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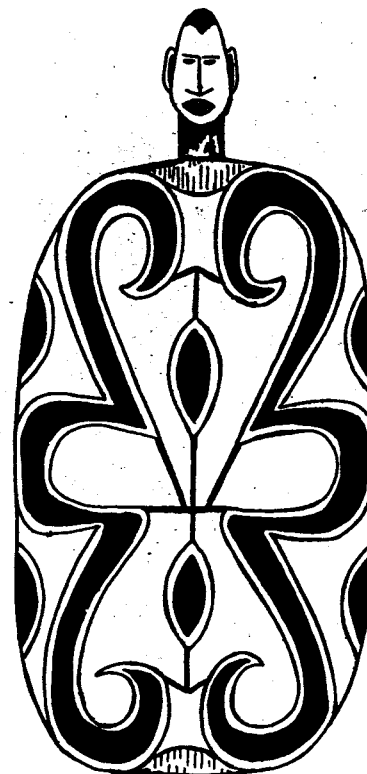
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Dear Readers,

We are pleased to announce that the "Irian Bulletin" is under new management. Under this new management we plan to focus on Anthropological and Linguistic articles about the peoples, cultures, and languages of Irian Jaya.

The "Irian Bulletin" is the only professional journal that offers articles about the peoples of Irian Jaya. Much research is being done in several of the approximately 230 languages in Irian Jaya. We are very excited about the research being done by linguists, anthropologists, and missionaries working and living with the tribal people here. We look forward to sharing with you interesting articles about the peoples and places in this unique and fascinating island.

We regret to say that at this time we are unable to handle any requests for back issues of the "Irian Bulletin". However, we do plan to publish three issues of the "Irian Bulletin" yearly on a regular basis. Therefore we would appreciate hearing from you. So please let us know if you are still interested in continuing your subscription.

Sincerely,

Dan Ajamiseba
Editor

IRIAN

Bulletin of Irian Jaya

ADOPTION INTO A SOBEI CLAN

Joyce Sterner

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IKHTISAR

Tulisan ini menyajikan pengalaman seorang penulis tentang dirinya ketika hidup bersama-sama dalam suatu suku bangsa asli di pantai Utara Irian Jaya. Ia menggambarkan tentang sikap, tingkah laku dan gaya hidup mereka dan bagaimana mereka menerima dia bersama keluarganya yang akhirnya mengangkat dia dan keluarganya menjadi anak angkat dari klan tersebut.

INTRODUCTION

The Sobei language group is located on the north coast of Irian Jaya, Indonesia, and is composed of about 1,500 speakers. Three hundred of these live in the town of Sarmi, 500 live in the village of Sawar, and approximately 700 live in the adjoining village of Bagaiserwar. Sawar and Bagaiserwar are about one and one-half hours' walk east of Sarmi and all three communities are located on the ocean. Most of the Sarmi Sobei speakers are of the same clans as the Sawar people, but the Bagaiserwar people are of completely different clans and have minor differences in speech, manners and lifestyle.

This paper is based on one and a half years of intensive contact with the Sobei group and five subsequent years of occasional contact. Initial contact was made during a language survey in March, 1973, by a team of men from Universitas Cenderawasih and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. When two of the men passed through Sawar on their way down the coast, the traditional headman of Sawar, Bapak Dirk Zeifan, invited them to spend the night in his home and subsequently invited them to return and live in the village. It was at Bapak Dirk's invitation and under his sponsorship that my husband, Bob, our infant son, Daniel, and I moved to Sarmi in September, 1973,

and then into our house in Sawar built on his own personal property in November, 1973. He moved his own house to a less desirable place in order to give us the choicest spot.

BACKGROUND

The people of Sawar are made up of eight patrilineal clans. For the most part, they use their clan name as their surname, although there are twelve different surnames used in the village. Clans have a totemic relationship with specific plants or animals. For example, Bapak Dirk's clan claimed to be descended from the union of a woman and a crocodile; therefore, clan members are forbidden to eat crocodile meat.

In addition to the clan, the other significant social unit in Sobei culture is the patrilineally extended family, consisting of a man, his wife, his children, his sons' wives, and his sons' children. If a single household becomes too crowded, a son and his family will move to a separate household. Elderly parents are almost never left alone, but live with and are provided for by their children.

Wives retain their own surnames after marriage, but children take their father's surname as well as a Christian name and one to five traditional Sobei names. Most of the traditional Sobei names have no meaning and are often used by several different people. Those that have meanings are food names or names of things in nature.

The life cycle patterns have been greatly affected by western influences, specifically Christianization. Birth used to take place on the beach, with the woman building a fire, tying a vine to a coconut tree and pulling on it until she delivered while in a squatting position. This was done in complete isolation. The father had to observe certain food taboos before and after delivery. Today, birth is a community event for all married women who have already had children as well as for young children. As soon as labor is well underway, they all gather and sit around chewing betel nut, gossiping and telling stories about other deliveries. There are well-trained midwives who insist on routine modern procedures, although the food taboos are still observed to a certain degree.

Marriage is still quite traditional in form in most cases because the early missionaries told the people that, when they got married in a church before God, they were not allowed to get divorced. The people don't like this restriction and prefer to get married in a traditional ceremony, thus allowing the possibility of divorce. Divorces are quite casual and fairly frequent. The parents generally make the marriage arrangements, but according to the wishes of their children. More and more young people are taking matters into their own hands, however. A bride price is agreed upon, which is paid to the bride's mother's brother or her closest living male relative present in the vicinity. The bride's family escorts her to the groom's house where the ceremony takes place. Admonitions about marriage and family life are given by one or two elders of the village, and then the couple feed each other betel nut. A party with dancing usually follows and lasts all night. The lavishness of the ceremony dress and party depends on the financial ability of the groom's family. The bride then moves in with the groom's family and helps with all the work.

A child's first birthday is considered very significant and is celebrated with a church service in the home, followed by a feast and hymn sing which may or may not last all night, depending on the amount of food, tobacco and betel nut available. Usually other members of the clan are invited. Other birthdays may also be celebrated in this way, depending on the family's desire and the availability of funds.

Death of the aged is considered normal and is virtually unmourned. Death of a younger person or death by accident is much different and greatly mourned. The women of the deceased's extended family gather to bathe the body and prepare it for burial. They prepare food, and assist the nuclear family who don't do anything but grieve. The men all get together, borrow boards and make the coffin and dig the grave. Burial and funeral arrangements are all completely Christianized. In extreme grief the closest family members may become wild and threaten suicide. They need to be forcibly restrained, as some have succeeded to take their own lives in the past.

Orphans are taken in by the closest relatives who can afford it and are usually treated as servants. On the other hand, childlessness is considered a tragedy and most childless couples are given children by close relatives who have more than one or more than enough for them.

There are avoidance relationships between a person and his spouse's, relatives, which calls for him to avoid using the their traditional Sobei names. In Sobei these affines are called "taboo relatives" (dawo). In all cases but one we had to get the names of those relatives from other people. In the one exceptional case the man finally said that if no other Sobei speaker heard him say it, it was all right, so he told us and we promised not to tell anyone he had done so.

Close relatives may request food items or small amounts of money from each other. Borrowing larger amounts is also acceptable. Nuclear family members have even greater privileges in asking and borrowing. However, there is one relative who may ask for anything a person owns and it must be given to him. This relationship is nonreciprocal, but so far research on the details and ramifications of this phenomenon is incomplete.

ADOPTION PROCEEDINGS

A few weeks after we moved to Sawar, Bapak Dirk paid us a rather formal visit, during which he told us that he had told all the people that we were his son and daughter now and they were to treat us as his children. Not understanding what this meant or involved, we were surprised and hesitant, but thanked him for his kindness. When no further mention of it was made by anyone, we dismissed it as warm, kindly rhetoric. We were wrong. The rest of this paper is a description of the ways that his announcement affected our lives in Sawar.

BARRIERS TO ENTERING THE COMMUNITY

The Sobei language speakers have traditionally been a coastal people, in contrast with other coastal groups who only recently have been moved to the coast. Although there are no written records, the people say that the first missionaries came there over one hundred years ago, and before that there was much war and fighting among the clans.

They were apparently never subjugated by anyone and do not show the slightest hint of subservience or obsequiousness toward foreigners. There was some curiosity about us, but most people in the community were indifferent to our presence. Therefore we had to earn any place we were to have in the community.

Another barrier to our entrance into Sobei society was the fact that every aspect of village life was tied in to clan relationships. The clans in Sawar stay relatively socially isolated from each other. Consequently, an outsider would have no basis for being included in any village activities. Before any awareness of these barriers reached us, Bapak Dirk bridged them for us by his announcement, establishing our relationships to everyone in the village.

It gradually became clear that we were considered to be members of the younger generation, not to be looked up to by the older generation. They never once sought our advice on any matter of village or church concern. They felt that we might possibly be of some material value to them through the goods we could bring in, and they frequently tried to buy things from us. One man told an outsider some years after we left Sawar that there used to be some Germans living in Sawar who sold milk. We are not German and didn't personally sell milk, although we did supply it and a few other things to Bapak Dirk to sell, since he had a license to do so. He repaid us for the supplies. Bapak Dirk told us that Bob's only claim to respect was that he had lived in Israel for some months and would therefore know more about Jesus' life. It was evident that we were quite insignificant members of the community in every way, although it isn't clear how much of this was due to our position as his children.

VILLAGE AND CLAN RELATIONSHIPS

We set out with the goal of becoming friends with everyone in the village. But some people were very cold to us, and we found out that these people had current feuds with Bapak Dirk. We set the goal of visiting every home and getting to know each household, always leaving with an invitation for them to visit out home. No one came except close neighbors, who were later discovered to be members of our clan.

When various ones mentioned that they would be going to process sago, to work in their gardens, or to fish, we would ask to go along to get better acquainted and to have language practice. No one ever stopped to take us along except for Bapak Dirk and his immediate family. The women only fished by clans, and although I went several times with our clan women, who made me feel very welcome and helped me, no other clan ever invited me to go with them.

When parties or wakes were held, we were always invited to those of our clan and not to any others. However, when our son had his first birthday and our family gave a large party, we broke tradition by inviting some people from every clan to come, and were pleasantly surprised when quite a few did come.

NUCLEAR FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Bapak Dirk's family became our family. They gave us traditional Sobei names from their immediate family, a few food names at other times, especially for our baby. Daniel was named after a close relative and friend, Bob after Bapak Dirk's brother, and I was given the same name as a younger daughter in the family. Our mother gave us reams of advice, took over as much care of Daniel as we would allow, and treated him as her own grandchild. She made a fishing net for me, saying that she had made one for each of her other daughters, so she would make me one also. When some of our belongings disappeared, she went up and down the village haranguing the people for stealing our cherished possessions and the items came back. The family had 14 mouths to feed, but they shared with us whenever they could. One day they brought us a lobster, and said they had plenty more for themselves. Upon pressing for details, we found out they had caught three and had given us one of them. Their daughters were the only ones in the village willing to work for us on a regular basis, even though we offered a good salary. Family members who cooked came frequently and requested small amounts of oil, salt, sugar, tea, onion and other items they either couldn't get or couldn't afford. One day Bapak Dirk discovered that one daughter had been over five times and he took her severely to task for

abusing a privilege, as twice a day was enough. The women of the family helped me to sew curtains for our house, and then went home and promptly made better and nicer ones for their own home. After learning that small food exchanges were the norm within families, we began asking for coconuts occasionally, since they were good and we had no trees of our own. They always obliged promptly. They killed their one and only pig for Daniel's first birthday party and supplied much of the other food for it, accepting no payment. Other clan members brought small gifts for Daniel as well as food items and betel nut for the party.

