MANAGING SEX AND ANGER: TOBACCO AND KAVA USE AMONG THE GEBUSI OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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Among the Gebusi of central south New Guinea, two different drugs–tobacco and kava–are used ceremonially to produce strikingly similar social transformations. In each case, heavy drug consumption at ritual feasts is directly related–both in Gebusi belief and in fact–to cessation of hostility between antagonists and, subsequently, to marked social and sexual camaraderie between them. The functional significance of these transformations is particularly great given an extremely high rate of violence and homicide in Gebusi society, particularly between those categories of kinsmen (affines) who are typically in a prominent drug-sharing relationship at ritual feasts. The social conditioning of these transformations reveals a general structure of interaction between cultural and physiological factors in the shaping of drug-induced behavior and experience.

The present chapter first situates drug-induced transformations within the ethnographic context of Gebusi drug usage and ceremony. As Marshall (chapter 1) and Black (1984) have noted, there is a paucity of detailed information concerning traditional use of tobacco in Oceania. With respect to kava, only passing references have been made in the published literature to the occurrence of kava drinking in inland New Guinea (cf., Shaw 1981). The present chapter is intended to add to the ethnographic record in these respects, as well as to explain the Gebusi's dramatic use of tobacco and kava at ritual feasts. In the final section of the chapter, a wider theoretical perspective is adopted to consider general processes of drug-mediated physiocultural conditioning.

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ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING

The Gebusi are a society of some 450 persons living on the Strickland Plain at the northern reaches of the lowland rain forest in Papua New Guinea's Western Province. They live in dispersed communal longhouse settlements of up to 54 people, men and women sleeping in separate parts of the house. Several settlements together form a kinship network and integrated ceremonial community. Subsistence is based on a mixed strategy of foraging, hunting and shifting horticulture, with bananas and sago palm being the primary starch staples. Social organization is based on dispersed patriclans, with the adult male composition of each settlement including men from several clans. Coresident men tend to be related through diverse ties of agnation, affinity or matrifiliation. Residential membership shifts fluidly. Ideally, marriage is based on a balanced exchange of women, and 52 percent of all first intra-tribal unions are in fact reciprocated with a true or classificatory "sister" of the groom.

Gebusi political structure is highly decentralized and markedly noncompetitive. There are no big-men or gerontocratic elders, and while spirit mediums wield some authority, this is through spiritual pronoucement only. Secular decisions concerning collective activity are made by men on a consensual basis, with each adult man ultimately being able to participate to the extent he wishes. Competitive exchanges and status rivalry are notably absent. The dominant ethos is one of self-effacement, easy humor and communal association. However, there is a high rate of violence associated with sorcery attributions. Most violence occurs within the community following a sickness death, particularly between affinally related patrilines (Knauft 1985*a*).

The Gebusi remain one of the most remote and least contacted societies in Oceania. During the period of fieldwork (1980-1982) there was virtually no cash cropping, wage labor or out-migration. There were no trade outlets among the Gebusi or at the Nomad Sub-District Station. There was no evidence of mission influence, and no Gebusi were effective speakers of pidgin, Motu or English.[1] Social and subsistence activities were almost entirely traditional, and Gebusi rituals, seances and initiation practices had not been abandoned or significantly altered. Except for the meager stocks of trade tobacco brought in by the author, all tobacco was of indigenous origin. No beer or other alcoholic beverages were present: alcohol would have been very difficult to obtain and was prohibitively expensive in any event. No betel nut had been imported into the area, and none grows indigenously. On the other hand, Gebusi's traditional production and consumption of kava continued in unmitigated fashion. As was consistent with pre-contact conditions, communities were highly self-sufficient, and there was little trade between them. Kava was never used in barter transactions or exchanges, and bundles of tobacco were only rarely used for trade purposes. No drugs were of economic significance (cf., Watson chapter 5; Wormsley chapter 8). Gebusi drug use was in these respects the same as it was prior to Western contact.

TOBACCO

The sharing of tobacco, *sagõ*, between men is the *sine qua non* of male social life. Tobacco is grown, cured and dried by virtually all post-adolescent men. Commonly, it is planted at various locations about the village or on the fertile ground of abandoned settlement sites. Once picked, tobacco leaves are hung for a week or more in eaves of the roof, until deemed sufficiently cured. Immediately before use, the leaves are dried over fire, typically on a forked bamboo stake. The dried tobacco is then crumbled into a special broad wrapping leaf, *segwab*, small portions of which are torn off to make a thick conical sheath about two inches long when rolled. Smoking tobacco is said to be unpleasant without the use of *segwab* as the wrapping leaf. *Segwab* plants grow wild, and are exploited opportunistically by men as they pass them in the forest. The other main smoking implement is a bamboo pipe, usually about one and a half feet long, one and a half to three inches in diameter, and a quarter to a half inch thick. All adult men have a sturdy tobacco pipe of their own which they carry in a netbag along with a supply of tobacco virtually everywhere they go.

For smoking, the crushed and rolled tobacco is inserted into a small hole bored near the base of the pipe. The tobacco is lit and the smoke drawn into the pipe until the chamber is full. The tobacco sheaf is then removed, and the smoke-filled pipe passed from its owner to another man present. The recipient takes the pipe and inhales all the smoke in a single deep breath. The smoke is exhaled almost immediately, at which point the recipient hands the empty pipe back to the giver. The giver reinserts the tobacco sheaf and again fills the chamber with smoke, offering the pipe to the same individual as before until he has had several smokes and/or says he

has had enough. The owner of the pipe shares smoke in this manner serially with other men present before inhaling a few pipefuls himself. At almost any social gathering, most men will have a tobacco pipe handy, and will share smoke. The general norm is that smoke is shared with all post-adolescent men, regardless of kinship or residential affiliation. Visitors from other settlements tend to be offered smoke first, particularly if they are affines or matrikin. Ultimately, however, everyone partakes to his satisfaction.

Smoke sharing follows a pattern of generalized reciprocity even between father-in-law/son-in-law, or between affines who have been party to an unreciprocated marriage between them. Thus, for instance, a newly married man visiting his father-in-law's settlement will be cordially and repeatedly offered smoke by his senior in-law. Even in informal settings, it is bad etiquette to smoke tobacco by oneself. Gebusi life is strongly communal, both inside and outside the longhouse. The Gebusi's very word for 'custom' or 'culture', *kogwayay*, has the morphemic meaning, "talk and yell/joke all together!" A man would not think to isolate himself in order to smoke tobacco alone. Indeed, persons who stay alone either inside or outside the settlement are believed to be courting an attack on themselves by sorcerers from distant communities.

