FEAR, SHAME AND THE POWER OF THE GAZE IN AMBONWARI, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

BORUT TELBAN
Institute for Anthropological and Spatial Studies
Scientific Research Centre of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts
Borut.Telban@zrc-sazu.si

ABSTRACT

The following article is about fear, shame and seeing and about the relation between them among Karawari speaking Ambonwari, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea. When discussing the topic of fear in Papua New Guinea one cannot avoid confronting the notion of the, paranoid ethos' of Melanesian societies as proposed by Schwartz (1973). I discuss this at the beginning and show how both anxiety and fear are counteracted by what I have called 'care'. I present fear and anxiety as two separate concepts and I discuss their internalisation. After explaining Karawari terminology, I focus on Ambonwari notions concerning their fear of strangers, animals, and storms. The main body of the paper examines Ambonwari responses to the gaze of others. By recognizing how relationships between people and stability of the whole village can be constructed, modified and even controlled by fear, shame and pride (all of them consequences of a powerful gaze) Ambonwari men manipulate the visibility of behaviour (male defecation, for example) and things (carved spirits, for example) which are closely related to the undesired effects of the three emotional states mentioned above. In this way fear of being seen becomes important for social control and greatly influences people's shared reality and conduct. Moreover, manipulation of visibility is of a vital importance for a re-production of their cosmology. In such a way Ambonwari protect their village from inside and outside and try to preserve the unity of their cosmos or, in other words, cosmological oneness. By preserving closed bodies Ambonwari men safeguard their closed macrocosm. As cultural and social changes are taking place one wanders how are they going to deal with cosmological issues?

Key words: fear, anxiety, shame, emotions, seeing, the power of the gaze, cosmology, Papua New Guinea.

> The greatest restrainer of the anti-social tendencies of men is fear, not of the law, but of the opinion of their fellows (Huxley 1894:24)

> ... if the Other-as-object is defined in connection with the world as the object which sees what I see, then my fundamental connection with the Other-as-subject must be able to be referred back to my permanent possibility of *being seen* by the Other... It is shame or pride which reveals to me the Other's look and myself at the end of that look. It is the shame or pride which makes me *live*, not *know* the situation of being looked at (Sartre 1956:344, 350).

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In 1986-87, when I was in the upper Yuat River in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea, people often expressed their fear of 'eye sorcery', that is, fear of being looked at by a sorcerer while he is whispering a destructive spell. Though I was mainly interested in ethnomedical beliefs and practices (Telban 1988), I was unable to penetrate deeper into the meanings of the evil look. On another field trip between 1990 and 1992, I lived for 18 months in Ambonwari village, in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. Over the following years I revisited the area and conducted additional 5 months fieldwork in 1997, 2001, and 2005.[1] With 422 people in 1992, 552 in 1997, 570 in 2001, and 624 in 2005 Ambonwari has always been the largest Karawari-speaking village and the second largest (after neighbouring Imanmeri) in the Amboin Subdistrict.[2] The community is divided into twelve totemic clans and thirty-five patrilineal lineages. The kinship system of Ambonwari is a variety of the Omaha system and postmarital residence is patri-virilocal. Their cosmology is based on their myths of origin, which structure their social organization, propose desirable marriages, and define descent (see Telban 1998a). In many ways they resemble other Sepik communities such as, for example, the Iatmul (Bateson 1958). During my stay in the village I was able to participate in many practices and observe and discuss different aspects of their lives (see Telban 1993, 1997a, 1997b, 1998a, 1998b, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, Roscoe and Telban 2004). Though Ambonwari people are not familiar with 'eye sorcery', it became obvious how important 'looking' and 'seeing' are in their everyday relationships. Their saying *arim sambis ngandikim, kwandikas ngandikim* (skin has eyes, has ears) specifically emphasizes the two main aspects of their lives: ability to see (and be seen) and ability to hear (and be heard). This article will address only the former aspect.

[1] As Ambonwari village was my second fieldwork area in New Guinea, I was upon arrival already thoroughly familiar with general aspects of life in Papua New Guinea and fluent in Tok Pisin. I am grateful to Professor William Foley (who worked in neighbouring Yimas) for his advice prior my departure to the field and subsequent discussions about the area. I thank The Australian National University for its Research Scholarship, Tuition Fee Scholarship and other funding during my Ph.D. course and for enabling me to come back to ANU as Visiting Fellow in 1997, 1999, 2001, and 2005. I also thank Scientific Research Centre of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, which generously provided financial support for my returns. Most of all, of course, I thank my Ambonwari friends who always take care of me and tolerate my inquiries and continuous questioning.
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Throughout the text I use the phoneme /#/ which is heard as /a/ in 'about' or as the vowel in 'sir'.

[2] There are 16 villages in Amboin Subdistrict (under Angoram District Office): Kansimei, Imanmeri, Ambonwari, Konmei, Manjamai, Kaiwaria, Kunggriambun, Meikerobi, Kundiman-1, Kundiman-2, Yimas-1, Yimas-2, Wambrimas, Yamandim, Awim, and Imboin. Karawari speaking Masandanai belong to another Subdistrict.

PARANOIA, ANXIETY AND FEAR: A COMMENT ON SCHWARTZ

In war or when state repression encompasses society as a whole (as in Stalinist Russia or the military dictatorships of Latin America), power is based on what Taussig (1992:21) has called "paranoia as social practice" (e.g. Bettelheim 1988, Taussig 1986). Extreme situations in a particular historical context such as, for example, epidemics or 'first contacts' between different cultures, may also result in a paranoid response on the part of a group or a whole society. On the other hand, fear as traumatic experience has been discussed by several authors in societies where 'fright illness' is recognized. Good and Good (1984) discuss fright as a cause of distress in Iran, while Rubel (1964:278) argues that the condition of *susto* (illness caused by fear) in traditional Latin-American culture "appears to communicate an individual's inability to fulfil adequately the expectations of the society in which he has been socialized." Rubel in Latin-America, Kleinman (1980:196) in Taiwan, and Frankel (1985, 1986:136-40) in Papua New Guinea all discuss illnesses caused by fright (mostly in children) of which people say that the spirit has fled the body.

