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Migration and Shifting Settlement Patterns among the Kapriman People of East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea

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1. Introduction

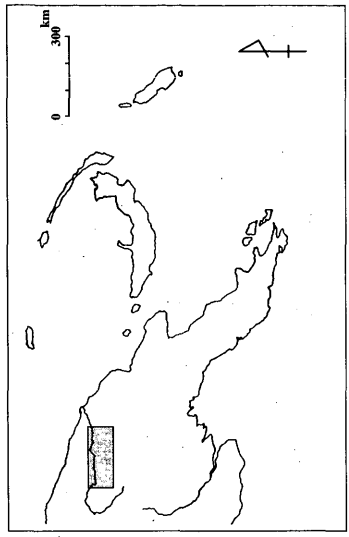
The people of the tributaries south of the Sepik River in Papua New Guinea are relatively unknown to the outside world. Situated between the Sepik River and the Central Range of Papua New Guinea, this area is remote from any cities or other development centers in both the coastal and Highland regions (Figure 1). As there is no coffee growing or plantation work they have no reliable means of earning a cash income. Indeed, they depend very much on their traditional activities of subsistence. In addition to hunting and gathering, they mainly grow sago and other garden crops such as taro or banana.

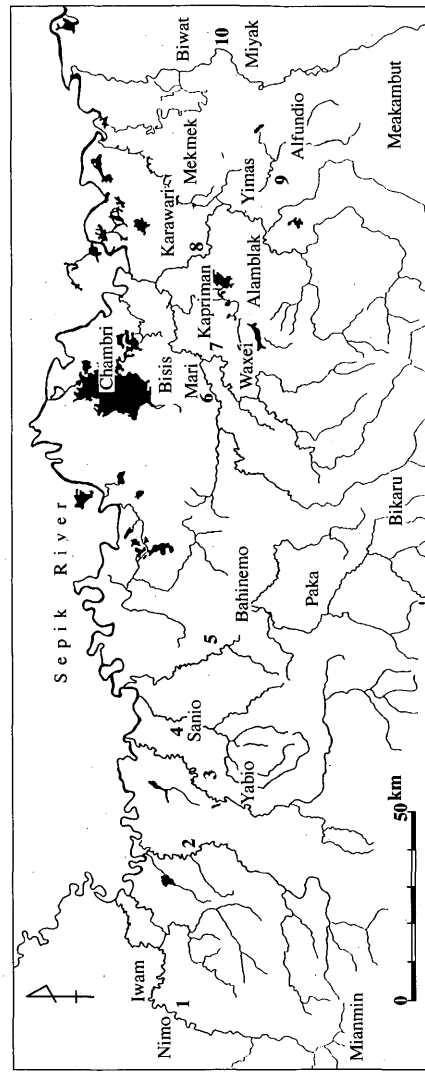
Even by Papua New Guinea standards, the population in this area is very sparse. In most of the area, the density seldom exceeds one person per square kilometer. There are a number of small language groups with a population range of a few thousand (*e.g.* the Iwam, the Kapriman or the Alamblak) to a few hundred (*e.g.* the Yabio, the Mari or the Waxei) (see Table 1). Warfare between neighboring groups was frequent before contact with the colonial government. Warfare, coupled with natural hazards and the need to expand hunting areas, has prompted shifts in settlement. There is also evidence of local groups being restructured or amalgamated. Thus, if we are to understand the culture and society of these people we need to comprehend population shifts.

2. A Conceptual Framework for Migration

Recently, much attention has been paid to migration, both internal and international, not only by demographers or geographers but also by economists, sociologists and anthropologists. However, few studies, other than the classical offerings of Lee [1966] and Zelinsky [1971], have contributed much towards developing a theoretical framework for understanding migration.

Generally, migration is broadly defined as the 'permanent or semi-permanent change of residence of an individual or group of people' [OGDEN 1984]. According to this definition, the shift from one settlement to another is seen as one particular form of migration collectively executed by the members of a residential group when it moves beyond the boundary of its territory or administrative unit.





1 May River
2 Frieda River
3 Leonard Schultz (Wario) River
4 Wogamush River
5 April River
6 Salumei River
7 Korosameri River
8 Karawari River
9 Arafundi River
10 Yuat River

Figure 1 The Area of Tributaries South of the Sepik and Distribution of Language Groups

Table 1 Language Groups in the Tributaries South of the Sepik

(A) Sepik Hill Stock Language Groups

Name	population
(a) Sanio Family	
Sanio	644
Paka	300
Gabiano	98
Piame (Biami)	100
Bikaru (Bugalu)	100
Hewa	1,500
(b) Bahinemo Family	
Bitara	178
Bahinemo	433
Mari	120
Bisis (Yembi-Yembi)	395
Watakataui (Waxei)	160
Kapriman	1,439
Sumariap	65
(c) Alamblak Family	
Kaningara	359
Alamblak	1,107
total	6,998

(B) Other Language Groups

Name	population
Iwam	1,368
Nimo	413
Owininga	222
Walio	142
Pai	208
Yabio	100
Tuwari	122
Papi	75
Chambri	1,050
Yimas	200
Karawari	1,300
Changriwa	498
Mekmek	1,036
Biwat	1,642
Bun	194
Miyak	548
Alfundio	633
Meakambut	100
(Mianmin	2,200)

[Source: LAYCOCK 1981]

Few studies have been undertaken on migration within pre-modern societies. Generally, migrations in these societies have been seen as passive or negative behavior, mainly caused by environmental conditions. In traditional societies there are not a great many long-distance movements. Further, fewer cases of movement are based on individual decision-making as compared with migration in modern societies. Nevertheless, it cannot be inferred that spatial movement is unimportant in a pre-modern society or that mobility is dissimilar to that in modern society. Indeed, as Chapman and Prothero [1985a] have argued, traditional or pre-contact migration should be of great importance in understanding Melanesian societies and their high propensity for spatial movement. Before analyzing spatial movement in pre-modern societies a framework is required that synthesizes both pre-modern and modern migration.