While general sharing of tobacco is the rule, its use is not totally unrestricted. Persons save their most plentiful stocks of tobacco for special gatherings, and they manage the depletion of their supply by limiting the amount of tobacco they bring out on a given occasion.

Tobacco use is restricted most of all by gender. While all post-adolescent men smoke, tobacco is virtually never shared between men and women as host and recipient. Women rarely smoke even among themselves, the main exception being young post-adolescent women who are either not yet married or who are divorced, i.e., those not domestically attached to a man. Married women almost never own pipes, the implication being that their husbands would be angry at them for undertaking such a male activity.

Neither men nor young women smoke when alone. The only context in which a man is apt to smoke without sharing is when he and his wife are alone gardening or foraging. Such contexts, however, are not sought out or particularly desired. Indeed, men appear happiest and most congenial in the warm and typically humorous atmosphere of collective male socializing. It is significant in this respect that men commonly aggregate in casual or large-scale collective groups for foraging, gardening and housebuilding. Like all gatherings, these are pervaded by numerous smoke breaks. The

pattern throughout is one of tobacco shared among all men.[2] Tobacco-sharing is an index of male sociality and, as discussed below, is considered inimical to aggressiveness and disputing.

The socialization of tobacco-sharing behavior begins for boys at about age nine or ten, before they themselves can legitimately own tobacco or be offered smoke. A boy stokes a pipe, repeatedly draws it full of smoke, and offers it to men for smoking. The tobacco and pipe usually belong to one of the boy's close agnates ("father" or "elder brother"), and the boy is in this respect offering tobacco smoke on their behalf. At the same time, tobacco giving by boys is an optional rather than an obligatory role and tends to mark the boy's incipient adoption of adult male norms of hospitality.[3] Hence, boys take notable pride in their own role offering tobacco. Often they draw smoke into the pipe with some flourish until the pressure creates a distinct "popping" sound when their mouth is removed. The boy may then confidently intone, "Here's tobacco!" or "Here's another smoke!" as he hands the pipe to a typically smiling adult recipient. This kind of offering is the same tobacco sharing etiquette used by adult men at feasts and formal occasions, as discussed below. Through their own efforts, boys imbue men's casual gatherings with a sense of festivity. Men take pride in such indications of boys' growing participation in male communal life.

As tobacco-givers in informal settings, boys are tacitly allowed to inhale smoke or to finish the last bit of tobacco after the pipe has been liberally stoked and shared. By the time they are 16 or 17 years old, boys begin to be offered smoke by other men. During their late teens, youths gradually become full participants in all male tobacco sharing.

Ceremonial Tobacco Use

At ceremonial gatherings, the Gebusi's pattern of tobacco use is accentuated and brought to its fullest expression. Such gatherings involve the feasting of visitors–usually with large ovens of cooked sago starch–and an all night dance performed by one or more men in the community (Knauft 1985*b*). The invitation to the event generally extends to several community settlements as wholes. Given that each settlement is comprised of adult men from several different clans, the aggregation of settlements brings together large numbers of unrelated persons. In general, the event is an occasion for persons from the larger community to don ritual paraphernalia and join in a spirit of camaraderie.

The festive expectations of the event notwithstanding, a feast

begins with a display of social distance or antagonism between visitors and hosts. Indeed, it is in an analytic sense one of the "functions" of the occasion to overcome and transcend the visitors' display of hostility. Usually, this antagonism is simply a dour and sullen march of the visiting men, dressed and armed as warriors, into the village. Sometimes this is followed by a harangue from the visitors. In either event, hosts use tobacco-sharing as a means to quell antagonism. After snapping fingers with each of the visiting men, men of the host community run out and fetch their tobacco pipes. Often holding several rolls of tobacco each, they light these pipes. Forming a line, they approach the visiting men and give smoke. The hosts move down the line of visitors–reminiscent in form to the receiving line at an American wedding. (There is no particular order to the line of men.) Each male host shares smoke in turn with each and every one of the visiting men. As each pipe is offered, its owner may call out a kin name or other term of affection that classifies his relation to that particular visitor. Thus, for instance, shouts of "friend," or "distant relative," are directed to unrelated visitors as smoke-filled pipes are thrust into their hands. Each visitor is obliged to smoke at least once fully from each host. Typically, the hosts' respective pipes are pressed on visitors in quick succession and the latter have difficulty catching their breath between repeated deep inhalations of smoke. The room soon fills with smoke and coughing. The tobacco is quite strong and, even for Gebusi accustomed to it, this intense serial smoking puts them in a pronounced if temporary stupor.

The effect of such intense smoking is clearly recognized by the Gebusi, who say that the *gōf* 'strength' of the tobacco "cuts the breath" of the visitors, undercutting *their* 'strength/anger'. This effect is magnified by the gasps and deep breaths of the visitors between pipefuls of smoke. It is just when the visitors are in this temporary nicotine stupor that the hosts persuade them to relinquish their bows and arrows. The visitors are thus disarmed and their weapons are piled out of the way in a corner of the longhouse, whereupon the feast can proceed.

Tobacco and Ritual Fights

At ritual fights, Gebusi consciously employ tobacco to forestall anger (also *gōf*). In these cases, the event begins with visitors charging into the host settlement. They wield spiked wooden cudgels or long pointed black palm bows which they use overhand as effective slashing weapons. The hosts hold up their own weapons to block

the blows and then counterattack. The injuries sustained tend to be cuts, scalp wounds and bruised limbs. Occasionally broken bones may result or a man may be knocked unconscious, at which point the primary antagonists are apt to grab their arrows and square off as if for a pitched battle. By this time, however, neutral parties are shouting affectionate kin names to people on both sides, entreating them to desist. It is at this point that the neutral parties quickly and repeatedly ply the antagonists with pipefuls of smoke–often while the latter are still yelling and screaming. Obligated to receive the pipes, the recipients reluctantly smoke. As the tobacco "cuts their breath," their aggressive vigor wanes.

Heavy smoking of tobacco in such situations is actively perceived to forestall fighting. Indeed, before one ritual fight the visitors told me privately they were afraid their angry resolve would be depleted by the tobacco they were forced to smoke from the long line of hosts. In addition to the physical effects of tobacco, the reception of a pipe by even a few visitors during the antagonism is taken by hosts as a tacit acceptance of peaceful relations. As the principal antagonists see others in their party accepting tobacco, they realize that support for violent fighting is dwindling. Eventually, they feel obligated themselves to accept tobacco. Appeasement through tobacco-giving is thus promulgated by obligatory social etiquette at the same time that it is prompted by the physical effects of the drug itself. Hosts and neutral parties actively manipulate this etiquette to de-escalate what might otherwise be a violent fight and to ensure that the visitors will eventually give up their weapons and partake in a peaceful feast. Men speculate and worry quite openly that in the absence of effective interference, ritual fights could escalate to lethal proportions. In fact, however, a systematic mortality survey revealed that of 163 homicides, only one was related to wounds inflicted during a ritual fight. Appeasement in a ritual setting is, in this sense, extremely effective. This control is especially striking given the high rate of killing in other contexts, such as sorcery accusations.