In an article discussing cargo cults, Schwartz (1973) argued – in the manner of Ruth Benedict and her *Patterns of Culture* – that a paranoid ethos permeates Melanesian cultures. He even suggested that such an ethos "may have been prevalent throughout the cultural evolutionary stratum of primitive societies" and concluded that "generalized institutionalised paranoia is an effect of the interaction of normal human cognitive and affective processes under certain cultural implementations and social states" (Schwartz 1973:154-5). He attributed this paranoid ethos to the uncertainty of life, high mortality rates and short life spans, too many births and relatively few surviving children, uncertainty of the yield of productive activities, the extreme atomism of social and political life, the constancy of war and raiding, the uncertainty of all alliances and of village and clan cohesion (p. 155-6). According to Schwartz (p.163-4) this paranoia may be detected in the structure of trust and distrust, in the suspicion of the presence of spies, in accusations directed at wives for stealing husbands' belongings or substances for the purpose of performing sorcery, in shame, avoidance and joking relationships, the avoidance of certain names, and so on. He sums up:

> The paranoid ethos is not confined to relations with the supernatural but is manifest supra-institutionally throughout the social, political, and economic life of Melanesian peoples. The individual is attuned to it in the socialization process and has absorbed it as an ideology, directly and indirectly, by the time he reaches adulthood (1973:166).

Though scholars who worked in Melanesia never took up Schwartz's argument we can nevertheless ask, what is the basis for such a conclusion? The ethnographer's own ethos and ideology serve as the source for his or her judgement, and everything that deviates from this ethos and ideology (or everything he thinks deviates from it) is determined by this schism between two ethoses and two ideologies.[3] On the other hand the ethnopsychological concept does not recognize the ethos that underlies it.

Levy, who was familiar with Schwartz's paper when it was in preparation, tried to, but could not, find similar paranoid traits among Tahitians. Levy (1973:499) asks himself: "Why do fragments of suspicion and blame not develop into a 'paranoid ethos' in Piri and Roto?" Is this absence of paranoia attributable to the lack of traditional enemies? Or perhaps to the rarity of contacts with others? Levy concludes: "At any rate, paranoid projection is restrained to dreams, to bits of supernatural, and to momentary behaviors. It is not much used in the ordinary coping of daily life" (Levy 1973:500).

It is possible that 'paranoia' was only a response to culture contact resulting in cargo-cults as an indigenous form of interpretation. If paranoia in Melanesia was pervading society it would surely be seen in those situations where fear and fright are the prevailing emotions. For example, Ambonwari people regard the state of shame as very important and value it; shame may be said to form an ethos of shame. Fright, on the other hand, is an acute response and is considered neither a state nor something of importance in the everyday life of adults. Lewis (1977:116) convincingly argued that even the fear of sorcery, so often mentioned in Papua New Guinean ethnographies, was not something that oppressed the Gnau in their ordinary life; it surfaced only occasionally and for short periods. At the same time, large powerful villages, as Ambonwari consider their own village to be, experience less fear of their neighbours than do smaller villages. Looking at Ambonwari myths, legends and long folk songs, it can be seen that it is care between people and familiarity with their environment, which represent the most important sentiments and values. Care not only counters resentment (Telban 1993) but reduces the anxiety of being in an unfamiliar world and the fear of being alone. Anxiety comes from the inside, while resentment comes from the outside. The existential anxiety of an individual and the envy and resentment of others are nullified by care, sharing and generosity.

Lewis (1977) showed how, during one exceptional and brief period, fear of *minmin* sorcery throughout the West Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea caused acute public anxiety. He compared locally familiar *sangguma* sorcery with non-familiar *minmin* sorcery. Concerning the characteristics of fear, Lewis noted that people showed a general level of awareness about *sangguma* but not persistent anxiety. In the case of *minmin*, however, wariness "was quite different, with a high level of fear for a few weeks... and many signs of anxiety" (Lewis 1977:123).

[3] Gregory Bateson (1958:32-3, 118) promoted the concepts of *ethos* and *eidos*. In my view and following Ambonwari vernacular the expression of standardised affective aspects of the individuals (*ethos*), or what I prefer to call social sentiment, cannot be separated from understanding. Thus there is no pure ethos. What might be called 'ethos' is always contaminated by ideology and the distinction between them is inevitably blurred in, as Ambonwari say, one and the same Heart.
What I mean by ideologies are 'social concepts and styles of thought'. Or to put it differently, a person "thinks *in* the idea rather than the idea being *in* his thought" (Sartre 1968:136). On the other hand, social sentiment (together with understanding) has its varieties such as public sentiment, family sentiment, historical sentiment, club sentiment, class, age or gender sentiment, and so on. Lefebvre, in his method for integrating sociology and history, characterized human groups as having 'horizontal' (between groups at the same moment) and 'vertical (historical) complexity' (cited in Sartre 1968:51 f.n., 69, 75). These two dimensions may well be applied to human sentiments and human understanding.

Anxiety, also called anguish and dread, has been widely discussed from different viewpoints. Mandler offers the following overview:

> Briefly, the following shared characteristics of contemporary theories of anxiety can be noted. First, an archetypical event or class of events exists that evokes anxiety primitively, innately, or congenitally. For Freud, this original inciter is overstimulation; for Mowrer, it is pain; for Miller, the 'innate fear reaction'; for Rank, the birth trauma; for Selye, stress; for existentialists, the very fact of being human and alive. The second commonality in theories about anxiety is the postulation that, somehow, the response to the archetypical event is transferred to previously innocuous events – events either in the external environment or in the action of the organism (1975:230).

I do not intend to enter this debate about anxiety as a learned experience opposed to a naturally-occurring initial state of organisms. But I do want to follow a distinction between fear and anxiety. Fear, as Kierkegaard (1980 [1844]) defines it, involves a specific object that is feared, while anxiety, being independent, is "a necessary attribute of all choice and possibility" (Mandler 1975:227). Borrowing from Kierkegaard's *Concept of anxiety (dread)*, Heidegger also contrasts fear with anxiety. Fear, for Heidegger, is "a mood in which one is afraid, an intentional directedness toward something fearsome" (Dreyfus 1991:176). On the other hand, anxiety is a disclosure of the world as world, wherein one feels unsettled, that is not-being-at-home (Heidegger 1962:233).

