
IMETI SRCE: SKRB IN ZAMERA V AMBONWARIJU, PAPUA NOVA GVINEJA

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IZVLEČEK

Osnovna elementa medčloveških in medskupinskih odnosov v vasi Ambonwari na Papui Novi Gvineji sta po avtorjevem mnenju občutji skrbi (za posameznika) in zamere (kot posledice občutka zanemarjanja posameznika). Svoja dognanja utemeljuje z rezultati semantične analize.

ABSTRACT

The author suggests that the basic elements of relations between people and groups in the Ambonwari village of Papua New Guinea are the feelings of care (for the individual) and resentment (caused by the individual's feeling of being neglected). He corroborates his findings with semantic analyses.

Pojem *ressentiment* označuje odnos, ki nastane zaradi nakopičenih občutkov sovraštva, maščevalnosti, zavisti in podobnega. Kadar takim občutkom lahko dajemo duška, se *ressentiment* ne more razviti. Kadar pa jih nekdo ne more sprostiti proti osebam ali skupinam, ki so jih izzvali, se v njem razvija občutek nemoči. In ko te iste občutke vedno znova doživlja, pride do *ressentimenta*. *Ressentiment* napeljuje človeka k zanižanju, omalovaževanju pristnih vrednot in ljudi. Za razliko od pojma »upor« *ressentiment* v ljudeh ne spodbuja nasprotnih vrednot, ker na skrivaj hrepenijo prav po vrednotah, ki jih javno napadajo. (Coser 1961: 23-4)

Gregory Bateson v knjigi *Naven* zagovarja teorijo, da so posamezniki v neki skupnosti po svoji kulturi standardizirani in da je kultura izraz te standardizacije (1958:32-3,118). Predlagal je dva koncepta: *eidosa* (izraz posameznikovih standardiziranih spoznavnih pogledov) in *etos* (izraz kulturno standardiziranega sistema, kako posamezniki upravljajo svoje nagone in čustva) (ibid: 118, 120). Čeprav se je zavedal, da je ta razlika nekoliko umetna, ga je predvsem skrbelo, da je problem medsebojne povezanosti nekoristen (ibid: 28). Batesonov koncept *etosa* se je zelo uveljavil in številne študije so izpostavile določena čustva kot temelj nekega *etosa*: paranoidni *etos* (Schwartz 1973), *etos* sramu (Epstein 1984), strahu (Robarchek 1979) ali melanholije (Taylor 1987). Čeprav so ponos, strah in sram, ki jih obravnavajo ti avtorji, tudi v življenju Ambonwarijev zelo pomembna čustva, se vendar zdi, da so podrejena razmerju med zamero in skrbjo.¹

¹ V ambonwarijski vasi (ki pripada jezikovni skupini karawari) v provinci Vzhodni Sepik na Papui Novi Gvineji sem bival od septembra 1990 do srede marca 1992. Zahvaljujem se Avstralski narodni univerzi za

Razlika med spoznavnimi in čustvenimi vidiki v konceptu »skrb«, kar je glavna tema te razprave, je zabrisana. »Skrb« predvsem govori o tistem razmerju med ljudmi, ki takorekoč vzpostavlja družbeno dinamiko. V tej dinamiki pa sta socialni nazor (*etos*) in razum (ideologija) prepletena.

Etnopsihologi pogosto omenjajo prepad med čustvom in mislijo v postindustrijskih družbah Zahoda in preindustrijskih družbah Vzhoda. V vzhodnih družbah misel in čustvo nista tako ostro ločena; drug drugega oblikujeta s svojo prepletenostjo. Pojem »čustvo-misel«, pravi Wikan (1989:294) za Bali, je socialnega izvora in pomena. V sodobni Japonski pomeni *hara* (želodec, trebuh) nekakšno kombinacijo *srca* in možganov v zahodnem smislu. Je pa tudi stičišče misli in čustva, razuma in strasti (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984:58-9). Lutz (1988:4) pravi, da je čustvo prej »ideološki postopek (praksa) kot nekaj, kar je treba odkriti ali bistvo, ki bi ga morali destilirati«. Michele Rosaldo (1984:143) in Scheper-Hughes in Lock (1987) govorijo o »utelešenih mislih« in o »osmislenem telesu«.

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Abonwariji nimajo besed za tako splošna pojma kot čustvo in misel. Za oboje omenjajo nefiziološki sedež v zgornjem trebuhu, ki ga bom imenoval *srce*. Pri njih pomeni imeti *srce*, da imaš razum in želje ter da si »uglašen« na javno mišljenje. Sprejel si vse navade vasi, sposoben si razmišljanja in spominjanja. Kdor ima *srce*, je socialno in moralno »spodoben« človek. *Srce* se nanaša na medsebojne odnose med ljudmi samimi ter med ljudmi in okoljem. V vsakdanjem življenju se *srce* kaže skozi skrb (za druge) in zaskrbljenost (zase) (Telban, b.d.); skrb v heidegerjanskem smislu, da manipuliramo z okoljem, ga proizvajamo in uporabljamo), določa razmerje *srca* s svetom. Način, kako ravnati z okoljem, temelji na »védenju«, kako ravnati z ljudmi, pa na »skrbi«. V socialni dinamiki *srca* je »skrb« družbeno priznana in upravičena rešitev za težave, ki izvirajo iz zavisti ali zamere. Skrb je socialni odziv. Zamera pa je odziv na izkušnjo, da nekdo ne skrbi zate, torej se ti dela krivica. Menim, da se je socialni koncept »skrb« razvil iz dveh univerzalnih človekovih stanj: iz tesnobe, ki jo doživljamo, ko smo sami v neznanem in »nevarnem« svetu, in iz sovražnosti, zavisti, smiljenja samemu sebi ter zamere, kadar se čutimo *zanemarjani*, tj. kadar drugim ni mar za nas. V tej razpravi me zanima predvsem drugi vidik pri razvijanju »skrbi«.

Preden nadaljujem s tolmačenjem ambonwarijske socialne dinamike, moram navesti nekaj pomembnih podatkov. Prvič, Ambonwariji imajo dva glagola, enega za čutiti (ki v povezavi s *srce*m pomeni »skrbeti za«, marati) in drugega za spominjanje, učenje in razmišljanje. Oba glagola uporabljajo skupaj s *srce*m. Drugič, misli imajo za neizgovorjen govor. Tretjič, besede za zamero ne povezujejo z glagoloma »čutiti« in »misli« in je ne omenjajo skupaj s *srce*m. O zameri govorijo kot o stanju nekoga v celoti in jo povezujejo

finančno in drugo pomoč, Slovenskemu raziskovalnemu združenju pa za štipendijo, s katero mi je omogočilo študijo, preden sem prispel v Avstralijo. Od leta 1986 sta mi Loraine in Emil Pavšič pomagala, kadarkoli sem bil v Port Moresby. Moj dolg do njih je več kot očiten. Zahvaljujem se tudi Ambonwarijem, posebno Tonyju Simiwariji Andiyapiju, Bobu Kanjiku Anjapiju, Eliasu Wapunu Kandangwayu in Julianu Kapyamairi Yanganu, ki se nikoli niso naveličali razprav o tem, kaj pomeni biti Ambonwari. Zahvaljujem se tudi Chrisu Ballardu, Alletu Biersacku, Williamu Folleyu, Donu Gardneru, Jadranu Mimici in Michaelu Youngu za tehtne opombe med pripravo te razprave. Zgodnje inačice te razprave so bile predložene kot oddelčni seminar na Oddelku za antropologijo Raziskovalne skupine za pacifiške študije in na Oddelku za arheologijo in antropologijo, Fakulteta za umetnosti, Avstralska narodna univerza. Leta 1992 je bila razprava predložena na konferenci Avstralskega antropološkega društva v sekciji »Družbena teorija in antropologija čustev«.

V besedilu dosledno uporabljam simboli za i, ki se sliši kot i v (angleški besedi) »sir«; drugi simbol je n, za nosni n ali ng v besedi »thing« (glej Telban 1992).

z glagolom »biti, ostati«. In četrtič, čustva so za Ambonwarije vzgibi srca: so torej vzgibi razuma, želja in prilagoditve javnemu mišljenju.

Levy (1973:324; 1984:227) imenuje kulturno spoznana čustva »nadspoznana čustva« (angl. *hypercognized*) tista, ki so bolj osebna (in »deležna precej manj konceptualne pozornosti« Heelas 1986:240), pa »podspoznana čustva« (angl. *hypocognized*). Oboja »imamo lahko za načine (samo)obvladovanja, ki so kulturno standardizirani in funkcionalno koristni« (Levy 1984:227). Zagovorniki konstrukcionizma pravijo, da so čustva funkcionalna, če uravnavajo »socialno nezaželeno vedenje in spodbujajo odnose, ki odražajo in podpirajo medsebojno povezane verske, politične, estetske in socialne navade družbe.« (Armon-Jones 1986:58). Konstrukcionizem v svoji skrajni obliki zanika možnost naravnih čustev, medtem ko v omiljeni obliki samo zagovarja socialno funkcionalno vlogo čustev (ibid.:61) »Skrb« Ambonwarijev je primer nadspoznanega čustva s socialno funkcionalno vlogo. Skrb je nadspoznani socialni nazor vasi.

Zdi se, da se je tak socialni odziv najprej pojavil na Poljskem s »čustvenim« stanjem, imenovanim *tesknota*. Ta »žalost zaradi ločenosti« se je v današnjem pomenu besede razvila šele po letu 1830, v času množičnega izseljevanja (Wierzbicka 1986:58). Socialne dinamike čustev ne smemo zamenjati s čustvom *per se*, ker se nadspoznana socialna čustva lahko razlikujejo med raznimi kulturami in dobami. Harré (1986:11) in Harré/Finlay-Jones (1986:221) uvrščata *accidie* (lat. *acedia*, tj. dolgčas, pomešan z obupom, nevoljo in žalostjo), ki so ga doživljali puščavniki v srednjem veku in zgodnji renesansi, med »izumrla« čustva. *Accidie* je bil po mojem negativno čustvo, ki je v določenih okoliščinah postalo socialni odziv ali nadspoznano socialno čustvo takratne družbe.

Sartre je menil, da je čustvo določen način dojemanja sveta (1948:52), spreminjanja sveta (str. 58), pojav vere (str. 75). Čustvo mu pomeni »način, kako biva zavest, eden izmed načinov, kako zavest *razume* (v heidegerjanskem smislu »Verstehen«) svoje »bivanje v svetu« (1948:91). Skratka, Sartre zagovarja stališče, da so čustva zavestna dejanja, oblike ustroja zavesti, »namenski« in »pomenljivi« načini, kako si vzpostavljamo svet, za katerega moramo sprejeti odgovornost (Solomon 1981:212,213). Verjetno najboljši povzetek Sartrovih pogledov na čustva je napisala Hazel Barnes, prevajalka knjige *Bit in Nič*:

Od zgodnjih del dalje je Sartre razlikoval tri pojavnne oblike tega, čemur ponavadi rečemo čustva:

- 1) čustveni vzgibi oz. neposredni občutki,
- 2) strukturiran odziv na neko situacijo - tj. čustveno vedenje,
- 3) čustveni odnos, ki traja dalj časa in ga Sartre imenuje stanje - npr. ljubezen ali sovraštvo do koga.

Opazimo lahko, da je samo čustveni vzgib očiten, spontan in nedvoumno pristen. V svoji knjigi o čustvih se Sartre ukvarja izključno s čustvenim vedenjem; za razliko od vzgibov in ravnanja je stanje v nekem smislu psihični objekt in podoben idealni eno(tno)sti jaza. Če primerjamo vse tri oblike, vidimo, da se stopnjuje trajanje in objektivacija. (1984:3).

V zvezi z Ambonwarijo menim, da je posamezni »čustveni vzgib«, ki mu pravijo »čutiti srce« (*srce* tu pomeni razum, želje in socialna čustva), postal čustveno stanje, ki

pomeni vzajemno skrb. »Skrb kot nadspoznano socialno čustvo je tako *etos* kot ideologija. Tisti, ki imajo občutek, da drugi ne skrbijo zanje, se odzovejo z zamero. Vsak otrok v toku socializacije osvoji to socialno čustvo. Čutijo in se učijo, kaj je *srce*, ustroj *srca* pa se razvija skozi razmerja z drugimi. Samo *srce* je plod intimnosti med ljudmi, »gradi« ga družba in pomeni vzajemno delovanje med Ambonwariji. Izmenjava je najbolj pomembna oblika te interakcije. »Skrb za druge« in občutek »užaljenosti« (ki je posledica tega, da drugim ni mar zate, da ne skrbijo zate) sta temelja medosebnih in medskupinskih odnosov pri Ambonwarijih. V nadaljevanju bom to pojasnil s obravnavo semantičnih vidikov izrazov in dogodkov iz vsakdanjega življenja.

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Na vprašanje, kje je *wambun* ali »*srce*«, pokažejo Ambonwariji na zgornji del trebuha. Fiziološko *srce* imenujejo *sisirin* (seme), *wambun* pa označuje nefiziološki sedež želja, čustev in misli. To *srce* ni vidno kot nek organ, ampak pomeni miselno in čustveno »notranjost«. V jeziku karawari uporabljajo besedo *wam-* kot koren glagola, ki pomeni »iti noter«. Kadar govorim o »*srcu*«, imam v mislih to notranjost in ne nekakšne romantične kategorije, s katero bi hotel poudariti sentimentalnost. Beseda *wambun* hkrati onomatopoetično označuje srčni utrip: *wam-bun, wam-bun* (vir: pogovor s Foleyem).

Isti pojem *wambun* uporabljajo Ambonwariji tudi za notranjost rastlin, kamnov, živali, meseca in sonca. Tudi duhovi imajo svoja *srca*. Ljudje pravijo: »Če tepeš otroka, bo duh njegovega mrtvega sorodnika poskrbel za to, da boš bolan, ker duh ima rad otroka.« Središče, srčika, mehki stržen rastlin, jedro, vse to imenujejo *wambun*. Kadar nekdo izdeluje nov kanu, odstrani *wambun* iz drevesnega debla, pa tudi iz palme, kadar dela sago². Povedali so mi zgodbo, v kateri starec prosi otroke, da mu prinesejo betelove orehe. Ker ga niso ubogali, je šel sam ponje. Bila je noč in betelova palma je že spala. Ko se je starec povzpel že skoraj do vrha, se je palma zbudila in se stresla. Možakar je padel z drevesa in se ubil. Ljudje pravijo, da moraš palmo, če se hočeš ponoči povzpeti nanjo, najprej brcniti in ji povedati, da boš plezal nanjo po orehe. »Drevo ima *srce*. Kadar posekaš drevo, se trese, ker ga skrbi, ostati hoče pokonci. *wambun min sikan min maray amindarin* (skrbi ga zaradi vode, ki ga hoče piti).«

Wambun vasi je ogromna kača, ki leži pod vasjo. To kačo morajo držati pri miru tri »materje vasi« (žene potomcev prvih treh prednikov). Njihova edina dolžnost je, da sedijo. Prepovedano jim je delo zunaj hiše. Kača komunicira z ljudmi skozi svoja »usta« in »ušesa«, tj. glavno duhovno hišo v središču vasi. Tako kot je treba držati pri miru *srce* vasi (kačo), ker bi sicer uničila vas, je treba tudi pomiriti *wambun* ljudi.

