ALEXIS TH. VON POSER
ANITA VON POSER (Eds.)

Facets of Fieldwork

Essays in Honor of Jürg Wassmann

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MEINHARD SCHUSTER

Foreword

Fieldwork in cultural anthropology – understood here in the traditional sense of the longer-term, onsite primary research of a non-European culture by researchers coming from the background of the European scientific traditions – is the soul of cultural anthropology. This work process is marked externally by the circumstance of a thoroughly organized, indigenous society, mostly of the size of a village, with a fully developed cultural life being confronted by one or two foreign visitors who have no knowledge of the local world and therefore are not able to classify their experiences; they must first gain the knowledge necessary for this understanding step by step as observant and enquiring attendees. In doing so the tendency is, at least initially, to focus their search for answers on issues inherent to the researchers, i.e. that come from outside the research locality. However, in the daily contact with the life of the local inhabitants, these issues are corrected and extended through unexpected, new issues which often transcend the local setting and are thereby able to lead to new, more general insights and perspectives. Fieldwork is therefore, more so than a further intellectual consolidation of what is already known, also the fountain of youth of cultural anthropology.

Against this background, it becomes understandable that conducting your first own field research is awarded the rank of an actual initiation into cultural anthropology as a field of study. Jürg Wassmann, too, took this path and also in his later research work at new locations and in other thematic contexts, he always placed particular importance upon fieldwork.

Basel, 2017

ANITA VON POSER AND ALEXIS TH. VON POSER

1 Introduction

This compilation of essays, which tackles some of the facets of fieldwork which anthropologists are usually faced with before, during or after research in a particular "field," is a *Festschrift* in honor of Jürg Wassmann who celebrated his 70th birthday in 2016. As former students of Jürg's, first as his undergraduate students and later as his doctoral candidates, we decided to invite those anthropological scholars, (interdisciplinary) colleagues, and/or academic friends whom we ourselves encountered as we grew as anthropologists at Heidelberg University where Jürg was head of the Institute of Anthropology in the years 1995 to 2007.[1]

We are pleased that Meinhard Schuster, Jürg's first academic mentor and former professor of the Basel Institute of Anthropology (1970 to 2000), agreed to write the foreword to this *Festschrift*. The foreword certainly bears witness to the anthropological *Zeitgeist* into which Jürg was born as a young academic and from which he embarked on his own professional journey. Much, of course, has changed since Jürg's entry into the discipline: bounded notions of culture and of tradition have vanished, dichotomies between the "West" / "European" and the "Rest" / "Non-European" have been forcefully deconstructed, anthropologists have been moving more frequently between field sites as their interlocutors do, and field sites per se need not necessarily be as far away as "traditional anthropology" requested. Jürg himself was open to utilizing new approaches during his entire academic life-course but was always certain to maintain one premise: he has always been in favor of the empiricist tradition within anthropology. This was very probably fully instilled at the time when he started conducting fieldwork as part of Meinhard Schuster's anthropological research team in the Sepik River area of Papua New Guinea in the first half of the 1970s (after his first research experiences with the Sami people in Sweden) and extended through his whole scientific career.

Because of what we knew about Jürg's passion for fieldwork we decided to ask each contributor to our volume to arrange his or her essay around a particular facet of fieldwork. This volume does not provide an overview of what has been said about fieldwork in our discipline. There is, in fact, a considerable amount of literature dealing with the topic of fieldwork (just to name a few more recent publications: Faubion and Marcus 2009; Spencer and Davies 2010; Robben and Sluka 2012; MacClancy and Fuentes 2013; Orne and Mayerfeld Bell 2015). Rather, we decided to strongly tie the *Festschrift* to Jürg's own academic as well as personal life-course by inviting those contributors whom we ourselves were able to meet as they either came to visit Heidelberg over the years in order to give academic lectures and/or worked there as staff, or as we ourselves traveled to academic and ethnographic places and made contacts with them through Jürg.

