (A. parpara) because they are shamed by women.
3. As in the case of Puang mourning rituals, the refusal to have full meals is a way of expressing grief.
4. Sago-jelly is usually served in large green leaves (A. twei yaaim) or in a container made of the flower sheath of the Areca palm.
In the morning, the two women had their breakfast on the raintree, while again dropping the leaves on which they ate sago jelly. They blackened part of their faces with the ashes of the stems of the sago palm, in the likeness of the face of a bird of paradise, and fully turned into the form of these birds. Then, heedless of further persuasion by the people that they should change into human beings and remain in the village, they flew away and went out of sight.

The two women kept flying until they reached Temawan, and soon afterwards Yuwe Tinousik, where the sun was shining. Then they flew back to Wiitabaan, sat on a mango tree, and began eating mango (A. nemaap; P.E. mango; L. Mangifera indica). Some of the mangoes

1. Temawan is near Haiken and Yili.
2. Yuwe Tinousik is in the north of Temawan.
3. Birds of paradise are said to like to fly in sunshine.
4. In the Tumentanik version, the two women flew to Tamawan first, and later to Kraitom. Then they flew back from Kraitom to Tamawan. Wiitabaan is near Garoka, which is one of the hamlets of the Piem village.
5. Birds of paradise seem to be interested in mango trees. Recording his personal observations on the displays of a species (Paradisaea minor) of these birds, an ornithologist, who has done ornithological field research in the Sepik region, writes: "The second display area was about 70 feet up near the top of a wild mango tree which rose well above the rest of the forest". (E. Thomas Gilliard, 1969, Birds of Paradise and Bower Birds, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, p.233). As will be seen, the present myth seems to be concerned with the species in question here.
dropped on the ground. To pick up these mangoes, they came to the ground, where they also took off their bird-of-paradise skins, placed the skins in their netbags, and put on their human skins.

Meanwhile in the same part of the forest a mother was processing sago, and her son, who was physically undeveloped and had ugly teeth and deformed limbs (A. *hepel moya*) was with her. She felt hungry and told her son, "Fetch some mangoes. I am hungry." The son went and tried to pick up some of the mangoes which the two women had dropped on the ground. The women saw him, grew angry and said,

"What are you doing here? Do you think these mangoes are yours? They do not belong to you."

Being frightened, the son said,

"I do not know. My mother asked me to fetch mango. She was very hungry."

Then he ran away, came back to his mother, and said, "Mother, I went to pick up mangoes but two women became angry with me and said that I might not have any mangoes."

"Who are those women?"

"I do not know. They are just two women."

"Let us go there together."

So they went there together, and the mother asked the two women, "Why did you frighten my son and not let him pick up mangoes?"
"We did not. He has lied to you. He himself became frightened and ran away. We do not belong here. We are not women, we are birds of paradise and wander from place to place."

Then they all sat and ate mangoes and the mother asked the women to go with her to her village later. In the meantime, the women fetched some firewood, large bamboos (A. haurak; P.E. bamboo), and the large green leaves for sago jelly. In the afternoon, carrying their things they all went to the village. At night, when the evening meal was being served, the women told the mother and her son, "You yourselves eat the sago jelly. We cannot. We are not women, we are birds of paradise."

In the morning, the women said to the mother, "You go to process sago in the forest. We will stay in the village and look after your son." When the mother left for the forest, the women 'fastened' the sun [by magic] so that it would remain in the sky a long time and the mother would remain in the forest and not return to the village soon.

1. According to some informants, the first time the son saw the two women, no conversation took place between them. Out of fear he ran away immediately, and told his mother,
   "There are two women there."
   "Who are they?"
   "I do not know. They are just two women."
   "Go and ask them to join us."
   "I am afraid of them."
   "Let us go together."

   Thus when the mother met the women she did not, at first accuse them of having frightened her son, and of having prevented him from picking up mangoes.

2. The large bamboo is used as a container for keeping water, cooking food on the fire, and so on.
Then the women fetched betel nuts, ginger roots (A. nekip; P.E. kawawar),¹ the leaves of the tall ginger (A. yaaip; P.E. gorgor),² the leaves of maurepen (A.),³ a vine (A. harim),⁴ and part of the coral tree (A. saina; P.E. palpal),⁵ and made them into a vegetable mixture to which the ashes of sago palm stems were also added.⁶

Having done so, they took a bamboo-knife (A. wâten),⁷ cut the son's limbs open and straightened his deformed bones, and took out his ugly teeth putting good teeth in their place.⁸ The son was dead (A. kaa) now.

1. The word 'kawawar' (F. Mihalic's Dictionary, op.cit., pp.108,355) is pronounced 'kawar' in Puang. 'Kawar' is also used for another plant (A. kounou) which, like nekip, has a sharp taste.
2. It is scented and has a sharp taste. It is used after being ground, and is usually chewed with betel nuts. The word 'yaaip' literally means good, useful, and beautiful.
3. It is scented, has a sharp taste, is used in garden magic, and is usually eaten with fish, screw pine and taro.
4. It is strongly scented, and is usually mixed with ginger roots and the ashes of sago palm stems.
5. It is not scented, and is usually mixed with the above ashes.
6. This vegetable mixture, or similar ones, is used in the puberty rites of boys and girls. Such vegetables are often used in a number of other rituals, such as those for healing, the growth of cultivated plants in gardens, and in some other myths for reviving men and animals and for animating objects.
7. It is a traditional knife (A. hena) made of a type of bamboo called wâten (A.). It may be, as a Tumentanik informant said, that the more accurate name of this knife is hena maidapen (A.).
8. In the Tumentanik version, it is explained how the women began to cut the son's limbs open and replace his teeth; they began doing so by making a casual and friendly approach to him, namely, by pretending that they wanted to delouse his hair (louse: A. nimk). In Puang, delousing is something of a pastime for women.
Afterwards, the women chewed the above vegetable mixture and spat on the son's legs, arms and head and 'pulled' his hair. They took out his intestines (A. nenpe) and replaced them with strings (A. taruwâ hamin) made from the Gnetum gnemon tree (A. taruwâ; P.E. tulip), and by reciting a spell (A. hanya) revived him. They gave him a drink of coconut milk (A. wâ tipar) and a type of taro (A. tahat kemâtin), so that the strings opened in the likeness of intestines. They made wâtu (A.) to give to him to eat later.

Then they began to 'decorate' (A. nasasowak) him. They did his hair and fastened it by the stems of rattan (A. nepen; P.E. kanda). They made a bâro (A.) on his head; they put some silk cotton (A. siurp; P.E. kapok) on his head, tied it to his hair by a cord

1. Wâtu is supposedly a highly nourishing food given to boys and girls in puberty rites. It is made of coconut, various kinds of animal meat, and so forth.
2. In the Au language, 'to initiate' a boy (or girl), namely, to perform puberty rites for him, literally means 'to decorate' him; and in the Puang's view, boys and girls cannot grow well without puberty rites. The following paragraph, and the two preceding it, constitute a summary of major parts of these rites. The statements regarding deformed limbs and replacing teeth and intestines are not however, about initiation as practised and conceived by the Puang. These statements describe mythical revival and healing, which also occur similarly in some other myths.
3. In puberty rites, bâro is made only for boys and not girls.
4. Silk cotton is taken from the silk cotton tree (A. siurp; P.E. kapok).
(A. hamin), and fastened and covered it by another cord (A. poye). They further decorated his head with feathers, such as the cassowary's feather (A. wankala piraak), and valuable shells, such as takanik (A.), takei (A.), and won (A.), and a string of dogs' teeth (A. napara yahas). They also put round his waist a string of pigs' bones (A. sak hamik), with a valuable shell (A. warapi) hanging on each side of his buttocks.

It was evening now. The mother returned to the village from the forest and asked the two women for her son. The women, who had hidden him in another room in the house, said, "He has gone to watch (A. kakiwo) the tiu (A.; P.E. meme) of sago". While the mother went to prepare the evening meal, the women stressed, "Cook only sago-jelly, as your son will bring a bandicoot later."

1. It is made from the bark of the Gnetum gnemon tree.
2. It is made of a vine called waainip (A.). The Au word waai is the general term for vine.
3. Takanik and takei are both small shells, and the latter's hole, inside its ring, is larger than that of the former.
4. It is a white shell.
5. See Plate No.5.
6. See Plate No.6.
7. It is a white shell with brown spots.
8. Domestic houses (A. wunaak) built in the village have more than one room.
9. A loose fibrous material which is inedible and is the residue of processing sago done by women.
10. At night, after or before the evening meal, a man may go to the forest, near the village, to watch the tiu of sago in order to shoot bandicoots. Bandicoots are in the habit of eating this fibrous stuff in the forest at night, that is, when women are not there working on sago. A man who plans to shoot them in this way makes a small shelter (A. sani) near the tiu and hides himself and his small fire-brand (A. si waai) (cont.)
A Body-Decoration. Napara Yahas (A.) is made in different sizes and worn round waist and neck, by both men and women, in Singing Rituals (P.E.singsing; A.hanya), such as Marara Wân (A.) and Megesi (A.), and in puberty rites. Women usually wear it as a neck-lace. Its name, napara Yahas, literally means 'dogs' teeth', and the dogs' teeth are the only things threaded on its cord. Its cord is called taruwâ hamin (A.), and is made from the fibres of the bark of Gnetum gnemon (L.; P.E.tulip; A.taruwâ).

Another form of napara Yahas is used only by men as a head-band in puberty rites.
A Waist-band (A. sak hamik). It is worn by men, not women, in Singing Rituals (P.E. singing ; A. hanya), such as Marara Wan (A.) and Megesi (A.), and in puberty rites. Its name literally means 'pig's bones'. The bones are the marrow bones of pig's hind and fore legs, and do not need to be hollowed. They are cut and shaped by a bamboo-knife (A. waten) and stone, and are the only things threaded on the cord of the waist-band. The cord is rattan.
In the course of cooking sago-jelly, the mother looked for her pair of fire tongs (A. patai), but did not find them. She asked the women,

"Where are my fire-tongs?"

"We do not know."

The women had given the pair of tongs to the son to hold in the other room, and had asked him to stretch his hand out of the room, with the pair of tongs, when his mother would begin to ask for the tongs. Thus now he stretched his hand in such a way that the tongs, not his hand, could be seen by his mother. The women told her immediately, "Here are your fire-tongs". She looked and saw the tongs, but as soon as she tried to take them she also pulled him out of the other room.

10. (continued from the previous page) under the shelter, while keeping an eye on the tiu. When he hears a bandicoot moving and locates it with the help of his fire, he tries to shoot the bandicoot with his bow and arrow. Bandicoots are preferably shot on moonlit nights, when holding a fire-brand is not required.

11. In the Tumentanik version, when the mother asks for her son the women say, "He has gone to the forest. He said that he would come to see you there. Didn't you see him in the forest?" "No, I did not." "Where is he then?" say the women with curiosity. The mother goes to prepare the evening meal. At the same time, she smells the scent of some of the plants used by the women in spitting on the son's body, especially the scent of the tall ginger leaves. But she does not talk of this matter to the women.

1. The patai are made of bamboo.

2. In the Tumentanik version, the object given the son to hold is tekalup (A., P.E. limbum), which is a large dish, made of the flower sheath of the Areca palm, and used for serving sago-jelly, and some other foods.
She was very pleased and amazed to see her son in his new form, and said to the women, "What have you done to my son? He is now grown-up and so handsome!" 1

The mother finished cooking sago-jelly and prepared the evening meal. The women fetched the nourishing food wâtu (A.), which they had made in advance, placed it before the son and his mother, and told them,

"You both eat this food with the sago-jelly. We cannot join you in the meal. We are not women, we are birds of paradise".

After the mother and her son had their meal, she told the women,

"You have been very good to us. My son would not have grown up and would not look so handsome without your help. Stay with us here and marry my son."

"We cannot stay on here. We cannot marry your son. We are not women, we are birds of paradise."

The next morning the weather was bright. The women said to the mother and her son, "It is sunshine today. We want to go now". Then they took off their human skins, put on their birds-of-paradise skins, and began to fly,

1. The theme of this paragraph, that is, the idea that a male child is changed into a grown-up and handsome man, that he is hidden in a room with fire-tongs in his hand, and that he is pulled out of the room in the above mentioned manner, giving great and unexpected delight to his parents, recurs in another Puang myth with slight differences.
while the mother and her son wept. They flew over Wiitabaan, Tawapu, Salaku, Mapun, and Sekan. Afterwards they turned towards Nuku and flew over Yarasi, Ningil, Yiwin, Weiwink and Bogasip. They flew down and stopped in Anguganak, where they saw some of the coconut trees of the Tumentanik village in the distance and said, "We must go back to our village now."

The people of the Anguganak village had left for the forest, except one man who had remained in the village, and was making a suwau (A.). He saw the women [who had turned from birds of paradise into women again] and asked

1. Here the Tumentonik and the Puang versions diverge radically. In the former, the two women fly back either to Tumentonik (according to some informants) or to Kraitom (according to others), and that is the end of the myth; whereas in the latter, as the above text shows, the myth continues a few more pages.

In this connection, there is another difference between the Tumentonik and the Puang peoples. The former, unlike the latter, associate the present myth with a myth concerning a man with a long penis, and sometimes narrate the two myths together. For the Tumentoniks, the two women turning into birds of paradise in the present myth are the same two women in the other myth.

Some of the major factors which seem to account for variations in Au myths will be discussed later.

2. Some of these names are in Maps 2 and 3, which show the directions in which the two women flew.

3. See Plate No.4.
them where they were coming from. The women told him the places they had passed through. Then he asked them if they would give him a fire. The women noticed that he had a fire already. Thus they pointed at their genitalia and said,

"Is it this fire that you want?"

"Yes, it is!"¹

Now the younger woman privately said to the older one who was in fact pregnant, "You are pregnant. Let me go to have intercourse with him". Having said so, the younger woman sat, legs open, on the edge of the hill (A. menju)² and asked the man to go down and approach her from below. He did so, but when he was close she kicked him and he rolled down the hill and died.

Afterwards, the women left the Anguganak village. They climbed the Wasitan hill, reached the Nopan River and bathed there, and passed through Wamayen.³ When they came to Yakoka,⁴ the older woman felt pain in her

1. In another myth the discovery of fire is attributed to a woman. In a number of myths the female genitalia is likened to a betel nut. The betel nut is an explicit sexual symbol in many contexts, and when its juice, after the nut is chewed, is spat on a person or a plant for the purpose of healing and physical growth, it is believed, among other things, that the juice makes the person and the plant 'hot'.
2. Au villages are all located on steep-sided ridges.
3. Wamayen is part of Yemnu.
4. It is part of Yemnu.
womb (A. *tanik*), and was about to give birth. So the younger woman hastened to build a shelter for childbirth. She started by cutting parts of the wasiwuk (A.; P.E. *wail limbum*) tree and the *hausa* (A.; P.E. *wail limbum*) tree.

Meanwhile there was a man from the Yemnu village at Touninouk. He heard somebody cutting trees at Yakoka. He went to Yakoka, saw the younger woman, and asked her,

"What are you doing here?"

"I am trying to build a shelter for a woman in labour."

"Go and bring her to my house."

The younger woman did so; and in the man's ceremonial house the older woman gave birth to a male child as well as to the leaves of *semi* (A.), *meni* (A.), and *yikirwaai* (A.).

It was night now; and they all slept in the Yemnu village. In the morning, the man went to the Tumentonik

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1. *Tanik* also means net-bag.
2. Apart from being part of Yemnu, Touninouk is the name of a clan in Puang. The clan is so called because it has originated from this place.
3. *Semi* and *meni* are scented, and are, as will be seen, used in many rituals. They are also used in love-magic. *Yikirwaai* is scentless and inedible. It is used in the hunting ritual performed for a dog in order that the dog hunts well.
   In another version, she does not bear a child at all, but only the above-mentioned plants. It should be added that a woman's bearing plants, or animals, is not something that, in the Puangs' view, happens only in myths, or could or might have happened in the past. In the Puangs' view, it can and does happen at the present time too.
village and told the two women's husband,

"Your wives have come back. They
are in Yemnu now, and the older one
has borne a male child in my house."

"I will come with you to Yemnu to bring
back only my second wife [the younger].
My first wife has borne a child in your
house and has made the house unclean.
She can remain there and become your
wife."

Thus the two men went to Yemnu, and the husband
brought back his second wife with him to Tumentonik.
CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE IDENTIFICATION OF BIRDS OF PARADISE WITH WOMEN (I)

1. THE BIRD AND THE BELOVED (FMBSD)

Myth No.1 is one of the most popular and best-known myths in Puang, especially among young men, who are willing to narrate it, at least in a brief form, at any time. The Puang frequently volunteer, "The bird of paradise is a woman" (A. *Haura tinousik meta*), and their evidence is Myth No.1 in which, as we have seen, two women in fact turn into birds of paradise. For the Puang, this statement does not, of course, mean that the birds and women are the same in body or in appearance. That is why in Myth No.1 the two women have to change their appearance; and whenever they wish to become human beings again they have to take off the birds' 'skins' (A. *iye*) and put on their human 'skins'. For the Puang the above statement means, as shown in the present and the following chapters, that the birds and women are the same in 'essence' or in soul (A. *himin*). In other words, in Puang thought the identification of birds of paradise and women is an 'essentialist' or 'animistic' assumption.
There is another myth, a short one, in which after her death a beloved girl turns into a bird of paradise, and forcefully 'takes away' her lover. The Puang believe that after his (or her) death, a person may 'take away', that is, cause the death of, his spouse or beloved, because he loves her so much that he is unable to remain, even after death, without her. In practice, the attribution of a person's death to such a cause is extremely rare. Sometimes married couples or lovers are, however, very sensitive about the separation caused by death. Before death, a person may tell his spouse, "I do not want you to remarry after my death", or "You may remarry after my death". In 1973, in the Nikis hamlet, where the present writer was staying, a few days before her death a bed-ridden wife told her husband,

"I want you to take another wife after me. There must be somebody to look after you and our son. But when you die you must join me and not your second wife."

A few decades ago, in the Wititai village, a young wife told her severely wounded husband, "If you die I will come with you". After his death she immediately committed suicide by drinking the poisonous juice of a creeper.

1. Out of a few hundred recorded cases of deaths, only in one case is a woman's death said to have been caused by her recently dead husband. And the husband is believed to have done so, not so much because of his desire to remain with her as because of his desire to punish her for her infidelity. Before his death when he was working on a plantation, she is said to have had an open and long-term liaison with another man.
(A. yuwaap). The two were buried together, as she had desired.

As will be shown in the course of the present chapter, the type of woman identified with the bird of paradise is basically a beloved, young, and marriageable woman, who is ideally a boy's FMBD (A. wosai) and probably his future bride. When a boy's beloved, or a FMBD of his whom he wishes to marry later, comes to his village, he may be told, "Your bird-of-paradise is here". Referring to a group of young and beautiful girls, a boy may say to his peers, "Look! There are so many birds of paradise over there". Sometimes a young married woman may also be referred to as the bird of paradise, but the same cannot be said of elderly women, whether married or unmarried.

It may be asked that if the bird is especially identified with unmarried women, why the women in Myth No.1 who transform themselves into birds are already married. As the reader will recall, in the myth the two women decide to transform themselves into birds after they have been neglected by their husband sexually; and after they have two experiences which are humiliating to a married woman, that is, on the one hand observing that their husband prefers to copulate with banana trees rather than them, and on the other being sexually shamed by him, with the help of dogs, in public. Thus by transforming themselves into
birds the women seem to draw their husband's attention to their feminine beauty and charm, to the best or the maiden form of their beauty and charm, while reminding him that they are what he used to, and should still, regard as his birds of paradise. Also by turning into birds and leaving the husband, the women seem to show their desire to return to their maidenhood, and their dissatisfaction with a marriage in which sexually they have no advantage over an unmarried woman.

Myth No. 1, and especially the way in which it ends, gives the impression that by turning into birds and leaving their husband for a while the two women succeed in making him appreciate their femininity and its beauty and value. As we have seen, after the women have turned into birds and just before they leave the village, the husband begins to weep, showing remorse and despair. At the end of the myth, it is he who goes to bring his wives back. And the wife he actually brings back to the village is the younger one, that is, the one who is more of a bird of paradise than the other.

The belief in the identification of birds of paradise with women is manifested in many contexts. The hunting magic of the bird and love-magic, which is the

1. As will be seen in the next chapter, the bird of paradise is conceived to have feminine beauty and charm to an extreme degree.
art of 'catching' young or unmarried women, are identical to a remarkable degree. The magical spells used in hunting the bird are also used in love-magic without any change whatsoever: ¹

**SPELL NO. 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nemeni [a female ancestor]</th>
<th>Kiya</th>
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<table>
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<th>Waiwut [a female ancestor]</th>
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The above spell is intended for the bird, as may be seen from the notes *Kiya Kiya Kiya*, which form one of the bird's calls. As will be recalled, in Myth No.1 as soon as the two women transform themselves into birds they start calling *Kiya Kiya Kiya*. The spell is, however, also used, with no alterations, in love-magic. There is a long and highly melodious major spell the beginning of which is as follows:

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¹ The first time an informant of mine gave me such a spell and said that it was also used in love-magic without any change, I refused to believe him and suspected that he was hiding his love-magic spells, or his hunting spells for the bird, from me. The Puang are highly secretive regarding their spells and may, easily and understandably, lie about them.
### SPELL NO. 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spell</th>
<th>&quot;iwoka woka&quot;</th>
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<tr>
<td>Haukeyin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hauripik</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uwa watu</td>
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</table>

The above spell, like Spell No.1, is intended for the bird, as may be seen from the notes "iwoka woka, iwoka woka" which form another call made by the bird. But the spell is also a major spell in love-magic.

The objects employed in love-magic and the hunting magic of the bird are sometimes the same. The scented leaves of *semi* (A.) and *meni* (A.), which are two of the favourite things used in love-magic, are, as described later in the present chapter, also employed in this hunting magic. To show the connection between the leaves on the one hand and the birds and women on the other, it

1. It is another form of 'Hauken', which is, as we have seen, the name of one of the two women turning into birds of paradise in Myth No.1.
2. It is the female bird of paradise.
3. *Uwa* means 'large, a large amount'; and *watu* is the name of a vegetable mixture, mentioned in Myth No.1, used in puberty rites, and believed to be highly nourishing. *Uwa watu* means 'a large amount of *watu*'. *Watu* is also said to be the name of a part of the forest.
may be added that in Myth No.1 one of the two women, who turned into birds, gave birth not only to a baby, but also to the leaves of semi and meni.

The most important object traditionally used in love-magic is, in a sense, what is called *yuwaap namsiko* (A.). That may be seen in the fact that the Puang use this term as the Au equivalent of the pidgin English word for love-magic (*marila*). *Yuwaap namsiko*, which is a cord (A. *yuwaap*) made of a rare plant (A. *namsiko*), is also employed, as will be seen below, in the hunting magic of the bird. Moreover, the cord is associated with a spell, with the same name, which is recited both in hunting the bird and in 'catching' women by love-magic. The spell is taught to a boy for the first time in his puberty rites, in which the cord is included in the decoration of his head.

Some parts of the bird of paradise itself are employed in love-magic. A small portion of the bird's heart is secretly added to the food of the woman desired. The bird's colourful plumage is used in a number of ways. For instance, a man burns a small part of the plumage and mixes it with a drop of blood from his finger, or with a piece of his finger-nail. Then he secretly puts the mixture, in a very small quantity, inside a betel nut, or dried and rolled tobacco leaves (the local cigarette), and casually gives it to his beloved. The plumage is an
essential head-dress for young men in spectacular Singing Rituals, in which men may find their partners for marriage or love-affairs. Scented leaves, such as those of semi (A.) and meni (A.), are often rubbed on the plumage when it is used as a head-dress.

Sometimes, a night before the night in which a Singing Ritual is performed, young men recite a long and melodious love-spell, in the men's ceremonial house, in front of the feathers of the bird of paradise, the cockatoo (A. hiika), and the cock. If the feathers move slightly that is taken as an indication that the love-spell is affecting young women's hearts (A. han), and as a result young women will easily fall in love on the night of the Singing Ritual.

The plumage of the bird of paradise, or rather that part of it forming the tail, is conceived to be like a woman's fibre-skirt. In the Au language, the word for the fibre-skirt, namely, nitan, is also used for the bird's plumage. One of the objects included in the hunting magic of the bird is, as will be shown below, a part of the plumage. Likewise, love-magic may include a piece of the beloved's fibre-skirt.

As it is also known to the Puang, the bird of paradise mouls from time to time. In order to persuade the bird to shed its feathers, which are so valuable in love-magic and self-decoration, more often, the Puang take
a fibre-skirt and hit the trunks of the trees with which the bird is especially associated. This ritual act is, to use James Frazer's terminology, an example of homoeopathic magic, and is concerned with the principle that 'like produces like'. Although Frazer's views on magic need to be modified considerably, there seems to be no doubt that the above ritual act is, among other things, based on the supposed analogy between the plumage and the fibre-skirt.

It is noteworthy that the Au term (nitan) for the fibre-skirt is also used in relation to a female spirit. As we have seen, gardens are associated with two major spirits, a male and a female, both of which may cause illness. In a healing ritual related to the female spirit an image representing that spirit is used. The image contains objects such as sugar cane and leaves of taro, which are tied together and covered by a plant resembling grass in shape and called mani wuk (A.). This grass-like covering is known to be the female spirit's 'fibre-skirt':

Mami wuk nitan kira:

Mami wuk is her fibre-skirt.

1. These trees are banana trees, ta (a.), wåkap (A.) and wåsiwrek (A.).
2. This healing ritual is performed in Puang and some other Au villages, but originally it belonged to the Tumentonik village.
3. Mani wuk is not yet identified by the present writer. But it will be recalled that in Myth No.1 in order to turn into birds of paradise, the two women took parts of a plant which is called wuk (A.) and resembles the bird's plumage, and fastened them on their arms and backs.
A basic evidence for the identification of birds of paradise with women lies in the taboos concerning the bird's meat. In Puang, women are forbidden to eat the bird, whereas men are not. The reason given for this rule is simply that the bird is a woman not a man. In other words, when a man is asked why a woman, unlike him, is forbidden to eat the bird, he simply says:

pentar haura tinausik meta (A.):
because the bird of paradise is a woman.

The principle which underlies the above reasoning is that one must not eat something which is really, though not apparently, the same as oneself. In other words, one must not eat something which is the same as oneself in the essentialist or animistic sense, no matter how different it may look physically.

