

Laspela hap long buk Wan¹

Pasin bilong skelim samting long Reite

Dispela samting mi bai stori long en, em wanpela lo o pasin bilong mipela long ples. Tasol em i karamapim olgeta hap long Raikos tu. Dispela em bai olsem, long tok piksa long diwai galip, o talis. Dispela galip em olsem bilong mi. Mi klinim kamap, na lukautim i go bikpela. Taim em karim kaikai bilong en, nambawan taim mi kisim, husat ol famili, mi bai skelim long ol. Ol bai kaikai na pilim, na nau ol bai save long galip bilong mi.

Taim bilong moni nau, sapos mi kirap na brukim galip na salim long kisim moni, sapos mi no givim long ol lain bilong mi fri, ol bai kirap na gat tok nau. Ol bai tok, gutpela galip bilong yu save givim mipela fri, nau yu kirap salim long moni, na yu no tingim mipela long mipela bai kaikai samting. Tu ol ken kirap na pait kros long mi long dispela. Em samting bilong mi, tasol ol ken pait kros long en wantaim ol famili bilong mi long narapela hap

Appendix One¹

Our way of sharing things

What I have to say here reflects laws and customs we abide by in our village. But it is applicable to the Rai Coast populations as a whole. I start with the analogy of the nut bearing tree, the *Canarium* sp. The tree belongs to me. I weeded and tended it while it grew. When the tree bears its first nuts and I collect them and I share with my family. Eating the nuts, they taste the fruit of this tree and know it as my tree. If I were then to sell the nuts and not give any of the produce to my family, they would complain. They would say, 'That good *Canarium* sp. of yours that you used to give us to eat, now you are selling the nuts and don't think of giving us any to eat'. It is possible they would want to fight and be really angry over this. It is my tree, but they can get angry. The same with extended family in other villages. They too can complain, saying, 'In the past you gave us these nuts to eat. Now you are selling them and forgetting us'.

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ples long Asang na Serieng. Ol bai tok 'longtaim yu wok long givim mipela, na nau yu salim na ting lus long mipela'.

Mipela save lukautim diwai long em kamap. Em galip bilong mi. Tasol kaikai bilong dispela samting, olgeta famili bilong mipela long wanem hap, ol ken kaikai fri. Yu kirap na yu tasol papa na laik kisim moni, ol ken kros na pait long yu gen. Em olsem samting bilong kaikai. Na samting bilong katim na wokim haus tu, em wankain. Sapos long bus yu lukautim wanpela mambu, na narapela brata bilong mi i no harim na mi salim narapela man long kisim, olgeta lain brata bilong mi bai gat toktok wantaim mi, na ol bai kros long mi.

Olsem, em wanpela lo bilong mipela, mipela mas sindaun na askim olgeta manmeri bilong yumi, long salim o givim samting long narapela man. Olgeta insait long famili mas harim pastaim, na mipela salim long narapela. Em strongpela lo na pasin bilong mipela. Sapos yu kirap nogut na i go long salim tasol, em bai bruk pasin kamap long famili. Bihain bai gat pasin birua tu kamap long famili, na long klen tu bai kamap. Mipela mas askim ol famili pastaim, na kisim wanem kain samting bilong mi na salim long narapela man. Samting bilong mi, tasol ol save kaikai long en tu. Na long graun, em ol save kisim na wokim haus long en o samting ol i gat laik long en, na dispela kain, samting bilong mi tasol, ol tu bai kisim hap bilong en. Olgeta famili i tok orait tasol, em bai mipela salim narapela

If I tend a tree and it grows, then it is mine. But when it comes to its fruit, all my family, from wherever, can eat for free. If you want to own it all yourself to sell the nuts, they will be angry. This applies to food and also for materials to build houses. If I tend a bamboo in the forest and then send another person to go and make use of it without telling my brothers, they will all have things to say to me and they will all be cross with me.

So this is a law of ours, we must bring together our men and women to give or sell something to another person. Everyone in the family must hear of it before we can sell to another. This is a strong law and practice of ours. If you rush into selling, dissent and separation will occur in the family and even enmity later on. We have to ask first; because although it is mine, it is something they are all used to eating. When it comes to land, they all take its products and build houses as they wish. Everyone has to agree for us to send another person to collect materials or sell them. So, you must consider well. It may be yours, but not yours alone.

