sex, money, and the status of women in aboriginal south Bougainville

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Although Morgan (1887) did not stress the point, his work in *Ancient Society* proposed that one of the concomitants of the evolution of human society was a modification in the way that marriage controls the expression of sexuality, especially (but not exclusively) female sexuality. According to Morgan's (1887:384) scheme, during the stage of "consanguine marriage" parents and children were the only categories in which marriage and sexual intercourse were forbidden. During the "punaluan" stage, brothers and sisters were excluded as possible mates. In the stage of the "pairing family," couples were joined in marriage but there was no requirement of fidelity. The transition to the "patriarchal family" meant that women must be monogamous and faithful, while men still married polygamously. Finally, "monogamian marriage" required "exclusive cohabitation" for both husband and wife.

Engels (1975 [1884]), drawing upon Morgan's data, dealt briefly but more explicitly with the question of sexuality and gave special attention to the position of women. In his scenario, woman's sexual capacities were her residual ones, and after the development of male-controlled private property, when her economic contributions lost their public worth, these sexual abilities came to the forefront: "woman was degraded and reduced to servitude; she became the slave of [man's] lust and a mere instrument for the production of children . . ." (Engels 1975:120–121).

Most modern assessors of women's status dwell on the second of these outcomes rather than the first: not the sexual services, but the constraints imposed by reproductive biology and the time-consuming nature of child rearing serve to make women secondary to men (e.g., Chodorow 1974; Ortner 1974; Rosaldo 1974). In the present paper, I wish to reconsider the topic of sexuality to which Engels and Morgan made brief reference. To some extent, this topic has been neglected as a patterned feature of social organization influencing

Comparison of three societies of aboriginal south Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, shows an increasing exchange value placed on the sexual services of women, as seen in marriage exchanges, fines for adultery and fornication, gifts between lovers, and prostitution. This increase is in direct relation to the development and use of general-purpose money. Implications for the comparative status of women and the evolution of society are noted. [Bougainville, status of women, economics of sex, social evolution, money]

0094-0496/81/010107-20$2.50/1

women's status (some recent exceptions are Rubin 1975 and Siskind 1976). Specifically, I wish to examine the economics of sexuality and its relationship to female status among three south Bougainville groups—Nagovisi, Siwai, and Buin—where variations in female status appear related to economic factors.

Following Engels's main argument, other writers have concentrated on the relationship of sex role in food and artifact production and distribution to female status (see, for example, Sacks 1974; Friedl 1975; Leacock 1975a). The early ethnographic data on the three societies considered here do not give sufficient detail on the quantitative points of food and artifact production or on peripheral trade. However, there is good information on the economic transactions that took place in other areas of behavior, most notably in kinship, marriage, and the sexual relations of men and women.

As Engels did, I also see a relationship between female status and the economic system; however, the scheme I propose deals not with the relations and factors of production but with the means by which exchange is conducted, viz., the money system. Sexuality has increasingly entered the general economy and its doing so has been facilitated by the development and use of a general-purpose money. In these three groups of south Bougainville, sexual acts (notably those of women) are entities that have different exchange values depending on the relative pervasiveness of the money system.

The data to be examined here include the use of tokens of exchange in marriage prestations, fines for adultery, presents between lovers, and prostitution. How does the enactment of sex relations cause people to exchange material items? How are sex acts represented by tokens used in exchange? In addition to considering sex relations outside of marriage, I also consider the economics of marriage—a relation in which sexuality plays a normal part.

It will surely strike some as inappropriate to consider all female sex acts as a category, since human beings place such very different evaluations upon them, depending on the context in which they occur. It is precisely for this reason, however, that I wish to treat female sexuality as a single category. Sex is an area of human behavior which is richly mystified, that is to say that it is assigned ideological meaning. It affects and is affected by systems which are biological and social, private and public, licit and illicit, pleasurable and painful, life-giving and deadly. Once the cultural impedimenta are stripped away, at some level, female sex acts do form a category, in whatever manner this fact may everywhere be culturally denied. A further reason to see female sex acts as forming a category is that in the societies which I consider in this paper, access to female sexuality involves an economic component, and the exchanges relating to female sex acts are clearly patterned.

The notion that marriage exchanges represent some sort of quid pro quo for female sexual services is also a controversial one and requires some preliminary justification. The idea that marriage exchanges have an economic aspect has been previously suggested (Gray 1960) but has not been widely accepted by anthropologists (some exceptions are Goldschmidt 1974; Pelto and Pelto 1976:278). Instead of "payments" or "purchase," marriage exchanges are usually seen as symbolic expressions of cordial solidarity between the two kin groups represented by the bride and groom (e.g., Ryan 1973:127ff.). It is my intent here to show that there is some reason to view the sexuality of marriage as an exchanged item and thus subject to analysis in economic terms.

However, paraphrasing what Gray (1960:54) said 21 years ago, to see marriage exchanges in economic terms is not to deny that marriage exchanges have noneconomic functions, nor does so doing suggest that in marriage women are bought and sold as commodities in European markets. In south Bougainville, giftlike marriage exchange has been influenced by rules regulating commercial exchanges. Thus, it is worthwhile to examine the extent to

which the exchange of sex acts resembles the manner in which other economic commodities are transferred (cf. Gray 1960:35).

It is evident that in the vast majority (if not all) of human societies, rights uniquely associated with marriage include the right to have sex relations with one's spouse and the right to expect that sex relations with others will be curtailed. Exchange of items at marriage accompanies the commitment to restrictive rules of sexual conduct. In each group considered here, exchanges for sex acts within the context of marriage are similar to exchanges for sex acts outside of marriage; furthermore, similar influences appear to affect each sphere (i.e., marriage and nonmarriage), and similar trends may be detected in each. Thus, I wish to take the heuristically useful viewpoint that marriage exchanges have some central relationship to requital for sexual services.

To return to the main argument, although a variety of material items may be exchanged by lovers, especially today with access to manufactured goods, I stress here the use of a special class of item—shell money—for recompense of sexual services. Shell valuables possessed, and to a great extent continue to possess, greatest acceptability in a variety of contexts; surely they were the most liquid of exchangeables in the days before national currency was in use. They are also an important item of exchange in marriage transactions, both traditional and modern. Emphasizing shell money in such exchanges has several advantages: it permits comparisons between past and present; it allows for comparison between the different ethnic groups of the region; and it facilitates the comparison of marriage and other sorts of male-female sexual contacts.