A nearby neighbor and her children began coming and requesting onion and small amounts of oil, salt, and sugar. We found this rather annoying because we couldn't see that they had any right to do so, although we always gave what they asked. One day I gave a large number of onions instead of the few requested and it was indignantly, almost tearfully, refused as much, too much.

A breakthrough in understanding came when I completed the family trees of our mother and father. This close neighbor's mother was our mother's half-sister, and her father was our mother's father's sister's son, so she was very intimately connected and treated in a special way by our family. Her brother was chosen to lead the church service for our son's birthday party, being our nearest male relative outside the immediate family.

There was one other family which seemed especially close to us and went out of their way to help us. The husband was our mother's brother's son, and was married to our mother's father's brother's son's daughter. He was the carpenter who built our house, and the one who always helped us with any heavy labor needing to be done.

Any time that we needed people to help us get things to and from the airstrip, one hour's walk away, our father would figure out how many people were needed and then would assign first our immediate family, then members of the two families mentioned above, followed by other clan children and then closely associated adults as needed, although he was obviously

Kevin and Wendy May

reluctant to involve them.

No unrelated people tried to get acquainted with us, or to ask us to give them anything, even medical help. Occasionally some asked to buy things in time of need. There were clan members who did not try to relate to us, particularly on Bapak Dirk's side. He had alienated some with financial dealings; others had moved away. So there were very few of his family within easy access, but his brother, a widower, did act close to us.

FOLLOW-UP RELATIONSHIPS

Since leaving Sawar in 1975, we have kept in touch by mutual letter writing and three different visits. Our family members came to see us in Jayapura whenever possible. When our sister-in-law died we were asked to take the news to her relatives in Jayapura. We have been more or less expected to send periodic money gifts to help support the family, especially in times of need. Bapak Dirk has expressed pride that Bob was "promoted" to administrative duties in the capital city of Indonesia, even though they all keep asking when we will be coming back to live in Sawar. On our most recent visit Bapak Dirk broke into tears and hugged Bob when they met on the beach outside Sawar. They are taking great care of our belongings until our return, and although they have had the benefit of the use of our house and goods during our absence, they still seem very eager to have us return.

We feel very much a part of our family there in Sawar and feel also that there has truly been an adoption in the deepest sense of the word, both on the part of the family and the community, as well as on our part.

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0. Introduction
1. The phonological phrase
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0. INTRODUCTION

Aspects of the Nimboran language have been described by Anceaux (1965), including both phonology and morphology. This paper presents preliminary findings of a study recently commenced in the village of Sarmai Atas.¹

The Nimboran language is spoken by about 3,500 inhabitants of 24 villages in an area west of Lake Sentani, centered on Genyem, in the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya.

While our findings agree basically with those of Anceaux, there are some differences in detail. These may be due both to language change with the passage of time, and to the different location of our study showing dialectal variation.² Consideration of word and syllable patterns has led us to different conclusions on the interpretation of certain phonemes.

1. THE PHONOLOGICAL PHRASE

A close-knit phonological unit containing potentially two stress peaks is described here as a phonological phrase. This unit includes compound words and verbal forms, which may have a secondary stress

peak of lesser magnitude before the main stress of the group. With compound words the stress placements generally reflect the stress pattern of the component words. With verbal forms the first stress is on the root morpheme, and the second, if any, on the affix group which follows the root.

The phonological phrase (PP) may be represented by the formula

$$PP = (PW_1) PW_2$$

in which PW is a phonological word as described below, (') is a secondary stress, and (ˈ) is a primary stress. PW_1 typically contains one, two, or three syllables, and in verbal forms PW_2 may have as many as six syllables, depending on the extent of affixation in the form.

Examples:

/imòbukó/ [imòbukɔ] 'arrow variety/sejenis anak panah'

/kìetetéi/ [kìetɛtɛi] 'gift/hadiah'

/hlìselú/ [hlìsɛlú] 'I will go down/saya akan turun'

/luòilatám/ [luòilatám] 'They are talking here/mereka bercakap-cakap di sini'

2. THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

A phonological word (PW) is defined as a phonological unit having one stressed syllable (Ś). There may be a pre-margin of a number of unstressed syllables (S^n) and a post-margin of up to two unstressed syllables (S), as given by the formula

$$PW = (S^n) \acute{S} (S) (S)$$

Stress placement patterns are of two main types, ultimate and penultimate stress.³ A relatively small number of words have antepenultimate stress. In verbal forms stress placement is morphologically condi-

tioned (Anceaux pp. 38, 62ff). In non-verbal forms the stress usually falls on a closed syllable where one occurs, although there are exceptions. Where there are no closed syllables, or more than one, no general rule governs stress placement. In this, our data supports Anceaux (p. 37). It should also be noted that unstressed bound particles such as /-ne/ 'towards' and /-de/ 'possessive' may be attached to the end of a word without changing its stress placement.

Examples:

Ultimate stress S Ś /kebó/ [kəbó] 'net-bag/noken'
/manín/ [manín] 'not yet/belum'
S S Ś /debedí/ [dəbədí] 'sago'frond
base/ dasar pelepah sago'
/yanunglín/ [yanunglín] 'mountain/ gunung'

Penultimate stress

Ś S /bábu/ [bábu] 'grandparent/nenek'
/núnglon/ [núnglɔn] 'eye/mata'
S Ś S /kasámo/ [kasámo] 'how?/bagaimana?'
/lemángi/ [ləmángi] 'millipede/kaki seribu'
/bekéi/ [bəkéi] 'go up/naik'

Antepenultimate stress

Ś S S /tántebe/ [tántɛbɛ] 'return/kembali'
/íbuo/ [íbuo] 'pig/babi'

S S S S /kikángue/ [kikánguø] 'daughter/
anak perempuan'
/tuóikam/ [tuóikam] 'they
felled/mereka tebang'

3. THE SYLLABLE

The syllable comprises a nucleus consisting of a vowel occupying one mora of timing, and optional margins consisting of consonants. A general formula may be written as

$$S = (C) (C) V (C)$$

Syllable onset may consist of one or two consonants, and closure may have one consonant.

3.1 Syllable types.

Six syllable types occur in Nimboran, each of which may occur word initially, medially, or finally.

Open syllables

V

CV

CCV

Closed syllables

VC

CVC

CCVC

Examples:

Open syllables

V /íu/ [íu] 'bird/burung'
/áyá/ [áyá] 'search/cari'
/iniéwo/ [in^yéwo] 'mother's brother/om'
/nguasóp/ [nguasóp] 'smoke/asap'
/kíe/ [kíe] 'hand/tangan'
/kebuá/ [kəbuá] 'morning/pagi'

CV /ki/ [ki] 'wife/isteri'

/neléki/ [neléki] 'female friend/kawan
perempuan'

/bábu/ [bábu] 'grandparent/nenek'

CCV /kli/ [kli] 'throat/kerongkongan'

/klapó/ [klapó] 'bad/tidak baik'

/skíe/ [skíe] 'fruit/buah'

/diplóki/ [diplóki] 'green/hijau'

/kakluáp/ [kakluáp] 'white/putih'

/mendupló/ [mendupló] 'hair/rambut'

/nemáski/ [nemáski] 'daughter-in-law/
anak mantu perempuan'

Closed syllables

VC /im/ [im] 'cry/tangisan'

/insíum/ [insíum] 'mouse/tikus'

/suámplin/ [suámp^llin] 'ant/semut'

/olnánin/ [olnánin] 'sweet potato/petatas'

/ómblop/ [ómblop] 'village name/nama kam-
pung'

/temíen/ [temíen] 'big/besar'

CVC /mam/ [mam] 'cassowary/kasuari'

/dénti/ [dénti] 'evening/sore'

/demamdo/ [demám^do] 'grandchild/cucu'

/mendín/ [mendín] 'sago stalk/gaba-gaba'

/kin^kkaman/ [kin^kkamán] 'red/merah'

CCVC /skom/ [skɔm] 'breadfruit/sukun'
 /ngluntu/ [nglɔntu] 'I hang up/
 saya menggantung'
 /plipkeskantu/ [plipkeskantu]
 'we two throw to and fro/kami
 (dua orang) membuang'kian kemari'
 /nunglon/ [núnglɔŋ] 'eye/mata'
 /neskín/ [neskín] 'older brother/
 kakak'

3.2 Syllable distribution.

Each syllable type may occur in any position in the phonological word, as noted above. Some further observations may be made as follows:

V word-medially and finally is not stressed unless it is immediately preceded by a high vowel (/i/, /u/, or /u/), and even in this environment it is not necessarily stressed.

/skiá/ [skiá] 'laugh/tertawa'
 /kuó/ [kuó] 'not/tidak'
 /demúo/ [dɛmúo] 'stone/batu'
 /íbuo/ [íbuo] 'pig/babi'
 /yekuáí/ [yekuáí] 'dove/burung
 merpati'
 /depúe/ [dɛpúɕ] 'body hair/bulu'

VC word-finally is always stressed, except for the few words ending /-en/, in which case the preceding vowel is stressed.

/biáp/ [biáp] 'good/baik'
 /temíen/ [tɛmíɛn] 'big/besar'

CCVC does not occur more than once in a phonological word. It may, however, occur twice in a phonological phrase, as in a verb root and in its affix string. The example /plipkeskantu/ above shows such an occurrence, the verb root being /plip/ 'throw/membuang'.

4. SEGMENTS

The phonological segments as determined from our data differ little from those described by Anceaux (1965). We find the same vowel phonemes, except that whereas Anceaux (p. 9) identified all vowels as unrounded, we find back vowels and the central vowel to be rounded. Consideration of syllable patterns leads us to identify prenasalised voiced stop phonemes, which Anceaux treated as consonant sequences (p. 22, 31ff).

4.1 Phoneme chart

There are sixteen consonant phonemes and six vowel phonemes, which may be summarized as in the charts below (Tables 1 and 2).

		Labial	Lingual		Laryngeal
			Front	Back	
Stop	vl.	p	t	k	
	vd.	b	d		
	prenasalised	m _b	n _d	ŋ _g	
Continuant	nasal	m	n	ŋ	
	vibrant		l		
	spirant		s		
	approximant	w	y		h

Table 1. Consonant phonemes.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	u	u
Low	e	a	o

Table 2. Vowel phonemes.

4.2 Description of Consonants.

4.2.1 Stops.

Labial

/p/ [p] Voiceless bilabial fricative occurs (a) in free variation with [p] syllable-initially, and (b) intervocalically.⁴

/pep/ [pɛp] ~ [pɛp] 'to peel/mengupas'

/pumái/ [pʊmái] ~ [pʊmái] 'hole/lobang'

/ipá/ [ipá] 'mango/buah mangga'

/depái/ [dɛpái] 'rat var./sej. tikus'

/umpún/ [ʊmpún] 'flower/bunga'

/plip/ [pɿlip] 'throw/membuang'

/plípu/ [pɿlípu] 'I threw (yesterday)/saya membuang (kemarin)'

[p] Voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop occurs syllable initially and finally. In syllable-final position it only occurs contiguous to voicelessness. In this position, contrast with /b/ is neutralized.⁵ When word-final, /p/ may have very lax pronunciation, even to the point of being inaudible. For example, /bengip don/ (lit. 'sea seed') becomes [bengi don] 'salt/garam'.