Kierkegaard's and Heidegger's concepts may be applied to Ambonwari distinctions between fear and anxiety. Ambonwari people perceive the world with Heart (Telban 1993, see also 1998:56-65). While the physiological heart is called *sisining* (a seed), *wambung* (Heart) is a mindful and affective 'insideness' located in the upper abdomen.[4] In Karawari language *wam-* is a verb stem meaning 'to go inside'. It is this insideness I refer to as Heart, and not to a romanticized category of sentimentality or emotions. Heart represents understanding, desires and social sentiments, all of them very important for the personal identity of an individual. 'Having Heart' (lit. 'being with Heart') means that a person is socially attuned. Heart is a seat of knowing, remembering and feeling.[5]

By having Heart a person is also in a state of 'existential' anxiety and care. Ambonwari experience the 'feeling of Heart' as 'worry' and place great importance on the public sentiment of 'caring for'. This state is always latent and is not directed towards something or somebody. Thus 'to have Heart', which is a synonym for anxiety and care, represents individuality; it represents an individual person who is 'alone' in the world, even in the world that one is familiar with. I argue that because of the recognition of this individual state, Ambonwari use the same term for the most important social sentiment

[4] What I call Heart in Ambonwari, Harrison (1990, 1993) calls Understanding in Avatip (see discussion in Telban 1998a). While mine, I think, is a more literal translation of the term *wambung*, Harrison's translation of the term *mawul* emphasizes rationality, skills and knowledge, though the "emphatic disposition toward others" (1990:353) is an additional aspect of *mawul*.

and ideology of 'caring for'. Thus *ama wambung ama sikan* (I feel Heart) means both 'I am anxious' ('I worry') and 'I care (for somebody or something)'. Through socialisation a child 'transforms' this anxiety into the social concept of the reciprocity of 'caring about'. In both cases a child can say *ama wambung ama sikan* (I feel Heart), but in the first case the notion has individual and egotistic meanings while in the second it carries social and moral connotations. For this reason people in Ambonwari say that a small child does not have Heart, referring to its social and moral aspects (see Telban 1997a).

If Schwartz had used the term 'ethos of anxiety' instead of 'paranoid ethos', he would have avoided the psychopathological implications of the terms he used and would have come closer to the concept of anxiety as discussed by Kierkegaard and Heidegger. Such a concept could represent a Melanesian ethos and an ethos of many other societies. This anxiety expressed and counteracted through care has reached the dimensions of a social sentiment; however, this is quite different from the notion of paranoia. Schwartz also disregarded the concept of 'caring for' as representing the most important social sentiment and ideology. If he had not, he could not then have argued that "in such a society, existence is at least uncomfortable, possibly highly stressful, and undoubtedly anxious" (Schwartz 1973:167). I would suggest, rather, that because 'caring about' has its own features and consequences in Melanesian societies, anxiety and fear of 'not being cared for' also have their own. Also, the intensity of emotional expressions and the values which are attributed to particular emotions (thereby enhancing or suppressing them) differ from culture to culture. When society places such importance (in the sense of social sentiment and ideology) on 'caring for each other', and where individuals react resentfully if they are not 'cared about', fear represents an acute response to events and beings which are frightening. Public concern, excitement, despair, distress, worry, care and suchlike should not be considered a consequence of a paranoid ethos. Rather, they derive from

[5] It is often said, from an ethnopsychological point of view, that there is a gap between emotion and thought in the post-industrial societies of the West on the one hand, and those of the pre-industrial societies and the East on the other. In the latter, thought and emotion are not sharply distinctive; they shape each other through their interconnection. The notion of 'feeling-mind', Wikan (1989:294) says of Bali, has a social source and significance. In contemporary Japan *hara* (stomach, abdomen) represents a combination of the heart and the brain in the Western sense. Furthermore, it is the point of connection between thought and emotion or between intellect and affect (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984:58-9). Lutz (1988:4) treats emotion as "an ideological practice rather than as a thing to be discovered or an essence to be distilled", while Michele Rosaldo (1984:143) and Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) talk about "embodied thoughts" and "mindful body". In Ambonwari, thinking is related to speech, while *wambung* (Heart), or "human embodied psyche" (Mimica 1991:36), relates understanding, affectivity, perception and imagination. This brings us closer to Sartre's view of consciousness and emotions when he argued that emotion is a certain way of apprehending the world (1948:52); it is a transformation of the world (p.58), a phenomenon of belief (p.75). For Sartre emotion is "a mode of existence of consciousness, one of the ways in which it *understands* (in the Heideggerian sense of 'Verstehen') its 'being-in-the-world'" (1948:91). In short, Sartre maintained that emotions are conscious acts, as well as structures of consciousness, and that they are "purposive and 'meaningful' ways of 'constituting' our world for which we must accept responsibility" (Solomon 1981:212, 213).

culturally specific maybe even hypersensitive (for some) relationships between people who live together in an intimate environment. In such a society 'caring for one another' and 'being with each other' are things that are emphasized in creating and maintaining amicable relations among people. Resentment and fear are the consequences of particular events and relationships of everyday life and they are counteracted by care. Let me now look at those situations in the daily life of Ambonwari people where the experience of fear is most likely and most expected.

EXPRESSIONS AND OBJECTS OF FEAR

Emotions in Ambonwari correspond to the Latin meaning of *e - movere,* and are thus movements of Heart. Ambonwari use several expressions meaning 'to be afraid'. The most usual is *wambung amanan inga minggaykan* (lit. my Heart has run away from me). People never say that their spirit has run away, but when they are afraid (for example when walking through the bush where spirits live or when in a cemetery) they say that their Heart has run away. Ambonwari do not perceive the verb 'to run away' too literally, but do intend to mean 'to be afraid'. Thus if someone asks you to go and steal something, and you are afraid of doing it, you may simply say *ama ama minggaykan* (I am afraid), or *wambung amanana ama ama minggaykan* (inside my Heart I am afraid).

A shock, a sudden fear (which in Tok Pisin is expressed as *tingting bilong mi i sot olgeta*, literally, my mind is short altogether) is expressed in two different ways. A momentary fear such as when a canoe suddenly rocks and threatens to capsize, and you experience a kind of 'dumpling in the throat', may be expressed by *wambung amanan inga wapaypiar* (my Heart came up). The same expression is used when one is trembling with cold after having spent a long time in the water. A sudden panic, when one sees a snake near one's leg or, for instance, when a parent learns that his or her child (who does not know how to swim yet) has just fallen into a creek, is expressed by *wambung amanan inga arakuriar* (my Heart has jumped; I am terrified).

Fear is the only emotion that is verbally expressed in relation to both the Heart and the skin. When expressed in relation to the skin this brings fear closer to shame and to 'being seen' either by someone dangerous or in a situation where you did not want to be seen. Thus an ordinary fear may be expressed by *arim amanam pinga minggaykan* (my skin has run away; I am afraid). In the case of serious fright or terror (when one meets a bush spirit for example) Ambonwari use the same expression as when sick with malaria or when feeling cold after being drenched by rain: *arim amanam pinga sindimbran* (my skin is shivering). A similar state may be expressed as *arim amanam saki wapaykim pinga sikan* (I feel like a male bush spirit has come on my skin). This last expression is used also for the feeling one experiences after being caught stealing or copulating with a married person. Both spirits and people can simply look at you and you will experience such a feeling.

