UNRAVELLING MURDER AND MAYHEM: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY OF A WIRU DIVINATION ACCOUNT, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

by

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Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

December 1987

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To my mother who has been a constant source of encouragment to me. I have watched her life, and never has there been a time when she let me down or caused disappointment. Truly, her life gave direction to me, and her spiritual values have become mine. What she has given, she has given (freely).

To my mother and father-in-law, Rev. Joe and Della Matt, who have always considered me nothing less than a "son." Their strength of character, their energy to keep going, and their zeal in a life dedicated to serving others have been worthy examples to me of unselfish living.

PREFACE

> 'I know, kianango (red-man), that what you said must be true [regarding the medical cause of death of my son, Piyalo], but I want to know what these things mean, the things the yomo kopini (divining pole) has discovered regarding his death.'
>
> (Pepena, a big-man of Molo village, Papua New Guinea)

After my first four years of living among the Wiru the notion of inevitably being a 'paradigm-governed observer' came forcefully upon me. It was during the early stages of my doctoral studies that I was introduced to this notion in the work of Thomas Kuhn ([1962] 1970). In the postscript to the 2nd edition of his work, he clarified his myriad use of the word "paradigm," (or, "disciplinary matrix"), stating that the term refers to "the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community" (175). If one accepts this notion of paradigm as useful (and/or accurate), then certain implications are sure to follow. One of many such implications that Kuhn himself draws is: "Individuals raised in different societies behave on some occasions as though they saw different things" (193). (Italics mine.) Had I not been able to critically reflect on the experience of my own cross-cultural ENCOUNTER in the highlands of Papua New Guinea, it would have been most difficult for me to accept such an implication as verifiable. But indeed, I have found it to be so.

Kuhn amplifies this same implication: "two groups, the members of which have systematically different sensations on receipt of the same

stimuli, do in some sense live in different worlds" (193). (Italics mine.) This thought, however, gives rise to certain serious questions, the least of which may be, Is such a statement as this even tenable? If so, in what possible senses do lived-experiences reflect "different worlds?" Further, to what extent is it possible for an "outsider" to know and understand that 'other' world of another (language) group?

Such questions as these 'followed' me when I returned to Papua New Guinea for my second, four-year term (1982-1986) as a missionary-linguist. I conscientiously struggled with the possibility of "living in different worlds" as I intensified my quest for an emic understanding of the Wiru culture and language. After having completed a total of seven years and two months of living, learning, and serving in Papua New Guinea, I once again continued the 'reflective apprehension' (Ricoeur's sense) of my missionary endeavors in an academic setting. While auditing one of the core courses in the doctoral program in Humanities at the University of Texas at Arlington during the Fall of 1986, it occurred to me that I had been struggling in my cross-cultural encounter with what Karl Mannheim ([1936] 1985) has termed, a "multiplicity of the ways of thinking." Mannheim states,

> The multiplicity of ways of thinking cannot become a problem in periods when social stability [italics mine] underlies and guarantees the internal unity of a world view. As long as the same meanings of words, the same ways of deducing ideas, are inculcated from childhood on into every member of the group, divergent thought-processes cannot exist in that society (6).

But, there is an opposing force to social stability, namely, SOCIAL MOBILITY. According to Mannheim, social mobility is the catalyst for producing uncertainty (even skepticism) of one's own traditional view of the world. He attributes the intensification of social mobility as the

primary factor "which destroys the earlier illusion, prevalent in a static society, that all things can change, but thought remains eternally the same" (7).

It is to be noted that social mobility for Mannheim has two forms, horizontal and vertical, and each form operates in different ways to reveal the multiplicity of styles of thought. Horizontal mobility is the "movement from one position to another or from one country to another without changing social status." Horizontal mobility merely shows a person that different peoples think differently. Mannheim explains by clarifying,

> As long, however, as the traditions of one's national and local group remain unbroken, one remains so attached to its customary ways of thinking that the ways of thinking which are perceived in other groups are regarded as curiosities, errors, ambiguities, or heresies (7).

Because a person has not changed in social status during this movement, Mannheim suggests that there is no cause for him to doubt "either the correctness of [his] own traditions of thought or the unity and uniformity of thought in general."

Vertical mobility, on the other hand, is the "rapid movement between strata in the sense of social ascent or descent." It is only the double movement (horizontal mobility coupled with intensive vertical mobility) that forcefully shakes "the belief in the general and eternal validity of one's own thought forms." Mannheim therefore maintains that "vertical mobility is the decisive factor in making persons uncertain and skeptical of their traditional view of the world" (7).

By definition, anyone who moves from one location to another experiences horizontal mobility. If perchance, that person perceives his/her "new" neighbors and surroundings merely as "curiosities, errors,

ambiguities, or heresies," then without doubt, that person will soon become victimized by his own prejudice, "These _____ are really a strange lot!", "This place gives me the _____!", or even, "Boy! Back home we don't do it like these _____ folk do here!" and on and on the latent prejudice boils to the surface. Thus, whenever an expatriate person lives in an urban area but nevertheless shrouds himself with his own sociocultural and economic peer group, or whenever a person lives on a remote mission compound and yet insulates himself from the nuances of an indigene's life, then daily living for such a person is destined to proceed as usual within his own enclave of existence.

Prior training had taught me such consequences and ramifications of isolating oneself from a host culture. So, my wife and I had intentionally involved ourselves in the rigors of living in a Wiru village--sleeping in a grass hut, cooking over an open-pit fire or in the ashes, collecting water from a nearby spring, eating and enjoying all of the delectable local foods, and rearing pigs and growing sweet potato fodder--in order to experience and emphathetically understand a radically different way of life than either of us had known previously. Balanced with a rigorous program of applied linguistics in analyzing and learning the Wiru language, and, combined with the insights of cultural anthropology for collecting, sorting, and "analyzing" cultural tidbits, we had attempted to avoid the pitfalls of radically ethnocentric prejudice and value judgments of our "neighbors." So far--so good, as pertaining to horizontal mobility.

The impact of vertical mobility, however, came upon us with far greater force, in that we were less equipped or prepared to deal with the conceptual conflicts that this phenomenon had created. Vertical

The impact of vertical mobility, however, came upon us with far greater force, in that we were less equipped or prepared to deal with the conceptual conflicts that this phenomenon had created. Vertical mobility pertains to social status--social ascent or descent. For me, the desire to be a missionary dates back to my elementary school years, though the decision per se culminated in early high school. Therefore, my choice to live below the 'poverty line' of $19,000 (according to a 1986 USA consumer's report) was both conscious and intentional. My particular social stratum was therefore perceptually destined to the lower end of the USA economic scale. Upon going to Papua New Guinea, however, I was immediately 24 times wealthier (re cash flow) than all of my neighbors in the local village. Without even an iota increase in salary, I had experienced a "rapid movement between strata" by 'ascending' from the lower end of the scale in the USA to the upper end of the scale in PNG. (See Fig. 1.)

In learning how to handle this "newly-found" wealth, I encountered numerous conceptual conflicts. I felt I had no excess income beyond what I perceived to be as necessary for the "existence" of my wife and children in an extremely remote, cross-cultural environment. On one hand, I did not want to be weasled into misplaced sympathy, nor to be passively duped into "buying" friends, nor even to intentionally control (and paternalize) the local population. But, on the other hand, there was a real and definite pressure to become a truly "functioning" member of village society--a contributing member in the legitimate ebb and flow of wants and need-fulfillment in Wiru social life. Only after I genuinely became 'uncertain and skeptical of my traditional view of

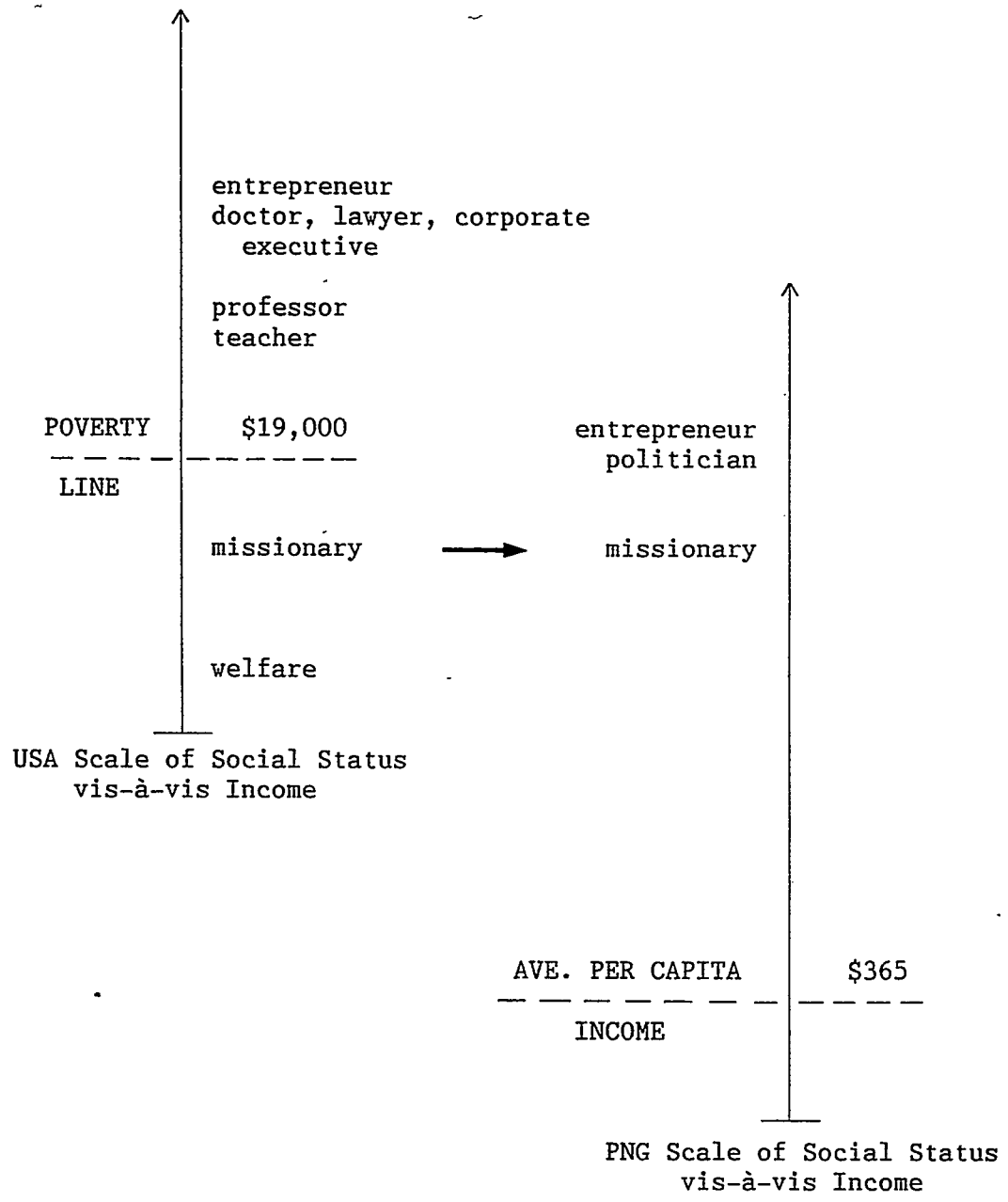

Fig. 1. Phenomenon of "vertical mobility" for a missionary who experiences horizontal mobility when he moves from the USA to Papua New Guinea

jarred from my perceived social stability has resulted in an ongoing, critical reflection of my own traditional view of the world as received from my English language and from my midwestern American sociocultural milieu. This paper represents my attempt to deal with radically divergent world views, cultural values, behavior orientations, and a language that reflects syntactic patterns and semantic realms quite different from English.

On that sunny afternoon--so quickly turned rain-drenched--when enemy clans had grown feverishly tense during a meeting in which they were deciphering the 'findings' of a divining pole, Pepena had fully accepted evidences from "my world" by believing my testimony that his son had died from kidney poisoning due to a sexually transmitted disease (STD). Nevertheless, he was fervently pursuing the meaning of equally valid evidences from "his world" wherein divination has a credible function. 'Could I not accept his endeavor (paradigm)?' Two "worlds" . . . a multiplicity in ways of thinking: he accepted mine, or so he said. I was struggling to understand his, and so had nothing to say in reponse to him when he had said with determination, ". . . I want to know what THESE things mean, the things the divining pole has discovered regarding the cause of my son's death."

To Pepena I would now say, "I too want <u>to know</u>, not just the immediate significance of the divining pole's activities and findings, or even the divining pole's modus operandi, but rather, how is it that you perceive your world, your reality; this is what I want to know and understand."

In this pursuit my thanks are due, first of all, to Robert E. Longacre for his personal concern for my family during this past year,

for his careful direction during my entire course of study, and for his many helpful and critical comments and insights pertaining to the different interdisciplinary aspects of this study; to Kenneth L. Pike for his stimulating and insightful questions which opened my way through a theoretical impasse, and for his example of the affirmation of scholarship; to Lenore Langsdorf for her timely words of encouragement when I first began this task; to Luanne Frank who created in me a sense of sheer delight by opening the 'world' of semiotics to me and caused me to view one particular text through multiple semiotic perspectives.

There is a word of indebted thanks that must be extended to each of my Wiru friends and co-workers, for without them and their patient, persistent teaching of their delightful culture and language, this naive "outsider" would never have learned some of the most crucial lessons of his life: Wiai Timini, my constant companion, friend, and teacher; Yoke Pambeyapu, who interacted with me on several occasions regarding the topic of this paper--the yomo kopini; Koni Pokeapu and Tikepo Luru, my very first language assistants; and the several young men who gave me assistance in the years following in transcibing oral texts and continuing linguistic analysis--Philip Yakipu, Roy Telepo Munguma, Henry Kupa Munguma, Pareka Kareo, and Lotty Koiyoro. "Anume pade agale kiwipala werekakuye. No namolo kini take nokolu, kime no marikene egeroa, modo weria mea, kai mea, ni kini torono yamea Wirumo olaukoa nirikoli, kiwi pea anume kee tubea wane ukuye. Naniko padepere Papua Niugini oro noadene tukuye. Were meameneye--kiwi pea."

I acknowledge the Educational Research Unit of the University of Papua New Guinea for their permission to include both the map of the Pangia area and also the line drawing of the yomo kopini (divining

pole), drawn by Uria Yapera, a Wiru artist and son of a prominent big-man of Poloko village, Pangia, S.H.P. This drawing, as well as many more on the culture of the Wiru, are to be included in a future work on the Pangia area (Weeks, forthcoming). I would also acknowledge Walter and Dorothy Hotchkin, my missionary colleagues in PNG, for asisting me in a 'last minute' request and for supplying research information included in the paper.

I gratefully acknowledge the grant in aid provided to me for three consecutive years by the Wesleyan Women International, Indianapolis, Indiana, without which I would not have been able to have engaged in doctoral studies at The University of Texas at Arlington. I further acknowledge the sponsorship of the Department of World Missions of The Wesleyan Church, Indianapolis, Indiana, during different periods of my extended studies.

Though words are hardly a repayment, I must express my gratitude and thanks to Dale and Viola Easter, who provided me with a "home away from home" during my final year of research and writing. Their generosity, love, and personal concern were God-sent.

Lastly, I express my grateful appreciation and love to my wife, Barbara, as well as to my two children, Jeremy and Kristina, who "released" me (literally) from familial duties and granted me full time commitment to research and writing. Without their uncalculated love for me and their willingness to tackle circumstances and crises on their own, this study could never have come to fruition.

November 17, 1987

ABSTRACT

UNRAVELLING MURDER AND MAYHEM:
AN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY OF A WIRU
DIVINATION ACCOUNT, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Publication No._____

John Michael Fullingim, Ph.D.
The University of Texas at Arlington, 1987

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The endeavor to know and understand another emic view of reality offers a conceptual challenge to any observer-analyst. This paper presents the author's reflections upon his encounter with another culture and language and upon his own motivated endeavor to understand the cognitive world view of the Wiru, a non-Austronesian language group residing in the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. The focus of the study is upon a divination rite during which a long pole, called yomo kopini, was ritually activated and through its subsequent "motions" retraced the steps of the assailant who had raped and murdered a young girl from a neighboring village. The transcription of an eyewitness oral narrative of the various phases of the divination is regarded as the "cultural object" (Cassirer 1960) that is analyzed throughout the study according to its form, cause, and achievement.

Chapter One lays a background for the study by (1) briefly discussing the prehistory of the Wiru and their first contact with the "outside" world, (2) reviewing the various research studies that have previously focused on the Wiru culture and language, and (3) presenting his own thumbnail grammatical sketch of the Wiru language with particular emphasis upon verb structure and function in discourse. In Chapter Two there is a discussion of the author's underlying assumptions, an excursus on Husserl's analysis on Whole and part as it pertains to an object-in-context, and a delineation of the methodology to be followed in the study. Chapter Three presents the "cultural object," both in its textual form and in a two-dimensional, emic sketching.

In Chapter Four the author reflects upon occasions in his cross-cultural encounter which demonstrate a "clash" in world views. Using the Basic Values model (Mayers 1979) as a tool, he formulates a "composite profile" for Wiru society, and from perceived "core trends" he projects a cognitive basis for divination among the Wiru. Chapter Five attends to a textlinguistic and semiotic unravelling of the eyewitness text. (1) The four elements of the macrostructure are delineated; (2) story schema and structural evidence are marshalled for a natural articulation of the narrative into its constituent "chunks"; (3) a saliency scheme of verb ranking is developed from an accounting of the verb structure/function as pertaining to the twin time trajectories and on/off-the-storyline; and (4) semiotic mediation provides the mechanism which unravels the yomo kopini itself, as well as the murder scene.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> We all live under the same sky, but we do not all have the same horizon.
>
> (Konrad Adenhauer)

It is no trite statement to say 'we live in a phenomenal world,' that is, it is bound by space and time, and it is filled with a multiple variety of phenomena that we experience sensorially or cognitively or, for some, even spiritually. Many kinds of cross-cultural phenomena are familiar enough, and therefore they are either adequately explained and accounted for or they are merely accepted in the scheme of things ("Forget the explanation, because it is unimportant anyway!"). On the other hand, some phenomena of human experience are not so easily understood and categorized, and as a result, we tend to hold them at arm's length or avoid them altogether, labelling them as irrational.

Rape, murder, and death--these are common factors of human cultures, but the means whereby a society "solves" the mystery surrounding such events and enacts "justice" may well differ from one group to another. The topic of this study is one such phenomenon of human experience that is not easily accounted for either in our western, scientific paradigm of "fact-finding" and "dealing with appearances" or in our western paradigm of jurisprudence: the use of a "divining rod" (or divination pole) to publicly "track down" the agent(s) of a prior,

hidden deviance (be it theft, death induced by sorcery, or rape and murder).

1.1. Framework and Scope of the Study

My interest is in world view and in how human behavior and social interaction affect perception of reality. The world view of a people, according to Kearney (1984), is "their way of looking at reality" (41), their "overall cognitive framework of . . . ideas and behavior" (42). "It consists of basic assumptions and images that provide a more or less coherent . . . way of thinking about the world" (41). He adequately demonstrates that "Assumptions about reality vary considerably from one group to another, and at bottom they depend upon and affect the actual perception of it" (41).

As for the Wiru of Papua New Guinea, in order to understand and explicate their way of thinking, their perception of the world, their world view, one particular incident involving divination has been chosen as the investigative point of entry. The account is examined using insights and theoretical methods from various disciplines within the humanities (phenomenology, cognitive studies, (text)linguistics, and semiotics) in order to 'unravel' the myriad of issues at stake. My intention is not merely to explore the esoteric, nor is it to exploit the so-called pensée sauvage (Lévi-Strauss 1966). It is not to investigate other varieties of paranormal experiences (Korem and Meier 1980), and it is not to draw comparisons between similar phenomena that appear disjunctively in time and location (O'Keefe 1982; Seligmann [1948] 1975). Rather, it is a critical reflection upon a decade of my own endeavor to gain an "emic" understanding of the cognitive world view

of the Wiru, a remote language community in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea.[1] If such an understanding is indeed achievable, one question begs for an answer. How is it possible for an outsider to reconcile his "etic" observations of a cross-cultural experience which do not fit well with his own culturally biased view of things-as-they-are (or, seem-to-be), the experience being a divination event--one in which the apparent 'disclosures' were uncannily quite accurate? Ultimately, how will this experience affect my own view of reality?

It has been observed that when scholars deal academically with folk cultures, "the most popular way of treating the phenomenon of magic is to dichotomize and project it into a logical universe of rationality--irrationality" (Fuglesang 1982:82). Fuglesang argues cogently that this scholarly view appears to be nothing more than a "language-trap," wherein magic is classified as irrational. I agree with his argument, and I admit, on one hand, it may be difficult for some to escape such a "trap"--regardless of whether the trap be linguistic or conceptual. On the other hand, within my own presupposed, theistic view of reality, I do try to make a distinction between magic (legerdemain, trickery, conjuring, shamanism) and the supernatural realm (God or demonic) in regard to the cause and effect of paranormal events. (This too may be classifed by the mechanist as an irrational view, but foundational starting points are never proveable; they are merely believed and held as tenable.) The Wiru of Papua New Guinea, however, make no such distinction between magic and supernatural actions, thus, demonstrating more of a readiness to accept all

paranormal events as supernatural. This distinction between these two views is illustrated in Figure 2.

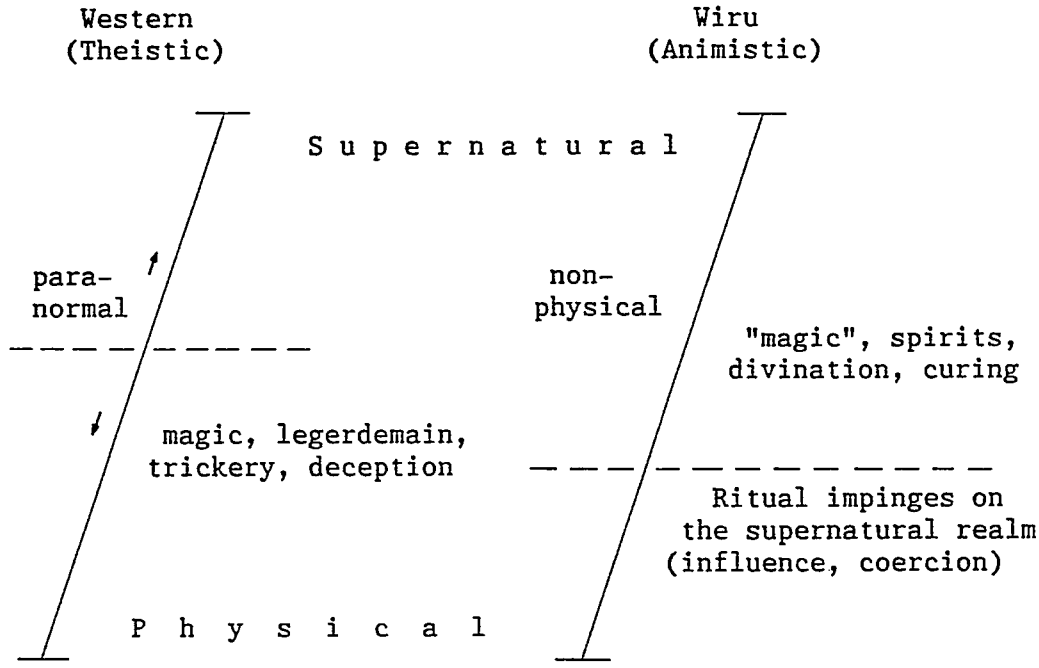


Fig. 2. Contrasting views on the cause and effect of paranormal activities

While believing in the supernatural, I also carry a healthy skepticism of labelling something a manifestation of supernatural powers. It has been pointed out to me that unless one is schooled in how the mind can be deceived (the art of legerdermain or deception), one is at a "potential disadvantage when trying to objectively report so-called manifestations of occult powers" (Korem and Meier 1980:17; Longacre, personal communication).[2] But rather than being occupied by the conspicuous aspects of paranormal events (in this case, a divination ritual), the focus of the paper is aimed toward gaining an understanding of the underlying thinking. Once its conceptual basis is understood, it may well be that magic is simply a rational attempt by people to control

their own environment--their reality as perceived. Therefore, beyond the question of what divination is or is not for the Wiru, it has been far more relevant to ask: How do the Wiru behave when they execute divination, subject themselves to it or even object to such a ritual? From their world view perspective what do they think and say about this activity?

Thus the purpose of this study is twofold. It intends to acquaint the reader with the nuances and basic values of Wiru society--one far removed from "our" Western horizon(s) of experience, but one which has been so instrumental in stretching the author's "limits" in understanding humanity. Secondly, it strives to understand and explicate the structure and content of an eyewitness, oral account of the perceived denotational activities of a divining pole, which "unravelled" the details of a clandestine rape and murder of a twelve year old girl by means of its oscillations.

We can know and validate very little about the cognitive world view of people apart from evidence from their language use.[3] I do not hold to an extreme version of linguistic-cultural determinism and relativity of unconscious thought patterns, but I do concur with a weakened Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis wherein the structure of a human being's language (i.e., phonological, grammatical, and referential structures) is one of the factors which influences the manner in which he perceives and understands reality and organizes his behavior with respect to it. The locus of coherent thought about the nature of reality-as-perceived is primarily to be found in discourse, not in mere isolated words, a clause or even a sentence. Consequently, my interest in the grammar of discourse is first and foremost a hermeneutical

inquiry: what is the meaning (referential content) the narrator intends to convey? And, equally important, what means (syntactic structures) does he use to encode this message?

1.2. Organization of the Study

The remainder of this introductory chapter will serve to orient the reader with general information regarding the Wiru people and their language. The prehistory and history of the Wiru are discussed--their first contact with the "outside" world, derestriction and pacification of their territory by the Australian colonial administration, and current statistics. Various studies in Wiru linguistics and culture are then briefly reviewed. Finally, an overview is presented on the typology and salient syntactic features of the Wiru language, followed by a listing of the phonemes of Wiru.

In Chapter Two the theoretical framework is outlined for the interdisciplinary approach that is to be utilized in the subsequent chapters of this reflective study. From cognitive studies the notion of "cognitive style" is discussed in relation to world view. The intention of this discussion and its application in a later chapter is to form the nexus between the extralinguistic, cultural context of the divination event and its linguistic retelling. I set forth my philosophical and analytical presuppositions in regard to the necessity of an interdisciplinary perspective in textlinguistics. Attention is given to the dominant features of tagmemics, the theory which informs my own approach for textlinguistics. Then the final section of the chapter discusses the role of philosophic and semiotic studies as pertaining to language and culture, with particular focus on theoretical insights for

explicating the signs and symbols of divination within the episteme of Wiru culture.

In Chapter Three the events which actually precipitated the 'return' of the divining pole to the contemporary 'world' of the Wiru are narrated. This immediate context of situation is followed by a translation of the eyewitness account of the divination event. The focal point of the study is primarily upon this oral narrative, for it relates one man's emic perception of a divination ritual. Therefore, a cursory, nontechnical reading of the account early on in the study is considered both beneficial and essential. The oral text, and its written representation herein, comprise the primary object of culture (Cassirer 1960), an 'object' which is being viewed from various interdisciplinary perspectives.

In Chapter Four I critically reflect upon the specific series of cross-cultural experiences among the Wiru which gave rise to conflict (skepticism) in my conceptual basis for perceiving things-as-they-are (or, seem-to-be). My intention here is not to portray my own inner voyage of discovery, nor to define who I might have been for these Wiru people, for this I cannot know. Nor is it my attempt to disclose the way the Wiru perceive and think of themselves, because inevitably, each of the behavior orientations or value trends discussed bears the distinct stamp of my own written articulation as observer-creator. It is sufficient to say, "all we need to know is that they do not see themselves as we see them" (Romanucci-Ross 1985:viii). This personal reflection is followed by an in depth cognitive study analysis of Wiru culture and behavior as a means for understanding their world view, as well as articulating a possible conceptual basis for divination. The

analysis is based on the cognitive styles theory known as the Basic Values Model (Mayers 1974, 1979).

Chapter Five presents a (text-)linguistically informed exegesis of the eyewitness account of the divination. Three particular aspects of text analysis (and there are numerous more) have been utilized in unravelling the myriad of issues presented by the divination text. The top-down approach begins with the narrative as a whole, then proceeds to the major "chunks" or parts of the discourse, and finally on down to the level of reporting storyline events. The macrostructure analysis, i.e., a study of global content, attends to viewing the discourse as a whole. It defines and validates the "point" of the story being told. The constituent analysis seeks to discover the emic "chunks", or larger parts, which combine to make up the whole discourse. Here the issue of a putative story schema, or global narrative form, in Wiru, is examined in an effort to relate such a schema with an intuitive visual profile depicting the mounting and declining tension of the story. The analysis of verb tense/aspect, i.e., the clause level, focuses upon the issue of events being reported as on the storyline or off-the-line. Here particular attention is given to sorting out the function of various medial and final verb forms for the purpose of positing a salient scheme of verb ranking in Wiru narrative discourse.

The final chapter concludes with a brief summary of the work. Contributions of the paper are delineated, and further areas and issues of Wiru language and cultural study are projected.

1.3. Prehistory and History of the Wiru [4]

The first recorded "contact" with the Wiru by outsiders was in 1934 when the Leahy brothers, Mick and Dan, led a prospecting expedition "into the country south of Mt. Hagen" through the Polu River valley in their continued efforts to search for gold in the Central Highlands regions of Papua New Guinea. (See Map 1, [PNG Office of Information 1980].) It was the sixth such journey into the highlands, and it transpired over a four month period from February to May. According to their published journal notes (Leahy 1934:252), on May 4, 1934, the expedition with "35 native carriers" entered the area inhabited by the Wiru from the west-northwest and camped at Warababe, a bilingual village (with Kewapi and Wiru language speakers). (See Map 2.) The next morning they continued their trek on an easterly route through a village known today as Loloapo, crossed the Polu River near present-day Pangia Station, and then camped the night of May 5th at Kumiyene village. From Kumiyene they turned north in order to begin their return to their base camp at Mt. Hagen, north of the Kaugel River. Shortly thereafter, they came upon a newly constructed village,[5] present-day Laiyo village, and camped there at midday.

At this point, the records of what took place at Laiyo village are in conflict. On one hand, the Leahy's written journal records the following (1934:252-3),

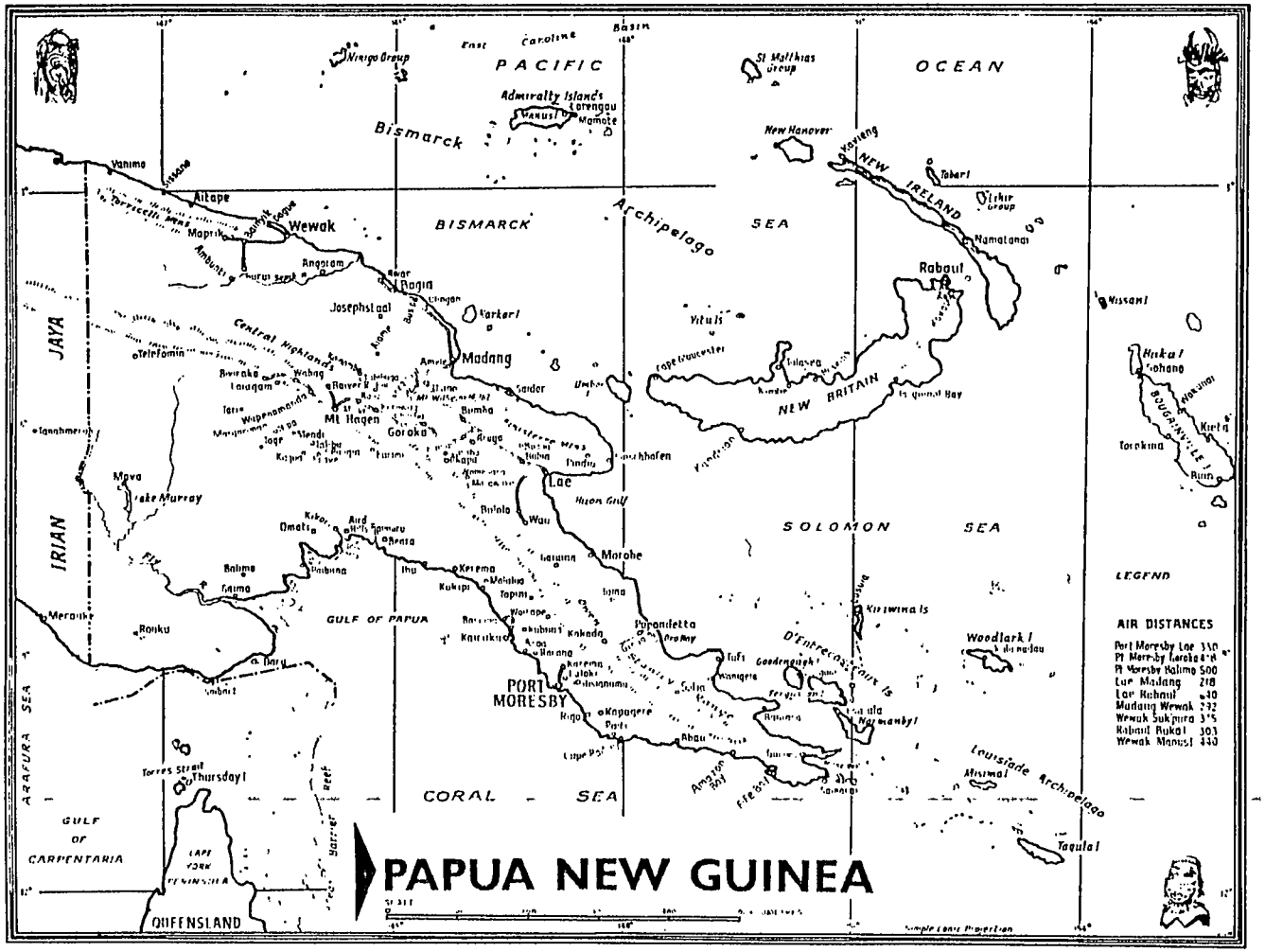
> This was a new village reconstructed after a recent intertribal fight. Still a considerable number of shrines with skulls in them. Got away from Camp 34 at daylight. Staved off an ambush prepared for us along the road by firing some shots into the cane grass, in which the natives were hiding. Followed a faint track through bush country up and down limestone ranges. No natives in this area, so the boys slept hungry. Camped at 4 p.m. Broke Camp 35 at 7:30 a.m. on the 8th. Climbed up 500 feet on the top of the range; could not find a track of any

> description, so cut our way and followed a compass course north. Found a native garden in the bush and camped.

But, on the other hand, according to oral reports by folk of Laiyo[6] and of the surrounding villages of Molo, Weipe and Alia, the members of the expedition were responsible for the rape of a woman,[7] and for the subsequent murder of three people (one woman and two men) in Laiyo village. As a result, the intruders hastily retreated northward, through the rain forest area known as Koipulu, which is owned by the Waluaperi clansmen of Alia village. (See Appendix Three regarding one account of this historic "first encounter" with whitemen.) There the prospectors left behind in a garden a large, gold-lipped pearlshell as compensation for punitive damages to sugar cane and other garden produce to which they had just helped themselves. The men of Alia found this pearlshell in the garden, so they gave the shell a special commemorative name, and it was held in possession for many years by Tepi Piapo of the Leri clan of Alia village.

Two years later in 1936, an official government patrol under the direction of Champion and Adamson traversed across the northeastern corner of the "Wiru plateau," making only brief contact with the people of Alia-Pomba, Morea and Tengai villages, before they crossed the ranges on the eastern edge of the valley on their way to the confluence of the Tua and Purari Rivers (Champion and Adamson 1936). This second encounter with the unknown, outside world was less fateful than the first.[8]

The major populated Wiru settlements on to the south of the Polu River missed out on these first two encounters, and so the stories that have arisen in their oral history are inevitably skewed in historical


PACIFIC
OCEAN
BISMARCK
SEA
Archipelago
SOLOMON
SEA
CORAL
SEA
GULF OF PAPUA
GULF OF CARPENTARIA
ARAFURA SEA
JAYA
IRIAN
NEW BRITAIN
NEW IRELAND
Bismarck
Admiralty Islands
Manus I.
Vanimo
Aitape
Wewak
Maprik
Angoram
Ambunti
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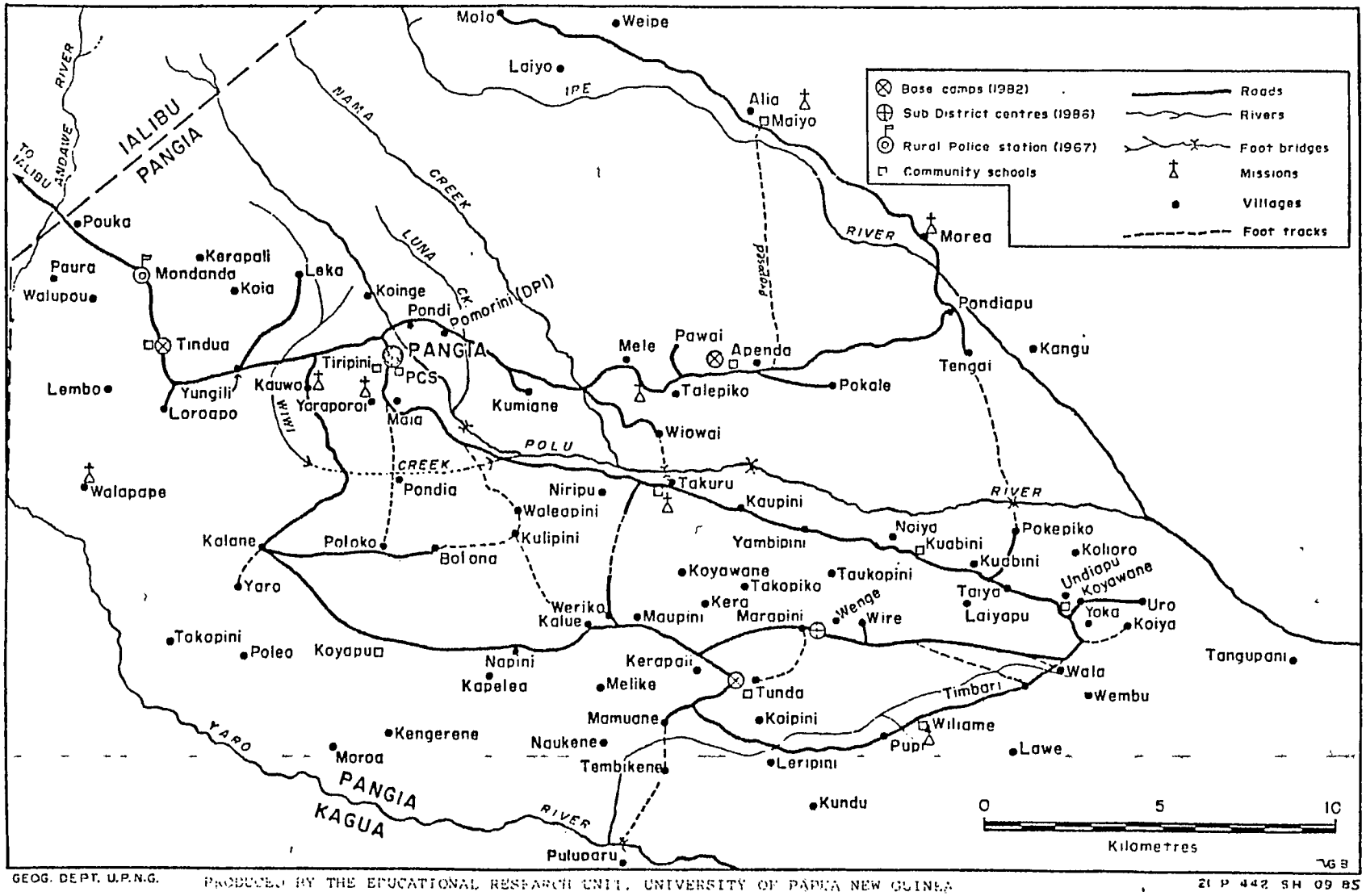

MAP 2. PANGIA DISTRICT: SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE

(or textual) accuracy (Barham 1983b, 1983c). Within less than a decade, World War II came to the coastal regions of Papua New Guinea, and it left just as abruptly--four years later. Ironically, as with many other Highlands groups, the Wiru were totally oblivious to these 'goings-on'--with perhaps the exception of seeing Japanese aircraft flying in formation overhead on their way to and from bombing raids on Perth and Darwin in western and northern Australia (but having no understanding as to what it was they were perceiving). Some Wiru thought these noisy, flying objects were spirits of some sort.

Such 'distant' encounters of a strange 'new world,' which was about to be thrust upon the Wiru, had certain deleterious social effects. Strathern (1977) has examined in detail one such effect which had manifested itself in an "infectious" outbreak of insanity or deviant behavior among numerous young men. This outbreak happened at about the same time the Australian colonial government started to administer the Wiru region. Although this phenomenon was in many points similar to the "wild man" behavior which had been observed and described in other areas of the highlands (Clarke 1973; Langness 1965), here among the Wiru it was confined only to the hamlets surrounding Tunda in the south central region of the Wiru plateau. Strathern discovered that stories of this "collective madness"[9] had been preserved in humorous, oral recollections by men of Tunda village, particularly by those selfsame individuals who had participated in this erractic behavior--behavior characterized by extravagance, excessive buffoonery and sexual aggression. Strathern delineated several possible causes for such "madness," one of which deals with the perceived onslaught of a new type of "control by white men."

> There seems to be, in the stories, an act of historical perspicacity. What the white men brought with them was a new type of control over property, behavior and will. The Wiru could not avoid being subjected to this control and had effectively experienced its first impact. . . . Police, guns, work, regulations, these cumulative elements must have given birth to an image of strong control. If this was so, the reaction of the madmen was the opposite. To put themselves "outside control" and thus furnish a strong, temporary "response" to the coming of the whites and to the unwanted accession of one amongst them to the new role of government.

Strathern has therefore suggested that this behavior should properly be seen as a "sign," one which marked the transition between two distinct eras of the Wiru way of life. For a brief period of time the normal rules of behavior were reversed (inverted); hence, the phenomenon functioned as "a 'rite of inversion' on a 'period of misrule'" (to appear, a).