/plo/ [pɿlɔ] 'bow/panah'

/pendím/ [pɛndím] 'naughty/nakal'

/plipkú/ [pɿlipkú] 'I threw (remote past)/saya membuang (sudah lama)'

/map/ [map] 'earth/tanah'

/b/ [b] Voiced bilabial stop occurs syllable initially and finally. In syllable-final position it only occurs within a word, contiguous to voiced consonants (see note on [p] above).

/bánu/ [bánu] 'moon/bulan'

/bun/ [bʊn] 'to cut into lengths/potong'

/bábu/ [bábʊ] 'grandparent/nenek'

/débu/ [dɛbʊ] 'heart/jantung'

/émbe/ [ɛmbɛ] 'foreign/asing'

/plíbdʊ/ [pɿlíbdʊ] 'I will throw/saya akan membuang'

/^mb/ [mb] Voiced bilabial prenasalised stop occurs syllable-initially.

/^mbálen/ [mbáɛɲ] 'loincloth/kain pinggang'

/^mblin/ [mbɿɲ] 'hinterland/pedalaman'

/u^mbún/ [ʊmbʊɲ] 'attic/loteng'

/yá^mblo/ [yámblɔʔ] 'palm thatch/atap'

Note. With the latter two examples, syllable division by speakers is given with distinct prenasalisation of the stop, e.g. [u.ambʊɲ].

Lingual

/t/ [t] Voiceless front lingual unaspirated stop occurs syllable-initially.

/tekái/ [tɛkái] 'deputy headman/wakil kepala adat'

/tláo/ [třáo] 'lift up/angkat'

/nátu/ [nátu] 'I go/saya pergi'

/dénti/ [dénti] 'evening/sore'

[tʸ] Voiceless alveopalatal stop occurs as a realization of /ti/ when the /i/ is unstressed and followed immediately by another vowel.

/itiáke/ [itʸáke] 'centipede/lipan'

/itiúmbí/ [itʸúmbí] 'bat/kelelawar'

/d/ [d] Voiced front lingual stop occurs syllable-initially.

/di/ [di] 'tree/pohon'

/sádu/ [sádu] 'youngest child/anak bungsu'

/demámdo/ [demámdo] 'grandchild/cucu'

/dásu/ [dásu] 'now/sekarang'

[dʸ] Voiced alveopalatal stop occurs in situations analogous to [tʸ] above.

/idió/ [idʸó] 'village/kampung'

/tàidietú/ [tàidʸetú] 'we stay/kami tinggal'

/ⁿd/ [nd] Voiced front lingual prenasalised stop occurs syllable-initially.

/ⁿdi/ [ndi] 'dream/mimpi'

/ⁿdop/ [ndop] 'aching/sakit'

/úⁿduo/ [únduo] 'dog/anjing'

/méⁿdlo/ [méndřj] 'flag/bendera'

[ndʸ] Voiced alveopalatal prenasalised stop

occurs in situations analogous to [tʸ] above.

/iⁿdió/ [iⁿndʸó] 'mother/ibu'

/kaⁿdiámunku/ [kaⁿndʸámunku] 'when?/kapan?'

/k/ [k] Voiceless back lingual stop occurs syllable initially,

/kip/ [kip] 'fire/api'

/klapó/ [klápó] 'bad/tidak baik'

/skom/ [skom] 'breadfruit/sukun'

/kekí/ [kekí] 'raw/manta'

/nenkó/ [nenkó] 'younger brother/adik'

/ⁿg/ [ŋg] Voiced back lingual prenasalised stop occurs syllable-initially.

/ⁿgalán/ [ŋgalán] 'firewood rack/rak kayu api'

/ⁿglop/ [ŋgłɔp] 'visitor/tamu'

/káⁿgum/ [káŋgum] 'dirt/kotoran'

/núⁿgloŋ/ [nuŋgłɔŋ] 'eye/mata'

It will be noted that /ⁿg/ is the phonological unit recognised in this paper, and not /g/. Anceaux (p. 22) recognises a phoneme /g/ [g] and considers [ŋg] to be a sequence of /ŋ/ and /g/. In data we have seen, [g] only occurs in morphologically conditioned situations and in two clan names. Clan names themselves are a recent innovation,⁶ and even with these the initial /ⁿg/ has been reduced to [g] to accommodate with Indonesian spelling.⁷ We therefore view the occurrence of [g] as a morphemic, not a phonemic, question and consequently do not treat it in this phonological study.

4.2.2 Continuants.

/m/ [m] Voiced bilabial nasal occurs syllable initially and finally.

- /me/ [me] 'mother/ibu'
 /manín/ [manín] 'not yet/belum'
 /demúo/ [dɛmúo] 'stone/batu'
 /kamtúe/ [kamtúe] 'cheek/pipi'
 /tim/ [tim] 'body/tubuh'
 /skom/ [skɔm] 'breadfruit/sukun'

/n/ [n] Voiced alveolar nasal occurs syllable initially and finally.

- /namuán/ [namuán] 'two/dua'
 /nándu/ [nándu] 'yesterday/kemarin'
 /bánu/ [bánu] 'moon/bulan'
 /kení/ [kení] 'ear/telinga'
 /temíen/ [temíen] 'big/besar'

[nY] Voiced alveopalatal nasal occurs in situations analogous to [tʸ].

- /nióm/ [nʸóm] 'middle/tengah'
 /mínie/ [mínʸɛ] 'formerly/sebelumnya'

/ŋ/ [ŋ] Voiced velar nasal occurs syllable initially and finally.

- /ŋo/ [ŋo] 'I/saya'
 /ŋayó/ [ŋayó] 'father/bapak'
 /ŋeŋéi/ [ŋeŋéi] 'to cut repeatedly/memotong banyak kali'
 /neŋkó/ [neŋkó] 'younger brother/adik'
 /blan/ [bl̥ʌŋ] 'seek/cari'

/min/ [mɪŋ] 'sugarcane/tebu'

When syllable-final, /ŋ/ may be reduced to nasalization of the preceding vowel, particularly if that vowel is low and/or back (/a/, /o/, /u/).

- /son/ [sɔŋ]~[sɔ̃] 'mosquito/nyamuk'
 /namánlep/ [namánlɛp]~[namá̃lɛp] 'shallow/dangkal'
 /ŋglun/ [ŋgl̥ʌŋ]~[ŋgl̥ʌ̃] 'corner/sudut'
 /densián/ [densʸán]~[densʸá̃] 'midday/siang'

/l/ [ɭ] Voiced alveolar retroflexed lateral flap occurs prevocally in syllable onset, except following alveolar stops.

- /lim/ [ɭim] 'dirty/kotor'
 /plo/ [pɭɔ] 'bow/panah'
 /kebáli/ [kɛbáɭi] 'work/pekerjaan'
 /yámblo/ [yámɭɔ] 'palm thatch/atap'

[ɭ̥] Voiced alveolar lateral flap occurs following alveolar stops, but is most often replaced by [ɭ̥̃].

[ɭ̥̃] Voiced alveolar flap occurs following alveolar stops, in a very few cases syllable finally,⁸ and in a minority of cases in free variation with [ɭ̥̃].⁹

- /tléu/ [tɭ̥éu] 'collapse/rubuh'
 /dántlu/ [dántɭ̥u] 'tree var./sej. pohon'
 /dlíi/ [dɭ̥íi] 'defecate/buang air besar'
 /méndlo/ [méndɭ̥ɔ] 'flag/bendera'
 /olnánin/ [oɽnánɪŋ] 'sweet potato/patatas'
 /kuàltakuém/ [kuàɽtakuém] 'grass var./sej. rumput'

/s/ [s] Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative occurs syllable initially.

/su/ [su] 'name/nama'

/skíe/ [skíe] 'fruit/buah'

/mesún/ [mesún] 'pinched/terjepit'

/demsín/ [demsín] 'sago flour/tepung sago'

[sʸ] Voiceless alveopalatal grooved fricative occurs in situations analogous to [tʸ].

/densián/ [densʸán] 'midday/siang'

/insiúm/ [insʸúm] 'mouse/tikus'

/h/ [h] Voiceless laryngeal spirant occurs syllable initially.

/háku/ [háku] 'betel nut/pinang'

/hlum/ [hlum] 'sago fork/garpu papeda'

/káho/ [káho] 'behind/ke belakang'

/nómho/ [nómho] 'to him/kepadanya'

Some speakers, particularly younger ones, do not pronounce an initial /h/ if it is followed immediately by a consonant. If /h/ is followed by a nasal, the combination may be actualised as a voiceless nasal.

/hnan/ [hnʌŋ]~[Nʌŋ]~[nʌŋ] 'louse/kutu'

/hnáli/ [hnáʎi]~[Náʎi]~[náʎi] 'bird of paradise/burung cenderawasih'

There are also several words in which /s/ and /h/ may alternate, e.g. /semin/~/hemín/ 'food/makanan', but these cases are few. Substitution of one for the other in most cases produces an unacceptable word. No minimal pairs occur in the data to contrast /s/ and /h/, but contrast does occur in similar environments, e.g.

/hayó/ [hayó] 'kangaroo/kangguru'

/sayáŋgu/ [sayáŋgu] 'wet season/musim hujan'

We conclude that /s/ and /h/ are separate phonemes, in agreement with Anceaux, who discusses this point more fully (p. 25ff).

/w/ [w] Voiced labial approximant occurs syllable initially.

/wási/ [wási] 'sleep/tidur'

/wo/ [wo] 'nest/sarang'

/dawém/ [dawém] 'brave/berani'

/liwáp/ [ʎiwáp] 'eel/ikan belut'

[ũ] Non-syllabic voiced front rounded vocoid occurs between front vowels.

/yéwi/ [yéũi] 'a clan name/nama suku'

/tewí/ [teũí] 'jump/melompat'

/iwíp/ [iũíp] 'male/jantan'

/yéwe/ [yéũö] 'grudge/dendam'

/y/ [y] Voiced lingual approximant occurs syllable initially.

/yamó/ [yamó] 'house/rumah'

/yin/ [yɪŋ] 'new (coconut)/(kelapa) muda'

/ŋayó/ [ŋayó] 'father/bapak'

/uyán/ [uyáŋ] 'king parrot/sej. burung kesturi'

4.3 Description of vowels.

/i/ [ɪ] High open front unrounded vocoid occurs before /ŋ/ and /ŋg/, before cluster of a nasal and a consonant, and stressed before another /i/.

/ingenóm/ [ɪŋɛnóm] 'fern var./rumpun hutu'

/demsín/ [dɛmsín] 'sago flour/tepung sago'

/insiúm/ [ɪnsɯúm] 'mouse/tikus'

/lindon/ [lɪ́ndon] 'teeth/gigi'

/síi/ [sɪ́i] 'squeeze/ramas'

/yíi/ [yɪ́i] 'distribute/bagi-bagi'

- [i] High close front unrounded vocoid occurs elsewhere.

/ímo/ [ímo] 'bamboo/bambu'

/ilakán/ [ilákán] 'cockatoo/kakatua'

/katí/ [katí] 'below/di bawah'

/mési/ [mési] 'foot/kaki'

/skia/ [skia] 'laugh/tertawa'

/kenái/ [kɛnái] 'above/ di atas'

Some speakers tend to replace an unstressed word-final /i/, which is immediately preceded by /e/ or /i/, with a voiceless back velar stop [k].