Kaj pomeni, kadar Ambonwari pravi, da nekdo ima ali nima *srca*? Imeti *srce* pomeni predvsem, da razume stvari in da ima pristen socialni odnos, da je sposoben »skrbi« (za druge). Ima pa tudi želje in čustva. Kadar Ambonwari hoče povedati, da ve, da ima znanje, pravi *ama wambun nandikin* (imam *srce*)³. Tega izraza pa ne uporabljajo

² *Wambun* ne smemo zamenjati s človekovim duhom. Vsak ima svojega čuvarja (*angindarkwanar* za moškega in *angindarkwanma* za žensko), ki zapusti telo, ko človek umre. Po smrti človeka postane njegov čuvar (dobesedno *drži luč - čuva moža / žensko*) duh umrlega. Duh tudi vzame s sabo *srce* umrlega.

³ Ambonwari nimajo glagola s pomenom »imeti«, *nandik* pomeni »s/z« in se uporablja za izražanje odnosa med lastnikom in lastnino. Pripona te besede se spreminja glede na spol in število samostalnika tako kot

v smislu »čutim« ali »želim«. Lahko čutim svoje *srce*, vendar ne morem čutiti samo tako, da »imam *srce*«. Zato, da bi čutil, mora *srce* »postati«, »storiti« nekaj ali se na nekaj odzvati. Kot bom pokazal v nadaljevanju, uporabljajo Ambonwariji glagol *si* ne samo v pomenu »čutiti«, ampak tudi »postati« ali »storiti«, podobno kot sosedni Yimas (glej Foley 1991:95, 334).

Imeti razum pomeni, da je nekdo sposoben učiti se, spoznati navade vasi in predvsem prilagoditi se jim. To kar pri Ambonwarijih imenujem *srce*, Harrison imenuje Razum pri Avatipih. Čeprav Harrison meni, da je *mawul* tudi »sedež posameznikovih čustvenih odzivov«, v svojem prevodu poudarja samo eno plat *mawula*. Tako pravi: »Imeti *mawul* pomeni biti razumen, posedovati vse ustrezne spretnosti in znanja odraslega, zavedati se svojih obveznosti in pravic drugih. A bolj kot to govori predvsem o naklonjenosti do drugih« (1990:353). Prav ta »naklonjenost do drugih« kaže na nadspoznano socialno čustvo Avatipov, ki vključuje tudi skrb. Zdi se, da je v vseh Harrisonovih primerih plemenitosti in razumevanja (ko govori o materinstvu, skrbi za moževe starše...) socialna dinamika »skrbi« tisto, kar določa *srce* bolj kot karkoli drugega. Ta skrb vključuje tako čustvenost kot razum in pravzaprav predstavlja moralnost⁴.

Imeti razum pomeni, da si sposoben poslušati druge in tudi, da se znaš pogovarjati. *Mariawk* (pogovor, govor, razprava) služi temu, da si ljudje izmenjajo razne načine dožemanja sveta (a tudi temu, da manipuliramo druge). Pomeni deliti znanje in razumevanje (pa tudi oboje vsiliti drugim). Kadar nekdo reče *ama mariawk nandikin* (sem s pogovorom) pomeni, da misli na nekaj, kar bi nam rad povedal. Sosedni Yimas, ki govorijo soroden jezik, imajo poseben glagol za »misliti«. V dobesednem prevodu pomeni »čutiti besede«. Za Yimas je razmišljanje notranji govor (vir: pogovor s Foleyem). Podobno Ambonwariji govorijo o pojmi, ki jim mi pravimo vera ali verovanje, z izrazom »poslušati govor«. *Mi andinbin yarar (yarma)* lahko prevajamo kot »ti si mož (ženska), ki posluša govor«, kar hkrati pomeni »ti veruješ« (v Boga npr.). Še bolj preprosto izražajo nevero z *kambra mariawk* (nič govora) in resnico s *pan mariawk* (zelo-govor) ali *panbi* (zelo tako). Vendar ta »resnica« ni nekaj absolutnega, zahteva vedno znova pogajanje med ljudmi, lahko je le zdravorazumska resnica, začasen sklep ali strinjanje.

Ker se zaveda, da svoje misli in čustva najlažje sporoča z besedami, vsakdo v vasi v pogovoru z drugimi večkrat na dan pove, da je dober človek, plemenit in sramežljiv ter da ni hitre jeze. Ne gre samo za to, da bi druge prepričal, da je res tak človek, ampak predvsem želi pokazati, da ima vse tiste lastnosti, ki v medčloveških odnosih veljajo kot »dobre misli« in »dobra čustva«. Temu pravijo *wambun yapakupan* (dobro *srce*), v nasprotju z *wambun maman* (zlo *srce*). Pojma dobro in zlo uporabljajo zelo na široko in pomenita tudi splošno mnenje o značaju posameznika. Biti dober pomeni predvsem biti *warimbarar* (plemenit/radodaren), biti hudoben pa *karisi-kin* (škrt/trd). Biti radodaren

pri pridevniki. (Telban 1992). *Ama wambun nandikin* pravilno prevajamo: »jaz s *srcom*«.

Vendar rabo glagola »imeti« v prevodu upravičujejo Ambonwari sami (glej tudi Foley 1991:176-180 za sorodne Yimas). Ljudje npr. pravijo »Imam misel (za povedati)«, *ama mariawk nandikin* (jaz s pogovorom). Najbrž je odveč povedati, da *nandik*-nima časov, ker pač ni glagol.

⁴ Read (1955:255-7) pravi za Gahuku-Gama, da mora večina članov neke skupnosti osvojiti in sprejeti moralne vrline, ki pomenijo posplošen pogled na *dobro* (kar ima v osnovi socialni pomen). Tu ne gre zgolj za čustveno izjavo, vsebuje tudi intelektualne, ideološke prvine (ibid). Ravno to mislim z izrazom »imeti *srce*«. Vsa najbolj intimna doživetja socialnega življenja (hranjenje, razdelitev hrane, delo in skrb), na katerih po Myersu (1986:110) temeljijo moralne kategorije, so pri Ambonwarijih izhodišča za medsebojne odnose.

(in tako pokazati, da skrbiš za druge) je najbolj pomembna lastnost dobrih ljudi. Plemenitost in skrb za druge sta protistrupa zameri. V vsakdanjih odnosih pomenita vedenje, ki zmanjšuje možnosti zamere. Kdor bi rad bil plemenit, mora biti kar naprej na nogah (v lovu na hrano in dandanes tudi na denar). Zato se skupnost norčuje iz lenuhov in jih opravlja. To velja tako za moške kot ženske. Ljudje pravijo, da mora ženska »dobro sedeti«, kar pomeni, da naj ne stoji pri vratih in si ogleduje ali klepeta z drugimi ženskami. Sedi naj pri ognjišču, skrbi za otroke, kuha ali lovi ribe. Moško delo je lov na večjo divjad, izdelava kanujev, gradnja hiše in »lov« na denar. Ambonwariji imajo še druge etikete za ljudi, npr. *arkisan* (vročekrven); takega človeka se bojijo, vendar velja kot dober, če je le plemenit. Kdor je *yaprisipasikin* (tih) mora biti tudi radodaren, če želi, da ga imajo za dobrega. Ljudje, ki mnogo govorijo, *mariawk kusirar*, ali se radi smejejo, *wurumindar*, so deležni občudovanja, vendar le, če so radodarni. Čeprav sem tu uporabil le moške oblike besed, ženske oblike se končajo na *-ma* (Telban 1992), njihovi pomeni veljajo tudi za ženske.

Ambonwariji za človeka, ki nima *srca*, ne pravijo, da je nor, kot bi morda pričakovali. Prej menijo, da se nečesa ne zaveda, da nima potrebnih spretnosti, ne čuti in misli tako, kot se od njega ali nje pričakuje v določenih okoliščinah ali pa je senilen. Tak človek nima skrbi, ki jih imajo drugi, npr. žalovanja ob smrti, ne deli skupne zavesti in mu tudi mar ni. Vse oblike individualizma, tj., da nekdo ne ravna skladno z vzdušjem vasi ali na pričakovan način, se lahko označujejo z izrazom »on/ona nima *srca*«. Ta izraz uporabljajo predvsem v zvezi z majhnimi otroki, ki ne žalujejo na pogrebih, jedo čisto zase in niti ne pomislijo na to, da bi svoj obrok delili z drugimi. Vendar Ambonwariji ne mislijo s tem, da otrok resnično nima *srca*. Dojenček se zasmee, kadar zagleda starše in ob tem pravijo *wambun nand sikin* (ima *srce*). Vendar otrokovo *srce* ne obstaja za nikogar, razen za njega samega do starosti štirih ali petih let. Otrok skrbi predvsem zase in ne za druge, misli samo na svojo hrano in dobrobit. Isti »ima *srce*« uporabljajo za zelo uglednega človeka, ki vse razdaja. Takemu človeku ni mar za stvari zaradi njega samega. Nasprotje radodarnega človeka je skopuh, ki ves čas skrbi samo zase, obdrži vse zase: *min wambun pan sirar* (zelo močno čuti svoje *srce*). Vendar takih ljudi nimajo za nore zaradi njihovega skrajnega vedenja. »Resnično« nor je človek, ki ima *srce*, nima pa ušes (*kwandikas kanar*, človek brez ušes); ta je nesposoben sodelovati v razumni razpravi, ne posluša, če mu kdo kaj naroči in dela vse na svoj način. *Mariawk* (pogovor, govor, razprava) je glavni kriterij, po katerem ljudje sklepajo o tem, kdo »ima ušesa« in kdo jih nima, Gluhec ali mutec je lahko »dober«, pa bo vendar uvrščen med norce. Nekoliko podobno pojmovanje srečamo pri Pintupijih (Myers 1979:350).

V razpravi sem doslej pokazal, da »imeti *srce*« pomeni, da je nekdo sposoben skrbnega socialnega ravnanja, razume stvari in ima želje in čustva. Vendar te misli, želje in čustva niso usmerjena v kogarkoli ali karkoli. Za položaj, v katerem *srce* samega sebe »usmerja« (vodi), uporabljajo Ambonwariji dva različna glagola: *si* za želje in čustva (glej nadaljevanje) in *aykap* za misli⁵. Otrokovo *srce* se mora učiti in doseči razum. Z učenjem otrok postopoma obvlada jezik in navade vasi. Otroci hrepenijo po tem, da se vključijo v razpoloženje, ki vlada v vasi. Da to storijo, morajo njihova *srca* osvojiti socialno dinamiko »skrbi«. Ko se igrajo (gradijo »hiše« iz listja in oponašajo življenje odraslih), se

⁵ Wittgenstein loči »usmerjena čustva« in »neusmerjena čustva«. Predlaga tudi, da bi neusmerjenemu strahu rekli »tesnoba« (Budd 1989:152).

vidi, da komaj čakajo na odraslo življenje dajanja in sprejemanja. Za učenje, spominjanje in védenje uporabljajo Ambonwariji glagol *aykap-*, bodisi samostojno ali v povezavi s *srcem*. Yimas poznajo isti glagol, vendar ga nikoli ne uporabljajo v povezavi z *wambun*. Glagol je sestavljenka (dobesedno: »dihati-dati«) in pomeni »vedeti« (vir: pogovor s Foleyem). Predstavil bom nekaj primerov, kako se glagol *aykap-* uporablja v Ambonwarijski vasi:

wasekinday yukum pin siri aykapikan

DEKLICA KOŠ ONA - TO UČI

Deklica se uči delati košaro.

mi ngok yan kindi aykapi-kaykan

TI ŠE VEDNO/TI ČAKAŠ - TO SE SPOMNIŠ - OSTANE/JE

Ti še misliš na to./ Ti se še spomniš.

wambun minyana ngok yan kindi aykapi-kaykana

TVOJE SRCE ŠE/ČAKA TO - TO SE SPOMNI - OSTANE/JE

Tvoje *SRCE* še vedno misli na to/se spomni.

min wara yan aykapir

ON NE ON - TO SE SPOMNI

Pozabil je.

mi ambanamban aykapra

TI NAČRTUJEŠ - NAČRTUJEŠ MISLI

Premisli dobro.

wambun minara wara min aykapi-kaykan

SRCE NJEGOVO NE ON MISLI - OSTANE/JE

On ne razume.

Kot sem že večkrat omenil, glagol *si* združuje več medsebojno povezanih pomenov: storiti, postati in čutiti. V vsakdanjem govoru ga uporabljajo npr. v izrazih: *mi waria mi sikana* (kaj počenjaš/delaš), *wi mi sikan* (temni se), *maray kupay mi sikan* (dviga se plima). Poleg *wambun* (*srce*, glej spodaj) človek (se) lahko (po)čuti *miringi* (sram), *kambia* (lakoto), *piamin* (zaspanost), *sarik* (mraz), *irin* (hudo bolečino), *arambayn* (pekočo bolečino ob dotiku rane z vodo), *yipisikin* (težkega, utrujenega po napornem delu), in *warinan* (lahkega). Vse te pojme Ambonwariji povezujejo z glagolom *si*.

Ama wambun ama sikan (čutim *srce*) je izraz, ki pri Ambonwarijih označuje odnose med ljudmi, njihovo odzivanje drugega na drugega. Vsebuje vrsto posameznih čustvenih pomenov, ki so vsi združeni v pojem »skrbeti za« (glej spodaj). Beseda pokriva celo človekove želje, ponavadi z dodano besedo *pan* (zelo). Med socialnimi prvinami, ki tvorijo temelje za vzpostavljanje in vzdrževanje osebnih odnosov in celotne družbe je »čutiti *srce*« najbolj pomembna.

