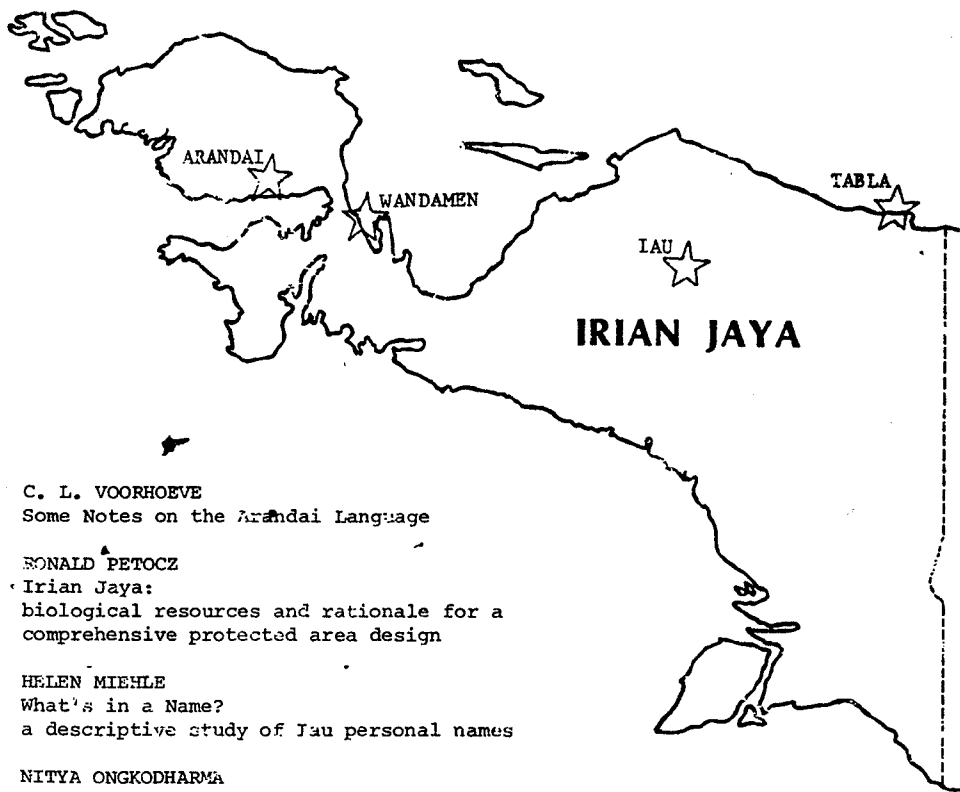


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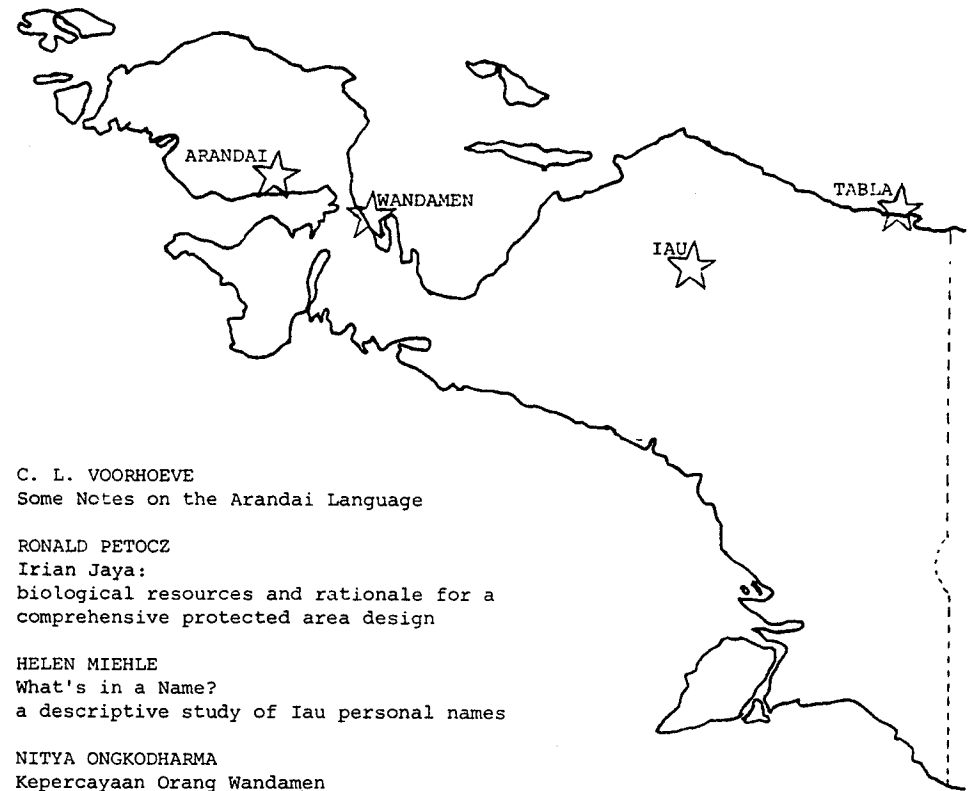
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**SOME NOTES ON THE ARANDAI LANGUAGE,
SOUTH BIRD'S HEAD, IRIAN JAYA**

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Australian National University

1.0 Introduction

Arandai is a Papuan language spoken in the swampy lowlands along the south coast of the Bird's Head Peninsula, and in a small enclave on the north coast of the Bomberai Peninsula (see the map). All Arandai speaking villages in the Bird's Head are located within twenty five kilometres from the coast. The western border of the language runs just west of and parallel to, the Kaisweri River; the Wasian River can be considered the eastern border. There are five dialects in the language: Barau, Weriagar, Sebyar, Tarof, and Kasuweri. Barau is spoken in the village of Tomage¹ in the Bomberai Peninsula; Weriagar in the villages Weriagar, Taroi, and Kalitami on the south coast of the Bird's Head between the Wasian and Kamundan Rivers. Sebyar is spoken on the lower course of the Sebyar River in the villages of Tomu, Arandai, and Kecap²; Tarof in the villages Tarof, Sinaturi, and Migori on the coast between the Kamundan and Kaisweri Rivers; Kasuweri finally is spoken along the Kaisweri River in the villages Kasuweri, Negeri Besar, and Odagaga. The five dialects fall into a western group--Tarof and Kasuweri--and an eastern group: Sebyar, Weriagar, and Barau. Within the latter, Weriagar and Barau group together vis-à-vis Sebyar. The Barau speakers are clearly migrants from the south Bird's Head coast who in the recent past have settled in the Bomberai Peninsula. The total number of Arandai speakers is estimated not to exceed five thousand³. The language most closely related to Arandai are Kampong Baru and Puragi, its western neighbours. Together they form the South Bird's Head Family, one of the many subgroups of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum⁴.

Earlier sources containing data on Arandai are Galis 1955, Anceaux 1958, and Voorhoeve 1975a, 1975b. Galis, who calls the language Yaban, gives 26 words in the "Arandai" (Sebyar) dialect and 16 in the Weriagar dialect. Anceaux mentions a few characteristics of Barau phonology and morphology (see below, p. 19) and gives 10 words in that dialect. Voorhoeve 1975a lists the pronouns in all dialects except Weriagar, and gives some grammatical notes, but the data are unreliable and the notes contain several errors; 1975b gives comparative lists of 40 words in Barau, "Arandai" (Sebyar), Tarof, and Kasuweri, and a preliminary classification which is now superseded by the one given above⁴.

The data on which the present paper is based I collected during a survey of the languages of the Bird's Head in August-September 1982. They consist of wordlists and grammatical notes in the Weriagar and Sebyar dialects.

My informant for the Weriagar dialect was Mr. Filippus Bau of Weriagar village who spent about six hours with me working on his dialect when I was staying in Manokwari. The Sebyar dialect data I obtained from Mr. Amis Kaitan of Tomu village with whom I could spend only three hours during a short visit to Bintuni. The main part of this paper is therefore concerned with the Weriagar dialect; a much shorter section is devoted to the Sebyar dialect and the other dialects, for which new data are not yet available, are dealt with in a few remarks at the end. The paper concludes with a comparative wordlist of the Arandai dialects.

2.0 Weriagar

2.1 General Characterization

Weriagar has a complex verb morphology with verb stems taking up to three, possibly four, suffixes whose functions have only partially been identified. Among these are marking of aspect, mood, and person and number of the verb subject. It seems that verbs lack tense marking and that object markers are prefixed. Suffixation also occurs with nouns to mark plural number, with pronouns to mark case (benefactive, possessive), and with numerals to derive adverbs indicating the number of times an action is repeated. At least some nouns denoting human beings are marked for gender, the masculine form having a final /e/, the feminine form a final /o/. Names of body parts are obligatorily possessed, taking possessive prefixes; all other nouns, if possessed, are preceded by possessive pronouns. The common order in a verbal clause is Subject-Object-Verb.

2.2 Phonology

2.2.1 Phoneme inventory

Weriagar seems to have thirteen consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes. The provisional phoneme inventory is set out in the chart below. Each phoneme symbol is followed by its phonetic equivalent(s); phonemes and allophones which have been identified tentatively are bracketed.

	Bilabial	Interdental	Alveolar	Velar
<u>Plosives</u>				
voiceless, affricated	p [p, p ^f]	t [t]		k [k, k ^x]
voiced, prenasalized	b [b, mb, (mb)]	d [d, nd, (nd)]		g [g, ŋg, ŋg, ŋ]
voiced, palatalized		(j [j])		
<u>Fricatives, voiced</u>	ɸ [ɸ, b]	ɬ [ɬ, d]		ʁ [ʁ, ɣ]
<u>Nasals</u>	m [m]	n [(n)]		
<u>Vibrants, flapped</u>			r [r]	
<u>Vowels</u>	Front	Mid	Back	
high	i [i, t, ü]		u [u, v]	
mid	e [e, ɛ]	[ə]	o [o, ɔ]	
low		a [æ, a, ɶ]		
	+nasalization, +unvoicing			

2.2.2 Consonants

The voiceless stops /p/ and /k/ have plain and affricated allophones, apparently as free variants. The voiced stops /b/, /d/, /g/ tend to be prenasalized in word-initial position; in that position both [b] and [mb] (i.e. [b] preceded by a full homorganic nasal [m]). In this position however [b] has been observed to alternate with [ɸ]. For this reason I have allotted intervocalic [b] to the phoneme /ɸ/, and have assigned [mb] tentatively to /b/ as the intervocalic allophone of that phoneme. The same holds, *mutatis mutandis*, for [d], [nd], and [g], [ŋg]. The stops /t/, /d/ are clearly interdental just like the fricative /ɬ/. I am not sure of the articulation point of /n/ and /j/ which sound in my recordings like alveolars. The velar nasal [ŋ] occurs as a free alternant of [ŋg] when the next consonant in the word is /g/ or /n/:

[n'ɤŋɛ, n'ɤŋɛ] ⁶ 'my body'; [ɤŋg'ɛti, ɤŋgɛŋ'ɛti] 'sharp of edge'.

The fricatives /ɸ/, /ɬ/, /ɣ/ can be realized as weak stops [ɸ, d, g]. The variation is free, but the fricative allophones occur more often than the stops. In word-initial position I fail to hear any difference between the plain

stop allophones of /b/, /d/, and /g/, and those of /b/, /d/, and /g/. So far the only clue as to their phonemic identity has been that the former alternate with prenasalized stops, the latter with fricatives. Where no alternation was observed uncertainty persists.

The phonemic status of /j/ is still somewhat doubtful. The palatalized stop /j/ is phonetically close enough to /d/ to be a submember of /d/. Also, it is structurally aberrant in that it does not have unvoiced and nasal counterparts ([č], [ŋ], [nʃ]). An indeed, when preceded or followed by the high vowel /i/, [j] and [d] are mutually exclusive: [d] occurs before /i/, and after /i/ if the preceding consonant is /t/, /d/, or /n/; [j] is found after /i/ if that vowel is word-initial or preceded by a consonant other than /t/, /d/, or /n/. Thus, [aʃi] 'you sg.', [nʃi] 'we excl.', [nindiʃani] 'he is eating', [uetiʃani] 'it hurts', [nɔŋɔʃiʃani] 'he is vomiting', [iʃeʃe] 'fireplace'. In other vocalic environments however, both [j] and [d] occur, seemingly unconditioned by the consonantal environment: [yʌʃo] 'rayfish', [nɔɔʃaʃemaʃo] 'ancestors', [jʃæʃe] 'four', [dʌʃe] 'dry it!', [rʌʃe] 'five', [paʃeʃe] 'get up!'. One gets the impression that [j] once was an allophone of /d/ but that subsequent sound changes have created conditions favourable to a phonemic interpretation. Supporting evidence for this origin of /j/ we find when comparing the Weriagar and Sebyar dialects. For example, Weriagar [jʃæʃe] 'four' = Sebyar [iʃati]; Weriagar [yʌʃo] 'rayfish' = Sebyar [yʌʃo]. It seems that originally [j] was an allophone of [d] occurring only after /i/ but that the loss of this vowel in many Weriagar words caused a phonemic split.

2.2.3 Vowels

All vowels tend to be nasalized after a nasal consonant; in word-final position they are often unvoiced. Any vowel, when unstressed, can shift towards a mid-central position, approaching [ə]. In my data this happens especially in longer utterances, not in singly elicited words. The close and open allophones of the high and mid vowels seem to be in free variation, although there may be preference for one or the other in certain environments. The rounded allophone of /i/, [ü] was noted only preceding nonsyllabic /u/, freely alternating with the unrounded allophone [i]. The fronted allophone [æ] of /a/ occurs in the vicinity of /i/.

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ are non-syllabic in the environments /#-V, /V - V and /V - C, eg. [yʌʃo] 'rayfish', [ʔaʃanu] 'thatch', [tuʃin'a] 'cuscus'.

2.2.4 Stress

Stress placement is not predictable and is in fact phonemic as is shown by the minimal pair [aʃaʃa] 'wave' - [aʃaʃa] 'salty'. Examples of variation in stress placement are [kʌʃo] 'grub', [aʃi] 'heron', [meʃakʌ] 'wing', [iʃane] 'sun', [uʃaŋge] 'rain'.

2.2.5 Word Structure

Weriagar does not allow consonants in word-final position. Consonant clusters occur only intervocally and do not count more than two consonants in succession. The great majority of them are of the type homorganic nasal + voiced stop, a combination which seems interpretable as a single phoneme. Other consonant clusters are rare; they are found across morpheme boundaries or as the result of vowel elision after affixation, eg. [nʌ.ʃpʌne] 'my back', from [tipʌne] '(his) back'; [nʌ.ʃpʌn.tʃke] 'my backbone', [nʌm.kate.ʃa.ni] 'it bit me'. Sequences of two and three vowels have been recorded; most three-vowel sequences include a non-syllabic vowel, as a perusal of the examples given so far will show. Only once a cluster of three syllabic vowels was recorded, across a morpheme boundary: [nɔɔ.ʃaʃe] 'grandson'.

2.2.6 Spelling

In the sections which follow I shall adhere to a phonemic spelling except in the following cases: [mb], [nɔ], [ŋg] will be written mb, nd, ng because of the uncertainty of their phonemic interpretation. Non-syllabic /i/ and /u/ will be written y and w respectively.

2.3 Pronouns

2.3.1 Personal and possessive pronouns; pronominal prefixes.

The personal and possessive pronouns are presented together as the same pronominal roots occur in both categories. The data are far from complete; eliciting of 3rd person pronouns proved difficult and the meaning and function of some of the forms obtained is still unclear. The pronouns distinguish 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person; at least in the 1st and 2nd person they distinguish singular, dual, and plural; the only truly pronominal 3rd person form recorded seems to be neutral with respect to number. Forms which refer to 3rd person dual and plural contain a nominal or demonstrative root. The chart below gives an overview of the forms elicited so far. Those in the first column are free pronouns occurring as elicitation forms and as Subject; those in the second column are benefactive pronouns. The possessive pronouns are given in the third column. The fourth and fifth columns finally contain possessive prefixes

and prefixed object markers respectively. Forms whose meaning and/or function have only tentatively been identified are preceded by a question mark.

	Free pronouns:			Bound forms:	
	Subject	Benef.	Poss.	Poss.	Object
1 sg.	n'edi	n'ando	n'ago	na-, n-	na-, nam-
du	n'igia				
pl. incl.	j'edi				
excl.	n'idi		n'iago	nie-	
2 sg.	'adi		'ago	a-	a-
du.	'igia				
pl.	'edi		'eago, 'ediago	e-	
3 sg/du/pl.	?de	d'aro	d'eago	?mu-, m-	
?sg.	?umai				
?du.	?angendomo				
?pl.	?dog'adumu ?mae'ogado				

The subject pronoun de was noted only in utterances in which it refers to a 3rd person sg. subject. The possessive form deago however was found to be neutral with respect to number: d'eago tit'are 'his/their (du.,pl.) house', and one would expect the same of de. In the related Kampong Baru language nde 3rd person sg/pl. has been recorded (Anceaux Unpubl.), but Weriagar speakers seem to prefer other forms when explicitly referring to more than one third person. The forms 'angendomo (probably based on the root angene 'person' and containing a dual marker -mo, cf. 2.6.4), dog'adumu, and mae'ogado (both containing the demonstrative root dog 'this') point in that direction. I noted the form dog'adu as a deictic with the meaning 'here'; -mu could be a pluralizing suffix, cf. 2.4. The form umay could be a demonstrative; the corresponding form in the Sebyar dialect is uma 'that'. The benefactive forms contain a suffix -aro/ando which may be related to postposition aro (see 2.7). The morphophonemic variation is the same as the one displayed by the aspect markers on the verb (2.6.2). I noted the benefactives in the following utterances:

tab'aku n-'ando danob'e!
cigarette me-for roll it

'Roll a cigarette for me!'

Henkia d-'aro tab'aku danob'e!
Hank him-for cigarette roll it

'Roll a cigarette for Hank!'

The possessive pronouns are used with all nouns except names of body parts and at least some kinship terms which take possessive prefixes. Examples are: n'ago tit'are 'my house', e'ago ag'a 'your (pl.) children', n'a-mbore 'my hand', a-mbore 'your hand', m'u-mbore 'his/her hand', n'iemboru 'our hands'; na-ndea'ote 'my grandson'.

The object prefixes will be discussed in section 2.6.5.

2.3.2 Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are: dog'a 'this', dom'a 'that', and d'oyga 'that'; the semantic difference between dom'a and d'oyga is not clear. When the demonstratives are used attributively they follow the noun:

ak'ote dog'a ag'areo
child that small

'This child is small.'

dom'a n'ago tit'are
that my house

'That is my house.'

Interrogative pronouns are nim'a 'who', and g'ogea 'what', but the latter was noted only in the question

'eago mare en'ade g'ogea ? 'What is the name of your (pl.) village?'
your village name what ?

and there probably is another interrogative used for referring to objects which is cognate with Sebyar nun'ae, Barau nunw'ae 'what'.

2.4 Nouns

In Weriagar some nouns are marked for number, others are not. The cases I recorded of a singular-plural distinction in nouns fall into two categories, one in which the plural form is marked by a suffix -u or -umu, and one in which the plural form is suppletive. Plural nouns with -umu were noted only in utterance-final position, those with -u in utterance-medial position. So far the following cases have been recorded:

	sg.	pl.
hand, arm	<u>-mbore</u>	<u>-mbor'u(mu)</u>
house	<u>tit'are</u>	<u>tit'aru(mu)</u>
fruit	<u>ebuk'e</u>	<u>ebuk'u</u>
village	<u>m'are</u>	<u>m'amaru</u> (reduplicated form)
man	<u>rabin'e</u>	<u>rambund'u</u>
woman	<u>ked'enu</u>	<u>kerend'o</u>
child	<u>ak'ote</u>	<u>'aga</u>

Some nouns with a human referent are marked for gender by having a final e in the masculine form and a final o in the feminine form:

	masc.	fem.
old person	<u>mamen'e</u>	<u>mamen'o</u>
grandparent	<u>detat'e</u>	<u>detat'o</u>
grandchild	<u>-ndea'ote</u>	<u>-ndea'oto</u>
el. sibling	<u>denanik'e</u>	<u>denanik'o</u>
sibl.-in-law	<u>marken'e</u>	<u>marken'o</u>

But: ak'ote rabin'e 'male child, boy', ak'ote ked'enu 'female child, girl'.

It would not be surprising if the 3rd person sg. pronoun also had a masculine and a feminine form. I have not tested Weriagar for this distinction so this is a point for further investigation.

2.5 Numerals

The numerals from 1 to 10 are:

1	<u>en'atiyo</u>	5	<u>r'adeyo</u>	8	<u>ogut'ati</u>
2	<u>'egijo</u>	6	<u>d'endeyo</u>	9	<u>t'apoti</u>
3	<u>'aroyo</u>	7	<u>'apate</u>	10	<u>t'oguti</u>
4	<u>jat'eyo</u>				

The numerals 1 and 2 have a different form when they modify a noun. En'atiyo becomes en'ati or en'ato, and 'egijo becomes 'ogijo; p'ogi en'ati 'one pig', ur'oko en'ato 'one stone', 'aga 'ogijo 'two children'. Why some nouns take en'ati and other en'ato is not clear. It could be that nouns fall into two gender classes and that the numeral 1 shows agreement with those classes. A numeral with indefinite value is tarag'e 'many'.

By suffixing -ro to numeral roots one derives adverbs meaning 'so and so many times'. Root-final i becomes e: en'ati 'one', en'atero 'once'; 'ogijo 'two', ogero 'twice'; 'aroyo 'three', 'aroro 'three times'; tarag'e 'many', tarag'ero 'many times'. Eg.: n'edi en'atero ter'abo 'I hit him once'.

2.6 Verbs

2.6.1 General

Verbs have a complex morphology. The relatively small number of inflected forms recorded allows only a tentative identification of some of the verbal affixes. Most of these are suffixed to the verb stem, marking aspect, mood, person and number. In addition verbs often contain an as yet unidentified verb-final element ni or no⁸. Object markers are prefixed but there is at least one verb which has prefixed subject markers, see 2.6.6. Verbs do not seem to be marked for tense, an observation which finds support in the absence of tense marking in Barau verbs reported by Anceaux (1958).

2.6.2 Aspect marking

Aspect markers are -ndi/ri for progressive aspect and -nda/ra for completive aspect. They are affixed directly to the verb stem. The distribution of the allomorphs does not seem to be phonologically conditioned. Some verbs take the one, others the other allomorph, but those which take -ndi also take -nda; similarly, -ri and -ra occur with the same verbs. Eg. ni-nd'i-bo-ni 'I am eating', ni-nd'a-bo-ni 'I have eaten'; weta-r'i-bo-ni 'I am going away'; te-r'i-bo 'I am beating him', te-r'a-bo 'I have beaten him'.

2.6.3 Person/number marking

Person/number markers follow the aspect marker; if no aspect marker is present they are suffixed directly to the verb stem. I noted two series of person/number markers, one occurring in verbs without mood marking, the other in verbs with mood marking (cf. 2.6.4). In verbs without mood marking we find -bo '1st p. sg.', -ba '2nd p. sg.' (but possibly also 1st p. du/pl., I do not completely trust my data on this point), and -da/ja/a '3rd p. sg.'. In the 2nd and 3rd person, plural is marked by a separate suffix -do/jo which immediately follows the person marker. Verbs which take the aspect markers -ndi or -nda take the -da allomorph of the 3rd person marker; verbs which take -ri or -ra take the -ja allomorph except when the number marker follows, then the -a variant is found. The distribution of -do and -jo is not clear, as only one verb form with -jo was recorded. Some examples of verbs differing in person/number marking are:

<u>ni-nd'i-bo-ni</u>	'I am eating'
<u>ni-nd'i-ba-ni?</u>	'Are you eating?'
<u>ni-nd'i-da-ni</u>	'He is eating'
<u>'ara-ri-j'a-ni</u>	'He is crying'
<u>d'ano-ri-b'a-ni?</u>	'Are you rolling it? (ie. a cigarette)'
<u>ni-nd'i-ba-do-ni?</u>	'Are you (pl.) eating?'
<u>togo-r'i-a-do-ni</u>	'They are building it'
<u>weta-r'i-ba-jo-ni?</u>	'Are you going away?'

But in the following sentence the verb with ba has a 1st p. pl. subject:

n'idi goyn'e poq'i ni-nd'i-ba-ni 'All of us are eating
we all pork we are eating pork.

The person/number markers of this series also occur without a preceding aspect marker: r'oge gate-da-ni 'the dog bit him'; ar'ey-bo 'I am afraid'; adi arey-b'a-ni? 'are you afraid?'; were-d'a-ni 'it is dry'; weti-d'a-ni 'it hurts'. It should be noted that in all cases I recorded the 3rd person marker is -da; possibly the alternation of -da, -ja and -a is tied to the presence of an aspect marker.

In verbs with mood marking I noted the person markers -ne '1st p. sg.', and -de '3rd p. sg.'. They will be illustrated in the next section.

2.6.4 Mood marking

Two kinds of mood marking suffixes have been identified: imperative markers and markers of an action which is expected to happen. The imperative suffix of the 2nd p. sg. is -be/mbe/pe. The -mbe variant loses the 'm' when the verb root ends in a 'm'. It was noted only in three verbs, n'i-mbe 'eat!', n'a-im-be! (with object marker na-, see 2.6.5) 'give it to me!'; or om-be 'sit down!'

Perhaps there is a correlation with the nd form of the aspect markers, (see 2.6.2). Otherwise, some verbs take -be and others -pe. No conditioning factor is apparent; m'a-be 'come!', t'aka-be 'tell it!', andu-pe 'put it down!', uk'a-pe 'bathe!'

Like the person markers the imperative marker can be followed by a pluralizer suffix. In all cases noted it was -jo: n'i-mbe-jo (all of you) 'eat!', or om-be-jo 'you pl. sit down!', rog'a-be-jo 'you pl. collect (them)!'

Finally, there is a dual form of the imperative. The imperative suffix in this case is -mba or -ba (a corresponding form -pa was not recorded), and the dualizer is -mo:

<u>egia or'om-ba-mo</u>	'you two, sit down!'
<u>egia weta-b'a-mo</u>	'you two, go to the you-2 go! garden to garden.'

There are two suffixes which mark the verb as referring to a coming event. The semantic difference between them is not clear, it might be in the degree of certainty with which the event is expected to occur. They are -na (+ certainty?) and -ro (-certainty?) and they follow the person/number marker which in this case is -ne for 1st p. sg., and -de for 3rd p. sg. (cf. 2.6.3 above):

merak'e poq'i p'a-ra de ko-de-n'a-ni
tomorrow pig stab-and it it will die
'Tomorrow I'll kill a pig (with a spear).'

'adi kere'a ni-nda-b'a-ni?
you already you have eaten

M'eni, komb'irtuna mita ni-n'e-na-ni
No shortly then I shall eat

'Have you eaten already? No, in a few moments I'll eat.'

komb'irtuna, mita p'ie-de-n'a-ni
a moment then he will smoke it
'By and by he'll smoke it (the cigarette).'

merak'e wet'a-ne-ro pas'are aro
tomorrow I'll go market to
'Tomorrow I'll go to the market.'

The mood marker -na was also noted without preceding subject marker:

gar'ate ga-be! 'ee, n'edi gar'ate g'a-na-ni
glass take it okay I glass shall take
'Take the glass (away)! Okay, (I)'ll take it away.'

2.6.5 Object marking

There is some evidence that object markers are prefixed to the verb. The prefixes noted are nam- or na- '1st p. sg.', a- '2nd p. sg.'. The marker for 3rd person seems to be Ø. I give the data without further comment:

r'oge n'am-gate-d'a-ni 'The dog bit me.'
dog it bite me (direct object)

na-im-b'e! 'give it to me!' (indirect object)

bl
n'a-wore-p'e 'wait for me!'

n'edi a-kur'a-ra mo-k'ara gear'o
I in order to accompany you to come wish
'I'd like to come with you.'

tut'uke n'am-apu'd-a-ni 'I am ill.'
illness me it affects

2.6.6 Other verb suffixes

A number of verb forms was noted marked for purpose, goal, infinitive, and sequentiality:

Verb stem + -ra: the event precedes another event; see the 'stab-and die' example in 2.6.4 in which the two verbs stand in a cause-effect relationship.

Verb stem + -ka: a medial verb form expressing purpose:

n'edi uwka-k'a wet'a-ri-bo 'I am going to have a
I to bathe I am going bath.'

Verb stem + -kara: purpose or goal. In most instances followed by gear'o which expresses desire:

n'edi ni-k'ara gear'o 'I want to eat.'
I to eat want

See also the second last example in 2.6.5.

ur'oko tip'o-kara 'a stone for sharpening,
stone for sharpening a whetstone

Verb stem + -kare: infinitive. Eg. dib'ane te-k'are 'to beat the drum'; ni-k'are 'to eat'; kuku-k'are 'to swim';

n'edi anda nabare'o tab'aku dano-k'are
I not know cigarette to roll
'I do not know how to roll a cigarette.'

The form nabare'o possibly contains a prefix na- '1st p.sg.'. This could be a possessive prefix ('my knowing'), but there is some evidence that at least some verbs take prefixed

subject markers. This is the case with the verb 'to come' in the following examples:

'adi g'adi age r'a-mo? 'From where did you come?'
you where ...you come

n'edi pas'are age n'a-mo 'I came from the market.'
I market ...I come

Several points are still obscure in these examples. The form age could be a postposition ('from') or a sequence of two morphemes: a (?from) and ge which seems to be an emphasis or focus marker (cf. Sebyar ge, section 3); the initial r in r'amo is strange, one would expect a-mo. But one thing is clear, the verb stem mo 'to come' is here preceded by the subject markers. Another possible case of prefixed subject markers we find in the verb mita: 'adi a-mit'a-ya? 'Are you hungry?' n'edi and a na-mita-y'ae 'I'm not hungry.' o'am'u na-mt'a-nde 'Yesterday I was hungry.' But it is also possible that the prefixes are object markers and that the verb has an impersonal subject ('it hungers me'). The function of the suffixes -ya and -nde is not clear.

2.7 Postpositions

So far two locative postpositions and one instrumental postposition have been attested. They are: aro 'to, towards'; ati 'on', and de 'with, by means of'.

pas'are aro weta-ri-j'a-ni 'He is going to the
market to he is going market.'

'adi g'adi aro w'eta-ri-ba-no 'Where are you
you where to you are going going?

'andu-pe obo'd'e ati 'Put it on the
put it ground on ground!

m'akade ati 'andu-pe 'Put it up there!'
above on put it

bak'ombako de tit'are ra-ba-mo 'Enter the house via
ladder by house climb you-2 the ladder!
(speaking to two persons)

tur'ape de rombu-b'e 'Plant it with (the
digging stick with plant it help of) a
digging stick.'

2.8 Syntax

2.8.1 Noun Phrases

Adjectives, numerals, and demonstratives follow the noun:

<u>tit'are</u> <u>tinan'e</u>	'a large house'
<u>t'ae</u> <u>kak'age</u>	'hot water'
<u>tit'are</u> <u>en'ati</u>	'one house'
<u>tit'aru</u> <u>tarag'e</u>	'many houses'
<u>tit'are</u> <u>dog'a</u>	'this house'

In possessive noun phrases, the possessor precedes the possessed. If the possessor is a noun with a human referent, or the interrogative nim'a 'who', it is linked to the possessed noun by the 3rd p. possessive pronoun:

<u>n'ago</u> <u>tit'are</u>	'my house'
<u>tit'are</u> <u>aw'itu</u>	'house posts'
<u>umar'o</u> <u>ron'o</u>	'palm leaf'
<u>p'atore</u> <u>deag'o</u> <u>tit'are</u>	'the (R.C.) missionary's house'
<u>nim'a</u> <u>deag'o</u> <u>tit'are</u>	'whose house?'
who his house	

One case of a noun + noun construction was noted in which the second noun modifies the first: 'aga tik'ora 'school children'. This probably is a calque from Indonesian anak sekolah.

2.8.2 Verbless clauses

I give here only a few examples:

<u>dog'a</u> <u>n'ago</u> <u>tit'are</u>	'This is my house.'
this my house	

<u>n'edi</u> <u>na-n'ade</u> <u>Pilipus</u>	'My name is Phillip.'
I my name Phillip	

<u>Sebyar</u> <u>m'amaru</u> <u>tarag'e</u>	'There are many villages on the Sebyar River.'
Sebyar villages many	

2.8.3 Verb Clauses

Usually the Object precedes the verb, but it can also follow it. Thus, 'fetch a glass' can be rendered by gar'ate ga-b'e as well as ga-b'e gar'ate. The clause Subject precedes the Object; the Indirect Object was found to occur after as well as before the Object, see 2.3.1. As most of the examples in the earlier sections are verb clauses no more will be given here.

3.0 Sebyar

Phonetically Sebyar is very similar to the Weriagar dialect, but the data collected so far favour a somewhat different phonemic analysis. Thus, voiced stops are not prenasalized in word-initial position, and the voiced fricatives [β], [ð], and [ɣ] I noted only word medially¹⁰ where they alternate with weak voiced stops. This makes it possible to set up a series of voiced stop phonemes which have fricative allophones in word-medial position. The unvoiced stops can occur word-finally in which case they are unreleased. The nasals and the flap also can occur word-finally; the presence of word-final consonants is in fact the most obvious phonological difference between Sebyar and Weriagar. Consonant clusters are [mb], [nd], and [ng]; they occur only word-medially. As the velar nasal does not appear anywhere else in my data I interpret these clusters as /mb/, /nd/, and /ng/. The vowel system seems to be the same as that of Weriagar. The vowel allophones range over the same articulatory positions, but I did not find any devoicing in word-final position, and there is a much weaker tendency than in Weriagar to nasalize a vowel next to a nasal consonant. Non-syllabic /u/ and /i/ I write as w and y respectively, as I did in section 2. The provisional phoneme inventory of Sebyar is set out below:

p	t	k	i	u
b	d	g	e	o
m	n		a	
	r			

The following pronominal forms were obtained:

1. Personal pronouns in Subject position

1 sg. <u>n'endi</u>	1 pl. <u>n'indi</u>
2 sg. <u>'andi</u>	2 pl. <u>y'endi</u>
3 sg. <u>um'a</u> (in fact a deictic meaning 'that')	

2. Possessive pronouns

1 sg. <u>n'eygo</u>	2 pl. <u>y'aygo</u>
2 sg. <u>'aygo</u>	3 pl. <u>mandu'aygo</u>
3 sg. <u>mani'ago</u>	

3. Possessive prefixes occurring with names of body parts

1 sg. na-, n- 2 pl. ya-

2 sg. a-

4. Deictics

ug'a 'this'; um'a 'that'; ug'eage 'here'; um'eage 'there'.

5. Interrogatives

nim'are 'who'; nung'ay 'what'; ming'anare 'why'; g'adiag'e 'where'.

Sebyar verb morphology is very similar to that of Weriagar, and most of the verb forms noted correspond morpheme by morpheme to forms noted in Weriagar: romu-nd'i-bo 'I sit', ni-nd'i-bo 'I am eating', ak'ote tete-ri-a 'the child is hungry', ni-nda-b'a-mo 'we (du.?) have eaten', depu-b'e 'blow (the fire)', kei-p'e 'roast (sago)!' Forms not recorded in Weriagar are those which have a suffix -ka preceding the aspect marker -ri, a suffix -ma preceding the imperative marker, and a form in which the imperative marker follows the aspect marker -ndi.

n'endi oto-ra und'uno-k'a-ri-bo
I go and urinate
'I am going to pass water.'

na-k'a-ri-bo 'I am going to sleep.'

am'anda ni-ndi-b'e! 'Don't eat (or perhaps; 'you shouldn't be eating').

ni-m'a-e 'eat!' (sg); ni-m'a-ba-yo 'eat!' (pl).

Several of the nouns I elicited were given with and without a post-nominal particle ge or go, possibly an emphasis marker. The semantic difference between ge and go is unclear; it could reflect a gender difference in the noun: tay'e ge 'water', og'o ge 'pig', dud'o go 'breast', uk'o go 'fruit'.

The few sentences recorded show the same syntax as Weriagar; a few examples are:

ug'a aygo n'eko m'iro 'Is this your goat here?'
this your goat ?here

kein ug'a atar'ae 'This house is large.'
house this large

n'indi n'ekomo medam'o ni-nda-b'a-mo
we goat yesterday we ate
'Yesterday we ate goat's meat.'

'andi nim'are 'who are you?'
you who

n'endi Amis en'o 'I am Amis.'
I A. ...

d'akon ug'urani m'iro 'Is the deacon here?'
deacon be ?here

ugur'ani o 'He is here.'

p'ata ug'uranom m'iro 'Is there (any) rice here?'
rice be ?here

ug'uranomo 'There is (rice).'

The suffix (?) mo in n'ekomo and ug'uranomo may perhaps refer to an indefinite quantity. It was also found with the following nouns: bot'anomo 'ashes', dang'amo 'waves', orot'anomo 'smoke', kudur'ugomo 'charcoal'.

4.0 The Tarof, Kasuweri, and Barau dialects

The only data in Tarof, Kasuweri and Barau which are in my possession are wordlists of just over a hundred items. They are given in the comparative wordlist in section 5. For Barau we have at least a short remark on its grammatical and phonological structure, made by Anceaux in his survey of the languages of the Bomberai Peninsula (Anceaux 1958):

"Barau - a Papuan language - shows an intricate morphology of the verb but no tenses (...). A striking feature of the sound system is a strong bilabial fricative. Final vowels, not having the accent, tend to get nearly inaudible or even to disappear. The accent consists of a high pitch. A vowel preceding the accent (if there is one) is prolonged. There seems to be no simple rule for the place of the accent in polysyllable words."

Judging by the Weriagar data Anceaux was right regarding the absence of tense markers in the verb, the freedom of accent placement, and the behaviour of word-final vowels. But in Weriagar it is the stressed vowel which is lengthened and stress is not always marked by a high pitch. Also, Weriagar has a dental and a velar fricative not less striking than the bilabial.