For surprise, such as when you receive an unexpected present, when someone startles you with his sudden appearance from behind a tree, or when someone brings an enormous pig from a hunting party, Ambonwari use the same expression *sambis min kamapyan* (he/she opens [my] eyes, i.e. he/she surprises me).

Robarchek (1979) argued that fear of strangers, animals, storms and spirits was so powerful and persistent amongst the Semai Senoi of West Malaysia, that it constituted an ethos of fearfulness. This ethos was characterized by the overall lack of other emotions. He found that "dangers of all sorts are ubiquitous in the Semai world" and that "virtually everything in their culturally constituted environment is viewed as actually or potentially threatening" (1979:556).

Many similar entities and events are also feared by Ambonwari people but fear is not something that dictates their lives. A hunter is not particularly concerned about bush spirits or human enemies or about being bitten by a snake or a wild pig.[6] People experience acute fear only in situations when something utterly unfamiliar happens and when they face perceived danger. Even in the past, during times of fighting with their neighbours, people say fear was acute. When someone was killed, people were cautious and anxious about going around the bush, fishing, gathering, or hunting. They feared revenge. But once the dispute was settled life returned to normal.

Children learn early in their lives the dangers of their environment. Their parents may use fear as a vehicle to quieten their children: when they ask for food when there is none; when they ask to be carried on their parents' shoulders but are expected to walk; when they run around, excited and, screaming, a parent may say: "The snake will bite you now" or "the strangers are coming" (usually *kambo*, a mountain man, which refers mostly to the neighbouring Imanmeri), or "an old man is coming" (his skin is wrinkled and 'ugly' and he 'can eat children'), or "rascals", "police", "a white man", "a motor canoe". A parent needs only repeat *saki, saki* (a male bush spirit) to get a child's attention. The child will look fearfully around for a threatening entity and will seek the parent's, usually mother's protection. Scaring a child to discipline it, then comforting it a few moments later is a kind of everyday game in which a child learns who cares about him or her. Showing fear is a positive value, accepted and expected, and points toward his or her longing for the company of others (for example when a mother together with all her children goes to the pit latrine at night). The strategy of using fear and nurture (care) in Ambonwari was in the past practiced also during initiation in a men's house where there were always those who were 'angry' with a boy for not understanding or for not behaving properly and who threatened him; and there were always those who protected him. "The perception of others as both nurturing and dangerous" as one of the most fundamental contrasts among the Ifaluk of Micronesia (Lutz 1988:188) is evident also in Ambonwari.

Children are not afraid of 'dangerous creatures' because they had a bad experience in the past but because they are 'not at home' with them. They hear stories about

[6] Small-eyed snake (*Micropechis ikaheka*), known as *langg#n wang* among Ambonwari, killed Daniel's and Rosa's son Luk in May 2004 while he was working on his new garden. He has just married and left her new wife pregnant. Two other young people died in that same year after being bitten by *imbo*, a death adder (*Acanthopsis sp.*). When I showed my Ambonwari friends the photographs of these snakes they got really excited saying that they are truly afraid of them. Daily practices, however, are performed without much thinking about snakes, while parents do call their children back when they run into the areas with a serious possibility of snakes being present.

them in which these beings are either very powerful or evil. However, a short time after being scared children see that there is no real threat, forget their fear and continue to run through the bush without thinking of poisonous snakes, strangers, or spirits. But as Poole (1985:207) noted, any unusual sound or movement, a change in the density of forest, a change in light, even an unusual smell, can surprise a child who may then feel scared and panic. "Such fear is not predicated on past experience and memory of some specific misfortune that is again recognized by environmental cues of some kind, but rather on a lack of familiarity and experience with some entity nearby" (Poole 1985:207). This does not mean that such a fear does not relate to the past. It does. By this I mean that it evolves exactly because there is no past. There is no past familiarity, no recognition. As Bowlby said, what is feared includes "not only the presence, actual or imminent, of certain sorts of situation but absence, actual or imminent, of certain other sorts of situation" (cited in Mandler 1975:239). To be left alone (to be confronted with the absence of their mother and other familiar faces) is very threatening to small children.

During the first 18 months that I stayed in Ambonwari there were only three violent storms which reminded me of those I have experienced in the European Alps: heavy rain, with lightning and thunder striking almost simultaneously, and the feeling of electricity saturating the air. In the following paragraph I will describe a storm which occurred on Sunday, 21st April 1991.

It was late afternoon. I was waiting in the house of an old woman to give some medicine to her daughter. Suddenly it started raining, more and more heavily. The woman gave me a flower sheath of palm to cover myself while I ran to the men's house of the Wallaby clan. Not long ago they had beaten a slit-drum to call a meeting in the men's house to discuss work. The storm was becoming more severe and it was obvious that it was coming closer. We were all scared. Eight or nine adult men were in the men's house, and some walked around repeating: "I am afraid, I am afraid." Lightening and thunder at one stage literally exploded around us; it seemed that fire might burn the village. From every house people called out asking if everything was all right. Everyone in the men's house was worried about his family. They cried out: "*Yakayay, yakayay* (alas!)!" Jacob threw aromatic bark into the fire. Francis took it out, wet it and waved it, spreading smoke at the front of the men's house. Men asked each other: "Why this storm now? Who has done something wrong?" Jacob said that someone had killed a crocodile (a spirit) and that bush spirits and spirits of the creeks were angry. He then rejected this explanation, as there was no wind. Soon news reached us that four young unmarried men had cut a tree for a house post at Angur, the place of the spirits where cutting of trees is forbidden. Thus the bush spirit Angurmari was angry. People were angry with the boys in turn: "Now see what you did. You did not want to think about it. You thought that because Job's father is a 'magic man' the spirits will not do anything." When the storm was over everyone returned to their houses. No one was hurt; lightning had struck just one coconut palm. The next day, the boys took the house post which they had brought to the village back to the place where they had cut it.

During the storm, people in their houses talked aloud, and called to each other from house to house: "Are you sleeping? Do not sleep!" They put pig or cassowary

bones on their beds above the fire or in it. People burned aromatic bark, a turtle shell, fish bones, or an old basket which they had thrown out of the house so that smoke flowed around. They lit kerosene lamps. In all these ways (talking aloud, burning bones or bark, turning on lights) people showed the spirits (so that they could hear, smell, and see) that these were their houses and that they were innocent. People say that lightning can mistake a house for a tree (where lightning usually strikes).