The Gebusi's pattern of graded ritual antagonism and drug use can be compared to that among the Yanomamo of the northwestern Amazon (Chagnon 1977). Among the Yanomamo, hosts and visitors partake of the hallucinogenic drug *ebene* some time prior to their formal meeting in ritualized displays of antagonism (Chagnon 1977:109). Yanomamo ritual hostility ranges incrementally from shouting matches, chest pounding and side slapping to club duels and spear or ax fights that may escalate to warfare. Gebusi antagonism, correspondingly, ranges from aggressive marches and

harangues to bloody club fights that threaten bow and arrow fighting.

Unlike the Yanomamo, however, Gebusi ceremonial displays of violence almost never escalate to the point of real warfare or lethal violence. Gebusi killings tend to take place *within* rather than between communities–as consensual executions of single individuals alleged to be sorcerers (Knauft 1985*a*). In contrast to executions of sorcerers for harboring "hidden anger," those men who fight at Gebusi ritual feasts–by making their anger public–become relatively *immune* to sorcery accusations from one another. Gebusi ritual feasts thus dispel rather than exacerbate hostility between the chief antagonists and between their patrilines. This pattern of ritual hostility differs markedly from that of the Yanomamo, among whom ritual violence continually threatens to contravene and disrupt ceremonial boundaries.

Sociality and Sexuality

To return again to our ritual scenario, it may be generalized that the visitors' display of social distance and antagonism has been appeased by a ritual greeting and by the giving of smoke by every host to every visitor. Visitors have put aside their weapons and are sitting peaceably in the longhouse. Food is then communally served by the hosts. Visiting affines and matrikin are given the largest portions, but everyone receives an ample amount to eat. Since each adjacent settlement hosts all its neighbors over time, there is a general understanding that gift giving balances out. No tally is kept of sago gifts and no haggling occurs over reciprocities. If anything, recipients make *pro forma* protestations that they are being given too *much* food–that the hosts should save more for themselves.

After food is given and eaten, kava is prepared (as described below). At this point, hosts and visitors begin to talk and interact in a more informal and reciprocal manner. As the evening wears on, the sharing of tobacco also becomes increasingly casual, with hosts and visitors sharing smoke with anyone near them. The talk typically becomes raucous and ribald, with visitors and hosts joking good-naturedly about themselves and each other. This pattern extends to the early morning hours when dancing begins. The dance consists of one to three male dancers in spectacular costume performing for the assembled male audience (Knauft 1985*b*). Women–both hosts and visitors–sit as a group on sleeping platforms off to the side of the dancer, singing plaintive songs of young men and women alone in the forest. The sight of a beautiful dancer in context of the women's singing greatly accentuates sexual joking among the assembled male audience.

On particularly festive occasions, the act of sharing smoke may itself become a metaphor for homosexual joking between visiting men and their hosts. The joking context is marked off from more normal speech by a higher pitched or louder voice with a "rhetorical" tone. Using this speech form, men may employ the image of lit tobacco to fantasize a "hot phallus" ready to be sucked. A man can thus joke (contrary to fact), "Hey, this 'tobacco' you're giving me isn't 'lit'!" (i.e., your phallus is not hot enough to merit a liaison). Someone else may chime in, "That's all right, so-and-so will light it!" (i.e., so-and-so will stimulate him). "*Now* it's 'lit', now his 'pipe' is *really* 'lit'!" etc.

Homosexual liaisons between unrelated men may in fact take place in the bush outside the longhouse during the course of ritual feasts and spirit seances. Sexual joking, however, does not transpire between potential sexual partners so much as it does between affines or matrikin who are precluded from such trysts by virtue of their kinship relation. In this respect, the diffuse tobacco sharing by hosts can be seen to have complimentary effects on those visitors who are kin versus non-kin to them. On the one hand, tobacco sharing is extended as a sign of social closeness to non-relatives. On the other hand, the sexual bonding between non-relative men metaphorically informs the relationship between affines and matrikin–through the sharing of the "tobacco pipe" and through their pronounced sexual joking. What results is an atmosphere of friendship and camaraderie that encompasses *all* men as a uniform collectivity (Knauft 1981, in press).

Men derive great enjoyment from collective tobacco smoking. This is projected perhaps most clearly in men's beliefs concerning male spirit children. The Gebusi spirit world is a complex pantheon that takes on special importance during all-night spirit seances. During seances, spirits provide invaluable help to their hosts. They cure sickness, divine the names of sorcerers, decide whether and when people should conduct collective subsistence activities, and advise them how to perpetrate or avoid collective violence. None of these actions can be properly accomplished without the spirits' prior help. Tobacco is considered a crucial aid in attracting spirits and keeping them present during the night; it both entices and reflects the spirits' sociability. Thus, the spirit medium–whose body houses the spirits during the seance–is plied with smoke as he enters his trance and subsequently during the night. As people say, "His spirit

children come back (inside his body) to smoke tobacco." In the same way that tobacco embodies men's sociability, so too it creates the good company between men and spirits necessary for a successful spirit seance.[4]

KAVA

To a large extent, the Gebusi's use of kava *gowi* parallels in form and function their ritual use of tobacco. Just as tobacco use is heaviest during male gatherings, such as spirit seances and rituals, so too these collective contexts provide the primary opportunity for drinking kava. Kava was drunk at every one of the 25 ritual feasts I attended over 22 months, and in 21 of 60 spirit seances, including most seances at which substantial numbers of men from visiting settlements were in attendance. Kava was rarely consumed except at these festive gatherings. Occasionally, it was drunk the evening after a feast, when a surplus of kava root was left over from the previous evening's drinking.

As is the case with tobacco, virtually all adult men own kava plants. These are planted and tended by men either in the village clearing or at garden sites. There are no special rites or spirit beliefs associated with cultivation of either drug. For feasts or large seances, kava belonging to one or two men of the host community is dug up. The owners of the kava have no necessary connection either with the principal cause of the gathering or with the main visitors. Indeed, many visitors do not know who supplied the kava. In general, all in the community are willing to use their kava for collective gatherings sponsored by their settlement. This "round robin" approach does seem to balance out in fact. If a feast is scheduled at a time when a settlement's supply of kava is short, their relatives in neighboring settlements donate some for the occasion. In general, kava use is normatively required at feasts and cannot legitimately be withheld by anyone in the community who has an adequate supply. Indeed, such an attempt would be out of character since men love ceremonial gatherings and are generally quite willing to volunteer their resources to facilitate one. Such gatherings are a matter of public enjoyment rather than of competitive prestige or status.