It is a metaphor that I want to give you with my discussion of trees. But it goes for girls who want to be married as well. There are changes coming about now where some people around here are deciding on a price for women. For example, five thousand kina and a pig. But this is the practice for tinned fish and rice we buy in a store. Bring it home, eat the fish, and throw the tin into the forest to rust and deteriorate.

man long kisim, o salim long moni. Dispela olsem yu mas tingting gut na salim samting. Bilong yu, tasol, i no bilong yu tasol.

Em tok piksa mi wokim long ol diwai samting nabaut. Tasol i go long pikinini meri laik i go marit, em bai mi toktok long dispela. Long nupela senis nau, sampela long mipela save kirap na makim prais bilong ol meri. Ol bai tok, baim faiv touseen kina na wanpela pik. Tasol dispela em pasin bilong tinpis rais mipela baim long stua. Baim long stua kam kaikai, na tin bilong en, mipela bai tromoi long bus na ros bagarapim. Tin bilong en, bai no inap mekim samting moa. Em olsem tok piksa. Dispela makim prais bilong meri olsem tinpis rais, mipela i no laikim tru kamap long pikinini na meri. Long kastom, pikinini meri bilong mi, tasol olgeta famili bilong mi i stap we, olgeta mas kisim pe bilong en. Sapos mi kisim dispela faiv touseen kina na mi wantaim sampela man klostu kaikai, em bai sampela bilong mipela i no save long pe bilong dispela meri. Em bai mipela yet tasol kaikai, na narapela lain brata na susa na kandere bilong en long narapela ples bai ol kros yet. Ol bai tok, mipela i no save long pe bilong en. Long kastom na pasin bilong yumi long ples, yumi baim meri long dispela kastom, em bai inapim olgeta lain famili. Na mipela laik baim olsem long kastom. Makim faiv touseen kina na wanpela pik em bikpela, tasol long kastom dispela em liklik. Long kastom mipela no inap wokim wanpela sas olsem long pinisim long wanpela raun na wanpela yia. Nogat. Ol lain bilong man mas

The tin will not have any more use. I am speaking metaphorically. This way of setting a price for a bride as if she were a tin of fish, we are very strongly against this in relation to women and children. In our custom, though it is my daughter, all my family, wherever they are, must come and receive wealth for her. If I take five thousand kina and I consume this with the people who are nearby, then some of us will not know the pay for this woman. Suppose a few of us consume it, then other brothers and sisters and cousins in other places will be angry with us. They will say, 'We do not know her payment'. In our custom, when you present valuables for a wife, it must be enough to satisfy the whole family. We want to exchange according to custom. The price of five thousand kina and a pig sounds large, but in terms of custom exchange it is small. In custom, we are not allowed to nominate a single payment to finish the work at one time and in one go. Certainly not. The family of the husband must collect ancestral body decorations, wealth items, money, pigs and so forth over years and slowly make presentations for the mother and her children. By keeping at it, they will collect in excess of the amount specified when we put a price on a woman like tin fish or rice. We do not want these good ways of ours to become like buying tin fish and rice. We forbid this practice in the village. We want our way to remain strong. We buy women under our custom: no setting a price, no setting a timetable,

painim sampela tumbuna bilas, pe, moni, pik long sampela yia, na wokim samting isi bilong mama, na bilong olgeta pikinini bilong dispela mama. Em wokim i go, em bai abrusim olgeta prais mipela save makim olsem tinpis rais nau mipela save makim. Long dispela ol gutpela lo bilong mipela na kastom bilong mipela, mipela i no laikim bai go long pasin bilong baim tinpis rais. Mipela save stopim dispela kain pasin long ples. Mipela laikim dispela kastom bilong mipela mas i stap strong. Mipela laik baim meri long kastom bilong yumi. Noken makim prais, noken makim yia, em bilong larim ol wokim isi isi na ol ken wokim prais bai go ova long prais bai yu makim.