Kadar Ambonwari dojemata ali doživlja nekaj posebnega, nekaj, kar odstopa od

vsakdanjega ritma vasi, *srce* zaboli, poskoči, dela to in ono in se vrne (potem ko svet v sebi spremeni - ne pa nujno zunanjih dogodkov) nazaj v svoj mir. Izrazi kot *wambun amanan kayngian ina paykan* (»moje *srce* spi postrani«; tj. jezen sem), *wambun amanan ina mingaykan* (»moje *srce* je pobegnilo«, tj. strah me je/bojim se) *wambun amanan min sikian* (»moje *srce* skače«; tj. razburjen sem), *wambun amanan yawun apasikin* (»moje *srce* prihaja ven«; tj. razburjen sem ali rad bi bil plemenit) in mnogi drugi, so tipični primeri »simptomatičnih metafor« (Solomon 1980:251), ki zunanje, vidne znake ali »govorico« telesa pripisujejo njegovi »notranjosti«, tj. *srcu* (glej tudi Harrison 1990:353 za avatipske izraze; Stephen 1989:164 za Mekeo; Heelas 1986:224-5 za razne kulture). Ambonwariji pojasnjujejo čustvene izbruhe in nenadne čustvene odzive z metaforami. Dokler je *srce* skrito in se ne pokaže, so tudi človekova čustva skrita. Posamezno čustvo je nevidno, če se ne pokaže navzven (na telesu, koži npr.) ali z dejanji in besedami. Zato ljudje pogosto pravijo »Ne vem, kaj on/ona čuti ali misli« - kar je vsakdanji refren v etnografiji Papue Nove Gvineje (glej tudi Fajans 1985:383, Read 1955:281-2, Schieffelin 1985:174, Young 1974:66). Če se *srce* ne razodene (in včasih tudi to ni dovolj), drugi ljudje lahko samo ugibajo, kaj se dogaja v *srcu* nekoga. Vendar moramo pripomniti, da se na drugi strani od *srca* pričakuje ustrezno socialno odzivanje, ki človeka opredeli kot socialno osebnost (pripadnika vasi). Kadar izkazano čustvo ustreza položaju (npr. otrok joče, ker ga oče noče vzeti s sabo na vrt), ljudje ne ugibajo, ampak samozavestno povedo svoje mnenje o tem. Zdi se, da je misel pri Ambonwarijih nekakšna »predhodnica« naslednjega Sartrovega pojmovanja in ga hkrati zanika (kadar je v zvezi s socialnim odzivanjem): »svet, kakršen je za drugega, mi bo logično vedno ostal skrit... zanj imajo stvari pomene, ki jim jih on daje in razlikovali se bodo od mojih že zaradi dejstva, da jim jih je on dal.« (Danto 1991:100)

Poleg običajnega socialnega odziva »čutiti *srce*«, tj. »skrbeti«, obstajajo še drugi izrazi, ki govorijo o človekovem stanju. *Wapun min paykan* (»on je srečen/ponosen«; dobesedno: spi ponosno), *mambara/sukunan min karar* (»on zameri«), in *min kapakin* (»jezen je«) so izrazi, ki drugim povedo, v kakšnem stanju je nekdo. Vsa ta stanja (razpoloženja) so tesno povezana s »skrbjo«. Človek se na izkušnjo, da ga kdo ne mara (»ne skrbi zanj«), odziva z zamero in jezo. Če te kdo mara, se čutiš srečnega. Srečen pa si lahko samo, če te kdo osreči. Kdor je sam srečen in sreče ne deli z drugimi (kar pomeni, da mu ni mar drugih), izziva zavist in ljubosumnost v obliki zamere. V takem položaju bo njegova sreča drugim pomenila le to, da razkazuje svoj ponos. Po konceptu »skrb« je prava sreča v tem, da skrbiš za druge in drugi zate. Myers upravičeno meni, da so čustveni koncepti glavne oblike pogledov Pintupijev na to, kaj pomeni biti človek in na politično ureditev (Myers 1979:345).

V prvem delu te razprave sem se v glavnem osredotočil na semantične vidike izjav Ambonwarijev o svojih čustvih in mislih. V drugem delu bom obravnaval dve glavni prvini njihovih medsebojnih odnosov: skrb in zamero. Z uporabo etnografskega gradiva bom skušal pokazati, kaj pri Ambonwarijih pomeni »skrbeti za koga« in nasprotje, da nekdo (nihče) »ne skrbi zate« (tj. da si »izključen« iz skrbi, da si spregledan).

SKRB

Nekoč sem vprašal moškega, ki je imel dve ženi, kako se ljudje vedejo v takem položaju. Njegov odgovor ponazori, kako pomembna je vloga skrbi v odnosih med prvo

in drugo ženo. Dogodki, kot jih bom tu opisal, bi se lahko drugače odvijali; kljub temu pa pričajo o tem, kakšno vedenje se pričakuje v primerljivih okoliščinah.

Kadar moški hoče vzeti še drugo ženo, mora biti takten in previden. Medtem ko dvori bodoči drugi ženi, je čimbolj prijazen in plemenit s prvo. Dovoli ji, da uporablja vse njegove stvari, celo tiste najbolj osebne iz njegove pletene torbe, ki sicer veljajo kot izključno njegove. Tako bodoča druga žena vidi, da je prva srečna in pričakuje, da bo prijazna do nje. Ko pride nova zveza na dan, vaški svetnik skliče sestanek, na katerem žena zve za razmerje svojega moža z drugo. Vendar njen mož noče priznati, da se želi poročiti z drugo. O poroki ni govora. Potem ko mož ali njegova ljubica ali oba skupaj ženi izplačata odškodnino, kaže, da je razmerja konec. Vendar druga še naprej daje darila ljubljenu (večinoma ribe, ki jih ulovi), njegova žena pa je ves čas na preži. A tudi če se razjezi in vpije nanj ali če se njeni bratje norčujejo iz njega, mož ostane tih. Tako postane ženi jasno, da moža nekaj skrbi.

Žena začne priganjati moža k delu (pojdi po drva, na vrt, posekaj sagovo palmo itd.). Nekega dne se mož temu upre in je noče več ubogati. Žena se razjezi in mu reče, da misli samo na drugo. Mož jo pretepe. Njeni bratje ga vprašajo, če mu je druga zopet kaj dala. Mož prizna in jim pokaže gumijasto zapestnico (razmerje med dvema ljubimcema se lahko začne le z izmenjavo drobnih daril kot dokaz, da »čutita Srce«; če izmenjave ni, nihče ne bo niti omenil možnosti poroke). Ponovno skličejo vaško sodišče. Svetnik vpraša brate bodoče neveste, če so jo pripravljene dati temu možu za drugo ženo. Če pristanejo, vprašajo prvo ženo. Tudi ona mora pristati, sicer poroke ne bo.

A preden žena le pristane, hoče zvedeti več o mislih in čustvih svojega moža in o ženski. Skuša nagovoriti moža, da ji pove več o njej. On pa govori o splošnih rečeh brez vsakih podrobnosti. Žena ga sili, da spi z njo in ga potem vpraša: »Ali še vedno misliš nanjo? Mislim, da si videl njeno vulvo in zato še vedno misliš nanjo«. Odgovori ji, da imajo moški pač dve ali tri žene, ženske pa nimajo dveh ali treh mož. Tako se ona zave, da je njen mož nesrečen in da se res hoče poročiti (še) z drugo. Zdaj sklene, da mu bo pomagala. Kadar gredo ženske lovit ribe, da svoji bodoči so-ženi košaro, mrežo ali otroka, da ga nosi. Tako se začne razmerje med obema ženskama. Druge ženske ob tem pravijo: »Da, zdaj sta kot sestri.« Bodoča druga daje vso svojo hrano prvi.

Pripravijo poroko in vsakdo ve, da bo druga žena zdaj podrejena prvi. Mož mora biti do obeh enak. Če se prepira z eno, bo ta potegnila zraven drugo, tako da bosta obe tepeni. Mož ne sme pojesti samo tega, kar je pripravila ena žena, ampak vse, kar pripravita tako ena kot druga. Kadar skupaj odidejo delat sagovo moko, mora mož nositi dve polni košari nazaj, eno za vsako ženo. Mož tudi ne sme razdvojiti žena, ampak mora počakati, da gre ena od njiju npr. na obisk k staršem in šele takrat lahko spi z drugo.

Ženi se vedeta kot sestri. Brate prve žene so bratje tudi drugi, očeta prve tudi druga kliče oče in obratno. Bratje prve žene dajejo prednost otrokom druge. Otroci imajo tako dva rodovnika po materi.

Najbolj razširjeno izjavo (izrek) *ama wambun ama sikan* ustrezno prevajamo z »maram« nekoga ali nekaj. Izjava ima številne pomene in odtenke in samo sovaščani, ki so seznanjeni z vsemi okoliščinami, jo lahko pravilno razumejo v konkretnem primeru. *Ama wambun ama sikan* namreč lahko pomeni »čutim«, »bojim se«, »skrbi me«, »žal mi je«, »žalosten sem«, »sočustvujem«, »hrepenim po...«, »imam domotožje«, »ljubim«. Čeprav ni izrecno povedano, so ta čustva usmerjena v nekoga. V koga, nam najbolj jasno pove zaimmek, ko se glagol uporablja v prehodni obliki (glej Telban 1992). Vsem zgornjim

izrazom je skupna »skrb« za (strah za) nekoga ali nekaj. To pa je ustrezen odziv v odnosih med ljudmi. Ne skrbeti ni vrlina. Vsakega, ki ne skrbi (in je torej brezbrizen, ravnodušen in neodgovoren), imajo Ambowariji za *maman* (zlega, hudobnega).

To ne pomeni, da se vsi ljudje v vsakem trenutku odzivajo enako. Mnogo faktorjev (stvari) vpliva na vedenje Ambonwarijev in njihove izreke. Z naslednjim primerom bom skušal osvetliti razliko v vedenju med skupinami in posamezniki v vasi ob smrti nekoga, za katerega so vsi rekli, da ga imajo radi (jih skrbi, so žalostni, zaskrbljeni).

V času mojega bivanja v vasi je umrlo več ljudi in večkrat sem imel priložnost spremljati ves žalni obred. Vsak je rekel *ama wambun ama sikan* in temu pogosto dodal besedo *pan* (zelo). V prevodu bi lahko rekli, da so bili žalostni, prizadeti, potrti, zakrbljeni in še vrsto slovenskih izrazov bil lahko navedli. Čeprav je bilo očitno, da so žalujoči imeli radi umrlega, ni bilo mogoče ugotoviti, »koliko« ali do kakšne mere so bili prizadeti. Žalni obredi so se razlikovali po obsegu (vendar ne po postopkih), odvisno od tega, kdo je umrl. Opazil sem lahko socialne značilnosti, ki so odražale sorodstvene vezi, posebne vloge posameznikov in značilnosti kulture Ambonwarijev (npr. posmrtno iniciacijo mladega fanta). Omejil se bom na to, kdo vse in kako je jokal ponoči ob smrti dvanajstletnega prvorojenega sina mladega moža iz glavnega klana vasi (klana prvega prednika). S tem primerom lahko pokažem, da čustva in skrbi posameznikov in majhnih skupin niso vedno v skladu s pričakovanim spodobnim vedenjem.

1) Zaradi nedavnega spora med dvema hišama z enakim »hišnim imenom« (iz istega klana), ki mu je pripadal tudi umrli, se nekateri moški sorodniki (ki so bili umrlemu »oče« ali »brat«) sploh niso udeležili žalnega obreda.

2) Najožji sorodniki (mati, oče, materini bratje, drugi »očetje, matere in sestre«, plesni partner...) so javno jokali in sluz pomešana s slino jim je visela na bradi; plesali so, peli žalostinke, se dotikali trupla in prijemali osebne stvari umrlega fanta.

3) Eden izmed očetovih bratov (zrel moški; dva druga brata sta bila odsotna) je prišel naravnost v hišo, jokal eno uro in potem ostal v hiši.

4) Mladenke (sorodnice po klanu ali poroki) so prišle v skupini. Obraze so imele pokrite z brisačami in majdicami. Jokale so pol ure in odšle.

5) Mladičji (iz istega in sorodnih klanov) in mladi moški so se pripravljali, da bi stopili v hišo in jokali, vendar tega niso storili.

6) Neka ženska je ugasnila vse kerozinske svetilke razen ene in se postavila med edino gorečo in njenega odraslega poročenega sina, tako da nihče ni mogel videti, da sin joče.

7) Otroci so sedeli v krogu, sitnarili svojim materam, se malo topli in smejali, jokali pa niso in po polnoči so zaspali.

Če povzamem: jeza in zamera, ki so ju nekateri moški sorodniki čutili, sta jim preprečili, da bi stopili v hišo, kjer je ležalo truplo, čeprav so govorili, da so imeli fanta radi. Pri primerih 2) in 3) sta bili prizadetost in bolečina ob izgubi očitni, pri 4), 5) in 6) je prevladoval občutek sramu. Dekleta so mi povedala, da so čutila mešanico žalosti, sramu in olajšanja (ker so bila skupaj); hkrati so se zavedala, kakšno (spodobno) ravnanje se od njih pričakuje. Pri mladičjih je občutek sramu skoraj popolnoma prevladal nad žalostjo, njihov občutek za to, kaj se spodobi, pa je podlegel bojazni pred sramoto, da bi jih kdo videl jokati. Starši so jih razumeli: kadar se neporočeni mladi znajdejo v položaju, ko bi

morali javno kaj storiti (posebno, če naj bi jokali), jih je tako sram, da jih to povsem paralizira. Nihče jim tega ni očital. V primeru 6) je mati skušala obvarovati sina pred sramoto, da bi ga kdo ne videl jokati. Otroci pa se ne zavedajo položaja (in nimajo izdelane ideologije o tem, kaj je spodobno ali ne). Lahko bi navedel mnogo drugih primerov, vsakega s svojimi posebnostmi, z različnimi posamezniki v glavnih vlogah (tihimi, sramežljivimi, zgovornimi itd), pokazal na posebne sorodstvene vezi, omenil socialne in kulturne vidike. Skratka, za prav vsakega posemeznika bi lahko prikazal, kako doživlja svet in kako se nanj odziva. Vendar koncepti ambonwarijevske družbe priznajo in vključujejo vse te posebnosti. Sram, jeza in zamera so del pristnega vzdušja v vasi, priznani in sprejeti, čeprav se morda komu zdi, da povzročajo težave.

Denimo, da bi nekdo vstopil v hišo ponoči (sorodniki običajno žalujejo vso noč ob trupu) in videl koga, ki ne joče. Lahko bi si postavil vrsto vprašanj: ali je človeka sram, da bi javno jokal; ali je preveč utrujen; ali je najhujše že mimo; ali je morda njegova bolečina tako huda, da ne more jokati; ali se zavestno obvlada; ali je že nehal jokati, ker so tudi drugi nehali; morda mu pa sploh ni hudo. Ambonwariji se ne sprašujejo nič takega. Ožji sorodniki vidijo, da so vsi navzoči žalostni in potrti, izgledajo kot ljudje, ki »skrbijo«, ki »jim je mar«. Zjutraj mnogi pravijo, da vso noč niso spali (tudi če dejansko so), ker so bili tako prizadeti. Sprejme se to, kar pravijo in družina to ceni. To, kar ljudje pravijo, skupaj z vidnimi zunanjimi znaki (vključno z golo prisotnostjo), pove drugim, kako nekdo čuti.

