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KWERBA
BERIK
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SAWI

Kwerba View of the Supernatural World

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UNCEN-SIL

IKTHISAR

Dalam makalah ini saya menyajikan deskripsi perbedaan mahluk-mahluk halus (roh-roh) yang merupakan sebagian dari pandangan masyarakat Kwerba tentang dunia.

Mahluk yang paling penting dalam sistem kepercayaan orang Kwerba adalah Sang Pencipta, Marac. Cerita-cerita dan keberanian dari pahlawan-pahlawan rakyat **Yawe, Merne, dan Came** diketahui dengan baik dan dianggap sangat Penting oleh rakyat. Para pendiri suku disebut **Cacar. Cacar** dan mitos tentang **Cacar** dianggap sangat keramat. Setiap marga mempunyai **Cacar** sendiri dengan simbol keramat yang disebut **asiar.** Nenek moyang dan cerita tentang mereka dibagi dalam **Nuweeric,** nenek moyang yang sudah silam, dan **Asarsare,** nenek moyang yang baru. Nenek moyang yang baru dianggap sangat penting dari pada nenek moyang yang sudah silam.

Masyarakat Kwerba berpendapat bahwa empedu, **kwatiis,** adalah pusat perasaan. Roh orang mati disebut **waria. Waria** dianggap sebagai penipu dan pendengki.

Roh-roh di hutan disebut **iisibec**. Beberapa **iisibec** dianggap pendengki sementara yang lain dianggap ramah dan tidak berbahaya. Dalam pandangan orang Kwerba, alam semesta dibagi dalam beberapa lapisan dengan setiap jenis roh menempati lapisan yang berbeda.

Orang yang berkomunikasi dengan dunia roh disebut **weri** .

Kwerba View of the Supernatural World

My wife and I have lived among the Kwerba people in the village of Aurimi on a semi-permanent basis for the past 10 years, during which we have studied their language and culture.[2] As we developed friendships with the people and began to understand their language, it became very evident that their thinking and way of living is strongly influenced by unseen spiritual beings. Thus I have undertaken a study of these spiritual beings that form the basis of the people's thinking about the supernatural world. The beliefs that the Kwerba have concerning spiritual beings form the basis of a religous system that affects their daily activities and lifestyle.

In order to learn about the supernatural world, I interviewed Semuel Serikenam over a period of several months with. He is an initiated[3] man who is about 30 years old. Also interviewed were Yakobus Serikenam and Yakob Weraso. Discussions were held with several of the traditional leaders to get additional information on specific topics. The data gathered in these interviews and discussions provided much information about both the spiritual beings that inhabit the belief system of the Kwerba and the rituals that are undertaken to interact with these spiritual beings. The focus of this paper will be on the various spiritual beings that are important to the Kwerba, rather than on the rituals.

After the data was gathered, it was shared with a group of Kwerba men of various ages for their input. They were very helpful in classifying the various types of beings into certain categories. The outline of this paper and the analysis that follows is based on that discussion.

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2   The Kwerba are a semi-nomadic hunting and gathering society. About 1,500 Kwerba people live in small hamlets in the Sarmi interior between the Tor and the Memberamo Rivers.

3   Much of the information presented here is taught to young men during a period of initiation. Traditionally young men were initiated at fifteen years of age. The young men are taken to a **kun** house or a house away from the village where they are instructed for a period of about two months. This initiation period is called **nlinamor tiikanam** which means "breaking the child". During this period, they are taught the responsibilities of men in the Kwerba culture. They are taught about the various spiritual beings in the Kwerba universe and how they are to interact with them. They are taught about the various rituals that they have to perform to be successful in hunting and warfare. In recent years, not all young men have undergone formal initiation. However, many of them have learned many of the rituals and information from the older men informally.

This group of men divided the spirit world into the following categories: Marac, the creator god; **anabar**, the great ancestors of the past; **waria**, the spirits of the dead; and **iisibec**, the jungle spirits. A person who communicates with the spirit world is called a **weri**.

MARAC, 'the creator god'

The Kwerba people are semi-nomadic hunters and gatherers who live in small groups. According to Mantovani (1984:49-61) it is very common for hunting and gathering societies to have a Supreme Being that is considered the Father and Creator.

The Kwerba people consider **Marac** to be the creator of the world. Everyone interviewed made a strong distinction between **Marac** and the other cultural heroes. The word **marac** apparently used to have the meaning of "great" or "large". The word is no longer used in this sense. Thus **Marac** presently has the meaning of "The Great One." **Marac** is a name that can be used by all the clans. Women also are permitted to say the name of **Marac**. However, each clan has its own secret names for **Marac** which only the initiated men can know about and use. The most important secret name for **Marac** means "the one that causes the fetus to grow."

Marac is sometimes called **Titaka** which means "father". Those who have had contact with Christianity, equate **Marac** with the Christian God. Each clan has it's own version of the **Marac** myth. The basic story is as follows:

Marac made the earth. A long time ago he was all alone on the earth. There were no other people. Then he gave children to live on the earth. He saw that his cousin Abi and his children were having a very difficult time living on the earth. The sun was very hot and burned down on them every day. There were no trees for shade and there was no rain. The people tried to make houses out of mud. They tried to eat mud for sago. Then Marac had pity on them. He planted the ironwood trees first. Later he planted the other trees. He made all the animals to live in the jungle. He made the rain. He created the streams of water. He made the fish, shrimp, and turtles. There was no fire, so Marac taught them how to make fire so that they could cook their food. Abi was still eating dirt, so Marac told him not to eat dirt. He gave sago for people to eat. Marac gave the nightime so that people can rest. After planting the trees, he made the birds to live in the trees. He made leeches and mosquitos and told them to bite people. He told them this because Abi did not listen. He also made snakes. He told each animal where it was to live. The animals were to live in the jungle. The birds were divided into ground birds and tree birds. He saw that people were hot and thirsty, so he gave them coconuts to drink. The people tried chewing areca nut with ashes, but it did not taste good. So Marac gave people shells to make lime powder with. The people asked Marac what they could eat. Marac said that they could eat the animals of the jungle. They could eat the vegetables in the jungle. They were not to eat trees. However, they could eat the fruit of the breadfruit trees.

Marac told people how to live and what they were to do. He told them that they should not do bad things. He told them that they should not steal; lie; or take another man's wife into the jungle. He told them that they were to live carefully. He taught them how to hunt and gather in the jungle. He told them that they were to take wives. The wives would then become pregnant and have children. He told them the regulations that they were to follow before and after childbirth. He told them they were to carve bows and arrows. He told them to make arm bands and leg bands.

Marac made the jungle spirits, tree spirits, and the water spirits. At that time there were no waria, spirits of the dead.

Marac climbed into a senau tree and sat on a branch. He again repeated the commandments of things that they were not suppose to do. He told them that they were not to commit sorcery. He told them that he would send the burs bird early every morning. This would be a reminder that they are to keep the commandments when they hear the burs bird calling every morning.

After giving the commandments, Marac climbed the senau tree and entered heaven.

The **Marac** myth explains to the people the creation of the world as they know it. **Marac** taught them how to make use of the various foods and things that are found in the jungle. The commandments given by **Marac** form the basis of how the people are to interact with one another in their society.

The Kwerba believe that **Marac** went far away when he left the earth. Although he is not overly concerned with the daily lives of the people, he does watch and punish those who do wrong. He will shorten a person's life for wrong doing. The Kwerba believe it is very important to call on **Marac** to help with childbirth. **Marac** causes children to grow strong and healthy. If a child hears one of the secret names for **Marac**, he will not grow.

ANABAR, 'the great leaders of the past'

The people that lived in the distant past are called **anabar**. The word **anabar** means "bald people", and refers to the fact that they are very old. The **anabar** can be divided into four categories: mythological folk heroes: people who lived in the distant past, who are called **nuweeric**; founding ancestors of the present clans, who are called **cacar**; and recent ancestors, who are called **asarsare**.

The mythological folk heroes

The mythological folk heroes are powerful people who lived at the beginning of time when the present world came into being. The most important heroes are **Yawe, Came, Ceumwe,** and **Merne**. Each clan also has it's own mythological founding ancestor. I originally classified **Marac** as a mythological folk hero, but the people wanted to keep **Marac** in a separate classification as the Creator God.

Yawe

Yawe is considered to be one of the most important and powerful of the mythological heroes. She was a female cannibal and built the first **kun**. The **kun** is the traditional sacred cult house where the people have their sacred ceremonies and dances. **Yawe** taught the people how to build the **kun**, and the ceremonies that are to be observed. She also taught them how to make many of the material things of their traditional culture. **Acau** was her husband. He made the first sacred flutes. **Yawe** never died. The stone that is her head can still be seen by the falls on the headwaters of the Wera river. Because **Yawe** never died, she is considered very powerful. Thus, when the people build the **kun** and perform the various ceremonies, they have to be very careful to do everything correctly so as not to offend her. The major focus of the **kun** ceremonies is a feast where they celebrate fertility. The people hunt and gather in the jungle for six months. Then they invite the neighboring villages to come for the feast. The people feed the visitors large amounts of food to show them the great abundance of food that they have. **Yawe** is very happy with the feast, and she continues to make sure that the pigs are fertile.

Thus **Yawe** and the **kun** feasts are still a very important part of the present day Kwerba culture. Through the celebration of the **kun** feasts, **Yawe** has much influence on the Kwerba even at the present time.

Came

The **Came** myth is probably the most popular Kwerba story. **Came** was a giant female cannibal who decimated the population between the Tor and Memberamo Rivers. She was greatly feared by the people. She made up many songs which she sang to the accompaniment of the **sauwi**, a hand drum. Eventually the people were able to band together and defeat her. They had a great feast to celebrate their victory and to eat her. They chopped off her head, but it kept singing songs. Because she died, **Came** is not considered to be very powerful or dangerous. The most popular feast among the Kwerba is the **Sauwi** feast where they dance and sing the Came songs to the accompaniment of the **Sauwi** hand drums. In days past, the people had a **Sauwi** feast whenever the men returned victorious from a fight with a body to be eaten. Presently, the people have a **Sauwi** feast whenever they have a happy occasion to celebrate. They told me that they liked the **Sauwi** feasts, as there does not have to be elaborate preparations. They do not have to be concerned with specific procedures or rituals for a **Sauwi** feast since **Came** is dead. Somehow, the dancing of the **Sauwi** helps the sago and jungle foods to grow. The **Came** song and dances have spread to the neighboring language groups; and the **Sauwi** feast has become important in these other areas too. **Came** and the **Sauwi** feasts are important to the people because they symbolize the power that they have over their enemies.

Ceumwe

Ceumwe is Came's younger sister. She was not a cannibal. She is now the goddess of the underworld where the spirits of the dead live. Thus the people now classify her as a waria. Because of this classification, we will discuss her activities in the section on waria.

Merne

Merne is another important mythological ancestor. He is the founder of the Merne clan. Many great deeds are attributed to him. Although Marac was the original creator of the world, Merne was the agent that made the coastal swamps and created the ocean. Thus there seems to be some overlapping of the roles of Marac and Merne. This discrepancy does not seem to bother the Kwerba people. The Kwerba are an inland people, located about 25 miles from the coast. In previous times, the Merne clan was closer to the coast than the other clans. They may have migrated from the coast in the very far past.[4] The Merne myth is probably the Merne clan specific version of the creation story, and probably has been adapted by the people to explain the existence of the ocean. The full length version of the Merne myth is important because it records how Merne ancestors interacted with the other clan ancestors. Some of the ancestors of the other clans are mentioned in this myth, as well as many place names in the Kwerba territory. The Merne myth shows how the ancient ancestors interacted with each other in times past, and the manner in which interclan relationships are to be carried out in the present. Merne is given a prominent place in the myths of other clans. The Ewani myth of the Ewani clan is extensive, but over half of the myth is concerned with Merne.

Cacar, 'the founding fathers of the Clans'

Just as the Merne clan has a myth about their founding ancestors, so each of the other Kwerba clans have a myth about their ancestors. These ancestors are called Cacar. Although each clan has it's own myth about the founding ancestors of that clan, the founding ancestors of the other clans are often mentioned in the myth. As mentioned above, this provides an explanation of how the different clans are to interact with each other. Most of these ancestors had human skins, and thus lived as people. One clan has ancestors who had snake skins. A couple of clans have ancestors who had animal skins. When these ancestors became very old and bald, they took on stone skins and can be seen today in the old village sites. These sacred ancestral stones are called aiar. The initiated men still visit these stones regularly, and perform ceremonies to honor the ancestors. The aiar help the people to be succesful in hunting when they have been honored. The men have shown me the aiar stones of the Weraso and Serikenam clans. Each clan except Merne has it's own ancestral stones at the old village sites. The fact that the Merne myth does not have a normal ending, and that they do not know where the ancestral stones are, is a great concern to

4   The Isirawa and the Sobei language groups, which border on the Kwerba on the North Coast of Irian Jaya, have clans with the name of Merne.

all those that I talked to. They often ask if I know where Merne went, "Did he go to the east or west?" One of their concerns may be that they can not honor this powerful ancestor properly because they do not know where his stone is.

The clan is the most important social unit among the Kwerba. Each clan has its own myth of how it's particular ancestors acted and interacted with the other clans. Each clan has a secret sacred symbol of a plant or animal that was revealed to the ancestors in a dream. This sacred symbol is called Asiar. Each clan has secret clan names which only the inititated men know and can use for specific situations. For example, the secret name for the Ewani clan will protect one from arrows if he whispers it during a battle. The aiar stones form the function of providing the clan with a visible link to the ancestors of the past.

Nuweeric, 'the people of long ago'

There are many stories and tales of the people who lived long ago. The people in these tales are called nuweeric. The stories are about the places these people visited and the things that they did. Many of these stories end with a moral, or an explanation of why people do certain things. They are different than the mythological figures in that they do not form an epistemological basis for the existance of the world or clans. The morals explain how people should relate one to another, or the rationale for a certain taboo or practice. Another characteristic of these stories is that they are more realistic and true to life, while the mythological stories are filled with supernatural events of the heroes. For example, the distances that are travelled in a day by the nuweeric in a story is equivalent to what it would take to travel that distance today. Another difference in the stories is that the nuweeric were just people who lived a long time ago. They are not accorded any special status, nor do they have rituals performed in their honor. In this way they are different than the mytholgical and clan ancestors previously described in this paper, or the asarsare to be described in the next section.

Asarsare, 'the recent ancestors'

Asarsare literally means great-grandparents. However it is usually used in a broader sense referring to the ancestors of recent times. Certain ceremonies are performed to honor this particular group of ancestors. For example, if the sacred flutes are not played, the asarsare would not be happy.

WARIA, 'the spirits of the dead'

The center of emotions for the Kwerba is the gallbladder, called kwatiis. A person's shadow called a kwekwec lives in the kwatiis. Each living person is given breath, umbau, by Marac at birth. When a person dies, his umbau returns to Marac. The kwekwec leaves the body through the head and becomes a waria. The waria then enters a hole in the ground and goes to the underground world. Waria are the spirits of the dead. The waria live in an underground city called iisu arabatan.

The waria live very good lives in this underground city, for they have everything and lack nothing. There is a lot of food to be eaten including canned goods. There are plenty of material goods for everyone such as axes, bush knifes, clothes, and even cars. There are many waria in this place.

The waria are able to leave this underground city and come up through holes in the ground to deceive people. They can take on the appearance of bats, rats, or other animals. The waria especially enjoy scaring people. A waria becomes stronger and more dangerous the longer a person is dead. The waria of people who have been dead for a long time are able to help out with divination ceremonies when someone has died of sorcery.

There is a certain type of small waria that comes out of the fingernails and toenails of the middle fingers and middle toes of a dead person who has not yet been buried. These waria go about the village trying to scare people. The people consider these waria to be deceitful and tricksters. They might pick up an item such as a knife, and then place it somewhere else so that the person can't find it.

Ceumwe, 'the goddess of the dead'

Ceumwe was mentioned in a previous section on mythological ancestors. She was a younger sister of Came. She is now considered a waria. She has been the center of many cargo cult activities in the past. She has apppeared to people in dreams and promised them material things. There are songs about her and her promises to deliver material things from the underworld. Because she has never delivered these material things that she promised, she is now considered a waria who is always deceiving the people.

Satan

Those who have had contact with Christian teaching consider Satan to be a waria because he is always trying to deceive people.

IISIBEC, 'the spirits of the jungle'

Iisibec means "snake people" or "jungle people". The iisibec are beings that inhabit the jungle, rivers, mountains and trees of the Kwerba territory. These beings are everywhere but usually can not be seen. Some of these beings are helpful and beneficial, many are dangerous, and some are benign. These beings have much influence on the Kwerba people. Every time a person goes into the jungle, he must take the presence of these beings into account so as not to offend them. These beings can be divided into the following categories: iciriim, powerful tree spirits; nanowar, benign tree spirits; warabec, water spirits; and iisibec, ground spirits. Iisibec specifically refers to ground spirits, although it can be used generically to refer to the above spirits as a general category. In the rest of this section, the term iisibec will be used in it's specific sense as referring to the ground spirits.

Icirim ,' the powerful spirits of the trees'

Iciriim are powerful spirits that live in the bases of the jungle trees. The iciriim that live in the large tall trees, such as the sirac "milkwood" and kwariicau "ironwood" trees, are considered very powerful and dangerous. The iciriim that live in the abam and cawam trees are also considered powerful. The iciriim of the sirac trees are female and have straight hair. The iciriim of the kwariicau, abam, and cawam trees are male and have kinky hair. Initiated men can make alliances with the iciriim of these trees. Then the iciriim will help them to be successful in their hunting. The iciriim of these trees are especially dangerous to nursing children. When a woman goes into the jungle with her baby, she has to be very careful so as not to pass near or under one of these trees. If she does, the iciriim will become very angry. They will cause the child to get upset and cry. Often the iciriim will follow the child back to the village and haunt the child. The child will see the iciriim and scream. A person can not use the wood of these trees for firewood if a small child is in the house. Even the father has to be careful when he goes out into the jungle, so as not to pass near one of these trees.

Alliances with the iciriim

Men can make alliances with any of the iciriim of the trees mentioned above. However, the most common and powerful alliance is made with the iciriim of the sirac tree. The iciriim of the sirac tree is sometimes called siraciriim. The siraciriim take care of most of the pigs and other animals in the jungle. A man selects a certain sirac tree and marries the siraciriim of that tree. He visits with the siraciriim often, and brings gifts of tobacco and betel nuts. He promises to follow certain taboos. The siraciriim in return provides him with success in hunting. If a person does not follow the taboos, he will not be successful in hunting.

Although this alliance with the siraciriim is referred to as a marriage relationship, intercourse and offspring are not implied. The emphasis is on a reciprocal type of trading relationship.

Nanowar, ' the benign spirits of the trees'

Nanowar are spirits that live in the tree branches. The Kwerba believe they look like birds, but are really little people. They have different personalities but for the most part are considered benign and harmless. They just exist in the tree branches.

Warabec, 'the spirits of the water'

Warabec or bitubec are spirits that live in the water. Some are male, and some are female. They may appear as turtles, fish, or crocodiles, but they are really people who live in the water. All streams, rivers, and lakes have warabec living in them. There is a special small warabec at the head of each river, and also a special giant warabec at the mouth of each river. These two warabec formed the course that the river flows. Women have to be careful when bathing, so as not to tempt the warabec. A warabec will cause a river to flood,

and carry away a woman that it wants to seduce. **Warabec** can also cause a river to flood when they are angry at a certain person. People have **warabec** agemates that live in the water. A person can form an alliance with a **warabec**, and the **warabec** will visit him in dreams and also whistle at him.

Iisibec,' the spirits of the ground'

Iisibec are spirit beings that live in the ground. They have existed since the beginning of time. They appear in different sizes and shapes. Some **iisibec** are like people, while others are like animals. When a person sees an **iisibec**, it is like steam; one sees it and then it vanishes. Some are harmless while others are very dangerous. They can take a person's gallbadder, **kwatiis**, so that the person becomes dizzy and loses his mind. Many of them can cause people and dogs to get lost in the jungle. After losing them in the jungle, they lead their victims to their hideouts and eat them. The **iisibec** can take on the skin of a cassawary, enticing the hunter to follow it to its' hideout and thus be trapped. They inhabit mountains, caves, waterholes, swamps, leaning trees, and holes in the ground. Some of the **iisibec** are male and others are female. Some of the **iisibec** have families with children.

Iisibec can say "Raaa!" to a child and scare him. They can pinch a child, make a child sick, or give a child headaches. A mother must carry or hold a small child at all times so that the **iisibec** can not harm the child.

When a person becomes sick, the people try to find out which **iisibec** caused the sickness and call on it for healing. Whenever a certain **iisibec** is called on for healing through magic done by blowing, the patient and the healer must observe certain taboos for about two months. Each **iisibec** has a different set of regulations and taboos that must be followed. People do not form alliances with the **iisibec**.

Some of the most important **iisibec** are the following:

Secam is the **iisibec** at the Newari mountain near Metaweja, west of Aurimi. He has the appearance of a snake. He is considered very powerful and dangerous. His name is used frequently in curses and healing magic. When something unusual happens or someone injures himself, that person says **"Secam"** or **"Secam makon"** meaning, "May **Secam** eat the person who caused this misfortune to happen." When someone closes the entrance to his garden or house, he requests **Secam** to cause any trespasser to become ill. The people say that **Secam** is considered so powerful, that his name is also used throughout the Sarmi interior by neighboring language groups.

Nabanec lives somewhere on the upper Ferkami River. When he is angry he causes storms and thunder. The people are very afraid of him.

Ekwa is a dangerous **iisibec** that lives in the swamps.

Korabec also known as **Sarabec** lives in the ground around a certain type of edible jungle tuber. He is considered extremely dangerous and powerful. His name and the associated rituals are used in healing only when there is no other hope for the patient. There are twenty secret names that are used in the **Korabec** rituals. **Korabec** and the associated rituals have been introduced into the area from the outside in the last ten years.

The **iisibec** at the Nuwari mountain northeast of Aurimi is also considered very dangerous. **Iisibec** are found throughout the jungle in the Kwerba area. The people said that there are many **iisibec**, but that they know the names of only a few of them.

KWERBA UNIVERSE

The Kwerba view the world as consisting of a series of six layers stacked one on top of another, like pancakes sitting on a plate. The sky world or heavens is divided into three layers. The earth world is also divided into three layers. The top layer of the earth world consists of the ground, and everything that walks and lives on the ground. The waters that form the rivers and lakes are a middle layer. There is a subterranean world that forms the bottom layer.

Marac, the Creator God, is far away in the highest heaven, called **unsa oitan**. There he can watch over everything and see everything that goes on even though he is far away. The sun and moon also travel through this heaven.

Rain and large clouds are in the second heaven called **bosim**. There is a large lake called **Kwamiri** that rain falls out of. Certain birds live in and fly through the second heaven.

The lowest heaven is where birds and **nanowar** live and includes the treetops. From man's viewpoint in this world he sees the **nanowar** as birds, but to those living in the lowest heaven, they are really little people.

The physical world that humans experience is called the **iisu matan**. This world is where people and animals live. It is the stage for the happenings of this life. The **iciriim** live in this world at the bottom of the trees. The **iisibec** also live in this world in holes in the ground. They are able to visit the underworld through these holes in the ground.

The waters of the streams and rivers form a layer between **iisu matan** and the underworld. The streams contain fish, shrimp, crocodiles, turtles and also other waterlife. They also contain the **warabec** which take on the appearance of these water creatures. Although the **warabec** are really people, they are seen as wearing the skins of water creatures. They are able to travel to the underground world where they appear as people. Thus they are able to travel from one layer of the universe to the next.

The underground world, **iisu arabatan**, is home to the **waria** as described in the section above on **waria**. The **waria** can travel up to the upper world by going through holes in the ground.

Table 1. **KWERBA UNIVERSE**

3 levels of heaven

Highest heaven **unsa oitan**

Marac lives here and watches over everything. Sun and moon pass through here.

Second heaven **bosim**

large lake **Kwamiri** from which rain falls. Certain birds live and fly here.

Lowest heaven unsa.

birds and **nanowar** live here.

3 levels of earth

Upper world **iisu matan**

People and animals live here. **licirim** live at bottom of trees, **iisibec** live in holes in ground and visit underworld through holes

Waters **bitu**

Waters form the streams and rivers between ground and underworld. **Warabec**, water spirits live here.

Underground world **iisu arabatan.**

Waria live here and travel to upper world through holes in ground.

Although humans are limited to experiences on this world, the various spirit beings described above have the ability to move from one layer of the universe to another. The Kwerba explain it as follows:

It is like a turtle who swims in the water. He can come out of the water world and walk on the ground. The turtle can go back into the water world and go into a hole or underwater cavern. From there he can pass into the underground world. The same thing is true of the **warabec.** *They can come up into this world from the water world, or they can pass into the underground world from the water world. Thus, we as people in this world, when we look up into the sky, do not see the* **nanowar.** *It is the same as when a fish in the water looks up into our world from under water and can not see anything clearly.*

The **nanowar** beings and the **warabec**[5] beings do the same thing in their worlds as humans do in this world. They have families and go out into the jungles of their respective worlds to hunt and gather. Thus they live much as humans do. However, we can not see them in their worlds. The **nanowar** and **warabec** are usually indistinguishable from normal birds and water creatures. There is no prohibition or fear concerning the hunting and eating of birds or water creatures. However, if a person shoots a creature which is actually a spirit being, the spirit being will reprimand him. Sometimes if this contact is with a **warabec**, it might be the beginning of a dialogue and a series of meetings between the person and the **warabec**. During these meetings, the **warabec** will pass messages and information to the person. The human and the **warabec** become partners in an alliance between the two worlds.

Weri, 'spirit possessed people'

A person who tries to maintain regular contact with the spirit world is called a **weri**. A person who has lost a wife or beloved child tries to maintain contact with the **waria** of that person after death. Although the desire to maintain some contact with the departed loved one is not uncommon among the Kwerba, the **weri** actively pursues contact with the spirit world. There are only four **weri** in the Kwerba area. The **weri** are often involved in cargo cult activities. One of these **weri**, Simon Sewanso lives in the village of Aurimi. When his first wife died, he was extremely angry and upset. He went to his wife's grave and became possessed. Later he met the **waria** of his wife on a trail in the jungle and talked to her. Since then he has visited the grave often and has had many dreams. He claims to have had con-

5   During initiation, the young men are taught the secret names of **Marac, anabar, iisibec,** and **warabec.** More information about the spirit world is given to them at the time of marriage, and some later in life. For example, the knowledge about Korabec, which was introduced in the last ten years, has been slowly passed from one person to another along kinship lines. All men are able to use this knowledge and the secret names in healing rituals. Women have a general knowledge of the details or secret names. There is one very old woman who has been told some of this knowledge, and she is involved in healing rituals. Since she is far beyond child-bearing age, this knowledge is not dangerous to her or her offspring.

tact with the **waria, iciriim, nanowar,** and **warabec.** He has visited the **iisu arabatan,** the underground world of the **wari,** in his dreams. There he has seen how the **waria** live in luxury with their many possessions. Simon was once considered very powerful. He has made many predictions about the arrival of material goods as a result of his dreams and contacts with the **waria.** However, none of his prophecies ever materialized. Thus the people now consider him to be eccentric and ignore him.

SUMMARY

In this paper I have investigated and briefly described the different spiritual beings that are a part of the worldview of the Kwerba people. The most important spirit being for the Kwerba is **Marac,** the creator god. The stories and exploits of **Yawe, Merne,** and **Came** are well known. These folk heroes are considered important by the people. The founding fathers of the clans are called **cacar.** The **cacar** and the myths about the **cacar** are considered very sacred. Each clan has its own **cacar** along with sacred symbols called **asiar.** The ancestors and the stories about them are divided into **nuweeric,** the ancestors of long ago, and **asarsare,** recent ancestors. The recent ancestors are also considered to be important.

The Kwerba consider the **kwatiis,** gall bladder, as the seat of emotions and the place where a man's spirit resides. The spirits of the dead are called **waria.** The **waria** are considered deceitful and malevolent. The spirits of the jungle are called **iisibec.** Some of the **iisibec** are considered malevolent, while others are considered benign. The Kwerba people view the universe as divided into six different layers with different types of spirit beings occupying different layers.

A person who communicates with the spirit world is called a **weri.**

APPENDIX

A synopsis Of the Merne myth

This myth is about Merne, whom the people consider a great cultural hero. The people consider it to be a very important myth. Many of the characters in the story are considered to be ancestors of the present day clans in the Kwerba area. For example, the main characters in the myth, Merne and Ewani, are considered to be the first ancestors of the Merne and Ewani clans. This myth is very long, so I will present a brief summary outline of the main events of the myth. This version of the Merne myth was told by a member of the Ewani clan.