The above principle is not, by any means, confined to the taboo in question. It is indeed a recurrent theme in many Puang food taboos regarding plants and especially animals. For example, women are forbidden to eat a bird called giurip (A.; a kingfisher),¹ whereas men are not, because the bird is believed to be a woman. Men must not eat a bird named hauripik (A.),² whereas women may, because the bird is conceived to be a man. A man who plants

1. For the identification of the bird see Table 2.
2. This bird will be identified and discussed in the next chapter.
wisan meta (A.) and yakup metik (A.), namely, two varieties of banana trees, later may eat from the former, which is said to be a woman, but not from the latter, which is said to be a man.

The food taboo concerning the bird of paradise is, however, a controversial issue among the Puang. A number of elderly men say that the above-mentioned taboo on the bird's meat is wrong, and that, in this regard, the taboo is really this: young men and young women are forbidden to eat the bird, whereas others, namely, old men, old women, and children, are not. The reason given by such elderly men for their view is that the bird's meat increases a person's interest in sex, and consequently may cause sexual troubles when eaten by young men and young women.

What underlies elderly men's view is, not that the bird is not a woman, but that it is not merely a woman in a general sense. It is a young, marriageable, and alluring woman. The close association of the bird with sex and love can be seen in the fact that, and in the extent to which, different parts of the bird are used in love-magic. We have seen, for example, that eating part of the bird's heart produces a desire for sexual or loving relationship in a woman. Later we will also see that the bird is conceived to be a very forward and active type of woman, with feminine beauty in its highest form.
Thus elderly men assume that the taboo on the bird's meat, which is for these men a moral and practical issue, should be concerned, not with the belief that the bird is a woman, but with the belief that the bird is young and alluring. In other words, for elderly men, in the case of this bird the principle that one must not eat something which is really identical with oneself is overshadowed by other considerations. It should be added here that the bird of paradise is not the only case in which factors other than the principle in question are taken into account. As will be seen in the present chapter, the eagle (A. haura him) is conceived to be a man, from which it follows that the eagle's meat must be forbidden to men and not women. But, in fact, the Puang taboo on this bird is something else: everyone is forbidden to eat the eagle except men who have been powerful enough to kill an enemy in warfare. The reason given for the taboo is that eagles are aggressive and kill other animals. What the taboo, therefore, takes into account is, not the idea that the eagle is a man, but the idea that the eagle is aggressive and dangerous, and its meat may harm persons who are not sufficiently strong.

It is noteworthy that no elderly man (or anyone else) maintains that giurip and wisan meta, the above-mentioned bird and banana tree respectively, must not be eaten by young men and young women, despite the fact that the bird
and the tree are, as we have just seen, both believed to be women. That seems to be because neither the bird nor the tree are conceived to be young women or associated with sex and love. In fact the bird giurip appears to be conceived rather as a mother, in the sense that it has taught the Puang their mother tongue and is associated with the origin of sago, that is, the major daily food which women provide and give their children and husbands. There is a myth according to which the dialect spoken in Puang has originated from this bird.¹ There are two myths concerning sago palms, in one of which the origin of the palm is associated with a mother's brother and in the other with this bird.²

The above view held by elderly men regarding the meat of the bird of paradise is not something exceptional in the context of Puang food taboos. There is, for example, another bird about which the Puang unanimously say that it must not be eaten by either young men or young women, on the grounds that it increases sexual desire. That bird is called meraken (A. a parrot),³ a part of which is used in love-magic. A man takes a small piece of the bird's excrement (A. mona), wraps it in the skin of the breadfruit tree, and secretly places it in a fire.

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¹. See pp.108-110.
². See also p.54.
³. See Table 2.
near which his beloved is sitting at night. He believes that as a result she will be stimulated sexually and will take the initiative in loving relationship. In another technique, which is said to have the same effect, a man takes a small piece of the bird’s excrement, mixes it with a drop of blood from his finger or some hairs from his arm-pit, then grinds and heats the mixture and secretly places it in his beloved’s food. The bird’s excrement may also be included in a dog’s food in order that the dog will hunt with much energy and enthusiasm.

It may now be asked why, in contrast to others and especially young men, some elderly men take the view, and indeed insist, that youths must not eat the bird of paradise. A major reason seems to be that in most societies elderly men tend to show much concern about the ethics of sex. This is especially true of Paung society at the present time, when traditional moral standards are being weakened increasingly. As we have seen before, for a few decades or so a considerable number of able-bodied men have usually been absent from the village throughout the year, employed as indentured labourers on coastal plantations. As a result, in the village many young women are alone, without their husbands or brothers; and illegitimate sexual relations and unwanted pregnancies are on the increase. At present the contract for indentured labour is for two years. But after finishing
their two-year contract, men often return to the village only to go back for another two-year contract after a few weeks or months. There are, therefore, young women in the village who have seen their husbands for only a few weeks or months in the course of four, if not more, years.

It may also be asked why the Puang all agree that young people must not eat the above bird meraken, whereas most of the Puang, especially young men, refuse to accept the same taboo on the bird of paradise. Meraken is not believed to be a woman and with regard to sex and love its important part is its excrement rather than its meat. Moreover, being a parrot, its meat is too little in quantity to hold strong views about. In contrast, the bird of paradise is larger, more hunted, and more significant in love-magic and practical life. Its plumage, for example, is used as a head-dress in Singing Rituals, forms part of the bride-wealth, and is a significant gift given to the mother's brother.

Finally it may be asked which of the two taboos on the bird of paradise is practically observed in Puang. Young and middle-aged men do sometimes eat the bird and say so in public. This also seems to have been the case in pre-contact times. A number of elderly men admit
that in their youth, when Puang was not much affected by post-contact changes, they did eat the bird from time to time. It should be noted here that neither of the taboos is sanctioned 'supernaturally', that is, by the fear of punishment from spirits or the ancestors.

So much for the food taboos on the bird of paradise. The two taboos are opposed to each other practically and morally. But as far as the identification of the bird with women is concerned, they are two variations on the same theme. Both assume that the bird is in essence a young woman. One taboo lays emphasis on the belief that the bird is a woman, and the other on the belief that it is young, and consequently concerned with sex and love.

2. THE BIRD AND FIRE

At night the Puang sleep on single beds near which there are small fires. It is useful to have the fires, as nights are, for the Puang, rather cool, the temperature being between 60° and 70°F.; and at night, as during the day, the Puang wear only fibre-skirts (women) and nowadays waist-cloths (men and women) or shorts (men). The fires are on the ground and the beds, which are flat and narrow, consist of raised platforms made of sago palm stems. During the night, sometimes a person rolls off his bed and is burned by the fire. This is,
however, a rare accident, perhaps because of the fact that the Puang usually sleep soundly or have grown accustomed to their flat and narrow beds.

But, in the Puang's view, falling into the fire while sleeping at night is not an accident; it is caused by a spirit which is a bird and associated with banana trees. Thus when such an accident occurs a healing ritual is performed for the person concerned. The ritual includes a bird-image which is called simply 'bird' (A. haura), and is, in size and shape, like a bird and has bird-like wings. There may be more than one bird-image in the ritual. The number of images may be up to three, and is in proportion to the gravity of the burn caused by the fire, or in the Puang's view, caused by the bird through the fire. The purpose of the ritual is, for the Puang, to appease the bird as a spirit, and to persuade it to stop harming the patient and to enter the image. After the ritual, the image is thrown away in order to get rid of the bird, which is believed to be, as a spirit, in the image by then.

As is usually the case with healing rituals and the spirits associated with them, the ritual and the bird are owned, not by the village as a whole, but by particular clans in the village. Meinemonak and Manisia hiika clans each have their own birds, in the form
of red (*A. ninik*) stones located somewhere in the forest, and are, therefore, the only clans in Puang which may perform the ritual.

In the above healing ritual, as can be seen, the name of the bird is not specified. There is, however, no doubt as to the identification of the bird. The Puang explicitly say that the bird is the bird of paradise and that the above bird-image is intended to resemble that bird in form and colour. There is, also, a short spell, recited in the above ritual, which clearly identifies the bird. In that spell the sound *kiya kiya kiya* is, as we have noted before, one of the calls made by the bird of paradise:

**SPELL NO. 3**

[Names of the ancestors]

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.............. kiya kiya kiya
.............. " " "
.............. " " "
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It is thus believed that the bird of paradise causes bodily harm through the fire, and the harm is healed by a ritual in which the bird is appeased. In other words, it is believed that the bird is sometimes harmful or aggressive. What we wish to examine now is the bearing of this belief on the assumption that the bird is a woman. We wish to see whether women are also believed to be harmful sometimes.
Let us first compare the Puang's conception of the bird with their conception of the eagle (A. haura him). In general the bird of paradise is said not to be harmful. It is known that the bird does not prey upon other birds and that it feeds on fruits, such as bananas, and insects, such as weisa (A.). In contrast, the eagle is said to be very harmful. It is known that the eagle kills and eats other birds and animals. A man said, "We fear the eagle. It kills and takes away many birds, marsupials, and sometimes even our dogs".

Unlike the bird of paradise, the eagle is believed to be a man, and indeed a highly aggressive man. Children and women are forbidden to eat the eagle's meat, otherwise they will be harmed. The meat is also taboo to men, unless they have been powerful and aggressive enough to kill an enemy in warfare. If a man who has not yet killed an enemy eats the meat his knees, it is said, will weaken and consequently he will not be able to walk well any more.

While the bird of paradise is associated with love-magic, the eagle is connected with a type of destructive magic, namely, pointing-magic. In the Warin village pointing-magic includes a spell in which the name of an eagle (A. kemun) is mentioned; and this eagle is believed to contribute to the success of that destructive magic:
SPELL NO. 4

Wabiya
[a magician]

Manuwi
[a magician]

Kemun
[an eagle]

Yamkaai
[a magician]

The above comparison between the bird of paradise
and the eagle shows that it is the latter, and not the
former, which is only and strikingly aggressive and
destructive. The former bird is thus conceived to be
harmful only to a limited degree; a point which also
seems to hold true for women.

In general, women are, and are conceived by men to
be, non-aggressive. Women do not, and are not expected
to, participate in inter-village warfare. Magicians, who
cause various illnesses (in other villages), are all men.
Women are, and are believed to be, alien to the theory and
practice of all types of destructive magic. Even when a
woman is involved in a most bitter conflict, such as a
marital one, it is not feared that she will resort to magic
to kill the man concerned. Nor is she accused of magic if
the man happens to die suddenly in the course of the conflict.

1. The three magicians mentioned in this spell are said to
be still alive and famous in the field of pointing-magic. Wabiya is said to live in the Witeili village, Manuwi in the Wolip village (near Witeili), and Yamkaai in the Bulawa village.

2. The sound kem is most likely related to kemun the eagle mentioned in this spell. It may be this bird's call.

3. Kemun is said to be black with white spots.

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Women are, however, also believed to be capable of causing harm to a limited degree. Since menstruating blood is thought to be dangerous, women cause men to become ill if they do not observe the taboos concerning this blood. For example, if a woman, even when she is not menstruating, walks over a man's meal he will grow breathless and may finally die of respiratory diseases.

Thus, as far as causing bodily harm is concerned, the bird of paradise and a woman are alike, that is, the latter, like the former, is believed to be harmful sometimes. There is, however, a problem here. The problem is that in this regard there are some significant differences between the bird and a woman. In the Puang's view, firstly, the bird is able to cure the harm which it causes. But the same cannot be said of a woman. After a woman has walked over a man's meal, there is nothing she can do to prevent him from growing breathless. Secondly, the bird is assumed to do harm intentionally, that is, the Puang agree that when the bird is causing a person to fall into the fire the bird is aware of what it is doing. But, as the Puang acknowledge, a woman may walk over a man's meal unintentionally, and still cause him to become ill. Thirdly, in practice a woman is far less accused of causing harm than the bird. In recent decades there have been several cases, in Puang and a few other Au villages, in which a person has been harmed through the fire supposedly caused by the bird. And in two of these instances the person has died of the burn.
In contrast, there is not a single case, recently or in the past, in which a man's illness or death, relating to respiratory diseases, is said to have been caused by a woman. My elderly informants often suffered from breathing problems to a lesser or greater degree; but they never put the blame on their wives or other women.

It should be added here that, in the Puang's belief, respiratory illnesses may also be caused by other factors, especially spirits. Moreover, it seems that the Puang have come to accept the illnesses, to a large extent, as part of the 'natural' course of events; because, firstly, the illnesses are among the most common health problems in Puang and indeed the whole Lumi Sub-District. Secondly, the illnesses do not usually cause untimely and quick death, that is, they cause death usually after a long period of time and at old age. Thus it often happens that when an informant says that A died of 'breathlessness' (A. han kiyewa), he does not go further to explain this illness by personalistic or final causes, such as spirits and magicians' destructive magic. The informant may give such an explanation, but it will be for A's death and not A's breathlessness. For instance, the informant may add that A died of magic as well as respiratory difficulties.

We are, therefore, left with the problem that the bird of paradise is believed to be on the one hand
essentially a woman, and on the other different from a woman in certain significant respects. The clue to this problem was given in the preceding section of the present chapter: the bird is identified, not simply with women in general, but with the beloved, who is ideally a boy's wosai (A.), that is, his FMBSD. As far as causing harm is concerned, the wosai is not basically different from women in general; but the same cannot be said of her clan, or rather her clansmen. As we have seen before, her clan, being the wife-giver, has an exacting and at times punitive attitude towards the boy's clan, which is the wife-taker. This attitude is especially manifested in the relationship between a mother's brother and his sister's son (after all, the wosai and the boy are, respectively, the children of a FMB and his FFZS). By magic a MB may cause his ZS to become ill as a punishment when the latter fails to fulfil his kinship obligations towards the former.

Now with regard to causing harm, the MB and the bird resemble each other in exactly those respects in which the latter differs from women in general. Firstly, the MB and the bird are both believed to be capable of curing the physical sufferings which they cause. Secondly, as with the bird, the harm caused by the MB is intentional: he cannot, of course, make a magical
bundle without being aware of what he is doing. Thirdly, like the bird, the MB is sometimes accused of causing harm in practice.¹

The last problem to be discussed in this section is the question why the bird of paradise is associated with falling into the fire at night rather than with so many other misfortunes and illnesses with which the Puang have to cope in daily life. What makes this association especially significant is that it is an exclusive one; that is, at least in theory, falling into the fire is attributed only to the bird, and not to other factors, such as the MB, spirits, and destructive magic. In Puang, not only in practice but also in theory many misfortunes and illnesses are not exclusively associated with a certain factor. For example, swelling of the legs may, even in theory, be attributed to more than one type of destructive magic as well as to the spirits connected with Singing Rituals. Or, as we have just seen, in theory respiratory diseases are not exclusively explained, if explained at all, by the breach of taboos on menstruation blood.

We have made a distinction between theory and practice here, as in practice the explanation of an illness, including a misfortune causing bodily harm, is more complicated than it is in theory. In practice

¹. In the following section of the present chapter we shall see that there is also another basic characteristic, unrelated to causing harm, which the bird and the MB have in common.
the Puang's explanation or diagnosis of an illness depends as much on the social context of the illness - a context which varies from case to case - as on the type and characteristics of the illness. For example, it may happen that a man who has received burns in the fire has delayed in paying the bride-wealth for his wife. In such a case he may say that his burns are caused by the bird of paradise, but his wife's clansmen may insist that he is being punished by their ancestors for not having paid the bride-wealth yet. His wife's clansmen may also try to give a more plausible explanation and state that their ancestors are punishing him through the bird, that is, by having made the bird harm him. To give an actual example. A year before I went to the field, in the Nikis hamlet, a man from the Taruwap clan called Maurika had fallen into the fire at night, and one of his arms had been amputated in a missionary hospital. His injury was attributed, especially by him, to the bird, and the bird's healing ritual had been performed for him. But certain people from other clans in the hamlet expressed different views. A man (Meyes) from the Meinemonak clan said:

"Before Maurika fell into the fire he had gone to my part of the forest and [without my permission] had cut a sago palm which my ancestors had planted for me. I did not mind and did not complain to Maurika about it, but my ancestors grew angry and caused the accident ...."
A man (Yawel) from the Marri Sia Hiika said:

"Maurika had gone to my part of the forest to shoot bandicoots [without my permission]. So my ancestors grew angry and made him fall into the fire. Yes, they did it through the bird of paradise. This is what we found out in a dream, and became sure of it after putting bamboo into a fire [A. mari sii; a divination technique] ...."

The above explanations in terms of other clans' ancestors were taken seriously, as rituals to appease those ancestors had been performed for Maurika.

Thus we wish to know why the bird of paradise is associated with falling into the fire; an association which is, at least in theory, an exclusive one. The answer to this question would appear to be this: the Puang unconsciously conceive the act of falling into the night fire to be analogous to sexual intercourse, or falling in love, with a woman. The reasons we make this assumption are as follows:

1. Fire is associated with sex and women. We have seen in myth No. 1 that the female genitalia is conceived to be analogous to fire. In the myth a man asks two women for a fire. The women notice that he has already a fire, and while pointing at their genitalia say, "Is it this fire that you want?" and he says, "Yes, it is". We have also observed that, in one myth, the origin of fire is attributed to a woman (or rather an old woman); and that, in more than one myth, the female
genitalia is likened to a betel nut, which is believed to be 'hot' and is used in many rituals especially for the purpose of healing and physical growth. We may add another example here. After her puberty rites a pubescent girl is forbidden to expose herself to the sunlight for three days, otherwise the sun, it is said, will 'cook' her; a taboo implying that the state she is in is by itself too hot.1

2. Receiving burns in a fire is analogous to being cooked or over-cooked. Fire and the process of being cooked are associated with sex and love in many cultures. Not unexpectedly S. Freud has drawn attention to fire as a symbol of sex and love or, as he would put it, of libido in dreams and European mythology.2 In English, one may speak of being 'burnt' or 'consumed' by love, or of the 'devouring fire' of love. In English poetry, love has frequently been expressed in terms of being on fire or burning, as in this typical Elizabethan love lyric:


Fire! fire! my heart!
O help! Ay me! I sit and cry me,
And call for help, but none comes nigh me!
O, I burn me! alas!
I burn! Ay me! will none come quench me?
Cast water on, alas, and drench me.¹

Describing the effects of love on him, an Oriental poet and mystic writes:

The outcome of my life is not more than
three remarks:
I was raw, I was cooked, I was burnt.²

The close link between sex and eating is well-established in anthropology;³ an assumption which, as we have seen, holds true for the Puang too. In myth No. 1 the term 'eating' is used with sexual connotations. In the Au language 'to eat' genitalia means 'to copulate'. Thus the point that sex and being cooked are also similarly linked does not appear to be very far-fetched, as eating and cooking are themselves related processes. Levi-Strauss's book, The Raw and the Cooked, is basically concerned with the bearings of the antithesis between the raw and the cooked and that between nature and culture.

The book does, however, include many facts which may be taken as evidence for the point at issue here. For instance, according to certain Latin American myths, fire originated from an old woman, particularly from her vagina.¹ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, in parts of France an unmarried woman whose younger sister had already married was 'warmed up' on top of the oven, as she had been indifferent to love:

"If a younger daughter was married first, this was a sad day for her poor elder sister, for at some point during the celebrations she would, willy-nilly, be seized upon, lifted up and laid on the top of the oven, so that she might be warmed up, as the saying was, since her situation seemed to indicate that she had remained insensitive to love ...."²

3. In Puang thought heat, fire, and cooking are associated not only with sex and love, but also with many other phenomena, especially magic and ritual. To give some examples a few of which have been examined in earlier chapters. After performing magic a magician must remain 'hot', otherwise his magic will not be efficacious. He must eat niu (A.; sago flour cooked without water), which is 'hot', and not sago-jelly (sago flour cooked with water), which is 'cold'. Also, he

must not bathe or stand in a heavy rain, both of which would make him 'cold'. In pointing-magic, the novice eats or chews a great deal of ritually 'hot' things, such as kepna (A.; a magical mixture described before) and betel nut, after which he is said to be 'roasted' (A. sii taak). The harmful effect of magic on the victim will cease if he is given ginger roots (A. nekip) to eat, as the roots will make him 'cold'. A magical bundle must remain 'hot', otherwise it loses its efficacy. The bundle must not be put in water, unless the magician intends to stop harming the victim. In contagious magic, the most important magic to the Puang, the bundle is placed in a fire or under heated stones, in order to destroy or, as the Puang say, to 'cook' it (A. hahim). The 'cooking' of the bundle, which contains the victim's soul, harms the victim because it makes his soul unbearably 'hot'.

Indeed it may be argued that in Puang magic and ritual the idea of heat, or the antithesis between hot (A. sii sii; sii:fire) and cold (A. nima nima), is almost of the same significance and prevalence as the idea of mana in the magic and ritual of some Papua New Guinean and Oceanic societies. Like mana, the Puang idea of heat is, as the above examples show, directly related to the efficacy of magic and ritual. In some societies, such as the Lalaita, mana is connected with
Heat differs from mana in that it is not conceived to be 'supernatural' or to emanate from spirits and the ancestors.\(^1\)

To make the analogy between heat and mana more understandable, it should be added that Puang is not the only Papua New Guinean society which, on the one hand, lacks the idea of mana and, on the other, is preoccupied by the idea of heat. Fortune's classical study of the Dobu Islanders provides us with a good example. Among the Dobuans, who lack the concept of mana, "the sorcerer engaged in sorcery believes that he must keep his body hot and parched" and must abstain from acts which "diffuse his heat", as what underlies Dobuan thought is that "heat ... has to be stimulated to an extraordinary pitch for the practice of sorcery ....\(^2\)

Likewise, witchcraft

"... is also associated with the sign of heat—fire. It is believed that ... fire issues from the pubes of flying—witches as they go through the night. The body of the witch is also unusually 'hot'."\(^3\)

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4. Ibid., p.295.
It is also worthy of note that, as in Puang, in Dobu fire is closely associated with sex and women. The mythical origin of fire is an old woman's pubes and vagina, and it "is believed that fire still issues from the pubes of old women". Moreover, the acts of fire-making and sexual intercourse are closely linked even from a terminological point of view:

"Fire is made by rubbing a blunt rounded ended stick in a groove worn to fit it in the threshold. The groove is termed kemwani, the stick rubbed in it is called kekusi, and the act of rubbing it is 'usi, 'usi. Kusi or 'usi is the term for the male member, and in bad language the sex act is sometimes spoken of as 'ta 'usi 'usi be i sabelulu, we copulate and it flames up', sabelulu being the term for fire catching and flaming. There is thus a parallelism in terminology between fire-making and the sex act."  

4. We have so far tried to enumerate the reasons why falling into the fire is associated with the bird of paradise. We wish to add a supplementary reason which may well be conjectural or, if it is preferred, more conjectural than the above-mentioned reasons. One of the major species of the bird is the Raggiana bird of paradise (L. Paradisaea raggiona), "with immense red to

apricot coloured flank plumes'. And what is more, among the Hageners, in the West Highlands District, a subspecies of this species, whose red colour is especially deep, is called parka ndip. The second part of this name means 'fire':

"The Hageners call by the term parka the raggiana and the salvadorii subspecies of the Raggiana bird of paradise species, but distinguish the latter as parka ndip, 'parka fire', from its scarlet flanks."²

The above red species does not, however, exist in the Au area or most parts of the Sepik region.³ The species with which Puang beliefs are concerned is, as will be seen, another major species, namely, the Lesser Bird of Paradise (L. Paradisaea minor), the flank plumes of which are bright yellow and white. But the Puang are also familiar with the red species. They call the red species by the same term (A. haura tinousik) as the Lesser Bird, which is to them 'their' bird of paradise. And this familiarity may have had some influence on the association of the bird of paradise with fire in Puang thought. It may be objected that the Puang's knowledge of the red species is most likely a result of post-contact

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changes, such as indentured labour on coastal plantations. But it is also possible, as the following arguments attempt to suggest, that the Puang's knowledge in this regard has only increased in the post-contact period; that is, the Puang have, perhaps, had some familiarity with the red species even in pre-contact times.

As we have seen before, the Puang are all migrants, of the recent or remote past, and in-migration is a characteristic of the past history of the Sepik region as a whole. Thus the Puang may have come into contact with peoples who knew the red species or used its red plumes as a head-dress. The districts which have this species,1 such as the Western Highlands District, are adjacent to, and not far from, the Sepik Districts. Moreover, the Puang have had a long-standing contact with Malays. Malays, who, like the Puang, refer to a beloved and beautiful woman as the bird of paradise,2 have more than one name for this bird. One of the names is 'divine bird' (M. burong dewata)3 and another is, significantly enough, 'flame-bird' (M. burong marak; burong:bird; marak:flame of fire).4 Finally, the

1. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.279; see also p.209 and R. Winstedt, 1949, op.cit.
4. The above sources include the words burong and marak (R.J. Wilkinson, pp.170,742; R. Winstedt, pp.40,172), but not the term burong marak as one of the names of the bird of paradise. I was kindly informed of this term by Mr A. Bakar Saripuddin, a student in the University of Edinburgh from the State of Brunei, who said that at least in his country the bird is called by this term.
reader will recall an ethnographic fact pointed out in the early part of the present section: two Puang clans each have their own birds of paradise, in the form of stones located somewhere in the forest, and are therefore the only clans in the village entitled to perform the healing ritual of the bird. The reader will also recall that these stones are said to be, not yellow (A. Kounou) or white (A. hiika), but red (A. ninik).

In conclusion it may be said that the Puang's possible familiarity with the above red species of the bird of paradise is not, however noteworthy, the decisive factor in the exclusive association of the bird with falling into the fire at night: in the Au area there are many birds which are partly or wholly red. The Puang have made this association because, firstly, they unconsciously see an analogy between falling into the fire and sexual intercourse, or falling in love, with a woman. Secondly, for the Puang the bird of paradise is not only a woman, but also a woman highly concerned with love and sex, as we have also seen in the discussions on love-magic and the taboos on the bird's meat. Thus the association in question sheds a further light on the deep-rooted assumption that the bird is a woman, or rather a wosai (FMBSD). In contrast to a man's sister, his wosai is exactly the type of girl who may arouse loving and sexual feelings in him, as she is potentially his wife.
3. THE BIRD AND THE BANANA

In the early part of the above section it was mentioned that the Puang associate the bird of paradise with the banana. In the same section we have also seen that the bird is in the habit of eating the banana, and that partly - or rather mostly - its flank plumage is, like the banana, yellow; two facts which have direct bearings on this association. The relationship between the bird and the banana is indeed very close and significant in Puang thought. The Puang say that the bird, that is, as a spirit, resides 'on' (A. kantaar) banana trees and is responsible for the growth of the banana. The magical spell recited for the growth of the banana relates to the bird:

SPELL NO. 5

[Names of the ancestors]

. . . . . . . . . . kiya kiya kiya
. . . . . . . . . . " " "
. . . . . . . . . . " " "

The reader will note that the above spell appears to be similar to spell No. 3 (see p.448) which is used to

1. As we have seen, this is a sound made by the bird of paradise.
cure a person burnt in the fire, supposedly as a result of the bird's power. In fact, the two spells are identical; that is, even the names of the ancestors mentioned in the spells are the same. The fact that the same spell is used on the one hand to cure a human being and on the other to make a plant grow well should not be surprising. Curing and contributing to physical growth are related issues; and the Puang tend, as will be seen more clearly later, to identify themselves with nature, especially animals and plants. It is also noteworthy that many Puang spells are of the above type. For example, the spell used for the growth of coconut is also used to cure illnesses supposedly inflicted on man (and the pig and the dog) by the spirit (A. wasiuk) residing 'on' (A. kantaar) the coconut palm. The spells recited in planting yams and taro are also recited to cure illnesses caused by garden-spirits (A. maam and tahat), which are associated with these plants.

