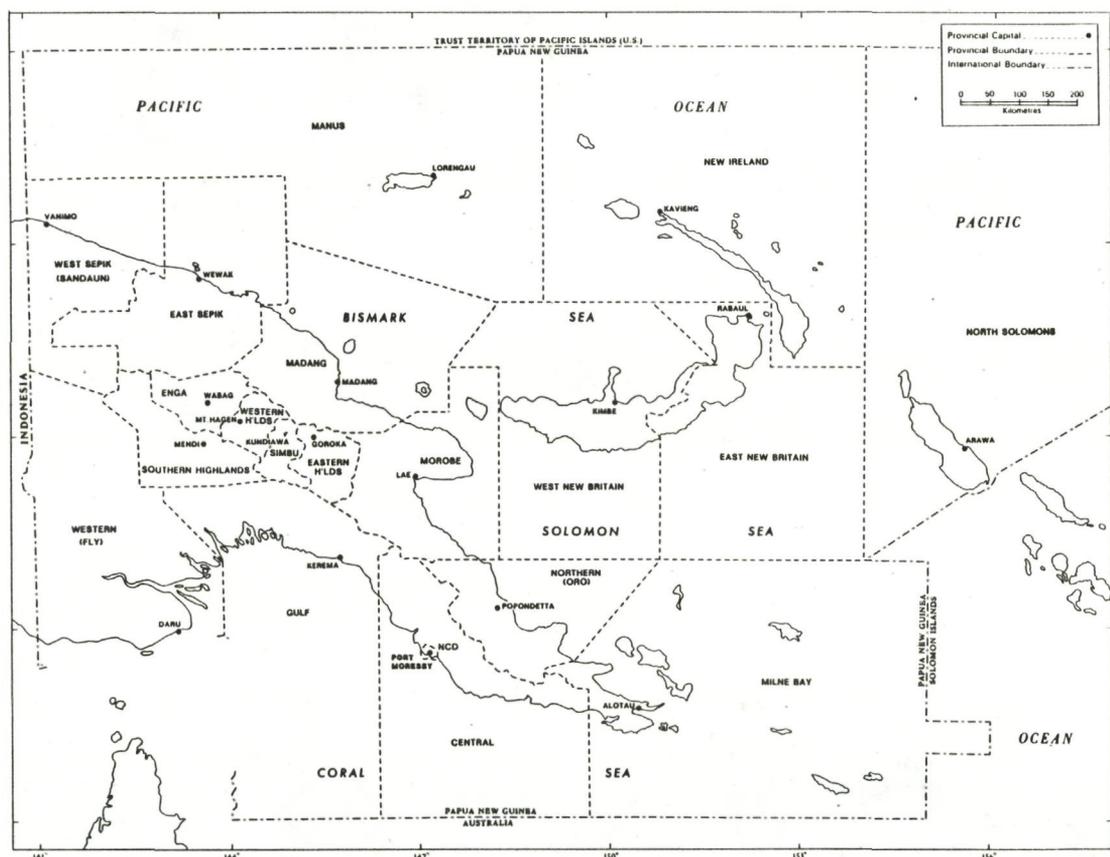


Traditional Currencies of Papua New Guinea  
No. 1. Kina Pearlshell  
Colin Barron

1. INTRODUCTION

The kina is made from the goldlip pearlshell (*pinctada maxima Jameson*) which is a valve of the pearl oyster found in the Torres Strait and Manus Province. It is cut into crescent shapes by removing the central muscle and is traded along the southern coast of Papua New Guinea as far as the Fly River. From the Fly River area goldlip pearlshell is traded into the highlands of Papua New Guinea where it is highly valued. It is called 'kina' in Tok Pisin, the lingua franca of Papua New Guinea, and 'kin' in Melpa, the language spoken around Mount Hagen. The kina is an important item of exchange in all exchange transactions of the highlands, such as bridewealth, compensation payments and mortuary payments. It is also an important item of exchange in the three major exchange systems of the highlands, the moka of the Western Highlands, the tee of Enga Province and the mok-ink of the Southern Highlands.



Map 1. Papua New Guinea.

2. DESCRIPTION

The actual form of the kina is a crescent-shaped piece with points cut from the goldlip pearlshell so that it fits round the neck. It is found in a variety of sizes, from relatively thin sections about 10mm thick, which are worn round the neck, up to crescents that can be 100mm or more in thickness. These latter types are suspended by the points by a strap and worn as pectorals (figs. 1 and 2).

The shells that are traded in the moka system of the Western Highlands (see below) are mounted on oval wooden boards, about 480 x 380mm and nearly 2kg in weight (fig. 3). Above the shell is placed an omak (see below and fig. 4) and the whole thing is covered with red ochre, red being the preferred colour of the Melpa people. These people also colour their kina pectorals with red ochre, as do the Wola in nearby Southern Highlands Province (Sillitoe 1979:142).