In the first part of our introduction, we look at Jürg's life-course as a fieldworker. The life-course perspective is a common approach in studies on aging and has been applied by several disciplines such as demography, psychology, sociology, social history, and anthropology (A. von Poser, forthcoming). Following the anthropologists Danely and Lynch,

> [a] life-course approach to aging recognizes that as individuals age, their lives unfold in conjunction with those of people of different ages, and that all of these actors, who occupy different and changing positions and multiple cultural and physical environments over a period of historical time, are shaping and influencing each other in important ways (...). A focus on the life course, therefore, helps us to see not only the possibilities for individual development and maturity, but also how intergenerational conflict, cooperation, and contact can reconfigure values and redistribute roles and resources (2013: 3).

The way we reconstructed Jürg's life-course is based on our knowledge of his work through his publications, and through talking to him academically and personally over the years.

In the second part, we introduce our contributors as well as the facets they address in relation to the issue of fieldwork. As our contributors belong to different generations of researchers, we do not only hope to make a plea for the continued importance of fieldwork, but we also aim at drawing attention to the very nature of fieldwork: It is an ongoing creative and adaptive process with changing aspects which unfold in relation to

certain research traditions, on the one hand, and within certain times and spaces, on the other.

The life-course of a fieldworker

Jürg was born on 16th of March 1946 in Lugano, which is located in the Italian part of Switzerland. He took his final exams at the Liceo cantonale in 1966 and in the following year he started his studies of anthropology, sociology, music and psychology at the University of Basel. In his introduction to *Pacific Answers to Western Hegemony* (1998a), a compilation of essays dealing with cultural practices of identity construction, Jürg offers a personal glimpse into his own life-course and the way it shaped his identity:

> Having grown up in Southern Switzerland, I therefore spoke Italian with my friends and at school; at home, however, I spoke a Swiss German dialect – not becoming fluent in High German until much later, while studying in Basel […]. I remember well how I had no school on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons and set out, first on foot, later with a small moped, to explore the surroundings: a rural area outside the city of Lugano […], with chestnut woods, open streams, clearly separated villages with old stone houses; the local dialect was spoken, there was no television. When I go back nowadays, I can see how my parental home has been swallowed up by suburbia, there are new buildings everywhere whose inhabitants for the most part did not grow up there (although my parents, after all, had also been newcomers), the streams are now running underground in pipes, there is a bus connection to the centre of town, a bank and two shopping centres; the language predominantly spoken now is a kind of "television Italian." And I myself am playing around with my identity: in Germany, where I now live, I present myself as an affable Southern Swiss; when I am visiting my family, however, I pretend to be more of a down-to-earth Northern Swiss (while strongly doubting that anybody believes this) – but, in every instance, I am trying to be "different" (Wassmann 1998a: 1).

Jürg gathered his first fieldwork experience in Northern Sweden, where he worked among the Sami people for five months in 1969. This region, however, did not last as a focus of Jürg's research interests. In 1972, the foundation was laid for an ongoing relationship with the field, when Jürg

became part of the Basel research project on the Sepik River. His professor Meinhard Schuster went, together with a group of his students, to Papua New Guinea and installed them in different places along the middle Sepik (see Schindlbeck, this volume). This first encounter with Papua New Guinea lasted twelve months and established in Jürg a lasting love for and commitment to the Iatmul people of the place Kandingei, and he kept returning to this country for the following forty-something years.

Jürg went back for re-studies to Kandingei in 1983, 1984 and 2000, and the dense material he collected on mythological and genealogical history resulted in two voluminous monographs comprising more than 1,000 pages (Wassmann 1982, 1988, see also Wassmann 1987, 2001). He also published articles on time and space perceptions (Wassmann 1984, 1990), so his interest in indigenous cosmologies became as manifest as his focus on cognition. Despite favoring ethnographies based on local empirical research, he nevertheless engaged broader views and comparative perspectives, thus also dealing with aspects of globalization (Wassmann 1998b; Keck and Wassmann 2007). Another important theme of his understanding of fieldwork became apparent as well: he considers it important for both the ethnographer and the results of his or her work to return to the field. An edited and abridged version of his first monograph on Kandingei was later published in Papua New Guinea (Wassmann 1991). Currently, he is working on another revised version (Wassmann n.d.), which includes unpublished material as well as several chapters by colleagues from anthropology as well as neuropsychology.