MERNE

by Soleman Ewani

The ancestral village was Tisarom. Ewani was the younger brother. Merne was the older brother. They chopped down the Tis tree. Only the two of them came into being there. Suddenly Ewani's foot had sores. Merne was strong and stayed at the Siabeerabe mountain. Merne made the ocean at that time in the beginning. He cut down some trees, and then made a small house that was like a bird blind. On another day, the salt water was used up. He used up all of the salt water around the Sarma area and the Bora-bora area. He used up all the salt throughout the region all the way up to the Memberamo River. He cut up a snake. The younger brother saw this. Merne said, "You be quiet. This is my work." Ewani returned to Tisarom, for he was a good person. Ewani thought, "What can I do. I am all alone here."

Then Ewani brought the Cabinso tribe from Bora-bora to Tisarom. Two people arrived. Ewani brought the Mamawiso tribe too. They were all happy together.

Merne had a lot of work to do. He went from the Upper Tor river to the mouth of the Memberamo River. He planted sago and other things. He had two wives. He told them to dip out salt water. He rolled up some sago.

Then the earth ogre stole Merne's two wives. So Merne picked up his arrows, and fought the earth ogre over the women. They fought there for three days until the arrows were gone. Then Merne left without his wives, and returned to Ewani. Merne said, "You are big, you stay here. I am going to the waterfall."

He went to Sarmi. He met Weraso. Wherever Merne stepped in the swamps, sago sprang up. Then he made the Ocean. He threw things into the ocean, and there were waves. He and his dog also danced and made waves in the ocean.

Merne gathered the people together, and they made a sacred kun *house. It became a church. Merne then went to the Memberamo area. Wherever he threw the wrappings from his sago packages, sago grew.*

That is the story. Now Merne is lost, we do not know where he went. My talk goes to here.

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MOMINA[1] SPIRIT COSMOLOGY

Les Henson

RBMU

IKTHISAR

Makalah ini menguraikan beberapa hal yang penting dari kosmologi roh atau arwah suku Mosmina. Suku ini mendiami daerah dataran rendah pegunungan tengah Irian Jaya bagian selatan di kabupaten Jayawijaya, antara sungai Catalina di sebelah barat dan sungai Steenboom di sebelah timur. Jumlah jiwa dalam suku ini ada sekitar 1000 orang.

Dalam makalah ini, penulis mengetengahkan beberapa bagian penting dalam sistem kosmologi arwah atau roh suku Momina.

Pertama adalah roh-roh atau arwah-arwah yang berada dalam dongeng dan dapat dibagi dalam tiga jenis, yaitu; dewa yang bertempat tinggal jauh dan tinggi di langit terakhir, para pendiri klan dan pahlawan kebudayaan.

Kedua adalah roh-roh atau arwah alam yang tinggal di pohon-pohon, di air dan di tanah/bumi. Ketiga adalah roh-roh atau arwah-arwah dari orang yang sudah mati dan dikelompokkan menjadi roh-roh yang baik dan jahat serta roh-roh yang jauh dan dekat.

Pada bagian terakhir dari makalah ini, penulis berbicara tentang dukun atau medium (perantara roh) yang disebut **Bateeneima mee nya'**. Dukun atau medium ini bisa laki-laki ataupun perempuan. Kadang-kadang dukun tersebut adalah suami isteri. Juga diuraikan tentang bagaimana proses menjadi dukun dan apa tugasnya. Ahli sihir walaupun tidak ada hubungan langsung dengan makalah ini, ditulis juga karena secara tidak langsung mempunyai hubungan dengan kesakitan dan kematian yang dalam hal ini ditangani oleh dukun atau medium tersebut.

Dalam setiap bagian yang diuraikan juga disertakan beberapa mitos suku Momina.

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[1]　The Momina (also called Momuna in other literature) are a group of approximately 1000 people located 10 to 20 miles south of the central Irian Jaya mountain range in the lowlands between the Catalina River to the west and Steenboom River to the east. They are semi-nomadic people, who engage in a minimal amount of agriculture. Traditionally they lived in small bands of up to 30 people. The first outside contact was made in 1974 by Regions Beyond Missionary Union International missionaries, which resultd in the author and his family going to live at Sumo in 1979.

Introduction

The epistemology of the Momina, like other Melanesians, is essentially religious. That is to say, they rely primarily on religious knowledge as the basis for their knowing and understanding the world in which they live. For the Momina the most important kind of knowledge is what Westerners would call 'Religious Knowledge'. While this is true, they do not live in a compartmentalized world of secular and sacred domains. Rather they have a holistic or non-dualistic worldview in which physical and spiritual realities dovetail (Whiteman, 1984:87-88). W. Flannery makes the same observation when she discusses Western and Melanesian cosmology:

A common theme in description of traditional Melanesian culture is the pervasiveness of the religious dimension. The Melanesian cosmological vision has been differentiated from the predominant Western one by pointing to the former's lack of sharp distinctions between the spheres of the 'sacred' and the 'secular', the 'spiritual' and the 'material'. (1978:57).

This was recently illustrated when the village was having a sports day in conjunction with election day celebrations. About 300 villagers were gathered around the high jump. They were cheering, shouting, and laughing as the participants made their attempts. One of the participants hesitated, and was about to give up when a crowd of men simultaneously shouted, "Go ahead and try, this is God's work." After that exhortation he attempted and made his jump successfully. Now for me, a secularized Westerner, this had nothing to do with God's work. It was a purely secular event. But for those Momina people, this was just as much God's work as preaching or healing.

A group of people meeting during a conference at Pattaya, Thailand in 1980, noted this same feature:

Traditional religionists rarely divide their world into sacred and secular domains. Rather their religion underlies and pervades all of life. (Thailand Report 1980:14).

Because of the difference between non-Melanesian and Melanesian worldviews, it is essential that outsiders understand the worldview of the people they have come to help. We must in fact be receptor-oriented. Whiteman (1984:63) says:

[One] is receptor-oriented when he as it were adopts the worldview of his partner and then re-examines and re-phrases his message in the light of the receptor's worldview.

In order to communicate effectively we must get "into the context" or worldview of the people, and our communication must be presented in terms and concepts that they will understand.

By worldview we mean the fundamental beliefs and values that underlie the whole of the whole of their culture (Thailand Report 1980:5).

The Melanesian worldview includes both the empirical and non-empirical realms. The empirical includes the natural environment, its economic resources, animals and human inhabitants. Those things which one can touch and see. The non-empirical part includes the spirit beings, impersonal occult forces, and sometimes totems.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the non-empirical aspects of worldview, in particular the spirit cosmology of the Momina people. This will include a description of the spirit beings as well as the religious specialists who function as mediators and/or communicators with the spirit world. Part of the religious specialists' function is to divine sorcery, so a brief description of sorcery is also included. From examining these aspects of Momina cosmology we can see that they have organized their beliefs to cover every aspect of their life as well as the rationale behind their beliefs.

According to Lawrence and Meggit (1965:8), spirit beings fall into three categories:

First there are autonomous spirit beings such as deities and culture heroes. Second, there are autonomous spirit beings who have no creative or regulative functions; these are tricksters, demons and pucks who wantonly cause annoyance or harm. Third, there are the spirits of dead who can be subdivided into the recent dead (ghosts or spirits of the dead) and the remote dead (ancestors, ancestral spirits of ancestral ghosts).

These categories are useful and shall be followed in this paper. However, each category has been renamed in order to more accurately define the spirit beings in the Momina spirit cosmological system. The renamed categories are as follows: First, mythical spirit-beings, which include a distant high god, clan founders and culture heroes. Second, nature spirits who live in trees, water and the earth. Third, spirits of departed dead, both good and bad, near and distant.

MYTHICAL SPIRIT-BEINGS.

First is a discussion of the two kinds of mythical spirit-beings. There is the distant high god **Botooma Rino Booto**, and then there are a number of clan founders and culture heroes. **Rooni Ko' Booto** is the creating father of the **Woin** clan. **Moneebea** is the introducer of sago. **Bwoo' Kibita** can become a turtle and is connected with the nature spirits. **Wetareetena** is a female culture hero about whom little is known. **Ron Ko' Booto** is not a clan founder, but a malevolent spirit who is the instigator of epidemics.

Then a discussion will follow of the two feasts in which these spirit-beings play a major part. The first is the **Koobo boo'** feast which is a unifying feast among several villages possibly coinciding with epidemics. Therefore **Ron Ko' Booto** plays a part in this feast. The next feast is the **Wo Wei** Feast or the killing of the pigs feast. At this feast payments are made. Bride payments as well as child payments for children born since the last feast was made.

Botooma Rino Booto, (distant high god)

Botooma Rino Booto exists in a class of his own. The people know very little about him, and what is known has been handed down to them by the ancestoral spirits (biro). There are no myths or legends associated with him. He is a somewhat mysterious figure who seems to be almost unknowable. He is regarded as high and distant and is the most powerful of all Momina spirit-beings, However, because of his distance and lack of knowledge about him, he plays little or no part in the daily lives of the people.

His abode is above the clouds where the Ke keeaeema mee nya' 'sky people' live, and below the canopy (rino) which is like an upturned saucer that encloses the sky (see fig. 1).

Figure 1. Momina World View
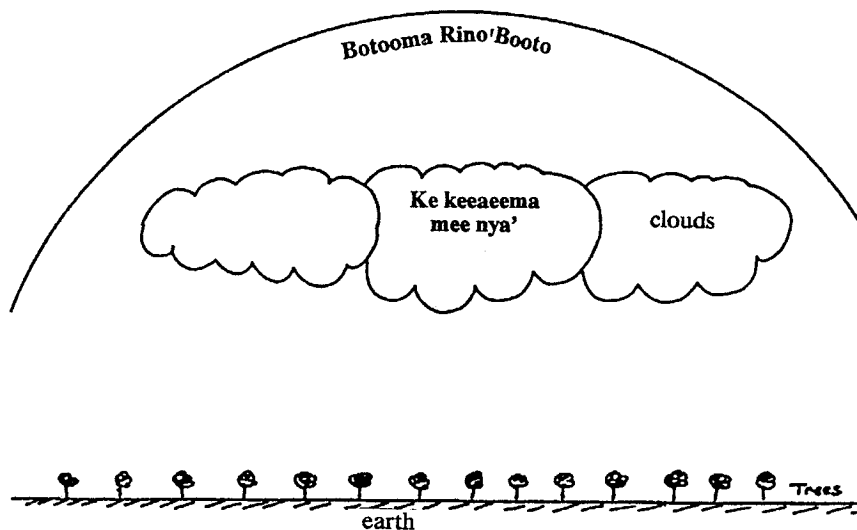
The name Botooma Rino Booto is somewhat difficult to translate: botooma rino means faraway sky, canopy or song while booto means strong. So a literal translation would be either 'the strong sky canopy, who is far away' or 'the strong song who is far away'. Probably the former is the most likely rendering though the latter cannot be ruled out.

In recent discussions with the village elders, they think that he might be the Creator. At least he has been considered so in the past, but they could not be certain that this is the case. When asked if he was a distant ancestor, the reply was negative. But again they were uncertain. What they do know about him is that he was not born. He does not have a wife and lives by himself. He is of non-human origin and no one has ever seen him.

He sends earthquakes, thunder and lightning and causes the sky to be red like blood. All of these are evidence of his anger. These are also signs connected with the falling of the sky and the destruction of the earth.

At a future time Botooma Rino Booto will break through the canopy which encloses the sky, and cause the sky to fall. There will be an earthquake which will cause the mountains and trees to fall down. The people's bows and arrows will rise up of their own accord and shoot their owners. The Ke Keeaeema mee nya' 'sky people' will be sent to kill all the animals, and perhaps take the bateeneima mee nya' 'shaman or medium' and the koono' kyema mee nya' 'dreamers or diviners'. Then all spirit beings which inhabit the earth will be destroyed. The Ke Keeaeema mee nya" will go to the aikooro beea (the last or final sky) and live together with Botooma Rino Booto, in a very good place, where they will continually renew their skins (ke keeaeema), that is, possess eternal life.

Clan Founders and Culture Heroes

Habel (1979:2) says concerning clan founders and culture heroes:

Culture heroes and clan founders are common in the myth and legend of Melanesia. These divine or semi-divine ancestral figures discover or introduce significant components of society or culture. Clan identity, Clan totems, sacred symbols, rituals, special skills, fire and similar features of tribal culture are believed to originate with these great hero ancestors of the distant past.

This is an accurate description of the role played by the clan founders and culture heroes in the Momina context. This section of the paper will concentrate on the clan founder and culture heroes associated with the Woin clan. Sumo, where we are based is within the ancestral territory of the Woin clan. This clan has the most contact with outsiders and consequently, they are the only clan to release this information. See the chart in fig. 2 for the scant information gathered regarding the other clans.

Figure 2. Clans and Clan Founders

Clan	Totem	Clan Founder	Location
Woin	pig	Rooni Ko' Booto	Sumo
Kooboo	bamboo	Banee Kosee Booto	Indama
Boone	sun/rat	Bateebeea	Ubiu
Eerenka	snake		
Eera	sago	Eerebee	Ubiu
Anaboin	turtle/fish	Biroonee	Rekai
Keike	tree	Ree	

Rooni Ko' Booto, (Woin clan father)

Rooni Ko' Booto is the creating father of the Woin people who were brought into existence underground at the base of the ko' sameta tree (a tree with red leaves and reddish bark). The men came from a large root at the east side of the tree where the sun rises. The women came from a large root on the west side of the tree where the sun sets (fig. 3). They traveled underground and came out of the ground at a big rock located in the middle of the Seng River at the junction where the Seng and the Keyeni Rivers meet (See map fig.4). Rooni Ko' Booto means 'the old strong tree'.

Figure 3

ko' sameta tree

West

East

women					men

Figure 4

Akin River

Sumo River

ko' sameta

In keyeni River

Sakee River (Seng)

Sumo Airstrip

Big Rock
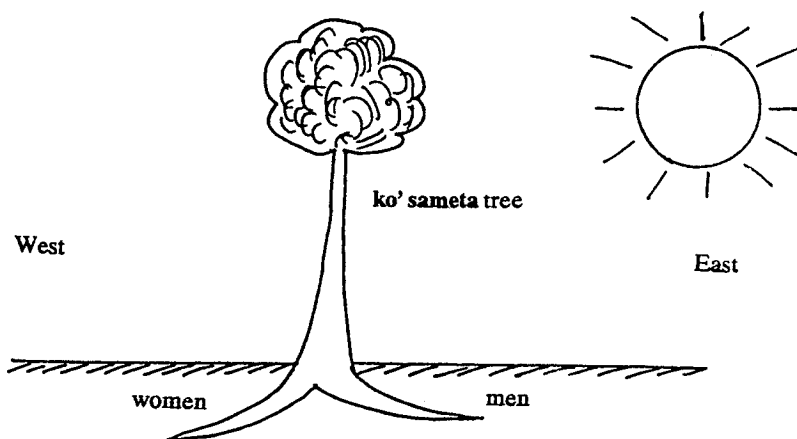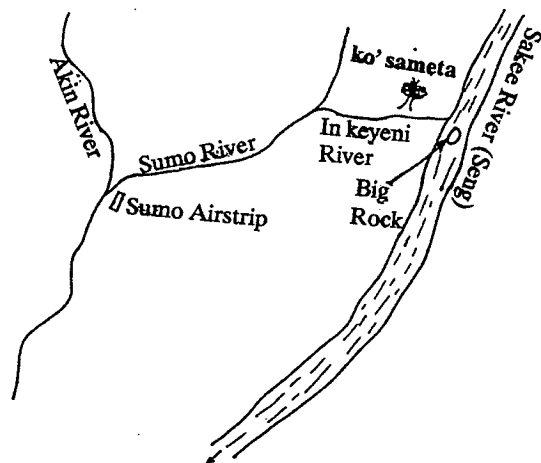
Rooni Ko' Booto is a man but can transform himself into a pig. This is significant in that the pig is the totemic symbol of the Woin clan. Rooni Ko' Booto lives in a community with the Wo ko meearoo (lit. the pig tree people), who are his spirit children. His house is located under the ko' sameta tree. It is a very large house and is surrounded by the smaller houses of his spirit children.

He has a wife who is thought to be a pig, but the people do not know her name. His sister is called Anaroona Rooni Ko'. She lives with them, and together they provide the Woin people with significant cultural items, such as tobacco, pigs, cassowaries, other animals of various kinds, and shell necklaces. This is illustrated in the following myth.

Myth of Rooni Ko' Booto and Anaroona Rooni Ko'

Aimikeiso's child was crying. Therefore he gave him some sago, hoping to stop the child from crying. But the child did not want the sago and kept on crying.

Therefore the people said to Aimikeiso, "Ah, he is hungry for wild animal meat."

They slept that night and very early in the morning before the sun rose up, Aimikeiso went off to hunt in the jungle with his bow and arrows. When he arrived at the place of the wera tree, he saw a female pig which was pregnant. At that moment other small pigs arrived. After a short period of time a long (large) male pig arrived at that place also. It stood sideways between Aimikeiso and the other pigs. Aimikeiso fitted an arrow into his bow and drew it back but was unable to release the arrow. As he stood with his bow drawn ready, the large male pig rose up from the earth to the height of the wera tree.

Then the pig spoke to him saying, "Do you think I am a pig, it is me. I am not a pig. I am your father Rooni Ko' Booto." When the pig had finished speaking, Aimikeiso saw that the place was a garden. (At this point the pig changed into a man).

Then that pig who was Rooni Ko' Booto said to his female relatives, "You also come and see this man."

They came and saw the man Aimikeiso. They said to him "Greetings." Having greeted him, Rooni Ko' Booto spoke again saying, "My children, come let us go north to our house (in the foothills)."

Before going they talked together, then the women left. Rooni Ko' Booto walked a few steps. He stopped, snapped a small tree, and then turned and said to Aimikeiso, "If you are a ghost you can take your own trail south, but if you are a person you can come with me."

Having said that they set off together. As they were going north Rooni Ko' Booto said, "Leave your bow and arrow here, take out your nose sticks, and take off your penis leaf."

His child Aimikeiso replied, "Father, I don't want to take off my penis leaf because I am embarrassed."

"Ah, if you don't take off your penis leaf you cannot come with me because the trail to my house is very difficult," said **Rooni Ko' Booto.**

"Yes, that is true," replied **Aimikeiso**, *taking off his penis leaf and his nose sticks.*

He followed behind his father. They walked and walked and walked until they entered a clearing and climbed the foothills. Then they saw gardens. They walked through the gardens until they arrived at the house. They entered the house together, but **Rooni Ko' Booto** *did not want his child to sit on an old sleeping bark. So he took a new sleeping bark and told his child Aimikeiso to sit on it. He did not want to give his child an old pipe to smoke. So he took a new pipe, filled it with tobacco leaves, and gave it to his child.*

His child said, "Hey, my child didn't come to do this. I am hungry for meat, that is why I came."

The father, **Rooni Ko' Booto** *said, "That is true." He finished smoking, then he spoke to his sister* **Anaroona Rooni Ko'** *and said, "Hey, our child has come."*

To which his sister replied, "I don't want to cook pig meat."

Then the brother **Rooni Ko' Booto** *said, "You must!"*

His sister replied, "All right, you sit over there." They went out and sat at the place she indicated. She then opened her navel and many cassowaries came out. Then many pigs and many tree kangaroos came out. They all went south along the trail to Aimikeiso's house. When that had finished happening, a cassowary wearing a shell necklace came out making a **won, won, won** *sound. She gave the cassowary to* **Aimikeiso.**

That having taken place, **Aimikeiso** *stood up and the sister* **Anaroona Rooni Ko'** *said, "Go south to your own house with the cassowary wearing the shell necklace. When the people of your house can hear the cassowary singing, kill it in the jungle and leave it there."*

Then the father **Rooni Ko' Booto** *said to him, "You must take fresh tobacco wrapped up in banana leaves to give to the people of your house so that they don't tell you to stop telling lies" (i. e. that he had been to* **Rooni Ko' Booto's** *house).*

Then **Aimikeiso** *wrapped up the fresh tobacco in a banana leaf and left going south. He continued until he arrived at the place of the* **wera** *tree where he put on his penis leaf, replaced his nose sticks and took hold of his bow and arrows.*

Then he set off again for his house. When he came to a place near to his house, the cassowary began to sing. He took his bow and arrow and killed the cassowary. When the cassowary had died, he took the shell necklace and left the cassowary dead at the place where he had killed it. He then went to his house. When he arrived at his house, the people of his house killed many cassowaries and pigs.

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It was almost time to sleep when he said to his wife, "Give me my pipe, I want to smell it."

His wife replied "Ah, there is no tobacco."

He then said, "It doesn't matter, I want to smell my pipe." She then gave his pipe to him and he filled it with tobacco.

When his wife saw this she said, "Hey, where did you get that tobacco?"

He replied, "Like this, I climbed the tree at the place of the pig" (ie. went to **Rooni Ko' Booto** *house).*

His wife and all the people were amazed, they said, "That is true."

He gave tobacco to his people. They slept and the next day he said to his wives, "Let us go and cut up the cassowary." They went to the jungle and cut up the cassowary. When they returned to their house they divided up the cassowary and ate the meat.

(This story was told to me by **Kotakenee Woin**, who is 50-55 years old.)

Each of the items given by **Rooni Ko' Booto** and **Anaroona Rooni Ko'** to **Aimikeiso** play a very important part in the lives of the people. The shell necklace was particularly important as indigenous currency. It was used in the bride price payments. This giving of indigenous wealth is not a once and for all giving in the distant past, but a continuous process. For instance, if the men are going through a period where their hunting trips are particularly unsuccessful, they will gather together. One of the elders will retell the myth which releases more pigs, cassowaries, tree kangaroos, and other kinds of animals from the navel of **Anaroona Rooni Ko'**. The next day they will go hunting and are sure to meet with success.

Rooni Ko' Booto is a benevolent spirit, who is somewhat distant. However, if the **weetee** 'taboo' which he gave to the **Woin** clan are broken, he will punish them by withholding indigenous wealth and cause them to become sick and die.

It is also true that the benefits which are derived from him are not exclusively to the **Woin** clan, but benefit the Momina people as a whole. The area surrounding his abode or the abode of any of the other **Woin** culture heroes is considered **weetee** 'taboo'. Outsiders can only go into this area if accompanied by a member of the **Woin** clan who informs the spirit children of **Rooni Ko' Booto** that this person is indeed a friend. If an outsider wanders into a taboo area alone, a storm starts to blow and the sky becomes very dark. The person disappears and is never seen again. However, if a person of another clan becomes a permanent resident in the **Woin** area, he becomes known and accepted by the spirit children of **Rooni Ko' Booto**. He is then free to go into the taboo area alone. This acceptance of outsiders by **Rooni Ko' Booto** and his spirit children has its counterpart in the myth of **Moneebeea**.

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Moneebeea, (Cultural Hero)

Moneebeea is a cultural hero who is responsible for the introduction of sago. The following myth explains more about him.

Figure 5. Map
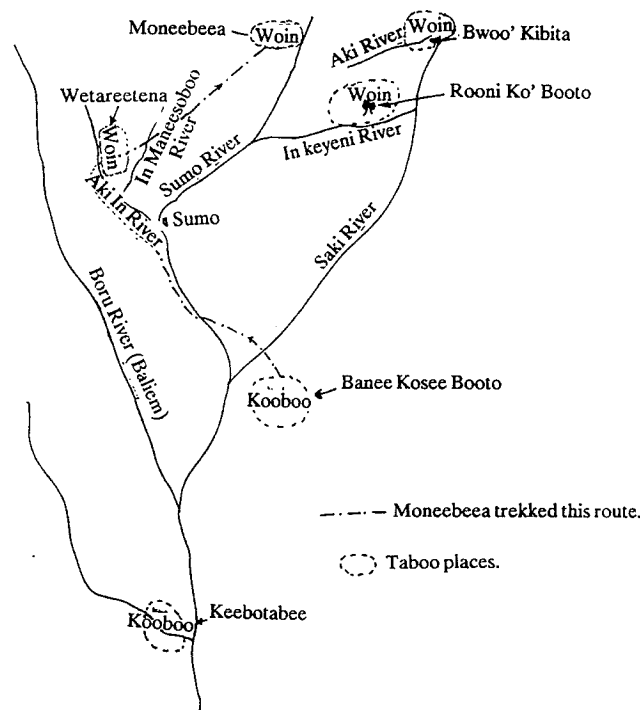
Moneebeea's sister, his older brother **Banee Kosee Booto** (the **Koobo** clan Creating Father), and his brother's wife all lived together in the same house.

Myth of Moneebeea (See Figure 5. Map)

The younger brother **Moneebeea** *left the house one day to go hunting. His older brother's wife followed after him, looking for him. She continually did this because she wanted to have intercourse with him and wanted him to become her husband.*

Moneebeea *did not want this to happen so he told his older brother that he was going to leave. He slept that night in the house of his older brother.*

Early the next morning he took some sago plants and put them into his sister's net bag. Then he and his sister left the older brother's house. They went north to the Seng River. When they arrived at the Seng river they crossed over to the other side. Reaching the other side of the river they looked back and saw their older brother's wife on the other side of the river. She had been following them. She also crossed the river at a shallow place. But while she was crossing, **Moneebeea** *and his sister hurried on ahead hoping to lose their brother's wife in the process.*

They went west across to the **Aki** *River and then north following the river. They came to a suitable place on the river bank where they built a house. When they had finished building the house, he saw his older brother's wife crossing a shallow part of the river. She was still following them.*

Because of that they didn't want to stay in that place and went east to the Sumo River. They slept that night at the side of the Sumo River and never saw their brother's wife again.

At that place **Moneebeea** *cleared the ground and planted his sago plants. Then he went to hunt wild pig. As he was hunting, he met people that lived at the* **Aki** *place to the north.*

All the people came out of their houses to see him. They said among themselves,"He does not have a wife. That is his sister who lives with him."

After he had returned to his house on the Sumo river, they all talked together. They took one of their sisters and said, "Let us give her to that man."

They went down to where he lived and gave her to **Moneebeea.** *He took her as his wife and in return gave his sister to one of the men from the* **Aki** *house. They continually went back and forth between the two places. (The people of the* **Aki** *house are* **Bwoo' Kibita'** *people.)*

There are three important aspects of life and culture that can be seen in this myth:

First, we see in the mythical realm an outsider from another clan being accepted into the **Woin** clan system. The place where he built his house on the Sumo river is now a **Woin** taboo place. **Moneebeea** is regarded by the **Woin** clan as belonging to their clan.

Secondly, although not mentioned specifically in this story, **Moneebeea** is seen as the introducer of sago into the **Woin** (Sumo) area. This explains the fact that the only sago in this area is planted sago. But the area to the south where **Moneebeea** came from, is in the swamplands and has an abundance of indigenous sago.

Thirdly, in the sibling exchange between **Moneebeea** and the man from the **Aki**, we have a mythical explanation for a common cultural practise.

Bwoo' Kibita, 'Turtle Man'

Bwoo' Kibita is a man-like being who can transform himself into a freshwater turtle. Bwoo' Kibita is also the name of a turtle. He lives in a deep place in the Aki river and is the head of the Aki community from which Moneebeea took his wife. He may be the brother of Moneebeea's wife and the one with whom Moneebeea did the sibling exchange.

The house in which he lives is a long house with two rooms. One room is for the Momina people, and the other room is for the Keeain people. These people live to the southwest of the Momina people. There is a considerable amount of bilingualism and marriage exchange between these two groups. In the first room is a large turtle (Bwoo' Kibita). But it is said that that turtle is not Bwoo' Kibita. The significance of the two rooms, one for each of these two tribal groups, is unclear at this point. However, it seems to indicate a unity and harmonious relationship between the the two groups.

The area in which Bwoo' Kibita lives is also a taboo place. Some think he may be the head of the in kon tenain 'water spirits', while others strongly disagree. There does appear to be some connection between the clan founder/culture heroes and the nature spirits, but the connection is not clear at this stage of investigation.

Wetareetena, 'female culture hero'

Wetareetena is a female culture hero. She lives at the place where Moneebeea built his first house when running away from his older brother's wife. No one seems to know very much about her. She may be the one who was chasing Moneebeea, the wife of his older brother, Banee Kosee Booto. That is the place where he escaped from her, after which he did not see her again. The surrounding area where she lives is also a taboo place of the Woin clan.

Ron Ko' Booto, 'culture hero'

Ron Ko' Booto is a man who has always existed. He is not related to any specific clan. He is not a clan founder. He can perhaps best be compared to Botooma Rino Booto, though he is not as powerful, distant, or as unknowable as Botoma Rino Booto. Unlike the other clan founder and culture heroes, he is a malevolent spirit and greatly feared by the Momina people. His name means "the strong ridgepole" and he is associated with the Koobo boo' feast.