Formerly the size of the board used in the moka was a little bigger than the shell, probably about 130 x 110mm. Photographs taken by the Leahy brothers and by Father William Ross in the 1930s show only these smaller sized boards (see for example Connolly & Anderson 1987:123, 125, 141, 239, 251, 253; Ross 1982a:165; 1982c:183, 184). In Melpa the name of the moka kina is kokla kin or mande (Strathern 1971:102).

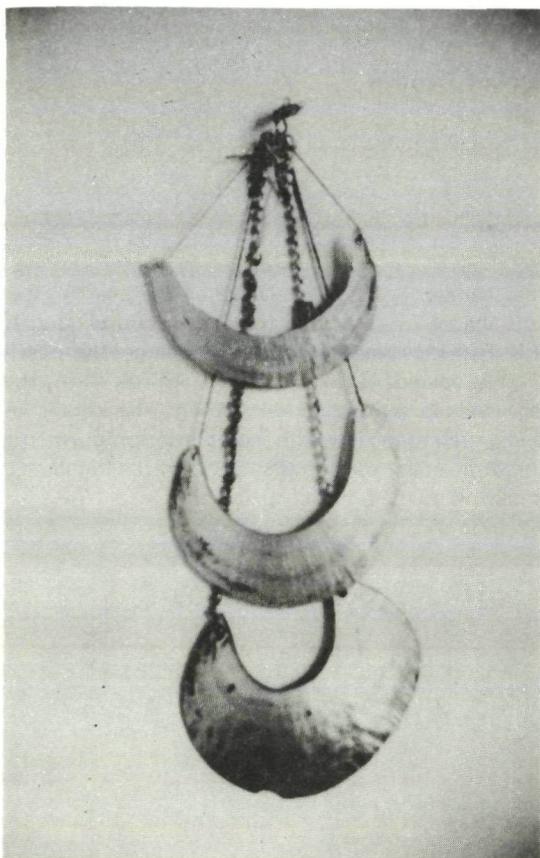


Fig. 1. Different sizes of kina pearlshells.

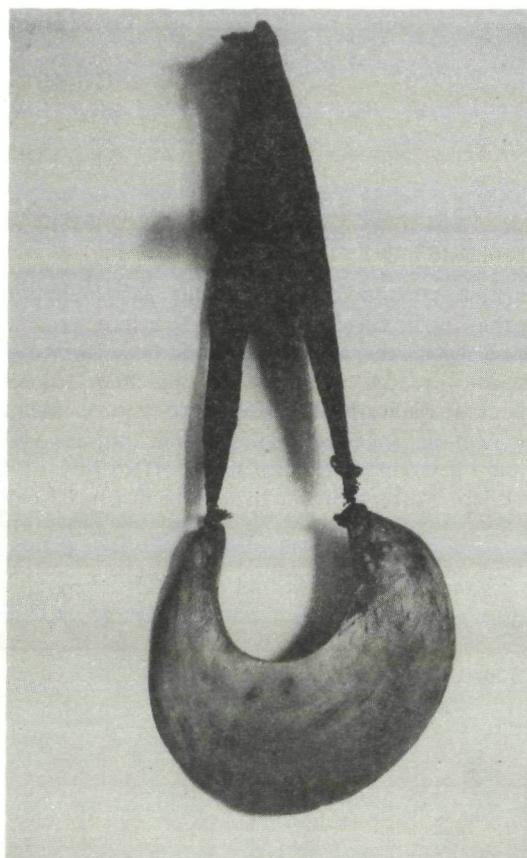


Fig. 2. Large kina pearlshell.

### 3. USES

Before the arrival of Europeans in the highlands of Papua New Guinea the kina pearlshell was a very valuable item, particularly among the Melpa people of the Western Highlands and the Mendi and Wola people of the Southern Highlands. Kina pearlshells were exchanged at marriage ceremonies, mortuary feasts, compensation settlements after wars and during the moka and the tee. It was also used as a display of wealth by both men and women on ceremonial occasions, called singsings, in many parts of Papua New Guinea. In Enga Province, however, only the men wore kina as pectorals. In other parts of the country no such limitation usually existed. Photographs taken by Frank Hurley in the 1920s show the different ways of wearing the kina in Central and Gulf Provinces in southern Papua New Guinea by both men and women (see for example Hurley 1924:183, 187 [Gulf Province]; Specht & Fields 1984:19, 21 [Central Province], 191 [Gulf Province]). In the Western Highlands women wore their husbands' moka kina as a display of wealth (see for example Ross 1982a:165; 1982c:181).

Kina pearlshells are still used for these purposes today, but the number of pearlshells exchanged and their value have decreased considerably since the arrival of Europeans in the highlands of Papua New Guinea in the 1930s. Nowadays, cash and pigs are the main items of exchange in bridewealth, compensation payments and mortuary payments. Cash, too, plays a large part in the moka of the Western Highlands, but not in the tee of Enga Province. To give an example, a clan in the Western Highlands Province recently gave over K10,000 (=GBP6700; USD11,500) in cash, 22 pigs, two cassowaries and a cow, but no shells, as compensation for killing a boy in a road accident (Papua New Guinea Post-Courier, 6 June 1988, p.3).