This perception of an impending new era was no doubt accentuated by the fact that between 1950 and 1960 the Australian colonial government had increased its efforts in "taming" this yet uncontrolled, 'restricted' region, by sending 16 different government patrols into various parts of the Wiru region (Weeks, to appear). The expressed purposes for these patrols were varied, but the results were singular--the Wiru effectively experienced the intruding presence of a new, administrative power (Barham 1983b). Officially, the Wiru area was 'derestricted' on November 1, 1960, and the subsequent changes and social and economic developments among these 23,000 people[10] are the focus of an extensive report currently being prepared by S.G. Weeks, director of the Educational Research Unit, University of Papua New Guinea.[11]

1.4. Studies in Wiru Linguistics and Culture

In comparison to other sizeable language communities in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea, relatively little has been in print about the Wiru people until recently. Harland and Marie Kerr of the Summer Institute of Linguistics were the first Australian missionaries to enter the Polu River valley in late 1960--even before the date of official "derestriction." They located themselves at Borona, in what proved to be one of the stronger fighting alliances, centering around Poloko village. In 1967 Kerr wrote his M.A. thesis at the University of Hawaii entitled, "A preliminary statement of Witu[12] grammar: the syntactic role and structure of the verb" (Kerr 1967b). He also compiled in mimeographed form his early ethnographic notes (1967a), which continue to have great value, because they represent the one record of 'how life was' shortly after the Wiru area was subjected to Australian colonial administration and to evangelization by Christian missionaries. His unpublished Wiru-English dictionary (n.d.) stands as a major compendium of lexical, grammatical, and cultural information.[13] By 1975 Kerr had successfully justified the recognition of Wiru as "a regular Highland Papua New Guinea language with many of the most salient structural characteristics of languages within the stock" (1975:277).

Beginning somewhat at the same time on the northern side of the valley (late 1960), an American missionary, Gene Graves, affiliated with the Evangelical Bible Mission, also engaged in linguistic analysis and in understanding the culture of the Wiru. He compiled his linguistic insights in a short, 48-page spirit-duplicated booklet (Graves n.d.).[14] As far as can be ascertained, Graves never compiled his ethnographic observations on the Wiru culture, though he too was uniquely a "first

outsider" residing in the fighting alliance area which centered around Alia village on the northern perimeter of the Polu River valley.

Several years later in the mid-1970s a Catholic priest, Father Michael, who was residing at Yareporoi (near Pangia Station), saw the need for producing a pedagogical grammar of Wiru in order to facilitate language learning among the steady stream of expatriate mission and government personnel to the area. He utilized much of the same linguistic terminology that Kerr used in his 1967 thesis (especially in describing verb morphology), and he attempted to make the Wiru language more accessible to the linguistically naive language learner. The grammar was published in mimeograph form under the modest title, "A Simple Wiru Grammar" (Michael 1977). So characteristic of Father Michael himself, the work unassumingly bears no one's name as its author.

It was noted above that Kerr recorded early ethnographic notes on the Wiru culture, but it was not until A.J. Strathern published an article entitled, "Matrilateral Child Payments among the Wiru and Daribi" (1971a) that cultural information on the Wiru became known to wider anthropological circles. Before approaching the Wiru cultural situation, Strathern had for several years been actively researching and writing about the Melpa people, who reside in the region of Mt. Hagen, Western Highlands Province (1971b, 1971c, 1979). This group (which includes further dialect variations known as Kaugel and Imbonggu) are the northern 'neighbors' of the Wiru. Starting with his investigations of the Melpa as a 'cultural base' of comparison, Strathern has continued to look with much interest to the Wiru for understanding the issues and 'reflexes' of social change, i.e., how two 'different' ethnolinguistic

groups experienced contact with the 'same' dominating impact from colonial administration and Christian missions, at approximately the 'same' time period, and yet the subsequent 'developments' and 'social results' among the two groups appear to be so 'different.' Defining and outlining these parameters of social change are the focus of his writing regarding the Wiru culture (1977, 1982, 1984, to appear, a).

No doubt because of Strathern's prolific writing on the social scene of the Highlands region, especially in regard to the Melpa and the Wiru, and because of his serving as director of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies for several years, greater attention from various academic communities has been focused upon the Wiru in recent years. From the University of Adelaide, Australia, J. Clark set up residence in Takuru village for 17 months (December 1980-April 1982), proposing to investigate the nuances of group definition and social change in this centrally located village of the Polu River valley. Before leaving Papua New Guinea, he filed four reports with the Southern Highlands Research Committee (Clark 1981a,b,c,d) , and his subsequent research became the basis for his doctoral dissertation (1985), "From Cults to Christianity: continuity and change in Takuru."[15] The seminal ideas of the dissertation are contained in a significant article, "The Cultic Status of Christianity in Takuru" (In Weeks ed., to appear).

At different times in the past few years, two undergraduate research teams from Cambridge University have come to the Pangia area, specifically to the villages of and around the Takuru area. The first team of students came in 1981, and their focus of study was agriculture (Kelly 1982; Spore 1982). During 1983 a second team of students from Cambridge returned to the Takuru area for the purpose of studying the

patterns and effects of nutrition among school-aged children. One member of the group, Heather Barham, focused her research, however, on oral historiography and the familiar theme of 'social change among the Wiru.' She was able to accomplish noteworthy research and writing, especially in view of the short time of her stay (Barham 1983a,b).[16]

The most extensive research work to date on the Wiru is now in preparation. S.G. Weeks, director of the Educational Research Unit of the University of Papua New Guinea, has supervised educational research in the Pangia area for several years. In compiling an anthology on development and change in the Pangia area, he has drawn upon various resource personnel: expatriate researchers who have conducted studies in the Wiru region, missionaries who have worked among the Wiru (both past and present), and Wiru students who have demonstrated analytical and reflective acumen in their University studies. The anthology will doubtless serve to document from various perspectives the previous twenty-five turbulent years of social change and development among the Wiru (Weeks ed., to appear).

This present synchronic study will hopefully contribute to these ongoing diachronic studies of social change among the Wiru, although its intent is more narrowly (1) to explicate the means whereby a group maintains social equilibrium in facing the unpredictable--the silent unknown, and (2) to explore through critical reflection and phenomenology the inevitable "clash" of world views between differing human groups.

1.5. Classification, Typology and Grammatical Overview of the Wiru Language

Wiru, a non-Austronesian language, was first classified by S.A. Wurm (1964) as a member of the West-Central family of the East New

Guinea Highlands Stock (ENGHS).[17] At that time, there was some doubt expressed as to the position of Wiru within the West-Central family. As a consequence, Kerr did extensive historical and comparative linguistic research on Wiru in order to uncover "sufficient probable cognates shared with languages of the West-Central Family" and thereby confirm his assumption that this reflected a "genetic relationship rather than convergence and borrowing" (1975:277).

Kerr (1967:4) early on had noted that Wiru was "geographically a rather compact language group" within which there was "little evidence of any major dialect variation." By and large, the Wiru live in relative isolation from most of their neighbors.[18] Geographically, their most immediate neighbors border their tribal territory on the west and the northwest, i.e., the eastern dialect of Kewa (West-Central Family of ENGHS), and the Imbonggu, a dialect of Melpa (Central Family of ENGHS), respectively. Kewa meets Wiru all along its western 'borders'--all the way south to the Erave River. The northwestern Wiru villages situated on the southern foothills of Mt. Ialibu (13,500 ft.) are in close contact with Imbonggu language speakers (known as the Lai people by the Wiru).[19] Extensive primary rain forest to the north, as well as the rampaging Kaugel River, have effectively isolated the Wiru from their Melpa neighbors. (This river is beyond the range of Map 2.) On to the east, a very extensive primary rain forest and the confluence of the Kaugel and Tua Rivers have all but insured the total isolation of the Wiru from their Daribi neighbors. To the south, the sharp limestone ridges, another extensive primary rain forest, the swift Iaro River, and the massive Erave River--such geographical barriers as these--have contributed to the isolation of the Wiru from their Poloba neighbors.

Consequently, there is very little evidence of loan words or borrowing from these neighboring groups.[20] Nowadays, however, language use demonstrates a considerable borrowing of terms from Neo-Melanesian Pidgin, the lingua franca of Papua New Guinea, both among the young and the old--a sign of both changing times and increased "horizontal mobility" among the Wiru themselves.

According to typological structure, Wiru is a subject-object-verb (SOV) word-order language, and as such, it shares certain common syntactic features with other SOV languages.[21] Most notably, Wiru has **chaining structures** wherein medial clauses of some kind or another are linked together and precede a final clause, which contains a distinctive verb form, due to a characteristic 'final verb' morphology. Integrally related to clause chaining is the referential **switch reference** (S/R) system, which is manifested by a suffix with a vowel of varying quality, -lV, occurring on nonfinal verbs within the chaining unit. In addition, Wiru demonstrates characteristics of an **ergative** language, wherein the subject nominal of an intransitive clause and the object nominal of a transitive clause are marked in the same fashion (viz., unmarked, or zero suffixation), and by contrast, the subject nominal of the transitive clause is marked by a suffixal clitic, the -o or its variant -yo on proper nouns, and -me on all other nominals. As can be inferred from a universal tendency of languages with SOV basic word order, Wiru relationals are postpositional--there are no prepositional forms in the language.

1.5.1. On the Nature and Interpretation of Clause Chaining

Clause chaining has been described metaphorically as "a structure with an engine at the end, and a bunch of cars hooked on, preceding it" (Longacre 1972:2). The verb at the end of this clause-chain unit has been variously termed, but here the term of choice is the "independent-final" verb. An independent-final verb in Wiru is inflected obligatorily with tense (present, preterite, future, or perfective), person-and-number, and mood (indicative or imperative).[22] The verbs preceding the independent-final verb in the clause-chain unit tend toward greater morphological diversity and are referrred to as "dependent-medial" verbs. These dependent-medial verbs do not inflect for tense (in the primary sense of showing time relative to the present moment or act of discourse), but rather, they inflect with various relational markers which depict whether grammatically contiguous events (or spans) are conceptualized as either temporally succeeding or overlapping one another in the speaker's perception of real-world actions and events.[23] Dependent medial verbs also partially inflect with person-and-number (1.5.2.2).

Often the first link of a medial-final chain recapitulates the final clause of the preceding chain, through some medial form or another--either by an exact lexical repetition or by a proclausal reference. When this first link does occur, it functions as a backreferencing cohesive device and either propels the next clause-chain unit forward in time, or orients the next series of events as overlapping in time with the preceding events. Hence, the first link fills the grammatical "slot" of Temporal Margin. Although not every clause-chain unit begins with this first temporal link, it is argued in

section (5.3.3) that its absence is instructive to the grammar of discourse as well.

Clause-chaining units in Wiru may thus be viewed as manifesting a tripartite structure, as in Figure 3. That these clause-chains are to be considered as structural units is based on certain phonological criteria. (1) The independent-final verb receives falling intonation or a downglide on its final syllable, followed by pause. (2) Correlatively, each of the dependent-medial verbs receives either a rising intonation or a level, sustained pitch--indicating speaker's intention, 'more is yet to come.'

first link (Temporal Margin)	medial links	final link
recapitulation clause with medial verb	open-ended chain of clauses with medial verbs	clause with verb of disctinctive structure

Fig. 3. Links of the Wiru clause-chain unit

That the clause unit is a grammatical unit as well seems self-evident. Only the independent-final verb in the last clause of the chain locates the utterance in time, relative to the act of speaking. This final verb alone carries an "absolute" tense marker (Comrie 1976:1).

Precisely what kind of grammatical unit the clause-chain entity should be considered, however, is perhaps the most problematic question.[24] In some non-Austronesian langauges, clause chaining is in the domain of the paragraph (Longacre 1972:27-40; (early)-Scott 1973*; Parlier 1964; Healey, Igoreoembo and Chittleborough 1969). In others, it is in the domain of the sentence (Longacre 1972:40-45; Lawrence 1977;

Deibler 1976; West 1973; (later)-Scott 1978*, * who viewed the same language in two different ways).

After a careful perusal of grammatical descriptions of numerous non-Austronesian languages, it has been most plausible to interpret the clause-chain unit in Wiru as a SENTENCE. Unlike Fore, a language in the Eastern Highlands of PNG, in which the change to different subjects (DS) unambiguously indicates a different sentence within the chaining unit and the final verb can be considered as denoting paragraph closure,[25] Wiru may include several switches in the subject referent within one chaining unit. Perhaps the strongest argument offered here is the fact that the very first link of the chaining unit (a backreference clause which appears to function as a temporal margin) occurs as often with a S/R particle, indicating that the following clause will have a different subject referent (DS), as it does without a S/R particle, indicating that the same subject referent (SS) will follow in the next clause. Consequently, the domain of the Wiru sentence is not limited only to the same subject (SS). Before presenting an overview of the phenomenon of switching the subject referents within a clause-chain unit (see 1.5.3.), I will first highlight the structural characteristics of both final verbs and same-subject (SS) medial verbs.

1.5.2. Structural Inventory of Verb Tense-Aspect

Three structural descriptions of Wiru verb morphology exist at present (Graves n.d.; Kerr 1967; Michael 1977). Here I attempt to summarize the pertinent structural features commonly encountered in Wiru social interaction and discourse. While this is not intended to be yet a fourth description, upon closer comparison of my analysis it is

obvious that I differ from my predecessors in my interpretation of the referential function of the medial verb types.[26] The grammatical function of the various features of both final and medial verbs in relation to narrative discourse is described and illustrated in Chapter Five.

As already noted, there exists a grand structural division between independent-final verbs which occur only sentence finally and verbs which link or chain together sentence medially (dependent-medial verbs). All verb structures, irrespective of whether they are independent or dependent, consist of a verb base plus its inflection. The verb base, in turn, is viewed as the verb stem plus a stem formative (stf) plus aspect, considered here as an interlayered inflectional category, not as a derivational suffix. The ordering of the stem formative and aspectual suffix is subject to permutation. These generalizations are reflected in the following two formulas.

Verb	---->	Base	+	Inflection
Base	---->	Stem	+(Stem Formative)	+(Aspect)

Fig. 4. Formulas for verb morphology

1.5.2.1. Independent-Final Verb Morphology

The simplest form of the final verb is illustrated in Figure 5. There are five different classes of verbs[27] and four available tense inflections in Wiru: present, preterite, future, and perfective. The present tense is realized by the -k suffix; the preterite tense (or simple past) is realized by the -ko suffix or the portmanteau form, -ka,

for 2nd and 3rd person singular; the future tense is realized by the -o suffix. To these tense markers are suffixed one of three possible

+ Base	+ Inflection	
	+ tense	+ person/number
I. II. III. IV.	Present -k Preterite -ko -ka (2,3s portmanteau) Future -o	-u 1s -o 2,3s,1d/pl -i 2,3d/pl
V.	Perfective -nea	Ø (nonpersonal)

Fig. 5. Inflection of final verbs

person-and-number markers. These three suffixes manifest nine categories of person-and-number (i.e., 1,2,3 singular; 1,2,3 dual; and 1,2,3 plural), as in Figure 6. Only first person singular is marked unambiguously by the -u suffix.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-u	-o	-o
2nd	-o	-i	-i
3rd	-o	-i	-i

Fig. 6. Distribution of bound person/number suffixes on independent-final verbs

The fourth tense, what I call the perfective tense,[28] is realized by the suffix, -nea. It differs from the former three tenses

in that no additional person-and-number particle is suffixed to it in order to achieve subject-verb concord. Therefore, since the person-and-number of the perfective verb is obscured, the subject of the perfective verb must always be derived from the prior context.

The tenses of independent-final verbs include the notion of relative degree of completeness of an action. Thus, the usage of a present tense indicates noncompletion; preterite tense indicates a completed action; future tense denotes the expected fulfillment or anticipated completion of an action. The perfective tense denotes a past, completed action whose resultant state is still current. Most adjectives appear in the perfective tense, thus indicating the most extreme degree or state of completeness--a qualitative, stative attribution.

1.5.2.2. Dependent-Medial Verb Morphology

As for same-subject (SS), dependent-medial verbs, there are overt structural similarities with independent-final verbs (as noted above), but instead of indicating tense in an "absolute" sense, medial verbs index the action of one verb in relation to the following verb within the chain--indicating either temporal succession or overlap-and/or-simultaneity. There are no free-form conjunctions in Wiru; temporal relationships (shading into implicit, cause-effect logical relationships)[29] are indicated solely by the inflection of the dependent-medial verbs.

(1) There are four commonly encountered dependent-medial forms in social interaction and in monologue discourse also. The simplest structure for a SS-medial verb is the "stripped-down" form. It consists

merely of the verb stem plus the stem formative vowel, -a, which encodes all persons with the exception of first-person singular which is obligatorily marked with the medial first person suffix, -ne. Two particular motion verbs, 'go' and 'come,' however, are inflected differently than all other semantic categories of verbs, in that the stripped-down form consists of the verb stem plus each of the regular medial person suffixes, -ne, -me, or -re, depending on concord with the person and number of the subject referent (see Figure 8). In other words, neither of these two motion verbs has the simple formulation, [stem + -a#], as one of its stripped-down medial forms. (From one perspective these two motion verbs inflect in a more 'regular' manner than the majority of stripped-down verbs by virture of their utilizing each of the respective medial person suffixes, but it is because they are the only two stripped-down verbs which inflect in this regular manner that they are therefore considered as 'irregular' in inflection.) This structural variation in the stripped-down medial verb can be illustrated by positing the following two formulas: (a) for regular, and (b) for irregular inflection.

(a) verb stem: Majority of all semantic categories of vbs	+ stf vowel, -a (+-ne in 1s)
(b) verb stem: Two motion verbs, 'go' and 'come'	+ -a-ne/-me/-re

To illustrate these two formations of the stripped-down medial verb form, two paradigms are presented: one is the regular formation (i.e., applying to the majority of verbs), using the verb stem wi- 'hit/kill',

and the other formation is the 'irregular,' which appears on the two commonly used motion verbs. The verb stem po- 'go' is used in the latter paradigm.

	Regular			
	Sing		Plural	
1st	wi-a-ne	'I hit'	wi-a	'we hit'
2nd	wi-a	'you hit'	wi-a	'you hit'
3rd	wi-a	'he hit'	wi-a	'they hit'
	Irregular			
	Sing		Plural	
1st	po-a-ne	'I went'	po-re	'we went'
2nd	po-me	'you went'	po-re	'you went'
3rd	po-me	'he went'	po-re	'they went

Fig. 7. Two paradigms illustrating the structural formation of the stripped-down medial verb

This form indicates primarily a temporal relation of immediate succession within the clause chain. Depending, however, on the semantic nature of the verb, this relation of immediate succession may well shade off into an "associative" relation with the following verb, resulting in a kind of 'compounded action'--the two actions of which are distinct but nevertheless perceived as inseparable, as illustrated in examples (2), (3) and (4) below. Example (2) further illustrates the use of the stripped-down medial verb to indicate the immediate temporal succession of events in the clause chain,[30] as does example (1).

Example

(1) ...ei-na-ago no-me eni yomo kopini moro-ka-le
this-REF-man come-SUC.3s this divining.pole hold-SUC-3s.DS

no anu-me eno-a-ne "Pa-ra," wa o-ka-le ...
1s my-ERG see-stf-SUC.1s go-d.IMP QF say-SUC-3s.DS

"...this man came and he held this divining pole, and I myself saw (him), and he said 'Let's go!'..." (s4)

(2) Eni manago-me po-me likunu mo-a au-a no-ka.
this some-ERG go-SUC.3s night get-SUC carry-SUC come-PRT.3s

"This son-ERG (of mine) went and got it at night, and he brought (it) (back)." (s40)

(3) ...a tobou pine tõ-a mo-a...
up head hair pull.out-SUC get-SUC

"...they pulled-out (some of her) head hair..."
(SEMANTICALLY: pull out + get/hold = pull out for the purpose of using, not throwing away) (s8)

(4) Kini laike-ke eni-ka pade-ka pede-koa-ka
their desire-REL this-LOC some-LOC push-TR-LOC

au-a po-a-de-re to-ko-li...
carry-SUC go-stf-DES-pl.SS do-SUC-S/R

"To this place or to another place or wherever they pushed it according to their wishes and wanted-to-take-it-away-S/R..."
(SEMANTICALLY: carry + go = to take something away) (s24)

In example (1) there are two SS stripped-down medials, nome "he came" and eno-a-ne "I saw." Both actions are considered as punctiliar-successive events in the clause chain. Furthermore, there are two other verbs appearing in the chain which have also been glossed as succession (SUC) forms, morokale and okale. These inflected forms, however, are the DS-medials which encode temporal succession, -ka + S/R (switch-reference). (See 1.5.3.) In example (2) there are three SS stripped-down medials and a final preterite verb, which concludes the chain. The two-verb sequence, aua noka "he brought (it) (back)," consisting of a SS stripped down medial + PRT, illustrates the associative relation between the verb "to carry" (aua) plus a motion verb: "carry" + "come" = "bring." Example (4) illustrates the verb "to carry" plus the other motion verb in Wiru, "to go": "carry" + "go" = "take (away)." Example (3) illustrates the associative relation between

two stripped-down medials, which, in this case, are semantically related transitive verbs: "pull out" + "get/hold" = "pull out for the purpose of holding onto/using, not throwing away."

(2) The second medial verb form indicates an "anticipated" temporal succession, some time off in the future. Its structural formation is:

	INFLECTION	
verb base	+ desiderative suffix, -de	+ medial person

This form has already been illustrated by example (4) above. As per example (4) the desiderative (DES) medial form (e.g., poa-de-re 'go-DES-pl.SS', "they want to go") is most often followed idiomatically by the verb "to do," toko, which supplies the temporality of the phrase. (Cf. 1.5.4. regarding the Effectual Aspect verb phrase.)

(3) The third medial verb form has been most troublesome to account for as far as its temporal and/or referential signification is concerned. Structurally, this medial form is inflected in the following manner:

	INFLECTION	
verb base	+ -ko	+ stem formative vowel, -a (+ -ne in 1s)

Interestingly enough, not one of the three existing Wiru verb descriptions deals explicitly with this commonly occurring medial form. It could be that my predecessors have perceived the form as morphologically the same as a stripped-down medial verb plus the transitivizing suffix, -ka,[31] whereby an apparent intransitive action

is perforce strongly transitivized. Though this may well be the case, discourse study reveals that the -ko-a inflection does appear at times to indicate a "prior" or back-set temporal succession.

While Kerr (1967b) does not discuss the -ko-a inflection per se, in his dictionary (n.d.) he does make an entry for a similar, but more complex inflection, -ka-ko-a, which he views as a "durative suffix sequence attached to [a] medial verb indicating the time period during which the following action occurred" (63). From Kerr's perspective the function of this complex medial inflection is to indicate temporal overlap between events or activities. While I would not disagree altogether with this view, I prefer to interpret the temporal function of this -ko-a suffix as primarily focusing on a back-set or prior action (similar to the English perfect or past perfect), rather than upon the duration or overlap with a following action. Note examples (5) and (6):

Example

(5) aru piri-ka-koa loburua pi-a
steam throw-TR-PSUC stuff-SUC put-IMP

* "Pack (the things) while (the children) are asleep."
"When (the children) have-gone-asleep, pack up (the things.)"

(6) aru piri-ka-ke-re loburua pi-a
throw-TR-OVLP-pl

"While (the children) are-sleeping, pack up (the things)."

Example (5) has been taken from Kerr's dictionary, and so the translation with an asterisk is his. My translation, which reflects my interpretation of the -koa medial inflection, follows and is offered as a alternative; to be sure, the children are to be asleep when the packing is to take place, but more precisely it is when the children have gone asleep that the imperative, "pack up," comes into force.

Example (6), acquired from text, is included to demonstrate that there is another medial verb form which focuses primarily on the temporal relation of overlap.

(4) The fourth dependent-medial verb form, according to my view, accounts for this temporal relation of overlap between syntactically contiguous actions. This medial verb is inflected with the temporal overlap suffix, -ko (or its morphological variant, -ke), followed immediately with an obligatory medial-person subject suffix (-ne 1s, -me 2/3s, or -re pl). This may be formalized as follows:

	INFLECTION	
verb base	+ -ko ~ -ke	+ medial-person: -ne/-me/-re

Example (6) above has already previewed this medial verb form, but the following two examples will serve to illustrate further the Wiru perception of overlapping events.

Example

(7) ...eni yomo kopini pinago-me o-ko-me,
this divining.pole owner-ERG say-OVLP-3s

'Eni opi one wiranago yapu wia...'
this now 3s killer house hit.SUC

"...this diviner was-saying, 'Now this (pole) (wants) to strike the house of the killer...'" (s56)

(8) ...ali-me eni wi-moro-ko-me one keri piroa...
man-ERG this kill-CAUS-OVLP-3s 3s down flee.SUC

"...while the man-ERG was-causing-the-killing of this (girl), he fled down there..." (s55)

One of the strongest arguments for interpreting this fourth medial form as temporal overlap is provided by example (7). Direct

quoted speech in Wiru is nearly always 'bracketed' by quotation formulas (QF)--an initial QF preceding the quote as well as a closing QF after the quote. It is the initial QF that must obligatorily be inflected with temporal overlap (e.g., e-ke-ne '1s,' o-ko-me '2/3s' or e-ke-re 'pl'), whereas the closing QF (not shown in example 7) is inflected according to its location in the chaining unit--with final tense inflection if it is the final verb of the chain, or otherwise, with medial temporal succession (with or without switch-reference). It is obvious that the two quotation formulas do not refer to two separate acts of "saying," but rather only one. The first QF, by being inflected with temporal overlap (or simultaneity), clearly signifies that the ensuing reported words came out of the speaker's mouth while he was in the act of speaking.

As for example (8), the storyteller of the divination narrative is not attempting to establish the precise time of death of Lipu. It is my own western time orientation that makes me assume the assailant had already caused the girl's death and then 'he fled down the path.' But this is not the perspective shared by the storyteller. He is operating out of a cognitive base which is "event-oriented" and "holistic" (see Chapter Four), and so his perception of the murder scene is such that the 'total sequence of circumstances' on that fateful day 'was causing' the girl's death, not just one brutal act. In example (8), then, the first medial verb is inflected with temporal overlap and also with causative (CAUS) aspect, strongly depicting that 'it was during this whole event of causing the girl's death that the man fled down over a hill to the creek bed'--a macro-event (causing the girl's death) overlapping a constituent action (fleeing away).

As already stated, the dependent-medial verbs partially inflect for the person-and-number of the subject referent. Though this is indeed the case, all SS-medial verbs, however, take a totally different set of person suffixes than the ones used with independent-final verbs. Figure 8 compares the two, bound subject referent systems, and it reveals that there is only one bound subject pronominal referent that is marked unambiguously in Wiru in both systems, viz. first person singular.

	Dependent-Medial		Independent-Final	
Number	Sg	D/Pl	Sg	D/Pl
1st	-ne	-re	-u	-o
2nd	-me (~ -a, non-1s)		-o	-i
3rd				

Fig. 8. Two personal pronoun suffixal systems bound to verbs and co-referential with subject of the clause

In other words, through verb morphology alone clear demarcation between SELF and OTHER is always possible, indeed necessary. All other categories of person-and-number are, however, to a certain extent referentially ambiguous in the verb morphology. Hence, additional nominal or pronominal reference in the surrounding context is normally required for clarifying the person-and-number of the subject of the clause.

To conclude this section on medial verbs, the following figure is presented with a twofold purpose in mind: it is intended first as a summary of the foregoing discussion on the four types of same-subject

(SS) dependent-medials. Secondly, though the different-subject (DS) medials have not yet been discussed, the figure includes the two forms of the DS-medial verb inflection as a a point of reference and comparison in the ensuing discussion regarding switch-reference, i.e., different-subject (DS) medial verbs.

Temporal Relation	OVERLAP	SUCCESSION		
		Prior	Immediate ~ (Associative)	Desiderative (Future)
SS	-ko ~ -ke	-ko-a	stripped-down -a	-de

DS		SUCCESSION $-kV_1-lV_2$ $(V_1 \neq V_2)$
	OVLP/LOGICAL $-kV_1-lV_2$ $(V_1 = V_2)$	

Fig. 9. Temporal relationships encoded in SS-medial verbs and in DS-medial verbs

1.5.3. Switch-Reference[32]

Canonical switch-reference in Wiru is an inflectional category of the medial-verb, indicating that the subject of the following 'reference clause' will be different from the preceding 'marking clause.'[33] Unlike other languages in the ENGHS, the switch-reference suffix in Wiru, -kV-lV (with two variable vowels) does not anticipate the subject of the reference clause. Instead the final variable vowel of the S/R suffix is in grammatical concord with the person-and-number of the subject of the marking clause. Switch-reference functions as a device for referential tracking, thereby avoiding ambiguity of reference within the sentence where "conditions of economy" prevail and "deletion

under identity" is commonplace (Haimon 1983:126). As a matter of linguistic principle, "one does not specify what is familiar or already known" (126). This is precisely the case in Wiru where subject deletion is the norm.

The switch-reference particle itself, -lV, suffixes to a verb form which shares definite similarities with the features of 'final' verb forms (i.e., the -k ~ -kV suffix which normally indicates final tense and person-and-number). (See Fig. 5.) The result is a two morph sequence which (1) marks S/R, and (2) distinguishes succession versus overlap/logical varieties of clause connection. The morpheme, -kV, may be historically connected with -ko ~ -ke overlap and -ko succession, but this seems no longer to be a synchronic morphemic connection.

Though the resulting verb form 'looks' like a type of final verb, it nevertheless occurs with phonological features that are clearly nonfinal. Furthermore, verbs that are inflected with S/R never occur in the final link of a sentence, whereas they often do occur in the very first link or temporal margin of the sentence (e.g., 20% of the chaining units or sentences in the eyewitness text on divination begin with the initial clause plus S/R). It appears, therefore, that the verbs which are inflected with switch-reference are actually "modified final verbs operating as medial verbs."

(1) As indicated in Figure 9, there are two forms of switch reference, each with its particular semantic and/or referential function within the sentence (or even across sentence boundaries in some instances). The first form of switch-reference functions to indicate temporal succession of two activities or events, the subject or agent of which are different. The SUC-S/R is formed by suffixing the -kV-lV

morph sequence to a verb, resulting in the appearance of shared structural similarities with a **final preterite tense.** The two variable vowels here are not in vocalic harmony. The final vowel functions to indicate the person-and-number of the subject of the marking clause (utilizing what appears to be the independent final person endings, see Fig. 8). The following paradigm presents this SUC-S/R form in order to clarify its structure. The verb stem ene- 'to see' is used as the exemplary verb.

	Sg	D/Pl
1st	ene-ko-lu	ene-ko-lo
2nd 3rd	ene-ka-le	ene-ko-li

Fig. 10. DS-medial with switch-reference suffixed to a modified preterite verb, indicating temporal succession

This form of switch-reference is the most frequent form ocurring in the divination account (as well as in most other narratives I have examined, Fullingim 1979, 1980a, 1980b). The following examples illustrate its usage within the clause chain. (Cf. example (1) above as an illustration of the second/third singular form.)

Example

(9) "Di-koa eni te-o au-a neke-nea pe?" wa-ne
like.this-PSUC this who-ERG carry-SUC come-PRF Q QF-1s

anu-me o-ko-lu o-ko-me, "Eni manago-me po-me
my-ERG say-SUC-1s.DS say-OVLP-3s.SS this son-ERG go-3s.SUC

likunu mo-a au-a no-ka," wa o-ka.
night get-SUC carry-SUC come-PRT.3s QF say-PRT.3s

"'So then, just who brought this (here)?' I myself asked-S/R, and he said, 'This son-ERG (of mine) went and got (it) at night and brought it (back),' he said." (s40)

(10) ..."'Kuekiri pi-k-o pe?' wa yare-ko-lo, 'Kuekiri mena-no,
money lie-p-3s Q QF ask-SUC-1pl.DS money no-AST

eni nee odene wini pi-k-o,' o-ka-le 'Ni ne-ka
this food only there lie-p-3s say-SUC-3s.DS so you-also

no,' wa eina yapu po-re ...
come.IMP QF this-REF house go-pl.SUC

..."'Is there money or something like that in here?' we asked-S/R, 'There's no money; this food is the only thing over there,' he said-S/R, 'Then you also come (in),' (we) said and went into this store ..." (s63)

(2) The second form of switch-reference functions to indicate activities which either overlap or are in a close, cause and effect relationship. The OVLP-S/R is formed by suffixing the -kV-lV sequence to a verb form, resulting in the appearance of shared structural similarities with a **final present tense.** The variable vowels of the two morphs are in complete vowel harmony with each other. As in the other form, the final variable vowel also functions to indicate the person-and-number of the subject of the marking clause (utilizing the independent final person endings, see Fig. 8). The following paradigm illustrates this second S/R form, and the reader is directed to compare the structural difference between the SUC-S/R (cf. Fig. 10) and the OVLP-S/R (cf. Fig. 11). The verb stem me-(re)- 'to give' is used in the example.

It should be apparent after comparing Figure 10 and Figure 11 that there is one form which is ambiguous in that the 'same' form appears in both paradigms, namely the first person plural (which is also the same form for the second/third singular subordinate S/R as well).

This is a troublesome form, to say the least, because I have to date not found a sure method for differentiating between the first person plural

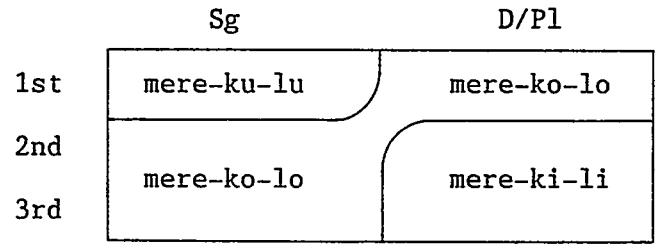

Fig. 11. DS-medial with switch-reference suffixed to a modified present tense verb, indicating temporal overlap and/or the logical relation of cause and effect

forms. But example (11) is a statement that I myself have assumed to be the DS-OVLP/LOGICAL form in the situation in which it was used.

Example

(11) Ne-me kai mere-ko-lo kee wa-ne u-k-u.
you-ERG pig give-OVLP-2s.DS thanks QF-1s say-p-1s

"You are giving-SR (me) pork and so I am saying, 'Thank you.'"
(or, "It is because you are giving me pork that I am saying, 'Thank you.'")

On the other hand, in example (11) I had to be given the pork first, and then afterwards say thank you. So there is a temporal succession here as well. But, this is the inherent nature of cause and effect to be sure--a prior action causing or bringing about a subsequent effect. The focus, however, is more upon the relation of logical impingement and not upon temporality. Perhaps example (12) will illustrate this more clearly.

Example

(12) Sevene kiloko-ke tiri-a ka-moro-ka-ko-lo
seven o'clock start-SUC stand-CAUS-TR-OVLP-1pl.DS

ei-na-ke-a kamo-a ...
this-REF-REL-thing stand.up-SUC

"At seven o'clock we began causing (it) to get up, and this thing got up ..." (s46)

1.5.4. Verbal Aspect

Verbal aspect is expressed either through verb suffixes (as indicated in the previous formulas of verb morphology) or also through verb phrases (e.g., the effectual, durative-existential, or completive VP). Of these two means, aspectual verb phrases are far more prevalent in discourse and are in fact part and parcel of nearly every speech utterance. The following listing presents many of the aspectual verb suffixes commonly encountered in social interaction. The list is not exhaustive, nor will illustrations be given for them individually. Such a task is beyond the scope and purpose of this thumbnail grammatical sketch. [The reader is directed to Kerr (1967:79-124) for a detailed discussion of verbal aspect.] In the following list, the symbol # indicates that the aspectual suffix occurs word final; the capital letter, V, indicates a phonologically variable vowel. Some forms also have variant forms, or allomorphs.

Statements regarding the discourse function of these aspectual suffixes are relatively infrequent in this paper as compared with statements regarding elements that are morphologically marked as being on-the-line. Because of this apparent lack of emphasis, however, one should not assume that these forms function primarily in off-the-line or background material in narrative discourse. I simply have not focused on their function in the text analysis.

Adversative	-ke #	Habitual	-ai #
Assertive	-nV #	Incessant	-logo ~ -lega
Benefactive	-ka	(spatially-sustained activity)	
Causative	-moro	Manner	-le #
Conclusive	-ya #	Negation	-mV
(settled, definite)		Purposive	-reko
Continuous	-kama #	(intended activity)	
Directionality	-pe	Repetitive	-kala #
Durative	-ma #	Totality	-rape
Factitive	-rV #	(comprehensive action)	
Frustrative	-yake #	Transitivizer	-ka
(forestalled activity)		Unwitnessed activity	-deko #

Fig. 12. Partial listing of verb aspect suffixes in Wiru

There are also three types of aspectual verb phrases which frequently occur in discourse: the effectual, the durative-existential, and the completive verb phrase. In structural form, these phrases closely resemble clause chaining. However, unlike a clause chain, no other words may intervene between the two constituent verbs of the phrase. If a sequence of two verbs does not conform to one of the three structures below, then it is considered to be a chaining of two clauses in accordance with my analysis of medial verb forms (1.5.2.2. and 1.5.3.).

(1) Effectual Verb Phrase

+ medial verb phrase (with semantic content)	+ to- do

In example (4) above the effectual verb phrase was illustrated by the phrase,

From example (4)

au-a poa-de-re to-ko-li . . .
carry-SUC go-DES-pl.SS do-SUC-pl.DS

"they wanted to take it away . . ." (s24)

The semantic-syntactic layering of the verbs is indicated above by the line brackets drawn over the respective verbs. 'To carry' plus 'to go' forms the semantic notion of 'taking something away.' It is this 'taking away' that is modified by the generic verb, 'to do,' which supplies the temporality of the clause as well as providing the carrier for the S/R marker. Example (13) illustrates this same function of the effectual verb phrase.

Example
(13) ... torono[1] moro-ka-ya to-ko-lo[2] to-k-o-no[3]
custom hold-PRT.3s-ABIL do-C/E-pl.DS do-p-3s-AST

"... it-is-doing-this[3] because that is the way we held it[2] by custom[1]" (s56)

(2) Durative-Existential Verb Phrase

+ medial verb phrase (with semantic content)	+ existential verb
	me- 'sit' pi- 'lie' ka- 'stand'

The durative-existential verb phrase functions to indicate a duration of an action, a process, or a state. The second verb of the phrase must be one of the three existential verbs in Wiru, 'sit, lie or stand.'

Example
(14) Wi-a wi-a wi-a ka-wa ...
hit-SUC hit-SUC hit-SUC stand-SUC

"It struck and struck and just kept striking ..." (s54)

(15) No kago-ke
1s door-REL

di-koa-ne keri-pea-ne ene-koa-ne me-ko-lu ...
like.this-PSUC-1s down-DIR-1s.SUC see-PSUC-1s sit-SUC-1s.DS

"I was sitting at the door and looking down in (the hut) like this ..." (s75)

The semantic-syntactic layering of the extended verb phrase in example (15) is again indicated by the line brackets. The semantic build-up proceeds as follows: enekoane 'I was looking' is the main verb, + keripeane 'I was looking down in (the hut)' + dikoane 'I was looking down in (the hut) like this' + ASPECT, mekolu 'I was in the state of (i.e., in a sitting posture) looking down in (the hut) like this.'

(3) Completive Verb Phrase

+ medial verb (with semantic content)	+ reduplication of verb

The completive aspectual verb phrase functions to indicate that an action has been completed and that it was not (or, will not be) reversed or undone. There is only one example of this aspectual phrase in the divination text. The stripped-down medial verb, toa 'do,' functions here as the relativization marker. (See 5.2.1. for a discussion on the discourse function of relative clauses.)

Example
(16) ... ei-na akoma nine-ke
this-REF girl mother-REL

a-ra poa-do-me peke-ne to-a po-me
up-LOC go-DES-3s.SS go-PRF do-SUC go-3s.SUC

"... where this girl had wanted to go and had gone up toward Molo to (her) mother, it [the divining pole] went ..." (s25)

This was most assuredly a journey of no return for the little girl who

became the innocent victim of a young man intent on rape. Some may query regarding example (16) that it is the perfective tense of pekene (the final vowel of pekenea is ellided for relativization) which indicates the completive aspect or this notion of finality. However, when I was departing from Papua New Guinea in order to return to the USA, I was asked the question in example (17) numerous times, to which I supplied the subsequent answer.

Example
(17) Kiwi pe-ke-re po-o pe?
you.pl go-OVLP-pl.SS go-f.1pl Q

Mena. Toro pe-ke-re po-a-mo-o.
no we go-OVLP-pl go-stf-NEG-f.1pl

"Are you going away altogether?" (i.e., not returning to PNG)
"By no means! We will not be going away for good" (i.e., we plan on returning someday to your place).

1.6. Segmental Phonemes of Wiru

The phonemes of Wiru are presented in the following two figures (adapted from H.B. Kerr 1962).

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar
Stops (vl)	p	t	k
(vd, prenasalized)	^{m}b	^{n}d	^{n}g
Nasals	m	n	
Liquid / Lateral		l	
Glides	w	y	

Fig. 13. Consonant phonemes of Wiru

	Front	Mid	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Fig. 14. Vowel phonemes of Wiru

Orthographic adjustments have been made in relation to the phoneme /t/. The letter {t} is used word initially to represent the voiceless, aspirated stop [t^h], and the letter {r} is used word medially to represent the flapped "r" [ɾ̆], an allophone of the phoneme /t/. This decision was made because of the familiarity and influence of the orthography of the lingua franca, Neo-Melanesian Pidgin. In addition, most all younger speakers of the language, who have been exposed to either Pidgin literacy or English school, readily point out the perceived "difference" in the pronunciation of an intial [t^h] and a medial [ɾ̆], and there is an insistence on representing this difference through separate alphabetic symbols. Another orthographic adjustment has been made for writing the prenasalized, voiced stops. Since there are no non-suspect sequences of contoids in the language, the prenasalized stops are written as single, complex phonemes: /b/, /d/, and /g/.

In addition to the five oral vowels, Wiru also has five corresponding nasal vowels, i.e., they have the 'same' vocalic location as the oral vowels but are nasalized.[34] Orthographically, the nasal vowels are represented by a tilde /˜/ over the respective vowel letter.