A short anecdote comes to our mind with regard to the long-lasting relationship between ethnographers and their interlocutors. In 2004, when Jürg and his colleague/wife Verena Keck went with us to Papua New Guinea to introduce us to our own respective field sites in the Lower Ramu River area, we were able to meet one of his interlocutors and friends in the field, a middle-aged Kandingei man. He had come to Madang to spend a few weeks with Jürg. Everyone who has been to Madang knows that every evening the sky is full of flying foxes on their way to feed. On one such evening, the man pointed towards the sky, telling us that these were his ancestors and that if we wanted to know more about it we should read Jürg's book *The Song to the Flying Fox*, as everything important to know about it was in the book. Indeed, the man continued telling us that Jürg had spent many years sitting with the man's antecedents, gathering information. Moreover, he was still in contact with a number of contemporary Kandingei. As fieldwork was still ahead of us, we were

deeply impressed, as talking to this consociate of Jürg's gave us an idea of the possibilities of long-term involvement and of obligation within the ethnographic encounter.

During the second half of the 1980s, Jürg moved to another field site in Papua New Guinea. Together with Verena Keck, he decided for the mountainous region of the Finisterre Range where he went to the Yupno valley for twenty months of in-depth research on cognitive phenomena, with a main focus on spatial orientation. He was not only accompanied and supported by fellow anthropologists for this task, but also by a trained psychologist (see Dasen, this volume), to gain an interdisciplinary approach. The research project on "everyday cognition" resulted in a large number of publications in both disciplines, and was later also undertaken in Bali, Indonesia (Wassmann 1992b, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c, 1994, 1995, 1997; Wassmann and Dasen 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1998, 2006; Dasen and Wassmann 2008). Several follow-up projects eventually manifested Jürg's role as a leading figure in cognitive anthropology (Nunez, Cooperrider and Wassmann 2012; Nunez, Cooperrider, Doan and Wassmann 2012; Ammann, Keck and Wassmann 2013; Wassmann and Bender 2015; see also Wassmann 2003a, 2003b).

After his working period at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen from 1991 to 1993, where he belonged to the research team of Stephen Levinson, Jürg went to Heidelberg to become the first director of the newly established Institute of Anthropology in 1995. Whereby interdisciplinary work remained at the core of his research agenda, much collaboration with scientists from other fields such as human geography or neuroscience followed (Wassmann 2011; Wassmann, Kluge and Albrecht 2011). From 1997 to 1999, when he was chairperson of the German Anthropological Association (GAA)[2], he also organized the GAA's biannual congress, together with colleagues and student assistants from the Heidelberg Institute of Anthropology, on the subject of "Interdisciplinarity: Social Anthropology and Its Relations to Neighboring Disciplines." As a member of the interdisciplinary Marsilius-Kolleg from 2006 onwards, he represented Anthropology in a circle of excellent scientists from many disciplines (von Poser, Fuchs and Wassmann 2012). He also pushed his students towards interdisciplinary work by introducing shared seminars with psychology, for example, and by securing funding for corresponding tandem-research projects. From this, a compilation of interdisciplinary contributions evolved on the

Theory of Mind in the Pacific (Wassmann, Träuble and Funke 2013, Wassmann and Funke 2013, see also Funke, this volume).

To prepare his students for fieldwork, Jürg used a very special method: from virtually all over the world he invited guest lecturers to the Oceania workgroup who gave seminars at the institute but who were also asked to talk to the students about their fieldwork experiences in personal meetings at Jürg's flat. Every one of these meetings was packed, with staff and students from different levels all listening to the individual stories from the fields in the Asia-Pacific region (Illustration 1.1).

Illustration 1.1: Oceania workgroup meeting at Jürg's flat (2001, photo by Verena Keck)

This way, the students learned in a very personal and direct way from those with first-hand experience what could happen in the field and what would be suitable solutions for problems which occur. Among the contributors to this volume are some of his former students (Meinerzag, A. von Poser, A. Th. von Poser, Walda-Mandel). The rather informal setting of these gatherings formed the ground from which several doctoral theses finally grew (e.g. A. von Poser 2013; A. Th. von Poser 2014; Meinerzag 2015; Walda-Mandel 2016; Herbst 2016). In addition, preparatory seminars

were held in which basic questions about topics such as choice of equipment and malaria prophylaxis, note-keeping and emergency procedures as well as ethical concerns during fieldwork were discussed. So, when it came to the actual fieldwork, his former students were well equipped with a sense of the light and shadow of their task. Also, Jürg more than once motivated his undergraduate students to travel to conferences, such as the European Society for Oceanists (ESfO), which he founded in Nijmegen in 1992 together with other anthropologists working in Oceania. Thus, he helped his students in establishing important contacts with well-known researchers.

