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***Mi no karim moni, mi karim save, ekspiriens na bodi* : public speech in a Papua New Guinean village**

“I did not bring money, I brought knowledge, experience and the body: public speech in a Papua New Guinean village”, *Footage (9 March 2005, Ambonwari village, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea; mini DV cassettes Nr. 9 and 10; 12 + 60 minutes)*

“The ethnography of communication, discourse analysis, and research on performance have all contributed to shifting the focus of research from isolated sentences and features to, in Austin’s terms, the total speech act” (Bauman and Briggs 1990: 64). Austin argued that the production of certain utterances along with the performance of certain actions under specific conditions amounts to the carrying out of specific acts: promising, swearing, asking, betting, confronting... Speech-act is characterized by the production of a particular set of words (the locutionary act; for example, “Go home!”), the act that the saying of those words amounts to (the illocutionary act; giving order to go home), and the act which is achieved or results from the utterance (perlocutionary act; insult after being ordered to go home). Austin analysed performative utterances not in the sense of being true or false but in the sense that they are doing something (Austin 2002 [1962], see also Gardner 1983). In order to do something with words there must be a conventional procedure, appropriate persons, appropriate conditions, and the participants have to do their parts completely and correctly (Austin 2002 [1962]: 37).

Anthropologists have for a long time stressed that a link between oratory and leadership is central to the egalitarian societies of Melanesia including the communities living in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea (see, for example, Bateson 1958, Brison 1992, Harrison 1990, Telban 1998). Public meetings are well known situations where political aspirations and manipulations of people’s impressions repeatedly take place. Speech-acts are central to these meetings and people, mainly men, continually compete in order not only to present but to influence reality through their own eyes, in order to have their voices not only heard but actually accepted. “[D]iscussion does not passively reflect reality but, instead, actively constructs it; meetings provide a context for people to publicly enact, and thus display, their roles in the community... When certain individuals make impressive speeches, they show themselves to be leaders. In fact, in some areas,

leaders compel others to comply with their wishes simply by voicing them in formal style..., and in this sense, talk can be action” (Brison 1992: 21).

In the following pages I would like to present a concrete example of a speech act in Ambonwari village, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea. I will try to show how a speech act in New Guinea is perceived as a social action. The important men try to participate in this action by blocking or supporting it, modifying or redirecting it, slowing it down or speeding it up, and so on. The creativity of a speech act may be seen through the performance itself, the position of a speaker, his movements and other bodily expressions, changes in loudness of his voice, deliberate pauses, repetitions, playful and/or figurative talk that can be interpreted in many ways, and so on. Every speech act not only reveals the culture and society in which it takes place but also actively participates in their construction producing at the same time important social and cultural changes. While a certain talk, especially by unimportant men, can be seen by the people as an ‘empty/insignificant talk’ (*tok nating* in Tok Pisin or *kambra mariawk* in Karawari language, i.e. ‘nothing talk’) it nevertheless – by its absence of significance – gives rise to those men and their speeches which have significance (especially *kupambin mariawk*, ‘talk of the ancestors/big men’) and which aim towards the resolution of problems, restoration of social order or changes within a particular community.

The villages of Karawari area, especially those that are situated on the shores of Konmei Creek, have always felt that they were somehow forgotten by the government, that social and economical changes only slowly penetrated into their area, that they remained, as they like to say, ‘bush people’. Leadership, education, business, religion, and law have become, at least since independence of Papua New Guinea in 1975, the central themes of their daily discourses. It seemed, however, that nothing has improved. Therefore, they were always eager to hear what could be done to change this apparent status quo.

On 9 March 2005 a group of Imanmeri men arrived to the neighbouring Ambonwari village to present the views of Kevin Kwasan, an Imanmeri man who left Imanmeri village more than eighteen years ago and returned just for two weeks to outline his aims and his vision about the future of the Karawari area. After he held an initiatory speech in Imanmeri he came to Ambonwari thus covering two largest villages in the region. He intended to visit Kanjimei village (upriver) and Konmei village (downriver) as well as the villages on Arafundi river, Awim and Yamandim (see Roscoe and

Telban 2004), during the following week. He said that he was not interested in politics on the village level but wanted to run for the chairman and representative of Karawari area in the assembly of elected members of Angoram District. For now, his main proposal was to initialize the construction of a water system (i.e. pipes) that would bring clean drinking water from Imanmeri hill down to the Kurumbat School and all the way across Konmei Creek to Ambonwari village. At the same time he had broader plans how to develop the region, not least by him becoming the official representative of Karawari region.