As loan words from Neo-Melanesian Pidgin are being used more and more frequently in Wiru, one additional phoneme, which does not appear in Figure 13, is slowly 'pressuring' its way into the phonological system--the fricative sibilant /s/. The list of thirteen consonant and five vowel letters is therefore as follows:

Consonants: b, d, g, k, l, m, n, p, r, (s), t, w, y

Vowels: a, e, i, o, u

ã, ẽ, ĩ, õ, ũ (with nasal diacritic)

Endnotes

[1]From October 1975 through April 1979 and from September 1982 through June 1984 my wife, our two children, and I lived among the Wiru who are located north of the Polu River in the Pangia District of the Southern Highlands Province. We worked as missionary linguists at the Alia Mission Station under the auspices of the Wesleyan Church Corporation, and I held Work Permit #344482 with the PNG Department of Labor and Industry. Our research work was sanctioned by the Southern Highlands Research Committee and is on file in Mendi, the capital of the Southern Highlands Province, as well as in the library of the University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby.

[2]It is worthwhile to note that my supervising professor, R.E. Longacre is well acquainted with the art of legerdemain, magic, or deception, having himself been the son of a once semiprofessional magician. Longacre has related how his father had a lifelong preoccupation with the art of legerdemain, from his grade school years on to the end of his life. It was from the years 1925-1939 that Wm. K. Longacre took his show on the road around the Akron, Ohio, area, calling the show, "Longacre and Company Novelty Magic." At one time he was the president of the Zeppelin ring of the International Brotherhood of Magicians (I.B.M.). On one occasion, the famous conjurer, Harry Blackstone, was entertained in the Longacre home. In view of this familiarity with legerdemain, R.E. Longacre has continually insisted during the writing of this paper that I recognize the importance of the art and role of deception in so-called "paranormal" events.

[3]I recognize that I may "learn" <u>something</u> about another person through mere observation of his behavior. But even when I do observe behavior alone, I must be able to <u>interpret</u> not only "what" he is doing in accordance with my culturally-based semiotic system (note here the "signs" we make in a game a charades, the referents of which are capable of being guessed by someone who shares our 'same' semiotic system), but I also must <u>interpret</u> "why" he is behaving in such a manner--if I am to "learn" something about him. It is in this sense that even human behavior itself must be considered a part of a broader semiotic system.

As for my relationship with an infant without language, I must interpret the signs of his/her behavior (e.g., crying, whining, cooing, etc.) and confirm my interpretation through trial and error of my own responses. In other words, when I have responded in an appropriate manner (i.e., satisfactorily according to my intuition), then I may assume that I have correctly interpreted his behavioral signs. As for my knowing another person who <u>has</u> language facility, I must confirm my interpretation of his behavior in one of two ways (there may be more): I may <u>ask</u> him personally the questions of "what" and "why", expecting to receive truthful responses in the interview, thus confirming my interpretation or otherwise correcting it.

However, I also must recognize that--for one reason or another--people do lie, deceive, tell half-truths, cover up, pervert the truth of a matter intentionally or unintentionally; they may even say things believing these to true about themselves, but indeed things are

just the opposite. Consequently, the second way I confirm my interpretation about the behavior of another person is by registering what he says and comparing this linguistic response with his actual behavior or praxis. (This is where our English adages come to mind: "Actions speak louder than words"; "Practice what you preach"; and even "His bark is worse than his bite".) If, in my perception, his words/discourse (which I must interpret) about his behavior (which I have formerly interpreted through mere observation) do not correspond with his behavior (which I must interpret anew), then the anomaly between his linguistic signs and his behavioral signs may or may not confirm my original interpretation. In a sense, this second means of confirming my interpretation is also a trial-and-error or guess-and-check process.

Consequently, when I say, "we can know and validate very little about the cognitive world view of people apart from evidence from their language use," I mean correlatively that apart from language my knowledge of another person (or situation) at best remains rudimentary. Note the importance of discovering the "black box" (a recording of oral language) at the site of a plane crash in order for investigators to interpret the what and why of the crash, or in finding the suicide note (a recording of written language) in order for the family or authorities to interpret what went wrong and why choosing life was no longer an alternative for that person.

[4]It would be very wrong to think the Wiru had no 'history' prior to their contact with the outside world (i.e., Australian colonial administration). Nevertheless, because the Wiru do not have a tradition of writing, many of the finer details of historical accuracy (dates, chronological ordering of events, etc.) are skewed and have changed over time through oral transmission. I agree wholeheartedly with Barham (1983b) who writes,

> An account of Wiru history in the decades or even centuries before contact, would be useful, describing the origins and relationships of different clans to one another and their patterns of politics and warfare. Such a study would throw further light on the local response to the first patrols and correct the impression that "history" for the Wiru began when they first saw a white man.

Hughes (1977) has attempted to document stone age (prehistorical) trade patterns among the Wiru, as evidenced by the presence, or absence of (or even the lexical memory of) such commodities as salt, mineral oil, pigments, stone axes, and shells. Barham (1983a, 1983b) follows somewhat the same line of inquiry as Hughes, builds upon his inferences, and adds valuable insights into a reconstruction of the era prior to the Wiru contact with western civilization, as well as documenting the evidences of subsequent social change among the Wiru.

The topic of social change among the Wiru has been of theoretical and comparative interest to A.J. Strathern for the past 15 years (1971a, 1972, 1977, 1982, 1984, in S.G. Weeks, ed., to appear). J. Clark (1985) has also made the topic of social change among the Wiru at Takuru the focus of his Ph.D. dissertation.

[5]Continual aggravation between the men of Laiyo and the men of Pomba to the east (present-day Alia) led to frequent, open conflict between the two groups. The men of Alia found it next to impossible to 'invade' Laiyo and had suffered many losses, primarily because on the outskirts of Laiyo village there were numerous, thick stands of sugar cane, behind which the warriors of Laiyo could stand and handily defend their village. As the story goes, the men of Alia conspired and began circulating their 'boasts' of how they were effectively killing their enemies at Laiyo because of all the sugar cane outside of Laiyo village providing them with such good, protective cover. "We only hope these Laiyo folk never discover our secret and cut down all that sugar cane. If they do, we surely won't be able to inflict serious losses on them anymore!" Thinking this to be so, the men of Laiyo fell for the tricksters' boast, and cut down all their sugar cane and cleared the approaches to their village. When spies from Pomba-Alia saw they had gained the desired results of their 'boasting,' they returned to their village and prepared for a massive assult on Laiyo. The warriors filled the mountain air with their "war chants" (poipulu toane) throughout the night. When the folk of Laiyo heard these voluminous chants resounding in the still, night air, they gathered up all their possessions and fled in terror from their village and moved further on west, to the present-day site of Laiyo. Early on the next morning, when the Pomba-Alia warriors approached the village site, they discovered that there were no inhabitants left. So they just burned the village to the ground. This site is known today as Tumu-Laiyo, 'deserted Laiyo.'

This historic happening, preserved through its reference in 'social jesting' between men of Alia and Laiyo, transpired within the year before the arrival of the Leahys' Expedition of 1934. Hence, Laiyo village, as noted by the Leahys, had truly been newly constructed.

[6]The story of first contact with Europeans is a central theme in the oral history of Laiyo village. Eiye Tipi, an elderly big-man of Were-Kambiri clan, recounted for me on two and a half hours of tape recording, the 'historical' beginnings of Kambiri phratry, the decimation of his village by Pomba warriors (cf. endnote 3 above), his first contact with the presence and 'power' of Europeans in his village, and the events which led to the 'final' massacre of Laiyo village in the late 1940's-early 1950's by warriors from Mele village.

[7]The woman, now quite elderly, was still living (as of early 1984) in the present day hamlet of Lore.

[8]Though the people of Alia (formerly, Pomba) did not directly encounter the Leahy patrol of 1934, their immediate neighbors to the west--the folk at Laiyo village--had 'fresh' memories. As a result, the men of this entire northern Wiru region concluded that white men on these patrols solicited sex from their women.

One man from Alia related a tactic they used to prevent the Champion and Adamson patrol from molesting their women. 'We learned (or assumed) that white men did not want sex with menstruating women, so we cooked the red pandanus fruit (pagu) and smeared the red juice on the women's inner thighs. The white men only turned up their noses in

disgust, or disappointment!' This trickster story invariably brings laughter to its listeners.

[9]The so-called "collective" nature of this insanity (or madness) was exhibited by the 'contagious' manner in which insane, irrational behavior spread from one individual to another "through touch, sight or proximity" (Strathern 1977).

[10]This figure is based on a 1987 ERU (Educational Research Unit) report.

[11]To this significant work (in preparation), the author refers the reader who may be interested further in the history of experiences of contact between subordinate and dominant cultures and the subsequent socio-economic developments (or, consequences).

[12]This spelling of the language name with a /t/ is not a typographical error. Rather, it reflects Kerr's adherence to the phonemic rendering of the flapped [r] contoid. The phonemic rule is /t/ ---> [r]/ VCV, or, "/t/ goes to the flapped [r] intervocalically or word medially. (Cf. 1.6 for more information on the orthographic status of [r] versus /t/.)

[13]The dictionary is on file at the library of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea.

[14]There are virtually no extant copies of this brief but concise, phonological and grammatical statement.

[15]Clark's dissertation is not on file with University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor. On 11 October 1986 I requested in writing a photocopy of Clark's dissertation from the University of Adelaide, but up to the date of my oral defense of this study I have not received a reply.

[16]Barham has entrusted the numerous taped interviews into my keeping (Barham 1983c).

[17]As a result of extensive lexicostatistical observations, Stephen Wurm classified numerous languages of Papua New Guinea within a so-named "Central New Guinea Macro-Phylum," based on the criterion that languages showed cognation percentages of almost persistently below 12%, and most frequently in 7% - 3% range. Some years later Wurm called this 'macro-phylum' simply the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (1972:49). The East New Guinea Highlands Stock is the largest member phyla of the macro-phylum, based on the number of its speakers (Fig. 15 below). Wiru is considered as the 4e sub-family of the West-Central Family, but there is also pressure to consider it as a family-type isolate, as family 5, displacing Karam and Duna. (The dotted lines indicate the nebulous state of classification).

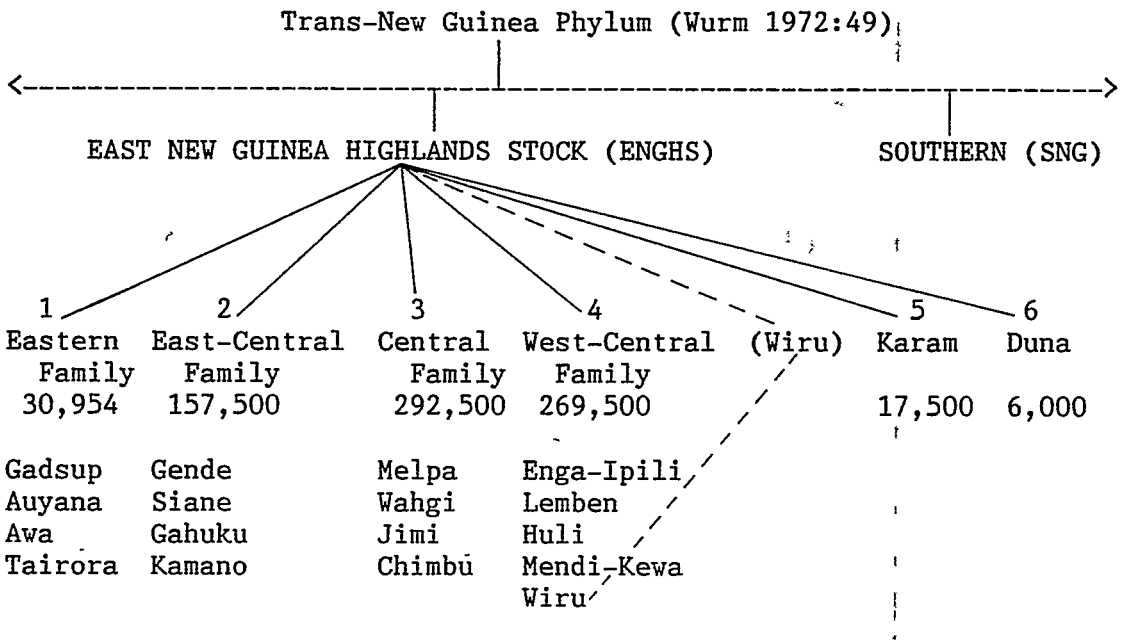

Fig. 15. The Trans-New Guinea Phylum for languages

[18]Figure 16 below demonstrates the approximate geographical relationship between neighboring langauges. It should be noted that a group of languages which has been encircled belong to the same language family. Furthermore, it should be noted that the West-Central Family and the Central Family are both members of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock. However, the Teberan Family to the south is a member of the Southern New Guinea Stock and is related to the ENGHS on only the phylum level (MacDonald 1973). The dotted line, therefore, indicates this more remote phylological relationship.

[19]In recent years there has been a marked increase in intermarriage between the Wiru and the Lai or Imbonggu speaking people.

[20]Geographical isolation of the Wiru from their neighbors may well be the major reason for the Wiru being considered a "compact language group" (Kerr 1967b:4), but this phenomenon cannot override or make obscure what were obvious stone-age trading patterns for commodities between the Wiru and their neighbors, as documented by Hughes (1977). In other words, their 'isolation' was by no means absolute.

[21]Most other languages in Papua New Guinea are also SOV word order languages. In typological structure they resemble Korean, Japanese, many languages of East and West Africa, of South America, and a few Amerindian languages of the American Southwest, and most languages of Ethiopia.

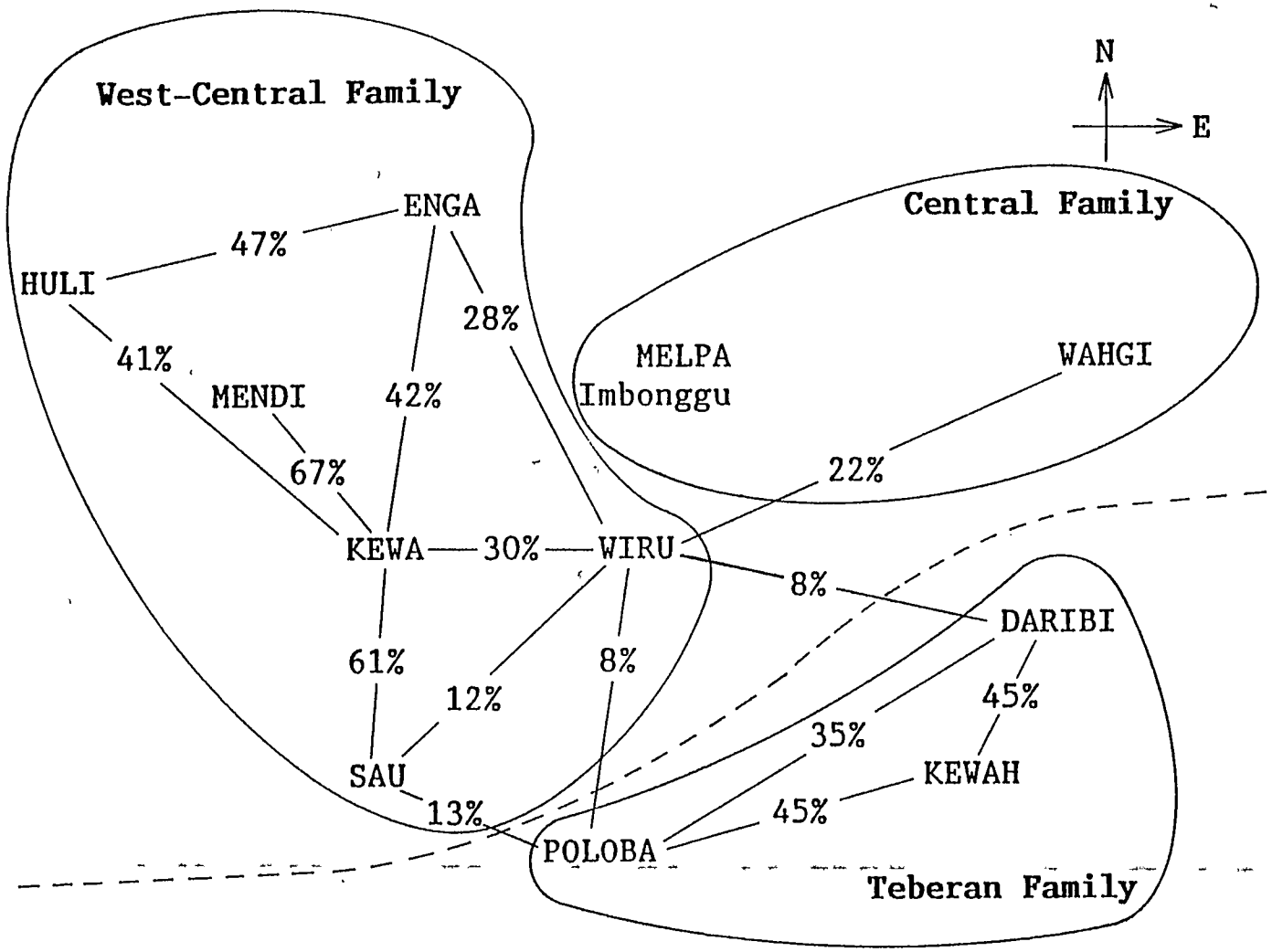

Fig. 16. Cognation and geographical relationships of Wiru with neighboring language groups

[22]The interrogative mood is realized not through verb morphology, but rather by means of an array of interrogative adverbs (occurring initially in the sentence) and by obligatory use of one of four possible interrogative adjuncts (occurring sentence finally). The adjuncts, mo and pe, function in marking polar or yes-no questions, as well as queries requesting information. The adjuncts, paru and paula, on the other hand, function in revealing various degrees of doubt and uncertainty on the part of the speaker himself--a disclaiming of any personal knowledge of a probable answer.

[23]In Pike's (1981b) discussion of the difference between the "structure of happening" and the "structure of telling" about that happening, he argues cogently that reference and grammar structures "must be treated separately in theory and analysis" (48). He illustrates in numerous ways how "grammar and reference structures are sometimes not isomorphic" (48), and he cites clause chaining as providing "powerful evidence" for demonstrating that "telling structures and happening structures are not the same" (51). He notes that "chaining involves partial repetition of one item as an introduction to the next," but that this backreference or "repetition of the telling does not imply that the event happened twice" (51). Here Pike's comment is obviously relevant to the frequently occurring 'first link' of the clause-chain unit. (See 1.5.1. and 5.3.3.) In this same vein Longacre maintains that the "native speaker conceptualizes an event as punctiliar-successive or as durative-overlap in ways that are not always in a 1:1 relation to reality" (personal communication). I fully agree with both Pike and Longacre on this issue of reality-as-perceived (reference) versus reality-as-talked-about (grammar). It is my assumption that a speaker's grammar instantiates a reflection of his own perception of reality, and at the same moment dialectically affects his perception of that same reality. (See 2.1. discussion.)

[24]The "problematic question" is only for some linguists. What kind of unit will he call a sentence, a series of sentences, a paragraph, etc.? The problem also relates to the practical matter of punctuation: where does the writer place a period versus a comma?

[25]Scott's (1973) earlier interpretation of Fore clause-chaining was innovative: "When the subjects of consecutive clauses remain the same (as indicated in the verb structure), the clauses form part of one 'sentence.' When the subject changes, a new sentence begins. This deviates somewhat from the usual stereotyped notion of sentence in that such units do not stand on their own in Fore. It is the paragraph in Fore that may stand alone without alteration" (5). However, his later work (1978) reflects a more traditional reinterpretation of the Fore clause-chain unit as consisting of "layers of linked clauses, the last of which is followed by a mood marker to form a sentence" (145).

[26]Figure 17 is taken from Kerr (1967b) and demonstrates his analysis of the two "dimensions of time" in Wiru sentences. The left column inventories the tense markers for final verbs, and the right column for medial verbs.

Number

Tense	Singular Time The Tense Categories of Final Verbs	Plural Time The Tense Categories of Medial Verbs	
Present	-k	-Ø	single time perspective
Past	-ko	-ko / -ke	multitime perspective
Future	-o	-de / -do	
	single time perspective		

Fig. 17. The two time dimensions in Wiru sentences according to Kerr (1967b)

That Kerr labels the column regarding the tense of final verbs with the additional parameter of "single time perspective" is suggestive of my notion (via Comrie 1976) of "absolute" tense--time in relation to the act of utterance (past, present, or future). Moreover, Kerr's parameter of "plural time" or "multitime perspective" is reflective of my notion that medial verbs "index" the action of one verb in relation to the following verb in the chaining unit. Thus far we agree; there is only a difference in terminology.

However, as a result of the discourse study herein described, a fundamental difference emerges in my interpretation of the temporal relation indicated by the stripped-down medial (Kerr's "present tense medial" manifested by Ø) and of the temporal relation indicated by the -ko / -ke medial verb inflection. According to Figure 17, the Ø form for Kerr indicates a "single time perspective," and I would assume this refers to overlap or simultaneity. However, this study will bear out that the stripped-down medial (the Ø form) signifies immediate temporal succession, for indeed in narrative discourse this simplest medial form propels the main storyline forward in time within the clause chain, just as the independent-final preterite does.

I do note, however, that according to the semantic domain of a particular verb, some stripped-down medials form a complex, "associative" relation with the following verb, such that the two actions are inseparable and thus viewed as but one action (hence, Kerr's "single time perspective"?). However, the evidence from discourse study is undeniable that in most instance the stripped-down medial indicates temporal succession and not overlap.

According to my view, overlap and/or simultaneity is indicated instead by the more complex medial form, marked by the -ko / -ke inflection. Kerr, it will be noted, interprets this form as indicating "multitime perspective." So, it is obvious that my interpretation simply switches these two forms around in Kerr's chart. For several

years I have followed his interpretation on the referential function of medial verb forms, but this particular discourse study has forced me to readjust my own thinking, and for the first time I "feel" comfortable (semantically and referentially) when I read a Wiru narrative.

[27]According to the morphological shape of the verb root, it has been necessary to posit five classes of verbs in order to account for the differences occurring in the verb base before adding inflection. The five classes with representative roots are listed here, and a more complete description of the morphological changes during verb conjugation is detailed in Kerr (1967) and Michael (1977).

I. Unchanging root (majority of verbs)

pe-	open	
ene-	see	
na-	eat, drink	
me-	sit	
ka-	stand	"existential verbs" (EVs)
pi-	lie	

II. Variable root vowel; V --> harmonizes with person suffix in PRS tense

pV-	go	V --> o, in PRT and FUT tenses
nV-	come	
tV-	do	
V-	say, speak	

III. The -rV stem-forming verbs

pi-(ri)-	sleep
wi-(ri)-	strike, kill
me-(re)-	give
ya-(re)-	hear, listen
ke-(re)-	shut
lu-(ru)-	tie in bundle
mo-(ro)-	get

IV. Nasal root vowel (-k --> -ng / V__)

tẽi-	cut
kõ-	wash
tã-	splash
kã-	chop (tree)
tõ-	pull up, take out
tĩa-	strip off (bark)

V. Complex roots (few in number)

tubere	grow big	pedeka	shove, push away
kapere	vomit	mirika	throw away/down
epere	be good	pirika	throw

[28]Kerr (1967b) calls this tense the "neutral" tense-aspect and notes that it denotes a "continuing action or state." Michael (1977:93,95) merely calls it a "special ending . . . which has no real equivalent in English." Graves (n.d.) does not consider it as a tense

at all, but nevertheless maintains that it denotes a "state, quality, characteristic, condition" (42).

[29]There are no markers for "strictly logical" relations in Wiru. Perhaps there is not such a clear demarcation between natural order and logical order in Wiru world view. Such is the case for the Berik langauge of Irian Jaya, as cited by Pike (1981a) in his discussion of grammar versus reference in the analysis of discourse. He notes that there are no conjunctions expressing logical relations in Berik, rather, "such relations are expressed in the sequence of telling" (64). He illustrates how the sequence of telling can simultaneously convey relations of both after and because, and he suggests that the Berik speaker sees no need to tell about events "outside their 'natural' order of happening" (64). Natural order is logical order; cause always precedes effect.

In his expanded statement calculus Longacre (1976, 1983a) regards both temporal and logical (implicational) relations as subcategories of sequential, basic deep structures. It appears that Longacre senses that natural order is common to both temporal and logical relations.

In regard to English discourse Hoey (1983), following the work of Winter (1971, 1977), maintains that "all systems for signally relations are rooted in the grammar of the clause" (Hoey 1983:18). Broadly speaking, there are "logical sequence" relations (linking successive events or ideas, whether actual or potential) and "matching" relations (whereby statements are 'matched' with one another in terms of degrees of indenticality of description). But, underlying these relations is still a more fundamental and governing relation, that of situation-evaluation, "representing the two facets of world perception 'knowing' and 'thinking'" (20). He declares, "Indeed . . . all relations are reducible to these basic elements" (20). This position seems to be another paraphrase for suggesting that 'natural order is logical order.'

[30]Examples are numbered consecutively in each chapter, with the number appearing in parentheses. Several examples are taken from the narrative account on the divining pole. If so, then the sentence reference number from the divination narrative in Appendix One will be included in parentheses following the English translation of the example, e.g., (s4) = "from sentence #4." If there is not a number following the English translation, then that particular example has been taken from other language text material not available to the reader.

[31]In other words, the transitivizing -ka suffix is here considered as having a morphological variant which is conditioned phonologically, according to the rule, -ka ---> -ko/ ___a.

[32]A recent anthology which examines the phenomenon of switch reference in various languages (Haimon and Munro, eds. 1983) has provided numerous analytical insights and useful, descriptive vocabulary.

[33]The clause in which the switch-reference is marked is called the marking clause, and the following clause with reference to which it is marked is called the reference clause.

[34]Franklin and Voorhoeve (1973:151) write concerning a large group of languages in Papua New Guinea which is characterized by three shared features, the third of which is "the presence of phonemic vowel nasalisation." "Geographically these languages stretch over a broad belt running east to southeast from the Upper Fly River region over the Upper Strickland, Mt. Bosavi and Lake Kutubu areas into the area of the Teberan Family. This belt roughly coincides with what might be called a 'nasalization belt.'" Though Wiru is not considered a member of this particular grouping of languages, it nevertheless lies within this nasalization belt.

CHAPTER TWO

THE OBSERVER, THE OBSERVED AND CONTEXT: PHILOSOPHICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

> Perhaps it is significant that as the human mind perceives objects in reality, it is often oblivious to its own presence.
>
> To know more about man's intellectual and spiritual development, we should turn not only to the words, but also to the things, the objects of his attention.
>
> (Fuglesang 1982:45)

This paper is lodged at the crossroads of several perspectives within the humanities, namely, linguistics, anthropology, semiotics and phenomenology. Such an interdisciplinary focus on a ritual divination has inevitably broadened my analytical horizon, and it has also convinced me investigator of the open-ended nature of a research endeavor. There are undeniably numerous facets of the divination that could be examined in the study, but without certain constraints the result might well be a pitfall for me--that of presenting an apparent hodge-podge of isolated analyses of the divination account.

The present discussion seeks to identify four salient epistemological assumptions which underlie my paradigm-governed perception, with the conclusion that the 'way we know' an "object" in any discipline is fundamentally the same--that we interpret signs. Building upon these basic assumptions, I turn to the broader concern regarding context--the affirmation of an object being viewed as part of

a larger whole. Here the discussion centers upon the phenomenological relationship of part-to-whole. This relationship is viewed as the essential basis for understanding the nexus between language and social reality. The final section of the chapter enumerates the theoretical constructs which will be utilized in analyzing (ultimately, in gaining an understanding of) one particular phenomenon (or "cultural object") in Wiru social life.

2.1. Underlying Assumptions

The things that a person explicitly knows (to be true) are perhaps difficult enough to list, even when one is required to do so. But underlying this explicit knowledge, we are told, there is an unconscious, unformulated knowledge that is far more fundamental. Uncovering such hidden mental 'structures' has been a familiar exercise in the history of philosophy and metaphysics, as well as more recently in anthropology and in linguistics. A brief glance at the past and present will partially reveal the extent of this ongoing search in this regard, as well as exemplify the relevance of being able to reflect upon one's own underlying assumptions.

Plato distinguished between knowledge of changing particulars (visible things) versus knowledge of eternal principles (the invisible Forms). Descartes' 'turn to consciousness' left him with the dualistic distinction of extensional substance (physical evidence by empirical standards) versus thinking substance (provable by rational exercise). Kant moved away from a metaphysics of content in his quest to find the principles of how 'pure reason' operated. From the 'appearances' or phenomena (the objects of experience in the physical world) he used

transcendental reasoning to discover the 'a priori principles' which structure the appearances and are the conditions for the possibility of knowing in any domain of experience.

More recently, Polanyi (1959), a scientist and social scientist writing on the philosophy of science, has argued rather convincingly that there are these two types of knowing which pervade all human awareness. Explicit knowledge is the kind that we normally refer to as knowledge; it is "set out in written words or maps, or mathematical formulae" (12). The other form of knowledge Polanyi refers to as tacit knowledge, or that knowledge "we have of something we are in the act of doing" (12). It is that set of implicit assumptions which makes daily living and perception, as well as more formal operations by the knower, seem ordinary. "Tacit knowledge," in Polanyi's view, is "the dominant principle of all knowledge, and its rejection would . . . automatically involve the rejection of any knowledge whatever" (13). He regards the logical distinction between these two kinds of knowledge as lying in the fact that "we can critically reflect on something explicitly stated, in a way in which we cannot reflect on our tacit awareness of an experience" (14). If this is so, then to make explicit this level of tacit belief or knowledge is indeed an elusive endeavor, though not impossible.

Social scientists have also been concerned with covert mental structures. Anthropologists in the Marxian tradition seek to demystify social life by unmasking the dialectical relationship existing within the base or economic infrastructure of society, i.e. between the forces of production and the relations of production. It is this covert mode of production (the articulated combination of relations and forces of

production) which gives rise to the obvious superstructure(s) of social formation (Godelier 1977, O'Laughlin 1975).

Spradley (1972), writing in the framework of cognitive anthropology, notes that behavior in every human society "is organized on the basis of a shared symbolic world. Every culture consists of categories which are used to sort and classify experience. . . . They acquire cognitive maps which enable them to interpret the behavior and events they observe." (Italics mine.) Frake (1972), writing in this same vein, maintains that when people are thinking and talking, they are unconsciously using categories or domains to divide up and structure their world. This "knowledge about the classification of experience" lies, for the most part, "outside of awareness." Frake projects that the ethnographer who is seriously interested in cognition of other human groups must seek "to describe this tacit knowledge of categories, their labels, and the relationships among them" (191). Kearney (1984:48), writing on world view, refers to explicit knowledge as "second-order images or assumptions." This is what people usually refer to as "beliefs or folk knowledge," and as such, are readily described. The implicit form of knowledge he terms, "first-order assumptions." These are the categories of thought that every world view must have come to terms with, such as "time, space, and causality." Kearney maintains that these fundamental attitudes are, for the most part, "tacit knowledge," and "although they order much specific content of thought, they are normally not explicitly articulated, and indeed, the native language may lack words to indicate them" (48). Regardless of the theoretical background of the anthropologist, it would appear, then, that each have this common understanding: as one approaches the

description of culture and/or manifestations of social behavior there is also the need to search for and recognize the underlying, tacit knowledge which people use to organize their behavior in pursuit of goals.

In linguistics, the scene is quite similar, but here we find the dual notions of langue versus parole, competence versus performance, and underlying deep structures (notional categories) versus surface structures (the syntactic output of a speaker). Thus, in linguistics this 'same' continued effort to distinguish between explicit knowledge (of language) and implicit, tacit knowledge (of language) is readily observed. In recent years, K.L. Pike, a noted linguist and seminal thinker in tagmemic theory, has given much attention to articulating the basic principles of tagmemics as a 'root metaphor,' not only for talking about or referring to langauge data per se but for anything that can be talked about (1982, 1985a, 1985b). In writing on the philosophical concerns of tagmemic (linguistic) theory (1982:10), Pike asserts that "no statement can be made seriously unless preceding it there is in the speaker's thoughts an underlying set of beliefs which he holds firmly, but cannot prove." (Italics mine.) This restriction, Pike maintains, is shared by both "ordinary statements" and "theoretical statements" alike (10).

My aim has thus far been to simply establish the widespread acceptance of the notion of underlying assumptions, regardless of discipline or informing paradigm. However mundane the discussion may seem, it nevertheless marks my reflexive 'trail' in bringing to bear my own underlying assumptions. In the excursion thus far, the inadvertent focus has been on underlying structures that are viewed as being 'out

there,' located somewhere in real people, and just waiting to be described by some observer in some context. But herein lies the most fundamental insight of my critical reflection: the observer himself also carries with him his own covert categories, his own tacit knowledge through which he views objects in reality. It is appropriate, therefore, for this observer to reflect on his own underlying set of beliefs in the attempt to enumerate them. It is no coincidence that my philosophical assumptions are closely aligned with those of K.L. Pike, who, in his writings and in person, has been my greatest source of challenge in regard to making my assumptions explicit for this present venture.

2.1.1. The Observer Himself Comprises Part of the Reality that He is Investigating

If man's oral expressions can, in some sense, be considered a "part" of so-called "objective reality," then they must of necessity be heard by someone, by a listener (or observer), who himself is invariably a part of that same "reality." Further, it is true, in one sense, that transcription of an oral expression literally "objectifies" it through abstraction (via linguistic signs), because the very act of writing converts the transitory nature of speech into a textual object, capable of being seen (read) and touched, studied, segmented, exegeted and otherwise analyzed (Ong 1977). Nonetheless, we are still left with the perplexing nature and possibility of "objectivity" in textual interpretation--a topic with a long history of debate (Hirsch 1967, 1976; Ricouer 1974, 1976; Olsen 1977). What is considered to be "objective" can never really be the case, because there must always be an observer-as-creator[1] (observer-as-interpreter), thus infusing the

inevitable "subjective" element of the observer's perspective (his own historical moment) in the act of interpretation.

I must acknowledge, further, the elusive nature of objectivity in even "seeing" (perception). For I assume the observer himself comprises an inescapable part of the self-same data that is accessible to other persons. In the words of Pike (1986), "pattern is in part discovered in data, and in part is a creation of the observer to help in understanding some relations interesting to him, relations between parts of data." (Italics mine.) Similar to Pike's view, Kearney (1984:41-42), citing Hallowell (1955), maintains strongly that there is ample evidence to demonstrate that human perception "does not present the human being with a 'picture' of an 'objective' world which, in all its attributes, is 'there' only waiting to be perceived, completely unaffected by the experience, concepts, attitudes, needs, and purposes of the perceiver." Perception, more so than not, makes reality-as-talked-about (Pike 1981b). That there is a reality "out there" I do not question; I only assume that I cannot know the thing, the object, "in and of itself," i.e., apart from its relation to me, the subject. Pepper ([1942] 1970:33) puts it simply: there is no way of presenting evidence, 'pure facts,' "that does not contain the possibility of interpretation."

2.1.2. There Is No Neutral, Value-Free Starting Point for the Observer-Analyst

A cursory glance at recent writings from within various disciplines of the humanities will reveal this commonly recurrent theme: there is unlikely to be a neutral, value-free starting point in any endeavor. This assumption is a logical extension of my first assumption above. For if the observer is an inescapable part of the data he is

describing, then "no data known are observer-neutral" (Pike 1981b:86). Zaner (1970:20), a phenomenologist, suspects that "there is no privileged perspective from which to view the past, or even ourselves."[2] He maintains that "for an historical being to interpret 'the' past is for it to interpret its own past, and this interpretation is, in truth, an expression of how that being sees itself, whether or not it says something about the past" (20). Mannheim ([1936] 1985:45), a sociologist, held that ". . . every social science diagnosis is closely connected with the evaluations and unconscious orientations of the observer." Tannen (1986:146), a conversational analyst, maintains that "all participant observation, . . . all research, is subject to the culturally conditioned epistemological system of the researcher." Romanucci-Ross (1985), an anthropologist writing on the phenomenology of cultural encounter, adheres to this same assumption when she writes, "a culture is always the product of a historical moment and the sex and temperament of the describer and the described. In the act of collecting data over time one evolves a consciousness of self and other. . . . A culture then, is a created reality" (xi). Thus, as a participant-observer in Wiru social life, even as a mere observer of the ritual divination, to assert that my starting point of analysis is value-free and neutral would be self-delusion and dishonest. Pike (1982:3) has stated it well,

> The theory is part of the observer; a different theory makes a different observer; a different observer sees different things, or sees the same things as structured differently; and the structure of the observer must, in some sense or to some degree, be part of the data . . . . A particular language, of a particular culture, in relation to a particular person with his particular history constitutes an implicit theory for that person.

2.1.3. Language is the Mediaton between the Observer and the Observed

Fuglesang (1982:13) rather humorously writes that when a writer from one culture simply "looks" at another culture, he is relatively safe, "but the moment he starts writing about [that culture], he is in trouble." This is because the monolingual writer must inevitably choose terms from his own language in describing the way(s) that a speaker of a different language talks about the nature of his emically-perceived reality (culture). 'Wearing someone's spectacles in order to see his world' requires more than a casual undertaking. It is my contention that a person's own world of experience and emic understanding can be 'seen' no better than through the expressions he chooses to write or utter.[3] So in effect, the observer-writer becomes a 'translator'--one who interprets symbolic forms appearing in one context into other symbolic forms that are to be placed in a different context. He is a mediator between two different worlds. In this sense, perhaps he is no different than the shaman, who himself is an interpreter of symbols, those cultural instruments for the perceiving and the arranging of reality. Both the shaman and the writer 'prejudice the configurations of knowing and being that compel the mind, matter and experience' (Romanucci-Ross 1985).

In his discussion about the nature of naming and the verbalization of concepts about reality, K.L. Pike (1981b) draws a lucid insight from the dialogue that had taken place between the philosopher, Samuel, and the physicist, Einstein (cited in Samuel 1952). It seems that Einstein had written a letter to Samuel commenting on Samuel's views regarding the nature and goal of philosophy. Einstein wrote about

the concept of "continually existing objects" and "identity within change" and had said of his own letter (Samuel 1952:157): "I felt not able to formulate this in English but did it in German." From this Pike raises two crucial questions in his discussion regarding the relevance of the "nativeness of the speaker." Referring to Einstein's apparent dilemma, Pike queries (1981b:88),

> If reality-as-perceived has no deep relation to reality-as-talked-about, why should native language be relevant? If perception, talking, and knowledge are at a deep metaphysical level unrelated, why should nativeness be so important to an apparently competent (!) bilingual?

Both questions have bearing on my own philosophical assumptions about language. The implication of these two questions points to at least one assumption that <u>there is some deep metaphysical relation between reality-as-perceived and reality-as-talked-about within the scope (or limits) of one's native language.</u> In so far as I have understood Pike correctly, I too concur with this assumption.

The structural study of language, for me, is not an end for revealing paramount structures that dictate intrinsic views of the world for its speakers (as in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis), but rather it is an index to a deeper reality 'below' the structural aspects of language, yet nevertheless revealed by them.[4] One thing <u>is</u> quite certain for the human/cultural sciences (or even 'hard' science for that matter): <u>there is no conceivable way for us to leave language aside, view reality alone, and then compare our observations of reality with language.</u> For, "language itself so structures our world for us that we have no clear way to view the world apart from language and its categories," so argues Longacre (1976:318).[5] I further maintain with Longacre that "every fact which we have, even scientific fact, consists essentially of an

observation plus discourse" (318). I am philosophically comfortable--at least for the present--in holding the fundamental precept that "our a priori categories indisputably structure reality for us and our very observation and conceptualization of it" (318).

It is recognized, therefore, that this paper is primarily interpretive in nature--attempting to convey as clearly and accurately as possible, using the natural forms of this writer's own receptor language, the meaning of an utterance, a social reality, that was expressed in the source language of its own cultural participants. Further, it is recognized that each and every interpretive problem requires its own distinct context of relevant knowledge (Hirsch 1976:vii); but this is not to say that each discipline has its own distinct and autonomous method of interpretation (hermeneutics).

2.1.4. Every Object is Part of a Larger Whole

The focal 'object' in this study may rightfully be considered as a multifaceted phenomenon or 'object in Wiru culture.' There is the artifact itself, the yomo kopini (divining pole); there is man and his behavioral orientation(s) toward the event of divination; and there is verbalized observation on both the artifact and on man's behavior during the event. My drawing 'a line' around this 'cultural object' (Figure 18), thereby carving it out of the mainstream of Wiru social life, is at best arbitrary. It is assumed, therefore, that this 'object' is interrelated to other phenomena within Wiru culture. It is part of some larger whole. My underlying assumption is that every object or unit "is part of something larger, or is in some context which is larger, or else we cannot understand it" (Pike 1985a:40).[6]

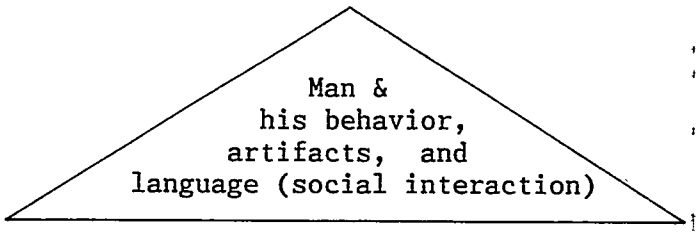

Fig. 18. An 'object' of culture

Pike asserts (1985a:40), "Inclusion in a part-whole hierarchy does not allow the autonomy of included parts." Applying this to the notion of 'cultural object,' I note that there are three facets (parts) of the 'cultural object' (whole) upon which I am focusing. Each facet or part of the object, to be sure, has its own including context, quite distinct even from the cultural object itself. Thus, an item is conceptually a part of several simultaneous part-whole hierarchies. Man's behavior during a particular event or situation cannot be considered (examined) totally in isolation from prior events, activities or behavioral orientations attendant to daily life. Since behavior is primarily learned from a person's immediate social environment (i.e., ego plus one), behavior is, in part, a reflection of his extended social context. The artifact, a mere pole, is physically only a part of a larger (whole) tree. It's significance, however, is symbolic to the Wiru, and as such the artifact is a part of a larger cultural semiotic system. In other words, it is not the only "sign" in Wiru society that 'stands for' or mediates between an object and its interpretant.

The third facet of the cultural object under study is language in social interaction. It too must be considered as a part of the larger situation in which it occurs. Further, language mediates only one man's perspective (i.e., reference or intention) of an 'object of

reference' (e.g., a divination event). Hence, any utterance must be viewed as only part of the total or whole perspective--the corroboration of all possible perspectives of the same referential event.