A two-layered model has been provided by Woods [1986] for a general theory of migration. It distinguishes between 'structural context' and 'behavioral response'. Although his framework is suggestive, it has several weaknesses. For instance, he regards the relationship between two layers as unilateral. Economic

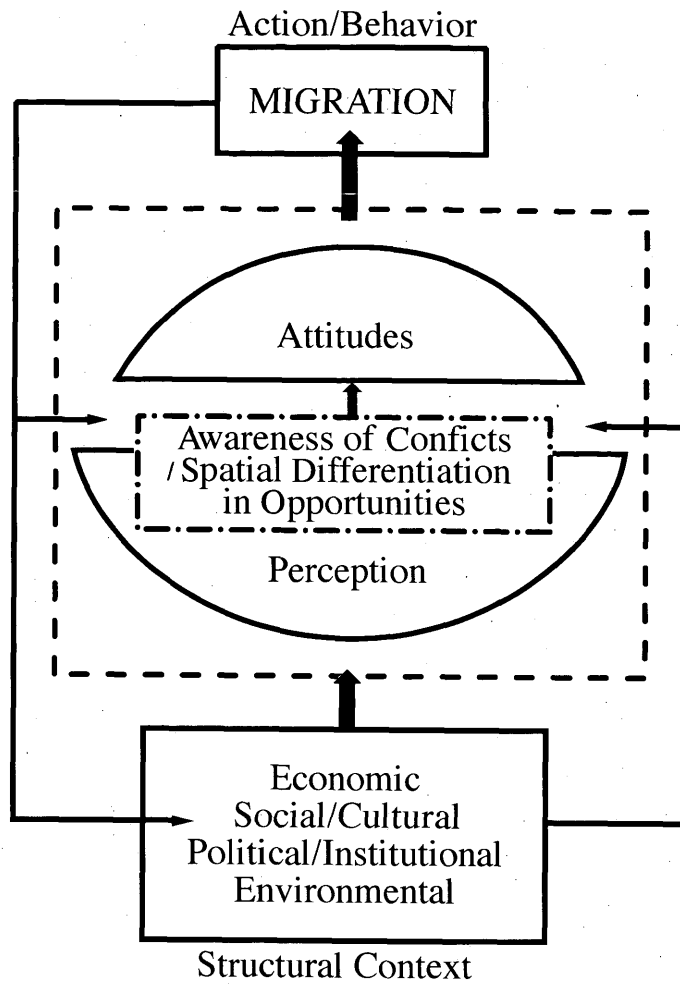


Figure 2 Framework for Considering Migration

conditions are regarded as a fundamental overshadowing social, cultural, political and legal conditions. There is no consideration of environmental conditions within the structural context.

A more appropriate framework than Woods' model is shown in Figure 2. This is more appropriate in the sense that it includes environmental conditions and there is no *a priori* order established among the conditions. Basically, the structural context is that which is perceived by an individual or a group of people who are potential migrants. Their propensity for spatial movement varies not only with personally but also with both cultural elements and a variety of social factors, such as age, sex, status in family and life-cycle stages. As a result of the interaction of these elements, the real action, or migration, occurs.

The structural context motivates the human agency to migrate not only through perception but also through negative and positive attitudes. For instance, education is a popular reason for movement among rural populations and the enhancement of rural educational services should decrease the necessity for movement. However, the resultant higher educational attainment affects both perception and attitudes towards migration and often promotes even greater mobility.

Two factors stimulate the proclivity to migrate: The perception of spatial differentiation in opportunities and awareness of conflicts. Migration does not occur without spatial differentiation. Even if an individual or a group of people perceive differences between opportunities in different places, this does not automatically trigger migration. Conflict over resources or value systems within a community or between individuals is required to provide the necessary conditions for the shift.

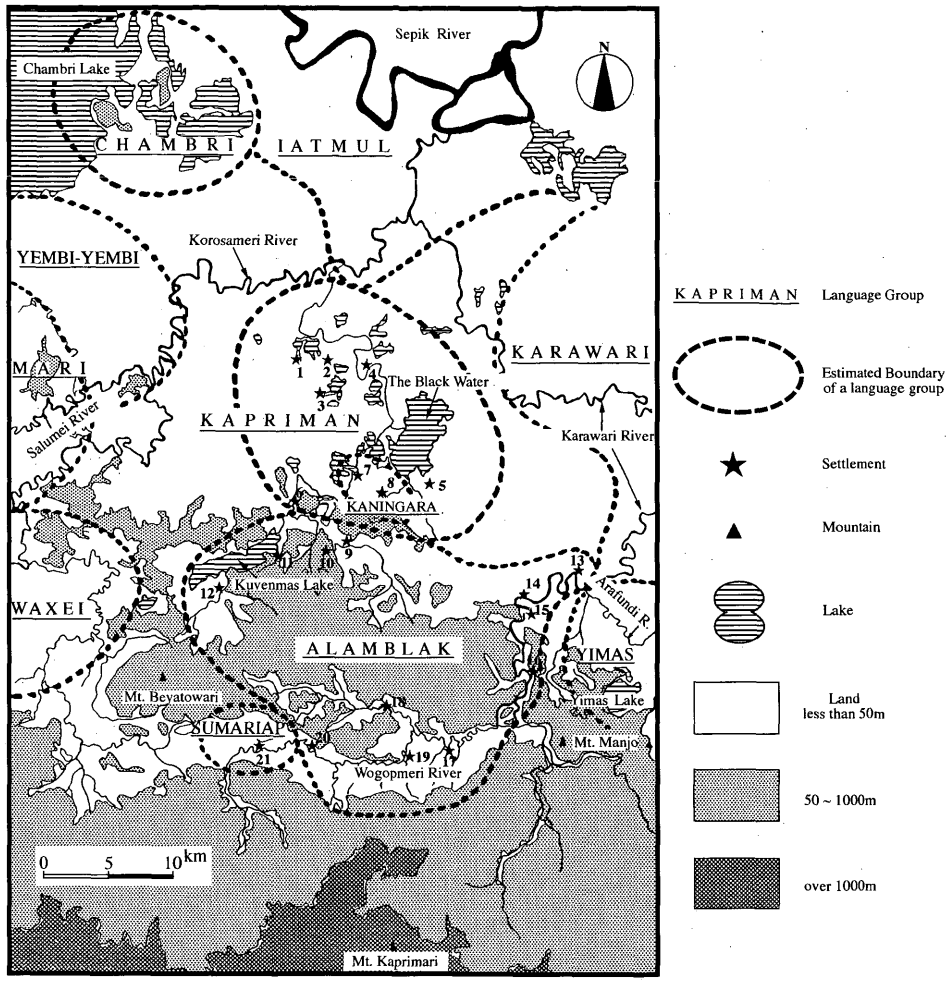
Ideally, a model should incorporate some feedback as migration affects both the structural context and the individual's perceptions and attitudes. Alterations to the structural context will either accelerate or arrest migration. As the shift of an individual also changes community attitudes, the net effect is to encourage successive migration.