The extent to which tokens exchanged in marriage articulate with more general economic exchanges has been shown to be of significance in other studies of marriage exchanges. Goody (1973) notes that a distinctive feature of African bridewealth is that its tokens circulate in a separate marriage economy, insulated from ordinary transactions of the general economy. The insulation occurs because the tokens have no value in the general economy; their use in it would be considered inappropriate. In south Bougainville, the overlap of the marriage and the general economies can be described briefly as follows: the marriage economy is separate from the general economy in Nagovisi, but it is subsumed by the general economy in Buin; Siwai represents a midway position. Where the marriage economy is not comingled with the general economy, the status of women is higher.

ethnographic background

South Bougainville is the home of groups which practice shifting root-crop horticulture and pig husbandry. People here are racially similar and the majority speak related non-Austronesian languages.

In precontact times,[1] Buin and Siwai apparently were in trading and frequently hostile contact with the seagoing Austronesian speakers of the Alu and Mono islands to the south. Political authority was supported by redistributive feasting, Siwai being a model Big Man society. Nagovisi and Buin were characterized by variations of the Big Man complex: in Nagovisi, women shared leadership with men, and Buin had a hereditary system of stratification. Feast giving, trading, and war were all more highly developed in the southerly regions, that is, among the Siwai and Buin, and material possessions were more abundant there (Oliver 1943:57, 1949b:27). Descent and inheritance were (as today) regulated by rules of unilinearity. In Nagovisi, a strong matrilineage system having political functions existed, with women playing significant roles in decision making and ceremonialism. In Siwai, matrilineal clans and lineages regulated marriage, land tenure, etc., in many respects as in

Nagovisi; but in Siwai, men made more use of their own matrilineage property than did men in Nagovisi. In Buin, only ill-remembered remnants of matriclans existed, inheritance being patrilineal and class related.

money systems of the region Money items traditionally used in south Bougainville consisted of strands of shell disks or beads, strung on fiber cords in conventional lengths (about an arm's length). In viewing the southern part of the island as a single region, there were several types of shell money in use, the disks varying in diameter, thickness, and color. These various types were not used everywhere in south Bougainville, however, and the exchange values of the different kinds varied from one group to another.

How can these different kinds of "money" best be categorized? The terms "special purpose" and "general purpose" have been criticized as too gross (Codere 1968) or misleading, since all money is ultimately "special purpose" (Melitz 1970). However, these terms are useful in describing differences of degree between currencies which are, on the one hand, relatively abundant, useful in more and different kinds of transactions, less personalized, and more likely to be divisible (viz., general-purpose money) and valuables which are not used for mundane purposes, but instead are confined to socially significant transactions (viz., special-purpose money), on the other hand. In south Bougainville, money was either (1) general purpose in the sense described above (a commercial sense), or (2) special purpose. The distribution of these money types was such that moving southward and toward the coast—from Nagovisi to Siwai to Buin—exclusive special-purpose money usage in Nagovisi changed to a mixture of both in Siwai and again to an overall dominance of general-purpose money in Buin.

Indirect evidence suggests that the use of shell valuables in exchange spread from Alu and Mono islands in the south (and perhaps ultimately from farther south) to Bougainville. For example, the fact that the Nagovisi, situated farthest inland of these groups, never adopted the general-purpose type but used only the special-purpose form, whereas Siwai and Buin had both types, implies a southerly and coastal source for the money. The use of shell money in Nagovisi in traditional times was confined to the high ranking, too, indicating that formerly the quantity of money was probably not as great among them as it was among the Siwai and Buin. Connell (1977:81–84) provides a summary of what is known about traditional trade routes for shell valuables in the Solomon Islands leading to and within Bougainville.

sex acts and economic exchanges The performance or promise of sex acts occasioned economic exchanges in several different contexts. Specifically, these contexts were (1) marriage, (2) fornication and adultery, and (3) for Siwai and Buin only, prostitution. I intend to contrast the exchange value of sex acts in these various contexts, the amount of remuneration given to principal actors (i.e., those engaging in sexual activity), and remuneration to others not taking part in the sexual activity.

Nagovisi The Nagovisi made use of only the finer grade of shell money. This was represented in two functional categories: heirloom jewelry and a special-purpose money used in a limited number of socially significant transactions. No general-purpose money was used. The heirloom jewelry, comprising the finest disks of all, was simply passed from mother to daughter and was not normally used in any transaction other than inheritance. An informant once referred to this jewelry as belonging to "future generations." Slightly larger-sized forms (still fine, however, by regional standards) were used in buying pigs, in marriage exchanges, and in compensation for insult, injury, and death. There was no convertibility among the different types of special-purpose money, although there was consen-

sus on the ranking of different types—generally speaking, red was more highly valued than white, and strands of finer disks were more highly valued than strands of the less fine shell.

marriage prestations Nagovisi marriage prestations have a complex history, which has been reviewed elsewhere (Nash 1974, 1978). Briefly, the Nagovisi have practiced several different kinds of marriage exchanges in the past 50 years or so, ranging from groom-price or equal exchanges among the high ranking, with no exchanges for the ordinary person; bride-price of an optional but more widespread extent; no payments at all; and finally, a universal bride-price, sometimes reduced to a token amount by a return gift from the bride's family.

With regard to the traditional (pre-1925) situation, high-ranking people paid a groom-price on behalf of their own offspring. This consisted of one to three strands of shell money. Nevertheless, it appears that most marriages were made without any transactions whatsoever.[2] A legitimate and proper marriage did not require the exchange of shell money, although without this indemnity might be ignored or pressed by one side or another in future crises.

In the event that groom-price was paid for a marriage, neither the bride nor the groom received any of it. The transactions were confined to members of the parental generation. The received shell money might be used to purchase pigs for a nuptial feast, or it might not. Sometimes, the mothers of the betrothed couple might exchange equivalent amounts of shell money.

It is worth noting here that even today when universal bride-price is paid, when Nagovisi informants are asked by what signs a couple could be considered married, they never mention anything about the exchange of valuables. Instead, three things are always pointed out: (1) the couple sleeps in the same house; (2) the couple walks around together,[3] and (3) the man works in the woman's garden. Respectively, these refer to the establishment of a separate domestic unit, evidence of a sexual relationship, and the provision of labor for sustenance by the husband on his wife's property, i.e., establishment of ordinary conjugal work routines.

sex acts outside of marriage and economic exchanges To fornicate and to commit adultery were and are thought to be wrong but not unusual: adults have sexual needs which require satisfaction; married men are often unable to have relations with their wives because of postconception and postpartum sex taboos; and in any case some Nagovisi believe that one ultimately tires of one's spouse and seeks new experiences with other people just for the sake of novelty.

Lovers may or may not give presents to one another. If they do, in modern times, men more often give presents to women than vice versa. The presents (nowadays at least) are thought of as recompense for sexual favors. Since Nagovisi believe that sex relations are equally pleasurable to men and women, a question is raised: Why do men give gifts and women do not?[4] A hint that in the past payments might be made by women to men in sexual contexts is seen in the now-defunct custom of *moi*.