End notes

1. In the mid fifties there were about 150 Barau speakers who were living in the villages Bomberai, Otaweri, and in part of Tomage (Anceaux 1958). My informant mentioned only Tomage; possibly the first mentioned settlements have been joined to the larger village since that time.
2. In earlier publications the Sebyar dialect is called Arandai (Galis 1955, Voorhoeve 1975a,b). Galis used the name Yaban for the language spoken in Arandai and Weriar.
3. See also Wurm and Hattori 1981, text to map 2.
4. In my preliminary classification of the languages of Irian Jaya (Voorhoeve 1975b) I divided the South Bird's Head Family into three sub-families: I. Kampong Baru + Puragi, II. Tarof + Kasuweri, III. Arandai (Sebyar dialect) + Barau. The genetic relationship between those 'languages' now appears to be much closer than originally estimated. For the Trans-New Guinea Phylum the reader is referred to the two earlier publications mentioned above (1975a,b).
5. A gender distinction in the 3rd p. sg. by means of vowel contrast is also found in the Marind and Ok families which straddle the border between Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea. In the Marind languages the contrast is between e (masc.) and u or o (fem.), in the Ok languages between e or a (masc.) and u (fem.).
6. Throughout this paper stressed vowels will be marked by a preceding single quote. In [n'αŋgɛnɛ] therefore the first vowel carries the accent.
7. Cowan (1953) mentions a possible gender distinction in the 3rd p.sg. pronoun in Puragi: ninde rabini 'he', nindo rawō 'she'. As this bit of information came from a wordlist not collected by himself he suspected it to be the literal translation of the Indonesian entries 'dia lakilaki' and 'dia perempuan' (rabini 'man', rawō 'woman') and guessed that the final o in nindo was a spelling mistake. Although his first assumption is probably right, the second is probably wrong, as the Arandai data show.
8. ni and no may be particles functioning on the clause level. There is some evidence that they occur also at the end of verbless clauses.
9. Questions distinguish themselves from statements only by their intonation. I have not dealt with suprasegmentals in this paper because of a lack of data.
10. I noted one exception to this statement: the word for 'breast' is [ɔuɔ], but this is a loan from Indonesian (susu).

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Comparative wordlist of Arandai dialects

The wordlist is based on my own lexical data in the Weriagar and Sebyar dialects and on older lists of Barau, Sebyar ("Arandai"), Tarof and Kasuweri, collected by J.C. Anceaux. Anceaux' Sebyar list was probably obtained from an informant from Tomu village¹¹. As my informant came from the same village I have supplemented some missing items in my own Sebyar list by words from Anceaux' list. Further, the list is only partially 'comparative' as words which occur in only one of the source lists have also been included. The spelling of the Weriagar and Sebyar words follows the system used in the preceding sections; words in the other dialects are spelled as they are in the sources. In Barau words x stands for a velar fricative, spelled ɣ in Weriagar. Verb stems are followed by a dash (-) to indicate their potential for taking suffixes. Names of body parts which were recorded in their possessed form are given with the possessive prefix attached to them. For Weriagar and Sebyar this is the 1st p.sg. possessive prefix; the data in the other dialects also contain other prefixes.

End note

11. As can be deduced from the entry for 'village' in his list, which reads tomu instead of m'are. The informant obviously thought he was asked for the name of his village.

	BARAU	WERIAGAR	SEBYAR	TAROF	KASUWERI
above	-	mak'ade	agag'ae ¹	-	-
afraid	-	arey-	-	-	-
afternoon	-	-	ambint'ano	-	-
all	-	g'oyne	-	-	-
already	-	kere'a	-	-	-
ancestors	-	detat'emaɔ	-	-	-
and	-	baru ²	-	-	-
angry	-	tamba-	-	-	-
ant	top'ane	'obaneɔ'e	t'otopan'i	-	-
anus	-	nabe	ibi k'ebe	-	-
arm, hand	nombore	n'ambore	n'amboro	yobora	nobora
armpit	yatawabo	natab'a	natab'a	-	netabana
arrow	taure	kep'o	kepena	-	-
ashes	mbotano	mot'anu	bot'anomo	-	-
axe	-	tam'ani ³	tam'ane	-	-
back of body	yatipame	natp'ane	natip'am	-	-
bachelor	-	tant'e	-	-	-
backbone	-	natp'an toke	natip'am tok'e	-	-
bad	-	ɬij'ae	w'akori	-	-
bag	-	t'uare ⁴	-	-	-
bamboo	timbi	timb'i ⁵ , map'i	t'imbi	-	-
banana	undi	und'i ⁶	-	-	-
to bark	-	koe-	-	-	-
bark of tree	ak'ane	ak'ane	-	-	-
bat	kabuarene	tit'inepa	-	-	-
to bathe	-	uwka-	-	-	-
to be there	-	gare	ug'ura-	-	-

	BARAU	WERIAGAR	SEBYAR	TAROF	KASUWERI
beach, coast	-	ani'akabi	-	-	-
beam (timber)	-	r'arabur'u	-	-	-
bee	-	-	?udaren'ae	-	-
belly	kotene	nakot'ene	nakot'ene	kotena	kotena
below	-	eg'aya	og'a	-	-
betel	-	et'u	-	-	-
big	tinene	tin'ane ⁷	atar'ae	tinania	tinani
to bind	-	mamba-	-	-	-
bird	kanene	k'anene	kan'eno	maniko ⁸	kanenu
b. of paradise	tiange	-	-	-	-
to bite	-	kate-	-	-	-
black	gomukake	wiw'iribeni	rib'i-	kibetia	kibitia
blind	-	namago bij'ae ⁹	-	-	-
blood	apate	apat'o	ap'ato	apatomo	apato
to blow the fire	-	depu-	depu-	-	-
blunt	-	p'iroge	-	-	-
body	mame, angene	mame, 'angene	mami, 'ingin	-	-
a boil	-	kotog'e	-	-	-
to boil s.t.	-	kita-	-	-	-
bone	toke	tok'e	tok'e	toka	toka
bow (weapon)	-	kipi'are	-	-	-
boy	-	ak'ote rabine	ak'ot rab'in	-	-
branch of tree	metaxo	-	met'ange	-	-
breadfruit	kuruno	k'urono	-	-	-
breast	ja-dudo	duu'u	dud'o	didu	didu
brother, e.	aije	n'enaneki	n'ani rab'in	-	-

brother, y.	-	dep'a	kamb'ir	-	-
bro-in-law	-	m'arkene	-	-	-
to build	-	togo-	-	-	-
to burn, roast	tana-	ke-	kei-, tarai ¹⁰	bobe-	bube-
butterfly	mukaku	mok'ako	m'umuo	mokakaro	mokakaro
calf of leg	jetubu	nat'ore ebuk'ull	not'or imb'an	-	-
to call	-	it'ao-	-	-	-
canoe	-	erg'ene	erg'eno	-	-
cape	-	nitob'o	-	-	-
cassava	-	tangar'a	-	-	-
cassowary	nimandu	nim'ando	wor'ibo	-	-
centipede	titirena	tit'ireno	titir'eno	-	-
charcoal	-	koer'uke	kudur'ugo	-	-
cheek	yoxawo	nog'apu	-	-	-
chest of body	-	k'ambete	k'ambete	-	-
chicken	-	kok'oro ¹²	-	-	-
chillies	-	tapu'amo	-	-	-
chin, jaw	jondan	-	-	-	-
to climb	-	ra-	-	-	-
cloth (bark)	-	kariw'ane	-	-	-
cloud	amane kade	-	aman'abo k'aite	amana	amana
cockatoo (white)	-	-	ek'ake	-	-
coconut	amaro	'umarow, karap'a ¹³	n'auru	-	-
cold	titiga, tigatiga	tig'atiga tiga- ¹⁵	tigatig'ae ¹⁴ tiga- ¹⁵	tigatigaia	tigatigai
to collect	-	roga-	-	-	-

	BARAU	WERIAGAR	SEBYAR	TAROF	KASUWERI
comb	-	t'ipaje	-	-	-
to come	ma-	ma-,mo-	mo-	?amia	mo-
cooked	-	mat'eane	-	-	-
to cough	-	dondon'a-	dondon'a-	-	-
crab	-	cmb'ejo	komb'eyo	-	-
crocodile	tirade	tae'aje	tay'ade	-	-
crooked	-	g'onggoja	gerged'ore	-	-
to cry	ra-, ro-	ra-	raa-	nara-	nare-
cuscus	metawetu	tu'ayna	-	-	-
to dance	-	roko-	-	-	-
deaf	-	eker'a titik'ana ¹⁶	-	-	-
deep	-	ruw'a	-	-	-
to descend	-	amba-	-	-	-
diarrhoea	-	kaka ta ¹⁷	-	-	-
to die	tatu, taukware	ta-, ko ¹⁸	tau-	dimea	dimea
digging stick	-	tur'ape	-	-	-
dog	roxo	r'oge	dab'ore	-	-
domesticated	-	k'amek'amenge	-	-	-
door	kapene	tambur'are	tambur'are, ayn'abe ¹⁹	-	-
to draw water	-	tae te-	-	-	-
to dream	-	mimi-	-	-	-
to drink	u-	u-	u-	u-	u-
to drop s.t.	-	po-	-	-	-
drum	-	dib'ane ²⁰	at'op	-	-
to drum	-	dib'ante-	at'op tia-	-	-

dry	weriwere	were-	rar'aga-	werea	werea, karakarakia
to dry s.t.	-	dai-	-	-	-
dumb	-	mumuk'i	-	-	-
eagle	-	ki'ambe	-	-	-
ear	yakera	naker'a	naker'a	yakera	nakera
earth	obode	obo'e	ked'u, boe ²¹	kereia	kerekaya, kaburo
to eat	nim-	ni-	ni-	ni-	ni-
egg	eku	'eku	k'uo	ukumo	uku
eight	-	ogut'ati	-	-	-
elbow	jetuxe	-	net'ugedo	-	-
eldest (child)	-	kokang'e	-	-	-
empty	-	mit'aai	-	-	-
eye	emaxo	nam'ago	naem'ago	emago	namago
faeces	kato	k'ato	k'ayto	-	-
to fan (fire)	-	-	bobo-	-	-
to fart	-	tim'ina-	-	-	-
fast	aremetare	ar'eare	-	-	-
fat (size)	-	gew'e	-	-	-
father	-	'ay	'aet	-	-
feather	-	karar'e	karar'o	-	-
female	-	ked'en'u	-	-	-
fence	-	pag'aro ²²	-	-	-
fern, edible	-	bi'ato ²³	-	-	-
finger	jekepe	nak'epo	nambo memeng'o ²⁴	-	-
fire	inete	in'ete	in'eti	ineta	ineta, mukupi

	BARAU	WERIAGAR	SEBYAR	TAROF	KASUWERI
firefly	moenato	mop'enatu	-	-	-
fireplace	-	id'ebe	ud'ebi	-	-
fire tongs	-	t'embeku'a	-	-	-
firewood	-	inet'ago, wir'iku	ker'ikomo	-	-
fish	tambake	pap'ae	taemb'ake	konaminia	koinamine
five	-	r'ade	r'adi	-	-
flame	-	in'ete arg'e ²⁵	-	-	-
flesh, meat	ebuke	ebuk'u	ing'ibuk'e ²⁶	babukia	babuki
floor	-	t'eramu	-	-	-
fly, house-	karareni	k'araren'e	karar'eno	kararenu	kalarenu
fly, blue	-	bor'a	bowr'ae	-	-
to fly	wie-	-	ye- ²⁷	ye-	ye-
flying fox	kumade	kumand'e	kum'anduro	-	-
folktale	-	b'itibiti	-	-	-
to follow	-	kura-	-	-	-
food	-	nik'ara gu	-	-	-
foot, leg	jotore	not'ore	not'oru	otora	notora
footprint	-	not'ora metan'e	-	-	-
forehead	mitora	mitor'a	-	-	-
forest	-	ok'a	-	-	-
four	-	jat'e	id'ati	-	-
friend	-	tomb'ate	-	-	-
frog	kania	k'ania	-	-	-
fruit	ewuko	ebuk'e	buk'o	-	ebuki ²⁸
fruit sp. (Eugenia)	-	tibob'ore, k'abe	-	-	-
full	-	pit'ibetigi	-	-	-

garden	-	tar'anga	-	-	-
to get up	-	paje-	raet'a-	-	-
girl (grown-up)	-	wenak'ayndo	-	-	-
girl (small)	-	ak'ote keden'u	-	-	-
to give	mbi-	im-	me-	-	-
a glass	-	gar'ate ²⁹	-	-	-
to go away	-	-	ta-	-	-
to go down	-	wu-	-	-	-
goanna	-	kot'oro paj'e	d'adi	-	-
goat	-	-	neko(mo)	-	-
good	ninge	ning'e	ning'e	nigei	nigei
grandchild	-	dea'ote m. dea'oto f.	ak'ot ag'or	-	-
grandfather	-	detat'e	t'aate	-	-
grandmother	-	detat'o	ak'ao	-	-
grass	-	bub'utaru	-	-	-
green	-	birimbir'itene	-	-	-
grub (sago)	-	t'utu	et'ero	-	-
hair	watunu	watut'unu	n'akabat'uno ³⁰	watunu(mo)	natunu
hair of body	-	angen karar'o ³¹	kar'ar	-	-
hard	bapeka	p'apaka	-	-	-
he	-	umai, de ³²	uma ³²	-	-
head	nakave	n'akabe	naak'abe	nakabo	nakaba
heart	-	bir'are	-	-	-
heavy	arumane	arum'ane	aram'ani	-	-
here	-	mi	?miro, ug'eage	-	-
heron	-	aw'i, ur'umbano	'awgare	-	-

	BARAU	WERIAGAR	SEBYAR	TAROF	KASUWERI
high, long	kambe	ik'ambe	ek'ambe ³³	ekaboi	ekaboi
his/her	-	de'ago	mani'ago	-	-
to hold s.t.	-	gon'o-	-	-	-
hornbill	kowerene	?pamaria	wam'ore	-	-
hot (water)	-	kak'agi	gir'ini	udere	uderea
feel hot	kaka	kaka-	-	-	-
house	titare	tit'are sg. tit'aru pl.	t'itar, keine	-	-
hungry	-	?mita-	kot'e tete- ³⁴	-	-
to hurt int.	-	w'eti-	-	-	-
I	nedi	n'edi	n'endi	neiga	neiga
island	-	wuk'o	-	-	-
to kill	-	t'eroko-	taupu- ³⁵	-	-
knee	yopie, yupiane	napi'ane	nop'ine kap	notora kawa	nomiani
knife	-	t'unuke	t'unuk	-	-
kunai grass	-	widet'ino	-	-	-
ladder	-	bak'ombako	r'auti	-	-
to laugh	-	'ara-	ar'atia-	-	-
leaf	rono	ron'o ³⁶	b'ango	otirero	nonia, otikal
leech	-	n'oao	-	-	-
lemon	-	r'imbimo	-	-	-
to light fire	-	kapi-	-	-	-
light in weight	waror	anda arem'ani ³⁷	warow'ari	-	-
lime	-	k'obuke	-	-	-
lip	jotaro koro	nut'ao	-	-	-
lizard	-	dondow'are	-	-	-

to look for	-	k'ato-, kae-	-	-	-
louse	kono	kon'o	k'ono	kono	kono
machete	-	ti'ango	kam'ungo	-	-
man, male	ravine	r'abine sg. r'ambundu pl.	r'abini	nubido(mo)	nabini, orotoeni
many	kapane, kapiran	tarag'e, kap'ani	kakam'ori	kaparaga	tumunia, udumia
market	-	pas'are ³⁸	-	-	-
mat	-	ki'are ³⁹	t'aniniba	-	-
medicine	-	tew'o	-	-	-
midrib of sago	-	g'ambaro ⁴⁰	gab'aro	-	-
moon	puruno	pur'uno ⁴¹ , mok'o	pur'ino	purunu	puruno
morning	titiga ⁴²	-	medam'o	-	-
mosquito	kenamo	kibin'u	kikib'ino	kenamo	kibino
mother	-	'ajo	yae	-	-
mountain	keni	tiw'i	keini ⁴³	tiro	tirio
mouse	murgatie	kobit'a	ereben'e	-	-
mouth	jorgane	nong'ane	nargane ⁴⁴	etadomo ⁴⁵	yatado ⁴⁵
mucus, nasal	mindano	-	-	-	-
muddy	-	-	w'iriri'e	-	-
my	-	n'ago	n'eygo	-	-
nail of finger	yeti	n'ati	nomb'ometi	yekepa ⁴⁶	yekepo ⁴⁶
name	enadi	nan'ade	anaide	anai	nanai
navel	jota	not'a	not'ae	-	-
near	xadexari	-	-	-	-
needle	-	rot'ape	-	-	-
net (fish-)	-	uk'ato	-	-	-
new	boite	b'oyti	b'oyti	boiti	boiti

	BARAU	WERIAGAR	SEBYAR	TAROF	KASUWERI					
night	patire	-	ewate ⁴⁷	patiereea	patiereea ititi	to pound sago	-	kawa-	-	-
nine	-	tapot'i	-	-	-	to pull down, demolish	-	wurupu-	-	-
nipa palm	-	bat'aa	b'atao	-	-	to put down	-	andu', k'ati-	-	-
nit	-	gorop'inu	-	-	-	python	-	m'amburum'a, w'arawara	-	-
nose	edara	nae'ara	na'indare	eyara	yadara	rack	-	w'enare	-	-
nostril	-	nae'ara k'obo ⁴⁸	-	-	-	rain	urange	'urange ⁵¹	ur'ange	'manina
not	-	anda, meni ⁴⁹	and'a, menai ⁴⁹	-	-	rattan, rope	warato	war'ato	war'ate, ⁵² 'akur	manino
old (objects) toxode		togoe'e	togoy	-	-	raw	-	k'orumuni	-	-
old (people) timate		?mamene	-	-	-	rayfish	-	w'ajo	w'aido	-
old man	-	mamen'e	-	-	-	red	katumba	apat'ene	m'ukuro	mukuri, katuba
old woman	-	mamen'o	-	-	-	rib	-	keremb'atu	-	-
on	-	ati	-	-	-	rice	-	pat'a	p'ata	-
once	-	en'atero	-	-	-	right side	daore	-	-	-
one	onati	en'ati	onate ⁵⁰	onati	onati	ripe	tatire	t'atiri	-	-
paddle	-	ton'e	bek'ae	-	-	to rise (sun)	-	ra-	-	-
to paddle	-	erek'a-	-	-	-	river	arepa	toe'abe	ey'abe	-
palmwine	-	k'iamo	-	-	-	to roll (tr.)	-	dano-	-	-
pandanus	-	kob'o	kop'o	-	-	root	kuato, undare	ue'aro	utaro(mo)	ogato
parrot, red	-	tugee'o	w'oyo	-	-	rotten	-	mak'o	-	-
path	ame	bap'u	-	moroi	amia	sago	-	t'oe	toy'e	-
penis	-	'ore	'ore	-	-	sagopalm	towo	tow'o	tow'omo	-
person	ndanetu	d'antu	d'anet sg. damb'ando pl.	-	-	sago pith	-	koko'e'o	-	-
pig	poxi	p'ogi	og'oge	-	-	sago porridge	ira	-	-	-
to plait	-	ri-	-	-	-	to sail	-	webe-	-	-
to play	-	k'okok nga-	-	-	-	salt	-	tir'a, ar'aja	-	-
post (of house)	-	aw'itu, kamu	-	-	-					

	BARAU	WERIAGAR	SEBYAR	TAROF	KASUWERI
sand	kembare	k'embare	kind'ai	kebara, rebini	kebara, rebini
sap, resin	-	kat'uri	-	-	-
sawfish	-	tet'apire	k'awtene	-	-
scar	-	-	ar'ut, mangam'un	-	-
school	-	tik'ora ⁵³	-	-	-
to scratch	-	pe- ⁵⁴	-	-	-
sea	-	-	taw'ake	-	-
to search for lice	-	kato-	kato-	-	-
to see	ete-	-	iti- ⁵⁵	ete-	ete-
seven	-	'apate	-	-	-
shallow	-	anda ruw'a ⁵⁶	-	-	-
sharp (edge)	-	angeng'eti	-	-	-
to sharpen	-	tipo-	-	-	-
shell of coconut	-	por'anu	d'owre	-	-
to shiver	-	pape-	-	-	-
to shoot (arrow)	-	pa-	-	-	-
short, low	-	witik'e	b'ukumi	-	-
shoulder	jengatab	nar'ame	-	-	-
to shout	-	pagig'i-	-	-	-
shrimp	-	tap'atapo, tat'a	tat'ao	-	-
sister, e.	-	nenan'iko	n'an ked'eno	-	-
sister, y.	-	den'ado	-	-	-
sister-in-law	-	marken'o	-	-	-
to sit	rom-	orom-	romu-	amu-	amu-
six	-	g'ende	gend'i	-	-

skin	akane	ak'ane	ak'an	akai	akai
sky	amane	-	aman'abe	-	-
to sleep	remena-	remina-	na-	purai	nai-, ina-
sleepy	-	-	em'ag, kik'iba- ⁵⁷	-	-
slow(ly)	nandue	nand'u	-	-	-
small	axare	ag'are	w'aratib'i	tokuni	tokuni
smoke	maki	mak'i, 'arawane	orot'ano	kukubia	kukubi
to smoke a cigarette	-	p'ie	-	-	-
snake	rode, xore	oä'e	yed'ege	gedi	tamedidi, kamano
soft	dodoro	ä'oäero	-	-	-
sole of foot	-	nat'ore eg'a	n'otor ang'ane ⁵⁸	-	-
to sow	-	wotota-	-	-	-
spear	-	w'eyto	-	-	-
to spear	-	pa- ⁵⁹	-	-	-
spider	gununua	-	-	-	-
spittle	mbotire	botir'e	-	-	-
spouse	-	denoko ⁶⁰	-	-	-
to stand	ji-, hire-	-	ide-	idi-	ide-
star	anate	an'ata	-	anatai	turubi
stone	ureko	ur'oko	ur'eko	ureko	ureko
straight	-	r'awar'ara	rembit'otoy	-	-
to strike (lightning)	-	tik'a	-	-	-
string	-	k'ekete ⁶¹	-	-	-
sugarcane	tepu	tep'u ⁶²	t'epu	-	-

	BARAU	WERIAGAR	SEBYAR	TAROF	KASUWERI
sun	itane	it'ane	it'aine	itaine	itaine, egedi
sweat	atamure	'amumure	tit'ao	-	-
sweet	-	boyning'ebe	-	-	-
sw.potato	-	mekap'o	-	-	-
to swim	kuku-	kuku-	kuku-	debe-	debe-
swollen	-	awa-	-	-	-
tail (of dog)	erukwai	bikir'e	uruk'ae	eroai	eruai
to take	-	ga-	-	-	-
taro	-	butumbut'uro	-	-	-
to tell	-	t'aka-	-	-	-
ten	-	togut'i	tobuti	-	-
termite	mira	-	-	-	-
that	-	dom'a	uma	-	-
thatch	-	'awanu	'atabo ⁶³	-	-
there	-	moy	um'eage	-	-
they du.	-	?angendom'o	-	-	-
they pl.	-	?dog'adumu	-	-	-
thigh	jakewine	nak'ebena	n'akebin'a	-	-
thirsty	-	ot'ate were ⁶⁴	ot'atu ere ⁶⁴	-	-
this	-	dog'a	ug'a	-	-
thorn	mbita	bit'a	big'obo	-	-
thread	-	ban'ano ⁶⁵	-	-	-
three	aroyo, aru	ar'oyo	ar'oy	aria	aria
throat	yotate	not'ate	not'atu	yotata	notata
thunder	uwuera	-	eke-	-	-
tired	-	tat'ape ⁶⁶	-	-	-

tobacco, cigarette	-	tab'aku	-	-	-
tomorrow	merake	merak'e	?w'oyda	-	-
tongue	yenune	nen'une	naan'une	enini	nenini
tooth	eretine	nar'etini	naum'er, neretine ⁶⁷	eretinu	neresinu
towards	-	aro	-	-	-
tree	kamine, itame	kim'ini	kem'ino	kemino	kemini, etamei
to tremble	-	piga-	-	-	-
turtle	kereno	od'ano	kakam'ao	-	-
two	oxijo	ogijo	og'i	oja	ogia
unripe	kapute	kaputi	-	-	-
urine	unduno	and'uno	und'uno	-	-
vagina	-	ag'e	'arie	-	-
vein	tutue	tut'u	amat'uo	tutukomo	tutuko
village	mare	m'are sg. mam'aru pl.	m'are	-	-
voice	jamoe	am'oy	-	-	-
to vomit	-	wago-	-	-	-
to wait	-	nawore-	-	-	-
to walk	notua-	notoa-	netoa-	natoa-	notoa-
to want, wish	-	gear'o	-	-	-
wasp	-	'ogane	-	-	-
water	tai	t'ae	tay'e	tai	taya
wave	-	'araja	dang'amo	-	-
we inc.	-	j'edi	yenga ⁶⁸	iga	iga
we exc.	nidi	n'idi	n'indi	nidi	nidi
we du.	-	nigia	-	-	-
wet	tiriri	t'iwii	tir'irie	-	-

	BARAU	WERIAGAR	SEBYAR	TAROF	KASUWERI
what	nurwae	-	nung'ay	igauma	igaumo
where	-	gaði	g'adi	-	-
whetstone	-	ur'oko, tip'okara	-	-	-
white	grate	ger'ate	p'apago	kabia	kabia, awura
who	nimae	nim'aro	nim'are	imanara	nimanara
whole, all	-	tetem'e	-	-	-
why	-	'oka	ming'a	-	-
wild (pig)	-	tag'o	-	-	-
wind	medidin, merere	mideð'e	med'ide	aweneni	roboroboi
wing	metako	metak'o	metar'amo	-	-
woman	kedenu	ked'enu sg. kerend'o pl.	ked'eno	rawao	rawao
worm	-	k'ajo	-	-	-
wound	-	arut'i	ar'ut	-	-
yellow	bimbirite	-	-	-	-
yesterday	odamo	oa'amu	-	-	-
you sg.	adi	'aði	'andi	aiga ⁶⁹	aiga ⁶⁹
you pl.	edi	'eði	y'endi	-	eiga ⁶⁹
you du	-	'egia	-	-	-
youngest (child)-	-	kak'abea	-	-	-
your sg.	-	'ago	'aygo	-	-
your pl.	-	'eago	y'aygo	-	-

Notes on the comparative wordlist

1. The form means 'It's up there'.
2. Loan from Indonesian
3. Probably a loan word; in Ambai on Yapen island the word is taman, the Proto-Western Yapen form is *taman (Silzer 1983).
4. netbag, carried on a strap round the head.
5. timb'i and map'i are two kinds of bamboo; timb'i is the kind used as water container.
6. Probably an Austronesian loan from an unknown source (Proto Austronesian (PAN) *punti).
Also: heavy, of rain.
8. Austronesian loan (PAN *manuk).
9. eye + bad
10. tarai in Anceaux' list
11. my leg + flesh
12. Austronesian loan, cf. Biam man koko.
13. Loan from Indonesian.
14. The form means 'it is cold'.
15. to feel cold.
16. ear + deaf
17. to have diarrhoea
18. The difference in meaning between ta- and ko- is not clear.
19. Given as synonymns.
20. Loan form Moluccan Malay (tifa).
21. From Anceaux' list.
22. Indonesian loan (pagar).
23. Called sayur paku in Indonesian.
24. my hand + finger.
25. fire + body ('ange is the construction form of 'angene).
26. body + flesh
27. from Anceaux' list.
28. Glossed 'seed' in the source list.
29. Loan from Indonesian (gelas).
30. my head + hair
31. body + hair
32. cf. 2.3.1
33. From Anceaux' list.
34. belly + ?hungry
35. taupu- probably a causative form of tau- 'to die'
36. Austronesian loan (PAN *Dahun).
37. not heavy
38. Indonesian loan (pasar)
39. sleeping mat
40. Indonesian loan (gaba)
41. Austronesian loan (PAN *bulan)
42. An error? Cf. cold.
43. From Anceaux' list.
44. From Anceaux' list.
45. Cf. lip

46. Cf. finger
47. From Anceaux' list.
48. my nose + hole
49. and 'a negates verbs; meni = no
50. From Anceaux' list.
51. Loan from Indonesian (hujan).
52. war'ate is an Austronesian loan, cf. Proto-Ambon
*waret, Proto-Oceanic *waro.
53. Indonesian loan (sekolah).
54. to scratch the ground, as chickens do.
55. From Anceaux' list.
56. no deep
57. eye + sleepy
58. my foot + body
59. Cf. shoot
60. keé'enu denoko 'wife', r'abine denoko 'husband'
61. string used to make netbags.
62. Indonesian loan (tebu)
63. Indonesian loan (atap)
64. throat + dry
65. Indonesian loan (benang).
66. Indonesian loan (capai).
67. From Anceaux' list.
68. From Anceaux' list.
69. Probably possessive forms, cf. 'your sg.'

Sepuluh dari pulau Irian di sebelah barat, Irian Jaya, adalah propinsi negara Republik Indonesia. Irian Jaya merupakan daerah yang jarang penduduknya dengan luas daerah kira-kira 410.660 km². Bertambahnya jumlah pendatang, terutama melalui program transmigrasi dari pemerintah, dan bentuk-bentuk lain dari bidang pembangunan telah mulai mengubah wajah Irian Jaya. Di samping itu perencanaan dan program pengembangan perlindungan alam mulai mendapat pengakuan dan penerimaan pada tingkat peralihan yang kritis dalam proses perkembangan propinsi ini.

Sejarah geologi pulau Irian telah menempatkan pulau ini di dalam posisi biogeografis yang unik pada persimpangan jalan di antara benua Asia dan benua Australia. Berbagai-bagai binatang dan tumbuh-tumbuhan menunjukkan kekayaan daerah yang luas ini dengan tempat hidupnya menjangkau sampai hampir 5.000 m di atas permukaan laut dari pantai rawa dan bakau sampai ke gletser di bagian tengah. Flora pulau ini meliputi kira-kira 16.000 jenis dengan kira-kira 90% bersifat endemis, dan di Irian Jaya hampir 85% dari tumbuh-tumbuhannya masih belum terganggu. Di tempat ini hiduplah fauna yang kompleks dan berlimpah-limpah dengan bentuk-bentuk yang luar biasa dan terkenal termasuk binatang echidna, kangguru pohon, tikus raksasa, burung cenderawasih dan burung bower, kupu-kupu sayap burung, buaya dan kura-kura laut yang besar. Sungguh, pulau Irian merupakan gudang terbesar dan sumber kekayaan genetika dalam daerah yang dilayani oleh South Pacific Commission. Oleh karena itu, Irian Jaya bersama dengan Papua New Guinea harus diletakkan pada tempat tertinggi dalam daftar prioritas strategi pengembangan daerah perlindungan alam di Pasifik Selatan.

Mengenal sistem daerah perlindungan bumi yang luas untuk Irian Jaya telah menjadi langkah pertama di dalam menyatukan perlindungan alam ke dalam rencana pembangunan secara menyeluruh untuk propinsi itu. Rencana cadangan tanah itu meliputi lebih dari 7,7 juta hektar (19 juta are), hampir 19% dari propinsi ini, semua ini pada dasarnya telah disetujui oleh Pemerintah Indonesia. Sistem cadangan itu didasarkan pada beberapa pertimbangan penting, semuanya secara biologis. Sebagaimana telah dipahami, sistem itu meliputi semua daerah-daerah biogeografis yang penting di propinsi itu, semua pusat endemis yang diketahui dan semua spektrum ketinggian dan tempat kediaman yang ada. Sebagai tambahan, dalam setiap cadangan gunung semua derajat ketinggian lereng telah dimasukkan ke dalam suatu penampang silang yang mewakili tempat kediaman yang tersedia. Daerah penting dari dataran rendah hutan hujan telah dimasukkan untuk mengamankan flora yang beraneka ragam, sedangkan perlindungan terhadap fauna dengan kebutuhan daerah yang luas telah diperoleh di dalam tiga cadangan kami yang terbesar, yang bila disatukan, membentuk penampang silang melintang daerah ini, yang berjumlah 3,9 juta hektar. Tempat-tempat khusus seperti pantai-pantai berlumpur dengan mangrove, daerah tumbuh-tumbuhan peralihan yang penting dan, tempat-tempat penting untuk jenis-jenis satwa yang berpindah-pindah telah dimasukkan semuanya. Pulau-pulau kecil yang jauh dari pantai, penting untuk burung-burung bersarang, dan daerah-daerah penting untuk tempat sarang dan tempat makan kura-kura laut telah dimasukkan. Sebagai tambahan, bagian laut sekarang memasukkan tiga usul cadangan besar untuk mengamankan pencakupan daerah-daerah karang yang kaya dan menarik, dan taman rumput laut, dan di pakai sebagai tempat perlindungan untuk jenis-jenis kehidupan laut yang terancam punah seperti kerang raksasa, duyung, kura-kura dan satwa-satwa tertentu yang bertubuh lunak. Diharapkan agar daerah-daerah tambahan akan diidentifikasi di daerah pantai selatan pada survei lebih lanjut, dan bagian-bagian cadangan bumi pantai yang penting akan ditambahkan pada sistem laut itu.

IRIAN JAYA: BIOLOGICAL RESOURCES AND RATIONALE FOR A COMPREHENSIVE PROTECTED AREA DESIGN

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SUMMARY

The Western half of New Guinea is Indonesia's province of Irian Jaya, a sparsely populated region with an area of some 410,660 square kilometres. Increasing numbers of settlers, mainly through the government's transmigration programme, and other forms of sectoral development are beginning to change the face of Irian Jaya as conservation planning and programme development begin to secure recognition and acceptance at this critical, transitional stage in the evolution of the province.

The geological history of New Guinea has placed the island in a unique biogeographical position at the crossroads between Asian and Australian regions. Its biota is extremely rich and diverse and covers a broad range of habitats through nearly 5000 metres from coastal swamps and mangroves to the glaciers of the central range. The island's flora includes about 16,000 species, with about 90% endemism, and in Irian Jaya nearly 85% of the natural vegetation is still undisturbed. Within this spectrum of habitats live a complex and abundant fauna with unusual and famous forms including monotreme echidnas, tree kangaroos, giant rats, birds of paradise and bowerbirds, birdwing butterflies, crocodiles and huge marine turtles. New Guinea certainly holds the greatest storehouse and treasure of genetic resources in the area served by the South Pacific Commission. It therefore follows that Irian Jaya along with Papua New Guinea should be high on the list of priorities for any regional conservation strategy in the South Pacific.

The identification of a comprehensive terrestrial protected area system for Irian Jaya has been the first step in integrating conservation into the overall development plans for the province. The programmed reserve lands comprise more than 7.7 million hectares (19 million acres), nearly 19% of the province, all of which has been approved in principle by the Government of Indonesia. The reserve system is based on several major considerations, all of them biological. As conceived, the system covers all the major biogeographic areas of the province, all known centres of endemism, and the complete spectrum of altitudes and habitats. Additionally, within each mountain reserve, a complete altitudinal gradient has been included with a representative cross-section of available habitats. Substantial diversity, while protection of fauna with large area requirements has been secured in three of our largest reserves, which when taken together, form a north south cross-section across the country amounting to 3.9 million hectares. Special habitats such as mangroves, major vegetation transition zones, and habitats important to

migratory species are all covered. Small offshore islands important to nesting birds, and the major nesting and feeding areas for marine turtles have been included. In addition, the marine component now encompasses three large reserve proposals to secure coverage for spectacular and rich coral reef areas, and sea grass beds, and to serve as refuges for endangered species such as giant clams, dugong, turtles and certain molluscs. It is expected that additional areas will be identified along the south coast with further survey, and that important coastal components of terrestrial reserves will be added to the marine system.

1. INTRODUCTION

As part of the overall strategy to integrate conservation into developmental planning in Irian Jaya, the World Wild Life Program in the province, initiated in 1980, has been assisting the Government of Indonesia in identifying a comprehensive system of protected areas. Prior to the inception of this project, numerous reserve proposals were presented to the government from different quarters. Many of these proposals contained constructive recommendations and contributed in stages of successive approximations to the comprehensive reserve design which we have produced in concert for our hosts (Schodde, 1973; FAO, 1978; 1981; Schultze-Westrum, 1980; Diamond, 1980, 1981; Lever, 1980). This comprehensive terrestrial reserve plan is now approved in principle by the government and will form the cornerstone of conservation policy in Irian Jaya. Many of the individual reserves still await formalization through gazettelement. However, the importance which government attaches to these conservation areas has been reflected in the recent proposals of the Director General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation in Bangkok, November 1984, nominating the two largest reserves in the province, the Lorentz (1.5 million hectares) and the Mamberamo-Foja (1.44 million hectares) as ASEAN Heritage Sites. Both areas have also been recommended as National Parks.

This paper presents the major considerations applied in identifying and defining the reserve components within the protected area design for Irian Jaya. A brief review of the physical and biological characteristics of the province is presented as a background to the discussion to generate an appreciation of the richness and diversity for which New Guinea is renowned. The protected area systems is reviewed illustrating how the various reserves fit the biological design criteria.

The system of provincial and national planning in Indonesia has allowed the formulation and approval of a reserve system based totally on biological principles and values. The next stage after gazettelement, will focus on developing management plans and reserve zoning for selected priority areas. For this we shall rely heavily on the knowledge and cooperation of local residents in each area

whose participation in formulation and implementation of the plans is absolutely essential. If success at this stage can be achieved, our efforts in Irian Jaya will be justified as one of the most ambitious conservation initiatives in the Pacific Basin.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 The Human Perspective

Irian Jaya is the largest and easternmost province of Indonesia with an area of 410,660 square kilometres. It forms the western part of the island of New Guinea and shares a common border of 736 kilometres with Papua New Guinea. The province is sparsely populated with some 1.3 million people, about 800,000 of which are indigenous Melanesians. Concentrations of agricultural people occur in the Central Highlands, particularly in the Baliem Valley, Paniai Lakes and Anggi Lakes area of the Bird's Head. The remaining majority are located in nine coastal towns (Figure 1). At present, there are 254 airstrips in the province. These have acted as magnets drawing more isolated peoples from the hinterland into a more integrated society. Here, education and health facilities have been made available to the people, and government administrative infrastructure has taken root and exists in various developmental stages at each post. But particularly in the highlands, the convergence of people into agricultural settlements near and around the airstrips has exacerbated problems of wood supply and land available for rotational agriculture. In the next five years, the government plans to settle about 700,000 transmigrants, most in the agriculturally suitable areas on the southern coastal plains. This along with the ambitious road building programme, the rapid development of oil exploration and exploitation, together with logging and the construction of new saw mill facilities will permanently change the face of the province.

2.2 The Physical Perspective

The general physiography of the province is shown in figure 3. The Central Dividing Range is the backbone of New Guinea and the most prominent physiographical feature of the island. It contains the highest mountain in Southeast Asia, Mt. Jaya (4884 metres), and the only equatorial glaciers in this part of the world. The cordillera effectively divides New Guinea into two major lowland areas: the hilly northern coastal plains, and the flat-lying southern plains, while the constriction in the landmass at the western end of the Range separates the Bird's Head from the rest of the mainland. In Irian Jaya, eight outlying mountain blocks occur separate from the Central Range, and a structural low north of the cordillera, the Lakes-Plains, hold the province's rich inland swamps. Mainland Irian Jaya is fringed by two groups of offshore islands; those to the north in Cenderawasih Bay, and the Raja Ampat Islands to the

West. Lying just south of the equator, the province falls within the humid tropics, but the climate and weather patterns are largely influenced by topography. A distinctive monsoonal climate is present in the dry southeast which falls in the Australian rainshadow.