3. An Overview of the Kapriman People

The Kapriman live in the Black Water river basin, southeast of the Chambri lake. According to the Amboin Patrol Report in 1984, the total population of the Kapriman was 1,748 (including 538 absentees). Most of the Kapriman territory is covered by flood plains and swamp forests surrounding the Black Water river. Apart from the southern edge its height is less than 50 m above sea level. Not surprisingly, it often overflows into the village sites during the rainy season.

Gathering sago is the main subsistence activity of the Kapriman. They depend totally on sago starch as their staple food because they lack suitable land to grow garden crops such as taro and banana. Fishing is also a very important activity among the Kapriman. Compared to their southern neighbors, fish constitutes a larger proportion of their diet [WHO 1975]. Fish is also important as the main commodity traded with their neighbors, the Alamblak people.

According to Laycock [1981], the Kapriman language is part of the Bahinemo family, which is classified among the Sepik Hill Stock language groups which also include the Mari or the Watakataui (Waxei). The Kapriman have a relatively larger population than most of the other Sepik Hill language groups and a slightly higher population density (approximately 1.0 person per km^2). As shown in Figure 3, the Kapriman territory is surrounded by the Iatmul and the Chambri people to the north, the Yembi-Yembi, Mari and Waxei people to the west, the Karawari people to the east, and the Kaningara, the Sumariap and the Alamblak people to the south. Among neighboring groups, their closest relationship is with the Kaningara and the



KAPRIMAN	KANINGARA	ALAMBLAK	
1 Sangriman	7 Kaningara	9 Sebunbuk	16 Chimbut
2 Yesimbit	8 Yamandanai	10 Taragai	17 Sikaiun
3 Tungimbit		11 Anganamai	18 Barapisin
4 Kanbraman		12 Mariama	19 Yaromat
5 Kraimbit		13 Tanganbit	20 Dainik
6 Gavamas		14 Amongabi	SUMARIAP
		15 Maramba	21 Latoma

Figure 3 The Research Area

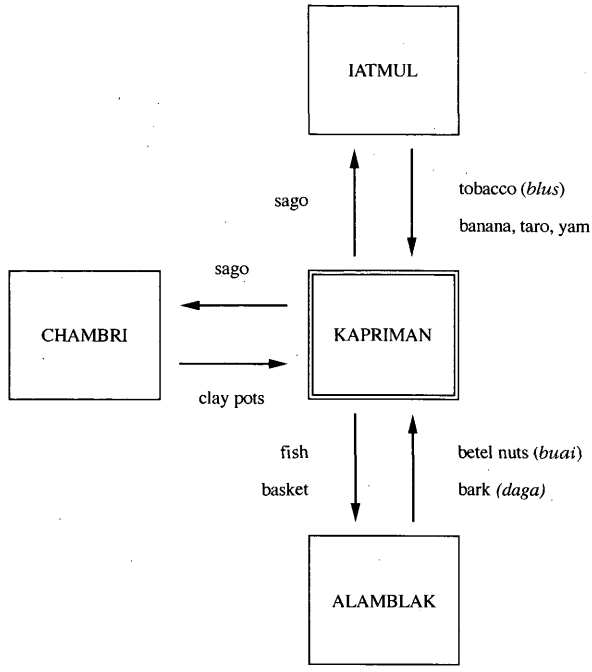


Figure 4 Trade Relationships between the Kapriman and the Neighbouring Groups

Alamblak people.

There are trade partnerships between the Kapriman and the Iatmul, the Chambri and the Alamblak (see Figure 4). In these partnerships, the Kapriman are suppliers of sago to their northern neighbors, the Iatmul and the Chambri, while they provide fish and baskets to their southern neighbors, the Alamblak people. Sometimes the Kapriman act as intermediaries between the people in lower and higher areas. For instance, clay pots made in the Chambri are often provided to the Alamblak by way of contact origin and these trading relationships are still well maintained. Conversely, there is no connection between the Kapriman and the people of the Korosameri and the Salumei river, or the Mari and the Waxei, who were traditional enemies. Most marriages are among the Kapriman people themselves. Nevertheless, there are a few cases of intermarriage between them and the Kaningara or the Alamblak.

There are no cash crops growing in the Kapriman except for a few cacao trees planted on the hill near Gavamas village. These have not been successful, and selling sago at the local markets in Angoram or Wewak is the only reliable means of obtaining a regular income for the Kapriman people. This is not a very profitable endeavor because of the high transport cost. In some villages crocodile breeding was started in order to sell the skin but this is a very small-scale enterprise. Selling wood carvings to tourists visiting the Kapriman villages has increased though this is an unreliable business and does not generate much money for the village economy.

Thus, the Kapriman people still depend heavily on their traditional subsistence economy.

There are six villages in the Kapriman. They are Sangriman, Yesimbit, Tungimbit, Kanbraman, Kraimbit and Gavamas. The population of the villages ranges from between one hundred to three hundred people. These are fairly large villages compared to their southern neighbors, the Alamblak people, and other Sepik Hill language group people. Each village consists of several exogamous patrilineal clans. These are also the units for claiming land and waters. Most marriages are contracted within a village.