It is not known where he resides. Some people say he lives nearby in the tree tops, while others suggest he is more distant and lives in the sky. However, during the Koobo boo' feast he resides on the ridgepole of the ceremonial house. It may be that this is his semi-permanent residence in that he moves from one ceremonial house to another as a new house is built in a new location.

He is not a local deity in the manner of the clan founders in that his sphere of influence is wider than theirs. It is thought that he will be destroyed by Botooma Rino Booto at the destruction of the sky and the earth.

He is the instigator of epidemics, in which large numbers of people die. The Koobo boo' feast is celebrated in order to appease him and usually takes place when an epidemic occurs. The following is a brief description of the Koobo boo' feast and the events associated with it. The text is basically that related by Kotakenee Woin. It is supplemented by another text by Keikwa Woin. Additional information is inserted in brackets to provide implied information.

Koobo boo' Feast

The Koobo boo' feast is held when Ron Ko' Booto comes down and sits on the ridge pole of the house. He makes a whistling sound. When the people hear the sound, they know that they must make a killing and make the Koobo boo' ceremonial house and hold the feast.

Before the Koobo boo' ceremonial house is built, some people from another house would be killed. (The people lived in villages of a single house.) The men who perform the actual killing begin to build the ceremonial house. At the same time those from another house who help in the killing, build a halfway house (this house is used to house people from far away when they came to the feast). When the two houses are built, the people begin to beat sago and store it. They continued doing this for two months. When they have finished beating sago, they prepare the other staple foods necessary for the feast. While all this was going on, others gather large snakes (ke toomooboo) and large lizards (ou toomooboo) which were kept alive in net bags.

At the end of three months when all was ready, they would send out runners to call the people from the faraway houses (villages) to come to the feast. The people from the other houses came dancing and singing woo woo. They first came to the halfway house, where they were given food and slept the night. The next day early in the morning, they (people from all Momina areas) set off together for the Koobo boo' ceremonial house singing woo woo.

When they arrive, they along with the people of the Koobo boo' house, dance together in the middle section (men at one end, women at the other end of the house). They dance and dance.

Then the leader of the feast (instigator of the killing) indicates to the people to stop dancing.

He says to all the people, "O, I and my people have built this house because we killed those people. Their noses have become maggots."

When he says that, the people climb up to the sleeping place at each side of the house. They eat much food. They also cook sago grubs and give them to the visitors to eat.

When they finished eating, they climb down from the sleeping place and dance and dance until the sun comes up and it is light. They then heat the cooking stones and cook the snakes and lizards.

The leader of the feast and the leading man who built the halfway house, take a large snake (**ke toomooboo**), cut it up and place a piece on top of the ridgepole. He also places the fat of the sago grubs there. (The smell of the cooked snake, lizard, and sago grubs was an aroma offering to **Ron Ko' Booto**.)

The two leading men then go to either end of the ceremonial house and stand at the upright pole holding up the ridgepole. Simultaneously they pray to **Ron Ko' Booto** asking him to stop killing the people through sending sickness to them. (Of the two men who offered up the offering, one was an insider and the other an outsider. The insider was called **Ke kamoo** and was associated with the snakes, while the outsider was called **Ou moo to'** and was associated with the lizards.)

The rest of the day was taken up with feasting and dancing. That night they all slept. The next day all the people from faraway houses left. Then the people of that house who had organised the feast did not want to remain on their own, so they returned to their own houses.

The **Koobo boo'** feast is celebrated every 3 or 4 years in different locations, probably coinciding with epidemics. The original **Koobo boo'** house and **Booroo'** tree (earth tree), were located to the east where the Obini live. (The Obini are a different language group.) Since the feast includes people from another area, it is possible that **Ron Ko' Booto** and the **Koobo boo'** feast were borrowed or introduced into the Momina religion at some stage.

Wo Wei Feasts 'Feasts of many pigs'

This is the second of the two major feasts celebrated by the Momina people. It is probably the more important of the two in terms of tribal unity and harmonious relationship with the spirit world. D.E. McGregor (1976:1-2) in his introduction to the Fish festival says:

Indeed a number of festivals lay claim to being the 'Key stone' of their respective cultures. Such is the Fish festival of the Wape and other people in the Lumi area. Just about every aspect of life and culture met in unity at the festival. Religious, social, artistic and health themes somehow united, and generating activity in the process, provided the milieu in which basic human needs were met.

What is said concerning the Fish festival could equally be applied to the **Wo' Wei** Feast/Festival. In describing the feast, only the central event will be considered, as the preliminary events are similar to the **Koobo boo'** feast.

As in the **Koobo boo'** feast, the night prior to the offering is spent in all night dancing. As the people dance, those people who know it, sing the song of "the killing of the pigs" (**benema**). When it gets close to day, the people stop dancing and sit in the sleeping places at either side of the feast house. They continued to sing the **benema** song until it is time for the killing of the pigs to take place.

The leader of the feast along with leaders from all the other clan groups go outside to the place where the pigs are kept. (These are all initiated men.) No one else was allowed to leave the feast house and observe the pigs being killed. About 10-20 pigs are killed and then brought into the feast house where they are cut up and cooked.

The leader of the feast (**Wei' rimeto'**) then distributes the pig meat to the clan leaders. The clan leaders in turn distribute it to their people. Then the leader of the feast and the builder of the halfway house (**kokokoee mee boo' to'**) each take a piece of meat with fat and make the offering at the two upright poles at either end of the house. They place the meat at the ridgepole at each end and then pray, "**In kebera mee wo' taee tee bo me ko tere seraya ne, kun ne nya' koo-o boora se be kerabite.**" (We give this pig to you, so that you will not harm (kill) us.)

This is a shortened version of the prayer. After this has taken place, the people eat the distributed pig meat. (Only the initiated men are allowed to partake of the pig meat. Pig's blood and the red pandanus fruit are taboo for the women or uninitiated males to eat.) While all this is taking place, some meat and fat is burned as an aroma offering.

After this, dog's teeth, pig's teeth, and shell necklaces are given to the hosts by the visiting groups in payment for the food distributed. Bride price payments are made as well as payment for children born in the interim period between the last feast (3-4 years earlier). This feast is made to respective father-in-laws and their relatives. In doing this indigenous wealth is distributed and relationships are confirmed and re-established. Thus the **Wo' Wei'** feast ties the society together.

The main question however still remains to be answered. To whom was this offering made and what was the main purpose of the feast? Initially it was suggested that the offering was made to the nature spirits and ghosts and that the purpose was to appease these spirits who caused the people so much trouble. However, in talking with the village elders, the consensus seems to be that the offering was made to the clan founders/creating fathers. The purpose was to maintain harmony with the important members of the spirit world in the same manner in which the feast propagated harmony in the physical realm. A secondary purpose was to cause the nature spirits and the ghosts to become more distant, giving the people relief from their activities for a while.

NATURE SPIRITS

There are three basic types of nature spirits, tree, water and earth spirits.

Ko' ru tenain, 'Tree spirits'

The tree spirits are called **Ko' ru tenain** 'tree trunk spirit'. They are malevolent spirits who do not take on a human form and have always existed.

They can be both male and female. They live in husband and wife pairs together with their children high up in treetops. They are very numerous and said to intermarry with tree spirits from other communities. They inhabit large trees in the jungle such as the **bareema, monkwasee, seeree, si** and **koonoo** trees.

They have bodies but these bodies can only be seen by the **bateeneima mee nya'** (shaman or spirit medium) or by the **Koon'okyema mee nya'** 'dreamers or diviners' in their dreams. Since they have bodies they can come down from the treetops and walk about the jungle. However, when they do this they take on the form of either the **witi** 'cassowary' or **ma tei'yoo** 'large jungle chicken' and different kinds of inedible tree fruit (i.e. **ko' si rokoo, ko' wara rokoo** and **ko' beiye rokoo**).

They make a noise like a bird. If a person shoots a spirit who has taken on this bird-like form, that spirit dies and can no longer harm people.

Yost (1985:3) says the following concerning a similar kind of tree spirit that exists in Sawi cosmology:

> ... *the* Yar *live in pairs. But the husband* Yar *is always wanting to take another wife and in like manner the wife* Yar *is desiring another husband. So they will attack someone with sickness. When that person dies, the* Yar *is ready and waiting under the house to take away the spirit of the newly dead person. He does so and says: 'I am satisfied now, I am leaving with this one.'*
>
> *People then hear a high pitched sound as they leave, never to return. The spirit of the newly dead person then becomes a* Yar *too.*

This is also true of the **ko' ru tenain**. The only difference is that the body of the dead person becomes the husband or wife of the **ko' ru tenain**, while the dead person's spirit (**noo**) goes to one of the two places assigned to the departed dead. The **ko' ru tenain** who has taken a new wife or husband is satisfied for a while, but later will want to take another wife or husband.   •

These spirits show their malevolence by causing sickness. This is usually achieved by cursing someone they see walking through the jungle. Each kind of nature spirit causes a different kind of sickness. The **ko' ru tenain** kills by sending a series of sicknesses one after the other. The sicknesses he sends are usually in the following order: boils under the armpit, high temperature, diarrhoea, then headaches which result in the person becoming very weak and ultimately dying.

Another example of their malevolence is seen in the following example. If a person takes the placenta (**mee' okwi**) of a newly born child and inadvertently hangs it on the buttress root of a tree in which a **ko' ru tenain** lives, that child will become an **Abeeareema mee nya'** (a person who has fits, an epileptic). This is the usual way of disposing of the placenta. Or if a person cut down a tree in which a **ko' ru tenain** lived, he would get sick and die unless the **bateeneima mee nya'** (shaman/spirit medium) mediated for him with the spirit involved. Like all the other nature spirits, the **ko' ru tenain** are not thought to enter human bodies (i.e. possession.)

ee ko' tenain, 'banana tree spirits'

The Banana tree spirits are called **ee ko' tenain** 'banana tree spirit' or **ko' mukotena nooain** 'female tree spirit'. They are female malevolent spirits of non-human origin that have always existed. They too can take the form of the **witi** 'cassowary' and eat **ko' rokoo** 'jungle fruit' and **ee somo** 'inedible banana' and **kee** 'fish'. If they are shot, they will die and no longer trouble anyone. There are many of them and they live in all kinds of banana trees which grow in the garden areas.

They are female unmarried spirits who are always seeking husbands. When seeking a husband, they can take the form of a husband's wife. They will ask the man to have intercourse with them. After this has taken place, they say to the man, "I am not your wife; I am a **Ko mukotena nooain.**" The man will die that same day, usually when he gets home while lying next to the fire.

If the man involved is unmarried, the spirits take the form of one of the nice looking village women. They have feathers like the **Witi** 'cassowary' growing from their armpits. Again the body of the dead person becomes their husband while his spirit goes to either of the two places of the departed dead. They are satisfied once they have a husband and no longer trouble men again.

Roru, 'Head Tree Spirit'

The head tree spirit is **Roru**. He is the head of a community of **ko' ru tenain** 'tree spirits'. His wife's name is **Wambei**. However, **Roru** is not just one spirit, there are many **Roru**. They are the heads of tree spirit communities. At one stage it was unclear if **Roru** was a culture hero, because his name occurs frequently in Momina legends.

Water Spirits

There are several types of water spirits much like the tree spirits. There are the general water spirits, head water spirits, and then two spirits who are identical--one a water spirit and one a tree spirit.

in kon tenain, 'water spirits'

The water spirits are called **in kon tenain** (the spirits of the deep water). Like the **ko' ru tenain**, they are malevolent spirits. They are of non-human origin who have always existed. They live in deep places of the river in family units. They have bodies like people. They are visible to humans and the **koono' kyema mee nya'** 'dreamers/diviners' in their dreams. They walk about in the water but not on land. They can also take the form of turtles (**bwoo**) and of fish (**kee**).

In the past the Momina people were afraid to wash in the river. Breast feeding mothers believed that the female river spirits who did not have any children, would steal their breast milk. This would cause their child to get sick and die. The child would then become the child of the female river spirit who caused the death.

However, it was not only children who were at risk. The Momina believe that the **in kon tenain** could steal the dirt from a person. This causes that person to get sick and die. The sickness caused by the **in kon tenain** is similar to malaria. The person first gets pain in the elbows and knees. This is followed by pain throughout the entire body. The final stage is hot and cold shivers which results in death. A person killed in this fashion would become the husband or wife of the **in kon tenain** who stole the dirt from his skin.

It was also taboo to kill fish or turtle in the deep part of the river where the **in kon tenain** live. The punishment is death. If a person catches a turtle, who was an **in kon tenain**, the turtle says to the man, "I am not a turtle, I am **in kon tenain**, you will die." The person is so shocked that he dies from fright. These water spirits are also sometimes called **kee tenain** 'fish spirits' and **bwoo' tenain** 'turtle spirits'.

Kei eenee, 'head water spirit'

The head water spirit is called **kei eenee**. His wife is called **wambei**. He has very big legs. He is also a **roru** and there are many of them. This is like the head tree spirit.

ko' ru ooroo and in ooroo, 'tree & water spirit'

ooroo is the name given to two identical spirits. One is a tree spirit called **ko' ru ooroo**, while the other is a water spirit, called **in ooroo**. They are brothers having the same father. They are very close friends like the banana tree spirits **ko' mukotena nooain**. They can trick humans of the opposite sex into having intercourse with them. This causes them to die and become their spouses. Both **ooroo** have two penises, one at the front and one at the back. They wear penis gourds like the mountain people. **in ooroo** is not as powerful as **kei eenee**, the head water spirit, who is his superior.

Weetee tenain, 'earth spirits'

The earth spirits are called **weetee tenain** which means taboo spirits. They are malevolent spirits who are of non-human origin and have always existed. They live under the ground at the taboo places associated with the clan founder and culture heroes. Their houses are similar to the Momina people's house. The door to this underground place is only known to the **bateeneima mee nya'** 'shaman/spirit mediator'. But is is not known and cannot be seen by ordinary people. The **weetee tenain** sit on wooden benches or platforms close to the ground and smoke their pipes. The people say that these spirits are very close by.·

Each community has a leader and many spirits live there in family units. Both **Rooni ko' Booto** and his children. the **wo' ko meearoo** 'children of the pig tree' also live under the ground in the same taboo areas. The relationship between the **Weetee tenain** and **Rooni Ko' booto** and his spirit children is not clear. The elders of the village consider them to be distinct. Both are in some way related to the taboo system.

They are the most feared of all, as they are involved in sorcery by placing curses on people as well as able to use 'leavings' sorcery. These spirits control certain animals in their taboo place. The **waree kooro** tree was considered to be the sago trees of the **weetee tenain**,

while **ou bosoo** and **ou teea** (two kinds of lizards), were their pigs, the **tabanee** 'tree kangaroo' was their dog and the **ke monee** and **ke kei** (two kinds of snakes) were regarded as their people. If a person killed any of these animals or reptiles in a spirit taboo place, they would get sick and die very suddenly. However, it was permissible to kill them in non-taboo places.

The earth spirits are closely connected with 'leavings' sorcery as N. MacDonald (1984:205) says, "The most common form of sorcery in Melanesia is that performed with 'leavings' belonging to the victim."

The ants (**nini**) assist the spirits in the killing of people. They take some of the remaining food left over by the intended victim and bring it to the **weetee tenain** in their underground abode. That food is used by the **weetee tenain** to cause the victim to become sick with the same sickness inflicted by the **in kon tenain**. The victim will then die unless the **bateeneema mee nya'** 'shaman/spirit mediator' intervenes. Also if a woman's breast milk is allowed to fall to the ground at a taboo place, her child will also die.

The **weetee tenain** in using left over food and breast milk and the **in kon tenain** in using body dirt and breast milk are practising some kind of leavings sorcery in killing their victims. It does at least appear to be the parallel in the spirit realm to what is the common practise in the human realm.

The **ko' ru tenain** also kill their victims by putting a curse on them. This parallels the **moosoosoma** method used by sorcerers in Momina society.

Human birth and the Nature Spirits

As in many other tribal societies, there is a definite relationship between human birth and the spirit world. The husband is seen as playing an important role in the conception of the child, yet the spirits also have their part to play. A man may dream and in his dream meet a tree, water or earth spirit. The spirit will say that his wife who is pregnant will give birth to a girl (or a boy). Then the child that is born will definitely be girl (or boy), whichever sex the spirit named. The child will also bear the physical characteristics of the particular type of spirit involved.

If any significant event happens within the first week of a child's life, such as the river flooding or a large tree falling, then that is interpreted as indicating the type of spirit involved in the birth of the child.

As a woman is delivering a child, the spirits are thought to provide the physical body of the child. The implication is that the womb was empty up to that point and time. The child as it grows up into adulthood will exhibit certain physical features or characteristics associated with that particular spirit.

Figure 5.

Type of Spirit	Physical feature/characteristics
ko' ru tenain (tree)	tall
roru (tree)	tall and heavily built
ko' ooroo (tree)	tall with lots of body hair
in kon tenain (water)	short
kee tenain (fish)	short and beardless (in case of men)
bwoo' tenain (turtle)	short and beardless
in ooroo (water)	short with lots of body hair
wee tenain (earth)	short or tall

The above list only includes characteristics of the nature spirits transferred to the child. This does not mean however, that they exclusively are involved in the process of birth. The spirits of the departed dead can also be involved, but their involvement is not so frequent as the involvement of the nature spirits.

The Spirits of the Departed Dead

The spirits of the departed dead can perhaps best be classified as either benevolent or malevolent and either near or far (see fig. 6). They ultimately go to one of two places -- the sky, which is the place where the ancestors continually renew their skins, or to the place of the ghosts down south. They can also for a limited period of time remain on earth in close proximity to the living.

Figure 6.

Characteristics	Benevolent	Malevolent
near	(ancestors) **Biro** (former shaman & dreamers)	(ghosts) **Tookoo** (finger & toenails)
far	**Ke keeaeema mee nya'** (sky people)	**Tooko** (ghosts)

Benevolent Spirits of the Departed Dead.

biro, 'benevolent ancestor'

Biro is the Momina word for ancestor. These live in the treetops close to the villages. They are usually regarded as benevolent spirits. The **bateeneema mee nya'** 'shaman' has an alliance with one or more **biro**.

The **biro** sits on his shoulder and assists him in his work. (The Momina word for shoulder is also **biro**.) The **biro** were themselves either **bateeneema mee nya'** 'shaman/spirit mediator' or **koono' kyema mee nya'** 'dreamers, diviners' during their earthly existence. They are the recent dead who assist their living descendants for an unknown period of time before departing for the sky to become **ke keeaeema mee nya'** 'sky people who change their skin'. However, some have suggested that upon death, they first go to the sky and become **ke keeaeema mee nya'**. Then those who desire to help their descendants on earth, return as **biro**. They can help because they are the possessors of both power and knowledge.

ke keeaeema mee nya', 'the sky people'

Ke keeaeema mee nya' means 'the people who shed their skins'. They outwardly become physically old. Then they take off their skin and become young again. By continually doing so, they can go on living forever.

They are physically much taller and broader than the people on the earth. They are dark skinned and have long curly black hair. Their arms, though normal are feathered like wings. They live in family units of husband, wife and children. Their houses are beautiful and possibly two storied. They are roofed with **ee kete** 'banana leaves' or **tina kete** 'another kind of leaf'.

The men wear penis leaves and the women wear string skirts. The area in which they live is completely cleared of jungle unlike here on earth. They eat the same kind of food as the people on earth, but it grows by itself. They don't need to work to produce it. If they cut down a sago palm and leave it overnight, the sago will have been beaten (made) and the tree will have regrown. The same also applies to banana and other fruit bearing trees. In this sky village, no one gets sick or dies. The ke keeaeema mee nya' play an important part in the following myth which describes how the Momina people lost eternal life.

The Fall and Loss of Eternal Life

In the beginning time, a **biro** *(benevolent departed spirit) took his sister and came down to earth. He gave her to a man of the earth to be his wife. Having given her to the man he said to the people of that place, "Build a* **Koobo boo'** *feast house."*

Having said that, his brother-in-law began to build the **Koobo boo'** *feast house. All the people of that place helped him in the building of the house and the cutting of the firewood.*

The man and his wife along with the leaders sent two young boys with a message up the trail (ladder) to the **ke keeaeema mee nya'.** *They wanted to tell them that the feast was ready.*

The **ke keeaeema mee nya'** *came down and danced and sang woo woo woo at the place of the* **boroo'** *"earth's tree". The man's wife also came and danced along with her brother at the* **boroo'**. *The* **boroo'** *was very good.*

The brother said, "O, you (pl) are only good." Having said that, they continued to sing and dance as they entered the **Koobo boo'** *feast house. (This is the halfway house, the first of the two houses.) Having entered the house, they danced and then climbed up to the sleeping place and ate staple food.*

*The next day the brother and his friends (***ke keeaeema mee nya'***) went back up to the sky and as he was going he said to his sister, "Don't have intercourse with your husband. If you have intercourse you will become like maggots (eaten by them) and you will all die." Having said that they climbed up to the sky.*

Then the man and his friends continued building the **Koobo boo'** *house (the second house) until it was finished. They then beat sago until that was also completed. After which they worked and gathered staple food until it was all gathered in one place.*

Having done that the people said, "Yes, we can now get the sago grubs." So they collected sago grubs until they were all finally collected.

When that was finished the wife said to her husband, "Will you have intercourse with me?"

Her husband replied, "But your brother when he was down here said that if we had intercourse together we would not change our skins."

Having said that, the wife replied angrily, "You must." So they then had intercourse together. Having had intercourse together, they slept.

The next day the man said to the people of that house, "Yes, you can go and call the **ke keeaeema mee nya'**."*They then climbed up the trail to tell them. They slept and the next day they all came down singing (***woo woo***) and danced at the base of the "earth's tree".*

But they did not see the woman (sister/wife) and the brother said, "You (pl) have had intercourse." Having said that they danced around the "earth's tree" and a large buttress root of the "earth's tree" split apart and fell to the ground. That having taken place the **ke keeaeema mee nya'** *themselves only sang and entered the* **Koobo boo'** *house. When they had finished dancing, they climbed up the sleeping platform and sat there and were given food. After that they slept.*

The next day they climbed back up to the sky, but before they left the brother said, "Oh, because you have done that the maggots will eat you and your friends. You (pl) will not receive new skins (eternal life), you (pl) will get sick and die." Having said that he climbed up to the sky (implying that he and the other **ke keeaeema mee nya'** *would not return again). That having taken place the earth's people did not receive new skins, but they got sick and died.*

This idea of the shedding of skin (**ke keeaeema**) being a symbol of eternal life, is not uncommon in traditional societies of Irian Jaya. The Western Dani have the same idea in their mythology as J.A. Godschalk (1983:87-88) records:

The concept of **nabelan-kabelan**, *which literally is translated 'my outer skin-your outer skin', is the symbolic connotation of 'eternal life'. It is connected with the theme of snake and bird, which albeit in a number of variations is known among the Western Dani, the Grand Valley Dani and the Yali...The Western Dani believe that the first people did not die but changed their skins like the snakes. A race was held. Because the human people favoured the bird as winner, which it turned out to be, they are now deprived of eternal life. Larson mentions that this race was held before the original ancestors appeared, so that from the outset the fate of mankind was determined.*

In the Momina myth, one can hardly avoid comparison with the biblical story of the fall and the loss of eternal life in Genesis 3. The obvious question must be asked, has the biblical account influenced the traditional account? After checking this out not only with the Sumo elders, but also with traditional elders in our most isolated villages where the Genesis 3 account is hardly known, I feel confident that the answer to that question is 'no', and that the account recorded here is a genuine pre-contact version of the myth.

Malevolent spirits of the Departed Dead

There are two kinds of malevolent spirits of the departed dead, both are called **tookoo** 'ghosts', however the first that we shall deal with is not strictly a spirit

Tookoo, 'near ghosts'

When a person dies suddenly in unusual circumstances, his (her) fingernails and toe nails become a **tookoo** 'ghost' after he has been buried. However, his spirit (**noo**) goes either to the place in the sky or down south to the place of the **Tookoo** 'distant ghosts'.

Tookoo 'near ghosts' take on bodily form which can be seen by humans. They have large bodies and their skin is patterned like a snake. Their arms can be either short or long, and their legs are very short. Both arms and legs are fleshless and are just bones. Their heads are large with big ears, a long nose, and very large eyes. They live under the ground in male and female pair. The males can be distinguished from the female ones because the females have breasts. Both are completely naked. They pop up through windows in the ground and observe people but they quickly pop down before they in turn are seen.

When a person sees a **tookoo** in the jungle either during the day or at night, he tries to run away. His limbs become very weak so that he cannot run fast. The **tookoo** catches the person and eats parts of his flesh. This causes big open sores (which are invisible to the human eye). The **tookoo** drinks the blood and fluid from the person's body.
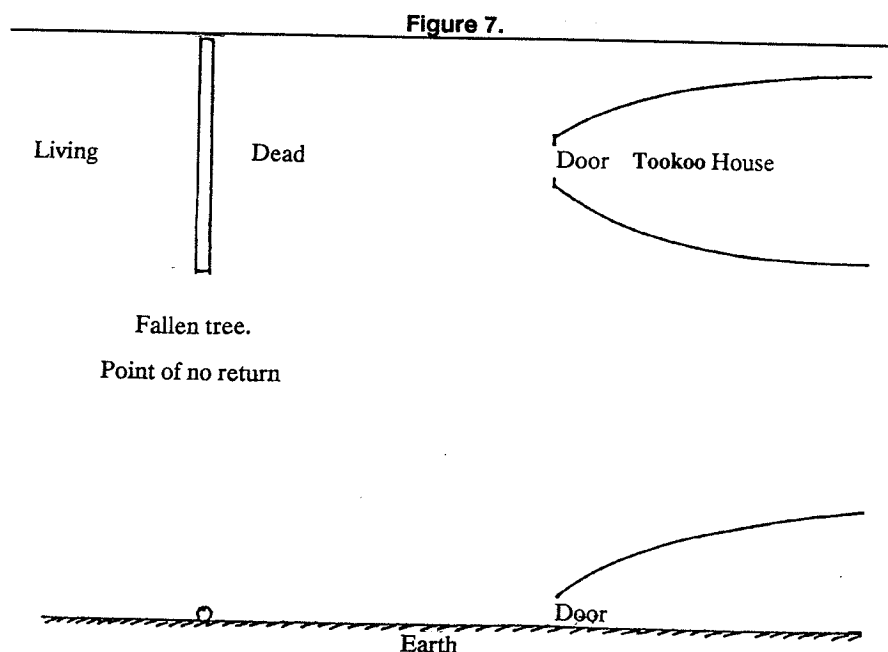
If the person returns to his village and remains silent, he will definitely die that same day. However, if he tells other people about the attack, he will live. If a person dies in this manner, his fingernails and toesnails becomes a **tookoo**, and he becomes the husband or wife of the **tookoo**.

The father of Keikwa, one of my language helpers was believed to have been killed in this fashion by a **tookoo**. His spirit (**noo**) went to the place in the sky because he was a **bateeneima mee nya'** 'shaman/spirit mediator', while his fingernails and toenails became a **tookoo**.

Tookoo 'distant'

When a person dies who is not a **bateeneima mee nya'**, 'shaman/spiritmediator' or a **koono' kyema mee nya'**, 'dreamer/diviner', his spirit (**noo**) goes south to the place of the **Tookoo**.

There they live in family groups and have the same physical features as the other kind of **tookoo**. They lived in large houses which were shaped like half an upturned canoe (see fig.7). Their houses were built on the gound with mud floors, unlike the normal Momina houses which are built on stilts.

Figure 7.

Living   Dead   Door   Tookoo House

Fallen tree.

Point of no return

Door

Earth

They ate various kinds of sago and wood grubs, worms, scorpions and a bitter root called **matei**. Their sago came from the **wari** tree (not real sago but edible). This place was considered to be without good food and a place of much sickness.

Mediation with the spirit world

Among the Momina people there are two kinds of part-time religious specialists who function as mediators and/or communicators with the spirit world. They are the **bateeneima mee nya'** and the **koono' kyema mee nya'**. These will be discussed here.

Bateeneima mee nya', 'shaman or spirit mediator'

The **bateeneima mee nya'** is a shaman or spirit mediator. There are one or sometimes two **bateeneima mee nya'** in one semi-nomadic community (20-30 people). They can be either male or female, or a husband and his wife.

A **bateeneima mee nya'** is one whose spirit can leave his body while in a state of trance and travel (fly) to the places where the spirits or ghosts dwell. It is this ability that makes him a **bateeneima mee nya'**. This is a common phenomena among animistic peoples. I.M. Lewis (1971:46-47) says of the Akawaio Caribs of British Guiana:

They believe that in trance, which is induced by chewing tobacco, the shaman's spirit (or soul) becomes very small and light and is able to detach itself from his body and fly with the aid of 'ladder spirits' into the skies.

