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THE COMMUNITY OF KUGAPA

by

Bernard Otto van Nunen

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Kuni in the Central Highlands of
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Bernard O. van Nuenen

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INTRODUCTION

In the following report the writer presents data which were collected in a small area of the Central Highlands of Irian Jaya (the western half of New Guinea) from January, 1957 until March, 1958. The area known as Kugapa lies about ten miles east of the administrative centre of Enarotali at Lake Paniai (Wissel Lakes). The area is the habitat of some 500 Moni who live rather in an enclave, isolated from their fellow tribesmen, in the territory of the Ekagi from whom they are physically, culturally and socially distinct.

The report in its present form is an editorially revised version of my M.A. thesis submitted to the Department of Anthropology at the University of Sydney in 1966. There were several reasons for the long delay in originally presenting the material. For one, the writer works as a missionary in a province where connections with academic centres are hard to maintain. More to the point, however, it had long been the hope to make a follow up study in order to gather more material on the subject of social control which was originally chosen as the theme for the M.A. thesis. This hope did not materialize and it was thought better to present the material, which although intended to be the basis for further research, contains data which should be of interest to those concerned with the cultures of the Highlands. The report reflects the conditions of 1957-1958 when the area was still under Netherlands administration. A re-study of the Moni is very much called for.

The idea at the start of the research was to make a study of one not too large a group of people who seemed to constitute a more or less coherent community. For four years the writer had been working as a missionary in various locations throughout the Wissel Lakes area and had become acquainted --in a superficial way--with some characteristics of the native culture and

the social organization of the Ekagi people. When the opportunity presented itself to begin a more intensive research, it was difficult to cast aside the previous experience and not to make use of the knowledge of the Ekagi language. However, during 1955, an American anthropologist, Leopold Pospisil, had made a detailed study of an Ekagi community for his Ph.D. degree at Yale University. It would have been a waste of time and energy to initiate a study of another community in the same cultural group as Dr. Pospisil's, whose material soon would be published. This argument was the more telling at the time because the whole of the Highland cultures of New Guinea were still a closed book to most anthropologists.

Detailed community studies of the Central Highlands of West New Guinea had not been made before Pospisil went to Itouda for his research on Kapauku law. Until that time there was only the compilatory work of C.C.F.M. Le Roux, De Bergpapoea's van Nieuw Guinea en hun woongebied (The Mountain Papuans of New Guinea and their Habitat), which had put together all the information obtained during several expeditions to the mountain areas of West New Guinea, in particular the results of the expedition of the Royal Netherlands Geographical Society in 1939. In these books were also inserted the data from reports of administrative and mission personnel who made the first contacts with the people in the years preceding the Japanese war. All in all, the work of Dr. Le Roux is very helpful, though by no means a complete or accurate inventory of social and cultural material. It also fails to disclose the dynamic character of social institutions and their inner coherence which are of great interest to modern anthropologists. Since the publication of Dr. Le Roux's volumes other studies have focused on social institutions but all of these studies were conducted among Ekagi groups. Pospisil's thesis on law seems to be the most comprehensive study. It was preceded by Dr. de Bruyn's notes on kinship and land tenure, and just at the time this present report was first written a study of the sociopolitical organization of the Ekagi, made by the government anthropologist Dr. van Loghem, became available.

Whereas all these studies can be considered to deal with specific problems on the solution of which social theory is commonly based, the present writer's intention was somewhat different. It might be expressed in Dr. Richard's words as an attempt "to discover the nature of human society by means of a very detailed study of one individual society, of the organization of its members' activities and interests, and of the forces that keep them united as a group, rather than to ascertain 'what details are significant in setting off his tribe from its neighbour'."¹

I am fully aware of the fact that this report does not come up to the expectations raised by this quotation. In part this may perhaps be attributed to the impossibility of placing the facts within the generally adopted categories of social theory, but it is certainly also due to the deficiencies in the way in which fieldwork was conducted. Although almost six months were almost exclusively devoted to the study of the language, I gained only sufficient knowledge to converse with the people in a clumsy way, and I was at no time sufficiently proficient to understand people in their own conversations and disputes which are such important sources for gaining insight into existing alliances and tensions, sentiments and ideas. Reliable and interested interpreters who could elucidate matters in the Indonesian language were for the most part unavailable. The only man who could have been of use lived in Enarotali where I visited him on several occasions; although helpful at times, his information was not always reliable partly because he was not well acquainted with the actualities of the situation at Kugapa.

Most of the material was collected in an informal manner by observing the behaviour of the people of Watagamuda where I had my house, by attending special events at other villages and by stimulating visits of all kinds to my house. The "open door" policy resulted in my house becoming a social centre where people often met to discuss their problems and the topics of the day with each other in the same way they used to do in any other house

in the community; they never appeared to object or to feel hampered by the presence of the observer. Quite often the somewhat official gatherings of the notables—parliamentary sessions so to speak—were held in front of my house. On such occasions the houseboys would explain what was going on, and afterwards the older men were generally willing to expound the matters in greater detail. Most helpful was Soadekigi Zongonau, who assisted greatly in the drawing up of genealogies and in the wording of tribal tradition. Other possible sources of information however were never rejected, but always the informal character of the conversations was maintained. Several attempts to conduct interviews according to a preconceived plan or with the help of questionnaires led nowhere. A Moni community is still too much of an uncharted field where "the discussion may at any moment lead to completely new and unforeseen facts which force the investigator to abandon altogether any plan that he may have made."²

Mention should be made of the fact that I had a tape recorder at my disposal, which proved to be a great attraction to the people. Many of them wanted to have their speech recorded and the performance of various songs on the tape was extremely popular. Texts as well as songs on the recorder often contained ideas or just simple words which opened new fields for investigation. Sometimes, however, it was clear that people tried to use the apparatus for their own ends in that they attempted to have unfriendly messages recorded to other people whom they did not like to approach directly. In these attempts they did not succeed as the tape in such cases was not played back in the presence of others, but merely kept for private analysis by the author.

As it is presented now, the report falls into two parts. The first part is intended as a general survey of the Moni way of life in its physical and cultural setting; this part remains on a purely descriptive level. The analysing approach of what is meant to be the main body of the report is intended to provide an understanding of the problems of social structure in Moni society. No attempt has been made to solve specific problems or to test

hypotheses, but rather to provide an understanding of what social reality in a Moni community means to the individual.

One note may be made about the use of native texts. The orthographic practice of Father Drabbe has been adopted for the spelling of native words.³ The use of these has been restricted to such cases where no English equivalent seems to exist or where the use of English words may lead to confusion. This is not a linguistic study and original texts often make reading difficult without clarifying matters. Where native words are used in the text they are underlined.

GENERAL SURVEY OF MONI CULTURE

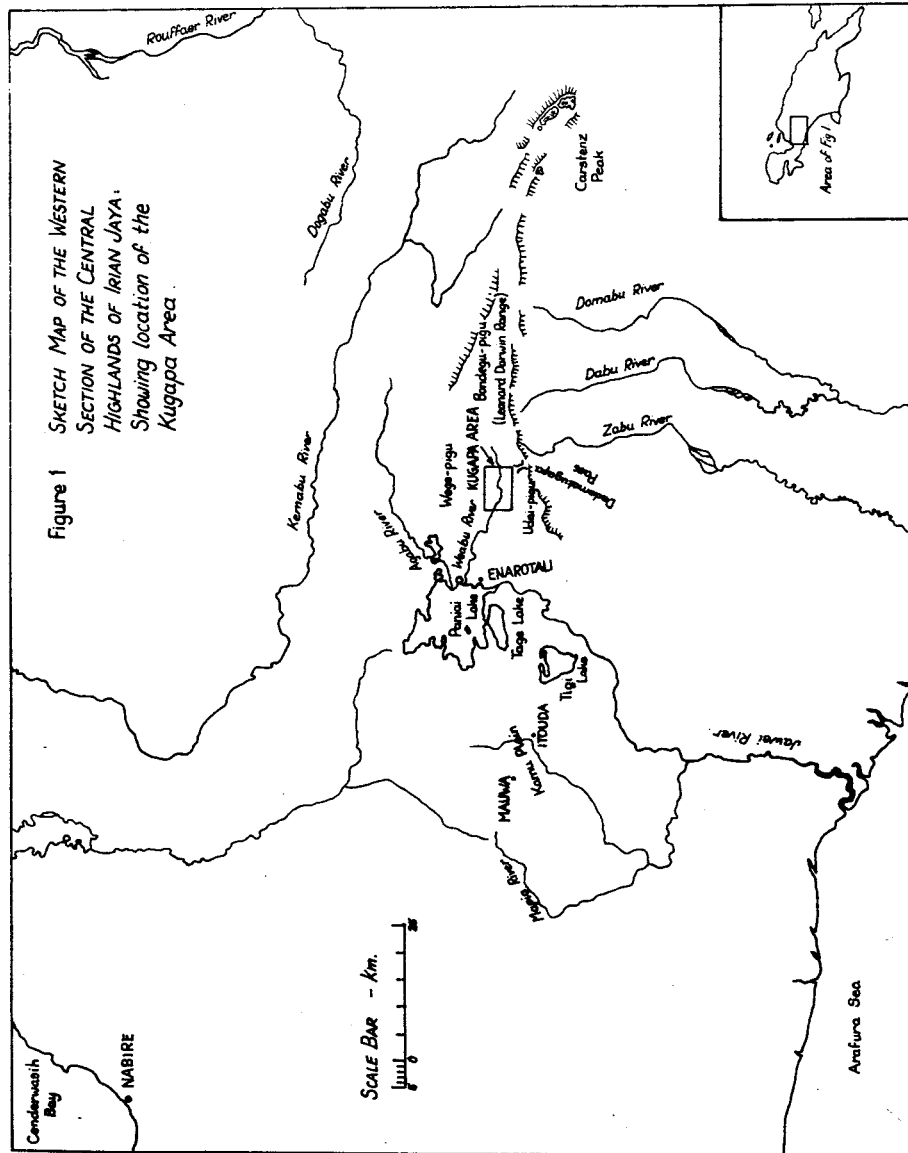
The material which follows introduces the social problems of the community at Kugapa and seeks to place these problems in their proper perspective. There is also material of a descriptive nature for those readers who find literature on West New Guinea difficult to obtain, or who are looking for data with which to make comparisons with the observations of earlier visitors to the area.

Distribution of the Moni group

"Moni" is the term applied to a linguistically and socially differentiated group of people who inhabit the Central Mountains. They populate the valleys on the northern side of the Nassau Range, vis. Kemandoga and Dugindoga¹ and their side valleys. Their number is variously estimated at 50,000 to 60,000 by Le Roux² and at 15,000 to 20,000 by others³. The latter figure is probably the most accurate. A smaller group, perhaps not more than a few thousand, occupies some of the valleys on the southern side of the Nassau Range. Of these the Kugapa group appears to be an off-shoot.

The term "Moni" is probably derived from Mon used by the Ekagi when referring to the Moni. When speaking among themselves, the Moni use the term Me. The suffix ni in the Moni language has, in the opinion of Fr. Drabbe, the meaning of "people" like the suffix "-ers" in Londoners or New Yorkers.

When speaking to their tribesmen the Moni refer to themselves as Migani, i.e. "the real people," as Miga means "real, in the proper sense," or, "ideal" in terms of their own aspirations. The term Moni is quite commonly used by the people themselves, especially when speaking to outsiders, since etiquette would forbid the people to show depreciation of others by referring to themselves as the only "ideal men"⁴. Because in the Kugapa area the term Moni was heard more often than Migani, the writer has



adopted the former term for these people.

Topographical notes

The Wea River, which has its origins on the northwestern side of the Leonard Darwin Range, sheds its waters into Lake Paniai after meandering through an alluvial valley 10 miles long and 4 miles wide at an altitude of 5,500 feet. Typical of large lake basins in the Central Highlands, the Wea valley provides a habitat for about 3,000 Ekagi who live by agriculture and pig breeding in this swampy terrain, or on the barren slopes of the surrounding mountains. There is a small intermediate section between the rough, inhospitable and unpopulated flanks of the Leonard Darwin Range and the valley floor. This is the hilly country of Kugapa. It is enclosed by the Leonard Darwin Range proper, called Bondege-pigu (pigu=mountain) by the natives, on the eastern side; and the Wege-pigu and Udai-pigu on the northern and southern sides respectively. The latter are promontories of the Bondege Range.

In the southeastern direction at an altitude of 9,500 feet is a plateau called Dedematugapa, which forms a pass leading to the area known at Kugapa as Zando, the Za (river) side⁵, where the Dabu, Zabu, Dumabu and many other rivers form many deep gorges through which the water from the Leonard Darwin and Nassau Ranges runs south to the great rivers of the coastal flats. Normally it is two days walk from Kugapa to the first settlement at Zando, but when necessary a native can walk the distance in 13 hours. The Moni of Kugapa have regular contact with their tribesmen of Zando, more than with those in the Kemandoga or Dugindoga. East of the Moni on the southern side of the Central range live the Ugundumi with whom the Moni of Kugapa also have connections.

The name Kugapa is used here to designate the whole district at the end of the Wea valley as it is the name commonly used in literature and by the people themselves. The name is more properly applied to a place that is

now abandoned by the Moni, but is of great importance in their cultural history. The legend of the Kugapa Moni tells of a man who is called Bondege-kimegame (literally: the man who came the Bondege way) who a long time ago went from the Dugindoga to the Domandoga where he cleared the jungle and began to cultivate the land. From there, 75 to 90 years ago, two men left the Domandoga via Dedematugapa to settle at a place which they named Kugapa. The whole area was at that time covered with heavy jungle to such an extent that even the Wea river was completely concealed. The country has a natural beauty, fertile soil and good drainage. Most of the soil is a white to yellow sand with patches of loam. When the bush has been cleared, the soil contains a good layer of humus, sufficient for years to come. Owing to the natural increase of the population and because of immigration a larger area gradually became occupied. Several times during their short history smaller groups of Kugapa Moni have emigrated, motivated partly by land shortage, only to return later. Most of these emigrants moved in the direction of the Kamu valley where they had friends among the resident Ekagis. The names of several persons have their origins in those temporary emigrations, e.g. Wanima and Mauwabui, born near the Wani and Mauwa rivers of the Kamu valley. Soadekigi and his brothers were living at Itouda in the Kamu valley when they were met by the first Europeans to reach the area in 1937⁶. Some individuals of Kugapa origin are still living at Wagimoma and Jotadi in the lower Kemandoga valley. Although there have been other reasons for these migrations, land shortage has been the primary cause in most instances.

The houses of the Kugapa people are scattered over an area which is about 4 miles long and 2 miles wide, the centre being at about 136° 34' east longitude and 3° 45' south latitude. The Moni live here at an altitude between 5,500 and 6,000 feet, though some of their gardens may be situated a few hundred feet higher. The area over which the Kugapa people claim hunting and collecting rights extends far into the mountain ranges.

Physical appearance of the Moni

Dr. H. Bijlmer who made the first anthropological measurements of the Ekagi of the Mapia region in 1935/6, was also visited by 9 adult Kugapa Moni. He was impressed by their physical appearance which seemed to differ greatly from that of other known Mountain Papuans, who showed a pygmoid tendency. Among these Moni he found an average of 160.2 cm. standing height and 77.7 cephalic index⁷. A larger group of 26 Moni was measured in 1939 by A. Roushdy who obtained similar figures, viz. 162.6 for height and 80.2 for cephalic index⁸.

Perhaps these figures are coloured by the fact that only individuals of the Zongonau clan were measured. Although no measurements were taken by the writer, the impression gained was that members of the other main clan of Kugapa, the Kobogau, do not differ much from the Zongonau in their physical characteristics. There are however, some Dimbau people both living in and visiting Kugapa from Zando, who gave the impression of being shorter and tending towards the brachycephalic type. Of these Dimbau people it was said that their clan originated from the Ugunduni tribe living south of the Carstensz Mountains.

Ecology and subsistence activities

The Moni live in small, rather autonomous settlements at distances varying from 10 minutes to half an hour's walk from each other. These settlements may consist of any number between 2 and 10 houses, providing room for 10 to 60 individuals. For subsistence these people have to rely mainly upon their own activity; gardening is of first importance and pig breeding a secondary occupation. The natural environment does not provide enough food for the people and only under special circumstances, e.g. when travelling, or during a short period of exile, will the Moni attempt to rely on collecting food.

The land can be divided into three categories, each representing a

different set of values and sentiments to the Moni. First there is the indo, garden land under cultivation which is the main source of food for the individual family. Then there are the patches of fallow land, the budi, which was worked in former times by living persons or by their forefathers. This land often belongs to a combine of families which originated from one household. Finally there is the mbidi, the jungle, largely untouched, not regarded as arable but not valueless.

The main crop of the indo gardens is sweet potatoes (*Ipomea batatas*), but they also contain various kinds of vegetables, such as spinach-like greens, various beans, a kind of asparagus, pumpkin, sugar cane, bananas and in recent times sometimes cabbages and maize. Some items, such as tobacco, are often grown in a small garden around the house in those cases where the main garden is not adjoining the house itself.

Special mention should be made of the growing of taro which in some gardens is the main crop. Although a small quantity of taro may sometimes be eaten on an ordinary day, it appears that these taro gardens are laid out for special occasions.

A legend about the taro tells of Bondegekimegame bringing some with him when he settled in the Domandoga. During the pig feast which the writer attended all the guests received taro along with their pork. The taro had been brought to the front of the dance house the day before and displayed on scaffolds. There was a great deal of singing and dancing during the procession but the pigs were killed with virtually no ceremony at all. On this same day a wa-zamo, a taro feast, was held in another village where pigs were also killed but the feast once again centred around the taro. Another taro feast was to be held shortly before the writer left the area. The priority given to taro in these festivities indicates the importance attached to the above legend.

The presence of a variety of vegetables in the gardens is important for the protein supply of the Moni. There are no fish in the rivers and

shrimp, which could be obtained from the Ekagi, are taboo for the Moni. Large quantities of vegetables are eaten daily by the Moni. Meat is not a regular item on the daily menu but the average individual will get several ounces a week. Each family owns at least a few pigs. These are not just for the pig feasts, but are also used on special occasions such as the birth of a child, illness in the family, death, marriage and the arrival of an important guest. Nearly always a large part of the pork is sold to outsiders, and as these special occasions occur in scattered locations, there is a reasonably regular distribution of the meat. This does not mean, however, that the total quantity is sufficient.

Pigs always roam in the fallow land during the day and are prevented from entering the gardens only by heavy fences. Since a man cannot appeal for damages when a pig destroys a badly fenced garden, he is forced to keep his fence in good order. Apart from the heavier work of preparing the garden soil, fencing is the main daily occupation of every adult male. Not only does the actual putting up of the fence and the binding with vines fall upon him, but he has to collect every piece of timber and every string of rattan himself. Often he has to walk long distances to gather these materials.

Most of the families have one garden near the settlement and another one in the jungle. In the latter they will sometimes work for a few days at a stretch, enjoying at the same time the special attractions of jungle life. A provisional shelter can be found in most of these gardens. Under special circumstances, or when the garden land near the settlement becomes exhausted, a family may settle more or less permanently near this secondary garden, which may eventually become a new community⁹.

The sentiments centering around the budi (the fallow lands) are related not only to their utilitarian value as future garden land but they also have attractions of their own. As a child the Moni roams through the fallow with his friends and derives much pleasure from trapping rats, shooting birds

and from gathering edible insects and shrubs. Here the young Moni are trained for future life. When they grow older and become sexually aware, the beauty of the budi is the theme of many songs while the bushes offer excellent opportunities for carrying out their singer's intentions.

The Moni impose property rights on the huge casuarina trees in these areas with regard to their utilization potential. Their forefathers planted these trees which are said to fertilize the soil; they also provide large quantities of planks for future fences.

The mbidi, or virgin forests, are considered dangerous places because of the many evil spirits that dwell in them. Nevertheless, a good number of valuable materials are sought in these forests. They are the source of rattan and other vines for binding fences. Some of the trees in the forest are cut into planks; other trees provide bark which can be used for roofing or flooring and from still others the inner bark can be spun into rope for netting. Pandanus leaves serve as rain hats and provide wrapping for the ribbon cigarette. Wild fruit, highly valued pandanus fruit and many other edibles attract people to the mountain forests. On moonlit nights bands of Moni go into the jungle with their domesticated dogs looking for go. This word covers a number of marsupials and mammals, large rats, tree kangaroos, anteaters, opossums and others, some of which have specific names but all are classified under the genus go. Although people derive much enjoyment from go hunting, it cannot be said that the sportive aspect of the hunt is the only motive for their adventures. The yield is highly appreciated and may either be sold or freely distributed in the same manner as pigs. Strings of so heads are often hung around the houses as symbols of success.