Informants gave two differing accounts of *moi*. One likened it to a magical charm that a man might have which caused women to give him short strands of shell money because of his personal attractiveness. Only the unmarried might use this power; furthermore, it was dangerous to possess because it might affect a man's sisters, rendering him attractive to them. In Nagovisi, where women are the repositories of matrilineal property and exercise considerable control over it, such an attraction would cause the sisters to gradually turn over descent-group shell valuables to a brother, these valuables in effect passing out of the descent-group fund to the man. The consequences of incestuous feelings were seen as

economic in this context. If the man were married, the valuables of his descent group passed into the possession of his wife and offspring. My informant, who was a prudish sort of man, stated that no sexual services were given in return by the man—it simply pleased women and apparently satisfied them to give shell valuables because they "liked" the man.

The second account of *moi* described a kind of contest between a man and a woman in which the man would demonstrate control over his sexual urges. The two would go into the bush together and remove their clothing. If the man remained visibly unaroused, i.e., did not have an erection, he would win a small quantity of shell money from the woman. This was said to be a way in which a woman could test the self-control of a prospective spouse, but it was also mentioned as a way for men to earn shell money. Certain extremely old or now dead men were mentioned by name as having been accomplished at *moi* in their youth. Again, no report was made of sex acts taking place between the two, although perhaps this is what would happen if the man lost the competition.

In contrast to this former practice, in present times a different set of expectations prevails. With respect to exchanges between people related to those who take part in illicit sex acts, the outcome of discovered cases of fornication is straightforward: if the woman is young and if she and the man do not wish to marry, the man must pay her parents. Sometimes, payment is justified by the assertion that now she will not be able to marry as well. This apparently has nothing to do with the loss of physical virginity, but instead seems to relate to the public attention she has drawn to herself, showing that she is indiscreet and not clever enough to bluff her way out of the allegation. Older women (widows, in most cases) may keep at least part of the payment, perhaps passing some of it on to matrilineal relatives.

It is difficult to attempt to assess how liability was determined in traditional times. It is certain that the idea of compensating women or their guardians for the loss of female "virtue" which we see today was favored by the judicial system introduced by the Australian colonial administration. To what extent it represents indigenous ideas is not clear. One case which occurred during my fieldwork shows that women may be tempted to take advantage of the tendency of modern courts to rule in their favor. In this instance, a young widow was fornicating with a Manus man; during their affair, she asked for and received small presents in return for her sexual services (which, she confided to others, she was glad to give). When the case came to the attention of others in the community, and it became clear to all that the man had never intended to marry her, she demanded and received payment from the man for having been seduced by him. Certain persons not connected with the case privately expressed displeasure at the unfairness of such a settlement.

Adultery differs from fornication mainly in its consequences; if revealed, more groups must be involved in litigation for the former than for the latter. The spouses of the offenders and families of the spouses must be compensated in both cases. Due to the matrilineal and uxorilocal arrangements of the Nagovisi, this can be complicated. Men must pay their wives and their lovers' husbands, and they must obtain the means to do this within their own matrilineages. Female adulterers must pay their husbands—in reality, their husbands' kin groups, i.e., sisters—but to do this women use the household valuables which in practical terms belong to their husbands as well. Thus, the husband of an adulterous woman is compensated by the loss of a part of his and his wife's wealth. Women must also pay the wives of their lovers.

Once they become public knowledge, sexual indiscretions of any kind occasion "shame payments" to the offenders' opposite sex siblings and parallel cousins. If a man commits adultery or fornication, he has to pay his "sisters" in his minimal lineage a small amount to compensate them for their "embarassment"; in similar circumstances, a woman must pay her minimal lineage "brothers," i.e., her brothers and male parallel cousins.

Again, due to the matrilineal property arrangements, a married man might have problems obtaining the amount of the fine. Having offended both his wife and his "sisters" by committing adultery, his only recourse might be to get payment from a sympathetic Big Man or perhaps from a brother. In the latter case, usually the man's brother's wife would have to be convinced of his need for help.

Siwai In Siwai, the most common type of shell valuable was the coarse general-purpose grade, which served as the lowest denomination—in some sense—of the money series. This commercial money had numerous mundane uses (Oliver 1955:341), but despite a kind of convertibility (e.g., when hypothetically spoken of as comparative values) this convertibility was not perfect. For some purposes, e.g., "betrothal 'gifts' and the like" (Oliver 1955:341), transactions had to be made in high-value (i.e., special-purpose) money. Furthermore, the status of the exchangers affected their transactions and leaders always seemed to be able to get more pig for their money than an ordinary person could (Oliver 1955:342).[5] Oliver (1955:341) notes that there were some inconsistencies in some of the conversions, as well.

marriage prestations In Siwai, the form of marriage prestation was bride-price, i.e., the groom's relatives gave shell strands to the bride's relatives. The bride herself received a portion of high-value or special-purpose shell money from the groom's relatives which was said to pay for her sexual services (Oliver 1955:162). This portion belonged exclusively to the bride and she could only spend it on some extremely important cause, such as acquiring funerary pigs in the event of the death of one of her children. It is "indirect dowry," in Goody's (1973:19) terms.

Another portion of the Siwai bride-price was paid in coarse, general-purpose money. The father of the bride was the recipient; the father of the groom made the payment. In traditional times, this amount of money was to be completely spent on pigs for the wedding feast. Oliver (1955:162) reports that during the period of his fieldwork in the late 1930s, some Siwai were beginning to say that fathers ought to be able to keep a portion of this for their own use, calling it "pay for the woman."

sex acts outside of marriage and economic exchanges Sex acts outside of marriage comprised fornication, adultery, and prostitution. In Siwai, it was customary for a man to give his partner in a sexual liaison a gift of some kind—cloth, beads, or perhaps a shilling (Oliver 1955:146). Siwai informants disagreed as to whether this was "payment for services" or "gift," such as trading partners might make, but the tendency of women in the late 1930s was to regard it as a payment to which they were rightfully entitled. A problem for men was that gifts were evidence which implicated them legally, and thus, as mentioned for modern Nagovisi, a man might have to make double payment—first, for his partner's services, and a second time, according to the Australian system of justice, for having "wronged" her.

If fornication were discovered, a young woman's brother would inevitably hear of it and shame payments had to be made to him (Oliver 1955:142). Oliver does not indicate whether or not women received shame payments for their brothers' sexual indiscretions. In the case of adultery, Oliver says that the husband and father (who had exchanged on behalf of the woman) were likely to be angrier than the woman's brothers. The male adulterer, however, seemed to have borne the burden of the punishment; females got off rather lightly. "Seducers" (men, of course) were fined or sent to jail in the postcontact period (Oliver 1955:142).