2.3 Regional Biogeographic Relationships

The geologic events which led to the formation of the New Guinea landmass and its topographic features are quite complex, but are of great significance in determining its biogeographical relationships. In brief, part of New Guinea once formed the northern tip of Australia when both were a part of the ancient supercontinent of Gondwanaland that began to break up and drift away from its position in the southern latitudes in mid-Cretaceous time, about 100 million years ago. A segment of this supercontinent, the Indian Australian Continental Plate, drifted north from its polar position and collided with the westward moving Pacific Oceanic Plate. Continental migration from the low latitudes, orogenic activity associated with the colliding crustal plates, and the fluctuations in sea level with pulses of glaciation have been the major factors in determining biogeographical relationships in this region and on the island itself.

New Guinea's distinctive biota is a unique mixture of Asian and Australian forms. In its position on the northern part of the Sahul Shelf, (the Australian Continental Plate), New Guinea has had intermittent land connections with the Australian sub-continent since the Cenozoic, but it has never been connected by land to the Indonesian islands to the west which lie on the Sunda Shelf (the Eurasian Continental Plate). It has thus been the meeting place and crossroads of colonizing and dispersing forms originating from both Southeast Asia (over sea) and Australia (overland and sea). Floristic elements as far north as present day China migrated eastwards into the Pacific arena, whilst elements from Australia and through Australia from Antarctica dispersed overland through vast latitudinal changes. For here on New Guinea's mountain slopes just below the equator we find northern oaks and acorn bearing trees from south China alongside Antarctic beeches and southern gymnosperms. Although New Guinea forms the easternmost part of the Malesian floral region, its inclusion is determined by the preponderance of western derived taxa which dominate the lowlands (van Balgoy, 1976); its montane flora is dominated by southern or Antarctic forms.

The fauna is equally complex and lies at the crossroads of two of the six major zoogeographic regions of the world: the Oriental Region and the Australian Region (Figure 4). Research over the last decade has challenged the zoogeographic concept that New Guinea forms a part of the Australian Faunal Region (Walker, 1972; Tyler, 1972; Gressitt, 1982; Axelrod and Raven, 1982). Climate, it is argued, has played a more important role rather than land connections in determining overall immigration to New

Guinea. Immigrants have been limited to certain of the birds, reptiles, amphibians and confined to monotremes and marsupials among the mammals (Gressitt, 1982). The insects, however, are primarily Oriental, as are more than half of the mammals (rodent and bats) (Gressitt, 1982), and probably as many as 2/3 of the frogs may have their origin in the Oriental Region or Wallacea (Zweifel and Tyler, 1982).

2.4 Flora

Within the abundant assortment of habitats and landscapes spread over an altitudinal range of nearly 5000 metres, Irian Jaya contains the richest concentration of plant life in all of Indonesia (Figure 5). With the exception of the monsoonal rainshadow in the southeast, the province's luxuriant forests lie entirely within the tropical rainforest belt and contain a floristic diversity of tremendous proportions. About 16,000 species of plants, of which about 90% are endemic, are found on New Guinea (Hope, pers. comm.). Among the angiosperms, 1465 genera have been recorded with at least 124 endemics. Also interesting is that about 1/3 of the angiosperms (2770 species) are orchids (Millar, 1978). The lowlands contain the widest expanses of pristine tropical rainforest to be found in Southeast Asia, the largest mangrove formations in all of Indonesia, and the world's largest reserves of Sago (*Metroxylon sagu*). About 85% of the province's natural vegetation is still undisturbed and vast areas in the interior have yet to be explored.

2.5 Fauna

Of the 199 land mammals now known to occur in New Guinea, Irian Jaya has 154 species, with 93 endemics, 51 indigenous, and 10 introduced elements (Zielger, 1982; Petocz and de Fretes, 1983; Petocz, 1984). The following orders are represented Monotremata (2); Marsupialia (52); Chiroptera (49); Carnivora (1); and Artiodactyla (2). The first two orders are largely affiliated to the Australian Zoogeographic Region, whilst the others are more closely allied to the Oriental Region, or have been introduced by man (only 10 species). Of the 93 endemic species, 41 occur among the monotremes and marsupials, whilst there are 52 amongst the bats and rodents. Among the endemics are the Long-beaked Echidna (*Zaglossus bruijnii*), some of the phalangers, bandicoots, ring-tails, and of course the tree kangaroos and true giant rats.

The avifauna is even more diverse and is also the best known vertebrate group with at least 640 species occurring in Irian Jaya (Beehler and Fince, 1983; Petocz et al., 1983; Petocz, 1984). These include 270 endemic species among which are the very famous birds of paradise and bowerbirds, many of the honey-eaters and colourful parrots and pigeons, including the world's largest pigeons the Goura or Crowned pigeons. The island takes its name 'Pulau Cassowary' from this curious flightless bird, the largest naturally occurring animal in New Guinea. Although the avifauna is

largely Australian, certain elements such as the Papuan Hornbill (*Rhyticeros plicatus*), tree swifts, shrikes and sandpipers are Oriental in origin and do not extent into Australia (Pratt, 1982).

New Guinea's herpetofauna includes 252 reptiles, with 89 species of snakes, 150 lizards, 2 crocodiles and 6 each of marine and freshwater turtles (Scott et al., 1982; Allison, 1982; McDowell, 1974, 1975, 1979; Whitaker et al., 1982). Irian Jaya's stocks of Estuarine Crocodile (*Crocodylus porosus*) and New Guinea Crocodile (*C. novaeguineae*) will form the basis of a skin industry based on principles of conservation and sustained utilisation of the resource to the benefit of local people. Important nesting beaches for marine turtles including Laeatherback (*Dermochelys coriacea*), Green (*Chelonia mydas*), and Pacific Ridley (*Lepidochelys olivacea*), all listed in the IUCN Red Data Book (Groombridge and Wright, 1982), are also found in Irian Jaya. The amphibians are all frogs and the current number of species is listed at 174, but is probably more than 200 (Scott et al., 1977; Menzies, 1975; Zeifel and Tyler, 1982).

New Guinea lies in the centre of the Indo-Pacific Oceanic Region, which contains the richest and most diverse ichtyofauna of this basin, estimated at between 6000-7000 species (Munro, 1967). Besides the great diversity among the smaller coral reef fishes, Irian Jaya's marine waters hold an abundance of important commercial species such as skipjack tuna, bluefin trevally, mackerel, barracuda, snappers, groupers and emperors, many of which are no longer common or so completely represented in nursery schools or nearshore waters elsewhere in Indonesia. Large sawfish (*Pristiopsis* spp.) occur in the vast river systems of the lowlands of the north and south coastal plains. Allen (1982) has documented a further 158 species of fish which only occur in New Guinea freshwater habitats.

Among the insects, there are probably on the order of 50,000 to 100,000 species but no one really knows for sure. Beetles are the largest group with over 30,000 species, and the butterfly and moth fauna boasts over 5000 species. Other invertebrates will include countless thousands of species among their ranks. However, considerable research is necessary before we can even begin to guess at their diversity and richness. Among the most prominent are the corals, and here among the richest coral reefs of the Indo-Pacific (Ditlev, 1980), initial censuses in Cenderawasih Bay have proved the presence of at least 62 general and 130 species (Salm et al., 1981). Endangered species such as Giant clam (*Tridacna gigas*) and a variety of other molluscs are still very common in Irian Jaya's waters. The world's largest living terrestrial arthropod, the coconut or robber crab (*Birgus latro*) has also been reported on a number of offshore islands around the province (Holthius, 1959; 1963).

3. BIOLOGICAL AND PHYSICAL PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE DESIGN OF THE PROTECTED AREA SYSTEM FOR IRIAN JAYA

Some of the biological considerations relevant to protected area design in New Guinea have been reviewed elsewhere (Diamond, 1982). These have been expanded and modified for Irian Jaya. For the sake of brevity, the construction of actual physical boundaries is not considered in this discussion, nor are human or political factors. However, it should be mentioned that with few exceptions every effort has been made to exclude human settlements from reserves.

3.1 Habitat and Altitudinal Considerations

The very rich and diverse biota of Irian Jaya ranges over a vast continuum of habitats from the very lowest elevations at sea level upwards through the highest mountains in Southeast Asia (4884m.). However, practically all of the thousands of wildlife species in the province are limited to a small part of this gradient. Many species have very restricted ranges that may fall within a few meters as is the case with certain coastal invertebrates. Others have broader vertical ranges such as the small mouse bandicoot (*Microperoccytes murina*) (2000-2500 m), which is nevertheless confined to only the moss forests of the highlands of the Arfak and Weyland mountains. Other species, particularly among the birds, are more opportunistic and may be found in a wide range of habitats at many elevations. Many of the honeyeaters (*Meliphagidae*), one of the largest groups in New Guinea, span ranges of 1000, 1500 or even more than 2000 m taking advantage of flowering trees for nectar or insects, usually in the company of large flocks of lorikeets. Or, along with some of the pigeons and birds of paradise, they visit seasonally fruiting trees at lower elevations when the habitats of the mountains are less productive. However, even these species with very broad ranges require the entirety of their altitudinal ranges to survive. For example, there are a number of species which take advantage of more productive habitats at higher elevations to forage but return to the quiet shelter of coastal mangroves to breed and nest. It is therefore of primary importance that the entire altitudinal spectrum of the province be covered within the reserve design.

Of equal importance is the variation in habitat types that occurs within a very narrow altitude span. In the flat southeast coastal plain, which does not vary more than 50m in elevation, one encounters a vast number of habitats, many of which are easily recognizable from the air. From the mangroves fringing the coast, one can view expansive *Melaleuce*-Eucalypt woodlands intergrading with the open savannahs, lakes and river systems that eventually merge into the closed canopy of true lowland rainforest to

the north. Likewise, although sometimes not as visible, the hill and montane forests at higher elevations which stretch as far as the eye can see, exhibit differences in tree composition, structure, density and diversity. Such variations are responses to differences in geological substrate, soil formation and rainfall regime. These changes in the vegetation and character of the forest can take place within a few kilometers or from one mountain block to another. The floristic factors in turn affect the overall distribution of animal species whether by type or quantity that can be supported in any one area. The distribution of habitats in the horizontal sense is therefore of equal importance as those changes that occur in altitude. Likewise, habitats of a more limited distribution, particularly those which are critical as traditional resting or breeding places to substantial numbers of migratory species indigenous to the province or those seasonal visitors from Australia and other parts of Asia, must be identified and covered within the reserve design. Examples here will include tiny offshore islands which are traditional breeding areas for large colonies of Nicobar and Torres Strait pigeons; coastal mudflats which are important roosting and feeding areas for thousands of migratory waders from Australia, and the lakes and swamps that serve as winter feeding for waterfowl. Beaches that are used by large concentrations of marine turtles during the nesting season are also essential to include within the reserve system, as are valuable segments of swamplands that are needed by crocodiles to nest and hatch their young.

3.2 Endemism and Species Diversity

Another key element in the initial selection of reserves is an understanding of species distribution, and in particular those species which are endemic or unique to the province. Considering the overwhelming richness of the biota and our relatively incomplete knowledge of the distribution of many of its elements, particularly among the plants and invertebrates, the task seems daunting at best. However, with sufficient information about the distribution of key elements, certain rules can be followed which will allow us to achieve a meaningful and comprehensive design. Firstly, among the thousands of New Guinea's plants, it has been established that generic and family endemism is very low, whilst species endemism is higher than anywhere else in the world at about 90 percent (Hope, 1982, pers. comm.). In our richest and most diverse ecosystem, the lowland rainforest, species diversity is the highest of all, but the density of many tree species on a per hectare basis is quite low. It is therefore necessary that substantially large tracts of lowland forest be included within reserve proposals to secure self-sustaining species populations within the protected area system. With increasing altitude, floristic species diversity (but not endemism) declines, first gradually in the hill forest and lower montane zones,

and then more dramatically as one approaches the simplest part of the ecosystem of the highest alpine zones. In these areas, where soil cover is thin, where the vegetation is scant and marked by an absence of trees, the flora is characterized by few species adapted to the coldest parts of the environment, usually low growing.

On the other hand, with increasing elevation, the proportion of endemic bird species increases substantially while species diversity decreases. About 74% of Irian Jaya's endemic mainland birds are confined to the mountains; among the mammals (43) 50% of the endemic marsupials are montane species. As all major mountain ranges of Irian Jaya have endemic birds and mammals, it is therefore essential to consider these as an important part of the reserve design.

3.3 Biogeographical Considerations

The major biogeographical zones of Irian Jaya are presented in schematic form in Figure 6. The most prominent element is the central cordillera with no passes below 1500 m. It effectively stops genetic flow and isolates many hill and lowland species on either side of the range. It thus defines two of the major lowland biogeographic units, the northern plains and foothills and the southern lowlands. The range itself is a formidable barrier to genetic flow along its length. Less mobile montane elements have little genetic flow along the backbone of the cordillera so that many populations develop new characteristics and visible morphological changes from west to east. For example, among the birds of paradise, two genera, *Astrapia* and *Parotia* have five species each that range from the mountains of the bird's head to the Huon Peninsula. All 13 species of birds of paradise which occur in the central ranges have two or more subspecies which replace one another in an east-west direction. Furthermore, each of the major lowland areas north and south of the range contains many endemics. The third major lowland district includes the area west of the Weyland Mountains. These lowlands are sufficiently isolated from the northern and southern lowlands by the mountains of the central cordillera and a constriction in the New Guinea landmass.

Superimposed on these major distributional centers are other distinctive biogeographical units. The lakes-plains depression is sandwiched between the northern foothills and mountains and the central cordillera. The dry southeast lowlands in the monsoonal plains also have many unique elements south of the agroclimatic contact zone with the northerly lowland rainforest. Just as the central cordillera effectively separates the three major lowland districts into distinctive units, so do these lowlands isolate the montane elements which occur in these regions by forming a barrier to the dispersal of the montane fauna which are restricted to higher elevations. There are three

montane units on the northeast plains and foothills; the Cyclops, Foja-Gauttier, and van Rees mountains; two in the Bird's Head: the Tamrau and Arfak mountains; the Wondiwoi Mountains of the Wandamen Peninsula; and two in the south: the Pakfak and Kumawa mountains. All of these have endemic species but the Tamrau and Arfak mountains are the highest and contain the largest number of endemics.

Irian Jaya's offshore islands fall into two distinctive biogeographical groups. The islands of the Sahul Shelf which include Waigeo, Batanta, Salawati, and Misool to the west, and Japen to the north in Cenderawasih Bay (see Figure 6); all had recent intermittent land connections with mainland New Guinea. Those which lie off the Sahul Shelf and had no connections with New Guinea in the recent past are Kofiau to the far west, Biak-Supiori and Numfor to the North; all of these have distinctive endemic species, particularly Biak-Supiori.

3.4 Area considerations and the Size of Reserves

The spatial requirements of the many different elements of Irian Jaya's fauna vary every bit as much as altitudinal range and habitat preference. The following examples are offered as illustrations: a tiny tree frog carrying out his entire life cycle within a small territory high in the canopy branches of a single tree in the forest; giant fruit bats roosting in colonies during the day on the branches of particular trees on a single offshore island and then flying tens of kilometers to feed on fruiting trees in mainland forests; the many species of flocking birds...parrots, lorries, and pigeons that travel considerable distances to feed on the seasonally flowering or fruiting trees; and finally the solitary eagles ranging over hundreds or even thousands of square kilometers over widely different habitats in search of prey, but breeding and nesting at a single traditional site. Clearly, the minimum area requirement of each species, their territorial behaviour or lack of it, together with their social or solitary habits will determine the numbers of breeding pairs that can coexist within a specific area of their overall range.

To be meaningful, each reserve must be sufficiently large to protect self-sustaining viable populations of all elements of the biota within carefully selected biogeographical areas which cover the diversity and numbers in the province. An appreciation for the minimum area requirements of key species within each reserve locality is therefore essential before reasonable boundaries can be suggested. In this respect, attention must be directed to those species with the widest area and habitat requirements and those with special requirements. Adequate coverage for these species will assure that most of the other elements of the fauna will also be automatically taken into consideration. Obviously, a larger reserve will contain

more species, a greater variety of habitats, and can maintain species with large area requirements as well as species confined to specialized habitats.

4. THE PROTECTED AREAS SYSTEM FOR IRIAN JAYA

Figure 7 illustrates the overall reserve design proposed for the province. The areas selected provide a full representation of all the major biogeographic districts and recognized areas of endemism. This is apparent when comparing the reserve design (Figure 7) with the physiographic map (Figure 3) and the biogeographic sketch map (Figure 6).

The Central Dividing Range forms the major mountainous district. The high altitude section of three reserves -- Jayawijaya, Lorentz, and Weyland Mountains -- adequately cover both known and expected species; diversity in the cordillera from east to west. Included is Mount Jaya, New Guinea's highest mountain, capped with equatorial glaciers, as well as the highest peaks in both the eastern and western extremities of the range in Irian Jaya. Aside from their intrinsic biological value, the highest mountains and alpine areas of these reserves offer some of the most spectacular scenery on the whole island.

The major lowland districts on either side of the central ranges have been covered in the large Mamberamo-Foja, Jayawijaya and Lorentz reserves. Taken together they comprise a 3.9 million hectare (9.9 million acre) north-south cross section completely across the country through the Central Dividing Range, and serve to maximise coverage for the widest ranging species. The Wasur-Rawa Biru complex in the southeast represents the climatically driest area, characterized by a mosaic savanna, Melaleuca-Eucalypt woodlands, and swamplands. The Kumbé-Merauke reserve contains an important agroclimatic transition zone where monsoonal forests intergrade with lowland forest. And finally, the lowlands of the Bird's Head are represented by what will be Indonesian's largest mangrove reserve, located at the head of Bintuni Bay.

This sequence of protected areas give a good representation of all major terrestrial habitats in Irian Jaya, but much of the spectacular richness of the province's animal life is known to come from various exceptional areas of speciation: the outlying mountains isolated from the Central Range; and the offshore islands. Six additional reserves cover these 'isolated' mountain blocks and include the following order of faunal distinctiveness: the Tamrau, Arfak, Cyclops, Wondiwoi, Pakfak and Kumawa mountains. Only one of these distinctive mountain blocks, the van Rees Mountains, has not been included since its features are adequately covered in the higher and faunistically more diverse neighboring Foja Mountains (the third most distinct

mountain block) in the large Mamberamo-Foja reserve. All the major offshore islands, save Kofiau have been included. Listed in order of their distinctiveness, they are: Biak-Supiori, Waigeo, Numfor, Batanta, Misool, Japen, and Salawati. Kofiau island, with two known endemic birds, the Kofiau Paradise Kingfisher (*Tanysiptera ellioti*) and a flycatcher, the Kofiau Monarch (*Monarcha julianae*), is undergoing large scale logging and is not within a proposed reserve.

Having covered the major biogeographical districts, certain other special purpose reserves have been incorporated as refuges for migratory waterfowl, or to protect major population concentrations of estuarine and freshwater crocodiles. These include Danau Bian, Pulau Kimaam and the Rouffaer River reserves. Eight smaller areas have been proposed as recreational parks or centres or to safeguard unusual environments. Six different localities recognized as major nesting area for Green, Leatherback, Pacific Ridley, and Hawksbill turtles have been selected for protection, containing more than 100 km of beach. Among these is a newly discovered beach that has been shown to be the most important nesting site for the endangered Leatherback turtle in all Southeast Asia.

Representing the marine environment are three very large reserve proposals: Teluk Cenderawasih, Teluk Letintah and Raja Ampat. In addition to open waters, these include adjacent coastlines, numerous small islands and submerged coral reefs. Their diversity includes endangered giant clams, dugongs, marine turtles, and saltwater crocodiles. Of great economic consequence, they constitute an important reservoir of marine resources for the expanding fishing industry of eastern Indonesia. Coastal zone components of an additional five smaller island groups have also been included in order to protect marine turtles and nesting sea birds, pigeons and eagles. Additional marine reserves will most likely be identified along the south coast after further survey.

In total, the terrestrial reserves comprise approximately 7,771,340 hectares (19,202,981 acres), or about 18.9 percent of the province. This protected area system also represents nearly 40 percent of all the programmed conservation areas in the country. The challenge to the Government of Indonesia is to demonstrate a commitment to secure the rich biological diversity of Irian Jaya as we move away from the ground stage of developmental planning.

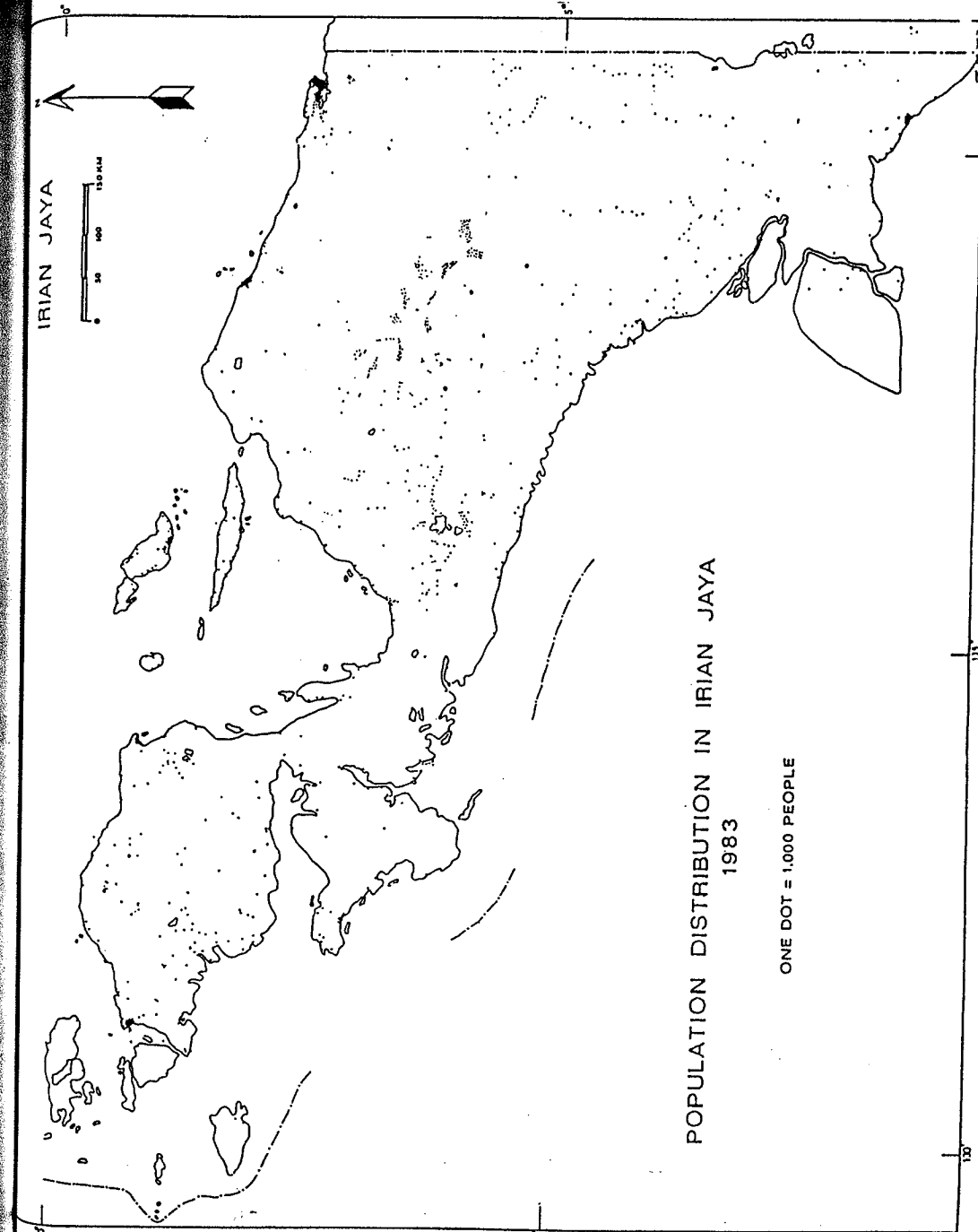


FIGURE 3

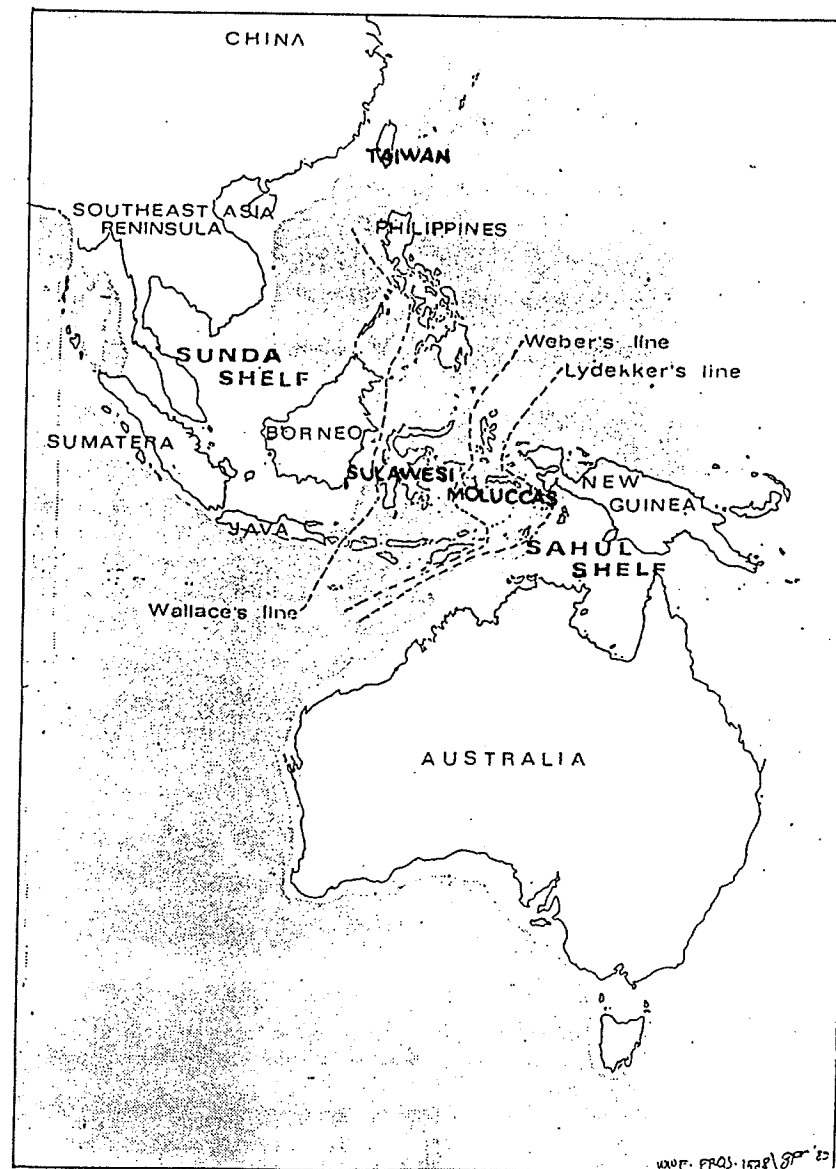
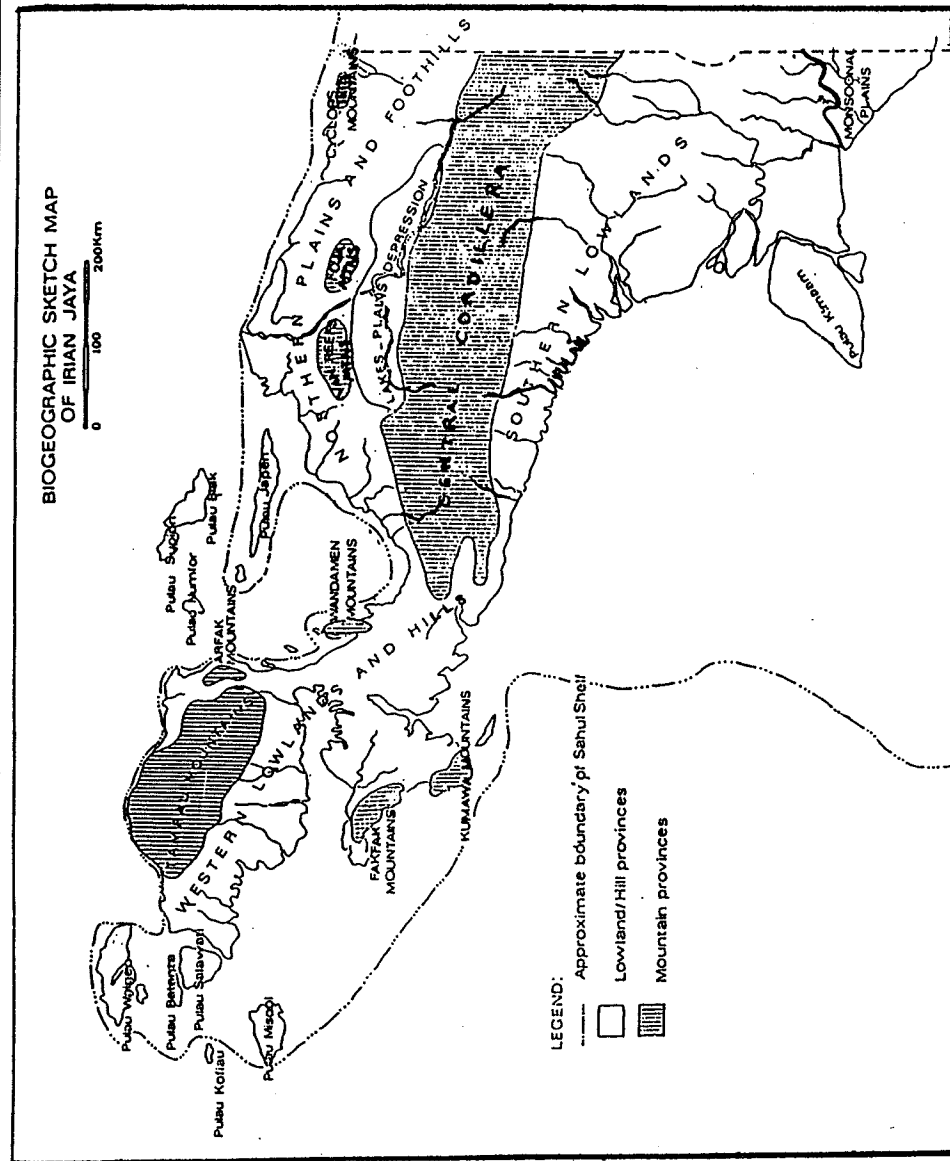
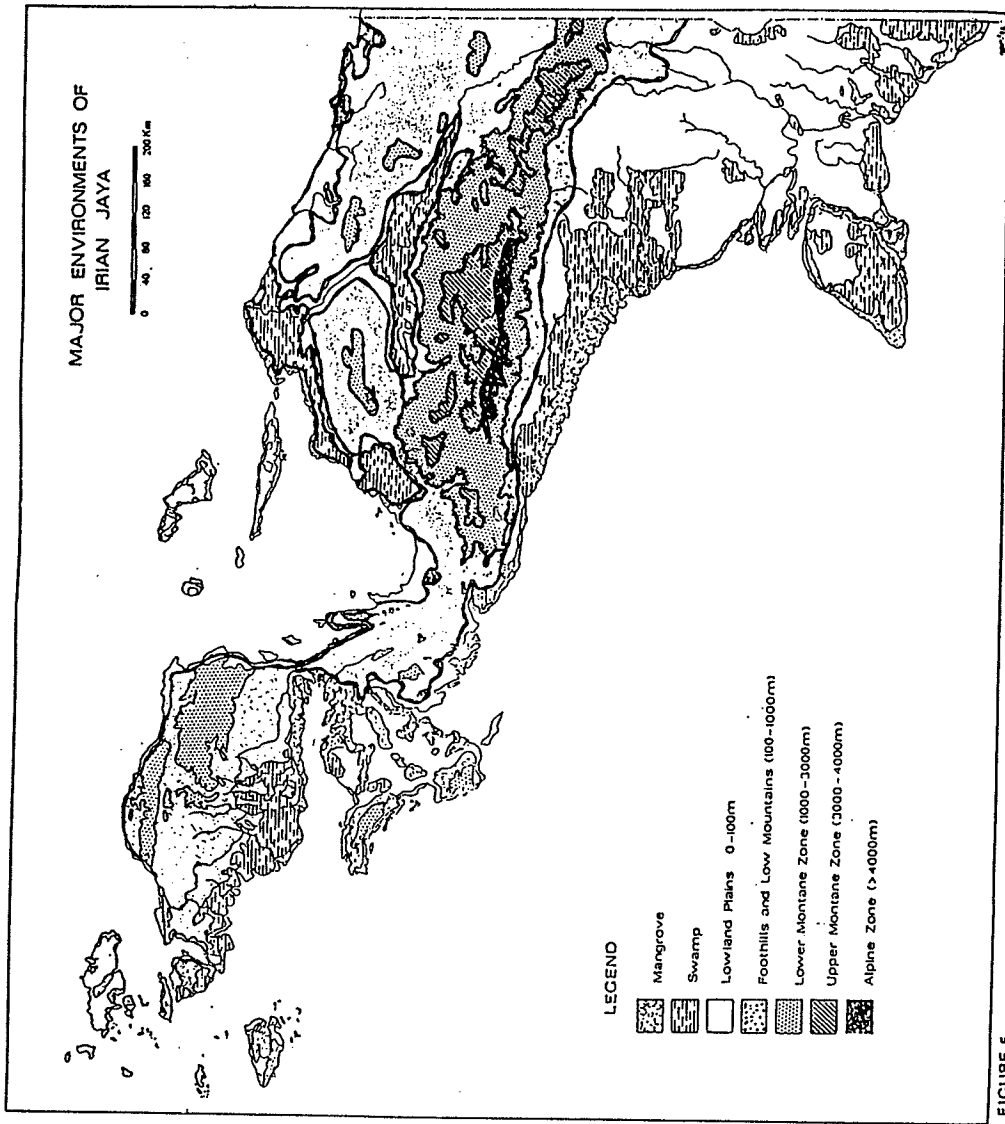
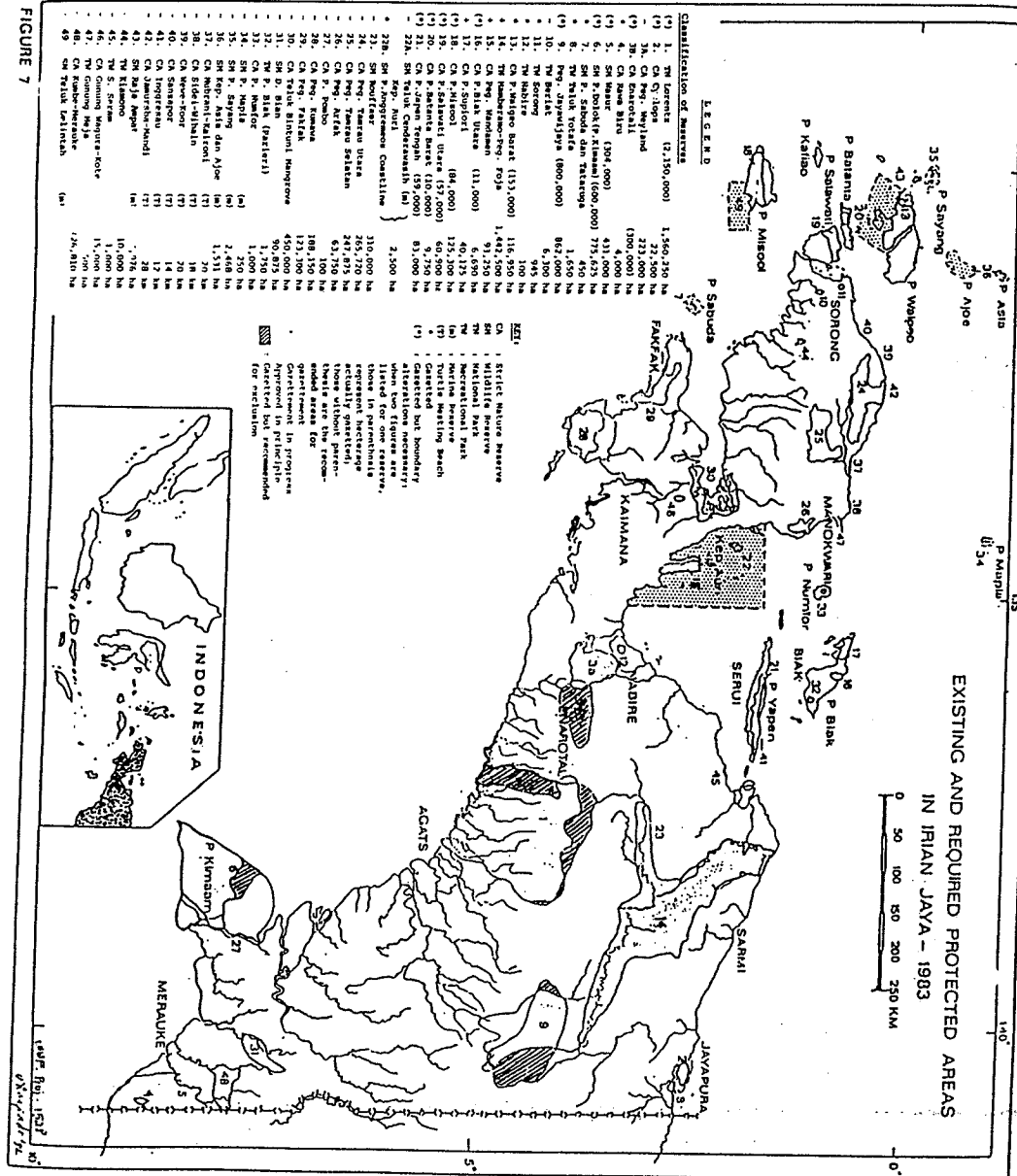


Figure 4



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Sejak manusia itu ada, nama-nama telah diberikan kepadanya dengan suatu maksud dan bukan hanya sekedar nama saja. Nama telah digunakan untuk menggambarkan ataupun menyatakan peristiwa-peristiwa yang terjadi sekitar kelahiran seorang anak. Nama juga diberikan kepada seseorang untuk menggambarkan wataknya ataupun nama itu untuk mengingatkan seseorang atas peristiwa penting dalam hidupnya. Orang juga diberi nama-nama baru atau 'alias' untuk berbagai alasan.

Tujuan daripada makalah ini adalah untuk menggolongkan tipe-tipe nama yang diberikan orang Iau di Irian Jaya, Indonesia. Orang Iau menggunakan beberapa dasar pemikiran yang berbeda dalam memilih nama-nama bagi anak-anak mereka. Dasar-dasar pemikiran itu sebagai berikut:

1. untuk menggambarkan ciri anak itu
2. untuk menggambarkan ciri/watak orang tuanya
3. untuk mengenang/mengingatnkan peristiwa-peristiwa yang terjadi dalam hidup anak itu
4. untuk mengingatkan peristiwa-peristiwa yang terjadi dalam hidup orang tuanya atau anggota-anggota keluarga lainnya
5. untuk mengingatkan akan peristiwa lain dalam kampung
6. sebagai akibat kunjungan ke tempat kelompok bahasa yang bertetangga
7. berdasarkan usul/saran dari orang luar
8. lain-lain

What's in a name? A descriptive study of Iau personal names

by Helen Miehle

UNCEN-SIL

1. Introduction

From the very beginning when the first man Adam received his name, names have been given for a purpose and not simply at random. Names have been used to describe the events surrounding a person's birth (e.g. Adam -- 'from the earth'), to characterize the qualities of the person (e.g. Jacob -- 'deceiver') or to serve as a reminder of significant events in a person's life (e.g. Israel -- 'wrestle with God'). People have also received new names or 'aliases' for various reasons (e.g. Abram --> Abraham, Jacob --> Israel, Simon --> Peter, Saul --> Paul).