The Moni appear to be well adapted to making intensive use of the physical environment. The natural resources, however, are limited and there is a real struggle for survival. Several necessities of life can be met by making use of the natural resources but these are often so limited that no

free use of them can be allowed. Individuals or groups may claim certain parts of the natural resources. They in turn have to respect the rights claimed by others. There are indications that these rights become more clearly defined as the density of population increases. As yet there is no great danger of major conflicts within the Moni group of Kugapa itself, but this must largely be attributed to the fact that some 30 years ago the relation between natural resources per density of population had been balanced by a war with an Ekagi group after which the Kugapani¹⁰ claimed rights over a territory several times as large as their original holdings.

Housing and articles of material culture

All the houses of the Moni are of a similar appearance and structure. The small variations in size and inner partitions that do occur are related to practicalities and do not reflect social differentiation. A distinction is made between nduni and mina i. The former are sleeping quarters reserved for males. Mina i means literally women's house. A monogamous man often will have only one house for the whole family as long as there are no grown sons. The three distinct types, men's houses, women's houses and family houses, have no special characteristics. Only incidentals will sometimes tell what kind of house it is, e.g. the strings of go heads will not be found around the mina i. A chief's house is not necessarily larger or better constructed than a commoner's, nor do the partitions reveal anything about the type of house. None of the Moni houses seen by the writer had more than two rooms.

A house is about 9 to 12 feet wide, 12 to 20 feet long and 9 feet high. The outer walls consist of a palisade of hardwood poles 6 to 7 feet high, slanting slightly inwards. To the inside of this palisade horizontal planks are tied to the poles. The floor is raised $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet above ground level and is covered with a special kind of bark from a pandanus-like tree. The same kind of bark is used to close the doorway opening. For the women's

houses the room between the floor and the ground is used as a pigsty. There is a fireplace in the centre of the floor in each room consisting of stones on a little mound raised on the ground. For the roof a double layer of tree bark is used sometimes covered with grass or pandanus leaves which contain a tar-like substance.

The house does not contain furniture and people squat around the fire or lie on the floor. There are hooks for bows and arrows on the walls and a water container may be found, which is a simple hollowed out gourd. There is no basketry or pottery. All food is cooked either by putting it directly into the hot ashes or by steaming it over the fire after wrapping it in large leaves. On special occasions, such as pig feasts, a pit is made outside the house and meat and vegetables are steamed by means of hot stones. The fire in the house is constantly kept burning. If it happens to go out the traditional firesaw of rattan and hardwood is used although imported matches are becoming more usual.

The rain hat which is also used as a sleeping mat or as a covering against cold is the only mat the people know. It is made of strips of pandanus leaves sewn together with rope. Men and women use net bags to carry their valuables and their daily ration of food. These net bags are made from string of the inner bark of certain trees. Some nets are decorated with yellow or red patterns obtained by winding the stem of grasses or orchids around the string. Though these nets are carried around for the greater part of the day, they are not to be regarded as part of the clothing as seems to be the case with the Ekagi women.

Clothing in Moni society bears little relation to protection from physical discomfort such as cold or hazards of the jungle. Clothing amounts to the socially prescribed covering of certain parts of the body. The men are clad solely in penis sheaths which are hollowed out gourds held in place by string or a decorated woven band around the belly. Young men nearing the age of marriage begin to wear a satchel which rests on the right shoulder

and passes under the left armpit. A few cowries, a piece of ribbon cigarette or a charm may be kept in it. Wealthy men may be seen wearing a small cushion on the loin which consists of a very long ribbon of finely plaited string covered with yellow grass husk and folded many times to a cushion about 8" in length. It is held over the right buttock by means of a string around the belly. Older men often have a long fibrous vine wound around the belly the significance of which is still obscure. The suggestion that it is a mark of magical power is not substantiated by the facts; many recognised magicians did not use them and the people deny any such intention. Necklaces of dog teeth, nassa shells and boar tusks are favorite adornments with men who can afford buying them. A wig of hair with rodent bones is a common hair cover for the young chiefs. Plaited rattan armlets generally complete a male's attire.

Faces may be painted with resin, soot and red ochre which is not necessarily confined to either festive or sad occasions. The extremely finely woven harness of rattan is rare, but not completely absent. A few were in evidence at a time when there was a threat of war but they were sold later to Europeans who asked for them. At a peace-making ceremony the leading man wore one to create an impression rather than for protective reasons.

The women, prior to marriage, wear a skirt of combed out inner tree bark whereas married women cover their genitalia with two or three skirts of short strips of plain inner bark sewn next to each other on a string. Women, especially adolescent girls and young married women, are supposed to have their breasts covered with rodent tails, shreds of cloth, dog teeth, beads and whatever ornaments they might fancy.

The native black and yellow necklaces of kernels and husks used mostly by the women have almost entirely been replaced by blue or multi-coloured beads. Wealthy women usually wear a strip of large valuable shell among their breast trimmings. Almost every woman has a small breast purse around her neck, and a band of plaited rattan around the belly is quite

common.

What have been described are the minimum socially acceptable requirements of clothing. It should be added, however, that a few individuals occasionally use imported European style clothing.

The primary tool used by the Moni in recent times is the steel axe which has completely replaced the original stone axe.

A digging stock is used for gardening which is an ordinary piece of pointed hardwood. This is being supplemented by the imported long bush-knife, although the natives find the price of the substitute rather high relative to the improvement the tool represents. The same can be said for steel knives in comparison with the old stone or slate knives. Steel knives are readily accepted but are not particularly highly valued as the people have only restricted use for them. The third main tool in the culture is the bone needle used both for sewing and carving.

Men always carry bows and arrows with them for shooting birds and animals, rather than as a means of defense. Spears are not used by the Moni although they have seen them used by the Dani. Bows can be made from several kinds of hardwood, preferably the kind obtained from the Zando area. The arrow heads mounted on reed shafts can be of four types: a straight hardwood point, a bamboo blade, a three or four pointed split bamboo or a blunted end for stunning. The first type would effectively kill humans.

The irregular decorations on these implements which are comprised of dots and lines on the hardwood arrow points and on the bamboo, constitute one of the few attempts at artistry by the Moni; another is the irregular orchid and grass decoration on the carrying nets. There is a crude attempt at carving tree roots to resemble human heads; these may be hung inside the houses. This activity is said to be recreational although one informant thought the heads were to frighten children. At all events the Moni are hardly renowned for their artistic endeavours.

Goods exchange, trading and currency

Apart from the subsistence activities already mentioned, the economic behaviour of the Moni consists largely in direct or indirect exchange of goods and services. Even within the community where the same environmental conditions allow all individuals to avail themselves of similar goods, much exchange is carried on. Gift exchanges do occur but are mostly confined to the small kinship group, and then a return gift is expected later on. Indirect barter, by which goods are exchanged for cowrie shells is certainly the most important and customary mode of goods exchange. This enables the individual Moni to communicate with a great number of other people. The importance of the cowrie shell becomes more pronounced since it is the sole necessary item for bride price. We will deal with this special function of the cowrie shell in a later chapter.

Not all aspects of the cowrie as a currency are fully understood. This is true even for the most fascinating question, viz., what characteristics determine the value of the shell. Shape, size, colour and shine are certainly among the most overt determinants of value but the evaluation of these characteristics is not consistent over the whole area where the cowrie is accepted currency; the area in question covers all the known parts of the Central Mountain range of West New Guinea. This is not to say that a particular cowrie will be rejected in a certain area on the grounds that its shape or size does not agree with the locally accepted standard; people may find a use for such a cowrie in dealings with their trading partners in other areas. Few individuals are acquainted with the precise possibilities of all particular cowries and often have to rely upon the judgement of a connoisseur for the assessment of their value.

With the Kugapa Moni the cowrie should meet the following requirements. The miga-kigi, i.e. the really good cowrie shell, should have a losenge shaped ground pattern, the transverse diagonal line being only a little shorter than the vertical one. It should have little knobs on the

side. The belly of the original shell is cut off above the rim. Other things being equal, a larger shell has a higher value. The colour should be a dull white, the original enamel-like shine having been removed by polishing the shell with a special leaf (meme-hoga). Beeswax (dimboga) and a fungus (maikasu) put inside the shell are essential for its monetary value. Finally, all signs of long wear and frequent use form the most comprehensive criteria of value, as well as shine, whiteness and also the dullness of the teeth on the original shell opening. Such shells have obviously been valued by many men thus determining their worth.

According to their value, the shells are divided into three main classes: munga, kubawi and saekigi. The use of the munga, which are again subdivided into five species, is almost entirely restricted to bride price in which they constitute the most important part of the payment. Kubawi and saekigi are used in ordinary trading. The relative value of a good saekigi as compared with a good kubawi is expressed by those who claim to have knowledge of European money, as one guilder to five guilders¹¹. For one saekigi one can buy an ordinary carrying net, a small bow or a bundle of about 10 arrows, a complete penis sheath, 4 to 6 beds of sweet potatoes which would yield some 50 lbs. of tubers, and so on. The value of the kubawi equals that of an iron axe. It is also possible to express the value of cowries in terms of the amount of pork that could be bought for them. One leg of a medium sized pig, that is 6 to 10 lbs. of pork, was sold for one kubawi. One saekigi bought a portion of pork weighing about 10 oz. plus some fat.

The killing of a pig is nearly always an affair with strong economic implications, even on those occasions when it is a requirement to slaughter a pig, such as at the time of birth or burial ceremonies. On these occasions the larger portions of the pigs are sold for cowries, while only the waste (the head and the inner parts) are destined for free distribution among the participants in the ceremonies. For the rest, only the pig killed on the occasion of the death of a person, or the one that is killed for

curative magic, or the pig that vomits on being slaughtered may not be sold but must be distributed without compensation. These are probably the only exceptions to the rule that the pig should "yield its cowries." Notwithstanding the many social aspects surrounding the pig feast, the actual distribution of the pork is primarily an economic matter - to gain cowries.

Besides their being an essential requirement for marriage, cowries are important for intercommunity trading in that they are easily carried and allow a person to make distant journeys without being dependent upon personal relations for subsistence during the period of absence. In intercommunity trading some changes must undoubtedly have taken place from the time of European administration which has brought many people from the coast to the Paniai Lake area. For instance, in the old days stone axes were obtained from the east, from Ndanise, so the Kugapa-Moni say, although even before the advent of "foreign" trade relations a few steel axes had already reached Kugapa from the west. At present, however, the steel axe which is readily available to the Kugapa people is an article of export to the southeast, as well as to the Kemandoga, where the Kugapani have trade relations and where the people have next to no contact with foreigners. The same applies to other recently introduced articles such as beads, knives, and mirrors, which are traded to these areas. One wonders what articles of export the Kugapa Moni had before their contact with those newcomers and how much their trading capacity has been improved by the new situation. It cannot be assumed that in former times the Kugapa people always paid outsiders with cowries, the supply of which must have been limited. The problem is complicated by the fact that the cowries themselves are said to have reached Kugapa from the east. These questions could not be solved during the investigation in Kugapa itself. Perhaps conditions in the untrouched areas may throw light on these matters.

The imported articles in Kugapa range from magic charms, red earth for face painting, better quality bows and also dogs which come from the

Zando area, to tobacco, salt, rattan harnesses and especially the highly appreciated breeding piglets from Kemandoga and areas beyond. No exhaustive list of traded articles has been made but an idea of the variety may be surmised from those mentioned.

There is a notable difference in the trading position of Kugapa with regard to Zando and Kemandoga respectively. The Zanduni Moni as well as the Ugunduni who apparently have some salt wells of their own, prefer the better quality salt from the wells of the Kemandoga. Several times during the period of research the writer met with groups of Zando people, ranging from six to twenty persons who were on their way to the salt wells of the northern side of the mountain range. For these people, Kugapa was only a resting place where they stayed for a few days or some weeks with their relatives and acquaintances before moving on. They sold several commodities such as charms, red earth, bird feathers for head decoration, armbands and so on which they had brought with them or which they made on the spot. Others offered their services to their hosts for fencing and gardening. In this way they could provide for their food on their long trip and make some profit. They still intended to go further to the salt wells of the Kema valley. Therefore their position differed from that of people who came to Kugapa from Kemandoga, for whom this place was their destination. Several parties of them stayed in Kugapa for shorter or longer periods as guests, occupying themselves with the same kind of activities as the Zanduni, but not concerned with going further for direct trading with the tribesmen of the southeastern area.

The Kugapa people themselves go on trading trips in either direction. It must be remembered, however, that not all people make such journeys. A large number of adults have never been outside their area. Only the more enterprising individuals go on these expeditions on which they will act as commission agents for others. Some persons have built up a whole network of trade relations in far away areas. It may be assumed that the Kugapani on

their journeys provide for their food in a similar way to the people from Zando and Kemandoga when they visit Kugapa for trading purposes.

Magico-religious conceptions

This research has not furnished sufficient data to gain a full insight into the subject of magic and religion. Among the Moni religion is vaguely defined and almost devoid of ceremonial events. Certain aspects, however, can be discussed.

The Moni recognise that the visible world is only a part of reality and that they may contact the invisible reality by word or action. This contact is made by mbai dia which refers to the verbal ("prayer" and the uttering of magic spells) as well as the ritual contact although sometimes a specific term is used for the religious or magical talking, viz. mbai-dode (dode = speech or talking). This term can also be used for "forbidden" or "secret" talk. The word mbai itself is not easily explained. It may be used to indicate unethical behaviour, the morally bad, the taboo, whereas in the case of mbai dia (in which dia is only an auxiliary verb for "to do") no thought of unethical action, such as black magic, is involved. On the contrary, mbai dia is on many occasions not only permitted but is considered to be beneficial and desirable for the individual as well as for the community. Perhaps it is the venturing or challenging aspect of the contact with the supernatural which is being expressed by the term.

The mbai dia of the Moni relate to Onga-dega-me, Tau, Manita and Tone. The relations between these classes in the unseen world are not quite clear. Onga-dega-me may be translated as "the Creator," "the Designer," or "He who shaped things." The concept seems to refer to the being who drew the original course of the Wea River, the outline of the mountains and the entire physical nature (emo), as well as to the ancestors who more or less permanently contributed towards nature as it is. The word is also used in a secular sense for the man who measures out the portions of the slaughtered

pig, or who designs the plan of a house, or who tries out an axe.

Manita, on the other hand, can perhaps best be translated as "guardian spirit," the supernatural protector of the household, the clan, lineage or the whole community. So-sege (so river ghost) and dingi-so (black cuscus) are manita to the Kobogau clan; mai-mina (the earth woman), mbogo-so (anteater) and wa (taro) are manita to the Zonganau. Three species of trees, umabo, debabo and zibo near the original place of Kugapa are mbai and therefore not to be cut by the Zonganau because in the past tai-mina (sun woman) came down and rested upon them.

The tau are the evil spirits, the "satans" according to those young Kugapani who know some Malay. The tau are dangerous and erratic and a man has to protect himself against their influence. They are "seen" in rocks, oddly shaped trees, certain sections of the river banks or dark spots in the jungle, as well in some humans who have fallen ill either physically or morally.

Finally, mbai dia is also directed towards the tone, the spirits of dead who come to visit the relatives or friends. It is believed that the tone have influence over the welfare of the living.

The crucial problem in the understanding of the spiritual world lies in the conception of its reality. More than once the natives stated that they had no real knowledge of the supernatural and stressed that it is a product of the thinking process based upon apparent facts. "We think the spirits exist," they said. The term used was hangia (to think) and not zagi (to know). At the same time it was denied that belief in the spirits was the product of suggestion or imagination. Perhaps one can assume that starting out from sensory perceptions, a process of inductive thought has led the Moni to a world which they do not completely understand. If we should say that the resulting system shows little coherence and many contradictions, they would agree immediately and point to the erratic character of the phenomena which startled their thought. But this cannot reduce the reality of the

spiritual world to a product of imagination.

The lack of knowledge about the supernatural also relates to the conception of its unity and its relations within this world. Hence the often indeterminate character of the mbai dia:

minamao, wogo demo, mbaidagai demo, wa demo;
minamao, wogo biapogo ngaio, kigi biapogo ngaio.
Ondoma nundia usio. Zongonau ago.

Mother, pork abundant, sweet potato abundant, taro abundant;

Mother, pork little I do not like, cowries few I do not like.

Everybody (or, much?) to eat is good. Zongonau I am.

These words were uttered by Soadekigi on the day of his pig feast, while he slapped the slaughtered pigs with the gadu twig, a red-green long shrub leaf which is used for many magical purposes. He could not say, however, whether he was speaking to the Maimina (earth-woman), the Onga-dega-me ("Creator"), the spirit of his deceased mother or to taimina (sun-woman), all of whom could be held responsible for the granting of the request.

Mitaš, Minamaš. Du-igu, zanga-igu zambageš.
Mitaš, mbaio.

Father, Mother. Water reeds, rain reeds cut off.

Father, this is mbai (a prayer? or, forbidden?).

This instruction was given by a Kobogau man while performing rain magic, but he too could not explain to whom he was praying. Possibly it was

a guardian spirit whose identity could not be revealed. On another occasion, however, people were not reluctant to mention a name:

Aita Meagombabui, a ngane duame. Zanga diananga.

Father Meagombabui (name of a deceased person), have mercy on me. Rain let be.

A common mbai dia, apart from the informal uttering of magical spells, consists of the erection of a fence of special wood some three or four feet long. Intestines or genitals of rats are placed at the base and gadu shrubs and a banana shoot are planted in the front. The fence is bound with special vines. A pig is killed and the blood is smeared over the fence while the performer of the rite pleads, rather than demands, that the bad spirit go away. Often he will throw a small portion of the intestines or the genitals of the pig as an incentive to the spirit. Such performances take place in the case of illness and may be repeated at intervals.

It should be remarked that the materials used in such rites are not treated with special care or caution in everyday life. The same is true of a pig that is killed. The sacred or magical value is determined by the part they play in the ceremony. It is true that whenever a pig is killed people dip their arrows and sometimes their cowries in the blood, because this will bring them success in their hunting and trading. This suggests the same idea as the polynesian mana. However, it does not make the pig a sacred animal. Nor is every ceremony in which a pig is killed a religious or magical ceremony. For instance, the pig feast in the stricter sense¹², the birth feast and the burial feast are merely economic and social affairs and do not appear to have any placatory, invocatory or any other supernatural function.

The writer was told that some years ago a man named Mededakigi, notorious for his magical powers, but also said to be given to madness (zoš

dia) or to mystical experiences (hazi dia), organized a large communal mbai dia. It seems to have been connected with a long period of drought and general misfortune in the area. A large fence was erected within which a great number of men, women and children were brought together and several rites were performed. No cowries were accepted for the pigs which were slaughtered on the occasion, and people were also forbidden to take any drinks until evening. The ceremony is called sege-ugumala-mbai, i.e. a mbai for which a sege (ghost) fence is erected.

Otherwise there are no obligatory, communal rituals which would induce or sustain a Durkheimian "collective conscience." There are, to my knowledge, no initiation rites, no periodic fertility rituals or such like and no secret societies. A totemistic organisation embracing the whole tribe has not been discovered. The Kobogau clan seems to have the dingi-so (black cuscus) as a totem - a natural species to which the Kobogau people feel themselves closely related because of common descent in the myths. They regard the dingi-so as forbidden food for themselves. No corresponding totem could be found for the Zongonau clan. The attitude of the Zongonau people towards their manita, viz. the umabo, debabo and zigabo, the three kinds of trees which they would not use for firewood, did not resemble the attitude of the Kobogau towards the dingi-so.

The life history of the Moni

The birth of a Moni child takes place in the house where only one or two of the female relatives are present to assist the mother. As soon as it becomes clear that birth is impending, the father takes all the household possessions he is likely to need over the next few days and puts them in the custody of his brother or friend. The life of his child would be endangered were he to use anything from the house in which the birth took place. Having removed these sources of danger the father goes to call on relatives and friends announcing the coming birth. If he has not already done so, he will

try to buy a pig for the impending feast. To kill one's own pig would be unwise because the person who raised the pig is not allowed to eat it.

Soon after birth the newly born baby is placed on a pandanus mat in his mother's carrying net and the relatives enter the house to see mother and child. The umbilical cord is cut off and thrown into the bush; the placenta is wrapped in leaves and placed on a three-forked stick outside the house. The mother is not allowed to leave the house until two to four days after the birth, when the pig has been killed. The father will take care that this is done as soon as possible. Preparations for the feast take at least two days. If the father happens to be absent on a trading expedition his duties will be assumed by his brother or some other close relative.

The pig feast on the occasion of a birth, soge wogo, has primarily a social character; to celebrate the safe arrival of a new member of the family and to honour the mother¹³. The restrictions on the father and the mother are not lifted until the soge wogo has been distributed. As was noted before, most of the meat is sold and the father, who during the past few days has been visiting extensively, has made sure that he has found buyers. The size of the pig and whether or not more than one is slaughtered depends upon the number of intending buyers. To be able to sell a large pig, or more than one, assures a man of his popularity. The birth of a child to a rich man will be an occasion for a large gathering of people.

Soon after this celebration the mother resumes her responsibilities in the household always carrying the baby with her in the carrying net. She feeds the child whenever it cries. At this stage the child is called e'a, a pet name by which the mother may also address the child at a later age. After three or four months, when it has become evident that the child will live, the relatives will decide upon a name which quite often reflects the place or circumstances of the birth.