OK, em luk olsem ol tok piksa bilong mi i go pinis nau. Wanem ol dispela lo bilong mipela, em ol strongpela na gutpela, olsem mipela i no laikim ol lo bilong mipela bai pinis. Yumi save i stap long dispela kain, mipela save stap wantaim gutpela hamamas na bel isi insait long ples, na klen na famili.

Nau long dispela bung, mi save yumi bai go long tingting bilong save stret. Husat bai papa long save, husat bai inap long salim? Wanem rot bai yumi stopim ol man stilim nating, o mekim olsem samting em bilong en tasol? Olsem bai mi tokim dispela kibung long we pasin bilong mipela long dispela samting.

Long ples mipela i stap long en i gat sampela ol kastom i stap olsem lo. Nambawan em olsem ol pikinini. Pikinini em olsem bilong wanpela man, tasol ol kandere na tumbuna

we let others work slowly, and they can then give a higher price than one you could specify.

OK, my analogies are ended now. These ways and laws of ours are good for us, and we do not want to see them undermined. This is how we live, and we live with happiness and contentment in our hamlets, clans and families.

Here, we are discussing the topic of knowledge itself. Who can own knowledge, who can sell it? By what means can you prevent its theft or appropriation? So I will now turn to discussing these things.

In our area, custom has the status of law. Firstly, regarding children. Children belong to parents, but cousins, uncles and grandparents are required to make a child grow into a man, influence his development and make him look good in the eyes of others. If the father does not call on the uncles to receive wealth for [this work of] helping in the development of the child well, they will complain. They will be angry with the mother and father. You see? It looks like something belonging to one person, but uncles and cousins have the right to complain if the parents do not follow the procedure for his development to proceed correctly. The father has to undertake custom work and the uncles must come and give the boy good advice, knowledge of spirits and myths, and thus help him to grow. If they do not provide this assistance in his growth, they will not eat his pig and will not know what kind of

bilong en mas i kam na mekim i kamap olsem man. Mekim i kamap na luk gutpela long ai bilong olgeta man. Sapos papa i no wokim sampela kastom na singautim ol kandere bilong mekim dispela manki i kamap gut, em bai ol kandere gat tok yet. Ol bai kros long papamama. Yu lukim, em olsem samting bilong wanpela man, tasol ol kandere i gat rait long gat tok sapos papamama i no bihainim gut we bilong mekim em kamap gutpela man. Papa mas wokim sampela kastom na stretim ol kandere, na ol mas i kam givim sampela gutpela tok skul na mekim manki i kamap bikpela. Nogat dispela helpim long manki kamap, ol bai no inap kaikai pik bilong en, na save long em wanem kain man. Olsem ol bai gat tok long dispela. Yu wanpela man salim pikinini meri long marit, em bai olgeta no inap save long pe bilong en. Wankain long pikinini man, i stap nating, ol bai no inap save long pe bilong en.

Nambatu, em long tambaran samting. Dispela em olsem musik bilong yumi. We bilong painim em, em olsem, wanpela tumbuna mas slip na painim long driman, na em bai painim. Em olsem em painim long strong bilong en, tasol dispela samting em bilong olgeta famili ol bai hamamas wantaim na singsing wantaim na kaikai pik wantaim. Olsem em laik salim long narapela man, em bai ol famili mas harim na tok orait pastaim. Em laik salim i go long narapela man, em mas askim ol pastaim. Em wanpela lo bilong mipela i stap bipo yet na i kam nau. Long wanpela susa bilong man i go marit long narapela ples, na em

person he is. They will complain about this. If you chose alone to send your daughter in marriage, then no one will know her bride wealth. The same with boys. If they remain uninitiated, no one will know their wealth.

Secondly the spirit cult. This is our music. Spirit voices were discovered in dreams by our ancestors. That is how we discover them also. So they are found using inherent power of the dreamer but they are items which belong to the whole family and with which they celebrate, dance and sing, and eat pigs. If a dreamer wants to sell to another person, the whole family must hear and agree first. This is an ancient law of ours. When a man's sister goes in marriage to another village, he must ask his whole family before allowing her to take one of their spirit songs with her. When they all agree, then he can take it for her. If he says 'It is mine, I'm just going to send it to her', it is wrong. The whole family uses this ancestral song to celebrate in other places and it belongs to them all.