Several field linguists doing anthropological research in indigenous groups in Papua New Guinea have observed similar patterns in the reasons for the giving of names within these language groups. Karl Franklin (1967) in an article on "Names and Aliases in Kewa" has observed that not only do names have meaning, but also they can be used as cues for oral history (i.e. before the arrival of Europeans). Names serve as benchmarks for important events in the lives of the people. This may also be the case to a certain extent for the Iau people of Irian Jaya.¹

(See 2.4 and 2.3.3 below.) As the title of Franklin's article suggests, the Kewa people have more than one name (primarily because of name taboos among in-laws resulting in newlyweds taking on new names). Some Iau newlyweds have also taken a new name (see 2.3.4) but it is not clear whether this was because of name taboos. Reasons for giving second names seem to have changed since contact with the outside world and with the Gospel.

Bruce Hooley (1972) in an article on the Buang naming system outlines several types of names given at various stages in a person's life, including infancy, baptism, contact with European officials etc. The social context will determine which name is used. He also notes the similarities that often exist between the person's real name and his taboo name or his real name and a name given by a European. The Iau people too will often give a second or third name which sounds like the person's original name but the new name will usually supplant the old one.

John Haiman (1980:216) in a monograph on the Hua language mentions several different types of names used

among the people there, including nicknames and teknonyms. So far there is evidence for nicknames but not teknonyms among the Iau people.

The purpose of this paper is to categorize the types of names given by the Iau people of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. These categories are based on the circumstance of the naming. In some instances an attempt has been made to interpret why certain names occur, but for the most part this is a purely descriptive study which may lead later to further interpretation.

2. Names

The Iau people use several different rationale for choosing names for their children. These rationale are as follows:

- 1) to describe characteristics of the child
- 2) to describe characteristics of the parent
- 3) as a reminder of events in the child's life
- 4) as a reminder of events in the life of the parents or other family members
- 5) as a reminder of other events in the village
- 6) as the result of visiting a neighboring language group
- 7) at the suggestion of outsiders (or actually given by outsiders)
- 8) other

All of these rationale will be discussed and illustrative examples given below.

2.1 Characteristics of the person

The Iau people do not usually choose a name for a child before it is born as is often done in western society. Instead, they normally wait a year or two until some noteworthy characteristic of the child emerges. So, many Iau names are very similar to nicknames in western society, the only difference being that the Iau child has no other formal name.²

Characteristics which prompt the choosing of a specific name for a child fall into three categories:

- a) physical appearance,
- b) behavior or
- c) state as a result of others' attitudes or actions

These categories will be treated in turn below.

2.1.1 Physical appearance

By far the most common rationale for giving a person a certain name is as a description of some physical feature or defect. The parts of the anatomy which people focus on can be classified under the following headings: a) face, b) head, c) skin, d) torso, e) limbs and f) posture as illustrated by the examples below:

Face

- 1) O8ba7 (lit. "deep (eyes)") -- given because his eyes were deep in their sockets³
- 2) Bi4fo9 "Toothy" (lit. "tooth-with") -- because she bared her teeth in a grimace
- 3) To5bau14 "Snake-Jaw" (lit. "To5-jaw") -- because he had a pointed chin like a To5 snake.
- 4) Bv8to6 "Bird-nose" (lit. "Bv8-nose") -- because she had a short nose like a Bv8 bird.
- 5) To6be8 "Long-nose"
- 6) Bav9bay8 "Yellow-Mouth" -- because her mouth was yellow when she was born
- 7) Bu6ti9fe6 "Possum-eyes" -- because her eyes were small and beady like those of a possum

Head

- 1) Y5fo3 (ba3de9) (lit. "ears-stick out") -- given because his ears stuck out
- 2) f6su3 "Hair" -- because the child had lots of hair
- 3) f6tai5 "Oval-head"
- 4) Be4fo7 "Whitey" -- because the child had white hair due to malnutrition
- 5) f6ki-4fo7 "Scabies-head" (lit. "head-scabies-with")
- 6) f6si5 "Dry-head" (lit. "head-dry") -- because the child had no hair
- 7) f6bi9 (fo7) "Lumpy-head" -- because he had a lump on his head
- 8) f6by3 "Sore-head" (lit. "head-sore/wet") -- because he had sores on his head

Skin

- 1) Si9o9by3 "Wet-back" (lit. "tailbone-wet") -- because she had running sores on her tail bone when she was little
- 2) I8be4 "White-skin" -- because her skin was white as a result of having many sores
- 3) Di7fo7 "Sweaty" -- because he sweated a lot
- 4) Dae7da9 "Dog-bitten" (lit. "by-dog-bitten") -- because he was badly mauled by a pig and had scars all

over his body which made him look as though he had been bitten by a dog

- 5) **Fvy9be4** "White-belly" -- because the child had scabies on its abdomen
- 6) **Ai4be4** "White-stomach" -- because of scabies
- 7) **Ki4** "Scabies" -- because of having scabies all over
- 8) **Be8si9** "Burn-scar" (lit. "fire-burn") -- because he had scars from being treated with hot coals
- 9) **I8ka5** "Hole-in-skin" (lit. "skin-hole") -- because she had a hole in her ankle from a sore
- 10) **Dav8fo7** "Crocodile-like" -- because he had so much scabies that his skin looked like a crocodile's skin

Torso

- 1) **Bo2** "Skinny" -- given because she was very thin
- 2) **Si4au7** "Very thin" (lit. "very dry/old") -- because he was very skinny
- 3) **Fi9e9** (be3) "Thin like a fish" -- because she was very skinny
- 4) **Tav9bi4** "Armpit-lump"
- 5) **Fvy9ka3** "Pot-belly" (Lit. "belly with a steep drop-off")
- 6) **Isi5** "Dry-bone" (lit. "bone-dry/old") -- because she was very thin
- 7) **Ko4du8** "Small" -- because she was very short compared to her brothers and sisters
- 8) **Si9ka5** "Hole-in-back" -- because of a sore on his tailbone
- 9) **Foi4ba7** (be9) "Hard-back" (lit. "back-calloused") -- because her back was swollen and hard (hunchbacked)

Limbs

- 1) **Te5ui7** "Short-calf" -- because she had short calves
- 2) **Isbo8** "Crooked-leg" (Lit. "bone-crooked")
- 3) **Fai3bo8** "Crooked-thigh"
- 4) **Te5tai5** "Runny Calf" (lit. "calf-juice" -- because of running sores)
- 5) **Kai4fe7** "Bad hip" (lit. "hip-bone bad")
- 6) **Fe7si4bi9fo7** "Neck tumor" -- given to a young woman because she had a large tumor on her upper chest near her neck

Posture

- Te8de7** "Slanted" -- because her head was tilted when she walked

2.1.2 Characteristic behavior or actions

Another related reason for giving names is characteristic actions or behavior of a person. For example:

- 1) **Fi8ka8fo7** "With fi8 arrows" -- because he had lots of fi8 arrows
- 2) **Y5ae5** "No ear" -- because he would not listen to his parents
- 3) **Fy3sa3** "Frog-eater" -- because he used to eat frogs
- 4) **Di9by3bv8duy8** "Happy about corpses of things" -- because she would jump up and down for joy when her father brought corpses of animals home for her to eat.
- 5) **Fe6i8ae5** (lit. "no eyelid") -- metaphorical for a very good person
- 6) **Ta9tau8du8** (lit. "face-up walk") -- because her parents saw her walking around with her chin in the air
- 7) **Y7** "Water" -- because he drank a lot of water
- 8) **Bo9fai2** "Mimic" -- because she called out like a cockatoo
- 9) **By8sa8** "Door-eater" -- because she used to chew on the door
- 10) **(Foi4ta9) doe7ae4** "Not seeing (her back)" -- because she always was looking around trying to look at her own back
- 11) **Fy9** (dy9) **kauy8** "Scream shrilly like a **Fy8dy8** bird" -- because he used to scream in a shrill way as a baby
- 12) **Bi7sai2** "Smile" -- given because people were angry with a woman because she went around smiling after her first husband died

2.1.3 State resulting from other's actions or attitudes

A third reason for giving a descriptive name is to characterize the state of a child resulting from events or the attitudes of others toward him. Examples are as follow:

- 1) **Au7ai2** "No people" (lit. "his-extinguished") -- because all his other brothers had died
- 2) **Bv8fe7su4ae7** (lit. "not loved") -- because her father observed that a girl from another family was not given food by her brothers when she got married (as they should have done)
- 3) **Ty7av9ae5** "He has no relatives" (lit. "people-his-not" -- given by a father to his child because no one gave the child food

2.2 Characteristics of parent

Another common reason for choosing names for a child is to reflect the characteristics of the mother or father. The name is most often given by a father to describe the child's mother. For example:

- 1) **Fv7da8du9ae7** "Not rowing the boat" -- given by a father to his child because he was angry with his wife for not helping row the boat
- 2) **V4bv8tai7ae7** "Thoughtless" (lit. "not thinking") -- given by a father to his daughter because his wife was scatterbrained and forgot to cook and do other chores
- 3) **Ke8i9sui9** "Landing on a **Ke8bi4** branch" -- given because the child's father went back and forth to Barere where there were a lot of **Ke8bi4** trees
- 4) **Fv7dauy7ae7** "Not making a canoe" -- given by a father to his child because its mother did not help make canoes as she should have
- 5) **Soe8su3** "Red-skin" (Lit. "Soe-feather") -- because her mother's skin was red like the feathers of a Soe bird

2.3 Events in the person's life

These events include four types: a) these surrounding his birth b) those which happened early in his life -- usually within the first two or three years, c) those which happened in his later life, and d) those connected with his marriage.

2.3.1 Events surrounding birth

One of the less common reasons for giving a name is to describe unusual circumstances or events surrounding the child's birth. The following are examples of this:

- 1) **U8o7e8fau7** "Cut wood with one's hand" (lit. "wood bent with hand") -- given to a child after her father bent the trunk of a small tree to make a house for her mother after she was born in the jungle (because he didn't have a knife)
- 2) **Fvy5da3** "Put in a canoe" (lit. "into canoe-put") -- given to a boy who was born when his mother was rowing a canoe and she had nowhere to put him except in the canoe itself
- 3) **Dav2bi8** "Crocodile print" (lit. "crocodile-place") -- because the child's mother writhed around on the ground after the child was born and made tracks like a crocodile makes when it goes along the ground

2.3.2 Events in the person's life when still very young

This category is sometimes difficult to distinguish from 2.1.2 (characteristic behavior or actions) since it is not always clear whether the event described is a single incident or a habitual pattern. This category can be further subdivided into four subcategories involving: 1) eating or drinking, 2) death of a relative, 3) accident or 4) another unusual or unexpected event.

Eating or Drinking

- 1) **Bav8tai9sa3** "Ate a dragon fly"
- 2) **Fa9sa3** "Ate faeces"
- 3) **Pi9da4fau4** "Ate fish and defecated"
- 4) **Y7dai6sa8fo7** "Drank water droplets" -- because he drank water that dropped from a tree
- 5) **(Oe7) Fo3di9** "(Ate) dew drops (from a banana leaf)"
- 6) **Da6i4tai5sa3** "Ate sap from **da6i4** grass" -- (used in sorcery) when she had a toothache

Death of a relative

- 1) **Oe6dae5** "Bark cloth immersed" -- given by her Iau stepfather because her bark cloth skirt was thrown into the river when her parents were killed and she was taken to live with the Iau people. (The skirt was thrown away because the Iaus thought she was too young to be wearing a skirt.)
- 2) **Sa7da8by3** "Dance in mourning" (lit. "carry branches (and) dance") -- because she did a mourning dance when her relatives died
- 3) **Ae4bi7si7** "One side gone" (lit. "not-one side") because he was the only surviving member of his family
- 4) **Dai7si4da8tv9** "Hold onto and go" (lit. "hold, carry and go away") -- because she put her hand on her sick father's arm just before he died and then she was taken away by her new foster father
- 5) **Ta8bau4ta9** "Knife handle" -- given a child when his stronger older brother died
- 6) **Faf3tai8si7** "(Headless) ax handle" -- given to a child because his stronger older brother (axehead) got sick and died for no apparent reason leaving the weaker younger brother (handle) behind

Accidents

- 1) **Bui8ta7sui8** "Fell into the Bui river"
- 2) **Si7oi5toe9** "Thrown under some **si7** logs" (floating on the swollen river)
- 3) **I5doe8sui4** "Be afraid of" -- because the child was

afraid of thunder

- 4) **Dai4be4du8** "Dive and go (under the water)"
- 5) **Bav6fvy8** "Cut wrist" -- because the child cut his wrist on a vine

Unusual or Unexpected Event

- 1) **Fv7bi9tv9** "Go high in an airplane" -- because the child was taken to a highland hospital in an airplane when he was sick as a very young child
- 2) **Di8si9ba8day8** "Leave and flee" -- given by a father to his child because the child followed him out to the jungle without his knowing it and frightened him so that the father fled
- 3) **Tv9ae8** "No sago" -- because her foster mother would not give her any sago as she should have

2.3.3 Events later in the person's life

In addition to events in the person's life when he is small or when he is a bit older, other events in his life as a young adult may result in his receiving a new name. Examples follow:

- 1) **Av9ae6 (dai8si7)** "Not refusing (to be taken/held)" -- given to a woman who was mistreated by many men in the jungle
- 2) **Fa3ba5by3** "Squat" -- given to a woman after her first husband died and she squatted on the ground with her legs apart and knees together
- 3) **Fi7ba8** "Shoot an arrow" -- given to a young man by his father in memory of a pig that the young man had wounded, captured, raised, killed and finally eaten
- 4) **Di9 (i7) bai3ta7sa8** "Openly eat food" -- because instead of eating privately she ate right near the corpse of her husband (which she should not have done)

2.3.4 Events surrounding marriage

Another important reason for a person to acquire a new name is in connection with marriage or attempts to get married. Examples are as follows:

- 1) **Be7bv8tai7** "Look for a snake" -- given to a young man because he was so heartbroken about not being able to find a wife that he went out into the jungle looking for a snake that could bite him and put him out of his misery
- 2) **Fv7fi4bi3** "Pole a canoe and come" -- given by a young groom to his bride when she came downstream in a

boat to be his wife

- 3) **Tv9ta4toe4** "Give to (someone who has) sago" (lit. "throw to sago") -- given to a girl after her father gave her in marriage to a man who had lots of sago
- 4) **Sv4(bi7si9)da9bi6ae7** "Not just one follows" -- given to a child when her parents saw a man who allowed both his wives to go around with him instead of just one at a time (as was customary)
- 5) **Ty7fa5bav9bay7** "Ordered by an outsider" -- given by a father to his daughter after her older sister went to be a man's wife at the urging of someone outside her family -- an action which angered her father

2.4 Events in the lives of the parents and other family members

Another frequent reason for giving a name is as a reminder of events in the life of the parents of the child. These events are usually major, if not fatal, and the name serves as a marker to the people of when the event occurred in their lives. (cf. Franklin 1967:79).⁴ These events often involve 1) conflict, 2) sickness, or death and sorrow. Examples are as follows:

Conflict

- 1) **Av8ta2** "Fighting" -- given after the parents heard people from Turumo and Bakusi arguing with each other at a fork in the river as they were sitting in their canoes
- 2) **Bai8si7** "Push with an axe" -- given to a girl by her mother's relatives after her father kept hitting her mother with an axe until she died (because he was angry with her for being slow)
- 3) **Ty7bo4av8sa8** "Two people fighting" -- given by a father to his child because he and his wife were fighting before and after she was born
- 4) **Ai3av8fi5fa3** "Fight over fish poison" -- given by a father to his daughter because he was fighting with his wife over a vine used to poison fish
- 5) **Fe6toe4** "Look at" (lit. "cast an eye") -- given by a father to his son after the child's mother looked at another man
- 6) **Fay5bi4** "Arrow point" -- given to a girl whose father killed her mother with an arrow stuck into her jugular vein when the girl was 7 years old

Sickness and death

- 1) **Ae7fa9** "Die under the house" (lit. "space-under-house die") -- given to a child when his

- older brother was sick and died under the house
- 2) **Fv7fai2tv9** "Go after the canoe" -- given to a child after his father was killed as a result of going after his canoe into enemy country. He apparently saw his enemies smoking, took their cigarettes and as a result was killed.
 - 3) **Dae5toe4** "Corpse-thrown away" -- after her mother's corpse was thrown into the river
 - 4) **Bi9e6sa3** "Feast" -- after her older brother was roasted and eaten by the enemy when she was very young
 - 5) **Aui7** "Left over" (lit. "crumbs") -- given after the child's older brothers were all killed and he was the only one left over
 - 6) **(I8)A5tai8fo7** "Covered" (lit. "(skin) covered (by dirt)") -- after the corpses of his dead brothers fell down from a rotted platform and grass grew up and covered their bodies
 - 7) **Au7ai2** "His (relatives) gone" (lit. "his-not") -- given to a child after all his relatives had died
 - 8) **Bi4tae2ae7** "Not resting on cheek" -- given by onlookers to a man's child when he did not rest his cheek on his wife's after she died (as he was expected to do)
 - 9) **So7bv8ke7ai8** "So7 tree also planted" -- given to a child because of the tree that was planted near the platform where his older brother's body was put when he died

2.5 Events in the lives of people in general around the time of the child's birth

A fairly uncommon reason for giving a name is to describe the general situation or events in the lives of other people near the time of the child's birth or when he is still very young.

- 1) **Ba9be8** "Long-winded" (lit. "big/long mouth") -- given because there were long discussions in the village concerning a young couple who wanted to get married at about the time the child was born
- 2) **Bv9bay7de7** "Wait" -- given to a girl by her parents when they saw a young man waiting to marry another girl who was very young

2.6 Result of visiting a neighboring language group

A few children have received names from the neighboring Duvle people as a result of their parents' traveling to a Duvle area when the children were very young. The following are examples:

1) **Be6di8**, which also happens to be the name of a vine in Iau.

2) **Te8fu7** -- given by the man's father after a trip to Duvle country

Another type of name that fits into this category is that resulting from a visit to Danau Bira.⁵ An example of this is the name **Odukedus** which was given to the child of the younger sister of one of my language helpers who heard the name when he was at Danau Bira for a workshop.

2.7 Names given by outsiders or at their suggestion

The outsiders that have given names to the Iau people fall into five categories: 1) members of a neighboring tribe, 2) the Dani evangelist who came to the area in 1971, 3) Indonesian police who conducted a census in 1977 and again in 1982 (?), 4) Indonesian school teachers who have taught in the village since 1982 (?), and 5) Makassarese carpenters who have worked in the village at various times.

During the past 15 years since the Iau people have come into contact with the outside world, they have been given two main types of names: Biblical and Indonesian. These two types will be treated in turn.

However, since the process of outsiders naming does not reflect so much the culture of the recipients as that of the name-givers, these names will not be discussed in detail.

2.7.1 Biblical names

At the suggestion of the Dani evangelist who entered the area near Fauai in the early 1970's many parents have chosen Biblical names for their children. These usually are modified to fit the phonology of the Iau language, sometimes in ways that are barely recognizable. For example:

Ka3du3 = Aaron

A8di8ta8be8 = Elizabeth

Interestingly enough, some parents have chosen place names rather than person names for their children. For example:

Ka8da8si9a3 = Galatia

Fi8di8pi8 = Philippi

Some of the names have been further modified from the original Biblical names since they come via the Dani

language. It is interesting to note that Biblical names originally given only by the evangelist are now being chosen by many of the Iau people themselves as first or second names.

2.7.2 Indonesian names

Several groups of people who have been responsible for the giving of Indonesian or European names include: Indonesian police, school teachers and carpenters who have visited Fauí or who have worked in Fauí for extended periods of time.

The Iau people seem to have accepted these names without question -- especially the younger people, but further research needs to be done on whether other vernacular names coexist with these Indonesian given names.

Another interesting phenomenon is that often a person will choose a Biblical or Indonesian name which sounds like the person's original name. For example:

Iau name	Indonesian/Biblical name
Bi7da8sui8 ("Take pole & dive")	Bidas
Ke8i9sui4 ("Landing on a Ke8bi4 branch")	Kes
Di7fo7 ("Sweaty")	Didibus
Fi9fa9 ("Destroy fish")	Fitvd
Ai6vy8sa8 ("Eat turtle blood")	Amos
Si7o7e8tv9	Simon
I6bi9 ("Lumpy head")	Ieby (Jimmy)

There is also evidence that a person will sometimes have two or more Iau names that sound alike, but have completely different meanings. (cf. Hooley 1972:504f; Franklin 1967:79)

Name 1: Fv7da8du9ae7 = "Not row a boat"
 Name 2: Fay5bi4 = "Arrow point"
 Name 3: Fo9fi3 = Popi

2.8 Other reasons for giving names

There are a few examples of names which do not fall into any of the categories mentioned above. Nevertheless, they are quite interesting and deserve to be mentioned. The first of these names is the first name of one of the language helpers who helped with this study. The name is: (Di9)U9be4toe4a3 "Throw up (food)". In this case the child's father gave the name to his son as a reminder of a man with the same name who had died. My language helper when asked why he was given this name replied that he (i.e. my language helper) could be called by this name since the other man was no longer around. Apparently no two people in the same place can have the same name.

Another name with a unique origin is that of a man called Ta9by3 ("Soft-flesh"). According to the story, he was given this name because when he was a child he was walking in the jungle and heard a voice tell him that this was his name. When he reported this to his father, his father agreed that this would be his name. Further investigation needs to be done to ascertain if there are other similar cases in which a name was given by an unknown being (perhaps a spirit?) Another version of the story is that he was given this name because he and many other people were sick at the time so their flesh was weak or "soft".

3. Names given to outsiders

A final category of names are those given to outsiders. One example of this is the name given to one of the pilots for UNCEN/SIL.⁶ His Iau name is ko3i8bo4 "Sit on a breadfruit tree branch" because when Iaus had climbed a breadfruit tree to install a radio antenna and mentioned that they were sitting on the breadfruit branch, the pilot repeated this phrase in Iau. Other names given to outsiders are as follows:

- 1) Fv7y4doe8 "Learning to fly" (by imitating an experienced pilot)
- 2) I6fv7o9da9 "Hit head on wing of plane"
- 3) Bu4si4fi6 "Blow through lips"

4. Conclusions and suggestions for future research

From this brief study of Iau names, we have seen that by far the greatest number of names are chosen to describe noteworthy aspects of a person's appearance or behavior. By looking at the descriptions chosen we can make inferences about what the Iau people consider normal or to be expected and what they consider to be abnormal. Because of the great

number of references to scabies in names, we can infer that the Iau people regard this as undesirable or at least as noteworthy. In the area of behavior (2.1.2) the actions noted as worth mentioning often involve eating or drinking something unusual. Janet Bateman (personal communication) has pointed out that the Iau people are very careful about what they allow their babies to put into their mouths. The names including "eat dragon-fly", "eat frog", "drink turtle blood" seem to represent a violation of this norm.

Another category of names from which one could draw inferences about the culture would be that described in section 2.1.3, namely the state of the person brought about by the actions or attitudes of the parents. The most common type of name in this category is a name which implies that the person either does not have any relatives or his relatives are not caring for him properly by not giving food to them. (e.g. "not loved", "no sago" etc.) This type of name appears to be given by people outside the immediate family. It would be interesting to investigate whether or not the giving of such a name is designed to shame the relatives into more acceptable behavior.

The second major category of names, i.e. those which characterize the parent, seem to fall into two classes: a) purely descriptive of actions and b) pejorative or critical names given by the other parent perhaps to shame the spouse into better behavior (e.g. "not rowing boat" "not making boats" or "scatterbrained")

The third major category of names, i.e. to describe events in the person's life (either connected to his birth or to his early childhood), serves as a reminder to the child and his elders about his personal history. Sometimes this reminder may be too embarrassing or painful, resulting in a change of name when the child is grown. (e.g. #6fe7di8 "Weak-legged", Fay5bi8 "Arrow point" --> Po9fi3; I6bi9 "Lumpy-head" --> Ieby (Jimmy)). More research needs to be done on the reasons that people choose new names.

The fourth category, to describe events in the lives of the parents or other relatives), and the fifth category (events in the lives of people in general) can also be viewed as a device to jog people's memories concerning family or tribal history. For the researcher, these names may serve as a tool (cf. Franklin 1967) to uncovering the recent history of the people. In the future, as more and more people learn how to read and write, it will be interesting to what extent names are still used as reminders of past events in people's personal lives or in their lives as a group.

Inevitably, it appears that names modelled on Indonesian or Biblical ones will become even more common as the Iau people have more and more contact with the outside world. It will be interesting to see whether people maintain dual sets of names -- one for village use and the other for use with officials, at school etc. The extent to which nicknames and taboo names have been used in the past or continue to be used still needs to be investigated.

It will also be interesting to see whether names continue to be assigned at about two years, and whether new names will be given when a person enters school, is baptized, or gets married. (The extent to which new names were given in the past at marriage is still not clear.) The formalization of surnames (i.e. family or clan names) will also be interesting to note as the Iau people have need to relate more to the outside world.')

Footnotes

1 The Iau people of the central Lakes Plains area of Irian Jaya, Indonesia, are a group numbering approximately 400 divided into two villages with 350 at Fauí and about 50 at Bakusi. Traditionally hunters and gatherers, the Iau people have begun to plant gardens in the past 15 years. The research for this paper was conducted in the village of Fauí over an 11-month period with a total of 32 weeks of residence in the village. The data were collected using a variety of approaches. Interviews were conducted with approximately 25 people. These were taped and then replayed for my language helpers who then retold the stories behind the names as they understood them. A total of approximately 200 stories were collected and analyzed. The great majority were elicited directly from my four language helpers to whom I am greatly indebted. They are: Benjamin, Timotius, Das and Sakadia.

2 This appears to be changing as children are now attending school and sometimes acquire a more formal name at school.

3 The Iau language is tonal with 8 phonemic tones or contours which have been arbitrarily assigned the following symbols:

9 = High Level

8 = Low Level

7 = High Rising

6 = Low Rising

5 = High-Low Falling

4 = High-Mid Falling

3 = Low Falling

2 = Falling-Rising

Originally there was a tone 1 as well, but this was reanalyzed as being various combinations of falling and rising tones. (See Bateman n.d. Iau Segmental Phonology.)

The Iau language has six consonants and eight vowels which have been symbolized as follows:

/b/ = [b], [m]/V__V

/a/ = [a]

/d/ = [d], [n]/V__V

/e/ = [ae]

/f/ = [p], [h]/V__V, [p]/__#

/y/ = [e~]

/k/ = [k]

/i/ = [i]

/s/ = [s]

/ɨ/ = [iY]

/t/ = [t]

/o/ = [o]

/v/ = [o^]

/u/ = [u]

4 Franklin suggests that by eliciting names of men between 40 and 50 years of age in neighboring tribes "it should be possible to trace out historical happenings" which in turn could be a help in tracing "land occupation and warfare." (Franklin 1967:79)

5 Danau Bira is the name of the extension campus of Cenderawasih University whose main campus is located in Abepura, Irian Jaya. The center is used as a workshop center by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in central Irian Jaya and is approximately 30 minutes by air northeast of the area where the Iau people live.

6 UNCEN/SIL is an abbreviation used to refer to a cooperative program between Cenderawasih University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL).

7 Recently six Iau young men have taken surnames in order to get school certificates. The names were chosen to reflect their father's father's names with some adaptation made to fit Indonesian phonology:

07e8bo8 ("Crooked hand") --> Omo

08a5fvy9a9 ("Hit the ground
with one's hand") --> Weia

According to my language helpers, the whole village is planning to divide itself roughly along family lines using these two names along with three other names of grandfathers:

Fa7fi9 ("Sago palm stalk")

I6i8avy7 ("Red scalp")

Tap5be3fo7 ("Long loin cloth")

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SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS OF THE WANDAMEN

Summary

The Wandamen people live on the north coast of Irian Jaya, south and east of the Bird's Head. This area includes Wandamen Bay in the district of Manokwari and the subdistrict of Wasior.

This paper concerns the religion of the Wandamen people. Topics included are the following.

The belief of life and death. Life consists of the physical body, breath and soul. The soul can be killed by a spirit, in which case, either on the same day or in a couple of weeks' time, breathing will cease and the person will die.

People with special knowledge. There are two types of people who have special knowledge, those who have received holy teaching and those who can go or help others to go visit the land of the dead.

Spirits. Spirits can be divided into three categories: spirits in the water, spirits on the land and manawea spirits.

Sacred places. Places where spirits dwell are considered sacred, as are places relating to myth.

Sacred animals. The bird of paradise and the dog are sacred animals because they used to be human or considered as human.

Oral literature. Oral literature consists of sacred stories, histories, and fairy tales, all having religious elements in them.

KEPERCAYAAN ORANG WANDAMEN

Nitya Ongkodharma
UNCEN-SIL

Y. A. Nelwan

Daerah Wandamen terletak di Kecamatan Wasior, Kabupaten Manokwari, propinsi Irian Jaya. Ada kira-kira 5000 orang Wandamen yang tinggal di daerah ini. Di samping itu juga banyak yang tinggal di kota-kota besar seperti Manokwari, Nabire, Jayapura, dan sebagainya.

Makanan pokok adalah sagu. Selain itu juga mereka makan ubi jalar, keladi dan hasil kebun lainnya. Kadang-kadang mereka berburu rusa dan babi hutan. Karena letak daerah ini di pantai, maka mereka juga mencari ikan untuk memenuhi kebutuhan hidup mereka.

Hubungan dengan dunia luar sudah maju bila dibandingkan dengan daerah-daerah pedalaman. Kapal laut menjadi alat transportasi yang penting dalam hubungan dengan dunia luar. Di samping adanya orang Wandamen yang pergi ke daerah lain, ada pula orang dari daerah lain yang datang ke daerah ini. Ada yang datang sebagai pegawai kantor pemerintah, ada yang sebagai guru, ada yang berdagang, dan lain-lain.

KEPERCAYAAN MENGENAI HIDUP DAN MAUT

Menurut kepercayaan orang Wandamen,¹ seorang manusia hidup mempunyai tarai, sore woyou ve kavo atau disebut juga sore woyou ve tenam, dan wainunu.

Tarai adalah tubuh jasmani. Jadi tarai dapat dilihat dengan mata biasa.

Sore woyou ve kavo atau sore woyou ve tenam berarti nafas hidup. Pada waktu seseorang menghembuskan nafasnya yang terakhir, maka pada saat itulah nafas hidup keluar dari tubuhnya. Dengan keluarnya nafas hidup, maka tubuh orang itu tidak bergerak lagi. Nafas hidup terletak di bagian tenggorokan.

Wainunu berarti jiwa atau roh. Disamping itu juga, wainunu masih mempunyai dua arti lain, yaitu bayangan dan foto.

Bayangan, baik bayangan manusia, pohon, binatang, benda dan sebagainya, yang dapat dilihat dengan nyata ataupun tidak. Kalau kita

Foto juga disebut wainunu oleh karena apa yang terdapat dalam foto, sebenarnya adalah bayangan dari yang sesungguhnya.

Jiwa atau roh dimiliki oleh manusia dan pohon.

Binatang tidak mempunyai jiwa atau roh. Yang ada padanya hanya nafas hidup saja.

Jika makhluk halus manawea melihat jiwa seseorang muncul di atas rumah, maka itu berarti bahwa orang itu sudah tiba waktunya untuk mati, dan dapat dibunuh oleh makhluk halus itu. Jiwa itu dapat dipanah atau ditembak olehnya. Kalau ditembak, orang-orang akan mendengar suara tembakan, tetapi orang itu sendiri, yang jiwanya ditembak, tidak akan mendengarnya. Orang yang jiwanya sudah dibunuh akan segera mati.

Jenis serangga yang disebut karuar adalah semacam belalang yang bentuknya agak panjang. Ada yang mengatakan bahwa kalau serangga ini datang ke rumah, berarti akan ada yang meninggal atau mahluk halus manawea akan datang.

A hand-drawn map of the Wondama region in New Guinea. The map shows the Wondama River flowing from the top left towards the bottom right. To the left of the river is the Teluk Wondama. Various settlements and locations are marked along the river and in the surrounding area, including Nantuari, Sobei, Rado, Wasior Kampung, Wasior Kota, Niel, Manggundi, Iriasi, Kaibi, Kubiiani, Isuli, Rusiei, Inggesi, Kokori, Kovo, and Wevi. Other geographical features include G. Orubu, Dusieri, and G. Sarua. The map also shows the Wondama River flowing into the sea at the bottom right. The map is oriented with North at the top.

Kepercayaan Wandamen 89

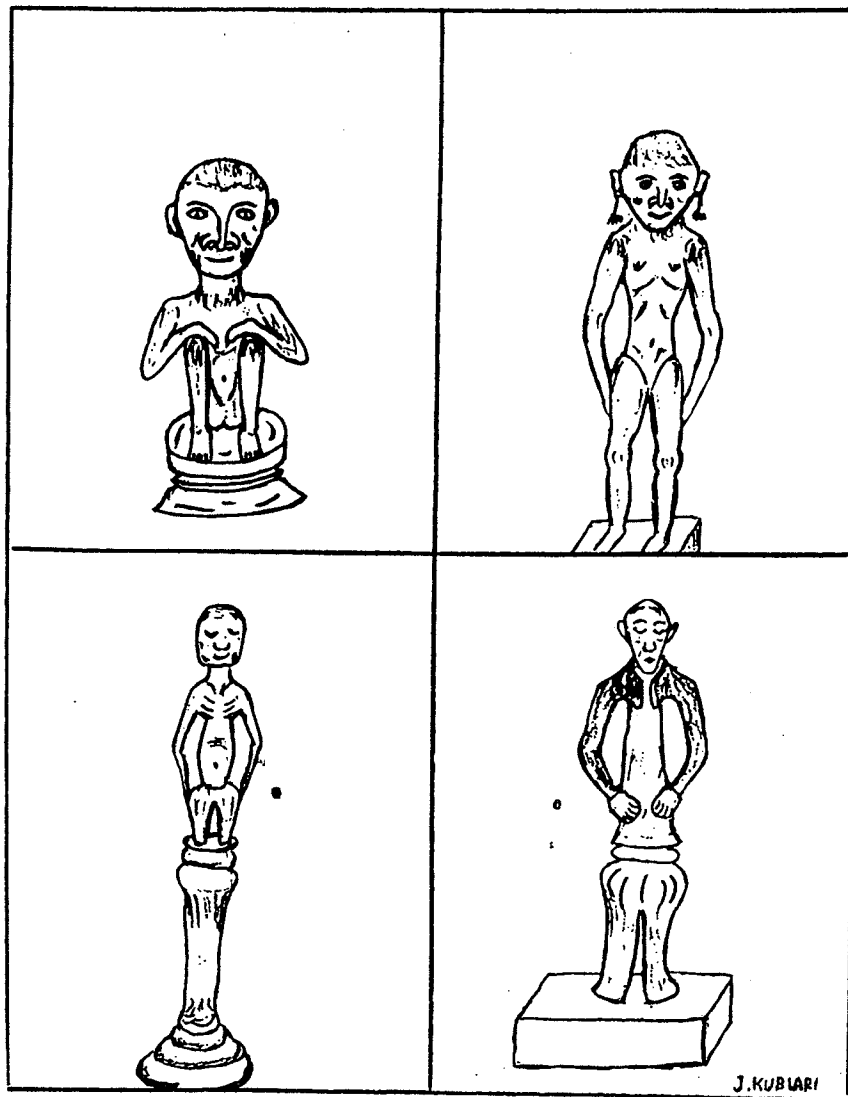


Figure 2. Patung karuar.

Bentuk patung bermacam-macam. Ada yang tingginya mencapai satu meter dan ada juga yang hanya sejengkal² saja. Patung-patung ini disimpan di dalam kuil (anio vesom) dan diberi persembahan berupa pinang dan tembakau. Persembahan ini disebut kakesi. Di samping itu juga, orang membakar kemenyan dihadapan patung-patung tersebut.

Pada waktu dahulu, patung-patung ini dianggap dapat memberi kemenangan dalam perang suku. Para pemimpin perang biasa menggantungkan patung yang kecil di lehernya pada waktu berperang.

Sekarang, patung-patung ini sudah tidak ada lagi.

Arwah (karuar)

Arwah adalah roh orang mati. Tempat tinggal arwah disebut vevoru pa sene uta. Letak tempatnya tidak diketahui. Tetapi karena orang Wandamen biasa mempergunakan kata 'laut' dan 'darat' untuk menunjuk tempat atau arah tempat, maka kata ini pulalah yang dipergunakan untuk menunjuk tempat tinggal arwah. Kata 'laut' menunjuk pada tempat di pantai atau ke arah pantai, sedangkan kata 'darat' menunjuk pada tempat di darat, bukan di pantai, atau ke arah darat. Tempat tinggal arwah biasa disebut marei, yaitu di darat. Dan tempat tinggal orang hidup marau yang berarti di laut, karena mereka bertempat tinggal di pantai.

Meskipun seseorang itu telah mati, tetapi sebagai arwah, ia masih dapat berhubungan dengan keluarganya yang hidup. Hal-hal yang biasa dilakukan arwah adalah:

1. **Menolong keluarganya.** Jika ada seseorang dalam keluarganya yang sudah lama sakit, maka arwah dapat memberitahukan obat apa yang harus diminum oleh si sakit itu agar menjadi sembuh. Cara memberitahunya adalah dengan jalan memasuki tubuh seseorang dan berbicara melalui mulut orang yang dimasukinya itu. Orang yang dimasuki arwah itu akan gemetar dan merontak-rontak. Setelah ditanyai identitasnya, ia akan menyatakan dirinya sebagai salah seorang anggota keluarga yang telah mati. Setelah itu ia akan memberitahukan jenis akar kayu atau daun tertentu yang dapat menyembuhkan si sakit itu. Jika penyakit yang diderita si sakit adalah sebagai akibat pelanggaran yang dilakukannya tanpa diketahuinya, maka arwah ini akan memberitahukan kesalahannya itu.

2. **Melindungi.** Arwah dapat melindungi keluarganya dari mahluk halus manawea dengan jalan memberikan obat kepada keluarganya. Ia akan memberitahukan keluarganya untuk mengambil sepenggal kayu tertentu untuk dicampurkan dengan minyak lawang, jahe, dan sebagainya. Campuran itu lalu digosokkan pada kening anggota keluarganya. Kalau mahluk halus manawea melihat orang itu, ia akan menghindar, karena orang itu seolah-olah mempunyai kekuatan.