Thus the Puang believe that the bird of paradise is responsible for the growth of the banana. What we wish to show in this section is the bearings of this belief on the identification of the bird with women. First of all, it should be noted that birds are often associated with the growth of plants, and their names are, not infrequently, included in plant-spells. The Puang say that the birds mentioned in such spells help a plant to grow well by 'pulling it upwards'.
There is, for example, a long spell used in planting two types of taro, namely, maraken (A.) and merayen (A.) This spell includes repeated references to two birds called wunpen (A.; a pigeon) and wânem (A.; a pigeon).¹ There is another spell, for the same types of taro but owned by a different clan, in which the birds called meraken (A.; a parrot) and wunwunan (A.; a lory) are mentioned. As far as this spell is concerned, apart from the fact that one of the birds and one of the taro have the same name (meraken), the two taro and the birds' plumage are said to be red (A. ninik).

The above two spells also include the names of certain ancestors. But the spell recited in planting the tulip tree, quoted below for illustration, is only concerned with birds:

**SPELL NO. 5**

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<th>Nemanp²</th>
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<th>Mankuk</th>
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<tr>
<th>Nemanp</th>
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(cont.)

1. For more exact identification of these and most of the birds mentioned in this section see the present thesis, Table 2, p.63.
2. A pigeon.
3. & 4. These notes seem to be the calls of the two birds.
Since birds are good for the growth of plants, they are also often, as we have just explained, good for curing human beings. Moreover, sometimes bird-spells are used only for curing purposes. In the Warin village, a spell used for the purpose of curing the victim of pointing-magic includes the names of two birds (A. mutape, tape) and a flying fox (A. yuwanap). In Puang a spell recited for the same purpose includes the name of another bird (A. nemanp). The following Puang spell is believed to

1. A pigeon.
2. The seed of the tulip tree. The Puang say that the above birds are in the habit of eating the seed; and the birds' excrement contains the seed, which is taken and used in planting. The Puang believe that the birds not only help the tree to grow well, but also have originally produced the tree: it is the birds' excrement from which the tree has originated.
cure swelling of the legs:

**SPELL No. 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wanya [a male ancestor]</td>
<td>pir pir pir pir&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanyo [a male ancestor]</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wânen [crowned pigeon]</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wunpen [crowned pigeon]</td>
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</table>

Birds are also associated with resuscitation, which is, like curing, related to the idea of physical growth. In raiding-magic (A. hiwaak; P.E. sanguma), a major destructive magic described before, the victim is at first physically attacked and made unconscious. Then he is, it is said, 'revived' and made to stand up with the help of a spell. Significantly enough, this spell is called 'bird' (A. haura). One version of this spell, belonging to the Taruwap clan, includes the names of four birds (A. nemanp, tape, wânen, wunpen). Another version, belonging to the Neknauken clan, includes the names of two birds (A. hiisu, yinka).

It is said, by middle-aged men, that there is another spell called 'bird' and known only to elderly

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1. These notes are found in many spells, and form a means of attracting and calling birds in general.
men, who recite it in order to strengthen their knees for the sake of walking, whenever they want to leave the village for the forest. Although elderly men deny any knowledge of the spell, their denial does not affect middle-aged men's strong conviction in this regard.

Referring to an elderly man, a middle-aged informant said:

"He is lying. He definitely knows the spell, but does not want to disclose it to others. If he did not know the spell he could not walk and do gardening so well at such an old age."

The question whether there is such a spell or not does not, however, concern us here. What concerns us here is the fact that there exists a belief that a spell relating to birds can bring back an old man's knees to their vigorous state.

It is also said, by middle-aged informants, that while reciting the above spell elderly men may rub their knees with a type of nettle which is, meaningfully enough, called 'bird-nettle' (A. haplak haura; haplak:nettle; haura:bird). This nettle is also used in puberty rites and many healing rituals.

So much for the association of physical growth with birds in general. In this regard the bird of paradise is, however, the most important bird. Its exquisite flank plumage is extremely and uniquely long (450 mm)¹ and represents for the Puang, as will be seen in some

detail later, physical growth in its highest form. Moreover, the bird is responsible for the most important growth, namely, that of adolescent boys and girls. In myth No.1 the two women who turn into birds of paradise perform puberty rites with an extraordinary success; that is, they change an unhealthy boy into a grown-up handsome man. The actual performance of these rites is also sometimes carried out with the 'spiritual' help of the bird.

Besides, the bird is responsible for the growth of banana trees, which are themselves good for the growth of many things, and indeed more important than any other plant for this purpose. Bananas may be good for the growth of plants, animals, children, and adolescents. There is an inedible banana (A. hasik), mentioned at the very beginning of myth No.1, the tree of which is very large and tall. The juice of this banana, which is said to be almost as clear as water, is taken and kept in a bamboo tube. Later the juice is poured on taro and yams (not mami) in the garden or on an adolescent in his (or her) puberty rite in the belief that it is good for physical growth. The juice may also be added to the sago-jelly eaten by a domestic pig for the same purpose.

In the Puang's view, the most important banana tree is yakup metik (A.), which is, as we have seen before, conceived to be a man. Indeed part of its name, that
is, metik, literally means 'man' (as against woman) or 'husband'. The bananas of this tree, which are said to grow upwards in contrast to other bananas which hang down, are believed to be especially good for physical growth. Sometimes the yakup metik bananas are eaten communally for this purpose. A great number of the bananas are roasted on fire and mixed with certain other things, such as meat and coconut, which are thought to be nourishing. Then the mixture is formed into a large image of a man, with a penis. Afterwards the image is decorated with penis-sheaths (P.E. gam; A. pirir; see Plate No.8) and shell rings (both of which may also be used in self-decoration), and kept in the men's ceremonial house. The image is made at the time of a major Singing Ritual (A. marara wân), and is eaten by children and young people, including women. The name of the image is himin (A.), which literally means 'soul'. This name is not inappropriate. As will be seen in the discussion of the soul, the Puang conceive the soul to be, among other things, like the body in form. A person's image in water is, for instance, believed to be his soul.

The bird of paradise is, therefore, associated with physical growth to the highest degree. But does this also hold true for women, with whom the bird is identified? The answer is negative. It is true that, in the Puang's view, women, like men, play an indispensable role in
Penis-Sheaths. Traditionally, penis-sheaths are usually worn by young men, but not always by old men. A(1) and A(2) are varieties of the same shell. B(1) and B(2) are the same type of sheath, the former being old and used and the latter new and unused. Unlike sheath B (A. weiken), sheath A (P.E. gam ; A. pirrit) does not seem to be of a remote past. The cords of both sheaths A and B are called *turuwa hamin* (A.), and made from the fibres of the bark of *Gnetum gnemon* (L. ; P.E. tulip ; A. taruwa).

Sheath A is also used as a body-decoration, forms part of a bride-wealth gift, and is included (representing the heart) in some spirit-images made for Singing Rituals (P.E. *singsing* ; A. *hanya*). Sheath B is the empty shell of the fruit of a wild tree called, like the sheath, *weiken*. The fruit is not edible, but has a medicinal usage: it is grated by a bamboo-knife (A. *waten*), and the resulting powder is mixed with water and poured on skin infections and injuries.
procreation; and sago prepared by women, like hunting meat provided by men, is good for the growth of children. It is also true that the Puang say, 'girls grow by the month and boys by the year' - an almost common-sense statement meaning that girls pass through puberty faster (or earlier) than boys. But such beliefs do not indicate that physical growth is associated with women to the same degree as with the bird.

The solution to the above problem, as with a similar problem in the preceding section, lies in the fact that the bird is identified, not simply with women in general, but with marriageable young women, or the wosai (FMBSD), whose clan is the wife-giving clan. The preservation and growth of clans as well as individuals depend on the wife-giving clan, or on that clan giving the wosai in marriage. A clan as a whole cannot continue to exist and cannot sustain or increase its numerical strength without receiving wives (ideally the wosai) for its male members from the wife-giving clan. An individual's well-being and physical growth in adolescence are believed to be under the control of the wife-giving clan, represented by the mother's brother. As we know, the MB may sicken his ZS by magic if the latter does not fulfil his kinship obligations towards the former. Boys and girls are believed not to grow well if puberty
rites are not performed for them by the MB. The performance of these rites is attributed to the bird in myth No.1, as the bird, being the wosai, is closely related to the MB; a relationship another aspect of which was shown in the preceding section.

Finally, it should be noted that it is not only the bird of paradise whose value with regard to physical growth is related to the MB. In general the Puang tend to conceive this value in terms of the characteristics of the MB, or in association with him. This point is in fact already illustrated in the present section. We have seen that the birds which help plants to grow well are said to 'pull upwards' the plants concerned. Likewise, in puberty rites the MB 'pulls upwards' his ZC's hair. We have also seen that middle-aged men believe in the existence of a bird-spell which strengthens a man's knees in old age. The ZS is believed to have emerged from his MB's knees.

Bananas, which are, like birds, good for physical growth, have a special association with the MB. There are a number of beliefs and taboos concerning the bananas of the FMB, that is, the wosai's father, as well as those of the MB. The MB is, for example, believed to have a 'blood' relationship with his own yakup metik banana, which is, as mentioned above, the most important banana for the Puang. In planting this banana, the MB's
blood is believed to go into it. The same holds true for the FMB.

4. THE BIRD AND ITS HUNTING MAGIC

The hunting magic of the bird of paradise has a most direct and meaningful bearing on the identification of the bird with women. In the first section of the present chapter, in discussing love-magic, we have seen that this magic, which is the art of 'catching' young and marriageable women, and the hunting magic of the bird are identical or analogous to a remarkable degree. We have seen, for example, that often the spells and objects used in the two kinds of magic are the same, that the bird's heart may be used in love-magic, and that while love-magic may include the bird's plumage (called nitan), the hunting magic may include a woman's fibre skirt (also called nitan).

Since the hunting magic of the bird is already discussed to some extent, the present section is confined to the analysis of only one further - and major - example of magic used in hunting the bird. The example in question is as follows. The hunter takes a small bit of the bird's plumage and scrapings of the leaves of the shrubs called semi (A.), meni (A.) and yayrap (A.), and covers them with a fibrous sheet, namely, the bast tissue of a coconut palm (P.E. laplap bilong kokonas;
A. wâ hitiin). He then fastens the bundle by the tulip strings (A. taruwâ hamin), that is, the strings made from the fibres of the bark of the tulip tree (P.E.; L. Gnetum gnemon; A. taruwâ), and puts the bundle in his net-bag. Having done so, he embarks on hunting the bird in the forest.

The above magical bundle is, as the Puang agree, like the bundle made in contagious magic (P.E. poison; A. nasi): it includes something closely associated with the bird, namely, a bit of the bird's plumage,¹ and it is intended to 'fasten' (A. hasankakik) the bird's soul (A. himin).

The above bundle is, however, different from the bundle of contagious magic in some significant respects. For example, unlike the latter, the former is not destroyed, by fire, heated stones, and the like, as the hunter does not, evidently, intend to kill or harm the bird before finding it. It is for the same reason that, unlike the latter, the former is bound loosely. The latter is not only wrapped in the same fibrous sheet and tightly fastened by cords, but also glued with a very sticky substance, in order to cause its victim to 'suffocate' (A. nap masis).²

Moreover, the hunter keeps his magical bundle with him by carrying it in his net-bag, as, in the Puang's

¹. Instead of, or in addition to, the plumage, the bundle may include a piece of bone from the bird.
². For the characteristic of the bundle of contagious magic see pp.128-33.
view, he wishes on the one hand to fasten the bird's soul, and on the other to draw this soul near him, so that the bird will come within shooting distance. Also, after shooting the bird he is not anxious to get rid of the bundle quickly, as the bird's ghost is not believed to try to take vengeance upon him. In contrast, in contagious magic the magician does not keep his bundle close to himself, and after supposedly killing the victim by destroying it he keeps away from it immediately, as otherwise the victim's ghost will identify him and take revenge. This is why, as the Puang emphasize, a person must perform this magic, not in his own village, but in the forest, so that he may leave the bundle and the site of his performance immediately, without returning there for a very long time.

Certain other differences between the above bundle and the bundle of contagious magic shed light on the identification of the bird with women. The contents of the latter bundle are, as we have seen before, harmful. In contrast, the contents of the former bundle, namely, the shrubs called semi, meni, and yayrap are harmless. Indeed the shrubs are scented and intended to attract, and not by any means harm, the bird's soul. And what is more, the shrubs, especially the semi, are frequently used in love-magic to attract young women.
It is partly for this purpose that the *semi* is often planted in or near the village site. Once, in the Nikis hamlet, where the present writer was staying, elderly men grew so indignant at an illegitimate love-affair (between a boy and a young married woman) within the hamlet that they pulled out the *semi* which had been planted near the hamlet site.

The above shrubs are also believed to have a stimulating effect on the hearts of the bird and the beloved. The same effect is attributed to the shrubs in many other contexts. For instance, a hunting dog may be given meat mixed with the scrapings of the wild taro associated with hunting-spirits, *semi*, and *meni*, so that he will hunt energetically.

The leaves of the *semi* are used in love-magic in many ways. A man may rub the leaves on a betel nut before giving it to his beloved. He may add scrapings of the leaves to her food. He may put the scrapings inside a cigarette (dried and rolled tobacco leaves) which he intends to give her. He may rub the *semi* leaves, or their scrapings, on the place she is expected to sit, or on her sago-pounder, which she holds to pound sago almost every day. He may also mix the scrapings with a drop of blood from his finger (or his penis), or with some hairs from his arm-pit (or his pubes).
Sometimes the semi leaves, or their scrapings, are dried in the sun before being used, in order to reduce their scent and consequently the possibility of their recognition by the beloved. A woman must not know that love-magic is being done on her, otherwise she will not, it is said, submit to it. For instance, she will, or is suspected to, throw away a betel nut if she comes to know that it includes love-magic elements. That is why a man gives such a betel nut (or cigarette) to her very casually, or through someone else. That is also why the scrapings of the semi leaves are used in a very small quantity, and sometimes the scrapings are poured in water and only a few drops of the water are used.

In love-magic there is another method which has been developed by the Puang in recent decades and which includes the semi. The lover secretly places the leaves of the semi on the path of his beloved. After she has walked over the leaves, he adds the scrapings of the leaves and a drop of his own blood to a bottle of cosmetic lotion which he buys from a missionary trade-store. He may also add a piece of her left-over betel nut, cigarette, or hair to the bottle. Then he makes a hole in the ground, puts the bottle in the hole, and covers the hole by a small fire. The hole is made in or near the village-site at night or during the day. The fire must make the bottle only hot without harming or destroying it. Later if he decides to break off his loving relationship with her he puts the bottle in water, and
thus makes both the bottle and her heart cold.

In the above method, having the beloved walk over the leaves of the *semi* is intended to make the leaves associated with her soul: the Puang believe that a person's shadow is, or is a manifestation of, his soul. The ground-hole is made in or near the village site, as this magic, unlike contagious magic, is not intended to cause death, and consequently will not make the beloved's soul try to take vengeance upon the lover.

The fire must not damage the bottle, as damaging the bottle, like the destruction of the bundle in contagious magic, will, in the Puang's view, fatally harm the beloved. Indeed the reason why the Puang dare place the bottle near a fire is that they know that the bottle, unlike the bundle, cannot be easily destroyed by the fire.

We have so far seen that the *semi* is used not only in the bundle of the hunting magic of the bird of paradise, but also in many forms of love-magic. Another significant difference between this bundle and the bundle of contagious magic is this: the former is fastened by the *tulip* strings (*A. taruwà hamin*) whereas the latter by the cords (*A. pirik*) of a type of wild *limbum* (P.E.; *A. hausa*). Unlike the *tulip* strings, the cords are also used in fastening arrows, which are, like contagious magic, destructive. Furthermore, in contrast to the cords,
the **tulip** strings have a large number of associations with women, sex, physical growth, curing, and reviving:

i. Women's fibre-skirts, which are likened to the plumage of the bird of paradise, are made of the **tulip** strings.

ii. Penis-sheaths (see plate 8) are tied to the penis by the **tulip** strings.

iii. The **tulip** strings are used by both men and women in self-decorations, such as waist-bands, armbands, headbands, and necklaces (see for an example plate 5). They are also used, as we have seen in myth No.1, in the head-dressing of boys in puberty rites.

iv. The **tulip** tree, from which the **tulip** strings are made, is a significant tree and closely associated with women. Its leaves are the most important green vegetables in the diet. The leaves, and at times the young fruits of the tree, are eaten almost every day throughout the year. Gathering the leaves, and sometimes the fruits, is characteristically part of a woman's daily work. That is why one of the situations in which a woman may easily be 'shot' by pointing-magic unawares is said to be when she is on the tree plucking the leaves. When a lover and his beloved secretly meet in the forest, he may take with him hunting meat whereas she takes sago and **tulip** leaves.
v. In the preceding section, we have seen that the tulip tree is closely associated with two birds, namely, nemang (A.) and tape (A.), which are believed to have originally produced the tree. We have also seen that the names of the two birds are mentioned in the spells recited in planting the tree, in curing the victim of pointing-magic, and in reviving the victim of raiding-magic.

vi. Net-bags, which are made of the tulip strings by women, are called tanik (A.); a word which, as we have seen in myth No.1, also means 'womb'.¹ Net-bags have often red-painted stripes. One of the major clans in Puang is called tanik ninik, meaning 'red net-bag', as the members of this clan used to carry net-bags which were painted red entirely. It is noteworthy that, by coincidence or not, this clan has special connections with the bird of paradise. The clan is related to that clan in the Tumentonik village which 'owns' myth No.1, and performs puberty rites with the 'spiritual' help of the bird of paradise. The other major clan in Puang,  

¹ It is noteworthy that in many parts of Papua New Guinea a net-bag is also used to carry a baby. See Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.2, p.738. Among the Melpa people in the West Highland District, the 'net-bag is important as a receptacle in which produce and gifts are carried; in some contexts it symbolizes the womb'. M. Strathern, Women in Between, Seminal Press, London, 1973, p.14.
namely, Neknouken, appeals, not to the bird, but to a land-spirit (A. tipir ka Yavitaluk) for help in the same rites.

vii. In myth No.1, in performing puberty rites the two women take out the boy’s intestines and replace them by the tulip strings; a fact indicating that, for the Puang, not only is a net-bag like a womb, but also there is some likeness between the bag’s strings and intestines. In another myth, the role played by the tulip strings reminds one of a related object, namely, the umbilical cord. The myth, which is a major myth, is concerned with the above-mentioned land-spirit as an adolescent and his mother, who is anxious about his safety. She sends him to the forest while binding him to herself with a very long tulip string. She ties one end of the string to his head-dress (A. baro; used in a boy’s puberty rites) and the other to her own big toe of the right foot (this toe is associated with the soul).

5. THE BIRD AND ITS HUNTING TABOOS

The bird of paradise is usually hunted during the dry season, which is for the Puang the hunting season, and for the bird the time of breeding-display, and sunning. The bird is ambushed when it comes to bathe in, or drinks from, the rain water of certain tree-holes (A. nu harkip). The Puang say that the bird comes to
bathe because it feels too hot in the sun, or it sees that its 'good soul' (A. himin yaaik), that is, its image in the rain water, is unclean. The Puang are familiar with the trees which the bird frequents to bathe or drink. Such trees are said to include ton (P.E.; L. Pometia pinnata; A. henaan), sin (A.; P.E. wail saksak; E. wild sago), hinp (A.), and sawrayin (A.). In order to ambush the bird, the hunter hides in a shooting-shelter (A. sani) built on the ground, or on a shooting-platform (A. kenaan) built in the branches of a tree.

But the hunting is not believed to be successful without performing magic and observing taboos in advance. The magic was discussed in the preceding section; here we are concerned with the taboos and the extent to which they may throw a new light on the identification of the bird with women. Before going to hunt the bird in the forest, the hunter is forbidden to chew ginger-roots (A. nekip) and to eat roasted mami (P.E.), roasted yams (not taro), roasted breadfruit, fresh bananas, coconuts, aipika (P.E.), pandanus (L.), and fish.

The reasons given for forbidding the above things are basically the same. The ginger roots are taboo because their smell and sharp taste pollute the water of the tree-hole to which the bird comes to bathe and drink. Fresh bananas, coconuts, aipika, pandanus, and
fish are taboo because their juices pollute the water of the tree-hole.\footnote{In the Au language, the names of these juices are not the same. The juice of bananas is hisip, of coconuts maar, of aipika and fish taknak (also meaning saliva), and of pandanas is yiwir wa.} Old bananas are not taboo, as they do not have much juice. Mami, yams, and breadfruit are taboo only if roasted and not boiled, as their skins, being blackened by the fire, defile the same water. After the hunt the hunter must observe the taboos until it rains, and consequently the water of the tree-hole is changed.

In the present discussion, what we need to note about the above-mentioned taboos is, first of all, that all of them are, to use Frazer’s terminology, ‘sympathetic’; that is, they are based on the assumption that what the hunter eats affects the tree-hole as if there was a sympathetic relationship between the hunter and the hole. But it should be emphasized that, as will be shown elsewhere, the Puang themselves do not explain such taboos in terms of magical sympathy. Nor does the present writer find this idea, as the observer’s own explanatory view, tenable.

The sympathetic aspect of the taboos is not, however, out of the ordinary. Puang taboos are often of this type. The above taboos have two other aspects which are puzzling and require special consideration. The first
one is that what the hunter eats affects the tree-hole and not the bird. Whether in Puang or other primitive societies, sympathetic taboos of hunting usually assume that what the hunter does affects the animal itself and not something else. For example, in Puang a set of taboos concerned with cassowary-hunting and observed by the hunter are intended to have influence only on the cassowary. The day before he goes hunting, the hunter must refuse to eat any food, pretend to be ill, and try to sleep. He must also rub nettle leaves, such as haplak haura (A.), on his body; a ritual indicating that he is ill. The reason given for these taboos on eating and appearing healthy and awake is that the taboos make the cassowary feel hungry, ill, and inclined to sleep in its nest, which the hunter intends to approach secretly later. The hunter starts observing the taboos after, and only if, he finds the cassowary's nest in the forest. But, as can be seen, the taboos have nothing to do with the nest.

Sometimes sympathetic taboos of hunting are, of course, concerned with persons and things other than the hunter and the animal. But such persons and things are usually associated with the hunter or the animal in a significant manner. For instance, in Puang a man who embarks on pig-hunting has to observe a taboo concerned not with the pig but with its foot-prints, which he may
come across in the forest and which may be in a place far from the pig. But that is because the pig is, in the Puang's view, significantly connected with its foot-prints. The hunter, if his wife is menstruating, if forbidden to touch or step on the foot-prints as, it is said, he is, due to contact with her, 'cold' and will make not only the foot-prints but also the pig cold. The Puang believe that the foot-prints are suffused with the pig's sweat (A. hapik) and, as a result, closely associated with the pig's soul (A. himin). This belief is more clearly expressed in a related ritual. The hunter, if his wife is not menstruating, recites a spell over the foot-prints while hitting them with a harmful, inedible, and black insect (A. nemen); and he assumes that in this way he harms and 'pulls' the pig's soul. The Puang also believe that a person and his foot-prints are, likewise, connected animistically - hence the practice of using a person's foot-prints in contagious magic against him.¹

But it is not exactly clear why the association between the bird of paradise and the tree-hole is

¹. In a comparative study of contagious magic, I attempted to show that this magic is based, apart from the principle of metonymy, on the belief that objects associated with a person's body (such as his foot-prints) are also associated with his soul. See my M.Sc. thesis, especially pp.247-53.
significant, and is so significant that the bird's above-mentioned hunting taboos are all intended for the tree-hole and not the bird or anything else related to the bird. It should be noted that the fact that the bird bathes in the water of the tree-hole, or sees its image, that is, its 'good soul', in it, is not significant in the present context. In Puang thought, a person (or an animal) has two souls (A. himin); his 'bad soul' (A. himin anuk; anuk:bad) is his image in water. A person's (or an animal's) mere bathing in water, or mere seeing his good soul in it, does not create any significant relationship between him, or his soul, and the water. The water cannot, for instance, be used in contagious magic to 'fasten' his soul. The same holds true of a person (or animal) and the water from which he drinks.

It is noteworthy that a major form of magic, used in the hunting magic of the bird, is also concerned exclusively with the tree-hole. A cord (A. yuwaap namsiko), which is, as shown before, perhaps the most important object in love-magic, is ground and a small amount of its juicy pieces is added to the water of the tree-hole. This magic, performed before hunting the bird, is accompanied by a spell named after the cord.

Thus the fact that the taboos in question are aimed at the tree-hole and not the bird of paradise is a
problem. But before attempting to solve this problem we should consider the second puzzling aspect of the taboos. The reader will recall that, for the Puang, the basic purpose of all the taboos is to avoid polluting the tree-hole. This is a striking characteristic of this set of taboos, as so much interest in cleanliness cannot be found in the hunting taboos of, say, the pig or the cassowary. How can this characteristic be explained? The immediate answer coming into one's mind is that the Puang are concerned with cleanliness here because of their idea that the bird comes to bathe in the hole and sees that its image in the water is unclean. But this answer is not of much help. It cannot explain why, in the taboos, the Puang's attention is focussed on cleanliness. To have an idea is one thing and to make it the centre of attention is another. Furthermore, the Puang have also the idea, as we have seen, that the bird comes to bathe because it feels too hot in the sun. But the taboos are not intended to make the water of the hole cooler and more refreshing for the bird.

It would seem that the two puzzling aspects of the tree-hole taboos can be explained in terms of one of the Puang's deep-rooted beliefs, namely, the essentialist identification of the bird of paradise with women.
Since the bird is, for the Puang, really a woman, it is no wonder that the intention behind the taboos is cleanliness. Indeed it would have been surprising if the intention were something else. As it is often the case in primitive societies, the Puang (or rather the Puang men?) strongly believe that menstruation and sexual intercourse with women have a polluting aspect. Purity/impurity forms one of the recurrent themes of Puang thought and especially taboos.