To, da je nekomu mar za druge, je globoka vrlina; zaradi nje so ljudje dobri. Ta lastnost se lahko kaže v mnogih različnih položajih: fant daje darila dekletu in obratno (pomeni: naklonjenost, nagnjenje, vdanost); prisotnost na žalovanju (sočutje, žalost); obisk bolnih (skrb); podarjanje hrane, oblek in orodja; pomoč pri gradnji hiše ali velikega kanuja. »Skrb« se najbolj izrazi v funkciji starševstva. Ta se ne vzpostavlja z »rojevanjem« ali »biti oče«, ampak z dajanjem imena in »skrbjo«. Pri Ambonwarijih ni redko, da je sam otrok darilo. Otroka dobijo tisti, ki ga potrebujejo (družina npr. dobi fantka za nadaljevanje roda ali deklico, da se lahko oddolži za neko poroko; otroka lahko dobi zakonski par, ki sam ne more imeti otrok, ali človek (moški ali ženska), ki je ostal sam). Ljudje tako izkažejo svojo skrb za tiste, ki nimajo otrok. Za podarjenega otroka se pričakuje nekoč vračilo. Bolj pomembno pa je to, da očim in mačeha postaneta prava starša šele, ko otroku dasta svoje ime (vsak klan ima svoje posebno ime) in zanj skrbita. Če za podarjenega otroka ne skrbita, ga člani izvornega klana vzamejo nazaj in mu vrnejo njegovo ime. Če pa novi starši skrbijo za otroka, ga bo ta klical z imeni, ki so v splošni rabi za naravno mater in očeta. Nihče v vasi ne sme javno omenjati posvojitve, še najmanj sam posvojenec. Če pa to vendar nekdo stori, ga novi starši lahko prijavijo sodišču. V večini primerov, ko je bil dojenček predan novim staršem takoj po porodu, vaščani in (poznejši) mlajši bratje in sestre niti ne vedo, da je bil otrok posvojen⁶.

»Čutiti *srce*« najbolj pristno izraža »navade vasi«, njeno socialno dinamiko, javno vzdušje in ideologijo. Kaže se v vseh mogočih družbenih zvezah. Ljudje in duhovi, vsi

⁶ Posvojitvev in dajanje imena sta veliko bolj izdelana postopka kot tu lahko prikažem. Človek lahko posvoji otroka od kogarkoli (npr. tudi od vseh tistih, ki jih kliče »oče« ali »mati«); v mnogih primerih je pri rojstvu prisotna krušna mati, ki prereže popkovino in jo zakopje, pozneje pa skupaj s pravo materjo pazi na upoštevanje vseh prepovedi. Če krušna mati nima mleka za dojenje (kar se pogosto zgodi), gre lahko skozi zelo mučno obdobje pripravljanja ustrežne druge hrane za dojenčka (pretlačenege sladkornega trsa, kokosovega mleka, sagove kaše, očiščenega ribjega mesa).

tisti, ki bivajo na tem istem svetu, se srečajo na osnovi skrbi. *Ama wambuꞀ ama sikan* (skrbi me) je torej posledica tega, da sta dva človeka v neki povezavi. Ko skrbijo drug za drugega si ljudje zmanjšajo tesnobo (nenehen občutek, da »niso doma«) (glej Telban, b.d.). Zdi se, da čutiti *srce* (skrbeti) pri Ambonwarijih odgovarja konceptu družine (*walytja*) pri Pintupijih. Pintupiji s tem konceptom označujejo idealni svet medsebojne podpore, plemenitosti, domačnosti in topline (Myers 1979:352). Ravno tako se zdi, da odgovarja stanju, ki ga Ifaluki z atolov v Karolinah imenujejo »fago«. Lutz (1988) prevaja ta pojem kot sočutje, ljubezen in žalost. Izraža, kako Ifaluki dojemajo pozitivne človeške odnose (Lutz 1988:121).

Velja si zapomniti, da ta »skrb« ni nekaj, kar ljudje sami »storijo«, pričakujejo jo tudi od drugih. Pri Ambonwarijih je zamera lahko zelo huda in tako »skrb« postane obveznost, ki v sodobnem času z vse večjo ponudbo uvoženega blaga, bolj pogostimi potovanji in denarno ekonomijo ustvarja še dodatne, prej neznane pritiske na posameznika. Dokler imajo drugi manj, nekaj potrebujejo, in če se jim je kaj zgodilo, so *kanambringra* (revni, nesrečni). Ljudje čutijo *srce* (sočutje) za druge. Kdor ima več, mora upoštevati tiste, ki imajo manj ali so v težavah. Uravnavati je treba tako pomanjkanje kot blagostanje, da bi se izognili zavisti, ljubosumnosti in zameri.

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ZAMERA

Ambonwariji razlagajo človekove odnose z duhovi in živalmi, z miti in legendami, ki pravijo, da so v daljni preteklosti duhovi in živali govorili isti jezik kot ljudje. Vprašanje je torej, zakaj so duhovi in živali nehali govoriti. Odgovor najdemo v dveh kratkih zgodbah:

(1) Duhovi grmovja se niso vedno skrivali tako kot danes. Nekoč so hodili okoli v človeških telesih in živeli prav »normalno življenje«. Predavnimi časi so ljudem posodili kokosovo lupino z okrasnim oljem. Ljudje so pomešali olje s črno barvo, preden so šli v boj. Vendar so pozabili duhovom vrniti lupino. Duhovi niso rekli ničesar, vendar so čutili *sukunan* (zamero, bili so užaljeni) in se jezili. Menili so, da bi se z ljudmi kar naprej topli, če bi govorili in bili ljudem vidni. Zato se duhovi danes skrivajo in samo kdaj pa kdaj prevzamejo človeško obliko. Vendar še vedno kaznujejo ljudi za njihova krivična dejanja.

(2) V davni preteklosti so govorili tudi psi. Nekoč se jih je nekaj odpravilo s človekom na lov. Zasedovali so prašiča, ga ujeli in klicali človeku: »Imamo ga, imamo ga. Pridi hitro in ga ubij!« Človek je pritekel, vrgel kopje in ubil prašiča. Psi so bili zadovoljni in rekli človeku: »Oče, lahko greš domov, mi ga bomo prinesli v tabor.« In tako so psi nesli prašiča na svojih hrbtih. V taboru so plen razrezali in meso dali prekaditi. Isto noč je lovec imel spolne odnose s svojo ženo. Psi so to videli in začeli vpiti: »A te ni nič sram, kaj pa delaš pred našimi očmi? Saj je nas sram!« Lovec je prekršil tabu, da ne sme imeti spolnih odnosov tistega dne, ko ubije prašiča. Psi so čutili *sukunan* (zamero), se vrnili v vas in vsem povedali, kaj so videli. Lovca in njegovo ženo je bilo sram in hotela sta se psom maščevati. Žena je pripravila hrano in medtem ko so psi jedli, je vrgla *panapinin* (malajsko jabolko) v njihove smrčke. To jim je odvzelo sposobnost govora in od takrat naprej psi samo še lajajo in zavijajo: »hov, uuuu«. Od tistega dneva dalje lahko moški in ženske spijo drug z drugim pred očmi psov, ne da bi se morali bati, da bodo ti o tem komu pripovedovali.

Zgodbi povesta, da Ambonwariji pripisujejo živalim in duhovom v preteklosti enake občutke in vedenje kot ljudem ter da sebi pripisujejo krivdo za spremembe, ki so se zgodile. Ravno tako vidimo, da so vsi nečloveški udeleženci v teh mitih občutili *sukunan* in da so se nanj tako odzvali, da so zapustili ljudi in se od njih osamili (tako kot ljudje še delajo v medsebojnih odnosih).

Nasprotje od »skrbeti« je »ne skrbeti«. Kdor ne skrbi za nekoga, za katerega bi moral, je hudoben človek. Na to, da drugi ne skrbijo zanj, se človek odziva z občutki užaljenosti, osramočenosti in zamere. Kazal bo vse zunanje znake, ki ustrezajo stanju *sukunan* ali *mambara* (oba pomenita zamero). Ne prvega ne drugega izraza Ambonwariji ne uporabljajo z glagolom »čutiti« in ju tudi ne povezujejo s *srcem*. Uporabljajo ju z glagolom *kay-*, ki je najbrž najbolj pogosto uporabljan glagol v jeziku karawari. V posameznih izrekih lahko pomeni: ostati, bivati, obstajati, živeti (samostalnik *kay-* lahko pomeni: bitje, navado, način, obred, obnašanje, običaj; *kay* tudi pomeni kanu, najpomembnejšo materialno dobrino v družbi Ambonwarijev. Lahko torej rečemo, da *mambara* in *sukunan* pomenita neko stanje. Poenostavljeno prevajam to stanje kot »zamera«, vendar ne smemo pozabiti, da *sukunan/mambara min karar* (on zameri) vključuje celo vrsto čustev in občutkov: zavist, ljubosumnost, nevoljo, samopomilovanje, užaljenost, zavrtost, potrtoost itd. Za vse te pojme Ambonwariji nimajo posebnih besed. Človek ne bo nikoli sam rekel, da komu kaj zameri. To bo storil nekdo drug, ko bo postal pozoren na njegovo vedenje. Človek »se počuti slabo« (stanje *mambara* ali *sukunan*), kadar čuti (vidi, sliši, ve), da se mu zgodi krivica (pozabili so nanj, ne vključujejo ga v nekaj, očitajo mu nekaj, česar ni storil, opravljajo ga...). To je čustven odziv na to, da ni udeležen pri nečem, kar si drugi delijo, ali da je izključen iz skupnih opravkov oziroma izobčen). Skratka, odziv na to, da drugi »ne skrbijo« zanj, »ni jim mar«. Stanje je zelo podoben pojmu *popokl* pri Melpah (Strathern 1968) in *unuwewe* pri Kalaunah (Young 1983). Zdi se mi, da razmerje med skrbjo in njeno odsotnostjo močno vpliva na medsebojne odnose in vedenje po vsej Papui Novi Gvineji. Izraz »skrbeti za« je tujcu lahko razumljiv, težje pa je ugotoviti, kaj Ambonwariji mislijo z izrazom »ne skrbeti za«. Zato bom »zamero« opisal bolj podrobno. Naslednji primer, ki mi ga je povedal prijatelj Julian Kapyamari Yangan, je le eden izmed mnogih:

Wasapik amanan mambara minma karandukun bini anay sapina

MLAJŠI BRAT MOJ UŽALJEN ON OSTANE TAKO/TAKO OČE NE MI

Moj mlajši brat je bil razburjen (užaljen): »Oče mi ni

anandukun payn wurum. Sayn min any bini mi wara kupan bini

DATI GROZD BETELOVIH OREHOV VENDAR ON OČE TAKO TI NISI VELIK/STAR
dal grozda betelovih orehov.« A oče (je rekel) takole:

kamban anakir payn wurum.

JAZ - TI DATI GROZD BETELOVIH OREHOV.

»Ti nisi (tako) velik, da bi ti jaz (moral) dati grozda betelovih orehov«.

Min bini ama ama wapaykar paymbiambina. Sayn min anay

ON TAKO JAZ JAZ PLEZAM NA BETELOVO PALMO AMPAK ON OČE

On (je rekel) takole: »Splezal sem na palmo.« Vendar je oče

kwasambin yanma kurandukun. Mba minma yaynjukun sukunan minma

VSTATI ON - NJEGA TEPSTI TAKO/DOVOLJ ON JOKATI ZAMERA ON

vstal in ga tepel. Jokal je in ostal poln zamere.

karandukun min pinma simindukun bini sambin ama wara ama

OSTATI ON ON - NJEGA REČI TAKO POZNEJE POZNEJE JAZ NE JAZ

Rekel je tole: »V bodoče ne bom več plezal na drevo, da bi prišel do betelovih orehov.«

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wapaykaykir payn aurarin. Mba min sukunan karan

PLEZATI - OSTATI BETELOVE OREHE HOTETI DOBITI TAKO/DOVOLJ ON

ZAMERA OSTATI/BITI

Tako je ostal užaljen, poln zamere.

min wara minwa wapaykaynjukun. Sayn mba yamba minma

ON NE ON PLEZATI AMPAK DOVOLJ ZDAJ ON

Ni plezal (na palme). A zdaj on

yangnan wapaykaykan payn aurarin

ZOPET PLEZATI BETELOVI OREHI HOTETI DOBITI

zopet pleza na betelove palme po orehe.

Za nekoga, ki se počuti užaljenega, pravijo, da je *mambara* (gre za kratkotrajno zamero). V vasi lahko pogosto slišimo, da nekdo reče *amanok* (jaz tudi), kadar se hoče pridružiti drugim, ki se nekam odpravljajo, nekaj počenjajo (se igrajo) ali nekaj dobivajo (obrok hrane). *Mambara* je zelo pogost pri otrocih. Starši in sorodniki se morajo stalno odzivati na otrokovo zamero in mu pokazati, da jim je mar. Velja tudi, da so mlajši otroci, »ki nimajo srca«, do neke mere upravičeni zahtevati razne stvari na škodo starejših otrok. Kadar otrok meni, da sam ni dobil dovolj mesa k sagovi kaši (drugi otroci pa več), skuša dobiti več z izsiljevanjem. Otrok pogosto grozi drugim (tistim, za katere lahko razumno domneva, da zanj skrbijo) tako, da reče: »Prav, bom pa šel k vratom in padel dol s hiše«. Ko triletni Sangirmari od matere ni dobil, kar je hotel, je začel tepsti sedem mesecev staro sestrico Mayo, ki jo je mati ravno dojila. Sorodniki in starši skušajo karseda hitro odpraviti otrokovo zamero, tako da mu dajo nekaj več ali mu kaj obljubijo. Popolnoma drugače pa je, kadar kak otrok poje vso hrano, ne da bi jo delil z drugimi. Drugi bodo naglas govorili kako hudoben je, kako nič ne skrbi za druge, da kar naprej tako dela itd. Otroka bo kmalu sram svojega ravnanja. Kadar pa je pri delitvi spregledan en sam otrok, začne jokati ali se komaj zadrži. Ko ga drugi pozneje kličejo, naj se jim pridruži in da bo dobil tisto, jih niti ne pogleda in se jim ne približa. Včasih prav patetično reče: »Ni pomembno, kar vzemite vse, ni mi mar,« in gre stran.

Pri tistih, ki doživljajo *sukunan*, dolgotrajno zamero, se lahko razvijeta mržnja in maščevalnost. Zato se bo vedno našel nekdo, ki ga bo skušal potolažiti. Ambonwariji se pogosto znajdejo v položaju, v katerem so razpeti med dvema človekoma, ki sta jezna drug na drugega ker zaradi sorodstvenih vezi ne smejo pomagati ne enemu ne drugemu. Tako se bratje lahko pridružijo različnim stranem v sporu ali pretepu.

Naj povem še nekaj primerov. Mladi mož, ki je vedno našel delo (in zato vedno imel denar), je bil poročen z mlado žensko. Potem ko je žena rodila mrtvorojenčka, so jo videli z drugimi možmi. Mož jo je nagnal iz hiše. Kakih šest mesecev pozneje je neko drugo dekle kazalo naklonjenost do tega mladega moža, on pa ni imel nič proti. Njegova bivša žena je bila ljubosumna, njen ponos je bil prizadet. Ponovno moram poudariti, da Ambonwariji nimajo besed za taka »čustvena stanja«, kot sta zavist in ljubosumnost. Govorili so, da jo (bivšo ženo) »skrbi« zanj, da ji je še vedno do njega (»čutila je srce«). Tako se je v njej razvila *sukunan* (zamera), ker je menila, da je njen bivši še vedno njen in da ga nobena druga ne sme dobiti. Nekega večera je napadla svojo teknico (ne pa bivšega soproga!) z žepnim nožem in jo hudo porezala po obrazu. Mož je v sporu ostal povsem ob strani, zadeva pa je prišla na sodišče.