'Mediating one's perspective through reference or intention is the most important activity of the human soul, whether it be in spoken discourse or in written composition.' This view, we are told, was firmly held by Brentano, who was Edmund Husserl's teacher (White 1955). It is in this activity of referring or intending that we experience something other than ourselves, and perhaps equally as important, 'it is only when we are referring to other things that we can be acquainted with ourselves as well' (101). Ricoeur ([1973] 1978:120-33) equates the intended with meaning: "this intended is what we seek to translate when we transpose a discourse from one language into another" (123). Though he himself regards the sentence as a whole as primarily the bearer of meaning, Ricoeur does find in the infinitude of discourse the openness of language to the world (123):

> Discourse is infinite because sentences are events, because they have a speaker and a hearer, because they have meaning, and because they have reference. Each of these traits has an infinite character. With the event comes the openness of temporality; with the speaker and hearer, the depth of individual fields of experience; with meaning, the limitlessness of the thinkable; and with reference, the inexhaustibility of the world itself. On all these counts language-as-discourse appears as an open process of mediation between mind and world. . . . This process is infinite in the sense that the boundary between the expressed and the unexpressed endlessly keeps receding. Discourse is this power of indefinitely extending the battlefront of the expressed at the expense of the unexpressed.

This relation of discourse to extralinguistic reality, its openness to the world, is the very issue which leads me to Edmund Husserl's "Investigation III: On the Theory of Wholes and Parts" ([1900] 1970:435-489). Since one of my operating assumptions in this paper is

that textlinguistics treats the discourse as a whole, yet I realize at the same time that discourse is part of yet a greater whole, I end up with the inevitable question, where does this 'inclusion' stop? What is the whole? and What is the part? I have not yet reached a satisfying answer for myself, but Husserlian phenomenology has provided some helpful insights to the query.

2.2. Context and the Phenomenon of Wholes and Parts

Edmund Husserl, the German "transcendental phenomenologist" (1859-1938), has examined the phenomenon of wholes and parts. Although much of his investigation dealt with the abstract realm (e.g., in speaking of material Genus and Species, Genera, Extension, Quality, etc.), his vocabulary was relatively nontechnical and accessible. This brief discussion is not intended as a resumé of his entire investigation, but rather highlights the particular concepts and notions that I perceive as applicable to the study. Four notions are especially pertinent in regard to an interdisciplinary approach in textlinguistics: (1) the difference between independent and nonindependent objects, (2) the definition of Whole, (3) the relations of essence between parts, and (4) the forms of Wholes.

2.2.1. Independent versus Nonindependent Objects

Husserl meticulously delineated the fundamental distinction between independent and nonindependent objects in a lengthy discussion (436-62). The 'conditions of possibility' for considering discourse as yet a part of a greater whole, i.e., as a nonindependent object, are to be found in his beginning statements (436):

> Objects can be related to one another as Wholes to Parts, they can also be related to one another as coordinated parts of a whole. These sorts of relations have an a priori foundation in the Idea of an object. Every object is either actually or possibly a part, i.e., there are actual or possible wholes that include it.

The notion that discourse is an integral part of a greater whole finds even greater support in Husserl's amplification:

> Everything is a part [italics mine] that is an object's real possession, not only in the sense of being a real thing, but also in the sense of being something really in something, that truly helps to make it up: an object in itself, considered in abstraction from all contexts to which it is tied, is likewise a part.

Two phrases specifically define how "everything is a part" of something: (1) if it is "an object's real possession," and (2) if it "truly helps to make it [the object] up." Both of these notions may be applied to my line of thought in this way: given that the "object" under consideration is an instance of social interaction, then part of that situation is the message conveyed (i.e., the discourse as uttered), as well as the speaker (i.e., the intender of meaning, intentionality) and the listener (i.e., the interpreter of linguistic and nonlinguistic signs). The discourse is most assuredly a "real possession" of social interaction in that it is "actually there in the space-time world" (437), as perceived by the observer. Furthermore, discourse (i.e., linguistic signs plus all attendant nonlinguistic signs) not only 'helps make up' the communication situation, it is a part par excellence of that situation, for without it there would in fact be no "communication." The phenomenon of discourse is perhaps perceived best in light of the fact that ". . . a nonindependent object can only be what it is (i.e., what it is in virtue of its essential properties) in a more comprehensive whole" (453).

2.2.2. The Definition of Whole

Husserl understands the notion of Whole as: "A content of the species A is founded upon a content of the species B, if an A can by its essence (i.e., legally, in virtue of its specific nature) not exist, unless a B also exists..." (475). His explanation of "the pregnant concept of Whole by way of the notion of Foundation" is particularly applicable to my discussion of context.

> By a Whole we understand a range of contents which are all covered by a single foundation without the help of further contents. The contents of such a range we call its parts. Talk of the singleness of the foundation implies that every content is foundationally connected, whether directly or indirectly, with every content. This can happen in that all these contents are immediately or mediately founded on each other without external assistance, or in that all together serve to found a new content, again without external assistance. In the latter case the possibility remains open that this unitary content is built up out of partial contents, which in their turn are founded on partial groups from the presupposed range of contents, just as the Whole content is founded on its total range (475).

Hence, the range of contents that are perceived to be the object of an interdisciplinary investigation must include "not only the linguistic environment of the actual words, but the speaker's and the hearer's behavior, the situation common to both, and finally the horizon of reality surrounding the speech situation" (Ricoeur [1973] 1978:125). (Italics mine.) Of such contents Husserl's observation has promise of applicability: "The only true unifying factors, we may roundly say, are relations of 'foundation'" (478). That foundation, as I understand it, is the situation of social interaction, and the relations are those connecting each of the participants.

2.2.3. The Relations of Essence between Parts

In order to establish the singleness of the foundation of social interaction, it is necessary, however, to demonstrate that "every content is foundationally connected" one with the other. This can best be done with an analytic formula, one which holds that the existence of a whole W(A,B,C...) generally includes that of its parts A, B, C ...

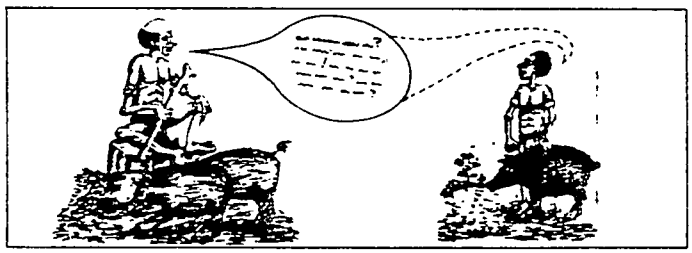

Fig. 19. Social interaction defined in terms of an existent whole (W) which includes its parts (A, B, C)

It would seem that AB, as well as BC, ought to be considered 'immediate' parts, and further, that A is related to C only 'mediately'--i.e., through the discourse message B. This last observation supports my assumption that the only possible way in which one person enters into a relation with another person 'as person' is via semiotic mediation (wherein language itself is foundationally connected with the other nonlinguistic means of sign mediation that are utilized for interpersonal communication in a given culture). Thus, the formulation may be demonstrated as:

Immediate parts

Mediate parts (ABC)--a complex form of unity brought about by the two associations

These relations that have been described thus far between the parts in social interaction are properly considered "combinatory" in nature. Husserl also points out that the same whole can be "interpenetrative" in relation to certain parts, and then he proceeds to illustrate this type of relation: "the sensuous, phenomenal thing, the intuitively given spatial shape clothed with sensuous quality, is (just as it appears) interpenetrative in respect of reciprocally founded 'moments' such as colour and extension . . ." (475-6). In applying this notion to social interaction, it is not difficult for me to perceive the illocutionary acts (the author's intent and attitude), as well as the hearer's intent and attitude, as interpenetrative to A and C in the same way that color is to its extended substance.

2.2.4. The Forms of Wholes

One final notion from Husserl that has been marshalled for the discussion on context is in regard to the possible forms of wholes as perceptually 'sensuous unities.' He writes (476),

> . . . there need not be a peculiar form for every whole, in the sense of a specific 'moment' of unity which binds all the parts. If unity arises, e.g., by concatenation, so that each pair of next members founds a new content, the demands of our definition are satisfied, without the presence of a peculiar moment (i.e., one of unity) founded on all parts together.

This means that any time a "new hearer" (e.g., a reader, literary critic, or linguist, etc.) encounters the text/discourse (obviously now in written form) the Whole redefines its domain of contents, such that W(A,B,C,D,E,F...), where D, E, and F are potentially new hearers removed in both time and space from the original social interaction. The following diagram seeks to illustrate this phenomenon:

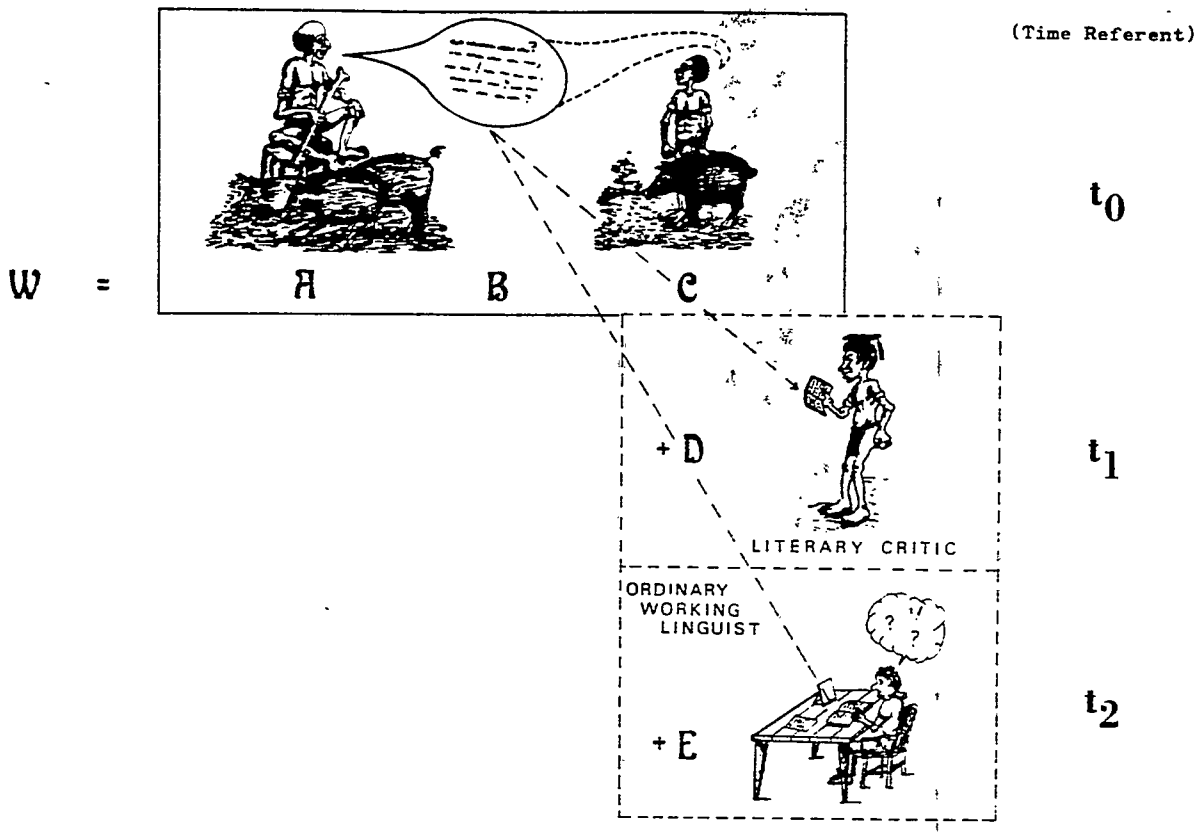

Fig. 20. The "whole" (W) may redefine its "contents" (A,B,C,D,E...)

To use Husserl's terms, the contents A, B, C, D, E "of which we speak have plenty to do with each other, they are in fact 'founded' on one another, and for this reason they require no chains and bonds to chain or knit them together, or to bring them to one another" (477).

2.2.5. A Necessary Dependency on Context

From this excursus about Husserl we can conclude that every object always appears in a situation, i.e., in a network of relations that is defined temporally and spatially, as well as by its content. Stated another way, we cannot designate an object without simultaneously introducing it into a situation or a context. This, in turn, requires that we distinquish between <u>denotation</u> and <u>connotation</u>: "every

denotation is at the same time a connotation" (Holenstein 1976:88, citing Jakobsen). Consider the difference between a dinner engagement that has been set at 5:45 p.m. versus somewhere around "a quarter to six." The following figure is based on Jakobson's distinction.

DENOTATION	CONNOTATION
Retrospective designative system: "5:45 p.m."	--> exactly on time
Prospective designative system: "a quarter to six"	--> less precise --> a certain temporal leeway

Fig. 21. Every denotation is simultaneously a connotation

This implies that there is a multivocality of meaning in signs (Ricoeur [1973] 1978), and the notion of connotation is not easily dealt with in a restricted linguistic model.

Multivocality is a notion not uncommon to the discipline of cultural anthropology. Turner (1967, 1969) in his theory regarding "dominant symbol" maintains that the paramount property of ritual symbols is polysemy or multivocality, i.e., "a single symbol may stand for many things" (1967:50), such that a few symbols have to represent a whole culture and its material environment--an infinite use of finite means. This allows, therefore, an economic representation of key aspects of culture and belief. Turner's theory further delineates three "levels" of meaning of a symbol.

First, there is the exegetical or indigenous meaning derivable from questioning indigenous informants about observed ritual behavior. One must keep in mind that the esoteric interpretation by the ritual specialist may be different from the exoteric interpretation by the layman, which in turn, may both be different from a uniquely personal view. Secondly, the operational meaning correlates meaning and use, i.e., what they say about the symbol versus what they actually do with it--a problem of social dynamics. Thirdly, the positional meaning of a symbol is "derived from the relationship to other symbols in a totality, a Gestalt, whose elements acquire their significance from the system as a whole" (1967:51).

It is not surprising, then, that the 'conditions of possibility' were right in the mid-1970s for the appearance of the anthology entitled, Meaning in Anthropology, the premise of which was: "The study of culture necessarily entails the study of meaning" (Basso and Selby 1976:3). The editors, Basso and Selby, raise questions that seem to be linguistic in orientation, but are nevertheless equally a concern of cultural anthropology.

> What . . . is the relationship of meaning to language? Is it the meaning of words in isolation we want to understand, or the messages conveyed by the way words and sentences are used in conversation? What is the relationship of meaning to thought? In other words, how do conceptual categories labeled by cultural symbols get organized in the mind, and what can such organization tell us about principles of human cognition? Nonverbal actions are immensely symbolic--but how? What is signified by the way the members of a society arrange themselves in space, or hold themselves while dancing, or sit down to eat in the presence of a mother-in-law? . . . Where does ethnography begin if not in a disciplined attempt to discover and describe the symbolic resources with which the members of a society conceptualize and interpret their experience? (2-3)

In this same volume Michael Silverstein's (1976) investigative premise

is that a satisfactory understanding in speech depends upon the recognition of a plurality of sign functions or "modes of signification," and consequently, he develops a "pragmatic model" for speech analysis. But the significance of Silverstein's article extends beyond language per se, for, as he himself points out, a systematic pragmatics could have far- reaching implications for a clearer conceptualization of the linkage between language and culture.

Sociolinguists hold that language and society are associated in a two-way relationship: one of constant interdependence and feedback. "It is this fact," according to Fishman (1977:57), "that makes the formulation 'language in society' (or 'language in its social setting') a misnomer or, at least, a gross simplification of the true complexity of the sociology of language."

I noted above at the outset of the discussion on context that I have not satisfactorily reached an answer to the question, 'where does "inclusion" profitably stop?' Some investigators point to the possibility of 'moments of discourse' where the greater or including context may be 'bracketed off.' Based on their studies in cognitive psychology and discourse, Kintsch and van Dijk (1975:2-3) show that a narrative discourse is a fairly stable unit and most generally can be 'lifted out' of its pragmatic/situational context and then analyzed as a self-contained entity or whole. They delimit their focus of research thus:

> In natural conversation the structures of discourse are also determined by the pragmatic structure of the context. Since narratives are relatively context independent, pragmatic constraints will be neglected. Hence, we shall focus attention upon the semantic structure of discourses, i.e., upon the abstract 'logical' structure underlying the discourse.

It may be argued that a narrative story can be analytically isolated from its context of original utterance or composition. Perhaps this is an inadvertent reason for Longacre's almost exclusive focus on narrative discourse. Longacre has long recognized, however, a typology of discourse types (e.g., narrative, procedural, expository, hortatory, etc.) and the analytical necessity to treat the different types separately. One may quickly perceive a qualitative difference in speaker intent as expressed in a hortatory discourse (e.g., sermon, political speech, debate in a Papua New Guinea village) versus a narrative discourse (i.e., the relating of temporally sequenced events in a known referential realm). So perhaps in most instances one may consider narrative discourse to be "relatively context independent."

Though I am basically in agreement with this view, I shall still want to maintain that narrative discourses are best not considered "independent objects." For example, I note the following translated sequence from the self account of a "bigman" from Alia village in the Papua New Guinea highlands:

> I killed a pig, and I rubbed and rubbed on this stone, and I singed off the pig's hair saying, 'My mother! My father! Cousin! You let (me) go. I'm giving (this) pig to you. Let go! I'm feeding this (pig to you)!'

Following discourse rules of pronominalization, the singular 'you' may refer to cousin, father, or mother, but not all three at once. However, taking into consideration that the speaker was relating here his familiar practice of oblation in a ritual context, the interpretation of the 'you' takes on a different significance indeed. In fact, 'mother, father, cousin' are not referring to physical beings at all, but rather ethereal beings--ancestral spirits. The 'you,' therefore, refers to a

spirit rather than a person, and its reference is exclusive (hence, singular) in that it refers only to whichever spirit is responsible for the calamity that necessitated the oblation in the first place. The multivocality of the ordinary lexical items, 'giving' and 'feeding,' are also evident in this ritual context, for here they are symbolic acts and refer to the acts of oblation and not the giving and feeding of an actual object--though the pig, indeed, is quite real. Nowhere in the entire discourse were these implicit features made explicit.

Obviously, then, explanation of a discourse's syntactic structures is a different level of analysis than that of understanding a discourse's semantic and pragmatic structures. Textlinguistics cannot avoid hermeneutics.

2.3. Methodology

This final section of the chapter turns to the theoretical constructs and methods that will be used in the analysis of the 'cultural object' from Wiru society. Cassirer's (1960) notion of cultural object is noted briefly with particular attention drawn to his three-part analysis. The three aspects--analysis as form, as process, and as achievement--are approached from both a cognitive style analysis and an exegetically informed textlinguistic analysis. The constructs of the Basic Values (Mayers 1974) cognitive style are set forth; the use of this instrument not only enables the observer to discover the value orientations of the greater social context of Wiru society, but more significantly the cognitive basis of divination among the Wiru. Then, within the framework of tagmemic theory the salient features of the textlinguistic methodology that I will pursue are outlined.

2.3.1. Cassirer's Analysis of a 'Cultural Object'

In his writing on the "logic" of the humanities, Cassirer (1960:xiii) calls the subjective aspect of mind and self "personal experience." He maintains that "all cognitive aspects of mind, all aspects concerned with meaning (rather than with those direct experiences which mediate meanings) are social; and, if given lasting communicable form, they are cultural." In other words, a 'cultural object' is a cognitive aspect of the human mind that bears meaning in a lasting, more permanent form of communication. Cassirer envisions a 'cultural object' as having three dimensions: "the physical thereness [Dasein], the object-presentation, and the evidence of a unique personality" (99). These three dimensions both determine and are indispensable "in anything that is a genuine 'work' [Werk] and not merely a 'result' [Wirkung] and of all that in this sense belongs not only to 'nature' but also to 'culture'" (99). He goes on to assert that if one excludes one of these dimensions in his study of cultural objects, or arbitrarily confines himself within a single plane of observation, then such an analysis "always yields only a surface image of culture, revealing none of its genuine depth" (99). He explains:

> Like every other object, an object of culture has its place in space and time. It has its here-and-now. It comes to be and passes away. Insofar as we describe this here-and-now, this coming-to-be and passing-away, we have no need to go beyond the sphere of physical determinants. But, on the other hand, in this description even the physical itself is seen in a new function. It not only 'is' and 'becomes'; for in this being and becoming something else 'emerges.' What emerges is a 'meaning,' which is not absorbed by what is merely physical, but is embodied upon and within it; it is the factor common to all that content we designate as 'culture' (98).

It is in this sense, then, that the focal object of my study can legitimately be considered a 'cultural object.' On one hand, when

casual discourse is merely spoken, then scarcely can it be considered a cultural object,[7] for it too passes with temporal sequencing--an irrecoverable moment. On the other hand, however, the moment social interaction is 'recorded' on a linguist's magnetic tape and then 'transcribed,' or once a text is originally composed and written, it gains the kind of temporal autonomy to which Cassirer alludes, i.e., it is given "lasting communicable form."[8]

Cassirer emphasizes the necessity of three types of analysis of cultural objects, each distinct but related to the other (1960:172-4). There is the formal analysis of the object, which is a static analysis of the object's form. The focus is on the essence of the parts, and the guiding question is 'What is it?' There is the causal analysis of the cultural object, which is a dynamic analysis of cause and effect or of process. The focus is upon the relations between the parts of the object, and the predominant question is 'How did it come to be? How did it happen?' Finally, there is the hermeneutic analysis of the cultural object, which is a pragmatic analysis of its achievement. Here the focus is on the object as a whole, the primary question being, 'Why? or What is its purpose or meaning?' This three-part scheme is summarized in Figure 22.

For my purposes here, there is an immediate association of Cassirer's three-fold analysis with my own interdisciplinary approach. As I apply the constructs of a cognitive style analysis to the behavioral aspect of divination, there is a conscious focus upon the structure of the whole--why it was being done (hermeneutic analysis), upon the parts--what are the constituent elements of a divination (formal

analysis), and upon the relations of the parts--how did it all take place take place (causal analysis). When attention is turned to the

FORMAL ANALYSIS	CAUSAL ANALYSIS	HERMENEUTIC ANALYSIS
analysis as form	analysis as process	analysis as achievement
essence of parts	relations of parts	structure of whole
static: character	dynamic: genesis	pragmatic: purpose meaning
particle	wave	field
What?	How?	Why?

Fig. 22. Cassirer's three-part analysis of cultural objects[9]

narrative itself, the aspect of social interaction in the divination, there is the same conscious focus in the textlinguistic analysis upon the structure of the whole--the macrostructure; upon the parts--the constituents of the narrative, and upon the relations of the parts--the verb rank scheme and mirrored time trajectories within the narrative. The following two subsections outline in more detail the pertinent theoretical constructs of cognitive styles and of textlinguistics which will be utilized in the remaining chapters of the study.

2.3.2. A Cognitive Style Analysis

2.3.2.1. The General Notion of Cognitive Styles

The most immediate and striking feature noticed about another culture is how "different" the people are from ourselves. At one level we quickly observe the differences in language, dress, skin color, food, smells, customs, and dwellings. But at another level, we begin to realize that there are deeply rooted differences in traditions, thought

patterns, information processing, world views, and values. In commenting on human differences Alfred G. Smith writes (1979:3),

> Different people see different worlds, and they look at things differently. One sees permanence where another sees changes. The difference is as much a matter of how we see as what is seen. It is a matter of beauty being in the eye of the beholder; so are ugliness, reasonableness, opportunity, heresy, liberality, and even the eye of the beholder itself. We see vagueness or clarity not because the world is one rather than the other, but because we look for one rather than the other.

In this statement Smith recognizes the role of observer-creator that each of us assumes in our day-to-day affairs. Underlying this role, which we invariably play, is yet a broader notion that has come into vogue in the last quarter of a century. It is a concept which permits talking about these apparent human differences without ethnocentric or judgmental overtones--the concept of "cognitive styles." Smith continues,

> Different people approach information in different ways. While some people are methodical others are makeshift, some are expedient while others are exploratory. What is significant for some is insignificant for others. These differences in cognitive style are different habits of getting and using information for solving problems, for making decisions, and for vaguer formless doings of everyday life (5). (Italics mine.)

Marvin Mayers (1974, 1979) has utilized this concept to develop a "Basic Values" model for understanding interpersonal conflicts between individuals from the same and different cultures. Ultimately, his model provides a tool for understanding various value orientations underlying human behavior. Mayers writes (1979:67),

> Cognitive styles for the psychologist are hypotheses made about processes of thinking, perceiving, remembering, judging. For the sociologist and anthropologist they are hypotheses made about the organization of the actor's orientations to a situation. Thus they are processes of thinking for the psychologist; and processes of acting out these thoughts in the everyday experience for the sociologist and anthropologist.

It is to these 'processes of the Wiru acting out their thoughts in everyday experience' that the ensuing study is directed. This novel method of ethnographic description will be applied with the intention of enunciating the cognitive style of the Wiru. I recognize that I as an observer run the risk of inadvertently 'creating' values which are not present in Wiru society, but I have made a conscious effort to avoid such misperceptions. To the extent that I have succeeded in this endeavor, the ethnographic description will serve as the necessary social context within which the textlinguistic and semiotic investigations are placed.

2.3.2.2. The "Basic Values" Model of Cognitive Styles

It is now a commonly accepted notion in several disciplines that people do have different cognitive styles (Witkin 1967, Parsons and Shills 1967, Kagan 1976, Paredes and Hepburn 1976). One ramification of this notion is the importance of recognizing and accounting for cultural differences due to these cognitive styles, apart from references to moral rightness or wrongness, or judgments of 'better than' or 'worse than.' That Mayers' "Basic Values" is a useful taxonomic model of cognitive styles for both observing and analyzing human behavior will be demonstrated in chapter four.

Mayers (1979) contends that no person, hence community, exists without values. Regardless of whether or not these values can be explicitly stated or systematically organized by the person himself, they nevertheless "form some sort of structure which regulates his behavior" (5). Mayers points to everyday decision-making as an empirical support for his assertion that 'values are the essence of a

person's life,' for ". . . in any decision, conscious or not, some value underlies the choice of one thing over another" (5). Consequently, "there is no real difficulty in finding values within every society or subculture" (Mayers 1974:149), in spite of the fact that the values of a given community are quite distinct from those of some other society.

The Basic Values model is based on twelve distinctive patterns of behavior that are utilized as the poles of six, paired continua. (See Fig. 23.) It is useful to note that the left-right dictinctions posited by Mayers correlate with the "split-brain" theory of Paredes and Hepburn (1976), as well as with Marshall McLuhan's (1964) dichotomoy of "hot" versus "cool" media.

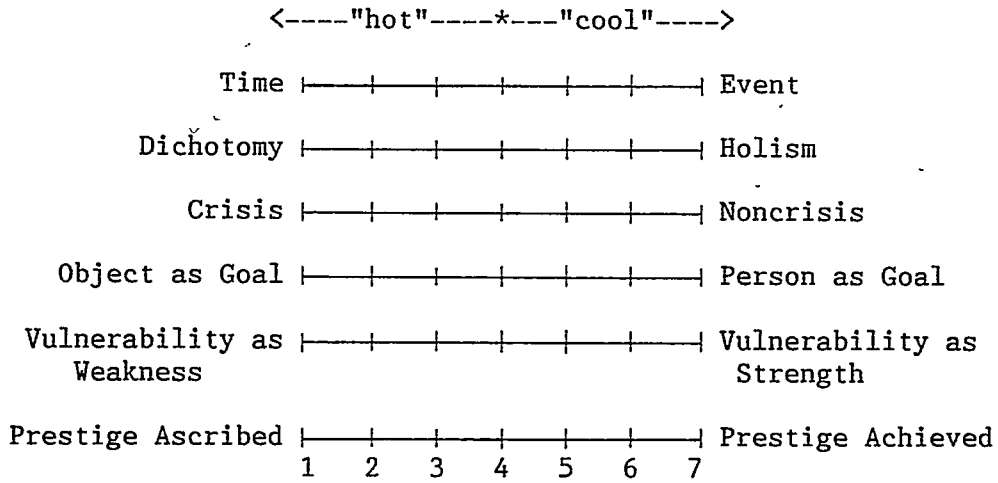

Fig. 23. The six continua of the Basic Values model

Each of these categories of thought or behavior orientations in the basic values model has been defined and illustrated more fully elsewhere (Mayers 1974:147-70; 1979:5-12; Lingenfelter and Mayers 1986). They are therefore only briefly clarified here.[10]

Time orientation is concerned with seconds, minutes and hours; when something begins and when it ends; how frequently something is

done in a time period; how orderly it is done, in other words, in relation to a schedule, and within a range of punctuality.

Event orientation is concerned with who's there, what's going on, and how the event can be embellished--with light, sound, touch, body movement, and so forth.

Dichotomistic orientation sets up distinctions, divisions, or categories; concern is with the here or there, right or wrong, this or that; the part is more important than the whole, hence, one starts with the part--not the whole.

Holistic orientation is concerned with the whole and the parts as wholes in relation to the greater whole; patterns and configurations are important.

Crisis orientation focuses on one alternative, that alternative being the only correct one; a sharply defined authority system maintains that alternative and seeks closure on that alternative.

Noncrisis orientation considers many alternatives, any of which are valid and worthy of selection now or later; therefore, authority is in keeping with alternatives, and closure is delayed and less intense.

Object as goal orientation causes one to set up timed goals in order to achieve some object.

Person as goal orientation causes one to concern himself more with person than with the accomplishment of some object. Time schedules may be ignored; programs will be measured more in terms of what happens to the people involved.

Vulnerability as weakness orientation covers any error or weakness so that it is not perceived in any way as weakness.

Vulnerability as strength orientation permits admission of error; assumes no loss of respect when there is evidence of weakness, error, or the like.

Prestige ascribed orientation develops criteria for ascription of respect and prestige, the machinery for receiving this and living up to the expectations of one's ascribed status, and the motivation to live up to that status. Prestige is assigned to both the person and the role that one fills in society.

Prestige achieved orientation causes one to work to gain one's respect. Prestige is assigned only to the role.

Mayers has developed a Basic Values Profile Questionnaire consisting of 120 questions. An individual completes the questionnaire and then computes his score for each continuum. This enables him to plot an exact numerical figure on the respective continuum in a range from 1 to 7. The resulting profile thereby indexes the value orientation or trend of the person for any one continuum of behavior.

The questionnaire is, however, written from a western socio-cultural perspective. Therefore, when an observer-analyst applies the model to corporate society or to cross-cultural field work, he must rely primarily on observations of a general pattern of behavior, after which he may then assign the pattern of behavior a name. As a matter of procedure, therefore, the observer-analyst first observes a pattern of behavior, and then names that pattern, not vice versa. When the various manifestations of a given behavior orientation are compiled, the analyst, at best, intuitively assigns an approximate numerical index from 1 to 7 in order to rate whether the value trend is toward "hot" or whether the trend is toward "cool" for a particular behavioral orientation.

The usefulness of the Basic Values model, in my view, extends beyond the mere categorization of human behavior. For after a cognitive style profile has been developed (through the procedure thus outlined), it is then the profile exhibits epistemic usefulness if it is utilized as 'generative model' (in a Lévi-Strauss sense)--predicting probable behavioral patterns for novel, or as yet unobserved socio-cultural situations. Mayers (1979:52) conceptualizes the Lévi-Strauss (1963) generative model in the following linear form.

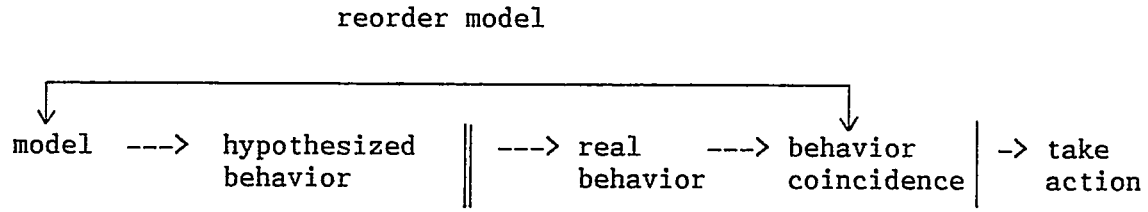

Fig. 24. Basic Values as a generative model

I maintain that this generative aspect of the model has certain analytical significance if the cognitive style profile has been so constituted that it will make immediately intelligible all the observed 'facts' in Wiru society. Therefore, after I develop a "corporate profile" for Wiru society in chapter four, I then logically generate a set of hypothesized behaviors for a "ritual divination" (based on the projections of the corporate profile). The divination account appearing in chapter three is then examined for the purpose of determining whether or not the 'real' behavior exhibited during the divination event in any way coincides with the hypothesized behavior. If indeed there is coincidence in behavior, I will argue that the observer as analyst has thus clarified the underlying conceptual basis of divination among the Wiru.

2.3.3. A Textlinguistic Analysis

2.3.3.1. Interdisciplinary Perspective Integral to Textlinguistics

Over the past two decades one of the major thrusts in linguistics has been the development of textlinguistics and its ever-widening attention upon the relevance of various kinds of contexts. Philosophers of language have demonstrated how pragmatic context constitutes the conditions which determine the appropriateness of natural language utterances taken as speech acts (Austin 1962, Searle

1969). It comes as no surprise, then, that linguistic studies in pragmatics have appeared in recent years (Givón 1981, van Dijk 1981, Jones 1983).

Moreover, sociolinguistics, sociology, and social anthropology have focused their attempts to define the systematic relationships between the socio-cultural context and the structure(s) and function(s) of language (Hymes 1974, Trudgill 1974, Fishman 1977, Basso and Selby 1976). Trudgill writes (1974:32),

> A study of language totally without reference to its social context inevitably leads to the omission of some of the more complex and interesting aspects of languages and to the loss of opportunities for further theoretical progress.

He points out the complexity of language by observing that language is not used by "all people in all situations" in the same manner. Therefore, it is by taking account of the various social contexts of interaction that we are told the language-analyst will be taking a step forward in tackling such linguistic complexity.

So, more than ever before, the linguist finds himself at the crossroads of several disciplines. One noted textlinguist has suggested that "a more or less arbitrary restriction on the domain and problems of linguistic theory would be fruitful for the moment for the development of new approaches to the study of natural language" (van Dijk 1977a:viii). But in spite of his own call for restraint, van Dijk has nonetheless forged ahead in investigating divergent issues in relation to discourse, viz. 'structures' of comprehension and cognitive processing (1977b, 1980), pragmatics and discourse (1981), and prejudice (1984).

I am compelled to believe that textlinguistics (discourse analysis) is by its very nature interdisciplinary: **a text can be maximally 'analyzed' and understood only by going beyond the boundaries of linguistics.** It is not that one aspect of text analysis is that of an interdisciplinary approach, but rather, if the analysis is to fulfill its own intent, it will necessarily presume an interdisciplinary perspective (or methodology).

2.3.3.2. A Procedure for Text Analysis

R.E. Longacre has been ardent in recent years in his pursuit of a "discourse grammar" (1972, 1976, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983a, 1985a, Longacre and Levinsohn 1978). He maintains that "there is no cut-and-dried model in approaching the analysis of discourse," and he claims that "it is much too early to be dogmatic."[11] With certainty, however, he does hold to the notion that discourse grammar "takes account of context or . . . tries to account for features of discourses as wholes" (1977:18). This claim stands in contrast to the more traditional approach of sentence grammar, "which aims to do no more than to account for the sentence and its constituents irrespective of context" (1977:18).

Longacre maintains that numerous linguistic features can be adequately accounted for only in reference to discourse function. He notes in particular the following features: (1) participant reference--the varied phenomena of definite and indefinite articles, and deitics; (2) pronominalization; (3) tense, mode, aspect, and voice--functionally accounting for verb morphology in relation to foreground and background levels of information; (4) conjunctions and

backreference; (5) nominalization and topicalization (referential prominence); (6) optional locational and temporal expressions; (7) variation in quoted speech (i.e., from narration to pseudodialogue to dialogue/drama); (8) amount of detail and elaboration (the "slow-motion-effect"); (9) uses of types on any structural level; and (10) "mystery particles"--particles of apparently random distribution but subject to implicit discourse constraints.

After examining Longacre's most recent praxis in textlinguistics, there can be no mistake that his starting point is: the discourse as a whole. This 'move' presupposes a tacit 'understanding' of the discourse itself, in terms of both semantic content and referential movement. He demonstrates this understanding of a discourse by explicitly formulating a probable macrostructure statement (i.e., an abstract, or macro-proposition). The macrostructure of a text is not derived ad hoc, nor intuitively, but rather a strict empirical procedure is followed.

Longacre is committed to the notion that a "text in any language is an intricate interlocking of verb phrases and noun phrases (plus a few such additional elements as connectives and/or sequence signals)" (to appear, a). A geometric metaphor provides him with a useful way of conceptualizing this intricate relationship,

> We can picture all the VP's and all the NP's of a text as a kind of double helix running through the text; the two strands of the helix are its set of verb phrases and all its set of noun phrases. The particular clauses in which specific verb phrases relate to specific noun phrases . . . are bridges between the two strands of the helix. Furthermore, each strand of the helix is itself very highly structured (like a cable) with several substrands of relative prominence within it (to appear, a).

By and large, Longacre's primary focus seems to be upon the <u>verbal helix</u>

of discourse, perhaps because the complexity in explaining the various functions of the multiple forms of verb morphology in a language is a 'more' demanding task (or perhaps because lots more clauses have verbs than have nouns in many languages). In forthcoming book on Hebrew narrative discourse (in press), he does turn his attention, though, to the nominal helix as well. This nominal strand in discourse has to do with the noun phrase, pronouns, verbal affixes (regarding subject and/or obejct referent), switch reference, ergativity, and other such elements of nominal reference (e.g., zero anaphora or ellipsis). In this work, Longacre sorts out issues regarding participant reference, speech acts, and dialogue.

Other linguists have also focused on the "nominal strand" in narrative discourse, but under various rubrics. Litteral (1981) deals with four grammatical means of "referential prominence" in Anggor discourse, noting some useful notions of "accessibility priority" in semantic case roles for the subject function/slot, as well as an "animacy hierarchy" in the mapping of semantic goals to grammatical functions within the clause. Reesink (1981b) in dealing with grammatical features of "cohesion" in Usan (following Halliday and Hasan, 1976), posits an 'exhaustive hierarchy of referential prominence' whereby forms are seen to have more prominence the higher up the list they occur.[12] From cognitive psychology, Bock and Warren (1985) appear to be postulating the same kind of hierarchy of grammatical relations for noun phrases in sentence structures. They maintain that this 'hierarchy' "is related to the conceptual accessibility of the intended referents of noun phrases that commonly occur in particular relational

roles, with relations higher in the hierarchy typically occupied by noun phrases representing more accessible concepts" (47).

When focusing on the analysis of the 'substrands' of relative prominence within the verbal helix, Longacre presupposes a purported distinction between events and nonevents.[13] He thus hypothesizes that "for any language every type of text has a mainline of development and [it] contains other materials which can be conceived of as progressive degrees of departure from the mainline" (to appear, a). He captures the relative significance of these 'progressive degrees of departure' by placing the various forms of verb morphology that appear in a text on a cline[14]. This cline is intended to represent graphically the so-called "vertical prominence" that traverses, for the most part, the whole of a discourse. Vertical prominence denotes "ways in which the surface structure of a text signals that certain elements in its structure are more vital to that structure than others" (1985a:83).

When a particular form of verb structure is placed high on the cline (e.g., the preterite for English narrative discourse), this reflects the analyst's interpretation that the events referred to by such verb forms are consecutive actions in the past and therefore they 'move' the mainline of development forward in time. It is at this point that Longacre strives to empirically validate his formulation of macrostructure (1985b:172). Drawing upon van Dijk's methodology (1977:143-148), Longacre proceeds through four reductive steps: (1) he abstracts all clauses whose verbs are preterites (or whatever type of verb traces forward movement); (2) he deletes from the results of (1) all repetitions and paraphrase, as well as all actions which on semantic grounds are either consequent or presupposed to a more prominent action;

(3) he then eliminates all direct quotes by reducing them to indirect summaries, and wherever else it is possible he replaces detail with summary as well. Now at this juncture in the reduction process, there is left "a tolerably good one paragraph summary of the story" (1985b:172). Finally, (4) he reduces this 'paragraph summary' by reapplying operations (2) and (3), thus resulting in the MACROSTRUCTURE.

This particular method of reducing a text to its macrostructure, however, is problematical in that it may well leave the theme of the entire discourse unaccounted for.[15] It seems that highly thematic material is normally low in terms of vertical prominence, when defined, that is, in terms of transitivity. In other words, discourse theme is more likely to be expressed through clauses with verbs of low transitivity. Consequently, in the very first step of reduction (above), such expressions of thematic material drop by the wayside--a serious oversight which results in potentially sifting out the purpose of a story being told.

After performing this "bottom-up" processing of the text as the means for formulating the macrostructure, Longacre maintains the necessity of then relating the details of the story more particularly to its macrostructure--i.e., a "top-down" processing as well. This he does by taking account of the profile of the story, i.e., "the development of its plot structure as seen in the highlighting of some sections over others" (1985b:172, cf. 1981, 1983a). Elsewhere Longacre refers to the profile of a story as the "horizontal prominence" in the discourse, which 'intersects with' the strands of vertical prominence.[16]

A discourse profile is drawn in the form of a line graph, as a means of instanciating the "linguistic reflexes of mounting and

declining tension (or excitement) within a discourse" (1981:337). The reflex of highest tension (characterized by unusual grammatico-stylistic features) is usually concentrated at the peak episode of the story.[17] Longacre (1981:356) suggests that the profile of a one-peak discourse would appear as in Figure 25.