The network of cooperation with other institutions expanded continuously. No less than 13 memoranda of cooperation were signed with research centers on Oceania in Australia, Papua New Guinea and Guam, among others. As founding member of the ESfO, a society with a healthy number of members, he contributed largely to connecting European – and to a growing number outer-European – scientists of the Pacific. From 2008 on, he established an Anthropology strand for Bachelor students together with colleagues from the Papua New Guinea Studies Department at Papua New Guinea's Divine Word University (DWU) in Madang (see Keck, this volume).

Since 2009, Jürg has remained a very active emeritus. One of his more recent research interests is the anthropology of aging (Keck and Wassmann 2010). Two book series are currently running under his editorship: "Person, Space and Memory in the Contemporary Pacific" (five volumes so far) and "Heidelberg Studies in Pacific Anthropology" (five volumes so far). For the revision of his habilitation, he added several new chapters that arose from collaborative research with colleagues from anthropology and beyond (Wassmann 2016).

Facets of fieldwork

Our volume starts with a contribution by Markus Schindlbeck, a fellow student of Jürg's, who describes the genesis of the "Basel Sepik Expedition," which marks Jürg's entry into anthropological research in Papua New Guinea. The "Basel Sepik Expedition" took place in the years 1972 to 1974 and was headed by Meinhard Schuster. Both being his students, Markus Schindlbeck and Jürg became part of Meinhard

Schuster's research team. Markus Schindlbeck not only highlights the tradition of fieldwork in which the undertaking was situated, he also puts the project into a larger picture by hinting, in a more general way, at the academic genealogy which stands behind any research project, and by shedding light on personal fieldwork experiences, including competitive relations between members of a research team.

The contribution by Patrick F. Gesch, another contemporary of Jürg's early research in Papua New Guinea as well as co-founder of the Anthropology program at DWU, provides insights from the perspective of a priest as well as an academic of religious studies, thus complementing the results from the "Basel Sepik expedition" with a longer-term experience and immersion that exceeds the presence of the anthropological team by far. Patrick F. Gesch arrived in the Sepik area shortly after Meinhard Schuster's team but has stayed in the country ever since. In his double role, he faced the dilemma of being interested in the very cultural world which he was, through his profession as a priest, instrumental in changing. The method of extended fieldwork may have made his work with the people questionable in the eyes of his church superiors. He maintains, however, that "it is the only way to get to understand another community of persons when the books and road signs are missing."

Another representative of long-term fieldwork experience is linguistic and cognitive anthropologist Gunter Senft, a colleague from Jürg's time at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. His repeated visits to the field in the Trobriand Islands of Papua New Guinea granted him a long-time perspective that encompasses the phenomenon of social and cultural change to a large extent. Starting in the early 1980s, for over 30 years Gunter Senft has become witness to the natural and demographic changes over that time span. In the ethnographic region which influenced Bronislaw Malinowski (1922) to postulate his famous fieldwork premises, Gunter Senft shows how his initial romantic expectations, as he openly describes his first perceptions, soon gave way to the reality of the effects of climate change and overpopulation.

Antje Denner, a colleague of Jürg's when he was research assistant in Basel, throws a critical perspective on the reception by some colleagues of the notion of classic fieldwork in a supposedly "remote place." She presents fieldwork as the work with several interlocutors in different locations within one area, thus underlining the significance of multivocality and multilocality, which are by now standard features of contemporary fieldwork practice. Her use of video-media, in particular,

was also added to the classic research toolbox. With regard to maintaining fieldwork as the major empirical road to gaining ethnographic knowledge, she states how crucial it is "to critically reflect on its conventional construction and the methodologies it involves."

In a similar way, Stephanie Walda-Mandel, who received her doctorate in anthropology from Jürg, addresses the truly classic method of anthropology – that of participant observation – in the context of changing and multiple research areas. Due to the multi-sitedness of the people she was working with, her research agenda necessarily had to include field sites in the Micronesian island of Sonsorol as well as in Portland, Oregon, in the USA. A supposedly "remote place" in the Pacific, in fact, turned out to be a connected locale within a wider globalized diasporic landscape scattered widely around the globe.