A **bateeneima mee nya'** is sometimes also called a **eeneteimee ma nee nya'**. This is a person who has a **biro** 'ancestral spirit' who sits on his shoulder. It is the **biro** who enables him to engage in spirit (soul) travel.

A **bateeneima mee nya'** can have between one and four **biro** 'ancestral spirits' with whom he has made an alliance. **Bwoo'enee**, a man from Sumo for example had four ancestral spirits--two male and two female spirits with whom he had made an alliance. However, only the male ancestral spirits could sit on his shoulder, and only one at any time. Thus only ancestral spirits of the same sex could sit on the shoulder of a **bateeneima mee nya'**. I.M. Lewis (1971:58-59)says:

Thus in many cultures we find the notion that in a state of latent or incipient possession prior to actual trance the spirit is perched on the shoulder or neck of its host. It mounts into the head or some other centre of the body, assuming full possession of its receptacle only when complete trance occurs...Thus male shamans who incarnate their own ancestor spirits are hardly likely to conceive of their mutual relationship other than in terms descent. 'Marriage' between men and masculine divinities is not however absolutely excluded.

The relationship between the **bateeneima mee nya'** and the ancestral spirits involves neither sexual connotations nor full-blown possession of the kind described by Lewis. At no point in time does the ancestral spirit enter the head or body of the **bateeneima mee nya'**. Its only location is on his shoulder. When not sitting on the shoulder of their **bateeneima mee nya'**, they sit on the ridgepole of his house.

In connection with this, it is the practice of the Momina people to make an offering to the ancestral spirits. When a domestic pig is killed, a small portion of meat and fat are placed on the ridgepole of the house while invoking the help of the ancestors (**biro**).

When the **bateeneima mee nya'** is in his house, the ancestral spirit sits on the ridgepole of the house. However, when he leaves the house, he calls down the spirit of his choice to sit on his shoulder and join him in his travels. These ancestral spirits can only be seen by the **bateeneima mee nya'** himself (the possible exception being other **bateeneima mee nya'**). However, they can be heard by other people because of the birdlike whistling sound that they made. They can take the form of a **ma yori** and **ma karee** (two kinds of birds).

The process by which a person becomes a **bateeneima mee nya'** is as follows. A person becomes a **bateeneima mee nya'** at birth. The ancestral spirits provide the body of the child in the manner already stated. It is often revealed before the birth to a **bateeneima mee nya'** or a **koono' kyema mee nya'** in a dream that a particular child will become a **bateeneima mee nya'**. Another sign that a child will be a **bateeneima mee nya'**, is that the child's eyes will become very red and bloodshot within the first few days of its life. This is an indication that the child has received new eyes with which to see the spirits.

When this child is grown and in early adulthood, he will be taken into the jungle by a practising **bateeneima mee nya'** and shown the ancestral spirits. If he can in fact see these spirits, it is evident that he has received new eyes and will be instructed by the experienced practitioner. It is at this point that he makes an alliance with an ancestral spirit or spirits who sit on his shoulder. I.M. Lewis (1971:57) says:

The apprentice shaman must also learn how to attain enlightenment or 'light' that mysterious luminous fire which the shaman suddenly feels in his body and which enables him to see all that is otherwise hidden from mortal eyes.

This idea of receiving new eyes is also common to the Sawi of Irian Jaya as Yost (1985:4) reports:

To become a haose *(spirit mediator) one must meet the* Yar Ivar *in the jungle. She leads the person into her tree where she talks with him for a while. Then she eats him, although this is a spiritual type of eating. She then takes out his eyes and replaces them with 'spiritual' eyes that can see ghosts and spirits.*

One of the major functions of the **bateeneima mee nya'** is that of healing, although this is not his only function. When someone becomes sick, the sick person themselves or a relative of a sick person will go to the **bateeneima mee nya'** in order to find out the cause and acquire healing. The **bateeneima mee nya'** will then divine the cause of the sick man either through a dream or by going into a trance and communicating with the ancestral spirits.

What action is taken is dependent upon the cause of the sickness. If the sickness is caused by sorcery then the sorcerer must be persuaded to undo his sorcery. But if the sickness is caused by a spirit being (i.e. nature spirit, ghost or culture hero), the **bateeneima mee nya'** will journey to the place of their abode (soul/spirit travel) and demand that the spirit involved stop causing the sickness. He has power over the spirits and they must obey his command. He then retrieves the spirit (**noo**) of the sick person thus bringing about his healing.

In order to understand this process, we need to know what happens to a person's spirit (**noo**) during serious illness. When a person becomes seriously ill, his spirit (**noo**) leaves his body and begins to travel south to the place of the ghosts (**Tookoo**). Midway between the land of the living and the abode of the ghosts is a felled tree. If the spirit of the sick man passes over the tree, the tree rises up and the door is closed. Then he has passed the point of no return. At that moment he dies and his spirit is non-retrievable. If, however, the **bateeneima mee nya'** retrieves the person's spirit (**noo**) before he passes over the felled tree, that person will be healed.

These acts of healing also involve ritual. The **bateeneima mee nya'** sits beside the sick person chanting "**moosoteeteema - reiteema nakeeto, booba kaba, reiteema bookooro boobaka sebeeraba, teeka.**" Each phrase of the chant is interspersed with a blow sound made by blowing through the teeth. While doing this, the **bateeneima mee nya'** waves his hand over the sick person in order to chase away the sickness. Each **bateeneima mee nya'** had his own chant which was learned during the apprenticeship from his teacher. What the relationship of this ritual is to the spirit (soul) travel in retrieving the sick person's spirit is unclear. They may in fact be two distinct processes to different causes of sickness.

The **bateeneima mee nya'** are generally considered to be helpful by the people of his house (village). However, because of the power at his disposal, he is also feared.

Both the male and the female **bateeneima mee nya'** can fly to another village in order to kill a person of that village. The man kills by shooting invisible arrows into the body of his victim, while the woman stabs her victim with an invisible cassowary bone knife. They cannot be seen by their victim. They can also fly to another village and enter the graves of the dead. They eat the flesh of the corpses because they like the flesh -- it is just like pig meat.

If a **bateeneima mee nya'** becomes aware of the presence of another **bateeneima mee nya'** in the graveyard, he descends into the grave, and kills him by shooting arrows into him. The **bateeneima mee nya'** who is shot, suddenly gets sick and dies in his own village as his spirit is unable to return to his body.

Koono' kyema mee nya', 'dreamer or diviner'

The **koono' kyema mee nya'** is a dreamer or diviner. He also can be female or male. He communicates with the spirit world by means of dreams. Like the **bateeneima mee nya'**, he can have visions (dreams) of future events, discern the best time to go hunting, and discern the cause of sickness and death. The main difference between him and the **bateeneima mee nya'** is that he does not have an ancestral spirit who sits upon his shoulder, and he cannot engage in spirit (soul) travel. He can go to the abode of the spirits in his dreams, but not in reality like the **bateeneima mee nya'**. Many of the Momina people dream, but the **koono' kyema mee nya'** as a religious specialist is the one who almost lives in the dream world.

An example can be seen in a man called **Moorookoo**. He died before the initial contact was made by the mission in 1974.

On one occasion when in the jungle with **Sooai** and **Obaee**, he saw a ladder which went up into the sky. He said to the other two men that he was going to leave them and go to the place in the sky. The two men who could not see the ladder, did not want him to leave. So they physically restrained him, preventing him from leaving. This happened a few months before his death.

Another time probably 10-15 years earlier, he had a dream. In his dream he went to the place in the sky where the **ke keeaeema mee nya'** live. He was told by them that at a future time people with white skins and straight hair like a cassowary would come and give them a new revelation which they must obey. These same people would cut down the trees at the junction of the Sumo and the Aki rivers. The reason for cutting down the tress was not clear. He told the people of his house (village) about his dream. They took what he said seriously and remembered what he had said.

When Bruno de Leeuw and John Wilson trekked into the Sumo area and made that initial contact, the people agreed among themselves that these must be the people of which **Moorookoo** had spoken. When some two years later the trees were cut down at the junction of the Sumo and Aki rivers in order to make the Sumo airstrip, the rest of the dream was understood. As a result the people at Sumo have been very open and receptive to outsiders.

Sorcery

Although sorcery is not directly related to the main subject of this paper, it is indirectly related in that this was one of the main causes of sickness and death which the **bateeneima mee nya'** was called upon to divine.

In Momina society all initiated adults knew how and were able to perform sorcery. Thus there is no religious specialist who exclusively fills this role. There are five means of performing sorcery, which are a combination of 'leavings' sorcery and curses.

Moosoosoma, 'curse'

Moosoosoma is a curse which is said quietly or under one's breath while looking at the person whom the curse is being placed upon. This is learned at the time of one's initiation, usually from a close relative. The curse is learned by rote. However, some innovation is permissible.

Moosoteema, 'footprint sorcery'

In performing **moosoteema**, the sorcerer usually digs up a footprint of the victim (however other 'leavings' could be substituted). He places it on a red pandanus leaf. Having wrapped it up, he takes it to his house and places it under the bark mat on which he sleeps. He then says, **"Me to ne obee e"** (kill this man). The victim then becomes sick, loses his flesh, becomes very thin, and slowly dies.

Buroo kweereba toeema, 'snake sorcery'

This method involves killing the victim by means of snakes. The sorcerer takes a bamboo knife and sharpens it until it is extremely sharp. He then stabs the footprint which has been left by his victim saying, **"Kotakee-enee, ko ne keree tooba kweeakooe."** 'Kotakee enee, you will be bitten by a snake and die.'

Tootooma, 'leavings sorcery'

This method entails the use of 'leavings' (i.e., hair, nail parings, food or footprints left in mud) which are placed into a bamboo tube. The bamboo tube is then buried in the ground at a taboo (**weetee**) place. As the bamboo tube rots, the victim becomes sick and slowly dies. This is done when the sorcerer desires to take the husband or wife of the victim.

Tootoobima, 'bamboo sorcery'

The sorcerer takes 'leavings' of his victim and places them into a bamboo tube. He then stabs the leavings with a sharp bamboo knife while cursing the man saying, "Kill this man." He then throws the bamboo tube in the direction of where his victim lives usually on a trail leading to his or her house. The victim then gets sick, his body gets covered with open sores (**tootoo**), and he dies. This is usually done to people who live at a more distant location, although not exclusively.

Momina Vowel Pronunciation

i	like ee as in bee
e	like e as in bed
ee	like a as in fate
a	like a as in bad
u	like oo as in book
oo	like o as in bone
o	like o as in pot

Glossary

Abeeareema mee nya'	an epilectic or person who has fits
aikooro beea	last/final sky
Aimikeiso	son of Rooni Ko' Booto
anaboin	turtle/fish clan founded by **Bironee** at Rekai
Anaroona	**Rooni Ko' Booto's** sister
Banee Kosee Booto	older brother of Moneebeea,Koboo clan creating father
bareema	large jungle tree inhabited by tree spirits
Bateebeea	founder of Boone clan
ba\teeneima mee nya'	shaman/medium
benema	killing of pigs for the Wo Wei feast

biro	ancestral spirits
Biroonee	founder of Anaboin clan
bma karee	kind of bird
bma tei' yoo	large jungle chicken
bma yori	kind of bird
Boone	sun/rat clan founded by **Bateebeea** at Ubiu
boroo'	earth tree
Botooma rino Booto	distant high god
buroo kueereba toeema	snake sorcery
bwoo'	turtle
Bwoo' Kibita	turtle man
bwoo' tenain	turtle spirits
ee kete	banana leaves
ee ko' tenain	banana tree spirits
Ee neteimee ma nee nya'	a person who has a spirit that sits on his shoulder
Eera	sago clan founded by **Erebeaat** at Ubiu
Eereba	founder of Eera clan
Eerenka	snake clan
ee somo	inedible banana
in kon tenain	water spirits
kee	fish
kei eenee	head water spirit
ke kamoo	insiders invited to the Koobo feast
ke keeaeema mee nya'	sky people
ke keeaeema	renew their skins
ke kei	kind of snake
kei tenain	fish spirits
ke monee	kind of snake
ke toomooboo	large snakes
ko' beiyerokoo	inedible tree fruit
Koobo	bamboo clan founded by **Banee Kosee Booto** at Indama
kokokoeemeeboo' to'	halfway houses used in the Wo Wei feast
ko' mukotena nooain	female tree spirit
Koobo boo'	one of the major feasts
koonoo	type of large jungle tree
koono'kyema mee nya'	dreamers/diviners
ko' rokoo	jungle fruit
ko'ru ooro	tree and water spirit
ko' ru tenain	malevolent tree spirits
ko' sameta	tree with red leaves from which the Woin people come
ko' sirokoo	jungle fruit
ma karee	kind of bird
matei	a bitter root that departed ghosts eat
ma yori	kind of bird
mee' okwi	placenta
Moneebea	cultural hero who introduced sago
monkwasee	type of large jungle tree
moosoosoma	curse sorcery
moosoteema	footprint sorcery
noo	dead person's spirit

ooroo	tree/water spirit
ou bosoo	kind of lizard
Ou moo to'	insider at the Koobo feast
ou teea	kind of lizard
ou toomooboo	large lizards
rino	sky/canopy
Rooni Ko' Booto	cultural hero and malevolent spirit
rooniko'	Booto Woin creating father
roru	head tree spirit
seeree	type of large jungle tree
si	type of large jungle tree
tabanee	tree kangaroo
tinakete	kind of leaf
tooko	near and distant malevolent spirits of the departed dead
Tooko	place of the departed dead
tootoo	open sores
tootooma	leavings sorcery
tootoobima	bamboo sorcery
wambei	roru's wife
waree kooro	type of tree
wari	a type of edible tree like sago
Wei' rimeto'	leader of the Wo Wei feast
weetee	taboo
weetee tenain	earth spirit
wera	type of tree
Wetareetena	female culture hero
witi	cassowary bird
woin	pig clan founder was **Rooni Ko'Booto** at Sumo
woko meearoo	pig tree people
woowoo	Singing used during the Koobo boo' feast
Wo Wei	killing of pigs feast

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IKTHISAR

Suku Sawi adalah salah satu suku di Irian Jaya yang mendiami daerah dataran rendah bagian selatan dari propinsi yang paling timur di Indonesia. Mereka tinggal di daerah yang berpenduduk jarang dan daerah yang berawa-rawa di pantai selatan. Jumlah jiwa dalam suku ini ada sekitar 3000 orang dan tinggal di 16 buah desa. Namun demikian, setiap keluarga dari suku ini mempunyai rumah yang disebut **kaminap ap** di hutan. Para lelaki yang belum menikah tinggal di rumah panjang yang disebut **haem**, tempat di mana diadakan upacara agama dan pesta-pesta. Rumah-rumah kecil disekitarnya berada di atas pohon dengan ketinggian 50 kaki dari tanah untuk melindungi diri dari serangan musuh.

Suku Sawi adalah suku peramu yang makanan pokoknya adalah sagu. Para lelaki suku ini merupakan pemburu-pemburu yang terampil dan mereka biasanya memburu babi hutan, kasuari, buaya, dan binatang pengerat lain serta binatang melata. Para wanita mencari makanan berupa umbi-umbian dan daun-daunan di hutan.

Maksud dari makalah ini adalah untuk menguji sistem kepercayaan suku Sawi mengenai roh-roh atau arwah-arwah dan kemampuannya dalam mempengaruhi kehidupan orang-orang yang masih hidup. Hal ini termasuk roh-roh yang mandiri, seperti roh-roh hutan, roh-roh kejahatan dan kebaikan yang berkuasa serta para pahlawan kebudayaan. Penulis juga akan berbicara tentang jiwa atau sukma dan kehidupan yang akan datang, alam dan kegiatan orang mati, perantaraan roh melalui dukun, kesakitan dan kematian serta kekuatan ritus dan prakteknya.

TRADITIONAL SAWI RELIGION

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Definition of Religion

Much attention has been given to the study of religion as it is a found in all cultures. Religious beliefs and practices are important and often play a major role in integrating a way of life into a functional unity. Though these beliefs and practices differ from culture to culture, they are alike in that they address concerns outside of the natural realm. From this observation, anthropologist Robert Taylor makes the statement that "anthropologists usually define religion as the beliefs and practices having to do with the concept of the supernatural"(Taylor 1973:389).

Having stated this, though, there remains the problem of defining what is meant by the term "supernatural". When studying other religions it is quite common for those from the Western world to apply the term supernatural to whatever cannot be explained by European logic and science. Within many cultures of the world however, and especially those in Melanesia, what we Westerners term as "natural" is not so clearly differentiated from the supernatural. The supernatural is seen as a part of the natural. Thus, among the Sawi of Irian Jaya, success in hunting and food gathering is attributed not so much to human skill but to the effective entreatment of spirit forces to provide food. In defining the supernatural, any study of religion must accept as valid the "emic" view of the people being observed. The issue for anthropology is not which beliefs are correct, but what is the nature and function of the customs that involve belief in what the people refer to as the supernatural.

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1   Jim Yost works under the auspices of Regions Beyond Missionary Union International in Irian Jaya.

Realizing the limiting factor of speaking about religion in terms of the supernatural only, Paul Hiebert gives the following broader definition of religion which is quite helpful:

In its broadest sense, religion encompasses all specific beliefs about the ultimate nature of reality and the origins, meaning and destiny of life as well as the myths and rituals that symbolically express them. (Hiebert 1983:372).

From Hiebert's definition, we see that the essence of religion is much more than mere supernatural deities or powers. The supernatural, is in fact, more a channel than the end result in religion. The final desired outcome in religion is to be able to transcend oneself and one's situation in order to make sense out of the human experience and find some order for life as it is known. Some people would be tempted to explain Melanesian religion is terms of ancestors and spirits. In reality, ancestors and spirits are merely channels for finding some order in and/or control over the seemingly hostile environment in which Melanesians find themselves.

Another very useful definition of religion is given by Clifford Geertz. He states:

...a religion is: (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic. (Geertz 1979:79).

Geertz' emphasis on the power of religious symbols is a good one. He sees a symbol as any object, act, event, quality or relation that serves as a vehicle for a conception. That conception then is the symbol's meaning. The significance here is that religious symbols are a people's culturally conceived conceptualizations regarding the world and their place in it. These symbols affirm their belief of what reality is all about and how they are to act within it.

Religion needs symbols and cannot exist without them. It is through specific symbols and devotional activities that long-lasting moods and motivations are established. After being established, these moods and motivations are expressed and reinforced through the continuation of the symbols. Without symbolism, the moods and motivations will lose their force and fade away. For the Sawi, the symbol of **tohomoh** 'magic' establishes and continues a mood of optimism regarding the possibility of changing one's environment for the better through the influencing of supernatural powers. This symbol produces the motivations behind the ritualistic behavior associated with such things as hunting magic or magic to obtain good health.

1.2. Functions of Religion

In examining Geertz' definition of religion, we are led to the deeper level of understanding how religion functions within the worldview of a people. According to Geertz, the moods and conceptions that religious symbols establish create an aura of factuality that then validates the existing worldview. Not only does it validate the worldview, but it also brings about a synthesis of any incongruent factors of actual life with the worldview. Geertz goes on to elaborate on this function of religion:

...sacred symbols function to synthesize a people's ethos -- the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood -- and their worldview -- the picture they have of the way things in sheer actuality are, their most comprehensive ideas of order. (Geertz 1979:79).

Though our worldview presents us with an ordered understanding of our world and our place in it, at times injected into that order is chaos, or events that lack interpretability. Evil, pain and suffering are just some of these chaotic elements that lack explanation and create uncertainty. A sudden monsoon wipes out an entire village. Sickness and death cuts a child's life short. But these elements are rendered more reasonable by religious belief and practice. As Malinowski put it:

Religion is not born out of speculation or reflection, still less out of illusion or misapprehension, but rather out of the real tragedies of human life, out of the conflict between human plans and realities. (Malinowski 1979:45).

People are able to deny chaos only through the special perspective of religion which acknowledges supernatural realities outside of daily life. Their belief is strengthened and given conviction through the practice of religious ritual which in turn creates moods and motivations which help them see their quality of life as more intellectually reasonable and in line with their worldview. The importance of religion is thus seen in the transcending of the chaos that threatens human beings. Religion gives security to its adherents by providing a model of reality which places everyday life into the context of the worldview.

Geertz seems to sum up in one comprehensive statement what others have delineated as several major functions of religion. Robert Taylor identifies four of these functions as "explanation, reassurance, validation, and integration." (Taylor 1973:397) Regarding explanation, all human beings try to make sense out of the circumstances of life. They wonder how things got started, why people die rather than live forever, why people suffer, and so forth. For example, among the Sawi earthquakes indicate a culture hero's attempts to escape confinement in an underground world and thunder is explained as an ancestral spirit being removed from its final resting place in the sky world. There is great diversity in the specific explanations arrived at by the human mind. Many of these explanations are embodied in the universally found sacred stories known as myths.

A second important function of religion is reassurance. People worry about the possibility of unfortunate things happening to them. They are continually faced with sickness, death and all manner of physical as well as psychological discomfort. While strangers mistreat them, friends often fail them. Religious beliefs and practices provide the comfort and reassurance that comes from having some way to explain and cope with the troubles and uncertainties of life. For the Sawi, life would be too much to endure were it not for the divination or dreams that determine what or who is wrong, the magic that brings healing, or the sorcery by which an enemy is defeated without the danger of direct conflict. These all hold promise for helpin a person cope with life's troubles successfully.

A third major function of religion is validation of a people's worldview and the customs and values emerging from it. Religious beliefs are important in any culture as powerful support for the things people believe they should or should not do and as explanations

for these customs. Thus among the Asmat, a neighboring group to the Sawi in Irian Jaya, the soul of a recently deceased village elder is believed to remain in the village until it is joined by the soul of a newborn baby and the two souls can journey together to the abode of the dead. From a Western perspective, the fact that within a week of the old man's death a newborn baby will mysteriously die, usually from starvation or exposure, conjures up notions of murder. But from the perspective of the Asmat, the death of a child who is not yet sociologically alive is justified in order to prevent substantial persecution on the local villagers by the old man's enraged soul.

A fourth and final function of religion is that of integration. Not only is there a social integration that takes place as a group's solidarity is enhanced by the feeling of belonging which comes from believing and practicing the same religious rituals, but there is also an aspect of cultural integration. Culture can be viewed as a functional complex of customs which can be unified by the presence of various religious themes. As Malinowski originally pointed out in his description of the Trobriand Islanders (1961), so too in recent years Alan Tippett, whose anthropological work centered in Polynesia and Melanesia, has emphasized the way religion penetrates all aspects of the cultures of many pre-literate groups (Tippett, Alan. 1976 Lectures). Tippett would suggest that religion is the dominant cultural system of these groups, directly influencing and linking all other cultural systems (e.g. economic, political, etc). It is my opinion that this is true for Sawi religion as it intrudes into every phase of normal life of the Sawi. To describe the Sawi way of life in its totality is to describe a religious way of life.

These same functions of explanation, validation and assurance are referred to by Lawrence and Meggitt when describing the function of Melanesian religions:

> *The function of religion within the total cosmic order is : first, to explain and validate through myths the origin and existence of the physical world, it's economic resources and the means of exploiting them, and the socio-political structure; and, second, to give man the assurance that he can control the cosmic order by performing ritual. (Lawrence & Meggitt 1965:9).*

1.3. Religion and Worldview

No study of religion can be done without understanding the place of religion in the worldview of a people. I've already mentioned worldview several times when referring to those comprehensive beliefs and assumptions about life and the environment in which members of a society find themselves. In showing how religion is an integral part of pre-literate people's worldview, Dorothy Lee defines worldview in the following manner:

> *The world view of a particular society includes that society's conception of man's own relation to the universe, human and non-human, organic and inorganic, secular and divine, to use our own dualisms. It expresses man's view of his own role in the maintenance of life, and of the forces of nature. His attitude toward responsibility and initiative is inextricable from his conception of nature as deity-controlled, man-controlled, regulated through a balanced cooperation between god and man, or perhaps maintained through some eternal homeostasis, independent of man and perhaps of any deity. The way a man acts, his feeling of guilt and achievement, and*

> *his very personality, are affected by the way he envisions his place within the universe. (Lee 1985:30).*

Behind all behavior lie certain assumptions which exert great influence over the forming of those behavior patterns. Though normally implicit, these assumptions form models of reality in that they describe and explain the nature of things. They also provide us with mental maps or blueprints which guide our behavior. We believe that our assumptions about the way the world is are a true statement about reality. Paul Hiebert has divided these assumptions into three categories: cognitive, affective and evaluative (Hiebert 1985:45). By cognitive he means those assumptions which furnish people with their concepts of time, space and other worlds. Taken together these assumptions give order and meaning to life and reality. Affective assumptions determine notions of beauty, style, and aesthetics. Evaluative assumptions provide the standards people use to make judgments, including forming priorities and allegiances. When introducing his model of worldview Hiebert states:

> *...cognitive, affective, and evaluative assumptions provide people with a way of looking at the world that makes sense out of it, that gives them a feeling of being at home, and that reassures them that they are right. This worldview serves as the foundation on which they construct belief and value systems, and the social institutions within which they live their daily lives. (Hiebert 1985:47).*

Hiebert's model puts worldview assumptions at the core radiating out into all the cultural belief and value systems. These belief systems then emerge as the concrete social institutions of society such as economics, technology, aesthetics, politics, law, religion, social organization, etc. So worldview assumptions provide the foundation for all these institutions. Hiebert's model appears in the following diagram.

Table 1. Hiebert's Model of Worldview (1985:46)
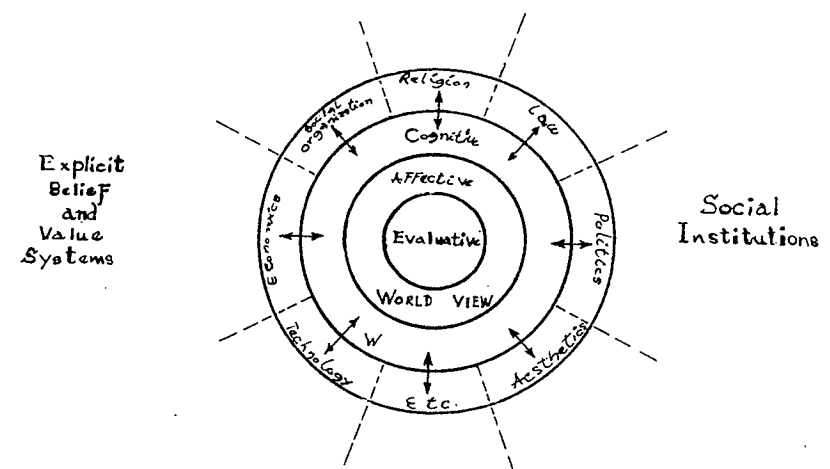
With a slight adaptation, Hiebert's model becomes the model I will follow in studying Sawi religion. The change comes in the center where I would place religion when referring to pre-literate societies. I find support for such a move from other anthropologists like Tippett and Lee who see the central permeating influence of religion in pre-literate societies. The reason for such a great influence is the fact that these people are operating from a supernaturalistic worldview where religion is not compartmentalized.[2] Even Hiebert acknowledges the special relationship the religious system has with worldview which is not shared with other belief systems. He states:

A world view provides people with their basic assumptions about reality. Religion provides them with the specific content of this reality, with the things in the people's model of the universe and with relationships between these things. (Hiebert 1983:371).

The adapted model I will be following appears in the following diagram.

Table 2. Adapted Worldview Model
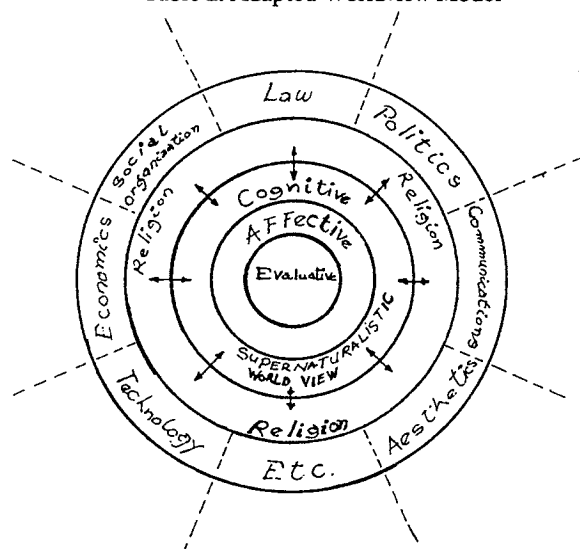
Again Hiebert clearly states the connection between religion and worldview and emphasizes the importance of always looking for the emic meaning of religious symbols within their cultural context:

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2   Some Melanesian supernaturalistic worldview assumptions are: a) a person's most important obligation is to build up and maintain his or her own group, b) spirits and ghosts are involved in all of human life, especially trouble, c) ritual and magic are efficient for the provision of human needs, and d) ancestral time is beyond human experience, therefore, information from that time is both correct and important.