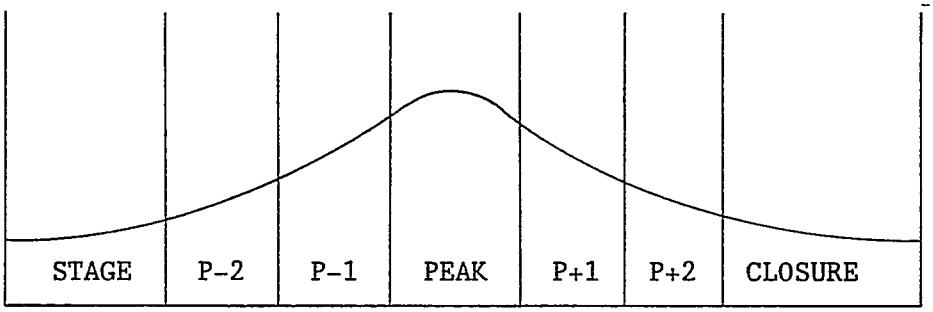

Fig. 25. Example of a discourse profile

It is to be noted in the above figure that, in addition to peak, the discourse is divided into various episodes, e.g., 'peak minus one' (P-1)--the episode just prior to the onset of the peak. Is there a structural (i.e., grammatical) basis for such divisioning of the text? Longacre argues for the notion of paragraph as a "grammatical unit" (1979)--not well accepted by some linguists--but he nevertheless continues to maintain and demonstrate adeptly that "a constituency analysis of texts ... can be carried out in local spans of the text (paragraphs) so that the sentences whose main verb(s) and/or clause(s) are of highest rank are structurally dominant in the local span, and those of lower rank are structurally ancillary" (to appear, a). Longacre's method of text analysis seems to have, therefore, its own built-in check, so to speak. "A good rank scheme of verb/clauses should facilitate a good constituent analysis; and a good constituent analysis can confirm/modify the rank scheme" (to appear, a).

It is to be noted that as the profile line rises, this is an index to the analyst's interpretation that 'tension' (i.e., between participants in the story) is mounting. The line is not intended to indicate the eventline per se, i.e., a mere plotting of the 'dynamicity' of the various mainline verbs. Rather, according to Longacre (1985a:85), it reflects that the story "is going somewhere in terms of its own inner drive and development."

Endnotes

[1]The hyphenated compound word, observer-as-creator, here (and elsewhere in the paper) refers to the phenomenon of the observer as creating meanings only--in both his social world and in his physical world. Due to my theistic view, I--as an observer only--cannot create things; only God creates things or speaks things into existence. (For the mechanist, perhaps he would concede that nature, accident, or a causal chain of events, brings about the existence of things.) However, I do recognize that within the cognitive world view of the Wiru it is maintained that the observer in certain circumstances may create things in the physical world. For example, in one form of sorcery (ulo), it is believed that the sorcerer may hold a certain stone as he "observes" a person while he himself remains hidden. The ulo sorcerer thereby causes the person to fall sick and die within the next few days. Whether or not this in fact is "actually" so (or possible) is not being argued here. All that I mean by "observer-as-creator" is limited strictly to the observer as inevitably creating meanings in his world--not things.

[2]In making such a statement, Zaner himself would appear to be taking a "privileged perspective." Lenore Langsdorf (personal communication) has helped me in understanding there may or may not be a privileged perspective, but I don't know--and even, cannot with certitude know--what (which of the possibilities) it is.

[3]There is no claim on my part, however, for knowing the precise relation(s) between language and thought, or between language and culture (i.e., linguistic forms and cultural content), or between language and world view. Others have examined such issues far more at length than I (Haugen 1977; Carroll 1956; Hymes 1966; Wierzbicka 1986; Longacre 1956; and Pike 1967, 1981b).

[4]I am indebted to a fellow student, Tom Craig (1981), who holds this same view and has carefully demonstrated its effectiveness in understanding the language use of metaphor for "social control" in a neo-Pentecostal millenarian sect.

[5]I take Longacre's statement to mean 'language, as a conceptual system, structures our world for us.' And since we find evidence of conceptual categories--namely, space, time, quantity, quality, relation, and modality--in linguistic expressions per se, "we have no clear way to view the world [be it the physical world or our social world] apart from [a] language [which is part and parcel of a broader cultural semiotic system] and its categories."

[6]The one exception to this part-whole hierarchy is considered to be the most inclusive whole of one's believed-in metaphysical system, be it a theistic or pantheistic or mechanistic whole (Pike 1985a:40).

[7]I limit the validity of this statement to "casual" oral discourse, or in other words, unrehearsed, nonstylized, nonritualized genres of speech utterance. To say that a primarily oral people are

bereft of (linguistic) 'cultural objects' would be to deny the atemporality of certain ritual genres (e.g., for the Wiru there are "timeless" proverbs pedoa agale, folktales laa, courting songs kunana and lo oko, etc.) which are passed on from generation to generation in a relatively 'stable' form. I most assuredly agree with Fuglesang's argument in this regard that oral culture is preserved through its "oral monuments." He writes (1982:82),

> In anthropology, the emphasis on description and analysis of the material objects of a culture is quite understandable. These objects represent accessible, tangible, unchanging manifestations of a culture which can be classified, measured amd interpreted. However, oral monuments also exist and are available to the ready listener and observer, despite language problems. The forms that oral civilizations have used for survival are structurally simple, functionally efficient and often display a spectrum of aesthetic qualities from the humorous to the poetic. Oral culture is preserved in the form of proverbs, riddles, songs and stories. In addition, there are myths, legends, tales, epic poems and ballads. There is considerable variation in the form and expression of all these above, which are usually accompanied by dance and music. (Italics mine.)

By contrast, any unrehearsed spontaneous speech--here I am referring to the eyewitness account as a particular example--can never achieve "lasting" communicable form without the aid of some device (i.e., a mnemonic, or tape recorder, etc.). Scarcely can a person remember what he said (syntactically) in casual interaction a week before--though he may retain his intention or meaning--let alone five years or ten years before.

[8]Perhaps the distinction made by Paul Ricoeur (1976) between explanation (erklären) and understanding (verstehen) provides further insight at this point. These are two apparently conflicting attitudes, according to Ricoeur, that we may assume when dealing with language as a cultural object, but he stresses that this conflict is only an apparent one and that it can be overcome if one realizes that these two attitudes are dialectically related to each other. He writes (71-2):

> . . . understanding is to reading what the event of discourse is to the utterance of discourse and . . . explanation is to reading what the verbal and textual autonomy is to the objective meaning of discourse. A dialectical structure of reading therefore corresponds to the dialectical structure of discourse. . . . Explanation finds its paradigmatic field of application in the natural sciences. . . . Understanding, in contrast, finds its originary field of application in the human sciences (the German Geisteswissenschaften), where science has to do with the experience of other subjects or other minds similar to our own.

[9]This chart, demonstrating Cassirer's analytical scheme, is taken from class notes of the course, "Philosophical Basis of the Humanities," taught by Dr. Lenore Langsdorf, University of Texas at Arlington (Spring 1981).

[10]The extended quote appearing on pages 87-88 is included here with the permission of Marvin K. Mayers.

[11]These were Longacre's opening statements in his course, "Readings in Discourse Grammar," in the Fall of 1979 at the University of Texas at Arlington.

[12]In positing the following "hierarchy of referential prominence" Reesink's claim that it is an exhaustive listing is not meant to suggest that all of these various structures are available in any language (1981b:195).

1 Rhetorical question
2 Cleft sentence
3 Relative clause
4 Stative sentence
5 Noun phrase + Pronoun
6 Noun phrase
7 Noun
8 Pronoun
9 Verb suffix
10 Ø

[13]Probably one of the most important distinctions in the putative kinds of information in narrative discourse is that of events versus non-events (Grimes 1975, Lotman 1977:232ff), or foreground versus background information (Hopper 1979). These different kinds of information are charted for convenience of observation (cf. Longacre and Levinsohn 1978, Grimes 1975), and from this inductive procedure the analyst strives to make structural statements that capture a general rule in the discourse grammar, e.g., 'on the backbone of the narrative, one particular tense is used; background brings in other tenses and aspects', etc. The presupposition underlying this type of analysis is well expressed by Longacre (1985a:83):

> The very idea of discourse as a structured entity demands that some parts of discourse be more prominent than others. Otherwise, expression would be impossible. Discourse without prominence would be pointing to a piece of black cardboard and insisting that it was a picture of black camels crossing black sands at midnight.

[14]Cline was formally called "spectrum" (Longacre 1981).

[15]Personal communication from Longacre.

[16]This notion has been applied with much success in understanding and analyzing Halbi myths (Woods 1980), Korean narratives (Hwang 1987), and Gujarati folktales (Christian 1983).

[17]Features indicating peak may be viewed as the author's "bag of tricks" (Longacre 1985a).

CHAPTER THREE

AN OBJECT OF CULTURE:

THE DIVINING POLE RETURNS

> Like every other object, an object of culture [italics mine] has its place in space and time. It has its here-and-now. It comes to be and passes away. Insofar as we describe this here-and-now, this coming-to-be and passing-away, we have no need to go beyond the sphere of physical determinants. But, on the other hand, in this description even the physical itself is seen in a new function. It not only "is" and "becomes;" for in this being and becoming something else "emerges." What emerges is a "meaning," which is not absorbed by what is merely physical, but is embodied upon and within it; it is the factor common to all that content we designate as "culture."
>
> (Cassirer 1960:98)

3.1. A Clandestine Murder

Early on Thursday morning, December 7, 1978, the body of a twelve year old girl was discovered behind a hut on the outskirts of her highlands village, Weipe (in the Pangia District of the Southern Highlands Province, PNG). Her body was riddled with many superficial lacerations. Most of the older men, therefore, conjectured that it was the work of an evil spirit, especially since there was not one bit of blood on the body--in spite of the numerous wounds. However, the coroner's examination later revealed that two of the lacerations in the neck area were indeed deep knife wounds; his verdict was murder. The older men could not recollect such an odious, unprovoked deed like this having ever happened before in their recent past.

The following day (Friday) the constabulary interrogated all the inhabitants of Weipe village and also those of two nearby villages, Molo and Laiyo (see Map 2). The interrogation resulted in five young men being taken into custody[1] and transported 20 miles away to the government Patrol Post at Pangia "for further questioning." As the police were leaving Weipe, they said to the people, 'In a few days, all visible signs and evidence of this crime will be washed away by the rain. We know you have "ways" of finding out who did this deed. Do whatever you can to assist us!'

With that directive, men from Weipe village travelled during the night to Ialibu, 45 miles to the west, which is an area inhabited by a completely different language community, the Imbonggu-speaking people. There they procured the services of a man whose putative expertise is in ritually activating a "divining pole"--called yomo kopini in the Wiru language. Coincidentally, this diviner was a village court magistrate as well, i.e., an elected official in the lowest level of the Papua New Guinea judicial system. He represented both literally and symbolically a juxtaposition of two divergent paradigms of jurisprudence.

The diviner, having consented to come, passed through the Alia mission station on midmorning Saturday in a manner reminiscent of the "Pied Piper," with numerous youths parading along behind him. That is when I myself first saw the "the caretaker of the divining pole" (yomo kopini pinago) along with his entourage. He walked on past my house and continued down the road toward Weipe village. Just as he left the western edge of the mission station, he passed by the dwelling of Yoke Pambeyapu, who is the village court magistrate of the Alia court area and also the author of the eyewitness account under study. Because of

Yoke's mutual commitment to proper judicial process, the diviner invited Yoke to go along with him, so that he could witness firsthand all the activities that were about to transpire (enikele pea enoano 'this-REL-MAN all see.IMP-AST' "You can see all these activities").[2] This is the incident referred to by Yoke in the STAGE of his account.[3] Henceforth, the eyewitness narrative retells the startling activities of the divining pole--how it relentlessly "tracked" the footsteps of both the victim and the murderer, how it "recreated" in the minds of the perceivers the events of the crime itself, and how it "found" the hidden murder weapon--the climactic unravelling of mayhem and murder.

Note Figure 26 for a brief summary of this immediate context of the divination and referential ordering of events that transpired. Yoke did not follow the divining pole after it was activated the third time. However, Nare Wama, foreman of the nearby Pomba Cattle Station at that time, witnessed these last unravellings made by the pole, and his observations are contained in a short sequel following Yoke's account.

3.2. Eyewitness Account at Weipe and Molo [4]

(1) Now you can stop the talk, all of you. (2) Now I-ERG will tell this story.

(3) It is not that I have seen this activity before, but, now a man-ERG has killed a girl and because of this, it is so. They wanted to get the divining pole for this, so they went to see and get these Ialibu folk. Seeing and getting them, they did so on this Saturday--I did see (them) myself in the morning. (4) They got the divining pole and having done that-S/R, I myself saw them on Saturday morning. These Ialibu folk, this man who is elected as the village court magistrate, the one

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 6	p.m. - Lipu is missing
THURSDAY, Dec. 7	a.m. - girl's body discovered at Weipe village p.m. - coroner's examination of the body at the mission station at Alia
FRIDAY, Dec. 8	a.m. - PNG Constabulary interrogates all inhabitants of three neighboring villages; five young men taken in for further questioning p.m. - Reputed diviner from Ialibu is procured during the night
SATURDAY, Dec. 9	a.m. - diviner comes through Pangia on his way to Weipe village via the mission station at Alia p.m. - the first activation of the divining pole takes place at Weipe
SUNDAY, Dec. 10	a.m. - second and third activations of the divining pole transpire at Weipe and Molo p.m. - eye witness account obtained from Yoke Pambeyapu and a sequel to the account from Nare

Fig. 26. Referential sequence of events "known" to observers

who causes the divining pole to move, he came. This man came and he held-S/R this divining pole, and I-ERG saw him, and "Let's go," he said-S/R, and oh!...all the different manner of things they did with it! I also do this same work, that is, I'm a village court magistrate too. (5) So it is because of this he said-S/R, "Let's see all these things. You and I go," and I went, and when he wanted to do-S/R this, this divination ritual, I did not know how to do these things. (6) Now I-ERG really wanted to see this, because never before had I seen this!

(7) That being the case, I wanted to see it and went, and I did see this, but..., when he did this, as for him first wanting to start this thing, he did it in this manner. (8) It was a long pole, this small lawapo which is not heavy, smoothed on this end and on that end, he had really smoothed both ends well, then he wound the middle around with rope, lawapo bark rope that he had stripped off, and he wound that center place around with rope. At this place he first wound around the pole with rope only, later on they got this little girl's eyebrow hair and he got some of her head hair, and with these two things together--at this place where he had first wound around only the lawapo rope (by itself)--in the middle they also tied around both of these two items. (9) After he finished wrapping this around, on both that end and on this end he then stuck two forked sticks in the ground, and to begin with...he wanted to cause this thing to get up--I'm talking about the divining pole--the manner in which he wanted to cause the divining pole to get up. (10) As for when he was starting it like this, he stuck two forked sticks in the ground over there and here on the ends, and he laid this long lawapo pole across them, and after he had done it like this, again on top of this lawapo divining pole where he had tied it with

rope, he then broke and got the small upper portion of a konda leaf, a banana leaf, and he draped it down over the divining pole; on top of this, breaking and getting a small poue fern leaf, he placed it on top.

(11) Having placed it and wanting to cause this thing to get up, he stuck a short piece of wild cane down in the ground, and on top he split it apart and down below he just stuck it in the ground unsplit, and then he got a dead branch of the pokora tree, a small twig, and he said some words to this thing...he prayed or?...yes!...he was praying, and he prayed to this thing, and to begin with--like this--he struck the lower portion of the cane with the small twig, and he struck the lawapo (pole) (resting) up above with this small twig, and doing this he was saying,...calling clan names he was saying,...calling all the clan names of those who sleep up at Molo village he was saying,

"This is Weiperi," he said,

"Kimbori," he said, then

"Were-Kambiri," he said,

"Leri," he said,

"Yoarene," he said,

"Tingono-Kambiri," he said it like this. (12) As he was doing this, he hit this thing [the pole which had been assembled] all over. (13) When he did that-S/R, when he struck this thing all over-S/R, he was then watching (to see) if this thing (would) move a little, but when it was moving slightly, it didn't move back and forth.

14) When it did that-S/R, he was saying,...he began opening his mouth and saying,

"This clan-ERG killed you! This clan-ERG killed you!"--as for

this, I'm trying to tell you the things he said--he said this, but, later he began opening his mouth saying [addressing the pole],

"If you say Kimbori-ERG killed you," he said, "then, divining pole, you get up!" he said. (15) "'Kimbori clan-ERG is angry with me and (relationships are) broken over a land (dispute).' If you say Kimbori-ERG killed you over this land dispute, (then) divining pole, get up!" he said. (16) When he had done this-S/R, he was watching, and it (the pole) moved back and forth a little. (17) It moved back and forth...after this thing-ERG moved, he was watching, and it was lying across the forked sticks. (18) Then, on this end and on that end both,...two Ialibu men whom he had brought with him were just standing there, and (so) he stood them in place. (19) They didn't hold it tightly in their hands; this pole just lay as though it were on the two sticks--like this [w/ gesture]--they made their hands like these two forked-rests, and with it lying in (their) two hands they stood there.

(20) When they did this-S/R, this pole thing quaked back and forth, hands and all--like this [w/ gesture]--it moved and walked about-S/R, and when it did this-S/R, he was watching,...this same man-ERG who had come was striking it again and saying,

"That's right! If it is true this clan has killed you, you get the knife that killed you. You show the evidence of the place where they killed you. You show this. The place where they killed you, say, 'They killed me here!' and then hit this man. Hit/kill this man. Hit/kill this man's hut. You can do it in this way. Divining pole, you get up!" he said. (21) "Divining pole, you get up! Get this man! Get this clan! 'He did it in this manner,' that's what you show (us) in this way," he said.

(22) When he did this-S/R, he was watching--this thing struck back and forth like this [w/ gesture], it struck and struck and after it did like this-S/R, these two men got-S/R it, gripping (it) tightly with their hands both of them held it. (23) After it struck forcefully back and forth-S/R, they gripped and held this thing tightly, then with these two (holding) (it) with (their) hands this thing wanted them to go off (searching somewhere). (24) Whatever place they liked or else to whatever place they shoved it and wanted-to-take-(it)-away-S/R, this thing would stop and come back to this place here, and it just kept doing it this way, it just kept striking back and forth--this pole thing (did), and after it did this-S/R, they had caused it to get up like this, and they carried it away.

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(25) As for us doing this, we went along, I myself included, and where this (girl) had played and where she had walked, this thing-ERG had walked and dallied around two or three times, where this (girl) had walked in the long, village green, and later the places where she had gone and where she had repeatedly circled around and around (in the village), it continued doing just the same, and it walked, and walked, and walked, and walked, and we just kept going, and where (she) had walked, it walked, where (she) had searched for her mother and had searched for (her) father, where this girl had wanted to go and had gone up toward Molo to (her) mother, it went; then where she had met up with the man, it showed, this place where she had met (him) and had been standing, well this (thing) had walked and circled around and around like this, and when the man-ERG had pulled (her) off and did

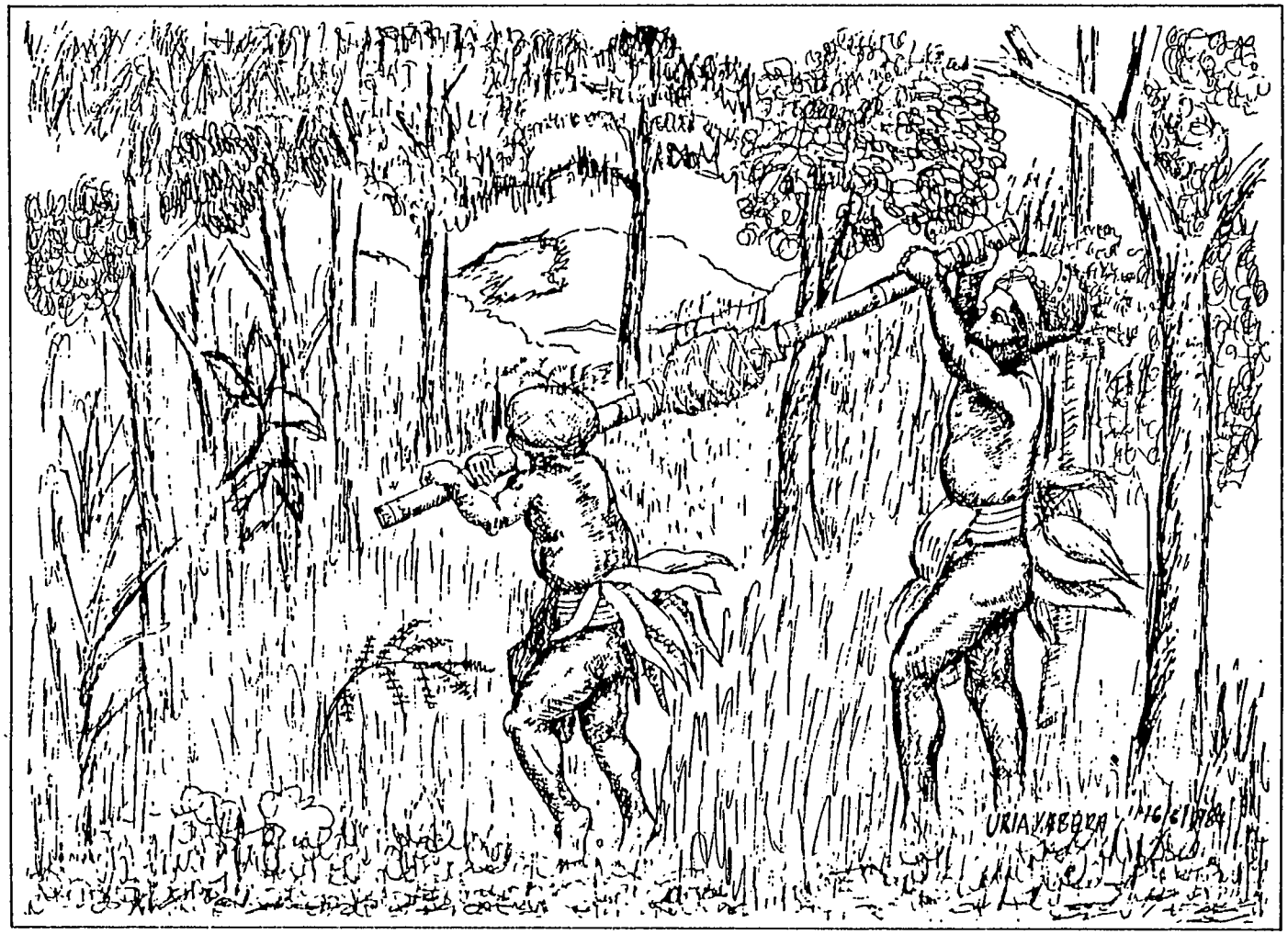

Fig. 27. The "activated" yomo kopini on the hunt

these things-S/R, it showed this exactly, and while it was doing this, it had already run up the long car road, and it was afternoon and almost dark, and we went up toward Molo village.

(26) As for us doing this, we went and went and just went along the long car road until we truly came up on all those huts at Molo, and we went right on past the main line of huts. (27) As for us going on past the main line of huts, way down below there it crossed over and up on the other side at the edge of the village where the house of this Leri clansman, Laakea, stands, "It is striking at ('killing') the inside of this house that belongs to Laakea," they said. (28) As for me, I went and after I got completely tired out-S/R, I stayed at Wendi's house, but, later they sang-out [a yodelling yell] and got me, "You come!" (29) "We want to go right on (and hunt for something) inside the hut, so let's go--you too! Come!", saying, and when they did so-S/R, I was first to go-S/R inside this hut, then they carried this divining pole in afterwards, and as it was going right on inside the hut, this son of Laakea--as he was sitting there--it struck at him, right over there it (would have) hit him but, because these two men-ERG who were carrying it maintained their strong grip-S/R on this divining pole, it continued just like this, and after this was forcefully doing like this-S/R,...after it did so-S/R, then they got this boy and after they sat him down where I was located, then coming back over to this place it kept striking and striking-S/R at both me and this boy together, then, "Go over to the other side!" I said-S/R, and when he went over to the other side too, it just kept striking (at him), and after it did this-S/R, I was saying, "You, lad, then get up and go completely

outside. Go!" I said. (30) After I did this, this (boy) got up and went completely outside.

(31) He got up and went completely outside and after he did this-S/R, it struck this cooking pot, then it hit a black palm flower sheath [used as eating plate] at that place, and it did things in this manner. (32) As for it doing things in this manner, afterwards this boy got up and went completely outside, and at whatever location he stood, as this divining pole thing went outside and went following after this boy to that spot and struck at him! (33) After it just kept striking at this boy, it was because the men who had been placed (holding the stick), who had been carrying it, they kept gripping it very tightly-S/R, then I-ERG asked and said, "Here you...," I was speaking with the father,...I was speaking with Laakea,

"You know all about the way this thing works from a long time ago, and so that's what we have done (here); you-ERG have not done anything (wrong), but, (if) someone steals something, the man-ERG who does such a thing, it strikes this particular man, or the knife? or whatever he had held onto and carried? (Perhaps) he has thrown something down here at your house so that they can say, 'You-ERG did this! This divining pole-ERG can come and strike at you ('kill' you),' and so he probably has done it in this way. Don't think about some other thing (i.e., don't get worried about accusations). Just sit there at ease," I said. (34) "Let's examine what he has done. It wants to strike at these things. It does things in this way."

(35) After I said-S/R these words, "You are speaking what is true," he said. (36) "My son was over at the place called Tuyomo (out in the bush), they took a certain pig (with them), and they constructed

a fence at this place, and they stripped off bark (for) rope while there and they had come (back)," he said-S/R, and then I-ERG said,

"Did someone-ERG feed him food or something, or didn't they do something like that?" I said,

"As for rice or something like that, (he) put a credit (charged on an account) and got (it) at Wange's house (store)," he said. (37) "After Wange-ERG gave (it) (to him), he brought it (home) and this is the saucepan (cooking pot) in which they cooked and ate from, they had not washed this (yet). It struck this at the place where they had just left it lying," he said. (38) "Then it struck at this bag," he said. (39) "For this reason it struck at this bag," he said.

(40) "So then, just who brought this (here)?" I myself asked-S/R, and he said, "This son-ERG (of mine) went and got (it) at night and brought it (back)," he said. (41) "That's what happened," he said-S/R, then, as before, (this thing) again kept striking at the house.

(42) As it did this, it saw-S/R this boy and struck at this boy, and it kept doing this over and over again-S/R, and later we brought (this thing) back at nightfall at around 6 o'clock...oh, not six o'clock,...at seven o'clock we came back to Weipe. (43) We came to Weipe and at that place they said, "You clan folk of the girl, you hold (this divining pole)" [i.e., 'you continue using the divining pole'], these Lai (Ialibu) folk-ERG said.[5] (44) The folk-ERG who caused the divining pole to get up said, "These folk say you (should) also hold (this pole) and use it at night, but, as for night time, whatever it does when it goes someplace in the bush or off to the side, and at the place it does something you will not (be able to) see very well. Let's

hold it (again) when it is daylight. Let's all sleep," they said something like this, and we slept.

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(45) We ate food and slept at that place, and today in the morning--at seven o'clock we started to cause it to get up (activate) again. (46) At seven o'clock we began causing (it) to get up, and this thing got up, and as for it walking and quaking back and forth in this long village green, because it already walked there yesterday, today it didn't do it this way. (47) As for today, it just was going right up through the line of huts, and it went straight toward the place where this man-ERG killed the girl, put her and where he had brought her back to. (48) At the place where he threw down this (body), the place where he put it, it didn't strike anywhere else. (49) He could let (her) lie at that place down there.

(50) Just straight toward over there [...] to the place where he killed her and had carried this body to, it was going straight toward (there), and (from there) through the middle of pitpit cane grass and down through barretts (or ditches), we just went straight 'cutting corners,' and down there where there is a pool of water, up at the head water of this small Lora creek, he had thrown-[PRF] (her body) down underneath this pool of water. (51) He had left this (body) thrown-[PRF] down (there). (52) He could let (the water) wash off the blood and anything else. (53) He left her lying there, and those village folk conversed and sat there-S/R while he was watching (them), and he didn't want to take the body and (just) left it lying in the water, and he stood listening, and the village folk finally went to sleep and forgot (about the missing girl)--at twelve o'clock at night or

something like that, one o'clock or two o'clock--at this time he got the girl, he took her (body) out (of the water), and he carried her to that house where he went and laid her, so, at the place where he had broken off and got ragweed leaves or something like that, the divining pole-ERG repeatedly went and struck there--he wanted to wipe off the blood or whatever?--he had crossed a wire fence, and on the other side [...] he had crossed this cattle fence, on that spot where he had thrown down (the body)--(because) he wanted to go under (the wire fence)--well (this pole) struck that spot, and where he had carried (the body) it went, and the place where he had rested further up (the hill) it struck, he put (the body) down at this same place, and on the road (or path) on the other side (of the fence) where he kept going back and forth, back and forth to look [i.e., 'making sure the coast was clear'], and where he carried her and put her down over there, at the place where the village folk-ERG discovered [i.e., 'see' + 'get'] her body, as for it going to these places, it did the same as usual, and at the place where he put (her) it struck this kind of sign--at the spot where the girl was left lying.

(54) It struck and struck and just kept striking, then it was going to a place straight up there, and later it went back up toward this well-travelled path--where he had gone and carried this girl and left her lying. (55) It went where he had gone, and now this morning we went and went and truly just kept going up along the well-travelled path, and (where) we were wanted to go down to the Lora creek, this man came this way from up at Molo, and the girl came up from on the other side, this (is when/where) he started passing by her and at the place where the man-ERG grabbed hold of her and had walked, well, it struck at

the top of the ground at that place--on this ground where he had met her, it struck and kept striking at the edge of this muddy bog--and while the man-ERG was causing the killing of this (girl) he fled away, he went down to that place, and he fled down to the Lora creek, then at that place where he was crossing over this ridge and on the other side he went through (another) Lora creek and at the place where he had come up onto the large car road, we came up.

(56) When we were doing this, where he went up this long road, it (the divining pole) went, and he was thinking many thoughts and where he turned around and went back down and then turned around and went back up--it was because he had killed that girl--these places where this killer had walked, well, whatever manners or actions he had done, (the divining pole) put a sign, and on we went doing this (same) kind of thing, and then later that divining pole-ERG circled around my village policemen as well as myself, and after it did this-S/R, he said [...] this owner of the divining pole-ERG said,

"Now she [the divining pole] wants to strike the house of the killer, she wants to fetch this knife which killed her and such things as this; you stay nearby the diviner and she can follow closely and go get (these things); 'You come' she is saying, she is coming to get (all of you); she wants to go along with men of the law and it is doing this because that is the way we hold it by custom [i.e., in order to avoid trouble]; you stand alongside and up front (there)," he [the diviner] said.

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(57) After we had done this, as for me going first-S/R-TOPIC, that divining pole-ERG truly just went and went, and I went first-S/R,

these village policemen went along with (me) and were there, and up there I passed right on by the line of huts and I went on up-S/R, and later it turned back around and came back down to the village green. (58) As it turned around and went, this new store which had been built, it struck really hard against the door of this store. (59) It struck strongly enough on this door that it made a noise, "Boom!", and after it struck three or four times, then I-ERG (said), "Who is holding the store key?" I said.

(60) "Who is holding the store key," I said-S/R, and the last brother of this brother whom they had taken up (to Pangia) [viz., for further questioning] had placed the key for safekeeping. (61) "I-ERG have put the key aside and I'm here," so later we opened this door.

(62) "Pass on by and open (this door)!" I said. (63) I-ERG said, "Pass on by and open up," I said and I went first, then the policemen went, then (another one of) my policemen went, and when we did this, we went on inside, "Is there money or something like that in here?" we asked-S/R, "There's no money; this food is the only thing over there," he said-S/R, "Then you also come (in)," (we) said, and we went into this store and checked all around-S/R, and this divining pole came inside afterwards, and it struck a cup which was lying down over there. (64) It struck the cup and I got the cup, I-ERG gave it to the teacher from up at Apenda (school), and after I did this, it struck downward toward the woven pitpit wall. (65) After it struck (there), I looked down around by the pitpit wall-S/R, well, there was a thing which they (boys) walk around with and 'pop' matches--a razor 'machine,' on this thing they fasten a section of hollowed-out pitpit cane with a rubber rope, it was this 'toy'-machine belonging to this boy that was lying

there. (66) It hit this thing. (67) After it did this, it got this thing [i.e., Yoke himself picked it up].

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(68) When it had finished doing all this, then later on this divining pole went back up again. (69) When it did this, it wanted to go on up toward the line of huts, and it went through (the village) but, it then went back down and struck at the hut belonging to the parents of this boy who owned that store. (70) When he opened the hut door, he had so completely closed the door and had really fastened it with rope, I said, "This boy who belongs here, you yourself pass on by and open it!" (71) "You come and go open it," I said, and I sent two policemen down inside and I sat at the door. (72) Afterwards I let the divining pole come and go on in. (73) After I did this-S/R, (his) little father was down there (inside) wanting to die, "Today or tomorrow I will die," he said and was just sitting there. (74) This old man was only sitting there, and when this boy had gone and opened the door-S/R, then these (two) policemen went and this divining pole came and went (inside). (75) I was sitting at the door and looking down in (the hut) like this-S/R, and this divining pole was going and there was this grass seraph[6] that had been stuffed up there in the kunai grass roof. (76) It struck at this grass seraph. (77) After it struck at this grass seraph, we picked up this seraph, and after we did this-S/R, then it struck at a file. (78) They had poked it along the top of the side wall.

(79) After we picked up this file, then over there down by the wall in the sleeping room they picked up (something) but, it just kept striking (at something) over by the eave down in the sleeping room--at this wall, "Man! Why is it doing this?" we said, they had poked nothing

else inside there, and they searched and (finally) quit (gave up), and so then on the outside at that place, I lifted it up and looked-S/R, he had poked in this knife--a yorali bush knife. (80) He had stuffed this bush knife inside (the flooring). [Speaker chuckles.]

(81) This bush knife which we went to dig out and secure it, at the place where (*) I was holding this bush knife, it then struck (*) forcefully at this bush knife (*) along with (my own) hand. [Asterisk (*) indicates speaker smacking fist into his open palm; a marked increase in the pitch and excitement of speaker's voice.] (82) After it did this, I held this (knife) and threw it away outside and said, "You go hide it somewhere else," I said. (83) "The divining pole is in the house but, when it comes (outside) without seeing, will it (be able to) see and get (the knife) or not? You hide it very well," I said-S/R, and the teacher, Wanus, got it and carried it off to a place well underneath tall grass, and (he) left it hidden inside the ground, they weren't thinking about any certain thing, and a lot of people were standing outside (as well).

(84) Doing this, this divining pole thing-ERG now quit trying to find (the knife) (inside), and now it came outside. (85) As it emerged (out of the hut) and came, this thing worked really hard to find the place where he had carried off that (knife), and it circled around this teacher--this man who carried it off, it kept walking and circling around him, then it turned completely around and went up, and at the place where it lay hidden, this thing struck very strongly like this...at the ground inside the grass and kept doing it, and it then dug this bush knife right up out of the ground and threw it aside. (86) As it did this, it followed this bush knife, which was like the man, and

killed it! (87) After it did this-S/R, (all) these people plus the residents (of Molo itself) were there--two hundred or more. (88) When we did this, as for the people getting this bush knife and after it did like this-S/R, later we took it and and hid it again some other place, and as before, it did the same thing once again, and after it struck it and kept getting it again-S/R, "Oh, wow!" they exclaimed like this and got afraid...of this thing, and when we did this...when we did this, this thing 'died' (stopped) at that place, and so we stopped and then we talked and did it like that.

[THIS IS THE TIME WHEN I ARRIVED AT MOLO VILLAGE.]

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(89) As we were doing this, when we put down these things (i.e., made open these 'evidences'), we asked, "Just where did you walk and what did you do so that it struck at these things--along with the house?" We got this boy it had struck at yesterday afternoon, and we asked his mother and father questions, and we asked this boy questions, and the brother of this boy they already took to Pangia was there.

When it struck at this house, and it struck at the store and did things like that, we asked (him) these things, we did this, but this brother said, "He and I were sleeping or he was doing something else or (I don't know)?" he said. (90) "My thinking is all mixed up, and my thoughts are not very strong. This blanket was just lying there," he said it like that, but, "This boy did not sleep (here)," that statement he did not say. (91) "I saw the blanket several different times (during the night)-S/R, and he was sleeping but he did not cover up-S/R, and so I did get (the blanket) and cover (him) up," he said. (92) "As for me

getting (the blanket) and covering (him) up, I did it like that up until daylight," he said, and we asked these things, and three men, and a woman made the fourth, these names we wrote down (because) we wanted to take them up (to Pangia) for court, and (so) we wrote down these (names), and then afterwards they caused this divining pole to get up (again). (93) (They) wanted to carry it off, and so they circled around this place, they circled around a second time [...] and a third time, and I myself was standing there holding this grass seraph along with the gela bush knife-S/R, and it struck like this (*) right on my hand holding both the bush knife [Speaker chuckles] and this grass seraph, and when it did this-S/R, I said, "This is the grass seraph and bush knife that you already have gotten. This is what you have already seen. You are (now) striking (at them). You go now!" I said something like that. [Asterisk (*) indicates speaker smacking fist into open palm.]

(94) When I did this-S/R, "I will show you now the place where this boy killed me and he raped (me). Let us both go," this thing was saying, but, at that point hunger was killing me, so doing that I wanted to come back to my place and I didn't go on afterwards-S/R, 'It did show the place where he raped that girl,' they said.

(95) Now when it did this, as for them seeing it and finishing this (i.e., the diviniation) I and Mike both came back in the truck and while I am sitting here-S/R, later on those who saw this came and said, "Now I have seen the place where he raped (her) and did (this) to the girl," they say.

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(96) I have never seen this kind of activity before [viz. divination with a pole] but, "Our fathers and kinsmen did it like this

long ago," is a story they tell, and I have heard it but, now for myself, this is the first (time) they are doing this activity. (97) They are doing it thus, but, I myself saw this traditional activity (divination) and did it thus-S/R, so now it is (all) very good, but, it is because the activity of spirits is what is doing it, and whatever we hid as well, we really weren't even able to hide (it). (98) It saw it and truly got it (the knife). (99) It got it, but, we are rather afraid of this activity--it is because I myself had not seen (this).

(100) I am finishing at this (point)...something (about) which I myself saw (witnessed).

Yoke Pambeyapu,
Village Court Magistrate,
Apenda Area Court, S.H.P.

3.3. The Final Unravelling: Nare's Sequel to Yoke's Account

(1) As for me, I'm sitting here [i.e., in Yoke's hut], and I went up there (to Molo) but, as for the divining pole, they had (already) finished their holding (it) for the first time [on Sunday a.m.], and they were just standing and talking [when I went], but, they finished this talking, and afterwards they started (it) again and held (it). (2) Following/chasing (along), I (also) went. (3) When I was chasing (it) and went-(along)-S/R, the place where this man-ERG had met this girl and hugged and grabbed (her) and carried her off to, this divining pole-ERG went and struck-(at-it)-S/R, and I saw (this place); then the place where he carried (her to) and raped this girl, it went and struck-(at-it)-S/R, and I-ERG saw (this place); we finished seeing these (places), and as it was going on down the road, it went on down

until it came up to the girl's parent's house and it finished (there in Weipe), and we stopped and came (on back here).

(4) This is finished.

Nare Epei,
Foreman,
Pomba Cattle Station

Endnotes

[1]One of these young men was the prime suspect. Constables had noticed blood stains on his shirt and had also discovered dried semen and blood on the underside of his loin cloth (karu) during their "shake-down" of the allegedly involved villages. The young man's alibi of having carried sappy sweet potatoes over his shoulder, thus accounting for the "apparent" blood on his shirt, did not really satisfy the police. They felt they had their man, but they had no proof. If they were to take him by himself out of the village, suspicions were certain to be aroused. They knew aggrieved clansmen of the young girl would assuredly attempt a swift, payback killing of the young man, and they would be powerless to stop it. So, in order to discharge a potentially volatile situation, they merely took into custody four other young men from various clans as a deterrent--concealment by decoy.

[2]When a vernacular phrase is included in the discussion, this is the format followed: vernacular words are underlined and hyphenation indicates morpheme boundaries (where pertinent); then follows the literal, morpheme-by-morpheme English gloss in single quotes; lastly, the free English translation follows in double quotes. For abbreviations, refer to the list appearing after the Appendices.

[3]The complete account in Wiru, with interlinear, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses appears in Appendix One.

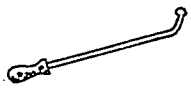
[4]The eyewitness account was provided with commentary by Mr. Yoke Pambeyapu, the Village Court Magistrate of the Alia court area, Pangia, Southern Highlands Province. It was tape recorded on the afternoon of December 10, 1978, as soon as we had returned to Alia after the third and final activation of the divining pole.

Adherence to my own philosophy of idiomatic translation has here been pre-empted in the interest of producing a translation which reflects the actual flow of thought as manifested by the syntax and rhetoric. Furthermore, no attempt has been made to edit out errors in oral performance, because these also, at times, provide a "window" on Yoke's own reflective process. (Performance errors, or a break in thought flow, are indicated by three successive dots [...].) Words in parentheses are implied in the vernacular text; there is no explicit vernacular form in the text for these items. Words or phrases supplied in square brackets, [ ], are my own explanatory remarks, supplied as a help for the reader. Two characteristics of the Wiru language, ERGATIVITY and SWITCH-REFERENCE, are also highlighted in the translation by appending the respective abbreviation to the nominal marked with ergativity (-ERG) and the verbal marked with switch-reference (-S/R).

[5]The phrase, "these Lai folk," refers to a family who had left their Ialibu area a number of years before and had moved to a location near Weipe village alongside the road which connects Weipe and Alia village. Although "Lai" is another term for "Ialibu," these particular Lai folk are not to be confused with the Ialibu folk who had activated the pole. Yoke clarifies this potential confusion of reference by

referring to the second, distinct group of Ialibu folk in the immediately following sentence (s44), "The folk who caused the divining pole to get up" (yomo kopini kamorokakoi yena-me).

[6]The "grass seraph" (W., tarepe) is a tool used strictly for cutting (or slashing) grass in lieu of a lawn mower. It differs from the machete (bush knife) in both form and function: it is made of a thin, agile piece of metal, 3cm in width by 1m in length, whereas the machete resembles an oversized butcher knife and is capable of cutting down large saplings.



grass seraph

machete (bush knife)

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT: THE OBSERVER'S ETIC WINDOW ON WIRU WORLD VIEW

In Chapter One the reader became acquainted with the broader, historical context of the Wiru-speaking people. In Chapter Three the reader was presented with a translation of the oral source text, which is the eyewitness account of a ritual divination and the primary 'object' of the author's investigation. This present chapter is an attempt to describe (reflect upon, analyze) the immediate sociocultural context within which this divination account took place.