Oliver reports that prostitution, discontinued by the time of his stay in the late 1930s, was

connected to war. Women might be captured in raids and then made to serve as prostitutes, often at feasts before other battles. His informants said that in the old days, Big Men were very apt to have a few such women attached to their households as slaves-cum-prostitutes (Oliver 1955:420). He says that such women might also be purchased, as well as captured (1955:149), but details of the former type of transaction are not known (Oliver 1977: personal communication). In addition to prostitutes' services being used as an inducement to take part in war, their earnings of shell money could be taken to enrich their owners. Little if any stigma seems to have been attached to prostitution; eventually, these women married and settled down to unremarkable lives (Oliver 1955:150).

Buin In Buin, as in Siwai, the coarse grade of money predominated both in terms of availability and in the number of kinds of exchanges in which it might be used (R. Thurnwald 1934:123). Richard Thurnwald (1934:135) gives a list of the many kinds of items which coarse shell money might buy. The fine or high-value shell money, which in Buin was called "women's money," was represented by various types. Two of the types were worth twice as much per strand as the coarse grade, another was worth 10 times as much, and a fourth type worth 20 times as much. In a sense, these seemed to be higher denominations, but in fact this fine "money" was purely decorative, apparently a type of jewelry like ear shells rather than a true high denomination "coin" or "note." It was given to a woman at her marriage and could not be sold or used to acquire anything. A woman might wear the strands at a feast or decorate her babies with them (H. Thurnwald 1934:148–149).

marriage prestations In Buin, bride-price was paid. Here, as in Siwai, the bride herself received one or more shell strands. She received the so-called women's money, which had no exchange value. The bride received most of this from the groom's father, but her own father also contributed to the portion she got. Thus, part of this was dowry and part was indirect dowry (Goody 1973:19). The bulk of the marriage prestation was bride-price paid in coarse shell money, and this was given to the father of the bride who then portioned it out (some to his relatives, some to his chief, and some for his own use). Part might also be used to buy pigs for marriage feasts, but here, too, some amount (approximately 10 percent in an example by Hilde Thurnwald 1934:149) was left over for the personal enrichment of the father of the bride.

sex acts outside of marriage and economic exchanges Fornication took place in Buin, but parents of the chiefly class attempted to preserve their daughters' chastity by closely monitoring the girls' activities (H. Thurnwald 1934:148). As in Siwai, adultery in Buin was a matter of dispute between men, and women did not seem to be much involved in such disputes. The husband and lover were in conflict (H. Thurnwald 1934:151–152) and the woman might be concerned only in a passive sort of way, e.g., her husband might turn her out or transfer her to another man.

Again, as in Siwai, Buin women were used as prostitutes by chiefs and their sexual services were extended to followers, much as tasty food and entertainment were. In Buin, however, it was not war captives who served as prostitutes, but the daughters of the chiefs' bondsmen. It was said to have been an honor to be selected for such work. Honor it may have been for the members of the lower stratum of society, but daughters of the chiefly class never served in this capacity.

Young prostitutes got trinkets from their clients, and each client paid a strand of shell money to the warden of prostitutes. Part of this went to the chief. After an occasion at which their services were used, the chief gave each prostitute two strands of shell money which were then handed over to the women's fathers (H. Thurnwald 1934:155). Some big chiefs kept prostitutes on a permanent basis, distributing their favors as a part of Big Man

largesse (H. Thurnwald 1934:156). Hilde Thurnwald (1934:156) reports no stigma attached to prostitution per se, but indicates that one former prostitute she knew found it difficult to comply with the requirements of sexual fidelity demanded of married women.

summary of ethnographic data

Nagovisi In Nagovisi, it is not appropriate to regard female sex acts in marriage as resembling something bought and paid for, nor do marriage exchanges evoke commercialism. In support of this, the following may be noted: (1) any symbolism of traditional exchange practices "bought" the groom, not the bride, specifically his labor services. A possible etymology of the term used for groom-price may imply that the man's sexual and reproductive services were also being acquired (Nash 1978), but there is no such symbolism of acquisition of female services. (2) The majority of marriages were in fact made without any exchange of items at all; there was no symbolism of substitution, sale, or purchase by any token whatsoever. (3) Even today, when many beliefs and practices have been influenced by the Western market ideology, marriage is thought to have taken place not when any exchanges have been completed, but when two people have started behaving in new ways toward one another.

Instead of purchase, it is preferable to see marriage exchanges as a kind of publicity operating among the high ranking. A perfectly legitimate marriage could be made in Nagovisi without the transfer of shell money. Although the stated reason for paying groom-price was to "buy the strong hand of the man for work in the gardens," it is fair to assume that in marriages made without any transactions of shell money the husband also did considerable garden work for his wife and children. But the passage of tokens draws attention to the event of marriage, which is thus commemorated. In Douglas's (1967:130) terms, the shell money was "a coupon or ticket for acquiring or amending status."

Commemoration is made possible by the characteristics of Nagovisi special-purpose money. A difference between general-purpose money and the sort of special-purpose money used by the Nagovisi is that the pieces of the latter are individualized enough to be recognized by those who participate in their circulation. This is so even though the pieces conform to certain general categories. Also, people easily recall past transactions because they have only a few pieces of special-purpose money in their possession at any given time. Thus, special-purpose money is able to serve as a mnemonic device to recall past transactions. Shell money thus publicizes the transactions among the high ranking.

Siwai Oliver (1955:162) reports that the Siwai specifically stated that the indirect dowry received by the bride was to compensate her for her sexual services. But here there is no piecemeal payment of so many strands of shell money for so many sex acts. Instead, the strands appear to symbolize the husband's right to a monopoly of his wife's sexual services. Note that the direction in which the material items moved implies that is is female sexuality that is to be monopolized, not the sexuality of men. Also, the indirect dowry was specifically designated as "payment." Thus, we might almost speak of a woman as her husband's sexual employee, but certainly not vice versa.

Culture change affecting the Siwai by the 1930s was moving marriage prestations out of the separate circulation among kin toward the general economy of the society. Oliver (1955:162) reports that part of the commercial money given by the groom's father to the bride's father was in some instances not spent on pigs but held back by the bride's father as "pay for the woman." Siwai opinion on this practice was divided—the innovation was immoral in the eyes of many because it amounted to reducing the bride to the status of a

chattel (Oliver 1955:162). Yet some fathers felt justified in accepting "pay" for their daughters and they were supported in their feelings by the patrol officers of the Australian administration, who declared this to be a custom of mainland New Guinea.

In an African context, Bohannan (1967:134) notes the moral dilemma that convertibility—achieved through the introduction of British money—posed for the Tiv. Here, in Siwai, we see a similar problem of morality in which exchanges which formerly "result[ed] in no residue of obligation or liability on anyone's part" (Oliver 1955:162) are reinterpreted to mean payment.

Buin In Buin, something more than the mere symbolism of purchase—of rights to sexual access—is evident. For here it is not just third parties exchanging on behalf of the married couple: one of these third parties who pays also receives, if only temporarily, from the bride. The father of the groom was allowed to have sex relations with the bride for a short period during her betrothal (H. Thurnwald 1934:151).[6] It does not seem unreasonable to assume that these privileges were received in exchange for the shell money he had paid for her.