Religious rituals and myths are symbolic expressions of the specific beliefs that people use to create their explanatory models of the world. A study of them can help us to understand the meaning people ascribe to events and things. But rituals and myths can be understood fully only within the cultural contexts in which they are found, for their meaning is tied to the culture as a whole. (Hiebert 1983:394).

To conclude this section, I think it appropriate to quote Darrell Whiteman who did extensive anthropological research in Melanesia. Whiteman would agree with the emphasis of this paper that Melanesian worldview is essentially a religious one. He states:

Melanesian epistemology is essentially religious. What I define analytically as 'religious knowledge' is to the Melanesian the most important. Melanesians, however, do not live in a compartmentalized world of secular and spiritual domains, but have an integrated worldview, in which physical and spiritual realities dovetail. Melanesians are a very religious people, and traditional religion played a dominant role in the affairs of men and permeated the life of the community. (Whiteman 1983:64).

1.4. Appreciation for the Study of Religion

At the outset of this study, it is important that we have a proper understanding and appreciation for religion. When referring to Melanesian religions, some people would use the classification of "simple religion". In this way they relegate some traditional religions to the mere status of magical manipulation of spirit-beings while granting the status of "higher religion" to more so-called civilized societies where a hierarchy of gods can be found. But I would venture to say that there are no simple religions and that this concept is merely a carry-over of Western evolutionary thinking of the past. In his foundational comparative study of religious phenomena, Mircea Eliade has written:

A treatise on religious phenomena starting with the simplest and working up to the most complex does not seem to me to be called for...it presupposes an evolution in the religious phenomena, from the simple to the complex, which is a mere hypothesis and cannot be proved. We have yet to meet anywhere a simple religion. (Eliade 1974:xiv).

Despite the lack of scientific evidence for evolutionary theories of religion, there are still some evolutionistic preconceptions in the minds of many cross-cultural observers of religion. When referring to the first descriptions of traditional religions by Europeans following initial contact, Harold Turner writes that these religions were presented as:

either no religion at all, or else merely superstitions and witchcraft and magic, and, if not the result of human error and ignorance, then at best the elementary religious efforts of childish peoples... (Turner 1977:30).

Such observations fail to realize that all religions, including those we refer to as traditional ones, are coherent systems of belief based on true religious experience. There is logical development in these systems according to the specific worldviews of the people involved. The only way for outsiders like ourselves to truly appreciate that inner logic and

coherence is to study more about these religions and immerse ourselves in the cultural symbols and patterning associated with these religions.

In the study of religion, it is our desire to come to some understanding of a people's belief system. We are interested in what these beliefs tell us about the people and their culture and in how beliefs operate within as well as integrate the broader cultural system. Because beliefs are expressed in symbolic forms, we focus our study on myths, origin stories, and ritual behavior. It is the study of these symbol systems which can provide us with a great deal of insight into the ways people think and the ways they organize their cultures.

1.5. Order of this Study

In this present study, I have been primarily concerned with ideas about the recent and remote dead, autonomous spirit beings, sickness and death, the soul and the afterlife, spiritual mediation through the shaman, and ritual power and practice. This material has been organized around three main divisions. They are: the human soul; spirit beings; and techniques for dealing with the supernatural. These divisions are not arbitrary but rather follow the anthropological criteria that religious beliefs dealing with the nature of supernatural things can be divided into two types: supernatural persons and supernatural power (Taylor 1973:390 ; Hiebert 1983:381). Though there is overlap between these three divisions, there is basically a progression throughout the paper with sections 3. and 4. dealing with the human soul, section 5. on spirit beings, and sections 6. through 8. touching on techniques for dealing with the supernatural. The beliefs and practices described in this paper comprise what I refer to as traditional Sawi religion. It must be understood, though, that the systematic formulations of Sawi beliefs as formally present here are not necessarily those of the Sawi people themselves, i.e., the beliefs and practices described are Sawi, but the organization and formulation of them are a result of my own anthropological training and point of view.

1.6. Sawi Religious Context

For the Sawi tribespeople of Irian Jaya, the spirit world plays a very important part in life. Much of their mythology focuses upon the activity of spiritual beings. These myths in turn form part of the meaning and purpose of the people's lives. There is an intimate connection between a myth, on the one hand, and a people's ritual acts, moral deeds, social organization, and practical activities, on the other. Bronislaw Malinowski's studies of the Trobriand Islanders renewed interest in tribal mythology as they showed how myth is not merely a story but a living reality, believed to have once happened in primeval times and continuing ever since to influence the world and human destinies. He writes:

> *Myth fulfills in primitive culture an indispensable function: it expresses, enhances, and codifies belief; it safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of man. Myth is thus a vital ingredient of human civilization; it is not an idle tale, but a hard-worked active force; it is not an intellectual explanation or an artistic imagery, but a pragmatic charter of primitive faith and moral wisdom. (Malinowski 1954:101).*

From the Sawi myths emerge a system of beliefs concerning the spirit world. Spirit-beings are viewed as very active in the lives of those still living. They possess supernatural power and afflict mankind in the form of sickness, death and calamity. This potential disruption of life affects how the Sawi live day by day. Fear plays a great part in the Sawi lifestyle. A word should be said concerning the context of change prior to the gathering of data for this paper. Of particular importance is the cultural penetration from outside European and Indonesian influences. In 1962 Don Richardson, a Christian missionary with Regions Beyond Missionary Union, entered the southern half of the Sawi tribe, settling in the main village of Kamur (see map in appendix). His work was primarily focused on that region and involved the teaching of Christian doctrine, Bible translation, literacy, health care and some economic development. As a result of his work, a strong Christian church was established in the southern region which utilized the vernacular Bible. In subsequent years periodic visits were made to certain villages in the northern half. Even though he left the Sawi area in 1975, there continued to be resident missionaries in the southern region until 1987. A government post was established in Kamur and has exerted influence in the southern region for over a dozen years. Through government aid, formal education and economic development opportunities abound in the south. Because of this great degree of outside contact, some traditional practices have fallen out of usage and a number of myths have been forgotten in the southern area.

The northern half of the Sawi has been more isolated. My wife and I entered that area in 1977 and have remained through 1988. Prior to our coming, a couple of Dani evangelists from the highlands of Irian Jaya had been placed in scattered village locations for a few years. Their objective was to learn the Sawi language and present a simple Gospel message. Our work in the north was conducted along lines similar to Don Richardson's. Using the venacular scriptures we have emphasized similarities between the traditional Sawi religious system and Christianity. As a result of utilizing these bridges for understanding, many of the Sawi in the north have become Christians and a strong church has been founded. As of 1977 there was no government influence in the northern region and as of 1988 there are only rare government patrols up the river from the coast.

It is with the beliefs of the northern half of the Sawi that this paper is concerned. Considerable variation is known to exist between the two halves because they are isolated from one another due to geographic distance and two rivers. Thus each region has developed independently of the other. Variation also exists because each half borders on the territory of other tribal groups with which it has close ties and borrowings. Thus the southern Sawi have borrowed some beliefs and practices from the Kayagar people to the south while the northern Sawi have borrowed from the Auyu people to the east. The pressure of outside contact in the south, too, has caused some beliefs and practices to be totally forgotten in that region.

The purpose of this paper is to examine what exactly the Sawi belief system is regarding spirit-beings and their ability to affect the lives of those currently living. The beliefs and practices here described are traditional in nature. Some rituals are still actively practiced while others are dying out. This is to be a comprehensive description of traditional Sawi religion as it was practiced before European and Indonesian contact. For the northern region this is not too difficult to do since only a dozen years have lapsed since initial contact. The practices that have recently been discontinued still live on in the memories

of many people. In gathering my data I used several assistants from three different clans. Each assistant is recognized for his knowledge of traditional mythology and ritual.

2. LOCATION AND SOCIETY

2.1. Geography and Environment

The Sawi live in the southern lowlands of Irian Jaya, the eastern-most province of Indonesia. Though a political boundary divides the island of New Guinea in half, the tribespeople of Irian Jaya are still identified with the people of Papua New Guinea as Melanesians. The Sawi in particular live in the sparsely populated swamplands near the south coast (see maps in appendix). The elevation is, at its highest, only 30 feet above sea level and there is continual flooding due to heavy rains and high ocean tides. The dense tropical rain forest is intersected by numerous winding rivers which are fed from the ocean. Soil conditions are poor with sago palm groves being extensive throughout the area.

The climate is hot with little seasonal variation. Westerly winds from January until June bring monsoon-type storms at the beginning of the year while easterly winds prevail the latter half of the year. Though there is normally rain year-round, during the months of September to December it is possible to go several weeks between rain storms. During these months the water table, which is normally one foot below ground level, can lower to ten feet below the surface of the ground. This dry season has its advantages and disadvantages for the Sawi. Advantages include easier overland travel on dry ground as well as less mosquito infestation. One disadvantage is the difficulty it produces in processing sago which requires access to water.

The Sawi people number approximately 3,000 and occupy an area of about 1,000 square miles. As of 1988, there were 16 village locations, half of which are in the southern region and the other half in the north (see maps in appendix). Traditionally, the settlement pattern has been one of both dispersed homesteads and central village locations. Each extended family grouping has its **kaminap ap** 'homestead' in the forest. From this residence, the activities of hunting animals and gathering food take place. But there is also a central village location where all the kin of a certain patrilineage gather. In this village situation, one would find a central longhouse with scattered smaller houses around it. Unmarried men lived apart from their mothers and sisters in a community men's longhouse called a **haem**. The **haem** was not only the residence for single men but also served as a central meeting place for all men. Ritual ceremonies and feasts would take place in and around the **haem**. The smaller dwellings would house extended family groupings usually comprised of around four nuclear families. All houses, both in the village and in the forest, were erected in the treetops at around the 50 foot level to provide a good defense against enemy raids. The Sawi were, and still are, a minority tribe living in-between several larger tribes. To the west are the Asmat (50,000), to the east are the Auyu (30,000), and to the south are the Kayagar (10,000). Sawi history is filled with war accounts involving these groups, usually to the Sawi loss.

The Sawi are hunter-gatherers whose staple food is sago starch processed from the pith of the sago palm by both men and women. Besides spending the majority of their time processing sago, the men are skilled hunters of wild pig, cassowary, crocodile and other ro-

dents and lizards, while the women are careful to make use of almost every edible root and leaf in the forest. In spite of these abilities, the Sawi diet lacks many nutrients resulting in common malnutrition. Sickness, too, has been a feature of the Sawi lifestyle. The swamplands in which they live is a breeding ground for malaria-carrying mosquito.

2.2. Social Structure

Among the Sawi, the formation of local groups is based primarily on kinship and descent. Descent is unilineal and reckoned patrilineally. Kinship nomenclature follows the Omaha system in that it equates parallel cousins with siblings while distinguishing cross cousins. Such Omaha systems are common in Irian Jaya. After compiling kinship data in New Guinea, Cook and O'Brien made the following comment about the area of New Guinea west of the Strickland River which includes all of Irian Jaya:

> Although kinship terminologies in our sample of New Guinea societies exhibit considerable variety, there are a few constant elements seen in almost every system...Among these constants are several features related to the prevailing patrilineal descent ideology. In all the systems, for example, paternal parallel cousins are classed as siblings and the mother's brother is terminologically distinguished from the father and the father's brothers...the Omaha systems in this sample all occur in societies west of the Strickland. (Cook & O'Brien 1980:463).

The structure of Sawi society is one of eight sovereign clans whose patrilineages have traditionally been dispersed throughout the forest in small extended family homesteads. These homesteads, as well as the central village sites, are not permanent, but rather are continually being moved due to death and warfare. Each clan has a sense of pride in itself that tends to make it opposed to most other clans. Warfare and alliances have reinforced this over the years. Some form of cohesion, though, is ensured between these independent groups in the form of mutual interdependence for obtaining wives, alliances to facilitate peacemaking, and the cross-cutting ties of individual personal friendship. Within clans, cohesion is based on the alliance formed against outsiders, economic interdependence of men and women, and close personal friendship of same-sex peers (i.e. - brother with brother, sister with sister).

When referring here to "brothers" and "sisters", I am not speaking strictly in genealogical terms. The concept of brotherhood is culturally defined and specified through co- exchange as well as through common ancestry. Raymond Kelly brings this out clearly in his description of Etoro social structure where he writes the following about siblingship:

> The idiom of siblingship may be defined, for any culture, by the sum of all relations which are phrased in terms of brotherhood and by the emergent properties and logical implications of this set taken as a whole. The idiom of siblingship is related to the principle in that culturally specified relations of 'brotherhood' characteristically evidence equivalent transitive properties. This correspondence suggests that recognition of such properties may provide the basis on which brotherhood is imputed. The mediating terms may be genealogical but are by no means exclusively so, nor is the idiom of siblingship restricted to the sphere of genealogical kinship. (Kelly 1977:270).

Clan members have the same patrilinial surname and observe the rule of exogamy. As mentioned earlier, there are eight clan groupings among the Sawi. Á Sawi refers to his clan as his 'row of birds' **er aravao**. Currently, most Sawi clans are named after birds. Among these current clan names six are birds (**Sato, Aero, Kwaito, Wiyar, Tiro, Kamur**) and two aren't (**Yot** 'fire', **Atap** 'sun'), though **Yot** may refer to either 'fire' or 'bird of a red color' Names of other birds, animal, plants, and trees may be heard but these are merly old clan names that were used in an era of intense tribal warfare and which have been replaced with the current eight names listed here. The distribution of old clan names can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3. Sawi Clan Groupings

Current Clan names	Old clan names use						
Sato (bird)	Tuwi (pig)	Tene (bird)	Maori (rodent)	Naero (rodent)	Nado (tree kangaroo)	Yahasi (bird)	Girigi (bird)
Atap (sun)	Gasim (tree)	Sarao (tree)	Seg (tree)	Aeriv (bird)	Pariro (bird)	Haenao (bird)	Miko (bird
Aero (bird)	Haragu (bird)	Karasu (bird)	Wusai (bird)	Amaedan (bird)	Sinae (tree)		
Kwaito (bird)	Pairo (crocodile)	Sir (dog)	Kubi (bird) ·	Tarahwe (vine)	Nan (grubworm)	Pisav (bird)	Yavah (bird)
Yot (fire)	Erag (bird)	Kuyay (cassowary)	Mauhwan (bird)	Tahaesam (bird)			
Tiro (bird)	Du (sago)	Nahovae (bird)	Naosiri (bird)	Haud batap (snake)			
Wiyar (bird)	Yamo (tree)	Faero (leech)					
Kamur (bird)	Waro (bird)	Ysohwe (bird)					

It is said that the original clan names were brought with the first people who came up out of a hole in the ground to inhabit the earth. It is most likely, however, that there were originally a few dominant clans, two in the south and two in the north, from which certain families broke off to form new clans. Reasons for this division might have been the need for exogamous marriages and the results of intragroup warfare.

As is obvious, the Sawi clan names are taken from their cult-totems. To have a totemic relationship with an object from nature is to refer to that object as one's **haowat** 'totemic namesake'.[3] This term is only used in reference to a special relationship of unity and identification. Because the Sawi live in a condition of harmony and cooperation with nature, it is only natural that they bring nature into their social life by a process of personification. The Sawi definitely see a unity of life existing between natural species and themselves. In writing about the nature of totemism, A.P. Elkin states that "the cult- totem is no mere emblem, but is the symbol of the aboriginal religious and philosophical view of life and the universe" (Elkin 1967:171). Much Sawi mythology depicts species of nature acting in a personal way and they are often linked with the sanctions of moral and social life. The lizard hero ordained this, the parrot hero introduced that, the crocodile hero instituted those rites, and so on. Thus the Sawi interpret nature and its species as personal and a part of the Sawi's own moral and social order.

Although these clan totems were never forbidden to be killed and eaten, they were 'called upon', **mahor fadan**, after the Sawi killed an enemy. A **Yot** 'fire' clansman might evoke the name of his clan as he gloated over the corpse of his enemy, saying "he's on fire from my arrow". In like fashion a man from the clan of **Atap** 'sun' would say "the sun's rays are piercing him". Or a man could call upon his clan's bird totem saying "my bird is piercing him" or "my bird's beak is sharp". Then a token of the creature evoked would be placed as a boundary marker indicating where the enemy had been killed. All who would later pass by that spot would see the evidence, most likely feathers from the clan totem, and know who had placed it there. A token of one's totem can also be used to mark territory boundaries, a claim on a certain tree, a location where a pig was shot, or any other special occasion that merits remembering.

2.3. Marriage and Family

The Sawi people practice sibling exchange in their marriages. A young man's wife is arranged for him by his father (or adopted father). While this arranging is being done later in the boy's life today, traditionally it was done while he was still a small child. It is regarded as important for the young men to marry as soon as they start to show their virility. Failure to provide a legal outlet for them invites immorality which results in village warfare. There is a well known Sawi myth about a young man named **Morfwi** who was allowed to grow old without being given a wife. **Yar Ivar** 'the spirit woman', who is the supreme evil spirit-being, tried repeatedly to catch **Morfwi** in order to make him her husband but without success.

3   **Haowat** is used in another context. When a child is named after another person, the child becomes that person's **haowat**, or 'namesake', thus creating a special bond or relationship between the two people.

In the end, she warned all Sawi not to let their young men get too old before negotiating a marriage for them.

The arrangements for promising a girl are made by the girl's mother's brothers (whom she also refers to as her fathers) or mother's clan, but not by her biological father. They consult with the prospective husband's family. If they have a sibling exchange in mind, the name of the girl they want in return will be mentioned early in the negotiations. The young man may have more than one sister (the term "sister" not being defined strictly genealogically), so it must be decided which one will be given as his **ivar otaham** 'wife exchange payment'. By the time a boy reaches marriageable age, normally it has already been decided who will be his wife exchange payment.

After the arrangement has been agreed upon, the two young men who are to exchange sisters are expected to help with the overall bride price by working for their prospective fathers-in-law as the occasion arises. The main payment, though, is made on the wedding day. On that day, many of the young man's clan members, both men and women, gather together large amounts of items of value (eg. axes, knives, clothing) at the men's houses. Then the girls are escorted to their potential husbands' houses where the payment is collected and brought back to be divided among her clan members. After the girl enters the young man's house, she cooks up a sago stick and hands it to her husband-to-be. This is the final step in the marriage ceremony. When the young man eats from her hand they are married.

Traditionally, there have been three Sawi marriage ideals. The first ideal is that one must not marry someone of the same family bird (clan) as that of either of one's parents. Although a Sawi's family bird (clan) is determined patrilineally, the mother's clan is also taboo in the search for a marriage partner. The second ideal is that a man should seek to get at least five wives (a Sawi would say **yit maedap** 'a handful' of wives). The third ideal is that one's wives should all be sisters (or half-sisters).

For the Sawi, large families have always been the ideal. Sons are preferred as the firstborn and in some cases firstborn baby girls are left to die or thrown in the river. But normally children are wanted. In the rare event that a couple doesn't want their child, there are always a number of other couples willing to adopt. Though they willingly give up their baby, this practice is known as **namo omsor fan** 'stealing the baby'.

2.4. Warfare and Leadership

Warfare has been a major orientation of Sawi society despite Indonesian government pressure in recent years to confine it. Every boy grows up learning how to fight at an early age. Men are expected to actively defend their own interests as well as the interests of their kin. An offense against one member is an offence against the clan. People fight to avenge killings, sexual offenses, and territory and property infractions. Through the 1970's major wars involving several hundred people were still continuing, though mostly on the intratribal level. Prior to this, surprise raids, frequently in the hours just before dawn, would be made against neighboring tribes. Seldom were large-scale numbers slaughtered in battles. Warriors were content to kill only a few of the enemy. The bodies of dead enemies would then be carried off for a cannibalistic victory feast. Revenge killings were the norm and the only way continued fighting could be stopped was through the giving of a **tarop tim**

'peace child' (Richardson 1974:193). The group which last killed someone would choose a small child to give to their enemy. Upon reception of the child, that group would in turn give one of their children to the first group. These newly adopted children would be cared for as one of their own, for as long as they lived peace would reign.

Leadership rights and duties are not ascribed on the basis on descent and there are no hereditary or formally elected chiefs or headmen. Rather, leadership is an achieved status where men become influential by means of oratory, cunning, knowledge, success in war, and ability to make good on claims to provide quantities of food. Marshall Sahlins describes this common feature in Melanesian cultures where a leader creates a following through generosity:

> *Typically decisive is the deployment of one's skills and efforts in a certain direction: towards amassing goods...and distributing them in ways which build a name for cavalier generosity, if not for compassion. A faction is developed by informal private assistance to people of a locale...Finally, a leader's career sustains its upward climb when he is able to link other men and their families to his faction, harnessing their production to his ambition. This is done by calculated generosities, by placing others in gratitude and obligation through helping them in some big way. (Sahlins 1966:167,168).*

Thus a leader's status is recognized by the community. The more people acknowledge his ability and ally themselves with him the more influence he has. 'Great fighters' **puhwi** are highly esteemed and prowess in war qualifies a man for leadership in other areas. The Sawi ideal of plural wives also denotes leadership ability since the man has had to persuade a number of other households into forming alliances with him for obtaining the wives.

Approved public behavior for Sawi men requires that they show equivalence with each other. Though this does not prevent leaders from arising, it is important that in terms of food production, oratory, and even in personality all men are seen as equal. No one can demand a higher status. In arguments, a flexible approach that leaves room for another to equalize is applauded. But the man who obstinately insists on his point earns little respect. He who is a good hunter and capable of providing much food is considered a good man when he is able to give away enough food to maintain equivalence and good relations with those around him. Even in exchanges equivalence must be shown. Selfishness is a cardinal sin among the Sawi. Thus the point is reinforced that a leader is not one who tries to elevate himself but rather is one who is recognized by the community as a person highly beneficial to the group.

Finally, the Sawi are happiest when they are out in their homesteads in the forest. In these extended family households they are free from the obvious reminders of their obligations towards others. It is when households gather together for special occasions that opportunities arise for comparisons, tensions grow, and the atmosphere ripens for a quarrel. It is during these times that old grievances are recalled and the obligation for taking revenge is remembered.

3.0. THE SOUL AND THE AFTERLIFE

3.1. The Soul

Every human being is said to have a **myao**, 'soul'. A person's reflection or shadow is also referred to as **myao** but these are not equated with the soul itself. The **myao** is said to be resident in the heart as its beating action signifies the presence of the soul. The **myao** is believed to be present in the body at birth. In fact, as soon as movement of the unborn child is felt in the womb it is said that the **myao** is intact in the child's body. It would appear that the Sawi equate the presence of the soul with biological life. This should not be confused with sociological life. For the Sawi, sociological life begins at the naming of the child which takes place at least a year after the birth when it is apparent the child is going to survive and it's personality becomes evident.

At death, the soul is said to exit the body either through the feet, the mouth, or the head. If someone is near death, but not yet dead, they are referred to as **duvaro ba**, 'still having a beating heart'. There is also a connection between the soul and blood. If a person is shot with an arrow in any extremity and suffers loss of blood, the Sawi expect them to recover. But if a person is shot in the upper body then all the blood that comes out is believed to carry with it the soul and the person is expected to die. When the elderly appear to be dying of old age, the Sawi say that their blood is drying up and there is not enough left to sustain the soul. People who have lost the will to live are referred to as having **myao inapi** 'a weak soul'.

Besides being able to lose one's soul entirely as a result of a mortal wound or sickness leading to death, there is one other possible cause of partial soul loss. When a person has a headache it is said, "His soul is getting weak". The cure for such an ailment is to tie a piece of vine around the patient's forehead in order to secure the soul from any more loss. The soul is considered by the Sawi to be a very real entity. It can even have experiences quite apart from the body. Touching on this aspect of soul travel, Eugene Nida writes:

> *Most Melanesian people believe that in sleep their souls wander off from the body and actually perform the deeds of which they dream. For this reason, some people have allowed themselves to be condemned for stealing in a distant village even though they could prove that all the time they were asleep at home. If they dreamed that they had stolen, most surely their soul must have done the deed. (Nida 1954:146).*

The Sawi, too, believe the soul can wander or travel during sleep. While a person sleeps, their soul can travel all through the forest. It can manifest itself to others in the form of it's own physical body or it can take the form of an animal. A common occurrence is that it takes the form of a wild pig. If a villager comes across the pig while hunting in the forest and shoots it then the soul's owner will die. Or if someone meets a soul in the form of its own body and recognizes it as a wandering soul then that person has two avenues open to him. He can become angry at the soul's attempt to trick him and he can beat it to death, resulting in the death of the person to whom the soul belongs. Or he can go to the individual whose soul he's seen and inform him of the meeting along with a request for payment. If payment is not made, the individual will die.

There is a differentiation made between soul travel during sleep and soul travel in dreams. During sleep the individual does not know where his soul travels to unless he is told about it by someone who has met his soul. During dreams the individual sees exactly where his soul goes and what it does. The dreamer experiences the perceptions of the soul. An example of this is the individual who dreams of going off to fight in a war and sees himself killed in battle. What his soul has experienced in the dream will be sure to come about in the next war.

One other type of soul travel involves the enticement of souls of one's enemies to enter one's village as a sign that you are to go to war against an enemy tribe. This is a form of divination that will be covered in more detail in section 8.3. regarding rituals.

In life the soul of an individual is termed his **myao**. At death, though, his **myao** becomes a **hamar** 'the spirit of a dead departed human being' (ghost). The **hamar** 'ghost' does not readily depart for another world, but rather it stays nearby until all the funeral rites have been completed. For the Sawi, traditional funeral rites could last up to several weeks. First the corpse is placed on a raised burial platform. As the body rots in the hot tropical sun certain male in-laws of the deceased have to touch the rotting flesh. Other relatives wail and dance the **homon gam** 'dance of death'. A large feast is also eaten. But the whole ritual is not completed until all flesh has rotted off the bones of the deceased. At this point there is a final processing of sago with the declaration, "It is finished. The **hamar** has left." Then some of the bones are taken to a **yanae tohod** 'banyan tree' in the forest and left at its base. These funeral rites will be described in more detail later in this paper in section 7.3. but suffice it to say at this point that during the entire funeral process the **hamar** of the newly deceased individual is feared. The **hamar** may be met anywhere in the nearby vicinity of the forest and if such an encounter should occur, death is believed to be the most common result.

It should be mentioned here, though it will be expanded on in section 5.1. about spirits, that at death a person's myao can be stolen by a **yar** 'forest spirit'. Though this is rare, it is believed that when it happens the **myao** then becomes a **yar** too and remains on the earth.

3.2. Other Worlds

When the funeral rites are finally completed the **hamar** is ready to make its journey to another world. Death being seen as a passage from one form of existence to another is common among Melanesian peoples. Jim Franks writes the following about the beliefs of the Manam people off the north coast of Papua New Guinea:

> *To the Manam death is a passage, a journey from Manam to the place of the dead. Rituals, rites, ceremonies ensure a safe and quick passage. All possible must be done to facilitate the passage. Once there, the* **mariaba** *'soul' enters a place of happiness, peace and joy. He joins his relatives, awaits his wife and children. He rejoices in a life of plenty. His troubles, his fears, his hunger are all a thing of the past. His earthly existence is not finished but fulfilled. His life is perfected. His death is not a separation or completion of life, but the sign of beginning the journey to the* **anua matemate** *'land of the dead' where fulfillment is reached. (Franks 1979:116-117).*

For the Sawi, there are two worlds from which to choose when making such a journey. One of these worlds is located under the ground and is referred to as **masahari**. It is considered to be a good place. Two continual worries of the Sawi, food and health, will no longer be problems there. Wealth untold will be found there also. There is no literal door to this inside-the-earth world but the **hamar** know how to enter. The **hamar** of people who led good upright lives, as well as those of corrupt individuals, can reside in this world. **Masahari** is an eternal world and was the source of human life on earth in that the Sawi believe the first inhabitants of the earth came up through a hole in the ground.[4]

This origin story involves the man Yahati and some nine other men who originally all lived underground in **masahari**. One day Yahati saw light and came up through a hole in the ground. He saw a bird and shot at it. Though he missed, his arrow pierced a leaf and he picked that leaf to take it back with him as proof of this new world above ground. The other men believed his story and joined him in coming above ground. But Yahati forgot his dog and decided to go back down to **masahari** to fetch it. The other men tried in vain to stop him from leaving. After he disappeared into the hole, the others closed up the opening so Yahati was never able to get out again. Now whenever Yahati tries to get out, his efforts are felt by everyone on earth as an earthquake.

The other world the **hamar** can choose to go to is literally called the "village in the sky", **haur aphaem**. Like **masahari** it is a place of perfection. But unlike **masahari** it does not carry the connotation of material wealth. Also, only the **hamar** of people who led righteous lives on earth can go there. If the **hamar** of a wicked individual mistakenly enters the **haur aphaem** then quickly it will be literally kicked out, to fall to earth and into the **borsoh**, 'the deep standing water around trees in the swamp'. The sound of this action is heard as thunder by those on earth. The **hamar** drowns in this deep water never to return again. It appears that in the minds of the Sawi most **hamar** journey to the **haur aphaem** where a sort of judgment is executed. Those who qualify can stay but those who don't measure up are cast into **borsoh**.