/lekéi/ [lɛkɛ́k]~[lɛkɛ́i] 'turn/putar'

/nanglíi/ [nanglɪ́k]~[nanglɪ́i] 'three/tiga'

- /e/ [ö] Mid close front rounded vocoid occurs following /a/ or following /w/ preceded by a front vowel.

/depúe/ [dɛpúö] 'body hair/bulu'

/kikángue/ [kikánguö] 'daughter/anak perempuan'

/yéwe/ [yɛwö] 'grudge/dendam'

- [e] Mid close central rounded vocoid occurs unstressed following /u/.

/kamtúe/ [kamtúe] 'cheek/pipi'

/mesúe/ [mɛsúe] 'nose/hidung'

- [e] Mid close front unrounded vocoid occurs stressed before /i/, /a/, and word-finally.

/pléi/ [plɛ́i] 'to plant a seed/menanam biji'

/téu/ [tɛ́u] 'put/taruh'

/kené/ [kɛné] 'liver/hati'

- [e] Mid close front unrounded vocoid with rising off-glide occurs stressed before /ŋ/, and in cases where final /i/ occurs as [k].

/pen/ [pɛ́ŋ] 'chew/mengunyah'

/ŋglen/ [ŋglɛ́ŋ] 'thought/pikiran'

/lekéi/ [lɛkɛ́k] 'turn/putar'

- [ə] Mid central unrounded vocoid occurs in free variation with [ɛ] in positions before stressed syllables.

/melém/ [mɛlɛ́m]~[mɛlɛ́m] 'snake var./sej. ular'

/debedí/ [dɛbɛ́dɪ]~[dɛbɛ́dɪ] 'sago frond base/dasar pelepah sago'

- [ɛ] Mid open front unrounded vocoid occurs elsewhere.

/kíe/ [kíɛ] 'hand/tangan'

/kómbe/ [kómbeɛ] 'your/kamu punya'

/léke/ [lɛ́kɛ] 'hot/panas'

/émbe/ [émbeɛ] 'foreign/asing'

- /u/ [u] High close central rounded vocoid.

- /úe/ [úö] 'meat/daging'
 /uyá/ [uyá] 'search/cari'
 /kum/ [kum] 'coconut/kelapa'
 /su/ [su] 'name/nama'
 /kluá/ [kľuá] 'defecate/buang air besar'
 /débu/ [débu] 'heart/jantung'

/a/ [ʌ] Mid open central unrounded vocoid occurs in free variation with [a] preceding /ŋ/ or /ŋg/.

- /tenán/ [tənʌŋ] 'true/betul'
 /hanguálon/ [hʌŋguáľɔŋ] 'claw/kuku'
 /blan/ [bľʌŋ] 'search/cari'

[a] Low open central unrounded vocoid occurs elsewhere.

- /map/ [map] 'earth/tanah'
 /taluáp/ [taľuáp] 'morning star/bintang kejora'
 /háku/ [háku] 'betel nut/pinang'
 /sái/ [sái] 'rain/hujan'
 /ŋguá/ [ŋguá] 'to plant/tanam'

It is a peculiarity of the phoneme /a/ that it very rarely occurs word-initially, although with some speakers a preceding /h/ may be lenis and scarcely audible. Even loan words from Indonesian tend to be pronounced with an initial /h/ where the original has initial /a/. E.g. Indonesian arti 'meaning' becomes [hařti].

/u/ [ʊ] High open back rounded vocoid occurs in closed syllables.

- /bún/ [bʊŋ] 'to cut into lengths/potong'
 /únda/ [únda] 'banana/pisang'

[u] High close back rounded vocoid occurs elsewhere.

- /ku/ [ku] 'day/hari'
 /duduái/ [duduái] 'children/anak-anak'
 /utóp/ [utóp] 'star/bintang'
 /kebuá/ [kəbuá] 'morning/pagi'
 /luóu/ [ľuóu] 'tell, say/bilang'
 /úo/ [úo] 'things/barang'
 /únie/ [únie] 'personal name/nama orang'

Some speakers, the same as those noted in connection with /i/, tend to replace unstressed /u/ which is word-final following a vowel, with a voiceless back velar stop [k].

- /tláu/ [třáu]~[třak] 'to clear a garden/membersihkan kebun'
 /tlóu/ [třóu] [třok] 'to peel off/mengupas'

/o/ [ɔ] Low close back rounded vocoid occurs in closed syllables, in free variation with its mid open counterpart [ɔ̃]

- /skom/ [skɔm]~[skɔ̃m] 'breadfruit/sukun'
 /utóp/ [utóp]~[utóp̃] 'star/bintang'
 /blon/ [bľɔŋ]~[bľɔ̃ŋ] 'upon/di atas'
 /menduón/ [menduón]~[menduóñ] 'grass var./alang-alang'

[õ] Mid close back rounded vocoid with rising off-glide occurs in alternation with other allophones before /ŋ/.

- /don/ [dõŋ]~[dɔ̃ŋ] 'seed/biji'

/densión/ [dens^{yó}ŋ]~[dens^{yó}ŋ] 'finger/jari'

- [o] Mid close back rounded vocoid alternates with its mid open counterpart [ɔ̞] elsewhere.

/ŋo/ [ŋo]~[ŋɔ̞] 'I/saya'

/íbuo/ [íbuo]~[íbuɔ̞] 'pig/babi'

/kondó/ [kondó]~[kondɔ̞] 'quickly/cepat'

/bálo/ [bálo]~[bálɔ̞] 'charming/cantik'

- [ɔ̞] Mid open back rounded vocoid occurs only in free variation with [ɔ] and [o].

4.4 Distribution of consonants in syllables.

If the segments of a syllable and the onset of a following syllable are labelled as C₁ C₂ V C₃. C₄, the possible occurrences of consonants may be tabulated as follows (table 3):

Syllable onset		Syllable closure	Onset of succeeding syllable
C ₁ ¹	C ₂	C ₃	C ₄
/l, m, n, ŋ, d, w, y/	none	/m/	all consonants except / ⁿ d/
		/n/	/t, d, s/
/p, t, k, b, d, ^m b, ^ŋ g/	/l/	/ŋ/	/k, ^ŋ g ³ , n, l, h/ /p, b/ ⁴ /t, d, s/ ⁵
		/p/	/t, k, s/
/h/	/l, n, m, ŋ, ^ŋ g/	/b/ ⁶	/d, m, n, ŋ, l/
		/l/ ⁷	/t, m, n, s/
/s/	/p, t, k, b, n, l/ ²		

Table 3. Distribution of consonants.

Footnotes to table 3.

1. C₁ includes all consonants.
2. The cluster /sl/ only occurs word-medially following /n/.
3. Where /^ŋg/ follows /ŋ/ the nasals coalesce to form [ŋg].
4. Where /ŋ/ is followed by bilabials /p, b/ it is preferably replaced by /m/.
5. Where /ŋ/ is followed by alveolars /t, d, s/ it is preferably replaced by /n/.
6. /b/ does not occur word-finally.
7. Except for loan words and some baptismal names, /l/ does not occur word-finally.

Geminate clusters do not occur. However, there are occurrences, few in number, of the type [ss] word-initially, e.g. [ssíe], which will be analysed phonemically as /s^vsíe/. This solution is indicated as there are no other instances of long consonants in the data. These forms need to be checked further for dialectal variants or other historical evidence for the presence of a specific vowel in this position.

This leads to the question of interpretation of [skl] sequences which do occur, though infrequently. Since speaker reaction to syllable division in words with this cluster suggests the occurrence of a vocoid between [s] and [k], one may ask whether this also may be an instance of [sV] becoming [s] in this context. It is noted that [s] occurs in the related language of Kemtuk (van der Wilden, 1975).

4.5 Vowel sequences.

Vowel sequences occurring in the data may be tabulated as in Table 4:

		V ₂					
		i	e	u	a	u	o
V ₁	i	ii	ie	i u	ia	iu	io
	e	ei		e u	ea		
	u	ui	ue		ua		
	a	ai	ae	a u		au	ao
	u	ui	ue		ua	uu	uo
	o	oi			oa	ou	

Table 4. Vowel sequences.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Data for this paper were gathered principally in the village of Sarmai Atas, where we have been living since October 1978, under the auspices of the UNCEN-SIL Project of linguistic and anthropological research. We acknowledge gratefully the help of Thomas Mallo in supplying much of the data, and the co-operation of the people of the village. This paper was written during a linguistic workshop held at Danau Bira in June - July 1979 under the leadership of Dr. Ken Gregerson, whose help and encouragement contributed materially to the completion of the paper.
- ² Anceaux's field study was conducted from 1954 to 1957. His principal language helper was from the village of Warombaim on the north-eastern side of the language area. Sarmai Atas is located on the southern side of the language area.
- ³ Anceaux (p. 37) quotes examples of minimal pairs with contrasting stress placement. Our informants do not make a contrast in these cases, and our data so far have not revealed any other cases of

minimal pairs.

- ⁴ Anceaux (p. 16) gives two situations where /p/ is never fricative [p̥], namely following /m/ or /s/, and intervocalically in verb forms where root-final /p/ (which he describes as /b/) merges with morpheme-initial /p/. Our informants use the fricative [p̥] in both situations.
- ⁵ Anceaux (p. 17) maintains that a difference in pronunciation exists between word-final /p/ and /b/, and he writes his examples accordingly. Tests we have conducted with our informants on supposed minimal pairs have shown an inability to distinguish between the words. This indicates that in the locality of our research at least, this contrast is not made.
- ⁶ Kouwenhoven (1956:27)
- ⁷ The clan names in question are Giai and Geriapon. Anceaux (p. 28) quotes the first of these as /ngiai/ but does not mention the second. Likewise the district centre is called Genyem by the administration, but /i^ŋgeném/ or /^ŋgieném/ by Nimboran speakers.
- ⁸ There are several cases of baptismal names having /l/ syllable-final, but these are all exotic. Non-occurrence of [ř] syllable-initial and of [ɿ] syllable-final produces a curious reversal in the pronunciation of the name Rahel (Rachel), which becomes [ɿahɛř].
- ⁹ A test sample of 73 words containing /l/ in various environments showed a preference for [ɿ] in 78% of the occurrences as against [r] in 22%. Following alveolar stops [ř] occurred in 95% of cases as against 5% for [ɿ]. Anceaux (p.23) chose to symbolise this

phoneme as /r/, but because of the strong preference overall for pronunciation as a lateral, we have chosen the symbol /l/ for our description.

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SPIRIT ALLIANCE AND POSSESSION AMONG THE ISIRAWA

Carol J. Erickson

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0. INTRODUCTION

A vast number of primarily invisible creatures inhabit the trees, hills, and rivers of the Isirawa territory. The Isirawa* would divide them into three categories: Visible or Real People (ii nuwane) which include the original beings who had no known parents and who are still living, and other people who are now alive; Invisible People (ii wawasine paii), who are the spirits correlating to the Indonesian jin, and the Campraaiye, who are benign people-like beings; and Non-people, which are ghosts (iraca) or disembodied spirits of the dead.

Since nearly all of an Isirawa's life is spent in the jungles and swamps, making an alliance with the spirits who inhabit the trees is probably their greatest concern. The main focus of this paper is to look at the spirit world and how the Isirawa relate to that world.