Kava roots are dug up the day of a gathering by hosts and stored in the longhouse. For large feasts, roots may be "empowered" with special yells, *yi-kay*, that men use to make kava especially strong. After the yell is given, host men run whooping and stamping into

the longhouse, each carrying a kava root. On these occasions, the roots are kept from touching the ground lest their special strength drain away.[5]

Kava preparation marks a distinct social transformation in that it is the first act that hosts and visitors undertake together at the ritual feast. Prior to this time, hosts and visitors have said little to each other; the visitors' anger has not been sufficiently appeased, and the best compliment the hosts can pay them is to leave them alone to relax while the work of cooking is being completed. In contrast to this initial distance and separation, kava preparation in the early evening brings hosts and visitors together in mutual cooperation. Usually they sit in a circle. In this setting, relaxed interaction and socializing begin.

Kava preparation itself has several stages. First, piles of long ribbon-like *kafish* leaves are brought out. These shiny green leaves grow wild and have been collected previously by hosts for the occasion. The assembled men twist the leaves into tight braids which are then burned. The resulting ash of the leaf bundles is said to be indispensable in "sweetening" the bitter kava and making it palatable. Fresh kava roots are then chewed, with men spitting the masticated pulp into a central palm spathe plate. As with the braiding of *kafish* leaves, chewing of the roots is undertaken by hosts and visitors alike in a spirit of cooperation. Any post-adolescent male may participate in the chewing, the group typically comprising men 15 to 35 years of age. Older men usually do not participate in the preparation though they may be cajoled to do so in a spirit of friendship. (They evidence no reluctance at the task.) This same generalization applies to all kava preparations.

The blurring of host/visitor and elder/younger distinctions in kava preparation is distinctive for the Gebusi and adjacent societies as contrasted, for example, with the concern with seniority or rank that accompanies kava drinking on the New Guinea south coast (Baal 1966:95, 129; Landtman 1927:106ff.; Serpenti 1969; Williams 1936:427) and among persons of high status in Polynesian societies (e.g., Newell 1947; Titcomb 1948). This contrast reflects the highly decentralized and non-competitive nature of Gebusi political structure, on the one hand, and strong Gebusi norms of male communalism on the other. In this respect, Gebusi kava use is more similar to non-ceremonial kava preparation among commoners in some Polynesian societies (see Lemert 1967; Feldman 1980).

After a sizable pile of masticated kava has been produced, the entire mass is pounded by hand and *kafish* leaf ash sprinkled on top.

The mixture is then separated into numerous wads, each about the size of a grapefruit. Wads are sequentially placed in a palm spathe bowl into which water is poured from a long bamboo tube. The root mass is squeezed, leaching the intoxicant into the water. The resulting muddy brown liquid is then ladled out with a coconut shell by a male host into a smaller palm spathe trough which is handed to a visitor for drinking.

In most cases, choice of the first drinker is a fairly random one. The main exception to this occurs following ritual fights or at funeral feasts. In these cases, the first portion of kava is given to a principal antagonist among the visitors and/or, at funeral feasts, to the man who carried the corpse on his back into the grave for burial. The second and third portions of kava are in these cases given to other principal visiting antagonists and/or to men that supported the legs of the corpse as it was carried, or who helped in the digging and preparation of the grave.

There is a strong connection between burial and ritual antagonism; the non-coresident kinsmen of a deceased person are apt to be both those who help in preparing the grave, and those who come to fight the deceased's coresidents at the funeral feast. Most ritual club fights (including all of those directly observed) occur at funeral feasts. The fight typically begins during the entrance, as visiting affines, matrikin or clan-mates come and accuse his or her coresidents of neglecting the person and allowing him/her to die.

The first drinking of kava by those visitors most angered by the death is particularly significant since it is precisely at this time that a funeral oration begins. This oration is an account of the deceased's sickness and death, told by one of his or close coresident kinsmen. The account may be expanded in turn by other persons present, particularly if they wish to defend themselves against lingering suspicions that the death was furthered by their negligence.

The first visitors who receive kava must drink the entire contents of the bowl handed to them. As with tobacco, the kava bowl is then refilled and forced upon the individual several times. Often the drinker protests such forced drinking, but the obligation to receive holds sway. After downing several bowls of kava in succession, the visitor invariably appears sick; he retches involuntarity and sits down to quiet himself and to keep from vomiting. At this point, the recipient's continuing protests that he cannot drink any more are taken seriously by the hosts. In the meantime, the hosts themselves continue their funeral orations, giving self-exonerating descriptions of the deceased's sickness and ultimate death. The net result of

forced kava drinking is thus effectively to prevent the chief antagonists from disputing or taking retaliatory action against their hosts during a particularly tense moment in the proceedings. This is a clear analogue of the use of forced tobacco smoking to forestall escalation of hostilities during the funeral fight itself.

If kava drinking is somewhat of an ordeal, it, like heavy tobacco smoking, is also enjoyed for its ultimate effects. Kava is served to all male visitors (each drinking his fill) and then to all the male hosts, including the server(s) him/themselves. Thereafter, the drink is re-served in a fairly random fashion to all men. At this point, men are urged to drink not in a spirit of rigid demand but with an aura of generosity and good-natured cajoling. As with tobacco sharing, the pattern of giving is indiscriminate. The main limitation is that women and preadolescent boys do not partake. Indeed, women sit in a different section of the longhouse while men socialize and joke.[6]

Kava and Sexuality

A striking aspect of Gebusi kava consumption is the degree to which kava itself becomes a subject of sexual joking during the evening. This accentuates the pattern noted earlier for tobacco. While the lit tobacco pipe may on a few occasions be used as a metaphor for a hot phallus, kava quite frequently serves as a metaphor for semen. Thus, a man may say he will "serve 'his kava' to the women," even though (a) women never drink kava; (b) it is not in fact the speaker's kava (or serving); and (c) he may not even be a member of the host community. The intended message is that he wants to give his semen to the women, e.g., to force them to have sex with him. Alternatively, a man may jokingly entreat another *man* to "drink his kava," i.e., be a homosexual recipient through fellatio. The targeted individual may jokingly say he has had enough "kava" already, or he may reply that he doesn't want to accept, because the jokester's "'server' (penis) is dirty." The first man may spontaneously offer to "clean off his server," or say "it's *already* served! Drink!" Such exchanges induce uproarious male laughter, including from both jokesters. In general, much sexually charged and good-natured joking surrounds the "serving" or "drinking" of "kava." As noted above, such joking is more a cause for hilarity and a general spirit of arousal than a prelude to sexual relations between joking partners themselves (cf., Herdt 1982*b*).