Each village has a *haus tambaran* (a house for the spirit in Malanesian Pidgin; called *rumons* in the Kapriman) which only initiated adult males can approach and enter. Cutting skin, a traditional initiation ceremony, has been maintained among the Kapriman people. Evidently, it is permitted by the Catholic mission whereas missionaries of other persuasions have led to the practice being dropped among the Alamblak people in the Karawari basin.

4. Settlement Shifts in the Kapriman

Attention in this section is focused initially on settlement patterns prior to Western contact. Then interest is centered on the implications of these movements.

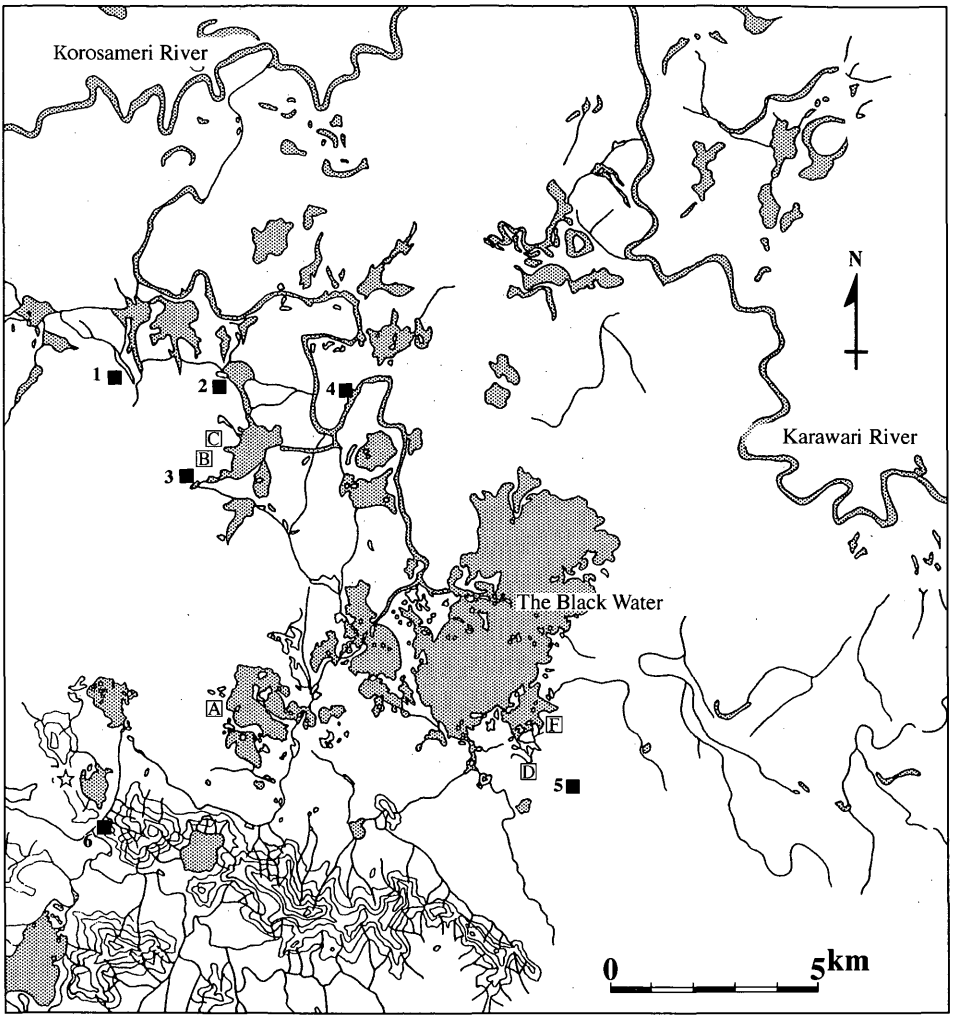
Basically, there are two complementary approaches for documenting pre-contact migration: archaeological and ethno-historical. Although archaeological data is desirable for firm evidence of pre-contact migration over a longer time period, ethno-history is sufficiently reliable for reconstructing general patterns of migration or settlement shifts over five or six generations.

In tracing patterns of movement, attention is focused on shifting settlements using the model elaborated earlier to clarify the conflicts which accelerated these changes. Consideration is then given to the impact of these movements on Kapriman society, particularly in terms of group formation. Although the latter interpretation is tentative, it may provide some suggestions for studying the social formation of other peoples in the tributaries south of the Sepik river.

The Kapriman people have one common place of origin. It is a small hill called *Broiomtok* which is situated adjacent to Gavamas Village in the southwestern part of their existing territory (see Figure 5). According to their genealogy, they left this ancestral place presumably four generations ago and came down to the flood plain surrounding the Black Water river. Thus, this event probably occurred around the 1850s.

In their oral tradition collected at Gavamas village, this event was told as follows:

> The ancestor of the Gavamas people is Wonmari, who is the fifth son of Numuniya (the first settler at *Broiomtok*). He got married. Subsequently, he had many offspring. As the population grew, sago became short. The



■ present village	1 Sangriman	☆ Broiomtok
	2 Yesimbit	A Engariaot
□ old village site	3 Tungimbit	B Gagriomtok
	4 Kanbraman	C Weinyunmari
	5 Kraimbit	D Woriagamei
	6 Gavamas	F Panjumin