Once it has been left with a sister, she and her husband can go to festivals and eat pigs with it. So everyone must think about this and decide whether they are comfortable for these people to have the spirit song. On the other hand, when a woman from another village comes to marry with one of us and her brothers want to give her a spirit voice to bring to us, they must agree together to do so. If they want payment in return, we will ready a pig and give it to them first. Why? Well,

laik salim dispela tambaran musik i go long en, em mas askim ol lain bilong en pastaim. Ol tok oriat, nau em ken bringim bilong en i go. Na sapos em tok samting bilong mi na mi salim tasol, em bai nogat. Ol famili save hamamas raun long dispela na em samting bilong ol yet.

I go lusim bilong kandere susa, em ken bai go raun na kaikai pik long en, na singsing dispela tambaran. Olsem ol mas tingim dispela pastaim, na ol bai tok orait o nogat. Narapela em olsem, wanpela meri bilong narapela ples i kam marit long mipela, na ol brata bilong en laik lusim wanpela singsing tambaran wantaim mipela, ol mas toktok pastaim. Ol laik mipela baim, mipela bai redim pik na givim ol pastaim. Bilong wanem, mipela bai kisim raun singsing na kaikai pik long en. Pe bilong tambaran olgeta famili bilong husat kamapim, ol bai kaikai dispela pe.

Hap bilong dispela tasol em olsem. Husat susa marit long hia na ol lain bilong en kam lusim wanpela tambaran wantaim papa o tumbuna bilong mipela, em bai olgeta tumbuna bilong dispela papa o tumbuna mas pasim tok pastaim, na lusim long narapela man. I no wanpela lain tasol bai wokim.

Nambatri, mipela save planim yam na taro wantaim sampela pawa o stori bilong ples. Bilong mekim mas karim hariap, na karim bikpela kaikai bilong en. Dispela kain save em bilong wan wan klen tasol wanpela man noken kirap givim long husat kandere o brata. Olgeta famili pasim

we will take this spirit voice with us when we go to feast and dance and sing in other places. The whole family of the person who dreamed the voice into being will receive and consume this payment.

There is also another aspect to this. Think of a woman who married here and who brought a spirit voice with her to give to our fathers or grandparents. All the grandchildren of these people must agree before any one of them takes it to give to another village. It cannot just be the brothers of a woman who leaves in marriage that decides.

Thirdly the planting of our taro and yam gardens using power and knowledge of the place. Practicing this knowledge makes the plants grow fast and provide abundant food. This kind of knowledge is specific to each clan, but a single man cannot give it to another brother or nephew. If the whole family agrees and all are content, they may give this knowledge to a nephew. It can not be one small group only who decides.

When you give this power to a nephew or grandchild, he will be wealthy with food. So everyone must think and discuss what kind of payment they will be happy with in return. If you cook meat for everyone to eat they will be happy to give it to you. If you give it to him for nothing, [your kin] will ask you if the boy will come and give you food every morning, noon and evening, or not. You must think of such things before you give power to him.

tok wantaim, na ol wanbel, ol ken givim long husat kandere bilong en. Narapela man em bai nogat tru.

Taim em givim long kandere o tumbuna, em bai kamap bik man long kaikai. Olsem ol mas tingting na tok long em baim pawa o wanem long tingting bilong ol. Baim na em bai kisim. Kukim abus bilong ol man kaikai na hamamas long givim yu. Yu givim ol nating, ol bai askim yu long em bai kam helpim yu long kaikai olgeta moning, apinun, belo, o nogat? Yu mas tingim dispela bipo long yu givim dispela pawa long en.

Nambafoa, em bai long sait bilong mak o kaving. Long save bilong wanpela man, em kamapim wanem mak bilong karim i go singsing long narapela ples, o long bilasim haus samting. Dispela narapela ples kam lukim, ol no inap kam kisim long laik bilong ol. Sapos ol kisim nating, em bai gat bung bilong en na sas bilong en. Ol ken kukim pik na putim sampela pe wantaim. Husat susa o kandere i go marit na lusim pik long ol lain bilong en, man mas sindaun wantaim olgeta lain klen na famili, na olgeta mas tok i orait pastaim. Em bai ol painim wanem samting ol bai bekim pik bilong en wantaim. Em nau, ol ken tok, orait mipela lusim bilong dispela susa o kandere stret. Na em tu bai no inap kirap grisim i go long narapela man. Nogat tru. Na i no long laik bilong man kamapim dispela mak stret bai wokim tingting na i go givim long husat. Em tu em bilong ol singsing hamamas raun, na kaikai pik. Olsem noken wanpela man papa long en.