There are three major sections in this chapter, and underlying each is the tagmemic concept of etic-emic.[1] The first section narrates in first person the author's lived experiences which became the catalyst for reflection--a cultural outsider striving to penetrate a system of cause-effect that was quite alien to him. The second section applies the Mayers Basic Values model of cognitive styles in categorizing observable Wiru behavior into a corporate "profile." This is one of several possible etic approaches in gaining insight into the cognitive world view of the Wiru. Such an analysis is the minimal prerequisite for understanding the sociocultural context. This ethnographic account of cognitive styles is not written in strict anthropological terms, nor is it based on a theoretical framework of functionalism (Malinowski 1944), or structure-functionalism (Radcliffe-Brown 1952), or structuralism

(Lévi-Strauss 1963). Rather, it is reminiscent of Michel Foucault's (1973) semiotic ordering of the Classical age, wherein he sought to determine the basis or "archeological" system common to a whole series of scientific representations or products dispersed throughout a specific period of time. Similarly, I examine through reflection a whole series of 'observable behaviors' (i.e., 'products' of human interaction), dispersed throughout the daily lives of the Wiru, in order to determine the "basic values" which these interactions tend to reflect. Neither the kinship system, nor the marriage system, nor any other such social system is examined per se. Instead, various (and seemingly random) behaviors as perceived by me, the participant observer,[2] are juxtaposed when it is seen that they reveal an emic 'sameness' in value orientation, i.e., emic to the Wiru.

The third section compares the corporate basic values profile compiled in section two with the details of the divination event itself. Such a comparison is to be viewed as a crosscheck on the validity (predictive power) of the corporate profile (Mayers 1979:51-2, 69-70). In turn, projections are then made with regard to the conceptual basis of Wiru divination.

4.1. Encounter: Occasions for Reflection

I had always been able to place the host of obvious differences between Wiru culture and my own inevitable cultural bias within some framework of acceptance in accordance with my own emic way of thinking--that is, until one memorable span of seven months. It began in July 1978 with the untimely death of Piyalo Pepena, an up-and-coming headman from Molo village, and it climaxed in December 1978 with the

ritual divination which unravelled the murderous death of Lipu Kipoi with uncanny precision. The final denouement came in January 1979 when the same divining pole was procured to search out the agent(s) of the death of Piyalo, who had died almost seven months previously. However, this second ritual divination apparently 'misfired' in that the divining pole falsely indicted three innocent men for causing Piyalo's death. How could the same divining pole be so accurate one time and completely wrong another? Was it mere chance? Or was there some hocus pocus going on that I, the cultural outsider, did not perceive?

It was Piyalo's father who had announced one late July afternoon in 1978 that on the morrow, as people from neighboring villages came to mourn over the corpse of his son, they must approach the body by separate clan groups--no intermingling of natal kin groups. I had never before encountered this type of strong directive during mortuary practices among the Wiru. Sorrow is just sorrow, that's all. Plastering the face, arms, and legs with mud, pulling out one's beard, wailing (to the extreme of losing one's voice), caressing and pinching the body of the deceased, using baby powder to cover the decomposing smell--these I had learned to accept as commonalities in death, sorrow, and mourning among the Wiru.[3]

On the next day Piyalo's body was being displayed on four death poles (leo kako) and elevated horizontally on a platform over five feet up in the air. Brothers or male, paternal cousins (also termed "brother" in the Wiru language) had situated themselves on each of the four poles. They were keeping a close watch over the body as each clan approached the platform to wail and mourn. They were thus demonstrating their fundamental belief in divinatory "signs" which could potentially

appear on the body, thereby implicating that particular clan for causing Piyalo's premature death. The signs in question were the 'normal' effects of rigor mortis--the twitch of a muscle, a release of urination or of blood from the nose, or the stiffening of a body part. With clan brothers perched on each pole, they scrutinized the silent form for the appearance of any such sign. Clan after clan came to mourn, but no sign appeared. Frustration mounted among Piyalo's clansmen as the midday sun glared down with its tropical heat. The body was finally taken down and placed in the dark coolness of the father's hut. Later that afternoon I was asked to make a coffin for the burial. I did, while Piyalo's clansmen watched and assisted. The body was buried on the next day, but I was not able to return for the committal.

Weeks later, Piyalo's clansmen came to my house and asked for my help to construct a cement slab over the entire grave. I could understand why they asked for my help to mix cement and float the mixture into a level slab, because cement was such a recent introduction to the culture. But the reason for covering the grave site itself was not clear to me.[4] This represented a complete reversal from their burial practices of just a generation before. Prior to 1960, corpses were taken to a burial area and placed on a slanted platform mounted on four poles. As the body deteriorated during the ensuing weeks, the bones would eventually slip off into a hole which had been dug at the lower end of the platform. If, perchance, while transporting a corpse to the burial area, someone would accidentally step on a stick, causing a snap, it was not uncommon for the bearers to just drop the body right then and there, and run clear of the burial area! "We just forget about

putting the body on the burial platform," one older Wiru man exclaimed to me.

Regardless of past practices, the clansmen of Piyalo had asked me to help them in mixing and pouring the concrete, and I obliged them. I arrived at Molo village early one morning to offer my assistance. I laid out a crude form around the grave for pouring the slab of cement. All the while I noticed an old tin can sitting upside down on the grave site. I was tempted to kick the can off the grave several times, but resisted, figuring that when the time came they themselves would remove it. When the can was finally removed as we started pouring the cement, I discovered it had been covering a section of bamboo tubing which emerged right out of the ground. (The hollow bamboo had been placed vertically on the coffin near Piyalo's head on the day of the burial.) Clansmen told me that ever since the day they buried him, they had been listening through the tube for Piyalo 'to tell them who was responsible for his death.'

Unaware of being a paradigm-governed, participant observer, I fell into a conceptual 'conflict' with the Wiru way of thinking for truly the first time. What factors contributed to their seeing 'the world' so differently than I? Mannheim (1936:9) has adeptly captured such a moment of conflict in encounter:

> It is with this clashing of modes of thought, each of which has the same claims to representational validity, that for the first time there is rendered possible the emergence of the question which is so fateful, but also so fundamental in the history of thought, namely, how it is possible that identical human thought processes concerned with the same world produce divergent conceptions of that world. And from this point it is only a step further to ask: Is it not possible the thought processes which are involved here are not at all identical? May it not be found, when one has examined all the possibilities of human thought, that there are numerous alternative paths which can be followed?

Numerous questions confronted me at that very moment. No longer a mere observer, would I now "participate" in their way of thinking? Would the concrete, which we were pouring, cover right over this protruding bamboo tube? Or would clansmen dig out the bamboo before we finished pouring the concrete and be done with their attempts at necromancy? We poured the concrete, and I carefully formed the wet mixture around the bamboo . . . and simply swallowed hard. "What AM I doing?" I thought to myself.

As an aside, this self-reflective query is no longer privileged to remain a mere rhetorical question, especially in light of J. Clark's (forthcoming) criticism of early Christian mission praxis in the Pangia (Wiru) district. He observes that early missionaries strongly advocated, on one hand, the abolishment of cultic rituals and ceremonies (e.g., tapa yapu, tebu yapu, and aroa ipono), which, in fact, were the means to appease PATERNAL SPIRITS. Yet, on the other hand, Clark maintains, missionaries overlooked the 'fact' that the means to appease MATERNAL SPIRITS was (and still is) accomplished through the exchange relationships between sister's son (ZS) and mother's brother (MB) or mother's uncles (MFB)--"the individuals who make up the 'bodies' of their respective groups (of ego and opianali, 'MB' and 'MFB')" (Clark, forthcoming).

In this first instance of Clark's observation, since it truly does reflect those early years shortly after pacification (i.e., there was the rapid abolishment of cult houses, emblems, and spirit stones), I can only assume that missions viewed these practices as 'overt' expressions of so-called 'spirit worship.' In other words, (perhaps

even in their words), these 'heathen rituals' were perceived as the explicit manifestations of 'the religious system' of the Wiru. If indeed Clark's second observation is reflective of the historical situation as well, then I can only assume here that early missionaries perceived these 'innocent exchanges' of pearl shells and pork between kinfolk as just 'good kin relations.' Such practices would no doubt have seemed to be part and parcel of 'the social system' of the Wiru, hence, 'nonreligious.' So, therein lies the rub, argues Clark. 'This anomaly has created most assuredly a vacuous situation in that missions inadvertently allowed the belief in the existence of "ancestral spirits" (ipono) and yet negated traditional means for appeasement of the spirits.' In their zeal to introduce a new cosmology wherein God and Satan are paramount, mission praxis has, in effect, confounded the traditional cosmology of the Wiru. He writes (forthcoming),

> The mission, instead of dismissing the existence of ipono and by concentration on cults as the major barrier to conversion, made a tactical mistake by allowing them to remain in Wiru cosmology, albeit as Satanic agents. . . .
>
> Traditional beliefs made relatively clear-cut distinctions between cults, maternal and paternal spirits, and exchange between individuals and groups. Christian teaching has confused this order by collapsing categories, all ipono are 'Satan,' and . . . ultimate supernatural control is now located in one deity, God.

Clark is describing a historical situation in which he perceives a rapid but misappropriated social change. In so far as I have understood Clark's argument, I have attempted to illustrate this "tactical mistake" made by Christian missions (in Clark's view) in Figure 28 below. Figure 28 may be 'read' and interpreted in the following manner. Mission praxis has reinterpreted the components of Wiru cosmology (a.) into a new Christian cosmology (c.), wherein ipono 'spirits' are actually Satan (2a = 2c), and God is the one who is in ultimate control

(1c), not the rituals or ceremonies (1a). Having overlooked the (b.) component of Wiru cosmology, the traditional RELIGIOUS SYSTEM appeared to have been abolished (><). But because the Wiru still engage in

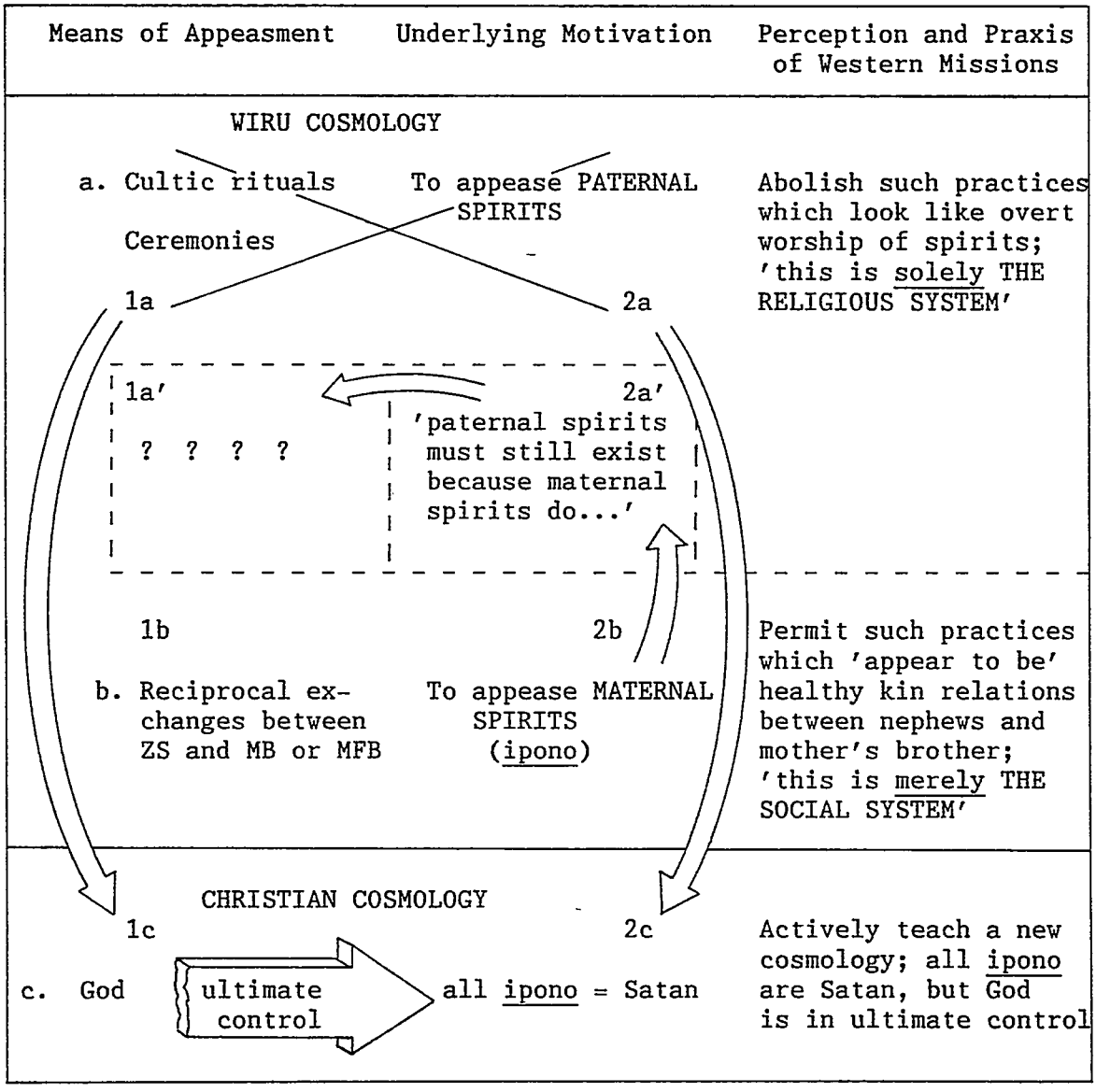


Fig. 28. Phenomenon of social vacuum created by misperception of Wiru cosmology and subsequent praxis of early Christian missions according to J. Clark (forthcoming)

reciprocal exchanges between ZS-MB, these maternal spirits continue to be explicitly appeased (2b). If the maternal spirits effectively remain

appeased, then what about paternal spirits? They must still exist because the maternal spirits do (2a'). So, just how paternal spirits are to be appeased now appears to be an unanswered question (1a').

Clark's criticism does raise a serious question regarding the outcome of confrontation between divergent world views. It is a fact that many people even in Western society do not hold to the existence of a "spiritual realm" (the existence of spiritual, unseen beings such as God, angels, Satan, and demons). From the mechanist's point of view all causes are based in physical matter alone. On the other hand, others (animists, pantheists, as well as theists) share the belief which conceptualizes 'the world' (reality) as more than physical matter alone. For them, there is a hierarchy of cause-and-effect relations--some causes are purely physical, whereas other causes are nonphysical (Pike, personal communication). Admittedly, I am a theist, but I must admit I have never explicitly enumerated the features of my own presupposed hierarchy of cause and effect. My cross-cultural encounter, coupled with Clark's critical analysis, compels me further in my reflection.

To what extent would I go to account for cause and effect? As far as the Wiru in the conceptualization of "their world?"[5] 'Were not Wiru views based on superstition? Myth? Folklore?' With tongue in cheek I often found myself readily admitting to my fellow Wiru, "Yes, I can see where all those banana trees are hacked up and cut down over there. Someone must have been struggling last night with a spirit which had attacked him," (thinking all the while, "But, you see, I really do not believe this!") A bit of hypocrisy? Adaptation? Perhaps! But one thing was obvious: it was a clash in world views and in ways of thinking.

It was the yomo kopini, the "divining pole," however, which became the coup de grâce to the illusion of my 'objective' status as a participant observer. The yomo kopini, an ordinary six foot long pole used for divination, was brought back to the Wiru valley after an absence of several decades. It was reported to have been last used in Tengai village, where the divination event ended up in a blood bath. As the pole was actively divining, warriors had stood armed, and arrows flew the moment "accusations" were made by the symbolic "striking" actions of the pole. Several men died--the diviner included. "So, away with the pole!" they said. Its consequences had been just too uncontrollable--that is, until December, 1978.[6]

Frustration over the brutal slaying of Lipu Kipoi, a young twelve year old girl, prompted a church pastor from Weipe village to procure a well known diviner from the Ialibu area. The diviner brought his divination pole to Weipe, and over the course of two days he 'activated' the pole three different times. The animated pole unravelled the details of the murder in reverse order with uncanny accuracy. Wange Nalo, the alleged murderer, had already been taken into custody as a suspect by the PNG constabulary, but he did not confess to the sordid crime until early the following week. It is a fact that his confession coincided with the details previously revealed by the divining pole.

This potent demonstration of the divining pole's power lingered in the minds of the residents of Molo village, so much so that the clansmen of Piyalo Pepena were convinced they too could discover whomever had been responsible for Piyalo's death, if only they themselves were to use the divining pole. So they procured the services

of the Ialibu diviner later in January 1979. The subsequent divination[7] 'indicted' three men for their alleged participation in a spurious sorcery-induced death: Laakea Karupa from Molo, Eiye Tipi from Laiyo, and a third man, Konio Kia, from Weipe village.

A short time thereafter, I was scheduled to speak in the Wesleyan Church in Molo village. After the church service was completed, the pastor of the church invited me to a meeting that was soon to convene on the village green (poma) adjacent to Pepena's man's house. I was told that all the men from the villages of Molo, Laiyo, and Weipe were gathering to discuss the implications of these most recent "findings" of the yomo kopini. As the men gathered, they situated themselves near Pepena's house in such a manner that it was iconic with the geographical locations of their respective villages.

The opening rhetorical volley came from Pia, the older brother of the deceased Piyalo. There were numerous responses and interchanges, and as time passed, the rhetoric heated up noticeably, so much so that many of the men grew feverishly tense as they clutched their axes. Before blatant accusations were made toward 'apparently' three innocent men, I asked to voice my opinion "as an outsider." Pepena, the father, knew that I had taken Piyalo to the Health Center in Pangia one week before he died; that I had come to mourn his death; that I had made the box in which he was buried; that I had poured the slab of cement over his grave. Pepena allowed me to speak.

I began with a parable: "There once was a group of people who every year took a live goat, and one appointed man heaped all of the wrongdoings of the people upon the head of this goat. Then this man sent the goat off by itself to a solitary land."[8]

Pepena pondered the tale. "I don't know the meaning of your story," he said after a while. "Tell me!"

I proceeded cautiously, "It seems that what we are doing here today is looking for 'our goat.' In fact, we are looking for 'three' goats. From where I am sitting, I can see that we have already buried the man who killed your son."

"To whom are you referring?" Pepena queried quickly.

"Right over there behind your house," I said, pointing to Piyalo's own grave. "He killed himself! I don't mean he committed suicide, but you know he had the 'European's sickness' (venereal disease). That's why I took him to the health center; he could no longer urinate. It was his choice to sleep with those seventeen different women. Why are we then looking for three 'goats'?"

There was more discussion after my interruption, but it just so happened that a tropical cloudburst, which had been brewing off in the south, soon dispelled the meeting, and men scurried off in haste to their different villages. No conclusions had apparently been drawn.

Rather than running for the shelter of my truck, I dashed on over to Pepena's hut to assure myself that we were still on speaking terms. I apologized to Pepena for any shame that I might have brought upon his family by publicly speaking of the venereal disease. But he quickly allayed my social fear, "Many people knew of Piyalo's sickness. I know that what you said must be true. We believe all that you say is true! But, we just want to know about these things!" (Cupped in a piece of cloth, he was holding bits and pieces of wood, shrivelled sweet potato peelings, and scraps of cloth material, and he was showing them to me.) "What do you have to say about these things that the divining

pole has discovered in the houses of these men? That's all we want to know." I had no answer.

As I dashed back through the rain to my truck, it was as though I were symbolically retreating to the "safety" of my own familiar world. I hopped into the cab of the truck, and the windows were all steamed over from my two children and wife having waited there for me. I glanced across at Pepena's hut, and it too had become a hazy blur. There really were two worlds. For the first time, I became aware of two ways of 'seeing' reality, and I was at a loss to resolve the conflict. The following section attempts to remove some of the 'haze' on this "observer's etic window" on the world view of the Wiru.

4.2. A Basic Values Profile of Wiru Cognitive World View

During the process of compiling a corporate profile on the cognitive style of the Wiru, I was confronted with a range of variation on several of the behavior continua from trend "cool" to trend "hot" behavior. (Refer to Chapter Two for a discussion of the Basic Values model.) The discussion here bears out that 'person-as-goal' (PG) is the primary, dominant value orientation of the Wiru people, the 'person' being defined corporately as CLAN SOLIDARITY. 'Prestige achieved' (P ACH) and 'dichotomy' (D) serve as mutual supports of this dominant value. There is, however, a dual patterning in behavioral trends with regard to the 'dichotomy-holism' (D-H) continuum. Finally, although the behavioral trends toward 'noncrisis' (NC), 'event' (E), and 'vulnerability-as-weakness' (VW) are seemingly of secondary dominance (based on etic observation), the manifestations of these behavior orientations pervade the whole of Wiru social interaction. The

projected corporate profile of the Wiru people has been compiled as in Figure 29.

These different value orientations will now be examined separately. Under the discussion of each value continuum, the reader will notice the frequent occurrence of capital letter abbreviations appearing in parentheses. These abbreviations cross-reference the preceding phrase with another basic value orientation. If the abbreviation is underlined, then this reflects a negative expression of that value.

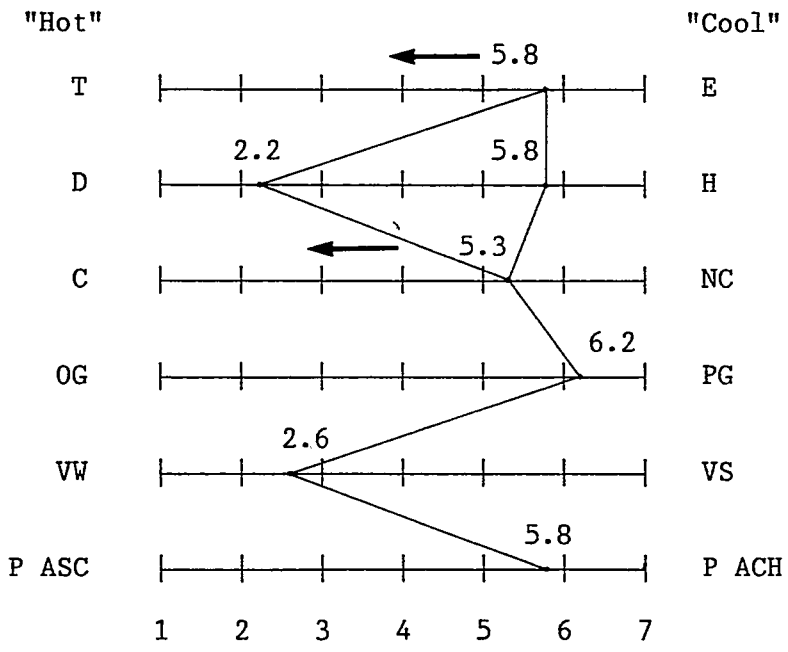


Fig. 29. Corporate cognitive style profile of the Wiru

Before reading the discussion for a given continuum, the reader may find it helpful to glance back each time to section 2.2.2 for a brief review of the characteristics of the value orientations for the respective continua. In order to convey a sense of the DOMINANCE of

'person-as-goal' value orientation among the Wiru, it will be discussed first. The remaining value continua are then discussed in the order in which they appear in Figure 29.

4.2.1 Object as Goal (OG) ├────┤ Person as Goal (PG)

Most anthropologists who have engaged in fieldwork in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea have remarked on the emphasis that the people there place on the circulation of traditionally defined valuables.[9] As pertaining particularly to the Wiru, the circulation of valuables is the locus of a complex system of RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIPS, based on the corporate goal or principle of exhibiting CLAN SOLIDARITY (H)--a visible demonstration of the cohesive network of relations between patrikin.

There are basically two separate but intertwined networks of RECIPROCITY, each defined according to the partners in the reciprocal exchange. On the one hand, there are the frequently reoccurring occasions of reciprocity: exchanges of bridewealth and subsequent yagi toko gifts to the bride's clan; payments to matrilateral kin for children born to the bride (Strathern 1971a); obligatory exchanges between the husband and the wife's brother (the infamous WB-ZH dyad); and death payments (known as kage wiko and kioli toko) to the maternal clan of the deceased. On the other hand, there are other occasions for gifting which is not directed narrowly toward affinal or maternal kin, but rather toward the broader class of 'enemy' clans, with whom alliance, friendship, or peace is sought. There are only a few occasions when these types of exchanges are exhibited: the "fish party" exchanges (mou yoroko), a major pig-killing festival and ceremonial

distribution of pork (oino), or a compensation payment for a homicide death. Not only are these ceremonial occasions fewer in number, but they are also held less frequently, and are far more corporate in nature. They are--by no word of exaggeration--ostentatious displays of clan[10] wealth and solidarity. It is obvious that these various dyadic relationships (affinal as well as social) both reaffirm and celebrate the system of reciprocity, even while they are part of it. The prestations of wealth prove not only the social worth of the individuals and/or clan groups who are responsible for initiating (or repaying) them (P ACH), but they also provide the desire to maintain (H) these affinal and social relationships--for both communal as well as private ends.

Clan solidarity, when viewed as the focal point of person-as-goal for the group level (H), exerts much social force.[11] Social pressures are very strong upon the individual to conform to clan or village decisions, and, in fact, few break out of the web of conformist behavior in order to act really independently from the group. Without clan and patrilineage solidarity, it would be next to impossible for a young man to obtain a wife, for it is his patrikin who are the prime contributors (P ACH) of the bridewealth required by the girl's kinship group (P ACH).

Reciprocity normally refers to the relationship between two people and to the exchanges of material 'gifts' between them which serve to symbolize the relationship. I perceive yet another kind of reciprocal relationship between an individual and his own clan group--one of quality, not quantity. It deals with IDENTITY.

As a person gains individual status and prestige, his clan also gains strength and solidarity. Western education (primary, secondary, and tertiary level) is perceived as beneficial in that it opens a new avenue of improving the status of one's clan. It is said, "He's a Wiru school teacher, and he is from our clan!" Or, "Mr. Pundia Kange[12] has recently been appointed Minister of Forestry by the Prime Minister, and he is from our clan!" The reverse of this identity relationship, however, is true as well. One must ever be on guard against those behaviors which bring reproach and "shame" (ya toko) to the status of the clan (VW).

This iconic relationship between individual identity and status and clan identity and status gives rise to the 'big man' political types so common in Melanesia (Sahlins 1970). Hood (1979:36) writes regarding notion of big-man among the Mendi, a remotely neighboring group located west-northwest of the Wiru:

> Historically, to the highlands man, there is no greater goal in life than to become a powerful and respected headman. Although the modernization of Papua New Guinea is beginning to erode this, there is still a strong tendency to feel this way. The proverbial 'pigs, women and pearl shells' are at once the source of most people's problems and the only road to wealth and importance. These lead to the power that headmen wield. For most men who are truly ambitious in this culture, this is a most desirable objective in life.

In my opinion, Hood over emphasizes the strongly personal and individual desire. I argue, on the other hand, that a failure to see the mutual implication between a man's status[13] and the solidarity of his clan results in ignoring an important motivational relationship.

For example, in 1978 back wages were paid to the employees of the Pomba Cattle Company (now Sugu Bulmakau Pty. Ltd.). As a direct result of the influx of this monetary capital, within the next few

months three new trade stores were erected in nearby Alia village by those employees who resided there. The owners of these stores not only gained in status (P ACH), but each of their respective clans likewise gained status (OG). Thus, Waluaperi clansmen began trading at the store owned by a fellow Waluaperi, Yoarene clansmen at the Yoarene-owned store, and Leri clansmen at the Leri-owned store.

A shotgun, though owned by an individual, is always classified in terms of the clan membership of its owner. On enumerating the shotguns in Alia village a man will say, "There are three Yoarene shotguns and two Leri shotguns in the village." Furthermore, a man hunting with a Yoarene-owned shotgun should never be caught 'trespassing' in the rain forests owned by Leri clansmen--unless, of course, he is willing to 'pay' the consequences. Thus, material possessions (be they pigs, pearlshells, trade stores, shotguns, coffee trees, etc.) are symbols of power and status (P ASC). If a man has (a lot of) these things, then he has 'power' and so also does his clan, the very source of his identity and the realm of his existence.

One Wiru politician serving in the National Parliament summed up this most basic relationship between a man and his clan with an appropriate metaphor. In response to rumors concerning his political demise (due to the lack of voter support in an upcoming election), he said he was not worried, because ". . . the foundation posts of my house are driven deep; the house itself is not my concern." The metaphorical "house" was his political office/status, but the "posts" were his fellow clansmen, who would always be there to support him and sustain him even if he must drop out of the political arena.

Up to this point, I have been discussing status and patrilineal clan solidarity in reference to only a man's behavior. With regard to women in marriage,[14] it is important for a man to obtain a "child-bearer," a "pig-raiser," and a "gardener"--primary emphasis is on object-as-goal. A woman's social worth can, therefore, be measured by her performance in such cardinal tasks. In most marriages a wife's affections for the pigs she has tended are not considered by the husband when he requisitions (C) the pigs for some social obligation or exchange ceremony. In August, 1978, there was a pig-killing ceremony (oino) at Takuru village. One man, without consulting his wife, just took K200 (ca.$350) that had been set aside by her for their daughter's tuition fees for attending the Provincial High School. He purchased another large pig in order to kill a total of eight pigs--further enhancing his status (P ACH). Needless to say, when the wife discovered her money was missing, family tension rose sharply, and a public fight erupted between the husband and wife. In some marriages, however, there has been a recent trend towards person-as-goal rather than object-as-goal. For example, one husband never fails to consult his wife in deciding which of 'their' pigs he should use for a kinsman's marriage. He explains, "I don't want to cause an undue 'heavy' (or upset feelings) in my wife!"

Further behavioral evidence for the value of person-as-goal is demonstrated within the bounds of the patrilineage itself. Various types of activities (e.g., housebuilding, hunting, trapping fish, digging yams, etc.) draw quick assistance from clan brothers. Persons of the same sex demonstrate person-as-goal behavior in their interpersonal body language: men hold hands with men in public, as do

women with women--an affirmation of 'you are a meaningul person to me,' and not homosexual proximity (which is considered as social deviance).

People are not utilized as objects in order to obtain a personal goal; it might well be the case, however, that one person is "used" in order to gain the corporate goal of clan solidarity. This value orientation of object-as-goal, particularly as it is focused on clan solidarity and its correlation of achieving the status of big-man, is thus construed as having primary dominance within Wiru society. Intuitively then, I have rated its dominance as 6.2 on the value continuum. (See Fig. 29.)

4.2.2. Time (T) ├——┤ Event (E)

The Wiru for the most part are "trend event" in behavior orientation. Even the physical description of a typical Wiru village trends toward event. There is no forced pattern of development, but rather, the layout of a village follows the terrain of ridges--a location of expedience (VW) in times past, when maintaining a watchful eye for approaching enemy warriors was crucial (C). The "village-event" is embellished in many ways: by the specially planted cordylline plants (taka) with its many colored varieties of green, red, "blue," and violet;[15] by specially planted trees, such as the casuarina tree (kalipe) which truly 'announces' the presence of every Wiru village, the klinkii pines, the hoop pines, and the stands of bamboo varieties (magalo, kena, or waia). Planted just outside the village perimeter, the dark green coffee trees laden with cherry-red coffee beans provide a stark constrast with the soft brown hues of the huts with smoke-blackened grass roofs.

The open village "green" (poma) provides just the right atmosphere for many events which have neither a precise beginning nor an ending point: bridewealth prestations, village court sessions for settling minor grievances, preparation of earth ovens (equivalent to our 'special Sunday dinner'), and informal gatherings of age-mates--men talking of land, pigs, taxes, or current events; women talking about pigs and gardening or just daily concerns, all the while weaving colorful net bags (string bilum); young men preoccupied with playing card games ("Lucky," "Nine," or "Sweep"); boys playing marbles and various children's games; and girls playing jacks with pebbles, or hop scotch, or string-configuration games.

Interestingly enough, the man's house (pokou)[16] in its very style of construction trends toward event. (See Fig. 30.) Its open 'veranda' (kagono) is a standing invitation for hospitality to passers-by; the two komo logs are for casual sitting and chatting. With plenty of room for sitting around the periphery of the cooking area, the central fire radiates warmth and seems to proliferate in conversation, in the telling of folklore (laa oko), or in snoozing.

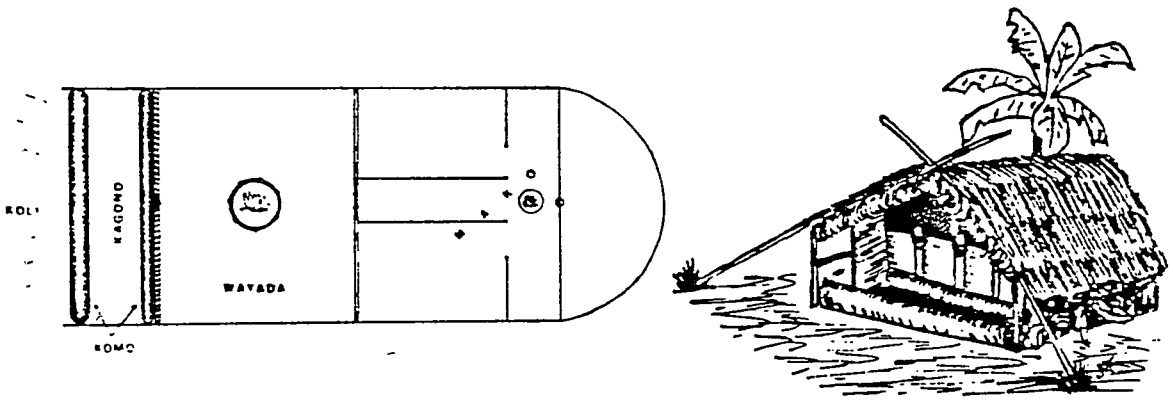


Fig. 30. Floor plan of a typical Wiru man's house

The style of the pokou stands in marked contrast to the oval-constructed woman's house. This symbol of male dominance is well embellished: there is special weaving of split vine rope over the entrance door to the private sleeping quarters; there is special weaving connecting the center ridge pole (koue) with the king post (pigi); there are special leaves in the outer entrance archway, moss insulation along the inside walls, and woven split-bamboo flooring. Contrary to the other housing styles, the openness of the man's house contributes to it being the focal point of many significant clan events and decision making. The pokou also trends toward dichotomy, however, in that there is a sharp division made between public and private quarters. The outer wayada is for public entertainment, cooking, and discussing clan affairs and business. The inner mako, on the other hand, is for sleeping and the storage one's valuable possessions.

There is no equivalent expression in Wiru for "wasting time" (in the sense of 'time equaling money'). However, it can be said, "I'm just standing here doing nothing" (paa kaku), or "I'm just sitting here" (paa meku), but this apparent lack of purposeful activity is rarely perceived as 'wasting time.' Rather, it is more in the sense of minding one's own business. There is an interesting expression in Melanesian Pidgin which approaches a western concept of time orientation and is often used by bilingual Wiru speakers in the context of village court sessions, "We are throwing/have thrown away our time for nothing/no particular reason" (mipela tromwe taim nating). When a session of village court has to be delayed or perhaps resumed later, then it just is. Even if the parties have waited all day to be heard by the magistrates, but for some reason were not, they just come back another day. Quick

settlements for grievances are almost never sought. What is of crucial importance is that all offended parties are satisfied with the settlement or judgment, regardless of the length of time involved in the negotiation.

Saturdays, known as 'little rest' (nare koro), are always eventful. During the morning hours villagers gather for the various market produce exchanges throughout the valley, after which basketball, soccer, or volleyball are commenced by both the young and the middle-aged. Short of a tropical drenching, such sporting events are rarely stopped even by rain.

Sundays, known as 'big rest' (tube koro), are even more of an event than Saturdays. The village is more crowded than usual, enhancing many levels of social interaction. This is often the one day when strangers or visitors from far away villages show up, tending either to 'business' or some other kinship-related obligation. Sundays are also the occasion for one's weekly bathing session, either in a nearby mountain stream or by the 'dip-and-pour' method for the elderly or small infants in the village itself--right outside of one's hut. Church services begin when 'everyone' is in place (H). There is no fixed starting time. With a wide range of punctuality for any regular day's activities, there is even less time pressure on Sunday.

It is a fact that not even one out of five persons would own a time-keeping device of any sort. So, hourly time is consequently not of great relevance. "Our own 'clock' is the night locust. When it suddenly rings out its screeching melody (always around 6:20 to 6:30 p.m.), we know it is time to be on our way home from the gardens, because night is rapidly approaching." The name of the locust is nõe,

and the imperative form of 'you come' is noe: "The night locust (nõe) is telling us, 'Come (noe) home."

Mortuary rites markedly trend toward event, with no hard and fast time limitations for mourning. There is a certain reluctance, as well, in burying the deceased too quickly. In fact, protraction of time is seen as a necessity in spite of the fact that there is no means of embalming. Such occasions are embellished by color--white or yellow clay smeared over one's face, hands, and body as a sign of sorrow. Mourning is embellished by sound--the death wail (komo oko) is often described metaphorically as the "cry of a mighty rushing water." Furthermore, the occasion of death is embellished by who is there, and by who comes: fellow villagers mourn on the first day, and on the second and third days people from other villages come to mourn and wail. One's absence at mortuary rites causes certain suspicions as to the cause of death, and it may even be interpreted as an indication of one's admission of guilt in the matter (C). Many participate in digging the grave (H), and after the body is buried, even then, no one leaves the site very quickly. The patrikinsmen will often have to repeatedly tell the mourners who have come from other villages that they should return to their places before nightfall. During the following weeks a 'mourning period' (tumai yapu, lit., 'death house') is announced. During this period of one to four weeks (depending on the social importance of the deceased), all neighboring villages are expected to refrain from any major work and to restrict all unnecessary gardening activities, especially the burning off of debris, (H) (VW). One's failure to abide by these implicit restrictions is, in effect,

broadcasting that he/she is glad the person has died and that in some way he/she is (partly) responsible for the death (C).

The greatest single event in the life of a Wiru village is the staging and 'performance' of the major pig-killing festival and pork distribution, the oino, (PG) (P ACH). The ceremony is held only periodically, once every six to eight years for a given village. No exact date is ever given at the outset. It happens only when all preparations are ready (H) and whenever all the men of the village possess the greatest number of sizeable pigs for slaughter (P ACH). Traditionally, though, when the tall spirit house (tebu yapu) was functional (prior to 1961), commencement of preparations for the ceremonial pig-killing was signalled when the central pole of the tall spirit house was completely covered (C) by ornamental pig bones (tebu tugi), which had been arranged in a circular fashion from top to bottom on this 20' to 30' center pole.

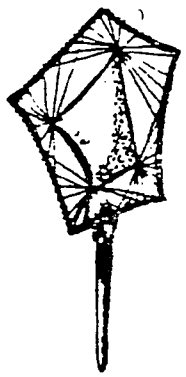


Fig. 31. Pig bone emblems, tebu tugi

Nowadays, this major pig-killing event is embellished by the many months a host village spends in constructing its ceremonial long houses (mi yapu) (H), in erecting the ceremonial fences at the various entrances to the village (kele pawe) (C), in building commemorative mounds in the center of the village green (kedo) (P ACH), and in gathering enough stones and the right types of firewood worthwhile for cooking ceremonial pork (kirane, poiro, waluma, and kalipe), (D) (C).

Agricultural activities, as could be expected for any culture, trend toward an event orientation. Drying one's harvested and shelled coffee beans in preparation for sale to coffee buyers is a slow process, spread over many days and weeks during the coffee season. The harvesting of other special seasonal crops trends toward event, especially in regard to the red pandanus fruit (pagu) and the much adored wild nut known as kauago. Pagu is purposefully planted and each year bears long, red, one to three foot, fruit. It is considered as 'dessert' for any meal cooked in an earth oven, the traditional fire-pit of the South Pacific (mumu in Pidgin). Kauago resembles a hazelnut, grows wild in the rain forest, and it is referred to by the folk of Alia village as, "our 'rice' before you Europeans came." During the first season of kauago nuts that I experienced, I noted in my journal the noticeable mass migration of people and pigs both 'from' Alia village and 'through' the village to the rain forest.

> Late November '76-January '77 . . . Kauago appeared in Alia [village] bush during this period, and the entire village was practically deserted because the nuts are a very favorite food of the Wiru people. All the pigs are also taken to the bush in order to eat their share; because of kauago's protein content, the pigs really do change in physical appearance. Alia's Leri clan has allowed some of their clansmen from Apenda, Mele, Laiyo, Weipe, Morea and Tengai [villages] to also share in [harvesting] this bush nut along with their pigs. For several days during December large masses of people and pigs from various villages made their way to the bush via the Maiyo road [mission station]. It was quite a spectacle--the place was really deserted. Even Wiai [a local church official] took two weeks vacation during this time to be in the bush (Fullingim, n.d.).

On such occasions most other things of importance come to a halt until the end of the 'event' of gathering and feasting.

Manifestations of behavior delineated thus far would lead to the conclusion that the Wiru trend extremely toward event. However, at the

outset I indicated that there was a range of behavior on several continua from trend "cool" to trend "hot." Certainly as the Wiru interact more and more with expatriate (sub-)culture in urbanzied areas, they are trending more towards time as they acculturate to the imposition of '24-hour time' and a seven-day week.

Weekly time impositions have, in a sense, 'heated up' the traditional event orientation of the Wiru. The emphasis here is that the days of the week are now structured, whereas traditionally days were not differentiated as to which activities were to be performed. On Mondays, it was once a government regulation that required all able bodied men and women to work on road maintenance as part of the taxation program, but this is now no longer so.[17] On Tuesdays it is by government regulation that all parents of school children must work on maintaining the primary schools and Aid Post health clinics in their respective local areas. Both Wednesdays and Fridays are known as Village Court days--the two days per week when grievances are heard and settled according to judicial procedures standardized by the government (C). On Saturday mornings people gather for selling and buying garden produce and other types of products and crafts at various local markets throughout the valley. On Sundays there are Christian worship services conducted in most every village by local pastors. Daily early morning and evening radio broadcasts in Pidgin English (the lingua franca) make the people aware of the hourly passing of time during the hours of darkness. Thus, in effect, the Wiru world has taken on the time structuring of the seven-day week--something they had never experienced prior to their contact with the 'outside' world in 1961.