In marriage transactions, then, the bride received direct and indirect dowry of fine "woman's money," but the larger amount, in general-purpose money, was apportioned to her father, his relatives, and his superiors. In Buin, these men might actually make a profit, then, on the marriages of young women. Female sexual services not only have a use value, but are a kind of capital as well.

In south Bougainville, where marriage prestations were partly made in special-purpose money and partly in general-purpose money, the potential for combining the marriage economy with the general economy existed. The comingling of these two economic spheres apparently took place in precontact times in Buin and began to occur in historic times in Siwai.[7] Following Goody's (1973:5) definition of African bridewealth and his assertion that bridewealth tokens can never increase a father's riches because of their confinement to a purely marriage economy circulation, it may be debated whether Buin marriage prestations were actually bridewealth at all—they seem too much a part of the general economy to be regarded as such.

comparison of the exchange value of sex acts The differences revealed by comparison of these three groups are as follows: first *bride*wealth or *bride*-price, with its directional symbolism by which something is acquired from females (in this paper, I have considered that something to be sexual services) appears. Bride-price contrasts with the Nagovisi practice of groom-price for the high ranking as the mark of the commencement of marriage and/or modification of behavior equally binding for ordinary persons of both sexes. In traditional Nagovisi, shell valuables bought a husband's labor and were a prize for a man's sexually tinged attractiveness. Accompanying the appearance of bride-acquiring exchanges in Siwai and Buin are language changes. Specific statements assert that the tokens of exchange buy the sexual services of the woman (Oliver 1955:162) or, indeed, buy the woman (H. Thurnwald 1934:150). In Nagovisi such exchanges were said to buy the hand of the man, i.e., his labor services, or himself (H. Thurnwald 1938:232).

Second, exchanges cease to be made solely on behalf of third parties, as Nagovisi mothers might make on behalf of their marrying offspring, but begin to directly involve the marrying couples themselves. In Siwai and Buin, the bride received high-value shell money on her own behalf; and, specifically in Siwai, she owed sexual services to her husband in exchange for this. In Buin, the bride had to temporarily allow her father-in-law sexual access in return for shell jewelry.

Sex acts outside of marriage appear to have an exchange value in all three societies. The

exchange value may be seen in the transfer of objects between sexual partners and the exchanges that sex relations occasion among other people, if discovered. Moving from Nagovisi to Siwai and to Buin, there appears to be an increasing tendency to put a valuation on women's, not men's, sex acts, such acts causing economic transfers to be made among an ever increasingly wider circle of people, predominantly men. There is no custom analogous to *moi* reported from Siwai or Buin. Compensation to females for the sexual indiscretions of others appears in Nagovisi but not in Siwai or Buin. Prostitution in Siwai and Buin extended the use of women's sex acts to a kind of commodity from which men, relatives, and superiors of the prostitute, could profit. All of these factors introduce an element of male dominance into sexual behavior which is lacking in Nagovisi.

on money which is not yet money

All of these changes result in an asymmetry in the way in which female (as opposed to male) sexuality is conceptualized and treated: simply stated, sex becomes an item of exchange. In order to shed light on how this may have occurred, let us consider the symbolism of shell valuables in nonexchange contexts. In Nagovisi, in traditional times, shell money was untainted by any notion of "universal equivalence" and had exclusively social uses. An examination of its nonexchange uses reveals a connection with female sexuality but not with the provision of female sexual services. Weiner (1976:92ff.) has drawn attention to the symbolic relationship of skirts to female sexuality, reproductive power, and wealth in the Trobriand Islands and has noted that in other areas of Melanesia similar associations appear. It is possible to interpret Nagovisi shell money in a similar way.

First, the mode of inheritance of heirloom shell jewelry in Nagovisi, i.e., via matrilineal descent from mother to daughter, replicates the mode in which people are reproduced and assigned social positions.

Second, I collected two stories regarding the origin of shell money. In both stories, shell money is depicted as women's property. The first story describes the discovery of shell money in a manner similar to that recounted in a Siwai story (Oliver 1955:49). Formerly, people used vines instead of shell money, but two little girls find a cache of the real thing in an old woman's cave home. The superiority of shell to vine is obvious, and thus people begin to use it.

The second story accounts simultaneously for the origin of shell money as well as shell ear spikes and carrying-straps (the latter for work baskets, the combination of strap and basket being the functional equivalent of the woman's net bag elsewhere in New Guinea). A man spies on a woman in the bush. Every day, she goes to a breadfruit tree and lies down beneath it with her legs spread apart. Her penis then comes out from its place of concealment inside her vagina and extends up into the tree to pick the fruit. The man watches her do this on several occasions and then surprises her while her penis is extended and chops it off, cutting it into sections. These sections then turn into "woman's things" shell money, shell ear spikes, and carrying-straps, all elongated in shape. This story is rich with associations; especially of note here are the connections of sexuality and food procurement, i.e., of sex, work, and wealth.[8]

Third, women in Nagovisi (as in other parts of south Bougainville) use shell money to decorate their babies. Generally, the babies range in age from around nine months to two years old; older children are less often, if ever, decorated in this way unless they are specifically being honored at a growing-up feast. Babies of the specified age group are evidence of successful reproduction, mature enough to be known to the community and having successfully passed the period of greatest neonatal mortality.

A fourth nonexchange use for fine shell money was to destroy it when a person died. It might have been thrown on the funeral pyre or smashed with a stone. Such a thing was not done at every death, but only to show respect or great sorrow. The parallel between the death of a person and the destruction of a strand of shell money shows clearly their identification with each other.

Finally, one could mention the reason that Nagovisi women today believe that modern bride-price payments (consisting in part of shell money) are justified and indeed appropriate. Women consider bride-price to be compensation for the pain of childbirth which they will be sure to undergo during marriage. It must be emphasized that nowadays, when universal bride-price is paid, women themselves appear to have accepted and been influenced by the notion that it is female sexual services which are to be paid for; here, however, we see a more global and hence more traditional interpretation of female sexuality as including the efforts of reproduction. Sexual acts are thus seen from a female point of view in that the ultimate consequences of these acts, not merely the ephemeral gratification they provide, constitute a part of them.

Thus, the uses of shell money in nonexchange contexts are consonant with Nagovisi uses of shell money in social exchanges. In these exchanges, shell money stands for people,[9] who emanate from female sexuality and reproductive abilities.[10] The exchange uses of shell money in Nagovisi are all those which directly or indirectly concern people—marriage, death, insult, injury, and so on, or pig purchase, always made on behalf of some life crisis feast.[11]

The beginning of commercial money—the appearance of the coarse grade and its consequent use in general economic transactions—may have occurred as a kind of counterfeiting in the islands to the south, which resulted in the debasement of the fine shell money in some areas of south Bougainville. The general-purpose currency is so similar in form to the special-purpose valuables that it is hard not to see the former as a sort of cheap imitation of the latter. It appears that the finer form was driven out of circulation and relegated to the status of jewelry as a kind of Gresham's Law operated here.