When the child begins the crawling period it is more appropriately spoken of as kebawa, the name it will bear until it is 5 to 6 years old. As

the child grows it is more frequently taken out of the carrying net and is taught to sit on the mother's shoulders holding on to her head. As to feeding, within two or three months after birth the child may have been given tiny pieces of sweet potatoe or sugar cane juice but the lactation period is sometimes very long and may last until the age of two or three years. When the child grows older the mother will first try to stop its crying by hugging and petting before giving her breast. If the lactation period is very prolonged weaning becomes a difficult process with many temper tantrums on the part of the child.

After weaning, the mother will leave the child more and more in the care of an older daughter, or her husband's younger sisters, or sometimes in the care of her own sons, while she is working in the garden. Thus, at the age of five or six the child is introduced into the status of biabaga. The group of biabaga comprises all the young individuals between the age of about 6 and the normal age for marriage. For girls, this is generally seventeen years or so and for boys, about 20. On entering this stage the child is supposed to have learned most of the elementary rules of behaviour. It has learned how to treat food and to control excretion, to walk and to talk. Now it is said to be in possession of reason, mezozu. No longer is the excuse accepted for misbehaviour during the e'a and kebawa periods: "Waie. Ogo mego tawa." "Let it go. He has not yet reason." The child's reasoning powers are thought to slumber and gradually awaken as he grows older.

There is no strict separation between the sexes of the growing children, except that boys, after the age of about 5 or 6, no longer sleep in their mother's house. The children enjoy a high degree of freedom although they are expected to assist in smaller household tasks like fanning the fire and fetching water and firewood. Most of them generally do not go far from the house or the garden. At the age of 12, girls are supposed to help regularly in the family garden, while the boys are encouraged to start small gardens of their own. There is a strong tendency to reward initiative

and the growth of independence in boys. At a later stage, if a boy's parents are poor and have no means of providing him with a bride price, it often happens that he will go and stay with a richer man for a time. However, contact with his own relatives is not lost.

The adolescent girl is watched closely by her parents and by her older brothers to prevent promiscuity. During her first menstruations she is subjected to a number of taboos. Her brothers spend the night with her and keep her awake by singing; if she falls asleep during the singing it is believed that she will remain barren.

From time to time singing parties are staged in the evening where boys and girls from several settlements meet, zamo tegaia. During the singing a girl may receive small presents from a boy who has his eye on her. Acceptance on her part means that she will consider further advances. Pre-marital intercourse is permitted between those who have a chance of marrying, but it should not happen too often. The initiative in this stage of experimentation is usually taken by the boy, but quite often the girl lets it be known to a particular boy that she is interested in him. She tells her mother or her brother who will contact the boy's father or brother. The possibility of marriage is then considered.

The final marriage arrangement and the structure of family life will be dealt with in later chapters. It may be said here, however, that family life rests generally upon a good understanding between husband and wife, although this calls for a rather high degree of submissiveness on the part of the woman. The notion of divorce is unthinkable, but occasional cases of men sending their wives away, or of women being taken back by her family, do occur. Gross negligence on the part of the woman as regards her marital or household duties would give the man the right to kill her. Nowadays, because of the possibility of government interference, this sanction has lost its force, but so far no undesirable effects have been noted. During the stage of adulthood, man and woman are called deago me and deago mina, respectively.

When, finally, signs of senility appear, the individual is spoken of as etega (ne or mina). The hair turns grey or falls out, the teeth decay, the light in the eyes becomes dull, but the sign of senility people mostly point to is bent knees which can no longer support weight and do not permit an individual to work hard or to make long walks. Rich men gradually put aside their scanty attributes of dignity. For their livelihood they become more and more dependent upon their sons or their younger brothers. An old woman who has outlived her husband will no longer think of going back to her own relatives, which she might have done had she been younger. Old individuals, though often regarded as a burden on the community, are nonetheless highly respected. To reach such an age is certainly the ideal of every individual.

Immediately after the death of an individual a pig is killed which is gratuitously distributed among all mourners. The idea behind this ogo pa dia wogo is to satisfy the spirit of the deceased, which is called his tone. After this ceremony there is little fear of the tone, although the Moni do not have decided views on life after death. The same idea of satisfying the spirit of a deceased man is said to lie behind the custom of killing the widow within a few days of the death of her husband. In case a man was polygynous, not all his wives would be killed but only about half their number. Whether or not this custom is still practised is uncertain. In two cases known to the writer, the death of the wives occurred a few days after that of the husbands. This was suspicious to say the least, but people flatly denied that there was any connection between the deaths. It may be relevant to note that in 1954 a Kugapa man was sentenced to imprisonment by the European administration at Enarotali after he had killed his widowed step-mother¹⁴. She was not killed immediately after her husband's death but at a later time when she had begun to act strangely and when, at the same time, several misfortunes befell the son's family. It was thought that the woman had become bewitched and therefore her killing was fully justified in

terms of Moni custom. Whether the administration's action has resulted in suppressing the custom or whether the truth about a still practised custom is concealed, could not be established. The custom of women having the joint of one of their fingers cut off upon the death of her husband, child or another close relative is still common and is regarded as a permanent sign of sorrow. Nothing in the data gathered suggested the idea of a sacrifice to turn away the vengeance of the wandering tone.

During the days between death and burial the corpse is kept in the house where the mourners come to hear the dirges of female relatives, ame muni tegaia. The motifs of the mourning songs are not very altruistic. "How good was our father to us. Who will from now on buy pork for us? Who will go out to catch the so? How are we to obtain our sweet potatoes without his help?" In the meantime, the relatives make preparations for the disposal of the body and for the funeral meal. The latter involves more trouble than the former. Pigs must be bought and pre-sold; firewood, stones, leaves and vegetables must be collected. The number of pigs to be killed depends on the status of the deceased person. For a child, one pig will suffice. For an ordinary adult, two pigs are normal. At a burial attended by the author of a very old and much respected man, eight pigs were killed. This man was the last son of the founders of the Kugapa community.

When everything is ready, the burial takes place. In the morning the closer relatives will privately dispose of the body. Children are wrapped in tree bark and placed in a tree near the house. Corpses of women are mostly let down into deep waterholes between rocks or sometimes placed in trees away from the house. The corpse of an ordinary man is placed in a tree or on a platform away from the house. In the case of an important man and sometimes even a woman, a special construction is made near the house. This is a small cage on stilts which is covered with tree bark. In this small house, i zoa mindia, the corpse is put in a crouching attitude. Through the action of sun and wind the body dries up and this sometimes

makes it resemble a mummy. These mummy-houses are intended to preserve the memory of the deceased and for that reason they will be kept clean by the family at least for a time. Nowadays, however, most of them have fallen into disrepair. I know of one man who had frightening dreams combined with bad luck with his pigs. One morning he took an axe and cut down the mummy-house in which the corpse of his father had been placed only a few years previously. This action was frowned upon by his elder brother not so much because he was afraid of the vengeance of his father's tone but because his younger brother had shown so little respect. Other i zoa in the area are at least several decades old.

After the body has been disposed of the pigs are killed for the burial meal, wangu yogo. Depending on the importance of the deceased person, the gathering of mourners will be restricted to the immediate kin or it may include members of the whole community. After the larger parts of the pigs have been presented to those who paid for them, the smaller sections are steamed with vegetables over hot stones in a pit. At the end of the ceremony this meat is distributed among the people present. This burial meal concludes the mourning period and people resume their normal life, having adjusted themselves to the loss of the deceased relative.

Even though there is some evidence that the Moni keep in touch with the spirits of the dead, for instance, the small offering of sweet potatoes, bananas or a piece of pork on the day of the burial, it certainly has not developed into a large scale ancestor cult. Other practises too, such as the building of mummy houses, or the possibility of contacting the spirits of the dead in mbai dia, have no pronounced religious background. There is a belief in life after death but whether or not the status of the tone is in any way related to his preceding life or to the treatment he receives from the relatives who yet live, the writer has not been able to ascertain.

Contact with the world at large

The situation in Kugapa in 1957 cannot entirely be understood without mentioning the impact that has followed the discovery of the mountain people by the Europeans.

The first contact Europeans had with members of the Moni tribe was but brief. This occurred in 1926 during an expedition on the Upper Rouffaer River. It is possible that the Kugapa people never learned of this contact. When, at the end of 1935, Dr. Bijlmer reached the Mapia area, the Ekagi headman, Auki, offered to invite delegations of people with whom he had connections to meet the expedition members. Among these were nine adults and two young Moni from Kugapa whose dialect corresponded with the notes taken on the Rouffaer expedition.¹⁵ Contrary to what is sometimes asserted, there were no Moni living in the Kamu valley at that time, but some had stayed there before and still maintained contact with the Mapia people. This information was obtained from the Kugapa people.

Not long after the departure of Dr. Bijlmer and his party, Soadekigi and his four brothers settled with their families near Itouda. The reason was that at that time a war was being waged between some Ekagi of the Wea valley (viz. those of the Badauwo, Geeko and Uwamani villages) and the Kugapa people. The war which was over jungle rights on the Wege pigu would continue for as long as there were more victims on the Ekagi side than there were on the Moni. The latter decided that perhaps a solution could be found if they killed some of their own people. Fearful of becoming the victims, Soadekigi and his brothers who were regarded as important war leaders, left Kugapa and moved to Itouda. It then happened that Dr. J.W. Cator met with the Moni at Itouda on his first overland expedition to this area in 1937. Some of these Moni had gone to see the Bijlmer expedition in Mapia two years earlier. The men who accompanied Dr. Cator, a government officer, on his return trip to the coast, acted as guides and interpreters for the second expedition to the Wissel lakes area. The Itouda Moni, visualising a

recovery of their prestige in their home village, led the members of this second expedition first to Kugapa where the reception appeared to be very good. The government flag was planted.

When, in 1938, a permanent government station was opened at Enarotali, the Kugapani were somewhat disappointed that their own area was not chosen as the government site. The Itouda Moni gradually returned to Kugapa after the District Officer, J.V. Bruyn, had requested that Soadekigi straighten out difficulties with the Ekagi neighbours by paying damages. Soadekigi acted as a guide and interpreter for Dr. de Bruyn on several expeditions to the east. Some men made trips to the coast as carriers. Young boys acted as house boys to policemen and other government personnel at Enarotali. The Catholic missionary from the Mimika area, Father H. Tillemans, who had also followed the Bijlmer expedition of 1935, visited Kugapa several times and opened a school which was put under the care of a Kaiiese teacher. Several men and boys were offered trips by plane to such faraway places as Etna Bay, Fakfak and even Ambon.

The success of these contacts was interrupted by the Japanese invasion. The retreat of the District Officer via Kemandoga and Diginduga to the Rouffaer River had been the cause of the Japanese invasion of the mountains. For a while the Japanese stayed at Kugapa causing the people a great deal of trouble. The Ekagi of Badauwo had not yet forgotten their old grievances against the Moni and, on their suggestion, the Japanese went to look for Soadekigi whom they suspected of having connections with Dr. de Bruyn. One day they shot Soadekigi's wife, his eldest son and four other relatives. Soadekigi has never forgiven the Badauwo Ekagi for their treason. When the latter suggested that Soadekigi's pig feast in December 1957 was a me-nundia performance (literally "man-eating" i.e. a ceremonial for the conclusion of a war), Soadekigi had a public ritual staged to deny such an intention.

Soadekigi's personal loss was also a blow to the prestige derived from the contact with the white people. After the war the Kugapa kept

themselves aloof for a time. With the arrival of a missionary first in Pagapugaida in 1950, later moving to Watagamuda, relations were gradually restored. The school was reopened but in 1957 it attracted only fifteen pupils. Some boys were placed in schools on the coast, with the consent of their relatives. Others have joined the police force. Some twenty young people were baptized. The presence of the missionaries who have stayed at intervals was readily accepted; gradually the natives were feeling more at ease when government officials visited the area. Until my departure there had been only two cases of interference in internal matters by the government. One case was that of the murder referred to on page 24; the other occurred at the conclusion of an internal war. In both matters the government officials were invited by some of the people to act on their behalf.

Although no radical changes have yet been adopted by the Kugapani, they are becoming increasingly involved in the world at large. They have learned to accept introduced goods such as tools, clothing, canned food and the like. By contact with the administration and especially through schooling they will gradually become acquainted with new ideas.

PART II

THE FRAMEWORK OF SOCIAL ACTION

In observing the cultural tradition of the Moni little evidence has been found of systematic social interaction; nor is it clear whether there is co-operative effort within any one group. Clearly, it is unlikely that the Moni form an aggregate of individuals living close to one another without any social ties. To find expressions of group behaviour and sources of social attitudes and sentiments, it is necessary to determine the character and definition of such groups as tribe, clan, family and village. One must also look to the functional significance of kinship, the role of authority and more especially, institutionalized marriage arrangements. It is these role factors which reveal the principles of grouping and institutionalized interaction which make up "society" for the Moni.

In the pages that follow, a survey of the social structure is followed by some comments on the significance of the "tribe" as a cultural group and a social unit. Then we proceed to the situation in Kugapa. Some statistical data are presented as well as material to provide an historical background. The remainder of this section is devoted to the social relations that are derived from kinship. Attention is given to the family, to marriage, to the local unit, the clan and to the special position of the leader.

Outline of the social structure

As has been stated earlier, the people of Kugapa form part of a larger group called Moni or Migani. As such they distinguish themselves from similar large groupings in the Central Mountains which they call "Isani,"¹ "Ugunduni"² and "Ndani,"³ to name those that are most important. The term "tribes" is used here for those larger groupings but it must be stressed that no political unity is implied by the use of this term.

Like the Ekagi (and perhaps the other Highland groups too) the Moni tribe consists of a number of unilinear, exogamous descent groups, designated by individual names. We call these groups "clans." Names for more than fifty of such clans have been recorded by Le Roux.⁴ These clans vary greatly in size and they do not always live in contiguous localities. In Kugapa the majority of the people belong to the Zongonau or Kobogau clans, but members of these clans are also found in other areas.

The individual Moni thus becomes a member of the tribe and the clan by virtue of his birth and patrilineal descent. Solidarity on the levels of tribe and clan, however, is not very strong. In this respect the lower descent groups of patrilineage and sublineage are of greater importance. Solidarity is primarily derived from the family and from kinship relations. The fact that in residence, the family is patrilocal, gives a special weight to the patrilineage. It leads to the formation of villages or hamlets, or local units where each son, upon marriage, builds a house near that of his own family of orientation. Although the families are highly independent units, they are important spheres of interdependence in the villages. The social situation in the local distribution of the group is often an indication of the degree of integration in the patrilineal descent group. There are some twenty hamlets in the Kugapa area.

A distinctive attribute of the more important local units is the presence of a sonowi, a rich and successful man who is the recognized leader of his immediate kinsmen but who also exercises an indirect influence over others who live in the village.

The linguistic and cultural unity of the tribe

The distinction between the various tribes in the Central Mountains is based primarily upon linguistic and cultural differences. The term "tribe" as used here bears no reference to the character of an "organised whole." The question as to whether or not the differences between the tribes are

important enough to provide a basis for ethnological classification is not of our concern. Apart from the language distinction, the general culture of all the tribes is fairly uniform.⁵ On a comparative basis, the variations within each group may be greater than the differences between the tribal groups.

The importance of the distinction between the tribes is that it is recognised by the people themselves. They refer not so much to the actual differences but to the fact that they belong to a specific tradition. When people call themselves "Migani" i.e. "the real ones," they are expressing recognition of a life pattern peculiar to them--the result of accumulated experience handed down in the process of tradition. The specific cultural traits are no more characteristic of the tribal tradition than those which also occur elsewhere. The Migani are those who speak the miga-~~qode~~ (language), who in the making of gardens build miga-~~ugu~~ (fences) and who select the miga-~~kigi~~ (cowries) in economic transactions. The women wear skirts which differ from those of the Ekagi, and the men are distinguished from Ndani by their headdress. Birth takes place in the house and not in the open as with the Ekagi. Migani kill the widows at the death of their husbands and they practise finger-cutting as a symbol of affliction, but they do not burn the dead as the Ndani do. All these characteristics, of which the connoisseur can name dozens more, are embedded in the total Moni tradition, the way of life which they have learned from the etaga-mene (the elderly people, or forefathers).

The people recognize the unity of the cultural tradition by applying the term "au" to the group of people who adhere to it. The word au means "stem" or "trunk," which suggests unity in common origin. All the Moni are of the same extraction, and in that sense they form a unity which we have called the "tribe." Yet, the feeling of belonging is not the dominating one in reference to the tribe. When it is asked of a man to which mene-~~au~~ (mene = human) he belongs, the answer is more likely to be that he is a Zongonau, Kugapani or Zanduni, rather than that he is a Migani. By specifying according

to clan or locality, the greater importance of the smaller group, also in the handing over of the tradition, is expressed, but at the same time it is implied that they are true representatives of the large "miga" extraction.

By stressing that the tribe is foremost defined as a cultural unit, little has been said about the social relations within this group as a whole, and also social interaction with members of other tribes has been left out of consideration. Likeness which is the result of a common tradition, does not necessarily imply solidarity with all those who share this tradition. Solidarity is established by specific mechanisms. Within the Moni tradition such mechanisms for establishing solidarity are found primarily on the levels of the family, the kinship group, the village and under certain circumstances also the clan, but they do not relate to the tribe as such. The tribe as a mere aggregate of uniformly encultured individuals has no machinery for effecting the unity of all its members, be it educational, legal, political or religious. While the "miga" way of doing things requires solidarity with the groups of the family, kin relations, lineage and, to a certain extent, also the clan, it also imposes an attitude of "live and let live" in the society at large. It also implies an abstention from interference with other people's lives as long as one's own interests are not in question. This holds for non-related members of their own cultural tradition as well as for people of other "tribes."

Mutual dependence is a more fundamental principle of solidarity in social interaction than mere uniformity. Its effectiveness is not restricted to relations between people who participate in the same cultural tradition. Tribal differences therefore do not necessarily pose barriers to interaction between people of different tribes. This is important to the Moni at Kugapa who have many connections with the Ekagi who live all around them. Particularly strong relations are maintained with the members of the Jatipai clan who occupy the slopes of Dedegetugapa. Many individuals in this area, it should be added, are bilingual, knowing the Ekagi language as well as the Moni.

Although the Moni often speak derisively of the Ekagi as a whole, a good deal of trading goes on between them. Goods as well as services are exchanged. Besides this many relations of a more personal character exist. Kugapa individuals will often name Ekagi amongst their good friends. People are present at each other's festivities, not only at the pig feasts, but also at birth and burial ceremonies. They partake in the dancing which precedes the feasts and join in the singing which differs from that of their own traditional tunes. Moni also allegedly make regular contributions to the bride price of some Ekagi, even to such an extent that one man spoke to me about Kobogau-Jatipai.⁶ Another family of Ekagi extraction shares the village life of the Moni at Baguatugapa. The man, who belongs to the Ekagi clan of Jeimo, was reared by a Kobogau family which also paid the bride price for his wife. One orphan boy from Itouda in Kamu valley (of the Ijai clan) had lived as an adopted son with a Zongonau family at Ngedangetadi since January 1956 where he was treated as an ordinary member of the family.

Also on the political level the barriers between the tribes are often crossed. In the war between 1935 and 1938 which the Kugapa people waged for the extension of their territory against the Ekagi of Badauwo and their allies, the Moni were supported by the Ekagi from Timida and the Jatipai. In the same way, the Kugapani were the allies of the Timida people when the latter fought with people in the Eka valley in 1952. Also, as has been said before, a number of Kugapani have been guests of Ekagi in the Kamu valley when they had to flee from their own tribesmen because of internal wars, and they have lived there for several years.

In the field of sexual relations, however, all intercourse between Moni and Ekagi is forbidden by tradition. The internalization of this taboo appears to be so strong that nobody can imagine such intercourse could ever occur. It is as unthinkable as incest. Therefore, when a man takes an oath to absolve himself of any crimes, he may call out the names of all relatives whom he avoids sexually; then he also names the isa mina--the Ekagi woman.

It may be mentioned in this connection that one also swears by the food which is regarded as taboo. The Moni of Kugapa swear by the shrimp or crayfish, a rather typical item in the diet of the natives in the lakes district, but forbidden for the Moni.⁷ This taboo is thought to be a symbol of the sexual separation between Moni and Ekagi. "We do not eat shrimp," the Moni say, "because the Ekagi eat it. For us to eat shrimp would mean 'tubaga'." This latter term is used for all illicit sexual relations.⁸ The existence of this taboo upon sexual relations with the Ekagi can be regarded as a safeguard for the pureness of the tribal extraction. For if Moni and Ekagi mix sexually it is difficult to decide in what tradition the progeny should be educated: that of the mother who influences the child the more during the infant years, or that of the father. This interpretation is by no means certain, as the sexual separation (in Kugapa) is restricted to Moni and Ekagi. Several Moni at Kugapa have Ndani and Ugunduni wives. Perhaps the taboo is restricted to those areas where two tribes are close neighbours.