### 4. EXCHANGE OF PEARLSHELLS

The purpose of accumulating pearlshells, or any other valuable, in the highlands is the opposite of the western aim of building up as large a hoard of wealth as possible. Highlanders in Papua New Guinea aim to give away as much as possible. The more one distributes the more prestige one acquires and the greater one's reputation. This is achieved by each man having many exchange partners. A man with a lot of partners and hence able to give away a lot of wealth is known as a "big-man", and consequently he has a lot of power and influence within the clan. The system was democratic in that there was no hereditary office of "big-man", but a big-man was able by means of his extensive network of partners to monopolise large numbers of valuables, especially pigs and pearlshells.

The goldlip pearlshells were traded into the Mount Hagen area from the coast via the south and west, the point of contact on the coast being the Fly River area of Papua New Guinea (Ross 1982c:179). They passed through the Southern Highlands and then into the Mount Hagen area. The people of Mount Hagen did not know the origin of the shells as they traded only with their immediate neighbours. Many legends exist about the origin of pearlshells. One states that they grew on trees. Another says that they were brought down from the skies by spirits. These myths helped to main-

tain the mystical nature of pearlshells and hence their value. Their mystical origin and their great value was the cause of considerable excitement when it was known one was about to arrive. An intended recipient would not sleep for several nights before the arrival of a shell, so eager was he to receive it and so rarely did one arrive in his village.

It is thought that pearlshells first came to the highlands of Papua New Guinea shortly before the arrival of Europeans, i.e. in the late 1800s or even as late as the 1920s (Hughes 1977:193; Strathern 1971:236). However, the Melpa in particular do not remember long genealogies and therefore the time-scale may be considerably foreshortened. What is known is that pearlshells became a highly valued item because they were admired for their lustrous sheen and whiteness.

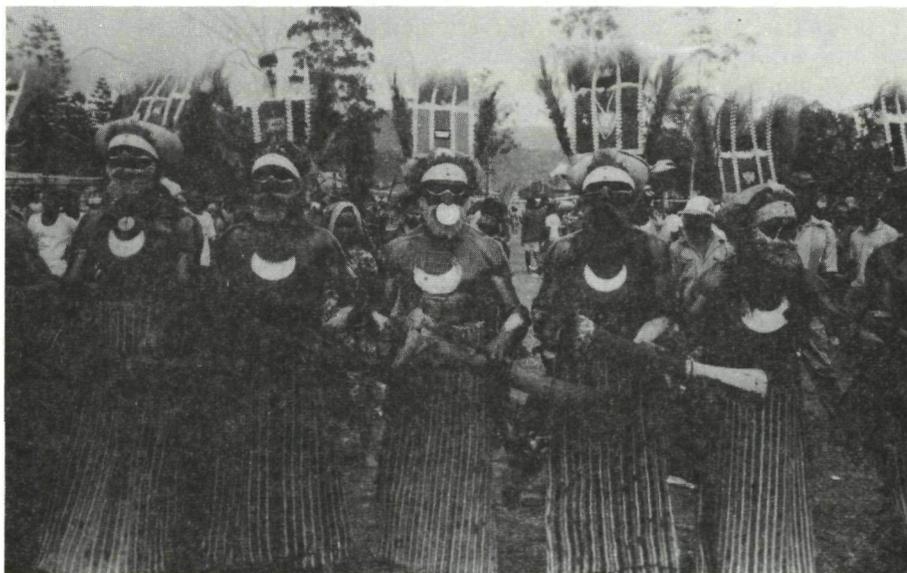
The situation changed in 1930. In that year Jim Taylor and the Leahy brothers walked into the Wahgi Valley from the Eastern Highlands and discovered the last major population centre on earth. Their purpose in going to the highlands was to find gold. Their experiences in the Eastern Highlands had taught them that the people valued shells, so they took only rice with them for food and bought the rest of their food with shells - a pearlshell for a pig, a few cowries (*cypraea moneta*) or nassa shells (*marginella sp.*) for vegetables. They also paid in pearlshells for labour to dig for gold, and for women. Instead of being the prized object of the few, the pearlshell quickly became a common object of ownership with resulting devaluation. Before that time any pearlshell was highly valued, even broken ones which were carefully patched together. Europeans imported massive amounts of shells into the highlands, especially pearlshells and cowries, and soon the people began to reject inferior ones. Hughes estimates that the number of shells of all kinds distributed by Europeans in the central highlands in the 1930s was probably more than 5 million "and could have been twice that figure" (Hughes 1978:316). At this time the total population of the highlands probably did not exceed one million.

The huge influx of pearlshells since the 1930s has democratised the system in that a larger number of people have been able to acquire them. The influence of the "big-men" in the Western and Southern Highlands declined because they no longer had a monopoly over the supply of pearlshells, leading to social problems. On the other hand, it has also meant that there have been more shells to be distributed so that more political alliances could be made. Hence one's reputation and fame could be spread more widely. When Europeans pacified the whole area, the resulting compensation payments to settle disputes of old became exercises in outdoing one's rival in the amount paid and building up political bases. It is possible that recent increases in the incidences of tribal fighting are attempts by "big-men" to reassert their influence.