After death, the **hamar** who is satisfied with the manner of death will depart and go to one of the other worlds. But on occasion the **hamar** will not be satisfied. It is upset at the fact it died alone. It desires for someone to join it. Thus, it will reside on earth. Its purpose is to eventually cause someone to die so that its loneliness will be eased. It usually chooses a close relative; a brother, sister, or wife. It may be only a matter of days or possibly months before it completes its mission. The **hamar** of whoever it kills then remains on earth with it though not in pursuit of someone to kill. They can never leave the earth. So when a person in the village dies all villagers become afraid that possibly a **hamar** killed

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4   The original people who came up out of the ground to inhabit earth are said to have come up through a hole that is located southeast of the present territory of the Sawi. They migrated to the west to an area of grasslands known as the kohovan. While there, one day a man cut his tongue while blowing through a piece of bamboo trying to restart a fire. The result was his speaking with a new language which is now Sawi. The others left him and they now form the Auyu tribe and language group to the east. From the kohovan this man journeyed south to the Tumdu river where the Sawi tribe multiplied.

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them. For several days they don't go out at night or to the forest alone for fear the hamar will kill them too.

The Sawi also believe that in addition to human beings, animals also have souls. These include pigs, dogs, cassowaries, and possums. But unlike human souls, souls of animals cannot become **hamar**. There is no life after death for animals.

4.0. THE NATURE AND ACTIVITY OF THE DEAD

4.1. The Nature of the Dead

Many highland tribes in Irian Jaya make a sharp distinction between the recent and remote dead and attribute more importance to the latter. Writing about the Huli people of the Papua New Guinea highlands, Glasse affirms this distinction and the attention given to the remote dead:

Ghosts of the recently dead have little influence on human affairs and cannot provoke or intercede with the deities...The degree to which a ghost can affect its descendants for good or evil is largely dependent upon its antiquity. The ghosts of grandparents and more distant ancestors exert more power than those of parents. (Glasse 1965:31-32).

Lawrence and Meggitt believe this distinction is valid for all of Melanesia with a further division being made between highlanders and lowlanders. They see highland peoples characteristically more concerned about the remote dead while lowlanders give more attention to the recent dead (Lawrence & Meggitt 1965:11). This is true among the Sawi who tend to disregard remote ancestral spirits while concentrating their interest on those of the recent dead. While the spirits of the recent dead are referred to as **hamar**, the ancestral spirits of the remote dead are called **asigi** 'ancestors'. There is no specific time when the **hamar** become **asigi** but one's deceased grandparents along with all prior generations are referred to as **asigi**.

When a man dies and his soul leaves his body to become a **hamar**, it is said that this **hamar** stays near the body until the funeral rites are completed. It may wander out into the forest for an occasional excursion but most of the time it stays by the corpse. When it is out in the forest it always stays within the clan territory. It frequents the same places that the person did in real life. As mentioned earlier, after completion of the funeral rites the **hamar** may decide to go on to another world or stay on earth. It is about these earthly resident **hamar**, whether awaiting departure or having determined to stay on earth, that the remainder of this section is concerned.

Hamar are said to have bodies just like humans and have the same appearance as they did in real life. Thus they can be recognized. The only problem is that under normal circumstances it is not possible to see them. Only the **haose** 'shaman', through spirit mediation, can see and communicate with the **hamar**. All others can't and definitely don't want to see a **hamar**. For it is believed that on the day one actually sees a **hamar** one may possibly die. Though **hamar** do not make their abode in any one place, they can often be found in the cold damp areas of the swamp. They are known to appear with the cold wind and

rain. They are considered to be dangerous both day and night. Material barriers do not halt them and they can know human thoughts so that the mere intention to act in a particular way can cause the **hamar** to attack the offender.

4.2. Activity of the Dead

Occasionally a **hamar** reveals itself to a person walking alone in the forest, an event that usually precedes grave misfortune or even death. The **hamar** presence is announced by its unique card, a high pitched shrill cry. Normally, in these cases, the **hamar** appears just as the person did prior to death (i.e. - same clothing, skin color, etc). But sometimes the hamar may assume another form, that of a bird, snake, pig, or crocodile. To reiterate, the normal form of a **hamar** is its pre-death human appearance, but on occasion it may change from this form .⊥. 1 **foron maran** 'take the form of' an animal. It is recognized as a **hamar** when that animal behaves strangely thus indicating threat to the victim. When a person unwittingly meets up with a **hamar** the first thing that happens is that the **hamar** "eats" the person. This "eating", known as **fadon**, is a symbolic removal of the victim's life force. After "eating" the victim the **hamar** raises him from the dead and gives him instructions concerning certain taboos. These instructions may also include directions on where to find food, a command to move one's living quarters from that area of the forest, an injunction against eating certain foods, a command to kill another person, or directions on where to find a pig to shoot. If the person obeys all instructions then he has a chance at living. But if he disobeys even one he will be killed by the **hamar**. The **hamar** may also make a prophecy concerning who it will kill next and it will happen exactly as it is declared. People in the past who have come face to face with a **hamar** are said to have been negligent in taking precautions or have just not been afraid of the **hamar**, thus implying that those who fear will be kept safe.

One of my Sawi assistants, a middle-aged man named Nenai, happened to have met a **hamar** while he was still a child and had lived through the experience. The following is his account of the event. Nenai was about ten years old when it happened. He had gone into the forest by himself to search for birds and saw a white crane fly overhead and land nearby. He went to the area where he thought it had landed in the hope of shooting it, but couldn't find it. Instead he came face to face with the **hamar** of his mother's younger brother named Sare who had been murdered by people from another tribe to the east. As soon as he saw Sare's **hamar** he ran. No words were exchanged. As soon as he reached home he related the encounter to his father who subsequently rubbed Nenai's body with **hamar tohomoh**[5], a magical potion to ward off any influence from or further meetings with the **hamar** (see section 8.1.) for techniques of magic). Nenai was lucky in that he hadn't stayed around long enough to be victimized, or "eaten", by the **hamar**.

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5   Hamar tomoh consists of a bright red leave from the haib tree and red hurkum berries which after being rubbed on the body leaves a strong scent that is believed to repel the hamar.

Both male and female **hamar** are equally feared, though more mention is made of the activity of male **hamar** than of female **hamar**. Regarding the activity of female ghosts, Glasses's description of Huli beliefs is also true for the Sawi:

> *...the mother's ghost never attacks her own children; her concern for her offspring persists after death, overcoming the greed and covetousness common to female ghosts. A wife's ghost is potentially dangerous to her husband, especially if the husband were responsible for her death. If she dies after a long and fruitful union, her ghost is unlikely to attack her husband; but if the couple have not lived happily her ghost may continue to plague him. (Glasse 1965:32).*

The Sawi attitude toward female **hamar** is similar with one qualification concerning women who die in childbirth. Their **hamar** are greatly feared. It is said that the **hamar** of a woman who dies in childbirth will come back to haunt the husband. It will watch for an opportunity while the husband is on the river and will try to capsize his canoe thus drowning him. The **hamar** of children are not feared with the one exception being that of a stillborn baby. This **hamar** is expected to come back and kill someone as revenge for not having a chance at life in this world.

In order to understand why the Sawis fear **hamar**, one must become familiar with the reasons why **hamar** become angry and upon whom they vent their anger. When a Sawi is asked why he fears **hamar** he readily mentions two reasons. First, close relatives of the deceased are fearful that the **hamar** will not want to leave the earth alone. It is feared that the object of the deceased person's affection before death, a close relative, will become the victim of that person's **hamar**. Secondly, those who weren't kind to the deceased while he was alive are fearful, as are those who neglected to attend his deathbed. All of these people fear retaliation by the **hamar**. So from this we see that the manner in which a person dies is very important in shaping the attitude of the **hamar**. A person who is murdered or dies an accidental death is more likely to have an angry **hamar** than the person who dies of old age. Another significant factor is the manner in which funeral rites are carried out. Because the newly deceased person's **hamar** is close by watching everything, mourners must do all they can to show due respect and sympathy. Failure to do so invites retribution.

Though fear of retribution is commonplace, there is coupled with it the idea that in some instances the **hamar** may be beneficial to human beings. Writing about the Lakalai people of New Britain, Valentine brings out this dual emphasis in relation to attitude toward ghosts. He writes:

> *Since it is universally assumed that ghosts may be dangerous, these contacts are always more or less feared by men. Nevertheless, it is recognized that interactions with the dead are often rewarding to the living, not only because specific benefits may be bestowed but also because ghosts generally continue to honour their traditional duties and obligations to surviving kinsmen and sibmates. (Valentine 1965:172).*

Just as in life a person is most concerned with his own kin, so too after death the **hamar** is most concerned with its living relatives. As earlier mentioned, if the **hamar** is lonely it will choose a partner from among the living relatives. But if the **hamar** is pleased with its manner of death then it can be potentially of benefit to its kin. It is said that satisfied **hamar** are friendly to close relatives and to those who were good to them in real life. These **hamar**

are said to have **finan aeyau**, 'good thoughts' toward those they help. They can instruct relatives about where to find the best available food in the forest, inform concerning future success in battle, and bring messages about the future. But their beneficial activity is limited. One thing the **hamar** are incapable of doing is warding off illness for their living kin.

Though a **hamar** may stay around on earth a long time, its power is strongest immediately after death while the corpse is still on the burial platform. During this time fear is the greatest on the part of the living. All the funeral rites - touching the rotting flesh of the corpse, weeping and wailing, exchange of food and property, dancing, disposal of the bones, and the processing of sago for the spirit - are designed to show the **hamar** the sense of loss his relatives feel. During this mourning period many taboos are observed and precautions taken. No one goes out at night and those going off to the forest always travel in groups, never alone. A piece of dry bark from the backside of a young sago palm frond, referred to as **fidah**, is hung in the doorway as magical protection against visits from a **hamar**. These are all done in recognition that the power of the **hamar** and their potential wrath are greatest at this time.

The malevolent activity of a **hamar** is almost always in the realm of killing. **Hamar** are not known for inflicting sickness on people. Otherwise unexplainable death is the result of being "eaten" and condemned by a **hamar**. This can happen to babies as well as to adults. In the case of a baby, while it is sleeping unattended a **hamar** may come and take it away and "eat" it. The baby is then returned. But when the parents again see the baby they realize what has happened. The baby appears strange, maybe blind, deaf, mute, or crippled. The parents then abandon the baby and leave it in the forest to starve to death. Besides killing, the only other negative activity reported about **hamar** is that of "stealing" pig meat. Normally after a pig is killed and butchered, the meat is placed on a drying rack above the fire. If the meat quickly spoils it is said that a "**hamar** ate it".

The **hamar** are also known to fight one another. The usual scenario is that an angry **hamar**, in its desire for revenge, prepares to attack someone in the forest. But before it can, the **hamar** of this individual's dead brother intervenes and stops it. This good **hamar** chases the other **hamar** away from his brother saying, "This is my brother, don't bother him." Though **hamar** are capable of fighting in this manner, they cannot destroy one another.

Normally, **hamar** are believed to be quite individualistic and are not known to stay together in groups. One exception to this rule is that when a new village is under construction (i.e. - a new longhouse), it is not uncommon to have a delegation of **hamar** try to disrupt the work. This group of **hamar**, known as **toh**, come in at the end of the village with the desire of setting up residence. When their presence is suspected the word goes out and everyone grabs a stick, club, or ax and begins hitting the sides of the building while shouting. This action, referred to as **hamar tamon**, drives out the unwanted presence.

Hamar are also believed to be capable of possessing people's bodies. When this happens a person's stomach swells to abnormal proportions and a fit of insanity is experienced. Although there is much pain and fear, no one dies from this possession. The cure is to have the individual crouch on hands and knees with a small fire flaming under the stomach. The other option is to heat boiling water in a bamboo container and throw this water on the

stomach of the individual. In both cases the heat dispels the **hamar**. As the **hamar** comes out it leaves with its usual high pitched cry. **Hamar** don't attack people in this manner without motive. It is said that possession is an act of retribution. The individual wronged the **hamar** while it was still living and now its anger is being vented.

4.3. Emissaries of the Dead

The Sawi also believe that the **hamar** sometimes make their intentions known through the actions of two birds, **fifae** and **serip**. **Fifae** is known as the "talking one", while **serip** is referred to as the "silent angry one". **Hamar** use **fifae** for various purposes. One is to give human beings a death notice. One sees **fifae** fly overhead and hears him call out, "fi, fa, fi". From this it is known that someone has died somewhere and that person's **hamar** is sending a death announcement via the bird **fifae**. It is saying to you, "How are you? I'm terrible. I'm destroyed." Another purpose of **fifae** is to bring on death in a sick individual. When a person lay sick and suffering those around him may fear that the cause is an angry **hamar** of a close relative. Because the person has not yet died but is lingering on, they may fear the **hamar** will give up on him and attack someone else close by. So they call on **fifae** to bring the angry **hamar** close so it can enter the person's stomach and bring quick death. When they hear the sound of the **fifae** bird flying overhead they know this is happening. **Fifae** is also known to inform people of the best locations for hunting wild pig and of the need to do work in another area of the forest (e.g. - construction of a house or a canoe).

The **hamar** use **serip** for an entirely different purpose. **Serip** doesn't talk but the flapping of his wings announces the presence of a **hamar** who has come for one of two reasons. One is to steal fire. This occurs when people notice their fire going out and hear the **serip** bird fly overhead. They realize a **hamar** wants their fire so they throw the smoldering wood out the door for him to take. The other activity **hamar** use **serip** to announce is the rape of a woman. Rape usually takes place at night and often the woman accosted cannot identify her assailant because of the darkness. **Serip** is then blamed for bringing a **hamar** to do it and the **hamar** is seen as the culprit rather than a human.

Finally, there is **hamar saham**, a 'bright light' which indicates imminent misfortune for someone. An alternate name for this light is **hamar kod** which means "eye of the ghost". People see this bright light stream across the sky (possibly shooting stars, but also other unusual lights/flames) and they know someone will soon die. When the death actually takes place they know the cause was a **hamar**. When someone gets sores all over their body, **hamar saham** is blamed for setting him on fire. On the more positive side, during a war if someone gets shot with an arrow and is mortally wounded but doesn't die, it is said that **hamar saham** had mercy on him. **Hamar saham** is not a specific ghost, but rather is another channel through which the **hamar** make their activities known to the living.

5.0. AUTONOMOUS SPIRIT BEINGS

Moving now from the realm of souls and ghosts to that of spirits, this section will cover a variety of spirit-beings, from those which are only malicious to those having creative and regulative power. Also included in the discussion will be the subject of culture heroes. As

an introduction to this section, let's refer to Eliade who gives perspective on the place autonomous spirit-beings have within religious systems:

What is quite beyond doubt is that there is an almost universal belief in a celestial divine being, who created the universe and guarantees the fecundity of the earth (by pouring rain down upon it). These beings are endowed with infinite foreknowledge and wisdom; moral laws and often tribal ritual as well were established by them during a brief visit to the earth; they watch to see that their laws are obeyed, and lightning strikes all who infringe them. (Eliade 1974: 38).

But he then goes on to point out that nowhere in traditional religions are there found supreme beings who play a leading role in regulating life today:

...the supreme divinities of the sky are constantly pushed to the periphery of religious life where they are almost ignored; other sacred forces, nearer to man, more accessible to his daily experience, more useful to him, fill the leading role. (1974:43).

The truth of Eliade's statements will be seen in the following description of spirit-beings in Sawi religion.

5.1. Forest Spirits

The first class of spirits to be described are known as the **yar**. Their nature is always evil and demonic. They have never been known to help or assist any human being. Their behavior is less predictable than that of men. There is no time when one can be sure that a yar will not appear and no place where it is certain that one will not be met , though the daylight hours and the village area are a little safer. Innocent looking people, animals, or objects may all turn out to be **yar** on closer inspection or when it is too late to avoid them. These spirits live in husband and wife pairs and are believed to have spirit children too. Thus the family structure experienced on the human level is believed to be present in the spirit realm. The yar are many in number and they have always existed. They were not created.

Yar may dwell in several different locations. Their most common abode is in the **namer** tree found in the forest. The fruit of this tree is taboo for any human to eat. Other locations where they may be found are in holes in other trees, sago palms, and in the ground. Wherever there is a hole, they could be lurking. They can also be found in the river and in ponds.

Of particular importance is the fact that each clan regulated territory in the forest has its own group of **yar** which are specific to that geographic area. They stay in that section of the forest and don't ever venture out into another clan's area. Under normal circumstances if people stay within their own clan area of the forest then the **yar** will not harm them. Yar are mainly on the lookout for strangers entering their area. For this reason people must be very careful when venturing out of their own section of the forest in search of food or going on a journey. The unfamiliar **yar** will be waiting to attack.

The **yar** are said to have bodies but these bodies cannot be seen by human beings, with the exception of the **haose** 'shaman'. It is also possible for them to take other forms including that of a human, pig, snake, bird, lizard, or crocodile. Since they have bodies they walk from place to place rather than fly. The villagers claim to be able to hear **yar** footsteps as they walk outside their houses. The **yar** are known for inflicting certain illnesses upon people. Fever, blindness, swellings, and vomiting are all attributed to the activity of the **yar**. The only cure is to go to the **haose** for help. He alone can communicate with the **yar** and thus find out why they've sent this misfortune upon the individual. The **haose** may discover that the person had crossed over into another clan's forest area or that the person had mistakenly taken a drink from a pool of water inhabited by a **yar**. Then directions are given on how to appease the wrath of the **yar** and if these are accurately followed healing will result.

Besides causing these certain illnesses, the **yar** are most known for their killing ability. This can occur both in the forest area and in the village. Sometimes the **yar** will hit the outside of the house with a wooden pole or throw dirt on the roof. The purpose of this is to let those living there know that they, the **yar**, are lonely. As was mentioned the **yar** live in pairs. But the male **yar** is always wanting to take another wife and, in like manner, the female **yar** is desiring another husband. So they will attack someone with sickness leading to death. When that person dies, the **yar** is ready and waiting under the house to take away the soul of the newly dead person. It does so and says, "I'm satisfied now. I'm leaving with this one." People then hear a high pitched sound as they leave never to return. The soul of the newly dead person then becomes a **yar** too, rather than beginning its existence as a **hamar** 'ghost'.

At this point in our study we can contrast the activity of the **hamar** and the **yar**. Although both groups are attributed with power to kill human beings, the focus of their activity is different. Thus in the following diagram we can see that the object of their concern determines the pattern of activity.

Table 4. Focus of Spirit Activity

	Hamar 'ghost'	Yar 'spirit'
Residence focus	Near the body until funeral rites completed, then may reside in the cold, damp swamp areas with periodic journeys in the clan territory of the deceased.	Territorially restricted in holes in trees and ground, ponds and rivers.
Humans to which their activity is directed	1. Immediate kin	1.Unsuspecting people
	2. Those who offended the deceased in life	2. People in weakened state
		3. Strangers
Reasons	1a. Concern for well-being of kin	1. Judgment on those who foolishly disturb them
	1b. Loneliness	
	2. Desire for revenge	2. Desire for a mate
		3. Retribution for trespassing

5.2. The Supreme Evil Spirit

There is another malevolent spirit called **Yar Ivar** 'spirit woman'. She dwells with her daughter named **Mor Fitap** in the lower trunk of the **yanae** 'banyan' tree. Though she is only one, you can never know which **yanae** tree she inhabits. Thus all trees of this kind are suspected and feared. **Yar Ivar** is a very evil spirit who delights in deception and killing. She is believed to have always existed.

The myth about **Yar Ivar** is quite long and involved. Briefly, it is said that she once lived in an extremely high treehouse. There was a man named **Morfwi** who lived with his mother in the lower area of the forest. **Morfwi** was a good provider for his aging mother. **Yar Ivar** noticed this and desired to take **Morfwi** as her husband. But **Morfwi** got a wife from another village. This angered **Yar Ivar** so she conceived a plan to trick **Morfwi** into taking her. First, she killed the mother by getting her to eat poisoned sago. Then when she saw that **Morfwi**'s wife had become pregnant she began eating lots of forest animals, bones and all, in an attempt to look pregnant. Then one day when **Morfwi** was away hunting, **Yar Ivar** came and stole his wife. She took her to the treehouse and tied her up. **Yar Ivar** then went back to **Morfwi**'s house to impersonate the wife. This deception went on for a long time. In the meantime, the real wife gave birth to a baby boy. Though no longer tied up, the woman and the boy could not get down out of the extremely high treehouse. All this time **Morfwi** became suspicious because even though **Yar Ivar** looked pregnant she didn't have a baby. Eventually the baby boy grew up and began calling to his father from the treehouse. **Morfwi** heard the voice, but searched in vain as **Yar Ivar** took him in the wrong direction. The boy then made a rope from vine and climbed down out of the tree. He happened upon his father who was shooting cassowary. They embraced and the boy told his father what all had happened. **Morfwi** then went to his wife's village and arranged for a war party of her relatives to come and help rescue her. They came with the expressed purpose of killing **Yar Ivar**. **Morfwi** tricked **Yar Ivar** into climbing up into the treehouse at which time he cut the rope ladder. As she fell to the ground the armed men met up with her and pierced her through with spears. But they didn't cut her head off. Because of this error, her body then shrunk up and flew over into the **yanae** tree, where she lives today.

Yar Ivar's original appearance is unknown. The only thing that people acknowledge is that she has extremely long toenails and fingernails. When people come across her footprints in the forest they say they are half human and half cassowary. When she so desires, **Yar Ivar** can take the form of any human being as well as that of a pig or cassowary.

The myth involving **Morfwi** is indicative of the method that **Yar Ivar** uses to kill her victims. It happens out in the forest while a man is hunting food. **Yar Ivar** comes to the man impersonating his wife. She entices him to have sexual intercourse with her. Then afterwards she announces to him that she's not really his wife but that she's **Yar Ivar**. The man realizes that he's ruined and that he's going to die. And surely he does die.

Because of the ever real possibility of meeting up with **Yar Ivar**, the Sawi believe precautions must be taken when walking in the forest. Certain leaves are picked and rubbed all over the body while other bright red leaves, **hokam moh**, are attached to armbands, waistband, and necklaces. As the leaves are rubbed on the body the person says, "**Yar Ivar** leave me alone as I travel this trail." This type of protection is only needed when walking

alone and it is especially needed when entering a foreign part of the forest. It was already mentioned that **yanae** trees are feared as the dwelling place of **Yar Ivar**. Thus special precautions are taken when cutting down a **yanae** tree. First, other men must be gathered to help as there is security in numbers. A man would never attempt to cut it down alone. The ax is rubbed with certain leaves and before beginning to cut a man says, "**Yar Ivar** leave to another place before I cut this tree." Then it can be cut down without fear of retribution.

Theoretically, **hamar** 'ghosts', **yar** 'spirits', and **Yar Ivar** 'spirit woman' all have equal power. But in practice, **Yar Ivar** seems to be more feared and thus probably possesses some greater role. Other than the injunctions to get **Yar Ivar** to leave, no prayers are ever offered to these spirits. Because they are only seen as persecuting mankind the Sawi see no value in requesting their help in anything.

There is one other female spirit who is also considered part of the **yar** family. Her name is **Tamae**. She roams the forest and people are afraid of her, but if anyone meets up with her, they won't die. She doesn't kill. She is not a strong spirit and **Yar Ivar** is definitely more powerful. Her main objective is to communicate with the **haose** 'shaman' regarding sickness that has been caused by a **yar**.

5.3. The Supreme Good Spirit

We now come to the one benevolent spirit. His name is **Atap Hapkon**, which means "the old sun". He has existed since the beginning of time, even before the first men came up from out of the ground. In fact, when those first men came up onto the earth it was **Atap Hapkon** who had pity on them and sent them food to eat. He was the one who planted all the sago palms in the forest. He also sent all the original animals for man to eat. So **Atap Hapkon** was a creative spirit. But he was and to a certain degree still is a regulative spirit. Since the food in the forest was placed there by him, he has a personal interest in it and protects it. He tells people to be careful with it. Certain foods are considered taboo because of his commands.

Atap Hapkon is believed to live with his wife and children in the **gasim** tree. It is significant to note that they live in the upper branches of this tree as opposed to **Yar Ivar** dwelling in the lower trunk of the **yanae** tree. The importance of this will be seen later when we look at the cosmos from the Sawi perspective.

Atap Hapkon has the power to kill as do the other members of his family, but he uses his power in a different way than do the other spirits. He punishes evildoers. He sends **finan gaefadep** 'judgments' upon people to get them to see their wrongdoing. He judges between right and wrong. Thus he can also be helpful to those who live uprightly. One way in which he helps people on earth is by "giving them long years without sickness". He also defends these good people against the schemes of the **yar** and **Yar Ivar**. In fact, he continually makes war against these evil spirits. He chases them away as they attempt to hurt humans.

Atap Hapkon is considered capricious, however one day he can be helpful and the next vengeful. Thus the respect people have for him is mixed with fear because of his unpredictability. It is said that he watches all that people do. Nothing can be hidden from him.

He also hears all that people say on earth. Even though he has the power to kill at will he is known to be sympathetic. He is also known to communicate with the **haose** concerning illnesses. When people go to the **haose** with a problem or sickness, the **haose** will sometimes contact **Atap Hapkon** to determine what the sick individual had done to arouse the anger of **Atap Hapkon**.

Atap Hapkon refers to mankind as his "children". He is considered to be more powerful than any other spirit. For this reason prayers are offered to him. There are three types of prayers addressed to him: prayers to sleep through the night without misfortune, prayers of protection from eating taboo foods, and prayers for healing from sickness. No other spirit is prayed to besides **Atap Hapkon**.

5.4. Culture Heroes

Now we venture into the realm of culture heroes. These figures were responsible for parts of the established world as it is known today. They were only creative in nature and do not continue to regulate affairs on earth. Having accomplished their purpose they left human society and took no further interest in it. They are considered part of the **asigi** 'ancestors', though their memory will live on in the mythology. R.B. Lane, writing about the beliefs of the South Pentecost Islanders, notes the differences between culture heroes and modern human beings.

> *The culture heroes were essentially human but they differed from modern human beings in virtue of their complete possession and control of such attributes as power, sacredness and virility. For this reason they had capabilities far beyond those of modern men. These culture heroes did not make the world although they did shape parts of its surface and some of its superficial features. In addition they were responsible for various aspects of human life, society and culture. Those who did not become ancestors of human beings departed long ago and ceased to be involved in earthly affairs. They are not sanctified nor is any great concern devoted to them. (Lane 1965:266).*

There are a number of culture heroes in Sawi mythology so this study will be limited to only a few of the most significant. The most prominent are two brothers named **Tumo Hapkon**, who is the elder, and **Adiri Hapkon**, who is the younger. They are responsible for giving fire to the Sawi. The myth involves a dog who carried the fire across a river to the Sawi who had none. When **Adiri** tied the burning wood to the dog's neck the fire was extinguished in the water. But on a further attempt the wood was tied to the dog's tail and safely made it to the other side. After they gave the fire, the brothers taught the Sawi how to make fireplaces from mud. They also explained which trees in the forest would be the best wood for burning. These two brothers are also known for giving tobacco, cucumbers, squash, several different varieties of bamboo, several types of leaves, and various tubers to the Sawi.

Another culture hero of importance is **Kwaito Hapkon**. He cut down a **sahar** tree and carved it into the shape of a crocodile. When all the features were complete he threw it into the river where it sank. He called for it to rise, and as it did it became a crocodile.

Then he told the crocodile to go downriver to a village and bring a boy back. There were only males at that time. So the crocodile went and brought back a boy from that village to Kwaito. He carried him on his back and not in his mouth so as not to harm him. **Kwaito** then cut the boy's genitals in the form of a female vagina, thus creating the first woman. After his work of creating was finished, **Kwaito** became a bird.

Another set of brothers are important as culture heroes. They are **Kamamdiap Hapkon** and **Kudanai Hapkon**. After the original people came up out of the hole in the ground they eventually congregated at a location in the south by the Tumdu river. All the Sawi lived there in one longhouse. One day a dog defecated in the middle of the house. This action repulsed and angered all the people present, resulting in accusations being leveled over ownership of the dog. To avoid a war, these two men arranged for all the clans to move out and start all new villages apart from each other.

There are many other heroes, such as **Faetiao** who tried to escape being trapped in a fishnet underwater but upon failing became the waves of the ocean. There is **Amiyao** who became the first canoe tree because when he died he didn't want to become a **hamar** 'ghost'. Many other such stories are used by the Sawi to explain how the world came to be as it is today.