Demographic data about the Kugapa people

An analysis has been made of the population figures at Kugapa. People are classified according to age, sex and clan membership. We have used census data gathered by a Government officer in September, 1957, but this has been corrected and supplemented. When less than five individuals were concerned, these are put under the heading "others."

TABLE OF POPULATION FIGURES AT KUGAPA

Clan name	Zongonau	Kobogau	Dimbau	Hanau	Others	Total
Adult males*	57+6	34+3	5	1	1	98+9
Adult females*	53+3	49	10	6	28	146+3
Unmarried boys	93	38	-	-	-	133
Unmarried girls	79	47=	7	-	-	133
TOTAL	291	171	22	7	31	522

*Differentiation is made between married and unmarried adults. 57+6 means 57 married and 6 unmarried, and so on.

The first obvious fact derived from this table is that 88.5% (462 out of 522) of the community comprise members of the Zongonau and Kobogau clans. There are only seven adult males of other clans. These seven men upon closer investigation appeared to have no permanent residence in the Kugapa area; five of them had lived there less than a year at the time of the census. They were war refugees from the Zando area.

The numerical superiority of the Zongonau over the Kobogau (291 against 171) reflects the historical fact that the Zongonau had settled in the area at an earlier date than the Kobogau, and also have increased their numbers from immigrant groups. The tabulated figures do not provide reliable information as to birth rate differentiation between clans, or such like.

Of the sixty persons other than Zongonau or Kobogau, forty-four are women and of these five are widows. The high number of women here is a consequence of the marriage relations between Zongonau and Kobogau as well as the numerical superiority of the Songonau and, of course, the law of exogamy. As the people prefer to choose marriage partners not too far from their own locality, practically all of the Kobogau women are married to local Zongonau men. Some of the Zongonau men, however, have to go outside the area to find brides, while at the same time a number of Zongonau women marry outside the community. Of the thirty-nine married women of clans other than the Zongonau or Kobogau, thirty-one (79.5%) are the wives of Zongonau men. Only in six cases have Kobogau men taken brides who are not Zongonau (15.8%), while the two remaining women are married to outsiders who have no permanent status in the community.

The same trend can also be shown from the figures representing the marriages of the different groups. Out of eighty-one marriages contracted by Zongonau males, forty-nine (60.5%) are with Kobogau women; ten (12.3%) are with Dimbau women and twenty-two (27.1%) are with women of various clans.

For the fifty-one recorded Kobogau marriages the figures are: forty-five (88.2%) are with Zongonau women and six (11.8%) are with women of sundry clans.

The implications of marriage exchange between the clans will be mentioned later. Attention should be drawn to the fact that all seven of the males who are not Zongonau or Kobogau have their temporary residence in the area with their wives' relatives. Most of these men belong to the Dimbau clan which stands in a kind of phratry relationship to the Kobogau. The Dimbau and Kobogau are mutually exogamous. All the ten Dimbau women of the table are wives or widows of Zongonau men. This suggests a tendency on the part of the Zongonau men to turn to the Dimbau clan for marriage when Kobogau brides are no longer available. In other words, the phratry relationship between Kobogau and Dimbau is also recognized by the Zongonau. The twenty-eight adult females in the fifth column of the table are of sundry clans, even some of Ndani and Ugunduni. None of these, however, is represented by more than five individuals.

In the figures for the various classes of children, the ratio of the sexes of the two main classes is noteworthy. With the Zongonau there are ninety-five boys (54% of the total of Zongonau children) against seventy-nine (46%) girls while the ratio is almost reversed with the Kobogau where thirty-eight boys make up for 44.7% of the total against forty-seven girls (55.3%). There is no explanation for this fact. Hypotheses such as a preference for either boys or girls, leading to infanticide, or neglect of the unwanted, or an earlier marriage age for the Kobogau girls (expressing the shortage of marriageable females in proportion to the Zongonau men), could not be substantiated.

The present situation in historical perspective

The relations between the various groups in Kugapa can be traced back partly in their historical development. One day Zongonau related to me the story of two Zongonau lineages. It was possible to tape record this account. He started out from what is known as the Situgumina legend, which has been published elsewhere.⁹

"I am a Zongonau," he said, "I will tell you the story of the men who came here from Dugindoga." In brief, the story is that five Dugindoga men and a woman (Situgumina), all siblings, went to the jungle one day to hunt go, which they needed in connection with a taro feast. While the brothers were hunting, a woman cut a tree for firewood. The tree which had fallen down during a heavy storm and earthquake appeared to be loaded with many cowrie shells. Among these cowries was an exceptionally costly one, called simbai sombai.

Just before the feast, the woman's oldest brother stole this shell, intending to buy pork with it. Situgumina became very angry and told her brothers that from then on they would be subject to illness, hunger and death. There would be a lack of cowries and of pigs and they would suffer from an over abundance of rain. She then announced that she would go to heaven, and disappeared.

The youngest brother went after her. He climbed the Bondege range and, in descending the southern side of the mountains, he found cowries, a rain cap and the carrying net of his sister. This happened in Domose, i.e. the Doma valley. The man is called Bondegekimegame, which means "the man who came the Bondege way." Not finding his sister immediately, he built a house and decided to stay in Domose¹⁰ intending to continue his search later on. He begot two sons: Wagahodo and Dumbagago. Wagahodo begot a son, Kombodemai, who in turn begot two sons, Webega and Degambode. The latter were the first Moni who came to live at Kugapa. "Webega begot the people here (at Wategamuda and Ngetangetade), Degambode begot the people over there (Bobiapa, Bibida, Iagobado, etc.). They were brothers." Degambode begot Taugumbode and Zanagebega; Webega begot Endambode and Amenagambode. From then onwards the names of living persons begin to appear. "Endambode begot me; I begot Madame." Soadekigi, the narrator, is one of the few surviving men of his generation.

Whatever the historicity of the persons who are alleged to be the forefathers of Webega and Degambode, their genealogical connections and their

succession should not be taken seriously. Not only do Roushdy and Le Roux have different versions of the earlier genealogy,¹¹ but also Soadekigi himself named other people on almost each occasion he told the story.¹² The important fact, stressed by the narrator himself, is that the founders of the first two Kugapa lineages were brothers. Whether or not Kombodemai or someone else was historically their father is of little importance. Webega and Degambode were brothers, a bond which is not recognized in relation to the other Zongonau people who live in Kugapa.

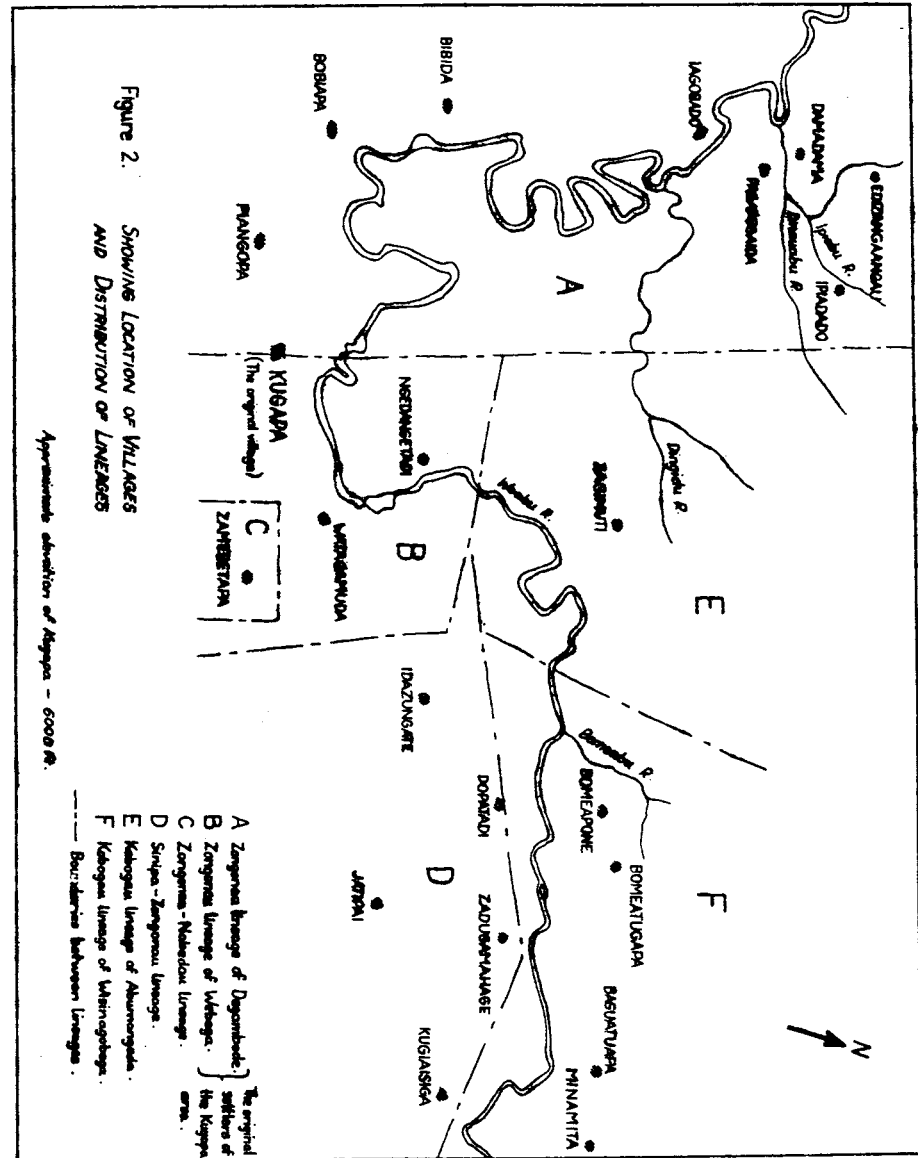
If present day practice may be taken as a norm, the brothers probably made a common house and a common garden fence to start with. Later on, with their families increasing, ~~one~~ enlarged his possessions to the right, the other to the left from the centre. Today, the groups of descendants are about ten minutes walk from the original settlement. The descendants of Endambode and Amenogambode (the sons of Webega) live at Ngedangetadi and Watagamuda respectively, whereas Taugumbode's progeny is found at Bobiapa. Zanagebega, the second son of Degambode, stayed on at Kugapa itself, but he had at least eight wives and a very large number of sons. They finally became confined between Bobiapa and Watagamuda, and made therefore a move to Iagobado, from where the group split up in smaller units. This lineage shows less cohesion than the other groups which must be attributed to the fact that the family of its origin was too large. Degambode had a third son, not named in the above story, namely Imbumindiakigi, who died in July 1957. Only one of his sons was married at that time. The lineage is not yet important.

A similar gradual expansion can be noticed with the other groups at Kugapa. A third Zongonau man is said to have come from outside at the time when Webega and Degambode were still alive. This man, Dedegetagini, was perhaps another brother of Webega and Degambode, but probably in a classificatory sense only. He settled at Idazungate, which is about twenty minutes from Kugapa, went later to the Kema valley in the north-east and returned with a wife, a widow who already had some children from a Sinipa man.¹³ Dedegetagini himself begot two more sons by this widow. One of them, Wigabega, must

have been regarded as a very great man because he had twelve children from one wife. Several of his sons are still alive. As this group became larger, an expansion similar to that of the descendants of Webege and Degambode took place. They occupied places called Zadumahoge, Kigiaisiga, Bomeatugapa, Bomeapone and so on. The descendants of Dedegetagani's adopted sons are mostly denoted as Sinipa-Zongonau, thus distinguishing them from his own progeny. Perhaps the people want to express that between the two lineages there is not as much unity and cooperation as there is between lineages which recognize a real common father.

A fifth Zongonau lineage also began with adoption. A young child of the Nabedau clan was adopted by Webege, and later helped with cowries for a bride price. He was Kibugame, whose descendants have not been so numerous as to be split up among more than one group. The story that Nabedau and Zongonau were originally one clan which parted because of a quarrel is possibly only a rationalization for the present situation. Normally these people are called Zongonau, but occasionally, when they have disputes with other Zongonau, they are reminded of their Nabedau origin.

Just as Webege and Degambode are recognized as the founders of two main Zongonau lineages, two men are named for the Kobogau groups. They were Wisinago and Abumangeda, who settled at Dopatadi and Weasiga respectively. No suggestion was made as to any genealogical connection between the two men. The legend concerning their origin remains obscure and only connects them with the go, the marsupial from which they are said to have descended. They too came to Kugapa from Zando. There they had been associated with people of the Dimbau clan who had taken the place of the Zongonau after these had left Zando. The Kobogau people of Kugapa, especially the Wisinago group, seem to be less stationary than the Zongonau in their residence. At times groups of them have returned to Zando and then came back again to Kugapa; some of them even settled in the Kemandoga where more of their clan fellows live. This seems to be reflected in the name "Kitanizau," sometimes used to refer to the



members of the Kobogau clan. Kitanizau means "the wanderers." So far there is little evidence to support the view that the Kitanizau should be regarded as a clan of their own.

The important point about this historical survey is that the present relations between various groups can be seen as the outcome of an orderly development from an earlier situation. An examination of the adjacent map will reveal that originally a number of families settled at regular distances on the left bank of the Wea river. The gradually expanding families have occupied the sections of the land in between and afterwards they crossed the river. This crossing could not occur until they had made war with the Ekagi people of Badauwo who claimed possession of this land, but who did not use it for agriculture. The war took place in the years preceding the discovery by Europeans of the Wissel Lakes area in 1938.

The importance of affiliation of individuals to the male descent group will be dealt with later. With most Kugapa individuals it is possible to demonstrate genealogical ties with one of the first settlers. However, for some the connection with the past becomes spurious at a certain point. There are lineages, or branches of lineages which have almost completely died out, and their remnants have been incorporated in other lineages. A few individuals lack strong bonds with any group and either keep aloof from public life or base their sympathy on opportunistic considerations. Some are later immigrants in the area. But for the great majority social relations are determined by their ties to one of the descent groups mentioned. However, signs of disintegration within these groups begin to appear—the result of internal strife when the groups become too large. Common descent alone is not sufficient to maintain unity within a group.

Kinship

It has not been possible to gain sufficient material on the kinship system of the Moni to present an analysis in any great detail. Some main lines are clear however, and comments can be made upon the terminological classification.

Murdock rightly emphasizes that a kinship system is not a social group and that it never corresponds to an organized aggregation of individuals.¹⁴ However, the lack of structural unity in this network of interlocking and ramifying ties does not reduce the kinship system to a less meaningful element in social reality. On the contrary, kinship relations for the Moni constitute the primary source from which an individual derives his role in the social whole. It defines his alliances and adversaries as well as rights and obligations in social interaction. Also, the more stable units in Moni society, namely family, village and lineage, rest upon kinship ties between the members.

The expectations derived from kinship are either that an individual acts in a recognized, positive way towards his kinsmen, or that he refrains from a certain activity. Some of the requirements are well defined and specific to a particular bond; others are vague and apply to all the relations of the kinship group. A child should show respect towards all kinsmen who are older, but he owes strict obedience to his parents only. A man who collects his bride price may call upon the sympathy of many relatives, but the duty to help him obtain the cowries falls primarily upon his brothers, his father, his father's brothers and the paternal parallel cousins. A child may expect to be fed and to be educated solely by his parents, but if the parents fall short in their duties he will go to his father's brother, or to his mother's brother, or to his sister's husband, who feel equally bound to help him because of kinship.

Kinship ties are derived from birth and from marriage. Birth links the individual with all the members of the paternal descent group, that is, with those who have the same clan name as himself. The strength of the ties is not equally great with regard to all the members of this group. Rectilinear descent, for instance, establishes closer kin than collateral descent. Also, the more remote kinship of paternal descent is often surpassed by the recognition of kinship derived from maternal descent and from marriage.

Kinship relations are held to exist with the mother's primary relatives of the same generation and their immediate descendants, and with the mother's parents. With regards marriage, the group of affines comprises the immediate relatives of the spouse of one's immediate relatives.

The implications of particular kinship relations will be the subject of other chapters. Here attention is drawn to one aspect which is characteristic of all kinship relations, namely, their obligatory character which differs from that of other social ties. Kinship means that a man by dint of his birth or marriage is obliged to act in a specified way towards his kin, even though there is no equivalent return. Sometimes the recognition of a kinship tie may even be detrimental to the individual. When a man has to fight because he is born in a particular clan, he is in a different position from those who join forces to defend a common property or who are allies because of self chosen trade relations. This obligatory nature of the kinship system is important for the understanding of social control in a society such as that of the Moni.

Kinship terminology is important in that it catalogues relatives and labels them with qualifications for social attitudes and behaviour. "I had to come to his rescue," a man said, "because he is aita to me." Aita, which means "father," was used here for an older sister's husband. A child was told not to be afraid of a man whom he met for the first time, because "he is your aita," which in this case was his mother's brother. A young man said that he could not marry a particular girl because she was his zamege, that is, his mother's brother's child. On another occasion a man was condemned not so much because he had committed adultery, but because he had done so with the wife of his aita, the "father" in this case being a father's father's father's son's son. In all these examples, the use of kinship terms contained the reason for the particular behaviour pattern, an evaluation of what was expected or what was not expected.

For the sake of documentation we will now give a list of the

available kinship terms and expound somewhat upon their use. First will be mentioned the relatives to whom the terms are primarily applied; thereafter a comment is made on the classifying principles.

aita, mita: father. Mita is used only for the "real" father, but most people use the term aita for this person.

ama, minama: mother. Minama is applied properly only to the "real" mother and for this relation is the more usual term.

zu: son (also: boy, but plural is then zungama. Sons = zau).

zoa: daughter.

Note: The parent-child relationship is often expressed by a combination of the past principle of zingia (bring forth, beget) and me or mina. The direction of the relation depends upon the pronoun which is used. A zingiga me = my father; andi zingiga me = my son, etc.

aina, naiwa: older brother. Naiwa is never classifying.

nazu, naimbi: older sister. Naimbi is never classifying.

ni, niwa: younger brother. Niwa is never classifying.

na, nawa: younger sister. Nawa is never classifying.

Note: The first set of terms (aina, nazu, ni and na) are more usual. Siblings also quite often call one another nawaga me (male) and nawaga mina (female). Perhaps these terms are originally descriptive terms derived from nawa dia i.e. "to look after."

ambau, membau¹⁵: father's father; mother's father. Also: son's or daughter's child (male speaker).

baba: father's mother; mother's mother. Also: son's or daughter's child (female speaker).

mbiu: father's father's father; child's child's child.

tata¹⁶: father's sister.

auma, meuma: mother's brother.

panema: mother's sister.

zamege: sons or daughters of father's sister, of mother's brother and of mother's sister.

nabo: father's brother's son's son; father's father's brother's son.

mea: wife.

wi: husband.

apai: wife's brother; sister's husband's brother.

ngapa: brother's wife; husband's sister; wife's sister.

Extended use of the primary kinship terms is made in the first place to classify all the relatives of the patrilineal descent group which have no denotative terms of their own. Father's brother is called by the same term as one's own father, and his children are spoken of as older brother, younger sister and so on, as if they were one's own siblings. The same can be said for all those who belong to the same clan, and who thus in some way have consanguineal relationship with the individual.

The functional significance of the classificatory extension of the kinship terminology is quite clear when referring to the father's brother and his children. Father's brother, though not completely identified with the real father, is treated with much the same respect and takes his place when the father is physically or morally absent. Although no direct obedience is due to the father's brother and although he does not have the economic and educational function to the individual as the real father, his indirect influence is great. One depends upon his consent for the allotment of land and for the collection and distribution of the bride price. The same is true for the paternal parallel cousins who share a great many interests with one's own siblings. The social contacts which the growing individual develops with these relatives, run parallel to a great extent to those that are formed within the nuclear family. As we shall see later, the whole group of father and father's brothers, of one's own family and the families of the father's brothers, form the local community of the villages in which social interaction is quite intensive.

When classifying secondary, tertiary or more distant relatives by using primary kinship terms, the same principles are used as in the family relations. An older relative in the same generation is aina or nazu. A relative who is younger is named ni or na. If he is of an older generation

he is spoken of as aita, and so on. However, the criterion of relative age seems to be of a higher significance than that of generation level. If two individuals of succeeding generations show no noticeable discrepancy in age, they speak of one another in terms of "elder brother" and "younger brother," instead of "father" and "son."

The same may apply to relations for which the classificatory use of kinship terminology is not in question. If a man wants to denote a sister's husband who is much older than he, the term apai is not used but aita (father). Similarly, the term ngapa, used in a classificatory sense to refer to the wives of all the men of one's own clan, is quite often replaced by ama (mother) or nazu (older sister) when referring to one's brother's wife. In these instances the question arises as to whether such terms can still be classificatory when used in such a metaphorical sense.