3. **Memberitahukan apa yang akan terjadi.** Arwah dapat memberitahukan apa yang akan terjadi dengan jalan memasuki tubuh seseorang, dan memakai mulut orang itu untuk memberitahukan hal tersebut. Di samping itu juga, ia dapat mendatangi keluarganya dengan memakai bentuk yang tidak dapat dilihat, tetapi dapat didengar, yaitu, dengan cara bersiul. Arwah akan bersiul di sekitar rumah di mana keluarganya itu berada, dan

keluarganya itu akan mengetahui bahwa itu adalah siulan arwah karena arwah ingin memberitahukan sesuatu kepadanya. Mereka dapat berdialog dan orang itu akan mengerti apa yang disampaikan oleh arwah dengan siulannya itu.

Arwah juga dapat memberitahukan sesuatu dengan memasuki tubuh binatang. Misalnya: seseorang sedang berjalan di hutan, tiba-tiba ia mendengar seekor burung berbicara kepadanya: "Ada buruan di muka," atau, "Cepat tinggalkan tempat ini, ada manawea di depan," dan lain-lain pemberitahuan. Ini berarti bahwa arwah dari keluarga orang itu masuk kedalam burung untuk memperingatkan orang itu. Burung ini disebut Masuasi.

Ada kalanya juga arwah memberikan peringatan melalui suara pukulan kayu dua atau tiga kali. Ini menandakan bahwa tempat di mana anggota keluarganya berada itu berbahaya, sehingga dia harus segera meninggalkan tempat tersebut.

Di samping memberitahukan apa yang akan terjadi, arwah juga memberitahukan apa yang telah terjadi. Misalnya, arwah dapat memberitahukan bahwa dia adalah korban pembunuhan seorang pembunuh yang tidak diketahui oleh siapapun juga. Oleh sebab itu, dia sekarang memberitahukan keluarganya siapa yang telah membunuhnya dan dimana terjadinya pembunuhan itu, dengan cara memasuki tubuh seseorang.

4. Membuat keluarganya sakit. Arwah juga dapat membuat keluarganya sakit, terutama sakit perut. Jika seseorang dengan tiba-tiba menderita sakit perut, biasanya arwahlah penyebabnya. Untuk mengetahui benar tidaknya arwah sebagai penyebabnya, maka hal yang biasa dilakukan adalah dengan cara mengambil segumpal sagu mentah yang dibulatkan oleh salah seorang anggota keluarga. Sagu itu kemudian diputar-putar diatas perut orang yang sedang menderita sakit perut itu sambil berkata: "(nama orang yang telah mati disebut), kasihanilah orang ini dan janganlah mengganggu dia." Nama orang mati itu harus disebut untuk mengetahui orang mati yang manakah yang menyebabkan penyakit itu. Gumpalan sagu itu lalu ditaruh di atas api. Jika betul arwah dari orang mati yang disebut namanya yang menyebabkan penyakit itu, maka sagu akan meledak dan menimbulkan bunyi. Jika bukan arwah orang itu, maka sagu tidak akan meledak. Lalu perbuatan itu diulangi lagi dengan menyebut nama orang mati yang lain. Setelah gumpalan sagu meledak, orang yang sakit itu akan sembuh.

Jika seseorang mati dan kemudian ia dikuburkan dengan mempergunakan pakaian bekas atau tikar orang lain yang masih hidup, maka pakaian atau tikar itu harus dicabik, dan cabikannya dibawa pulang. Jika kemudian ada anggota keluarga pemilik pakaian atau tikar yang menjadi sakit, misalnya anaknya, maka anak itu harus didukung oleh ibunya. Lalu ibu dan anak duduk dalam lingkaran tikar yang didirikan sambil memegang potongan pakaian atau tikar tadi. Bagian atas mereka juga ditutup dengan tikar lain atau selimut tebal. Kemudian sebuah loyang berisi air panas ditaruh di hadapan mereka dan sebuah batu panas dimasukkan kedalamnya. Uap yang ada harus membasahi ibu dan anak yang ada dalam lingkaran tikar itu. Uap itu melambangkan uap kuburan. Dan karena uap kuburan sudah mengenai mereka, maka anak itu akan sembuh.

Kalau misalnya mereka lupa untuk mencabik tikar itu, dan kemudian anak dari pemilik tikar tersebut jatuh sakit, maka seseorang akan pergi ke kuburan, dan menusuk kuburan orang yang mempergunakan tikar itu. Ia harus menusuknya sampai mengenai peti mati, lalu mengambil tanah atau pasir dari dalam kuburan itu. Tanah atau pasir inilah yang dimasukkan dalam air panas dan caranya adalah sama seperti di atas.

5. Membunuh orang. Arwah juga dapat membunuh orang. Cara pembunuhan seperti ini berasal dari daerah lain, dan hanya kadang-kadang saja dipergunakan di daerah Wandamen. Caranya dapat diuraikan sebagai berikut:

Misalnya S membunuh B, dan tidak ada orang yang tahu tentang pembunuhan tersebut. Pada waktu B dikuburkan, salah seorang anggota keluarganya mengambil segumpal tanah dari dalam kuburnya, lalu dibawa pulang. Pada waktu malam orang ini akan duduk dalam kelambu sambil memegang gumpalan tanah yang diambilnya tadi dan sebilah pisau. Di luar kelambu dipasang sebuah pelita kecil. Karena tanah dianggap merupakan bagian orang mati, maka arwah dari orang mati itu akan datang untuk menuntut, supaya tanah itu dikembalikan. Pada waktu arwah datang, maka orang yang duduk dalam kelambu itu dapat menanyakan siapa yang membunuhnya, dan arwah itu akan memberitahukannya. Kemudian ia dapat meminta supaya arwah itu menuntut balas dengan jalan membunuh pembunuhnya. Lalu ia menyerahkan pisau yang telah disediakan tadi kepada arwah itu. Arwah akan menerima pisau itu dan kemudian pergi. Beberapa waktu kemudian, ia akan kembali lagi dengan pisau yang berlumuran darah, sebagai bukti bahwa ia telah membunuh pembunuhnya. Setelah arwah menyerahkan pisau itu kembali kepada yang memberikannya, maka orang itu juga harus menyerahkan tanah kuburan yang telah diambilnya itu kepada arwah.

Mati konyol

Orang yang mati setelah menderita sakit yang cukup lama, arwahnya tidak mengganggu. Hal ini disebabkan karena arwah langsung pergi ke tempat orang mati (vevoru pa sene uta). Arwah yang tidak mengganggu, disebut roh yang baik (wainunu viate).

Tetapi jika seseorang mati secara tiba-tiba, misalnya karena jatuh dari pohon, tenggelam karena perahu terbalik, bunuh diri, melahirkan dan anaknya juga mati, ataupun mati dalam keadaan mengandung, maka arwah orang itu akan mengganggu orang yang hidup, dengan jalan memperlihatkan diri kepada mereka yang diganggunya. Cara kematian seperti ini disebut mati konyol. Dan arwah yang mengganggu disebut roh yang tidak baik (wainunu vekariria). Arwah ini akan mengganggu orang yang hidup selama beberapa waktu. Menurut kepercayaan orang Wandamen, dia mengganggu karena belum mendapat peristirahatan. Kalau gangguan berhenti, berarti bahwa sudah tiba waktunya bagi orang itu untuk mati sesungguhnya atau untuk mendapat peristirahatan.

Arwah orang yang mati konyol mengganggu orang hidup dengan cara yang berbeda-beda, tergantung dari cara matinya orang itu. Yang jelas mereka menampakkan diri, sehingga membuat orang-orang yang melihatnya menjadi takut. Contoh-contoh mengenai hal ini adalah sebagai berikut:

Orang yang mati tenggelam: Peristiwa ini terjadi di dekat pulau Yerenusi. Seorang laki-laki menikam seekor ikan gulema⁴ yang panjangnya kira-kira tiga meter dan lebarnya kira-kira enam meter. Ikan itu lalu melarikan diri dengan cepat, sambil membawa penikam yang tertancap di tubuhnya. Ujung lain dari tali penikam terlingkar pada kaki orang itu. Karena demikian cepatnya ikan itu berenang, maka kaki orang itu tertarik, sehingga ia jatuh ke dalam air. Orang itu tenggelam. Pada waktu orang-orang mencari mayatnya, mereka sering melihat arwah orang itu. Kadang-kadang, hanya badannya saja yang kelihatan, seperti sedang berdiri di atas suatu benda di air. Kadang-kadang, ia berubah bentuk menjadi ikan paus dan mengejar perahu-perahu yang lewat di situ. Gangguan seperti ini berlangsung selama kira-kira satu bulan.

Orang yang mati bunuh diri: Seorang gadis di Iriati ingin menikah dengan seorang pemuda yang menjadi kekasihnya. Tetapi oleh karena pemuda itu tidak dapat memenuhi mas kawin yang diminta oleh orang tua si gadis, keinginan mereka tidak terpenuhi. Gadis ini menjadi putus asa, lalu mengambil keputusan untuk membunuh diri. Ia minum air tuba yang dicampur dengan kamper. Tidak berapa lama kemudian setelah ia mati, orang dapat melihat dia berjalan-jalan, dan kadang-kadang mengejar orang lain. Walaupun ia menampakkan diri, tetapi mukanya tidak kelihatan.

Orang yang mati dalam keadaan mengandung, atau yang mati pada waktu melahirkan dan anaknya juga mati: Arwah orang yang mati dalam keadaan seperti ini, biasanya mengganggu orang yang hidup. Ia akan menampakkan diri dalam rupa seorang wanita yang berambut panjang, berkuku panjang dan mengeluarkan suara: rrrrrrrr pit pit pit. Kalau ia hanya terbang dan bersuara saja, berarti ia belum ganas. Ia hanya membuat orang menjadi takut saja. Tetapi jika sudah ada asap keluar dari kuburannya pada sore hari, itu berarti bahwa ia sudah menjadi ganas. Pada keadaan demikian, jika ia bertemu dengan seorang laki-laki, maka alat kelamin orang tersebut akan dirusakkannya. Tetapi jika orang itu berjalan dengan seorang wanita, maka dia dapat berlindung pada wanita temannya itu, dan wanita ini dapat berkata kepada wanita yang menakutkan itu: "Pergil! Jangan merendahkan nama wanita." Lalu wanita yang berambut panjang dan berkuku panjang itu akan pergi.

Untuk menghindarkan agar wanita yang mati dalam keadaan demikian tidak menjadi arwah yang mengganggu, maka setelah ia mati dan dimandikan, semua jari tangannya ditusuk dengan jarum. Maksudnya adalah supaya kuku orang yang telah menjadi mayat itu tidak menjadi panjang. Di samping itu pula pada ketiaknyanya ditaruh telur, sebutir di sebelah kiri dan sebutir di sebelah kanan. Sambil menaruh telur pada ketiak mayat, orang yang menaruhnya berkata: "Jagalah telur ini baik-baik." Maksudnya adalah supaya orang yang mati itu jangan menggerakkan tangannya. Kalau ia menggerakkan tangannya, maka tangannya itu dapat dipakainya sebagai sayap sehingga dapat terbang.

Cara untuk menghentikan gangguan arwah seperti ini adalah sebagai berikut: Pada siang hari, bawalah sebuah batang pisang ke kuburan orang itu. Di atas kuburannya, batang pisang itu dipotong-potong sampai hancur. Sesudah itu arwah tidak akan mengganggu lagi.

ORANG-ORANG BERPENGETAHUAN KHUSUS

Yang dimaksud dengan orang-orang berpengetahuan khusus adalah orang-orang yang mempunyai pengetahuan atau keahlian tertentu. Mereka adalah orang-orang yang mempunyai hubungan dengan arwah (sade), dan orang-orang yang mempunyai pengetahuan tentang agama adat (tuvo).

Sade

Sade mulai dikenal pada tahun 1932, ketika M. Sobei mendapat mimpi berkunjung ke tempat orang mati. Di sana ia belajar tentang sepuluh macam obat penyakit cacar untuk menyembuhkan dirinya sendiri dan orang lain. Pengobatan dengan pertolongan arwah melalui kunjungan ke tempat arwah inilah yang disebut sade.

Sebelum seorang sade menolong orang sakit, ia biasanya pergi dahulu ke tempat orang mati (vevoru pa sene uta). Di sana ia akan melihat apakah roh orang sakit itu sudah berada bersama arwah nenek moyangnya atau belum. Kalau sudah, ia dapat mengajaknya pulang kembali. Roh orang itu dapat kembali kalau ia belum memakan jamuan yang disajikan kepadanya oleh arwah-arwah. Jika ia sudah memakannya, maka ia tidak dapat meninggalkan tempat itu dan ini berarti bahwa si sakit tidak akan tertolong. Kalau roh orang sakit itu belum berada disana, maka ia akan tertolong dan orang sade akan meminta pertolongan arwah untuk menyembuhkannya. Ia akan menanyakan obat apa yang harus diminum si sakit. Arwah dapat memberitahukan nama daun-daunan, penggalan kayu, kulit kayu, dan akar kayu tertentu, yang harus dicampur dengan minyak buah kelapa merah atau buah kelapa bulan yang buahnya tidak boleh jatuh atau dijatuhkan dari atas pohon. Campuran bahan-bahan ini lalu diberikan kepada si sakit untuk diminum. Jika campuran ini dibuat sesuai dengan syarat-syaratnya, maka si sakit akan sembuh.

Seorang sade dapat mengunjungi tempat orang mati dengan bebas. Setiap kali ia menghendakinya, ia dapat bertemu dan bercakap-cakap dengan kaum keluarganya yang telah meninggal. Ia selalu menolak sajian yang disajikan. Di samping ia sendiri dapat berkunjung ke sana, ia juga dapat mengantarkan orang lain dengan cara yang akan diceritakan di bawah ini.

Pada pagi hari, pada waktu matahari mulai muncul, orang-orang yang akan berkunjung ke tempat orang mati berkumpul dalam sebuah rumah atau ruangan yang tidak ber dinding. Kemudian mereka berbaring pada tikar yang telah disediakan. Mata mereka tidak boleh terpejam. Mereka harus memandang kepada matahari yang sedang terbit dan bersinar itu. Lalu tubuh mereka ditutup dengan kain putih. Dan minyak sade, yaitu minyak yang dibuat menurut petunjuk arwah, dioleskan pada dahi mereka masing-masing. Kemudian orang sade akan menyanyikan nyanyian-nyanyian pengantar sambil menari-nari di atas empat atau lima buah piring besar, dengan diiringi bunyi ketukan sebuah piring besar yang dibunyikan oleh orang

lain. Selama itu, orang-orang yang berbaring harus tetap memandang kepada matahari. Kira-kira satu jam kemudian, mereka berubah menjadi seperti mayat setelah kehilangan kesadarannya. Ini berarti bahwa roh mereka telah tiba di tempat orang mati. Dua atau tiga jam kemudian, mulut mereka berbusa, perut kembung, tubuh berbau mayat dan lalat hijau (langau) datang mengerumuninya. Orang sade masih tetap menyanyi dan menari. Tetapi nyanyian-nyanyian mereka sekarang adalah nyanyian panggilan untuk kembali. Seorang lain akan berdiri di samping pemukul piring, dan melambai-lambaikan daun yang biasa terdapat di kuburan (sasiri rau) sebagai tanda panggilan untuk kembali.

Setelah roh orang-orang itu kembali, perut mereka menjadi seperti biasa kembali dan bau mayatpun hilang. Tubuh mereka kelihatan lemah. Mereka mulai bergerak lalu bangun. Kemudian mereka menceritakan pengalaman mereka masing-masing tentang pertemuan mereka dengan kaum kerabat mereka di tempat orang mati. Mereka mengatakan bahwa setelah roh mereka meninggalkan tubuh, mereka berada pada suatu jalan raya yang menuju ke tempat orang mati. Jalan ini ramai sekali karena setiap hari banyak orang yang mati. Jalan raya ini disebut indoki.

Sebelum masuk ke tempat orang mati, seorang penjaga bertanya: "Apakah kamu datang secara sade atau aisope?" Aisope berarti sepotong kayu. Kata ini melambangkan peti mati dan yang dimaksudkan adalah mati dengan sebenarnya. Kalau roh itu menjawab: "Secara sade," maka ia diperingatkan untuk kembali. Dan kalau ia menjawab: "Secara aisope," maka penjaga itu akan melihat dalam buku apakah nama orang itu tertulis di sana atau tidak. Kalau tertulis, ia boleh masuk. Tetapi kalau tidak, ia disuruh kembali, karena sebenarnya belum tiba waktunya bagi orang itu untuk mati. Ini berarti bahwa ia mati konyol.

Setelah masuk ke tempat orang mati, mereka melihat tempat tinggal yang berjajar-jajar dengan teratur dan rapih. Di sana tidak ada kegelapan, hanya terang saja. Terang ini bukan terang matahari karena matahari tidak kelihatan di sana. Tubuh mereka, yang ditinggalkan untuk sementara itu, kelihatannya sangat buruk bila dibandingkan dengan keadaan tubuh di tempat orang mati. Di tempat ini tubuh mereka kelihatan indah sekali. Mereka yang waktu hidupnya menderita cacat tubuh, seperti: buta, pin-cang, bisu, kaskado, sekarang sudah sembuh. Mereka yang mati pada waktu bayi menjadi anak-anak kecil yang dapat berjalan sendiri. Dan bayi yang mati dengan tali pusat melingkar di lehernya, sekarang tali pusat itu bagaikan selendang yang melingkar-lingkar seperti hiasan yang indah sekali.

Arwah kaum kerabat yang tinggal di tempat itu menyambut kunjungan mereka. Lalu mereka diperkenalkan kepada nenek moyang mereka yang belum pernah dikenalnya. Di sana mereka tinggal menurut kelompok kaum keluarga masing-masing. Mereka dijamu dengan pisang ambon terlebih dahulu, kemudian makanan-makanan lain yang mewah. Mereka yang makan makanan ini, tidak akan kembali lagi kepada tubuh mereka, melainkan akan mati selamanya. Setelah beberapa waktu lamanya, arwah-arwah itu berkata bahwa sekarang mereka harus pergi karena sudah tiba waktunya untuk menyembah atau memuji Tuhan (sesom Sie). Lalu roh orang itu kembali.

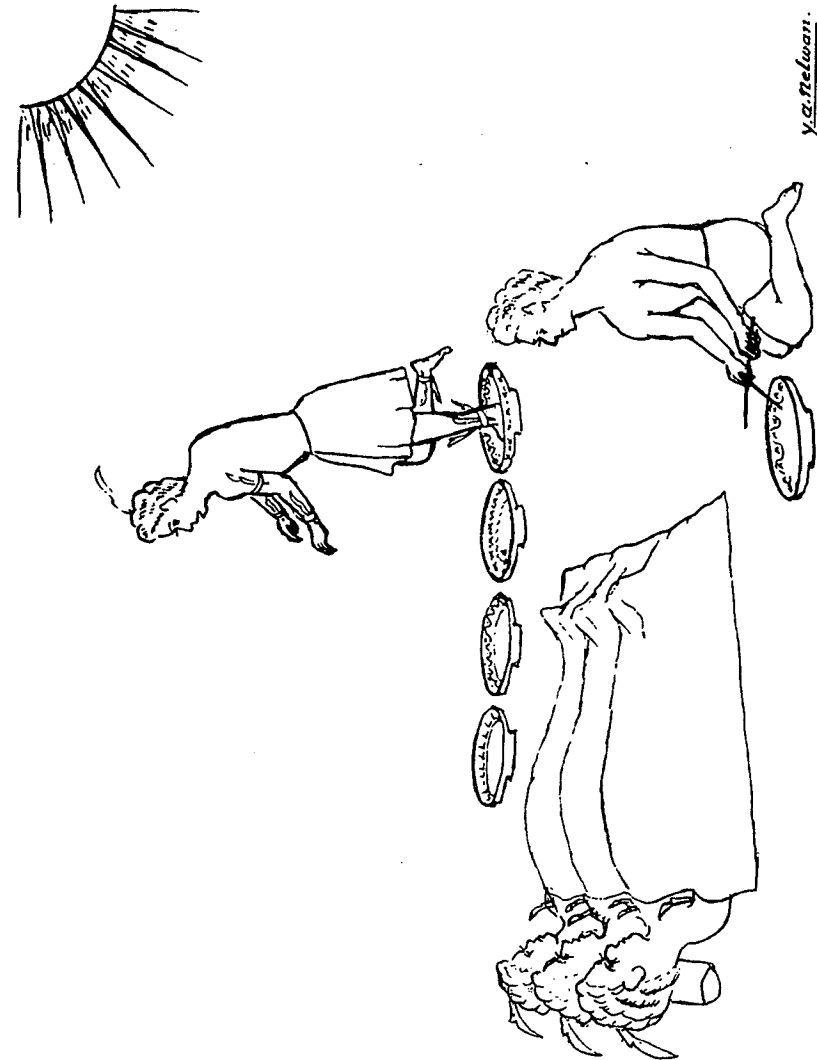


Figure 3. Sade.

Tuvo

Pusat kepercayaan di daerah Wandamen terletak di Dusner. Di tempat ini, pada waktu dahulu, terdapat sebuah rumah pertapaan (anio sara). Orang-orang yang masuk rumah pertapaan dididik dalam agama adat, yang dianggap suci dan bersifat rahasia. Orang yang mengajar mereka disebut Mandovondi.

Mereka belajar tentang seorang yang baik, yang disebut Sie atau Sien. Kata ini berasal dari kata vesie yang berarti baik. Sien bersifat suci (sren). Dalam bahasa Dusner, Sien juga disebut Inar Vevua, yang berarti telinga besar. Maksudnya adalah bahwa ia mempunyai pendengaran yang jauh atau luas, sehingga dapat mendengar segala sesuatu yang dibicarakan, meskipun jauh atau tersembunyi.

Selama dalam pendidikan, mereka tidak boleh bertemu dengan keluarganya. Keluarganya mengantarkan makanan tiap-tiap hari dan makanan itu harus diletakkan pada pintu rumah pertapaan. Jika pada keesokan harinya makanan itu masih terdapat di situ dan belum ada yang mengambilnya, berarti orang yang dikirim makanan itu sudah meninggal. Seorang yang sudah tamat dalam pendidikan agama adat mendapat gelar tuvo kalau ia laki-laki, dan viso kalau ia perempuan. Sesudah mendapat gelar, mereka boleh pulang ke tempatnya masing-masing.

Seorang tuvo dapat menentukan saat kematiannya menurut dua waktu tertentu, yaitu: pada waktu bintang pagi terbit, kira-kira jam empat pagi, atau setelah matahari 'duduk diatas ujung kayu', kira-kira jam lima sore. Sebelum ia menghembuskan natasnya yang terakhir, ia biasanya membisikkan kata-kata sakti dan bersifat rahasia kepada anaknya yang tertua, baik laki-laki ataupun perempuan. Kata-kata ini akan membuat pemiliknya berumur panjang. Jika pemilik sudah merasa bosan hidup dalam ketuaan yang cukup lama, ia dapat membisikkan kata-kata itu kepada anaknya yang tertua. Tidak lama kemudian ia akan meninggal. Jika anak tertua tidak ada di tempat, maka ibu atau pamannya dapat mewakilinya. Tetapi sebelum ibu atau paman ini meninggal, ia harus membisikkan kembali kata-kata ini kepada anak tadi, karena ia adalah orang yang sebenarnya berhak atas kata-kata itu. Adik dari anak tertua tidak boleh menerima kata-kata ini. Jika hal ini terjadi, maka kakak-kakaknya akan meninggal.

Oleh karena seorang tuvo memiliki kata-kata yang sakti ini, maka ia berumur panjang. Kebanyakan dari mereka mati karena tulang punggungnya patah, sebagai akibat terlalu tua.

MAHLUK HALUS

Berdasarkan tempat dan jenisnya, mahluk halus dapat dibagi dalam tiga kelompok:

1. Mahluk halus yang tinggal di dalam air.
2. Mahluk halus yang tinggal di darat.
3. Mahluk halus manawea.

Di bawah ini akan dibahas mengenai mahluk-mahluk halus ini.

Mahluk halus yang tinggal di dalam air

Ada dua mahluk halus yang tinggal di dalam air. Mereka adalah wori dan inaravui.

Wori tinggal di dasar laut. Ia sangat berkuasa. Ia dapat menyatakan diri sebagai manusia berkulit putih, sebagai ikan atau gurita yang besar, dan kadang-kadang juga sebagai ikan berkepala manusia. Hal ini diketahui dari mereka yang pernah melihatnya. Wori akan marah jika manusia berbuat sesuatu yang dianggapnya sebagai pelanggaran. Misalnya:

1. Jika seseorang mandi sambil bermain-main di pantai suatu pulau yang tidak didiami, maka pada malam harinya akan terjadi angin ribut di tempat itu. Ditengah-tengah angin ribut, guntur, kilat dan gelombang-gelombang yang besar, wori akan menampakkan diri sebagai lampu besar yang bercahaya di atas permukaan laut. Ia akan berjalan mengelilingi pulau itu selama beberapa jam sambil mengeluarkan suara seperti bunyi kapal. Ia dapat terangkat naik turun di udara. Air laut akan naik ke pulau itu dan perahu yang sudah ditarik ke darat seakan-akan ditarik kembali ke laut. Air laut akan berbau anyir. Perahu, pohon dan orang-orang yang ada di sekitar tempat itu akan berlendir. Tidak jarang pula atap perahu diterbangkan oleh angin. Jika orang yang bersalah telah meninggalkan tempat itu dengan mempergunakan perahu atau kapal, maka perahu atau kapalnya itu akan dirusakkan, bahkan kadang-kadang ditenggelamkan, oleh wori yang sedang marah itu.

2. Wori menganggap segala sesuatu yang berhubungan dengan hawa nafsu, seperti sex dan cinta, sebagai hal yang cemar dan ia tidak menyukainya. Oleh karena itu, jika ada orang yang melakukan hubungan sex dalam perjalanan, atau membawa oleh-oleh dari pacarnya sebagai tanda cinta kasih, hal itu dianggapnya sebagai suatu pelanggaran. Oleh-oleh ini dapat berupa cincin, manik-manik, pakaian, toto dan sebagainya. Jika pelanggaran ini terjadi, maka di tengah lautan, wori akan menyatakan diri sebagai tempat kering yang muncul di atas permukaan laut. Dan kapal atau perahu akan kandas di situ. Sebagaimana tempat kering itu muncul dengan tiba-tiba, maka dengan tiba-tiba pula ia menghilang. Kadang-kadang ia menampakkan diri sebagai ikan yang besar sekali, dan ia berjalan mengelilingi perahu atau kapal. Dengan tubuhnya ia mengangkat perahu atau kapal tersebut hingga hampir terbalik. Tidak jarang pula kapal menjadi tertahan di suatu tempat, walaupun kelihatannya laju. Kapal itu dapat tertahan selama berjam-jam, bahkan berhari-hari.

Semua gangguan ini akan berhenti jika orang yang bersalah itu mengaku. Jika ia membawa oleh-oleh dari pacarnya, maka ia harus membuang oleh-oleh itu. Jika karena hubungan sex, maka orang yang bersangkutan harus diturunkan ke laut, dengan dipegang tangannya oleh dua orang, selama beberapa detik. Kemudian diangkat lagi ke perahu atau kapal.

Wori juga dapat membuat orang menjadi tidak waras. Misalnya, ada seseorang yang menaruh dendam pada orang lain. Ia akan berusaha untuk mendapatkan rambut orang itu. Setelah ia mendapatkannya, ia memasukkan rambut itu kedalam sebuah botol lalu menyumbatnya. Kemudian botol itu diikat pada sebuah batu dan dilemparkan ke tempat dimana wori tinggal, biasanya di batu Sawaki, dekat pulau Yerenusi. Tidak lama kemudian orang yang memiliki rambut itu akan menjadi tidak waras.

Sebuah cerita mengenai wori akan dituturkan di bawah ini:

Ada dua orang yang sedang mencari tuturuga (penyu). Tiba-tiba mereka melihat seekor tuturuga, lalu binatang itu ditikamnya. Sebagaimana biasa dalam menangkap tuturuga, setelah menikam binatang itu, maka salah seorang akan meloncat dari perahu untuk menangkap tuturuga itu dan menariknya pada ekornya. Tetapi ketika salah seorang dari mereka berbuat demikian, tuturuga itu menarik orang itu ke dasar lautan. Dengan ekornya ia menjepit jari tangan orang tersebut. Tiba di dasar lautan, orang itu melihat sebuah istana yang indah yang dihuni oleh orang berkulit putih. Orang ini adalah wori. Wori serta anak isterinya tinggal dalam istana itu. Ternyata tuturuga itu adalah pesuruh wori. Orang itu kemudian meminta maaf kepada wori karena ia telah menikam pesuruhnya. Wori memaafkannya dan kemudian ia memberikan pinang dan daun tembakau kepada orang itu. Lalu orang itu diperbolehkan pulang. Orang itu diketemukan dalam keadaan pingsan di atas air oleh temannya, dan ditangannya masih tergenggam pinang dan daun tembakau.

Inaravui adalah makhluk halus lain yang tinggal di dalam air. Ia tinggal di sungai, baik sungai besar maupun sungai kecil. Tetapi ini tidak berarti bahwa semua sungai didiami oleh makhluk halus ini. Tempat-tempat yang tidak didiami olehnya dapat dipergunakan dengan bebas, sedangkan tempat-tempat yang didiami olehnya mempunyai beberapa persyaratan, antara lain: kalau menimba air harus dengan tenang, tidak boleh mengebaskan air kepada orang lain pada waktu mandi, tidak boleh ribut di tempat itu, dan sebagainya. Bila hal-hal tersebut dilanggar, baik dengan sengaja maupun tidak, maka akan terjadi angin ribut yang hebat dan hujan lebat yang menyebabkan banjir, sehingga perahu-perahu dan rumah-rumah menjadi rusak dan hanyut.

Di daerah ini biasanya terdapat sungai kecil yang airnya selalu panas dan tidak pernah dingin, walaupun hujan dan banjir. Tempat yang demikian ini sudah pasti menjadi tempat tinggal inaravui. Kalau ada orang yang menderita penyakit kudis atau luka-luka, ia dapat mandi di tempat tersebut dengan diantar oleh seorang tua tertentu. Orang tua ini akan menyanyikan nyanyian-nyanyian tertentu dalam bahasa yang tidak dimengerti oleh orang lain. Ia akan terus menyanyikan nyanyian-nyanyian itu hingga inaravui menampakkan dirinya dalam bentuk gurita, atau dalam bentuk ikan laut yang tidak biasa hidup di air tawar. Pada saat itulah penderita masuk ke dalam air dan menyelam. Setelah pulang ke rumah, penyakitnya mulai mengering dan beberapa hari kemudian ia akan sembuh.

Makhluk halus yang tinggal di darat

Makhluk halus yang tinggal di darat adalah pi vene uta, pi venana ai rawi, pi sararidiodi dan ingenambi. Yang paling berkuasa dari antara mereka adalah pi vene uta.

Pi vene uta berarti 'yang mempunyai tempat'. Ia berkuasa atas tempat atau daerah di mana ia tinggal dan juga atas cuaca di daerahnya itu. Nama lain yang dimilikinya adalah aisinia vene kakopa yang berarti beliau yang memiliki tanah. Kadang-kadang pi vene uta menampakkan diri dalam bentuk ular atau manusia berkulit putih. Ia akan menyatakan kuasanya jika ada manusia yang dianggapnya melakukan pelanggaran. Pelanggaran yang dimaksud antara lain:

1. **Mempermainkan binatang.** Dalam peraturan agama adat, dikatakan bahwa manusia tidak boleh menyusahkan binatang. Ini berarti bahwa mereka tidak boleh mempermainkan binatang atau membuat binatang itu menjadi bahan tertawaan. Jika hal ini dilanggar, maka pi vene uta akan marah, seperti yang pernah terjadi di Dusner.

Pada waktu itu ada seorang anak yang mempermainkan seekor anak kasuari. Kasuari itu dipegang dan diangkat serta diturunkan berkali-kali. Banyak orang yang tertawa melihat peristiwa itu. Pada sore harinya, hujan turun dengan lebatnya disertai guntur yang hebat menuju tempat di mana anak kasuari itu dipermainkan. Akibat guntur yang dahsyat, terjadilah sebuah lubang yang dalam di tempat itu. Dan oleh karena hujan yang lebat sekali, terjadilah banjir besar. Air masuk kedalam lubang yang baru saja terbentuk, sehingga terciptalah sebuah kolam di jalan. Air naik dan menghanyutkan tanah di sekitarnya.

Untuk menghentikan kemarahan pi vene uta, maka rambut anak yang telah mempermainkan kasuari tadi dipotong segenggam. Lalu potongan rambut itu dihamburkan ke udara. Anak itu kemudian dibawa ke luar, dibiarkan kehujanan sampai basah kuyup, lalu ia harus berkata sambil mengangkat kedua tangannya ke atas: "Apu, vara pasi nine, isasara va," yang berarti 'kakek, inilah tangan saya, saya tidak bersalah'. Kata-kata ini menyatakan bahwa sekarang ia tidak bersalah lagi karena rambutnya telah dipotong dan dihamburkan serta telah berdiri di tengah-tengah hujan lebat. Kesalahannya telah ditebusnya, dan karena itu ia tidak bersalah lagi. Tidak lama kemudian, hujan, angin, guntur dan banjirpun berhenti.

2. **Mengambil kayu di tempat keramat.** Kayu-kayu yang ada di tempat keramat tidak boleh diambil. Jika ada yang melanggar hal ini, maka pi vene uta akan marah, dan terjadilah angin ribut, hujan lebat, banjir, dan gempa bumi di tempat itu.

3. **Berjalan di daerah keramat.**

Suatu peristiwa yang pernah terjadi adalah ketika seorang dari Goni, teluk Umar, pergi berburu burung cenderawasih. Ia melihat seekor burung kuning besar. Dengan segera burung itu ditembaknya dan kena pada salah satu kakinya. Burung itu jatuh tetapi masih dapat melompat. Pemburu itu lalu mengikuti burung yang melompat-lompat itu. Burung itu masuk ke dalam sebuah lubang dan pemburu itu pun mengikutinya. Setelah memasuki lubang itu, pemburu itu melihat bahwa ia berada dalam sebuah istana. Penghuni istana adalah orang-orang berkulit

putih, berambut kuning dan bermata biru. Pemimpin mereka bertanya kepada pemburu itu: "Mengapa kamu menembak anak saya?" Burung kuning yang ditembak olehnya tadi ternyata sudah berubah menjadi seorang gadis. Pemburu itu lalu memohon maaf karena ia tidak mengetahui bahwa burung yang dilihatnya tadi itu bukanlah burung biasa. Lalu orang itu berkata lagi: "Apakah kamu mau tinggal di tempat ini dan menjadi suaminya?"

Pemburu itu merasa berkeberatan karena ia telah berkeluarga. Kemudian ia dijamu dengan makanan-makanan yang mewah seperti: roti, mentega, keju, kornet, buah-buahan dan lain-lain. Sesudah itu ia diijinkan pulang dengan pesan: "Jangan menceritakan hal ini kepada orang lain. Kalau kamu menceritakannya, maka kamu akan kembali lagi ke sini dengan cara lain."

Pemburu itu lalu pulang. Teman-temannya merasa heran ketika melihat dia kembali dan bertanya-tanya kepadanya. Mula-mula ia tidak mau menceritakan pengalamannya, tetapi karena dibujuk terus, akhirnya ia bercerita. Keesokan harinya, ketika ia baru saja menginjakkan kakinya ke tanah, seekor ular berbisa memagut kakinya dan ia meninggal pada waktu itu juga.

Pi venana ai rawi adalah makhluk halus yang berdiam di pohon-pohon besar, seperti misalnya, pohon beringin, pohon kayu besi dan sebagainya. Ia biasa mengganggu anak-anak dan orang dewasa dengan cara seperti berikut:

1. Seseorang yang diganggu oleh pi venana ai rawi, akan hilang di hutan pada waktu ia pergi ke sana. Meskipun ia dicari-cari sampai berhari-hari, bahkan berminggu-minggu, ia tidak dapat diketemukan. Tetapi dengan tiba-tiba saja orang itu akan tampak di atas sebuah pohon besar yang tinggi sekali. Pada waktu itulah orang itu harus ditebus dengan jalan meletakkan piring-piring besar, makanan dan lain-lain, di bawah pohon di mana ia berada. Setelah itu barulah orang itu dapat turun atau diijinkan turun dari pohon besar itu. Jika orang itu tidak ditebus, maka ia akan mati.

2. Bila seseorang pergi ke hutan, ia tidak boleh tidur sembarangan, terutama bagi mereka yang tidak biasa masuk hutan yang jarang dimasuki orang. Tetapi bila ia terpaksa tidur ataupun beristirahat karena terlalu lelah, maka ia dapat tidur atau beristirahat, asalkan daun-daun yang dipergunakan sebagai tikar atau pengalas itu tidak dibiarkan begitu saja. Daun-daun itu harus diangkat, dipotong-potong atau dicabik-cabik dan dibuang dari tempat itu. Jika tidak, makhluk halus ini akan tidur di tempat itu, dan akan menyebabkan orang tersebut menjadi sakit, dan mungkin pula mati.

3. Seorang anak yang diganggu oleh pi venana ai rawi akan menangis terus menerus, baik siang maupun malam. Ia mulai menangis mungkin pada waktu ia jatuh dari tangga ke tanah, atau karena tersandung di jalan, atau karena tergelincir di jalan yang licin. Dan tangisannya itu berlangsung terus-menerus. Ini berarti bahwa ketika anak itu jatuh, pi venana ai rawi menangkap jiwa atau roh anak itu. Karena itulah ia menangis terus menerus. Anak itu perlu ditebus dari pi venana ai rawi dan cara penebusannya adalah dengan meletakkan piring-piring besar,

makanan, dan lain-lain di bawah sebatang pohon besar.⁵ Jika tidak ditebus, maka anak itu akan mati.

4. Pi venana ai rawi juga dapat membuat orang menjadi tidak waras. Misalnya, seorang laki-laki ingin mengawini seorang gadis. Tetapi oleh karena sesuatu hal, orang tua si gadis tidak mengijinkannya. Laki-laki itu menjadi kecewa. Lalu ia berusaha mendapatkan rambut si gadis. Setelah ia mendapatkannya, ia memotong batang pohon kasiei. Potongannya kecil saja. Kemudian rambut si gadis ditaruh di sana dan ditutup kembali. Apabila angin ribut datang dan pohon itu bergerak-gerak, maka gadis itu akan menjadi tidak waras.

Pi sararidioi adalah makhluk halus yang kadang-kadang mempunyai tempat tinggal tertentu dan kadang-kadang tidak. Mereka yang bertempat tinggal di tempat tertentu disebut pi sararidioi venana uta, yang berarti pi sararidioi yang bertempat tinggal. Pi sararidioi suka menipu manusia. Ia menampakkan diri seperti manusia biasa dan bercakap-cakap dengan manusia lain. Tetapi matanya liar, selalu melihat ke kiri dan ke kanan. Ia tidak memandang pada orang yang sedang berbicara dengannya. Kadang-kadang ia menyatakan diri sebagai seorang perempuan, atau sebaliknya.