In some areas of Melanesia, such as the Trobriand Islands, valuables associated with men bear no physical resemblance to the valuables of women. Skirts and bundles of banana leaves are very different in form from the shell valuables of the kula trade or the stone ax blades of the internal exchange system (Weiner 1976:179 passim). Thus, there was little possibility of confounding them.

The expansion and extension of the money system brought many things into a single system of equations: people and objects were brought together into a single economy (cf. Codere 1968). Once shell valuables lost their exclusive reference to "person" and became substitutes for objects, the inclusion of them into a single system made people like objects, too. Some of the effects that the extension of the money system appears to have had are noted below.

effects of the use of commercial money on female status

In south Bougainville, there have been primarily three effects of a commercial money system on female status. The first has been to centralize power, that is, to reduce the number of people eligible for positions of power. The second has been to introduce a system of standards of value, which has had an ordering effect tending ultimately to devalue women. Finally, the money system seems to have promoted the development of sex antagonism.

commercial money and the centralization of power The development of a general-purpose or commercial money system, by which means tokens of value can be accumulated by one sector of the population and denied to others, has resulted in a decreasing proportion of the population being eligible for positions of power. The effect of any general-purpose money system, in which tokens of value are used in a standardized way for numerous transactions (many of which are qualitatively different from one another), has an effect which can be compared to what happens in a game.

The use of tokens or chips, in a game such as poker, for example, gives the players a record of the success or failure of the past plays or transactions. In real life, as in games, transactions and interactions among people are never perfectly balanced. Under conditions of reciprocity, where give and take procedes without any overt scorekeeping or use of tokens, it is possible both to ignore imbalances and to maintain the fiction that debts and credits balance in the long run. No doubt they do not balance, but in certain contexts people simply do not care (cf. van Baal 1975:16). It would be impossible to devise a system in which the heterogeneous acts of human interrelations could be measured so as to assess whether or not they balance. Since people are most often satisfied with their overall relationships with others, we assume that people regard things as balanced. But when there is a system in which accumulated tokens stand for past successful plays or transactions, these can, and probably must, be accumulated by one player, or in real-life situations by one sector of the population, at the expense of others. When any group may command special privileges, such as the chiefly class in Buin enjoyed, it is much more likely that these people will continue to control more of the tokens of value than any other group. Men of the chiefly class received tribute from their underlings; they took a cut of many of the transactions made by their underlings; and they were able to extract money from others in the form of fines for reasons such as having been insulted.

In Buin, women were removed from any possible position of leadership outside of the household, thus further narrowing eligibility and centralizing power. The senior wife of a chief might have had some control over the wives in her household and some authority over the women of the bondsmen, but none whatsoever over any man. Hilde Thurnwald (1934:167) says it was even permissible for a 12-year-old boy to beat his mother, if she displeased him.

commercial money and the standardization of women The general use of commercial or general-purpose money imposed a kind of uniformity on women. Through the measurement that commercial money provides, it has been possible to standardize and interchange things which are in fact quite unlike each other (Codere 1968). Thus, all women, for example, become in some sense the same because they all can be valued in terms of commercial money. All women are of course not the same, but they do resemble each other. In south Bougainville, their similarities are the work they do as a part of sex role and what they can do by virtue of their sex organs. In an economy that uses general-purpose money, women in the marriage-exchange system can be reduced to these lowest common denominator qualities. Any differences among them in quality can be accounted for by quantitative adjustments.

Here it is useful to compare the two extremes of Nagovisi and Buin regarding the cultural evaluation of polygyny. In Buin, where general-purpose money was used in marriage exchanges, women valued second wives for their lowest common denominator characteristics, viz., their labor in the gardens and their sexual attractiveness to a mutual husband (H. Thurnwald 1934:153, 161). In Nagovisi, where general-purpose money was unknown and special-purpose money was only used in marriage of the high ranking, women saw potential cowives as total personalities with whom quarrels were inevitable. Thus, Nagovisi tended

to see polygyny as a catalyst of domestic conflict. To avoid this, most polygynously married Nagovisi men traveled a kind of circuit, staying for a time with each wife in different settlements. Another point of comparison has to do with economic exchanges and sex acts outside of marriage. In Buin, an institutionalized prostitution was connected to group politics and a considerable proportion of earnings were male profit; in Nagovisi, extramarital sex activities were more of a cottage industry, with any gain exclusively benefiting the woman herself.

commercial money and sex antagonism Melanesia is an area distinguished by two characteristics which bear on the concerns of this paper: one of these is the use of primitive money and the other is the presence of sex antagonism. Sahlins (1972:227) observes that the use of money is found in a "historically specific type of primitive economy," noting that Melanesia was one of the few areas in the world in which money was used in aboriginal times. Leacock (1975b:613), in another context, has noted the presence of sex antagonism in various parts of the world—Melanesia among them—and asks if this may be related to the breakup of the primitive collective.

In south Bougainville, money and sex antagonism appear to reach their highest development in Buin. The lesser status of women in Buin seems to have been associated with male antagonism; H. Thurnwald (1934:170) says women were held in "poor esteem" and notes that the "superior position of males . . . often leads husbands to be overbearing and brutal" (1934:159). Whether women were antagonistic to men is not reported, but women in Buin seem to have been hostile to the archetypical female experiences of childbirth and motherhood.[12]

Various customs relating to motherhood may be reviewed. Hilde Thurnwald (1934:146) reports an absence of the postpartum sex taboo in Buin, but in Nagovisi there was a strong one with fines and great public censure for violations (Ogan, Nash, and Mitchell 1976:541). Motherhood was not desired by a number of Buin women, who used various contraceptive herbs to prolong their nulliparous youth. Infanticide was practiced and H. Thurnwald (1934:162) reports an incident in which a young mother, immediately after having given birth, attempted to punish her newborn with a stick of wood for having caused her so much pain.[13] Nagovisi women also employed herbal contraceptives and practiced infanticide; the intention, however, was not to postpone the onset of childbearing but instead to space children. Thurnwald (1934:162) notes in her genealogical work in Buin that there were many women who had never given birth to a child. For reasons which are not fully understood, the demographic evidence suggests that Buin women were more likely to remain childless than women elsewhere in south Bougainville.[14]

broader considerations

It has not been my intention merely to provide esoterica on the past sexual practices of exotic peoples. I believe that there is a greater significance to these data. What appears in the comparison of these three societies is an increasingly male domination of a number of transactions that involve female sexuality in one way or another. Female sexuality is alienated from women themselves and takes a place in the exchange system, wherein its allocation or misallocation may be controlled by others. No parallel development has affected male sexuality. In south Bougainville, the intrusion of hierarchy and wealth into the intimate relations between men and women has depressed the position of the latter. It is

my contention that the development of a commercial money system has played a part in this process.