*Isirawa (also known as Saberi) is the name given to a group of about 2,000 speakers located on the north coast of Irian Jaya, between the sub-district town of Sarmi and the Apawar River. According to the speakers, they have been in contact with the outside world since the Dutch came to Sarmi in the early 1900's. The present G.K.I. church sent missionaries to the area but in the 1930's the Isirawa area was still considered unreached by the church. About the year 1950 the men's cult houses were destroyed by order of the government and some of the outward rituals of their traditional beliefs were prohibited. In 1963 the Seventh Day Adventist Church also began to work in the area. For many Isirawa, Christianity is still only a veneer that covers or merges with their traditional beliefs.

Since by order of the Dutch government the last tribal war was never resolved, there has continued to be antagonism between the Isirawa people east of the Ferkami River and those west of it. The information we gathered was mainly from people east of it, so further research to the west may reveal different data, especially in regard to sorcery.

Information in this paper was gathered through intermittent stays in the village of Amsire, between October 1973 and April 1980.

1. INHABITANTS OF THE ISIRAWA WORLD

Figure 1.

Visible People (<u>ii nuwane</u>)	Ancestor Culture Heroes Living People
Invisible People (<u>ii wawasine paii</u>)	Spirits tree water earth <u>Campraaiye</u>
Non-people	Ghosts

1.1 VISIBLE PEOPLE

1.11 ANCESTORS = GODS

Unlike the Tor people (Oosterwal p. 247 ff), the Isirawa make no distinction between gods who were never human and those who were human. For the Isirawa the gods are the original ancestors of the present day people. These ancestors had no parents and were involved with the creation of the earth and what is on it. Some were killed, and even though no longer in existence, they are maintained as culture heroes and are remembered in myths and songs along with ancestors who have never died. Each clan has its own clan origin story which generally features a culture hero known to those in that clan only. The culture heroes mentioned here are the ones that are known to nearly all Isirawa.

All the original ancestors are considered to be or have been real flesh and blood humans. The ones who weren't killed have since become invincible so that no one could kill them now even if they wanted to. They normally have little to do with the affairs of mankind. (However, as we shall see in the following section, Marace may be invoked for special purposes.)

Marace

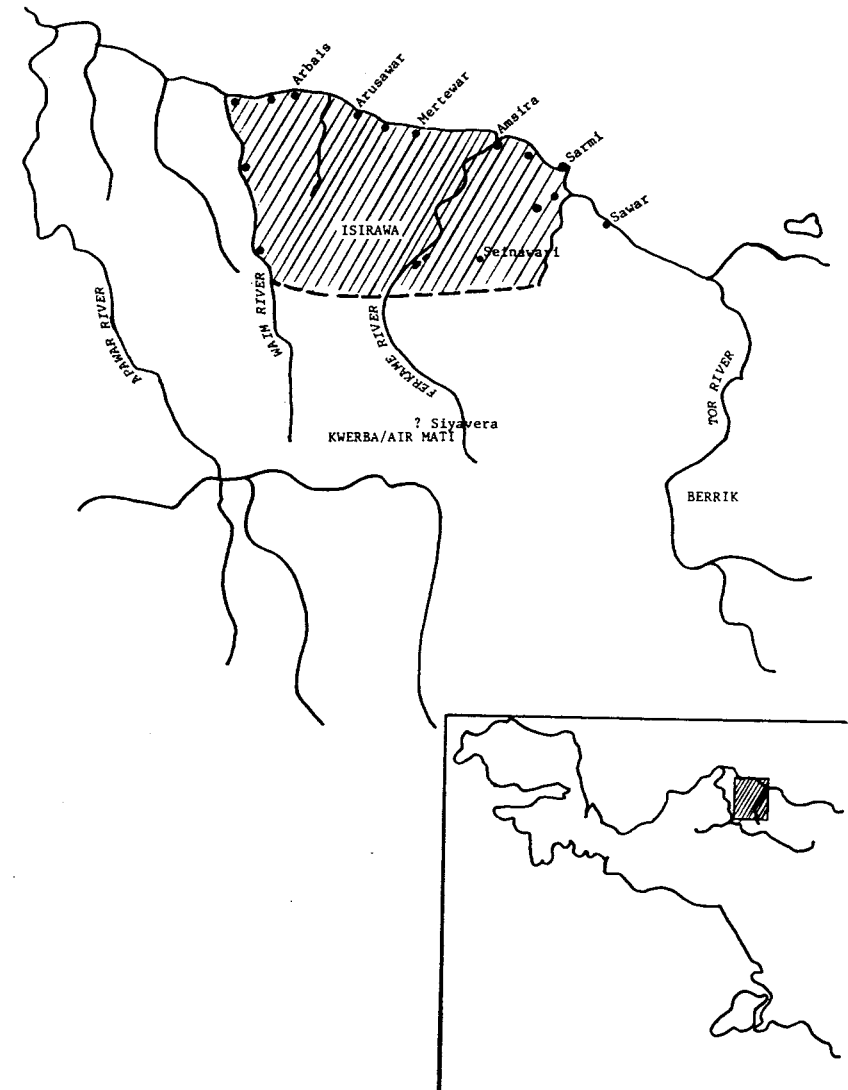
The original ancestor is Marace (the common phyle wide name, though each clan has a specific personal name which no other clan is allowed to know). Marace is generous and never gets angry. He is the one who made the earth, trees, day and night, and together with his wife Kukuriye¹ became the parents of the human race. At the time of the creation, the sky was very close. One could reach up and touch it. When Marace went back up in the sky to live there with his wife², he pulled the sky up with him.

Marace's main role today is in the area of procreation and fertility. When men plant a garden, especially when planting sago, they might whisper the personal name of Marace, so that the plants will grow quickly. If a woman is having difficult labor, she is "blown on" (See Section 2.12) using Marace's specific name so that she will deliver easily. Even though some of the younger people now have some idea of the biological basis for conception, many still believe that Marace sends his bird (onotaate or onovove) over the house of a woman and she conceives. Three months later he again sends this bird and the woman's abdomen begins to protrude. Onotaate is sent out at six months to turn the baby around so his head is down, and again when it is time to deliver. Women are never allowed to hear their clan's personal name for Marace. If they do, they will be barren or will probably be killed by some 'tural' disaster, such as a tree falling on them.

Pupuari

Pupuari lived about the time Marace created the earth and was given the assignment from Marace to make the rivers and the ocean. He had two wives but no descendents. The place where he lived when he was on earth was Siyavera (See Figure 2) in the area where the Air Mati people now live. The people say that his footprints are still there in a stone. If a woman hears his personal name she will be drowned by a huge wave.

Figure 2.



Tri

Tri's name means 'thunder'. He lived in a place called Seinawati (See Figure 2.) about seven hours' hike from Amsira. He was married to two sisters, but one day he raped their younger sister. She screamed and he was caught by his wives, which embarrassed him. The only way he could remove his shame was to leave, so he found a very tall palm tree and climbed to heaven (oono). He left behind two pigs, his wives and some sago. These have turned to stone and can be seen near Seinawati.

One villager told me that Tri had nothing to do with thunder, but the same man after a heavy thunder storm said that Tri comes back in storms like that to punish young men who have broken a food taboo for pre-initiates. Because there has been no initiation for quite some time, many adult men who have never been initiated are quite afraid during a thunder storm.

Arimo³. Arowapeso and Iririte

One of the ancestral families in this category consists of Arimo, his wife Arowapeso and their child Iririte. Due to sorcery Arowapeso was killed in a fall. Her ghost returned looking like a real person and in this state she gave birth to Iririte. Later Arimo was killed and his ghost also returned looking like a real person. At this time Arowapeso asked the Isirawa people to hold her child but they refused because he had a scabby skin disease. The family then disappeared from a tree near Arusawar (See Figure 2.) and the Isirawa are now looking for them to come back. The people west of the Ferkami River, especially those from Mertewar, are particularly interested in this story. They wonder is the child Iririte could have been Jesus. Also, if they had accepted or held the child, perhaps ships would have come from Holland with cargo for the Isirawa.⁴

Came

Came⁵ was the giant female cannibal that taught the Isirawa and other neighboring groups to sing songs. Because she was killing and eating the men who came into her territory, the tribes got together and attacked her. After killing her, they

divided her body among themselves and those who received a body part were able to sing her songs, which are still sung and danced today.

Saticana

The name Saticana means 'resin' (Indonesian damar). When Saticana went to another village he refused all the food he was offered, and asked for the flesh of a young boy. When that was served him, he ate the other food. The child's father sought revenge, and attacked him with bow and arrow while he was sleeping. Saticana got up and started running towards home. Wherever blood fell from his wounds, resin trees grew. He died after arriving home.

Evii

Evii began as a human like the rest of the culture heroes, but because of some misdeed (no one knows just what), Marace took humanity from him and now he is like a ghost or spirit that wanders about on earth. He remains Marace's enemy. He is mentioned in the creation myth. The older men claim that he is an Isirawa counterpart of the devil. Other people claim they don't know who he is and it is unclear whether they really don't know or whether they don't want to talk about him.

Sun and Moon

At the time of the beginnings another woman lived whose name was Maivii. She gave birth to twins, the first a boy, who became the sun, and the second a girl, who became the moon. They immediately went up to the sky and Maivii went to a mountain behind the village of Sawar and became a stone which still can be seen.

1.12 LIVING PEOPLE

The Isirawa people living now are descendents of Marace. A man is composed of at least four parts. He has a body (ni), speech (ena/rarara), shadow (rarira) and something like soul or spirit called waai (literally 'gall bladder').

The waai has to do with breathing, speaking, working, and

traveling. It seems to be a person's motivator or life force. It is also the seat of the emotions. A baby isn't really considered to be a person until he can say a few words like "mother" and "father" and begin to recognize people. It is at this stage of development that the Isirawa feel that a child possesses a waai. The waai (which I will now call "soul") can escape out of a man's mouth. If he is sleeping, it may wander about. For that reason it is not good to waken someone too quickly. If he is awakened quickly he may be confused because his soul hasn't returned. Some people feel that a person has many souls-- that is, one for speaking, one for singing, one for working, etc., but others say they are all parts of one soul. One lady in Amsira doesn't talk and I asked if she had a soul and the answer was that she only had one⁶.

When a man dies, his soul leaves the body through the top of his head. Relatives can tell it is going because the dying man's lower limbs become cold first and the cold creeps up his limbs through the rest of his body until only his head is warm. Soon his head becomes cold as well. His shadow then becomes a ghost (iraca) and roams about the jungle, while his speech and soul go back to Marace. They are not sure what Marace does with them but apparently the souls have no feelings or knowledge once they have departed from the body.

1.2 INVISIBLE PEOPLE

There are two basic types of invisible people (ii wawasine paii). The spirits which are geographically located and a special group of beings called Campraaiye which peacefully co-exist with visible people.

1.21 GEOGRAPHICALLY LOCATED SPIRITS⁷

Spirits live in the trees, the rivers and the mountains. The spirits are known generically as those which inhabit a certain tree type, a certain named hill or river. Only certain people know the real personal names of a specific spirit in a specific area. For tree spirits it is generally the man who has made an alliance with a spirit in a specific tree that would know that spirit's personal name.