To give some illustrations. A menstruating woman may wash herself in the water preserved in bamboo tubes in the village or in water-holes and brooks near the village. But she must not do so in rivers, or any large water, as their spirit, namely, wasiuk (A.), will smell her odour, and as a result will be offended and harm, if not kill, her. There is a myth, as the Puang will remind one in this context, in which a woman washed away her menstruation blood in a river; and this caused the river to flood, almost covering and destroying the village, and the river-spirit (A. wasiuk) to come out, in the form of a man, trying to kill her and her fellow-villagers. Also, a menstruating woman must not go to work in the forest, otherwise the spirits residing in many parts of the forest, such as the Nan (A.), will, likewise, smell her and harm her. She may collect firewood, but only if this is done near the village.
After sexual intercourse a wife and her husband have to observe many taboos. The reason why he is also taboo-bound is that he has been polluted by her (so believe men). Both he and she must wash themselves and must not do so in rivers for the above-mentioned reason. Both must not do gardening and fishing or participate in Singing Rituals, lest the garden-spirits, the ancestors, associated with fish, and the spirits connected with Singing Rituals smell them and become offensive and harmful. She may pound sago, but only he and her children may eat it. He must not go hunting (including that of the bird of paradise), perform any type of magic, or take part in warfare, because he is ritually cold and hunting-spirits and the ancestors (concerned with hunting and warfare) will be harmful, and not helpful, to him.

The above taboos continue for three days, that is, they continue even after a wife and her husband have cleansed themselves with water. Men believe that the odour resulting from sexual intercourse lasts for as long as three days. In this regard, they admit that when they see a woman (or a man) during the three days after she has had sexual intercourse, they cannot usually smell the odour, especially if she has already washed herself. They also admit that they cannot smell the odour of sex or menstruation at a distance. But they argue that all this is because the sense of smell in human beings is not
acute enough, and that spirits (and the ancestors and ghosts) are capable of smelling the odour of sex in the three days in question and the odour of sex and menstruation at a distance. A menstruating woman must not go to the forest, even if she avoids approaching the places in the forest associated with spirits, exactly because spirits are able to smell her even at a distance. Pointing-magicians, after having a training in their art and eating the magical mixture called kepna (A.), claim that they can, like spirits, detect, through smelling and from a distance, if someone has been engaged in sexual intercourse (in particular illegitimately).

The extreme sensitivity of men about the supposedly polluting aspect of women goes further. In men's view, women are impure continually, though to a lesser degree than the periods related to sex and menstruation. In other words, for men sex and menstruation seems to have a continual effect on women, to a lesser or greater degree. A woman must not walk over her husband's food at any time, that is, even if many days have passed since she was menstruating or engaged in sex; otherwise her sweat (A. hapik) will make the food impure and cause him to grow breathless. A man must not be close to his wife too often; otherwise her breath will gradually weaken him and make him skinny and breathless. That is why men usually sleep in the men's ceremonial house rather than in the domestic house with their wives.
The above-mentioned tree-hole taboos are, therefore, intended to avoid pollution because the bird of paradise is believed to be really a woman. The reason why the taboos aim at the tree-hole and not the bird would seem to be this: the tree-hole is conceived to be analogous with the female genitalia (A. pâwe). If this assumption is true it not only makes clear why the association between the bird and the tree-hole is significant, but also provides us with a further reason why the taboos are focussed on the problem of pollution.

The ethnographic evidence for the analogy between a tree-hole and the female genitalia is as follows:

i. At the very beginning of myth No.1, a man makes holes in banana trees and tries to have sexual intercourse with the holes. An obscene Au statement, usually used in the absence of women, is this:

\[
Pâwe \text{ kire} \quad \text{kira} \quad \text{nu harkip uwa}
\]

Her genitalia is like a large tree-hole

There is another relevant Au statement which, as we have seen before, has a significant bearing on the Puang’s idea of procreation and the relationship between the MB
and the ZS, and which is frequently used by the MB to remind his ZS and ZH of their kinship obligations towards him:

\[
\text{Hirak} \quad \text{ap katpaan kauka} \quad \text{nu harkip} \\
\text{He [the ZS] has not come out of a tree-hole}
\]

\[
\text{Hirak} \quad \text{kaptaan kauka} \quad \text{pâwe} \quad \text{ka yanton pai} \\
\text{He has come out of the genitalia of my sister}
\]

The above statement, like the previous one, indicates that, in Puang thought, there is an association between a tree-hole and the female genitalia. Besides, in comparing a tree-hole and the female genitalia, the Puang presuppose that the two are similar enough to be compared with each other. The second part of the statement is often omitted, especially before women, as that part is not courteous and the statement as a whole is well-known. It should be noted that, in the above two statements, the term used for 'tree-hole', namely, \text{nu harkip}, is the same term used for the tree-hole to which the bird of paradise goes to bathe and drink.

\[\text{ii. In the Au area most birds build their nests above the ground on trees and other plants, and especially in tree-holes. The holes are often natural, and sometimes excavated by birds. Examples of the birds with hole-nesting in trees are:}\]
1. The hornbill
2. The white cockatoo
3. Many parrots
4. Many lories
5. Certain owls
6. Certain pigeons
7. Certain wood kingfishers.

Thus tree-holes, like the female genitalia, are associated with procreation. The bird of paradise itself nests, though not in a tree-hole, in the fork of a branch of a tree or a similar plant. It builds its nests on slender trees and plants, especially on the stems of large bamboos (A. haurak) after the stems have dried and opened, or on the flower sheaths of areca palms (P.E. limbum; A. hausa).

iii. Since the female genitalia is likened to a tree-hole, the female body is, not unexpectedly, likened to a tree. The fibre-skirt consists of at least two layers, woven separately and placed one on the top of the other. The outer layer, which touches the ground when a woman sits on the ground, is called 'of the ground'; and the inner layer, which touches her body, is called 'of the tree':

1. The outer layer: ka te (A.)
   (of the ground)
2. The inner layer: ka nu (A.)
   (of the tree)
In order to cover herself more fully, a woman adds often one, and sometimes two, more layers to her fibre-skirt. In this type of skirt, the outer and the inner layers have still the same names, and the middle layers are simply called 'of the middle':

1. The outer layer: ka te (A.)
   (of the ground)

2. The middle layer(s): ka nemon (A.)
   (of the middle)

3. The inner layer: ka nu (A.)
   (of the tree)

The analogy between a woman and a tree is not far-fetched, as her breasts and her babies resemble the fruits produced by a tree. In Puang, a fruit itself is sometimes likened to a woman. An 'unripe betel nut' (A. mas ka harpak), if not meant literally, means a girl who has not yet passed puberty. In contrast, a 'ripe betel nut' (A. mas ka tauni), in its non-literal sense, a grown-up girl. When a boy sends the message to a family, 'would you give me a ripe betel nut?' he is asking if he may marry their daughter.

In general the Puang, being partly agriculturalists and food-gatherers, conceive the human body in terms of trees sometimes. As we have seen in another chapter, in a saying (A. hi nu, ti haura) the MB refers to himself as
a tree (A. nu). The Au term for the MB, namely, paab, also means 'stick'. MBs are collectively called nawitap (A.); and the second part of this term, namely tap, means 'the trunk of a tree'.

A corpse is called haak tap (A.). Haak means 'firewood', and its appropriateness in this context seems to derive from the fact that, traditionally, a corpse (excluding its bones) was often burnt over a fire. Tap, as just mentioned, means the trunk of a tree.

iv. Many water-holes in the ground are conceived to be analogous to the female genitalia. Au people and all their neighbouring peoples are believed to have originally emerged from a pond (A. wān), in which there was an ironwood tree (A. tainik). Pigs are said, in a myth (see below), to have originally emerged from a water-hole the name of which was Wabutom (A.). Chickens are believed to have come out of 'ghost-holes'. This term is the translation of the Au expression haruwa hei. Hei means water-hole(s), and haruwa is the word for 'ghost(s)' and the collective noun for unnamed and remote ancestors. Ghost-holes, or ancestral holes, are so named perhaps because, traditionally, a person's dead body was disposed of not only by burning it on a platform, but also by placing it in a water-hole or pond. There are also many myths in which the dead body of a person or an animal is placed in ponds or such holes.
Apart from *haruwa hei*, ghost-holes are also called *haruwa taank*. Significantly enough, the word *taank* is also used for the female genitalia.

v. Ground-holes as well as tree-holes are, therefore, likened to the female genitalia. In this regard, the two types of hole are not, however, conceived to be exactly the same. As the above account shows, ground-holes are like the genitalia of the ancestors or the original mothers. They are the holes from which men and certain animals have emerged, and are consequently connected, not with sexual intercourse, but with birth. In contrast, tree-holes seem to be like the genitalia of wives and the beloved, related to sexual intercourse as well as birth. They are associated with birds and especially the bird of paradise, which are in turn, as seen in a preceding section, associated with the MB and the wife-giving clan.

The Puang's attitude towards ground-holes, as against tree-holes, is made more clear in the following myth. In the myth, which is concerned with the above-mentioned belief that pigs have originally come out of a water-hole in the ground, a young man tries to have sexual intercourse with the hole. As a result, he is severely punished and destroyed, and what is finally left of him is his thumb, which in this context seems
to mean his penis, having been cut off. The myth may be taken, among other things, as the Puang's myth of incest (between mother and son). The Puang do not have any myth explicitly dealing with incest, whether between mother and son or not.

MYTH NO. 2 - THE ORIGIN OF PIGS

There was a man who watched a water-hole from his shooting platform (A. kenaan), and as soon as a pig tried to come out of the hole he shot the pig with his bow and arrow. After killing the pig he took the kill to his village, Witwasiuk, and gave it to his, and his younger brother's, wife and children to eat. Like him, his younger brother went out pig-hunting, but because he had no knowledge of the hole he failed to kill or find any pig. He continually felt ashamed at seeing his elder brother bringing a kill home every morning and evening.

One day he asked his elder brother if the latter would teach him how to find pigs. The elder brother agreed and took his younger brother to the water-hole and said, 'Pigs come out of this hole. Stay here and watch the hole. As soon as a pig tries to come out, shoot the pig'. Then the elder brother left him alone.

1. The following is a summary of myth No.2. The myth is, however, summarized to a limited degree, as it is much shorter than myth No.1.
2. It is said that this hole, called Wabutom, still exists and its water runs, and is situated near Wasin, an Au-speaking village not far from Puang and especially close to one of the hamlets of Puang, namely, Witmongap. At present, the water of the hole is given to dogs so that they can hunt well.
While watching the water-hole, the younger brother felt that the hole was like the female genitalia (A. pâwe) and copulated with it. Then a large number of pigs came out of the hole and attacked him from every direction. He climbed a tree, but the pigs butted and broke the bottom of the tree and made him fall down. The pigs did the same to two other trees which he climbed. Finally he was eaten by the pigs, and the only thing left of him was his thumb.¹

¹. In another version of the myth, pigs come out of the abdomen of an elderly woman, and it is with her that the younger brother copulates.
CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE IDENTIFICATION OF BIRDS OF PARADISE WITH WOMEN (II)

1. THE MALE AND THE FEMALE

The study of the bird of paradise would have ended in the last chapter if we were not faced with some unique, unexpected, and intriguing ethnographic facts regarding the bird. The first two of these facts, to be examined in this section, is that, firstly, it is the male bird with which the Puang identify women; that is, it is the male bird, and not the female one, to which the last two chapters exclusively relate. Secondly, in the Puang's view the male bird is female and the female bird is male. In other words, the Puang would say that the last two chapters are concerned with the female and not the male.

Let us first give some ornithological information on the bird. Birds of paradise are almost entirely confined to the island of New Guinea and its off-shore islands, and may also be found to a limited degree in Australia. They are related to bower birds and constitute the most evolved form of passerine birds. They are of twenty genera and fort-two species. The so-called typical or
'true' birds of paradise, that is, genus *Paradisaea*, comprise seven species, the three most important of which are as follows:

1. **The Greater Bird of Paradise** (L. *Paradisaea apoda*)

   This bird, which has two subspecies, is larger than bird No. 3, but the flank plumes of its male is, in colour, similar to that of the latter.

2. **Count Raggi's Bird of Paradise** (L. *Paradisaea raggiana*)

   This bird has five subspecies, and its male, which is, like the above bird, crow-sized, has red flank plumage.

3. **The Lesser Bird of Paradise** (L. *Paradisaea minor*)

   This bird has four subspecies, and its male is jay-sized with white and bright yellow flank plumes.¹

The species which exists in the Au area and with which the Puang's beliefs are concerned seems to be the Lesser Bird, or rather one of its subspecies (L. *Paradisaea minor finschi*), which ornithological research especially

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¹ For the ornithological information given in the present chapter see the ornithological books in the Bibliography, especially the book by E.T. Gilliard, 1969, op.cit., which is the latest and most authoritative work on birds of paradise. Some ornithologists regard birds No. 1 and 2 as representing the same species, but E.T. Gilliard states that he is 'convinced that they are distinct species'. *Ibid.*, p.228.
associates with most parts of the Sepik region.1 We have mentioned in the last chapter two calls which the Puang attribute to the bird of paradise. The calls are similar to those recorded by ornithologists for the Lesser Bird. Indeed one of the two calls, namely, kiya kiya kiya, is identical with a call recorded in the ornithological research on the Lesser Bird.2 It is also noteworthy that A.J. Marshall observes that, in his 1936 trip to the Lumi and Au area, the bird-of-paradise skins which he bought from the local people were often of the Lesser Bird: 'The skins were chiefly those of Paradisaea minor ....'3 As we have seen before, the Puang are to some extent familiar with the Count Raggi's (or the Raggiana) Bird, but they do not regard it as 'their' bird of paradise.

With regard to the Lesser Bird of Paradise, and indeed all the seven species of Paradisaea, ornithologists observe that there are striking differences between the male and the female. The male is larger than the female and, unlike the latter, has large and conspicuously colourful flank plumes as well as tail 'wires', that is, elongated central tail feathers which are very narrow

or wire-like. Also, in mating the male has a display, performed on the branches of trees; whereas the female has not and behaves almost like an 'unconcerned on-looker' of the male's display.

The Puang are well familiar with these striking differences, and frequently see the male's display in the forest. They also hunt and eat both sexes. Their awareness of the differences is, among other things, reflected in their language. In the Au language the names of the male and the female are very different:

1. **Haura tinousik** (or briefly Tinousik):
   The male (perceived as the female) bird of paradise.

2. **Hauripik**:
   The female (perceived as the male) bird of paradise.

The fact that, biologically speaking, the male is thought to be the female and vice versa seems especially surprising, because the Puang's factual knowledge of the bird is correct in other respects. For example, what the Puang say about the feeding and the nest-building of the bird, as described in the last chapter, is in accord with ornithological observations.

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a. The Male

There seem to be a number of objective and subjective factors which make the Puang take the view that the male is the female, and consequently the female is the male.

The first objective factor is that in the bird of paradise, and indeed in nearly all birds, the external genital organ is outwardly the same in both sexes. As a result male and female are not distinguishable easily. A bird's genital organ is outwardly a cavity, the cloaca, into which the intestinal and urinary as well as generative canals discharge. An ornithologist observes:

'As in reptiles, in birds the passage for feces, urine, and secretions from the sex organs empty into the cloaca. In the midportion of the cloaca the male has lateral openings for the ureters and the openings of the sperm ducts, while the female has a single opening, the vagina, in the corresponding position. Only in a few groups of birds, such as ducks and geese, does the male have a copulating organ .... In most species where males have no penis, the cloacas are pressed together during copulation, so the semen can reach the vagina in this manner.'

The second objective factor is that as far as laying eggs is concerned the Puang's view does not appear to be contradicted. In the Lesser Bird of Paradise, and indeed all the species of Paradisaea, at first the male and the female are, as the Puang know, alike in size, and their

1. Ibid., Vol.7, p.65.
feathers look like each other and are similarly short. It is only later (ornithologists say four or five years later\(^1\)) that the male becomes larger and develops its uniquely long and conspicuously colourful flank plumes. As a result, when a short-feathered bird lays eggs a person cannot be certain, merely on the basis of this evidence, whether the bird is the one whose feathers remain short for ever or the one whose feathers (and size) grow large later. The Puang take the second possibility and believe that the short-feathered bird laying eggs is the one which develops its feathers (and size) later.

It should be noted that the Puang do, of course, know that in birds laying eggs is done by the female; here they are only mistaken about the identification of the female. It could have been said until recently that they were mistaken that male short-feathered birds are mature, and consequently capable of laying eggs or any other act requiring sexual maturity. But ornithologists have observed recently that, at least in the case of the Raggiana Bird of Paradise, male short-feathered birds are not as immature as they appear to be. In other words:

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'The young males, largely still dressed as females, actively seek mates and are doubtless responsible for some matings in the wild. That male Raggiana still garbed like females are able to breed successfully with adult females was proven in New Guinea on 10 November 1962 when Shaw Mayer and Delacour discovered a nest with young in a Nondugl aviary. No adult males had ever been kept in this aviary ....' 1

The third objective factor is that as far as nest-building and feeding of young is concerned the Puang's view does not appear to be contradicted either. In the Lesser Bird and other species of Paradisaea the adult male, namely, the long-feathered bird, is polygynous and does not participate in nest-building and the feeding of young. Those two tasks are undertaken exclusively by the adult female. The Puang do not, therefore, see the male and the female as a parental pair raising their young together in the nest. If they had seen this their common sense might have forced them to note that long-feathered and short-feathered-birds forming this pair cannot be of the same sex. In other words, they might have noted that since the short-feathered bird is the one which lays and incubates eggs and is consequently female, the long-feathered bird can only be male; or that since the two are a parental pair, the former cannot develop into the latter afterwards.

1. E.T. Gilliard, 1969, op.cit., p.36; see also p.32.
Thus there are certain objective factors making the Puang take the view in question. The Puang's view cannot, however, be fully explained in this way. As can be seen, the objective factors do not contradict the Puang rather than necessarily driving them to the view they have taken. For example, the fact that the external genital organ is outwardly the same in both sexes, firstly, is true of almost all birds and, secondly, leaves the Puang with a choice as to which bird is male or female. Likewise, the fact that male and female are alike before adulthood leaves the Puang, as was just explained, with two possible views with regard to the act of laying eggs. But it is the Puang themselves who choose the second possibility as against the first one.

The major subjective factor in this regard is that it is suitable to identify the male, and not the female, with marriageable and young women. As ornithologists confirm, in the Lesser Bird and most species of Paradisaea, the male is beautiful to an extraordinary degree. In other words:

'... the males are among the most conspicuously decorated birds; parts of their plumage are reminiscent of silk or velvet, or have a metallic gloss. They ... have extremely variegated colors and ... prolonged decorative plumes of various types.'

In contrast, the female's plumage is ordinary as well as short, and its colours are 'inconspicuous' and 'dull'.

2. Ibid., p.
It is, therefore, no wonder that the beloved and the wosai (A.; FMBD) are called haura tinousik (A.; the male) and not hauripik (A.; the female). It is also no wonder that haura tinousik is so much associated with love-magic, the art of 'catching' young women.

It is no exaggeration to say that the male is one of the most magnificently plumaged bird in the world by the beauty standards of any culture. The present leading ornithologist specializing on birds of paradise observes:

'It is perhaps not too much to say that [male] paradise birds are the most beautiful of all living creatures ....'¹

Having personally observed the male's display on trees, A.R. Wallace, the famous nineteenth century naturalist, writes:

'When seen in this attitude, the bird of paradise really deserves its name, and must be ranked as one of the most beautiful and most wonderful of living things.'²

Moreover, for Europeans the male's plumage is not only beautiful, but also its beauty is a feminine one. In Europe the plumage was extensively used for ladies' head-dresses in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

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2. Quoted in ibid., p.218. When the Portuguese came to know the bird, they chose the name 'birds of the sun' (passaros de sol): A.R. Wallace, 1890, op.cit., p.420.
'Mayr noted that around 10,000 skins of plumed birds of paradise were exported from German New Guinea annually up till the onset of World War I. He wrote that in 1913 no less than 30,000 were offered for sale in London auctions alone, and that in a single shipment in 1912, a British firm received 28,300 skins.'¹

It is also noteworthy that the first species of birds of paradise to reach Europe and to be so welcome there for its feminine beauty was the Lesser Bird; that is, the species with which Puang beliefs are concerned.

'Stresemann has pointed out ... that it is this species [the Lesser Bird] which Magellan's men brought home to Spain in 1521 as one of the great discoveries resulting from their historic first circumnavigation of the globe.'²

The Greater Bird, which resembles the Lesser Bird in colour and beauty, 'was probably the second species of this extraordinary family of birds to reach Europe'.³

As far as the identification of the bird of paradise with women is concerned, the male has another advantage

1. E.T. Gilliard, 1969, op.cit., p.30. The male's plumage seems to have also been an article of commerce, because of its beauty, in certain parts of Asia, such as Malaysia and China, before Europeans reached New Guinea. See ibid., p.21, and D. Ripley, 'Strange Courtship of Birds of Paradise', in The National Geographical Magazine, Washington, D.C. National Geographical Society, 1950, Vol.97, p.249.
2. B. Grzimek, 1973, op.cit., p.231; see also p.15.
3. Ibid., p.216.
over the female. For the Puang, the male's plumage is, as we have seen, like a woman's fibre-skirt and is indeed called 'fibre-skirt' (A. nitan). The analogy between the plumage and the skirt, when the latter is idealized, is not far-fetched at all. A poet, with any cultural background, will appreciate it easily. The Puang do not, however, merely conceive this poetical imagery; they also 'live' it or act upon it. We have already seen, for instance, that in love-magic the male's plumage may be used as if it were the fibre-skirt.

It should be noted that the fibre-skirt is, apart from occasional necklaces, armbands and the like, the only thing which women wear in daily life, and is therefore a focus of men's attention. It should also be noted that, in his display, the male spreads out his plumage and makes it more like a skirt. Under the picture of a species of the bird of paradise an ornithologist has written:

'Male in display with flag-tipped wires- of crown pointing forward and flank tufts spread out like a skirt.'¹

Still another advantage of the male over the female is that, in mating, it gives expression to its feelings and is self-assertive. In other words, it displays and makes sounds in a variety of forms. The calls attributed to birds of paradise are made by the male and not the female. In the Lesser Bird, the male is said to be

'very noisy ... [his] calls are heard from dawn to dark'. The male’s display, which includes making sounds, is very elaborate and 'fantastic':

'Most paradisaes congregate in groups to perform on nearly horizontal bare branches of chosen trees of the forest canopy. There, amid clamorous cawing, up to twenty adult males will dance or perch shivering in concert on the branches with bodies horizontal and plumes flung upward from under the wings over the back in two curving shimmering sprays. Young males and females keep as a rule to the outskirts of the arena while adult males are in attendance.'

Likewise, as we have seen before, women tend to be forward in love-affair and, not unfrequently, make the marriage proposal; that is, when they wish to marry a man they leave their hamlet and volunteer to stay with his parents in his hamlet. Here Puang men will argue that a woman is forward in love and marriage usually when a man has performed love-magic on her. In the present context, we are not, however, concerned with the reason, or the supposed reason, why women behave so. We are only interested in the fact that, in practice, women, like the male bird of paradise, tend to give active expression to their feelings for the opposite sex.

Women also tend to defend their rights with regard to love and marriage. This is well-expressed in myth

1. Ibid., p.231.
No. 1. The reader will recall that, in the myth, the two women defend themselves against being neglected sexually by their husbands; namely, they place sago thorns into the tree-holes with which he tries to copulate, and thus badly injure his penis. When he attempts to retaliate by shaming the women in public they react strongly again; that is, they make him weep and leave him by flying away as birds of paradise. In turning into these birds rather than something else, the women seem to remind him of their feminine beauty and to defend its value, which he did not appreciate at all.

The last advantage of the male over the female is that, being very noisy and fond of display, it gives the impression to the Puang that it is jolly and playful. The Puang say that it is in the habit of laughing loudly (A. wakairir). What the Puang regard as its laughter is some of the many sounds made by it. Male birds of paradise do not 'sing, but they make a wide variety of sounds ranging from peeps and mews to caws, buglings, trumpetings, snaps, hisses, raps and even clatterings that sound like bursts from a machine gun. Other calls are long, melancholy, bell-like tolls that reverberate ventriloquially.'¹

In myth No. 1, after turning into the bird of paradise, the two women started imitating one of the

bird's calls or, according to another version of the myth, laughing loudly like the bird. A hunting spell of the bird, owned by the Mani siak hiika clan, begins with:

Wakairir ... 

She [the male bird of paradise] laughs loudly.

The Puang conceive some of the sounds made by the male bird as its laughter most likely because women are also accustomed to laughing loudly. In general the Puang tend to be uninhibited in laughing loudly and freely in public. A few times in the situations in which I was expected to laugh loudly I was accused of being insincere, as I only smiled. Loud and spontaneous laughter is, however, especially and characteristically true of women. It may be said that the male bird's sounds and supposed laughter are as much 'conspicuous sounds of the forest'\(^1\) as women's laughter is, at least for men, of the village.

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1. Ornithologists observe: 'All birds of paradise are forest dwellers and are often common birds in the treetops and their loud cries are conspicuous sounds of the forest'; and 'The lesser bird of paradise is a common species whose wide variety of calls dominate the forest and the forest edge' (A.L. Rand and E.T. Gilliard, 1967, op.cit., pp.461,499). Describing his trip to the Lumi and Au areas in 1936, Marshall writes that Lesser Birds of Paradise 'are extremely common, though their natural shyness and the density of the jungle make them very difficult to see. You hear their ... cry echoing through the forest at almost any altitude ...' (A.J. Marshall, 1938, op.cit., p.61).

I should, however, add that in the field I did not find the Lesser Bird so common, and its calls so conspicuous, in the forest. This seems to be due to post-contact changes, especially the killing of the bird, by the local peoples and outsiders, for commercial purposes.
At first women's, and especially young women's, laughter may appear to be, unconsciously or consciously, seductive. Women may, of course, use their laughter to attract men, but often it is not and it is not taken to be, or to be merely, seductive. Women may laugh loudly and freely also in the presence of other women and close male relatives, such as brothers, fathers, and senior clansmen, where seduction is out of the question.