Suatu hal yang dianggap berbahaya adalah jika seorang laki-laki dan seorang perempuan yang berpacaran, bercakap-cakap untuk menentukan suatu tempat pertemuan di mana mereka akan mengadakan hubungan sex. Hal ini dianggap berbahaya karena pi sararidioi dapat mendengar pembicaraan mereka dan kemudian ia akan menipunya. Jika si laki-laki itu datang lebih dahulu di tempat yang telah ditentukan, pi sararidioi ini akan menjelma menjadi perempuan pacarnya. Lalu perempuan ini akan mendesak supaya hubungan sex dilakukan dengan segera. Setelah selesai, ia akan menghilang. Barulah laki-laki itu sadar bahwa ia telah ditipu oleh pi sararidioi. Sebagai akibat dari hubungannya itu, maka kelaminnya akan menjadi bengkak dan sakit. Dalam waktu dua atau tiga hari ia akan meninggal. Demikian juga halnya dengan seorang perempuan. Jika ia datang lebih dahulu di tempat yang telah ditentukan, maka pi sararidioi akan menjelma menjadi laki-laki kekasihnya. Lalu mereka mengadakan hubungan. Akibat dari hubungannya, ia akan hamil dalam waktu beberapa hari saja. Perutnya bengkak dan sakit. Karena sakitnya ia akan bertelele-teriak, dan kemudian ia akan meninggal. Sebelum meninggal, korban akan menceritakan hal yang telah dialaminya.

Ada satu makhluk halus pi sararidioi yang tinggal pada sebatang pohon mangga di Kambumi, antara Wasior dengan Miel. Ia seringkali mengganggu orang-orang yang lewat di situ, antara lain dengan memercikkan air pada orang-orang yang lewat, mengempeskan ban sepeda atau mematikan lampu sepeda orang yang lewat pada malam hari, menampakkan diri sebagai seorang perempuan, dan sebagainya, sehingga orang-orang menjadi takut kepadanya. Sekarang pohon itu sudah ditebang. Menurut cerita, sehari sebelum pohon itu ditebang, orang yang akan menebang menancapkan sebuah kapak pada pohon itu, sambil berkata: "Kami bermaksud untuk menebang pohon yang menjadi tempat kediamanmu ini. Kalau engkau mengijinkannya, biarlah kapak ini tinggal pada pohon ini dan engkau turun dan pindah. Kalau engkau

tidak mengijinkannya, cabutlah kapak ini dan sandarkan pada pohonnya." Ternyata ia mengijinkannya, karena pada keesokan harinya kapak itu masih tertancap di situ. Kalau ia tidak mengijinkannya dan pohon itu tetap ditebang, maka orang yang menebangnya akan mendapat gangguan, seperti misalnya tertimpa dahan kayu atau menjadi sakit.

Inggenambi adalah mahluk halus berupa orang kerdil. Mereka tinggal pada tempat-tempat tertentu yang jauh dari tempat tinggal manusia, karena itu sukar untuk bertemu dengan mereka. Mereka tidak mengganggu manusia, tetapi kalau ada manusia yang pergi ke tempatnya, maka mereka akan menangkapnya dan menggelitikinya. Orang itu akan tertawa karena merasa geli dikelitiki. Kemudian mereka akan memukulnya dengan tunas muda dari sebangsa pohon lengkuas sehingga orang itu mati.

Mahluk halus manawea

Mahluk halus manawea adalah mahluk halus yang sangat ditakuti, karena ia membunuh dan memakan manusia. Ia membunuh jiwa atau roh seseorang, dan kemudian menentukan dengan cara apakah tubuh orang itu akan mati dan kapan waktunya. Misalnya, ia menentukan bahwa orang itu akan jatuh dari pohon, atau dipagut ular, atau sakit selama satu hari, dua hari atau mungkin juga sepuluh hari, dan sesudah itu ia akan mati. Biasanya korban, sebelum menghembuskan nafas terakhir, akan menyatakan mahluk halus manawea yang mana yang telah membunuhnya, di mana, dan mengapa serta bagaimana cara pembunuhannya.

Jenis manawea yang dikenal di daerah ini adalah manawea venana anio, manawea venana rindi, manawea rai, manawea tarai dan manawea tar. Jenis-jenis manawea ini akan dibahas di bawah ini.

Manawea venana anio berarti 'manawea yang tinggal di rumah'. Disebut demikian karena manawea ini kadang-kadang tinggal di rumah. Ia juga disebut manawea viaum yang berarti 'manawea yang dipelihara'. Manawea ini dapat berbentuk manusia atau binatang seperti babi, kasuari, burung, buaya dan lain-lain. Mereka dipelihara oleh orang yang memilikinya. Mereka dapat disimpan pada pohon kayu besar atau di rumah bersama pemiliknya. Sebenarnya, tubuh manusia pemiliknya itulah yang menjadi pusat tempat tinggalnya. Dari tubuh manusia itu mereka dipindahkan ke tempat lain atau kepada manusia lain. Mereka dianggap sebagai milik keluarga yang harus dipelihara turun temurun. Orang yang memilikinya harus menyerahkan mereka kepada salah seorang anaknya sebelum ia meninggal dunia. Pemindahan manawea dari seseorang kepada orang lain dapat dilakukan dengan cara sukarela atau dengan paksaan.

Dengan sukarela, karena penerima senang menerima mereka yang dianggapnya sebagai suatu warisan dari orang tua. Ada juga orang yang ingin memiliki manawea ini, karena manawea ini dapat disuruh untuk membunuh seseorang yang tidak disukainya. Pemindahan dengan sukarela dilakukan dengan cara hubungan kelamin. Bila pemiliknya adalah seorang wanita, maka pada saat pemindahan, kelaminnya berubah menjadi seperti kelamin laki-laki yang muncul dengan cara yang aneh. Kelamin ini panjangnya seperti kaki manusia dewasa. Melalui hubungan kelamin ini binatang-binatang itu berpindah dari seorang manusia kepada manusia lain.

Di samping ada orang yang ingin memiliki manawea ini, ada juga orang yang menolaknya. Jika pemilik manawea akan meninggal dan orang yang ditawarkan untuk memelihara manawea itu menolak, maka pemilik manawea akan memaksa orang itu untuk menerimanya. Pemindahan dengan paksaan dilakukan pada malam hari. Pada waktu orang yang menolak itu sedang tidur, pemilik manawea melangkahi orang itu di atas tempat tidurnya. Pada waktu melangkah itulah manawea itu berpindah kepada orang yang sedang tidur itu. Orang yang dilangkahi itu akan menjadi sakit. Jika kemudian ia menyerah dan mau menerima manawea yang telah dipindahkan kepadanya itu, maka ia akan sembuh. Tetapi bila ia tetap pada pendiriannya, ia akan mati, karena manawea yang telah berada dalam tubuhnya akan membunuhnya.

Cara membunuh yang dilakukan oleh manawea venana anio:



Figure 4. Manawea venana anio (viaum).

Jika ada orang yang merasa sakit hati atau iri hati kepada orang lain, karena orang lain itu mempunyai sesuatu yang tidak dimilikinya, maka orang itu dapat membunuh orang tersebut dengan bantuan manawea venana anio. Jika ia tidak mempunyai manawea ini didalam tubuhnya, ia dapat meminta bantuan orang yang memilikinya. Pemilik manawea akan menyuruh salah seekor binatangnya untuk masuk ke dalam tubuh orang yang akan dibunuhnya. Lama kelamaan orang itu akan mati. Kadang-kadang juga pemilik dapat menyuruh semua binatangnya untuk bersama-sama menyerang seseorang pada waktu orang itu sendirian.

Contoh mengenai hal ini adalah sebagai berikut:

Pada tahun 1976 ada seorang guru dari Toro yang sakit. Ia dibawa ke rumah sakit Manggurai, dan tinggal di sana untuk pengobatan. Dari dalam perutnya terdengar suara kodok berbunyi. Pasien-pasien lain yang berada dalam satu kamar juga mendengar suara itu. Dengan bantuan seseorang yang mempunyai ilmu lain, kodok dapat dikeluarkan. Kodok itu mati. Dengan matinya kodok, mati pulalah orang itu.

Cara membunuh manawea venana anio:

Manawea venana anio bukan saja dapat membunuh, tetapi juga dapat dibunuh. Dengan membunuh binatang piaraannya dengan cara tertentu, pemiliknya juga turut terbunuh. Misalnya, seseorang melihat seekor ular di rumahnya. Ular itu lalu dibunuhnya, dan bangkainya diletakkan di atas tanah. Pada tanah itu ia membuat tanda salib dengan parang. Lalu bangkai ular itu dipotong-potong. Jika ular tersebut bukan ular biasa, melainkan manawea yang dipelihara, maka pada malam harinya pemilik ular itu akan datang. Sambil menangis ia akan berjalan mengitari rumah di mana ular itu dibunuh. Dengan demikian, orang yang tinggal dalam rumah itu akan mengetahui bahwa sesungguhnya ular yang dibunuhnya itu adalah manawea. Beberapa hari kemudian, pemilik ular itupun akan mati.

Pembuatan tanda salib⁷ di atas tanah berarti, karena manusia berasal dari tanah, maka orang yang membunuh dan memotong ular itu meminta persetujuan tanah untuk tidak menghidupkan ular itu kembali. Jika tidak dibuat demikian, maka ular itu akan hidup kembali kalau ia adalah mahluk halus manawea. Dan kemudian ia dapat menceritakan peristiwa pembunuhan ini kepada pemiliknya, sehingga pemiliknya akan membunuh orang tersebut.

Manawea venana rindi disebut juga manawea venana u. Ia adalah mahluk halus yang tinggal di hutan. Bentuknya seperti manusia yang sangat menakutkan. Rambutnya kasar dan jarang. Giginya jarang dan panjang, yang terlihat hanya empat gigi depan saja, dua di atas dan dua di bawah. Ia membunuh manusia dengan mempergunakan parang, penikam, panah dan juga kayu untuk memukul. Setelah ia membunuh korbannya, ia memotong-motong tubuh korban dan mengambil bagian-bagian yang akan dimakannya, yaitu: usus, hati, paru-paru, limpa dan jantung. Kemudian tubuh yang sudah terpotong-potong itu dikumpulkan kembali dan disatukan seperti semula. Sebagai pengganti bagian-bagian yang telah diambil, ia memasukkan daun-daun yang masih hijau, potongan-potongan kayu yang sudah hancur, dan sebagainya. Kemudian korban yang sudah mati itu dihidupkan kembali dengan memakai tali hutan dan daun pohon yang berkhasiat. Daun digosokkan pada luka bekas potongan sehingga potongan-potongan tubuh itu bersambungan kembali dan menjadi utuh seperti semula. Tali dipotong dan ditiupkan ke lubang hidung orang yang sudah mati itu. Lalu orang itu akan hidup kembali. Setelah ia hidup kembali, mahluk halus manawea venana rindi itu akan bertanya: "Coba sebutkan siapa kami!" Jika orang itu mengatakan: "Kamu adalah manawea," maka ia harus dipotong-potong lagi. Kadang-kadang pembunuhan ini terjadi sampai dua atau tiga kali. Jika orang itu mengatakan: "Saya tidak mengenal kamu," maka barulah orang itu diperbolehkan pulang. Tidak lama kemudian, ia menjadi sakit,

entah demam atau sakit perut yang disertai muntah daun-daunan dan potongan-potongan kayu, lalu mati. Tetapi sebelum menghembuskan nafas terakhir, ia akan memberitahukan keluarganya bahwa ia telah dibunuh mahluk halus manawea venana rindi dan tempat terjadinya pembunuhanpun diberitahu.

Contoh dari peristiwa pembunuhan yang diceritakan di bawah ini benar-benar terjadi.

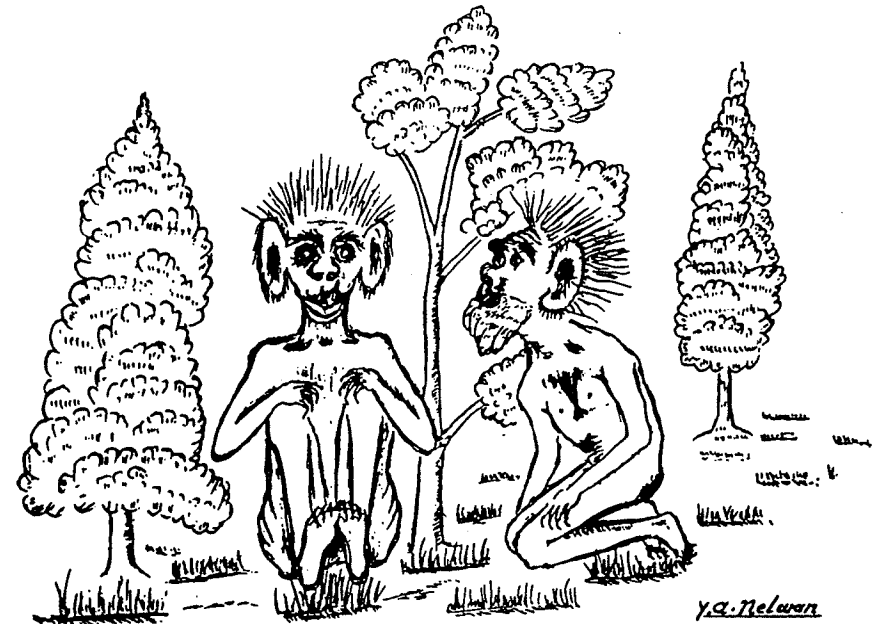


Figure 5. Manawea venana rindi.

Menurut kepercayaan, mahluk halus manawea dapat mempergunakan dengkurannya seseorang untuk mengetahui apa yang akan terjadi.

Pada suatu malam, dua orang kakak beradik sedang tidur. Kakaknya mendengkur dan dengkurannya didengar oleh mahluk halus ini. Mahluk halus itu lalu berkata: "Besok saya akan bertemu dengan kamu dan saya akan membunuh kamu di jalan sebelah timur. Kalau memang demikian, berhentilah mendengkur." Dan dengkurannya orang itu masih tetap terdengar. Lalu mahluk halus itu berkata lagi: "Besok saya akan bertemu dengan kamu dan saya akan membunuh kamu di jalan sebelah barat." Dengkurannya berhenti. Berhentinya dengkurannya berarti bahwa orang itu menjawab: "Ya." Kata-kata mahluk halus ini didengar oleh adik orang itu, tetapi ia tidak dapat berbuat apa-apa.

Keesokan harinya kakak pergi berburu. Ia menuju ke barat. Adiknya mengikuti dari belakang tanpa sepengetahuan kakaknya. Tiba di suatu tempat, tiga orang mahluk halus manawea menyerang kakaknya. Adiknya mendekati tempat itu lalu bersembunyi. Ketiga mahluk halus, (dua laki-laki dan satu perempuan) memukul dan memotong-motong kakaknya. Isi perut kakaknya dikeluarkan, dan sebagai gantinya diisi dengan daun-daunan yang masih hijau dan yang sudah kering serta tanah. Kemudian tubuh yang sudah terpotong-potong itu disambung lagi. Mereka mengambil tali yang berkhasiat, memotongnya lalu menipkannya ke hidung orang yang sudah mati itu. Ternyata ia tetap mati. Seorang dari mahluk halus itu berkata: "Mungkin ada orang yang melihat kita." Karena memang kalau ada orang lain yang melihat perbuatan mereka, mereka akan gagal dalam menghidupkan orang mati itu. Lalu mereka berusaha lagi meniup tali itu, tetapi tetap gagal. Adik orang yang dibunuh itu memperhatikan perbuatan mereka melalui sebuah daun besar yang diberi lubang kecil, dan ia juga mendengar perkataan mereka. Lalu ia menutup matanya. Pada tiupan yang ketiga, kakaknya berhasil dihidupkan kembali. Setelah melihat kakaknya berhasil dihidupkan kembali, ia melepaskan sebuah anak panah yang tepat mengenai dada seorang mahluk halus. Kedua mahluk halus manawea lainnya segera mengangkat temannya yang terbunuh itu dan membawanya lari ke dalam hutan. Adik orang tadi masih tetap menyembunyikan diri sampai dilihatnya kakaknya berjalan pulang. Setibanya di rumah, kakaknya demam dan pada malam harinya ia mati.

Manawea rai atau disebut juga manawea manitio, adalah mahluk halus manawea yang datang secara berkawan, kadang-kadang jumlahnya puluhan, ada kalanya pula ratusan. Dari jumlah yang banyak ini terdapat seorang yang menjadi inti pasukan. Dia disebut manawea tarai atau manawea sama kario. Ia mempunyai ekor yang muncul dari tulang punggungnya. Panjang ekornya kira-kira antara tujuh sampai sembilan sentimeter. Ia tidak boleh kena air. Kalau ia buang air, orang lain harus menyeka pantatnya dengan kayu. Kalau duduk, orang lain harus membuat lubang untuk tempat ekornya. Kalau tidak, ekor itu akan patah dan ia akan mati. Kalau melewati sungai, ia harus digendong. Ia sangat berkuasa. Ia dapat membuat jembatan untuk menyeberangi sungai besar yang sukar dilalui. Tempat-tempat jauh akan dilewatinya dengan sekejap mata saja. Ia dapat menyeberang dari satu gunung ke gunung lain seperti mempergunakan jembatan.

Kalau seorang manusia biasa bertemu dengan manawea rai, ia dapat membunuh manawea-manawea itu. Tetapi kalau manawea tarai muncul dan kelihatan kepada orang itu, maka orang itu menjadi lemah. Jika manawea tarai menjatuhkan diri maka orang itu akan jatuh sehingga dapat dibunuh. Kalau orang itu memanah manawea tarai, maka panah itu akan berbalik kepada orang yang memanah. Kalau ia memotong manawea tarai, maka berarti bahwa ia sudah memotong dirinya sendiri.

Kalau ada seseorang yang tidak senang pada orang lain, ia dapat meminta pertolongan manawea rai untuk membunuh orang itu. Dan seorang manusia biasa akan mengantar manawea rai itu ke tempat yang ditujunya. Orang ini akan memberitahukan orang yang mana yang harus dibunuh oleh

mereka. Setelah pembunuhan selesai, mereka akan menerima pembayaran dari orang yang menyuruh mereka. Pembayaran ini dapat berupa piring, kain hitam atau kain merah, dan lain-lain. Pembayaran akan meningkat bila ada manawea yang mati dalam melakukan tugas pembunuhan itu. Bila yang menyuruh tidak mampu membayar mereka, maka ia akan dibunuh.

Suatu peristiwa yang pernah terjadi adalah sebagai berikut:

Seorang tua di Karuwani meninggal dunia. Saudaranya yang tinggal di Dusner pergi ke sana dan menangis di perahu. Ia baru mau turun dari perahu, setelah keluarga saudaranya yang meninggal itu datang dengan membawa sebuah piring besar untuknya, sebagai tanda pembayaran karena kematian saudaranya.

Beberapa waktu kemudian, orang tua yang tinggal di Dusner itu meninggal dunia. Lalu datanglah keluarga saudaranya yang tinggal di Karuwani ke Dusner. Mereka menangis di perahu. Tetapi ternyata keluarga dari orang tua yang meninggal itu tidak memberikan apa-apa, sehingga mereka menjadi marah. Mereka lalu menghubungi manawea rai untuk membunuh Yunus, anak dari orang tua yang meninggal di Dusner itu.

Ketika manawea rai datang, Yunus dan anaknya sedang mencari ikan. Mereka berusaha membunuh Yunus, tetapi Yunus membalas serangan yang dilancarkan oleh mereka. Ia berhasil membunuh duapuluh empat manawea. Manawea-manawea itu berusaha membunuh anak Yunus yang tetap berada di perahu. Yunus bere-nang ke perahu untuk melindungi anaknya ketika melihat manawea-manawea itu menyerang anaknya.

terakhir, mereka memberitahukan apa yang mereka alami itu kepada keluarganya.

Dalam perjalanan pulang kembali ke tempatnya, beberapa manawea mati karena luka-luka parah yang dideritanya akibat serangan Yunus. Mereka ditinggalkan di hutan dengan disandarkan pada pohon. Karena banyak manawea yang mati dalam usaha membunuh Yunus itu, maka manawea yang masih hidup menuntut pembayaran yang lebih tinggi pada orang yang menyuruh mereka.

Manawea tar adalah manawea yang berjalan dengan membawa puntung api (aya tar). Tar berarti api dari kayu kering tertentu yang dapat menyala sampai lama sekali.

Manawea ini berjalan dengan berkelompok pada peralihan musim pasang naik dan pasang surut. Mereka dapat dikenal melalui api yang dibawanya. Tempat kediaman mereka tidak diketahui dengan pasti.

TEMPAT KERAMAT

Suatu tempat menjadi keramat jika tempat itu dianggap ada hubungannya dengan mite, agama adat, makhluk halus, atau arwah. Selain dianggap suci, tempat ini juga dianggap berbahaya. Dianggap suci oleh karena ada hubungannya dengan kepercayaan, dan dianggap berbahaya karena dapat mendatangkan bencana sebagai akibat suatu pelanggaran. Di bawah ini akan dibahas beberapa tempat keramat yang ada.

Inggorosa

Inggorosa adalah nama sebuah gua di daerah sungai Wosimi. Gua ini terdapat pada gunung batu, kira-kira di atas ketinggian seratus lima puluh meter. Dalam mite Kuri Pasai, tempat ini dikenal sebagai tempat tinggal Kuri, yang kemudian menjadi tempat kuburan ibu mereka.

Menurut cerita dari orang-orang yang mencari kulit masoi,⁸ bila mereka bermalam di dekat tempat itu, mereka akan mendengar suara pintu ditutup. Setelah suara itu terdengar, barulah mereka boleh tidur. Jika mereka sudah tertidur sebelumnya, mereka akan mati. Dan pada pagi hari, sebelum terdengar suara pintu dibuka, mereka harus tetap tinggal di tempatnya.

Di samping itu, jika seseorang melihat burung tahun-tahun putih terbang melewati gua, berarti orang itu akan mati.

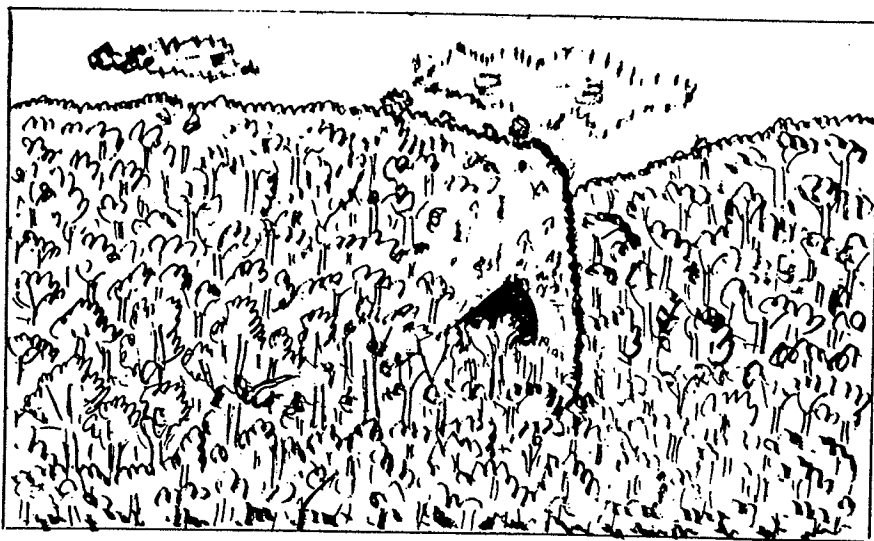


Figure 6. Lubang Inggorosa pada masa lalu.

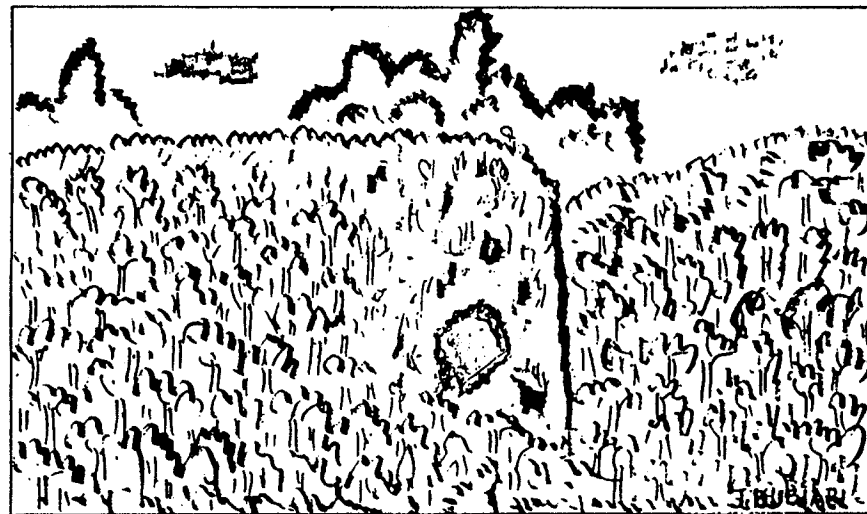


Figure 7. Lubang Inggorosa sekarang.

Gunung Kayovu dan gunung Saruv

Di tempat ini terdapat makhluk halus pi vene uta. Ia dan keluarganya serta pengikut-pengikutnya tinggal dalam sebuah istana. Mereka tidak dapat dilihat. Demikian juga istananya. Kehadiran mereka dan istananya diketahui ketika ada orang yang hilang di gunung itu. Ia dicari-cari, tetapi tidak juga ditemukan. Dan pada suatu hari, dengan tiba-tiba saja ia muncul. Lalu ia menceritakan pengalamannya. Ketika ia sedang berjalan dalam hutan, tiba-tiba ia melihat sebuah jalan raya. Ia ikuti jalan itu hingga tiba di sebuah istana. Di sekeliling istana terdapat segala jenis pohon buah-buahan yang rendah sekali, sehingga buah-buahannya dapat dijangkau dengan mudah. Di samping pohon buah-buahan, ada taman bunga yang indah sekali. Daun-daun pada pohon bunga itu seperti disepuh emas sehingga berkilau-kilauan.

Di dalam istana ia dijamu oleh orang-orang berkulit putih. Kepada-nya dihidangkan kopi susu dan roti dengan mentega, keju, buah-buahan dan makanan-makanan lain.

Kemudian ia ditanya: "Apakah kamu senang tinggal disini? Kalau kamu senang, kamu boleh kawin dengan anak saya."

Ia menjawab bahwa karena ia sudah berkeluarga dan teman-temannya mencarinya, maka ia tidak bersedia untuk tinggal di situ.

Lalu ia diijinkan pulang.

Tanjung Risisore

Tanjung Risisore dianggap sebagai pusat dari tempat-tempat keramat yang ada di Wandamen. Tempat ini didiami oleh arwah dari mereka yang sudah masuk agama adat dan sudah menerima ajaran-ajaran suci (*tuvo*). Di tempat ini orang hanya boleh berbicara dalam bahasa Duser dan Wandamen saja. Bahasa lain tidak diperbolehkan, terlebih-lebih lagi bahasa Ambumi (Waropen). Hal ini terjadi oleh karena suatu peristiwa yang terjadi pada waktu yang lalu. Ceritanya begini:

Pada suatu hari di tempat itu diadakan pesta. Orang-orang Ambumi juga diundang. Dalam pesta mereka makan sayur bayam merah dan gurita. Kedua makanan ini tidak boleh dicampurkan, sebab gurita juga mempunyai kuah yang berwarna merah. Tetapi orang-orang Ambumi mencampurnya. Tidak berapa lama kemudian, terjadilah gempa bumi yang hebat, tanah longsor, dan banjir besar. Banyak orang mati di tempat itu. Bencana ini terjadi oleh karena orang-orang Ambumi melanggar apa yang tidak diperbolehkan. Sejak itu bahasa Ambumi menjadi kebencian di tempat itu. Sekarang di tempat orang-orang itu mati sering terdengar keluhan-keluhan dalam bahasa Ambumi.

Suatu cerita lain adalah mengenai orang-orang Ambumi yang naik perahu dengan membawa tumang-tumang sagu yang besar. Mereka bermaksud menjualnya di Manokwari. Perahu itu sarat dengan muatan. Ketika tiba di Tanjung Risisore, mereka berlabuh. Mereka turun mengambil bia tiram yang biasa melekat pada akar pohon lolaro. Karena tempat itu tidak biasa didatangi orang maka bia tiram yang ada banyak sekali. Mereka sangat gembira sehingga mereka ribut dalam bahasa mereka sendiri, yaitu bahasa Ambumi. Setelah bia terkumpul, mereka membakarnya dan makan sampai kenyang. Malam tiba dan mereka memutuskan untuk bermalam di situ. Penjaga timba ruang seperti biasa tidur dengan kaki tergantung di perahu untuk mengetahui apakah air masuk kedalam perahu atau tidak. Pada tengah malam ia memeriksa perahu itu dengan kakinya dan ternyata tidak ada air, tetapi ia merasa perahu oleng. Ia heran, karena kalau perahu oleng, berarti tidak ada muatan. Lalu ia meraba-raba dengan kakinya, dan kakinya tidak menyentuh sebuah tumangpun. Ternyata tumang-tumang sagu itu sudah lenyap. Ia berkata dalam bahasanya: "Ake! Ake!" suatu kata yang menunjukkan keheranan. Orang-orang bangun dan mereka melihat semua tumang-tumang sagu sudah tidak ada. Demikian juga penggayuh-penggayuh. Hanya tinggal satu penggayuh saja. Dengan segera mereka menarik jangkar, dan meninggalkan tempat itu dengan hanya mempergunakan satu penggayuh yang dipakai oleh jurumudi.

Nambi

Nambi terletak di daerah Babo, bukan Wandamen. Tetapi pengaruh kekeramatan tempat ini mencapai daerah Wandamen. Di sini terdapat sebuah gua yang dianggap keramat, baik oleh orang-orang di daerah itu maupun oleh orang-orang dari daerah 'Leher Burung' lainnya.

Menurut kepercayaan, kalau seseorang mau berkunjung ke tempat ini, ia harus meminta ijin terlebih dahulu dari penghuni tempat itu. Jika ia mengijinkan, ia akan memberi tanda, yaitu tidak akan hujan dalam waktu seminggu. Tetapi jika ia tidak mengijinkannya, hujan akan turun terus menerus sehingga terjadi banjir. Akibatnya, jalanan ke tempat itu menjadi sukar untuk dilalui.

Seseorang yang telah mendapat ijin, harus datang dengan diantar oleh seorang pengantar. Pada suatu tempat tertentu, ia harus berganti pakaian. Pakaian yang dipakainya tadi diserahkan kepada pengantar yang akan membawanya pulang dan ia sekarang hanya bercawat saja. Perjalanan diteruskan sampai ke muka pintu gua. Sebelum masuk ke dalam gua, ia diberitahu, bahwa ia akan memasuki tiga buah kamar, dan kalau ada yang menyugui pinang, ia harus mengambil yang sudah terbelah atau yang ujungnya sudah terkupas. Di samping itu juga ia ditanya, berapa lama ia akan tinggal di situ. Setelah itu ia diperbolehkan masuk. Ketika ia akan memasuki kamar pertama, ia melihat seekor ular besar pada pintu kamar itu. Anehnya, hanya kepalanya saja. Badan ular tidak kelihatan. Kepala ular itu menghadap ke luar. Setelah melewati kepala ular tersebut, ia berada di kamar pertama. Ketika ia menoleh ke belakang untuk melihat ular itu lagi, ular tadi sudah lenyap. Sebagai gantinya, ia melihat seorang laki-laki tua separuh badan, dari kepala sampai pinggang, berdiri di situ. Ia sangat tua sekali, rambutnya yang putih dan panjang itu terurai menutupi mukanya sehingga yang kelihatan hanya matanya saja. Kemudian ia memasuki kamar kedua yang lebih luas dari kamar pertama. Di tengah ruangan terdapat sebuah batu. Ia duduk pada batu itu dan tiba-tiba ia melihat kumpulan orang-orang berjalan, kumpulan demi kumpulan berjalan pada dinding ruangan, sama seperti kalau kita menonton film. Orang-orang yang dilihatnya itu semuanya sama. Setelah penglihatan itu hilang, seseorang datang kepadanya dan menepuk pundaknya, lalu memperkenalkan diri sebagai salah seorang keluarganya yang sudah meninggal. Kemudian ia disugui pinang dan sebagaimana yang sudah dipekan, ia mengambil yang sudah terbelah atau yang ujungnya terkupas. Setelah itu ia memasuki ruangan ketiga. Dalam ruangan ini terdapat seorang perempuan yang sangat tua. Ia bertanya kepada orang itu apa maksud kedatangannya. Setelah ia menyatakannya, kepadanya akan diberi sesuatu, entah berupa penggalan-penggalan kayu, daun-daunan ataupun minyak yang dapat dipakai untuk memenuhi keinginannya itu. Ia dapat mengajukan permohonan untuk hal-hal yang baik, seperti misalnya untuk mengobati orang sakit, ataupun untuk hal-hal yang tidak baik, seperti misalnya untuk membunuh orang. Setelah ia menerima apa yang dikehendakinya, kepadanya diberitahukan pada umur berapa ia akan mati. Kemudian ia diperbolehkan pulang. Sebelum ia keluar dari pintu keluar, ia melihat namanya tertulis pada dinding.

Orang yang tidak percaya pada kegaiban tempat ini tidak akan melihat apa-apa, hanya gua saja.

Keterangan mengenai hal ini diperoleh dari bapak A. Worisio.

BINATANG KERAMAT

Diantara binatang-binatang yang ada, ada binatang-binatang yang dianggap keramat. Binatang-binatang tersebut antara lain adalah burung cenderawasih dan anjing.

Burung cenderawasih disebut ayavata. Aya berarti "burung" dan vata berarti "benar." Ayavata berarti "burung manusia sebenarnya." Ceritanya demikian menurut Ibu Yuliana:

Konayo adalah seorang tua yang buruk rupanya. Pada suatu hari dia mengisi air seninya⁹ dalam sebatang bambu yang diukir dengan baik sekali. Lalu dibuangnya bambu itu di sungai Wosimi. Bambu itu hanyut sampai di Wamuri.

Di Wamuri, ada seorang perempuan yang cantik sekali yang bernama Binani. Banyak orang meminangnya tetapi dia selalu menolaknya. Pada suatu hari Binani dengan neneknya pergi mencari ikan. Sedang mereka mencari ikan itu, Binani berkata: "Nenek, saya akan kembali ke seberang untuk minum air." Lalu ia berdayung ke seberang. Tiba-tiba ia melihat sebatang bambu yang hanyut. Diulurkannya tangannya dan diraihnya bambu itu. Lalu isinya diminumnya. Kemudian disembunyikannya bambu itu. Tidak berapa lama kemudian, neneknyapun pulanglah. Pada malam itu Binani merasa susunya gatal-gatal. Disangkanya agas telah menggigitnya. Neneknya memeriksanya dan mendapati bahwa Binani sedang hamil. Baik nenek maupun orang tuanya mendesak Binani agar memberitahukan siapa laki-laki yang telah menghampirinya. Binani mengatakan bahwa ia tidak tahu. Tiga hari kemudian, Binani melahirkan seorang anak laki-laki. Anak itu bertumbuh dengan cepat. Pada suatu hari anak itu menangis meminta busur dan panah. Kakeknya lalu membuatnya, tetapi ia tidak mau. Sambil menangis anak itu menunjuk ke hulu sungai Wosimi. Lalu ayah Binani membuat sebuah perahu besar. Dengan perahu ini mereka pergi menuju arah yang ditunjuk anak itu. Dalam perjalanan, banyak orang yang mau memberikan busur dan panah kepada anak itu, tetapi ia selalu menolaknya. Mereka berdayung terus hingga tiba di rumah Konayo. Dengan hanya bercawat Konayo keluar membawa busur dan panah. Matanya basah berlendir. Anak itu lalu naik ke rumah Konayo. Ia mengambil busur dan panah dari tangan Konayo lalu masuk ke dalam rumah Konayo. Ibunya tidak menyukai hal ini, karena dengan perbuatannya yang mendekati Konayo dan duduk bersamanya, berarti, anak itu menyatakan bahwa Konayolah bapaknya. Binani menangis, tetapi akhirnya ia mau juga masuk ke dalam rumah Konayo. Mereka tinggal di sana.

Pada suatu hari Konayo membawa busur dan anjingnya pergi mengambil kayu bakar di hutan. Tiba di suatu tempat, ia membuat api. Lalu dibakarnya busurnya. Setelah terbakar, diangkanya kembali lalu digoyang-goyangkannya. Tiba-tiba berhamburanlah bermacam-macam barang dengan limpahnya. Kemudian anjingnya dilemparkannya kedalam api. Ketika anjing itu melompat keluar dari dalam api, ternyata ia telah berubah dari anjing yang berkudis menjadi anjing yang bagus. Anjing itu

lalu mengebaskan tubuhnya dan berhamburanlah barang-barang. Kemudian Konayo sendiripun melompat ke dalam api. Setelah keluar dari api, ia telah berubah menjadi seorang pemuda yang cakap. Lalu ia mengusap-usap tubuhnya dan berhamburanlah barang-barang berupa gelang logam dan lain-lainnya. Di sekeliling tempat bekas api itu sekarang menjadi penuh dengan barang. Setelah itu Konayo pulang. Anaknya dengan segera mengenali mereka yang telah berubah itu, tetapi Binani tidak. Setelah beberapa waktu, Binani menjadi gembira karena suaminya sekarang bukanlah seorang tua yang buruk rupanya, tetapi seorang pemuda yang cakap.

Pada suatu hari mereka bermaksud untuk pergi menari di bukit Maniami. Ketika mereka hampir tiba di Maniami, Binani mulai berhias. Tetapi ia lupa membawa sisirnya. Lalu kembalilah ia untuk mengambil sisirnya. Waktu ia kembali, ia melihat seekor ular di muka rumahnya. Ular itu lalu menipunya. Binani menjadi sedih sehingga ia menangis. Ia teringat kepada Konayo dan anaknya yang sedang menari.

Konayo memandang ke rumahnya dan melihat ular itu. Lalu ia berkata kepada anaknya: "Kalau fajar sudah menyingsing, saya akan memanah kayu melintang di belakang itu. Lalu engkau berkata: 'Wo wo wo wo', dan saya akan berkata: 'ke ke ke ke ke'." Dan pada waktu fajar menyingsing, Konayo memanah kayu melintang itu. Setelah itu anaknya berkata: "Wo wo wo wo," dan disambut oleh Konayo dengan "Ke ke ke ke ke." Lalu keduanya terbang. Mereka telah menjadi burung cenderawasih.