With the contributions by Anita von Poser and Hermann Mückler, yet two other facets of the field *site* become apparent. Anita von Poser, who also received her doctorate in anthropology under the guidance of Jürg, pays attention to the field as layered with different, that is, precolonial, colonial as well as postcolonial visions of a "village," thus revealing its fluid and ever-changing character. Being an anthropologist with a strong interest in history, a fellow Oceanist and early member of the ESfO, which Jürg helped to establish, Hermann Mückler asks whether the archive may equally be labeled a site of fieldwork, and eventually compares the fieldworker to a "profiler."

Raymond Ammann's contribution deals with concepts of time and space and its cultural configuration on Toman Island in Central Vanuatu. Concepts of time, space, and mythology, also in relation to local forms of knowledge transmission via song and music, always featured prominently in Jürg's curricula as they were of particular interest to his own research scope (Wassmann 1998c, 1998d). His own affinity to music might have equally contributed to the friendship with the ethnomusicologist Raymond Ammann, with whom he did research on *konggap*-melodies among the Yupno people in the Finisterre Range (Ammann, Keck, and Wassmann 2013). As with the *konggap*-melodies, Raymond Ammann explores in his contribution to this volume the connection to the ancestors that people establish through music.

The ethnomusicological bond also extends to Don Niles, head of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, which is located in the country's capital Port Moresby and which has been a regular contact point whenever Jürg and his colleague/wife Verena Keck traveled the country. During an

ethnomusicological survey in the Yupno/Nankina area in the 1980s, Don Niles collaborated with Jürg and Verena Keck while the two of them were conducting fieldwork in the Finisterre Range. It was also with the help of Don Niles that Jürg published his Sepik monograph, originally published in German, within the *Apwitihire* series of Papua New Guinea's National Research Institute. This made *The Song to the Flying Fox* (1991) available to a wider English-speaking readership, also in Papua New Guinea. In his contribution to this volume, Don Niles, together with Edward Gende, critically examines Papua New Guinea's current trend in moving towards a "mono-culture" by showing how the contemporary political leaders have been trying to unite the country by working against ancestral conventions, calling them demonic and ungodly. As Don Niles and Edward Gende critically reveal, the results of almost 150 years of ethnographic fieldwork[3] in Papua New Guinea, are currently being under threat.

Our contributors Angella Meinerzag and Shahnaz R. Nadjmabadi have decided to write about rather difficult personal moments during fieldwork, thus touching facets which have only rather recently been voiced in anthropological writings. Relating to the emerging *emotions in the field* (Davies and Spencer 2010) strand within psychological anthropology, Angella Meinerzag, another former doctoral candidate of Jürg's, gives a very personal insight into the way in which her own feelings were shaped and reshaped as her fieldwork proceeded in the Adelbert Range of Papua New Guinea. It becomes clear how her initial sense of feeling strange in an unfamiliar setting became intensified as she felt alone in the face of an "empty village." Only as fieldwork progressed was she able to realize that the "villagers" whom she had come to live with, turned out to be nomadic gardeners. Quite honestly and touchingly, she states in her field diary notes, parts of which are presented in this volume: "Slowly, I'm getting an idea of why there are so few reports about personal experiences during fieldwork. It's quite demanding and nobody gets to look good."

Not only does one not always look good during fieldwork. Sometimes, fieldwork also turns into a dangerous endeavor, creating yet another set of feelings, as the contribution by Shahnaz R. Nadjmabadi shows. A research associate at the Heidelberg Institute of Anthropology when we were still studying there under the guidance of Jürg, we were always highly appreciative of her Non-Pacific focus on things anthropological and how to relate more obviously universal issues of our discipline to our own regional prospects. Shahnaz R. Nadjmabadi talks in her contribution about difficult encounters during her first fieldwork in an endangered field of

Iran's border area and how she had to develop a heightened political sensitivity. Just as honestly as Angella Meinerzag, Shahnaz R. Nadjmabadi admits: "I felt threatened, helpless and in danger. In such a difficult situation, there are moments you lose – as an anthropologist – your illusions about text book methodologies in the field." Still, on the experiential level, it was these kinds of feelings that brought her – as a fieldworker – "closer to the people's lifeworld."