One particularly revealing (and humorous) metaphor is that a speaker will "vomit the kava," i.e., ejaculate, if he is forced to drink any more. The image here is that of a man so filled with pent up

sexuality that any more will cause him to overflow. The Gebusi believe generally that boys' growth is facilitated by their being orally inseminated and by their retention of semen (cf., Kelly 1976; Herdt 1981, 1984). Thus is explained in indigenous terms the pre-initiates' burgeoning and much vaunted sexual desire. They long to vent through either homo- or heterosexual relations the semen they have been building up without release. It is consistent that the onset of kava drinking, at about age 15 or 16, coincides with the pre-initiate period and the onset of their intense insemination. This transition occurs after the previous age cohort (age 17-25) has been initiated. At the first feast following an initiation, the oldest boys among the new pre-initiate age cohort drink their first kava. Drinking takes place at dawn after the feast is effectively over, with the youths in question gleefully attempting to down several bowls which are handed to them in quick succession. The event is accompanied by *waw-kay* yells among the assembled men. The event is a social analogue to insemination of the same boys at homosexual "parties" which also occur during this period. At these, much fanfare is made of the novice initiate being inseminated serially by several of the newly initiated or older men.[7] In short, kava drinking and the joking camaraderie that surrounds it are highly charged symbols of semen-exchange between males.

The general effect of kava drinking is to accentuate good-natured camaraderie between visitors and hosts. As numerous bowls of kava are drunk, drinkers become increasingly 'hit' or 'stunned' by the drink. People liken kava's effect on men to that of derris root fish poison on fish that, when 'struck', float to the surface of the river or stream in a disoriented state. The analogy is heightened by the fact that derris root poison is the only substance besides kava that can be ritually strengthened through men's collective *yi-kay* yells.[8] The metaphoric association between kava and derris root is actively manipulated by the Gebusi in fish poisoning itself. A dancer in full ritual costume dances by the water's edge. Stunned fish floating to the surface are thought to be mesmerized by the sight of the beautiful dancer and hence distracted from the actions of other men who swim in the river to snare fish in woven traps. At ritual feasts, visiting men are said, analogously, to be 'stunned' by kava. In this inebriated state, visitors are thought susceptible not only to homosexual attraction, but to female seduction. For example, a narrative is told of a man so 'struck' by kava at a feast that he responded to the sexual joking of an ugly woman among the hosts and ultimately was forced to marry her.

As this imagery suggests, men consider kava to be a sexual attractor but not kava an aphrodisiac in the true sense of the term. Those individuals most drunk on kava do not seem to be those most inclined toward sexual activity. Kava drinking has a greater impact on sexual *perception* than on sexual *activity* (cf., Lindstrom chapter 4).[9]

For Gebusi, the homosexual metaphorization of kava has significance on at least two levels. First, it links the giving of the drink intrinsically with male camaraderie and male sexual attraction. Second, it backgrounds the presence and significance of women. While the inimicability of tobacco and kava to women is not given rationale by Gebusi themselves, it is consistent with the male homosexual imagery of these drugs that women are excluded from using them. The offering of smoke from a "hot phallus" and the chewing and serving of kava as "semen" are clear analogues of male fellatio—an act that women do not perform and of which they are ostensibly unaware.[10] Gebusi drug use thus both reflects and reinforces social and sexual divisions between men and women, while also asserting the ultimate autonomy of the male world in both social and sexual activity.

This assertion of masculine unity and autonomy is directly related to the overcoming of anger at ritual feasts. The greatest conflict between men in Gebusi society is over women. This is evidenced either directly, in adultery disputes, or through sorcery accusations which are closely related to conflict over the deployment of women in marriage (Knauft 1985*a*). At ritual feasts, however, the problems posed by men's differential sexual access to and control over women are symbolically transcended. This ritual transcendence is both promoted and symbolized by male drug use and homosexuality.[11]

More generally, exclusion of women from drug use is consistent with the type of gender and prestige systems found in Gebusi society. As Ortner (1981) and Ortner and Whitehead (1981) have noted, gender dichotomy and the exclusion of women from the status markers used by men tend to be more pronounced where basic age/sex distinctions are not overlain and cross-cut by other status differentiations, e.g., those based on rank, class or hierarchy. In the Gebusi case, there is little adult male status differentiation, even on the bases of age or politico-economic achievement. In such politically "simple" societies it is common for men's political relations to be defined via marital control of women (Collier and Rosaldo 1981; cf., Levi-Strauss 1969*a*). The assertion of male autonomy in Gebusi men's social life–reflected in their drug use and homosexuality–is, in

one sense, an attempt to deny and transcend the structural importance of women in defining men's relationship with each other. This assertion of male autonomy reinforces the basic lines of cleavage in the status system–i.e., division by gender–while denying status differentials among adult men.

Indulgence and Overindulgence in Kava

Given the significance of men's social and sexual solidarity at feasts, it is not surprising that it is said to be 'good', *honwi*, when men drink lots of kava and at least a few of them vomit. Those who have indulged most heavily of the drug typically stumble to the longhouse porch and retch over the side. In a normal feast, there are perhaps a half dozen men who vomit (out of an average adult male attendance of about 50). Occasionally, less incapacitated men will jokingly begin a cheer as the sick person empties himself. Sickness due to kava drinking entails no stigma as long as vomiting occurs in a suitable place. The general attitude toward the sick person is one of support and even joking pride (similar perhaps to the jovial indulgence found on weekends in some freshman college dorms).

On rare occasions (four observed, one reported) an individual drinks so much kava that he either hallucinates or becomes comatose for the better part of a day. (The comotose individual was a single observed case.) In either event, it is said that a spirit has struck the victim, causing him to drink too much kava. In the case of hallucination, the individual is said to be "afraid (because) of kava." The afflicted individual believes he sees evil spirits. Others present, however, tell the man he is all right–it is merely the effects of the drink that cause him to see such things. (In general it is believed that only spirit mediums can see spirits.[12]) In spite of this supportive social atmosphere, the afflicted individual may become increasingly paranoid, cry out, clutch his bow and arrows to shoot at imaginary spirits, and resist attempts by those present to disarm him. (This resistance occurred in two cases.) The social environment remains supportive and unperturbed, with onlookers restraining the person gently but firmly, and entreating him to relinquish his weapons and go to sleep. If the behavior persists it may be whispered that the man is *kowakowadagep* and hence genuinely dangerous.