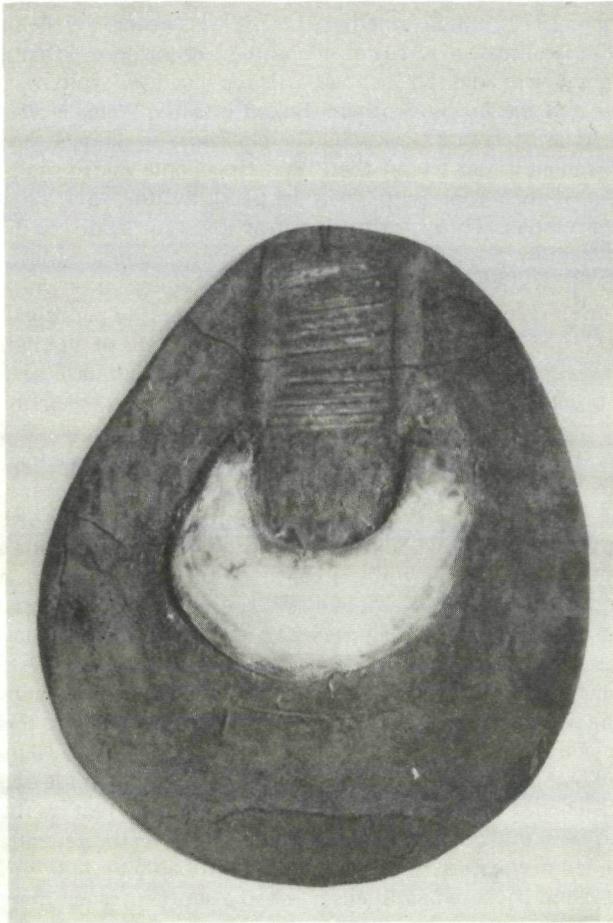
The effect of the huge influx of pearlshells into the highlands of Papua New Guinea was a change in the exchange patterns of the highlands. Shells were airlifted directly into the Mount Hagen area. The Melpa people who live in this area were able to acquire the best shells and soon learnt to reject the inferior ones. The people of the Southern Highlands through whose territory the pearlshells used to pass now had to accept inferior shells. The direction of trade had reversed, from the Western Highlands to the Southern Highlands instead of vice versa. This had a profound effect on the political, social and economic life of the people. Devaluation was the obvious economic result with cash gradually replacing pearlshells as valuables, as outlined below. This happened in the Eastern Highlands first, probably because this was the first part of the highlands to be exploited by Europeans and because pearlshells had had a short currency there and were extremely rare until introduced in large numbers by Europeans.

In the political arena the "big-men" used their new found wealth to create new alliances and to dominate highland politics. The former Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea, Pias Wingti, is the son of the "big-man" who welcomed Jim Taylor and the Leahy brothers to the Wahgi Valley in 1930.

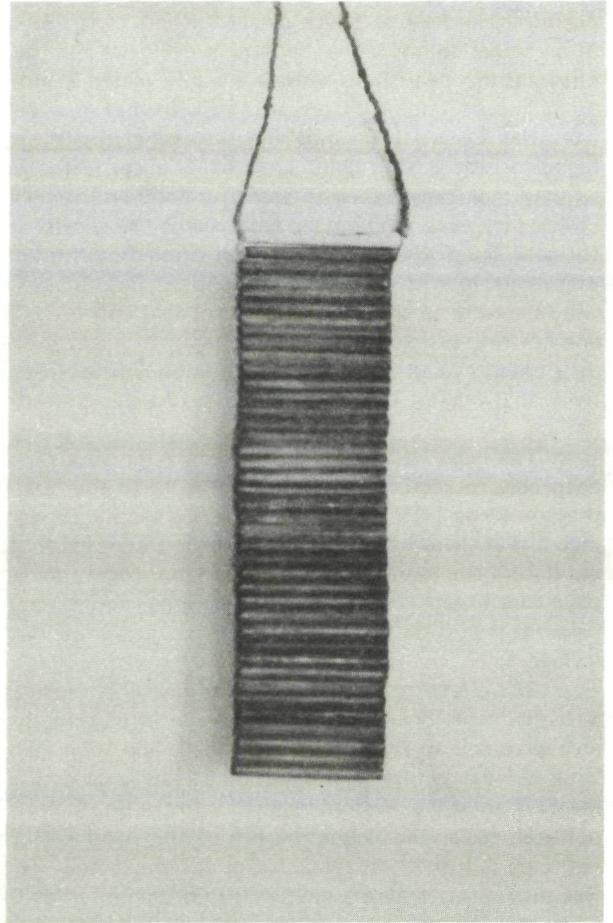
In the Southern and Western Highlands a record is made of the amount of wealth received and distributed. This consists of a tally made up of bamboo strips, each about 40mm in length, joined together and proudly worn as a pendant to show how much wealth has passed through the wearer's hands. This bamboo tally is called 'omak' (fig. 4). The unit of giving and receiving in Melpa is eight. Each bamboo strip represents eight pigs or eight pearlshells either given or received. Thus, the longer the omak the more wealth that has passed through the hands and the more prestige for the wearer.