In a majority of the situations mentioned above, fear is anticipated as a 'normal' reaction to those entities and circumstances which are considered fearful. But there is another aspect of fear, one related to and revealed through the meaning of 'look' in human relationships.[7] This aspect can be manipulated in order to obtain or maintain social con-

[7] In my presentation of Ambonwari I am concerned with the so-called 'look in its social function' and mainly with its negative aspects for the person who is being looked at (being seen). This kind of look was also Sartre's (1956) concern in one of the most original and penetrating inquiries into what it means 'to be seen'. Foucault too discussed the role of vision and the power of the gaze in his works *The Birth of the Clinic* and *Discipline and Punish*. For a discussion of Foucault's views see Jay (1986).
The possibility of being seen obviously means that other people and other entities which can see really exist, that they are not just things, and that you are in some sort of relationship with them. It also means that while being seen doing something, you are being judged by those who are looking. Not only are you not alone but you may even become someone else's 'possession'. Before the appearance of the other's look, you were in control of things around you and of yourself. But the moment someone looks at you, you become 'a thing' under the control of the other's look. You become aware of yourself as the other sees you. To be seen, then, means that you have entered into a relationship with someone. In his essays on sexuality, Freud (1986:300) argues that seeing is "an activity that is ultimately derived from touching". If this is so, to be looked at instantiates a very close relationship; it means you are 'touched' by the other. A difficulty arises when the situation is such that you do not want this relationship. You are ensnared by the other's look, and 'at the mercy of' his or her own recognition, understanding, and interpretation. While seeing denotes a state, as Wittgenstein says, "to interpret is to think" (1991:212); people see something as they interpret it (Wittgenstein 1991:193). To put it differently, perception leads to evaluation and evaluation leads to perception (Heider 1958:31). As a person may, in the act of seeing, form false evaluations, being looked at can involve a person's being misinterpreted. The interpretation is influenced by understanding, by sentiments and feelings, by imagination, by familiarity, past relationships, and the influences of others. You feel at pains to influence this kind of relationship. You are seen as the other wants to see you. It is not surprising that in Miyanmin mythology 'looking at someone' is structurally equivalent to rape (Gardner, personal communication). In his biography of Jean Genet, Sartre constructs Genet's life around an event in his youth when he was caught stealing:
"Pinned by a look, a butterfly fixed to a cork, he is naked, everyone can see him and spit on him. The gaze of the adults is a *constituent power* which has transformed him into a *constituted nature*" (1963:49).
And again:
"Sexually, Genet is first of all a raped child. The first rape was the gaze of the other, who took him by surprise, penetrated him, transformed him forever into an object ... Undressed by the eyes of decent folk as women are by those of males, he carries his fault as they do their breasts and behind ... Having been caught stealing *from behind*, his back opens when he steals; it is with his back that he awaits human gazes and catastrophe" (1963:79-80; cited in Jay 1986:193-4).
The look of the other possesses you and holds you, he or she can do with you whatever he or she wants to do, even 'giving you' to others. This is revealed to you through the experiences of fear, pride, or shame. One should keep in mind that there are many other kinds of looks than those which appropriate, judge and possess, such as casual, friendly, meaningful looks, etc.

trol. Being well aware of the power of the gaze and of the shame, fear or pride experienced at the receiving end of a gaze, Ambonwari men manipulate the visibility of those situations and things which they find either shameful, fearsome or proud in order to maintain control over them and, in their opinion, to preserve and protect the stability of the village and the unity of their cosmos or cosmological oneness (see Telban 1998: 226-228). Thus, in many cases, men become the only audience on behalf of the whole society.

After discussing the relations between 'seeing' and fear, pride and shame I turn to two associated contexts which are representative only for men: the denial of defecation and the seclusion of those carvings which represent a certain category of powerful spirits.

THE SOCIAL MEANING OF SEEING

In the Society Islands, Levy (1973:267, 328 f.n.) says, "the word for 'knowledge' or 'understanding' is *'ite*, which is also the word for 'to see'... 'To be seen' also means 'to be known about'". Rubinstein reports similar concepts on the island of Malo in Vanuatu. While understanding comes from 'feel' and 'hear', knowing comes from visual examination by the eye. Marilyn Strathern writes that "validation of what people say must come through reference to the person who 'saw' it" (1988:108-9). In Goodenough Island the *kaiwabu* or ceremonial chief of the feast represents a figure who does not eat, drink, speak, laugh, move, defecate or urinate; he only gazes fixedly at the crowd (Young 1971:249; 1977:86). His overseeing gaze, 'all-seeing' power, to use Bentham's and Foucault's term (1980:152), is the symbolic and mythological representation of the magical act of seeing, of the all-seeing and powerful sun (Young 1983:267). Papuan languages of the Engan family and languages in the area of the Southern Highlands Province use evidentials to declare that something was seen by their eyes (Foley 1986:165). By means of these elements belonging to the category of the "outer operator morphemes" (Foley 1986:165) speakers tell about the truthfulness of an event, or whether it was only hearsay.

In Ambonwari 'seeing' represents the proof that something really happened or exists. In short, seeing is believing. Several Ambonwari men, when talking about selling rubber and the large amount of money they were supposed to receive, said that once they saw the money with their own eyes (and they pointed towards them) they would also believe it. The verb *sanggwa-* (to see) is related to the interrogative *sanggwana* (where). One could say that seeing is always spatial; and what is spatial can also be seen. Living through the spaces of their ancestors Ambonwari continually re-confirm their cosmo-topography and myths and stories associated with particular places. So the landscape is more than just a surrounding physical environment. It is their mirror, a mirror of Ambonwari cosmology (Telban n.d.2).

There is no doubt that seeing means recognizing the 'truth'. To give authenticity to his tale, for example, a storyteller uses all kinds of bodily signs, movements and sounds in a theatrical performance (including the use of objects which represent those in the story) to make his story not only be heard but also be seen. Bodily (physical) articulation of what is said might until recently also be seen during discussions in the men's house, even more so when rituals were performed. When people argue and scream at each other a man (never a woman) walks sideways, emulating the steps of an archer during battle, and

performs acts which represent the release of arrows from a bow string (see also Lewis 1990:255 and Tuzin 1976:158). Thus, the angry man 'shoots' the words at his opponent. A traditional healer in Ambonwari, as elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, extracts bones, thorns, teeth, stones and other objects from the body of the sick person so that the attack or punishment by spirits or sorcerers may also be actively visualized (see Telban 1997a).

To see a wrongdoer means to have evidence against him or her; the wrong is witnessed. The possibility of being seen is thus responsible for fear which arises when someone intends to do something considered socially wrong. As in Tahiti:

> Poria constantly refers to the danger of disapproved behavior being seen and thus becoming known to others in the community. He sees this danger as not just a possibility, but as highly probable. He expects to be visible. He controls himself out of anxiety that he may be seen and that there will then be trouble. The trouble includes violence, physical punishment, and, as one element among several, being shamed. He asserts that only the threat of being seen controls him and that otherwise he would act on his impulses if they became strong enough to move him (Levy 1973:330).