Map of Australia and Melanesia

I recorded the meeting on a video camera which enabled me to observe the whole event, and the speech act of Kevin in particular, many times after I returned from Papua New Guinea. At the meeting place seven Imanmeri men stood in the semi circle in the middle while all the rest – Ambonwari and Imanmeri – were sitting or standing around. The meeting began routinely with a few words by the chairman and then followed by a prayer led by the pray leader from Imanmeri. Then the word was passed to Jacob Yanggus, the Imanmeri councillor (elected village leader, confirmed by provincial government). He presented Kevin as someone who knew Papua New Guinea on different levels: local, regional, provincial and national. All those Imanmeri men who were speaking chose to act in a very modest way as they were in a foreign village, not in their own. This meant that also their body language expressed peace without any movements which could be perceived as dominating or even aggressive.

While speaking, councillor Jacob Yanggus held a notebook and a pen, the symbols of his office (administrative status). In this way the whole meeting looked more formal. In his short talk he emphasised two times that Kevin – just like Borut Kapraymari Telban, the anthropologist who worked over last fifteen years in Ambonwari village – did not bring any money with him to be able to invest it in business. He went on to say that both Imanmeri and Ambonwari should work hard, that money lies in their land. In the absence of Ambonwari councillor they asked Samuel Mapi, their ex-councillor, to say a few words before Kevin would present his thoughts. Samuel welcomed all Imanmeri visitors saying that it was pity because many Ambonwari people were absent but that those present would carefully listen to his talk.

After greeting all important men and the people of both communities, Kevin first spoke about his long absence and the obvious changes in the style and quality of life, something he could notice even within his own family. Because Imanmeri and Ambonwari speak different languages Kevin had to use Tok Pisin, *lingua franca* of Papua New Guinea, to make his speech understandable. He nevertheless used several English expressions (underlined in the text) – understandable only to a minority of those present – when emphasising particular points. He said:

Forgive me, I will probably mix, I am not sure, I am not too clear about Tok Pisin and I will mix it with English. You know, once you get used to this kind of a life style, it is hard to control it. When you throw it [say it], you just say it [everyone laughs]. The main reason why I came here is not because I want to publicize [myself for elections], but because of a need, because of a requirement within Karawari area ... I did not come here for holidays, I also came to do some work during these two weeks. Although I resigned [from my job] I have my projects, I have my own plans. You should support my key thoughts. If I do not get support my plan cannot work. For that reason I came to this second largest village in Karawari area. Is this clear to you? That's why I came. There are no secrets. The bottom line is that I can be a leader but I need back-up. Without support nothing will happen. Morally, spiritually, physically you have to support it. If you are asked to help financially, then you can put little money into the project. This is the main reason why I came. I did not come to campaign [for local elections]. All the leaders [local] have already been marked. The first thing in terms of success is leadership. If you have a good leader, the community will sit well ... you can see this

only from outside. From inside you cannot see what is happening ... That is a big problem ... He [the leader] needs experiences, he has to be knowledgeable and able to see from outside. Then you can tell what is right and what is wrong. You will see what you can contribute. If you cannot contribute, then you do not. This is important. This relates to our leadership on the community level, the provincial level, all the way to the national level. This is the main thought. If you look at the Karawari area, we can see that there is no change, it is still bush. Why? The problem lies in the quality of the leaders. You can choose a physically and mentally fit leader, but there is one thing that is missing: a spiritual leader. He has to balance spirit too so that he is not afraid of the power of the God. Now all leaders are afraid of the power of the God. This is a big thing. Is this right? [The audience answers 'yes'] ... I will give you one example. We have many things that we can produce and sell on the market, but we cannot, at the moment. It is very hard because the leaders do not find the market. Market is our problem. We are water people. We do not go around making business. Is this right? [Everyone answers yes]. But we have a place to make business, we have people. The problem is market, we cannot find a market. And the market is the responsibility of our leaders that we choose. The leader who stays here in the community then has to go to the local member [for Karawari area], to the member on provincial level, and then to the parliament. Our problem lies [in connection] between community and the councillor, between the councillor and the chairman, between the chairman and the provincial Member of Parliament [MP] and between the provincial and national MP. And they will discuss. In the same way it comes back. If this is not happening, we have a problem. Is this clear to you? ... In Angoram district, forty or fifty ship will come soon. We are rich in natural resources. But government said no! If you need some information, I will tell you. I have already told Imanmeri ... White people call our region Sepik Basin or Sepik Delta. This means that we have oil and we have gas, but how we will make use of it? But the Prime Minister [Michael Somare who actually originates from the East Sepik Province] said no! He is the holy boss of the country. They are developing other places ... We are sitting on two levels. One is underneath and another on the top, gas and oil. But Somare said no. Why did he say no? The governor of Southern Highlands bribed him. We do not know, but you are lucky