*Kina worn by men of the Western Highlands (Goroka. 1988).*



*Fig. 3. Moka Kina.*



*Fig. 4. Omak.*

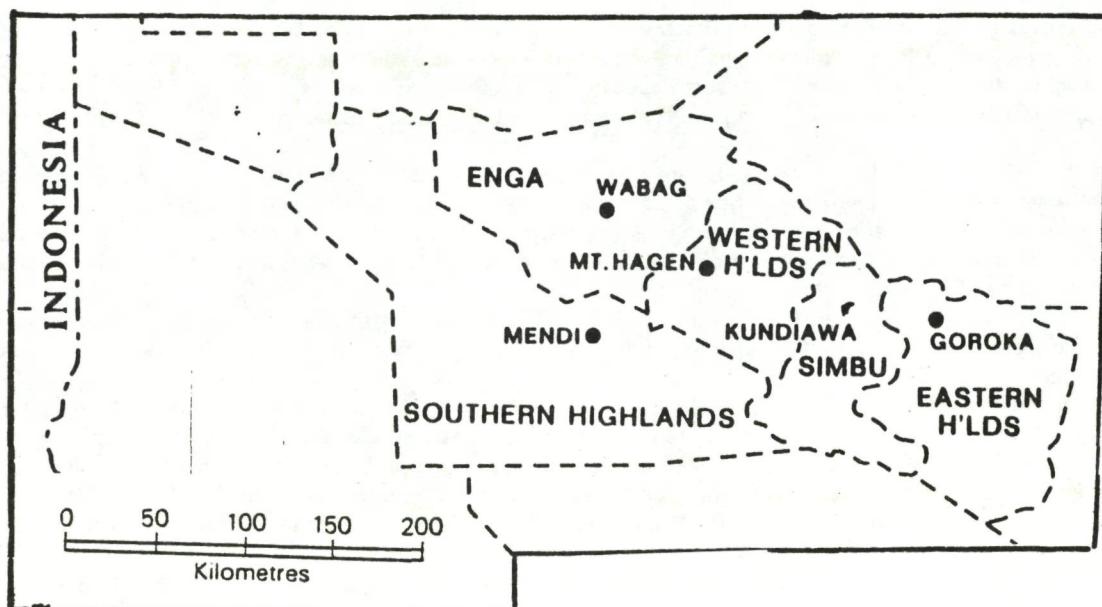
## 5. MOKA

The moka is an exchange system that takes place among the Melpa people of the Mount Hagen region of the Western Highlands Province (see map 2). It is a system of reciprocal exchange in which the donor gives shells and pigs as outright gifts and later is given a larger amount by the recipient.

There are two kinds of moka — shell moka and pig moka. In the shell moka a man gives a gift of two pearlshells and one pig, and later receives a gift of eight or ten shells. The donor then adds one bamboo tally to his omak. Pig moka involves giving two pigs and receiving eight pigs in return. Again the donor adds a bamboo tally to his omak (Strathern 1972:788). This is called "to make moka". The return payment is not made at the same time. Each recipient of shells and/or pigs makes a note of the debt he owes so that he can make the appropriate return payment later.

The exchange of wealth means friendship, and friendship means alliances. Moka is made between clans, the purpose of which is to cement alliances. Clans will not support clans with which they do not do moka. Therefore moka is not done indiscriminately. Those doing moka will ensure that the clans they are dealing with will be their allies for ever (Ross 1982c:180). A clan needs a number of other clans it can rely on in times of war for survival. Clan warfare has been and still is endemic throughout the highlands of Papua New Guinea. We have seen above that recent increases in tribal fighting may have political origins in attempts by "big-men" to reassert their authority. The moka still has a role to play in the lives of the Melpa as a means of exchanging wealth to maintain social relationships, although today the wealth exchanged may largely be cash.

After receiving the pearlshells in a moka, the owner may do what he likes with them. He does not have to give them away immediately in exchange, but he must at some time in the future repay his debts with the correct number of pearlshells. Therefore he cannot disburse them indiscriminately. He can use them to pay bridewealth, to buy pigs (before the arrival of Europeans one pearlshell would buy a large pig), or buy land with. Eventually, though, he has to return a larger number of shells and pigs.



Map 2. The Highland Provinces of Papua New Guinea.

## 6. TEE

The tee exchange system takes place in Enga Province and has three stages. The primary object of exchange is pigs, but pearlshells are exchanged in the first stage of tee, known as saandi pingji, together with axes, bird of paradise feathers, salt and other valuables. Pearlshells are solicitory gifts made prior to the main exchange, that of pigs, which are exchanged in the second stage, known as tee pingji, several months later. Cooked pork is given in the third and final stage, known as yae pingji, by those who received pigs in the second stage.