Further understanding of the Puang shows that women's laughter is an expression of the fact that women are, and can afford to be, jolly. This is because women's work and responsibilities are, compared with those of men, much less hazardous and anxiety-producing:

1. Sago-pounding, which is characteristically a woman's work, is routine and with predictable results. In contrast, hunting, which is characteristically a man's work, is hazardous and without fully predictable results. After a hunt a man may return to the village without any success or without as much success as was expected. There is also the possibility that animals, such as the cassowary and the wild pig, may attack and seriously harm him. Although gardening, fishing, and gathering are done by both men and women, the risky, or more risky, parts of these tasks, such as felling the trees, are carried out by men. In felling the trees in order to
make a new garden, a man may, though rarely, fall down, injure himself, and possibly die of the injuries later. A death caused by a fall was mentioned in Case No. 3 (see p.102).

ii. Sexual intercourse and menstruation are believed to have polluting and dangerous aspects. Apart from one's impression that men hold this belief much more strongly than women do, the supposed danger affects men more than women. For instance, if a woman walks over her husband's food she will endanger him and not herself. If a man sleeps with his wife in their domestic house too often it is he, and not she, who will grow weak and breathless. After sexual intercourse a wife may do her work, namely, sago-pounding, but her husband is forbidden to do his work, that is, hunting.

iii. Inter-village warfare, in its two forms, namely, formal battles and guerrilla raids, is entirely men's responsibility. Men must protect not only themselves but also their village's women and children against any outside attack. If a woman pounding sago is harmed in a raid made by another village, the blame may be laid on her husband for not having guarded her while she was engaged in sago-pounding. What makes warfare especially dangerous is that, militarily speaking, the villages in the area are more or less on a par, and if a village is, by population, small it may join another village before
going to war against a large village. Thus, at least in the long-term, the men of each village have the same chance of victory as of defeat and consequently humiliation.

iv. Destructive magic, that is, inter-village magical warfare, is also entirely men's responsibility. Women are alien to the practice and knowledge of all types of Destructive magic. Also women usually have very little knowledge of current cases of magical practices and accusations going on around them, even if the supposed victim happens to be their husbands or themselves. When a woman (or man) is taken ill in the village, it is only men's task to diagnose and discover if the cause of the illness is magic; and, if so, of which magic and in which neighbouring village, and preferably by which man in that village, the magic has been carried out. It is also only the men's task to try to save the victim and to take retaliatory action against the magician or his village. Men may inform a female patient and other women of their diagnosis, but prefer not to let them know the names of the magician and his village and definitely refuse to disclose to them their retaliatory plans, as the news may spread to other villages. Almost half of the married women of the village originally come from other villages and may, so argue men, give such
information to their close relatives in those villages, whether intentionally or not. As a result of all this, women are not actively involved in the dangerous and anxiety-ridden world of magical warfare.

Indeed destructive magic is the most dangerous and anxiety-ridden issue with which men have to cope. It is, first of all, an almost ever-present issue, as deaths and illnesses are most often explained by magic. Moreover, men grow anxious not only over deaths and illnesses occurring in their own village, but also over those taking place in neighbouring villages. Men and their wives and children in the village may well become, justly or unjustly, the target of the destructive magic of a neighbouring village, whenever somebody dies or is taken seriously ill in that village. I recall many a night in the Nikis hamlet when men, haunted by the spectre of destructive magic, were talking quietly in a tense atmosphere, while women, having served the evening meal and being unaware of what was going on in the men's minds, were sitting separately, engaged in casual conversations, and occasionally bursting into their typically loud, spontaneous, and jolly laughter.

It should be added that men do not raise any objection to the laughing and jollity of women; nor do they regard these as signs of immodesty in public, even on the part
of young women. This also holds true for situations, such as the above-mentioned nights, in which men are filled with anxiety. Indeed men seem, consciously or unconsciously, to welcome women's jollity and laughter, which may reduce the strain on men's nerves.

Thus the Puang, or rather the Puang men, conceive some of the sounds made by the male bird of paradise as its laughter, because it reminds them not only of a quality which women have, but also of a quality which they wish women to have.

So much for the male bird of paradise. There seem to be, therefore, three objective and four subjective factors which chiefly account for the Puang belief that the male is female.

b. The Female

In the above analysis we came to know not only why the male is thought to be female, but also, to a considerable degree, why the female is thought to be male. The male was examined in its relationship, and in its contrast, with the female, and the above-mentioned objective and subjective factors had also indirect bearings on the female. For example, if the male looks feminine because he has feminine beauty, is jolly, and his flank plumes resemble a fibre-skirt, then the female looks masculine because she lacks that type of beauty, jollity, and flank plumes.
We should, however, examine the female and the Puang's beliefs on her further, especially because whatever was said of the bird of paradise in the last two chapters exclusively relates to the male. The Puang's beliefs on the female are the exact opposite of their beliefs on the male. While the male is identified with a woman in an essentialist or animistic sense, the female is with a man; that is, the female is believed to be the transformation of a man and different from a man only in physical appearance. The male is indeed believed to be a young wife whose young husband is the female. While the FMBSD and the beloved may be referred to by the term tinousik (A.; the male), the FFZSS and the lover may be by the term hauripik (A.; the female). Likewise, what was written in the first section of the last chapter concerning the Puang's taboos on the male's meat applies to the female's meat in a reverse form. Thus, for instance, women are forbidden to eat the male whereas men are not, because the male is thought to be a woman. In contrast, men are forbidden to eat the female whereas women are not, because the female is thought to be a man.

As far as the identification of the female bird of paradise with men is concerned, we are faced with certain problems which may be briefly stated and tackled as follows. The first problem is that the Puang's beliefs on the female,
compared with those on the male, are extremely limited. The above paragraph contains all the basic data collected in the field regarding the female. There is not, for example, a myth, corresponding with myth No. 1, in which the transformation of a man into the female is described. Nor is there any myth, among some 50 myths I collected in the field, in which the female is specifically referred to for any purpose. In magic, there are two contexts in which the female plays a role; but its role is not only a minor one, but also derives from the female's association with the male. As we have seen, spell No. 2 (p.476), which relates, and is addressed, to the male, includes the female's name. But the inclusion of the name is intended to be merely a means by which the male is attracted. In the hunting magic of the male, there is a magical bundle, described before, which the hunter makes and puts in his net-bag before going to the forest to hunt. The bundle may include part of the female's feathers. Apart from the fact that the inclusion of the feathers is not necessary, in the Puang's view the feathers are, like other components of the bundle, means of attracting the male.

The solution to the above problem lies in the facts that, firstly, the Puang's beliefs on the bird of paradise seem to have basically been developed by men, who are more interested in the male, conceived as a woman, than in the
female, conceived as a man. As will be seen in the next section, men showed so little interest in talking about the female that I had certain misunderstandings of the relationship between the male and the female in the early part of my fieldwork. Secondly, women, who could have developed the beliefs on the female, are, relatively speaking, inarticulate. That in general women have been relatively inarticulate in many cultures so far is pointed out by women's liberationists as well as certain men and women anthropologists. ¹ Thirdly, my informants were all men. If I had also had women informants I might have obtained further information with regard to the female. Fourthly, there are two myths concerned with the transformation of men into birds similar to the female. Although these two myths are not as developed as myth No. 1, they are, as will be seen presently, related to myth No. 1 and the female to a significant degree.

Another problem is that the identification of the female with men does not appear to be fitting in certain respects. The female appears to be dominated by, or inferior to, the male. As we have seen, the female is smaller than the male, and because she also lacks the male's long flank plumes and elongated tail feathers she

looks much smaller than the male. Moreover, while the male is engaged in his active and elaborate display, the female behaves like a passive spectator of the display. Also, the female is, compared with the male, very quiet; she does not make loud sounds, nor any form of sound resembling laughter.

But, in Puang, men are not and do not appear to be dominated by, or inferior to, women. They are not smaller than women. They are, as mentioned above, rather uninhibited in laughing, though spontaneous laughter is characteristically associated with women. It is true that women tend to be forward and self-assertive in love and marriage; but this does not mean that men are the opposite in this regard. After all it is men who perform love-magic on women. Indeed not only do men not behave passively in love and marriage, but also women do not wish them to behave in that way. In a love-affair, a woman may express scorn of a man to his face, for example, by saying 'You are not a man', if he does not respond to her.

The clue to the above problem seems to be that as the male is identified, not merely with women in general, but primarily with the FMBSD, so the female is identified, not merely with men in general, but primarily with the FFZSS. The FMBSD is the woman given as a wife by the wife-giving clan, and the FFZSS and his clan are the
wife-takers. As we know, in the relationship between the two clans, the former clan tends to have a superior or dominating attitude towards the latter clan. The same attitude is also found in the MB towards the ZS. The association between the MB and the male bird was shown in more than one context in the last chapter. This association sheds further light on why the male bird's noisiness is so appropriate: self-assertion is one of the characteristics of the MB in his relationship with the ZS.

The last problem is that the identification of the female with men is not, apparently, fitting in another significant respect. The female's colours are, as we have seen, dull and inconspicuous. The female's main colour is dark brown, covering her head, neck, wings, and tail, and this colour looks especially dark when contrasted with those of the male. That dark brown, compared with the male's arresting colours, is not associated with women is understandable, but it is not exactly clear why dark brown is particularly fitting for men. In other words, it is not exactly clear what is masculine about this colour.

Here we should, first of all, note that, in Puang thought, women and men tend to be associated with different kinds of colour in many, though not all, contexts.¹

Bright colours, namely,

1. red (A. ninik or kara ninik; yawir or kara yiwir)
2. yellow (A. kounou or kara kounou)
3. green (A. wanunaa or kara wanunaa)
4. blue (A. inamin or kara inamin)

are, not infrequently, associated with women.

Examples of bright coloured birds associated with women:

1. tinousik (A.; male bird of paradise)
2. guirip (A.; a kingfisher)
3. nemanp (A.; a pigeon)
4. tape (A.; a pigeon)²

Apart from the fact that the flank plumes of the male bird of paradise are partly yellow, the bird's head and neck are yellow and green. The kingfisher, which, as we have seen in the last chapter, is believed to be a woman, is chiefly blue. The two pigeons are green, red, and blue; and they are, as shown in the last chapter, closely connected with the tulip tree, which is itself closely connected with women in many significant respects.

1. Puang colour symbolism is highly complex. The following account is brief and intended to pertain only to the above problem.
2. For more exact identification of these and some of the following birds, see Table 2.

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In contrast, dark colours, namely, brown and black are often associated with men. The Puang do not regard brown and black as separate colours and do not have a word for brown. Their word nibaak (A.), which primarily means 'black', is also applied to 'brown'.

Examples of dark coloured birds associated with men:

1. hauripik (A.- female bird of paradise)
2. haam (A.; hornbill)
3. parpara (A.; flying fox)¹
4. kuku (A.; an owl).

All the above birds are chiefly brown or dark brown, that is, of a colour which is, for the Puang, black. In two myths, described below, men transform themselves into the hornbill and the flying fox. According to another myth, at first men were all flying foxes until a man copulated with a woman, who bore a human child. The owl is believed to be a man or rather, as seen in chapter ten, a male land-spirit (A. tipir), which is connected with the sea and recently with cargoist beliefs.

Bright colours represent, among other things, feminine beauty, friendliness, and jollity; hence their association with women. But black and brown colours

¹ This is regarded by the Puang as a bird (A. haura).
often represent aggressiveness and pride; hence their association with men. Men's tasks, that is, hunting, warfare, and destructive magic, are combined with danger and require aggressiveness. Success in these tasks produces in men a sense of pride, and lack of success a feeling of shame.

The association of black and brown with aggressiveness, pride, men, and men's tasks can be seen in the following facts. The hornbill's head worn as a self-decoration represents men's pride in killing the enemy in warfare (see p.149). In pointing-magic and raiding-magic the flying fox's bones are used to attack the victim magically and physically (see chapter six). It is believed that the pointing-magicians of the villages in the southeast of the Au area are capable of turning into flying foxes, which fly over villages harming their inhabitants magically. In raiding-magic and guerrilla raids sometimes men paint their faces black. After death if a person's mouth is black it indicates, for the Puang, that contagious magic has been performed on him.

The word for 'dead' (A. kaa), as in the statement 'He is dead', is also used for the black colour. Ghosts (A. haruwa), which are believed to be, like the enemy and the outside magician, aggressive and harmful, are also believed to be black. A person has two souls, a
'good' one (A. himin yaaik) and a 'bad' one (A. himin anuk). After death the soul which becomes a ghost, namely, the 'bad' one, is said to be black. There is a black marsupial whose name (A. miak haruwa) literally means 'ghost-marsupial'. Moreover, ghosts are related to birds which are, in colour, of the same type as those connected with men:

Examples of dark coloured birds associated with ghosts:

1. hipik (A.; a koel)
2. wunuk (A.; a pitohui)
3. yanke (A.)
4. kap (A.)

The above birds are all chiefly dark brown or black.

In the Puang's view, as described in a myth, the first three birds are the transformation of ghosts. A man is forbidden to shoot these birds if he finds them in a part of the forest not belonging to his clan, because in that case the birds will be the ghosts, not of his own ancestors, but of other people's ancestors and, consequently, harmful. In another myth, a ghost appears, though temporarily, in the form of bird No. 4.

We may, therefore, conclude that, as far as the identification of the female bird of paradise with men is concerned, the bird's dark brown colour is, in fact,
very fitting. The colour does not have a negative value; that is, it does not merely dissociate the bird from women. It has a positive value; that is, it greatly helps the bird to look masculine. Black and brown, which are not distinct colours for the Puang, have a strong association with men and represent aggressiveness and pride, both of which characterize men as against women.¹

We wish to end this section with the outlines of two myths. As mentioned above, there is no myth concerned with the transformation of men into the female bird. This gap is filled by the following two myths dealing with the transformation of men into the flying fox and the hornbill, which are not only, like the female bird, dark brown, but also associated with men in many contexts. And what is more, the two myths have another significant aspect. In Puang thought, as we have seen, the female bird stands in opposition to the male bird. Likewise, the basic themes of the two myths are opposed to those of myth No. 1 concerned with the male bird:

¹ It is noteworthy that the above analysis of the characteristics of men and women and of colour symbolism is generally in accord with the anthropological findings in the following major works. G. Bateson, Naven, A Survey of the Problems Suggested by a Composite Picture of the Culture of a New Guinea Tribe Drawn from Three Points of View, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Second edit., 1958; A.J. and A.M. Strathern, Self-Decoration in Mount Hagen, Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., London, 1971.
MYTH NO. 3 — THE ORIGIN OF THE FLYING FOX

One day in the village of Magaleri, where people originated,¹ the women grew angry with the men and rebuked them. The men felt ashamed and asked the women to take the female children and leave the village. The women did so and went to the forest to do their daily work, such as pounding sago and collecting firewood. Then the men, who had remained in the village, went to the men's ceremonial house, firmly closed the door, and began cutting themselves with bamboo-knives. They continued doing so and their blood ran out of the house through the village like a flooding stream. The drops of the blood were transformed into small flying foxes, such as satanhatom (A.), hanem (A.), hani (A.), and meherti (A.), which gathered on the branches of the trees in the village. The men themselves turned into large flying foxes, such as yenep (A.) and yuwanap (A.), while remaining in the house.

In the evening, when the women returned to the village with food and firewood, they saw that the trees were all covered with flying foxes and looked black. When, after making several efforts, the women opened the door of the men's ceremonial house, the men flew out and

1. For the Puang's beliefs regarding Magaleri see pp.80-82.
made the trees more over-loaded and blackened by flying foxes. The women realized what had happened, wept in despair, and said that it was their own fault. This is the origin of the flying fox.

MYTH NO. 4 — THE ORIGIN OF THE HORNBILL

There were two brothers and the elder one had married their wosai (A.; FMBD). One day the younger brother and his male cousin (A. wokna) went to the forest and climbed a tree called hapan (A.), in order to cut its branches for firewood. The elder brother's wife prepared sago-jelly and took it to the forest to give to the younger brother and his cousin to eat. After the younger brother had the food, she told him that she loved him rather than his elder brother and wanted to marry him. He grew indignant with her and asked her to return to their village immediately. But she refused to leave and remained under the tree which he and his cousin had climbed. On that day the sunshine was too hot, and while the younger brother was cutting the branches of the tree his sweat (A. hapik) dropped on her and turned her into stone. Having seen this, the younger brother transformed himself into a hornbill, with the help of plants and black paint. Similarly his cousin transformed himself into a bird called weikasi (A.). Then they flew
back to their village together, hid in the men's ceremonial house, and firmly closed the door.

In the evening when the elder brother returned to the village after his daily work, an old woman asked him, 'Have you shot a hornbill and a weikasi and left them in the men's ceremonial house?' He said, 'No, I have not'. When, after making several efforts, he opened the door of that house, the two birds flew out through two holes which they had made in the ceiling. Then the hornbill told the elder brother, 'I am your brother. Your wife came to give us sago-jelly in the forest and wanted me to marry her. I told her angrily to go back to the village, but she refused. She remained there under the hapan tree on which we were working; and my sweat dropped on her and turned her into stone. Now I am ashamed to stay here and wish to leave you'. The elder brother tried to shoot the hornbill with his bow and arrow, but the hornbill, and the weikasi, flew further away and stayed on a raintree. The other people of the village, who had returned from the forest by then, sat under the tree and began weeping; and the two birds flew away from the village the next morning.

On their way the two birds had a number of adventures, but never returned to their own village, in the form of birds or human beings. According to one version of the
myth, the hornbill went to a remote village and after
death turned into a piece of stone, which still exists.¹

TABLE 35: THE OPPOSITION OF MYTH NO. 1 WITH
MYTHS NOS. 3 & 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The basic themes of Myth No. 1</th>
<th>The basic themes of Myths Nos. 3 &amp; 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Women are shamed by men</td>
<td>1. Men are shamed by women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Men regret having shamed women</td>
<td>2. Women regret having shamed men, in Myth No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Out of shame women transform themselves into bright coloured birds (which are associated with women): birds of paradise</td>
<td>3. Out of shame men transform themselves into dark coloured birds (which are associated with men): flying foxes (classified as birds) in Myth No. 3 and hornbills in Myth No. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The transformation takes place in the domestic house (which is associated with women)</td>
<td>4. The transformation takes place, in Myth No. 3, in the men's ceremonial house (which is associated with men)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. After the transformation women hide in the domestic house</td>
<td>5. After the transformation men hide in the men's ceremonial house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The men and women concerned are FFZSS and FMBSD to each other implicitly</td>
<td>6. The men and women concerned are, in Myth No. 4, FFZSS and FMBSD to each other explicitly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. In the end women turn back into women and return to their village and men (a sign of women's characteristic jollity and friendliness)</td>
<td>7. In the end men do not turn back into men and/or do not return to their village and women (a sign of men's characteristic pride and aggressiveness)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ In the above myth the woman who causes the younger brother to feel ashamed is explicitly assumed to be his FMBSD. It seems that, in Myth No. 1, the same assumption is implicitly made with regard to the two women who turn into birds and the man who shames them. The two women, who are sisters, are that man's wives. In Puang, a man's wife is ideally his FMBSD. Moreover, birds of paradise, into which the two women transform themselves, are conceived by the Puang to be primarily the FMBSD.
2. TWO SPECIES?

In the above section we examined in some detail the Puang belief that in the bird of paradise the male is female and the female is male. In the present section we are concerned with another unique and unexpected ethnographic fact; that is, although the Puang know that the male and the female are, as seen in the above section, of the same species, they give the name of the bird of paradise only to the male. In other words, the Puang give the impression, to a puzzling degree, as if the male and the female were of two species, only the former of which is the bird of paradise.

a. The Bird and Pidgin English

The pidgin English term for the bird of paradise is kumul, but the Puang use this term only for the male. For the Puang, the equivalent of this term in their mother language is haura tinousik, which is the Au name of the male. Kumul, or any other pidgin English word, is not applied by them to the female, the Au name of which is hauripik. As far as the Puang are concerned, hauripik, like most local birds, has no name in pidgin English. As a result, when the Puang talk about the male and the female together while using the term kumul, they refer to the birds as 'kumul and hauripik', as if they were speaking of two different birds, only one of
which is the bird of paradise. On these occasions the
Puang make such statements as follows:

'Women are forbidden to eat kumel's meat, but men are forbidden to eat hauripik's meat. Kumul's plumage is long, whereas hauripik's is short. Kumul is a woman, but hauripik is a man. Kumul is in the habit of laughing loudly, but hauripik is not.'

The Puang (or rather the Puang men) do not, however, often talk of the male and the female together, as their interest is centred on the male. The above statements were made partly in response to my inquiries regarding the two birds.

Since the Puang often spoke of the male only and since they used the term kumul only as the equivalent of haura tinousik, the Au name of the male, for a long time in the field I had the misconception that haura tinousik means the bird of paradise irrespective of its sex, and that this name is the only name given to the bird in the Au language. After I had recorded a few versions of Myth No. 1 and collected a great deal of the data included in the last chapter, I was still in the dark in this regard.

My misconception remained even after I came to know some Puang beliefs regarding the female. For instance, the first time I was told that kumul is a woman and hauripik is a man, this belief did not lead me on the
right track, because there are many birds which are believed to be either man or woman. Moreover, such birds are usually not of the same species: for example, as we have seen, it is thought that haura him (A.; an eagle) is a man and guirip (A.; a kingfisher) is a woman. What finally made me curious to know the connection between kumul and hauripik was a statement made by an informant and later confirmed by others, namely, 'Hauripik is kumul's husband'.

It is worthy of note that the order in which the field-data concerning the bird of paradise are presented here is, broadly speaking, the order in which they were discovered and collected in the field. Like the reader, I came to know Myth No. 1 without being aware that it is concerned only with the male. Like the reader, I discovered the unexpected ethnographic facts examined in the present chapter and the later stage of my inquiries about the bird.

As far as the exclusive usage of the term kumul for the male bird of paradise is concerned, it may be added that the term is, in practice, closely associated with the male. Kumul, like other pidgin English words, has emerged out of contact with Europeans, Malays, and Chinese, all of whom were interested in birds of paradise chiefly for the sake of the male's colourful plumage. This fact cannot, however, explain why the Puang do not
apply the same term to the female. In pidgin English often a word is, and has to be, used for a number of similar phenomena, each of which usually has a distinct name in local languages. For example, in pidgin English the word rop (E. rope) is used not only for 'rope' but also for anything resembling a rope, such as 'string', 'cord', 'fibre', 'root', 'vine', and 'vein'. The Puang use the pidgin English words limbum and wail limbum for at least ten varieties of tree:

1. hausa
2. hena
3. hirip
4. kurpa
5. wuni
6. yamk
7. weisari
8. wasiwuk
9. wanyapa
10. sirweira

b. The Bird and the Au language

As the reader may have noted, the Au names of male and female birds of paradise, that is, haura tinousik and hauripik respectively, are, significantly enough, very different. In the Au language, the male and female of the same species of bird or animal are usually given the same name. Sometimes a word is added to the name in order to show the sex of the animal, but the name itself remains unchanged. For example:

domestic fowl: suwara
cock: suwara manuk
hen: suwara hanpate

It may be objected that the names haura tinousik and hauripik are not radically different, as both begin with
the four letters haur. But haura is not exactly part of the first name; it simply means 'bird' and may be added to the names of many birds, as in

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{haura wānkala:} & \quad \text{cassowary} \\
\text{haura him:} & \quad \text{eagle}
\end{align*}
\]

In daily conversation, the word haura is often omitted from birds' names, and so haura tinousik and haura wānkala are usually referred to as tinousik and wānkala. Haura him is not called him, as the latter is by itself a meaningful and very common word (him: mouth, talk, spell, tale) and may cause confusion.

Thus the names of male and female birds of paradise are really tinousik and hauripik, which do not resemble each other at all. Furthermore, in the light of the following linguistic analysis, it may be argued that the name of the female was originally yipik. In other words, it may be argued that hauripik is the transformation of a compound word, consisting of haura and ipik or rather yipik.

Such transformations, that is, the elision of vowels or consonants when words are joined together, are a common phonetic or phonological phenomenon. The Au language provides us with many examples, which will be examined in detail in the study of the Puang's complex concept of myth. Let it suffice here to give only one
example. The Au word *wit* means a village-site, a hamlet-site, or a piece of land, and frequently constitutes the first part of the names of villages, hamlets, and portions of the land in the forest. Now when this word becomes part of a compound word, sometimes it remains unchanged and sometimes it is transformed into *wi* or *witi*.

1. *Wit* unchanged:
   i. *Witnikis* (*wit* + *Nikis*): An earlier site of the Nikis hamlet in Puang (see pp.47,87).
   ii. *Witweis* (*wit* + *weis*): An Au-speaking village in the Au West Census-Division (see pp.37,41). Sometimes the village is simply called *Weis*.
   iii. *Withan* (*wit* + *han*): Part of the forest near the Puang village. The word *han* means 'heart'.
   iv. *Witwasiuk* (*wit* + *wasiuk*): Part of the forest near the Au-speaking village of Wasin. *Wasiuk* is the name of the spirit of rivers and of the coconut tree.

2. *Wit* transformed into *wi* or *witi*:
   i. *Wisuluk* (*wit* + *suluk*): Part of the forest near Puang. *Suluk* is also the name of a clan in Puang.
   ii. *Witabaan* (*wit* + *Tabaan*): Part of the forest near the Au-speaking village of Piem. *Witabaan*, to which the two women of Myth No. 1 flew as birds of paradise, is sometimes simply called *Tabaan*.
   iii. *Witini* (*wit* + *ni*): Part of the forest in the Au West Census-Division, and mentioned in
Myth No. 2 concerning the origin of pigs.
The word ni means 'garden'.

iv. Witinim (wit + nim): Part of the forest near the village of Yili. The word nim means 'milk'.

What appears to be the second part of the compound word hauripik, namely, yipik, fits in a set of Au words to a significant degree, that is, semantically as well as phonetically:

- yipik  bird of paradise (female)
- hipik  a bird
- hapik  a snake
- tupik  a snake
- napik  a fish

Apart from being two-syllabled with identical endings, the above words have similar semantic associations. They are all names of birds and animals. The birds and animals are all either brown or black; two colours which are, for the Puang, variations of the same colour. The bird called hipik is, like hauripik, chiefly dark brown. The two birds also resemble each other in size. The snake called hapik is black. The snake and the fish named tupik and napik are black too.

1. Hipik is a koel (L. Caliechthrus leucolophus), and is the sole member of a genus that is in some ways intermediate between true cuckoos (Cuculus) and the koels in the genus Eudynamis'. A. Rutgers and J. Gould, 1970, op. cit., p.22; hipik's picture facing p.22.
3. Napik is a one-gilled eel (L. Symbranchus bengalensis; P.E. maleo). For the picture of this fish, see ibid., Vol.1, pp.408-409. Napik is called tablayak in the Au-speaking village of Warin.
word hapik also means 'sweat', and to be more exact, 'sweat' after it has been mixed with dust and the like; that is, after it has become dirty and dark-coloured. The Puang translate the pidgin English word doti (E. dirt and dirty) into hapik.