Contour interval: 40 metres

Figure 5 Location of Present Villages and Old Village Sites in the Kapriman

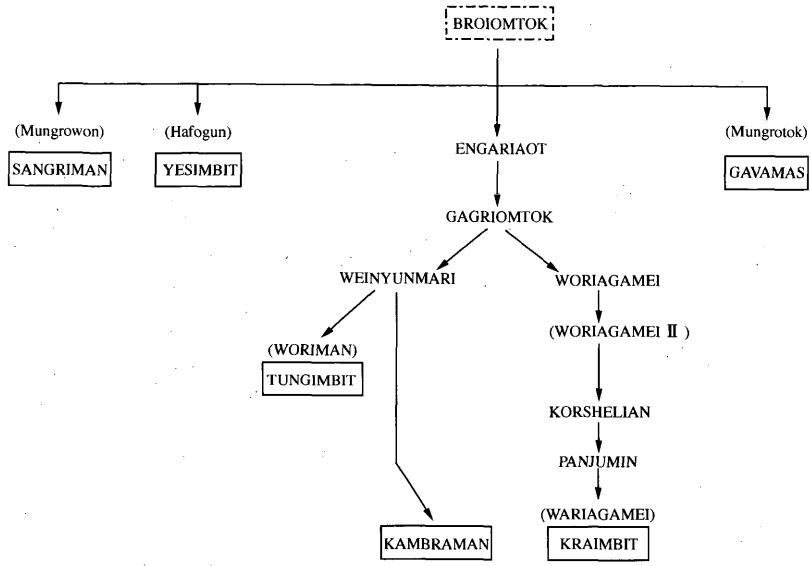


Figure 6 Settlement Shifts Process in the Kapriman

offspring argued over sago and eventually fought each other. Seeing blood on each other's faces, they realised that they had to find other place to live. The name of the first man who left *Broiomtok* was Agundumi. He took some people to the place where Sangriman village is now located and left them to live there. Those people are ancestors of the present Sangriman people. Agundumi then came back to *Broiomtok* and again took other people to the place where now Yesimbit village is situated and settled there with them. Those people are the ancestors of the present Yesimbit people.

Then another man, Tarumabi, took another group of people to place near the present Tungimbit village. They are the ancestors of the Tungimbit, the Kanbraman and the Kraimbit people. The other people remained in *Broiomtok* and founded Gavamas village.

This story, as well as providing the spatial pattern of settlement shifts (Figure 6), explicitly states that the main reason for the ancestors of the Kapriman people to decide to move was conflict among them concerning sago, their most important food resource.

Simultaneously, another reported conflict occurred between the Kapriman people and the adjacent language group in the Korosameri river basin, called the Watakataui or Waxei people, presumably concerning the land adjacent to the Black Water which produces sago. The Kapriman people fought with them and at last succeeded in pushing them out of the Black Water river basin. Then they settled there. In this sense, the shifting of the settlement to the lowland Black Water river basin can be considered as an expansion of their territory and also the means of

securing it.

This place is called *Engariaot*, and is the place to which the ancestors of three villages, Tungimbit, Kambraman, and Kraimbit first moved. Within the same generation, however, they left this location and shifted their settlement to a place which is called *Gagriomtok* (the word *omtok* means 'village' in the Kapriman language). The motivation for this move is also known to be shortage of food resources, notably sago and fish.

Gagriomtok, facing a small lake called *Yambursagish*, is centrally located between what is Tungimbit village and Yesimbit village today. After settling in *Gagriomtok* for one generation the people split into two groups and shifted their settlements again. This situation was told by the villagers of the Kraimbit as follows:

> In *Gagriomtok* the people built a large haus tambaran. The name of this haus tambaran was Worimbrumon, and it was even larger than the present one in Kraimbit village. As the population increased, fish, pig and *muruk* (cassowary) were in short supply, though there was sufficient sago. Not enough fish could be caught to satisfy demand. *Planti taim bigman tasol ol i inap kaikai, pikinini i sindaun nating* (In many days only some adults could get sufficient food and the children could not).
>
> Then a leader, Wurup (or Wurupnai), called his friend, Yambung (Yambungmari), and told him, *Mi bai brukim haus tambaran. Yu kisim front, bai mi kisim baksait bilong en* (I will split the haus tambaran into two. So you should get the front of it, and I should get the back).

Yambung took his own group and moved to *Weinyunmari* which was central to both *Gagriomtok* and the present village of Tungimbit. Later they again split into two. Yambung took half the clan and moved to *Woriman* where the present Tungimbit village is situated.

On the other hand, Wurup, regarding that *Yambursagish* could not provide enough food for all the surrounding people, brought his own group to Woriagamei where Kraimbit village is now situated. The reason for his choice was that *Woriagamei* fronted a big lake with a plentiful supply of fish. At its rear it had a large swamp forest which could produce enough sago for the settlers.

In *Woriagamei,* the villagers built a large haus tambaran called *Angrumon.* As the population increased, the haus tambaran could not accommodate all of the village men. At that time the village was also damaged by flood. As a result, the people shifted their village to the inner part of *Woriagamei* (*Woriagamei* II). There they built three haus tambarans. These are: *Bowinburs* owned by the Fotkumei clan; *Hafriburmon* owned by the Admari clan; and *Duonioge* owned by the Mambrokon clan. In those days, their population was larger than that current in Kraimbit village.

After more than one generation, the people of Kraimbit moved their settlement

to a place called *Korshelian*, inland of lower the Karawari river. It is far from their former site, more than 10 km northeast of *Woriagamei*. The reason for their movement was different from that for previous shifts. On this occasion, it was conflict between the Kraimbit and their neighboring village, Kambraman, caused by trouble over a woman in Kraimbit. This story was told by the Kraimbit people as follows:

> The name of the woman was Puriagabinja. She got married to Sumungu who belonged to the *lain* of Wurup (Fotkumei clan). Another man in the same clan, Raguinjumi, was jealous of him. He went to Kambraman village and asked his clan's people to kill Sumungu. Then the people of Kambraman tricked Sumungu by telling him that the people in Mindimbit village expected him to bring sago to them (for exchange). Hearing that, Sumungu visited Mindimbit village. On his way back the people of Kambraman ambushed Sumungu and killed him with a spear. His companion (*tambu bilong en*) went back to Kraimbit village and told the news. Then a fight broke out between Kraimbit and Kambraman village. The people of Tungimbit also supported the Kambraman. Because of this trouble the people of Kraimbit shifted their village from *Woriagamei* to *Korshelian*. The people of Masandanai helped them move to this new site.

This story also tells us one interesting aspect about the relationship between local groups or village membership, and genealogical groups or clan membership. This trouble originally was the result of a dispute between the members within a clan. As a result of requesting support from a member of same clan living in another village, however, the dispute expanded into warfare between the two local groups, the Kraimbit and the Kambraman. This conflict suggests that two different principles of organization are involved (a topic detailed later).