Money makes it possible to measure, value, and ration (Codere 1968); it thereby turns female sex acts into another sort of scarce goods. Historically, this has taken place within the context of kinship ideology and exchange and thus has been masked to a considerable extent. However, anthropologists have long been aware that in nonstate societies, kinship comprises many areas which have political impact. Indeed, Reiter (1977:9) notes that women's subordination first appears in the domain of kinship.

Although I have chosen to follow Morgan's and Engels's lead regarding the evolution of controls over female sexual expression, the material presented in this paper is relevant to Goody's (1976) work on kinship and production in Africa and Eurasia. Goody does not specifically address the question of gender hierarchy, but this matter is implicit in much of what he writes. Goody (1976:6–7, 9–22) describes two geographically separate clusters of kinship traits which show a number of broad differences. These clusters are derived from the "tribal" and "peasant" societies of Africa and Eurasia. A major distinction between them appears in the modes of property transmission at death and marriage: in Africa, this takes place homogeneously (between members of the same sex), whereas Eurasia is characterized by diverging devolution, or bilateral transmission between holder and heir. Further related differences occur in the areas of kinship institutions, marriage, and domestic life, such as cuisine. Goody ventures that differences such as these relate to plow versus hoe farming, in Eurasia and Africa respectively, but is tentative about conclusions. The distinction between plow and hoe farming is of course more than a minor technological variation, and its significance has ultimately to do with differences in population density, intensification of production, monopoly on land and labor for food production, development of social stratification, and so on.

Although the distinction between plow and hoe farming is not found in south Bougainville, in the context of this paper it is striking that some of the same contrasts which Goody has revealed between the enormous and diverse geographical regions of Africa and Eurasia occur in the historically related societies of south Bougainville described here. First, Goody (1976:14–15) notes that a concern for the purity of women is associated with diverging devolution and is seen in restrictions on contact between people of the opposite sex prior to marriage, chaperonage, and so on. As we have seen for Buin, parents of the chiefly class attempted to protect their daughters' virtue. There was apparently less concern about premarital chastity in Siwai and Nagovisi. In fact, Oliver (1955:152) states that in Siwai the question of virginity never came up. In Nagovisi, discretion was far more important than chastity.

Second, homogamy (marriage within the same class), also associated with the Eurasian complex (Goody 1976:14), was the preferred form of marriage in Buin (H. Thurnwald 1934:143; Keil 1975:71). As there were no social classes in Siwai and Nagovisi, such a practice was not found in those groups. Kinship category there played a more important role in marriage regulation.

Third, Goody (1976:15) notes that a tendency to or a preference for FBD marriage accompanies diverging devolution; he notes that such an arrangement allows for a concentration of property (see also Ogan 1966:186–187). Marriage with the genealogical or true FBD was not allowed in Buin because such women were terminologically merged with a man's sisters (Keil 1975:119). However, in a society in which there are multiple, exogamous, unilineal descent groups, it is quite likely that the FBD, real or classificatory, would belong to a different descent group from ego; as Keil (1975:180) states for Buin, "a person of one matrisib may marry a person of any different matrisib." Thus, with genealogical maneuvering it would be more likely for a Buin man to manage to marry an FBD than it would be in

Nagovisi, where the moieties are the exogamous units and all FBD's belong to one's own moiety. Thus, it is suggested that the Buin were closer to the sort of social arrangement which might allow for FBD marriage than were the dual-organizational Nagovisi.

Fourth, an emphasis on monogamy rather than polygyny is associated with diverging devolution (Goody 1976:17). Regarding south Bougainville, statistics from an earlier period (namely 1929) collected by the government anthropologist inform us on this matter. Chinnery (1924) gives the following proportions of polygynous marriages compared to monogamous ones.

Group	percent monogamous	percent polygynous	source
Buin	91	9	(1924[*sic*]:108)
Siwai	84	16	(1924[*sic*]:90)
Nagovisi	86	14	(1924[*sic*]:76)

Buin has the highest rate of monogamy,[15] which is consistent with Goody's material.

The fifth point has to do with advanced agriculture, which is characteristic of the Eurasian complex and thus of diverging devolution. There is no detailed study of Buin or Nagovisi taro cultivation, i.e., from before World War II when a taro blight necessitated a switch to the staple of sweet potato. Ethnographic reports note that basically the same sort of shifting horticulture was practiced in the three groups considered here. However, in the context of south Bougainville there is indirect evidence that Siwai and Buin farming practices produced a greater output than Nagovisi farming did. The evidence has to do with the number of pigs raised in each of these groups.

Pigs are fed on what amounts to surplus human food: scraps and the less desirable of the roots. Both Oliver (1949b:28; 1943:57) and my informants indicate that there were fewer pigs in Nagovisi. Oliver made his comparisons in 1938 with contemporary Siwai, whereas my informants said that there were fewer pigs in the prewar taro days than there were in the period after the sweet potato was adopted as the staple food. Oliver (1949a:13) implies that pig raising was more important in Buin than in Nagovisi, as well. So, for whatever reasons, horticultural output appears to have been greater in Siwai and Buin, allowing a larger pig population to be supported. Perhaps in Buin and Siwai work was organized more efficiently, or perhaps more people simply worked longer hours in the gardens. For Buin, the availability of the bondsmen's labor to the chiefs may be significant (Keil 1975:142).

What is to be made of the similarities between Goody's material then and the material presented in this paper? Goody's macro-level findings are replicated in the more limited setting I have described. The sequence that exists in south Bougainville does not seem to be idiosyncratic. When similar trends appear in data drawn from diverse cultural and geographical areas, and when these data have been studied by contrasting methods, it seems unlikely that resemblances are coincidental. Long-term changes in interpersonal relations, especially in the areas of kinship and domestic institutions (Goody 1976:6), have followed similar paths.

The perplexing and (at the same time) stimulating thing about Goody's work is that he presents his findings without extensive comment as to the causes and nonkinship correlates of the differences between the African and Eurasian complexes. On a more modest scale than Goody's, I have looked at one social factor—the use of female sex acts in exchange—which appeared as greater social and political complexity emerged in one part of a small Pacific island (it will be recalled that Buin was characterized by money use, external trading, warfare, hereditary social stratification, and gender inequality). It seems reasonable to assume that modifications in human relations such as this must have accompanied or indeed preceded the changes at higher levels of organization. No area of human

life, however private and intimate, appears to be insulated from these forces of reorganizational change. Goody's comparisons have fallen into an implicitly evolutionary framework, whereas mine have been explicitly so. Thus, we come around again to the insights of the 19th-century evolutionists with whose work I began this paper.