In everyday life, when you are counting tins of fish in your home and you suddenly hear a noise outside you experience the fear of being seen. If those outside saw you they might ask you to give them some tins and you would have to give them because of your fear of their resentment. Because of this fear most objects in individual houses are hidden so that they do not catch the eye of others. Once items are hidden you no longer feel fear as you know that they cannot be seen.

If the other is a stranger, an unidentified entity (a ghost, a bush spirit), or if you are conscious of a situation as being potentially dangerous, you can experience the real or imagined look of the other as fear. In the past, when fighting between villages was still common, people painted their bodies with a black substance (clay or charcoal). This had two effects. First, by 'protecting' their skin men influenced how their enemies were going to see them; second, they were not recognizable as persons. In this way the warriors protected themselves: the others could not see them plainly and, not being recognized, they did not experience shame under the eyes of someone they knew. The painted persons could not be 'touched' or, more precisely, they could be 'touched' only in the way that they desired – as horrifying and dangerous warriors or as spirits. A similar process occurs with body decoration during dancing. You dictate how you are seen: beautiful, representing the ancestor. You invite others to look at you in this state, to perceive an appearance that you have chosen. Here the fear of being seen is transformed into the pride of being seen.

Individual pride, excitement and happiness that do not include fellow kinsmen are not valued in Ambonwari except when people decide to carry someone on their shoulders (literally and metaphorically) as in the important *kurang* ceremony. This is equivalent to Iatmul's *naven*, as described by Bateson (1958). *Kurang* takes place after a socially recognized accomplishment by an individual, such as killing one's first wild pig, building one's first house, making one's first large canoe, returning from a long trip or completing

schooling. On such occasions individuals are carried aloft on men's shoulders, such that they are so exposed to the looks of others that they are overpowered by embarrassment. Houseman and Severi (1998) recently re-examined the whole ceremony and emphasized that *naven* means "to go on display".

There is an exception and circumstance in Ambonwari where pride is permissible. Young unmarried women walking through the village, aware that they are being looked at by people, push their breasts forward, walk straight, and flaunt pride to reduce their shyness and embarrassment. Such girls act as though they are arrogant and confident, but this is only a camouflage of their actual state. As people observe them and comment on their nubility, people recognize the 'hard times' in store for them and are not harsh with them. Nonetheless, boys and young unmarried men tease them for being proud and call such a girl *kumbungmay* ('show off' girl). While the masculine form of *kumbungmay, kumbungg#na karar* is rarely used, people can say for those men who are proud of something *m#n pan maun m#n awsasa kamaykan* (he put himself very high and he finds himself there) or *sanggwarar, karis#na krasan m#n susukuraykan* (look at him, he walks around as if he was the only one who has put meat on his sago pudding). This expression is also used by girls when they meet young men who are overexcited and happy to see them.

The third, and socially most recognized state induced by the other's look is shame. To generalize, Melanesians experience shame in situations such as not having enough food to offer or display to visitors, unwittingly displaying genitals or being seen while bathing, being in a foreign place under the gaze of strangers, being seen during sexual intercourse, being caught stealing and so on. As such shame is an "instrument of social control" (Epstein 1984:3).[8] If people are seen when doing something thought improper, like stealing or copulating with a married person, those who witnessed the wrongdoing will tell others and it soon becomes public knowledge. The wrongdoers will then feel ashamed and will seek solitude. Being seen in such situations is followed by the reappearance before the court, before the collective eyes of a knowing community. This is even more shameful. This is when the fear of being looked at becomes extremely powerful and the shame itself hard to bear. Shame is one of the main regulators of relationships between people; its potential increases in frequency as one moves from relationships between intimates of a household, through those between classificatory kin, to the outside world where intimate relationships do not exist. In embarrassment before others' eyes people may hold each other's hands, look down or away, stick close to one another, and in extreme cases stand paralysed. I remember my surprise when my Ambonwari friends and I were unloading our canoe in Angoram, that our young men were so mortified (because many people were watching us) that they were immobilized and unable to help. However, Ambonwari do not remember anyone committing suicide from shame though they may because of a shameful situation temporally leave the village and live in a bush camp for many months (but see Chowning 1989:22 and Valentine 1963:451 for the Lakalai of New Britain).

[8] Shame in Papua New Guinea has been discussed by many authors: e.g. Chowning 1989, Epstein 1984, Fajans 1983, Hogbin 1947, Schieffelin 1983, A.Strathern 1977, Todd 1936, Valentine 1963 and Young 1971.

Sartre (1956:301-3) pointed out that though shame is an intimate relation of myself to myself, it "is not originally a phenomenon of reflection... it is in its primary structure shame *before somebody*... Shame is by nature *recognition*. I recognize that I *am* as the Other sees me... Thus shame is shame *of oneself before the Other*" (italics in original). "Pure shame is not a feeling of being this and that guilty object but in general of being *an* object; that is, of *recognizing myself* in this degraded, fixed, and dependent being which I am for the Other" (Sartre 1956:384). While fear may be experienced both in Heart and on the skin, for Ambonwari shame is a state which is acknowledged only by the skin. So the most common saying *miringgi ama sikan* (I feel shame) actually means *arim miringgi pinga sikan* (I feel shame on my skin, shame comes up on my skin). Yet for Ambonwari shame is a moral quality. It is one of the major states consequent upon the relationship between people. 'I am a shy/bashful man/woman' (I am a person of shame) is a common, if not the most usual self-description of an Ambonwari person (see Telban 2002). Obviously it is a virtue which stands in opposition to arrogance, pride, and showing off. Ambonwari people feel ashamed to expose their bodies in public if they are seen naked while washing, for example (there are separate places for men and women to wash). But men (or women) do wash together (though rarely unclothed), a man can urinate from a canoe in front of his family, and couples do tolerate the risk being caught while having sexual intercourse in the house. It is not my intention here to examine every aspect of shame but more to think through the relationship between fear, shame and looking, as exemplified in the situation of male defecation.