It was at *Korshelian* that the people of Kraimbit were first visited by a *Kiap* (Patrol Officer). Presumably, it occurred in March 1930, when patrol officer J.K. McCarthy went to investigate the Manja (Manjamai) area. Four other villages in the Black Water, Sangriman, Yesimbit, Tungimbit and Kambraman, were also first contacted by the same patrol officer between April to May of the same year [McCarthy 1963]. During the initial contact stage, the Kapriman people had a fierce confrontation with the colonial government. The government accused some Kapriman people of raiding a village in the Korosameri river basin. Five persons of Gavamas village were captured and sent to Rabaul where they were sentenced to death. They were hanged in their home village, Gavamas. Townsend [1968: 223] recorded this in his book, *District Officer,* as follows:

> The news spread like wildfire and when the deed was done on New Year's Day, 1935, it was before a gathering of several thousand thoughtful men at Kuvanmas.

After pacification by the colonial government, the Kraimbit people came back to the Black Water area and made a new village at the place they call *Panjumin* about one kilometer north of their old village site, *Woriagamei.*

The Second World War was another and much longer hardship for the Kapriman people. Although direct fighting did not occur in the area, all the villages in the Kapriman were under Japanese occupation until the end of the War. Indeed, a Kraimbit villager stayed with many Japanese soldiers in *Panjumin.* As this was during the last stage of hostilities when the Japanese army was short of supplies, the Kapriman people could not have been 'Cargo Cultists'. Rather than providing cargo, the Japanese depended totally on villagers for their food. Every day the villagers had to go to the bush and work hard cutting and washing sago, collecting firewood and hunting pigs or cassowaries.

When the Kapriman people talk about their wartime experience, their feelings towards Japanese soldiers seem to be ambivalent. Willingly, the old villagers told of their experience of living with Japanese soldiers. With some feeling of empathy, they remembered being given Japanese names and arm bands and taught many Japanese words and songs. They also expressed surprise at the way the Japanese worshipped their god, *Kami-sama.* Indeed, the Japanese made a small shrine, *haus-kamisama* and always prayed to it before going hunting. They were intrigued by the Japanese using a hook to catch fish and with the magic shows put on to entertain villagers. On the other hand, they also told how hard it was to take care of the many Japanese soldiers and how fiercely the Japanese troops tortured and killed some villagers during the occupation. The Kapriman people are still troubled that their efforts to help the Japanese has not been recognized and that the damage and casualties have never been compensated.

Immediately prior to and after the coming of the Japanese troops, the Kapriman people suffered a double misfortune. According to one old man in Kraimbit village, at least 24 men, 20 women and 14 children died during a first epidemic and another 30 people died during a second bout. Other people remembered that the death rate sometimes reached even three or four men and women per day. As there were no official reports, the name of the illness is not known. Dysentery, however, could have spread from the coastal area where it raged throughout the War [ALLEN 1983].

Even after this disaster, the Kapriman people did not attempt to shift their settlements. Conversely, the Alamblak still preserve their custom of shifting their settlements after a spate of deaths. This contrast needs to be investigated further to bring out differences in settlement creation. The size of the population and *haus tambaran* in the Kapriman villages, however, is much larger than in the Alamblak villages. Also, the two groups might have different concepts of death and the spirits of the dead.

Some years after the end of the Second World War, *Panjumin* was flooded and many coconut trees were damaged. In this instance the people of Kraimbit

returned the village to its present site at *Woriagamei*. Also the people of Kambraman moved their village from the former site, *Weinyunmari*, to the present site along the Black Water river. With this background we can now proceed to consider the interrelationship between the spatial shifts of the Kapriman and their group formation.

5. Group Formations and Spatial Movements in the Kapriman

As noted, a Kapriman village consists of several different clan groups. They are patrilineal and exogamous units. Clan members have the rights of access to land and water belonging to his owns clan. Each clan also own particular birds, animals or plants as their totemic symbols.

Table 2 shows clan organization in Kraimbit village. There are four levels in their group organization. The first level is the moiety. Each moiety occupies one half of their haus tambaran: the left side is occupied by the Boromunga and the right side is occupied by the Pondongoui respectively.

Each moiety consists of two clans (Clan I) which comprise the exogamous unit in Kraimbit. Among the four clan names at this level, Samaniyok is not referred to as often as the other three, Mambrokon, Fotkumei and Adamari. Yet it actually forms an exogamous unit. Instead of using the name Samaniyok, members often refer to their membership as Mambrokon. Excluding Samaniyok each of the other three clans has the name of a common ancestor.

The third level, Clan II, is the unit most used by the Kraimbit people in discussing their membership. Also, it is the basic unit for ownership of land and water rights. These land and water titles, however, are not the exclusive preserve of particular village clans, but, at least theoretically, are owned by common clan groups in the Kapriman. Although the Black Water river is divided and given two local names, *Harmario* and *Serek*, it is, for example, owned by the Agundumi clan not only of Kraimbit village but of all Kapriman villages. The explanation is that their ancestor, Agundumi, was the first man to occupy this area.

Other clans in the Kraimbit, as exemplified by all Mambrokon groups, do not own any land around the village. Their land is located only around *Broiomtok* where these people are believed have been the first settlers. The Mambrokon people in Kraimbit, however, have acquired access to land and water around the village by means of intermarriage with clans who own the necessary titles. In this instance, they can only use the land for one generation and their children cannot inherit it. Nevertheless, it is possible to purchase land by using shell money and other valuables.