5.5. The Cosmos

At this point in the paper we are now able to introduce a three-tier cosmology based on the information gathered concerning ghosts, spirits, and the afterlife. The three levels are: Sky (where the **asigi** dwell); Earth (where the '**hamar, yar, Yar Ivar**', and '**Atap Hapkon**' dwell); and Under the Earth (where other **asigi** dwell). The middle level, though, can be further divided into two sub-divisions, the Treetop level and the Near the Ground level. As was mentioned, all **yar**, including **Tamae** and the very powerful **Yar Ivar**, dwell near the ground in tree trunks, shallow holes in the ground, and the shallow reaches of water. Their activities are directed to those on earth and any human being can meet up with them in the forest. But **Atap Hapkon** makes his dwelling in the upper reaches of the treetops called the **huvur**. Because of this distance people are not known to have met **Atap Hapkon** in the forest. Though people revere and fear him, their fear of the various forest spirits is greater. The people's knowledge of the activities of these evil spirits is much more specific and detailed than their knowledge of **Atap Hapkon**'s ways. This all derives from the Sawi idea that some spirits are "near" and some are "far". Those which are "nearest" have the most direct effect upon mankind. Those which are "farthest" have no continuing interest or activity among the living. Thus the **asigi** 'ancestors' and culture heroes would be placed in the "far" category, while the **hamar** and **yar** would go in the "near" category. Darrell Whiteman identifies this "near-far" aspect of the spirit world as a tendency to be found in all traditional religions in Melanesia. He writes:

> *The pattern that emerges in Melanesia is that these spirit-beings responsible for the creation of mankind have become the object of legend and myth, but not the object of worship. They are not active in the everyday life of human beings. They are unapproachable by mere mortals. The memory of their existence is perpetuated by myth and legend. It is ghosts and spirits who are active in the affairs of men, and so it is to them that Melanesians turn in worship and propitiation. (Whiteman 1983:72).*

On a continuum this "near-far" aspect in Sawi religion appears in Table 5. We can then combine this "near-far" aspect with the three levels of the universe and depict in Table 6 the Sawi understanding of the cosmos.

Table 5. Spirit World Relevance Continuum

NEAR	-----------------------------------	FAR
hamar		asigi
yar	**Atap Hapkon**	culture heroes
Yar Ivar		

Table 6. The Sawi Cosmos

Sky		asigi	FAR

Treetops		**Atap Hapkon**	
Yar Ivar			
Earth		yar, hamar	NEAR

Under the earth		asigi	FAR

Table 6 shows the **hamar** and **yar** to be in closest proximity to the living while the **asigi** are quite far removed. Since culture heroes are not considered an entity in themselves, they are incorporated into the ancestors. The spirit **Tamae**, who is rather insignificant, is also incorporated into the overall group of **yar**.

6.0. SPIRITUAL MEDIATION THROUGH THE SHAMAN

6.1. Shamanism Defined

Several references to the Sawi **haose** 'shaman' have been made throughout this paper. At this point a working definition for this religious practitioner would be beneficial. Hiebert describes the office of shaman in a way I find helpful.

A shaman is a charismatic leader who claims to have received religious power direct-ly through contact with the supernatural. His authority rests in his ability to convince the people of this power by performing supernatural acts and declaring the messages

of the spirits. He is a prophet, the mouthpiece whereby gods and ancestors speak to men. Shamanism is more commonly found in loosely structured societies that lack formally organized religious institutions. Ceremonies in food-gathering tribes, for ex-ample, are generally noncalendrical rites organized to cure sickness or avert disasters. Moreover, they are performed for the benefit of an individual or group within the society and, less frequently, for the community as a whole. (Hiebert 1983:380-381).

Some anthropologists like Raymond Firth would distinguish between two separate of-fices, the shaman and the spirit medium. Firth contends that in "spirit mediumship" the emphasis is on communication while "shamanism applies to those phenomena where a per-son is regarded as controlling spirits, exercising his mastery over them in socially recog-nized ways." (Firth 1967:296). The Sawi **haose** would fulfill both those criteria. Mircea Eliade's emphasis on the shaman being a "master of ecstasy" would also apply to the Sawi **haose.** Though the **haose** is involved in curing, his function does not end there. He is a dominant figure in traditional Sawi religion. And as Eliade points out, ecstatic experience, of which the shaman is an expert, is looked upon as "religious experience par excellence". (Eliade 1964:4).

In describing the shaman's social status, Eliade writes:

They are separated from the rest of the community by the intensity of their own religious experience. In other words, it would be more correct to class shamanism among the mysticisms than with what is commonly called a religion. We shall find shamanism within a considerable number of religions, for shamanism always remains an ecstatic technique at the disposal of a particular elite and represents, as it were, the mysticism of the particular religion. (Eliade 1964:8).

6.2. Initiation

In Sawi society, mythology has been available to the public in the form of general knowledge passed on by elderly men with storytelling ability.[6] The same is not true con-cerning knowledge of the spirit world. This knowledge comes only from the **haose.** The **haose** is the only human who can actually see and talk with all spirit-beings, with the ex-ception of the remote **asigi** 'ancestors' who have journeyed to the **haur aphaem** 'sky world'. All others come to visit him regularly. A **haose** may be either male or female. If female, she must be unmarried. Normally, there is only one **haose** in a village. Thus there is no competition among them. And if a village has no resident **haose** then people will travel to a distant village in order to obtain the services of one. A **haose** is not taught by anyone and he takes on no apprentices. The knowledge he has is said to die with him.

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6   Myths are common knowledge in that they are not forbidden from women. But because they are normally told in the men's longhouse by certain elderly men, women were not too familiar with the stories. They only know what they can glean from their husbands

To become a **haose** one must meet **Yar Ivar** in the forest. She leads the person into her **yanae** tree where she talks with him a while. Then she "eats" him, although this is a spiritual type of eating. This "eating" follows a cannibalism motif that reoccurs throughout Sawi culture. Since this motif will be examined in more detail in sections 7.3. and 8.4. suffice it to say here that this "eating" is regarded as taking away the very essence of a person. To be "eaten" changes one's state of existence. Normally, when a yar or hamar "eats" someone death is imminent. In this case, though, **Yar Ivar** takes out the person's eyes and replaces them with "spiritual" eyes that can see ghosts and spirits. The **haose** then goes back to the village and convulses as if possessed. He discontinues talking with people for several days. At nighttime the spirits come to talk with him. His visitors are usually the yar but sometimes **hamar** will also visit him. The **yar** named **Tamae** confers with him about sicknesses caused by other **yar** and he will have an occasional conversation with **Atap Hapkon**. As the spirits enter the house all people present hear the customary high pitched call, **fiyao**, announcing their arrival. The **haose** does not convulse as he speaks with the spirits.

6.3. Magical Cures

One of the major functions of the **haose** is curing, although this is not his only function. In order to cure he must first find out the cause of an illness. In the Sawi worldview there are four major causes of sickness (including death) and calamity. The most commonly attributed cause is that a person is **yar oken** 'pierced by an evil forest spirit'. The idea is that the spirit injects the illness into a person. A person can also **gyfam daron** 'smell' a spirit which will result in his swelling up after the smell enters into his body. Ingestion of any substance that's come into contact with a spirit is harmful. So if someone is in the jungle and drinks water or eats sago that has been contaminated by the **yar** then he will get sick. Also included in this realm of causation is the activity of the **hamar**. They, too, are known to **on** 'pierce' someone resulting in death.

A second cause of illness is when someone works sorcery against someone else. Sorcery inflicted sickness is done in a variety of ways but the most common method involves rubbing a potion onto a piece of sago or other food which is then eaten by the unsuspecting person.

A third source of illness for the Sawi is the breaking of taboos. As was mentioned earlier, **Atap Hapkon** 'the supreme good spirit' issues restrictions on food and activity. It is believed that when one of these taboos is broken then **Atap Hapkon** afflicts the person with sickness in order to bring him to repentance. The same is true when a person cuts down a tree, kills an animal, or drinks water that has been declared forbidden by a **yar** or **hamar**.

Finally, the fourth cause of illness or calamity is one's own foolishness. This usually indicates more minor events such as falling and hurting oneself, though this too could be blamed on a **hamar** tripping a person!

When someone becomes sick he customarily goes to the **haose** to find out the cause and to acquire a cure. These **waedon sin** 'words of sickness' are much of what the **haose** discusses with the spirits. He receives advice from the spirits concerning the cause of the sickness and then works acts of healing over the sick person. These acts of healing involve the **haose** in rubbing the sufferer's body in order to remove the sickness. This process begins with the **haose** rubbing his hands under his own armpits several times. This is a Sawi

way of building up intense emotion. Then he takes the sweat that's built up on his hands and begins rubbing the body of the sick person. After a time of rubbing and massaging the body of the afflicted person, the **haose** will make an announcement regarding his diagnosis. If the problem is seen as an arrow from a **hamar** lodged in the person then the **haose** will stick his hand into the body and dislodge the arrowtip. If the problem comes from an angry **yar** against whom the person broke a taboo then the **haose** will call on that spirit to come and remove the illness. In that case, the people present will hear the spirit's **fiyao** 'high-pitched call' as it arrives and talks with the **haose**. Then the **haose** will announce, "The sickness is gone."

In the event that the illness is diagnosed as sorcery, the **haose** will reveal the name of the one who cast the spell. Since the only one who can break a spell is the one who initiated it, the **haose** will call that person to come and remove the spell. The person will come and begin by holding his hands over the fire. Once they are hot, he rubs the body of the afflicted person to remove the effects of his sorcery.

On occasion the job is too great for the **haose**. In that case he would announce, "You have lots of things in your body from a **hamar**. It's not possible to get them all out. You will die." Or he might say, "You ate a **hamar** and thus you'll die." And in those cases the sick person always dies.

Great faith is placed in the **haose**. It is said, "Whatever he says will come to pass." On account of the value placed on his services, he is always compensated. If a person gets well as a result of his efforts then he is paid a stone ax or a bow or a spear. If payment is not made then the spirit will return and kill the one who had been healed.

6.4. Spirit World Mediation

In addition to curing, the **haose** is involved in giving advice for living. He is consulted in regards to the timing of a war raid. If he says "go" then the warriors go to war. If he says "no" then they wait. The **hamar** may also come and give him instructions concerning such things as where to find wild pigs, where to find food, or when to go to the forest. This is significant because **hamar** of the recent dead are as much a part of the community as the living members. The recent dead have not gone away from the community. They live in a different existence within it, remaining part of the social unit. It is essential for the community, therefore, to have proper relationships with the dead, in order to avoid suffering or even eventual disintegration. Since the **hamar** once participated in life on earth, they are better equipped to advise those still living concerning the best way to live.

The **haose** also has the power to journey under the earth to visit **masahari** 'the underground world' where some of the ancestors live. He goes there at night, visits with the residents there, and returns usually with a little bit of the wealth from that world or some instructions from the ancestors.

The **haose** wields much power in the village. His followers minister to his every need. Even though, theoretically, the spirits rule the **haose** and he must do whatever they tell him, in practice he seems to control the activities the spirits engage in against mankind. The **haose**'s power can be differentiated from that which is seen in sorcery. The power of sorcery lies in the method and material; the power of the **haose** is derived from his relation-

ship with the spirits. It's because he has been "eaten" and given "new eyes" that he has this new position in life. His power lies in the experience that he's had.

The following diagram helps to illustrate how the spirit world affects man who in turn enlists the services of the shaman in hopes of altering that initial state. This diagram points out the three cosmic levels and how spirit-beings on the earthly realm afflict man's present state of life with much suffering. Man then goes to the **haose** to find intercession with the spirit world on his behalf. In this way the **haose** serves as "priest" for the common man. But he also has a prophetic function as he receives words of instruction from the spirit world and brings them to man. In some cultures there are two very distinct roles: that of the ritualist who serves the priestly function, and that of the shaman who serves the prophetic role. But in Sawi culture the two roles are filled by the one person, the **haose**.

Table 7. Mediation With The Spirit World
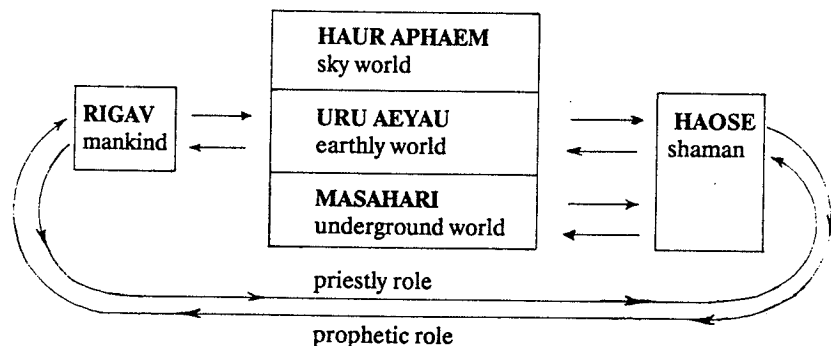
LEGEND

yar - "evil forest spirit",   **Atap Hapkon (AH)**,   **hamar** "ghost'
Yar Ivar (YI) - "supreme evil spirit" lives in the sky world
asigi - "ancestors" live in the sky and underground world

6.5. Trance Behavior

Before leaving the **haose** 'shaman' and proceeding on to the next section which deals with sickness, and death, it is important to examine what the Sawi understand about the trance behavior of the shaman. This behavior, known as **yaitu**, can indicate four different states of being. Only one of these, the actual presence of a **hamar**, is considered possession. The other three, sorcery, sickness and the mystic state of the shaman, are considered conditions of non-possession. Before giving a more detailed explanation of these states, let me present the following diagram which shows how **yaitu** 'trance behavior' is perceived in four different contexts within the Sawi worldview.

Table 8. Sawi Belief Regarding Trance Behavior
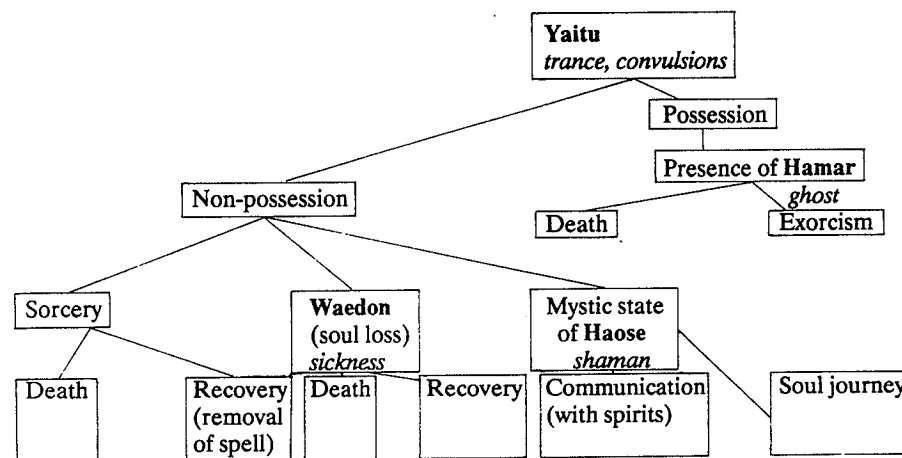
Now let's take a more careful look at the four categories of **yaitu** this diagram depicts. In the first context, which is in focus in this section, **yaitu** is an evidence of the **haose's** calling. It indicates he is listening to communication from the spirits. In this the spirits do not possess his body. They do not speak through his mouth. He is merely in a mystic state whereby he can hear their instructions. This trance behavior may also indicate that the **haose's** soul has gone on a journey. These are the explanations of **yaitu** in relation to the shaman. The second context of **yaitu** is when an individual is possessed by a **hamar**. This possession may lead to death but normally the **hamar** is exorcised through ritual healing activity. The third type of **yaitu** is in relation to **waedon** 'sickness'. When a person is sick and he becomes **yaitu** then it is recognized that he is near death. This convulsive or unconscious state indicates that the sick person is losing that all-important essence of life, his soul. The result of this state is either death or recovery. The final type of **yaitu** is connected to sorcery. This type of sorcery is referred to as **yaitu tohomoh** 'magic for inducing insanity'. Again, as in the case of sickness, the end result may be death or recovery. But in this case the recovery is due to the removal of the spell by the one who initiated it. Among these four types of trance-like behavior, only one is true possession. That is the case of a **hamar** entering someone's body. The other three are all cases of non-possession.

7.0. SICKNESS AND DEATH

7.1. Sickness

Although sickness and calamity are a very present reality for the Sawi, the desire and hopeful expectation of all people is for good health and long life. A key concept underlying this expectation is "harmony". It is expressed in Sawi as **mar romon** and literally trans-

lated means "good relationship". If an individual has a **mar romon** with his kin then he can be fairly free from the fear of sorcery. Similarly, if he has a **mar romon** with spiritual powers he can expect to live undisturbed by the **yar** and **hamar** in the forest. Thus sickness is seen as a disruption of this harmony and is an intrusion by an outside force. Having noted this, the causes and treatment of illness can be more closely examined. We have already mentioned that there are four major causes of illness among the Sawi. In review, they are:

1. A **yar** or **hamar** implanting a sickness in an individual.
2. Through sorcery the sickness penetrating the body of the of the victim.
3. Violation of a taboo bringing judgment upon the offender in the form of sickness.
4. Sickness or pain as a result of one's own foolishness.

In section 6.0. concerning the activities of the **haose** 'shaman' we have already examined thoroughly the way the **haose** determines the cause of a sickness. It is primarily through his contact with the spirit world that he receives information regarding causation. But for the common man there is also an avenue for determining the cause of a sickness. This is done primarily through the indication of skin or body temperature. If the skin of the patient is hot to the touch then the cause is more than likely sorcery. Whatever has been implanted in the individual through sorcery is radiating heat from the body. This can also be true of sickness injected by a **yar** or **hamar**, but the first reaction is to declare the cause sorcery. If the skin temperature is cold then the patient has probably been "eaten" by a **yar** or **hamar**. In this case survival is probably not possible. A cold body means imminent death. The significance of body temperature in relation to cause determination is presented in the following chart.

Listed in this chart are most common illnesses and conditions known among the Sawi along with the bodily indicators, heat or cold, which then lead to determination of the source of the illness. It should be noted that a temperature indication may have two or three interpretations or possible sources. The most commonly attributed cause is listed first with alternate possibilities following. In some cases such as blindness or female barrenness, the body temperature is not a significant factor.

Table 9. Cause Determination of Illness

Illness/condition	Bodily indication	Source
Fever	Hot	Sorcery, **Yar**
Blindness	---	**Yar**, Sorcery
Swelling	Hot	Sorcery, **Yar, Hamar**
Vomiting	Cold	**Yar**
Possession	Hot	**Hamar**
Insanity	Hot	Sorcery
Female Barreness	---	Sorcery
Crippled	---	Sorcery
Diarrhea	Hot	Sorcery
	Cold	**Yar, Hamar**
Weakness	---	Menstrual blood contact
Headache	Hot	Sorcery
Sores	Hot	**Hamar**
Cough	---	Sorcery

A third method of cause determination relates to the breaking of taboos and thus incurring judgment. Though this is often determined by the **haose**, it can be declared by another person who testifies that he witnessed the sick person cutting down a forbidden tree, killing a forbidden animal, or drinking forbidden water. Normally, a sick person will have many "advisers" coming to him to inform him about the many things he did wrong to bring on the illness.

Treatment for an illness must be in accordance with its diagnosed cause. Thus, if sorcery is determined to be the cause then the one who inflicted the spell must be summoned to come and remove it. The removal takes place as that person uses his heated hands to rub the sick individual from head to toe, thus removing the heat of the sorcery. If the cause of the sickness is seen as coming from a **yar** or **hamar** then the **haose** must be enlisted to mediate. If the cause is believed to be the breaking of a taboo then a piece of evidence from the place where it occurred must be collected in order to make a remedy. A stick floating in the forbidden water, a piece of the felled forbidden tree, or a piece of the killed forbidden animal must be brought in and cooked in the fire. Then it is rubbed on the body of the sick person. It is apparent from all this that a significant feature of most treatment of sickness is the rubbing of hands or objects on the body of the patient. Since something has invaded the body to produce the illness, it must be removed by this action.

Also used in the treatment of illness are magical rites which are intended to overcome or negate the power of sorcery or spirits which are afflicting an individual. There are a number of formulas used by the Sawi, each one specific for a certain illness or condition. These will be examined in detail in the section 8.1. concerning rites of directing power.

Finally, a word should be said about the usage of the **yanae** 'banyan' tree in healing. As was earlier mentioned, the **yanae** tree is the traditional dwelling place of **Yar Ivar**. When children get sick their parents will sometimes take them to a **yanae** tree in the forest. As they pass by the tree they tell the sickness to stick to the tree. Then they circle around the tree and head back to the village. The sickness is believed to attach itself to the tree never to return to the child. **Yar Ivar** is not addressed or evoked in this process. Eliade writes of similar customs in his description of beliefs relating to purification and the use of the earth as a means of healing. His examples include:

placing the sick child for a moment in a crevice in the ground, or a hole in a rock, or the hollow of a tree. This is part of a rather more complex belief: on the one hand, the purpose is to transfer the child's sickness into something else (tree, rock, ground); on the other, the actual birth is reenacted (by emerging from the opening). (Eliade 1974:251).

Another manner in which the **yanae** tree is involved in healing is the usage of its bark in the preparation of potions. A piece of the tree's bark is peeled off and boiled up in water. The white sap then comes out of the bark. This sap is then collected and used as a remedy for certain illnesses. In the cases of aches, pains, crippling arthritis, sores, and fever the potion would be rubbed on the body. In the cases of eye sickness and fever the potion would be drunk.

7.2. The Origin and Nature of Death

When Bronislaw Malinowski went to do his ethnographic work among the Trobriand Islanders he was amazed to discover "the immense social and economic upheaval which occurs after each death" (Malinowski 1961:490). While manners in which funeral rites are carried out and the various attitudes that people have toward the dead may vary, it is generally true "that death is taken by Melanesians as the most important event in any person's career" (Trompf 1979:128). Death is seen not as a cutting off of one's existence but as a reincorporation into another phase or sphere of life. For the Sawi, the passage into this new state of being is accompanied by several rites which become the focus of the entire community. Many Melanesian societies have a death myth which explains the origin of death. Jim Franks tells of a death myth of the Manam Island people in which an old woman named Moresabia is renewed with youth and beauty following a bath in a certain part of a stream. But her granddaughter is upset by her new appearance and crys for her old grandmother to return. Franks concludes his retelling of the myth as follows:

Moresabia heard this and was very sad. She went back to the place where she washed and got her old body back. She came back and the young woman finished crying. She saw her grandmother Moresabia and was very happy. Moresabia then said, 'The animals, the snakes, the wild beasts of the jungle, the creatures of the sea will not die; they will only change their bodies. Man, though, will die and die forever'. (Franks 1979: 110-111).

From Irian Jaya, Doug Hayward recounts how immortality was lost in the early days of creation for the Dani people of the central highlands. He writes:

According to this legend, all living creatures climbed up onto the surface of the earth from a hole in the ground located in the Baliem Valley. When the snake emerged from that hole he brought with him the secret of immortality which was associated with the snake's ability to shed his skin every year. Unfortunately, in those early days the snake and the bird got into an argument or dispute of some sort which was related to the matter of death. The bird's advice was to 'smear yourselves with mud' which advice the Dani took and as a result lost the true secret to immortality. The result has been, that ever since, men have died as mortal beings (Hayward 1980:102-103).

Like other Melanesian societies, the Sawi also have a death myth which explains how their ancestors first learned of death. It is said that the first Sawis didn't know of death. But then the first war took place. During this war, a man named Tafumon was shot with an arrow and died. His soul left the body and traveled back to his village where it resided with his living kin waiting for a new body. It is said that during that era men possessed the ability to **remon** 'regenerate' their bodies and thus keep on living endlessly. It is compared to the lizard or snake escaping death by shedding its old skin. So Tafumon had gone home to renew his body. But other men who had been fighting alongside him brought his body back to the village. He called out to them, "Leave the body. Don't bring it back here." But they didn't listen to him and brought it back anyway. Then a **karasu** 'bird' came along and started building a funeral platform on which to display the body. He insisted that men should now

become subject to death. But a **hurim** 'lizard' came along and took up the fight for eternal life, he himself being a symbol of **remon** 'regeneration'. He kept telling Tafumon to **rimi, rimi**, "renew, renew". But along came **aekam**, 'elephant grass', which, as a symbol of death, withers and dies. **Aekam** entered into the argument and told the body to **sani, sani**, "decay, decay". The argument went on until the lizard gave in to the grass and the bird. From that time on, men began to die.

Like sickness, death is an intrusion into the way things should be. When a person dies the event is usually ascribed to an attack by a **hamaror yar**, or else is believed to be the result of sorcery. If the victim does not have sufficient power to ward off the attack, or if his power is thwarted, then death results. Outwardly, it may appear that the victim has died of an illness, but everyone knows there is another force involved. Rarely is death attributed to "natural causes". Nearly all deaths among the Sawi are explained within this spiritual framework. Even the death of a stillborn child is attributed to being pierced by a **yar** that lives in the young sago palm, and which was angered at its dwelling place being cut down by the pregnant woman.

There are two types of death not attributed to **yar, hamar,** or sorcery. The first is connected to warfare. A warrior's death in battle is not overtly ascribed to spirits or sorcery. Nevertheless it is felt that if the warrior had utilized effective war magic then he would have survived the wounds. The other exception is in relation to accidents. A baby rolling over into the fire or a young boy falling out of a tree are events which the Sawi consider closest to death from natural causes. These types of accidental deaths are not considered sorcery or spirit induced. Though there are precautions that can be taken, such as fireplace magic to keep a child from falling in, these deaths result from either being careless or foolish. Table 10. shows the distribution of fifty deaths that have been tabulated according to 1) ascribed cause of death, and 2) sex and status of the deceased[7].

Before drawing some conclusions from this chart, two notes should be made. As a reminder, the category "natural causes" includes accidental deaths for which there is no other explanation. Also, deaths attributed to **Atap Hapkon** are not violent in nature. Rather, people who have had a long life and who simply ease into death as a result of old age are considered to have blessed by **Atap Hapkon**. Their deaths are ascribed to **Atap Hapkon** removing his blessing and calling them home.

This chart clearly shows that sorcery and the **hamar** are of the greatest concern to the Sawi in regards to death. Thirty-six of the fifty deaths were attributed to these two causes. Theorectically, the **yar** are as powerful as the **hamar**. but in reality the **hamar** are more feared. During my investigation I noticed that sometimes Sawi respondents would ask, "Was he killed by a **hamar** or a **yar**?" Then upon further reflection they would conclude it was a **hamar**. **Atap Hapkon** and **Yar Ivar** are more distant, though **Yar Ivar** is ever present in the forest and can be met at any time.

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7   The fifty deaths accounts are taken as a random sampling from four different clan groups. They are eye witness accounts in most cases by close relatives. The deaths occurred over the last fifteen years in the northern region of the Sawi..

Table 10. Death Tabulation

Ascribed Cause of Death	Men	Women	Children	Total
War	2	--	--	2
Hamar (ghost)	4	8	3	15
Yar (spirit)	1	2	1	4
Yar Ivar (spirit)	1	--	--	1
Atap Hapkon (spirit)	2	--	--	2
Sorcery	14	3	4	21
Natural causes	2	2	1	5
Totals	26	15	9	50

The second fact evident from the chart is that the distribution of deaths related to sorcery and the **hamar** is along sex lines. Men are more often the victims of sorcery while women are most likely to encounter a **hamar**. This is due to the female versus male antagonism that exists among the Sawi. Women appear to be dominated by men in society. They are subservient to men. They are responsible for the hardest work while men are considered their protectors. Men have greater rights, privileges, and access to information. But what appears on the surface is not always true. Through childbirth, a women has power over a man's progeny into the world. But the greatest power they exert over men is through sorcery. Though the techniques of sorcery are common knowledge, in practice women are much more adept at it. Through this avenue women are able to exert their influence over men. Whenever there is a killing due to sorcery, usually a woman's name will be mentioned as the culprit, while the majority of sorcery victims are male. The distribution of more **hamar** killings among women than in the other categories does not necessarily mean that the **hamar** like women victims. It may just be a normal distribution due to the lack of women sorcery killings. But, on the other hand, it could indicate that spirits of dead husbands come back to get their wives or that spirits of jealous women attack living women. This needs to be investigated further.

7.3. Funeral Rites

Because death is a universal fact, funeral rites are found in all societies of the world. Though these rites vary, they serve a number of important functions including reaffirmation of a people's beliefs regarding life and death. Paul Hiebert spells out these functions of funeral rites:

Death is the last crisis every individual must face. Many people believe in the immortality of the soul, and some believe in the social interaction between the living and the dead, but for everyone, death brings normal social relationships to an end. Therefore, it is not surprising that death rites are universal. Rites associated with death serve a number of important functions, including disposal of the body and

preparation of the spirit for its new existence...A second function of funerals is to channel the expression of grief and provide comfort and support to the living relatives and friends...A third function of funeral rites is to restore balance in the social relations of the living that the death has disrupted...Finally, each culture must provide an explanation for the major events and crises of life, and particularly for death, which seems to challenge all the meaning of life...As people enact rituals, they reaffirm and strengthen their faith in the explanation these rituals support (Hiebert 1983:169-170).