FEAR OF BEING SEEN DEFECATING

Ambonwari talk about defecation only when animals and children are involved. When they still practiced initiation the first secret revealed to a newly initiated boy was that from that moment on he would have to defecate in the bush at the back of the men's houses. There he would not be seen by women and children. Though they abandoned initiation and became since 1995 quite compulsive about Catholic Charismatic Movement (Telban n.d.1) their toilet practices did not change. Because of their special *mindirpinang*, 'defecating place', where women and children never venture, men do not fear being seen defecating while they are in the village. But whenever they visit their bush camps an anxiety, contributed to by the possibility of being seen and thus being ashamed, coincides with every act of defecation. The actual fear occurs only when they hear or glimpse an unidentified person moving through the forest during their act of defecation. Before initiation boys accompanied their siblings or their mothers to the pit latrine. After initiation they could not use a pit latrine anymore. They would also be told that they could not talk about these things, and could not emit flatulence when women and children were present. Old men would say to the novice: "Women do not know if we defecate or not. They actually think that men do not defecate." Of course it would be absurd to believe that women do not really know about this matter. Over years of marriage both partners learn each other's habits and many couples even talk about them when alone. But women never reveal that they know, nor do they talk about this matter in public.

Anal shame is typical of men in many, not only Melanesian, societies. Ann Chowning discussed the topic among the Lakalai referring to it as 'the male anal complex' (1989:17). While traditional attitudes of young Lakalai have changed in recent years, they well remember that in the past if a woman had known anything about men's anal functions or talked about them, mèn would have experienced extreme shame. Reo Fortune (1963[1932]:246) mentions an event in Dobu when he stumbled on his intimate neighbour in the act of re-covering himself with his pubic leaf. Though he was already covered when Fortune saw him, he was completely enraged and did not talk to Fortune for the rest of that day. During their stay among the Mundugumor, neither Mead nor Fortune noticed anything unusual about attitudes concerning defecation, and they labelled it 'pretty casual' (McDowell 1991:129). But McDowell's informants stressed that men were not allowed to tell women about their defecation. One man was killed for revealing the secret and informants even remembered names of women who had been killed for such an infraction (McDowell 1991:129).

In Ambonwari village male defecation is still one of the principal secrets. Men never tell anyone when they go to the toilet. They simply walk away from the group with whom they were sitting. No one ever asks where someone is going. If asked on the village path (where the question is a kind of greeting) the answer will reveal only a direction up (river), *pambin*, or down (river), *masir*. If a man has bowel problems he will try to find his privacy in the bush, a 'wind house' or a man's house (before the end of 2003). If he is too sick his mother will take care of him if he is young, or his wife if he is already an old man. But to mention defecation by men in a public place or to see a man going to a pit latrine (which Ambonwari men in the past never used) would bring shame to the whole village. Even worse, men believe that it could bring sickness and destroy the village. How? Men said that in case that they visited pit latrines women's and children's faeces would press down their own. Being their extension, an extension of their bodies, anything done to their excrements is done to their bodies. They would not only feel tired and heavy but such a practice would then press down the whole village and bad things could happen. Another secret, known only to a few men, is a story about a group of people who were the last to join Ambonwari village.

Only a few generations ago there were two villages at the place called Arkwas, up the Konmei creek, east from Ambonwari village. These people, who are today in Ambonwari grouped under the same man's house as two totemic groups spoke a different language and lived in permanent settlements in an area around Wakriyamarimbuk mountain which is still considered to be their land. At that time they were struck by sickness and death and the few that survived were brought to Ambonwari. What is interesting for my purpose here is their explanation of why so many people died.

After the deaths of many of his children, a man called Ambiamari was convinced that someone in the village had performed sorcery to kill his family. In his anger he sought revenge and decided to destroy everyone at Arkwas. He got a wild taro leaf, put it in the middle of the village and defecated on it. Everyone's eyes went down, people were ashamed. Some women whispered: "Ah, this is what all big men hide from us. And we thought that they did not do this thing." But Ambiamari was not satisfied. He went into the men's house

and brought out secret bamboo flutes and some other carved and secret objects. They were seen by women and children. From that day on, informants say, the population in Arkwas rapidly declined. Only five men and one woman were saved, and they were accepted in Ambonwari. They learned the Ambonwari language and forgot their own.

In this explanation the women seeing the men's faeces is equated with seeing secret flutes and objects from a men's house. Why is it so? Why do men pretend not to defecate and why is it such a curse if they are seen by women and children? To answer this psychoanalytically, for instance, I would need to discuss a number of complex issues dealt with by Abraham, Bettelheim and Freud. But there is no space here. Another reason could be attributed to the experience of shame which makes people act. If men were seen defecating their shame would impel them to leave the village. Experience of shame, however, is in my view not a satisfying explanation for this kind of behaviour. If we consider that every person, a man in this case, lives his life through his body that is both microcosmic and macrocosmic, we can approach the closure of his body from a cosmological perspective. To preserve the cosmological oneness, to keep their cosmos perpetuate, men have to take care of their bodies: what comes in and what comes out. Rituals and taboos help the men in their endeavour. Seeing the men in an act of defecation would also reveal their secret cosmological knowledge and that could result not only in them losing the authority but also in the possible destruction of the village. To better explain the concept of a closed body I present here a myth about the time when men began to defecate.

In the past all men ate and vomited their food. Because they did not have an anus they excreted through the mouth. Their bellies were strained and full of air, because there was no other place to relieve themselves except through the mouth. Once a male cassowary came along and asked a man: "You live so strange. I often looked at you people and I noticed that you don't defecate. You spray all the food through your mouth like flying foxes. I have never seen a human excrement. I know how to defecate. I will return in the morning and I will do something to you." The man agreed. In the morning the cassowary took a man into the men's house. He ordered the man to sit on the horizontal post in the middle of the men's house. The man sat on the post with his buttocks hanging down. The cassowary aimed with his beak in the centre of the buttocks and struck him. But his beak hit the bone. "I am sorry," said the cassowary, "I missed. You will have to lift your arse a bit." The cassowary moved back to take another run. And it struck again. This time he hit the centre of the man's buttocks and his faeces rushed out from the newly made hole, spraying the cassowary all over his body. The man was pleased and said: "I am very happy with the way you treated me, you showed me the good way. Now I feel excellent. In the past I ate through my mouth and I threw up again through my mouth. The skin of my belly was yellow and heavy. Now my skin is dark and light. The way you gave me is brilliant: eating through the mouth and defecating through the hole in my buttocks. Now I can sleep and I do not feel pain anymore." The man promised that in a couple of days he would cook some food and present it to the cassowary. A few days later, however, the man forgot his promise. The cassowary was disappointed as he had walked a long way to see the man. He resented the way he was treated and decided that from that moment on he would hide in the forest and would never again speak to humans.