Moreover, the above words are, like hauripik, associated with danger, aggression, and men or ghosts. As seen in the preceding section, the bird hipik is believed to be the transformation of a ghost; and ghosts are, like men, dangerous and aggressive. It is also believed that when hipik sings it means that someone has died. The snake hapik is thought to be the transformation of a man; and hunting-spirits, which are connected with hunting and warfare, may, though temporarily, turn themselves into it. Hapik in the sense of sweat or bodily dirt is, as we have seen before, dangerous and polluting and may be used in contagious magic to 'fasten' the victim's soul. The fish napik is, as the Puang say, snake-like; and it is dangerous, as a number of taboos in pointing-magic, Singing Rituals, and pregnancy are concerned with it. Napik is also the fish into which male ancestors are believed to transform themselves. In contrast, the fish into which female ancestors are thought to turn is a red-coloured fish, namely, per¹ (A.).

1. Per is squirreelfish (L. Holocentrus candimaculatus). For the picture of this fish see ibid.
In the present section we attempted to show that although the Puang know that male and female birds of paradise are of the same species, they apply the pidgin English name of the bird of paradise only to the male, and their local name for the male is strikingly different from that for the female. The question why the male and the female are treated so differently, as if they were of two species, is discussed below, after introducing a related issue.

3. THE MATURE AND THE IMMATURE

The reader's careful attention is required for further complications. There are two more unexpected ethnographic facts to be reported regarding male and female birds of paradise. First, what has so far been said about the male in the present chapter is, to be more exact, only true of the adult male. The pidgin English word kumul and the Au word haura tinousik are used by the Puang, solely for the adult male. Second, the Au word hauripik is employed by the Puang not only for the female (immature and adult), but also for the immature male. In other words, as we have seen in the first section of this chapter, at first the male and female are both short-feathered and alike in colour and size; and only later, after reaching maturity, does the male become long-feathered, different in colour, and
larger. The Puang use *kumul* and *haura tinousik* for the long-feathered bird, and *hauripik* for short-feathered ones, whether female or male:

- **adult male**: haura tinousik (A.)
- **immature male**: hauripik (A.)
- **adult female**: hauripik (A.)
- **immature female**: hauripik (A.)

(P.E. *kumul*; E. bird of paradise)

FIGURE 20: The names of the Bird of Paradise with regard to Sex and Age

Thus, in Puang, it is only the adult male which is treated in such a way as if it were of a different species; and what the adult male is believed to be different from is the immature male as well as the female. Some of the Puang's statements regarding the above ethnographic facts are as follows:

"When the *kumul* comes out of the egg, it is like the *hauripik*. The *tinousik* is at first the *hauripik*. The *hauripik* may be female or male. The female *hauripik* turns into the *tinousik* later. The male *hauripik* remains unchanged and short-feathered. The *hauripik* which is the *tinousik* 's husband is male."

It is noteworthy that the points made here are confirmed by, and throw light on, a puzzling belief reported by a non-anthropologist about the Au people. Writing of his 1936 trip to the Lumi area, including the
Au-speaking part and the Nikis hamlet in Puang, Marshall reports that the local people said categorically that the kumul does not either build a nest or lay eggs:

"... it is surprising to hear natives ... claiming that kumul does not build a 'house' nor 'carry'im kid' (eggs) .... White men ... seriously advised me to tackle the problem, and said that overseas museums ... would give fabulous rewards to the person who discovered the nest and eggs of the bird of paradise. The natives were emphatic on the point. Kumul certainly built no nest, laid no eggs.'

But, as we have seen in the last chapter, the Puang do know that the bird of paradise builds a nest and lays eggs. According to the Puang the bird nests on slender trees; and this is confirmed by ornithological research. Sometimes the Puang catch and kill the bird in its nest during the night. They dazzle the bird by a fire-brand while approaching its nest. The Puang have also seen the bird's egg and say, as ornithologists do, that the egg is mainly white (A. hiika).

The reason why Marshall repeatedly hears the above puzzling belief is that the Au people, and presumably other local people in the Lumi area, use the term kumul in a sense different from his. He, like other Europeans,
uses this pidgin English term for the bird of paradise irrespective of its sex and age. In fact he explicitly says so: "Kumul is the widespread 'pidgin' name given to Paradisaea minor [Lesser Bird of Paradise],"¹ which is the species existing in the Lumi area. But what the local people mean by the term is only the adult male bird of paradise. Adult males do not, of course, lay eggs, nor do they take part, as mentioned before, in nest-building and feeding the young. It is true that, for the Puang, the male is female. But we have shown in the first section of the present chapter that the Puang attribute laying eggs, nest-building, and feeding the young to short-feathered or immature males and not to long-feathered or adult males.

In his 1936 trip, Marshall, who is not without some anthropological insight, makes further inquiries about the bird and discovers half the truth; that is, he gets the impression that, for the local people, the term kumul means the male:

"The natives were emphatic on the point. Kumul certainly built no nest, laid no eggs. When questioned about nulial, however, they told a different story. Yes, they could show me the house of nulial at any time in season, but then nulial was not kumul, the bird whose plumes everybody had so eagerly gathered a few years ago .... Actually females

(nulial!) of the common gold-plumed birds are very drab birds by comparison with the glorious male. Apparently only nulial builds the nest. Thus the house of kumul the beauty bird, still remains undiscovered.

As can be seen, in the above passage Marshall assumes that the term nulial means 'female', simply because according to the local people it is the nulial which makes the nest. But there is no evidence, linguistically or otherwise, that the term necessarily stands for the female. Indeed, significantly enough, the term seems to mean 'immature' and in the present context, in which the term is contrasted with the term kumul, it means 'immature male': what the local people said to Marshall was that the nest is built, not by the kumul (adult male), but by the nulial (immature male).

Nulial is an old pidgin English term, not used at the present time. It seems to mean 'new' and in the case of birds 'young' and consequently 'immature'. It most likely derives from the English words 'new' and 'line', as it is a compound word consisting of nu (E. new) and lial (or lain; E. line). In pidgin English, lain

1. Ibid., pp.61-62.
2. Lial and lain are taken here as different pronunciations or spellings of the same word, for the following reasons. The Au and other local peoples of the Lumi area do not often make a clear distinction between the consonants l and n (D.C. Laycock, 1968, op.cit., p.40). The pronunciation and spelling of pidgin English words have changed in the course of time (F. Mihalic, 1971, op.cit., pp.xiii-8). While lain is the present form of the word (ibid., pp.118-19) lial was recorded more than thirty years ago, namely,
is used not only literally, as in mekim lain (E. to form a line), but also metaphorically in different senses, such as 'cord' (pislain; E. a fishline) and 'age' (Mitupele i wan lain; E. We two are of the same age). Nu in compound words means 'new', as in Nu Gini (E. New Guinea) and Nu Briten (E. New Britain). The present pidgin English word for 'new' is nupela, which is, like nulial, a compound word consisting of nu and pela (E. fellow). ¹

So much for the Puang's attitudes towards the adult male, the immature male, and the female of the bird of paradise. We wish to see now what factors make the Puang give a distinct name to the adult male, in both pidgin English and the Au language, and treat the adult male in such a way as if it were a different bird.

The objective factor is that the adult male is, in size, in colour, in behaviour, and in the type and length of plumage, strikingly different from the female, and consequently from the immature male, which resembles the female. Referring to the genus Paradisaea, including

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2. (continued from the previous page) in 1936. Marshall does not pay sufficient attention to the linguistic aspect of his work and wrongly renders a number of non-English words. For example he calls the village of 'Lalwi', near Puang, as 'Yalwi' (A.J. Marshall, 1938, op.cit., pp.254-55. For further examples of his rendering of the names of villages, see pp.23,29, 43,274).

1. See also F. Mihalic's dictionary of pidgin English, 1971, op.cit.
the Lesser Bird of Paradise, an ornithologist observes: "And in these plumed species the [adult] males and females are usually so different in appearance that they can easily be mistaken for different species'. ¹

It should, however, be added that although the striking difference in question is of an extreme degree, dimorphism between the two sexes is not a unique characteristic of the bird of paradise.

"In many species [of birds] ... the sexes look strikingly different. In these the partner can be identified at a distance. Males are generally larger and more colourful than females. Apart from such differences in colour and pattern, there are differences in feather structure ...."²

And the Puang are bound to be familiar with sexual dimorphism in birds, as they are very close to, and dependent on, their environment, which is highly rich in bird fauna. Moreover, such dimorphism does not necessarily make the Puang use different names for the male and female of the same species. A case in point is the Riedel's Eclectus Parrot (L. Lorrius roratus riedel), in which the male is bright-coloured and chiefly green, whereas the female is darker in colour and especially brown. But the Puang call both sexes of this bird meraken (A.).

A subjective factor in this connection is that the Puang are greatly interested in physical growth; a point which was discussed in the chapter on kinship and marriage. Let it suffice here to say that the Puang, being cultivators and food-gatherers, are very concerned about the growth of their plants — hence the importance of magical spells recited over plants inside and outside gardens. Also, because of malnutrition, lack of hygiene and scientific medicine, and the desire to increase their numerical strength, the Puang are especially anxious about the growth of their children — hence so much value is attached to the ritual washing of children and puberty rites, on which a person's health and growth are believed to depend.

Thus the characteristics of the adult male bird of paradise, being the result of an extreme and beautiful form of growth, are, for the Puang, far more striking than they are objectively. It is no exaggeration to say that, for the Puang, the adult male is the ideal embodiment of physical growth. And it is no accident that, as seen in the last chapter, the adult male is believed to be better for the growth of plants and persons than any other bird.

The above subjective factor is not, however, decisive. It cannot explain why the adult male is
treated as a distinct bird and given a distinct name. For the Puang, physical growth, however great it may be, does not mean a change in identity. Nor does it entail changing names. After growing up or undergoing puberty rites, a person’s identity is not believed to change; and he is not given a new or an additional name.

The subjective factor which is decisive and relates to the central theme of the present discussion of the bird of paradise is this: in the Puang’s belief, the adult male is a woman or rather the FMBSD; and the female is a man or rather the FFZSS. The FFBSD and FFZSS are of different clans and have different clan-names. In other words, in the Puang's belief, the adult male is a young wife whose young husband is the female. A wife and husband cannot be of the same 'blood', cannot be of the same clan, and cannot have the same clan-name.

To give another example. There are two kinds of banana which are conceived to be not only a man and woman, but also a husband and wife. Since these bananas are so conceived, they are not of the same type and do not look the same. The former, which is the husband, grows upwards; whereas the latter, which is the wife, hangs down and is smaller. Besides, they have totally different names. The former is called yakup (A.) and the latter wisan (A.). And what is more, a title is
prefixed to each name, to make the distinction between the two more clear. The full name of the former is yakup metik (A., metik: man, husband) and of the latter wisan meta (A.; meta: woman, wife), which may be translated as 'yakup the husband' and 'wisan the wife'.
CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CONCLUSION

1. FOUR PRINCIPLES OF THOUGHT

We have studied the Puang's beliefs regarding the bird of paradise in three chapters. When the Puang state, "The [adult male] bird of paradise is a woman" (A. Haura tinousik meta), the only thing they volunteer to add is myth No.1. But we attempted to show that this belief is, by far, more significant and deep-rooted than the first impression one gets from the Puang; and that it is consciously or unconsciously manifested in, and related to, most aspects of the Puang's social and intellectual life, such as hunting, matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, superiority of wife-givers over wife-receivers, MB-ZS relationship, man-woman relationship, puberty rites, healing rituals, mythology, love-magic, contagious magic, food and sex taboos, and colour classification.

The numerous Puang beliefs discussed in the study of the bird of paradise and other parts of the present thesis may be summarized and classified as follows. The beliefs seem, first of all, to constitute four patterns, each of which being based on
one principle. The first pattern is based on the principle of identification. It consists of those beliefs which explicitly assume that phenomena may be transformations of each other, and that consequently certain seemingly unrelated and diverse phenomena are, in fact, related and essentially identical.

TABLE 36: ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF IDENTIFICATION BASED ON TRANSFORMATION

| 1. adult male bird of paradise   | = women (FMBSD) |
| 2. female bird of paradise      | = men (FFZSS)  |
| 3. wisan meta (A.; a type of banana) | = women (wives)  |
| 4. yakup metik (A.; a type of banana) | = men (husbands)  |
| 5. guirip (A.; a Kingfisher)    | = women (mothers) |
| 6. haura him (A.; an eagle)     | = men (warriors) |
| 7. hornbill                      | = men          |
| 8. flying fox                    | = men          |
| 9. hapik (A.; a snake)           | = men          |
| 10. napik (A.; a fish)           | = male ancestors |
| 11. per (A.; a fish)             | = female ancestors |
| 12. hipik (A.; a bird)           | = ghosts       |
| 13. wunuk (A.; a bird)           | = ghosts       |
| 14. yanka (A.; a bird)           | = ghosts       |
| 15. kap (A.; a bird)             | = ghosts       |
| 16. kuku (A.; an owl)            | = a land-spirit (snake) |
The second pattern is based on the principle of opposition. It consists of those beliefs in which phenomena are conceived and related to each other, not in terms of identification, but in terms of conscious or unconscious opposition.

Table 37: ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF OPPOSITION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>adult male bird of paradise as a woman and FMBSD / female bird of paradise as a man and FFZSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>meat of adult male bird of paradise taboo to women / meat of female bird of paradise taboo to men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>adult male bird of paradise, being long-feathered, bright-coloured and distinctly named / female and immature bird of paradise, being short-feathered, dark-coloured and distinctly named</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>wisan meta (A.; a type of banana) as a wife / yakup metik (A.; a type of banana) as her husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>wisan meta not taboo to its male planter / yakup metik taboo to its male planter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>meat of guirip (A.; a Kingfisher conceived as a woman) not taboo to men / meat of guirip taboo to women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>bright-coloured birds associated with women / dark-coloured birds associated with men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>jollity and friendliness as characteristic of women / pride and aggressiveness as characteristic of men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>ripe betel nuts as pubescent girls / unripe betel nuts as pre-pubescent girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>tree-holes as genitalia of young women / ground-holes as genitalia of mothers</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11. marsupials 'of trees' (A. ka nu)</td>
<td></td>
<td>marsupials 'of the ground' (A. ka te)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. relatives 'of shell rings' (A. ka pawak)</td>
<td></td>
<td>relatives 'of meat' (A. ka miak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. superiority of wife-giving clan</td>
<td></td>
<td>inferiority of wife-receiving clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. wife-givers as life-givers</td>
<td></td>
<td>wife-receivers as life-receivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. wife-givers having rights</td>
<td></td>
<td>wife-receivers having duties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. wosai (A.; FMBSD)'s right to marry meneki (A.; FFZSS)</td>
<td></td>
<td>meneki's duty to marry wosai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. marrying wosai and meneki out of duty or right</td>
<td></td>
<td>marrying wosai and meneki out of love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. exacting and punitive aspect of MB's attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td>protective and caring aspect of MB's attitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. short bamboo of sago flour given by wife-givers and being ritually harmless</td>
<td></td>
<td>long bamboo of sago flour given by wife-receivers and capable of being ritually harmful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. smoked meat given by wife-givers and being ritually harmless</td>
<td></td>
<td>cooked meat given by wife-receivers and capable of being ritually harmful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. basic themes of Myth No.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>basic themes of Myth Nos. 3 &amp; 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. black-skinned people</td>
<td></td>
<td>red-skinned people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. hot (ritually)</td>
<td></td>
<td>cold (ritually)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. good blood</td>
<td></td>
<td>bad blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. good soul</td>
<td></td>
<td>bad soul</td>
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The third pattern in the Puang's beliefs is based on the principle of similarity or analogy. It consists of those beliefs in which consciously or unconsciously phenomena are conceived and related to each other in terms of their similarities.

Table 38: Illustrations of the Principle of Similarity

| 1. Colourfulness of adult male bird of paradise | = feminine beauty of young women |
| 2. Noisiness and activeness of adult male bird of paradise in mating | = self-assertiveness and forwardness of women in love and marriage |
| 3. Flank plumes of adult male bird of paradise (A. nitan) | = women's fibre-skirts (A. nitan) |
| 4. Certain calls of adult male bird of paradise | = women's typically loud and spontaneous laughter |
| 5. Dominance of adult male over female bird of paradise | = dominance of wife-giving clan over wife-receiving clan |
| 6. Adult male bird of paradise with regard to causing and curing bodily harm | = MB with regard to causing and curing bodily harm |
| 7. Adult male bird of paradise with regard to physical growth and puberty rites | = MB with regard to physical growth and puberty rites |
| 8. 'Pulling new plants upwards' attributed to certain birds | = pulling ZS's and ZD's hair upwards by MB in puberty rites |
| 9. Hunting magic of adult male bird of paradise (spells, objects, rituals) | = love-magic or the art of 'catching' young women |
| 10. Falling into the night fire | = sexual intercourse and falling in love with women |
| 11. Ripe betel nuts | = pubescent girls |
| 12. Unripe betel nuts | = pre-pubescent girls |
| 13. Tree-holes | = genitalia of young women |
| 14. Ground-holes | = genitalia of mothers |

(cont.)
| 15. | bright coloured birds | women |
| 16. | dark coloured birds | men (and magicians and ghosts) |
| 17. | human body (especially of women) | trees |
| 18. | strings made from tulip tree | intestines and umbilical cord |
| 19. | net-bags (A. tanik) made from tulip strings | womb (A. tanik) |
| 20. | women's genitalia | fire; betel nuts |
| 21. | men's thumb | penis |
| 22. | sexual intercourse (both men's and women's point of view) | eating |
| 23. | sexual intercourse (only men's point of view) | being cooked |
| 24. | penis-cutting | menarche |
| 25. | P's penile blood eaten by a baby and smeared on its body to ensure physical growth | MB's penile blood eaten by ZS and ZD and smeared on their bodies to ensure physical growth |
| 26. | ZS and ZD | chicken |
| 27. | MB | protective outsiders and God |
| 28. | a married couple's domestic dog and pig | a married couple's children |
| 29. | 'blood' ties based on sharing locality and food | blood ties based on genealogical connections |
| 30. | production: a man has 'blood' relationship with the food plants grown by him | reproduction: a man has blood relationship with the children begotten by him |

(cont.)
Table 38: (cont.)

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>long, thin, and tapering objects used in destructive magic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>pointing magic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>drawing the 'soul' of the victim's blood after he is shot magically in pointing-magic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>rattan-magic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>raiding-magic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Au contagious magic: its magical bundle (A. nasi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>sugar canes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>adultery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

≡ arrows and spears used in warfare

≡ shooting with arrows and spears; invisible shooting by spirits and the ancestors

≡ taking the enemy's blood after he is shot in warfare

≡ a tactic in warfare; planting arrowheads in the enemy's path

≡ one of the two forms of warfare: guerrilla raids

≡ Malay cooked rice (M. nasi)

≡ bones

≡ stealing

The fourth pattern in the Puang's beliefs is based on the principle of contiguity. It consists of those beliefs in which consciously or unconsciously phenomena are conceived and connected in terms of their being contiguous to each other. Such beliefs are especially found in certain types of magic and ritual, in which the relationship between contiguous phenomena is highly significant, that is, animistic. In contagious magic, which is the most important magic in Puang, objects such as the severed parts of a person's (or an animal's) body are believed to 'contain' his soul, as they have been in close contact with his body and consequently with his soul. The same is also true of many examples of love-magic and hunting magic, where an animistic connection is believed to exist between the above type of objects and the soul of the lover (or the beloved) or the animal concerned. In this regard, contagious magic
differs from love-magic and hunting magic in that in it the principle of contiguity is used destructively, whereas in the latter two, constructively.

**TABLE 39: ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF CONTIGUITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>U</strong> is contiguous to (and as a result animistically connected with)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. plumage of adult male bird of paradise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bones of adult male bird of paradise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. a woman's fibre skirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. a man's blood from his finger or penis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. a man's hair from his arm-pit or pubes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. a person's sweat or bodily grime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. a person's left-over food, betel nut (if not chewed with lime), and smoked tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. a person's hair, spittle, nails, and clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. a person's excrement (if a child), urine, and footprints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. a person's blood from his major joints and neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. a man's blood from his thighs and a woman's from her upper arms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. 'soul' of a person's blood magically drawn and mixed with a magical mixture (A. kepna)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

601
TABLE 39: (cont.)

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>bones of a person killed</td>
<td>U his ghost (in magic after a homicide)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>ancestral bones</td>
<td>U ancestral spirits (in pointing-magic and MB's magic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>a hunting spirit's 'grime' (i.e. the earth of the spirit's abode)</td>
<td>U the hunting spirit (in magic of pig hunting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>a hunting spirit's 'skin' (i.e. a type of wild taro found near the spirit's abode)</td>
<td>U the hunting spirit (in magic of pig hunting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>a pig's foot-prints</td>
<td>U its soul (in magic of pig hunting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>a pig's or a dog's hair</td>
<td>U its soul (in contagious magic against pigs and dogs)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have illustrated the four principles which seem to underlie Puang thought. These principles, or the four patterns resulting from them, are, however, not unrelated to each other. Indeed Puang thought seems to have also an over-all pattern, in which these principles are interwoven. As can be seen, the beliefs mentioned in the above four tables are often related to each other; and sometimes they are different aspects of the same beliefs. The principle of identification is often backed by that of similarity. We have seen that the adult male bird of paradise is not only identified with women in essence, but also is believed to be, to a certain extent, analogous to women in appearance.

The principle of opposition, being very deep-rooted, runs through the entire body of Puang thought, and is directly connected with the other principles. Its
relationship with identification and similarity is shown below. Its relationship with the principle of contiguity is this: contagious magic (and other related types of magic) is concerned, as Table 25 shows, not only with contiguity, but also with the opposition between the body and the soul or between man and putative spirits (i.e. spirits, ghosts, and the ancestors). ¹

The counterpart of contagious magic is homeopathic magic, which relates to the principle of similarity and not contiguity. But, like contagious magic, homeopathic magic has also, as I have attempted to show at length elsewhere,² an animistic aspect and is consequently concerned with the same binary opposites, namely, body/soul, and man/putative spirits. In homeopathic magic a magician destroys a person's image in order to destroy that person. This magical act relates to the fact that there is a similarity between a person and his image. It also relates on the one hand to the magician's explicit belief that the image 'contains' the person's soul, and on the other to the magician's occasional appeal to harmful spirits to help him in destroying his victim.

The Puang do not have the type of magic in which the image of a person is made and destroyed. But they have many rituals in which images are used for productive

2. Ibid., especially pp.236-47.
purposes; images which are explicitly believed to 'contain' the putative souls or spirits concerned. As described in chapter twelve, the Puang perform a healing ritual when a person has been harmed through the night fire supposedly caused by the adult male bird of paradise. In that ritual an image resembling the bird is made and the bird, as a spirit, is expected to stop harming the patient and to enter the image. After the ritual the image, which is believed to contain the bird as a spirit by then, is discarded. The large variety of healing rituals called Singing Rituals (A. hanya) are all of the same type. Each Singing Ritual centres on one or more images which are discarded in the end, that is, after the spirit concerned has supposedly left the patient and entered the images.

Chapter twelve also includes the description of another ritual concerned with yakup metik (A.), a type of banana believed to be really a man. In that ritual a large number of yakup metik are roasted, mixed with meat and coconut, and formed into a large image of a man, with a penis. Then the image, which is said to be good for physical growth, is communally eaten by children and young people. The name of the image is, significantly enough, 'soul' (A. himin), that is, the soul of the above type of banana as a man. The Puang tend to conceive the human soul in the likeness of the human body. For the Puang,
a person's image in water and his shadow are, respectively, his 'good soul' (A. himin yaaik) and his 'bad soul' (A. himin anuk). This tendency, which is wide-spread in primitive societies, explains to some extent why the image of a person or a putative spirit, which is a person-like being, is often taken, not simply as a representation, but as something linked with that person or spirit closely and animistically.

Contagious or Metonymic Magic

Principle of Opposition  Animism  Principle of Contiguity

Homeopathic or Metaphoric Magic

Principle of Opposition  Animism  Principle of Similarity

Although Puang beliefs are interconnected in various ways, their relationships are not all of equal importance. The relationship which belief A has with belief B may
be by far closer and more significant than that between belief A and belief C or D or E, etc. When the relationship between two or more beliefs is so close and significant that none of them may be exactly understood without taking the others into account, it may be said that such beliefs form a 'set'. For example, as we have seen in detail in the preceding chapter, the Puang beliefs that the adult male bird of paradise is a woman (FMBSD) and that the female bird of paradise is a man (FFZSS) constitute the opposing sides of the same coin. We cannot exactly understand why the adult male is believed to be a woman unless we take also into account the belief regarding the female. The adult male is believed to be a woman not only because his characteristics fit the Puang's image of a woman, but also because the characteristics of the female fit the Puang's image of a man. In other words, in relation to the female, the adult male fits a woman's image; and in relation to the adult male, the female fits a man's image. If the female did not have her present characteristics, such as dark-coloured plumage, which represents masculinity and contrasts with the adult male's bright-coloured plumage representing femininity, the Puang may not have come to the conclusion that the adult male is a woman; or at least the Puang may not have come to the conclusion that the adult male and the female are wife and husband, or
FMBSD and FFZSS to each other.

Furthermore, the two propositions, 'The adult male is a woman', and 'The female is a man', closely relate to one another not only when each proposition is taken as a whole, but also in their component parts: the adult male (part of the first) is in opposition to the female (part of the second), and similarly a woman (part of the first) is in opposition to a man (part of the second). In other words, the adult male is in relation to the female as a woman in relation to a man (see the following table).