Unlike the moka, the tee is made between individuals, but the aim of acquiring as many exchange partners as possible in order to increase one's prestige is the same as in the moka. In this way a man becomes a "big-man". Another major difference from the moka is that women play vital roles in the tee. They are the link between exchange partners as a man can only exchange with affines, never with any totally unrelated man (Feil 1984:101-103). Women can also take part in the actual exchange of valuables because they can own pigs and pearlshells, unlike Melpa women who cannot own these valuables (Feil 1984:101). Children, both boys and girls, can also take part in tee exchanges directly. Fathers give valuables to their sons and mothers to their daughters. The children can exchange these in a tee exchange and in this way establish their first exchange partners.

Like the moka, the primary purpose of the tee is not the exchange of valuables, but the social and political aspects of emphasising lineage structures, establishing individual status and forging military alliances for survival. The Enga say that they marry their enemies, i.e. they are exogamous, marrying with neighbouring clans. Their tee partners come from among their women's relatives, including their wives' male relatives. The tee has primacy over warfare. Fighting stops for tee. Moreover, tee partners do not fight each other in a battle, and they will warn each other of impending attacks by their respective clans (Feil 1984:133). Thus, the tee can be seen as acting as a control on warfare.

## 7. MOK-INK

The mok-ink is an exchange system that takes place in the Mendi region of Southern Highlands Province (see map map 2). Like the moka and the tee its primary purpose is individual status and political alliances. Unlike the moka and the tee, it is not continuous in time, but takes place about every fifteen years (Ryan 1972a:789).

Pigs would seem to be the principal item of exchange, but other valuables are also exchanged - pearlshells, salt, and these days steel goods. Pearlshells are the most highly prized of these valuables, and it is possible that the mok-ink is the main means of expediting the flow of pearlshells into the Southern Highlands (Ryan 1982:789).

The mok-ink bears resemblances to both the tee and the moka. For example, like the tee, the mok-ink is an exchange between individuals rather than clans. However, the name mok-ink has obvious etymological links with moka. It should be noted, though, that another name for the tee is maka, and the three exchange systems have a probable single origin.

## 8. PEARLSHELLS AS BRIDEWEALTH

An analysis of Glasse & Meggitt 1969 shows that pearlshells are an important part of bridewealth in all parts of the central highlands of Papua New Guinea. Only the peoples of the eastern and western regions, e.g. the Fore of the Eastern Highlands and the Telefomin of West Sepik Province, do not include pearlshells in bridewealth. The former do not include pearlshells because they have been replaced by cash, the latter because pearlshells have never been valuables in that society.

In the Southern Highlands pearlshells are exchanged at all stages of the marriage payment. Among the Wola a future marriage is sealed by payment of five or six items of wealth consisting of one or two pigs and the balance in kina pearlshells by the future groom to his fiancée's father, brothers and other representatives of her kin. He gives three or four more pearlshells to his bride when she arrives at his house, and later includes several pearlshells in the actual bridewealth at the time of marriage (Sillitoe 1979:171-194).

In the 1960s up to 30 pearlshells were included in Simbu bridewealth payments (Brown 1969:88). Discussions with people from Simbu have confirmed that pearlshells still form an important part of the bridewealth in marriages in that province.

In the Western Highlands, moka pearlshells are sometimes worn round the neck by women. A young girl wearing a moka pearlshell is announcing that she is ready for marriage (Ross 1982c:181). When a young girl announces her readiness for marriage in this way, the father of the interested suitor approaches the girl's father to make the necessary arrangements. If the match is successful, the groom pays several more moka pearlshells as bridewealth, together with several pigs and other valuables such as bird of paradise feathers. These days money also changes hands. In return, the bride's family gives similar gifts, but always a smaller amount than they receive. Father Ross who arrived in Mount Hagen in 1934 shortly after the first Europeans, states that in the old days a unit of eight goldlip pearlshells and eight pigs was sufficient bridewealth. In 1972 he reports that bridewealth had reached over \$1000. This consisted of sixteen pigs worth about \$800, up to 32 pearlshells worth \$320, and cash. He gives an actual example that occurred in 1972 in which a man gave eight pigs and \$700 in cash (total value over \$1100) as bridewealth, but no pearlshells because he said "they are not interested in shells". In return the groom's family received four pigs and \$400, and everybody was happy (Ross 1982a:166-167). (Note: I assume the values are in Australian dollars as this was the currency of Papua New Guinea at the time).

Only in the Eastern Highlands is the exchange of kina pearlshells not made in bridewealth nowadays. The exchange of pearlshells in the Eastern Highlands lasted only about 25 years, from about 1934 to 1959 (Finney, Mikave & Sabumei 1974:346).

Bridewealth is not buying a wife. The return payment made by the groom's family indicates one of its purposes, that of making alliances as highlands societies are exogamous. The bride does not receive any of the wealth. She distributes it among her relatives in varying amounts according to their relationship to her and according to how much influence she thinks they have had on her upbringing. Thus, her father and brothers generally receive the largest amounts. Bridewealth is an acknowledgement of the investment made in the bride by her family and in the loss they undergo when she marries and goes to live with her husband's family. The bride's family no longer has the use of her services in gardening, looking after pigs and helping to raise younger children. Bridewealth is also therefore a compensation payment for the services of the bride.