Podoben primer, v katerem pa izrečene grožnje niso bile uresničene, se je zgodil, ko je neko dekle, ki je bilo že dolgo samsko, čutilo *sukunan* potem, ko se je neko drugo dekle poročilo z moškim, ki bi se po njenem moral poročiti prav z njo. Glede na družbena »pravila« je imela prav. Obe dekleti sta bili iz pobratenih klanov in starejša bi morala imeti prednost. Ker pa Ambonwariji danes ravnajo po načelu »svobodne poroke«, so ljudje prizadetim prepustili, da sami odločajo. Starejše dekle je hodilo po vasi in grozilo, da bo teknico napadlo z nožem za krčenje grmovja. Pritoževala se je, kako se ji godi krivica. A zgodilo se ni nič. Kljub temu, da je bil mož v tem primeru poročen, se (tako kot v prvem primeru) sploh ni vmešal v zadevo. Sorodniki njegove žene pa so se ostro odzvali. Ženske so o ženini teknici govorile: »Ona ni prava ženska. Če bi bila prava ženska, bi uresničila grožnje. Ona pa nič.« Dekle je vendar vztrajalo in po šestih mesecih je mož zaradi nje zapustil svojo ženo.

V obeh primerih je v središču razlog za *sukunan*. Na opisane odnose pa so vplivali tudi predhodni dogodki, povezave med »hišami« in skupinama, obljube in laži vpletenih, vpletenost drugih, sram in ponos, bojazen deklet (in v manjši meri fantov), da bi ostala sama. Bilo je še več drugih vidikov, ki so določali, kako je vsak posamezni udeleženec dojemal stvari in kako so jih dojemali tisti, ki so jim bili samo priče (z mano vred). Nemogoče bi bilo raziskovati prav vsak vidik pri vsaki posamezni osebi. Ambonwariji sami jih ne raziskujejo, ker so del njihovega sveta, in so jim taki dogodki pač bolj ali manj znani. Raziskujejo pa (na sodišču) tiste pomembne sestavine dogodkov, ki so jih udeleženci morda prikrivali.

Zgoraj sem pokazal, da se tista čustva, ki jih mi imenujemo zavist, ljubosumnost ali samopomilovanje, in za katera Ambonwariji nimajo besed, izražajo kot zamera. V nadaljevanju bom skušal pokazati, kako tolmačimo te občutke v naši družbi. Definicije so vzete iz *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*.

ZAVIST (angl. envy) - želja biti na istem kot nekdo drug v nekem pogledu ali biti obseden z nečim, kar ima nekdo drug.

LJUBOSUMNOST (angl. jealousy) - razburjen zaradi vere, suma ali strahu, da je (ali bo) nekdo odtujil dobrino, ki si jo želimo dobiti ali obdržati zase; zameriti drugim na osnovi znanega ali domnevnega rivalstva.

ZAMERA (angl. resentment) - ogorčen občutek prizadetosti ali užaljenosti, krivice ali žalitve, storjene nekomu ali nečemu, kar nam je drago.

- močan občutek zlonamernosti ali jeze do storilca ali storilcev krivice ali žalitve; izkazovanja takega občutka do njegovega vzroka.

Skratka, tako zavist kot ljubosumnost sta povezani z željo, da bi nekaj bili ali imeli (nekaj, kar so ali imajo drugi), zamera pa je odgovor ali odziv na storjeno krivico (nekaj mojega zdaj pripada drugemu).

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Najbolj vsakdanji dosežek pri Ambonwarijih je dober ulov. Denimo, da veslam mimo nekoga in vidim da je imel dober ulov. Moral mi bo dati nekaj rib⁷. Če tega ne stori, ne bom zavisten ali ljubosumen na njegov uspeh pri ribolovu, ampak mu bom zameril, užaljen bom ali celo jezen. Če se ponavlja, da možakar obdrži vse ribe zase, mu bom rekel, da je *karisikin* (škrat; dobesedno: močan) in *maman* (hudoben). Govoril bom, da je *sandikambayn amindar* (mož, ki ves čas je sam), da je *min panatna* ali *min pasa* (samo nase gleda). Če bo možakar dalj časa imel srečo pri ribolovu, ne da bi spremenil svoje škrte navade, bom drugim govoril, kako hudoben je. Drugi se mi bodo verjetno pridružili in mož bo kmalu zbolel ali pa mu bodo fantje kaj ukradli z vrta in podobno. Vendar to ne pomeni, da ljudje kar razdajajo, karkoli že imajo. Zapomni si, kaj so komu dali in pričakujejo vzajemnost. Kmalu po mojem prihodu v vas so me svarili, naj ne zdravim prav vsakogar, ki je bolan, naj ne dajem tobaka tistim, ki mi ne prinašajo hrane. To so mi povedali prav tisti, pri katerih sem bil vsak dan, hkrati pa so me pogosto prosili za stvari, ki bi jih sami radi dobili od mene.

Fantje in dekleta se učijo plemenitosti od mladih nog. Kadar gredo na ribolov ali nabirat jajca divjih ptic, so dobro »organizirani«. Ko se vrnejo s takega »nabiralnega« pohoda, pripovedujejo takole: »Jaz sem prvi našel jajce in ga dal Sangirmari. Kapun je našel dve, dal eno meni in eno Imbinamariju. Sangirmari je našel štiri jaja in vsak od nas je dobil eno. Nato sem jaz zopet našel dve in ju dal Kapunu in Imbianmariju. Tako je vsak imel dve jajci. Ko smo našli še dve, smo se odločili, da ju skuhamo v listu in pojemo.« Odrasli in otroci si v vsakdanjem življenju kar naprej pripoveduje take zgodbe.

Kot sem že omenil, se Ambonwariji bojijo zamere v medsebojnih odnosih, v odnosih med ljudmi in duhovi in med duhovi samimi. Ena izmed prvih stvari, ki jih mladenič sliši, ob prvem vstopu v moško hišo je, da ne sme imeti spolnih odnosov na določenih označenih »mestih duhov« prednikov. Taka mesta so *habitat* duhov. Taka dejanja bi užalila duhove. Kako duhovi kaznujejo ljudi in se jim maščujejo, je upodobljeno na dveh izrezljanih stebrih v moški hiši: na prvem ogromna kača moškega ugrizne v penis, na drugem kača ženski leze v vagino.

⁷ To ne velja samo za ožje sorodnike, ampak bolj ali manj za vso vas. Seveda nihče ne pričakuje, da mu bo dal ribo kak revež ali poročena ženska/ moški, če je sam drugega spola, ali nekdo, s katerim se niti ne pogovarja itd. Vsak ima seveda sorodnike, ki jih bo najprej poiskal, da jim da ribe (moški dajejo ribe sestrim otrokom npr.). V knjigi *Primitive Polynesian Society* Raymond Firth opisuje podobne spremenljive »obveznosti« v skupini ribičev (podatek je naveden v Schoek 1969:30).

Kljub temu, da Ambonwariji na splošno razumejo, da je trgovina lahko uspešna samo, če za blago plačajo, ne pa da se jim brezplačno razdeli iz skladišča, so trgovci kar naprej prisiljeni posojati blago za nedoločen čas ali pa ga zastoj dati. Tako se seveda vsak posel sesuje že kmalu po začetku. Če pa kak trgovec noče ravnati »tako kot se spodobi«, vlomijo v skladišče in blago odnesejo. Podobni odnosi veljajo, ko gre za osebno imovino. Ker se ljudje bojijo zahtev obiskovalcev, skrivajo svoje imetje, denar, obleke, gorivo, tobak, tj. večinoma uvoženo blago. Nočejo ga razdati, bojijo se pa zamere tistih, ki bi te stvari pri njih opazili.

Kadar se obiskovalci približajo neki hiši (nikoli ne vstopijo brez povabila), gospodar hiše ponavadi nekajkrat ponovi da v hiši ni hrane, *pan kaya* (zelo-nič), *apia kambra apia san* (nič nam ni ostalo), da so jedli čisto navadno sago, pa tudi te ni več ali *kambra karis* (nič kaše ni). Obiskovalec odgovori, da nič ne de, *wara mariawk* (nič pogovor / pustimo to), da je v redu. Skupaj z domačimi uživajo betelove orehe in odidejo dobre volje.

Kar sem zgoraj opisal, ni neznano. Helmut Schoek omenja koncept Erica Wolfa o »institucionalizirani zavisti« v kmečkih skupnostih v Južni Ameriki. Vsesplošen strah pred tako zavistjo »pomeni, da je za posameznika le malo možnosti za gmotno napredovanje in da ni stikov z zunanjim svetom, ki bi skupnosti lahko zbujali upanje na napredek. Nihče noče pokazati česar koli, kar bi drugim dalo misliti, da je na boljšem od njih.« (1969:47). Čeprav to velja tudi za Ambonwarije, je treba s konceptom »institucionalizirane zavisti« zelo previdno ravnati. Menim, da je zavist tako primarna (Foster / 1972:165 / pravi, da je univerzalni človeški pojav), da je do neke mere »institucionalizirana« v vsaki družbi, tj. bodisi jo institucionalno zatirajo ali priznajo in sprejemajo. Bolj pomembna se mi zdi socialna dinamika, ki vključuje zavist. Tako postane splošno mišljenje del vsakogaršnega srca. Ambonwariji ne pravijo »ona mu zavida« ali »zavistna je«, pravijo: »Ona je v stanju zamere.« Tako stanje, ki ga ljudje doživljajo v medsebojnih odnosih, vpliva na značilnosti socialnega in kulturnega življenja in te postanejo institucionalizirane.

Epstein (1992:266) za Tolai piše, da se takšne družbe močno razlikujejo od tistih, za katere je Schoek ugotovil, da so zavistne. Pravi, da na polotoku Gazelle želja doseči nekaj in tekmovalno načelo prevladujeta nad tveganjem, da človek postane predmet zavisti. Nejasno pri Epsteinu je, da govori o »tekmovanju« med tolajskimi skupnostmi, Wolf in Schoek pa sta pisala o »osebnem gmotnem napredovanju« znotraj ene same skupnosti. Skratka, velika razlika je med vedenjem ljudi znotraj ene vasi (med svojimi) in med vasm. Socialna dinamika, ki jo obravnavam, izvira iz odnosov med ljudmi, ki so v vsakdanjem intimnem stiku, in prav dinamika usmerja te odnose. Ljudje iz drugih vasi so »drugi«, za odnose z njimi veljajo drugi socialni nazori, ideologija in dinamika.

Iz angleščine prevedel
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HAVING HEART: CARING AND RESENTMENT IN AMBONWARI, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Borut Telban

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Ressentiment denotes an attitude which arises from a cumulative repression of feelings of hatred, revenge, envy and the like. When such feelings can be acted out, no resentment results. But when a person is unable to release these feelings against the persons or groups evoking them, thus developing a sense of impotence, and when these feelings are continuously re-experienced over time, then resentment arises. Resentment leads to a tendency to degrade, to "reduce" genuine values as well as their bearers. As distinct from rebellion, resentment does not lead to an affirmation of counter-values since resentment-imbued persons secretly crave the values they publicly denounce. (Coser 1961: 23-4).

In Naven Gregory Bateson promoted the theory that the individuals of a community are standardized by their culture and that culture is an expression of this standardization (1958:32-3,118). He proposed the concepts of *eidōs* (expresses the individual's standardized cognitive aspects) and *ethos* (expresses the individual's culturally standardized system of organizing his instincts and emotions) (ibid: 118, 120). He recognized that this distinction was somehow artificial but was worried that the problem of inter-relatedness was unprofitable (ibid: 28). Bateson's concept of *ethos* became widely accepted and numerous studies identified certain emotions as the foundation of, for example, a paranoid *ethos* (Schwartz 1973) an *ethos* of shame (Epstein 1984), an *ethos* of fearfulness (Robarchek 1979), or an *ethos* of melancholy (Taylor 1987). While pride, fear and shame, discussed by these authors, are also important elements in the lives of Ambonwari people, it seems that they are all subordinate to the relationship between resentment and care.¹ The distinction between cognitive and emotive aspects in the concept of care, the main subject of this paper, is blurred. "Caring about" primarily represents the

¹ I stayed in Ambonwari village (Karawari language group), East Sepik Province in Papua New Guinea from September 1990 to the middle of March 1992. I am most grateful to the Australian National University for financial and other assistance. I also thank the Slovenian Research Association for a grant that helped further my studies before coming to Australia. Since 1986 Lorraine and Emil Pavšič have provided me with support whenever I was in Port Moresby. My debt is obvious. I am grateful to the Ambonwari people, especially to Tony Simiwariya Andiyapi, Bob Kanjik Anjapi, Elias Wapun Kandangway and Julian Kapyamari Yangan who never got tired of discussion about what it means to be an Ambonwari. I wish to thank Chris Ballard, Alleta Biersack, William Foley, Don Gardner, Jadran Mimica and Michael Young for insightful comments during the preparation of this paper. A earlier versions were presented as a departmental seminar at the Anthropology Department, Research School of Pacific Studies and Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, the

relationship between people, constituting as it were the social dynamics in which social sentiment (ethos) and understanding (ideology) are interwoven.

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".

Ambonwari do not have words for such general terms as emotion and thought. Both are expressed through the non-physiological seat in the upper abdomen, a seat which I will call the Heart, with a capital letter. To have Heart means that you have understanding and desires, and that you are "attuned" to public sentiment. You have already learned the way of the village, you are able to think, you are able to remember. Having Heart means that you are a "proper" social and moral person. Interaction between people, between people and their environment is represented by Heart. The everyday Heart shows itself through care and anxiety (Telban n.d); its relationship with the world is one of concern, in the Heideggerian sense of manipulating, producing, and using the environment. The way of dealing with the environment is "knowing", and the way of dealing with people is "caring". In the social dynamics represented by Heart, "care" is a socially recognized and justified solution to troubles deriving from states such as envy and resentment. Care is a social response. At the same time resentment is a response to the experience of "not being cared for" and thus being wronged. I would argue that to social concept of "caring about" has evolved following two universal human states: the anxiety experienced by being alone in an unfamiliar and "dangerous" world, and the experience of spite, envy, jealousy, self-pity and resentment when humans feel they are neglected and thus not "cared about". In this paper I am concerned with the latter aspect of the development of care.

But if I want further to interpret Ambonwari social dynamics then I have to make some important observations. Firstly, Ambonwari people have two verbs, one for feeling (which when used with Heart means "care") and another for remembering, learning and thinking. Both verbs are used with the same Heart. Secondly, untold speech represents thoughts. Thirdly, resentment is used neither with the verb "to feel" nor the verb "to think". It is not even referred to Heart. Resentment is expressed as the state of a person as a whole. It is used with the verb "to be, to stay". Fourthly, "emotions" are for Ambonwari motions of Heart; they are thus motions of understanding, desires and incorporated public sentiment.