Fourthly, our designs and carvings. It is from the knowledge that one man has that he makes the designs that he carries to ceremonies in other places, or decorates his cult house. People from other places come and view them but cannot take them to make themselves. If they do, they will be called to a meeting, and charged in pigs and wealth. When a sister or cousin is married, she will give her kin a pig. If she wants to take a design with her, she must sit down with her family and all must agree. When they receive her pig, they must find things to give in return. If they all have agreed, then they can give a design to her directly at this point. But as with spirit voices, she may not them pass it on again without consultation. No way. These things too are for celebrating and making a name in other villages and feasting there. One person cannot be owner of them.

Significantly, all these things bring fame. People make a name for a place through the designs they own. They contribute to the reputation of the place and the family. It is a valuable thing of theirs, so all must agree before giving to others. A man may discover or bring one of these items into being, but it is not his solely. It is something that belongs to them all. If you pass them on behind people's backs, there will be anger and fighting over this as you will have broken custom law and done something of your own volition.

It is like this. Now people say God made them [laws, customs], but we say *Patuki* made them and if you do

Bikpela samting, dispela olgeta samting em bilong apim nem. Mak bilong wanpela ples, em bai apim nem bilong dispela ples. Long apim gutnem bilong ol, na nem bilong famili. Gutpela samting bilong ol, ol mas olgeta pasim tok na go lusim bilong narapela. Man em kamapim, tasol i no bilong em tasol. Dispela ol kain samting em bilong olgeta lain bilong en ken i go na kisim pik na hamamas long en. Em samting bilong olgeta. Yu laik hait long narapela famili, bai gat kros pait long en, na yu brukim dispela kastom na lo bilong mipela, na yu wokim samting long laik bilong yu.

Dispela em olsem, mipela save tok long en, nau ol save tok God i wokim, tasol mipela save tok *Patuki* i wokim, na yu laik wokim samting long laik bilong yu, bai gat kros pait kamap long en. Yu mas bihainim we bilong en, na bai yu i stap gut na wokim samting gut.

Mipela no laik ol dispela lo na kastom bilong mipela bai lus. Pasin tumbuna bilong bihainim na skelim samting em gutpela. Dispela em bilong mekim bel isi na gutpela tingting. Mipela i no laik sampela nupela pasin i kam insait long mipela. Nupela lo o nupela tingting bai kam na bagarapim sindaun bilong mipela.

Olsem ol kain lain olsem James na wanlain bilong en, i kam sapotim o strongim dispela tingting, mi hamamas tru. Dispela ol lain i stap bilong tok aut long pasin bilong mipela na strongim tok bilong kastom samting, mipela hamamas long ol mas i kam. Long mekim klia tok ol

things differently, in ways you have decided on yourself, there will be negative consequences. People must follow the right way of doing things, then they will live well and make good things.

We do not want to see these laws and customs disappear. Following the ancestral way of sharing things is good. It makes for peace and contentment, and we do not want new ways to displace them. New laws and ways of thinking will ruin our life here.

For this reason, I am happy that James and his kind come and support and strengthen such understandings. They are there to explain and speak up for our ways, and this is good. We want to explain our custom and show the good practices it has, and for others to hear about them and to say, 'yes, there is value in this knowledge' and so we cannot take the laws relating to money, or the law of the white men too quickly so that it ruins the lives of people with these good ways of being.

kastom na soim gutpela we bilong en, mipela laikim, na yupela ol narapela man ken harim na tok, 'Yes, em i gat gutpela we na save bilong en na mipela no ken kisim lo bilong moni, o lo bilong waitman i kam insait kwik na bagarapim sindaun bilong ol man i gat kain gutpela tingting olsem'.