So it is, as the Wiru interact with the greater social world of their province and nation, they trend slightly toward time. But since meaningful interactions within the village structure predominantly trend toward event, this slowly changing value orientation is producing no apparent tension for the Wiru. I have therefore rated their Time-Event orientation as 5.8 on the value continuum, trending rather "cool." The left-ward arrow in Figure 29 indicates, however, that this orientation is slightly 'heating up' as it trends toward the value of Time.

4.2.3. Dichotomy (D) ⊢——⊣ Holism (H)

The Wiru are clearly dual patterned in their orientation regarding dichotomy-holism behavior.[18] When previously discussing their trend toward person-as-goal (PG), it was pointed out that the dominant personal relationship being maintained is CLAN SOLIDARITY, which is by its very definition a holistic concept. Dichotomy, however, serves to define one group in opposition to another--one whole versus another whole (as illustrated by Figure 32). Each village (or clan), and to a

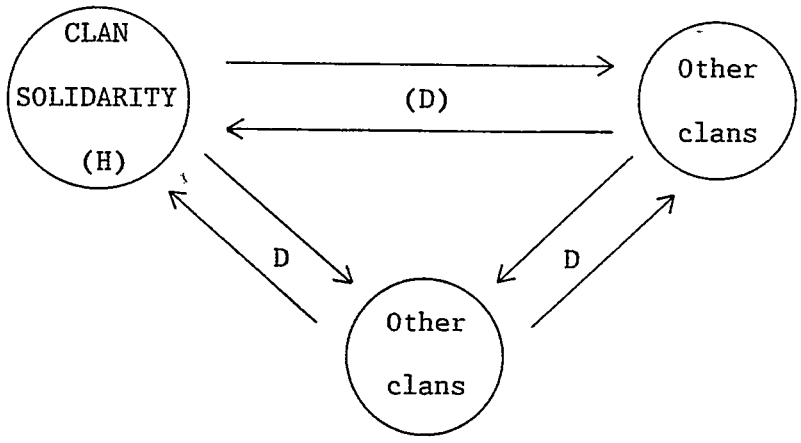


Fig. 32. Clan definition through opposition

lesser extent the whole language group, regards itself as inherently better than any other group of people, (H), (D).

The Wiru do not have codified ethnic or clan laws, rather each person possesses a knowledge of the collective consciousness of acceptable and deviant behaviors. They speak of 'our customs, our [unwritten] laws' (tone torono). There is scarcely any expression of 'individualism.' A person has being and meaning only in relation to his own clan. Decision making (C) thus reflects holistic orientation. An individual dares not make an 'isolated' decision in regard to clan matters, land rights and usage, grievance settlements, marriage contracts, or large scale ceremonial exchanges--the 'fish party' (mou yoroko) or the major 'pig-killing festival' (oino). When referring to the action of initiating plans for staging a major pig-killing, only the following phrase is appropriately used, oino kamoroko, lit., 'we are causing the oino to stand,' or "we are fomenting an upcoming major pig-killing." Its equivalent phrase in the singular person is never heard, 'I am causing these events to transpire.'

A further look at the pig-killing ceremony reveals both holistic and dichotomistic trends. I have already alluded to the fact that many months, even up to a year, are spent in active preparation for this most elaborate of all possible social events. This period of preparation is spent mainly in constructing the 'ceremonial long houses' (mi yapu)--a conspicuous symbol of village unity and solidarity (PG), (H). Where individual huts once stood, one long continuous dwelling emerges (600' to 900' in length on both sides of the village), 'swallowing up' all individuality as each hut is hidden or else intricately connected with

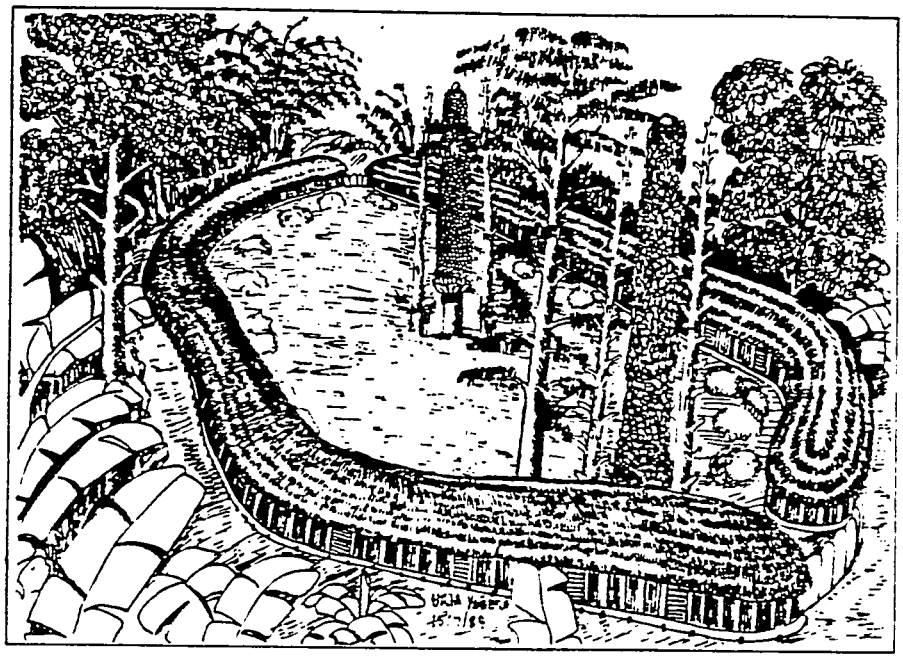


Fig. 33. Ceremonial long houses, mi yapu

or subsumed by the next hut. Even prized banana plants are cut down and cast aside if perchance they are standing in the way of construction. It should be noted too that dichotomy is simultaneously operative as a value orientation in the mi yapu itself, for not only are individual family partitions (D) maintained within the long dwelling, but families belonging to the same clan (D) cluster together within sections of the 'long house.' (See Figure 34.)

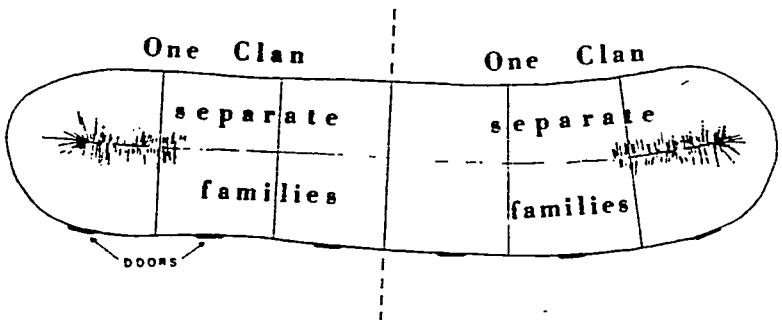


Fig. 34. Floor plan of ceremonial long house

Marriage is not merely a transaction between two individual people, but between two kin groups. A total effort by the patrilineage is required to gather enough bridewealth for obtaining a wife for the prospective groom. In 1983 the bridewealth required for the marriage of one young lady from the Yoarene clan was as follows (at the time, 1 Kina in PNG currency equalled US$1.25):

15 pigs (@ K300)	=	K4,500	
20 pearlshells (@ K80)	=	1,600	
K3,000 (currency)	=	3,000	
		K9,100	(= US$11,375)

On the other side of the 'coin,' so to speak, this bridewealth is always distributed to several members of the bride's extended family or patrilineage. A father could never consider keeping more than his appropriate share (C). To do so would bring disastrous social consequences (VW). Marriage is therefore an alliance between parts of a whole, which, in turn, creates a greater whole. Only when the whole is satisfied (i.e., both the bride's clan (D) with the proposed bridewealth (C), and the groom's clan (D) with the anticipated reciprocal gifts (C) from the bride's clan), will the marriage be consummated. Satisfaction of only one party is not adequate alone, least of all, the newlyweds themselves.

Strong pressure from this trend toward holism is exerted upon the young man or woman who successfully completes a high school education. His or her clan members in the village come to expect that their 'investment' should now begin reciprocating. Considering that the average per capita income for a Papua New Guinean wage earner is 350 Kina (approximately US$437.50), and considering the emically perceived

'sacrifice' which clan members have made in paying the required fees (Figure 35), this holistic value orientation puts considerable pressure

	Years spent	x Fees in Kina	= Equivalent $
Primary School	6	K1.50/yr	$ 11.25
Secondary School	4	K140/yr	700.00
	TOTAL	K569	711.25

Fig. 35. Schedule of school fees in 1980

on the graduating student to find a good paying job in an urban area, away from his or her village. He or she must begin to reciprocate material benefits to the natal clan group who had supplied those school fees for the former ten years. This is not repayment merely of Kina for Kina invested, but rather it is to become a continual resource of benefit to his or her clan.

Cohesiveness of the clan goes further than matters regarding decision making. Social groups like to act and work together too: on house-building, on coffee gardens, on the purchase of a "village" truck, etc. Even the 'stomp dance' (baila wiriki) is performed by only members of a given clan, who chant their identity and vaunt their clan's supremacy and past exploits. Two decades of exposure to western individualism, however, have slowly begun to erode this value orientation, and as a result, group cooperation is being seen less and less. Certainly there is no modern-day counterpart to the cooperative spirit of energy that was once exhibited in the construction and maintenance of the tall spirit house (tebu yapu). This shrine belonged to the various clans in a given district; it was the center of corporate

spirit worship. Pig bones from all the pigs which had been sacrificed by individuals in preceding years were hung on the central tugi pole--another symbolic expression of holism.

Formerly, in matters regarding revengeful payback killings, the trend toward holism was very prominent. If one clan suffered a death at the hands of an enemy clan, then a revengeful killing of any one member of that clan was considered necessary and sufficient. Death was not seen as the just reward of the guilty individual alone. Instead, it was his clan, conceptually ONE with the individual himself, who must pay. And pay they would.

A payback killing was averted--as it still is--when the 'responsible' clan, as a whole, presented adequate payment of compensation for the alleged homicide. If not, then on the eve of the revengeful raid, each patrilineage sacrificed a pig and took it into the 'cult house' (tapa yapu) to eat ceremonially. The liver was hung on a cross piece, and as each man came up to it, he broke off a piece of the liver and ate it (it was perceived as 'magical medicine', yoborono). If any member perchance dropped the meat, he could not go on the raid the next day (C). After the pork and liver were eaten, one member of the group who was instigating the payback was selected to take the foot bone (ogo) of the pig and bury it in the ashes of the enemy's fire. Some hair of the dead man, whose death was being avenged, was also included with the bone. The eating of the liver symbolized a cooperative unity of the spirit realm with the would-be avengers in their fight against the enemy--clan solidarity (PG) conjoined ceremonially with the power of ancestral spirits.

For the Wiru, nothing happens by chance. A sudden turn of events (crop failures, disasters, sickness, death, as well as success, prosperity, or health) is to a major degree caused by unseen forces from spirits, sorcery, magic or poison (tomo). These forces are perceived to be working in, alongside of, or even independently of etically perceived "natural causes." The reader will recall that Piyalo was the young, up-and-coming headman from Molo village who died a rather excruciating death from renal infection due to a venereal disease. His fellow clansmen 'fully accepted' the coroner's report, but nevertheless sought out the diviner to use his divination pole (yomo kopini) in order to 'unmask' the ones from enemy clans who were 'really' responsible for Piyalo's untimely death. This holistic value orientation of the Wiru regarding life itself sets forth a tension in which spiritual forces are equally as important to contend with as are the so-called 'natural causes.'

Just as the Wiru trend toward holism in matters regarding clan solidarity, ceremonies, and life itself, so also do they trend toward dichotomy in regard to other matters, especially in male-female relationships, which may well be considered an opposition of tension and hostility, though not to the point of extreme antagonism as noted among other highlands societies.[19] Manifestations of this trend toward dichotomy are briefly listed in opposing columns in Figures 37 and 38. Figure 37 delineates features of an ideology of male-female opposition, and Figure 38 focuses more particularly on the division of labor and the perceived dichotomy in men and women's social roles.

Beyond this dichotomy between male and female roles and relationships, there is a dichotomy between the corporal, physical world

and the potentially hostile spirit world--between generic man and nature. Man himself is viewed as a dichotomy between the body (tigini) and his spirit/shadow/reflection (yomini).[20] The following etic schema reflects a dichotomy in symbolic classfications among the Wiru:

Leader ("big man")	Nonentity ("rubbish man")
Clansmen	Neighbors/affines
Patrilineal kin	Matrilineal kin
Father's agnates (yarene)	Mother's agnates (opianali)
Father	Mother
Male	Female
Spirit (yomini)	Flesh-and-blood (tigini)
Semen	Milk
Chastity	Sexuality
Purity	Pollution
Bachelor	Married man
Ritual seclusion	Domestic life
"Male" crops	"Female" crops
Ancestral cult house	Secular dwelling house
Man's (=father's) house	Woman's (=mother's) house
Right hand ("true hand")	Left hand
Light (red) skin	Dark (brown) skin
Settlement (=kinsmen)	Forest (=demons)
Security	Danger
akolali, on-top man	kekulu ali, down-below man

Fig. 36. Symbolic oppositions in Wiru

Thus, the social world of the Wiru appears to be suspended between both poles of the dichotomy-holism continuum--truly holistic in matters of being and of clan solidarity, and yet truly dichotomistic in daily matters of roles and relationships within the sphere of personal interactions. As a consequence, I have considered it essential to reflect this dual-patterning by rating the value orientation toward holism and dichotomy as equal and there opposing, hence 5.8. and 2.2 respectively on the Dichotomy-Holism continuum. (See Fig. 29.)

MALE	FEMALE
* dominant ritual status	* no ritual status
* only men were allowed into tebu yapu spirit house to partake in ritual eating of pork and game meat	* special "hidden talk" was used by men to keep the ceremonial ritual a secret from the women
* fear of female menstrual pollution	* separate menstrual hut, also used for child birth (unclean), peri yapu 'hut made of wild cane'
* pokou 'man's house'--a separate living quarters apart from wives	* aroa yapu 'woman's house' --with other women, daughters, and unweaned boy children
* certain bananas and sugar cane varieties consumed only by men (considered as the "best" varieties still today)	* women were told these certain foods were "no good," therefore they were not allowed to eat, touch, or even plant such 'male' crops
* lo oko (courtship songs sung by men suitors)	* ipio wiriki (song type sung only by older women)
* "brother" (ame) = sibling same sex	* two sisters also call each other ame, but her brother she must call anai
* flutes, jew's harp, guitar are played only by males (dominance)	* play no musical instruments
* husband considers his money his own	* wife considers what money she acquires is strictly hers
* men sit on one side of church during services	* women sit on the opposite side of the church

Fig. 37. An ideology of male-female opposition

MAN'S WORK	WOMAN'S WORK
* clears virgin rain forest for gardening, fences the perimeter and digs drainage channels	* cultivates and burns off rubbish cuttings
* plants the red pandanus tree and prized varieties of sugar cane and banana	* plants sweet potato vines and other seed crops
* carries all the timber poles and builds the house	* pulls kunai grass for thatch roofing
* carries axe at all times	* carries digging stick (iri)
* gathers large, heavy firewood but will not normally carry garden produce	* gathers small kindling and carries heavy garden produce
* owns pigs, kills them and ceremonially distributes the pork	* raises and feeds the pigs with loving care
* always carries the stones when doing feeder-road maintenance	* always carries the wet, heavy river sand for road maintenance
* makes: bark belt (mario) arm bands (leme) woman's belt (mario) axe handle (tue tedene) bow, arrows (poiyo, wara) telepo hat alipo headdress	* makes: string bags (ka) pearlshell strap (erene) man's hat (nunago) man's loin cloth (karu) grass skirt (yei)
* more prone to carry the 25kg bag of rice (a matter of convenience)	* expected to carry the 25kg carton of mackerel fish tins (an awkward task)

Fig. 38. Division of labor among the Wiru

4.2.4. Crisis (C) ├──────┤ Noncrisis (NC)

As previously discussed, corporate decision-making among the Wiru demonstrates the trend toward holism. That is, clan solidarity must be maintained at all cost. With regard to the Crisis-Noncrisis continuum, it can be seen that noncrisis behavior tends to be more prevalent. In a village caucus all the men will have a say--representing many different alternatives and aspects of the situation. Because keeping track of hourly time is not a basic value, many decisions are held in suspension over days, weeks, months, and indeed years.

The suicide of Meleali in 1963 finally concluded in a compensation settlement by Alia village 15 years later. Meleali was a young man from the Ialibu area who had married a young woman of Alia village. It was at midday, when all of the villagers had gone to their gardens. While arguing with his wife, he became irate and axed his wife, cutting off her forearm. Then he axed his mother-in-law. Supposing them both to be dead, and figuring that he could never escape alive from the Alia folk and flee to his home area, he went instead to a small house for pigs, and inside he hung himself from the ridge pole. When folk returned from their gardens, they discovered the two seriously injured women, and they called upon the resident missionary for help. He immediately sent a young man running to Pangia (normally a four-hour walk) to summon the constabulary and to bring medical assistance. In the meantime, the village folk discovered Meleali hanging in the pig's house. After the women later received proper medical treatment from the Pangia Health Center, they both survived the ordeal, but Meleali had died by his own hand. His fellow Ialibu clansmen, though admitting

Meleali's irrational and violent acts against his wife and mother-in-law, nevertheless persisted in holding the men of Alia responsible for their brother's death while he was a resident in their village. "After all," they said, "your two women still live on, but our brother died on your soil." The compensation payment was finally agreed upon in 1978: one live pig and one live cassowary bird.

In such court sessions as this, there is complete interchange of conversational participants--there is no dominating voice. Often, the aggrieved party, though present, is represented by a kinsman as advocate who actually becomes much more verbal in his demands than the offended person himself (VW).

If an individual's decision goes against his whole group, it is not highly regarded by others in the group; any significant course of action is always decided by group consensus (H)(PG). Even leaders (C), who must be integrally involved in decision-making, do not decide independently of the group. If they do, they very soon lose favor. During the 'fish party' (mou yoroko) at Alia in July, 1978, the former councilman, Enamikali Lou, made the decision to distribute beef in a ceremonial exchange to suit himself, thereby ignoring the majority wishes of his Yoarene clansmen. This whimsical action resulted in the election of a new councilman the following year, despite the fact that he had held the prestigious position for several years.

Becoming a leader is not restricted by inheritance or hereditary descent (P ASC). Although there are no rigid, explicit requirements in the qualifications for leadership, the ingredients of a good leader are readily delineated: good reasoning ability, persuasive personality, loaded with common sense, bold in character, altruistic toward his clan

and his village. There is no centralized authority in a village; each patrilineage/clan will have one or more recognized 'big men' (kamoago). A big-man is to be considered a crisis figurehead only in the sense that he is commonly sought for advice and decision-making--pointing out a solution for a grievance between two people. A big-man who is truly wise, however, must ever be aware of the group's opinions and act accordingly.

There are many optional 'spouses' for a young man who desires to be married. Therefore, if one marriage negotiation breaks down, this causes no undue concern. The man's patrilineage simply probes elsewhere for more reasonable terms in the required bridewealth. It is not uncommon that they return to the original negotiating party after a fruitless search for a bride elsewhere.

Thus far, attention has been focused upon the prominence of noncrisis behavior. Nevertheless, manifestations of crisis behavior are to be found as well. From the perspective of the young groom and bride, marriage trends much toward crisis. The young man must completely rely upon and accept his patrilineal clan authority (father, older brother, or uncle, as the case may be) in the choice of his mate; he is simply a silent observer in the negotiations. A Wiru woman--soon or late in life--learns to get along with other women--even her husband's newer brides; she has little choice. Nowadays, however, youth are demanding more of a say-so, not in terms of the amount of bridewealth prestation, but in regard to their satisfaction with the 'choice' of spouse.

There still remains a dreaded fear of sorcery for many. A spirit force acting in any event is potentially 'discoverable.' It can

therefore be manipulated or perhaps even eluded. But the continued well-being of people depends both on the knowing and on the 'right' ritual in manipulating such spirit forces. During the past decade there has been a resurgence in the activities of the 'shaman' (oroiago)--a crisis figurehead--as an alternative to the perceived failure of western medicine.

In general, however, decision-making among the Wiru trends predominantly toward noncrisis behavior, because there are many alternatives which may be considered valid and worthy of selection, both now and later. It has been shown that closure is delayed and less intense. Therefore, I have rated the trend toward noncrisis behavior at 5.3, though the leftward arrow above the Crisis-Noncrisis continuum is meant to indicate that there are current pressures causing the orientation to shift more toward crisis. (See Fig. 29.)

4.2.5. Vulnerability as Weakness (VW) ⟵⟶ Vulnerability as Strength (VS)

Wiru society is shame-oriented rather than guilt-oriented. With an elaborated spirit world at its religio-cultural heart it is a society which trends overtly toward "vulnerability as seen as weakness." Early on in Kerr's contact with the Wiru (1967a:36) he delineated five areas of taboo among the Wiru, the sum of which readily manifest this value orientation. These taboo areas are:

(1) Restraints common to all people recognizing allegiance to a named district;
(2) Restraints between men and women;
(3) Restraints between kin categories (daughter's husband--wife's mother);
(4) Restraints laid on by the spirit world; and
(5) Restraints adopted voluntarily in respect for the dead.

While it may be correct to view the opposition between men and women as a value trending toward dichotomy, it is equally valid to view the matter in a broader perspective as vulnerability as weakness for a man. These numerous taboos served to protect him from being vulnerable.[21] Men believed that a woman's genitals contaminated her skirts, so that contact with the skirt was almost as damaging as contact with menstrual blood. Therefore, there were a number of taboos prohibiting a woman from stepping over objects or even touching them with her skirts. At child birth, the placenta had to be well taken care of lest a pig find and eat it and die. If a man saw a woman urinating, then she was expected to have coitus with him in order to remove her shame, and yet men believed that each act of coitus increased their chances of being contaminated--a definite dilemma (C).

Shame, therefore, appears as the most potent social control over the behavior of individuals (Brennan, ms.). In their face-to-face society where everybody knows everybody else, the Wiru are conscious of public opinion (H). As a result, children are socialized to be extremely vulnerable to shame (ya toko). Shame is connected more often to behavior within the context of social relationships than it is with mere bodily functions or with sex. It comes from speaking out of turn, from presumption, from awkwardness (stumbling, slipping, etc.), from lack of skills--particularly if these ineptitudes are commented on by others. It is a source of shame not to have enough food for unexpected guests. In matters of deviance, there is no place for open admission of guilt, because the dominant value of clan solidarity (PG) protects one from exposure. This value orientation of vulnerability as weakness often finds its reflex in 'scapegoating' (C)--somebody must always pay.

Restraints in regard to the spirit world demonstrate this trend toward vulnerability as weakness. Because of the fear of sorcery (nakenea yene toko), one must be careful not to dispose of body parts haphazardly (excrement, hair, or buttock-covering leaves). Two men once heard a loud 'boom!' as they were eating pork on the bank of Umbu Creek. (Eating beside the water in itself was breaking a long ignored taboo regarding "water spirits.") The men thus assumed that they had been shot by these inhabiting water spirits (uali), and so they prepared for their 'inevitable death,' especially when everyone else in nearby Alia village said they had not heard any such noise. They were greatly relieved to discover three days later, that some man on the opposite side of the creek--downwind from the village--had fired his shotgun at a game bird.

In former years young fathers were instructed by their elders not to hold their small children or to overtly show love to them. It was because they must be ready to fight at any given moment, and a child clinging to his father's leg presented a great handicap for a man who must fight and protect the village from an encroaching enemy. Consequently, showing affection for one's children was equated with weakness.

While mourning over the death of a close kinsman or friend, Wiru men often cry, "Why didn't I ever have harsh words or fight with you when you were alive. Then perhaps I would not feel so sorrowful at your death!" One can therfore be "insulated" from the pain of separation caused by the death of a close friend or companion by having had a strong argument or a falling-out with that person prior to the severance.

Finally, one of the most intriguing areas that reveals vulnerability as weakness--and is the least investigated--is the realm of metaphor.[22] The phrase for metaphor is itself a metaphor, 'broken talk' (pedoa agale). The preponderence of metaphor may be demonstrated by noting its numerous occurrences in diversified life settings. The Wiru are great talkers, orators, and 'singers.' Apart from the convention of public speaking, the Wiru language contains numerous ritual genres having their own traditions, secrets, and special or figurative vocabulary (Paia and Strathern, 1977). Without a proper understanding of metaphor (pedoa agale) it is nearly impossible to enter into 'meaningful' dialogue in village discussions (whether the topic be politics, bridewealth negotiations, or court grievances), simply because the use of metaphor is so prolific in rhetoric.

It is not appropriate for a Wiru to fully expose his position, his opinion, or his assessment of another person's character. A primary function of metaphor is to make possible these goals of verbal interaction through 'concealed' speech. Nothing is gained in this primarily oral culture by 'letting it all hang out' in one's speech, or 'shooting from one's hip!'[23] Rather, a Wiru man is warned about 'falling into the water with his loin cloth on' (meaning, to suffer social embarrassment for not having given thought before speaking), or he may be confronted with the fact that 'once the arrow flies, it cannot be retrieved' (clearly reminding him of the transitoriness and irretrievability of words spoken in haste).

Behavioral patterns thus support the conclusion that the Wiru trend toward vulnerability as weakness. There is no social pressure being exerted to change this value oreintation. As a result, I have

rated this trend at 2.6 on the Vulnerability value continuum. (See Fig. 29.)

4.2.6. Prestige Ascribed (P ASC) ├────┤ Prestige Achieved (P ACH)

There is great emphasis on the acquisition and circulation of valuables such as pigs and shells, whose public distribution enhance the prestige of individuals and of groups. Hence, the Wiru trend primarily toward prestige achieved. Social status, authority and prestige are greatly valued, and to a large extent are secured through material possessions, and more recently, through the acquisition of money. A man becomes a 'big-man' by his own force of character and personality, rather than by descent. However, the present-day power of the 'big-man,' to a large extent, has been undermined, and the young, the able, and the educated have taken over. This is not so much a change in basic values orientation, as in the basic ingredients of the achievement, as Figure 39 illustrates.

The traditional Wiru	The Wiru of the 80's
* most overt symbol: POLYGYNY - a sign of social wealth - additions of male children to patrilineage - more alliances through affines - more gardens, pigs, and pearlshells	* command of prestige language: ENGLISH - polygyny is too exorbitant due to inflated bride-wealth; current stress on "family planning" by the national government
* a fight leader	* an entrepreneur
* a notable orator	* one who has an 'ear' with the government authorities who are non-Wiru; 'a line of power'[24]

Fig. 39. Contrast of the Wiru big-man before and now

Prestige ascribed (P ASC), however, may also be seen in the pretigious roles in society, which are essentially male roles. Being the father of many male children improves the status of one's clan. Then, of course, there is the 'headman' (tobouago) who is ascribed a certain amount of prestige. His advice in most situations is followed, and he is seen by his village as their spokesman when in a larger social context. One headman is referred to by his fellow clansmen as "the tongue of the jew's harp," in other words, 'without him we could make no noise, our presence would not be felt.' The large upper armband (punupo), worn on ceremonial occasions, is still a visible credential of many a headman. But, by and large, the Wiru trend predominantly toward prestige achieved (P ACH) as a value orientation. Even though big-manship has not developed to the extent that it has in other highlands societies (See endnote 12), there is nonetheless much effort expended by men in achieving status and prestige. Because of this behaviorial trend, I have given a rating of 5.8 on the value continuum in order to reflect this underlying driving force among the Wiru to achieve prestige.

4.2.7. Summary of the Basic Values Profile

In order to fully synthesize the foregoing material, Figure 32 has been modified and is presented as Figure 40 below as a means of conceptualizing the interrelatedness of the six different value orientations for Wiru society. It therefore represents the author's intuitive understanding of Wiru culture, social context, and their cognitive world view in terms of basic values.

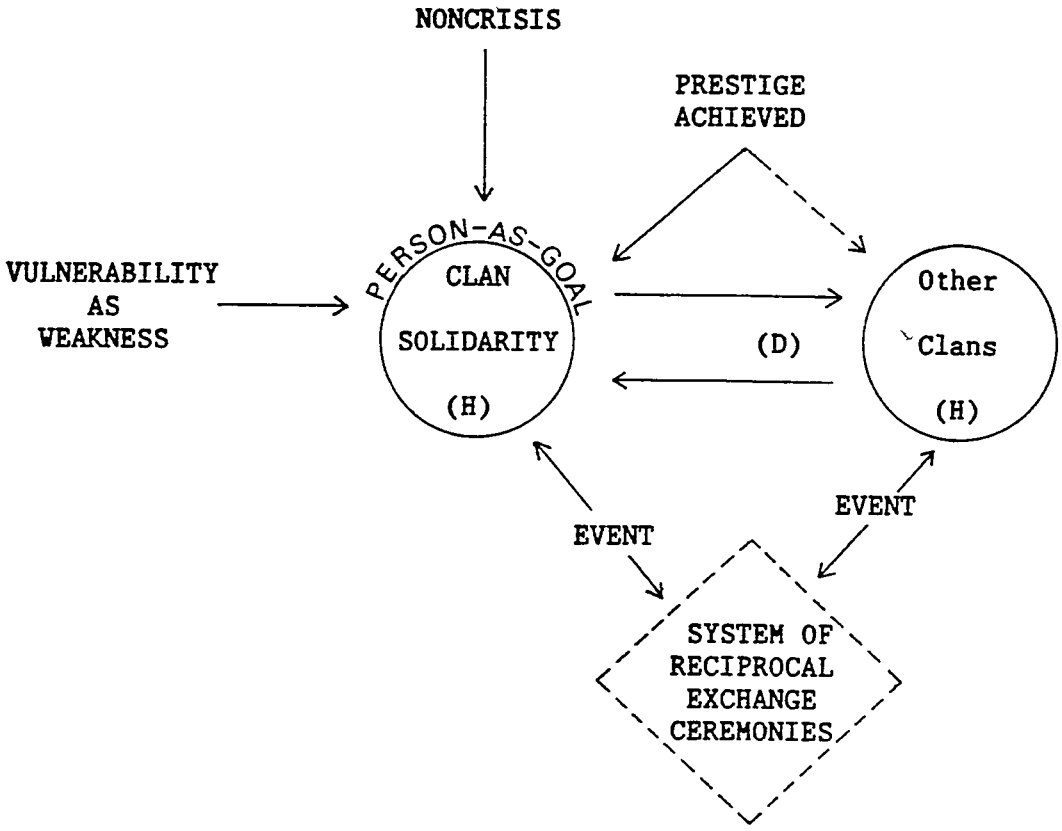


Fig. 40. Interrelatedness of Wiru basic values

Each value orientation serves to support the dominant value of person-as-goal (PG). The system of reciprocal exchange relationships and related ceremonies seem to be a direct output of CLAN SOLIDARITY and yet at the same time it forms the basis of interpersonal and inter-clan relationships. The influence of noncrisis behavior (NC) and behavior which demonstrates vulnerability as weakness (VW) tend to be rather restricted to within the clan and the village level, whereas prestige achieved (P ACH) seems to involve more than the domain of one clan or a single village. Therefore, in order to capture this relation, prestige achieved has been placed in a dual relationship between separate clans, and both noncrisis (NC) and vulnerability as weakness (VW) have been illustrated as single orientations.

4.3. A Conceptual Basis for Wiru Divination Generated from the Basic Values Profile

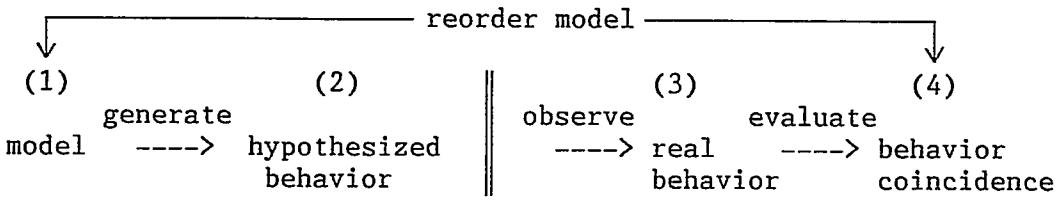
The previous section has explored etically the broader social context within which the ritual divination for discovering the cause of Lipu's death occurred. The profiling application of the Basic Values model has reflected the cumulative formation of a 'working hypothesis,' associating "the various categories of the model to . . . pattern[s] of behavior in as much detail and with as much ordering of the categories as . . . [was] called for by the complex of behaviors" (Mayers 1979:69).

One further feature of the Basic Values model is that once this profiling procedure has been applied, the resulting profile (or its dominant, core trends) can be used ". . . to generate alternative behavior . . . as seen in actual experiences . . ." (Mayers 1979:70). By utilizing a Lévi-Strauss style of generative process[25], the observer is able ". . . to predict by logical projection what actual behavior will be within a range of possibility . . ." (70). A linear form of this generative model is illustrated in Figure 41, adapted from Mayers (1979). Based on the generative expression or output of the model, it becomes possible not only "to analyze descriptively a verbal utterance" (70), but also "to draw conclusions regarding the cognition of the speaker" (70).

By applying this generative aspect of the model, and if the proposed, corporate profile (Figures 29 and 40) is considered as an accurate representation of an emic view of reality, viz. the Wiru cognitive world view, then the profile (or its core trends) must be shown to account for (all) other complexes of behavior. Though such an encompassing task is beyond the scope of the study, it is at least

minimally significant to examine the various behaviors which are manifested in the divination account itself as a cross-check on the validity of the profile.

Thus, based on core trends of the profile that has already been developed (See Step 1 of Figure 41), this final section of the chapter applies the generative aspect of the model by making logical projections regarding a probable cognitive basis for divination as practiced by the Wiru (Step 2). Then, it examines the eyewitness narrative with certain questions in mind (Step 3): Does the actual behavior as reported in the account confirm or disconfirm the validity of the core and its ordering? Does the account (both verbal and nonverbal behavior) correspond with the dominant trends of the profile? Or must the profile be adjusted to



Key: (1) behavior trends which form the generative core
(2) logical generation or projection from the core
(3) actual behavior observed (i.e., the "real" world)
(4) evaluation of correspondence between real and hypothesized behavior

Fig. 41. Mayers' linear form of Lévi-Strauss generative model

adjusted to correspond with the various features of the divination event? Theoretically then, only when such a correspondence between the logical projection and the actual behavior has been achieved (Step 4), would the structure of the text (i.e., the event of divination) thus be

realized. Only then would the 'outside observer' be able to affirm that he has indeed understood the cognitive world view and the communication intent of the speaker within the speech setting.

In the following discussion I will trace my empirical search for this correspondence between an assumed cognitive style profile of the Wiru in general and the actual behavior of the Wiru as manifested during the divination. As it turns out, my assumed profile or core trends did not correspond with behavior as perceived, and therefore I was confronted with adjusting the core trends of the model as well as resolving the question of dealing with the tension between a noncrisis-oriented people and the extreme pressure of a crisis-oriented situation.

4.3.1. Core Trends in the Divination Event

The core in the perceived profile of the divination context is initially hypothesized as reflecting primarily the value trends of "noncrisis" (NC), "holism" (H), and "event" (E), in accordance with the basic values profile of Wiru culture. As previously borne out, though, the most dominant, overriding value trend in the sociocultural milieu of the Wiru is "person-as-goal," defined specifically in terms and issues surrounding the SOLIDARITY of one's clan. But in approaching the divination account, this value trend does not appear to have this same primary dominance. Instead, it is diminished to a level of lesser dominance, because the very purpose of the ritual divination is not to enhance the group identity of a given clan in its relationships to other clans. Rather, the divination purposes to openly declare possibilities or alternatives of 'who did what,' and furthermore, 'how a deed was

done.' This purpose, of course, is quite contrary to yet another value orientation--"vulnerability as weakness"--thereby creating another definite tension. Therefore the trends toward "vulnerability as weakness" (VW) and "person-as-goal" (PG) are both considered of secondary dominance in the profile of the divination. Finally, the trend toward "prestige achieved" (P ACH) appears to be completely irrelevant as a value orientation operative within a cognitive basis of divination.[26]

4.3.2. Logical Projections from the Core

As the discussion proceeds, it will become more and more apparent that the "cool" trend toward noncrisis behavior--normally characteristic of Wiru cognitive style--is so radically "heated up" by the ritual divination that in the final analysis, it will be shown that cisis behavior is truly the dominant value orientation operating in divination. This will, of course, require the core model to be adjusted accordingly. But to begin with, it is best to proceed from the 'everyday' cognitive orientation of the Wiru. Therefore, based on the implications of the corresponding core orientations, hypothesized behavior(s) have been logically generated as follows.

Noncrisis. When a crisis arises wherein divination is seen to be the means of alleviating social tension caused by that stituation, we might well expect a noncrisis orientation to choose an answer to the question from a number of options or alternatives presented by the 'discoveries' of the divining pole. Since ad hoc solutions are preferred to mandated decisions, we would expect a noncrisis

orientation to focus on the actual experience of the divination, and thus avoid making plans to solve the crisis. Furthermore, we would expect a noncrisis orientation to delay decisions and thereby avoid taking action. The emphasis would be upon asking numerous questions. There will not be black and white issues seen in the divination event, but rather the issues will tend to be gray and open to debate.

Holistic. A holistic value orientation will seek to make a concrete assessment of the whole divination event. The various 'parts' of the ritual will have a relevant function within the 'whole.' What may appear to the outsider as random strikes and motions of the divining pole will contribute to the impression of the event as a whole. Since each situation 'calling for' a divination is considered unique, no standardized procedures or rigid rules will be applied. Judgments will therefore be open-ended. There will be cooperation between the spirit realm and the human arena--the totality of the Wiru life-situation.

Event. In the midst of a divination event where noncrisis and holistic orientations are dominant, the event itself will be unplanned and will transpire in a rather ad hoc way. There will not be a set schedule for the various constituent activities of the event. The description of the event will be marked with 'who is there' and 'what is going on.' The setting will be embellished in terms of

sounds, reported movements of the divining pole, and the discoveries of various objects and locations.

Even though "vulnerability as weakness" and "person-as-goal" are considered to be of secondary dominance in the profile of the divination event, it is nevertheless useful to view these trends as a secondary core of values, and in turn, generate logical projections for behavior from them.

Vulnerability as weakness. Since the express purpose of a divination is to openly declare alternatives or options as potential solution(s) to a crisis, a vulnerability as weakness orientation will attempt to 'cover up' any hint of personal or clan guilt. There will be the tendency to speak vaguely and to prevent exposure of one's position of an issue.

Person-as-goal. The focus will be upon the oneness of the person with his clan group.

A brief summary of these core values and certain of the logical projections are presented in shortened form in Figure 42. The figure is to be read from left to right: the perceived value trends are listed in column (1), and from these, representative behaviors are logically generated and listed in column (2). There are two more steps remaining in the generative process: examining the actual behavioral manifestations as reported in the account, and lastly, determining whether or not these actual behaviors coincide with the hypothesized behaviors, and if not, making the necessary adjustments to the core values and/or their ordering in the model.

(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)
model	---->	hypothesized behavior	---->	real behavior	---->	behavior coincidence

PRIMARY DOMINANCE:

+ noncrisis	* options/alternatives of interpretation are sought through interrogation * delayed decision
+ holistic	* concrete assessment of the whole situation * cooperation of spirit and human
+ event	* focus on who is there and what is going on * no set schedule

SECONDARY DOMINANCE:

+ vulnerability as weakness	* speaking vaguely to prevent exposure of involvement * alternative explanations
+ person-as-goal	* person and clan are viewed as one

Fig. 42. A perceived cognitive profile for the divination including projected behavioral manifestations

4.3.3. Observations on Actual Behavior during the Divination Event

Michael Kearney (1984:44), writing on world view, states succinctly, "Although world views differ in the ways they represent reality, to be successful, they must have <u>some connection</u> with it." (Italics mine.) Theoretically, then, the way a person senses and perceives his world around him is more than likely the way he thinks and talks about that same world. Yoke's account of the divination is obviously a report of the way in which he perceived the various

activities and happenings during the entire event. What is important in this section regarding "observations" on 'actual behavior' is that the analyst is primarily making observations on Yoke's own reported observations, and secondarily upon his own field notes and actual observations of the divination itself. The aim is to determine how the grammar and phonology reinforce the semantics within the context of culture, hence, to approach the cognitive basis for Wiru macrothought, or world view.

The three value orientations which are tentatively considered as core trends in the divination are noncrisis, holism, and event. There is some evidence in the context of the divination of the trend toward noncrisis behavior in that a variety of activities are being pursued in a variety of settings. It is holistic in that no consideration is given to any one piece of 'evidence' unless it is also considered within the whole. That the divination is an event par excellence is evidenced by the absence of a set, detailed schedule for the event; people are just coming together, wanting to see firsthand what will happen whenever the divining pole is actively 'working' (s6). Activities merely transpire; the crowd flows with the action regardless of where it may lead them. In fact, nightfall is seen by some folk as not even deterring the work of the divining pole. 'Let's keep holding the pole,' they insist (s43). But the diviner tells everyone it would be better to go on to sleep, because 'we really can't see what the pole is doing in the darkness' (s44). 'When it is daylight, let's hold it again.' There is therefore no time pressure; they have come together to work over a problem until it is resolved or they are exhausted, regardless of the time required.

The event is further marked by a description of "who is there" and "what is going on." Several people are explicitly mentioned as being present during the divination. There is the diviner, described as the man "who is elected as the village court magistrate" up at Ialibu and the one "who causes the divining pole to move" (s4). Yoke describes himself in the same sentence as one "who does the 'same work' as this Ialibu man--that is, the work of a village court magistrate." During the ritual for activating the divining pole, there is mention of "two Ialibu men, whom he [the diviner] had brought with him, just standing there"--these two become the first ones to "carry" the pole over their shoulders after it is activated (s18). On the next day, more spectators arrive. It is during the second activation of the divining pole that Yoke refers to a school teacher of the Apenda Community School,[27] named Wanus, as being the person to whom he handed objects which the divining pole had 'discovered' (s64, s83-85). In s87-88 the intensity of the divination grows to such proportions that Yoke exclaims 'there were several hundred or so people standing around' and witnessing the rediscovery of the knife that allegedly was used to murder Lipu. Indeed, the crowd becomes actively involved at this point when different individuals hide the knife over and over again, only to have it discovered each time by the divining pole--a most disconcerting phenomenon.[28] Yoke reports that the crowd, as a result, bursts out in fearful exclamation, "Oh, wow!" (Ekeee!).