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Throughout the text I use the symbol *i* which is heard as *i* in "sir"; the other is *ɨ* representing a nasal *n* or *ng* with *g* inaudible, heard something like the ending in "thing" (see Telban 1992).

Levy (1973:324; 1984:227) calls culturally identified emotions "hypercognized emotions" and those more private "which receive much less conceptual attention" (Heelas 1986:240), "hypocognized emotions". Both of these "can be considered as ways of control, which are culturally standardized and functionally useful" (Levy 1984:227). Constructionists explain emotions as functional in the sense of regulating "socially undesirable behaviour and the promotion of attitudes which reflect and endorse the interrelated religious, political, moral, aesthetic and social practices of society" (Armon-Jones 1986:58). In its extreme form, constructionism rules out the possibility of natural emotions, while in its mild form it only advances the sociofunctional aspects of emotions (ibid:61). "Care" in Ambonwari is an example of such hypercognized emotion with its "sociofunctional" aspects. It is a hypercognized social sentiment of the village.

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It seems that such a social response emerged in Poland with the "emotional" state of *tesknota*. This "sadness caused by separation" developed its present meaning only after 1830, at the time of massive emigration (Wierzbicka 1986:588). It seems that the social dynamics of emotions should not be confused with emotion *per se* and that such hypercognized social sentiments may differ between cultures and over time. In the same way Harré (1986:11) and Harré/Finlay-Jones (1986: 221) range *accidie* (Latin *acedia*, i.e. boredom tinged with despair, disgust and sadness) experienced by hermits in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, among the "extinct" emotions. *Accidie*, I think, was a negative feeling which in a particular situation became a social response or a hypercognized social sentiment of that society.

Sartre 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 defended the view that emotions are conscious acts, structures of consciousness, that they are "purposive" and "meaningful" ways of "constituting" our world for which we must accept responsibility" (Solomon 1981:212,213). Sartre's view on emotions is probably best presented by the translator of *Being and Nothingness*, Hazel Barnes:

Since his earliest work Sartre has distinguished three manifestations of what we ordinarily call emotions:

- (1) affective impulses or immediate feelings;
- (2) a structured response to a situation - i.e., emotional behaviour;
- (3) an emotional attitude sustained for a long period of time, which Sartre calls the state - e.g., a love or a hate.

We may note that only the affective impulse is taken to be unmistakable, spontaneous, necessarily genuine; it is solely with emotional behaviour that Sartre is concerned in his book on the emotions; the state, unlike the other two, is in a certain sense a psychic object and resembles the ideal unity of the ego. In moving from the first to the third, we observe a progress in duration and in objectification (1984:3).

What I propose for Ambonwari is that the individual "affective impulse" of "feeling Heart" (where Heart represents un-derstanding, desires, desires and social sentiments) has become an emotional state, representing reciprocal caring. "Caring about" as a hypercognized social sentiment is both ethos and ideology. Those who experience the

feeling of not being cared about will respond with resentment. Through socialization every child incorporates this social sentiment. The construction of Heart is both felt and learned, and evolves through relationships with others. Heart itself derives from intimacy between people. It is "built" by the society and represents the interaction between Ambonwari people. Exchange is the most important of these interactions. "Caring about" and the feeling of "being offended" (a consequence of the perception of "not being cared for") are the foundation of interpersonal and intergroup relationships in Ambonwari. I will show this by discussing the semantic aspects of everyday expressions and events.

"HEART"

People point to the upper abdomen to show where *wambun* or "Heart" is. While the physiological heart is called *sisinin* (a seed), *wambun* designates the non-physiological seat of desires, emotions and thoughts. This Heart is not visible as an organ, it represents the mindful and affective "insideness". In Karawari language the word *wam-* is used as a verb stem meaning "to go inside". It is this insideness I have in mind when I refer to it as Heart, and not some kind of romanticized category emphasizing sentimentality. At the same time the word *wambun* itself onomatopoeically denotes the beating of a heart; *wam-bun, wam-bun* (Foley pers. comm.).

The same term *wambun* is also used when referring to the insideness of plants, stones, animals, the moon and the sun. Spirits have their own Hearts. People say: "If you beat a child, the spirit of a dead relative will make you sick, because the spirit cares about the child." The middle, the heart, the soft pith of a plant, the core is called *wambun*. When someone makes a new canoe he removes *wambun* from tree trunk, as he does from a palm when processing sago.² I was told a story about an old man who asked children to go and get some betel nut for him. As they did not listen to him he went by himself. It was already dark and the betel palm was asleep. The old man was near the top when the palm woke up, shaking. The man fell down and died. People say that if they want to climb a palm at night, they kick it first and tell it that they are going to climb it to get some nuts. "A tree has Heart. When you cut a tree, it shakes because it worries, it wants to stand up. *Wambun min sikan min maray amindarin* (he worries about water he wants to drink)."

Wambun of the village is the huge imaginary snake which lies under the village. This snake has to be pressed down firmly by three "mothers of the village" (wives of descendants of the first three ancestors) whose obligation is just to sit. They are prohibited to do any work outside the house. This snake communicates with the people through its "mouth" and "ears" - the main spiritual house in the centre of the village. Just as Heart of the village (a snake) has to be kept quiet (otherwise it can destroy the village), *wambun* of people should be kept quiet as well.

What does it mean to have or not have Heart? To have Heart means primarily that one has understanding and a proper social sentiment, such as the ability to "care about".

² *Wambun* is not to be mistaken for the spirit of a man. Every person has his or her guardian (*angindarkwanar* for man and *angindarkwanma* for woman) which leaves the body when the person dies. After death the guardian (lit. light-hold-watchman/woman) becomes the spirit of the dead. The spirit takes with him or her the person's Heart.

One also has desires and feelings. To express knowledge, Ambonwari will say *ama wambun nandikin* (I have Heart).³ This saying is not used to express "I feel" or "I desire". I can feel my Heart but I cannot feel only by "having Heart"; in order to feel, Heart has to "become", to "do" something, to react or respond to something. As I will show below, Ambonwari use the verb *si* not only in the sense of "to feel" but also "to become", "to make" and "to do", in the same way as the neighbouring Yimas do (see Foley 1991:95, 334).

To have understanding means to be able to learn and to know the way of the village, and moreover, to follow this way. What I call Heart in Ambonwari, Harrison calls Understanding in Avatip. Though Harrison recognizes *mawul* as being also "the seat of the individual's affective responses", in his translation he emphasizes only one side of it. He says: "To have a *mawul* is to be rational, to possess all appropriate adult skills and knowledge, and to be conscious of one's obligations and the rights of others". But more than this it involves above all an empathic disposition toward others" (1990:353). And exactly this "empathic disposition toward others" points toward the Avatip hypercognized social sentiment which incorporates care. In all his examples of generosity and understanding (about motherhood, care about husband's parents...) Heart appears to be characterized predominantly by the social dynamics of Care which include both affection and understanding. This care stands for morality.⁴

To have understanding means both that you have the ability to listen to others and that you have the ability to talk. *Mariawk* (talk, speech, discourse) is the manner of sharing the ways of apprehending the world (but also the way of manipulating others). It is the means of sharing knowledge and understanding (and of imposing it on others). When someone says *ama mariawk nandikin* (I am with talk), it means that he or she has a thought about something he or she wants to tell us about. The neighbouring Yimas who speak a related language have a special verb to express "to think". In literal translation it means "to feel words". To the Yimas thinking is internal speech (Foley pers. comm.). In the same way the Ambonwari concepts which we call belief or faith are expressed through the expression "listen-to-talk". Thus *mi andinbin yarar (yarma)* can be translated as "you are a man (a woman) who listens to talk", which at the same time means that you believe (in God, for example). In an even simpler way one can express disbelief by *kambra mariawk* (nothing talk) and truth by *pan mariawk* (very-talk) or *panbi* (very much like that). This truth is not something absolute, but it represents a kind of a constant negotiation between people; it can be a common sense truth, a temporary conclusion or agreement.

³ Ambonwari do not have a verb "to have". *nandik-* means "with" and it is used to express the relationship between possessor and possession. The agreement suffix of the word changes according to the gender and number of the noun, in the same way as in adjectives (Telban 1992). *Ama wambun nandikin* is properly translated "I with the Heart". Nevertheless the use of "to have" in translation is justified by Ambonwari themselves (see also Foley 1991:176-180 for the related Yimas). In the same way people say "I have a thought (to say)", *ama mariawk nandikin* (I with talk). It is probably needless to say that, not being a verb, *nandik-* has no tense distinction.

⁴ Read (1955:255-7) says for the Gahuku-Gama that moral values have to be internalized and accepted by the majority of the members of a particular group, and they represent a generalized expression of the good (which has basically social connotations). This is not only an emotional statement, but has also intellectual, ideological components (ibid.). And this is precisely what I mean by the expression of having Heart. All those most intimate experiences of social life (nurturing, sharing of food, labour and concern) on which, as Myers (1986:110) says, the moral category is grounded, represent the basis of Ambonwari relationship.

As people realize that one can express his or her thoughts and feelings mainly through speech, everyone in the village in discourse with others keeps repeating that he/she is a good person or generous and bashful, or that he/she is not a person who easily gets angry. In doing so the person does not only try to convince others that he/she really is such and such a person, but mainly to show that he/she has all those virtues regarded as "good thoughts" and "good feelings" in interpersonal relationships. This is expressed by *wambun yapakupan* (good Heart) as opposite to *wambun maman* (bad Heart). The terms good and bad are widely used and represent also a general notion about someone's personality. Thus to be good mainly means that one is *warimbarar* (generous), while to be bad mainly shows that one is *karisikin* (stingy/ firm). To be generous (and in this way showing that one cares) is the most important factor which makes people good. Generosity and "caring about" are antidotes to resentment. In everyday relationship they represent resentment-reducing behaviour. But to be generous one has to be busy all the time (searching for food and nowadays money) which means that lazy people are derided and gossiped about. This applies to both men and women. People say that a woman has to "sit well", meaning that she should not look around from the entrance of the house and simply talk to other women. She has to sit near the fireplace, take care of the children, cook and fish during the day. Men's work is hunting large game, making canoes, building houses and finding money. Ambonwari have other labels for people, such as *arkisan* (hot-tempered) for example; such a person is feared, but considered good if he is generous. On the other hand a person who is *yaprisipasikan* (quiet) has to be generous too, if he wants to be thought good. People who talk a lot, *mariawk kusirar*, or laugh a lot, *wurumindar*, are admired, but only if they are generous. Although I have here used only the male forms of the vernacular terms (the female forms end in -ma, see Telban 1992), the same characteristics apply to women as well.

Ambonwari don't say that a person who does not have Heart is mad, as might be thought. Rather, he or she is just not conscious of something in particular, has no skills, does not feel and think as he or she is expected to under the circumstances, or is senile. Such a person does not have the worries others have, does not, e.g., mourn at a death, has no socially shared understanding and does not care. Every instance of individualism, meaning that someone does not follow the atmosphere of the village and does not behave in the expected way, can be labelled as "not having Heart". The notion that someone has no Heart is mostly used in relation to small children, who do not mourn at funerals, eat food by themselves and do not think about its distribution. This does not mean, Ambonwari acknowledge, that a child does not really have Heart. Indeed it has. When a baby sees one of its parents and smiles, others will say *wambun nandikin* (it has Heart). But a child's Heart does not exist for anyone except itself until the age of four or five. Thus a child's concern is mostly about itself rather than others, it thinks only about its own food and well-being. In contrast to this, the same expression is used for a highly esteemed person who gives away everything. Such a person does not care about things for himself. The opposite of a generous man is a stingy one, someone who worries all the time about his own well-being by keeping things for himself, *min wambun pan sirar* (he feels his Heart very much). But such people are not mad because of their extreme behaviour. A "truly" mad person has Heart but no ears (*kwardikas kanar*, ears-no-man); he or she is unable to join in reasonable discourse, does not listen when asked to do something, and does everything in his or her own way. *Mariawk* (talk, speech, discourse) is the chief criterion guiding people to conclusions about who "has ears" and who does

not. Thus a deaf or mute person may be "good", and yet will be placed in the same category as someone who is mad. Somewhat similar concepts to these are found also among Pintupi Aborigines (Myers 1979:350).

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In my exposition I have so far shown that "having Heart" means to have a feeling for caring social interaction, understanding, desires and feelings, while at the same time thoughts, desires and feelings are not directed toward anyone or anything. For the situations when the Heart "directs" itself, Ambonwari use two different verbs; *si* for desires and feelings (this will be discussed below) and *aykap-* for thoughts.⁵ A child's Heart has to learn and to reach understanding. Through learning a child masters the language and the way of the village. Children look forward to entering the atmosphere of the village, i.e. to incorporate the social dynamics of care into their Hearts. As it is often seen in their play (building "houses" from leaves and imitating the life of adults) they can hardly wait for the adult life of giving and receiving. For learning, remembering and knowing, Ambonwari use the verb *aykap-* which may stand alone or together with Heart. Yimas use the same verb but never together with *wambun*. The verb is a compound of "breath-give") and means "to know" (Foley pers. comm.). I will present some examples of the ways in which the verb *aykap-* is used in Ambonwari village:

wasekinday yukum pin siri aykapikan

A GIRL BASKET SHE-IT DO LEARN

The girl learns how to make a basket.

mi ngok yan kindi aykapi-kaykan

YOU STILL/WAIT YOU-IT THIS REMEMBER-STAYS/IS

You still think about/remember it.

wambun minyana ngok yan kindi aykapi-kaykana

HEART YOURS STILL/WAIT IT-IT THIS REMEMBER-STAY/IS

Your Heart still thinks about/remembers it.

min wara yan aykapi

HE NOT HE-IT REMEMBER

He forgot.

mi ambanamban aykapra

YOU PLAN-PLAN THINK

You must think well.

wambun minana wara min aykapi-kaykan

HEART HIS NOT HE THINK-STAY/IS

He does not understand.

⁵ Wittgenstein distinguishes between "directed emotions" and "undirected emotions". He also suggests that undirected fear might be called "anxiety" (Budd 1989:152).

As I have already mentioned several times, the verb *si* combines several interrelated meanings; to do, to become and to feel. The same verb is used in everyday communication, for example: *mi waria mi sikana* (what are you doing), *wi mi sikan* (it is becoming dark/night), *maray kupay mi sikan* (the high water is coming up). Besides *wambun* (Heart, see below) a person can feel *miringi* (shame), *kambia* (hunger), *piamin* (sleepy), *sarik* (cold), *irin* (deep pain), *arambayn* (a smart after contact between an injured par and water), *yipisikin* (heavy, tired after hard work) and *warinan* (light); all of these use the same verb *si*.