because I do not hide it ... They have this Kutubu Project [a large scale project in the Southern Highlands – named after the lake – led by a foreign oil company]. If they did not, we would be already in Angoram [we would look like a Papua New Guinean town]. This comes under leadership ... If Somare remains Prime Minister, we in the East Sepik will stay as we are. We will die, generations will die. We will not change. That's not good. We have to change. We have to build something and leave it for our children to continue. Just as the white man does ... You people are water people. When the high waters come there is a problem with drinking water. We [Imanmeri] are all right, but our problem is to carry water up the mountain. It is hard. Councillor of Ambonwari is not here, but our councillor is. We are planning to make a project, for water. It can come to our place, to the school and to Ambonwari. We hope, we are looking forward to do this project, to bring drinking water. This is important and we have to start this first. Because during the times of high waters when a pig dies, a fish or a dog dies or any animal dies and you drink bad water you get sick. This is the work of our leaders. These are the basics. Clean water comes first. And then all the children will eat well, drink good water, and go to school, and they are not sick. This is my first interest. The pipes from Imanmeri to Ambonwari can easily be put. It is not a long way. It is nothing, we can connect them. But this will be in the hands of community. If you like to drink clean water then help, you will have to work. People like me will fight and get the money. There is a path how to get money. It is not hard, little sleep, we can sleep little. Is this right? [People answered yes]. This is truth, we sit on money, but the leader is bribed. Just because he is a physical man. If he was afraid of the power of the God, he would be honest ... I came because of my personal interest, listen well. I have planed it already two years ago, but my spirit was not straight. It stopped me ... I wanted to make a contribution to the place. The only way, you know, to plan the job is ... In 2007 I will compete for the chairman. If people or councillors do not mark me, I will pull out. I tell you now about my personal interest. Regarding business I have already touched the question of leadership, but if we will not have a market, business will not run. This business is linked to my second point: con men are around. Liars and tricksters exist. All these kind of men will come once you have a rich national resource at your place. All different

colours of men will come. The men, who will trick you, use you, take money and will get rich. So, be very careful, these people are very dangerous ... So we can start the business, but you have to be careful. He will come and say: I will buy one kilo for seven hundred, next time he will say three hundred kina [Papua New Guinea currency], next time one fifty, and next time he will buy for one hundred kina. You have to be careful about this. These people are professional con men [everyone laughs]. Everything has to go to the leaders first and they have to make decisions ... They [the con men] buy for one hundred kina and sell for one thousand ... Now the school. One way to develop human resources is the school. There is no other way. Now we are lucky, we have elementary school [three years of preschool learning inside the village]. We have advantage now, when they go to grade one upriver there is no problem. Before it was not so, now it is all right ... Why do I speak about this? Kurumbat School lies in the middle of these two places. We will work hard to pull in to other places on Konmei Creek. We want to make sure that this school becomes big. And in the future it has to become a high school. But it will not happen if we do not show commitment. We are the biggest villages in Karawari region, not only in the Konmei Creek area, but in the whole Karawari. Are you clear? [Everybody says 'yes']. Do not forget that! Do not forget that! I just marked it, but it can be in five or six year's time. It is good news, isn't it? [Everybody says yes]. So, we must be happy. Our work is to look after it. Control our young people. A teacher comes there, please look after him. You cannot expect that he will buy things with money. This will chase him away. Let show them that we are a good community in the Sepik. We should attract all the men. Give him bush, give him rivers, and he will go to find the fish. He will make a garden. You cannot ask him for money for this. We have to change our attitude. Think about the future. Forget about 60s and 70s, now we are going in 2000 and beyond. Give good thoughts to your children. You cannot teach them something that will ruin them. So please, our school, Ambonwari and Imanmeri we are at its front, look after it. If there is a dispute between children and teachers, it is something that belongs to them. You cannot get involved. You parents, stay out! We have board members and the head master. They can solve this entire problem. If you persist, you will chase away the teacher, and we will be short of teachers and children will not receive a