Another highly important facet of fieldwork is the reciprocity of knowledge transfer as touched on in the contributions by Verena Keck as well as Alexis Th. von Poser. Being Jürg's partner both in academic and private life, Verena Keck has chosen to write about an exchange project between the Heidelberg Institute of Anthropology and the Papua New Guinea Studies Department at DWU which she and Jürg were central in establishing. In this project, anthropological knowledge was taught to a young generation of students coming from different parts of Papua New Guinea, enabling them to prepare fieldwork in their own as well as in other locales. Thus, intangible goods were part of the exchange. Also, and highly importantly with regard to the overcoming of a "hegemonic" and "colonial attitude," Papua New Guinean lecturers from the Papua New Guinea Studies Department also came to teach students at Heidelberg University. We were lucky to be part of the project as well, lecturing at DWU, while at the same time moving between this inspiring academic place and our respective field sites in the country. Verena Keck's contribution, in fact, reads as an invitation to enabling more of these exchange projects between anthropologists and the people and places encountered on the way to or during fieldwork.

The contribution by Alexis Th. von Poser, also a former doctoral candidate of Jürg's and post-doc researcher in Jürg's project at the Marsilius-Kolleg of Heidelberg University, highlights the necessity as well as the possibilities of frequent visits to the field. Not only does he talk about how his research results were brought back to the field and how they were discussed and commented in situ, he also relates the return of a lost carving-pattern, which he had discovered in the storage of a museum, to Kayan, his field site at the North Coast of Papua New Guinea. This pattern, he writes, was immediately reintroduced into the local material culture, by using it on a newly carved slit drum. In this way, also tangible results of fieldwork exchange were produced.

The final contributions are dedicated to a subject always central to Jürg. He not only made attempts to convince his students of the empiricist

necessity of long-term ethnographic fieldwork and personal life-long engagement with one's interlocutors in the field. He also convinced them that, in order to broaden one's understanding of the *conditio humana* as such, one should not hesitate to look into the work of colleagues from other disciplines and even to collaborate with them, in methodological terms, if they seek to answer similar questions.

Svenja Völkel, a linguist-anthropologist, whose ethnolinguistic work based on her research on the Polynesian Island of Tonga was co-supervised by Jürg, provides significant insights into the challenges as well as the profits of interdisciplinary fieldwork. She explains in detail the difficulties but also the potentials that arise when merging cultural, linguistic, and cognitive anthropology.

Pierre R. Dasen's contribution, which follows, is a very personal and detailed account of his interdisciplinary collaborations as a psychologist together with Jürg in two different field sites, one in Indonesia, the other in Papua New Guinea. What becomes apparent here is that, despite different research traditions and conceptions in the two disciplines, which sometimes would create "disturbances" while sharing the field, the joint efforts of both, Pierre R. Dasen and Jürg, have led to a very fruitful cooperation.

The *Festschrift* closes with Joachim Funke's equally personal memories of his relation to his interdisciplinary colleague Jürg. Coincidental parallels in his and Jürg's life-courses created the possibility of them meeting as students in Basel, where Joachim Funke was studying psychology while Jürg was studying anthropology. However, such a meeting never occurred. It was only many years later that they would meet as heads of their respective institutes at Heidelberg University, planning psychological-anthropological seminars together, thus preparing a new generation of students for the increasingly interdisciplinary world of present-day academia.

While compiling the contributions to this *Festschrift*, we eventually realized that we were not only putting academic texts together but texts that may give our readers an idea about the linkages between different academic life-courses as well as about friendships in academia. This is particularly relevant with the two last essays, but it also leads through the whole volume like a common thread. The contributors are situated at different points in Jürg's life-course, adding facets to the topic of fieldwork as they once added facets to Jürg's professional and private life.

Notes

1 We wish to thank each contributor to this volume for taking the time to share her or his perspective and for being patient with us. Our special thanks go to Verena Keck who, apart from contributing with a chapter, supported us in many ways in the making of this volume.
2 *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde e.V.* (DGV).
3 If one accepts pinpointing Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay's stay at the Rai Coast (Webster 1984) as the beginning of ethnographic fieldwork in Papua New Guinea.

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