Tree Spirits

The greatest number of spirits dwell in the trees. The Isirawa call them warara orowa, meaning "tree children. As we see in Figure 3, some are male, some are female and others are both. The trees that have both male and female spirits may have spirit families with children and siblings. Some of the spirits are good and others bad and yet others can be good sometimes and bad at other times. There are a least 20 types of tree spirits, each type inhabiting a particular type of tree, vine or plant. All these spirits can be involved in the 'sitting on shoulders' type of possession (See Section 2.2). (Figure 3, page 42)

Water Spirit

The paaora or waroveca are male and female water spirits. People can perform a ritual to get their help. One must follow the tree spirit taboos (See Section 2.11). In addition no fresh water fish can be eaten. This spirit doesn't help in hunting but can give a person songs in dreams and may warn him about future happenings. If one of the water spirits sees a human that he would like to marry he may cause a flood to catch that person. Children especially should not go near the river at dawn or dusk for this reason. Women also should not bathe in the river without a loin cloth.

Earth Spirits

There is no Isirawa generic term for earth spirits, although in Indonesian they call them jín tanah. There are two specific types, the isivaaca which inhabit the hills and the vivirica which inhabit the high mountains. In the one divining ceremony that I observed, it was earth spirits that were called upon to witness and point out the guilty person.

The isivaaca are giant male and female spirits which inhabit the hills. Some Isirawa say that these were ancestors who never died and became spirits. In the days before World War II it is said that there were as many isivaaca as there were people in any given area. The isivaaca were apparently organized under a leader. They are still back in the jungle, but since Christianity has come to the area they aren't as

Types of Isirawa Tree Spirits

Tree Spirit ¹	Sex	Character ²	Alliance- able	Reason for alliance	Months taboo	Who can 'blow'	Enters body	Exchanges Child
1. apama	female	bad	yes	hunting	4	men/women	no	no
2. araaisa	female	good/bad	yes	hunting	5	men/women	no	no
3. orora	female	bad	yes	hunting	3	men/women	no	no
4. nifisara	male/female	good	yes	hunting	2	men/women	no	yes
5. soavi	male/female	good	yes	hunting/fishing	1	men/women	yes	yes
6. wamera	male/female	good	yes	hunting	2	men/women	yes	yes
7. waraviri	male/female	good	yes	hunting	2	himself	yes	yes
8. kumru	male/female	good	yes	protection/hunt	2	men	yes(crazy)	yes
9. tikane	male/female	good	yes	protection/hunt	2	men	yes(crazy)	yes
10. usuwane	male/female	good	yes	protection/hunt	2	men	yes(crazy)	yes
11. vaavronti	male/female	good/bad	no	do not make one	-	men	no	yes
12. cavame	male/female	good/bad	yes	hunting	2	men/women	no	yes
13. orere	male/female	good	yes	protection	2	men	yes	yes
14. tinato	male/female	good	yes	hunting	2	men	no	yes
15. asava	male/female	good/bad	no	do not make one	-	men	no	yes
16. tore	male/female	bad	no	do not make one	-	men	no	yes
17. sovena	male/female	good/bad	yes	hunting	0	men	yes(crazy)	yes
18. arsaame	male/female	bad	yes	hunting	1	men	no	yes
19. wamerorowe	male/female	good	yes	hunting	2	men	no	yes
20. maroname	male/female	good	yes	hunting	2	men	yes	yes

1. This is not an exhaustive list but is given here to help the reader acquire a feeling for the nature of these beings and how the Isirawa deal with them with respect to daily living.

2. There seems to be no correlation between sex of spirit, its character, allianceability and reasons for the alliance.

troublesome as they used to be and they tend to stay away from the villages. Men do not make alliances with these spirits. They can cause both adults and children to fall sick with nausea and vomiting. The children get sick if they get down out of their houses before the sun rises, since these spirits roam around before dawn. The treatment for both adults and children is "blowing" (See Section 2.12) done by an adult who knows the personal name of one of these earth spirits.

The vivirica are female spirits which are very bad and inhabit the high mountains. There are at least four named Pip Pipiraya, Sopi Saop, Atitiri, and Wamepare. They can appear like women with glowing coals for eyes or like lizards. They fly and have two teeth, one on top and one on the bottom. There are two things that bring one of these spirits into a village. (On the coast they can only be heard in the distance. Perhaps it is too far from the mountains, or since they haven't seen them much since World War II, perhaps the Japanese scared them away.) One of the wild fruit trees of the jungle is called soana and is similar to matoa. If a branch falls to the ground and is used for firewood, this spirit will fly into the village in the late afternoon, open the thatch on the offender's roof, fly in and pull out his intestines, causing him to die. If anyone in the village chops firewood after dark, then the spirit will come to haunt and scare him but will do no other harm. If, on the other hand, one has been away from home all day and arrives at dark without firewood, then it is permissible for that person to chop what he needs once he has let the village elders know his need. The spirit won't come and haunt him.

1.22 CAMPRAAIYE

The Campraaiye are mainly invisible people who live in the jungle. They sometime can be seen by hunters and look like the old Isirawa people wearing the traditional dress and spiral woven caps and cassowary feather brims. People hear them more frequently than they see them because the Campraaiye sometimes make a hooting kind of sound and sometimes are heard pounding as though they were pounding their sago. They hunt like normal flesh and blood people. They are not spirits and peacefully co-exist with the real Isirawa people. They have no purpose

but just exist. Old people still remember dancing a Campraaiya dance, but nowadays the young people do not know it.

1.3 GHOSTS

When a person dies, his shadow becomes an iraca or ghost and wanders about the jungle. The older Isirawa people remember a place called Savraaite where the ghosts used to go to, but since the arrival of Christian influence that place is little known. The people now believe that the ghosts just wander in the jungle. Ghosts are not really dangerous but they like to scare people. There doesn't seem to be any one type (male, female, recently dead, etc.) that is any more dangerous or feared than the others, although the recent dead are more often seen. Ghosts can be seen, smelled or heard both day and night. They usually have a swollen body with sores. Their fat tongues hang out. They can be male or female, young or old. Sometimes they talk. One villager said he saw his grandfather who asked him where he was going. The man answered and the ghost disappeared. Ghosts can come and scare babies, causing them to cry and cry. To cure that, the adult bites off a piece of saufe (Indonesian pohon mashowi), a cinnamon-like bark, and spits it around the baby. This makes the ghost go away⁸.

Ghosts also appear in dreams, generally shortly after the person has died. He may give a song to the dreaming person. The song is called by the name of the ghost who gave it. Ghosts may also scare people by appearing in dreams and telling people that they are going to die. For example, one woman was told that she was going to die in childbirth. She didn't die, but the baby was stillborn.

At the moment of a person's death, his ghost can appear on the shoulders of another person in a different village.

2. RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THESE INHABITANTS

Even though some of the spirits are quite dangerous, the idea that man can manipulate them and use them for his own ends overrules a fear of them. Among the Isirawa same-sex (especially male-male) relationships predominate. If problems arise in

these relationships, different types of sorcery are used to manipulate the people into performing their duties. Men have close relationships with the spirits that live in the jungle, who assist them in everyday living. Spirit possession and/or alliance with these beings is a further means of manipulating reality.

2.1 ALLIANCE WITH SPIRITS

Desire for success in hunting and singing (See Oguri 1980), protection from enemies and warnings of impending danger necessitate an alliance with at least one tree or water spirit.

2.11 METHOD OF CONTACTING

The method used to gain the help of the specific tree spirit is called saasraaina. This has a combined meaning of making contact, desiring to communicate with, and meditating; therefore, I have called it 'making an alliance'. Although each man may vary his method, the following things are usually done: Singling out the tree where the desired spirit dwells, a man talks to the spirit in the tree and says that he would like to be successful in hunting pigs and that he will follow the prescribed taboos. Then he clears a spot around the tree, sweeping it clean of leaves and cutting away the brush. He may also wrap a piece of rattan around the tree and put ferns in it. If he wants the spirit's help more quickly, he may bury small stones and spines from catfish at the base of the tree. (These little gifts are called paapaaaina.) He looks in the dirt for worms and if he finds them, he eats them and knows that the spirit is near. He must observe a number of taboos (virviriave), the length of time (between one and five months) depending on the tree. (See Figure 3). A man in alliance with a spirit can eat only baked, not boiled, food. He must refrain from sexual intercourse and can not bathe. He cannot drink water but may suck on a special type of sugar cane. He can not eat two types of tree leaves (aaauaata and karaavaiiye), cat fish, jungle rat, sago grubs, brush turkey eggs, sago shoots, three types of bananas, cassowary or hornbill. And he cannot eat non-taboo food which has been cooked on a fire that previously cooked taboo food. Following all this the spirit will contact the man in his dreams and then

will "go along with him" or "sit on his shoulder".

If a person desires the help of water spirits, he follows the previous taboos, with the addition of a taboo against eating all fresh water fish. He catches a small catfish and without killing it, he takes a little bit of flesh from its back and lets it loose in the pond. Then he goes to another pond and throws in his line. If he gets the same fish, which he recognizes by its wound, two more times in different ponds, he mixes this little bit of fish flesh with tree bark and worms and eats it. The Spirit will then contact him in his sleep. I have been told of people who have been given songs by the water spirits.

2.12 CURING BY BLOWING

If a man breaks one of the taboos he will not be able to have success in hunting and will get very sick. The cure is to have someone blow (ninitesa) on him. The curer must know the name (personal...not tree name) of the spirit. This is important, as there is strength or power in the name itself. It will generally be a person who has set up an alliance with that spirit. If there is no such person, the sick man can whisper the name to someone else who will perform the ceremony, or if he is able, he will perform the ceremony himself.

There are three basic ways to perform this blow curing. If the patient is able to drink, the curer blows puffs of breath into a cup of water while whispering the name of the spirit with each breath. No request is made verbally. The patient then drinks the water and the sickness goes away. If the patient is cold, the curer blows on onafa, a type of nettle in the same manner and then rubs the leaves over the body of the sick person. If one doesn't have onafa, cassava leaves may be substituted. In the third case, a curer may blow directly on the body of the sick man whispering the spirit's name. This method of blow curing is used not only for men who have broken the taboo and fallen sick, but also for women and children who may have fallen ill and whose sickness is attributed to these spirits. A mother can blow on her child using the name of the tree spirit she believes has caused the sickness. If she has no response she may have different people come and blow because some spirits, even in the same type of

tree, are more powerful than others. Only as a last resort is the personal name for Marace used as a blow cure.

The symptoms of ten indicate which spirit caused the sickness. Some common spirits and their symptoms are as follows:

- apama: Cause children to cry uncontrollable if they pass near the tree. Give adults chills and fever and cause paralysis. If a man has made an alliance and then eats taboo food, his children may get sores, fever and headache, or may even die.
- araaisa: Cause people to have sores, headaches, cricks in the neck, or to be pale or colorless. A definite symptom is not being able to raise one's arms. Breaking a taboo will result in the death of that man.
- orora: gives children fever and headache and causes them to cry continually, if they pass under the shadow of her branches.
- vaavronii: Makes children sick and causes babies to die at birth.
- cawame: Causes sores and causes children to die. A man should not make an alliance with this spirit if his wife is pregnant because at birth or shortly thereafter the baby will die with a split skull.
- tinate: If a pregnant woman eats meat that was killed as a result of a man making an alliance with this spirit, she needs to be blown on or the infant will die from a split skull at birth.
- tore: Causes women to have spontaneous abortions. Gives men kidney infections.

2.2 POSSESSION

Of the three known types of possession among the Isirawa, all of them are in part a result of an alliance and are generally desirable and beneficial to the ones involved. In general only one spirit can control or aid a person at one time.

Ememruwona

The spirits, water spirits and ghosts can 'sit on the shoulders' (ememruwona) of people. for short or long periods

of time. If it is a ghost, it means that that person at that very minute is dying in another village. The person who is 'sat upon' looks fat. The ghost just appears for a short period of time and doesn't speak. This event is not considered good and people are frightened by it.