Binatang lain yang dianggap keramat adalah anjing (wona). Ceritanya begini:

Pada waktu dahulu adalah seorang ibu yang tinggal dengan anak laki-lakinya. Anak laki-laki itu telah beristeri. Selain mereka bertiga, ada pula seekor anjing yang tinggal bersama mereka. Anjing itu bernama Wenandai, dan ia dapat berbicara seperti manusia sehingga dianggap sebagai manusia.

Pada suatu hari, suami isteri itu pergi berburu. Anjingnya turut serta. Setelah beberapa waktu lamanya, anjing itu kembali ke rumah. Ibu itu bertanya: "Apakah ada binatang yang kamu tangkap?"

Anjing itu menjawab: "Ada, kami menangkap 'kangguru'."

"Mengapa tuanmu belum kembali sedangkan kamu sudah?" tanya ibu itu kembali.

"Karena mereka bersetubuh dahulu," jawab anjing itu.

"Hush! Jangan kamu berkata demikian," kata ibu itu sambil menjepit moncong anjing itu dengan jepitan api sehingga anjing itu tidak dapat berbicara lagi.

Tidak berapa lama kemudian, suami isteri itu pulang. Mereka berkata-kata kepada anjingnya, tetapi anjing itu hanya menjawab: "uuuuuuuuuuu." Lalu mereka bertanya kepada ibunya apa yang telah terjadi. Ibunya menceritakan tentang percakapannya dengan anjing itu, dan bagaimana ia telah menjepit moncong anjing itu. Sejak saat itu, anjing itu tidak dapat berbicara seperti manusia lagi, tetapi hanya mengeluarkan suara 'uuuuuuuuuu' saja.

Oleh karena anjing itu dahulunya dapat berbicara seperti manusia, dan dianggap sebagai manusia, maka sekarang ia menjadi binatang keramat.

Sebuah cerita mengenai kekeramatan anjing ini adalah sebagai berikut:

Pada suatu hari di Dusun terjadi angin ribut dan guntur yang hebat sekali. Penduduk bertanya-tanya apa yang menyebabkan terjadinya hal ini. Mereka memikirkan apa yang telah mereka perbuat pada hari itu. Tiba-tiba seorang ibu berkata: "Mungkin karena tadi saya difoto dengan anak anjing saya." Dan memang pada pagi hari itu, ibu tadi dan suaminya difoto. Tetapi pada waktu itu ia tidak menyadari bahwa anak anjingnya juga turut difoto.

Lalu segenggam rambut ibu itu dipotong dan dihamburkan keluar. Ibu itu lalu dibawa ke luar ke tengah-tengah hujan lebat hingga basah kuyub. Kemudian ia mengangkat kedua belah tangannya ke atas sambil berkata bahwa sekarang ia tidak bersalah lagi. Tidak lama kemudian angin ribut itu teduh. Ini menunjukkan bahwa ibu itulah yang bersalah karena ia telah difoto bersama anak anjingnya.

KESUSASTRAAN LISAN

Salah satu bentuk kesusastaan yang terdapat dalam kebudayaan Wandamen adalah cerita. Menurut isi dan cara menceriterakannya, cerita dapat dibagi dalam tiga golongan, yaitu: cerita keramat, sejarah dan dongeng.

Cerita keramat disebut kavo vepidiar atau kavo baba, atau disebut juga kavo tawa. Yang termasuk dalam golongan ini adalah cerita yang berhubungan dengan penciptaan, air bah dan agama adat. Cerita ini hanya diketahui oleh orang tua tertentu saja dan sangat dirahasiakan, karena itu tidak diceritakan dengan sembarangan. Jika ada orang yang mencemoohkan cerita ini, maka orang itu akan mati. Karena itulah cerita ini disebut kavo vepidiar, yang berarti 'cerita yang membawa tulah'. Kavo baba berarti 'cerita orang tua' dan kavo tawa berarti 'cerita tua' atau 'cerita lama'.

Cerita yang dianggap sebagai sejarah disebut topanusara. Cerita ini menceritakan hal yang benar-benar terjadi. Orang tua-tua biasa mengetahui cerita ini walaupun tidak semua orang tua mengetahuinya. Cerita ini

tidak terlalu dirahasiakan. Yang termasuk golongan ini adalah cerita mengenai asal usul dan nenek moyang.

Dongeng disebut arami dan yang diceritakan dalam cerita ini adalah hal yang dianggap tidak benar-benar terjadi. Dongeng dapat diceritakan dengan bebas, bahkan anak-anakpun mengetahuinya, karena biasa diceritakan oleh orang tua pada waktu malam sebelum tidur.

Contoh dari ke tiga macam cerita ini dapat diikuti di bawah ini.

Cerita keramat

Pada zaman purba, hiduplah seorang gadis remaja yang bernama Indorani. Gadis ini hidup dengan sederhana, dan sebelum ia bersuami ia sudah mengandung. Kandungannya makin lama makin besar dan akhirnya tibalah saatnya untuk melahirkan. Pada suatu pagi yang cerah, pada waktu burung-burung berkicau dengan riangnya, lahirlah seorang anak laki-laki yang sehat. Bayi ini diberi nama Manawasi.

Pada suatu ketika, terjadi peristiwa yang menggemparkan. Awan-awan di langit diliputi suasana ketegangan, karena dengan mendadak semuanya berubah menjadi hitam kelam. Petir menyambar dan badai mengamuk tanpa belas kasihan. Seluruh bumi menjadi gelap dan hujan turun dengan deras sekali, bagaikan air yang dicurahkan dari langit. Sungai-sungai menjadi banjir yang hebat, sehingga dalam sekejap mata saja seluruh bumi telah tergenang air. Air laut naik ke darat dan semua mahluk berbondong-bondong naik ke dataran tinggi untuk berlindung. Banyak yang menjadi korban karena keganasan alam, tetapi ada juga yang mendapat perlindungan.

Di suatu dataran tinggi, terdapat sebatang pohon raksasa yang berdiri dengan megahnya. Pohon ini sangat tinggi sehingga ujungnya tidak terjangkau oleh air bah. Pada pohon inilah gadis Indorani berlindung dengan ditemani oleh dua orang temannya, yaitu seekor burung cenderawasih dan suatu Roh Hidup yang menjelma menjadi seekor burung besar yang tidak disebut namanya. Burung cenderawasih melayani gadis Indorani dengan setia. Ia mengantarkan makanan dan minuman kepadanya. Dan burung besar itu melindungi gadis Indorani dari hujan, badai dan taufan, sehingga ia terhindar dari bahaya. Setelah empat-puluh hari empatpuluh malam mulailah timbul titik cerah pada alam yang diliputi keseraman itu. Matahari muncul kembali dan memancarkan cahayanya ke seluruh penjuru angin. Air bah mulai surut sedikit-sedikit dan akhirnya dataran di sekitar pohon raksasa itu menjadi kering. Daerah ini disebut Sobiar. Selama dalam pengungsian, gadis Indorani hamil lagi untuk kedua kalinya. Pada waktu ia akan melahirkan, ia turun ke tanah. Di bawah pohon perdamaian ini ia melahirkan anaknya yang kedua, yang diberi nama Surui.

Tak jauh dari tempat ini terdapat sebuah gunung yang bernama gunung Orbuon. Pada gunung ini terdapat sebuah kapal

besar yang bernama Waipori. Kapal ini dikerjakan di atas gunung tersebut dalam persiapan untuk menghadapi air bah. Orang tua yang mengepalai pekerjaan ini bergelar Tubopi, dan isterinya bergelar Wisopi. Mereka mempunyai tiga orang putera yang telah dewasa dan masing-masing telah berkeluarga pula. Selama air bah berlangsung, mereka berteduh di kapal ini. Mereka juga menampung berbagai-bagai jenis binatang, baik kecil maupun besar, tiap-tiap jenis sepasang. Perbekalan makanan juga disiapkan dengan cukup untuk keperluan binatang-binatang tersebut dan juga untuk awak kapal. Setelah air surut, Tubopi dan seluruh keluarganya keluar dari kapal. Seringkali mereka berbuat gaduh, sehingga terdengar oleh Indorani. Gadis Indorani ini yakin bahwa suara-suara yang didengarnya itu berasal dari mahluk-mahluk hidup, sehingga ia bertekad untuk datang ke tempat suara-suara itu. Di sana ia bertemu dengan awak kapal Waipori. Tubopi menanyakan hal ihwal Indorani, lalu menawarkan gadis Indorani untuk tinggal bersamanya. Gadis Indorani menerima tawaran itu dengan senang, lalu tinggal ia dan Surui bersama Tubopi dan keluarganya. Mereka hidup dengan rukun dan damai.

Pada suatu hari, ditengah-tengah kesibukan mereka, mereka mendengar suatu bunyi yang sangat dahsyat, sehingga mereka semua terperanjat. Pintu langit terbuka dan terlihatlah sebuah tangga panjang dari langit ke bumi. Tidak lama kemudian, tampaklah dua sosok bayangan menuruni tangga itu. Makin lama makin jelas bayangan itu dan akhirnya mereka tiba di bumi. Mereka adalah Yang Mahakuasa, dengan anaknya yang bergelar Korano Kimbini. Yang Mahakuasa menanyakan tentang keadaan mereka dan Tubopi menjawab bahwa semuanya berjalan dengan baik, aman dan lancar sebagaimana yang direncanakan. Yang Mahakuasa dan anaknya tinggal di situ selama beberapa hari.

Suatu pagi, Korano Kimbini dipanggil oleh ayahnya. Ayahnya menyuruhnya untuk pergi menyusuri semua negeri arah matahari terbit dan melihat keadaan di tempat-tempat itu setelah terjadinya air bah. Lalu berangkatlah Korano Kimbini untuk melakukan perintah ayahnya. Di sepanjang jalan ia melihat mayat-mayat bergelimpangan yang disertai dengan bau yang menusuk hidung. Pada tiap-tiap negeri yang dilaluinya, ia menjumpai manusia-manusia yang masih hidup. Ada yang hanya seorang laki-laki atau seorang perempuan saja, ada juga yang merupakan sepasang suami isteri dan ada pula yang bersaudara. Korano Kimbini tidak pernah menjumpai lebih dari tiga orang dalam tiap-tiap negeri. Kalau tidak satu, dua dan tidak pernah lebih dari tiga orang. Menjelang tengah hari Korano Kimbini kembali lalu melaporkan apa yang dilihatnya kepada ayahnya.

Keesokkan harinya Korano Kimbini diperintahkan untuk pergi ke sebelah matahari terbenam. Apa yang dilihatnya tidak berbeda dari apa yang dilihatnya kemarin. Hanya pada sebuah negeri di ujung perbatasan ia tidak melihat seorangpun yang masih hidup. Tepat pada tengah hari ia kembali dari perjalanannya. Lalu ia menceritakan hal-hal yang dilihatnya kepada ayahnya, termasuk negeri yang tidak berpenghuni itu. Pada

petang harinya Yang Mahakuasa memanggil Tubopi dan menawarkan negeri yang tidak berpenghuni itu kepadanya. Tubopi menerima tawaran itu dengan baik. Dengan segera ia berkemas-kemas untuk berangkat pada keesokkan harinya. Sebelum mereka berangkat, Yang Mahakuasa menghimpunkan mereka semua lalu meletakkan dua buah benda keramat di hadapan mereka. Surui turut serta dalam pertemuan ini. Yang Mahakuasa menerangkan manfaat dari kedua benda ini. Benda pertama adalah sebuah buku yang berisi segala ilmu pengetahuan, sedangkan benda lainnya adalah benda yang dipergunakan untuk menduga-duga sesuatu, yang biasa disebut maui. Surui sebagai pemilih pertama memilih maui. Karena itu buku ilmu pengetahuan diserahkan kepada Tubopi. Selanjutnya Yang Mahakuasa berpesan bahwa ia akan menunggu dan menyambut kedatangan mereka, dan supaya mereka berkembang biak memenuhi negeri itu. Ia juga menyuruh Tubopi untuk menurunkan binatang-binatang kecil, diantaranya kuskus, kangguru, kasuari, babi dan lain sebagainya. Binatang-binatang besar seperti gajah, harimau, singa, badak dibawa berlayar dan dilepaskan di daerah sebelah matahari terbenam. Korano Kimbini rupanya kurang puas karena Surui memilih maui, sehingga ia menyerahkan sebuah benda keramat milik pribadinya sendiri kepada Surui sambil berpesan: "Terimalah benda keramat ini sebagai bekal hidup karena engkau adalah adik kandungku. Jagalah benda ini baik-baik. Sebentar lagi aku akan pergi meninggalkan engkau tetapi aku akan kembali lagi. Melalui benda ini engkau akan mengetahui saat kedatanganku kembali. Dan pada waktu aku kembali, perlihatkanlah benda ini kepadaku, supaya saya yakin bahwa engkaulah adikku. Bilamana engkau mengalami kesulitan atau memerlukan sesuatu, berbicaralah dengan benda ini dan dia akan menjawab segala sesuatu yang engkau tanyakan. Ingatlah, jangan engkau meninggalkan tempat ini, karena tempat ini مخصوصkan bagimu. Berkembang biaklah untuk memenuhi tempat ini sampai saya kembali."

Sementara mereka bercakap-cakap, kapal Waipori mengundurkan diri dari pelabuhan lalu hanyut ke Itrindau untuk mengisi air. Selang air yang bernama Soriwai berwarna merah, dihubungkan dari kapal ke air terjun untuk menadah air minum. Tempayan air yang bernama Manggakias, sudah penuh terisi air dan kini tibalah saatnya bagi Tubopi dan keluarga besarnya untuk pergi meninggalkan tempat itu. Mereka melambai-lambaikan tangannya ke darat, lalu hanyutlah kapal Waipori ke muara menuju ke laut. Waipori terapung-apung diatas laut, diombang-ambingkan gelombang dan mengikuti aliran arus mendekati pulau Yop. Di situ Tubopi keluar sebentar ke buritan kapal, lalu memukulnya dengan keras sambil berkata: "Lajulah kapalku, bawalah kami ke tanah yang telah ditunjukkan kepadaku." Dengan sekejap mata saja, kapal itu melaju menuju ke arah matahari terbenam. Di sana mereka berkembang biak. Di sana mereka memulai kebudayaan baru sesuai dengan ilmu pengetahuan yang diperoleh dari buku yang telah diterimanya.

Susunan silsilahnya terdapat dalam Figure 8.

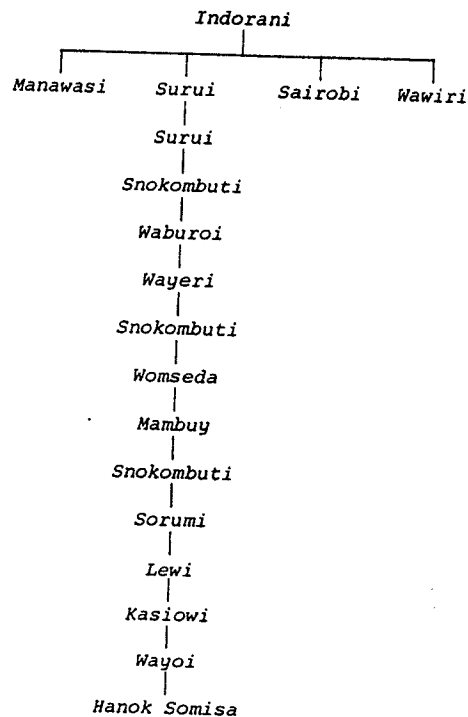


Figure 8. Silsilahnya Indorani.

Keterangan:

1. Bapa Hanok Somisa yang membawakan cerita dan silsilah ini.
2. Di Dusner hanya ada dua suku besar, yaitu:
 - Suku Sobiar, berasal dari Surui
 - Suku Warumbua, berasal dari Sairobi
 Silsilah suku Warumbua sudah terlupakan.
3. Wawiri tidak kawin.

Berikut ini adalah keterangan mengenai cerita:

1. Manawasi dianggap Anak Allah. Dia menghilang secara gaib, lalu muncul kembali bersama Yang Mahakuasa. Ketika ia datang bersama Yang Mahakuasa, ia disebut Korano Kimbini.

2. Pohon raksasa yang ada pada waktu air bah itu telah roboh, dan penggantinya yang ada sampai sekarang diberi nama: Tina Sobiar. Tina adalah nama pohon itu dan Sobiar adalah nama tempat di situ.

3. Burung besar yang melindungi Indorani berdiri pada siang dan malam, dengan sebelah kakinya pada dahan sebelah kiri dan sebelah kakinya yang lain pada dahan sebelah kanan, dan Indorani berteduh diantara kedua kaki ini.

4. Surui berasal dari kata suru yang berarti dua.

5. Orbuon berarti 'gunung batu' (Or 'batu', buon 'gunung').

6. Tubopi dan Wisopi adalah gelar bagi orang pertapaan.

7. Itrindau adalah kolam di kali Totovui, Dusner.

Sejarah

Contoh cerita sejarah yang cukup terkenal di daerah ini adalah Kuri Pasai:

Pada waktu dahulu ada seorang perempuan yang bernama Ipovini. Ia tinggal di tepi sungai Wosimi dengan kedua orang anak laki-lakinya, yaitu Kuri dan Pasai. Tubuh mereka besar seperti raksasa. Kuri dan Pasai bermaksud untuk mengempang sungai Wosimi supaya airnya mengalir ke tempat lain, yaitu ke teluk Umar. Karena itu mereka menggulingkan batu-batu besar ke dalam sungai. Sudah berhari-hari mereka bekerja, tetapi pekerjaan itu belum selesai juga. Untuk melancarkan pekerjaan mereka, mereka tinggal di tempat yang berbeda. Kuri tinggal di seberang sungai dalam sebuah gua batu yang bernama Inggorsa, dan Pasai tinggal di Maniami, di sebelah timur sungai Wosimi. Tetapi usaha mereka ini kemudian terhenti karena perkelahian yang terjadi antara keduanya yang menyebabkan perpisahan untuk selama-lamanya. Sebab-sebab dari perkelahian mereka adalah sebagai berikut:

Kuri dan isterinya mempunyai sebuah kebun. Setiap hari mereka bekerja di sana. Seringkali sebelum mereka pulang pada sore hari, mereka mengadakan persetubuhan di kebun. Pada suatu hari, setelah mereka pulang ke rumah, datanglah seekor kangguru betina dari hutan, menjilat tempat bekas keduanya bersetubuh. Ketika isteri Kuri hamil, kangguru itu pun hamil pula. Menjelang kelahiran anaknya, kangguru itu datang ke rumah Kuri dan berkata: "Saya datang kepada bapak dengan anak bapak yang ada dalam kandungan saya ini." Lalu Kuri dan

isterinya menerima kangguru itu sebagai anggota keluarga dan mereka tinggal bersama-sama. Isteri Kuri kemudian melahirkan seorang anak laki-laki yang namanya tidak disebutkan. Tidak lama kemudian, kangguru itupun melahirkan seorang anak laki-laki yang diberi nama Kiwasi. Kuri sangat senang dengan kedua anak itu.

Pada suatu hari Kuri mengajak orang-orang sekampungnya untuk pergi berperang melawan orang-orang dari kampung lain. Kedua anak Kuri diikuti-sertakan dalam peperangan ini. Kiwasi berperang dengan keberanian yang sangat mengagumkan. Tetapi sayang, Kiwasi selalu berbuat hal yang tidak menyenangkan pihak Kuri setelah selesai peperangan, yaitu membunuh salah seorang dari pihaknya. Hal ini dibuatnya berulang kali, sehingga Kuri merasa kesal dan sedih akan perbuatan Kiwasi yang merugikan ini. Lalu Kuri membuat rencana untuk mengasingkan Kiwasi.

Pada suatu hari Kuri mengajak orang-orang sekampungnya untuk berperang ke daerah di luar teluk Wandamen. Mereka tiba di tanjung Warsore dekat Manokwari. Setiap tempat yang didiami orang di daerah Warsore dan sekitarnya diserang dan dibasmi. Pada malam hari, ketika mereka sedang tidur nyenyak, Kuri membangunkan mereka dengan diam-diam. Mereka berangkat dari tempat itu dan meninggalkan Kiwasi yang sedang tidur nyenyak. Ketika Kiwasi bangun pada pagi harinya, ia terkejut karena tidak melihat kawan-kawannya. Perahupun tidak ada. Yang ada hanya makanan dan alat-alat perangnya. Lalu sadarlah ia bahwa ia telah diasingkan di tempat ini.

Kuri dan rombongannya telah tiba kembali di kampungnya. Ibu Kiwasi sangat sedih mendengar berita mengenai anaknya yang ditinggalkan seorang diri di Warsore.

Pada suatu hari ibu Kiwasi pergi ke kebun memetik sebuah ketimun. Lalu ia menghanyutkan ketimun itu di sungai Wosimi. Pada waktu Kiwasi sedang berjalan mondar mandir di tepi tanjung Warsore, tiba-tiba ia melihat sebuah ketimun hanyut menuju pantai dfantar arus deras dari lautan besar. Lalu berkata-lah Kiwasi: "Ketimun itu sama seperti ketimun yang ditanam oleh saya dan ibu di kebun." Ketimun itu lalu diambilnya dan dengan gembira ia berkata: "Memang inilah buah ketimun yang ditanam oleh saya dan ibu di kebun kami." Ketimun itu dipotongnya menjadi dua, sepotong dimakannya dan sepotong lagi disimpan. Keesokan harinya, Kiwasi berjalan-jalan lagi di pantai sambil memakan sisa ketimunnnya. Tiba-tiba ia melihat sebatang tebu hanyut menuju pantai. Daun tebu itu seakan-akan melambai-lambai ke daratan. Kiwasi lalu berkata: "Tebu itu sama seperti yang ditanam oleh saya dan ibu di kebun." Kiwasi lalu menggait tebu itu dengan panahnya dan dengan gembira ia berkata: "Memang inilah tebu yang ditanam oleh saya dan ibu di kebun kami." Kemudian Kiwasi memotong tebu itu dan memakannya.

Ibu Kiwasi selalu memikirkan keadaan anaknya. Ia berusaha agar dapat bertemu dengan anaknya. Pada suatu hari ia pergi ke hutan mengambil kulit dari buah kirubuo yang berbentuk seperti buyung. Kirubuo itu dibawanya ke sungai Wosimi. Lalu ia masuk ke dalam kirubuo itu dan menghanyutkan diri. Kirubuo itu dibawa arus menuju Warsore.

Kiwasi sedang berjalan-jalan di tepi pantai seperti biasa. Tiba-tiba ia melihat suatu benda menuju pantai. Di atas benda itu seperti ada kepala makhluk hidup. Makin lama benda itu makin dekat. Akhirnya ia mengenali bahwa kepala itu adalah kepala ibunya yang bergerak karena telinganya kemasukkan air. Kiwasi lalu berkata: "Itulah ibuku." Kiwasi segera mendekati kirubuo itu dan dengan panahnya ia menggaitnya perlahan-lahan. Lalu ia mengeluarkan ibunya.

Pada suatu hari ibu Kiwasi berkata: "Kiwasi, bunuhlah saya nanti malam. Lalu potong-potonglah dagingku dan cucuk dua dua. Sawalah dagingku itu ke segala tempat, tanjung-tanjung, bukit-bukit, gunung-gunung dan lembah-lembah di daerah ini. Setelah selesai, pergilah tidur. Dan apabila engkau mendengar bunyi burung yang pertama, bangunlah dan berserulah demikian: "Wi-i-i-i-i-a, penduduk seluruh negeri, tidurkah?" Kiwasi lalu melakukan apa yang dikatakan ibunya.

Ketika ia mendengar bunyi burung yang pertama, ia berseru: "Wi-i-i-i-i-i-a, penduduk seluruh negeri, tidurkah?" Tiba-tiba ia mendengar bunyi suara manusia yang menggemparkan tempat itu. Lalu Kiwasi berkata dengan bangganya: "Binasa kau sekarang, Kuri." Kiwasi lalu menyuruh penduduk negeri itu untuk menyiapkan sepuluh perahu tempur. Ia mengerahkan mereka untuk berperang melawan ayahnya. Mereka menuju tempat Kuri dan berlabuh di muara anak sungai Wosimi yang bernama Wombu. Lalu Kiwasi berseru kepada Kuri: "Kuri, Kuri, masih adakah engkau? Engkau telah menipu aku. Aku tidur dan engkau meninggalkan aku. Andaikata aku bangun pada waktu itu, engkau dan pasukanmu pasti kumusnahkan. Hari ini perlihatkanlah kejantananmu."

Kata-kata Kiwasi didengar oleh pamannya, Pasai, di lembah Maniami. Lalu Pasai datang menjumpai Kiwasi dan berkatalah Pasai kepadanya: "Hai Kiwasi, janganlah terjadi peperangan antara engkau dengan ayahmu karena ia adalah ayahmu. Biarlah saya yang berhadapan dengan ayahmu. Baiklah engkau dan pasukanmu kembali ke tempatmu." Kiwasi menerima baik anjuran pamannya. Lalu kembalilah ia dan masukannya ke Warsore.

Pada suatu hari Kuri membunyikan tifanya. Suaranya sangat merdu, karena itu bertanyalah Pasai: "Apa yang engkau tempelkan pada tifamu sehingga bunyinya sangat merdu?"

Lalu Kuri menjawab: "Ini kulit perut ibu kita."

Setelah Pasai mendengar jawab Kuri, ia membaringkan ibunya dengan maksud untuk menguliti perut ibunya itu. Tetapi ibunya meninggal. Pasai kemudian mengerti bahwa Kuri telah menipunya. Terjadilah perkelahian yang hebat antara keduanya. Karena perkelahian itu, timbunan batu yang tinggi untuk mengempang sungai Wosimi terbongkar dan runtuh. Kuri berada di sebelah timur dan Pasai di sebelah barat teluk Wandamen. Lalu Kuri meruncingkan kayu paramer dan menombaki Pasai. Pasai menombaki Kuri dengan bambu pasamai. (Karena itulah sekarang paramer terdapat di sebelah barat teluk Wandamen, sedangkan pasamai di sebelah timur.)

Kuri kemudian pergi ke arah timur dan tiba di suatu tempat yang bernama Tanjung Merah. Tempat ini didiami oleh orang Katik. Orang-orang Katik ini pernah ditipu oleh Kuri sehingga mereka menaruh dendam kepadanya. Mereka membuat rencana untuk mengalahkan Kuri. Mereka pergi ke laut dan menangkap seekor ikan pari. Hati ikan pari itu dicampur dengan sagu mentah lalu dibungkus dengan daun dan dibakar di atas api. Mereka lalu menyiapkan daun rotan yang berduri dan diberi bertangkai untuk menggait. Ketika mereka melihat Kuri datang, mereka menggosok mulut dan pantat seorang anak kecil dengan darah ikan pari. Anak itu lalu dibaringkan di sisi mereka. Mereka duduk dan makan sagu yang telah dicampur dengan hati ikan pari tadi. Mereka makan sambil bersenda gurau. Kuri datang lalu bertanya: "Apa yang kalian makan sambil bersenda gurau ini?"

Lalu mereka menjawab: "Kami makan sagu yang dicampur dengan hati anak kecil ini. Rasanya enak sekali. Bapak mau mencobanya?"

Kuri menerima tawaran mereka. Ia makan sagu itu. Kemudian ia berkata: "Wah, enak sekali! Minta sebungkus lagi." Ia makan sebungkus lagi.

Kemudian salah seorang dari orang Katik itu berkata: "Nah, engkau sendiri telah merasakan betapa anaknya sagu yang dicampur dengan hati seorang anak kecil."

"Ya, memang enak sekali, tetapi saya belum merasa puas," jawab Kuri.

"Kalau begitu, begini saja," kata orang Katik itu. "Karena anak ini masih kecil, maka hatinyapun kecil sehingga sagu yang dicampur juga tidak banyak. Alangkah baiknya kalau kita keluarkan hati dan paru-parumu. Karena engkau lebih besar, tentu hati dan paru-parumu lebih besar dan lebih gemuk. Dan kalau dicampur dengan sagu, kita semua akan dapat makan sampai kenyang dan puas."

"Apakah ini tidak menyakitkan?" tanya Kuri.

"O, tidak. Apalagi engkau lebih besar, tentu engkau tidak akan merasa sakit," jawab orang Katik itu.

Kuri lalu bertanya lagi: "Bagaimana caranya?"

"Itu urusan kami," jawab mereka. "Kami akan melakukannya sebagaimana yang kami perbuat terhadap anak ini. Kami suruh anak ini berbaring, lalu kami masukkan duri rotan ke dalam tubuhnya dan kami keluarkan hati dan paru-parunya. Lihat saja mulut dan pantat anak itu masih berlumuran darah, juga duri-duri rotan itu. Tapi engkau harus dapat menahan pedih."

Lalu Kuri menjawab: "Baiklah."

Mereka menyuruh Kuri berbaring dan mereka mulai bekerja. Sebagian memasukkan penggait ke dalam mulutnya dan sebagian lagi memasukkan penggait ke dalam pantatnya. Kuri merasa sakit lalu berteriak supaya dihentikan saja. Tetapi mereka berkata: "Masakan anak kecil dapat bertahan dan engkau, manusia besar, tidak dapat bertahan? Jangan mempermalukan dirimu! Diam dan tahan saja!" Setelah semua penggait masuk ke dalam tubuhnya, mereka menariknya dengan serentak dan dengan sekuat tenaga mereka. Seluruh isi perut Kuri keluar dan Kuripun matilah. Orang-orang Katik itu sangat senang karena dapat membunuh Kuri. Ketika mereka akan pulang, mereka mengerat jari tangan Kuri untuk dipakai sebagai bukti bahwa mereka telah membunuh Kuri. Tetapi ternyata perahu mereka tidak cukup besar untuk membawa mereka kembali bersama dengan jari tangan Kuri itu. Terpaksa jari itu ditinggalkan. Mereka kemudian pulang sambil menyanyikan suatu nyanyian kemenangan yang artinya: "Kami telah membunuh Kuri, yaitu Kuri yang adalah manusia raksasa."

Keterangan mengenai cerita: Kuri mempunyai kepribadian yang buruk dan Pasai mempunyai kepribadian yang baik. Menurut kepercayaan, Pasai akan kembali lagi. Cerita ini diceritakan oleh bapak Davit Yoteni dari Rasiei.

Cerita dongeng

Contoh cerita dongeng yang disajikan di sini adalah Siriwadiomi!

Siriwadiomi dan ibunya tinggal di tanjung Manuami. Pada suatu hari Siriwadiomi pergi menangkap ikan di laut. Disana ia melihat dua orang perempuan, yaitu Kasinapi dan Taburapi. Kasinapi dan Taburapi duduk pada sebatang pohon sambil mengayunkan kakinya. Bayangan mereka inilah yang dilihat Siriwadiomi. Karena Siriwadiomi hanya melihat bayangan saja, maka ia berpikir bahwa kedua perempuan itu tinggal di dalam tanah. Lalu mulailah Siriwadiomi menggali tanah di situ. Ketika ia pulang pada sore harinya, ibunya bertanya: "Apakah kamu mendapat ikan hari ini?"

Siriwadiomi menjawab: "Ibu, saya pergi mencarinya, tetapi tidak mendapat apa-apa."

Keesokkan harinya Siriwadiomi berkata kepada ibunya: "Ibu, bakarkan sagu untuk saya karena saya akan mencari ikan." Lalu ibunya memenuhi permintaannya. Tetapi Siriwadiomi tidak mencari ikan melainkan menggali tanah untuk dapat bertemu dengan Kasinapi dan Taburapi.

Keesokkan harinya Siriwadiomi berkata kepada ibunya: "Ibu, saya akan membunuh seekor tikus dan membiarkannya sampai busuk." Lalu taruhlah di sisi saya dan saya akan berpura-pura mati. Tutuplah saya dan tikus itu, lalu duduklah menangisi saya.

Lalu Siriwadiomi berbaring dan ibunya melakukan apa yang dikatakan Siriwadiomi. Tangisan ibunya terdengar oleh Kasinapi dan Taburapi, lalu mereka turun dari pohon dan pergi ke tempat Siriwadiomi. Mereka pun turut menangis. Tiba-tiba Siriwadiomi bangun lalu memegang tangan mereka dengan kuat, sambil berkata: "Kamu telah menipu saya hingga saya menggali tanah sampai hampir mati. Kamu akan lari kemana sekarang?" Saya akan kawin dengan kamu berdua dan kita akan tinggal disini.

CATATAN

¹ Makalah yang membahas tentang kepercayaan di daerah Wandamen ini, disusun dalam lokakarya antropologi yang berlangsung selama lima minggu. Kami sangat berterima kasih atas bimbingan dan saran yang diberikan oleh Mrs. M. Gregerson sebagai penasihat utama, dan juga kepada saudara L. Peckham. Tidak lupa pula kami berterima kasih atas bantuan Bapak Y. Kubiari, yang telah datang dari Wasior untuk membantu kami dalam lokakarya ini, serta bantuan editorial dalam teks dan catatan kaki makalah ini yang kami peroleh dari Dr. D. C. Ajamiseba.

² Sejengkal adalah ukuran jarak dari ibu jari ke jari tengah yang berkisar antara 15 sampai 20 sentimeter.

³ Anggota keluarga ini biasanya merupakan salah seorang tua, misalnya ayah, ibu, atau kakek dan nenek yang ada di dalam rumah itu.

⁴ Ikan gulema adalah sejenis ikan pari burung yang lebarnya berkisar antara satu sampai enam meter dan panjangnya antara setengah sampai dua setengah meter. Ikan ini dikatakan dapat berjalan di atas permukaan air.

⁵ Biasanya pohon ini berupa pohon kayu besi atau pohon beringin.

⁶ Orang-orang Wandamen pada umumnya tidak mengetahui dengan pasti tempat tinggal mahluk halus ini. Tetapi di Dusner dikatakan bahwa tempat tinggalnya adalah di atas sebuah bukit tertentu. Menurut orang Mairasi di Kaimana, tempat tinggal mahluk ini berada di atas gunung yang ada di belakang kampung Lomira. Mereka dapat menentukan tempat tinggalnya oleh adanya pohon-pohon yang makin pendek ke arah puncak gunung tersebut. (Komunikasi pribadi dengan L. Peckham.)

⁷ Sebelum kepercayaan Kristen masuk ke daerah Wandamen, orang-orang percaya bahwa tanah mempunyai kekuatan yang menentukan. Sesudah orang-orang Wandamen menjadi Kristen mereka menanamkan tanda salib pada ritual ini karena percaya bahwa tanda salib lebih berkuasa dari pada mahluk halus ini.

⁸ Kulit kayu yang mahal sekali yang dijual ke pulau Jawa untuk bahan batik. Harga lokalnya Rp750,-- per kilogram, sedangkan di Jayapura Rp1.000,-- per kilogram.

⁹ Sebenarnya yang dimaksudkan adalah air mani tetapi supaya lebih sopan bahasanya dipakailah istilah air seni.

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BEBERAPA ASPEK ORGANISASI SOSIAL ORANG TABLA

Ringkasan

Sekitar 3750 orang Tabla yang hidup sebagai petani dan nelayan mendiami desa-desa Depapre dan Demta, di pantai utara Irian Jaya.

Susunan masyarakat Tabla adalah patrilineal, patrilokal lineage, klen dan fratri yang sifatnya eksogam. Setiap klen mempunyai pemimpin yang bertanggung jawab atas kehidupan klenya. Ia dibantu oleh empat orang dari klen lain.

Sistem kekerabatan Tabla bertipe Iroquois. Generasi pertama memakai istilah bifurcate merging, dan dalam generasi ego cross cousin dibedakan dari parallel cousin.

Kapak batu, manik-manik, dan uang ditukar dengan makanan (ubi-ubian, sago, pisang, dan babi).

Perkawinan merupakan suatu proses yang panjang. Pihak laki-laki datang berunding dengan pihak perempuan. Bila disetujui, maka pihak perempuan memberikan sejumlah kecil mas kawin kepada pihak laki-laki. Pihak perempuan menyerahkan tiga jenis makanan dari kebun mereka yang sudah disiapkan khusus untuk maksud tersebut. Kemudian pihak laki-laki menyerahkan sejumlah besar mas kawin kepada pihak perempuan melalui upacara. Sepotong kain/rok dililitkan pada pinggang wanita sebagai tanda telah kawin. Perkawinan dilangsungkan beberapa hari kemudian setelah kedua belah pihak saling memberi makan yang dilakukan secara terpisah.

Tukar menukar dan saling memberi pada orang Tabla merupakan sarana pengembangan dan pemeliharaan persahabatan yang saling menguntungkan di dalam anggota klen dan klen satu dengan lainnya. Kekerabatan merupakan kerangka aktifitas masyarakat Tabla.

HAPPINESS IS GIVING:

ASPECTS OF TABLA SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Ken Collier

UNCEN-SIL

Some 3,750 Tabla people live on the north coast of Irian Jaya just west of Jayapura. They occupy thirteen villages from Yongsu Kecil in the east to Bukisi in the west. These villages are spread out in the Subdistricts of Depapre and Demta.

The people obtain most of their food through gardening in the foothills of the coastal mountain range. Main ingredients of the diet are sweet potato, taro, and sago. Coconuts and a wide variety of fruit add nutrition to the diet. The people grow some green vegetables as well as maize to add variation. This is supplemented by fish, each village being built right on the coast and many men having small fishing canoes. The people often catch wild pigs in the nearby bush as well, thereby adding protein to their diet.

Houses are of rectangular structure and have from three to six rooms. Stumps, joists, and bearers are of hardwood. The floor is of black palm, the walls of sago palm fronds. The room is woven from sago leaf. Overall, houses are well built, and house building is a big project.

Villages range from 150 to 650 inhabitants, the relatively dense population being easily sustained by a fertile and relatively rich ecological setting.

The people own outboard canoes and make many trips into Jayapura, the nearby provincial capital, where they sell garden and grove produce. The main marketable items are mangoes, coconuts, bananas, pineapples, pomelos, sago, star fruit and betel nut. A cash-crop economy is fairly well developed since the people have had outside contact since the turn of the century.

The overall picture is of a relatively prosperous and sedentary group. Their language is Papuan, of the Sentani family of languages.

This paper¹ describes aspects of Tabla social organization, kinship terminology, clan leadership, the exchange system, and dyadic relationships. As a basic social responsibility between kinsmen, exchange becomes a main focus in this paper. Briefly, the system is an exchange of bride wealth and food between designated kinsmen. The term bride wealth is used here instead of bride price. The people themselves reject the term bride price, saying that it suggests the bride is bought. In fact, the value of bride wealth and food exchanged are roughly equivalent, so that it is a direct exchange. In order to understand the dyadic relationships and the exchange system, we need first to look at the broad social structure and kinship system of the Tabla people.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Tabla people see themselves in a central location alongside the nearby language groups with whom they have traded and intermarried for many years. Outside this immediate area are the people who are called 'far east' people (omo kero), 'far west' people (wai kero), and 'far landward' people (dari kero). Literally, this refers to people who are so far away that not much is known about them. Other people are known as foreigners, but nowadays this term has come to be reserved for Indonesians from islands to the west, people racially of the Malay stock. Two other distinct groups are recognized as a result of World War II: Americans (kesewai) and Japanese (dengkawai).