Loose handling of kinship terminology also takes place with some close relatives for whom specific and significant terms exist. This applies to the distinctive labels for father's sister, mother's sister, mother's brother, the maternal parallel cousins and all cross cousins. It is true that bonds of affection and mutual dependence can often be said to exist among these people, bonds which resemble those that relate to the father's brothers and the paternal parallel cousins. This could account for the use of primary kinship terms. On the other hand, specific terminology in these cases is not out of place. Because all these people belong to a clan different from ego's, they are not as easily identified as relatives without this special label. This is also true for father's sister since a woman's identity is somewhat negated by her marriage in another clan (the writer knows of several young men who did not know their mother's clan). The special labelling is important in the prohibition of sexual intercourse with all these relatives. For comparable relatives on the father's side (father's brothers and paternal parallel cousins) such a special label is not necessary as they are already specified by the clan name.

Classificatory extension of the terms auma, tata, panema and zamege to include more distant relatives than those listed in the table, has not been discovered. Informants hesitated when questioned. In abstracto they did not regard marriage between cousins in the second degree objectionable as long as the parties were not of the same clan. Examination of the genealogies show many gaps in the descent of females.

The family

The relationships within the Moni family (bugi) are threefold, namely, the bond of husband-wife (tango), of parent-child (aguzi) and that of the siblings (nani). They make up the strongest social unit in Moni society, establishing autonomy as regards the economic, domestic and educational functions of the group. Direct outside interference is not tolerated. Vis-a-vis outsiders the family always takes a unanimous decision in a public matter, certainly when one of its own members is involved. This does not mean that internal relations always run smoothly and without difficulties. They are of an heterogenous character and may also comprise so many people that complete integration is not always reached. A young family as yet consisting of husband, wife and perhaps a baby must have different patterns of social interaction from a polygamous family where there may be as many as twenty children with a great age range.

Out of the 89 families at Kugapa at the time of the census, 74.2% were monogamous. The remaining 25.8% were composite families resulting from polygamous marriages; fifteen men had two wives, five had three and three had four wives. Having a large family brings prestige and theoretically a man may have any number of wives provided that he can find the bride price. But a large family is not always advantageous in establishing strong bonds between the members. We may recall that Zanagebega Zongonau is said to have had at least eight wives and many children. It is true that he has become a legendary example of a truly great man, whose death is alleged to have been

accompanied by supernatural phenomena. But amongst his progeny, probably because it was too large, there is less cohesion than exists in other sublineages, which are smaller in size.

The strength of family ties is derived from the meeting of ordinary needs, and the feeling of interdependence in the sharing of a number of commodities. The level of communication between parents and children, between the parents themselves and between the siblings is high and not impeded by many restrictions. Children owe respect to their parents, but they see in them helpers rather than masters whom they must blindly obey. There rests, of course, a strict taboo upon sexual relations within the family other than between husband and wife, but the taboo is maintained by internalization rather than by physical separation.

The educational aim of the family is to shape individuals for their future in accordance with the personality ideals of the culture. This implies that a personality must be developed such that the individual will be able to take his place at the head of an independent and self sufficient family similar to his own family of orientation. However, the Moni personality type must not be characterized as egoistical and self centered, devoid of all social interests. He is self reliant, his social behaviour resting upon elicited rather than an imposed association between individuals. The educational effort within the family consists in the eliciting of such voluntary cooperation rather than the imposition of formal precepts. Reward is seen to have higher motivational value than punishment. A parental authority which rests largely upon physical punishment, denial of food and such like, is not highly esteemed.

Brothers and sisters should respect and assist one another. If one wants to express that a really strong bond exists between persons or groups, the relations between siblings are taken as an example: nanau-naga i.e., "sibling-like." A good understanding between brothers is necessary for the proper allocation of land and the defining of the rights which they inherit

from their father. The smooth regulation of marriages in the family also depends upon good relations between the siblings. The marriage payment collected upon the marriage of their sister is primarily considered to make possible the marriage of her brothers. On the other hand, the girl depends for her marriage upon the opinion of her brothers, even though they cannot force her to marry against her will. It is true that the father quite often takes a leading role in the regulation of these matters, but he never does so in an authoritarian way and it is generally accepted that he acts on behalf of his children.

The centre of family life is the house and garden. Each nuclear family has its own house with a fireplace on which the food is prepared by the mother. In the case of a composite or polygamous family, there is a house for each woman with her real or adopted children. During the day this house is open to all the members of the particular family unit, but at night it is reserved as the sleeping quarters for the females and the smaller boys. The monogamous man may spend the night with his wife, but normally he retires in a nduni, i.e., a men's house, especially when there are boys beyond the age of five or six who also sleep in the nduni. A polygamous man usually has a nduni of his own, which is also open to his brothers and their sons. Sometimes a group of brothers have one nduni in common without any of them being polygamous; sometimes a father is host to his married sons. If a nduni becomes too crowded, the normal procedure is that married brothers jointly build a nduni of their own. This arrangement tends to continue the bonds between the male members of one parental family—an important factor in the understanding of village life.

Each nuclear family has a garden of its own which is worked for the benefit of that particular family unit. For the polygamous family this means that there is a clearly marked section for each wife, who feeds her husband and her own children with its produce. In this case the separate garden plots are situated within the one fence, which may have been erected with the help

of the whole composite family. It rarely happens that two or more single families have plots within the one common fence, and such an arrangement is regarded as a temporary measure only. This arrangement marks the independence of the family and it also prevents difficulties. As the main function of the garden fence is to protect the garden from intruding pigs, the separate fences forestall friction which could result between families if a man neglected his section of a common fence.

The garden produce is regarded as the result of a common effort of husband and each individual wife, and it serves to support the single family unit. In case of illness or indisposition, the members of the composite family are supposed to help one another with food. It is the man's duty to build and maintain the fence, to cut the large trees, extract clumps of reeds and to do the other heavy work, including the making of the larger ditches for drainage if there is need for it. The women have lighter tasks. They cut the shrubs, collect and burn leaves, twigs and other unwanted materials. They plant the sweet potatoes, taro and vegetables while the husband is responsible for planting bananas, sugar cane and tobacco. Weeding is also a woman's task and so too is the harvesting of what she has planted. It is evident that the functioning of the family depends largely upon the division of labour between husband and wife. In Moni thought the woman would not think of using her claim to the garden produce as a means of coercing her husband.

The unmarried girls are supposed to help in the family garden. Occasionally a girl may give something away from what she has planted, but properly her labours are meant to help the family as a whole. Sometimes she also comes to the aid of a married brother or some other relation who is in need when, for instance, his wife is sick.

Boys are stimulated to show initiative in gardening. At the age of about seven they are given permission to have small plots of a few square yards within the garden of their mother. Here they may plant a few tubers of

sweet potatoes and some vegetables or some sugar cane. They erect some reeds or twigs around the plot to suggest a fence. As they grow older, the boys will be given a small section of land outside the family garden in which they imitate the garden arrangements of the adults, sometimes relying upon the help of their younger sisters to do the female work. The main reward is that they may regard the produce of this garden as their own, with which they can demonstrate their zeal and ability and also their knowledge of kinship obligations and social relations in general. They distribute food as if they were real gonowi, that is, rich and powerful men. This social aspect of education towards independent activity is perhaps more important than the augmentation of the food supply.

The economic independence of the family is also assured by the possession of one or more pigs, the care of which is entrusted to one of the wives. The wife, in turn, may leave this task to one of her own children during the time when she herself has to work in the garden. In the morning and before dark the women feed the pigs with a few potatoes; at night they drive them into the sty under the women's house or take them inside. Upon consumption or sale, the pigs are regarded as the common property of the family, administered by the father, and a special award is made to the woman who has fed the pig. Some people have pigs which are cared for by other people in distant areas, although no cases of Kugapa-Moni people caring for the pigs of others came to the notice of the writer.

We could also illustrate the self sufficiency of the family in the recreational and religious spheres and demonstrate how activities in these fields also function to effect the unity of the family. But lest we idealise, it will be better to relate what happens when the family breaks up. For the family is not a permanent union. Family ties are severed by the children upon marriage, and by separation through death or divorce of the parents. It will not be necessary to analyse in detail what happens in all these situations but some generalizations can be drawn. The main idea again is that with the

Moni the situation must be judged from the emotional complications that ensue because society is primarily a matter of affection and mutual understanding within the framework of the traditional culture.

The bonds of affection which were forged during the period of interdependence with the family last for a long time after separation through marriage. The young man who leaves his parental home upon marriage can easily maintain these ties in village life. For a woman, marriage means a more drastic change. If the village of her husband is not too far away and it is possible to remain within the Kugapa community in the beginning she will often try to run home. Her relatives, having accepted the bride price, will persuade her to return to her husband. Only when it is clear that the woman is badly treated is the possibility of divorce considered. This, however, is of rare occurrence, and "officially" divorce does not seem to be recognized. Two or three cases have been reported of women who could not adapt to their new social environment and who have permanently returned home to be remarried. In each case the woman originated from outside the Kugapa area. Normally a woman gradually finds satisfaction in the handling of her own household.

If a man dies, quite often his wife will return to her parental family, especially if she is still young and has no children or only a few. She will remarry after a time. If the husband dies at a later stage in the marriage, the woman is more likely to stay in the village of her husband where she herself and her children have found their place. Normally she goes to live with one of her deceased husband's brothers who regards her as his lawful wife (levirate). Sometimes, however, even such an older woman returns to her village or origin, while her older children stay with relatives in their father's village. What is consistently done about the marriage payment in cases of this sort could not be ascertained. The cases that were cited to the writer were so diverse in their circumstances that no fixed rule could be discovered.

When a woman dies, the widower, if he is still young, will marry

another woman who will then be responsible for the care of the children of the first marriage. In the case of a polygamous marriage, the children often make a personal choice as to who their stepmother will be. Adopted children generally receive the same treatment as true children.

Neighbourhood groups

The Moni families live in small residential clusters which are scattered over the area. These hamlets or villages vary much in size and in distance from one another. Some of them consist of no more than two houses, such as the family houses of a father and his son, or those of a pair of brothers. In other cases there are as many as three nduni (men's houses) close together, each one of them surrounded by a number of women's and family houses, for instance the nduni of a polygamous man and a house for each wife, another nduni of his married sons and the family houses of each one of them, and a third, similar group of houses for the first man's brother and the families of his sons. These three sets of houses may be 80 to 100 yards apart, but they are still so close that people cannot avoid having daily contact and experiencing regularly the advantages and disadvantages of neighbourhood. The largest villages have twelve to fifteen houses and provide residence for fifty to seventy people.

The character of the villages is mainly determined by the communicative interaction between the villagers. There is little functional interdependence between them, since activities on a cooperative basis are almost nonexistent. On the other hand, the face-to-face relations within the village imply that people easily come to know about their neighbour's dealings, about misfortune in gardening and pig breeding and about tensions in family life. They can witness the preparations for trading expeditions and hunting parties, hear about lucky transactions and so on. The interaction which results from the partaking in each other's experiences is mainly of a "give and take" and deferred reciprocity nature.

As to the structure of the Moni villages, a common element is presented by a core of male relatives who constitute a sublineage. In a few cases the lineage as a whole still forms a unit, but mostly the branches have grown apart and form small communities in which the connecting link is no further away than the second ascending generation at the most. Structurally therefore, the villages could be regarded as extended families, but the high degree of independence of the single family units does not favour the use of this term.

Besides the families of the patrilineally related core, most of the villages have one or a few other families or individuals living with them. This is generally regarded as a temporary situation. Sometimes a father may stay in the village of his daughter's husband; in other cases it may be a man who after his marriage stays on in the village of his mother where he grew up, after his father died.

The unifying force in the village community can be found in the common interests of the sublineage core which are the result of common descent. These relate to marriages in the village (as will be shown later on) and to the occupancy of inherited land. In fact, the latter can be regarded as the main material factor leading to the formation of the village. It was asserted by several informants that the Moni, more strictly than the Ekagi, adhere to the principle that land ownership can be passed on only from father to son. The individual sons inherit the land and the jungle rights in common from their father as an undivided estate. The common property is gradually occupied and cultivated by the sons in accordance with the needs of their expanding families. Through their personal exertion the occupied sections become exclusive property in the sense that the occupants may restrain their brothers from claiming this land for their progeny and that they can pass it on to their own descendants. It remains common property in the sense that the lineage land cannot be alienated by selling it to outsiders or by letting others work it without the joint consent of the brothers. If any one branch of the sub-

lineage happens to die out, or permanently moves from the area, then the land is claimed by the remaining branches of the lineage. Aliens live and work in a village by the grace of the core group, mostly on account of the kin relationship with one or more members of this group, but they are prevented from laying a permanent claim to the village land that they work. If they can manage to hang on for two or three generations, when the original host village has fallen apart, then the rightful existence of the outside group in the area is accepted.

When the regulation of marriages is considered in a later section, it will become clear that the existence of a family in a village can be visualized as reflecting a phase of transition in which it is on the one hand bound by the rights and obligations of its parental family, while on the other hand it tries to secure the independence of its filial families. The more these rights and obligations become definitely established, the further the families of the lineage separate, socially as well as spatially.

In judicial and political matters the Moni villages act as independent social units, that is, they apply the Moni "law" without outside interference. Internal disputes are solved within the village; no external authority is recognized. In public affairs where several villages are concerned, the co-villagers support one another and try to take an unanimous stand. Matters may become complicated because of the bilateral nature of kinship relations which sometimes cause some villagers to look beyond the interests of their own village, but such matters are weighed before the village's attitude is defined. In other words, the localization of unilateral descent groups does not preclude the recognition of wider kinship bonds. Hence, when the villages act as units in public affairs, the totality of kinship relations of the members of the villages must be taken into consideration.

The convergence of village and kinship interests is illustrated by the following example. A married man, named Taubui Hanau, had for several

years lived in the village of his mother, a Zongonau woman from Bobiapa. One day Taubui was visited by his brother who lived in the Zando area. During this visit Taubui's brother became involved in a dispute with another outsider of Kugapa, namely Kapani Dimbau, who stayed at Piangopa. It happened on the day after the great pig feast while there was a large public gathering. After the two men began to beat one another, Taukubaiame Zongonau of Watagamuda interfered and took sides with Kapani, who was his sister's husband. Immediately all the villagers of Watagamuda stood up for Kapani for reason of their relation to Taukubaiame and his sister, while the Zando man received support from the entire village of Bobiapa because of the relations with Taubui. From then on the dispute was carried on by the two villages, both Zongonau villages, each basing its interference upon their kinship obligations towards the original fighters. All the men reached for their fighting sticks to have them ready in case the discussions would fail. However, because the other related villages of Zongonau extraction took over, the intensity of the dispute lessened and a solution could be found. The solidarity of the villages with one of their members, even though they did not belong to the core of unilaterally related persons, was particularly noteworthy.

Similar principles guide the alliances in the event of a war. The situation in the district can be exemplified only by a hypothetical case. If a Zongonau village, say Ngedangetadi, should happen to become involved in a war with a Kobogau village, e.g. Mitamita, then the other villages should either remain aloof, or they should divide their sympathies. Bobiapa could send some of its fighters to join Ngedangetadi, since they are Zongonau and thus have alleged descent links with Ngedangetadi; but also Mitamita must be supported by some Bobiapa fighters, because of the marriage ties with the Kobogau of Mitamita. This solution does not detract from the principle of village unity since the distribution of fighters rests upon mutual agreement. The informants added that this is a purely imaginary case since an inter-village war within the Kugapa community is not feasible. The interwovenness

of kinship ties, based either on consanguineal links, or resulting from marriage exchange, puts the possibility of such a war out of the question. The dichotomy of Zongonau-Kobogau proves to be a unifying force.

Another matter which is a typical village affair, is the organization of public celebrations in the recreational-economic field, which are known as zamo (either wa-zamo = taro feast, or wogo-zamo = pig feast), and of the public mbai dia, a ceremony in the magico-religious sphere. A rain-making ceremony of this type was recorded in 1953 (see p. 20). Such ceremonies seem to be of rare occurrence, which public zamo are held regularly, sometimes once or twice a year. Organisationally, all these celebrations show a resemblance in that they are carried by one or sometimes two closely related villages. They are open affairs in that they may be attended by everyone. Everybody can share in the enjoyment which accompanies the pig or taro feast, and may take advantage of the opportunity to sell and buy commodities. It may happen that other sections of the community bring pigs to be slaughtered and sold, but the initiative is taken by one or two villages which regard the holding of such feasts as prestigious. In this way Soadekigi asserted with much pride that the pig feast of December 1957 was his pig feast, the twelfth feast of this size organised by his lineage. No other village had seen so many.

As has been said before, the pig and taro feasts of the Moni, besides having recreational aspects, are primarily economic affairs. In contrast to what is known from many other areas of New Guinea, the Moni feasts reveal no religious or ritualistic purposes. The avowed aim of the feast is to attract as many cowries as possible at the one time, which enable people to buy food and pigs, but in particular, to pay off marriage debts and to arrange new marriages in the village.¹⁷

The pig feast highlights a number of features of village life. The following account which is not intended to be exhaustive is based on observation of a pig feast the writer attended in December, 1957. The first step actually occurred during the Christmas holidays in 1955 when a number of

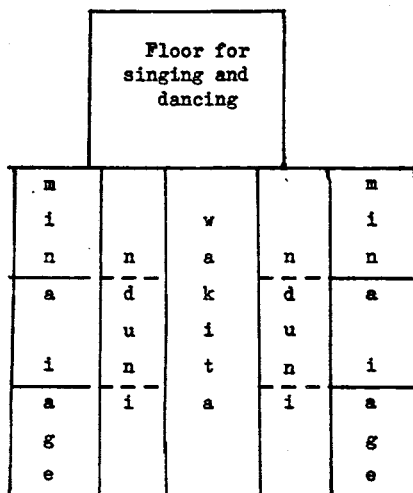
schoolboys spent their time hunting for go, mice, rats, birds and other animals. They collected their game near the school building at Ngedangetadi. Because they made good catches, they had reason for singing and dancing and they decided to make an imitation dance floor in the open. They sold and distributed the game in an adult fashion. The elders of Ngedangetadi and Watagamuda (the two villages which have sprung from the Webega lineage) appreciated this initiative so much that they decided to regard it as a motive for holding a real zamo. A large feast house was soon built, pigs were chosen for selective feeding and taro gardens were planted. The preparations were to require one full year at least, but probably more.

The presence of a feast house marks the approaching pig or taro feast. Only for the larger feasts is such a house erected. On the following page, the ground plan of the feast house is sketched. On either side of the corridor were three open spaces with a fireplace in the centre. These are called nduni after the men's house. Behind them were closed rooms, mina iage i.e. women's houses, to be entered by no males other than the husbands and the sons of the women who resided in them. Each of the six partitions (a gallery space plus an enclosed apartment) belonged to one particular family or groups of families who sat there with their guests in between the dances. At the end of the corridor was the common dance floor, raised above the ground. The whole structure, about thirty feet wide and forty feet long, was under one roof.

If we draw up a genealogy of the two villages of the Webega lineage, we find the structure of the descent group expressed in the design of the building, in which each family group has its own nduni and mina iage. The feast house then, as it were, symbolizes the unity of the villages under the one roof without doing away with the identity of the separate families.

During the time of preparation, dancing and singing evenings were held at irregular intervals, sometimes once or twice a week, at other times not even once a month. Much depended upon the presence of guests. Sometimes

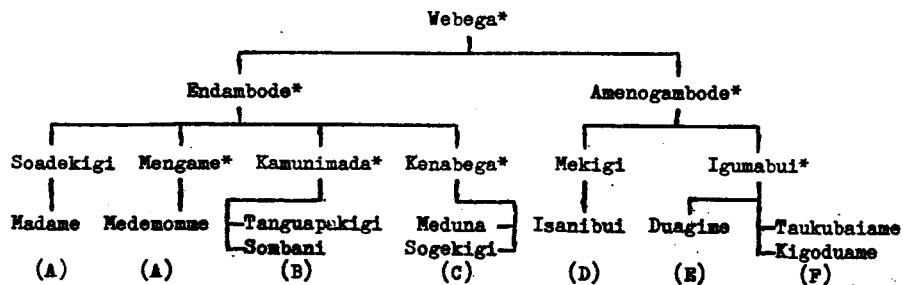
FLOOR PLAN OF DANCE HOUSE AT NGEDANGETADI



GENEALOGY OF THE TWO VILLAGES OF THE WEBEGA LINEAGE

NGEDANGETADI

WATAGAMUDA



(The names of deceased persons are marked by an asterisk)

villages which did not participate in the organisation of the feast took possession of the feast house to entertain themselves. The singing and dancing was done almost exclusively by the younger people, while the older men and women joined in once in a while.

The feast day itself was somewhat delayed. First, towards the end of 1956, it was postponed as a consequence of disputes between some Ekagi groups and the Government; then it was postponed because of a war that had developed between certain Kugapa groups and people of the Zando area. These postponements seem to suggest that the holding of a feast is meant as an expression of social euphoria. When the Zando war had ended, a final date for the feast was fixed. Later developments in the dispute endangered the holding of the feast again on the fixed day, but then the expected departure of the writer seemed to carry some weight and the organizers decided to adhere to the fixed date. It is not possible to say how much the dilemma caused by the war dispute diminished the glory of the feast. About twelve pigs were killed and offered for sale at Ngedangetadi, most of them from this village and from Watagamuda, and a few from Bobiapa and some other villages. At the same day the Jatipai-Ekagi and the Sinipa-Zongonau staged smaller taro and pig feasts at their own villages. In the case of the Sinipa-Zongonau it can be assumed that they did not join in at Ngedangetadi because they were involved in the Zando war.