It seems that this myth first of all justifies people's defecation. If they eat, they must also defecate. Otherwise they would be sick, feel heavy and would have to vomit all the time. It would have been perfect if their bodies had been closed and self-sufficient, but since they ate they already had one orifice, the mouth. So they had to have another hole from which to excrete. But this hole, according to the myth, did not come as something 'natural', together with their bodies, but had to be made through their relationships with their environment, the cassowary in this case. As in many other myths, people were able to talk to animals which behaved like humans. An Ambonwari man was a cassowary's friend and as it is often the case between friends, seeing him in trouble, the cassowary felt sorry for the man. He wanted to help him. He suggested making a hole through which he could get rid of excrement. At first he missed with his beak and that is why, Ambonwari explain, there is a little hollow in the bone in people's buttocks. In his second attempt, the cassowary aimed at the right spot and released man from permanent pain. A man began to defecate.

The human anal orifice is a product of a relationship between two friends, a man and a cassowary. The human anal orifice, however, is also the end of a relationship between two friends. A man promised to present the cassowary with a small feast, but he forgot his promise. By starting to defecate (and developing at the same time, of course, some sort of toilet habits) he started to forget about his friend. He did not care. He became selfish, stingy and greedy. The development of his anality is therefore equated with the development of greed. He wronged the cassowary who in his resentment even stopped speaking human language. In such a way, man also became deprived of all the knowledge which the cassowary had. He not only got rid of faeces but also of sure knowledge and of certain friendship. The way of the world changed. The man felt ashamed. His 'anal shame' was actually the shame of his greed. Such greed is not simply a greed for food or things but also voracity for knowledge, power, authority and domination over others. As Sartre said: "Thus to plug up a hole means originally to make a sacrifice of my body in order that the plenitude of being may exist" (1956:781). There can hardly be a better expression of what the denial of defecation in Ambonwari, in cosmological terms, is all about.

Significant social and cultural changes that have taken place over last 10 years, involvement of men and women in a Charismatic movement, abandonment of men's houses and exposure of their most secret objects will have severe consequences for their cosmology and the body of knowledge, and will in the future most probably influence also Ambonwari toilet practices. One can expect that pit latrines will soon be used by all villagers.

CONCLUSION

I began this essay by expressing concern with the notion that Melanesian societies like Ambonwari live according to a paranoid ethos. True, by having Heart ('insideness') a person is first of all in a state of 'existential' anxiety, but this is counterbalanced by a person's familiarity and knowledge of other people, places and habitual activities and by the most important social sentiment and ideology of 'caring'. In this way a person becomes socially attuned, though he or she will still experience anxiety when

confronted with unfamiliar people, places and situations. Fear, on the other hand, is experienced either as a movement of the Heart or on the skin; it is provoked by an encounter with something fearsome: strangers, spirits, animals, storms.

Ambonwari people are well aware of the power of the gaze, the significance of the look in its social function, the relationship between seeing and the experiences of fear, pride or shame. Men, being publicly and ritually more active, have developed their own secret domain, the stability of which enables them to gain mastery in relation to women as well as over their own existence. By managing the visibility of those situations, beings and things that evoke the unpleasant feelings of fear and shame, men gain control over society as a whole. Finding personal pride unacceptable they deliberately emphasize the social visibility of those whom they suspect of pride following a socially recognized achievement. Thus, during the *kurang* ceremony such individuals are carried on men's shoulders so that their pride is tempered by embarrassment. The overwhelming effect of shame allows it to be provoked as a form of punishment for wrongdoers when they are brought in front of the village court to be stared at by everyone. Anticipation of the gaze of others is a powerful sanction that induces, if not conformity, then a respect for village mores.

As shame is one of the most elaborated regulators of social relationships and as it is most powerfully experienced under the gaze of others, Ambonwari men need to restrict the possibility of their being seen in situations which they hold to be important and where shame would have devastating impact. The shame of being seen defecating by women, for example, represents the loss of something which, in their understanding, is necessary for the strength and stability of the whole community: the body of restricted male knowledge, in this case the acknowledgement that grown men do excrete. Moreover, by behaving as if their bodies were closed Ambonwari men try to preserve a closed macrocosm. While severe cultural and social changes are taking place in Ambonwari and surrounding villages one wanders how are they going to deal with traditional cosmological concerns? It seems that they will have to open to the outside world not only their macrocosm but their bodies as well.

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POVZETEK

Strah, sram in moč pogleda v Ambonwariju, Papua Nova Gvineja

Članek govori o strahu, sramu in gledanju ('biti na očeh') ter o odnosu med njimi med karawarijsko govorečimi Ambonwarijci iz province Vzhodni Sepik na Papui Novi Gvineji. Če hočemo govoriti o strahu na Papui Novi Gvineji ne moremo mimo soočenja s pojmom 'paranoidnega etosa' melanezijskih družb, ki ga je predlagal Schwartz (1973). O tem govori prvi del članka. Avtor poskuša pokazati kako sta tako tesnoba kot strah nevtralizirana z vedenjem, ki ga avtor imenuje 'skrb'. Tesnoba in strah sta predstavljena kot dva različna koncepta. Avtor predstavi njuno internalizacijo. Po razlagi karawarijske terminologije, se avtor osredotoči na primere in pojme, ki se nanašajo na strah pred tujci, živalmi in nevihtami. Glavni del članka analizira ambonwarijske odgovore na poglede drugih. Ko spoznavamo kako je odnos med ljudmi in stabilnostjo celotne vasi ustvarjen, modificiran ali pa celo kontroliran s pomočjo strahu, sramu in ponosa (vsak od njih je posledica silnega pogleda/bolščanja/zijanja), spoznamo, da Ambonwarijci manipulirajo vidnost obnašanja (na primer, moških straniščnih navad, to je, defekacije) in stvari (izrezljanih duhov), ki so tesno povezani z nezaželenimi učinki treh zgoraj omenjenih emocionalnih stanj. Na ta način postane strah pred 'biti viden' pomemben za družbeno kontrolo in močno vpliva na delovanje in vedenje ljudi v skupnosti. Še več, zaščita moških pred močjo pogleda pomeni zaščito njihove kozmologije tako od zunaj kot od znotraj. Z ohranitvijo zaprtih teles (z zanikanjem defekacije) ambonwarijski moški ohranjajo zaprt makrokozmos. V času resnih kulturnih in družbenih sprememb se človek vpraša, kaj bodo Ambonwarijci naredili glede tradicionalnih kozmoloških zadev? Zdi se, da bodo odprli zunanjemu svetu ne le njihov makrokozmos ampak tudi svoja telesa.

Ključne besede: strah, anksioznost, sram, čustva, gledanje, moč pogleda, kozmologija, Papua Nova Gvineja.