Kowakowadagep is the Gebusi equivalent of amok or "wild man" behavior reported elsewhere in New Guinea (e.g., Clarke 1973; Newman 1964). The affliction is believed caused by specific tree spirits, *ulbil os*, who render the individual anti-social and violent by making him hallucinate. In this disoriented state, the afflicted person

perceives that his own comrades at the feast are malicious spirits. Such anti-social perceptions, however, are not believed an inevitable product of heavy kava drinking; "wild man" episodes sometimes occur without kava having been consumed. Those few individuals already prone to wild man behavior may, however, have an episode brought on by heavy kava drinking (three cases). The connection between "wild man" behavior and kava drinking confirms Marshall's (1974*b*:54, 112-115) suggestion that drunken comportment and New Guinea wild man behavior share important characteristics.

Even when an individual starts to go wild during kava drinking, however, the potential disruption is effectively controlled by bystanders who are sympathetic to the individual and reassure him that everything is all right. In no cases did hallucinating individuals perpetuate violence or cause an early termination of a ritual feast or seance.[13]

Heavy kava drinking culminates in a sluggish stupor towards dawn. At first light, perhaps a quarter of the men are asleep while another quarter doze lightly in a cross-legged sitting position. The rest remain fairly awake as they joke and drink. Even those sleeping are easily roused and stumble off shortly after dawn, either to their sleeping platform at the host longhouse or to their own longhouse settlements. The effects of kava intoxication wear off in the course of a sound sleep.

At the end of the ritual feast, as at its beginning, the effects of a mind altering substance help preclude antagonism and ensure appeasement and good company. The end of the feast at dawn is the principal occasion at which outstanding grievances and disputes between visitors and hosts may legitimately be raised for formal discussion. The participants, however, are tired and drunk on kava. Typically they are in no mood for vigorous dispute or violent altercation, even when principal antagonists are strong in their speech. In short, any effective hostility is undercut by the physical lassitude of the disputants' would-be allies. Issues raised thus tend to be resolved quickly and amicably, despite the fact that "the morning after" is the principal Gebusi forum for airing inter-settlement grievances.

ETHNOGRAPHIC CONCLUSIONS

At Gebusi ritual feasts, social transitions and transformations are effectively managed through the use of tobacco and kava. These gatherings are the primary context for different settlements as wholes to aggregate. Given a homicide rate between 1940 and 1982 of 32.7 percent (129/394 of all adult deaths), and given that most killings take place within or between adjacent settlements, it would be hard to overemphasize the functional significance of these peaceful inter-settlement gatherings.

Gebusi tobacco and kava consumption are analogous on a number of levels. First, both are shared communally according to the cultural ideal that sharing should be unrestricted among all adult men while being totally restricted from women. This reflects a general status distinction between men and women and a lack of differentiation within the adult male category. Second, both tobacco and kava are used ritually to forestall the anger of visitors. This usage is explicitly recognized by Gebusi and also appears to have a basis in physiological incapacitation. Third, the ritual use of both kava and tobacco is a potent metaphor for homosexual joking and fantasy among men. In these three respects, tobacco and kava consumption are appropriated to aid in the conversion of social distance or real antagonism between men into social and even sexual male bonding.

The root causes of Gebusi anger and appeasement lie outside the scope of the present chapter (see Knauft 1985*a*). Suffice it to say that these tensions are ultimately rooted in male divisiveness over sexual access to and control over women. These tensions remain largely hidden in daily social life, at ceremonial gatherings, and even in private conversations. Ultimately, however, they emerge following natural deaths as sorcery attributions and violence. In this sense, the "resolution" of social tensions achieved by ritual is transitory; it is a temporary solution at best. At the same time, this in no way mitigates–and indeed intensifies–the social and psychological satisfaction of ritual experience itself.

* * *

While the impact of kava and tobacco consumption is molded in large part by Gebusi culture, it is also true that these substances have independent physiological effects. This is perhaps most clearly evident in their long term consequences. Tuberculosis, pneumonia and other respiratory ailments are a major cause of death among men. These diseases are exacerbated by pervasive smoking habits

and by the harshness of local tobacco. In addition, the transmission of infectious disease is facilitated by continuous sharing of smoking pipes, and by drinking kava prepared by communal mastication. Extrapolating from the current demographic structure (Knauft 1985*a*:82), fewer than one in six men who live to be five years of age survives to age 40. By comparison, over one in three women survives into her fifth decade. It is quite likely that women's prescribed avoidance of kava and tobacco helps increase their life expectancy.[14]

The eventual introduction of alcohol to the Gebusi may affect the relationship between culture and drug use. While alcohol was not available during 1980-82, it is doubtful that this state of affairs will continue indefinitely. One index of what the future may bring is a case that occurred several years ago in which departing Australian patrol officers allowed Gebusi access to alcohol. A Bedamini-Gebusi interpreter who had saved his money was permitted to buy several cartons of beer from the government patrol post. The beer was promptly substituted for kava at an all-night feast. A fight broke out among the alcohol intoxicated participants and developed into a brawl that terminated festivities.[15] While Gebusi themselves say that beer makes them anti-social and angry, they nonetheless state that beer is "sweeter" than kava and hence a more desirable intoxicant. Like most introduced items, beer is also more prestigious than its indigenous counterpart. With the eventual introduction of beer, the Gebusi's effective appropriation of drug substances to reduce rather than exacerbate hostilities will be seriously threatened.

DRUGS, PHYSIOLOGY AND CULTURE

What is the physiological role of tobacco and kava–and beer–in Gebusi traditional and emergent drug use? Tobacco is known to decrease skeletal muscle tone, decrease deep tendon reflexes, and reduce aggressive tendencies. Kava's physical effects include muscle relaxation, soporofic properties and intensification of barbituate narcosis; consumption usually produces a state of quiet relaxation (Marshall chapter 1). In large doses, kava can temporarily inhibit effective control of lower limbs (Gadjusek 1967). These effects may be magnified by prior use of tobacco, since tobacco is known to increase the effects of many other drugs. The effects of tobacco and kava–both independently and combined–is consistent with Gebusi use of these drugs to inhibit aggression and foster amity at traditional

ritual feasts. (Consonant with this is the employment of tobacco and kava as symbols of sexual fantasy rather than as facilitators of sexual activity itself.)

Alcohol, in contrast, is associated with decreased inhibitions and frequently an increase in aggressive tendencies. However, as argued by MacAndrew and Edgerton (1969), the diverse behaviors associated with alcoholic consumption cross-culturally suggest that specific patterns of drunken comportment are learned rather than physiologically induced. Among the Gebusi, for instance, Australian and national patrol officers at Nomad have provided a model of belligerent drunken comportment.