The intention of the 19th-century evolutionists to understand change—particularly, to understand how Western civilization developed—is once again fashionable in anthropology. The scholars of that earlier period were often unsophisticated or naive in their use of material which was itself often incomplete or erroneous. But their vision was bold and far ranging. Now that we are in a better position to use details unavailable to these earlier workers, perhaps it is time to return to the breadth of their vision.

With regard to the three societies of south Bougainville considered here, a kind of uncanny resemblance to the schemes of the 19th-century evolutionists appear in this "conjectural history" I have drawn. "Matriarchal" society is represented by the Nagovisi. This is not government by women, but rather high status for women accompanied by the use of tokens which reify their reproductive power. Siwai appears to be intermediate in many respects, although there the coming of Western influences makes it difficult to see a continuity of autochthonous development. In Buin, the rudiments of a more complex political organization appear (e.g., use of commercial money, social stratification); and as Engels recognized, women's status is low. This resemblance suggests that cautiously applying the ideas of Morgan or Engels to sound ethnographic data may still prove illuminating.

notes

Acknowledgments. I did fieldwork among the Nagovisi for a total of about two and one-half years between April 1969 and December 1973. Financial support was provided by National Institute of Mental Health Predoctoral Fellowships 1F1MH 42318-01, 5F01 MH42318-02, and 5F01 MH 42318-03; by National Institute of Mental Health Field Research Grant 1 T01 MH11958-01; partial support by U.S. Public Health Service Grant No. Gm-13482; and by the New Guinea Research Unit of the Australian National University. To all these institutions I express my thanks. I also wish to thank John Connell, Jared Tao Keil, Donald D. Mitchell, Eugene Ogan, Douglas L. Oliver, and several anonymous reviewers for the *American Ethnologist* for helpful comments on the substance and style of this paper. Of course, I am responsible for any shortcomings in it.

[1] Treatment of the time element presents two problems. The first of these concerns the clear presentation of material. I draw on data gathered at different time periods, at the extremes some 70 years apart or even more if the memory of informants is taken into account. Great changes have taken place in south Bougainville during this time span. Wherever it might otherwise be misleading, I will specify the time period to which I refer.

The second problem is a theoretical one having to do with the use of synchronic data to represent historical sequence. I am not asserting that Nagovisi is ancestral to Buin, but there is a gradient among these groups which is seen in the regular pattern of similarities and differences among them. It is likely that the differences are due in part to unequal amounts of Austronesian influence from the south.

[2] Eugene Ogan, who has done extensive work with the neighboring Nasioi, tells of an informant who described earlier marriage practices there: "Basically, we just exchanged people" (1972: personal communication).

[3] In unofficial court cases dealing with adultery or fornication, this is considered prima facie evidence of sex relations, past or contemplated.

[4] I am ignoring the obvious answer that today men are much more apt to have the finances and opportunity to purchase manufactured items to give to women, because men, much more than women, are apt to be hired for wage employment.

[5] This contrasts with the situation in Lesu (New Ireland), where to pay more than an ordinary person conferred prestige upon the high ranking (Powdermaker 1933:201-202).

[6] Some Buin today find this statement of Thurnwald's offensive. College students and some of Jared Keil's informants (1978: personal communication) in the early 1970s said that it had never been true.

[7] It is impossible to say to what extent this idea resulted from Western sources (cf. Reay 1966:168) and to what extent it sprang from autochthonous forces.

[8] Less to the point of this paper, but in line with Weiner's (1976) study, is the simultaneous association of items for body decoration, i.e., for enhancing female beauty.

[9] This point was specifically stated by Nagovisi informants; in addition, Donald D. Mitchell and I have had numerous conversations on the implications of this relationship, such that it is difficult for me to separate our thoughts on this matter.

[10] I do not know what aboriginal Nagovisi ideas were regarding the male part in procreation, but in Buka (the small island adjacent to the north coast of Bougainville) and in north Bougainville the creative element was female. Men could instigate conception, but so could women through penetration with a penis substitute. Semen was not thought to form part of the fetus (Blackwood 1935:132ff.).

[11] It is noteworthy that heirloom jewelry, the property of "future generations" in Nagovisi, was said in Buin to be the dwelling place of the ghosts of the ancestors (H. Thurnwald 1934:149). This change signifies a deemphasis on reproduction and the uncreated, which so much involve women, and an emphasis on the lineage forebears, less obviously connected to female sexuality.

[12] It is a common finding of social psychology that when a subgroup is considered inferior by the powerful people in a society, the members of the subgroup themselves will devalue their own characteristics.

[13] Nagovisi women today ridicule those who cry out in pain during labor, and a young Nagovisi woman who spent a month or so at the hospital in Buin commented disparagingly to me on the fuss that Buin women make over the pain of childbirth. Their behavior (according to her) is quite unlike the stoicism on which Nagovisi women pride themselves. Sr. Mary Melitta, S. M., obstetrical nurse at Sovele Catholic Mission for several years, also noted the Nagovisi stoicism toward labor pains (1969: personal communication).

[14] By combining Chinnery's (1924) and Thurnwald's (1934) demographic data we get the following figures on female sterility, which in the present context suggest that motherhood was a nearly universal experience for Nagovisi women and less so for women of Siwai and Buin.

Date	Group	n = Sterile females	n = Marriages	Percent	Source
1929	Nagovisi	7	236	3.0	Chinnery 1924[*sic*]:75
1929	Siwai	107	850	12.6	Chinnery 1924[*sic*]:89
1934	Buin	187	530[a]	35.3	Thurnwald 1934:164

[a] number of married women

The figure for Buin is doubtlessly inflated because Thurnwald, in her sample of sterile women, included married women who had not yet reached menopause, as well as women from genealogies who had died young. Jared Keil has studied Thurnwald's figures and concludes that by removing premenopausal, nulliparous married women from the population of women Thurnwald designated as sterile, 11.7 percent of the sample of married women passed through their childbearing years without ever having given birth (Keil 1978: personal communication). Of course, this is the most conservative figure, for presumably some percentage of young, nulliparous, married women would reach menopause without ever giving birth.

After this paper was substantially completed, I came across Harris's (1979) recently published observation on the relationship between reproduction and dowry. Since it is relevant to the question of Buin women, on whose behalf a true dowry was paid, I include it here.

> Dowry is . . . an attempt to compensate husbands for the responsibility of supporting women whose productive and reproductive potentials are held in small esteem. . . . Dowry . . . is a symptom of acute reproductive pressure (1979:107).

[15] The difference between Buin and Nagovisi is significant at the 5 percent level.

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Submitted 25 May 1979
Revised version received 22 February 1980
Accepted 7 April 1980
Final revisions received 21 October 1980