On the day before the feast each participating family brought its taro in procession to the feast house and put it on a scaffold which was erected in front of the house. On the day itself each family killed its own pigs and sold the meat adding one or two pieces of taro as an extra inducement for each buyer. During the killing of the pigs and the distribution of the meat the crowd gradually grew to a total number of between 600 and 800 people. At different places speeches were made on all kinds of matters; old disputes were publicly brought up in the presence of people who had no concern with them whatsoever; transactions were made and acquaintances renewed.

No communal meal is held on such occasions. The family heads take the purchased pork home where it is privately consumed by the family and possibly by guests. Visitors from remote areas stay on for a few more days with their hosts and use the occasion to settle affairs with people in the district. The feast house is left standing but gradually sags after each of the organizing families has taken away the usable planks and other materials they had contributed.

On occasions like these positive communication within the community reaches its most spectacular level. Yet, it should be evident from the above account that although there exists a general binding force making for unity it is not particularly evident. The independence of smaller social units is most marked.

In concluding this chapter, it might be pointed out that the Moni villages of Kugapa closely resemble the "clans" as described by Murdock.¹⁸ Without adopting this term for these units (we have reserved it for use elsewhere) we can agree that the groups as described by Murdock have special characteristics which make them deserve special attention. The Moni villages meet two requirements of Murdock's "clans" viz. unilinear descent and residential unity, if we take the descent group to be of a restricted character of lineage or sublineage. The unilateral descent group as a whole reveals trends towards expansion on the one hand and fractionalization on the other. As to the third criterion of Murdock, namely that of actual social integration, one can notice that from time to time group sentiment wells up in public affairs and that the in-marrying spouse (the wife) is recognized as an integral part of the membership to the extent that the ties with her family of origin co-determines the attitude of the village. Quoting another author on the subject, one might regard the Moni villages as corresponding to Schlesier's notion of "Splitterklans," though Schlesier himself seems to have been misled by confusing statements in his source material to classify them as Lokalklans.¹⁹

The Consequence of Clan Affiliation

Our conception of "clan" differs from the above mentioned in that it refers to a larger group. In accordance with the usage of most English anthropologists, we take the term "clan" to refer to the comprehensive unilateral (in this case, patrilineal) exogamous descent group in evidence among the Moni by the occurrence of traditional genealogical names. Clans reach further than lineages and sublineages. Actual genealogical connections for the descent group as a whole generally cannot be established, while regular social interaction between all the subgroups of the clan is often hardly discernable. Yet the affiliation to a particular clan does have some meaning to the individual and does in certain ways determine his behaviour.

It has been stated earlier that the native term an is sometimes used for the clan group. It does not, however, imply an organised unity of all the bearers of the same clan name. Similarly, the more often heard term tuma which is not specific for human aggregates, does not imply an organisational unit. A third term which is sometimes used in this connection is dadi which seems to be more specifically applied to the lineages and refers to the bond of common descent rather than to imply actual unity.

Although there is little organised unity on the clan level and the esprit de corps is confined to the subgroups and their localisations in restricted areas (without being extended to the clan as a whole), the implications of membership of a particular clan are by no means a trivial matter. In the first place the exogamous character of the clan is taken very seriously. It precludes all sexual relations between individuals who bear the same clan name. People were adamant about the consequences of infringing this taboo. Culprits should be killed and cut open so that their entrails would be displayed. Two cases from the past were recorded, which were still in the memory of the adult. They concerned persons of a high social status who nonetheless were executed.

The precept of exogamy forbids sexual relations not only with people of the same clan name but also with members of certain other clans which we have earlier said to stand in phratry relationship with the clans represented in Kugapa. Whether or not this holds true for the Zongonau and Kobogau clans as a whole, we cannot say, but the Kugapa factions of these clans named certain clans which were mbai (forbidden) to them. For the Zongonau these are the Sinipa and the Nabedau people,²⁰ for the Kobogau, the members of the Dimbau and Tipigau clans. The restriction with regard to those phratry clans seems to be less stringent than with their own clans, as nobody took offence to the fact that two generations ago a Kobogau man had married a Dimbau woman. People at that time raised no objection, they said, because the couple liked one another so much.

In other ways the alliances between clans have proved to be of great significance. A second consequence is that of the alleged blood relationship between clan members as it relates to the war practices of the Moni, which is primarily vendetta in nature. When a member of one clan has unjustly killed an individual of some other clan, the relatives of the latter may take revenge upon any member of the killer's clan. War (mbode) is ended only after a balance (uga-uga) is reached by the shedding of equal blood. The blood of any clan member restores the balance. In deciding who the victim will be, many factors are taken into consideration, e.g., the status of the intended victim, the possibility of retaliation and so on. It is important to note that on these occasions the phratry clans are put on a par with their own clans as may be shown by the following events.

A year or two before the writer's arrival in the area, Emodage Kobogau of Kugapa killed a man from the Zando area of the Dibitau clan. Emodage desired this man's wife. The Dibitau man had married a Zongonau woman from Kugapa and had come with his wife to visit her relatives. When the relatives of the murdered man heard about it they thought of retaliating, but because Kugapa was about five days walking (and perhaps also because they

feared Government interference), it was decided that they should take revenge upon the Dimbau clan, the nearest relatives of the Kobogau people who could be approached in their still uncontrolled area. After a Dimbau man had been killed, this clan applied for help from the Zongonau of Kugapa (with whom they have many marriage ties) and from the Kobogau. Retaliation resulted in the killing of a Hanau man, as Dibitau and Hanau are held to stand in a phratry relationship to one another. This of course complicated the matter even more but at this stage things were quiet for a year or so while negotiations took place and a solution was sought. Then somewhat unexpectedly in April, 1957, another Dimbau man, a boy of about seventeen years, was surreptitiously killed shortly after he had paid a visit to Kugapa. Since this was the second victim of their clan, the Dimbau people would no longer accept that they should bear such misfortunes on account of their fictitious alliance with the Kobogau people. They wanted to retaliate against the Kobogau clan.

A short while before this last killing, Emodage had asked my advice since he foresaw an endless war and also interference from the Government. He proposed that he should kill his own half-brother, whom he regarded as not quite in his senses. He also had an affair with this half-brother's wife. My advice could be little else than to try and find some other solution. Other people agreed, and when a government officer happened to hear about the case, he too suggested that a solution should be sought in the payment of shells and pigs to the Dimbau people of Zando. After several months of negotiations retribution of this kind was made and apparently peace was restored.²¹ At the peace-making ceremonies not only the lineages and sub-lineages, but also the more extensive clan group became involved. Emodage's own lineage (that of Wisinayo) as well as the Abumangeda lineages of the Kobogau had to make heavy contributions towards the payment. It was noted that one of the latter's headman took the lead in the final peace ceremonies on behalf of all the Kobogau people.

Such observations do suggest that the clans regard themselves as social units. On the other hand, outside such extraordinary cases, there is little evidence of positive interaction between clan members, or of cooperative effort which relates to the clan as a whole. There are no totemic or other ceremonies which for other parts of the world are reported to have high value in uniting the clan periodically. Perhaps one must look to the lack of positive functioning of the clan group for an explanation of its lack of coherence and its tendency to split up. There are indications that not only individuals but also larger groups of people may separate from the clan as they become weary of the troubles that other factions of the clan cause them. Such separatists apparently adopt a new clan name and start out on their own.

Such action, however, is not taken lightly. The clan name is too much bound up with the personality ideal of the individual. The clan name, as it were, embodies the Miga ideals and gives concrete expression to the totality of moral and cultural norms for the individual. Clan affiliation seems to relate to those personal ideals as they are handed down by tradition, more than to the feeling of solidarity with those people who also share in this tradition.

Implications of Marriage Regulations

Marriage with the Moni is a matter which concerns not only the intending spouses, but has repercussions on the community at large.

The independence and self sufficiency of the family was strongly emphasized in an earlier chapter as if there were no limitation to the degree of self reliance. However, as the procreative function of the family and the satisfaction of sexual needs is restricted to the husband-wife level, the family has to go outside itself in order to continue its existence and must bring the offspring into contact with a larger group of people. The incest prohibition is thought to refer to a far greater number of people than only

the closest relatives and is also applied to the whole clan as well as to some maternal and affinal relatives. In this way the range of social interests is much enlarged.

The Moni cling to the traditional incest prohibition and to the exogamy of the clan with great tenacity. They rigorously apply the sanction of death upon the infringement of the taboo. Even youths at the age of eight already know the distinction between so-pane and me-pane, so-zu and me-zu, that is, between those with whom they may marry and have sexual relations (the "so-"group) and those with whom such relations are precluded (the "me-"group). That the distinction places the "in-group" (of descent and kinship) in a position of dependence with relation to the "out-group" is often explicitly recognized by the people, saying: "We, Zongonau have to stay good friends with the Kobogau, because we marry their women." In other words, exogamy and incest prohibition create functional interdependence between groups in the community. And, as already has been said this is of great significance for the maintenance of balance within the community.

The prospective marriage partners feel the impact of society more personally in the regulation of the bride price which implies consent on the part of the woman's relatives, and also cooperation by the relatives of the man, since no individual can afford all the cowries for marriage. Without suggesting that marriage is outside the control of the partners to be, it is necessary to note that bride price functions as a control mechanism, a premium set by the relatives upon a man's good conduct. In Moni society bride price also regulates relations between various groups.

Negotiations about the bride price must be initiated and, for the greater part, conducted by the boy's father or his elder brother who try to reach an agreement with the girl's relatives. It sometimes happens that the father takes the initiative and selects a bride for his son. After having contacted the relatives of the girl, he suggests his choice to the boy; if he agrees, the marriage is easily arranged. More often, however, it happens that

a boy and a girl have taken a fancy towards one another; they reveal their wish to their relatives to get married, thereby in an indirect way suggesting that bride price negotiations should be opened. Sometimes a boy has discovered a girl on a far away trading expedition and taken her with the consent of her parents to his own village to introduce her to his relatives as a prospective bride. Disappointment often follows and may lead the boy to accuse his kinsmen of meanness; he runs away looking for more generous helpers. But mostly he has to acquiesce lest he loses the chance altogether of obtaining help in the bride price. In many of these cases the denial of help is not motivated by objections to the boy or girl, but because that particular marriage would disrupt the cowrie situation within the community. Since the bride prices are seldom paid in (cowrie) cash, contracts and promises are made, which bind the group and make the marriage interlocking affairs.

A normal marriage payment nowadays (1957) consists of the following cowries: two lots of 180 cowries of the saekigi kind; about twelve or fifteen kubawi and two or three munga shells.²³ Saekigi and kubawi are cowries which are used in ordinary trade transactions. They can be acquired by selling pork, sweet potatoes, carrying nets and so on, or by offering services. This part of the bride price causes the least trouble; a man could earn it by his personal wit and zeal, if need be. The circulation of the munga cowries, however, is well nigh restricted to marriages. These shells are distinguished in indo, hondo, nono, somea, someamo, ranged from higher to lower value. For a marriage payment at least one indo or hondo is required. The number of these shells within the community is so restricted that they are known by individual names.²⁴

The Moni of Kugapa set great store by the fact that they contract marriages with an indo, in contrast, they said, with the Ekagi who do not know this particular shell. The writer is not certain about its symbolic significance but he attended a discussion at which people related the history of certain indo to one another. The crucial point seemed to be how many children

were born from the marriages which were contracted with the particular indo. From the discussion it seemed clear enough that a symbolic fertility value was attached to these precious shells. A more important aspect, however, is that the munga link generation to generation and family to family. For the munga paid upon a marriage can be regained when daughters are born and marry later on; their marriage enables the brothers to marry. The number of cowries paid at the marriage of the mother can be claimed at the marriage of the daughters. The following case is illustrative for the different points.

One day Agimokigi had received an indo as payment for the marriage of his daughter. He thought of keeping it to pay the future bride price of his son who at the time was only seven years old. People protested and Agimokigi had to give in to their arguments. It was said that Agimokigi's father had paid two indo for his son's marriage. The first one to be recovered should now go to his half-brother who had not yet paid his shell. Agimokigi could claim a second indo from his daughter's prospective husband. He was told that this second shell could be kept for his son.

This example illustrates how an individual can be bound by arrangements which are made by an earlier generation. A similar complication results from the false assumption that an equal number of boys and girls is born of every marriage. When there are no girls at all, or a lesser number of girls than boys, it is difficult for the men to lay hands upon the indispensable indo; the only way out is to make oral agreements either with their own relatives from whom they can borrow an indo, or with the relatives of the bride that they will pay as soon as the female progeny of the marriage "generate" an indo. Finally, the claims themselves are sometimes also negotiated; marriages are arranged on the basis of claims which one has from some other marriage. It happens that by one marriage transaction, four or five other marriage payments are straightened out. It is not surprising that disputes about the circulation of the munga shells are the most heard of affairs in the district.

The complications in marriage payment are generally a result of the limited supply of munga shells. People informed the writer that there were only ten indo in the Kugapa district, by means of which all the marriages had to be arranged. Theoretically, this is not impossible, since as soon as an indo comes within the reach of a family, it can be used to effect the marriage of one of its members with a woman of another group. This second group can immediately do the same again, and so on. In practice, however, too many other commitments hold up the quick circulation of these shells.

How the limited number of munga shells and the regulation of marriage can have far reaching consequences in the relations between various groups may be illustrated by the peace negotiations referred to in the preceding chapter (p. 71). After the government officer had urged the Dimbau people to accept pigs and cowries from the Kobogau as atonement, the Dimbau reluctantly agreed but on condition that at least one indo should be included in the price for peace. It happened that at that moment the Kobogau lineages could not dispose of an indo; possibly the Dimbau people knew this when they made their proposal. The only way out for the Kobogau was the marriage of one of their girls with a Zongonau man. The Zongonau people held all the available indo, but they thought themselves already too much involved in the dispute through their help in avenging the first Dimbau victim. They did not want to be compromised any further. Even though matches could be made, they refused to cooperate. For several months no marriages between Zongonau and Kobogau could be arranged. Negotiations dragged on, until finally a Sinipa-Zongonau man put the only available indo of his group at the disposal of Emodage Kobogau by accepting the latter's half-sister as his wife. The sinipa-Zongonau could act in this way because they have fewer kinship ties with the Dimbau people than the other Zongonau lineages, but also because they had more or less collaborated with Emodage's first action, which had started all the trouble.

To finish off the story, as far as the Government was concerned, everything was straightened out. Much later, however, the writer heard that

the Dimbau people had returned the indo to the Sinipa-Zongonau leaving word that they would settle the war in their own uncontrolled area, where no government interference was possible. Apparently they had noticed that the Kobogau girl had refused to go and live with the Sinipa-Zongonau man and probably they used this as a motive to appease the people of the other Zongonau lineages who objected to the fact that a Kugapa indo had been removed.

In conclusion it should be clear that the exchange of bride price is not a straightout economic transaction. This is neither the case for the individual nor the group which either pays or receives the bride price. The individual cannot just "buy" himself a wife with shells obtained by whatever means he sees fit. For him the bride price is more a testimony of good behaviour—a guarantee for the woman's relatives that the man's relatives stay behind him. Neither is the system a financial arrangement between groups; rather it serves to keep the various groups in a state of dependence upon one another for the sake of order in the community.

The Leadership of the sonowi

A distinction between community members which has far-reaching implications for settling of affairs in the community is that between sonowi and deba mene. In disputes such as those that have been discussed, an important role is played by the sonowi. One of his functions is to guard over the sublineage's munga shells. He is the man who has received from his father a more intimate knowledge of the debts and claims in the family; he knows what cowries are true hondo or indo, is acquainted with their names and with the particular details of each one of them, and he knows their history, taking pains to trace where they go. Because the sonowi is a rich man in the lineage, having more shells than he personally needs, he is also the person to whom less lucky individuals may turn for help. Hoarding is not a virtue with the Moni and the sonowi may at times offer superfluous munga and other cowries to non-

relatives who are in need as a kind of investment with an interest of a non-material character.

The terms sonowi and deba mene convey the relationship of an eminent man to an ordinary person. At the same time they convey the idea of a leader or guide in relation to his followers. Etymologically, the term sonowi is probably derived from sono which means 'good,' 'beautiful,' 'attractive,' and a phoneme wi, the meaning of which in this connection is still obscure. The noun wi occurs either for 'flame,' or for 'husband.' It may refer to the polygamous state of (most) of the sonowi. The word sonowi was also used in connection with a woman who had given birth to an unusually high number of children and who had reached an older age than any other known woman. Even a pig that was renowned for the large and many litters that it had produced, was called a sonowi(-wogo) and after its death an i zoa (mummy house) was built for the animal in the fashion customary for me sonowi of the different lineages. The use of the term sonowi in both cases of the woman and of the pig was not merely metaphorical.

The personal qualities which form the basis for leadership include such traits as generosity, courage, eloquence, morality and so on. Primarily, however, a person must be capable of making a success of his own life. Certain people are sonowi even though they never assume the role of a leader. A sonowi is the man who is rich and who can enrich himself even more since normally he has two or more wives thus enabling him to have larger gardens. He can feed more pigs than the ordinary person, and has more cowries. His garden produce is remarkably abundant. His health is sound and he has numerous children. He has succeeded in all his enterprises. One man who was the only remaining member of the second generation of Moni in the area, was a sonowi just because he had survived all the others. In general, the sonowi is the embodiment of the Moni ideals. Hence the term hoa-me, i.e. the "man, in its fullest sense," the "fully matured man," is often applied to the sonowi.

Sonowi-ship is partly an inherited status, and partly acquired. A sonowi father will watch his sons' development with equal attention. The boy who shows signs of more proficiency will receive special care. He is entrusted with extra knowledge, is told time after time of the family relations, about the land and the cowries. In every way the father stimulates the more promising sons, bestows little favours upon them, but also expects them to participate in public disputes and to express approval or disapproval at the discussions at an age of little over fifteen or sixteen years.

Sonowi-ship is not based upon automatic succession by primogeniture, but requires a good deal of personal exertion and success. How a sonowi can emerge from most adverse circumstances is perhaps best illustrated by the case of Mekudigame Kobogau. This man was born somewhere in Zando, but his father died early and his mother returned to her village of origin, Sobiapa. Here she and her son were entirely dependent upon the help of her relatives. At the time of his marriage, Mekudigame had almost no cowries of his own and he needed the assistance of the Songonau people of Sobiapa. Quietly but steadily he worked his garden and raised his pigs, concentrating primarily upon the welfare of his own family. His wife bore him three daughters and afterwards two sons. Later on he could even afford to support a second wife, a widow, who was attracted by this industrious man. Gradually he began to experience the envious resistance of his host village. People permitted their pigs to enter his garden and in other ways displayed their displeasure. Without making much fuss about it, he moved over to the other side of the valley where some other independent, but poor Kobogau people lived. When his first daughter married, he paid off his debt to the Sobiapa people. Having made himself independent in this respect, and still adding to his achievements, he has now gained esteem with everyone in the community and is recognised as a real sonowi who also plays the role of a leader.

Needless to say not all efforts are honoured by success. The Moni themselves recognize the influence of some unknown, supernatural power, when

they say: "Tinawi sonowi-mene nawa dia," i.e. "The moon(-father) looks after the sonowi (in a special way)."

Although an individual is called a sonowi in the first place due to his success in personal affairs, the assignment of a social role is almost unavoidable in a society without institutionalized leadership. Their eminence makes the sonowi the most obvious people to turn to when advice is needed. The ordinary men try to share in the abundance of the sonowi, imitate them, follow them in their moral standards, request their help and ask them to be the mbai dia (the supernatural contact) for them. A real sonowi should not be a mean person. He accepts the honour without priding himself on his superiority.

It is difficult to set absolute norms for wealth or for other forms of success. In almost every restricted group, in this case the sublineage or village community, one man will be found who excels in that particular group and he is recognized as the representative of the village. About a dozen men in the Kugapa area are presented as sonowi. Such men act as advisers for internal matters of the village, but they are also the spokesmen of the group in public affairs. In some villages the struggle for life bears so little fruit that an outstanding man is hardly to be found. Although these groups continue to live as independent and separate units, they have no outspoken leader. When there is need for it, people accept the leadership of different sonowis on different occasions. About four men are recognized as superior in the entire Kugapa community, but except for their village group, they have no stable following.

In their relations with ordinary people, the sonowi exercise a democratic leadership. They are superior, but not rulers who can set subordinates at their hands. No decisions are taken without the ordinary persons having been heard. If they do not want to accept the advice of the sonowi, they cannot be forced. The sonowi's opinion carries much weight but it is always judged upon its own merits. Moni personality ideals have no place for

an unthinking following. A sonowi should be able to adapt himself to the opinions of his followers. If he lacks this flexibility, others will leave him alone but become intransigent in demanding their share of lineage cowries and land. Soon the sonowi loses not only his prestige, but also his material profit. The ease of interaction between the sonowi and his dependents is a conditio sine qua no for the welfare of both.