Thus the Puang beliefs regarding the adult male and female birds of paradise form a set consisting of two opposing propositions. As shown below, the set has four basic elements, each of which relates to the others in two ways, or in terms of two principles, namely, identification and opposition. The Puang have many other beliefs, consciously formulated or unconsciously assumed, which form four-element sets. The principles on which a set is based are sometimes identification and opposition, and sometimes similarity and opposition.
### TABLE 40: ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE SETS OF BELIEFS

1. **Sets in which the Principles of Identification and Opposition are Combined**

   - `=` is identified with; `→` is a transformation of; `/` is opposed to

Set No. 1

#### Propositions of the set:
1. The adult male bird of paradise is a woman
2. The female bird of paradise is a man

#### Elements of the set:
1. the adult male bird of paradise \((A)\)
2. a woman \((B)\)
3. the female bird of paradise \((C)\)
4. a man \((D)\)

![Diagram of Set No. 1]

Set No. 2

#### Propositions of the set:
1. *wisan meta* \((A.; \text{ a type of banana})\) is a woman
2. *yakup metik* \((A.; \text{ a type of banana})\) is a man

#### Elements of the set:
1. *wisan meta* \((A^2)\)
2. a woman \((B^2)\)
3. *yakup metik* \((C^2)\)
4. a man \((D^2)\)

![Diagram of Set No. 2]
Set No. 3

Propositions of the set:
1. Per (A.; a red fish) is a female ancestor
2. Napik (A.; a black fish) is a male ancestor

Elements of the set:
1. per (A³)
2. a female ancestor (B³)
3. Napik (C³)
4. a male ancestor (D³)

II. Sets in which the Principles of Similarity and Opposition are Combined

≡ is similar to; / is opposed to

Set No. 4

Propositions of the set:
1. Ripe betel nuts are similar to pubescent girls
2. Unripe betel nuts are similar to pre-pubescent girls

Elements of the set:
1. ripe betel nuts (A⁴)
2. pubescent girls (B⁴)
3. unripe betel nuts (C⁴)
4. pre-pubescent girls (D⁴)
Set No. 5

Propositions of the set:
1. Tree-holes are similar to the genitalia of young women
2. Ground-holes are similar to the genitalia of mothers

Elements of the set:
1. tree-holes (A^5)
2. genitalia of young women (B^5)
3. ground-holes (C^5)
4. genitalia of mothers (D^5)

Set No. 6

Propositions of the set:
1. Bright coloured birds are similar to women
2. Dark-coloured birds are similar to men

Elements of the set:
1. bright-coloured birds (A^6)
2. women (B^6)
3. dark-coloured birds (C^6)
4. men (D^6)
The above examples of the sets of beliefs can be multiplied if the Puang's beliefs are all examined in depth. At present the examples are not numerous, because so far we have considered Puang thought mainly as far as it has bearing on the identification of the bird of paradise with women. The basic or most elementary unit of Puang thought is, most likely, not so much a proposition (or a belief) as a set of interrelated propositions; a set consisting of two propositions or four elements, and based on certain principles which always include that of opposition.

So much for four principles of Puang thought. The above analysis is not, of course, all one can say about Puang thought, its patterns, and its underlying principles. The analysis is only concerned with certain conclusions drawn from those Puang beliefs considered in the study of the bird of paradise. Three of the principles, namely, opposition, similarity, and contiguity, are well-known and have long been of interest to many disciplines. Opposition, which will be examined in detail later, has been of interest to philosophers (e.g. Heraclitus, Empedocles, Kant, and Hegel),¹ linguists (e.g. Trubetskovy

1. See books on the history of philosophy.
and Jakobson\(^1\), psychologists (e.g. Freud\(^2\)), and physicists (e.g. Bohr\(^3\)). Also it has been shown that man's nervous and genetic\(^4\) systems and the child's first logical operations\(^5\) are based on binary distinctions. Similarity and contiguity were first mentioned by Aristotle, formed a central issue for many British philosophers (e.g. Locke, Berkeley, Hume), and have been studied by associationist,\(^6\) Freudian,\(^7\) and some other schools of psychology.\(^8\) More recently, a deeper understanding of the two principles is rendered by Jakobson,\(^9\) whose works have greatly influenced Lévi-Strauss.

In anthropology Tylor and Frazer were the first to utilize similarity and contiguity in their research. They attempted to explain magic in terms of those two principles; an explanation which still sheds light on certain aspects of magic. But Tylor and Frazer paid no attention to opposition in the study of magic or any other anthropological phenomenon. This was, perhaps, partly due to the fact that associationist philosophers, who drew Tylor's and Frazer's attention to similarity and contiguity, belittled, neglected, or rejected opposition, which they called 'contrast'. Aristotle had distinguished three ways in which ideas become associated with each other in the mind: first, similarity; second, contrast; third, contiguity.¹ But later writers either lost sight of contrast or gave it a subordinate position. Finally J.S. Mill rejected contrast altogether:

"The author [James Mill] and Mr [Alexander] Bain agree in rejecting Contrast as an independent principle of association. I think they might have gone further, and denied it even as a derivative one. All the cases considered as examples of it seem to me to depend on something else ...").²

Unlike Tylor and Frazer, Lévi-Strauss is chiefly concerned with opposition rather than similarity and

¹ H.C. Warren, 1921, op.cit.
contiguity. He is right, I believe, in attaching special importance to opposition; but this does not fully justify his interest in the other two principles being so limited. He has not, for example, ever paid sufficient attention to homeopathic and contagious magic. Here we attempted to give due consideration to all the three principles, without losing sight of the special importance of opposition (which is the subject of a detailed study below). We showed that opposition is the only principle with which the other principles (including identification) are bound to be associated in practice. We also attempted to explain that homeopathic and contagious magic are based on opposition as well as similarity and contiguity.

The last principle is identification, which is examined at length in the following section. What we need to add in the present context is as follows. Identification is logically related to the other three principles. Similarity and contiguity are binary opposites, as in the case of the former the relationship between phenomena is metaphorical and internal, whereas in the case of the latter metonymic and external.¹ Likewise, opposition and identification are binary

¹. The idea that similarity is 'internal' and contiguity 'external' is Jakobson's. See R. Jakobson, Selected Writings, Vol.2, Word and Language, The Hague, Mouton, 1971, pp. 614

The same idea is also found in certain associationist philosophers. See H.C. Warren, 1921, op.cit.
opposites, as in the case of the latter, unlike the former, phenomena are not contrasted with each other, but assumed, rightly or wrongly, to be the same. To put the matter differently. If we conceive the four ways in which phenomena A and B may be connected as a continuum, opposition and identification will be at the opposite ends of the continuum. In contrast, similarity and contiguity, in terms of which A and B are assumed to be neither too similar to be identified nor too different to be opposed, will be inside the continuum:

\begin{align*}
\text{similarity} & \quad \text{/} \quad \text{contiguity} \\
\text{opposition} & \quad \text{/} \quad \text{identification}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
A/B & \quad A\cup B & \quad A\equiv B & \quad A=B \\
\hline
\text{opposition} & \quad \text{contiguity} & \quad \text{similarity} & \quad \text{identification}
\end{align*}

FIGURE 21: The relationship between four principles of thought

As shown below, identification is, like the other three principles, a universal of human thought. We have seen that the Puang conceive identification in terms of animism. Identification so conceived is not, of course, universal, but a dominant tendency in primitive thought, which is deeply animistic.
2. IDENTIFICATION, OPPOSITION, AND LOGIC

a. Identity and Contradiction

The principle of identification, which is the central theme of our study of the bird of paradise, relates to many complex issues and is a subject of controversy in anthropology. The long-standing controversy over the Nuer statement, 'Twins are birds', is common knowledge. The first issue to be considered here is whether the Puang beliefs, such as 'The bird of paradise is a woman',¹ are in accord with logic or not; an issue which has been debated since Lévy-Bruhl. The young Lévy-Bruhl contended that beliefs of this type well illustrate his hypothesis that primitive thought is 'pre-logical'. In his view, primitive thought is pre-logical because to a considerable degree it does not abide by the law of non-contradiction, which is fundamental to logic² (i.e. Aristotelian logic). The examples given by him are, for instance, 'the Trumai (a tribe of Northern Brazil) say that they are aquatic animals. — The Boroto (a neighbouring tribe) boast that they are red araras (parakeets)').³

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1. To be more exact, 'The adult male bird of paradise is a woman'. But since this statement will frequently be repeated below, it has been shortened.
3. Ibid., p.77.
Surprisingly enough, the above type of beliefs do not, in fact, violate the law of non-contradiction (also called that of contradiction). According to this law, if a proposition is true its negation is false; that is, a proposition and its negation cannot both be true. Two propositions are contradictories if one of them negates the other, such as 'Socrates is Greek' and 'Socrates is not Greek'. Aristotle observed that 'the most indisputable of all beliefs is that contradictory statements are not at the same time true'. Thus the Puang would have violated the above law only if they had believed, on the one hand, 'The bird of paradise is a woman', and, on the other, 'The bird of paradise is not a woman'. The same holds true of Lévy-Bruhl's examples and of the Nuer statement. The Nuer would have been illogical only if they had stated not only 'Twins are birds', but also 'Twins are not birds'.

There is, however, another sense in which the above primitive beliefs may be said to involve contradiction. In Aristotelian logic the law of non-contradiction says not only that a proposition and its negation are not both true, but also that A is not not-A (or non-A, i.e. whatsoever is not A), namely, a thing is not other than

itself, or a thing is not both itself and other than itself. Aristotle observed that 'everything must be either affirmed or denied, and that a thing cannot at the same time be and not be'.\footnote{Ibid., 996\textsuperscript{b}, 25-35.} Since $A$ is not not-$A$, to say 'A is not $A$', or more clearly, '$A$ is not $A'$, as in 'White is not white' and 'Birds are not birds', is to make a self-contradictory statement. Now it is true that the Puang statement is 'The bird of paradise is a woman', not 'The bird of paradise is not the bird of paradise', or 'The bird of paradise is not a bird'. But the statement appears to have the logical implication that this bird is not itself, or is both itself and something different from itself, namely, a woman.

To put the matter in a different way. In Aristotelian logic there is another related and fundamental law, namely, 'the law of identity'. According to this law $A$ is $A$, or everything is identical with itself, such as white is white and a bird is a bird. Since the proposition '$A$ is $A'$ is true, to say '$A$ is $B$', as in 'White is red', or 'The bird of paradise is a woman', is to imply '$A$ is not $A'$, which is a false and contradictory proposition, because it negates '$A$ is $A'$.

The primitive beliefs in question seem to involve the above type of contradiction, that is, the contradiction
which relates to the identity of phenomena. And it is this type of contradiction which has attracted the attention of anthropologists. Referring to the primitive beliefs in question, Lévy-Bruhl writes that in primitive thought 'objects, beings, phenomena can be ... both themselves and something other than themselves'.

Professor Firth observes:

"In recent years social anthropologists have paid much attention to trying to understand and to translate into Western idiom the ways of thinking of peoples whom they have studied, especially in the religious sphere. One striking aspect of this has been the examination of statements by some 'primitive' people to the effect that certain things can be both themselves and something else."^{2}

But once again we would argue that the primitive beliefs in question do not, in fact, involve contradictory assumptions. It is true that the law of identity says 'A is A', or that the law of non-contradiction says 'A is not not-A'. But all this does not, or must not, mean that the statement 'A is B' (i.e. A = B) necessarily implies a contradiction. It just happens that sometimes phenomena are, or are believed to be, identical with each other. Equations like A = B and X = Y abound in

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1. L. Lévy-Bruhl, 1926, op.cit., p.76.
mathematical sciences, which are thought to be the most logical and scientific sciences. The equation of seemingly diverse phenomena also abounds in other sciences, such as physics. The most famous formula in modern physics is perhaps Einstein's following formula, on which nuclear power is based, and in which mass (m) and energy (E) are equated (c is the velocity of light):

\[ E = mc^2 \]

That mass and energy are equivalent and capable of transforming into each other is one of the major and well-demonstrated contributions of the theory of relativity. Note that this equation is in direct opposition to so-called common sense, which sees mass and energy as entirely different and incontrovertible phenomena.¹

Mass is not, however, the only thing into which energy may be transformed. One of the fundamental laws of modern physics, originally established in the nineteenth century, is 'the law of the conservation of energy'. According to this law energy can neither be created nor destroyed, but only transformed from one form into another. The forms which energy may take are many,

such as heat, light, electricity, and magnetism. Thus, judging by appearances, the concept of energy in modern physics is extremely illogical: energy is conceived to be capable of being many things other than itself.

The above examples show that the statement 'A is B' or \( A = B \) does not, necessarily, imply a contradiction. They also show that such a statement is not, by any means, confined to the mystical sphere. There is nothing mystical about 'A is B' as such, though sometimes the statement is, of course, concerned with mystical beliefs.

We wish now to go further and argue that the proposition 'A is B' has nothing to do with contradiction. When a person (or a people) says 'A is B', he assumes that A and B are identical; consequently he does not imply 'A is not A', because, in his view, B is not really not-A, that is, not really different from A. Such a person may, of course, be factually wrong in assuming that in a certain case A and B are the same, but he is not being, however indirectly, self-contradictory. The equation of birds of paradise with women is, no doubt, factually wrong. But the Puang make this equation only because, in their view, birds of paradise and women are essentially the same; in their view, birds of paradise are the transformation of women. Evidently enough, the Puang would not have made the equation if they believed that these birds and women were really different, namely, were really A and not-A.
When one hears a person (or a people) making an equation which sounds unbelievable and opposed to what one regards as the most obvious principles and facts, one must assume — instead of making accusations of illogicality against him — that his conception of the two phenomena concerned is radically different from one's own. Sometimes it is also the case that that person's conception of phenomena in general, namely, his world-view, is radically different from one's own. Equations of this type are, however, found not merely in primitive thought. The history of thought, scientific and otherwise, provides us with many more examples. Einstein's above-mentioned equation (and consequently his theory of relativity) is certainly not less astounding and opposed to common sense and so-called obvious principles and facts than the Puang statement. The same is also true of R. Descartes' famous belief that animals are really machines, of Anaximenes' belief that fire, water, wind, and earth are really air,¹ and perhaps of J. Keats' profound statement, 'Beauty is truth, truth is beauty ...'

If what has so far been said about the relationship between logic and the primitive beliefs in question is

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1. W.K.C. Guthrie, A History of Greek philosophy, Vol.1, The Earlier Presocratics and the Pythagoreans, Cambridge University Press, 1962, p.121. Anaximenes of Miletus is one of the presocratic philosophers. He believed that air is the fundamental matter, which takes on other forms by condensation and rarefaction.
correct, the blame for the above logical misunderstandings should, at least partly, be laid on Aristotelian logic, which has, directly or indirectly, permeated education and thought for two thousand years. Aristotelian logic hardly pays any attention to the question of identity of one phenomenon with another. It is unduly restricted to propositions consisting of a subject and predicate; that is, propositions in which an object is said to have, or not to have, a certain property, such as 'Socrates is wise' and 'Man is not immortal'. But all propositions are not of this type. The propositions which we have discussed here, and which relate to the primitive beliefs under consideration, are identity propositions, in which one object is said to be the same as another object. A significant difference between a subject-predicate proposition and an identity proposition is that in the former the word 'is' is the 'is' of predication and in the latter the 'is' of identity. Unlike the 'is' of predication, that of identity may be replaced by 'is the same as' (or 'is identical with'), as in 'Twice two is four' and 'Twice two is the same as four'.

As we have seen, the type of identity on which Aristotelian logic concentrates is what may be called 'tautological identity', namely, the identity of an object with itself. This is expressed by the law of identity as 'A is A' and by the law of non-contradiction
as 'A is not not-A'. Thus the two laws say the same thing, one positively and the other negatively. With regard to both things and propositions the two laws are, in fact, different expressions of the same principle:

The Law of Identity: The Law of Non-Contradiction:
positive expression of the negative expression of the same principle same principle
1. If a proposition is true, then it is true 1. If a proposition is true, its negation is false
2. A thing is identical with itself: A is A 2. A thing is not other than itself: A is not not-A

Aristotelian logic is the traditional form of 'formal logic'. Formal logic has developed Aristotelian logic and made it more precise, mathematically and otherwise, to a great extent. It began with the philosopher and mathematician G.W. Leibniz (1646-1716), whose famous contribution called 'Leibniz's law' is about identity. There is controversy about what he actually said in this regard and about recent developments of this law. But what is not questioned and should be noted here is that this law is concerned, not with tautological identity (A = A), but with the identity of two phenomena (A = B). The question of identity beyond its tautological form has remained a major issue for modern formal logicians and analytic philosophers, starting with the pioneering works of G. Frege (1848-1925) and B. Russell. It is also worthy of note that such logicians and philosophers
have clarified considerably the various senses of the verb 'to be', in different types of propositions. These senses are mainly as follows:\(^1\)

1. Predicative (mentioned above)
2. Identifying (mentioned above)
3. Classifying: 'This is a bird'.
4. Existential: 'There is a book on the desk'
5. Veritical: 'It is as you say'
6. Locative: 'He is at home'
7. Constitutive: 'This jug is a collection of China bits'
8. Presentational: 'The meaning of "bravery" is "courage"
9. Timeless: ' Twice two is four'

Since identity is a major issue in modern logic and philosophy, the views held regarding the nature and varieties of identity are many and controversial. But we wish to add here only some further remarks on what is meant by 'identity' in the present work.

As we have seen in this chapter and throughout the study of the bird of paradise, we are concerned with 'essential' identity, or 'essentialist' identification; that is, the identity of two phenomena which are different

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in appearance but are thought to be the same in essence. The term 'essence' (or 'essential' and 'essentialist') may not be the most appropriate term here; but we are using it in its simple sense, and in its opposition to 'appearance'.

The identity statements mentioned earlier are, like those made by the Puang (see Table 36), concerned with essential, and not total, identity. For instance, mass and energy are not identical in appearance and are not believed to be the same in every respect. It is doubtful if in reality two phenomena are, strictly speaking, ever identical totally. It seems that we are always faced with partial identity\(^2\) (which may be essential or not). Leibniz observes that 'in nature there are never two beings which are perfectly alike ...',\(^3\) and 'it is not true that two substances should resemble each other

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1. It may be noteworthy that, as I have come to know recently, the expression 'essential identity', though in a different sense, was used in Indian logic, which developed independently of Greek logic. See I.M. Bochenski, *A History of Formal Logic*, transl. and ed. by I. Thomas, second edit., New York, Chelsea Publishing Company, 1970, p.444.
entirely ...'¹ So-called identical twins are not, of course, identical in every respect.

Identity statements concerned with total or almost total identity are trivial. If two cars seem to be the same in every respect, to say that they are identical is to state the obvious. Identity statements become informative and interesting when they attempt to uncover essential or hidden identity.

Thus the Aristotelian concept of identity is inadequate and could be misleading. It is half the truth, the tautological half of the truth.

"'A thing is identical with itself' - There is no finer example of a useless proposition, which yet is connected with a certain play of imagination. It is as if in imagination we put a thing into its own shape and saw that it fitted."²

b. Opposition and Contradiction

The following comments are concerned with the concept of opposition. As we have seen, opposition is a major underlying principle of Puang thought; and since it is the binary opposite of identity (or identification), the latter

cannot be understood without understanding the former. The comments are also concerned with contradiction, a related concept. The Aristotelian idea of contradiction, like that of identity, requires some critical remarks.

A basic reason why, by appearances, the primitive beliefs in question sound not merely wrong but unbelievable is that it is assumed, consciously or unconsciously, that the Aristotelian law of non-contradiction is a self-evident and absolute truth, and the whole truth.

I. Aristotelian logic is called 'two-valued' logic, as it assumes that propositions can only have two values, namely, truth or falsehood. We have already seen that according to the law of non-contradiction if a proposition is true its negation can only be false. There are, however, a number of complex and mathematical logics now which assign three or more values to propositions. In these logics propositions may not only be true or false, but also have other values, such as being 'possible', 'neutral', 'indeterminate', 'meaningless', 'insignificant', and 'unknown whether true or false'. In some of these logics propositions may even have infinite values. Many-valued logics began to develop in the late nineteenth century, and their foundations were laid in the 1920s. They have also been applied to certain scientific fields, such as quantum mechanics.¹

¹ H. Reichenbach, Philosophical Foundations of Quantum Mechanics, Berkeley, 1944.
Many-valued logics are clearly the expression of an attempt to overcome the above Aristotelian law.

"The motivation afforded by the idea of overcoming the classical ... 'Law of Noncontradiction' was one major impetus in the development of many-valued logics."¹

Although many-valued logics do not deny this law, they transcend it and show its limitations. They are indeed a shattering blow to the common sense assumption that two-valued logic and the law in question are self-evidently and unconditionally true. In other words, they "destroy ... the philosophical illusion of the absolute and a priori character of two-valued logic".²

The blow given by many-valued logics to Aristotelian logic is strikingly similar to that dealt by non-Euclidean geometrics to the apriorism, absoluteness, and uniqueness of Euclidean geometry.

II. The criticisms made here against Aristotelian logic are not always fully applicable to Aristotle himself. Some of his perceptive remarks were overlooked or not

developed by his followers. The idea of non-tautological identity and the possibility of a third value in logic were not entirely unknown to him.\(^1\) His conception of the law of non-contradiction did not remain unchanged throughout his life.\(^2\) Moreover he made qualifying remarks on the absolute applicability of this law. He showed that this law 'can be completely violated in a conclusive syllogism':\(^3\)

"In the middle figure a syllogism can be made both of contradictories and contraries. Let 'A' stand for 'good', let 'B' and 'C' stand for 'science'. If then one assumes that every science is good, and no science is good, A belongs to all B and to no C, so that B belongs to no C: no science is then a science."\(^4\)

III. According to Aristotelian logic, one of the consequences of the law of non-contradiction is that contrary attributes cannot belong to the same phenomenon at the same time (and in the same respect). Aristotle observed that

"since it is impossible that contradictories should be at the same time true of the same thing, obviously contraries also cannot belong at the same time to the same thing."\(^5\)

\(^3\) Ibid., p.62.
\(^4\) Quoted in ibid., emphasis is mine.
\(^5\) Aristotle, Metaphisica, op.cit., loll, 1011\(^b\), 15-20.
Two terms are said to be contrary to one another when they denote phenomena which are at the opposite ends of the same universe of discourse, such as 'hot' and 'cold', 'young' and 'old'. Thus 'This water is hot and cold' is said to be a false and self-contradictory statement.

But we would argue that such statements are not, necessarily, false and that the application of the law of non-contradiction to such statements is a misapplication.

Table 41: Examples of Statements which Assign Contrary Attributes to a Phenomenon and are Seemingly Self-Contradictory

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<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mary is both loved and hated by John.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sexual intercourse is pain and pleasure at the same time (in women).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sexual intercourse feels like eating and being eaten at the same time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>He is suffering from a conscious feeling of superiority and an unconscious feeling of inferiority at the same time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>The word 'ambivalence' means the simultaneous existence of contrary tendencies, attitudes, or feelings in the relationship to a single object, person, or action.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(cont.)

1. 'Contrary', 'contradictory' and 'opposition' are discussed in many parts of Aristotle's works. See e.g. ibid., Book V, Chapter X; Book X, Chapters IV-V. See also Categoriae, in The Works of Aristotle, Vol.1, trans. under the editorship of W.D. Ross, Oxford, 1928.

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<td>6.</td>
<td>Every human being is endowed with both masculine and feminine dispositions constitutionally.¹</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>&quot;A sadist is always at the same time a masochist.&quot;² (Freud)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>In many primitive societies attitudes towards affines consist of both amity and enmity.³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>&quot;The joking relationship is a peculiar combination of friendliness and antagonism.&quot; Or &quot;teasing is always a compound of friendliness and antagonism.&quot;⁴ (Radcliffe-Brown)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Strictly speaking, the above type of statements are, not self-contradictory, but what may be called self-contrary; they are concerned with contrary, and not

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2. To make the above statement clear, the passage which includes it should be quoted here. "But the most remarkable feature of this perversion is that its active [sadism] and passive [masochism] forms are habitually found to occur together in the same individual. A person who feels pleasure in producing pain in someone else in sexual relationship is also capable of enjoying as pleasure any pain which he may himself derive from sexual relations. A sadist is always at the same time a masochist, although the active or the passive aspect of the perversion may be the more strongly developed in him and may represent his predominant sexual activity." ibid., p.159.
contradictory, terms. Contrary terms were defined above. A term and its negative form are said to be contradictory, such as 'white' and 'not-white' (or 'non-white'), 'good' and 'not-good'. 'Not-white' does not mean 'black' (which is the contrary of 'white'), but merely not being white, or the mere absence of white. A pair of contradictory terms cannot have intermediaries: every colour is either white or other than white. But the same is not, necessarily, true of contrary terms, which sometimes do not have intermediaries, as in the case of odd/even, and which sometimes do have them, as in the case of white/black, the intermediaries of which are blue, red, green, etc.¹

As used in everyday language, a term and its negative form are often, strictly speaking, not contradictory. In English a word takes its negative form after being suffixed by 'less' or prefixed by 'un', 'in', 'mis', etc. For instance, 'happy' and 'unhappy' are not contradictories, as the latter means not merely the absence of happiness, but the presence of misery. In other words, 'unhappy' signifies something positive (misery) rather than something negative (lack of happiness). Moreover, happy/unhappy have an intermediary state: a

¹, Aristotle, Metaphysica, op.cit.; Categoriae, op.cit. For further detail see footnote 1, on p.477.
person may be neither happy nor unhappy. The same argument is true of 'pleasant' and 'unpleasant', as the latter means being disagreeable and not merely the absence of pleasantness. Also, a thing or a person may be neither pleasant nor unpleasant. As can be seen, happy/unhappy and pleasant/unpleasant are in fact two pairs of contraries. The true contradictory and negative forms of the words in question are 'not-happy', and 'not-pleasant'.

In everyday language a pair of 'opposites' usually means two contraries. But, logically speaking, opposition may be contrary, as in the case of love and hate, or contradictory, as in the case of love and not-love, that is, the opposition between the presence and the absence of love.\(^1\) As used in anthropology and phonetics, 'binary opposition' is often contrary, and sometimes contradictory (see e.g. Table 37). What we will presently say about the nature of opposition is concerned with contrary opposition or contrariety.

Thus there is a significant difference between a self-contrary and a self-contradictory statement. While an example of the former is 'A is white and black', one of the latter is 'A is white and not-white', or more clearly 'A is and is not white'. To take one of the examples mentioned in the above table:

\(^1\) Ibid.
Mary is both loved and hated by John.

This is a self-contrary statement. It would have been self-contradictory if it were:

Mary is and is not loved by John.

It would have also violated the law of non-contradiction if it were accompanied by its negation:

1. Mary is both loved and hated by John.
2. Mary is neither loved nor hated by John.

As far as modern anthropology is concerned, the weakest aspect of Aristotelian logic is its approach to the relationship between contrary opposites. In this logic contrary opposites are, consciously or unconsciously, kept apart as much as possible. But in fact, contrary opposites are connected with one another closely and inevitably in many respects. They may easily change into each other, as in the case of hot and cold, love and hate, health and illness. They may easily replace one another: while in my view A is good and B is evil, in my opponent's view A is evil and B is good. They may really be not so different as they appear to be: love is more different from indifference than from hate. They may really be the same and different only in form. As we saw in the above table, sadism and masochism are,
at least for Freud, essentially the same thing. Moreover, contrary opposites mutually create one another; that is, their being depends on one another, and they are what they are only in relation to one another. The concepts of 'large' and 'small', or 'above' and 'below', have to develop together in the mind. A utopia in which everything is good and beautiful cannot exist; and if it did, 'good' and 'beautiful', not being contrasted with 'evil' and 'ugliness', would lose their present meanings.