Government officers have always been respected and feared. Although Gebusi have not had much sustained contact with government officials, they have been quick to adopt superficial aspects of their conduct, such as hairstyles, handshakes, desire for western clothes, and (nominally) the custom of holding "meetings." In light of this, the drinking behavior of government staff is likely to be particularly influential on Gebusi experiences with alcohol. Many Australian patrol officers were justly renowned for drinking binges. This pattern has been continued, in the eyes of Gebusi, by national patrol officers. Stories filter into the village of officials who become heavily intoxicated and provoke severe fights, defying all efforts to restrain them.[16] The drunken individuals were described as 'wild men'. The context in which government officials were said to drink was almost invariably described as a "party." Significantly, people have begun to use the loan word 'party', *fati*, as a colloquial referent for their own ritual feasts. Given these associations, it is not surprising that when Gebusi finally were able to consume alcohol at a 'party' of their own, their collective behavior paralleled closely the drunken comportment of government staff personnel.

With kava consumption, one can make a parallel case for the preeminence of cultural over physiological determinants of "drunken comportment." Among societies such as the Gebusi and the Big Nambas (Harrisson 1937:277, cited in Brunton 1979), kava consumption is associated with animated talk and humor. Among the Samo (Shaw 1981) kava is apparently linked to the cathartic expression of suppressed heterosexual desires. Among the chiefdoms of Tonga and Hawaii, however, kava consumption among the elite was associated with anything but uninhibited speech. Rather, it marked rigid status distinctions and a careful control of discourse on the basis of rank (Collocott 1927; Newell 1947; Titcomb 1948). Among the Tannese, kava produces a speechlessness and asociability on the part of

drinkers (Brunton 1979; Lindstrom 1981, chapter 4). Among the Marind-Anim of south New Guinea, kava could produce "exalting" experiences that culminated in ecstatic shamanistic visions (Baal 1966:894; van der Hoeven, cited without reference in Serpenti 1969). Yet among the inhabitants of Frederik Hendrik Island, adjacent to the Marind-Anim, kava was consumed liberally by work parties as a prerequisite for the *greatest* manual labor, such as canoe building and filling in swampland to make new planting beds (Serpenti 1969). Indeed, this consumption occurred at every stage of the work project as it progressed.

Of course, there may be important differences in these societies in techniques of kava preparation and patterns of consumption–differences which affect the strength, combination and dosage of psychoactive substances. It is apparent, nonetheless, that there are major cross-cultural variations in drunken kava comportment.

What is similar in the above cases is the link between kava consumption and a marked and systematic change in behavior and experience. This pattern is true of drug consumption generally, especially when it occurs in a ritual or ceremonial context (Furst 1972, 1976). This is hardly surprising, given the various undeniable physiological effects that these substances have. The analytic problem, however, is to discern the process by which *physiological* changes are linked systematically to *behavioral alteration* and hence to changes in interpersonal relationships. Why is a formalized or specially marked social context so important in this respect?

First, a changed physiological state is especially apt as a symbol for changed behavior. Indeed, a marked change in internal state practically demands some kind of cultural explanation or emotional elaboration (see Schachter and Singer 1962; Schachter 1966). Of course, as MacAndrew and Edgerton (1969) have argued, we cannot adopt the fallacy of our informants' statements and attribute the altered behavior solely to the effects of a drug itself. However, it is nonetheless true that behavioral alterations are typically *perceived* to be caused by the drug. This perception has important and determining status as a socially constructed reality (Berger and Luckman 1971).

The perception that drugs cause specific *behavioral* changes produces a set of conditioning processes. It links the consumption of a drug to a certain type of behavior in public perception. Drug consumption becomes an *index* of expected behavioral change. As part of this process, individuals who consume a substance expect themselves to be caused to act in an appropriate "drug-induced" manner. Finally and most importantly, the physiological changes

which *are* experienced are easy for a drug taker to perceive as "natural" and incontrovertible evidence that the appropriate drug-induced *behavioral* changes are indeed taking place within him. In effect, there is a linkage of auto-communication in which physiological changes internally validate and reinforce the drug consumer's prior expectations of altered perception and altered behavior.

While there is wide cultural variation in drug-associated behaviors that may be induced, this does not mean behavior is uninfluenced by the unique physiological effects of the drug itself. Particular types of behavior are easier to induce and shape with some drugs than with others–and at different dosages. In terms of the physio-cultural communication system described, one must agree with Rappaport (1979:199) that "not all messages are communicated equally well by all media."

The pairing of an altered physical state with systematically altered behavior and interpersonal relationships is most effectively created in a social context which provides a relatively *invariant* pairing of drug taking with social and symbolic cues strongly indicative of the expected behavior. As Rappaport (1971, 1979) and others have noted, such relative invariance is especially characteristic if not diagnostic of *ritualized* behavior. It is especially within ceremonial and other predictably marked social contexts that drug-induced behavior is likely not only to alter but radically transform interpersonal relationships. Drug use is particularly effective in this respect because it is in a unique sense *performative*. Its consumption itself predicates the changes it is designed to bring about, not only in social terms, but in physiological terms as well (cf., Austin 1962; Turner 1967, 1969). This gives drug use a special ability to determine and transform social context–a transformation that inherently brings with it an alteration of behavior and interpersonal relationship.[17] In this sense, drugs can become what Grathoff (1970) has called symbolic types–elements that stand outside and above normal social action, themselves entraining new and more clearly defined contexts of social relationship.

Once established, the employment of drugs as symbolic types can easily be perpetuated and elaborated. There is a natural tendency for the individual to associate his or her drug-induced state with whatever set of events or perceptions accompanied that physical state when previously experienced. In clinical terms, this is a condition of "state-boundness," i.e., a physio-perceptual link between a given state of mental arousal and a given set of perceptions or expectations (Fischer 1971*a*:903). Thus, for instance, laboratory tests have shown

that experiences taking place during a state of alcoholic intoxication are more easily recalled when the individual is similarly reintoxicated than when he or she is in a nonintoxicated state (Fischer 1971*b*; Goodwin *et al.* 1969).

State-boundness underlies such phenomena as déjà vu experiences, LSD flashbacks, the recurrence of dreams, and the ease with which ecstatic trance can be re-introduced by the stimuli initially associated with it (e.g., drumming, hyperactivity, drug consumption, etc.). In each case, a selective and partial stimulus reevokes the much larger and richer experience that it was previously associated with. In consonance with this pattern, it is easy to see how moderate drug consumption in a distinctive and relatively invariant social setting easily entrains the same frame of mind and style of behavior that characterized the event on previous occasions.