Summary

Moni society is characterized primarily by the social bonds which link the individual in greater or lesser strength to other people. These bonds originate from rather restricted social units which maintain a large measure of independence, in which the family is the most important.

There are some principles which dominate the interaction system. Of great significance is the influence of the kinship system with its bilateral trend. Yet kinship in the patrilineal descent group reaches further than that in other lines. It finds expression in the local community of the village. At the same time there is a progressive splitting up of the unilateral descent group into smaller units which have few connecting links.

Membership of such larger units as tribe and clan refers to the participation in a common cultural heritage more than to a community of interests for the welfare of the group as a whole.

Dependences are created by the system of interlocking marriages which provides a balancing force between the various groups. This is most clearly materialized in the bride price exchange.

Authority is not formalized but depends upon personal success of a leader in his application of traditional standards to everyday circumstances.

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

- ¹Audrey I. Richards in Bartlett (ed.), The Study of Society, p. 283.
- ²S.F. Nadel, "The interview in social anthropology," in Bartlett (ed.), The Study of Society, p. 324.
- ³The final work of Father Drabbe (which is not published) does not entirely agree with his preliminary notes that appear in Bijdragen voor Land-, Taal- en Volkenkunde, DL. CLV (1949), pp. 423-444.

Part I

- ¹The suffix -ndoga indicates the valley, whereas the river is denoted by the suffix -bu: Kemandoga-Kemabu, Weandoga-Weabu, Dugindoga-Dogabu, Zandoga-Zabu and so on.
- ²Le Roux, De Bergpapoea's van Nieuw Guinea en hun Woongebied, Vol. II, p. 656.
- ³Estimate by missionaries of the Christian and Missionary Alliance who have a station in Kemandoga. See, "Social Research in the Pacific Islands, S.P.C Technical Paper No. 98, p. 27.
- ⁴Contrary to the opinion of many others, I am convinced that the term Ekagi is the proper one to designate the group which is often spoken of as Kapauku. The latter is a coastal term. Confusion has perhaps been caused through ignorance as to the native rules of etiquette. Ekagi is certainly not the term which the Moni use for their neighbours. They call them Isani.
- ⁵The suffix -ndo means "in the direction of, the region of." The word Zanduni is then to be understood as "those of the Za-region."
- ⁶A legendary background of the westward trek is provided in the tradition that the woman named Situgimina, unjustly treated by her brothers, disappeared in that direction. Upon her disappearance adversities fell upon the descendants of her brother, Wagahodo, the mythical ancestor of the Zongonau.

- ⁷H. Bijlmer, "Tapiro Pygmies and Paniai Mountain Papuans," pp. 137, 140.
- ⁸A. Roushdy, "Penetratie der Djongoenoe's in het Wisselmerengebied," Tijdschrift Koninkl.Aardrijksk. Genootschap, 1940, p. 60.
- ⁹This is important for an understanding of the splintering of clans. See, E. Schlesier, Die Grundlagen der Klanbildung, p. 84.
- ¹⁰Kugapini = Kugapa people. The suffix -ni was discussed on p. 7.
- ¹¹Refers to the Netherlands New Guinea guilder which was in use at the time of fieldwork in 1957.
- ¹²I use the term "pig-feast" in the stricter sense as proposed by J.V. de Brugn in Tijdschrift Nieuw Guinea, 1939, p. 204.
- ¹³I could not discover any symbolized transfer of the child from the mother's to the father's clan. Often many persons other than the mother's relatives are present, all of whom give a cowrie if they receive saleable meat. This is contrary to Le Roux's suggestion in De Bergpapoea's van Nieuw Guinea en hun Woongebied, Vol. II, p. 722.
- ¹⁴Zie het Register van de afgedane delictzaken, berecht door de Grote Alleensprekende Rechter te Enarotali No. 19/C.R. en 20/C.R. 1954.
- ¹⁵Bijlmer speaks about the Moni he met as Manekoe, using a coastal term (-ku, as in Kapau-ku, = men). Does "Manekoe" mean "serf" (see Tijdschrift Nieuw Guinea, 1938, p. 329), or is "Mane-" a corruption of "Moni" as pronounced by coastal interpreters?

Part II

¹"Isani" is the Moni term for the Ekagi.

²The origin of the word "Ugunduni" is still obscure. It is most probably a Moni word used to designate the people who live south of the Carstenz and east of it in the Ilaga valley. People of the former area call themselves "Amungme." Sometimes it is suggested that "Ugunduni" is derived from ugu, i.e., "fence." I venture the suggestion that it is derived from ugi, i.e., "red earth." Thus: "people from the red earth region." For suffixes -ndo and -ni, see pages 82 and 7.

³Probably also a Moni word related to ndag, i.e., "stranger." It is used for more eastern tribes, including those who live in the Baliem valley.

⁴Le Roux, De Bergpapoea's van Nieuw Guinea en hun woongebied, Vol. III, p. 654.

⁵By this remark, I wish not to minimize the importance of "cultural foci" referred to by the writer of the Bangkok Paper 1957, "Anthropological Research in Netherlands New Guinea," p. 14. Allegedly, for the Ekagi the cultural focus consists in the exchange complex of pigs-cowries-wives; for the Ndani, it is warfare.

⁶Note that the Kobogau is a Moni clan, the Jatipai an Ekagi clan.

⁷Whether or not the eating of shrimp is taboo for Moni outside the Kugapa area and thus further away from the Ekagi, I have not been able to ascertain. The Kugapa people acted as if they were the authoritative interpreters of the Moni tradition. In the doubt about this authority lies the point of the discussion.

⁸One should not conclude that the sanction supporting the transgression of the two taboos is the same. The sanction against the eating of shrimp is a supernatural one; intertribal sexual relations are punished by the physical sanction of death.

⁹See, Roushdy, "Penetratie der Djongoenoe's in het Wisselmerengebied," cited earlier. Also J.V. de Bruyn, "Verslag naar Kemandoga en Beura;" L. Rhys, Jungle Pimpernel, and F.C. Kamma, Messiaanse Koreri-bewegingen. The legend may contain the germ of a cargo cult, but my informants never suggested that Situgumina was a white woman, not even when an indirect allusion to this possibility was made.

¹⁰Another legend about the first settlement of the Moni in the Doma valley does not quite coincide with the idea of a temporary establishment, which is suggested in the Situgumina legend.

¹¹See Roushdy's article and Le Roux, De Bergpapoea's, Vol. II, p. 706.

¹²On one occasion Soadekigi suggested that I should not be so critical as long as he could name seven generations!

¹³According to J.V. de Bruyn (Tijdschrift Nieuw Guinea, IV, 1939, p. 195), Soadekigi had stated that Sinipa people are not real Moni, but a mixture of Ekagi-Moni, perhaps the so-called "Wodani," who socially are regarded as Moni, but who speak an Ekagi tongue.

¹⁴G.P. Murdock, Social Structure, p. 91.

¹⁵The difference between ambau and membau could not be determined. It was thought that the prefix a- and me- refer to the possessive and impersonal relation respectively (a- = my; me- = man), and that the same could be said about aita-mita and auma-meuma. However, the inconsistency with which the terms are used did not substantiate the assumption.

¹⁶There is a possibility that the terms tata, auma, and panema are used reciprocally. The writer cannot be certain about this as what appeared to be contradictory statements were made which could not be reconciled. A further study of the basic principles which underlie the classification would perhaps clear up this matter. Confusion may be the result of loose handling of kinship terminology by the Moni themselves.

¹⁷Although different in many details, in its general organization, the Moni pig feast resembles that of the Muju area as described by R. den Haan, Bidragen Land-, taal- en volkenkunde, 1955, Vol. III.

¹⁸G.P. Murdock, Social Structure, pp. 65-78, esp. p. 68.

¹⁹E. Schlesier, Die Grundlagen der Klanbildung, p. 69. The confusing statements were found in Le Roux, Bergpapoea's, Vol. II p. 646.

²⁰According to Soadekigi, also the Wandagau and Bagau clans are mbai to the Zongonau people, at least to those of Ngedangetadi. Perhaps they have become so after a Zongonau man from Ngedangetadi has gone to live with Wandagau people in Kemandoga and adopted their clan name.

²¹Other aspects of this case are dealt with on page

²²Pane and zu mean "girl" and "boy" respectively. Ma is the member of the human species, so the animal species of rats, marsupials, etc. mentioned earlier. The speaker always calls himself (herself) me and refers to the partner as so. A me-zu can marry a so-pane only, and vice versa.

²³About the names for the cowries, see also p.

²⁴It may be mentioned at this juncture that exchange marriages do occur. A man exchanges his sister against the sister of another man. Two or three cases were recorded. The practice was not liked, and in one case at least, the marriage was afterwards confirmed by the payment of shells.

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Dalam edisi khusus majalah "Irian" ini untuk pertama kalinya berisi hasil penyelidikan antropologis yang dilangsungkan mulai bulan Januari 1957 sampai bulan Maret 1958 di daerah Kugapa, Kabupaten Paniai. Karangan ini dalam tahun 1966 telah dimasukkan sebagai disertasi untuk memperoleh gelar M.A. di Universitas Sydney.

Daerah Kugapa diduduki oleh kurang lebih 500 orang dari suku Moni. Kelompok kecil orang Moni itu hidup di ujung daerah kedudukan suku Ekagi (yang juga disebut Kapauku), terpencil dari kelompok besar suku Moni yang menduduki lembah2 sungai Kema (Kemandoga) dan sungai Doga (Dugindoga) jurusan Utara-timur daerah Kugapa.

Pada mulanya maksud utama penyelidikan penulis ialah untuk mempelajari proses2 sosial didalam suatu masyarakat kecil dan terbatas, khususnya berhubungan dengan teori kontrol sosial. Karena satu dan lain hal, terutama karena kurangnya waktu untuk mengumpulkan bahan yang cukup mengenai masalah kontrol sosial maka bahagian teoretis tidak dapat diuraikan.

Dalam karangan ini hasil penyelidikan penulis telah disusun dalam dua bagian. Bagian pertama akan memberikan garis2 besar kebudayaan dan hidup sosial suku Moni di daerah Kugapa. Dalam bagian kedua akan diberikan analisa lebih lanjut tentang struktur sosial dan beberapa pranata sosial di daerah tersebut.

Patut ditekankan bahwa karangan ini tidak dapat dipandang sebagai suatu uraian lengkap tentang adat istiadat suku Moni seluruhnya. Maksud penyelidikan penulis ialah untuk memperoleh pengertian lebih dalam tentang hidup sosial di dalam masyarakat kecil dan terpencil. Tidak mustahillah bahwa keadaan budaya dan hidup sosial di daerah2 kedudukan kelompok2 besar suku Moni banyak berbeda dari Kugapa, meskipun bahasa dan unsur2 umum kebudayaannya tetap membedakan mereka itu dari suku2 lain, umpamanya suku Ekagi, Ugundhuni dan Ndani.

Bagian I. Ikhtisar mengenai kebudayaan orang-orang Moni.

Kata Moni itu berasal dari bahasa Ekagi untuk menamakan orang2 suatu suku yang sendirilah menamakan diri "Migani", artinya "orang2 betul" ("Miga" =

betul; "-ni = orang2). Untuk orang2 Moni yang mendiami daerah Kugapa dapat dipakai nama "Kugapa-ni". Kugapa adalah nama suatu tempat diatas bukit di pinggir sungai Wea k.l. 15 kilometer jurusan timur dari Enarotali. Letaknya k.l. 1800 meter diatas permukaan laut. Di tempat Kugapa itu pada saat penyelidikan dilakukan tidak ada orang yang mendudukinya. Akan tetapi menurut tradisi itulah tempat dimana orang2 Moni pertama yang merupakan beberapa generasi yang lampau tiba di daerah itu dari jurusan tenggara, dan kemudian mendirikan rumah disitu dan mulai membuka hutan untuk membuat ladang. Kedudukan pertama itu dilakukan oleh dua rumah tangga dari klan Zonggonau yang menurut taksiran kami berlangsung antara k.l. 75 hingga 90 tahun yang lalu. Karena penambahan penduduk yang lahir disitu dan karena imigrasi2 baru di daerah yang diduduki orang2 Moni itu, lama kelamaan menjadi luas hingga menjadi daerah kedudukan Kugapani sekarang k.l. 6 x 3 kilometer luasnya. Jumlah orang pada saat penyelidikan dilakukan 522 jiwa.

Dari sudut antropologi fisik dikatakan bahwa penduduk2 daerah Kugapa berbeda dari tetangga mereka suku Ekagi karena perawakan lebih tinggi. Selain dari itu bahasa Moni berbeda dari bahasa Ekagi, lagipula terdapat pelbagai unsur kebudayaan dan peraturan2 sosial yang membedakan orang2 Moni dari tetangga mereka suku2 lain di Pegunungan Tengah Irian Jaya, meskipun cara hidup mereka itu kelihatannya hampir sama. Mereka membuat ladang dimana mereka menanam ubi-rambat, pelbagai macam sayuran, tebu, pisang dll. Ladang2 dipagari untuk mencegah masuknya babi2 yang dipelihara mereka sebagai mata pencaharian yang kedua. Untuk menambah jumlah makanan sehari2 mereka mencari buah2-an dan binatang2 kecil kedalam hutan rimba. Bahan2 seperti kayu, rotan, kulit kayu, daun pandan dsb untuk membuat rumah dan pagar kebun juga diambil dari hutan yang mengelilingi tempat kediaman mereka. Perkakas yang mereka pakai pada umumnya masih sangat sederhana. Baru sejak beberapa tahun sebelum perang Jepang perkakas besi mulai muncul di Pegunungan Tengah, terutama kampak, pisau dan parang. Sebelumnya pohon2 ditebang dengan kampak batu. Sebagai pisau dipakai alat2 dari batu, kulit kerang atau bambu. Untuk mengerjakan tanah dipergunakan alat penggali dari kayu.

Rumah2 ada dua macam, yaitu rumah untuk laki2 yang disebut "nduni" dan

rumah2 yang didiami wanita2 dengan anak2 kecil ("mina i"). Rumah2 itu dilihat dari luar hampir sama rupanya. Dibuat dari kayu bulat dan papan2 kasar sedangkan atap ditutup dengan kulit kayu, daun pandan atau rumput. Dibawah rumah2 wanita terdapat kandang untuk babi. Dipusat setiap rumah ada tempat api untuk orang berdiang dan masak makanan. Tidak ada alat untuk masak seperti panci, barang pecah-belah dsb.

Pada waktu penyelidikan hanya sedikit saja orang2 Kugapa berpakaian. Kebanyakan priya memakai sebuah labu untuk menutupi kemaluan. Wanita2 memakai rok yang dibuat dari daun pandan atau dari kulit sejenis pohon yang tergaruk. Semua orang biasa membawa kantung jala dibuat dari tali yang bergantung pada kepala. Didalamnya disimpan benda2 pribadi dan makanan se-hari. Perhiasan badan sangat sederhana pada umumnya tidak dipakai pada hari2 biasa kecuali pada kesempatan pesta atau pada kesempatan luar biasa. Gadis2 biasanya menutupi susu dengan manik-manik, ekor binatang tertentu dll.

Kenyataannya, ukiran atau kesenian lain hampir tidak ada. Selain dari sistem tukar-menukar secara langsung juga terdapat perdagangan tak-langsung dalam mana digunakan kulit kerang sebagai uang. Kulit kerang itu disebut "kigi" dengan nama umum, tetapi digolongkan dalam beberapa jenis menurut bentuk dan ukurannya, umpamanya "saekigi", "kubawi" dan "munga". Diantara "munga" itu terdapat beberapa "kigi" dengan nama sendiri yang dapat dipakai sebagai bagian mutlak untuk mas-kawin. Untuk perkawinan seorang priya membutuhkan sekurangnya satu dari sepuluh biji "kigi", golongan "indo" (jenis "munga") yang beredar antara Moni didaerah Kugapa.

Kulit kerang yang lain seperti "saekigi" dan "kubawi" dipergunakan untuk memperdagangkan makanan, kayu, kantung dsb. Terutama pada kesempatan pesta2 babi banyak "kigi" diperdagangkan. Pesta babi itu kadang2 diadakan justru dengan maksud mengumpulkan "kigi" untuk mengurus perkawinan2.

Mengenai gagasan magi-religius dapat dikatakan bahwa orang2 Moni hidup dalam taraf animisme. Alam yang kelihatan dianggap mereka hanya sebahagian saja dari realitet. Terdapat juga hal2 yang tak-kelihatan yang dapat dihubungi manusia melalui "mbai dia". "Mbai dia" itu dapat diadakan dengan (doa) atau dengan perbuatan2. Kata "mbai" itu juga dipakai untuk hal2 yang dilarang

(tabu) atau yang sebaiknya dielakkan sedapat mungkin, karena mengandung bahaya atau kekuatan yang tidak dapat dikuasai manusia. "Mbai dia" orang Moni terarah kepada beberapa jenis roh2, yang dibicarakan dibawah ini.

- 1) "Onga-dega-me" dapat diterjemahkan dengan kata "Pencipta", akan tetapi tidak jelas "Pencipta" dianggap sebagai "Pembuat segala sesuatu" (creatio ex nihilo) atau "Pengatur", yang beri bentuk dan rupa kepada alam, manusia dsb.
- 2) "Manita" adalah roh pelindung (bagi keluarga, klan, lineage dsb.). Mungkin kinlah bahwa dalam hubungan2 dengan "manita" terdapat unsur2 totemisme.
- 3) "Tau" adalah roh2 jahat yang harus didamaikan. Manusia sebaiknya senantiasa waspada terhadap "tau" itu.
- 4) "Tone" adalah jiwa2 dari orang2 yang telah meninggal dunia. Pikiran2 mengenai alam tak-kelihatan itu tidak dapat diterangkan secara jelas dan saksama, namun sangat mempengaruhi hidup manusia baik individuil maupun sosial.

Terdapat ucapan2 berupa doa untuk meminta bantuan dari roh2 yang baik, lainnya untuk mencegah pengaruh roh2 jahat. Dalam hal manusia sakit roh2 jahat dapat dirintangi mengganggu manusia dengan upacara2 lebih luas. Dibuat pagar di depan rumah orang sakit dan seekor babi disembelih. Darah babi dilumurkan pada kayu pagar sedangkan si ahli sihir menyuruh roh jahat meninggalkan orang sakit. Usus dan aurat babi dilontarkan kepada roh jahat untuk dimakannya.

Diberikan lagi uraian mengenai upacara membuat hujan.

Upacara2 bersifat religius yang berkala yang dapat mendukung teori Durkheim mengenai "collective conscience" tidak ditemui. Tentang adanya atau tidak adanya inisiasi atau rite2 kesuburan tidak ada bukti.

Lingkaran hidup seorang Moni mulai pada waktu ia dilahirkan didalam rumah ibunya dengan tidak hadirnya orang2 selain dari satu atau dua wanita penolong. Beberapa hari menjelang kelahiran, ayahnya telah mengosongkan rumah dari semua barang berharga. Beberapa hari sesudah kelahiran anak kecil, dilangsungkan pesta dengan pemotongan seekor babi ("sogo wogo"). Selama masih dibawah umur lima sampai enam tahun, semua anak, baik laki2 maupun perempuan, diasuh ibunya. Mereka itu dianggap belum dikuasai akal budi. Orang2 menunjukkan toleransi

terhadap anak2 kecil. Sesudah umur k.l. 6 tahun anak2 diharapkan mulai menolong dalam pekerjaan rumah tangga, pertama dengan tugas ringan (mengambil air, mengumpulkan kayu bakar), kemudian dengan pekerjaan lebih berat. Pada waktu itu dimulai juga pembagian "kerja" (division labour) antara kelamin. Anak laki menolong ayahnya menebang kayu, mendirikan pagar kebun, menggali parit di kebun, sedangkan anak perempuan diajar menanam ubi-rambat, membabat rumput di kebun dsb. Anak laki2 tidak tinggal dirumah ibunya lagi, akan tetapi berdiam di "nduni" (rumah laki2). Anak laki2 diajak berinisiatip membuat ladang sendiri disekitar rumah. Selama tahun2 berkembang hubungan saling menolong dan rasa persaudaraan antara kakak2 dan adik2 senantiasa ditekankan. Dalam masa remaja si pemuda akan mencari hubungan dengan gadis dari klan yang lain. Kesempatan untuk menyatakan rasa cinta diberikan pada waktu para pemuda dan pemudi bertemu untuk bersama2 menyanyi ("zamo tegaia"), ketika si laki dapat memberikan hadiah kecil kepada calon cintanya. Untuk perkawinan baik laki2 maupun perempuan membutuhkan persetujuan dan pertolongan dari orang tuanya dan sanak saudaranya yang lain. Persetujuan tidak diberikan apabila calon2 mempelai tidak memenuhi syarat2 atau norma2 yang berlaku didalam masyarakat untuk hidup sosial.