good knowledge. Whatever they need, please help them, support them ... Disputes between us: all right, in the past we fought. But that's gone. Do not think about the past. Now, we are a new generation, 2000 and beyond. Our work has to be forward oriented, look forward. Train your children who sit around here. [He points towards the children sitting around]. This is not an enemy village. Over there is not an enemy village. Down there is not an enemy village, up there is not an enemy village. Train them! Train them! When we die they will have a better future. Let them be brothers before they die. So, our work is to help and prepare them. Unfortunately, school did not reach our parents fast. And therefore we are as we are. I think that if the school reached them fast, we would be more organized. So, that is why, it is not late for our attempt to get organized, help our kids, for the future. All leaders should follow this too. So, look after the school, the workmen and the teachers. Attract them! Get their attention! They will leave their places. Let them plan things, let them get involved in projects ... If you two become involved in a dispute this is something that belongs to you two. All you Imanmeri, all you Ambonwari, you should not help them, you have your leaders. Bring your leaders. Come together to solve the problems. You have to say sorry, think of a good life next day. Think in this way. You cannot prolong [resentment and anger] for one week, two weeks now. This is uncivilized, let's be civilized. This is 2000 and beyond. Prime Minister will not come to help you. It is a community that has to be organized. Get organized and move forward. The chairman of the Karawari area will not help. We help ourselves. We do not have roofed houses [in terms of how the houses are built in towns]. We do not have water tanks. Whose mistake is this? It is easy if we stand up and work. Nothing is impossible. Everything is possible. Everything that is connected to a dispute, make use of two leaders. If you argue about the land two leaders are there. If something is wrong go to your councillor. Tell him that someone took your sago [a palm used for flour]. Please go to the councillor of Imanmeri and say: 'I am not happy'. Then you can sit together, talk about it, shake hands and forget about it ... I regret for the honour and respect that you showed towards me, you can do this to Prime Minister or a local member of the parliament. But the way you did it, I took it 'into my belly' [I felt it, I appreciated it]. You are promoting my name. I was selfish and I went around; I thought that I was something

more. I lived in a dream world without knowing that my people in the village and those in the Karawari area are backwards, that things did not change. The leaders did it wrong, we have everything and we can do it ... To end [my talk] I want to say that I did not bring any cargo [gifts, goods] or money; zero! What I brought with me is my knowledge, experience; in order to support this place. That's all what I brought with me. I brought experience, knowledge and body with me. This body we will use and this head we will use. That's all what I brought. I did not bring anything else. You cannot expect any miracle. We must work hard, use this body and this head. The points that I touched are the basic guide lines so that we can think about. There is no other way. OK, before I finish: expectations. Regarding all school children, we all know that the school fees are very high. The expectations of parents are very high: 'A child who finishes the grade ten will work and return money to me.' This kind of thinking is present. Am I right about these expectations? [Audience says yes]. My answer is no. There is a reason why I say no. Why do I say no? Everything is 'short', institutions are 'short', high school is 'short', national high school is 'short', university is 'short'. They cannot accommodate all the children to enter them. Employment in the agencies is 'short'. They cannot employ many people, so parents, please keep this in your mind. You cannot think that he will finish all the school and return money to you. Give him good ideas, send him to school. Think about the project you would like to start. So, give him good thoughts. He will finish grade eight, grade nine, grade ten, grade twelve or university. Now these universities are no good anymore, because the children do not have experiences. We who worked, we gained experiences. Now everyone wants experiences. They want experienced men. So, let your children go to school. They can finish whichever level they will choose, take them back. You start the project, let him [a child] do it from there. You direct him, help him. You sit and look after him. You cannot approach negatively. You cannot send them to bush or to town. These are your resources. This is your main power. He will do things the way you like it. So, high schools, agencies, universities are 'short'. They will take only the top level students. It is hard. If you think that your child will finish the school and get money that does not work. You have to leave this kind of mentality. You have to leave this kind of attitude. It belongs to the past. Now it is hard. So, the

only way is to educate your kid, come back to the village, carry on the project that you have already started. Straight? Is it straight, is it right? [Everyone says yes]. Instead of using a knowledgeable man from the outside and paying him to do this work, a free, knowledgeable man is here, your child. Use him. He will do work for free. If you use an outside man you will spend a lot of money. So, this is the advantage of it. Yes, the community of Ambonwari, I think that that's all what I want to share with you. I believe that you understood what I had said. If you have some thoughts later on the leaders can come and we can talk. As I said in the introduction I came for two weeks. I did not come for holidays I came to do the work, how I can help. Not only Imanmeri, but the whole Karawari area. If we can do it then Angoram is ours, we can run Angoram; if we start here. It's not a problem for us. Angoram is our little ['younger brother']. If we can get organized here, Angoram is nothing, we can run Angoram. I wanted to touch these points. You can help us to do the work. OK ... chairman ... thank you.