In the Enga, as noted above, tee women are the essential link between tee partners, and this provides further evidence that bridewealth provides the socially important role of cementing ties between clans that are potentially enemies.

## 9. CHANGES IN THE USE OF PEARLSHELLS

Today, pearlshells are no longer used in bridewealth in the Eastern Highlands where they have been replaced by cash. The tendency for pearlshells to be replaced by cash in bridewealth transactions in the Western Highlands is mentioned by Strathern. He states:

"Clearly money is replacing shells as a scarce, admired, and valuable medium of exchange. The supply situation is changing also: shells are no longer being imported in any numbers, whereas money is becoming increasingly available. Whether the shell currency will eventually recover or whether it will be driven out completely by money remains to be seen in the next few years (post 1969). Much depends on whether moka will continue as a valued institution or not and on the degree to which money can penetrate into moka exchanges and bridewealth" (Strathern 1971:110-111).

Feil makes a similar observation on the demise of pearlshells and bailer shells (*melo amphora*) in the Enga tee (Feil 1984:55).

Kina pearlshells are still very much in prominence at singsings where people wear their traditional dress (bilas). Young people acquire non-perishable items of bilas such as pearlshells from their parents and other close relatives to be worn on these occasions. As we have seen above, one of the ways that they acquire them is in bridewealth payments throughout the central highlands of Papua New Guinea when they are shared out among the bride's relatives. In Enga, young people acquire pearlshells for singsings in tee exchanges. Kina pearlshells have their place within these systems as cultural links with the past and as a means of acquiring cultural symbols to display on ceremonial occasions. The large influx of kina pearlshells into the highlands of Papua New Guinea in the 1930s did not lead to their complete demise because participants in the moka and the tee were able to extend the number of their partners, were able to give away more pearlshells and were therefore able to acquire more prestige both within and outwith the clan. What the large influx of pearlshells did was to democratise the system so that many more men were able to acquire exchange partners, especially in the moka of the Western Highlands. This led to more "big-men" in the local arena, some of whom went on to political advancement in the wider arena of the national parliament and therefore national prestige.

Kina pearlshells should not be equated with western forms of money. Although Europeans used kina pearlshells as money in the western sense by exchanging them for goods at fixed rates (which changed as inflation took place), when the highlanders received the shells they disbursed them in the traditional way through exchanges, such as moka and tee, and bridewealth. Even today, when cash is displacing shells as the principal valuable, large amounts of cash are not kept within the clan, but are disbursed in the same exchanges, in compensation payments and in bridewealth. The use of valuables in the highlands of Papua New Guinea is a lesson in how wealth can be used to cement social relationships, rather than creating divisions between people as they compete to amass more wealth than their neighbours, as happens in the west.

Finally, if kina pearlshells disappear entirely from the cultures of Papua New Guinea, the name will continue to exist as it has been adopted as the name of the unit of currency of Papua New Guinea.

### Select bibliography

The number of published works that discuss the exchange systems of the highlands of Papua New Guinea is very extensive. This bibliography selects the more important and readily available works. For those wishing to read more deeply on the subject, the bibliographies in the works included here will provide further references.

BROWN, P. 1969. **Marriage in Chimbu**. In R. M. Glasse & M. J. Meggitt (eds):77-95.

BULMER, R. N. H. 1960. **Political aspects of the moka ceremonial exchange system among the Kyaka people of the Western Highlands of New Guinea**. *Oceania* 31, 1: 1-13; reprinted in L. L. Langness & J. C. Weschler (eds.) 1971. **Melanesia: readings on a culture area**. Scranton, PA: Chandler Publishing Co: 240-253.

This paper emphasises the political significance of the moka to its participants, the purpose of which is for individuals to achieve power and to limit the destruction caused by inter-clan hostilities.

CONNOLLY, B. & R. ANDERSON. 1987. **First Contact**. New York: Viking.

The book based on the film of the same name (see below). This is a very readable account of the first contact between Europeans, in this case Australian gold prospectors, and the highlanders of Papua New Guinea. It does not glamorise the encounter. It is particularly valuable for the photographs taken in the 1930s by Michael Leahy, some of which show how few shells were owned by the highlanders before the arrival of Europeans.

FEIL, D. K. 1982. **From pigs to pearlshells: the transformation of a New Guinea highlands exchange economy**. *American Ethnologist* 9: 291-306.

This is basically chapter 3 of Feil 1984 (below). It compares the moka exchange system of the Western Highlands with the tee exchange of Enga in terms of the valuables exchanged - pearlshells are the most important items in the moka, whereas pigs are more important in the tee. It also discusses the roles of women in the two systems and concludes that Enga women have a more equal role than their counterparts in the Western Highlands.

FEIL, D. K. 1984. **Ways of exchange: the Enga tee of Papua New Guinea**. St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press.

This is the standard work on the Enga tee exchange system. It emphasises the individual nature of tee exchanges and the important role women play in the tee. It also has a useful comparison of the tee and the moka of the Western Highlands. The particular group of the study are the Tombema-Enga.