Contrary opposites have many modes of existence. For example, sometimes, as shown in the above table, they are in the same thing at the same time and in the same respect. Sometimes they are in the same thing at the same time, but form different parts of it, as in the case of the Puang belief that a person has both a good and a bad soul. Sometimes they are in the same thing, but at different times, as in a person who is young now and will be old later. Sometimes they are in different things, as in two persons one of whom is healthy and the other ill.

But the most important mode of existence of contrary opposites is what may be called the structural co-existence of opposites, meaning that contrary opposites may coexist in, if not as, a structure or totality. This mode of existence may cover others mentioned above, as contrary opposites may be in a totality irrespective of whether they are in a single thing or in different things.
The structural co-existence of contrary opposites is well illustrated, especially by Lévi-Strauss, in modern anthropological studies of kinship, mythology, and belief and thought. For instance, what Lévi-Strauss regards as the most elementary structure of kinship, namely, 'the atom of kinship', is, as is well known, characterized by oppositional relationships.¹

In the first section of the present chapter we attempted to show that the basic unit of Puang thought tends to be a set, or a 'micro-structure', consisting of four elements, which are connected in terms of certain principles, one of which is always opposition. We also provided six examples of this set in Table 26.

The question whether or not contrary opposites co-exist in, or as, the same thing is not without importance. But the basic question is whether or not contrary opposites coexist in, or as, the same totality. In other words, the basic issue is the extent to which such opposites are close to one another structurally, and not physically, spatially, or apparently. This issue is ignored by Aristotelian logic, which is not a structural logic.

IV. We wish to make some further comments on the concept of opposition, which is so central to modern anthropology as well as Puang thought. Since Evans-Pritchard (1940)\(^1\) and Lévi-Strauss (1945)\(^2\) introduced the concept of opposition in anthropology, there has not been a single book, or article, examining this concept in detail. What has been published in this regard in other disciplines is, in my judgement, invaluable in certain respects, but does not satisfactorily answer, or raise, many urgent and fundamental questions, especially those related to the structural aspect of opposition.

The concept of opposition, with which I have been preoccupied for several years, seems to me to be one of the most complex and unfathomable problems in the history of thought. If truth has ever played hide-and-seek with the mind it is in the case of this concept.

The following comments are made vis-a-vis Hegelian logic. Hegel has done the most intensive study of opposition. An anthropological discussion of logic is incomplete if it does not take into account Hegelian logic,

\footnote{1. E.E. Evans-Pritchard, The Nuer, A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People, Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1960 [first pub. 1940].
which has evidently more bearings on modern anthropology and Lévi-Strauss than Aristotelian logic. It should be emphasized that the following comments are concerned with a limited number of issues, and not with every aspect of opposition or Hegelian logic. It should also be emphasized that we have assumed that the reader is not unfamiliar with Hegelian logic, as giving a detailed account of this logic is not within the limitations of the present work.¹

(i) Contrary and Contradictory Opposition

Hegelian logic assumes that phenomena are characterized by internal contradiction. Hegel observes, "everything is inherently contradictory".² In Hegelian logic the law of non-contradiction, and consequently the law of identity, which is, as we have seen, another version of the former law, are explicitly rejected. For Hegel statements like 'A is A' are 'empty tatuology'³ and 'absolute verbiage';⁴ and it is only ordinary or traditional logical thinking, which, in contrast to dialectical thinking, 'abhors contradiction, as nature abhors a vacuum'.⁵

¹. Hegelian logic should not be confounded with the logic underlying Marx's works.
³. Ibid., p.413.
⁴. Ibid., p.415.
⁵. Ibid., p.442.
The first point to be made is that Hegelian logic does not, in fact, refute the law of non-contradiction; and it mistakes contrary opposition for contradictory opposition (or contradiction). Imagine a society divided into masters and slaves, who are in conflict with each other violently and continually. Such a society seems to be an ideal example of internal and inherent 'contradiction'. But the fact, or the statement, 'This society is divided into opposing classes'. does not violate the above law at all. It would have violated that law only if it were, 'This society is and is not divided into opposing classes'. As we know, the law of non-contradiction is about being and not being, or affirming and negating, the same thing at the same time. There are, of course, many phenomena which have opposing aspects or constituents, but this does not make those phenomena, or the statements about them, opposed to the above law.

Moreover, the statement, 'This society consists of both masters and slaves', is not self-contradictory: 'master' and 'slave' are contraries, not contradictories. Nor is the statement, strictly speaking, self-contrary, as the masters and the slaves are different people and form different parts of the society. As we saw earlier, self-contrary statements deal with phenomena which have contrary attributes not only at the same time, but also
in the same respect. We also saw in some detail earlier that such statements, irrespective of whether they happen to be right or wrong, have nothing to do with the law of non-contradiction.

The above example, namely, a slave society, is not enough; we should also consider phenomena which are in the process of change. The Hegelian idea of 'contradiction' is inter-connected with change. Hegel observes, 'motion is existent contradiction itself'.

According to Hegelian logic since phenomena are constantly changing, everything is always at the same time what it is and what it is not; that is, everything is always both itself and what it is changing into, however, minutely and imperceptibly.

In persons and in objects, the question of the duration and change of identity through time is a highly complex matter, which has also attracted the attention of many analytic philosophers. Here we are not interested in the examination of this matter, but in the relationship between the Hegelian view of it and the law of non-contradiction. The Hegelian view that everything is what it is and what it is not appears to violate that law. But we would argue that, in fact, this is not the case; that is, the view appears self-contradictory only because it is not described exactly. Let us explain the point by an example. A child who is on the threshold of

1. Ibid., p.440, emphasis is his.
puberty may be said, in Hegelian logic, to be and not to be a child. This statement is against the law in question, as being and not being a child, or 'child' and 'not-child', contradict each other. But here 'not-child' is vague or too broad, as it covers anything other than 'child'. The above child is not changing into anything, but into something specific, namely, an adult; and 'child' and 'adult' are contraries, not contradictories. Thus the Hegelian view, if stated exactly, is that everything is what it is and what it is changing into; and what a thing is changing into is something specific, which is, at most, contrary (not contradictory) to the present identity of the thing. Therefore, it could be concluded that Hegelian logic loses sight, to a significant degree, of the distinction between contradictory and contrary opposition. As a matter of fact, the terms 'contrary', 'contrary opposition', and 'contrariety' are hardly ever used by Hegel and Hegelians.

This aspect of Hegelian logic has not been without some influence on Lévi-Strauss's works. Lévi-Strauss usually, and rightly, uses the general term 'opposition' (or 'binary opposition') which covers both contrary and
contradictory opposition. But he also, and not infrequently, employs the term 'contradictory' in the sense of 'contrary':

"Not only can we account for the ambiguous character of the trickster, but we can also understand another property of mythical figures the world over, namely, that the same god is endowed with contradictory [emphasis mine] attitudes — for instance, he may be good and bad at the same time."¹

The same inaccuracy, this time related to the law of non-contradiction, is found in the following passage by Freud, who has, like Lévi-Strauss, a profound interest in the concept of opposition:

"The laws of logic — above all, the law of contradiction [or non-contradiction] — do not hold for processes in the id. Contradictory impulses exist side by side without neutralizing each other or drawing apart ... There is nothing in the id which can be compared to negation ..."²


If there is no negation in the id (i.e. the unconscious and instinctual aspect of the mind), its impulses can be contrary, but not contradictory, to each other. Also, we attempted to show earlier, in opposition to the assumption made by both Aristotelian and Hegelian logic, that having contrary attributes (at the same time and in the same respect) is not against the law of non-contradiction.

(ii) Attraction and repulsion

In Hegelian logic 'contradiction' (i.e. contrary opposition) is conceived in terms of conflict. Indeed the terms 'contradiction' and 'conflict' are sometimes used interchangeably in this logic. As a result, 'contradiction' is believed to produce change and to lead to its own 'resolution'. Hegel observes, "Contradiction resolves itself".¹ The famous idea of 'triad' is concerned with such resolutions: the synthesis is where the 'contradiction' between the thesis and the antithesis is said to be resolved or overcome.²

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1. Hegel's Logic, op.cit., p.433, emphasis is his.
2. Contrary to the popular assumption, although the idea of triad is highly important in Hegel's logic and philosophy, the terms 'thesis', 'antithesis', and 'synthesis' are hardly used by him. Also, he explicitly says that 'synthesis' is not a fully satisfactory term: Ibid., p.96. The three terms in question are, in fact, of interest to another German philosopher, J.G. Fichte (1762-1814).
The above idea of resolution has influenced Lévi-Strauss to a significant degree. He writes, for instance,

"mythical thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions towards their resolution";¹

or

"... the purpose of myth is to provide a logical model capable of overcoming a contradiction (an impossible achievement if, as it happens, the contradiction is real) ..."²

Associating contrary opposition with conflict is not peculiar to Hegelian logic. This is what almost everyone does consciously or unconsciously; and the idea is a common sense one. The term 'opposition' is used in daily life as well as logic; and in daily life the meaning of the term is 'antagonism' or 'being hostile'. The same is also true of the equivalents of this term in many other languages. The question why human beings tend to connect logical opposition with conflict conceptually and linguistically is worth investigating.

That contrary opposition may be associated with conflict, that is, practical, emotional, or intellectual

¹ Structural Anthropology, op. cit., p.224.
conflict, is no doubt true; and it may be that the contrary opposites with which Lévi-Strauss deals, in his study of mythology, produce conflict and that their conflict needs to be resolved. But what we wish to emphasize is that the association in question is not always, or necessarily, the case. For instance, men and women are contrary opposites, but their relationship is characterized by attraction, not conflict and hostility or repulsion. The same holds true of many other instances, such as mother/child, teacher/pupil, prophet/disciple.

The relationship between contrary opposites is even more complex than this. Sometimes contrary opposites are simply neutral to one another, as in the case of the following concepts as concepts: odd/even, above/below, and large/small. Moreover, attraction, repulsion, and neutrality may be transformed into each other: the conflict between an in-group and its out-group may turn into co-operation and unity or sheer neutrality; the love between two lovers may turn into bitterness and hatred or mere indifference. Also, attraction and repulsion may simultaneously co-exist and make the relationship ambivalent. Ambivalent relationships, such as affinal and joking relationships in many primitive societies, were sufficiently illustrated in Table 41.
FIGURE 22: The forms of the relationship between contrary opposites

+ Attraction
− Repulsion
± Ambivalence (both attraction and repulsion)
O Neutrality (neither attraction nor repulsion)

→ May transform into

To conceive contrary opposition only in terms of conflict is to lose sight of the basic lesson of the principle of opposition. This principle teaches us that we should look for the binary aspects of phenomena and their relationship. As shown above, the relationship between contrary opposites seems to have such aspects:
attraction/repulsion, and ambivalence/neutrality.

(iii) Internal, External, and Internalized

As we have seen, according to Hegelian logic contrary opposition is an internal or inherent characteristic of phenomena. Hegel observes that dialectic means "grasping of opposites in their unity".¹ This is an important point, as internal opposition is more difficult to see than external opposition. It is, for instance, more difficult to notice and grasp a fight going on inside a man than a fight between him and another man. Internal opposition is a characteristic of the mind for Freud,² of 'the atom of kinship' for Lévi-Strauss, of Nuer politics for Evans-Pritchard, and of Puang thought, as we have attempted, however briefly, to show here. Evans-Pritchard observes that among the Nuer

"the political system is an equilibrium between opposed tendencies towards fission and fusion, between the tendency of all groups to segment, and the tendency of all groups to combine with segments of the same order."³

¹ Hegel's Logic, op.cit., p.56.
But the problem is that the point regarding internal opposition is elevated to an absolute and metaphysical assumption in Hegelian logic. In the first place, this point will not be of much significance if it is made with reference to entities and not totalities. It is true that Hegel was one of those who introduced the concept of totality, and it was he who made the famous statement, "The truth is the whole".¹ But he did not take this concept sufficiently into account in his actual treatment of phenomena. He used the term 'whole' or 'totality' rarely in his works; and although he subjected Aristotelian logic to severe criticisms, he did not point out that a major flaw in that logic is that it is concerned with entities rather than totalities. Moreover, 'internal' and 'external' are, of course, relative concepts. The opposition between A and B will be internal if we are interested in the totality to which both of them belong; and the same opposition will be external if we are concerned with A and B each as a separate totality. The relative aspect of opposition is well demonstrated in Evans-Pritchard's classic study of politics and kinship among the Nuer.

The question whether an opposition is internal or external cannot, however, be settled merely by reference to the common sense idea that internal and external are relative concepts. We would like to argue that this relativity is true only to a certain degree, and that there are many instances in which the relationship between contrary opposites can be regarded only as external. As we have seen in the first part of the present volume, the Au people, who number 4000, lack any form of centralized political machinery. They are divided into 19 villages, each of which, like Puang, is a stateless and politically autonomous unit, which practises warfare and destructive magic against other villages. Thus as far as politics is concerned a village is the largest totality or structure. Now if that is the case, the opposition between two villages, as 'we' against 'them' (or as in-group against out-group), expressed in terms of warfare and destructive magic, can be called only external, as it is between structures and not within the same structure. Culturally and linguistically Au villagers are, of course, all parts of the same structure (as they share the same culture and language), but not politically. In terms of politics, it may merely be said that Au villages are all parts of the same meta-structure, that is, an over-all totality, the constituent parts of which are autonomous structures, and not so inter-dependent as.
the constituent parts of a structure. We talk of a
meta-structure here, as Au villages have a great deal
of important interaction with each other politically and
otherwise, such as the exchange of women and gifts, and
transient alliances among two or a few villages against
others for warfare or destructive magic. The meta-
structure will include some neighbouring villages, which
are of other linguistic groups but with cultures similar
to that of the Au people. As we have seen before, the
Au people have the same type of interaction with such
villages as among themselves. It may, therefore, be
said that the opposition between two Au villages, or
between an Au and a neighbouring village, is, politically
speaking, external or meta-structural, not internal or
structural.

To take an example from industrial societies.
The opposition between the Soviet Union and the United
States is external and meta-structural. Here the two
structures are not only politically autonomous, but also
poles apart in many other respects, as in politico-
economic organization and language; and yet their
opposition, like that between the above villages is, of
course, of much importance. Their opposition is said
to be meta-structural, as they have a variety of relation-
ships with each other, politically, technologically, and
otherwise. Moreover, they are parts of the world
community, which is clearly a meta-structure and not a structure.

Meta-structural opposition is a form of external or inter-structural opposition. The latter may not take the former's form; that is, the two structures concerned may not form parts of an over-all totality. An example of this is Malay-Puang contact, described at some length in the second part of the present volume. Sometimes the inter-structural may, however, develop into the meta-structural (if not the structural). Malay-Puang contact would have developed in that direction if Malays had created a deeper and more continuous relationship with the Puang, or had begun to colonize them.

If the above points are correct, the concept of structure requires some basic re-considerations. In anthropology and elsewhere, structure is usually assumed, however implicitly, to be a 'closed' totality; and interest tends to be confined to the analysis of the relationship between phenomena within a structure. But structure is an 'open' totality; it is not a prison in which phenomena are locked in, but a house, if not a home, with open door and windows. Interaction takes place not only between phenomena, but also between structures; and the latter type of interaction may be not less significant than the former one.
Interaction between structures is responsible, to a significant degree, for the changes in them and for the transformation of them into new ones. Recent changes in Puang society, including the need for total change, discussed in the second part of this volume, are, of course, all post-contact changes; that is, they have been produced in the course of the interaction between the Puang and the outside world, especially Australia. In general, the changes and transformations of under-developed countries for the past few centuries can be understood only in terms of the interaction of these countries with developed countries.

In contrast, the lack of interaction between structures tends to prevent change and transformation. When a structure remains isolated and externally undisturbed, the oppositional tendencies or elements within it may become mutually adapted to their situations and develop institutionalized and relatively stable relationships with one another. If that was not the case, one could not explain why until recently so many African, Asian, and Oceanian societies had remained basically unchanged for centuries and sometimes millennia. It is true, as Hegelian logic insists, that everything is constantly changing. But, firstly, sometimes changes are so little and superficial that they can be ignored. Secondly, adaptability is, like
changeability, a characteristic of structures, to be taken into account.

Thus structures may, metaphorically speaking, impregnate each other, which leads to structural and inter-structural changes and the genesis of new structures. After all, even real pregnancy relates to external opposition: men and women are contrary opposites. But the usage of this imagery is not intended to imply that interaction between two structures affects only one of them. If under-developed countries cannot be understood without considering their relations with developed countries, the latter countries cannot also be understood without considering their relations with the former countries. Likewise, sexual intercourse and love affect men as well as women, physically and psychologically. Moreover, the ability to impregnate is not the exclusive characteristic of certain structures as against others: there was a time when some of the present under-developed countries had the most developed cultures of their own age and greatly influenced other countries.

The last issue to be discussed is **internalized opposition**; that is, an external opposition which has become internal. After having a fight, if a man continues to be pre-occupied with it emotionally and intellectually, that is, if he continues the fight within himself, he may be said to have internalized an external
opposition. Another example is love, in which one is inwardly affected by an external relationship to a great extent and one thinks and feels about the beloved in her absence. But a detailed and rather vivid example is provided by chapters eight and nine where European contact and cargoist beliefs are examined. As we have seen in those chapters, European contact has deeply affected the Puang, producing an increasing need in them for total change, which has cosmic and physical as well as political, economic, magico-religious, and moral aspects. At present destructive magic is as much genuinely disapproved of by the Puang as by the Christian missionaries. It is no exaggeration to say that in daily life the Puang are, so to speak, frequently engaged in dialogue with the ghost of what they call the 'red-skinned' man (i.e. Germans, Australians, Japanese, etc.). They tend to interpret almost any current issue from a cargoist point of view; and their conversations are, not infrequently, cargoist or have a cargoist aspect. And cargoist beliefs are about the red-skinned man, about the Puang's 'hate-love' relationship with the red-skinned man, and about social change and future prosperity, both of which are, in the Puang's view, dependent on their relationship with the red-skinned man.

As the above examples indicate, with regard to change and transformation of structures, external
opposition tends to be not of great influence unless it becomes internalized. Moreover, what is regarded as internal opposition by Hegelians and others is, in fact, sometimes internalized opposition or the effect of external opposition. As described in the early part of chapter thirteen in Puang society the growing opposition between old and young generations with regard to sexual morality is a result of post-contact changes. Many oppositional characteristics which Freud considers to be internal to the mind are often, as sociologists would rightly insist, the internalization of what is going on in society. To give an example with which Freud himself also happens to agree. In a child's mind the opposition between the ego and the superego is the internalization of the relation of authority between the child and his father.1 In anthropology, the concept of opposition has a special association with segmentary lineage systems. Sahlins has tried to show that the characteristics of a tribal system of this type, including its internal oppositions, cannot be understood without considering the external relationship of the system with its neighbouring tribes. He believes that a segmentary lineage system is "called into being by external circumstances ..."2

FIGURE 23: The major forms of relationship between contrary opposition and structures

+ Internal or structural (i.e. intra-structural) opposition
- External or inter-structural opposition
+ Internalised opposition (i.e. an external opposition which has been transformed into an internal one)¹

C. Essences and Appearances

We have attempted to establish earlier that the Puang identity statements, such as 'The bird of paradise is a woman', are not illogical in any sense of the word; and that certainly they do not violate the law of non-contradiction (or that of identity) in Aristotelian logic. We now wish to go further and show briefly that this type of statement, associated with primitive thought, is of prime importance intellectually and

¹ Another form of this relationship is externalized opposition; that is, an internal opposition which has become external. This form is not without some importance and is, due to the limitation of space, omitted here.
historically. First of all, such statements are 'depth-oriented' or profound, as they go beyond 'appearances' and are concerned with 'essences'. As we have seen at length, what the Puang assume is that the bird of paradise and women are identical essentially and animistically and not apparently and physically.

Being concerned with essences or the non-perceptible, as against appearances or the perceptible, is of course a major characteristic of any form of profound thought, whether scientific, philosophical, literary, or otherwise. To take two examples already mentioned. Mass and energy equated by Einstein are not the same in appearance; nor are truth and beauty, which are equated by Keats. Profound thought tends to have this characteristic because truth, which is structural, or which is, as Hegel would say, 'in the whole', is not often manifested on the 'superficial' level of phenomena.

It may be objected that the Puang statement regarding the bird of paradise cannot be called profound, as it is so obviously false. But it goes without saying that any profound statement, including Einstein's above-mentioned equation, may well prove to be false sooner or later. Moreover, the Puang statement is not the result of wild imagination. Firstly, it is fully in accord with the Puang animistic world-view, in
which human beings and 'spirits' (including ghosts and the ancestors) are believed to be capable of taking different physical forms; forms which may be human or natural. As a matter of fact, identity statements of the type in question abound in Puang, 16 examples of which have been mentioned or discussed in the present thesis (see table 36). Secondly, the statement makes perfect sense in terms of such major issues in the Puang social life as the matrilateral system of alliance, the superiority of wife-givers over wife-receivers, and men's attitude towards women and the beloved.

The Puang identity statements are depth-oriented not only with regard to the dichotomy of essences/appearances, but also with respect to another related dichotomy, namely, that between unity and diversity. In their statement concerning the bird of paradise the Puang assume that behind apparent diversity, between this bird and women, there is essential unity. - In general, the Puang animistic world-view is concerned with the underlying unity of phenomena, as it assumes that diverse phenomena may be the manifestations of the same 'spirits'. Being concerned with unity, as against diversity, is of course another major characteristic of profound thought, whether scientific or otherwise. A physicist writes of
"the endeavour of physics to achieve a unified world-view. We do not accept appearances in their many coloured fulness, but we want to explain them, that is, we want to reduce one fact to another.'\(^1\)

In anthropology, Lévi-Strauss has stressed the classifying aspect of primitive thought without paying any attention to the unifying aspect of this thought. But the two aspects, being a pair of contrary opposites and consequently being intrinsically interdependent, can only be studied and understood in relation to one another. In a pair of contrary opposites, one of the opposites may sometimes be less significant than the other, but may never be totally devoid of any significance. It is noteworthy that Lévi-Strauss's own profound thought is more concerned with the underlying unity of phenomena than their classification, as can be seen, for example, in his assumption that kinship studies, economics, linguistics, and genetics deal with diverse forms of only one type of process, namely, communication.\(^2\)

Pre-Socratic philosophers in Greece to whom the origin of Western thought is usually traced were also basically concerned with the essence and the unity of the world. It is, for example, well-known that the

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first three of these philosophers each sought the essence and the unity of the world in one substance, which was thought to be capable of multiple manifestations and transformations. For Thales the substance was water; for Anaximander it was 'the unlimited', which he conceived as something with internal indeterminacy rather than with spacial infinity; and for Anaximenes it was air. As has been established, Pre-Socratic philosophy was at least partly animistic, and the basic substance in question was thought to be not inert matter, but an animate and self-moving stuff. The animistic aspect of Greek philosophy remained, though to a lesser degree, even after Socrates, as can be seen in Aristotle's belief that the heavenly bodies are living creatures.¹

If we take the Puang beliefs as an example of 'neolithic thought', and if we take the Greek Pre-Socratic philosophy as an example of 'post-neolithic thought' in its early phase, we may say that, with regard to the present discussion, there are two basic differences between these types of thought. Firstly, neolithic thought is, needless to say, more animistic than post-neolithic thought. Secondly, as far as the

question of the underlying unity of phenomena is concerned, the latter is more developed than the former. The above-mentioned Greek philosophers each tried to explain phenomena in terms of only one animate substance, whereas the Puang do so in terms of multiple spirits, ghosts, and ancestors. In the East post-neolithic thought resembles Greek philosophy in this regard. In Eastern philosophies all things and events were assumed to be diverse manifestations of one ultimate reality, which was called Brahman in Hinduism, Dharmakaya in Buddhism, and Tao in Taoism. In some primitive societies neolithic thought has, however, a more developed unifying aspect than that in Puang. A case in point is Nuer society in which 'Spirit', kwoth, is assumed to be one and of central importance, and other spirits are conceived to be its particular representations or refractions. Evans-Pritchard, who has examined the 'problem of unity and diversity' in Nuer thought, observes, for example, that Spirit (or 'God') 'is both the one and the many - one in his nature and many in his diverse social representations'; or that 'Nuer philosophy is ... dominated by the idea of kwoth, Spirit.'

3. Ibid., p.113.
Thus it may be said that statements like 'The bird of paradise is a woman' made by the Puang, or 'Twins are birds' made by the Nuer, should be given prime importance in the study of neolithic thought; the same importance which has been accorded to the above-mentioned statements by pre-Socratic philosophers in the study of post-neolithic thought in its early phase. Considering the world-views of the societies concerned, such statements, whether Greek, Puang or Nuer, make sense perfectly and ingeniously, transcend deceptive appearances, superficial diversity, and so-called common-sense, and consequently are without any doubt major intellectual leaps.

The Puang statement is not, however, merely of great value with regard to the intellect. It has two further unique values. Firstly, it tells us something about neolithic aesthetics; and it does so with reference to the types of beauty which can be appreciated universally, namely, the beauty of women and the beauty of what is, by any standard, perhaps the most magnificently plumaged bird in the world. The equations of the bird of paradise with women, of this bird's calls with women's spontaneous laughter, and of this bird's flank plumes with women's fibre-skirts, are pure poetry; and, as we have seen, the Puang not only conceive such poetry, but also 'live' it and act upon it.
Secondly, as shown earlier, the statement reflects the man-woman relationship in Puang; a relationship which is, in my value-judgement, 'healthy' to a significant degree. In Puang men associate love, beauty, and physical growth with women; for men wife-givers are, above all, life-givers; and women are entitled to express their feelings and be self-assertive in both love-affairs and marriage. Marriage is usually based on love; it has a trial period in which the contract may easily be terminated; and it is almost always stable, despite the fact that, after the trial period, its dissolution does not require the return of bride-wealth. Moreover, women's economic roles are essential (in gardening and food-gathering) or indispensable (in sago-pounding); the relationship between men and women is basically without conflict; and destructive magic, through which conflict is expressed, is not used by men and women against each other even in the face of the most bitter marital disagreement.

This aspect of the Puang statement and Puang society is of special importance at the present time. In modern societies the man-woman relationship, on which life and the beauty of life depend, is increasingly becoming conflict-ridden and dehumanized, particularly to the disadvantage of women, and is neither fully asymmetric, in a fair and healthy sense, nor is fully symmetric in roles and rights.
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ADDENDA