After recognizing the more distant people such as the 'far west' people (e.g., from Biak), the Tabla recognize a half dozen local language groups by name: the Sentani (bu yo), the Oremu (by that name), the people of Demta (sou yo), the people of Kayu pulau (ka yo), and the Nimboran and Gresi (Yenda).

The Tabla recognize their phyle by the name Red Earth (Tanah Merah), or as Tabla. The criteria for recognizing this group are mutually intelligible language and style of canoe, house, and certain artifacts. The people are reluctant to marry outside the phyle.

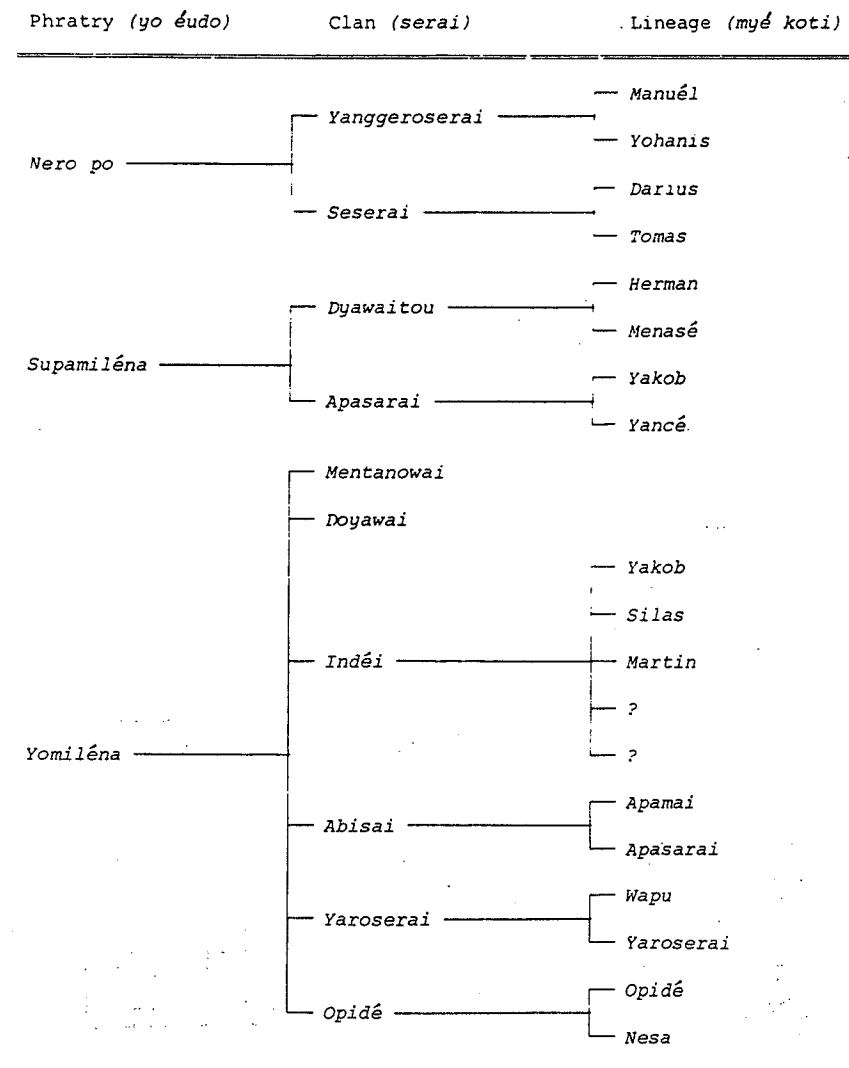
Within the Tabla area, the people distinguish four dialects. Yong-su dialect is in the east, with two villages. Yewena dialect is west of that, with three villages. Tepera is the central dialect (from which comes the Indonesianized name, Tabla), with three more villages. Finally, Yokari, the westernmost group, has five villages. Each of these dialects is called a tongue or language (péu) by the people, and this is the main feature by which they distinguish groups. Given that each village has territorial rights for fishing, gardening, and forestry, these too are criteria for distinguishing dialects. The people also recognize the degree to which each dialect holds to traditional beliefs and, especially, to taboos. The Yewena people, for example, see the Yokari as holding strongly to traditional taboos and especially to the use of sorcery.

Named phratries, clans, and lineages--all exogamous--are dispersed throughout the various dialect groups. Each clan has its own residential and gardening territories. Other clan distinctions include traditional work roles and taboos. Some clans, for example, are traditionally fishing clans; they must abide by taboos associated with fishing. Similarly, other groups are 'land' groups or gardeners; they abide, in turn, by their own, unique taboos. Symbols differ in carvings used in houses and on drums, and each clan has its own bird emblem which is attached to the front of larger fishing canoes.

Clans previously inhabited ridges as a means of protection in the context of frequent interclan warfare. The Indéi clan of Doromena was exclusively a fishing clan. They traded fish for garden produce, and jealously guarded their rights to the sea.

Within the village of Doromena (where the data were collected for this paper) there are ten clans, most of which are paired into phratries. The social structure of the village is as in Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1. Doromena social structure.



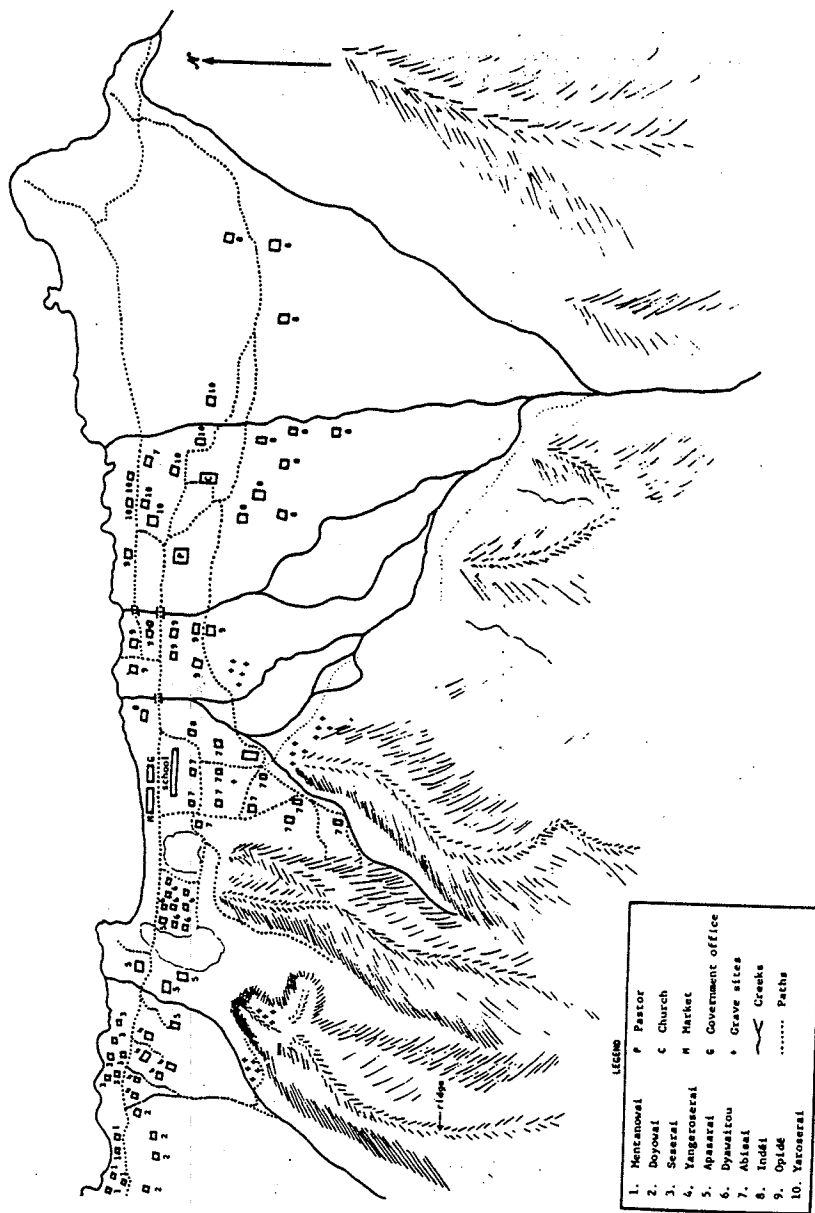


Figure 2. The village of Doromena.

The nuclear family. Within the clan, each nuclear family has its own gardens. The children of that family do much of the planting, although the owner has help from other clan members and friends to clear the land and build pig fences. Many nuclear families live in separate houses, but two brothers living together in the same house with their sons and grandchildren is not uncommon.

Clan leadership. Each clan has one hereditary leader (ondowapi) with broad responsibilities. He is generally 'responsible' for the well-being of the clan. He is responsible for local law (a tupate dowewe 'he holds the law'). He oversees community work, called 'betel nut work', such as the building of a large ocean-going canoe. He is also responsible for peace within the clan. He gives the command for singing feasts and directs procedure at weddings. He also officiates at weddings of clan members, as the main representative of the clan. Given his rights and powers, people wait for him to give the word before a feast can begin.

The clan leader has from two to four assistants, called yaro people, to carry out his wishes. These men come from clans other than that of the leader, each in fact from a different clan. He obtains the assistance of these men for large projects. They follow his instructions and, in turn, call in necessary additional laborers. With small projects, he personally makes the rounds of houses within the clan, telling them what a project will be and when. A yaro man may also have another role, that of 'go-between' for a particular clan. When translating into Indonesian, the term used is 'minister for foreign affairs'. In this role the yaro man assists one clan in its discussions of bride wealth exchange with another clan. Each clan has one other, and one only, clan which it will help in this way. If one man is unavailable for this role, another will step in and take his place.

One of the yaro men also oversees the division of food at a marriage exchange, where the food given by the girl's clan is divided among members of the boy's clan. This same man oversees the distribution of stone axe heads, beads, and money from the boy's clan to members of the girl's clan.

Having given this brief overview of social organization, we now turn to the kinship terminology.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Tabla kinship terminology is of a modified-Iroquois type (Murdock 1949). More specifically, first-ascending-generation terminology is bifurcate merging and cross-cousins are distinguished within ego's generation, but only those of the same sex as ego. The consanguineal terms of reference are listed in Figure 3 and presented graphically in Figures 5 and 6. The first person reference term is listed at the left of Figure 3. If a second term appears in parentheses, it is a third person form. If two terms appear in parentheses, the first of these is a second person form and the second is a third person form.

Figure 3. Tabla consanguineal terms of reference.

1. yupu-yupu	PPPPP (R,G)	great-great-great-grandkinsman
2. didi	PPPPP (R,G)	great-great-great-grandkinsman
3. ye-yepé	PPPP (R,G)	great-great-grandkinsman
4. kasi-kasi	PPP (R,G)	great-grandkinsman
5. sese (nése)	PPm (G,S)	grandfather
6. keméng (néngkeng)	PPf (G,S)	grandmother
7. doti (weti, noti)	CC (G,S)	grandchild
8. memai (nenang)	=Pm (G,-S,-xS, fS-)	father
9. naméng (nenang)	=Pf (G,-S,-xS, fS-)	mother
10. énéng	xPf (G)	aunt
11. yéi	=C (G,S,-xS,-, -Sf), xfc (G)	child
12. uai (newau)	xPm (G)	uncle
13. syo	xmC (G)	man's sister's child
14. yarisé	=eapC (G,-Sb)	elder sibling
15. nero	=apC (G,-Sb)	middle sibling
16. metona	=yapC (G,-Sb)	younger sibling
17. wéke (nénu)	fPCm (G)	woman's brother
18. méngke (weméng, neméng)	mPCf (G)	man's sister
19. dotó	xapCa (G)	same-sex cousin

Figure 4. Tabla affinal terms of reference.

20. desang (wesang, nesang)	mSP (R,G)	son/parent-in-law
21. dēmo	aSPCa (R,G)	same-sex sibling-in-law
22. do	fS (G)	husband
23. miré	mS (G)	wife

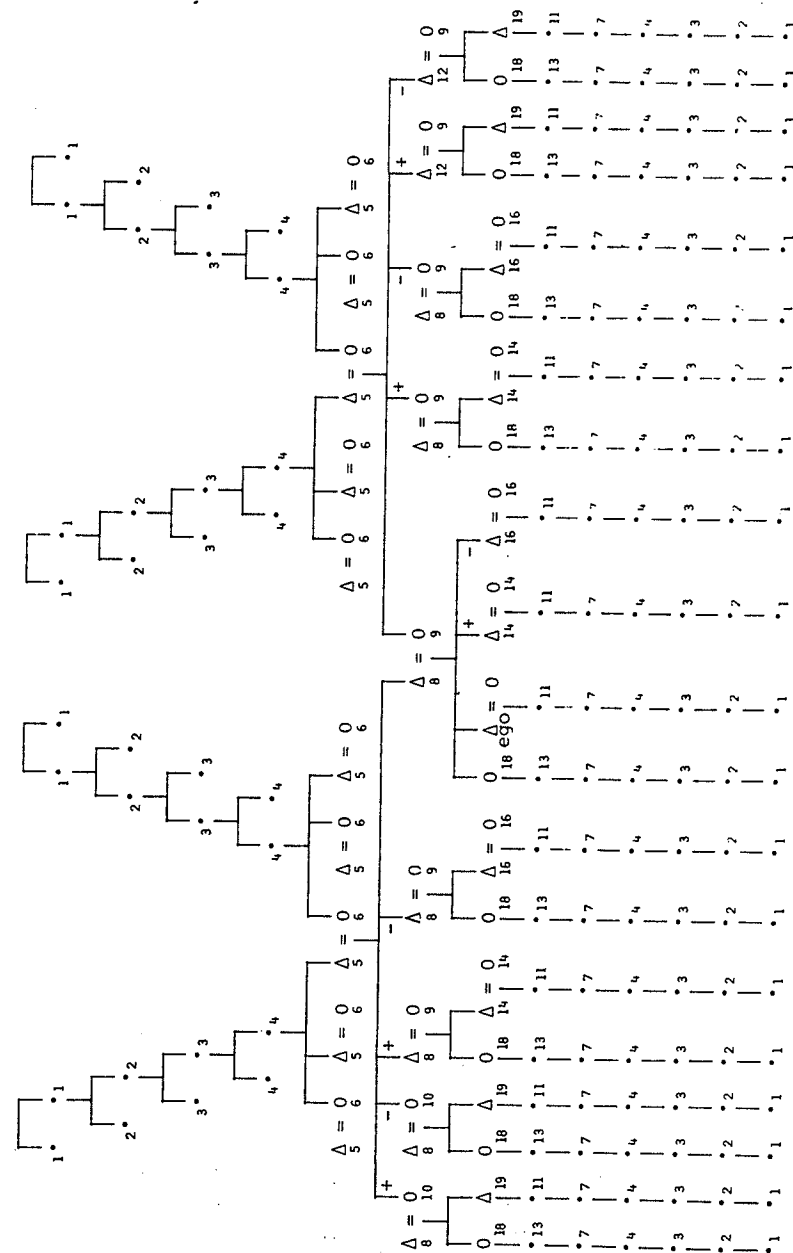


Figure 5. Tabla consanguineal terms of reference--male ego.

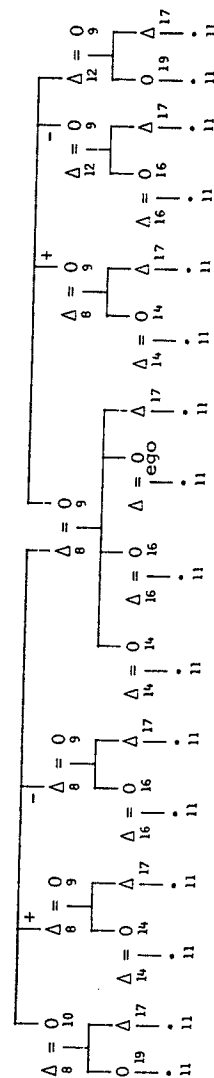


Figure 6. Tabla consanguineal terms of reference--female ego (where different from male ego).

Consanguineal terms of reference

The consanguineal terms of reference are also used as terms of address. These terms have been grouped into reciprocal sets.

Distant grandkinsmen. A set of four, self-reciprocal terms designate grandkinsmen of from three to six generations distance from ego, respectively. One term is used for great-grandparent and great-grandchild. Similarly, one term is used for each more-distant generation, up to great-great-great-grandkinsman.

Grandkinsmen. The grandparent generation has two terms, distinguishing males and females. Grandfather (*sese*) denotes either parent's father, and extends to all male filial kinsmen of the second ascending generation (Rule G). The term also extends to the husband of any female filial kinsman of the second ascending generation, as well as to the male kinsmen of spouse of the second ascending generation (Rule S). Similarly, grandmother (*kemeng*) refers to all females of the second ascending generation.

The reciprocal grandchild term, (*doti*) refers both to males and females in the second descending generation, their spouses, and to the grandchildren of spouse (Rule S). Like grandparent terms, this term extends collaterally to all kinsmen of this generation (Rule G).

Parent and child. The father term (*memai*) denotes a male parent and extends to any of father's male kinsmen of his generation (Rule G), to the husband of any of mother's female kinsmen of her generation (Rule -S), to the husband of any of father's female kinsmen of his generation (Rule -xS), and to a husband's father (Rule fS-). Mother (*nameng*) denotes a female parent and extends to any female kinsmen of her generation (Rule G), to the wife or any of father or mother's male kinsmen of the parent generation (Rules -S and -xS), and to a husband's mother (Rule fS-). The term aunt (*eneng*) denotes a father's sister and extends to any female kinsmen of his generation (Rule G).

The reciprocal of the 'father' and 'mother' term is *yéi* 'child'. It denotes a child of either sex and extends to a child of ego's same-sex filial kinsman of his generation (Rule G), to a child of spouse's same-generation filial kinsman of either sex (Rule S- and xS-), and to a son's wife (Rule -Sf). *Yéi* is also the reciprocal of the 'aunt' term. In this sense, it denotes female ego's brother's child and extends to the child of any of a woman's same-generation male kinsmen (Rule G).

The sex of any kinsmen of the 'child' range may be distinguished by special terms for son (*duwéi*, *uwéi*, *nuwéi*) and daughter (*domi*, *womi*, *nomi*), but these terms are rarely heard.

Uncle, nephew, and niece. Two terms form a reciprocal set used between a man and his sister's child. The term *uai* denotes a mother's brother and extends to any of mother's same-generation male kinsmen (Rule G). The reciprocal of *uai* is *syo* which denotes a man's sister's child and extends to the child of any of a man's same-generation female kinsmen (Rule G).

Sibling. Three sets of terms designate siblings. One set classifies only parallel kinsmen of ego's generation according to seniority. A second set classifies kinsmen, whether parallel or cross, by relative sex. A third (unit) set designates same-sex cross-cousins.

The first set of terms defines three degrees of seniority. The term yarisé denotes an elder sibling, the term metona denotes a younger sibling, and the term nero denotes an elder or younger sibling who is neither the eldest nor the youngest of ego's siblings.

If yarisé is used by itself, it may mean elder or eldest, but the phrase yarisé nero means elder but not the eldest. Similarly, metona may mean younger or youngest, but metona nero means younger but not the youngest. An additional term dumbu specifies the youngest within the nuclear family (no extension by Rule G), but there is no such counterpart to unambiguously denote the eldest.

When yarisé, metona, or dumbu is used in reference to the eldest or youngest sibling, it is used for the eldest or youngest of each sex. Thus, yarisé is used both for ego's eldest brother and for his eldest sister, regardless of which of the latter is senior to the other; and, similarly, for the youngest siblings of each sex.

Sibling terms, and phrases based upon them, extend to the children of any of a parent's same-generation, same-sex, filial kinsmen (Rule G), and to the spouse of any same-sex, filial kinsman referred to by a sibling term (Rule -Sb).

The seniority of a full or half-sibling is determined by the relative age of the sibling in respect to ego. The seniority of classificatory 'siblings' (i.e., through application of Rule G), however, is based on the relative age of the full or half-siblings through whom ego and his classificatory sibling are linked. Of two such siblings, for example, who trace their filial relationship through their respective grandmothers, the latter being true siblings, the grandchild descending from the elder grandmother is classified as senior by the use of yarisé, irrespective of his age in relation to that of ego.

The phrase yarisé dumbu is used to denote the youngest of a set of siblings within a particular nuclear family, all of whom are classificatory senior siblings to ego because of the relative age of the ascending generation sibling pair that links ego to the set.

A second set of two sibling terms is used between opposite sex siblings. The primary referent of wéke is a woman's brother. The primary referent of ménke is a man's sister. These terms extend to any opposite sex kinsman of ego's generation (Rule G), irrespective of bifurcation in the parent generation. These two terms are the most common way of referring to a 'sibling' of the opposite sex, but the elder-younger terms described above are also used when the speaker wants to be more specific or make further clarification.

A final, self-reciprocal term (doto) denotes a child the same sex as ego of a parent's opposite-sex full or half-sibling. It extends to the same-sex (as ego) child of any same-generation opposite-sex kinsman of parent (Rule G).

Apart from these three sets of sibling terms, there is a form keka which occurs with do 'man', as in do keka 'they are brothers' to make third person collective reference to any two male filial kinsmen of the same generation. Similarly, miré keka 'they are women', from miré 'woman', classifies collectively any two female filial kinsmen of the same generation.

Affinal terms of reference

The affinal terms of reference are listed in Figure 4 and presented graphically in Figures 7 and 8. There are only two affinal terms and two spouse terms.

The term desang 'son/parent-in-law' denotes either parent of a man's wife or (Rule R) a daughter's husband. It also extends collaterally to any generation peer of wife's parent and to the husband of any generation peer's daughter (Rule G).

The term démso 'same-sex sibling-in-law' denotes spouse's opposite sex full or half-sibling or (Rule R) the spouse of an opposite-sex full or half-sibling. It extends to any opposite-sex kinsman of spouse's generation or to the spouse of any opposite-sex kinsman of ego's generation (Rule G).

Words for man (do) or woman (miré) are used to refer to husband and wife. They extend, as well, to the spouse's siblings (Rule G), as in metona miré 'younger wife', i.e., wife's younger sister.

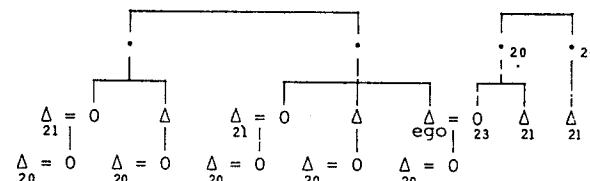


Figure 7. Tabla affinal terms of reference--male ego.

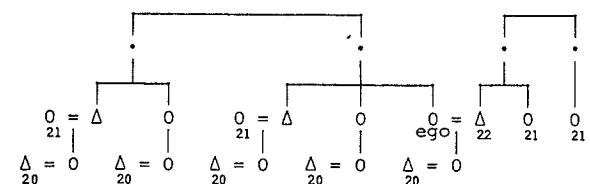


Figure 8. Tabla affinal terms of reference--female ego.

EXCHANGE

In the Tabla exchange system, bride wealth (stone axe heads, beads, and money) is given in return for food (sweet potato, taro, sago, rice, banana, fish, and pork). Rice is not grown locally; but with the sale of fruit such as mangoes (for which a person may receive up to Rp600, U.S. \$1), the people can easily purchase sacks for the food gift.

There are clear rules as to who gives bride wealth to whom, and who gives food to whom. Such exchange occurs on a large scale between clans when members of two clans intermarry. Exchange also occurs between individuals, apart from the marriage process. The same items are used as in bride wealth, but on a smaller scale, and not including pork in the return of food. The motivation in these exchanges is the cementing of friendships, both between individuals and between clans.

Ethnographers writing on New Guinea cultures (Bruce 1973, for example) have universally said that such exchanges are to form alliances between clans. More than one Tabla speaker has told me this, saying specifically that the purpose is to make the clans unified (kena mbei 'one chest'). As mentioned above, there used to be interclan warfare, and the forming of alliances would have been very important. Marriage continues to be a vehicle for forming relationships between clans.

Marriage

The Tabla have four recognized ways of arranging marriage. One of these, the forceful capture of a bride, is no longer practiced.

1. Bainyang marriage. The preferred marriage type is known as bainyang. It is so regarded because decisions are made more slowly, and there is less possibility for dispute. Given the longer process, there is also opportunity for each clan to evaluate the work capabilities of the prospective groom and bride. Each partner to the marriage will, in fact, spend time with his in-laws to help them and, in turn, be evaluated. The father and son discuss a prospective bride for him. If they agree, the father initiates negotiations. The father goes to the girl's parents to discuss the matter. The main concern at this time is to ascertain that the marriage would not violate any rules of exogamy. As mentioned above, marriage is exogamous to the lineage, clan, and phratry. Furthermore, a man may not marry into the clan of his mother, of his mother's mother, or of his father's mother.

Having decided a marriage is possible in this sense, the men representing a boy go home and discuss the matter with the male elders of his clan. These men collect one stone axe head, one to three beads of the type considered essential for marriage (apa), and anywhere from Rp10,000 to Rp50,000. This initial collection of bride wealth (known as bainyang) is then taken and given to the elders of the bride's clan. This seals an agreement.

At this time, there may be heavy drinking. Drinking, smoking, or chewing betel nut together is seen as expressing friendship, especially the chewing of betel nut. Once an agreement is sealed, the two clans

may begin to negotiate the final bride wealth value. At this time, a bride's clan plants a garden, the produce of which will be given to the groom's clan. There are three gifts of food to the groom's clan, an initial gift from an immediate collection of food from among clan members, and two from gardens especially planted for the purpose. The entire process often takes two or more years.

After the three gifts of food are given and received, the remaining bride wealth is presented at a special ceremony in the residential area of the bride's clan. There may be anywhere from twelve to twenty-five stone axe heads given, and from ten to twenty beads of various types. The stone axe heads and the type of bead called apa are essential to the exchange.

The stone axe heads are made from a dark green rock with off-white flecks, obtained from the language group immediately to the east of the Tabla. The Tabla make them themselves and bring them to a high polish, using talcum powder and the broad part of the black palm leaf stem. The larger and the higher the polish, the higher the price. They range in length from 15 cm. to 30 cm., and prices for these range from Rp7,000 to Rp35,000. The apa bead, valued at up to Rp25,000, is dark blue, opaque, with a hole through the middle, through which a string is passed for holding it. It is about 1.2 cm. in diameter, and .5 cm. thick. They are made of glass. The people say that they grow on trees on the western part of the island. A more plausible explanation, however, is that they were beads used in trading by the Portuguese. Other beads which are given are: the tuwa, a more pale and less opaque blue, worth around Rp10,000; the yankeroi, yellow, worth around Rp5,000; and the nato, white, which is valued at approximately Rp10,000.

Transfer of bride wealth. In the bride wealth transfer ceremony, the people gather in an open area adjacent to the houses of the girl's clan. The members of the two clans are present, plus others who may have helped in gathering food or bride wealth. A daughter of a woman of the bride's clan who had helped prepare sago, for example, receives money at the ceremony. Hence her attendance. People sit on house steps, verandas, rocks, and chairs placed there for the purpose. A small table is put in the middle of the open space, and on it are the stone axe heads, beads, and envelopes with money. This table is covered with a table cloth, and also decorated with a vase of flowers. The master of ceremonies, the yaro person, stands beside the table with lists of people's names, and the amount of money, axe heads, or beads they are to receive. He calls out the names of the people, and they come forward in turn to receive their due. There are two chairs at the table, one at either end which are for the leaders (ondowapi) of the respective clans. When a person comes forward to receive money, he formally shakes hands with the two leaders and the master of ceremonies.

On this same table are placed a couple of bunches of betel nut and betel pepper. Betel is freely available at all important ceremonies.

As the exchange proceeds, a few men begin to move through the crowd, pouring small drinks of whiskey and gin. During the ceremony, there is a good deal of banter back and forth; quite a number of men get

up and make short speeches. At times tempers flare when, for example, someone suggests that a stone axe head is inferior. But finally, after the money totals have been read out by the master of ceremonies, and there are murmurs of agreement (the immediate family receives their money at one time and the wider family receives theirs separately), then he taps the table three times and declares the proceedings finished. There is quiet applause at this point. The total money given may be from Rp200,000 to Rp300,000.

At one and the same time this ceremony is a happy and serious occasion. It is a key element in the forming of clan friendships. Symbolism is obvious, the drinking and eating of betel nut, the presence of the two clan leaders and the yaro person, and the formal witnessing of the event with the name lists being read out to those assembled.

It is instructive to note which people of the bride's clan receive axe heads and beads. If there are plenty of items, the bride's father may receive as many as six stone axe heads and six beads, including an apa bead. Her mother receives a similar amount, which she shares with her elder brothers, or gives them to her brothers when one of their sons is to be married. The next most important individual on the list is the bride's elder brother. He must receive an axe head and one apa bead. Others who may receive such bride wealth are the bride's paternal grandparents, her father's brothers, the clan's leader, her mother's siblings, and the bride's own siblings. In the event that only one apa bead is available, then the Ondowapi of the groom's clan would give it to the Ondowapi of the bride's clan, thus symbolizing the alliance of the two clans.

In one case where there were only twelve stone axe heads to distribute, the mother received three. I was told she would use them to help her brothers.

The skirt tying. The next step in the marriage process, after this giving of bride wealth, is the 'tying of the skirt' (marote bekewe). This is a ceremony carried out very early on the morning following the bride wealth transfer. It occurs in the bride's home and is done by her mother's brother's wife who is paid Rp30,000 and given one tuwa bead by the groom's clan. There are no men present. Originally, unmarried girls wore no clothes, and the tying on of a skirt was the sign that the girl was married. Being betrothed to a man meant that she became shy, because she belonged to him, and him alone. Therefore a skirt was tied on her for the sake of modesty.

That day the 'hungry food' (sa moning) is eaten. Each clan cooks food and gives it to the other clan. They eat simultaneously, but each in their own clan areas. This is said to be part of making the people 'one'.

The wedding. Several days later there are civil and church weddings. The weddings themselves are in the late afternoon. The groom walks from his house along with many of his kinsmen and a group of flautists and drummers. They take the bride from her house (or the

house where she is staying if she has come from another village). The entire procession then moves to the church. After the church service, the procession moves to the place for the reception where there is food for all. The couple sits in a large double chair at the front of the gathering. Just before everyone eats, the couple cuts some of a large cake and each gives the other some of it with spoons.

The newly married couple moves in with the groom's father, and she takes the boy's family name, though also retaining her own. If her maiden name is Agustina Dyawaitou, and her husband's family name is Abisai, then she writes her new name Agustina Dyawaitou/Abisai.

The foregoing is an ideal, but there is a great deal of flexibility in the timing of events. In one bainyang case, for example, the couple were married soon after the initial gift of bainyang bride wealth. What is important in the order of things, is that the bainyang be first, followed by three gifts of food, and then the final gift of bride wealth.

2. **A sera marriage.** The second type of marriage is known as a sera. This is accepted as a 'quick way'. In one case, after the parents of the couple had agreed, the groom's clan gathered one stone axe head, two beads, and Rp 50,000. When this was given to the bride's clan, the bride came to live with the groom, and there was no civil or church ceremony. The first gift of food was given at this time by collecting food on the spot. Now gardens are planted for the next gifts of food, and the final event is the transfer of the rest of the bride wealth. In another a sera marriage, the bride wealth was given first, the 'tying the skirt' ceremony was held next, and then the 'hungry food' was eaten, followed by a church wedding. The return gifts of food were to be given later.

3. **Myéte yowe marriage.** The third type of marriage is the 'going-to-the-groom's-house' (do myéte yowe) type. This is where the bride and groom have struck up a friendship, and they want to be married. They do not want to wait for the formal agreement by their parents, or perhaps the bride's parents have said no to the groom's father. She simply goes to his house, and they start living together. A suitable show of 'anger' or 'grief' is shown by the groom's father, and then all want to see how the marriage will work out. In some cases, they wait until the couple have had as many as four children; and then the two clans negotiate a transfer of bride wealth.

4. **Miréte aramaye doku marriage.** The fourth type is the 'forceful taking of a bride' (mirete aramaye doku). The forceful taking of a bride may have come about because a girl betrothed by her parents was reluctant to be married or because the man simply desired the girl. This type of marriage is now no longer practiced.

In looking at this marriage process, we see that a lot of effort is put into it. Most people from each of two clans are involved. Many help to gather the bride wealth, and just as many assist in planting gardens or in making sago for the return food. As many people as want to attend the various ceremonies do so, especially the all night dances. The Tabla clearly regard a marriage as a major event.

Dyadic exchange

The exchange system operates between quite a number of dyads. The main dyads are male cross-cousins, man's sister's son and mother's brothers, brother and sister, man's sister's husband and wife's brother, daughter's husband and wife's father, and man's daughter's son and man's mother's father.

Either member of the dyad may initiate an exchange, though giving of bride wealth usually initiates exchanges. Money always goes in one direction, food in the other. The parties involved are listed in Figure 9. Those on the left always give axe heads, beads, and money to those on the right.

Figure 9. Tabla exchange dyads.

receives food ↔ receives bride wealth			
démso	mPCSm(G)	↔	démso mSPCm(G)
desang	mCSm(G)	↔	desang mSPm(G)
syo	xmCm(G)	↔	uai xmPm(G)
doto	xmPCm(G)	↔	doto xmPCm(G)
doti	xmCCm(G)	↔	sese xmPPm(G)
méngke	mPCf(G)	↔	wéke fPCm(G)
éneng	xmPf(G)	↔	yéi xfCm(G)

In addition to these primary dyads where exchanges are most common, there are a large number of other potential givers and receivers. These can be summed up as follows: In dyadic exchange, where ego and alter are linked by a female in direct lineal ascent to ego, alter is a potential recipient of bride wealth.

The food given in these exchanges is the same as that in marriage exchanges, but because there is usually only one stone axe head, or one bead, or just one of each, pork is not given.

There are a number of specific occasions on which bride wealth is so given. If a man's mother's brother's son is to be married, then a man's sister's husband would help with the bride wealth. Other occasions for giving are:

1. When a child is having a birthday party. There may be considerable expense involved in buying food and drink for a large party; and one of the dyad members listed above helps out by giving some money, but not axe heads or beads.

2. When there is a party to celebrate the completion of a house or some other project. The finishing of a large work project calls for a large party and considerable expense to the owner. A man may therefore receive bride wealth from kinsmen to help cover the cost.

3. On the occasion of the death of an individual, money is paid to that person's mother's clan. The reason given is that that child has come from the mother's womb, and therefore originated with that clan, and payment is made to compensate for the loss of the offspring. Payment is always made, regardless of the age of the person. Normally Rp100,00, two stone axe heads, and three beads are given (one each of the apa, tuwa, and nato types).

It is also possible for a person to initiate an exchange without there being any special occasion for it. Bride wealth or food may be returned months or even years later. When one man caught a leatherback turtle, he gave it to his father's sister's son, initiating an exchange with food. The system must allow for this so that when a large supply of food suddenly becomes available, a man may immediately give it away.

DYADIC BEHAVIOR

We have outlined dyadic exchanges, but dyadic interaction does not end there. There are many other responsibilities apart from the obligation to reciprocate in exchange.

As has already been seen, a sister may help her brother with bride wealth, and a girl's brother receives bride wealth when she gets married. The brother has a special protective relationship to his sister throughout her life, and an affectionate one. If the girl's father is deceased, the brother, particularly the elder brother, negotiates her marriage. On the day of the wedding ceremony itself, he sits with the boy's parents at the wedding reception, representing the father. The relationship is always one of mutual assistance. If a woman has a dispute with her husband, she may move to her brother's home.

Father and son have a fairly close relationship, but perhaps not so affectionate as some others. Father is often the disciplinarian. He beats his son if he sees fit. He is also an authority figure in that he makes most of the decisions in village life. The son is expected to help in garden work. This is where he learns much of what he needs in later life, working alongside his father. In a fishing clan, Indéi for example, the father teaches his son how to make a canoe and, in particular, how to decorate it. The father negotiates marriage for his son, usually along with his (the father's) brothers.

One man told me that his real father would not tell him the history of the clan. This training is given by a father's brother. There are indications, then, that relationships vary with close kinsmen called 'father'. Sometimes the father and his brother live together, but more often they live in separate houses. Contact with father's brother thus is not as close or as constant. The nuclear family is the smallest economic unit, so that father-son is the closer economic relationship, though father's brother cooperates on many projects.

We can briefly summarize the relationship of brothers as one of continued cooperation, though there is not the same affection between brothers as exists between a brother and sister.

The grandchild-grandparent relationship is very friendly. The grandparent, particularly the grandfather, often names a grandchild. In households consisting of three generations, a grandparent often looks after a small child. The child is taken to the beach to play. This is more often the role of grandfather since grandmother is occupied with housework. From the earliest days then, affection is built between the two. Later in life, there is mutual cooperation, and the elderly are always respected.

Father's sister is referred to by a special term, and has a close relationship with her brother's child. As outlined above, sister helps her brother. This extends to brother's children, once again a relationship of mutual cooperation. Male cross-cousins in turn, have a relationship of mutual assistance.

In most ethnographic material relating to New Guinea (for example, Stringer 1973), writers have emphasized the importance of the relationship between a man's mother's brother and his sister's son. This relationship is likewise regarded as important by the Tabla. One man has summed up the relationship as one of 'affectionate chest', or even more simply, and loosely, they love each other. A man is expected to help his mother's brother in many ways. He may assist in a number of work projects, such as clearing land for gardens, making a garden fence, clearing undergrowth from around coconut trees, pounding sago, or house building. He often lives for a time with his mother's brother. Knowing that a man usually goes to the house of his mother's brother to work, I once asked a young girl if she went to live with her mother's brother to help with housework. (She had gone there for nine months.) She said, "No, I didn't go to work, just to live there." The answer and her manner told me, "Why not? He's my mother's brother!"

As outlined above, there is an exchange commitment between these two. But it is possible for mother's brother to go much further than just to return food to sister's son. One young man assured me that his mother's brother had promised him an outboard motor. This is a considerable gift. This would probably be regarded as the closest of the relationships outlined here. It is the degree of assistance and its continuity that makes the relationship unique.

Some affinal relationships are considered important too, and like many of the others, they are based on mutual cooperation. Brother-in-law and father/son-in-law are self-reciprocal terms as outlined above, and the help given is reciprocal too. Apart from exchanges, these people help each other with major work projects. The affine is a friend gained, and one upon whom a man may call for help.

FINAL WORD

In this paper I have outlined the social structure, the kinship system, and the exchange system of the Tabla. The people identify themselves with various groups and form close ties between clans. My approach to the kinship system has been genealogical. This has helped to understand the strict exogamy rules of the Tabla, and to see how this group is male dominated--patrilineal, patrilocal, and patriarchal. The Tabla exchange system and dyadic relationships are governed by the kinship system.

Kinship is the framework for the social activities of the Tabla, and exchange is the main means whereby individuals develop and maintain mutually beneficial friendships.

NOTE

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