To be 'sat upon' by tree spirits and water spirits, however is considered desirable. If a spirit is contacted for an alliance, it will sit upon its partner's shoulders and will teach him songs in his dreams and help him to hunt pigs. In the days of warfare, the spirits helped people evade the enemies' arrows and guided their arrows to their targets.

Awecaauna

This is a one-time experience that happens to infants and affects them for the rest of their lives. If the father has made an alliance with a tree spirit for hunting and it happens that the spirit has a baby at the same time as the man's wife, the spirit may covet the human child and in the middle of the night exchange babies. The human mother will know that it has been exchanged because the spirit baby will be listless and inactive.

There are at least three cases of this in the Amsira area. A number of years ago a mother was sleeping when the cawame tree spirit came in the night and exchanged the spirit baby with the mother's baby. Wato, is an adult now. She generally 'talks to the wind', understands people but rarely talks to them, and never looks directly at people. Some people say she has no soul, while others say that she only has one soul which enables her to go and get firewood. People in the village consider her somehow bad since she comes from the cawame tree spirit.

Two other people, one an albino and the other with light skin, are said to have been exchanged with niisara tree spirit. (The niisara tree has white, milk-like sap.) They have no special abilities or privileges but find it difficult to eat foods that are taboo for men who make an alliance. People consider them good.

Kikifaraniiva

This literally means 'to enter'. The wind of the spirit enters the person. Tree spirits and water spirits can enter people. In the case of the spirits sovena, kuemru, tikane, and usuwane, eating the bark of those trees makes the spirit enter a person and the person will act crazy or drunk (momomoara). Even though they act crazy, the spirit warns them of danger and this is not considered a bad thing.

The waraviri and orere spirits give a person strength if they enter him. Soavi, wamera and maronaame can also enter a person. Apparently there is no ritual one can do to bring it about, but if these spirits choose to enter a person, they do so and the Isirawa people approve.

The people who have been 'entered' by a spirit must follow the alliance taboos, but this isn't difficult since even smelling the taboo foods make them nauseated, so they refrain.

2.3 OTHER TYPES OF RELATIONSHIPS

Some how the bark of the trees that house tree spirits also has power and in some way the spirit is thought to be in it. The bark then can be useful in controlling the weather or in removing arrows.

Controlling the Weather

If a person wants it to rain, he will take a dry soavi leaf that he has kept in his house. He covers this with a large leaf and after a while the rain comes. If he fans it first and then covers it, wind will accompany the rain. Any adult can perform this ritual.

If a person has heard that an enemy is coming, he can cause a flood to prevent the enemy from crossing the river. To do this he must be in possession of a small string bag called a futawa. In the bag there is bark from one of the following trees: kuemru, tikane, orere, tinat, maronaame, or usuwane and people's teeth. If the man twists this little bag tightly, the 'spirit' won't be able to breathe. This will cause thunder, lightning and hard rain so that the river will rise.

Removing Arrow Heads

To remove an arrow head that has broken off inside someone, the bark of the waraviri tree is ground up and mixed with the water of a green coconut. This mixture is given to the patient to drink, after which the arrow tip pops out on its own.

2.4 SORCERY

If we define sorcery as an act performed to cause harm to someone else, the Isirawa basically have two kinds: Spells which mainly cause inconvenience to the person affected and real sorcery (Malayu suwanggi) which results in the death of the victim.

2.41 SPELLS

acaca

The acaca spell uses words only. It is generally used against individuals who have not fulfilled obligations to relatives, such as in the distribution of food. The offended relative can put a spell on the man so that his garden won't grow or so he will not have success in hunting. The spell can be spoken directly to the person or to other relatives not in the man's presence. If the one who initiates the spell is younger or has less authority than the cursed one, he will not do it in his presence. The man may say:

Acaca me wepii ye waiiye piima mraauwe, soacrii wepii ye.
 curse pig to me- again not give curse pig
 "You aren't going to get any pigs because you didn't give me any!"

raramiisa

The raramiisa spell uses the help of the tore, niisara, apama and arraisa tree spirits.

If a man is angry with a woman for resisting his advances, or if he has had a quarrel with another man, he can ask the spirit of the tore tree to make them sick. He will say the personal name of the spirit and then say, "Cut them with your razor". This doesn't have to be done near the tree, and a man doesn't have to make an alliance with this tree to get this

help. The result of this spell is that a woman has a miscarriage and a man gets a backache and kidney infection. There is no cure for the woman, but for a man aaauata bark can be tied around his waist and then he can be 'blown' on and he will get well.

The niisara, apama and arraisa spirits can be called on like the tore, but mainly so that the accursed will have no success in hunting or fishing. The curser says "Spirit, cover this man" (so he can't see). The man will then go to the jungle but not be able to find any game. This spell is in effect until the curser feels sorry for the victim and 'blows' on him or until the victim suspects foul play and gets someone who knows the name of one of these spirits to 'blow' on him.

2.42 SUWANGGI

This type of sorcery involves killing people indirectly. It does not involve use of the spirits, however. The Isirawa classify four kinds, all of which are considered sin (fartosai). Whenever anyone is sick the possibility of suwanggi is discussed. Apparently anyone can be involved in at least one of these types of sorcery, for when someone dies and sorcery is suspected, every adult man and woman in the clan must participate in the divining ceremony.

Matunouwo/Matiinio

According to the Isirawa this type originated in the Air Mati area. They say it is still practiced but not in Amsira. Some claim that they have never heard the word, even though they repeat it later as the first example of sin. To do this magic, the sorcerer takes a stake that has been put in the belly of a dead person. This is then put in the fire and hardened. It is shaved and the shavings are rubbed on the sorcerer, making him invisible. He then makes a miniature bow or slingshot and shoots it in the direction of the enemy who can be one or two kilometers away. He must not shoot too hard or the arrow will go right through the victim and he will not die. There is no cure for a person who has had this magic worked against him.

Iroweva

Iroweva is practiced among the Isirawa west of the Ferkami River (according to the inhabitants east of it). The sorcerer traps the victim, cuts him in pieces and especially messes up his gallbladder (waai, which is believed to be the place the soul resides). The victim is put back together and awakened. If he recognizes the sorcerer he is knocked out again, until he wakes up not recognizing the sorcerer. Then the sorcerer tells him that he will die and the man will die within a day. There is no cure and no way to avoid this.

Cafaasa

This type of sorcery needs something which has been in close proximity with the victim such as his left over food, nail clippings, an article of clothing, hair, dirt from his footprints, or his betel nut wad. One of these things is taken to a person who knows Matunuwo. The sorcerer will then put the exuvia in a bamboo tube along with some nettle leaves, a poisonous snake, hornets and thorns. The tube is then burned. The person gets sick and slowly dies. There is hope for the victim if he or she is 'blown' on.

Viyesa

This is simply treachery, for a man hires another man to kill for him. For example, A's younger brother is killed by sorcery performed by B. A then hires a third man C to physically kill B. To the Isirawa this is just as much suwanggi sorcery as any of the other kinds.

3. CONCLUSION

Of all the possible relationships an Isirawa can have, his relationships to his close kin and to the spirits are the most important. The spirits are important because they help him to get the food he needs. They protect him and they cure the sick.

Even though many Isirawa have become members of Christian churches in the area, they have not abandoned their relationships to the spirits. They have tried to equate the personal-

ities found in the Bible with their own ancestors, but have found none to approximate the spirits.

Footnotes:

1. There seems to be some confusion as to whether he had a wife or not. Some men said that he did and gave me her name, others said 'no' but these were from villages that have had a church witness for about 50 years, and still others said 'who knows?'.
2. See above.
3. Arimo is also called Aniwaniye in some villages.
4. This myth has left many Isirawas perplexed. They are not sure if the family is returning. They have asked my co-worker and I if we know where they are and if they are coming back. There is another similar story of more modern origin. It basically says:
Several years ago there was a man that was always drunk (or crazy) and he had scabby skin. He married a woman from here (Mertewar) and they had a child. If the boy asked for anything, the father provided it for him supernaturally. One day ships came to Mertewar and the boy went with them. We're wondering if he's coming back.
5. Isirawa Came is the same as Kwerba/Air Mati and Tor area (including Berrik) Djame (Oosterwal 1961:52ff).
6. It was explained that Marace gives one soul. There are other souls for particular actions. For example, animals have a soul for getting food, as do humans, but that soul is different from the one Marace gives.
7. Mararena, the easternmost Isirawa village, has a collective term for these spirits, camrapavi. These also include spirits of animals who are animals in the day but become 'people' at night. The Isirawa villages to the west do not recognize or use this term.

8. Although the use of this bark is the most common method, other methods are: ordering it to go, asking "What are you doing?", or running from the scene!

References:

Oosterwal, G. 1961. People of the Tor, Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V.

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DAY AND NIGHT SONGS IN MAIRASI
FESTIVAL MUSIC

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0. INTRODUCTION

The Mairasi people number 2,000 - 3,000 and live in over 26 villages scattered on the coast and inland to the east of Kaimana in the Kabupaten FakFak, province of Irian Jaya. They speak a Papuan language called Mairasi. Subsistence consists of the cultivation of taro, sweet potatoes, manioc, sago, coconut, and a variety of fruits, vegetables, and legumes in gardens scattered in the jungle near the villages or along the coast. Nutmeg, coconut, and cloves are raised also for trade, and people from inland villages gather a type of bark and resin for trade with merchants from the city of Kaimana. People of coastal villages fish for subsistence and for trade.

Houses are built on the ground, or on pilings over the water in coastal villages. Kinship follows the Hawaiian kinship system. There is a Protestant church in the village of Lobo and most of the people adhere to the church. Data for this paper was collected in the coastal village of Lobo, 50 kilometers from Kaimana, in the Triton bay near the mouth of the Lengguru River.

Mairasi music includes a number of different song types, including courtship, battle, and work songs, but the focus of this paper is songs performed at festivals. Data for this paper was collected during a two-month stay in Lobo, following two previous months of living with the Mairasi people, so it cannot be an exhaustive study of the subject.

1. GENERAL

1.1. Setting

The eight songs described are sung at festivals. These include feasts, weddings, putting up a new roof on a house, ceremonies for the change over of village headmen, and secular holidays such as the national independence day. The songs cannot be sung at religious occasions such as Christmas. When these songs are sung at festivals, instruments are used to accompany the music. The songs can also be sung without instruments by individuals while walking around, or working in gardens, or as they participate in other aspects of daily life.

The songs described in this paper were performed in the front yard of the village headman's house, and in the front yard of the bride's house at two weddings.

1.2. General Description

The participants of the musical performance include the musicians and dancers. The musicians sing and play the instruments. Women cannot sing or play the instruments. Some old songs have been written by women and we have been told that perhaps women in inland villages can sing, but women in the village of Lobo now don't know how to sing. The Mairasi term for musician means "a person who is an expert singer." Not just one, but many men are recognized as musicians among

the Mairasi people. When we asked the village headmen for some musicians to come to our home in order to ask them some questions about music, five to nine men were sent each time. When we asked them the questions they often consulted each other before answering us. The drums are usually played by middle-aged and older men, and the gongs are played by middle-aged and older men or by teenage boys. It is possible that the teenage boys were being trained when they were observed. Up to six or seven men can participate in the performance of a song, including two to four drum players and one or two gong players.