The chairman of the meeting stood up and said that all those who understood whatever Kevin said in English should translate it to others. He added that whoever wants to comment or put a question is welcomed to do it. Anton from Ambonwari mentioned that there is a lot of tuberculosis in the village and that during the wet season the water is not good while in the dry season they have to walk far to fetch drinking water. He continued:

So if my 'brother' does this and brings water to Ambonwari, I will say thank you, it is true. But if you do it only for Imanmeri, then I will say it is something that belongs to you. You have to find the path to do it. We do not know how. If we go to the office they will say to us: 'You are stupid, you did not wash and you did not put shoes and socks. [People laugh]. Go back!' They want a man who combed his hair, who put shoes and socks. And he dressed well and then he goes to the office. [Anton is at the same time showing what he is saying, 'combing his hair, pulling his imaginary socks up ...']. I tell you it is true, I have already tried it. If you come from a village they will not accept you fast, they will tell you: 'Wait, come tomorrow. And how will you find money to eat. You are a poor man.' You are a poor man because you came from a village. So, we

want to use you. You are a man with a big knowledge from this Konmei Creek.

Anton added that people were not clear how to bring the water pipes to the area, that Kevin should do it, and then people would help with the work ... He also said that if Kevin ran for a chairman of the Karawari area, and if two villages supported him, then there would be no question that he would win.

Ex-councillor of Ambonwari, Samuel Mapi, joined the talk saying that he listened to Kevin's talk very carefully. He continued:

The village on the top [Imanmeri] is close to me but the language is different. I agree what you what you said about politics. I also agree with education, I always talked strongly about the importance of education. But regarding politics, you are from a different language group and I am from a different language group. You should not go with your language there and there, and then forget about me. You talked about election 2007; the position of elected chairman belongs to two of us. I tell you so. [Everyone is clapping with hands] ... All these candidates always come to me and I tell them to go away. Let him who is elected come and sit with me. Partner, we will run together ... How many years you stayed away? How many years were we bugged up at this place? Look at me, I did not put nice decoration [clothes] when you came and two of us shook hands. I did not show it to you. So now I want to ask you. When you came last week I was sitting here in the public and I said that all the languages come from God, and it is him who brought a knowledgeable man here. [Everyone is clapping with hands, while Kevin thanks to Samuel].

Samuel went on saying that everyone should know Kevin's face and that he should not, if elected, stay only in town as others do, but should be all the time in touch with the communities. That is what other leaders failed to do. He put it very forcefully, waving his hand: "So look that you do not lie to us, to our two places" ... Samuel recalled the Big Men from the past and their knowledge saying that now there is only one: Kevin. Samuel made several jokes, while at the same time saying that since 2002 when he was replaced as councillor everything went wrong. As an example of his joking, I would like to mention that when he talked about the general situation in

the village, he said that he was still wearing the shirt from the times when the Germans administrated the region (that is from 1884 to 1915). Everyone laughed. He also challenged the authority of Kevin by approaching him and taking a betel nut from the stool in front of him. Kevin replied that is important to be challenged and to accept well meant criticism. He shook hands with Samuel who continued to act in a joking way.