FINNEY, B., U. MIKAVE & A. SABUMEI. 1974. **Pearl shell in Goroka: from valuables to chicken feed**. *Yagl-Ambu* 1, 4: 342-349.

This article is particularly valuable because it traces the rise and decline of pearlshells as valuables in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea by means of a survey of bridewealth paid at 104 marriages between 1920 and 1970. Unfortunately the article does not state how many pearlshells were given in bridewealth during this period.

**FIRST CONTACT**. 1983. 16mm colour film. 54 minutes. Directed by Bob Connolly and Robin Anderson. Robin Craine Films.

Absolutely essential viewing for anybody interested in cross-cultural contact. The film gives a balanced picture of the first encounter between Europeans and the highlanders of Papua New Guinea in the 1930s. It is particularly valuable for two reasons. Firstly, when the Leahy brothers went to the highlands they took a cine camera with them and original footage from these visits are included in this film. Secondly, many of the people who were present when the Leahy brothers first entered the highlands were still alive when this film was made and their recollections form a fascinating part of the film. Highlanders can remember exactly where they were and what they were doing when they saw their first white man and they recall vividly their reactions and impressions.

GLASSE, R. M. & M. J. MEGGITT (eds.) 1969. **Pigs, pearlshells, and women: marriage in the New Guinea highlands**. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

HUGHES, I. 1977. **New Guinea stone age trade: the geography and ecology of traffic in the interior**. *Terra Australis* 3. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

A detailed and excellent study of the trade in all kinds of goods before Europeans entered the highlands. Essential reading for the archaeology and history of trade in the highlands.

HUGHES, I. 1978. **Good money and bad: inflation and devaluation in the colonial process**. *Mankind* 11, 3: 308-318.

A well argued paper on the effects that the massive influx of shells had in all parts of the highlands of Papua New Guinea.

HURLEY, F. 1924. **Pearls and savages**. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons; reprinted 1981. Hong Kong: Jac Press.

The value of Hurley's book lies in his superb photographs taken on his trips to Papua in the 1920s. The result is a valuable record of the traditional culture of this part of the country, especially of the Port Moresby region, much of which has since disappeared. See also Specht & Fields below.

LEAHY, M. J. & M. CRAIN. 1937. **The land that time forgot**. London: Hurst & Blackett.

An account by the first European to enter the highlands of Papua New Guinea, giving his explanation of events.

MEGGITT, M. J. 1974. "Pigs are our hearts!" **The te exchange cycle among the Mae-Enga of New Guinea**. *Oceania* 44, 3: 165-203.

ROSS, W. A. 1936. **Ethnological notes on Mt. Hagen tribes (mandated territory of New Guinea)**. *Anthropos* 31: 341-363.

ROSS, W. A. 1982a. **Courtship and marriage**. In M. R. Mennis. 1982. *Hagen Saga*. Boroko: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies: 163-168.

ROSS, W. A. 1982b. **Dress and ornaments worn by the men and women of Mount Hagen**. In M. R. Mennis. 1982. *Hagen Saga*. Boroko: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies: 169-172.

ROSS, W. A. 1982c. **Trade**. In M. R. Mennis. 1982. *Hagen Saga*. Boroko: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies: 178-184.

Father William Ross was the first missionary to establish a church in the Mount Hagen area of Papua New Guinea. He came soon after the Leahy brothers had set up their camp there. His accounts therefore describe the situation in the Mount Hagen area as it was when the Europeans first arrived. His 1982 papers include descriptions of changes that have taken place since the early 1930s.

- RYAN, D. J. 1969. **Marriage in Mendi**. In R. M. Glasse & M. J. Meggitt (eds.): 159-175.
- RYAN, D. J. 1972a. **Mok-Ink**. In Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea. Vol. 2. Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press: 788-789.
- RYAN, D. J. 1972b. **Te**. In Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea. Vol. 2. Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press: 1114-1115.
- SILLITOE, P. 1979. **Give and take: exchange in Wola society**. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- In this book the author argues that the Wola is an individualistic society in which exchange acts as the mortar to keep the society together, and suggests that this might be the case in other highland societies. The standard work on exchange in Southern Highlands Province.
- SPECHT, J. & J. FIELDS. 1984. **Frank Hurley in Papua: photographs of the 1920-1923 expeditions**. Bathurst, NSW: Robert Brown & Associates in association with the Australian Museum Trust.
- Frank Hurley had an international reputation as a photographer, and this book brings together some of the fine photographs he took on his two trips to Papua in the 1920s. The result is a valuable visual record of the cultures of Central and Gulf Provinces at this time. Many of the photographs show shell valuables worn as decoration.
- STRATHERN, A. J. 1971. **The rope of moka: big-men and ceremonial exchange in Mount Hagen**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- This is the standard work on the moka exchange system of the Melpa people of the Mount Hagen area and was the first book to be written on a highlands exchange system. It is a comprehensive study of the social, economic and political aspects of the moka.
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