At the beginning of a song the musicians line up in a single row or in two or three columns about three men wide. During the song the musicians walk slowly in a counterclockwise circle three to four meters in diameter simultaneously playing their instruments and singing. If they are in the form of a single row the musicians pivot around the gong players who are inside of the circle. The gongs and drums are played in the same rhythm, but the gong players seem to improvise at times, and play extra beats. Between songs there is sometimes a "warm-up" period during which the drums are tuned.

Each group of musicians includes a leader. His role seems to include that of lining up the musicians at the beginning of the song, and also includes leading the singing. The singing is done in a responsorial style. The leader begins by singing a line that is answered by the other musicians, using the same or similar melody and words. This practice is repeated throughout the song. The leader can be a person who has recently written new words to a tune. He teaches it to the other men as they sing the song in responsorial style. During the course of one evening, if the leader becomes tired or develops a sore throat, another musician can take over as leader.

Dancers include men, women, and children of all ages. Women often dance with young children who may be asleep, on their backs in carrying cloths. The dancers follow behind the musicians in columns two or three people wide, and two or three may dance in front of the musicians. The dancers use short, quick steps in time to the music, and those who dance

in front dance backwards and forwards. Men who dance follow directly behind the musicians, followed by women, who are followed by children. The dancers usually begin after the musicians start moving. They participate also by hooting, whistling, and hissing, which can take place at any point during the songs. The whistling and hissing are associated with the sounds that birds and snakes make, but are said not to be an imitation of those sounds. Children can hoot and hiss but cannot whistle. Women can do all three. The dancing is optional and does not have to be present at occasions when these songs are performed.

1.3. Instruments

The instruments used in Mairasi musical performance are the gong and the drum. The brass gongs have been obtained through trading with Butungese fishermen who fish near Lobo, and are said to be from the island of Seram, one of the Moluccan islands located to the west of Irian Jaya. They are more scarce now than they used to be. They are hollow and round, with a diameter of about 35 centimeters and with a central protruding nub which is struck by a wooden mallet about 30 centimeters long when played. There are two types of gongs, one called a mamonggo, which has a depth of five to seven centimeters. The other has a depth of eleven centimeters and is called an unguni. The gongs have a rattan or rope tie with which they can be hung from the wall or from the shoulder when played. The gongs are played with the right hand.

The drum, or evia, is carved in an hourglass shape made from wood which has been scraped and burned out. It is about one meter long with the diameter of the ends measuring about 15 centimeters and the diameter at the center about nine centimeters. A piece of lizard skin covers one end which is glued on by sap from a certain tree. Rattan is also used to hold on the skin until the sap dries. Five to eight lumps of beeswax stuck on the skin provide a raised surface which is struck when played. They are sometimes moved around for tuning. There is sometimes a geometric design carved near the open end. A length of string or rattan at the center part of the drum is used to hang the drum up when not in use or it can be used to

hold it while being played. The drum is held in the left hand and played with the right hand. The drum can be made by any man, but not by women or children.

1.4. Emic Structure of Songs

When listening to the songs, different parts of the songs can clearly be distinguished. Each of these parts is recognized by Mairasi musicians, who can also describe the part and provide the appropriate Mairasi label. Since the words of the songs can change, this structure depends not on the words but on the style of the drum and gong beats. The factors which determine the different parts of a song are the rhythm (even or uneven), speed (slow, medium, or fast), and drum direction (open end up or down). Each of the eight songs studied is made up of at least three of the six different parts used in all the songs.

The names of the different parts of the songs and their distinguishing features are as follows:

	rhythm		speed			drum direction	
	even	uneven	slow	medium	fast	up	down
nenenggari *	X		X			X	
nembamai	X			X		X	
mavugwe		X			X		X
amjanden	X		X			X	
namdidiye	X	X			X	X	X
teajan	X			X			X

*Although the features are the same as those for amjanden; nenenggari, is given a different name because of its position at the beginning of the songs, i.e. whenever nenenggari occurs, it is at the beginning of a song.

1.5. Teaching of Music

Children learn the music by observation and practice. Boys learn singing by imitating and watching, or by practicing individually at home with their father or uncle. The playing of drums and gongs is practiced at home without the use of the actual instruments, using only the hands. Children have also been observed playing with pots and pans, hitting them

with their hands in imitation of playing gongs and drums, and singing the tunes. Dancing, however, is learned only at a festival when the music is being performed, with the playing of the instruments. The children follow behind the adults who are dancing, and thus learn by actual practice. Boys can sing and play instruments "after they've learned", and children usually know how to dance by the time they are nine or ten years old. All boys can learn to sing and play instruments, and all children can learn to dance.

2. PRESENTATION OF SONGS

The eight songs presented here were performed during the celebration of the national independence day (August 17, 1979) which lasted for three days. They were also performed at two weddings and at a ceremony for the changeover of the village headman. The names given here are actually names of the tunes used. The words can change at different times, but the words presented are the actual words that were sung during the celebrations. The origin of both the tunes and the words is old, and the words are not understood by many people, including both songs which are original to the Mairasi people, as well as songs that are borrowed from other language groups. The tunes seem to be well-known, and it is said that people now don't know how to create new tunes. New words, however, can be written by men as they think of them. We were told that these songs are known by all Mairasi villages, and known by some people of the Kuri, Etna, and Arguni areas as well. The emotive meaning of all these songs is happy.

The first two songs are day songs, and the last six are night songs. The first five songs are in the Mairasi language, and the last three are borrowed from other language groups. As each song is presented, the origin and meaning, when known, will be discussed.

2.1 Day Songs

Day songs are sung only between sunrise and sunset. They seem to be sung in a less formal setting, and musicians can be sitting around at tables conversing in between songs.

2.1.1 bajeni

Bajeni is a song which originated with the Mairasi people. An old Mairasi woman named Wetavin who is now dead was walking from one Mairasi village to another and climbed a mountain. As she reached a place called Matua on the other side of the mountain she saw and heard a long-necked bird in a nest, and then sang a song about the bird:

io	matu	io	jamenar	evar	kesaij	evar
tree	place	tree	bare	nest	name of	nest
	name		tree		bird	

'A kesaij bird was in a nest in a bare tree at Matu.'

Bajeni is characterized by the swaying of the musicians and dancers from side to side. It is also characterized by an irregular beat during the fast parts of the song.

2.1.2. jaura

Jaura is a song which, although sung in the Mairasi language, did not originate with the Mairasi people. An old woman named Masaer from the Kuri language group (located north-east of the end of Arguni Bay), who also knew the Mairasi language composed the song. She was returning to Kuri from the Mairasi area when she stopped to sit by a tree on the banks of a river. Looking at a mountain she saw a hornbill bird in a hole on a white cliff. The hornbill is said to have laid eggs in that hole from the beginning of the world until now. Upon seeing the hornbill Masaer sang this song about the bird:

jendereno	favueno	nambrambi	wamar
hole	name of	sharp	hornbill
	river	edges of	bird
		mountain	

'A hornbill was in a hole on the edge of a mountain near the river favueno.'

When this music was observed the musicians were sitting at tables under a temporary shelter in front of the village headman's house, and there were no dancers. It is common, however, for dancers to participate during day songs as well as night songs.

Night songs are sung only between sunset and sunrise. The singing and dancing can go on all night, depending on whether or not the musicians and other participants and observers get tired and want to sleep. When asked why there is a distinction between day and night songs the musicians replied that their ancestors had set up that pattern, so that there would be a variety to the songs.

Ivau is a song which originated with some Mairasi people living near Adi island on the mainland across the Kamberau Bay from the city of Kaimana. The ancestors of the Mairasi people learned the song from them as there was interaction between the two groups:

'A Mairasi widow went out walking around 5:00 in the evening when it gets dark.'

Ivau is characterized by a wide variety of drum beat types, including all six of the types that were observed in the songs. This song includes three parts in which the open end of the drum points down. The song ends with a finale in which the musicians form a huddle and play a fast, uneven beat.

Fatatoji is a song which is in the Mairasi language but which originated with the old woman, Masaer, from the Kuri language group. Masaer took a walk to a river and heard some cicadas. She made a song about what she heard, and went on. The name fatatoji means 'small rivers':

'The cicadas made their noise alongside the fatuajara river.'

Fatatoji is a lively, noisy song, with much hooting, whistling, and hissing done by the dancers during all parts of the song. The song has an abrupt end.

Tenggiana is a song written in the Mairasi language. It is written in old Mairasi, however, and the musicians did not understand the meaning of the words:

yo jaino movare kawamo kambobia veranso sonivara
jaino movare

Besides being used for festivals, tenggiana is also sung when paddling canoes, especially long ago when the people used to stand up to paddle long dugout canoes. When the paddlers sang the song they were able to keep in rhythm.

Sirosos is a song from Barani, a place in the Arguni Bay area, and is written in the language of that area (possibly the Irahutu language). The Mairasi people have exchanged songs and intermarried with the Barani people. The Barani people know the Mairasi language, but the musicians did not understand the Barani language or the meaning of the song:

tovo tob tovo taman torai jev wes siroream

The song was originally performed on some kind of a stage made of bamboo or split palm. This stage is still used by the Barani people, but the Mairasi people do not use it anymore.

Uri is a song which originated in the Kuri area. Masaer, the old woman from Kuri mentioned in earlier sections, wrote the song in the Kuri language. She apparently came to the Mairasi area, sang the song, and went back to Kuri. The Mairasi people used to go there more often, but now they don't go at all.

According to one Mairasi man, a man and woman from Kuri used to live in the Lobo area near the Lengguru (or Ureru) river. The man left in a boat, and the woman cried for a time and then went back to Kuri. There is also a woman who lives in the Kuri

area who, the people say, has never died. Whether either of these women is the same as the woman Masaer we haven't been told. According to some people in the city of Kaimana, there is a mountain in the Kuri area which is a type of religious center for the whole area, where "God meets with people".

The uri tune is supposed to be a familiar song which everyone knows. The musicians did not know the meaning of the individual words, but the meaning of the song is the same as that of the fatatoji song:

sario wuso wenuvo nuvai

The singing is characterized by two long sustained notes (woo) which are repeated throughout the song. It was performed when the important guests were being served food both at a pig feast celebrating the independence day and at a wedding. It was also sung when the groom was being escorted to the bride's house for the same wedding, so this song seems to be particularly festive.

2.2.6. irirjai

Irirjai is a song which originated with the Kamberau people near Kamberau Bay. It is in the Kamberau language, and the musicians did not know the meaning of the words.

sevanamo jokenamo jaetore toreamo

Irirjai was the first song observed during the independence day celebrations.

4. CONCLUSION

From this study of Mairasi music some of the mixing and borrowing from other cultures is evident. Only three of the eight songs originated with the Mairasi people, and these songs are also known in other cultures. In addition, one of the musical instruments, the gong, has been borrowed from the Seram people. Although not covered in this paper, modern music, including songs in Mairasi, Indonesian, and English, are also found in the Mairasi culture. Hymns are sung in Indonesian using many Western tunes. So we see how the music of the Mairasi people reflects their interaction with other

cultures, which is prevalent in other areas of life as well.

Although the tunes to the songs discussed here are set, the words can be improvised, and new words can be written. It is not certain how prevalent the composing of new words to songs is, but the potential is there, so that these songs will not likely die out. The participation of young people who have been taught these musical forms ensures that the music will be passed on to other generations. This aspect of an oral, dynamic tradition will be preserved, and we can expect that the Mairasi people will always have this outlet for the expression of their experiences.