Table 2 shows the totem name which is owned by each clan group. Surprisingly, there are a wide variety of names of birds, animals, fish, insects and plants found in this list, which even includes some harmful or disliked animals, such as the poisonous snake, termite, centipede and mosquito, in addition to an array of useless plants. The rational underlying their enthusiasm for collecting emblems is

Table 2 Totemic Emblems of the Clans in Kraimbit Village*

Clan I	Clan II	Clan Totems		
		Birds	Other Animals	Plants
MAMBROKON	Davijokon	*Gutobish* [Kokobara] (Rufus-bellied Kokobara)	*Korwer* [Sikau] (Wallaby) *Brokar* (fish)	*Bakras* [Karuka] (Pandanus)
	Mofai	*Urosh* [Muruk] (Cassowary) *Mbobenyatobish* (Dollarbird)		*Mabish* (tree, used for making rafts) *Munur* [tanget] (*Cordyline terminalis*)
	Homari	*Mambogor* [Kalangar] (Eclectus Parrot, Male, green cloured) *Sakityara* (Blue-black Kingfisher) *Gutobish* [Kokobara] (Rufus-bellied KoKobara) *Sentyakli* (White-bellied Thicket-Fantail)	*Meityas* (Snake, short, non-poisonous, living in the ground) *Gebka* (Beetle Larvae, living in the trunk of wild Sago)	*Wangrams* (t. its fruits are edible but pungent) *Murias* (t. stiff, used for the building materials) *Aiyas* (t. stiff, yellow sap, used for the building materials) *Komdish* (t. used as firewood) *Ger* [wail Saksak] (Sago Palm, inedible)
SAMANIYOK	Dumiauru	*Rumu* (Mambogor) [Kalangar] (Eclectus Parrot, Female, orange and blue coloured)	*Pongondumi* [Nilpis] (the Scorpion fish)	*Dogamus* [Laulau] (the Malay Apple Tree) *Yambosa gomata* (t.its fruits are edible)
	Hanogura	*Rumu* (Mambogor) [Kalangar] (Eclectus Parrot, Female, orange and blue coloured)	*Iwondumi Botir* [Nilpis] (the Scorpion fish)	*Barabus* (t. stiff, used for building materials) *Fias* (t. used for making canoes, building materials)
FOTKUMEI	Sambunmari	*Gaish* [Waitpela Koki] (Sulphur-crested Cockatoo) *Kabri* [Blakpela Sela] (Cormorant) *Worimonyonbun* (White Tern)	*Gainum* [waitpela Kapul] (Cuscus, white)	*Datmu* [Laulau] (the Malay Apple Tree, growing in the bush) *Tunebish* [Laulau] (the Malay Apple Tree, growing in a village)
	Karinyei	*Bari* [Kokomo] (Blyth's Hornbill) *Nabangoui Dobir* [Taragau] (New Guinea Harpy-Eagle) *Wormaonyombs* (Tern)		*Numbs* [Garamut] (t. very stiff, used for making poles, garamuts and carvings) *Nar* [Saksak bilong kaikai] (the Sago Palm, edible) *Fujua* [retpela Saksak bilong kaikai] (the Sago Palm, edible)
	Fogosei	*Duor* [Guria] (Crowned Pigeon) *Monkish* [Balus] (Pinon Imperial Pigeon?) *Korosube* [Kotkot] (Long Tailed Koel)	*Fogor* [Pik] (Pig) *Tir/Weijas* [Mumut] (Bandicoot) *Tunbiha* [bikpela Moran] (Python, brown, poisonous?) *Abiymetya* ([bikpela Moran] (Python, often eats a duck, phalanger or piglet) *Kisiba* (frog)	*Kombish* (t. stiff, used as firewoods) *Motrums* (t. grown in a village, its fruits are edible) *Yabrums* (t. grown both in bush and a village, its fruits are edible)
ADMARI	Kaingnogun	*Habogaish* [blakpela Koki] (Palm Cockatoo) *Udas* [Purple Swamphen, black-coloured, living in swamps) *Fogliba* (Willie Wagtail) *Momeyabi* [Pato] (Whistling Duck) *Gombur* (Black-browed Triller) *Ningor-Wagons* (Owl) *Wombae* (Comb-crested Jacana)	*Abur* (Rat, white-bellied and brown-backed) *Ogs* [Bikmaus] (the Groper) *Dukinour* [Snake, black and yellow coloured) *Anuwogas* (Termite)	*Rugems* [Tulip] (*Gunetum Gunemon*, edible leaves) *Tarus* (t. used for making canoes) *Bos* (t. used for making roofs) *Wags* (t. sap is rubbed on skin) *Kaws* (t. sap is rubbed on skin, also used for making canoes) *Kujorgos* (Water Lilies)
	Hombiyonga	*Kor* [Kumul] (Bird of Paradise)	*Kobish* [blakbokis] (Flying Fox) *Wabus* [Kapul] (Cuscus)	*Ikaish* [Kwila] (the Ironwood Tree, used for building materials and making paddles and carvings) *Rinjoms* [Kapiak] (Breadfruit)
	Agundumi	*Sonur* (Egret) *Sokur* (Rufus Night Heron) *Koun* (Brolga) *Saruofas* (White-browed Crake?)	*Mogor* [pukpuk] (Crocodile) *Tokaish* [Trausel] (Tortoise) *Arams* [grinpela Palai] (green Lizard) *Us* (Mosquito) *Inyur* (Centipode)	*Yobur* [Tri Buai] (Betel Nut tree, *Areca Catechu*) *Tiams* [Kokonas] (Coconut Palm) *Kobinyums* (t. used for making canoes, carvings) *Gugeish* [Daga] (chewed with betel nut)

*Local name is shown in italics and Pidgin expression is given in square brackets.

SANGRIMAN	YESIMBIT	TUNGIMBIT	KAMBRAMAN	KRAIMBIT
DAVIJOKON (Eagle)	HUNDIGAMEI (Eagle)		TUMONBI (Eagle)	DAVIJOKON (Kokobara)
MAMBROKON (Cassowary)				MOFAI (Cassowary)
	MEITYO (Parrot)	HOMBLIMBO (Parrot)		HOMARI DUMIAUR / HANOGURA (Parrot)
		FOTKUMEI (Hornbill)	FOTKUMEI (Hornbill)	KARINYEI (Hornbill)
FOGOSEI (Pig)		FOGOSEI (Pig/Crowned Pigeon)	MUNGUNDAMBI (Crowned Pigeon)	FOGOSEI (Pig/Crowned Pigeon)
NIKAJHEMEI (Black *Koki*)		KARAMSUNGR (Black *Koki*)	KARANSOGNO (Black *Koki*)	KAINGNOGUN (Black *Koki*)
KABRINBRU (Flyng-Fox)			TUMBGO (Fryng-Fox)	HOMBIYONGA (Fryng-Fox)
MARIMON (Crocodile)	AGUNDUMI (Crocodile)			AGUNDUMI (Crocodile)

Figure 7 Comparison of Clan Totems among Five Kapriman Villages

unknown. They do not impose any taboo upon the owner's clan members or play a specific role in their daily life. The origin of these totems is also absent from their myths. One exception, however, is the Fogosei clan whose ancestor once was a pig ("*fogor*" in their language).