Dalam usia tua orang2 Moni bergantung dari pertolongan anak2nya. Orang yang tidak menolong ibu-bapanya yang sudah tua, akan dipandang amoral. Segera sesudah seseorang meninggal dunia, diadakan upacara berkabung pertama. Seekor babi dipotong dan dibagi antara saudara2 keluarganya. Adat-istiadat memerintahkan ketika orang poligam, isterinya yang sangat dicintainya harus mengikutinya dalam kematian dan dibunuh. Kebiasaan yang lebih umum adalah bagi perempuan memotong jari tangan pada waktu ayah, ibu, suami atau anaknya meninggal. Pemakaman orang2 yang meninggal dunia biasa ditunda selama beberapa hari sampai dua atau tiga minggu, bahkan waktu lebih lama yang diperlukan untuk mengurus upacara berkabung terakhir ("wangu wogo"). Terdapat beberapa cara menguburkan mayat, umpamanya diletakkan didalam pohon tertentu atau diturunkan kedalam lubang. Mayat orang yang dipandang orang luhur diletakkan dalam pondok kecil dekat rumah ("i zoa mindia").

Hubungan orang2 Kugapa dengan dunia luar modern, dimulai pada waktu ke-

datangan orang2 Belanda didaerah Paniai pada beberapa tahun sebelum pecah perang Jepang. Kurang lebih 10 orang Moni asal Kugapa bertemu dengan rombongan Dr. Bijlmer dalam ekspedisinya ke lembah Mapia pada akhir tahun 1935. Ketika Dr. Cator membuat ekspedisi pertama ke Lembah Kamu, ditemui dengan sejumlah orang2 Moni dari Kugapa yang pada waktu itu berdiam di Itouda. Tatkala pos pemerintah pertama dibuka, Kugapa mendapat perhatian khusus dari beberapa pejabat pemerintah. Sebuah sekolah desa telah dibuka oleh Misi Katolik di Kugapa sebelum perang. Pada waktu tentara Jepang menyerang Irian Jaya seluruh daerah Paniai ditinggalkan oleh pendatang2 pemerintah Belanda. Orang2 Moni di Kugapa mengalami banyak penderitaan dari tentara Jepang. Baru pada tahun 1948 seorang misionaris datang dan tinggal di Kugapa lagi. Hubungan dengan dunia luar makin lama makin lebih mempengaruhi kehidupan orang2 Kugapa.

Bagian II. Melukiskan hidup sosial didaerah Kugapa.

Seperti telah dikatakan lebih dahulu, orang2 Kugapa merupakan sebagian dari kelompok manusia lebih besar, yang dinamai orang2 Moni atau orang2 Migani. Kelompok besar itu dapat disebut merupakan satu "suku" dengan pengertian bahwa mereka merupakan kesatuan dalam bahasa dan kebudayaan. Tidak ada kesatuan organisatoris atau politik. Didalam suku Moni itu terdapat golongan2 exogam yang dapat disebut "klan". Kebanyakan penduduk Kugapa masuk golongan klan Zonggonau atau Kobogau. Seorang Moni menjadi anggota klan tertentu karena kelahirannya didalam golongan keturunan patrilineal (patrilineal descent). Seperti halnya "suku", juga "klan" itu tidak mewujudkan kesatuan organisatoris yang tetap. Arti klan itu akan diuraikan lebih lanjut dibawah ini. Untuk hidup bermasyarakat sehari2, kelompok kekerabatan adalah terpenting bagi orang2 Moni, yaitu keluarga2 luas virilokal (virilocal extended families) dan patrilineages (keturunan seorang laki2), yang hidup berdekatan dalam lingkungan perkampungan. Dalam kelompok2 keluarga luas itu biasanya terdapat seorang yang mempunyai pengaruh lebih besar. Ia disebut "sonowi", seorang kaya, yang dipatuhi oleh orang2 biasa.

Arti penggolongan2 tersebut diuraikan lebih luas dibawah ini.

Suku bangsa Moni atau (Migani) berbeda dari suku2 bangsa lain yang menduduki daerah Pegunungan Tengah Irian Jaya, seperti Ekagi (Kapauku), Ugundhuni, Ndani dsb. Pembedaan itu didasarkan atas kelainan bahasa dan tradisi kebudayaan. Tradisi orang2 Moni mempunyai sejumlah kekhususan yang mungkin tidak berarti banyak bagi orang2 keturunan lain, akan tetapi dipandang penting sekali oleh orang2 Moni sendiri. Mengambil bagian dalam tradisi, memberi jaminan hidup kepada individu, karena hidupnya diterima didalam tradisi itu, dan sebaiknya tradisi itu jangan dilanggarnya. Meskipun orang2 Moni Kugapa dapat memelihara hubungan2 sosial dengan orang2 tetangganya dari suku Ekagi lebih erat daripada umpamanya dengan orang2 sesuku sendiri didaerah-2 jauh, namun campuran kedua tradisi tak dapat diizinkan, sehingga terdapat larangan keras diadakannya perkawinan antara orang Moni dan orang Ekagi. Pelanggaran larangan itu akan mengakibatkan si pelanggar dibunuh oleh kaum kerabatnya. Untuk membedakan diri dari suku Ekagi, orang2 Moni pantang dari makan udang. Larangan perkawinan campuran dititikberatkan hanya sehubungan dengan orang2 Ekagi. Anggapan2 mengenai hubungan seksual dengan suku2 lain tidak jelas.

Beberapa angka demografis diberikan dalam fasal berikut. Jumlah penduduk daerah Kugapa pada tahun 1957 adalah 522 orang, yaitu 107 orang dewasa laki2 dan 149 orang wanita dewasa. Anak laki2 dan anak2 perempuan dibawah umur perkawinan berjumlah sama besar, yaitu masing2 133 orang. Anggauta2 klan Zonggonau dihitung 291 orang, sedangkan 171 orang masuk golongan Kobogau. Hanya sedikitlah orang2 dari klan2 lain, hampir semua perempuan dari daerah2 lain yang karena perkawinan dengan laki2 Kugapa mengikuti suami.

Kelahiran jumlah orang2 Zonggonau dapat dimengerti karena perkembangan orang Moni didaerah Kugapa, dimulai dengan kedatangan dua keluarga Zonggonau sebagai pelopor2. Klan Kobogau datang kemudian. Kedua keluarga pelopor Zonggonau menduduki tempat yang disebut Kugapa. Keturunan kedua keluarga pertama itu meluaskan tanah yang dipakai mereka untuk berladang, yang lain sebelah kiri, yang lain sebelah kanan. Demikianlah sekali lagi terjadi dalam generasi kedua dsb. Prinsip pembahagian tanah warisan menyebabkan keturunan, lama kelamaan tersebar dan terpisah satu dari yang lain. Hal itu menjadi penting untuk mengetahui susunan perkampungan2. Keluarga2 klan Zonggonau dan Kobogau yang

datang dibelakangan didaerah Kugapa menduduki tempat2 lebih jauh yang masih kosong. Proses pembahagian tanah dan perpisahan antara keluarga keturunan berlangsung seperti terjadi pada orang2 Zonggonau yang pertama.

Hubungan2 kekerabatan merupakan dasar untuk hidup bermasyarakat bagi orang2 Moni. Meskipun golongan kekerabatan tidak mewujudkan ciri2 kesatuan struktural, namun hubungan2 antara kaum kerabat mempunyai peranan yang penting bagi orang2 Moni didalam kehidupan masyarakat setempat serta hak2nya dan kewajiban2nya dsb.nya. Hubungan2 kekerabatan sebahagian berasal dari kelahiran didalam suatu keluarga batih dan separuh dari perkawinan didalam kelompok lain. Hak2 dan kewajiban2 yang bersangkutan dengan kekerabatan telah ditentukan oleh tradisi. Istilah2 yang dipakai sehubungan dengan kaum kerabat menjurus kepada pola kelakuan dan sikap terhadap orang, atau kepada apa yang diharapkan daripadanya. Dalam hal itu seharusnya diberikan perhatian khusus kepada prinsip penggolongan ("classifying principle") yang berlaku bagi kaum kerabat. "Aita" artinya ayah, tetapi dapat juga berarti saudara2 ayah, lagi pula dapat dipergunakan untuk isteri kakak perempuan dll. Seorang "aita" harus dihormati, akan tetapi sebaliknya juga dapat diharapkan bimbingan dan bantuan jikalau si anak mengalami kesulitan. "Zamege" dipakai untuk semua putera/puteri dari kakak perempuan ayah, kakak laki2 ibu dan kakak perempuan ibu. Penggunaan istilah itu mengandung pengertian bahwa hubungan2 seksual dengan orang2 tersebut dilarang, karena berasal dari keturunan yang sama.

Didalam "rumah tangga" terdapat tiga jenis hubungan struktural, yaitu antara suami dan isteri, antara orang tua dan anak2nya, dan antara saudara/saudari sekandung. Mereka itu merupakan suatu kesatuan inti didalam masyarakat sebagai kesatuan ekonomis, pendidikan dan keamanan. Didalam lingkungan rumah tangga setiap individu memperoleh kemungkinan untuk berkembang sepenuhnya. Hubungan2 antara anggauta2 keluarga batih adalah sangat erat dan tidak diputuskan jikalau anak2nya meninggalkan rumah tangga asalnya oleh karena perkawinan. Keluarga batih itu selalu bertindak terhadap orang2 luar secara bersepakat. Kurang lebih 75% dari keluarga2 didaerah Kugapa pada saat penyelidikan dilangsungkan adalah monogam. 25% merupakan rumah tangga yang berasal dari perkawi-

nan poligami. Terdapat kenyataan bahwa kesatuan keluarga monogam dapat bertahan lebih lama daripada keluarga yang didasarkan atas perkawinan poligami. Karena rumah tangga dianggap sanggup memenuhi hampir seluruh kebutuhan angga-
ta2nya, maka otonomi kelompok rumah tangga itu sangat menarik perhatian. Otonomi itu tergantung dari kesadaran dan kesediaan angga2nya yang harus saling menolong. Semangat kerukunan menjadi pokok utama pendidikan yang dilangsungkan didalam lingkungan rumah tangga. Saudara2 didalam suatu unit rumah tangga tergantung satu sama lain secara khusus, misalnya dalam hal pembahagian tanah ladang, ataupun dalam hal urusan perkawinan. Setiap rumah tangga mempunyai rumah dan kebun sendiri. Dalam keluarga poligam terdapat rumah2, masing2 untuk tiap isteri sedangkan lelaki mendapat rumah sendiri dengan anak2 laki2. Kerap kali juga saudara2 laki2nya mendiami rumah itu. Sering dua saudara laki2 mempunyai satu rumah sedangkan untuk isteri masing2 disediakan rumah sendiri. Ladang rumah tangga dipalangi dengan pagar untuk menghindari masuknya babi2 yang merusak tanaman. Untuk mengerjakan kebun terdapat pembagian kerja antara angga2ta2 sekeluarga sehingga tiap2 orang mengetahui tugasnya. Si suami dengan anak2 laki2 menanggung pekerjaan berat, seperti menebang pohon2, mendirikan pagar dan menggali parit. Isteri dan anak2 perempuan menanam ubi dan sayur-sayuran dan membersihkan kebun serta mengolah hasil kebun. Jikalau keluarga poligam, setiap isteri mendapat bahagian kebun dan bertanggung jawab sendiri. Si suami menanam pisang, tebu dan tembakau. Seorang anak laki2 mulai pada umur k.l. 7 tahun akan mendapat dorongan untuk membuat kebun sendiri didalam kebun keluarga. Hasil kebun itu boleh dipakainya menurut kemauannya sendiri. Lama kelamaan ia akan mulai membuka ladang sendiri sehingga pada saat kedewasaan ia dapat berdiri sendiri. Setiap keluarga juga mempunyai se-kurang2nya satu ekor babi yang dipelihara oleh isteri.

Kerukunan hidup keluarga sangat dialami pada petang hari apabila semua angga2ta2 telah pulang dari pekerjaan mereka diladang atau dihutan dan berkumpul dalam kampung, dimana pengalaman2 tadi dibicarakan, sedangkan anak2 bermain di keliling rumah. Makanan disiapkan oleh wanita2, yang membagikannya diantara suami dan anak2nya.

Setelah perkawinan orang laki2 dewasa meninggalkan rumah tangga asalnya, akan tetapi tidak sekaligus. Ia akan mendirikan rumah untuk dirinya sendiri dan bagi isterinya tidak jauh dari rumah asalnya. Bagi wanita perkawinan berarti perceraian dari tanah dan lingkungan keluarga asal. Namun hubungan dengan saudara2nya kebanyakan kali tidak diputuskan sama sekali, khususnya pada permulaan perkawinan. Tetapi dapat dikatakan bahwa akibat dari perkawinan anak2 rumah tangga inti mulai dicerai-beraikan. Perceraian antara suami dan isteri jarang terjadi. Seringkali diakibatkan karena ketidakcocokan tabiat, lagipula dipermudah jikalau mas kawin belum dipenuhi secara lengkap.

Kelenyapan rumah tangga sebagai kesatuan tersendiri juga diakibatkan oleh kematian suami atau isteri. Jika suami meninggal dunia kebanyakan kali isteri dengan anak2nya akan masuk rumah tangga saudara laki2 suami pertama (levirat).

Kelompok2 tetangga atau perkampungan terdiri dari rumah2 orang2 yang terikat satu sama lain karena hubungan kekerabatan sampai generasi kedua atau ketiga melalui garis keturunan ayah. Kerabat laki2 sampai generasi ke-2 atau ke-3 tinggal berdekatan, sehingga hubungan fisik maupun sosial dipertahankan. Generasi yang lebih jauh telah tercerai-berai satu dari yang lain dalam perkampungan sendiri.

Jumlah rumah yang merupakan kampung tersendiri sangat berbeda dan meliputi 4 sampai 12 rumah dengan penghuni antara k.l. 10 sampai 50 atau 70 orang. Kepentingan bersama dalam hal ladang2 yang diwariskan, menyebabkan kelompok kerabat laki2 berdiam berdekatan. Karena hubungan2 antara kaum kerabat merupakan dasar untuk pembentukan kampung, lagipula kaum kerabat itu mempunyai peranan penting dalam urusan perkawinan, yang mana perkawinan2 itu juga berpengaruh bagi angga2ta2 sekampung. Didalam kebanyakan kampung terdapat seorang laki2 yang disebut "sonowi". Ia dipandang sebagai pemimpin kampung meskipun kuasanya hanya terbatas saja pada kepentingan umum.

Pengurusan pesta babi dan pesta keladi ("wogo-zamo" dan "wa-zamo") juga diatur didalam lingkungan kampung dibawah pimpinan seseorang yang mengambil inisiatip. Pada waktu pesta sedemikian itu diadakan disalah satu kampung,

maka orang2 dari kampung2 lain datang untuk membeli daging babi atau keladi, sedangkan banyak barang lain juga ditukarkan. Pada kesempatan2 semacam itu dipergunakan orang untuk mengurus perkara2 atau hal2 yang terjadi dalam masyarakat khususnya untuk mengatur perkawinan2.

Persiapan untuk pesta babi dapat berlangsung satu tahun atau lebih. Sebuah rumah pesta didirikan dalam mana setiap keluarga yang mensponsori pesta itu, mempunyai ruangan tersendiri. Disamping ruangan2 keluarga terdapat juga ruangan yang lebih besar dimana para pemuda dan pemudi sebentar2 berkumpul pada malam hari selama waktu persiapan untuk tari-tarian.

Keanggotaan klan. Setiap orang Moni digolongkan dalam salah satu klan karena keturunannya didalam kelompok keturunan ayahnya (patri-klan). Kebanyakan orang2 Moni di Kugapa tergolong dalam klan Zonggonau atau klan Kobogau. Klan2 tersebut juga ditemui didaerah2 lain yang didiami orang Moni. Klan2 itu adalah golongan2 exogam. Meskipun klan itu tidak merupakan kesatuan organisatoris, namun keanggotaan dalam salah satu klan membawa yang mengikat. Pertama2 semua hubungan kelamin dengan seorang anggauta seklan dilarang keras, baik hubungan perkawinan maupun hubungan seksuil diluar perkawinan. Pelanggaran larangan itu akan dihukum dengan pembunuhan terhadap kedua pelanggar2nya oleh saudara2 mereka. Untuk anggauta2 suatu klan juga terdapat larangan membunuh atau memakan binatang tertentu atau merusak tumbuhan tertentu, yang dapat dipandang seperti totem klan mereka. Terdapat juga beberapa klan meskipun namanya berlainan, yangmana mereka harus tunduk pada larangan yang sama. Klan2 semacam itu dapat dipandang merupakan suatu fratri.

Selain dari sifat exogam yang menandai klan2, juga ada hubungan positif diantara anggauta2 seklan, yaitu kewajiban saling menolong terutama dalam keadaan perang antara dua kelompok klan.

Peraturan perkawinan adalah hal yang amat mempengaruhi hubungan2 sosial diantara orang Moni. Penggolongan orang2 dalam klan2 exogam mempunyai fungsi pengintegrasian terutama dalam keadaan seperti yang ditemui di Kugapa, dimana terdapat hanya dua klan. Karena orang2 harus memilih jodoh dari luar kelompok

(klan) sendiri, telah menjadi jelas bahwa akan lahir hubungan timbal balik yang erat diantara kedua golongan yang merupakan masyarakat seluruhnya. Demi kepentingan bersama tidak dapat diizinkan orang2 dari klan yang satu bersaing atau bermusuhan dengan anggauta2 klan yang lain. Keseimbangan masyarakat menjadi terjamin.

Untuk perkawinan mereka individu2 Moni tergantung pada masyarakat umum, karena perkawinan diatur melalui mas kawin. Mas kawin itu terdiri dari sejumlah kulit kerang ("kigi") diantaranya ada yang tidak dapat diperoleh individu melalui usahanya sendiri. Kulit kerang yang lebih berharga didaerah Kugapa terbatas jumlahnya dan hanya diberikan oleh saudara2 si calon suami jikalau mereka itu menyetujui perkawinannya, sebaliknya juga saudara2 calon isteri harus bersedia menerima kulit kerang yang dimaksudkan, sebagai tanda persetujuan mereka atas perkawinan. Kulit kerang berharga itu terutama jenis2 yang bernama "indo" dan "hondo" hanya dipakai sebagai alat mas kawin saja. Barang2 itu beredar didalam masyarakat Kugapa sebagai unsur2 pengikat antara golongan golongan, lagipula ada hubungannya dengan waktu kuno yaitu ketika nenek moyang mereka sering mengadakan perjanjian2 tentang "indo" dan "hondo" yangmana harus ditepati oleh keturunan mereka dikemudian hari.

Peranan "sonowi" ialah sebagai pemimpin2 masyarakat. Didaerah Kugapa terdapat sejumlah orang2 yang dinamakan "sonowi" untuk membedakan mereka itu dari orang2 biasa ("deba mene"). Sonowi2 itu dapat dipandang sebagai pembimbing kelompok perkampungan atau kelompok garis keturunan (lineage-group). Gelar sonowi itu diberikan kepada mereka itu berhubung dengan jasa dan sifat pribadi masing2 dan tidak diwariskan begitu saja, meskipun bagi putra sulung seorang sonowi ada kemungkinan besar menggantikan ayahnya dalam status sonowi. Sonowi dianggap seorang kaya yang memiliki kulit kerang yang berharga, mempunyai kebun besar, banyak babi dan sebagainya. Biasanya ia seorang poligam, harus bijaksana, murah hati, berani, sehat dan cakap berbicara. Ia seorang yang berhasil baik dalam segala usaha dan karena suksesnya mencerminkan cita2 orang2 Moni. Hal itu menyebabkan orang2 lain memandang kelakuan sonowi sebagai pedoman untuk mengatur hidup mereka sendiri serta minta pertolongan dari

padanya dan mengikuti nasehat yang diberikannya. Sonowi tidak mengeluarkan perintah2 langsung kepada orang2 lain daripada keluarganya sendiri. Peranan sonowi itu sewajarnya dilaksanakan dengan mengindahkan unsur2 demokrasi. Se orang sonowi selalu mendengarkan tanggapan dan pendapat pengikut2nya dan kemudian diambilnya keputusan. Tugas utamanya dilakukannya sebagai perantara dalam hal2 perselisihan yang timbul umpamanya yang berhubungan dengan pembahagian tanah atau dalam mengadili perkara2 zinah, pelanggaran hak orang lain (umpamanya babi merusak kebun keluarga lain) dsb.nya. Pentinglah juga peranan nya sebagai pelindung kulit kerang yang dipakai untuk mengurus perkawinan2 orang2 segaris keturunan.

Kata penutup.

Dengan apa yang ditulis diatas ini penulis yakin bahwa ia telah menyajikan suatu gambaran umum tentang pengertian kehidupan bermasyarakat diantara orang2 Moni didaerah Kugapa. Banyak soal seharusnya diselidiki lebih teliti. Harapan penulis bahwa tulisannya ini dapat menarik perhatian seorang antropolog lain untuk melanjutkan penyelidikan tersebut.

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