Kevin begins his talk by telling that he lived a different life over past eighteen years. Nevertheless he starts in a very traditional manner by using repetitions and saying that he did not come to collect votes (playing down his own interests) but because the region needs change. He emphasises that he has no hidden thoughts behind his plans. It is a kind of contradiction because later on in his talk he actually outlines his political ambitions. Kevin also uses rhetorical devices which are quite unusual for the local communities living deep in the rainforest. They immediately picture him as someone with a special kind of knowledge, as someone who spent long time in a city and who is familiar with the performances of the grand scale politicians. Three characteristics of his rhetoric can be immediately detected: first, the use of written notes (reading from his notebook) and the order of points he wants to address; second, the way he addresses the audience leading them to agreement and the affirmative answer 'yes'; and third, not only individual English words that he uses, but particular sentences which he utters in English at a particular moment during his speech. All these rhetoric devices make his talk more 'sophisticated' and seemingly more important. Kevin presents himself through his speech. Just as his talk is created by him so he is created by the talk he delivers. He uses the occasion for self-presentation trying to gain prestige through his display of 'good thoughts'. His speech act is not a mere communication; it is a strategy for constitution of the self. So the final act, in Austin's terms, is to achieve a certain position within the social space to which he returned. His quite straight forward talk differs from the replies provided by Anton and Samuel. Their talk is much more figurative. Anton, for example, uses differences in a dress code to explain the differences in attitude when visiting the government offices: bushmen are treated differently from townsmen. Samuel, on the other hand, emphasises his own importance throughout his talk saying that he will run again: not only for a chancellor of Ambonwari village but will compete with Kevin for the same position. He conceals the seriousness of his talk by adopting a joking approach.

Kevin stresses that he did not bring money, but rather his experiences, knowledge and the body. In particular Kevin puts emphasis on experiences saying that parents should educate their children and help them to finish higher grades in towns. Then, instead of bringing foreigners into the area to do business they should facilitate the return of their educated children to lead and do the work. By pointing on his head, when talking about knowledge, and his upper part, when talking about his body, he shows that he embraced Western, Cartesian dichotomy between mind and body (also when he speaks about physically and mentally fit leader). This kind of conceptualisation of mind versus body was not characteristic for Karawari communities. The concept of knowledge was and still is connected to insideness (*wambung*, the seat of emotions and thoughts, what Harrison 1990 called 'understanding'). Body in Ambonwari has never been perceived as static, biological body, but rather as a body in action, that is as a body that realizes and reveals itself through habit, practice, and the way of doing things (*kay*). Thus personal experiences disclose themselves through both *wambung* and *kay* (see Telban 1998). Nevertheless, what Kevin says is well understood by the listeners. Emphasis on the body means that he is able to do physical work himself.

I would like to single out a couple of points. First, Kevin says that he does not hide anything, that he is honest in his thoughts, that he is not concerned about his personal interests. Many, of course, would question this as they are used to those who come to campaign before the elections, promising a lot but delivering a little. On the other hand, Ambonwari and Imanmeri – in contrast to the villages of Manjamai and Yimas for example – never had a knowledgeable man who could compete for a more important political position. He also says that the villages have to have good village leaders, those who would not only be mentally and physically fit but would also embrace Christian religion and would also be able to see situation from the outside. That means that the future leaders should spent at least some time away from their villages. Kevin puts a great emphasis on the market, saying that the leaders are those who should secure the market. He touches upon a very large enterprise that seems to lie in front of the people living in the Karawari area: the business connected with oil and gas. At the same time he warns that such large projects, which involve foreign companies, also bring con men, those who would like to get rich on the expense of local people who are ignorant of these kinds of practices.

Through this short analysis of performative speech acts we learn about how the participants present their roles and skills in order to create their positions on both community and intercommunity levels. We observe how the men 'do things with words'. Actually, by exchanging their talks, they not only construct the reality of the present but also influence the construction of the reality of the future. For example, the words regarding the local leaders uttered by both Kevin and Samuel directly influence people's actions. Kevin seems to be a knowledgeable 'man of the world', who brought his ideas back to the area asking people for their support. The opponents in their speeches are nevertheless supporting his will, and want to show that *kupambin mariawk* ('talk of the ancestors/big men') should aim towards a concrete resolution of problems and prosperous changes led by people who were educated outside the village. On the other hand there are things which will never change, because they belong to the area as they always did. I would argue here, that to be 'a bush man' should not be seen as something negative. People know very well that the life in a town misses many things which they can experience only in their own environment. It can be seen from Anton's talk they are aware that they are treated differently from townsmen whenever they come to a town. They are treated as secondary citizens. So, 'the total speech act' in this case points towards everlasting problem of discrepancy between the village and the town, between tradition and social/cultural change, between the practices which are necessary to sustain life in the village and the practices which connect the remote villages with the outside world. Since the very beginnings of the industrial revolution and even more so since the beginnings of computerization and digitalization of the world this kind of discrepancies had not been solved in many local communities around the world including the so called Western ones.

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