Clearly, some emblems are more distinctive and significant than others. These are cassowaries, parrots, white *koki* (sulphurcrested cockatoo), black *koki* (palm cockatoo), hornbills, crocodiles and pigs. These totemic emblems are far more common not only in the Kapriman group but also in most of their neighboring groups, such as the Iatmul, and the Alamblak. When such people visit other groups' villages, they can expect to be offered some help from the people who have the same birds or animals as their emblems.

These emblems raise questions about the relationship between this kind of clan organization and their movements over space. A comparison of clan names and the main totems among the five Kapriman villages is shown in Figure 7. Although this figure is still incomplete, except in the case of Kraimbit, many common emblems are in evidence together with slight variations in clan names, such as Karamsungr, Karamsogno and Kaingnogun.

As noted, these common clans are land holding units. They are considered to be the first occupiers of particular land or waters and this means that the distribution of land ownership should, at least theoretically, reflect the migration routes of the founders. Only a few particular names of common ancestors are known. These include Agundumi for the Agundumi clan and Tarumabi for the Kaingnogun - Karamsungr clans. As highlighted, these were the clans that had

shifted their settlements from *Broiomtok* down to the flood plains surrounding the Black Water. The waterway owned by the Agundumi clan was taken to be the migration route of the clan's ancestors during exploration of the area.

It is difficult to determine if the early settlements of the Black Water clan organization were fixed. There is some evidence, however, that some of these clans had been in existence for a long period. For instance, some Kapriman villages such as Gavamas, Kraimbit and Tungimbit have several ancestral stones positioned in front of the *haus tambaran*. It is believed that these stones originated in *Broiomtok*, their common ancestral site, as there are still some twenty similar stones to be found at the original site. Not all the stones, however, belong to the village in which they are situated but are owned by a particular clan group. In Gavamas, for example, two stones, named *Hogosunbron* and *Ogurumonga*, are owned by the Mambrokon clan; in Tungimbit the stone *Wondbemari* is owned by the Fogosei clan; in Kraimbit two stones, named *Ogurmuga* and *Barobmunga*, are owned by the Mambrokon; and three stones named *Pondongoui, Harmiya* and *Nagmafuge* are owned by the Admari clan. This ownership of ancestral stones suggests that these clan groups originated in *Broiomtok*.

Some clans have their own migration myth. For instance, the myth of the Fogosei clan is as follows:

> The name of an ancestor of the Fogosei clan is Komjurof. He was not a human being but a pig. He lived in *Kombiyage* which is situated between Kraimbit and Amongabi village. He married a woman named Fokoshaimbius. She gave birth to a little pig. Another ancestor was a human being whose name was Humbromeng. He was born on Mt. Manjo. One day he left his birthplace and reached a creek named Kombronb near *Kombiyage* where he found the little pig catching fish. He shot it with an arrow. After being shot, the pig went back to Fokoshaimbius's house and died in front of his mother. Humbromeng followed the pig and saw Fokoshaimbius. She told Humbromeng that the little pig was not really a pig but her child and accused him of having shot it to death. Eventually, Fokoshaimbius asked him to cut the pig and to eat it. Then Komjurof returned and tried to kill Humbromeng. But Fokoshaimbius stopped him. She told him that Humbromeng belonged to her family. Komjurof relented and asked him to marry Fokoshaimbius and have human children. The two were married and seven children were born. These are the ancestors of the Fogosei group.

This story tells us many things. The motif of the story is often immersed in myths both in the Kapriman and Alamblak groups. Invariably, they recount that their ancestor came down from mountains and encountered non-human beings in the lowlands and humanized them. This type of symbolism or binary code between highlands and lowlands, such as culture versus nature or wilderness, and movement

between the former and the latter is also seen among the Mianmin people [KUMAGAI 1989]. Clearly, it is important that the Fogosei clan have their own migration story and ancestral places at Mt. Manjo and *Kombiyage*. As the former is the place of origin for the Alamblak people, there may have been some interconnection between them. Both clan ownership of ancestral stones and migration myths, therefore, suggest that the clans have enjoyed a period of permanence since their original move.

Clan membership in these settlements can be more important than their local group. This supposition, however, is not supported by evidence from the Kapriman. As noted, most marriages are conducted between village members. Consequently, all members of an owner clan should have access to land beyond the village boundaries. Land and water adjacent to a particular village, however, are seldom used by other villagers. Adoptions within a village are also frequent. Meanwhile, clan genealogy can never be memorized completely by its members. These observations underline that in the Kapriman, village membership should supersede clan membership based on a common genealogy. Conflicts between village and clan principles over land and water use have probably led to shifts in settlements. These shifts raise implications concerning the ancestral sites of the Kapriman.

As noted, *Broiomtok* is the only common ancestral site acknowledged by the Kapriman people. Among the Fogosei, however, each clan had their own ancestral site prior to gathering at *Broiomtok*. This does not exclude the possibility that some clans joined more recently. Although not detailed here, some clans in the Kapriman are likely to have common origins with their neighbors, the Kaningara and the Alamblak. These stories are rarely discussed by the Kapriman people. Instead, they concentrate on the 'official story' in which all Kapriman ancestors came from *Broiomtok*. Arguably, without a common myth of origin and common ancestors, the necessity of having a common place of origin in the Kapriman is invoked to bolster group cohesion. Otherwise they might have been fragmented into smaller groups or physically or culturally absorbed by their neighbors. Such conclusions are tentative but they do provide the basis for a better understanding of the Kapriman people in particular and those inhabiting the tributaries south of the Sepik in general.

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