That state-bounded recall is a cumulative process in ritual drug use can be clearly seen among the Gebusi. When a boy first smokes small amounts of tobacco, he associates the experience with the friendly camaraderie of the men's social group. The physiological effects of tobacco become an index of good feeling and communal sharing among men. This association is constantly reinforced in countless everyday experiences. In the context of ritual fights, these prior positive associations continue to have a strong impact on the individual. Regardless of how angry at his opponent he might be, his anger is muted by the immediate and pronounced impact of heavy tobacco smoking. In addition to its independent physical effects, smoking cannot help but evoke a deeply conditioned image of male camaraderie. Together, culture and physiology temper the man's anger.

In summary, the *combination* of conditioning and altered physiology can powerfully change the context of interpersonal relationships. In less ritualized everyday interactions, the giving of drugs in small doses becomes what Sansom (1976) has called signal transactions, i.e., transactions that intrinsically change the quality of the relationship above and beyond the instrumental qualities of the experience itself. In this sense, the giving of a drug substance becomes a metaphor for a particular social orientation and *vice versa*. Hence, for example, the significance of the cigarette a woman accepts from a male stranger, or the way that passing a single joint of marijuana can evoke the "social high" of the classic pot party (Becker 1963; see Larson chapter 9).

This symbolic process can be seen in kava drinking. Kava sharing among Gebusi men is an elaborate metaphor for camaraderie of the

sort enjoyed in homosexual relations. For men, being 'hit/stunned' by kava is a drug-induced analogue of ecstasy in homosexual bonding. This connection exists despite the fact that most of the men drinking and joking do *not* engage in homosexuality at the feast, and especially not with their joking partners. Thus, in one respect, kava is appropriated as a mere symbol. At the same time, however, it is the "potency" of kava's felt physiological effect that makes it such an effective metaphor of euphoria in male bonding. This is especially the case for middle-aged men who relive through their drinking and joking about kava the homosexual vitality they possessed in their younger days.[18]

The pairing of a given mindset with the physical experience of drug consumption effectively transforms social contexts, shifting relationships from one "frame" of social interaction to another (cf., Goffman 1974). While drug use is largely a culturally defined action, the felt experience of the substance's effects is the crucial means by which these social transformations are brought about. The particular patterns of reinforcement between social perceptions and the physiology of various drug-induced states is an important topic for future research. Despite cross-cultural variations, different drugs do appear uniquely suited–perhaps in varying dosages–to the "shaping" of certain basic types of social activity and interpersonal relationship. Examining the interaction between drug induced physiology, the indigenous symbolization of these physical changes, and social reinforcement patterns will help explain why particular substances are associated with particular transformations of interpersonal relationship in particular societies and settings.

NOTES

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1. The main exception was a single boy who was at school in Kiunga during most of our fieldwork.
2. While it is difficult to observe any attitude of possessiveness with respect to indigenously grown tobacco, a slight tendency in this regard may be noted concerning the trade tobacco *bo sagõ* I distributed. Trade tobacco came to have a special value among Gebusi men, and was desired as being particularly sweet, despite the fact that it was also regarded as less potent. Trade tobacco was smoked communally, but there was also a tendency for the owner to save it for use in a setting when not many men were present. If anything, the use of indigenous tobacco was characterized by an opposite trend, *viz.*, it was brought out in bulk especially for large gatherings of men.
3. Boys virtually never share tobacco at formal gatherings such as ritual feasts. On these occasions there is a stronger delineation of male *adults* as the givers of hospitality. Even at informal gatherings, adult men, by virtue of their simple numerical preponderance, are the principal tobacco givers.
4. The repeated smoking of strong tobacco by a spirit medium may also facilitate the free-associated spirit world images (hallucinatory?) that spirit mediums spontaneously compose in their songs. Inducement of shamanistic visions by means of strong tobacco is reported for several New Guinea societies, e.g., the Sambia (Herdt 1977), the Daribi (Wagner 1977), the Maring (Rappaport 1968:119), and possibly the Bedamini (Sørum 1980). See more generally Furst (1976).
5. There is little conceptualization or symbolic elaboration as to where the strength of kava comes from.
6. This restriction appears somewhat stronger for kava than tobacco since kava is *never* consumed by women. Women voice no disgruntlement over their exclusion from drug consumption, just as they express no anger over their exclusion from men's socializing generally. They say, "That is simply the way things are!"
7. These festivities tend to take place during seances, with the young adolescents in question "sneaking" off to the bush with older males for repeated trysts. This is believed to speed the boys' growth so they will be "big" when they are finally initiated, i.e., fully grown. The recipient boys do not resist these sexual relations and, indeed, tend to promote them through coquettish behavior and enticement.
8. It may be noted in passing that the drinking of derris root by Gebusi is the principal means of becoming permanently "stunned," i.e., committing suicide.
9. This same pattern appears in a somewhat different form among the Samo, who live to the northwest of the Gebusi (see Shaw 1975, 1981; Knauft 1985*b*).
10. Eileen Cantrell (personal communication) reports that Gebusi women's knowledge of male homosexuality is sketchy and that women show little inclination to discuss or investigate such topics, even in private. She reports that this disinclination is not due to fear but rather to a lack of interest.
11. The dynamics of Gebusi homosexuality are complex and are not adequately "explained" simply as Durkheimian male bonding at the expense of women. A detailed discussion of the issues involved is outside the scope of this chapter (see Herdt 1984).
12. Gebusi spirit mediums do not drink kava to induce shamanistic visions, though this practice is reported among the Marind-Anim of New Guinea's south coast (Baal 1966:894).
13. This peaceable outcome can be contrasted to 'wild man' episodes occurring outside of ceremonial contexts. On several occasions the afflicted man tried to attack people randomly with any weapons he could find. In response, villagers became genuinely terrified and fled into the forest where they spent the night. Some persons shook involuntarily in fear of being attacked.
14. The difference between male and female mortality cannot be accounted for on the basis of homicide since women as well as men are murdered in significant numbers.
15. A similar situation is described by Pataki-Schweizer (1982) concerning the intro-

duction of alcohol among the Wonenara Anga of the New Guinea Eastern Highlands.

16. I never witnessed such an incident myself and make no claim to document what patterns actually occurred. The point, rather, is that Gebusi perceive belligerence and fighting to be an aspect of drunken comportment on the part of the Nomad staff.

17. What differentiates one "context" from another is that "particular identities, behaviors and orientations are culturally and socially defined as more appropriate and relevant to one context than another" (Kapferer 1979:5). A transformation of context occurs "when one particular arrangement or ordering has its component elements, and the relations which are seen to exist between them, re-arranged or re-ordered. . ." (1979:4).

18. A similar kind of male bonding–with a greater emphasis on *hetero*sexuality–can be observed in our own culture at alumni reunions. At these events middle-aged men typically get drunk and relive the vitality of their college days. This state-bounded recall rekindles the association between extreme drunkenness and the camaraderie of the college setting.