The reported event is thus embellished here and elsewhere with sounds. The divining pole strikes the door of a store, and a loud noise resounds, "Dõuu!" (s59). When the divining pole suddenly discovers the alleged knife hidden in Wange's hut, Yoke 'chuckles,' apparently as a

sudden release of amazement at the disclosure (s80). In the very next sentence, his voice pitch rises, his timing speeds up, and he 'smacks' his fist into the open palm of his other hand as he describes how the divining pole struck his hand along with that knife he was holding (s81). In s93 after the divining pole is activated for the third and final time, the men carrying the pole seem to meander aimlessly two or three times around and among the crowd. But when the pole comes near Yoke, still standing and holding the alleged murder weapon(s), it once again forcefully strikes at his hand along with the knives. Here, as before, Yoke smacks his fist in the other open palm to index the force of the blow, and once again he breaks out in a chuckle--a preceived release of obvious tension.

The initial preparation of the divining pole (s8-11) is embellished with vivid details of description: it is a long pole made from a lawapo tree; strands of the girl's hair are tightly wrapped around the middle of the pole; the pole is placed across two forked sticks over the top of the girl's body; the small end of a koda banana leaf is draped over the pole; then a small poue fern leaf is placed on top of both the banana leaf and the pole; and finally, a small portion of a branch from the pokora treee is used to hit the pole--a symbolic re-enactment of the murderous event.

Lastly, the event is embellished with much detail in the description of the various movements of the divining pole and in noting each of the objects and places which it reveals while unravelling the murder. There is no need to recount here all of the items struck by the pole or the places the pole went. This will be done as an integral part of the text analysis in the following chapter. Suffice it here to draw

attention to one particular statement made by Yoke. This statement reveals a definite "anticipatory schemata"[29] in Wiru cognition for perceiving the "event" of divination. It is instructive in that it reveals the other core value trends which are sine qua non to the event.

Yoke is talking to Laakea, and he is seeking to allay Laakea's possible dismay (VW) from witnessing the divining pole strike several items in his hut, including his own son. Before Yoke begins to question Laakea (NC), he merely states common, presuppositional belief about the divining pole:

(s33-34) "You know all about the way this thing works from a long time ago (H), and so that's what we have done here (E); you have not done anything wrong (VW), but, if someone steals something (C), the man who does such a thing, it strikes this particular man, or the knife? or whatever he had held onto and carried? (C) . . . Let's examine(NC) what he has done (C). It wants to strike at these things (C). It does things in this way (C)(H)."

After I said these words, Laakea said, "You are speaking what is true."

In this brief exposé Yoke outlines the main constituents of a divination event which any Wiru person would anticipate perceiving and experiencing if he were present at a ritual, and Laakea <u>is</u> in full agreement.

(1) GIVEN: Someone <u>has committed</u> a prior, deviant action (for example, a theft, a suspected death by sorcery, a murder, and so forth) (C).

(2) GIVEN: The divining pole 'wants to strike' <u>this person</u>, or in lieu of that, it 'wants to strike' whatever <u>objects</u> that person had held or touched (C).

(3) ASSUME: Whatever the divining pole strikes or wherever it goes must be deemed as <u>pertinent evidence</u> for uncovering the one(s) who committed the deviance (C).

(4) PERFORM: Since the actions of the divining pole must be examined (interpreted), questions will therefore need to be asked (NC), in order to come to an understanding of how all the separate parts fit into a coherent picture (H).

On the one hand, this statement by Yoke reveals an extreme orientation toward crisis behavior. By denoting a particular value orientation underlying each of the phrases or clauses, it becomes readily observable that the trend toward crisis behavior is more dominant than other trends. As a consequence, three out of four of the 'main constituents' listed for a divination event are also marked for crisis orientation. Contrary to my initial projection of core trends above, the essential nature of divination, it would appear, trends strongly toward crisis behavior: the demand for an expert's clear definition of 'WHO did what.'

On the other hand, however, as conjectured from the corporate profile of the Wiru, the crowd which gathers for the divination does continue to manifest the trend toward "noncrisis" behavior (NC)--the seeking of alternative interpretations of the divining pole's activity through an interrogative stance. The crowd itself is composed of three perceivable groups, based on their relationship to the divination event: 'pure' spectators, participants, and those implicated. The pure spectators consist of those who are curiously observing the sights and sounds of the divination (E). For them the event is an enlightening, 'entertaining,' firsthand display of (spirit) power (NC)(H). The participants are those who directly utilize the divining pole and are seriously concerned with its 'discoveries' (C)(H). Participant's are

considered to be the victim's kinsmen (C), the diviner (C), the village court magistrates (C)(H), the ones who carried the pole (C)(E), and village big-men (PG)(H). The ones implicated, on the other hand, were at first pure spectators (E), but because of the divining pole striking at them or at their possessions, they suddenly find themselves in a vulnerable position (VW), and, consequently, they too become seriously concerned with offering 'alternative' explanations (NC) as a means of dodging serious accusations in the case (VW).

Contrary to most all other mainstream events in Wiru social life, the performance of a divination requires the presence of a specialist, a "crisis" figurehead--one to whom people turn to for seeking out answers. This person is none other than the 'diviner' himself, literally "the proprietor/owner of the divining pole" (yomo kopini pinago). Not only is this man in this particular incident reputable as a noted diviner, but he is coincidentally a village court magistrate (in his home Ialibu area). That these two, 'crisis positions' have been achieved by one and the same man serves to create in the perception of the participants (as well as those implicated) the strong image of a twice-over 'expert' in ascertaining 'truth.' Stories have already preceded him, relating how he frequently uses the divining pole to discover the agents of various crimes in his area, with the result being a noticeable drop in the crime rate in that region.

That the diviner (yomo kopini pinago) actually portrays a "crisis" figurehead is evidenced by Yoke's observation of the diviner's use of imperative verb forms at three strategic junctures during the divination. The first occasion is during the crucial part of the activation ritual; the diviner repeats four times the same imperative

plus vocative conjoined with a personal pronoun, "Divining pole, you get up!" (Figure 43.) There is no alternative offered here. The repeat-

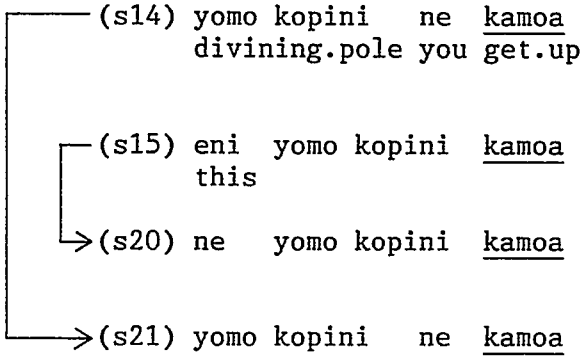


Fig. 43. The diviner's repetition of an imperative form demanding an immediate response

ed command emphasizes a demand for an immediate response. When the divining pole does 'respond' to the diviner's command (s16-17), according to his own perception (C), the subsequent context of s20-21 continues to reflect an extreme trend toward crisis orientation, marked by the imperative intonation complex in the phonology (short, choppy clauses with falling intonation) and in the grammar (object + IMP verb). Here the diviner utters a series of "working" orders to the divining pole (Figure 44), and once they are received, the pole 'wants to go' off on its search to unravel the mystery of her murder, 'her' referring to the girl's spirit now inhabiting the pole. As for the men who are carrying the divining pole, Yoke observes that there are no perceived alternatives for them to choose, regarding which direction they might like to go. Rather, they must go wherever the pole takes them (s24).

At the close of Episode 2 it was noted that there were those folk who wanted the girl's kinsmen to keep using the pole, even though darkness had already come (E). But the diviner then stepped forward and

(s20) ... wirane napi moa,	get the knife that killed you
... wiranera luku yamea,	show evidence of the place he killed you
... einago wia,	hit/kill this man,
einagone yapu wia,	hit/kill this man's house,
enile toano,	you can do it in this manner,
ne yomo kopini kamoa.	you, divining pole, get up.
(s21) Yomo kopini ne kamoa,	Divining pole, you get up,
einago moa,	get this man,
eni yarene moa,	get this clan,
'enile tanea' wa dikoa eni yamea	show us like this, 'He did it in this manner.'

Fig. 44. The series of "working" orders given to the divining pole demonstrates a crisis orientation

offered a counterproposal (s44), 'Sure, you can keep on holding this pole at night (E), but you cannot see well (C)--either what it does or where it may go. Let's hold it again when it is daylight (C). Let's all sleep (C). The clause, "You cannot see well" (wedoa . . . enamoo-no), is a mitigated imperative form, whereas the two clauses, "let's hold it (again)" and "let's all sleep," are both cohortative verb forms (or first person imperatives). With these directions, the episode is abruptly closed, and everyone goes off to sleep for the night.

As for the third and last time the diviner emerges in the storyline of the narrative account, he again manifests a strong crisis orientation. At the junctive between Episode 3 and Episode 4 (s56), he interprets the supposed erratic behavior of the pole. As the text analysis in the following chapter bears out, this is a crucial turning

point in the divination. The diviner once again uses several imperative verb forms--this time to redirect the flow of the divination procedure.

(s56) "Now she (the divining pole) wants to strike the house of the killer (C), she wants to fetch this knife which killed her and such things as this (C); you stay nearby the diviner (C) and she can follow closely and go get these things (C); 'You come,' she (the divining pole) is saying (C), she is coming to get (all of you); she wants to go along with men of the law (C)(H) and is following (our) custom in doing this (H) [i.e., in other words to avoid trouble (C)]; you stand alongside up front (C)," he (the diviner) said.

From this juncture on to the conclusion of the account, there is a perceived shift from one "crisis" figurehead to another--from the diviner (yomo kopini pinago) in the first half of the account to Yoke himself, as a "man of the law" (s56), in the last half.

Thus, when the divining pole strikes the door of a store in Molo village, it is Yoke who uses an interrogative form, demanding the store to be opened for inspection (s59); he is not asking for an alternative explanation this time, as he did the night before at Laakea's house. When the brother of Wange, the real store owner, makes himself known, Yoke uses an unmitigated imperative, "Pass on by and open up (this door)!" (s62). Yoke then goes inside the store first. Whatever the divining pole strikes at in the store, Yoke is the one who picks up the items, collecting them for 'evidence' (s64,67).

As the divining pole proceeds on to the house of Wange, it is Yoke who demands Wange's brother to untie the door (s70), " . . . you yourself pass on by and open (it)!" Rather than going on inside the darkened hut, Yoke positions himself beside the doorway and looks down into the hut while the divining pole goes about its search. As the divining pole is actually trying to find the alleged murder weapon, it

somewhat baffles the participants, because they fail to see anything in the place where the pole is striking. It is Yoke, however, who looks and sees a small bush knife which has been stuffed inside the flooring. He is the one who picks up this knife, and as a result, the divining pole strikes his very hand holding the knife. Quickly, Yoke throws the knife outside the hut, and it is he who demands the knife to be hidden again (s82), "You go hide it somewhere else" (padeka pori pipoe!).

In a later interview with Yoke, he explained why he wanted the knife hidden again.[30]

> I myself had this idea [...] I myself did this for this reason: I wanted to find out for sure, did this divining pole go straight (accurately)? or did it not? So I did not talk to the diviner about this. . . .
>
> The reason for doing this was so that all the men, and clans can know. All the men there heard me say, "You can go hide it." Why? The divining pole has named the man who killed her (C), this girl who was raped. They have him, but, is this true or isn't it true? And I wanted to know. 'So now, all of us men who are here, we can go hide it, and it (the divining pole) itself can go find it and get it (again). Then we must believe--all of us.' . . .
>
> If it is true, then we can have no complaint. Why? We must put our complaint against a man, only one man (D). And as for all the men (H), we must know this (C).

This finding of the knife, the alleged murder weapon, occurs at the peak of the account. Hiding the knife again and again, and then seeing the divining pole find it each time, confirms in the perception of both spectators and participants the veracity of the divination. Through its precision of discovery it provides DEFINITION: a delimitation of all other alternatives. In Yoke's own words, ". . . the divining pole has named the man [italics mine] who killed her" by finding this knife.

That there are various times during the divination when numerous questions are asked of the those indicted is evidence of a noncrisis orientation (NC). Whereas crisis orientation is characterized by

declarative or imperative moods, noncrisis orientation, on the other hand, is evidenced by an interrogative mood--expanding the alternatives of interpretation regarding the 'strikings' of the divining pole (NC). Such interrogations take place within s33-40, referring to the situation at Laakea's house on late Saturday afternoon, and also within s89-92, referring to the major questioning session on Sunday morning when all the ones who were implicated are interrogated in an effort to determine how all these parts (evidences) will have a vital function within the whole event (H). It is because this noncrisis orientation is so basic in Wiru world view that in spite of the alleged murder weapon being discovered in Wange's own hut (C), the village court magistrates nevertheless 'write down' the names of three men and one woman for further questioning by the court authorities at Pangia (NC).

The third core trend which has been conjectured for the perceived context of the divination is the cognitive orientation toward holism. Many of the symbolic elements of the activation ritual are evidences of a holistic trend. In s11 Yoke hesitates in reporting his perception of the diviner's incantation over the divining pole, ". . . and he said some words to this thing [...] he prayed or? [...] yes! [...] he prayed to this thing . . . " (einake kulio pirikoa). In times past this phrase, kulio piko, usually meant, 'to implore spirits for help when someone is sick,' and involved the burning of pig bones or scraping the peeling off of taro root and thereby imploring the spirits for help. And so it is in this context, the diviner is perceived as imploring the departed spirit of the dead girl for help in uncovering her assailant. This reveals a value trend toward holism, wherein the spirit realm and man himself are drawn into a corporate unit--epitomized

by the divining pole itself. The spirit-activated, spirit-driven pole is the "eye" (eyelash hair : eyes) and "mind" (head hair : mind) of the girl, the human bearers of the pole are "the legs." Rarely does Yoke refer to the actual men who carry the divining pole, for in his emic perception, he sees the activated divining pole, spirit plus man (H), as the animate agent of these vital discoveries.

It is while imploring the spirits for help that the diviner 'calls out all of the names of the clans who reside in Molo village' (s11). Because the individual and his clan group are viewed as one (H)(PG), only clan names are called out during the ritual, not the names of individual persons. Hence, the modus operandi for activating the pole is this: when the 'guilty' clan name is called (H), the divining pole will start moving (C). When the diviner finally saw that the pole had become activated, it is then he gave a series of 'working' orders, as noted above. In s21 not only do the diviner's orders reflect crisis orientation (C), but also the trend toward holism as well, "Divining pole you get up, get this man, get this clan . . . !" A man and his natal kin group are thus viewed as ONE (H).

That the murderer is from this clan and not from other clans whose names are called reflects, in part, a trend toward dichotomy--one clan in opposition to another--but, overriding this consideration is the notion that the clan as a whole (H) is perceived as the group that is responsible for the deed. There is another side to this picture, however. It is in regard to the dominant system of western jurisprudence which rules the nation of Papua New Guinea. This judicial system values (hence, 'demands') justice being served upon only the guilty person(s) (D). Thus, tension between this dichotomistic

(western) orientation and the holistic trend of the Wiru results in the participants of the divination making sure that all the bits and pieces of evidence fit into a whole pattern (H), in order to properly uncover the person who is guilty (D). Indeed, in s82 it may have been this tension between dichotomy and holism which prompted the magistrates to 'write down' (C) the names of four individuals (NC) to be questioned further (NC) by authorities at the Administrativce Office in Pangia (C), in spite of the 'fact' that the divining pole had already pinpointed (C) the 'one' man, Wange, as the guilty person (D).

At the outset of this discussion it was also conjectured that there are two value trends which are considered to be of only secondary dominance in the divination ritual: vulnerability as weakness and person-as-goal. The trend toward vulnerability as weakness surfaces in two particular situations during the account. The first is during the interrogation scene at Laakea's house on late Saturday afternoon. Yoke is about to question Laakea for possible answers as to why the divining pole has struck his son and several other items inside his hut. So he begins by picturing a scenario for Laakea as one plausible reason for this taking place.

(s33) ". . . you have not done anything (wrong) (VW), . . . (perhaps) he (the murderer) has thrown something down here at your house so they can say, 'You did this.' This divining pole can come and strike at you, and so he probably has done it in this way (VW)(NC). Don't think about some other thing [i.e., don't get worried about accusations] (VW). Just sit there at ease (NC)," I said.

Behind this perceived "soft" approach lies the basic value trend of vulnerability as weakness--covering one's own (or someone else's) error or weakness so that it is not perceived in any way as weakness. Yoke is attempting to discharge a tense scene. He and other bigmen who were

near the divining pole when it was first activated knew that the divining pole began to move when the Kimbori clan name was called, BUT Laakea was from the Leri clan. There had to be some inadvertent connection with the murder or murderer, but what?

The second time vulnerability as weakness becomes evident is during the next interrogation session, which transpired on Sunday morning. This time it is Wange's brother, Awa, who is being questioned in regard to the whereabouts of his brother on the night of Lipu's murder.

(s89-92) . . . but his brother (Awa) said, "He and I were sleeping or he was doing something else or (I don't know)?" he said. "My thinking is all mixed up, and my thoughts are not very strong. This blanket was just lying there," he said it like that (VW), but, "This boy did not sleep (here)," that statement he did not say [italics mine](VS). "I saw the blanket several times (during the night), and he was sleeping but he did not cover up, and so I did get (the blanket) and cover (him) up," he said (VW). "As for me getting (the blanket) and covering (him) up, I did it like that up until daylight," he said (VW), ...

Awa's covert testimony is a bit of subterfuge at best. Yoke recognizes this, and therefore in the midst of reporting Awa's answer, he comments that he did not say, "This boy did not sleep (here)"--this kind of admission from a brother could only have come from an orientation of vulnerability as strength.

As a final consideration in examining the actual behavior(s) during the divination, the trend toward "person-as-goal" will be briefly noted. It has already been touched upon implicitly in the discussion above regarding holism, where the person and clan are viewed as one. This implies that the relationship of the person to his clan is a reciprocal relation: a person who achieves status also enhances the status of his clan, and vice versa, a dominant clan name also enhances

its individual members. However, the negative value of this relationship is just as effective: a person who receive shame because of some deviant behavior brings shame to his family and his clan. Thus, when the divining pole struck the door of Wange's house and the brother was ordered to untie the door slabs, there sitting inside the hut was Wange's old father, already mourning his own death because of what he perceives his son as having done. Yoke reports,

(s73) . . . (his) little father was down there (inside) wanting to die, "Today or tomorrow I will die," he said and was just sitting there.

4.3.4. Coincidences in Real Behavior with Hypothesized Behavior

In section 4.3.1. three behavioral trends, noncrisis, holistic, and event, were initially considered to be the core trends exhibited in the divination account. Their selection was based primarily on the corporate profile model of the Wiru that was developed throughout section 4.2. Their ordering (regarding "dominance"), though, was based on the observer's cursory perception of the context of the divination ritual itself. Certain hypothesized behaviors were logically generated from these core trends (4.3.2.), and then actual behaviors manifested during the divination were examined extensively (4.3.3.). That there are close correspondences between the real behavior and these hypothesized behaviors is quite clear, and that this factor of correspondence is indicative of the accuracy in understanding the conceptual or cognitive basis underlying divination among the Wiru is strongly argued. There is, however, one noticeable exception in behavior coincidence, namely, the observed dominance of real, "crisis"

behavior does not coincide with the assumed core trend of noncrisis behavior.

At the outset of the discussion on observations of 'actual' behavior during the divination, it was held that the context demonstrated the trend toward a "noncrisis" orientation, in that 'a variety of activities were being pursued in a variety of settings.' While this perception remains accurate in part, it has become more and more apparent to this observer-analyst that the very essence of a divination trends extremely toward crisis behavior instead, and not toward noncrisis behavior, as initially conjectured. The explicit purpose of a divination is to seek out an 'expert' (the diviner plus the divining pole) in order to determine the person who is guilty of a serious deviance; it is the strong demand for an immediate, definitive statement: 'HE is the ONE who did this deed!'

But here is where the real tension arises between these two polar value orientations. The one question that is ever present in the minds of the noncrisis-oriented participants is, 'How are we to interpret (determine the significance of) the various actions and objects which have been struck by the divining pole?' The following figure illustrates this very real tension which results due to both behavioral trends being operative within a ritual divination. The cognitive basis for decision-making during the normal flow of daily events among the Wiru is a noncrisis orientation. Hence, there is a notable absence of so-called "experts" in Wiru society. Decisions are normally made through the consensual process. Consequently, when an extreme "crisis-oriented" agent--such as the divining pole--is set into operation in Wiru society, which trends toward noncrisis behavior, there

is a marked tension that fills the air. Anticipation is heightened; anxiety increases; nerves grow tense; and reflexes cannot be trusted. As long as civility rules, alternatives are pursued.

CRISIS	NONCRISIS
Precisely "who" is the person who raped and murdered Lipu? --a question of DEFINITION.	What do all of these places and things the divining pole has struck mean, and how do they all fit into a coherent picture? --a question of ALTERNATIVES
To determine the guilty person(s)	To interpret the evidence collected by the divining pole before a decision is made
Declarative; imperative	Interrogative
'Wange is THE murderer!'	Must write down the names of four people for further questioning

Fig. 45. Social tension caused by a "crisis-oriented" agent (the divining pole) operating in a noncrisis society

This is an accurate description of the situation when kinsman were perched on the four death poles and scrutinizing Piyalo's corpse for a potential occurrence of divinatory signs. It describes well the social atmosphere during the two-day ritual divination of Lipu Kipoi's murder. It is a precise picture, as well, of the extreme build-up of tension during the inter-village discussion over the 'evidence' collected by the divining pole in regard to Piyalo's death.

For Wiru society, the model for a cognitive basis of divination has thus been restructured and reordered by the analyst to account for this trend toward crisis behavior, and the adjusted model is presented in Figure 46. It will be noticed that there are now three levels of perceived dominance. Noncrisis orientation is still being considered

reorder the core

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
model ---->	hypothesized behavior	----> real behavior	----> behavior coincidence

PRIMARY DOMINANCE:

+ crisis	* 'expert' was procured * diviner gave numerous commands to the divining pole: "Get..., show..., hit..., get up!" * spirit-activated pole became extreme "crisis-oriented" agent; its bearers must go where it takes them, not vice versa	Elevated to primary dominance
+ holistic	* spirit(s) are implored for help * divining pole = spirit plus man ("eyes" and "mind" of the dead girl plus human "legs") * participants seek to fit pieces of evidence into a whole picture	

SECONDARY DOMINANCE:

+ noncrisis	* emphasis was on interrogation of indictees * lack of closure: 'wrote down four names' for further questioning	Reduced to secondary dominance
+ event	* activities merely flow * darkness is not viewed as a deterrent * embellished with people (specifically mentioned), sounds, movements of the divining pole * anticipatory schemata: 'you know how this thing works from times past...'	Reduced to secondary dominance (not just an event per se)

Fig. 46. The cognitive basis for divination among the Wiru, denoting the corresponding real behavior (Fig. continued below.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
model	----> hypothesized behavior	----> real behavior	----> behavior coincidence

TERTIARY DOMINANCE:

+ vulnerability as weakness	* Yoke paints a scenario to allay Laakea's dismay: 'You did nothing wrong...' * Awa utters covert testimony about his brother, Wange: 'The blanket was just lying there...'	Reduced to tertiary dominance
+ person as goal	* CLAN SOLIDARITY is the implicit prime mover for the divining pole: 'All clan names were called...' 'If Kimbori killed you... get up!' 'Get this man; get this clan!'	Reduced to tertiary dominance

(Fig. 46 cont'd.)

part and parcel of the conceptual basis of divination, but it has now been reduced to a level of secondary dominance--ever-present, but nonetheless dominated by an extreme crisis orientation, the sine qua non of a divination event. That there is evidence for both crisis and noncrisis behavior speaks to the issue of much social tension created during the event. Event orientation has also been reduced to a level of secondary dominance. A divination "event" is not to be considered an ordered series of happenings; there is no evidence of pre-planning, nor is its purpose a planned gathering for casual fellowship between enemy clans.

4.4. Summary

The focus of this chapter has been upon the effort to establish an understanding of the way in which the Wiru perceive their socio-cultural environment--their cognitive world view--from an emic perspective. It has been shown that "people make decisions on the basis of their images and assumptions about their life situations" (Kearney 1984:35). These include such things as their view of cause-and-effect relationships, spatiality, temporality, and other universals of world view. First, the author critically reflected upon his own cross-cultural encounter as a means of precipitating the issue of differing views of 'reality,' stemming from the differences between etic and emic perspectives. Then, by utilizing an objective conceptual model, known as the Basic Values Model of cognitive styles, and by relying on the author's own participant observation among the Wiru, many random behaviors were categorized according to their respective value orientation as a means for developing a general, corporate profile of the cognitive orientation of the Wiru. Finally, by utilizing the corporate profile as a generative model, a conceptual basis for divination among the Wiru was tentatively set forth, certain behaviors were logically projected, the actual behaviors manifested during the divination account were thoroughly examined, and the necessity for adjusting the core model was made apparent, because there was a lack of correspondence with the actual predominance of crisis-oriented behavior that was so readily observable in the divination. Wiru world view is thus considered to be this cognitive background that influences their perception of alternatives and the choices among them.

Endnotes

[1]One fundamental concept of tagmemic theory is the distinction between "etic" and "emic" both in analyzing language and for describing human behavior. Pike (1982) explains the source of his coining these two terms, and he clarifies the theoretical importance of each term as it relates to our normal experience with reality--the ability to recognize identities in spite of change. He writes (1982:xii): ". . . a persistent, perceptual unit is termed an emic one . . . --an entity seen as 'same' from the perspective of the internal logic of the containing system, . . ." In other words, emic refers to the insider's point of view. The correlative perspective of the outsider striving to penetrate a system that is alien to himself is labelled by term, etic. Etic also labels ". . . some component of an emic unit, or some variant of it, or some preliminary guess at the presence of internal emic units, . . . " (1982:xii).

[2]Participant observation is not to be confused with mere observation. To be sure, both methods of observation involve all of one's senses for taking note of the events and activities within a sociocultural setting. However, participant observation goes far beyond mere observation in that the observer becomes an active member of the social group. "By participating, one views the social whole in ways impossible for the one simply observing" (Mayers 1979:115).

Be that as it may, this observer-analyst realizes that his own paradigm-governed way of seeing things is inescapable. Even though I consider the cognitive styles model which is utilized extensively in this chapter to be an objective conceptual model, the participant-observer nevertheless still "smudges" the data, and in choosing to write some observations he ignores others. That the behaviors I have chosen to write on are representative of Wiru social life is a concession that must be granted to me by the reader. "Social phenomena, unlike natural phenomena, are not directly perceptible but often have to be established by putting together many details which are naturally dispersed in space and time" (115).

[3]Kubler-Ross ([1969] 1975) has delineated five stages of death and dying in American society: denial and isolation, anger, bargaining, depression, and acceptance. Some of these stages might well be considered universal, though I am not advocating this here. On the other hand, perhaps some of the stages noted by Kubler-Ross are culturally expected. For example, if the same kind of book were written about death and dying in Wiru society, one stage that must be included is the "last talk" (kadimo oko), wherein a man orally distributes his estate (or even passes on his philosophy of life and living). Once a person has made his or her "last talk," it cannot be broken or denied.

[4]I later learned that this was not an innovation, but rather it was borrowed from a custom of the Melpa tribe to the north (Mt. Hagen area). There, the grave site of a man of prominence is covered by a slab of cement, and then a small frame house with a galvanized roof is

constructed on the cement slab. True to form, Piyalo's clansmen later built such a house over the cement grave covering.

[5]There are numerous aspects of Wiru world view that are beyond the scope of this present study. I merely list them here with an accompying comment for the purpose of drawing attention to them for further research and understanding.

- nakenea yene toko "sorcery, utilizing personal body parts"
- tomo, "poison," (the focus of many a conversation)
- akolali (spirit-being outside of or beyond man; primarily benevolent)
- kekulu ali (the underneath man)
- uali/uelali (water-man spirit; malevolent)
- ipono (departed spirits; malevolent)
- maua ago (changing forms, conjuring, 'working roots')
- ulo sorcery (hex, invisible, transmigratory power)
- kepalago (hired assasin)
- oroiago (shaman or curer)

[6]S.G. Weeks (in letter, 28-Jan-87) noted that there was one prior divination using the yomo kopini. After a bigman of Kalue village died, the people "brought in one [diviner] from Ialibu in 1977, and it [divining pole] also went in reverse in its search for the murderer."

[7]To my knowledge there are no recorded details of the procedure of this divination, nor am I aware of how the pole went about collecting the purported "evidences of sorcery."

[8]This parable finds its historical reference in the yearly practice of the ancient Hebrews, who used a "scapegoat" to symbolically carry away their iniquities (Leviticus 16:20-22).

[9]Note especially A.J. Strathern (1971a,b); M.J. Meggitt (1974); Paul Brennan (1978); and for an excellent comparative study of ceremonial exchanges see Paula Rubel and Abraham Rosman (1978).

[10]The use of the term 'clan' for the basic social unit in Highland societies is well established nomenclature. However, Strathern (1984) highlights several deficiencies in the term as applied to the phenomenon of social grouping among the Wiru, based on his study of the group(s) around Tunda village in the south-central region of the Polu River valley. Clark (1985, to appear) also raises somewhat the same issues, based on his study of Takuru village in the central part of the valley.

Strathern points out in his discussion of the named group, Peri, that this name has two overlapping but distinct referents:

> One is the political unit centering around Tunda, and the other the dispersed category [phratry] itself. The former sense of the term, however refers to neither a clan (since the Peri as a whole are not exogamous) nor to a phratry (since it signifies only a section of the wider phratry). A term is needed for this phenomenon, and I call it 'the dominant name' [in other words, the dominant name for a particular village grouping] (1984:13).

But this is not the case for the village of Alia, which was my area of study in the northern region of the Polu River valley. This village with a population of approximately 400 consisted of two major, exogamous groups (dispersed phratry names?)--Leri and Yoarene. Major concentrations of Leri folk are dispersed in numerous villages throughout the Wiru (e.g., Apendá, Pawai, Talepiko, etc.), as are the Yoarene folk (e.g., in Nõiya, Kumiyene, Maiya, Yungili, etc.). Consequently, there is no single 'dominant name' for the conglomerate of groups residing in Alia--other than the village name itself, viz., Alia-ago, 'the Alia men.' The problem here is one for the sociocultural analyst and for his terms of usage, not one for the Wiru themselves.

Recognizing the limitations of the term 'clan,' I have nevertheless chosen to use it to refer to the notion that the Wiru of Alia have for biknem bilong lain (Pidgin), tubea yarene ibini (Wiru), or 'the overall name for our natal group.' Strictly speaking in ethnographic terms, some may wish to insist that these names refer to dispersed segments of phratries, but precision in the description of the social structure does not serve my purpose here. Therefore, my use of 'clan' should be viewed as one of average 'folk' usage--one that an anthropologically uninformed reader could quickly grasp.

With this consideration, the reader should nevertheless keep in mind that there are the two levels of significance (as noted by Strathern above) to this term 'clan': the local level of reference (i.e., the clan segment living in the same village), and the dispersed level of reference (i.e., the clan in its entirety throughout the valley). Both levels are operative in the mind of the Wiru, though their primary focus of "clan solidarity" is on the former, local level. For example on the 'geographically restricted' level, the Yoarene group of Alia do not rely on the other dispersed Yoarene folk to combine or otherwise coordinate their efforts in the matter of pig-killing, or in marriage negotiations, or in death payments to the maternal kin of a fellow clansmen. Rather, they coordinate pig-killing with the other (opposed) group in Alia village, the Leri group--and as a whole village they kill pigs together on a 'united front.' 'Alia is staging its oino pig-killing this year (1980)!'--meaning, all the clans of Alia are killing pigs in order to distribute pork. However, in the matter of marriage negotiations, only the Yoarene men of Alia village will contribute to a bridewealth prestation in obtaining a wife for a young man of Alia's Yoarene group. As an example of the 'geographically unrestricted' level of clan idelology, in 1981 a Yoarene man from Kumiyene village was driving a vehicle on the highway between Ialibu and Mt. Hagen when it accidentally struck an oncoming vehicle and killed one of its passengers. When it came time for the payment of compensation, in this instance all of the men of the dispersed Yoarene group contributed to the massive payment for death compensation, which was given to the male kin of the deceased man from the Ialibu area.

Hence, these two levels of reference are ever present in the cognitive structure of the Wiru. 'Our clan, residing locally in this village, must remain united and solid in order to avoid social shame in matters of pig-killing, marriage negotiations, land rights and usage, and death payments to maternal kin.' 'When dealing with matters outside our district (i.e., intertribal, between language groups), our clan must also remain united and solid in order to provide "protection" for

individual members of our clan who could potentially become easy targets for payback killings.'

Therefore, without exception every Wiru person could provide an outside analyst with the 'big-name' of his natal group of which he is a member. As for a man, he may well be aligned with a group with a different 'big-name' (due to various reasons, e.g., change of residence because of his marriage or because of past inter-group conflicts) in which case he would be referred to as pirikanago or awiranago, which Strathern (1984:13) glosses as, "those who 'live with' or came as 'refugees' to be with the tapinago or original occupants." My cultural assistant, Mr. Wiai Timini, preferred the term, nome kakenago, to the term pirikanago, when he referred to the eight men who have transplanted and been incorporated into Alia village. According to W. Timini, the term pirikanago is more restrictive in its description and usage, signifying that 'a man is a lone fish just thrown down into our village.' The phrase, nome kakene-ago, on the other hand, is more generic, meaning simply 'a man who has come and lives (among us).'

Regardless of the vernacular term used, Strathern rightly states that such men

> . . . do not suffer any jural disabilities in terms of land rights or the right to speak on local issues, but it is the case that they usually do not have the numbers to be influential in local politics and, politically speaking, they become partly merged with those who bear the dominant name itself. In all cases close ties of intermarriage bind them to one of the main groups. [Nevertheless] . . . they retain their own original big name and this continues to be transmitted. . . . Agnation is always preserved in Wiru (1984:13, 14).

[11]At first glance, "clan solidarity" may appear to the outsider as an object-as-goal orientation rather than person-as-goal, which I believe to be the emic value. Based on a part-whole analysis (see 2.2) my reasoning is this: by the clan as a Whole I understand "a range of contents which are all covered by a single foundation without the help of further contents" (Husserl [1900] 1970:475). The contents of such a range Husserl called its "parts", and here I take this to mean the "individual persons" (= parts of the Whole). Every person (in the clan) is foundationally connected, whether directly or indirectly, with every person (in the clan). The individual part (person) does not word toward creating or maintaining the solidarity of his clan, because in effect the clan is/functions as a 'larger person' or 'super-person'. The focus of the value orientation is therefore upon person-as-goal, a concern with maintaining relations between people, the individual parts of the whole clan, which, in turn, insures social well-being between the 'super-persons' (clan with clan).

[12]Interestingly enough, not too long afterwards, Mr. Kange's Kambiri clansmen at Maiya village were driving a new diesel truck, a $14,000 Toyota Land Cruiser (H).

[13]Strathern (1984:16) suggests that big-manship had never 'taken off' among the Wiru in the same proportion that it had among the Melpa of Mt. Hagen, as evidenced in their moka exchange cycle. I concur with

Strathern both in regard to this observation and with regard to his social evidence for the observation taken from the Wiru,

> Big-men did not monopolize valuables in the past; no stories of despots were told; polygynists had no more than three wives at a given time; there are no mechanisms of increment or long, worked-out chain structures of exchange partnership in Wiru as there are among Melpa.

However, I am not not prepared to agree with Strathern's semantic analysis of the term, kamo-ago, 'headman, bigman, rich man.' It is true the term, kamo, means 'white clay,' the clay which the maternal kin smear on when they come for mourning and ask for payments to 'wash off this clay.' From this, Strathern concludes that this suggests that a kamoago, 'a big man,' "is still locked into the affinal-matrilateral nexus of gifts" (16). It is important to note that two other terms are used as well to refer to the concept of big-manship (or clan leader): tobouago 'head man,' and tubeago 'big man'--both terms are metaphorical extensions of the literal referents (tobou 'head,' and tubea 'big, fat').

[14]See Seddon (to appear), who examines in detail the life and activities of Wiru women in terms of traditional beliefs and ritual, marriage, residence, motherhood, marital disputes and divorce. In examining these various aspects in relation to women, Seddon describes three elements: (1) the Wiru societal perception and expectation of women, (2) the areas in which women's lives are changing, and (3) the relative extent of women's power as opposed to that of men.

[15]Taka leaves are used by men and boys for covering of their buttocks. The supply of taka leaves is therefore plentiful.

[16]Connor (to appear) has written extensively on the form and construction of the man's house (pokou). But more significantly, he has examined the social function of the pokou in both former times, as well as its change in function in the present day.

[17]Manual labor in constructing roads and in road maintenance were always a form of conscripted labor and/or 'taxation' by the Australian colonial administration. After independence in Sept 1975, this means of maintaining roads on Monday and Tuesday 'work days' continued as a colonial 'hangover' until 1980, when the Pangia Local Government Council discontinued the practice. See Undah (to appear) for insight into this change of policy and the consequent pressure for funding the maintenance of so-called 'feeder' roads.

[18]This feature was apparently overlooked or perhaps not even considered by Ron Hood in his cognitive style analysis of the Mendi, a related language group to the Wiru (in Mayers 1979:28-42). It is a well documented fact that among all Highlanders in Papua New Guinea there is much antagonism in male-female relationships (M.J. Meggitt, 1970).

[19]Marilyn Strathern (1972) has done an in depth study of antagonism against females in the male-oriented social world of the Melpa of Mt. Hagen in the Western Highlands Province; Goldman (1983)

also discusses the dichotomy of male and female and "its related scheme of values" among the Huli of Tari in the Southern Highlands Province.

[20]The yomini is resident in the body though not associated with any particular part of the body, during the life of the person. it may, however, depart temporarily from the body when a person is dreaming in his house (Kerr 1967a:22).

[21]Many of these taboos are no longer observed today. An interesting area of study would be to determine the reason(s) for vulnerability as weakness being alleviated, thus undoing the taboo.

[22]See Franklin (1970; 1972; 1975) for a linguistic investigation into the metaphors of ritual genres in Kewa, a neighboring language of Wiru. See Aufenanger (1962) and Brennan (1970) for anthropological perspectives on the use of metaphor by Highlands groups.

[23]These are metaphors in American English which extol the virtue or strength of talking straight to the point (reflecting an "ideal" orientation toward Vulnerability as Strength).

[24]Strathern (1984) has focused his most recent work on comparing the differences in the social and economic changes that have taken place among the Wiru and the Melpa, with the title suggested by a Melpa big-man, Ongka, when he said, "There is a line of power which stretches from Port Moresby to here, but we have not found it yet."

[25]Mayers (1979:52) delineates the four phases of Claude Lévi-Strauss' generative model as follows:

> First, the structure exhibits the characteristics of a system. It is made up of several elements, one of which can undergo a change without effecting changes in all the other elements.
>
> Second, for any given model there should be a possibility of ordering a series of transformations resulting in a group of models of the same type.
>
> Third, the above properties make it possible to predict how the model will react if one or more of its elements are submitted to certain modifications.
>
> Finally, the model should be constituted so as to make immediately intelligible all the observed facts.

[26]It is to be noted that there is no accurate (numeric) measure of primary verus secondary dominance in value orientations; it is based on the speculative perception of the analyst-observer. But, this generative process--beginning with a perceived core, then logically projecting hypothesized behavior(s) from the core, then examining the 'real' behavior in order to determine correspondences and finally reordering the model or the core if necessary--is itself an effective guess-and-check methodology for determining levels of dominance.

[27]The Apenda Community School is located approximately 13 miles via car road from Weipe village (approximately five miles via bush path). Though Yoke never explicitly states the likely relationship of

Wanus to the divination, it should nevertheless be noted that Wanus is actually a native-born resident of the Ialibu area, and consequently, he was no doubt perceived as assisting his fellow Imbonggu speakers, i.e., the diviner and his company, in the divination on Sunday morning. He was not present for the first session on late Saturday afternoon.

[28]Finding objects hidden at random in a room is a well known conjuration whose modus operandi lies in the principles of ideomotor action and muscle reading--body language. The term, ideomotor action, refers to "uncontrollable muscular actions which are a direct response to conscious or unconscious thoughts" (Korem and Meier 1980:41). It is a psychological phenomenon wherein one's unconscious mind, in an effort to deceive oneself from the truth, actually gives the truth away "through this automatic, unconscious, autonomic nervous-system response" (44).

I bring this to bear in order to suggest that the divining pole "finding" the knife again and again after it was hidden at random may well be explained as a simple trick of the diviner. Since many different individuals carried the pole throughout the divination, Yoke could not recall precisely the names of those holding it during this activity, only that they were from Laiyo village. The question remains, then, whether or not the men holding the pole at this time were versed in "pulling off" this ploy in repeatedly finding the hidden knife. Regardless, the effect is accomplished--the crowd is astounded, and the veracity of this knife actually being the murder weapon is firmly established in the perception of the participants.

[29]In his discussion on "perception and world view" Kearney (1984) maintains that there is present in us humans such things as "principles of logic," "the world-view universal (which organize thoughts into fundamental categories," and "other innate or acquired structures [which] determine perceptual selectivity and serve to organize received information and recombine it in new patterns" (43). The latter structure he refers to as "anticipatory schemata." Drawing from the work of other cognitivists, he suggests "that knowledge is organized at all levels--from perception to cognitive maps and images--be anticipatory schemata that determine the selection of new information and the manner in which it is incorporated into these schemata, which in turn become altered in the process" (45).

[30]The reference here is to an extensive interview with Yoke, conducted in Neo-Melanesian Pidgin on 14 June 1984. The interview was tape recorded in its entirety and later transcribed. During one particualr sequence, I asked Yoke the following sequence of questions,

MIKE: "And so you gave this (knife) to Wanus to hide again?"

YOKE: Mmm [= 'yes']

MIKE: Why did you give it (to him)? For what reason? Did the man (the diviner himself say to you, "We have found this knife, but, it is no good if they do not believe, or...?" Why did you tell him (Wanus) to go hide it again? Did you yourself

want to see something? or were you confused about something? or what?

Excerpts of his answer to my battery of questions are included above in this discussion.