Ama wambun ama sikan (I feel Heart) is an expression which in Ambonwari characterizes the relationship between people, their response to each other. It carries with it a number of individual emotional meanings all of them united in the notion of "caring for" (see below). Even human desires are covered by his term, usually with the additional word *pan* (very). "To feel Heart" is the most important among those social aspects which form the basis for the construction and preservation of personal relationships and the whole society.

While apprehending or experiencing something in particular, something standing out of the everyday dynamics of the village, Heart becomes sore, it jumps, it does this and that, and then (after changing the world for itself - not necessary the outside events) returns to its quietness. Expressions such as *wambun amanan kayngian ina paykan* ("my Heart sleeps on the side", i.e. I am angry), *wambun amanan ina mingaykan* ("my Heart has run away"; i.e. I am scared/afraid), *wambun amanan min sikian* ("my Heart squirts/jumps"; i.e. I am excited), *wambun amanan yawun apasikin* ("my Heart is coming out"; i.e. I am excited or I feel generous), and many others are typical examples of "symptomatic metaphors" (Solomon 1980:251), which attribute the external and visible characteristics of the body and its physiological disruptions to the "insideness" of the body, to Heart (see also Harrison 1990:353 for Avatip expressions; Stephen 1989:164 for Mekeo; Heelas 1986:224-5 for various cultures). Ambonwari explain emotional outbursts and sudden emotional reactions by using metaphors (see above). As long as Heart is hidden and does not reveal itself, a person's feelings are hidden too. These individual emotions are invisible, if they do not show themselves through the appearance of the body (e.g. skin) or through deeds and words. For this reason people often say "I do not know how he or she feels, or what he or she thinks" - a common refrain in the ethnography of Papua New Guinea (see also Fajans 1985:383, Read 1955:281-2, Schieffelin 1985:174, Young 1974:66). If Heart does not show itself in a revelatory way (and sometimes even then) others can only speculate what is going on with a person's Heart. But on the other hand, it has to be noted that an appropriate social response of Heart is expected and recognized as such from a social person (a villager). Thus, when such feelings are situationally proper (e.g. a child is crying because his father did not take it to the garden) people will not speculate but quite confidently state their opinion about the person's feelings. It seems that thought in Ambonwari precedes and at the same time rejects (when social response is concerned) Sartre's notion that "the world as it is for another will always be logically hidden to me... things have for him the meanings he gives them, and these will differ from mine just from the fact that they are given by him" (Danto 1991:100).

Along with the habitual social response of "feeling Heart", i.e. "to care", there are other expressions which represent the state of a person. Thus *wapun min paykan* ("he is happy/proud; lit. he sleeps proudly), *mambara/sukunan min karar* ("he resents"), and

min kapakikan ("he is angry") are expressions telling other people in what state someone is. All these states are closely connected with care. People respond with resentment and anger to the experience of "not being cared for". If someone cares for you, you experience happiness. You can be happy only if someone makes you happy. But if you are alone in this happiness and do not share it - which means that you do not care for others - they will experience envy and jealousy, both expressed as resentment. In such a state your happiness will be, to others, only evidence that you are showing off your pride. In the concept of "caring" real happiness is "caring for someone" and "being cared for". Myers rightly argues that emotional concepts are major constructs of the Pintupi view of what it means to be a person as well as of the political order of Pintupi life (Myers 1979:345).

166 In the first part of this paper I have concentrated mainly on the semantic aspects of Ambonwari discourse about their feelings and thoughts. In the second part I want to discuss two major aspects in their relationships: care and resentment. Using ethnographic material, I shall attempt to show what it means "to care for someone" and, the converse, "not to be cared for" in Ambonwari.

CARING

I once asked a man who had two wives, how people behave in such situations. His reply illustrates the importance of care in the relationship between spouses and co-wives. The events in this story might easily have taken a different course; nevertheless, this sequence shows the expected behaviour under comparable circumstances.

When a man wants to marry a second woman, he has to be tactful and careful. During his courtship with the second-to-be, he takes pains to be particularly kind and generous towards the first. He allows her to use all his belongings, even those most personal things in his woven bag otherwise considered his exclusive property. In this way the second wife-to-be sees that the first one is happy and expects that she will be nice to her. When the new relationship is disclosed, the village councillor calls a meeting in which the man's wife finds out about the relationship for the first time. But her husband does not admit that he wants to marry this woman. Marriage is not mentioned at all. After paying compensation (the husband, the woman or both pay it to the man's wife) the affair seems to be over. But the second wife-to-be continues to give presents (mainly fish she catches) to the man, while his wife is alert and on guard. But even when she becomes angry and screams at him, or when her brothers ridicule him, the man remains quiet. Thus his wife sees that her husband worries about something.

The wife then begins to push her husband around, urging him to do work (get firewood, go to the garden, cut the sago palm etc.). At one stage the husband opposes her, saying no. His wife gets angry, telling him that he only thinks about the other woman. The man beats her. Her brothers ask him if the other woman has again given him something. He admits it and shows them a rubber bracelet (the relationship between two lovers can start only through the exchange of small gifts as signs of "feeling Heart"; when no gifts are exchanged, no one will even discuss the possibility of marriage). The village court is again convened. The councillor asks the brothers of the wife-to-be, if they are prepared to give her as a second wife to this man. If they agree, the first wife is asked. She

has to give her agreement too, otherwise there will be no marriage.

Before she agrees, she wants to know more about her husband's thoughts and feelings as well as more about the women. She tries to persuade her husband to tell her more about her. He talks about general things, but offers no details. She urges him to sleep with her and then asks him: "Do you still think about her? I think you saw her vulva and because of this you still think of about her." He replies that men marry two or three women, and women do not marry two or three men. Then she realizes that her husband is not happy and that he really wants to marry the other woman. She decides to help him. When the women go fishing she gives her future co-wife a basket, a net or a child to carry. Thus the relationship between the two women starts. Other women will say: "Yes, you two are sisters now." The second wife gives all her food to her co-wife.

The marriage is arranged and everyone knows that the second wife will come under the control of the first. But the man now has to relate equally to both: if he brawls at one wife, she will drag in the other so both can be beaten. The man cannot leave the food prepared by one but has to eat what they have both prepared. When they go out together to make sago flour, the man has to carry back two baskets, one for each. The man cannot separate one wife from the other, but has to wait until one of them goes to her parents, e.g., and then he can sleep with the other.

The wives act as sisters. One wife calls the brothers of the other "brother", the fathers "father" etc. Brothers of one wife give priority to the children of the other. Children thus get two maternal lineages.

The most widely used saying *ama wambun ama sikan* is properly translated "I care" for about somebody or something. This dictum has a great number of meanings which are understood by fellow villagers familiar with the circumstances of a particular situation. Thus *ama wambun ama sikan* can mean anything from "I feel", "I am anxious", "I am worried", "I am sorry", "I am sad", "I am compassionate", "I am longing for", "I am homesick", "I love". Though not explicitly said, these feelings are directed at someone. Direction can be more clearly expressed by a pronoun when the verb becomes transitive (see Telban 1992). What the above expressions have in common is care for (or anxiety about) somebody or something. They represent the proper response in the relationship between people. Uncaring is not a virtue. Anyone uncaring (and thus indifferent, unconcerned, irresponsible) will be considered *maman* (bad).

This does not mean that all people at every moment react in the same way. Many factors influence the behaviour of Ambonwari people and their expressions. In the following example I will try to illustrate the differences between groups and individuals in the village after someone died of whom everyone said he or she "cared about" (was sad, worried).

There were a number of deaths in the village during my stay and I was able to observe the whole mourning ritual several times. Everyone would say *ama wambun ama sikan* and often add the word *pan* (very). I could translate this as being sad, grieved, distressed, worried and by lots of other English terms. While it was obvious that the mourners cared about the person who died, it was impossible to know "how much" or to what degree people felt these emotions. The mourning rituals varied in extent (though not in procedure), depending on who the dead person was. There were social aspects reflecting the kinship structure with particular individual roles and cultural aspects (the postmortem initiation of a young boy, for example). If I concentrate on the crying during

the night on the occasion of the death of a 12 year-old first-born son of a young man from the main clan of the village (that of the first ancestor), I can already show how the expectation of proper behaviour are almost always disturbed by the feelings and concerns of small groups and individuals. Mourning took place as follows:

1) because of a recent dispute between different houses of the same "house name" (clan) as the dead (and thus of the same clan) some of the male relatives (related to the dead as "father" or "brother") did not come to mourn at all;

2) the closest relatives (mother, father, mother's brother, class. mothers, class. father's father, class. sisters, dancing companion...) cried openly, mucous mixed with saliva hanging from their chin; people danced, sang elegies, touched the body and held the deceased boys's belongings;

3) One of the father's brother (a mature man; two brothers were absent) came without hesitation, cried for an hour and afterwards stayed in the house;

4) adolescent girls (kin from the same clan and those related through marriage) came in a group with towels and T shorts over their faces, sat near the body, cried for half an hour and left;

5) adolescent boys (from the same and related clans) and young men made ready to enter the house and cry, but they never did;

6) a woman turned off the kerosine lamps and stood between the only one she left lit and her adult married son so that he could not be seen crying;

7) children were sitting around, making demands on their mothers, sometimes fighting and sometimes laughing, but not crying, until after midnight when they fell asleep.

To summarize: the anger and resentment felt by some male kin prevented them from coming to the house where the body was, though they said they worried about the dead boy; there was obvious grief and consciousness of loss in the second as well as in the third instances. In the case of four, five and six, shame was involved. In the case of the girls (as they old me), there was a combination of sadness, shame, relief because they were in a group, consciousness of what is proper in the situation, and the pressure of others. In the case of the adolescent boys shame almost completely overshadowed their sadness, while their consciousness of what is proper was outweighed by their fear of being seen to cry. They were understood by their elders; young unmarried people experience almost paralyzing shame when they are put in a position where they are expected to do something in public, especially if crying is concerned. No one was angry with them. In the sixth case the mother tried to protect her son so that he would not be seen crying by others, and thus would not feel ashamed. Children, as I mentioned before, are not conscious of the situation (and their ideological concepts of what is proper are not yet formed). Many more examples could be enumerated, each of them individual cases, featuring individual personalities (quiet, bashful, talkative persons), particular kin relations, as well as social and cultural factors, to show how every individual perceives the world and how he or she responds to it. But as I have said, all these particularities are recognized and covered by the concepts of Ambonwari society. Thus shame, anger and resentment, although they may appear to be trouble, are all part of the atmosphere of the village and recognized as such.

If someone were to enter the mourning house in the middle of the night (the practice is that relatives cry near the body the whole night) and see people who are not crying, he might ask himself many questions. Is this because the person is ashamed of crying in the presence of others? Is the person tired or his grief diminished? Maybe the grief is so strong that the person cannot even cry? Is he or she controlling himself or herself consciously? Is he or she thinking about other things? Perhaps the person has stopped crying because everyone else did so? Maybe he/she does not worry at all. But Ambonwari would not ask themselves any of these questions. The closest relatives perceive that everyone present is sad and worried, like someone who cares. In the morning many people will say that they did not sleep at all (even if they did), because they grieved so much. What they say is accepted and the mourners appreciate it. The articulated expression along with the visibly body signs (including simply physical presence) are those which tell people how somebody feels.

Thus "caring about" is a profound virtue which makes people good. "Caring about" can show itself in all kinds of situations: giving presents to a boyfriend or a girlfriend (like, affection); being present at mourning (compassion, grief); visiting those who are sick (concern); presentation of gifts, mainly food, clothes and tools; and through assistance in building houses and making large canoes. But the relationship where care shows itself most clearly is that of parenthood. This is not established by "giving birth" or "being a father", but by giving names and by care. In Ambonwari, children of both sexes often become gifts themselves, when they are given to those who need a child (a boy is given for the continuation of the lineage; a girl for an exchange marriage; a child to a couple which cannot have children or when a man or a woman who has remained single. In these ways people show that they care of those without children. The gift of a child is expected to be returned over generations. But what is more important here is that the step-parents become "real" parents by naming the child (every clan has its own personal names) and by caring for it. If they do not care for the child, the people from his or her natal group will take it back, and return his or her name to those who adopted it. But if the adoptive parents care about the child, he or she will call them by the terms used for a real mother and father. No one in the village will be allowed to mention in public anything about the adoption, even less so the adopted person. If someone breaks this rule, the foster parents may take him or her to court. In the majority of cases when a child was given immediately after birth, most of the villagers, including his later born brothers and sisters, did not even know that the child was actually adopted.⁶

"To feel Heart" genuinely represents "the way of the village", its social dynamics, public sentiment and ideology, and shows itself in all kinds of social arrangements. People and spirits, all those who dwell in this same world, encounter each other by virtue of solicitude. *Ama wambun ama sikan* (I care) is thus a consequence of being with one another. By taking care of each other people diminish the anxiety (the constant feeling of "not being at home") (see Telban n.d.). To feel Heart (to care) in Ambonwari corresponds,

⁶ Adoption and name-giving are more elaborated procedures than I can show here. You cannot adopt from just anyone (for example from those that you call "fathers" or "mothers"); in many cases a foster mother is present at birth, cuts the umbilical cord, buries it and later observes all the prohibitions together with the woman who gave birth. If the foster mother does not have milk (as often happens), she may go through a very difficult period of preparing food for the baby (squeezed sugar cane, coconut milk, sago porridge, cleaned fish, sago grubs).

it seems, to the concept of family (*walytja*) among Pintupi Aborigines. This concept denotes an ideal world of support, generosity, familiarity and warmth (Myers 1979:352). In the same way it seems to correspond in its fundamental construction to the condition of *fago* among the Ifaluk from an atoll in the Caroline Islands, which Lutz (1988) translates as compassion, love and sadness. It is the Ifaluk comprehension of positive human relationships (Lutz 1988:121)

It is well to notice that this "care" is not something that people just "do", but which they expect from others too. In Ambonwari, where resentment can be very powerful, "taking care" becomes an obligation. In our time with its monetary economy, with more and more goods being imported and people travelling more, this obligation puts additional, previously unknown pressures on the individual. As long as others have less, they are in need of something, and if something bad has happened to them, they are *kanambringra* (poor, miserable). People feel Heart (compassion) for others. But if the other has more, he or she has to consider those who have less or are in trouble. Thus not only deficiency but also welfare has to be adjusted to avoid envy, jealousy and resentment.

RESENTMENT

Human relations with spirits and animals are interpreted through myths and legends. In a distant past, they say, spirits and animals spoke the same language as people do. The question arises why did spirits and animals stop talking? The answer is given in two short stories:

(1) Bush spirits did not always hide themselves as they do today. Once, they walked around with human bodies and lived quite a "normal life". In a distant past they lent a coconut shell with decorative oil to the people. The people mixed the oil with black paint before going to war. However, they forgot to return the shell to the spirits. The spirits did not say anything, but felt *sukunan* (offended, resentment) and got angry. They thought that if they talked and were visible to people, they would fight with them all the time. So spirits hide themselves today, and only from time to time do they take the shape of humans. But they still punish people for their wrongdoings.

(2) Dogs used to speak in a distant past. Once upon a time, they went hunting with a man. They followed a pig, trapped it and called out to the man. "We got it, we got it. Come quickly and kill it!" The man came, threw his spear and killed the pig. The dogs were happy and said to him: "Father, you can return, we will carry it back to the camp." So the dogs carried the pig on their backs. In the camp they cut it and smoked it. That same night the man copulated with his wife. The dogs saw them and they started screaming: "You have no shame on your skin, what are you doing under our very eyes? We are ashamed." The man had broken the taboo on copulation by the hunter on the day he kills a pig. The dogs felt *sukunan* (resentment), returned to the village and told everyone. The man and his wife were ashamed and sought revenge. The wife prepared food and while the dogs were eating she threw *panapinin* (a sort of Malay-apple) into their snouts. This bereaved them of their ability to speak and since then dogs can only bark and howl: "Wau, uuuu." From those times onwards men and women can sleep together in the presence of the dogs without fearing that they will talk about it.

These two tales show that Ambonwari attribute to animals and spirits of the past

the very same feelings and behaviour as to humans, and blame themselves for the changes which occurred. It may also be seen that all non-human actors in these myths experienced the same bad feeling - *sukunan* and reacted to it by abandoning the humans and isolating themselves from them (as humans still do with respect to one another).

The opposite of "to care" is "not to care". If a person does not care about someone he or she should care about, he is considered bad. As a reaction to "not being cared for by someone" Ambonwari experience a sense of insult or affront and will react to it with all those external expressions which correspond to *sukunan* or *mambara* (both meaning resentment). Neither expression is used with the verb "to feel" nor are they referred to Heart. They are used with the verb *kay-*, probably the most frequently used verb in Karawari vernacular. It holds several meanings: to stay, remain, be, exist, live (at the same time the noun *kay-* holds the following meanings: being, habit, way, ritual, fashion, custom; *kay-* can also mean canoe, the most important material object in Ambonwari society). Thus it may be said that *mambara* and *sukunan* represent a state. To simplify I translate these states as "resentment" or "being affronted", but one should keep in mind that *sukunan/mambara min karar* (he is/stays resents) combine all kinds of emotions or feelings such as envy, jealousy, spite, self-pity, offence, frustration and depression, for which Ambonwari do not have special words. People will never say that they resent someone/something but someone else will say it for them after noticing their behaviour. This state of "feeling bad" arises when, perceiving the world, someone feels/sees/hears/knows that he or she has been wronged (left out, forgotten, reproached for something that he or she did not do, gossiped about...). It is an affective response to being left out of something others share, to being excluded from joint activity or excommunicated. In short: to "not being cared for". The parallel with *popokl* among the *Melpa* (Strathern 1968) and to *unuwewe* in Kalauna (Young 1983) is obvious. It seems to me that at a very general level this relationship between "care" and its lack has a powerful influence on relationships and behaviour all over Papua New Guinea. While the meaning of "to care" can be easily understood by a non-Papua New Guinean, the expression "not to care" should be looked into more closely. For this reason I will discuss the condition of resentment in more detail. The following example, told to me by my friend Julian Kapyamari Yangan, is one of many:

Wasapik amanan mambara minma karandukun bini anay sapina

YOUNGER BROTHER MINE OFFENDED HE STAY SO/LIKE THIS FATHER
NOT - HE - ME

My younger brother was upset (offended): "My father did

anandukun payn wurum. Sayn min any bini mi wara kupan bini

GIVE BETEL NUT CLUSTER BUT HE FATHER SO YOU NOT BIG/OLD SO
not give me a cluster of betel nuts." But the father (spoke) thus:

kamban anakir payn wurum.

I - YOU GIVE BETEL NUT CLUSTER

"You are not a big man that I will give you a cluster of betel nuts."

Min bini ama ama wapaykar paymbiambina. Sayn min anay
 HE SO I I CLIMB ON THE BETEL NUT PALM BUT HE FATHER
 He (spoke) thus: "I climbed on the palm." But the father

kwasambin yanma kurandukun. Mba minma yajnjukun sukunan minma
 GET UP HE - HIM BEAT SO/ENOUGH HE CRY RESENTMENT HE
 got up and beat him. So he cried, he stayed resentful.

karandukun min pinma simindukun bini sambin ama wara ama
 STAY HE HE - HIM SAY SO LATER LATER I NO I
 He said so: "In the future I will not climb anymore to get betel nut."

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wapaykaykir payn aurarin. Mba min sukunan karan
 CLIMB - STAY BETEL NUT WANT TO GET SO/ENOUGH HE RESENTMENT
 STAY/BE
 So he stayed, offended,

min wara minwa wapaykaynjukun. Sayn mba yamba minma
 HE NOT HE CLIMB BUT ENOUGH NOW HE
 he did not climb (the palms). But now he

yangan wapaykaykan payn aurarin.
 AGAIN CLIMB BETEL NUT WANT TO GET
 again climbs (palms) to get betel nuts.

Someone who feels affronted is said to be *mambara* (meaning short-lasting resentment). In the village, one can often hear someone saying *amanok* (me too) when he or she wants to join others who are going somewhere, doing something (like playing) or getting something (his or her portion of food). *Mambara* occurs among children all the time and their parents and other relatives constantly have to counteract it by showing that they care. It is considered that younger children, "not having Heart", are allowed to some extent to demand things at the expense of their elders. When a child does not get enough meat with its sago porridge (while others, in his opinion, do) it will try to extort more. Quite often a child threatens others (those he reasonably expects to care about him) by saying: "All right, I'll go straight to the doorway and fall down from the house:" When the three-year old Sangirmari did not get from his mother something he wanted, he started to beat his seven-month old sister Maya, which his mother was breast-feeding in her lap. Siblings and parents try to soothe this kind of resentment quickly, either by giving the child more or by making promises. A different case arises when a sibling eats all the food without sharing it with others. The others will talk loudly about how bad she or he is, does not care, does this all the time etc., and the child will shortly feel ashamed of its doings. But if only one child is left out, it will start crying or be on the verge of crying. When others call it later to join them and get the same thing, it will not even look

at them and will not approach. It may even say pathetically: "It does not matter, you can take it all, I don't care about it," and will walk away.

In those who experience *sukunan*, a long-lasting condition of resentment, this may lead to brooding anger and revenge. Accordingly, there will always be someone trying to comfort such a person. Ambonwari often find themselves caught between two people who are angry with one another, and their kin relationships are such that they cannot help either of them.. Brothers can, for example, join opposite sides in a quarrel or fight.

Let me present some more examples. A young man who was always able to find work (and thus had money) was married to a young woman. After she gave birth to a stillborn baby, she was seen going around with other men. Her husband kicked her out of the house. Some six months later another girl displayed a liking for this young man and he did not object. His ex-wife became obviously jealous, her pride was hurt. I emphasize once more that Ambonwari do not have words for such "emotional feelings" as jealousy and envy. They said that she "worried" about him, still "cared" about him (she felt Heart). She developed *sukunan* (resentment) thinking that her ex-husband was still hers and that no other woman should get him. One evening she attacked her rival (not her ex-husband!) with a pocket knife and cut her face badly. The man stayed completely out of the quarrel which was brought to court.

A similar case, but one where the threats were not realized, happened when a girl who had remained single for some time felt *sukunan* after another girl married a man who - in her opinion - should have married her. Considering social "rules" she was right. The girls were from fraternal clans and the elder should have had priority rights. But as Ambonwari now follow "free marriage", people let them decide themselves. She walked around the village threatening to strike the girl with a bush knife and complaining that she had been wronged. Nothing happened. Though in this case the man was already married, he again stayed out of the matter, but it produced fierce reactions from his wife's kin. Other women said of the older girl: "She is not a real woman. If she were a real woman she would do it. But she is not." The girl, however, persisted and after six months the man left his wife for her.

Both of these cases feature a motive for *sukunan*. There were past events affecting the above relationships; social alliances between "houses" and groups; promises and lies between those involved; involvement of others; shame and pride; the fear among girls (and to a lesser extent among boys) of being left alone.

There were many other aspects defining the perception of the world around for every single actor in each case, and for those who merely observed them (including myself). It would be impossible to investigate every single aspect for every single person. And Ambonwari certainly do not investigate them because they are part of their world and people are more or less familiar with such situations. What they do investigate (in the forum of court) are those important facts that were hidden by the actors.

I showed above that those emotions which we call envy, jealousy and self-pity, and for which Ambonwari do not have words, reveal themselves as a state of resentment. In the following discussion I have to indicate first, how we explain these feelings in our own society. The definitions are from The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles.

ENVY - to wish oneself on a level with (another) in some respect, or possessed of (something which another has).

JEALOUSY - troubled by the belief, suspicion or fear that the good which one desires to gain or keep for oneself has been or may be diverted to another; resentful towards another on account of known or suspected rivalry.

RESENTMENT - an indignant sense of injury or insult received, or of wrong or affront done to some person or thing to which one is attached.

- a strong feeling of ill-will or anger against the author or authors of a wrong or affront; the manifestation of such feeling against the cause of it.

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In short, envy and jealousy are both related to the desire to have or to be something someone else has or is, while resentment is the reaction or response to being wronged (something that was or I supposed to be mine was diverted to someone else).

In Ambonwari an everyday achievement is successful fishing. If someone has fish in his canoe and I paddle by and see them, he has to give me some.⁷ If he does not, I will not feel envious or jealous because of his fishing success, but resentful and offended or even angry. If he continues to keep everything for himself, I will call him *karisikin* (stingy, lit. strong) and *maman* (bad). I will say that he is *sandikambayn amindar* (a man who eats alone all the time) that *min panatna* or *min pasa* (he is important to himself only). If he happens to be very successful for a long period and does not change his stingy habit I will tell others how bad he is. Some other people will probably say the same and soon he will get sick, or some young boys or men will steal things from his garden, his betel nut, his tools or whatever. But this does not mean that people just give away whatever they have. Given things are remembered and require reciprocity. I was told shortly after my arrival that I should not treat everyone who is sick, not take or give away prints, not give tobacco to those who did not bring me food. I was told this by the very people I stayed with daily and who were constantly asking me for things they wanted from me.

Young boys and girls learn generosity from childhood. They are well "organized" when they go fishing together or looking for eggs of wild fowl. After they return from such "gathering" trips their stories go as follows: "I found an egg first and gave it to Sangirmari. Kapun found two, gave me one and one to Imbianmari. Sangirmari found four and each of us got one. I got two more and gave them to Kapun and Imbianmari. Thus each of us had two eggs. When we found two more we decided to cook them in leaves and eat hem." In everyday life such stories are heard all the time among children and among adults too.

Resentment is feared, as I have already shown, in relationships between humans, between humans and spirits and between spirits themselves. One of the first things a youngster is told when entering the men's house for the first time, is that he should not

⁷ This is not only between close kin but more or less throughout the whole village. Of course one does not expect to get fish from poor people, from a married woman/man paddling alone (if I am a man/woman) or from people one does not talk to very much, and so on. On the other hand, there are relatives one seeks out to give fish to (a man's sister's children for example). Raymond Firth in *Primitive Polynesian Economy* describes similar variable "obligations" among a group of fishermen (cited in Schoeck 1969:30).

have sex in certain designated "ancestral places of spirits". Such places represent a habitat where spirits dwell and the spirits would feel insulted and wronged. How they take revenge and punish people, can be seen on two carved posts in the main men's house: on the first a huge snake bites a man's penis, on the second a snake enters a woman's vagina.

Although people understand that a business can be successful only if goods are paid for and not given from a store free of charge, owners continually have to give them either on indefinite loan or for nothing. Thus, all businesses in Ambonwari collapse shortly after they begin. If one does not follow the "good way" of giving things away, someone will break into the store and steal the goods. Similar situations catch the eye in individual houses. People are afraid of visitor's demands and hide most of their possessions such as money, clothing, fuel, tobacco, i.e. mostly recently introduced goods. They do not want to give them away but they are also afraid of the resentment of those who might see them. When visitors come near the house (they never it without invitation) the house owner will usually repeat several times that there is no food in the house, *pan kaya* (very-nothing), *apia kambra apia san* (we stay nothing), that they have eaten plain sago porridge, *kambra karis* (nothing porridge). And the visitor will reply that it does not matter, *wara mariawk* (no talk), that it is O.K. They will share betel nut and depart with good will.

The subjects mentioned above are familiar. Helmut Schoeck refers to Eric Wolf's concept of "institutionalized envy" among peasant communities in Latin America. The ubiquitous fear of such envy "means that there is little possibility of individual economic advancement and no contact with the outside world through which the community might hope to progress. No one dares to show anything that might lead people to think he was better off (1969:47). Although this applies to Ambonwari as well, the notion of "institutionalized envy" should be used with care. I think envy is so primordial (Foster (1972:165) calls it a panhuman phenomenon), that it is "institutionalized" to some extent in every society, i.e. it is either institutionally suppressed or recognized and accepted. What seems important to me are the social dynamics which incorporate envy into their structure. Such a social sentiment becomes part of everyone's Heart. Ambonwari do not say "She envies him" or "She feels envious", they say "She is in a state of resentment". Such a state, experienced through the interaction between people, forms, influences and articulates aspects of social and cultural life which then become institutionalized.

Epstein (1992:266) depicts the Tolai as strikingly different from those societies which Schoeck considered to be envious. He says that on the Gazelle Peninsula the desire to achieve and to compete outweighs the risk of becoming the object of someone else's envy. However, Epstein talks about "competition between Tolai communities", while Wolf and Schoeck discuss "individual economic advancement" within one community. In short, there is a great difference between behaviour inside the village (among your own folk) and between villages. The social dynamics I have discussed in this paper derive from and guide the relationships between those who are in intimate daily communication. People from other villages are "others" and other social sentiments, ideologies and dynamics are associated with these relationships.

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BESEDA O AVTORJU

Borut Telban, mag., po osnovni izobrazbi farmacevt, se je v svojem podiplomskem študiju posvetil antropologiji. S krajšimi premori je od leta 1985 pa vse do srede 1992. raziskoval med domorodci Papue Nove Gvineje. V tem obdobju je napisal več člankov, od katerih je najpomembnejši *People, Illness, and Plants: Ethnomedicine in The Highlands Fringe of New Guinea*. To je bil tudi naslov njegove magistrske naloge. V Oxfordu je imel letos otvoritveno predavanje na temo strahu, trenutno pa zaključuje doktorat na Research School of Pacific Studies na Avstralski državni univerzi.

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Borut Telban, M.A., is a pharmacist by training but has dedicated his post-graduate work to anthropology. Between 1985 and mid 1992 (with short intervals) he performed research among the aborigines of Papua New Guinea. During this period he wrote several articles, the most important being *People, Illness and Plants: Ethnomedicine in the Highlands Fringe of New Guinea*, which is also of his Master of Arts' thesis. This year, he held an opening lecture in Oxford on the theme of fear and is presently completing his doctorate's thesis at the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University.