In section 3.0. regarding the soul, it was stated that the Sawi believe that the **hamar** 'ghosts' of the recent dead are not far away. The more recent the death, the more active the **hamar** are. It is the responsibility of the living to help usher the **hamar** into a new existence in another world. Thus death and the rituals associated with it are looked upon as a rite of passage from the land of the living to the world of the ancestors. For the Sawi, this process involves three distinct rites. First there is the rite of separation, during which loved ones make a break with the deceased. Second is the releasing rite where the deceased's **hamar** is sent on its journey to another world. The final rite is a celebration that the spirit has finally entered that other world.

When a person appears to be near death, his friends and relatives gather around him in order to protect him from the power that is responsible for his condition, be it from the **yar**, **hamar**, or sorcery. In this weakened state he is more susceptible to further attacks. Since the **hamar** and sorcerers like to attack in solitude, the gathered crowd wails loudly in an attempt to frighten away these oppressive powers. It is also thought that the collective power of the group may in some way sustain the sick individual. The crowd at the sickbed grows as more people arrive either out of curiosity or genuine grief. They all stay until the crisis is passed and the individual is on his way to recovery or until death occurs.

When the individual breathes his last and death is announced the separation rite begins. The overall event is known as the **homon bisim** 'celebration of death'. The time of mourning begins immediately. The male in-laws, particularly the husbands of the sisters and daughters of the deceased, position themselves to hold the body. Wailing and crying becomes intense and lasts through the night. Women, especially daughters and sisters of the deceased, do the **homon gam** 'dance of death'. They dance around the body calling for the deceased to return. In the case of a deceased male, they will fondle the penis in an attempt to arouse him to come back. With a female corpse, they do the same with the breasts. This grieving process goes on for about a 24 hour period or until all relatives are in attendance. Then construction of the **rykoap** 'funeral platform' begins. This platform is a tower made out of round poles with streamers of spliced fronds hanging down on all sides. It is constructed on the ground and then set in place. The final platform will tower above the ground about 25 feet. It also has a roof over the platform. Before it is set in place, the body must be attached. When word is received that the platform is ready, the male in-laws who are holding the body will rise to carry the body out of the house. At this point the wailing females along with closely related males clutch after the body. They pull on it trying to keep it with them. Those who are especially grieved will try to drink the body fluids or blood that remains on the sleeping mat where the body had been. This is known as **es mon** 'to drink the blood'.

Now the activity shifts from the house to the funeral platform which is set up right beside the house. As the body is brought out of the house, those who are particularly grieved leap from the house onto the ground. Others go to the river and throw themselves into the mud. While this is going on, the body is attached to the platform and it is all lifted up at once and set in place. Though the mourning continues, the center of attention now shifts to the male in-laws who previously were holding the body. They now must **gyfam ason** the body. This literally means "touching the stench". It involves touching the rotting flesh of the body until all that remains of the corpse are bones. They pour water over the body and squeeze various parts to accelerate the decaying process. They stand underneath the platform and allow the body fluids to drip on them. The ultimate action they perform is to climb to the top of the platform and thrust a hand into the decaying body. Then they come quickly to the ground where they are handed a piece of cooked sago which they eat with the contaminated hand. While these men **gyfam ason** the body, all the mourners are wailing from the ground with outstretched arms to the body. Whenever one of the men works up enough courage and actually touches the rotting flesh, the wailing becomes more intense. And when one of them eats the sago with the hand still dripping with rotten flesh, the wailing reaches unbelievable intensity. There are four levels of intensity in the rite of **gyfam ason**.

Table 11. Levels of Intensity in Separation Rite **Gyfam Ason**

1. Squeezing of body to accelerate decaying process.

2. Shaking of funeral platform to rain down body fluids and decaying flesh upon those below.

3. Thrusting a hand into the decaying body cavity.

4. Eating sago with the contaminated hand.

Those who are involved in the actual touching of the rotting flesh receive no benefit from it. Increased power or status is not achieved. The bodies of men, women and children (10 years and older) would all be ritually touched in this manner. For a deceased male, it would be the husbands of his sisters and daughters who would **gyfam ason** his body. If it was his son who had died, it would still be the father's male in-laws who touched the boy's body. In the case of a woman dying, it would again be the husbands of her sisters and daughters who perform the ritual. For a young girl, it would be the same male in-laws of her mother.

At this point it should be pointed out that in the rite of **gyfam ason** the cannibalism motif shows itself again. As the male in-law raises the sago to his lips with the contaminated hand he is symbolically eating the flesh. Sahlins points out that cannibalism is always symbolic, whether it is real or not (1983:88). And in this symbolism there is a positive force in displayed. In writing about cannibalism, I. M. Lewis appropriately states:

Here, where a tabooed negative action - eating human flesh - acquires positive force, the ritual consumption of parts of the human body enables the consumer to acquire something of the body's vital energy (Lewis 1986:72).

In this symbolic eating of the deceased person's flesh, the male in-laws are vividly marking the final break with this life for the deceased person's soul. By "eating his flesh" they are taking away his very essence for living as a human. There is now no possibility of the deceased returning as a human being again. The separation has been made.

It is apparent that in the separation rite of **gyfam ason** the Sawi are reliving the Death Myth. The relatives and friends who wail and dance around the body represent the **hurim** lizard who wants man to renew himself and live on. In contrast, male in-laws represent the **karasu** bird and the **aekam** grass who desire for man to decay and die. Thus when the sago is eaten with the contaminated hand, it marks the completion of the decaying process and the victory of death over man.

After this climax has been reached and completed, **gyfam ason** is finished. Some people continue to mourn near the funeral platform. They all continue to wear their **hanowan** bracelets and necklaces which they put on at the beginning of the mourning period. These help ward off the power of sorcery which may have been responsible for the person's death. Most of the people, though, go off to the forest to gather food for the upcoming releasing rite known as the **watavar bisim** 'celebration of the bones'. This period may last several weeks during which time it is not unusual to meet the **hamar** of the deceased or hear its voice, especially in the case of close relatives. A person may be hunting in the forest and after shooting a pig he may hear a bird call out to him. He knows it is the voice of his dead relative calling out to remind him he has died but not yet left on his journey to another world. So the person stops butchering the pig and goes back to the village, leaving the pig for his dead relative's **hamar**. Also during this time, the immediate kin of the deceased observe a taboo of not processing sago.

As soon as those hunting and gathering return to the village with lots of food, the **watavar bisim** begins. It could last several weeks and includes all-night dancing. The funeral platform would still be standing but the body would be totally decayed and only bones would remain. The celebration begins with a huge feast. Lots of food is ritually exchanged, with the male in-laws who had to lead out in the **gyfam ason** rite being the guests of honor. When all the food has been consumed then the dancing and drumming begin. Again the male in-laws lead out. They are the center of attention. This goes on for days until the climax of the feast is reached. At that time there is a final processing of sago which is brought into the longhouse and set in the middle. Everyone gathers there for the final ceremony. They all sit still and no one makes a sound. It is said, "If you speak, the **hamar** will take you." Then out of the silence a bamboo horn is blown and all the men give a loud roar. Then it is announced, "The **hamar** are taking his spirit away now. He's taken the sago and left." Thus the spirit of the deceased is released to begin its journey to another world. The people all then leave the longhouse, cut down the funeral platform, and set it on fire. When the fire dies out the bones are collected. Unimportant bones such as the ribs, spine, and feet are put in a grass bag and taken to a **yanae** 'banyan' tree where they are laid at its base. But the other bones are kept by the sisters and daughters of the deceased (ie. the

wives of those who were involved in **gyfam ason**). This marks the end of the **watavar bisim** 'celebration of the bones', the releasing of the spirit to journey on.

The final rite, which is a celebration of the spirit's entrance into the other world, doesn't take place for a few years. During this time the brothers and sons of the deceased have to each catch a pig in the forest and raise it until it is big. Thus the name of this celebration is **taub bisim**, 'celebration of the pigs'. The whole object of raising these pigs is to "buy back" the bones of the deceased which are felt to be rightfully theirs. When it is felt the pigs are large enough, the word goes out to bring them in to the village. They are all brought in alive and ceremonially killed together. Then the pigs are placed in a row underneath the longhouse. Usually the row will reach from one end of the house to the other. Then the dancing begins. Later when the dancing is completed, the pigs are butchered, cooked, and eaten along with lots of other food that's been collected for the occasion. The choice pieces of pig meat are presented to the male in-laws who did **gyfam ason** on the deceased's body. In return, they take the bones which have been saved by their wives and give them to the brothers and sons of the deceased. These bones are then taken to the forest where they are placed one by one at the base of different **yanae** trees. This marks the end of the **taub bisim** and the arrival of the spirit of the deceased at the other world.

Finally, we should note what happens to the mate of someone who dies. Sometimes, though rarely, a wife will be so overcome with grief that immediately after her spouse's death she will climb to the top of their treehouse and jump off headfirst. Of the wives who have done this, some did live through the experience though most died. Also, sometimes the sisters or brothers of the deceased husband would do **naesao tohomoh** 'widow sorcery' on the woman and kill her. It is said that out of respect for their dead brother, they kill her so her spirit can join the husband's before she has a chance to remarry. In regards to remarriage, after the death of a spouse, it is customary to wait several years before remarrying. Sometimes, as in the case of widowers, the men may never remarry. It depends on whether they had another sister or daughter who could be exchanged for a wife. For widows, the waiting period before remarriage might be shortened because of the demand for widows. Widows are known to be proven in the areas of childbirth and work ability so in some men's eyes they are a prize to be sought after.

8.0. RITUAL POWER AND PRACTICE

Radcliffe-Brown suggested that "in attempting to understand a religion it is on the rites rather than on the beliefs that we should first concentrate our attention" (1952:155). His point that belief is transformed into action is well taken. Monica Wilson has emphasized that a people's values are demonstrated in rituals. She wrote:

> *Rituals reveal values at their deepest level...men express in ritual what moves them most, and since the form of expression is conventionalized and obligatory, it is the values of the group that are revealed. I see in the study of rituals the key to an understanding of the essential constitution of human societies. (Wilson: 1954:241).*

Throughout this paper, which essentially purports to deal with beliefs, rituals and practices have frequently entered the discussion. In fact, it has been through the examination of these practices that the beliefs have become evident. So despite a section being devoted to ritual at this time, in reality this whole study has been concerned with ritual. We've already dealt with ritual action which protects from the activity of the **hamar** 'ghosts' in the forest, which is used in healing sickness, which is used by the **haose** 'shaman', and which is used in the funeral rites associated with death. This section will examine other ritualistic action not previously covered. Some, like the cannibalistic feast following war, are filled with ceremony, while others, like the use of **tohomoh** 'magic' are more individualistic with less pomp. In any event, ritual is not synonymous with ceremony and the smallest action may have relevance for understanding belief, as Victor Turner brings out in his definition of ritual:

> *A ritual is a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests. (Turner 1985:55).*

8.1. Rites of Directing Power

First, we will deal with the subject of how to direct hidden power. This is commonly referred to as "magic" and as Norman Habel elaborates it normally involves a symbolic action which is associated with a desired effect, a substance or object invested with power, and the repetition of powerful words in the form of a spell. Habel, who writes from the perspective of Melanesia, states:

> *A magic rite is performed by an individual who knows the secret formula of the ritual. This formula will normally include a traditional spell incorporating powerful words, a symbolic action which is associated with or symbolizes the desired effect of the rite and a substance or object invested with power. By using the correct formula a specific power within the total power system of their world can be directed to the desired end. If a ritual is performed in a manner consistent with the laws of this power system, then it taps the desired power and is efficacious. (Habel 1979:14).*

For the Sawi, magic is the one thing they can do in a world that seems out of their control. In a hostile environment they use magic to try to exert their influence. Up against all the activities of supernatural forces, magic is the one avenue of resistence still open to man.

Magic can be employed for helpful as well as harmful purposes. Mary MacDonald describes in a way very relevant to the Sawi context, the difference between "white magic" and "black magic" as follows:

> *The distinction indicates that one is used in a helpful and other in a damaging way. On the one hand, magic spells and actions are employed in everyday life to ensure the well-being of the community and the success of individuals and groups in such pursuits as hunting, fishing, gardening, raising pigs, trading, warfare, and attracting members of the opposite sex. On the other hand, magical spells and actions are also employed directly to cause harm to enemies or indirectly in the form of taboos to protect certain people, places, and crops against intruders or trespassers (MacDonald 1981:169).*

The first thing to note about Sawi magic is that there is one generic term used to encompass all forms of magic, whether good or bad. The term is **tohomoh**.[8] It derives from the two words **tohod** 'tree' and **moh** 'leaf'. Most magic involves the use of certain types of leaves from trees in the forest, though bark, human hair, and the conch shell are also used. Having only one word for this whole category shows up the volatile nature of magic for the Sawi. In one instance **tohomoh** can be beneficial, while in another it can be deadly sorcery. So **tohomoh** must be handled carefully. The novice is to beware. The power of **tohomoh** can come back on an individual who handles it incorrectly. It can kill a person who misuses it. It can even miss its intended target and victimize an innocent bystander. This all reinforces the idea that **tohomoh** is powerful and unpredictable.

The term **yot** 'hot' is used to describe **tohomoh**. The objects used are considered to be receptacles of this heat, this power. Where does this power originate? There is no myth telling how the Sawi learned about **tohomoh**. It has simply always been known. It does not originate from the spirit world. In fact, it is said that the **hamar** try to steal the bags in which the Sawi keep their **tohomoh** paraphernalia. The reason lies in the fact that **tohomoh** can also be used to ward off attacks from the **yar** and **hamar** in the forest. No spirits or ancestors are ever evoked when using **tohomoh**. So it seems that the power of **tohomoh** is intrinsic to the objects utilized and is activated by the correct formula of words and actions. This power is there at the Sawi's disposal. It can be used for good or evil, depending on the disposition of the one activating it.

There are five types of magic among the Sawi, four of which are considered good and one evil. Table 12 lists these five types according to their results which are deemed either "positive" or "negative".

8   .**Tohomoh** has a related word **kaowae** which mean 'the power' of magic. The difference is that with **tohomoh** the emphasis is on technique while with **kaowar** the emphasis is on the power.

Table 12. Types of Magic Found Among the Sawi

NEGATIVE		POSITIVE		
Sorcery	Personal strength	Healing	Food/ Environment	Protection
Homon (death)	Sanao (murder)	Waedon (sickness)	Tuw (pig)	Kod bokoton (blind enemy)
Yaetu (insanity)	Magap (pregnant)	Fitap (sore)	Du (sago)	Amon (battle)
Du gamon (poison)	Hab/Ivar (love)	Mari (fever)	Enamo (fish)	Aevohab (enemy)
Muriyap (adultery)	Sabham (children)	Kod (eye)	Haur ah (rain)	Hamar (ghost)
Kod (blindness)		Auwah (cough)	Nan (grubworm)	Sinag (fireplace)
Kaotap (cripple)		Hamar otan (possession)	Sir (dog)	
Ar sor (diarrhea)		Hauwah (stomach)		
Muyu (stomach)		Gunup (rib)		
Asem (headache)		Sadap (ear)		
Sasar (crying)		Torok (tooth)		

Though I have researched all these various methods of magic, space does not allow an examination of each one in detail. Thus, four examples for each category will be described briefly. The category of personal strength can be further extended to include personal appearance and advantage. In **sanao tohomoh** 'murder magic', a piece of bark from a tree is cooked and eaten in order to make one's stomach "hot" with the desire to fight. It makes one strong for the purpose of murder. In **magap tohomoh** 'magic to make a woman pregnant', certain grasses, leaves, or a fruit from the forest are eaten in order to increase the possibility of pregnancy. The same magic, with opposite intent, can be used in reverse if a woman desires not to be pregnant. **Hab/ivar tohomoh** 'love magic' involves the rubbing of the body with leaves to attract a person of the opposite sex, and in the case of a male he also rubs his body with charcoal. In regards to magic to help children grow, which is commonly referred to as **sabham tohomoh**, special leaves are mixed into the child's food in order to make him or her strong and healthy.

Under the category of healing magic, there is **waedon tohomoh**, a general magic that can be used with most illnesses. This is the most common type of healing magic and is not limited to use by the **haose** 'shaman' alone. Special leaves are brought in and first rubbed

on the body of the one doing the magic. They are especially rubbed in the armpit area to allow body sweat to saturate the leaves. Then the leaves are rubbed on the sick individual saying, "Let this sickness be gone. Let this person rise." For **fitap tohomoh** 'sore magic', a pouch is filled with certain leaves and bark which is then squeezed so the juice drips out onto the wound and produces healing. It can also be done into the wound of a pig as a proxy. In 'fever magic' **mari tohomoh** a certain prickly leaf is rubbed all over the body of the patient to produce itching that later leads to sweat which reduces the fever. Finally, in **kod tohomoh** 'eye magic' either breast milk or juice from the bark of the **yanae** tree can be put in the sick eye to produce healing. In all these forms of healing magic there are certain verbal formulas, primarily ordering the sickness to leave, which accompany the use of objects and actions.

In the category of food and environment, **tuwi tohomoh** 'pig magic' can be done in several ways to ensure success in pig hunting. The most common method is to attach a package of leaves or sand to the end of a bow and each time a pig is shot the end of the bow is dipped in its blood. In **du tohomoh** 'sago magic', again there are various methods to ensure that the sago fiber processed will produce a large amount of sago flour. The most common method is to rub the trough where the sago fiber is washed with certain leaves so that lots of sago will emerge at the end. **Nan tohomoh** 'grubworm magic' involves rubbing the blade of the ax before cutting openings in a felled sago palm for the beetles to enter into. While rubbing the ax blade with certain leaves one says, "Let lots of grubs drink from this tree." In regards to **sir tohomoh** 'dog magic', a necklace of dogs teeth is rubbed on a magical conch shell to enable a dog to catch a pig.

In the category of protection magic, **kod bokoton tohomoh** 'blind enemy magic' is performed against your enemies to make them incapable of seeing your arrows and thus they will be pierced. In **amon tohomoh** 'battle magic' one faces the enemy and spits out a mouthful of water saying, "May your arrows become weak and not see me and pass by." In **aevohab tohomoh** 'enemy magic' a form of divination is used to determine when to go to war against the enemy and to ensure success. Finally, in **hamar tohomoh** 'ghost magic', which was previously discussed in section 4.2. leaves rubbed on the body and inserted in armbands protect a person from the attacks of ghosts.

The final category of magic, sorcery, is the only one to be considered "negative". Sawi people seem almost obsessed by the fear of someone working **tohomoh** in the form of sorcery against them. Hardly a death or sickness occurs which is not attributed by someone to the efforts of a sorcerer. There are three main recognized techniques of sorcery. One consists of adding substances to the victim's food. Though there is one type of poison mushroom in the forest which is sometimes used, more often the sorcery is done with neutral substances that have received spells. A second technique involves the placing of substances in the victim's path or on his or her sleeping mat so that they come in contact with them. The final technique involves blowing a substance in the direction of the victim. **Tohomoh** in the form of sorcery is never used against one's own kin. It is always used against members of another clan.

A sorcerer employs various methods which utilize the general techniques just described. Four of those methods will be discussed here. The most dangerous method is known as **homon tohomoh** 'death magic'. The method involves using a **maesivae** 'conch shell' which is endued with power. The larger the shell, the more powerful it is. Certain

leaves are crushed and placed inside the shell and then blown out in the direction of the victim, saying, "Let this person die, go and attach yourself to him and kill him." One application of this magic does not kill, but rather it is repeated until the person is dead. Another form of sorcery is **du gamon tohomoh** 'poison magic' and it involves rubbing and/or inserting certain leaves into sago and having the victim eat it. These leaves are not poisonous in themselves, but rather the spells spoken over them is what makes them dangerous. **Kaotap tohomoh** 'magic to cripple someone' utilizes a piece of wood which has a spell put on it and then is placed in the middle of a trail used by the intended victim. When the victim comes along and picks up the wood to throw it to the side he is contaminated by the magic and becomes crippled. In **asem tohomoh** 'headache magic', cuttings of hair from the intended victim are placed inside a hole in a certain fruit from the forest. Then a sharp piece of vine is taken and tied around the fruit. It is tightened until it splits the fruit in half. This then causes a terrible headache in the victim.

For this discussion, I have defined sorcery as magic used with evil intent. But the person who is deemed a "sorcerer" is something a little different. Among the Sawi a sorcerer is understood to be someone who is undisciplined in his or her usage of **tohomoh** and kills all the time with it. Though many names will be mentioned as those who possibly killed someone by sorcery, a person is not formally labelled as a sorcerer until after their own death. Then people will say, "He was a sorcerer. It's good he's dead." If a war started over someone's death, then whoever was killed in the war would be assumed to be the sorcerer who killed that victim in the first place. If a large portion of the community suspects a person of consistently killing people with sorcery, thus disrupting the social order, then when that person gets sick he will be uncared for and allowed to die. As was mentioned in section 7.2. on the nature of death, women are believed to know more about killing sorcery than men. Thus, more often than not, women are suspected of being the culprits behind a sorcery related death.

There is also another side to sorcery. It can be looked upon as sort of a judicial system. Patrick Gesch calls it a form of social discernment when he writes:

the act of sorcery is...not just the crime of an isolated person, but more of a genuine judicial system now somewhat outmoded by larger political realities. (1979:146).

While the sorcerer's powers are destructive, his or her role as an agent of punishment can be seen as a necessary part of the social order. Because the Sawi fear sorcery, there is a social constraint in effect that upholds the social order. Mary MacDonald sees sorcery as a social institution in Melanesia as she writes:

Sorcery is a means of handling the fears and anxieties which threaten the life of the community...any situation within a society in which there are perceived to be injustices, tensions in interpersonal relationships, or conflicts of a political nature, is potentially a situation in which sorcery may occur. (MacDonald 1981:171).

The general knowledge of **tohomoh** 'magic' is common to all the Sawi. Parents pass the information and paraphernalia on to their children. A common scene is a dying man calling his children to his side to give them one last instruction concerning **tarau sin** 'old words' which include **tohomoh**. But just because everyone knows about **tohomoh** doesn't mean they are accomplished at it. Only those who are successful with **tohomoh** are looked

upon as having **tohomoh gagai** 'strong magic'. Success is the evidence that a person knows how to manipulate the power. When someone can manipulate it successfully for evil, they become greatly feared.

A final point should be made regarding the **wanes** bind. Though this is not a true form of magic, the Sawi do include it under the general classification of **tohomoh**. It is an action which requires the victim to do whatever the instigator desires. It is always used to require treachery. What happens is that the person doing it goes to the victim and in a moment when the victim is off his guard the person touches the victim's genital area. The victim is always male and the one doing the **wanes** can be either male or female. If female she will touch the victim's penis with a cooked piece of sago and then eat the sago for all who are present to see (Richardson 1974:68). A male instigator will cut the victim's penis with a shaft of bamboo and lick the blood off the bamboo blade. This action is done for all to see in order to obligate the victim. And if the instigator happens to be a respected in-law (e.g. mother-in-law) then the bind is even stronger. When this happens, the victim must consent to whatever the person requests. Usually the plan is to murder a close relative of the victim and thus the victim must be involved in treachery against his own kin.

8.2. Nature of Power

The rites of directing power cannot be studied without first understanding what the Sawi believe about power. There are two distinct concepts regarding power in the Sawi worldview. One is the concept of **haesap**. Translated literally it means "strength" and is associated with strength and endurance in warfare because the battlefield is the main arena where strength is displayed. Synonyms of this word are **kwai**, which means "strong" but also "stubborn", and **haoham** 'strong in battle'. Also related is **maosam** 'bravery' which is derived from the yelling that occurs in victory. A man is known as having **haesap** 'strength' primarily when he is victorious in battle, but also when he never loses an argument or when he has multiple wives. Such a man is powerful. Women are known as having **haesap** when they don't give in to their husbands' wishes but rather fight them and win most of the time. Children who are given **sabham tohomoh** 'magic used to make children strong' are known as having **haesap**. So this first concept of power is on the human level and is associated primarily with strength in fighting and taking revenge.

The other concept of power is on the supernatural level. Regarding the Melanesian concept of supernatural power, Codrington wrote the following about what he termed 'mana':

> *The Melanesian mind is entirely possessed by the belief in a supernatural power or influence, called almost universally mana. This is what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature; it is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and to things, and is manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operations. When one has got it he can use it and direct it, but its force may break forth at some point; the presence of it is ascertained by proof. (Codrington 1969:253-254).*

Codrington's description show **mana** as a life force in the universe, residing in many different mediums and generally requiring personal beings to obtain or activate it. This concept exists among the Sawi and is known as **kaowae** 'supernatural power'. The mean-

ing of **kaowae** is inextricable from **tohomoh** 'magic'. **Tohomoh** is the technique of magic while **kaowae** is the power behind magic. This power is magical and outside the normal abilities of man. As was mentioned in section VIII.A., **tohomoh** is considered to be "hot" and must be handled with care. This is due to the **kaowae** 'power' residing in the **tohomoh** objects which man manipulates. This power radiates from the object and can actually "burn" the unsuspecting. Added heat from a fire even multiplies this power. When this power multiplies it is said to **fahaton taradon** 'have babies'. This usually takes place in the **tohomoh** bag where all the magic paraphernalia are stored. When this power reproduces itself, it is reported that a strong **gyfam** 'odor' escapes from the bag. Everyone who smells this knows that the **kaowae** is increasing.

Kaowae is invisible, but it is always there available for man to use. How does one know if **kaowae** is present in an object? Some objects, such as the **maesivae** 'conch shell', are known receptacles of **kaowae** because their reputation has been passed down from generation to generation. Other objects of an unusual nature, such as an odd-shaped piece of wood, may be found and assumed to contain **kaowae**. The only way to know for sure is to try using it. If it works, then it contains the power. Success in any field of endeavor, whether fighting, hunting, or curing, is proof that a person has some **kaowae** and is using it. Thus the presence or absence of **kaowae** is ascertained by empirical proof. Although this power can be used for good, the one who possesses it is usually feared because of the unpredictable nature of the power and its availability for evil purposes. The division of the Sawi's understanding of power can be depicted in the following manner.

Table 13. Sawi Concept of Power

Haesap	Kaowae
"strength"	"the power of magic"
physical	supernatural
achieved	owned
accumulated	manipulated
having it brings one respect	having it causes others to fear

Before leaving this section on power, the subject of food taboo and activities should be mentioned. Taboo restrictions are observed by the Sawi in order to not lose one's personal **haesap** and in order to not be harmed by **hamar** 'ghosts' or sorcery. The restriction on not processing sago after the death of a close relative protects the individual against possible anger from the **hamar** who feels insulted when his death isn't revered. Avoiding **apsar nataman** 'taboo foods' keeps the individual from losing some of his personal **haesap**. If the food taboos are ignored, then weakness and old age results. However, it should be pointed out that in practice some things, like choice foods, are called taboo for selfish reasons. The Sawi old men will tell their children that cassowary, lizard, crocodile, crown pigeon, bananas, and tobacco are all **apsar** 'taboo'. They tell the children, "If you eat these you won't be able to run fast through the forest. Your hair will turn gray and you'll get old". But in reality the reason they declare it taboo is that they want it all for themselves!

8.3. Divination

When the Sawi are concerned with the questions, "What will happen next?" or "What will happen if...?" or "Where did it go?", they usually go to the haose 'shaman'. As we saw earlier, the shaman then communicates with the spirits in order to obtain this information. His services are primarily called upon in divining the cause or culprit of sickness and in determining where lost items are. Before getting too involved in the detailed methods of divination, it's important that we recognize the role that the professional diviner plays in society. Victor Turner sees the diviner as a social agent who picks up on the tensions within society and diffuses them in traditional ways. He writes:

Death, disease and misfortune are usually ascribed to tensions in the local kin group, expressed as personal grudges charged with the mystical power of sorcery or witchcraft, or as beliefs in the punitive action of ancestor spirits. Diviners try to elicit from their clients responses which give them clues to the current tensions in their groups of origin. Divination, therefore, becomes a form of social analysis, in the course of which hidden conflicts are revealed so that they may be dealt with by traditional and institutionalized procedures. (Turner 1979:373).

This is particularly true of the Sawi haose whose activities of divination have already been described in detail in section 6.0. on spiritual mediation. So here our observations will be limited to the two other types of divination which are common knowledge and thus available to everyone.

The first type of common divination is known as nyam nahandep tohomoh 'discerning magic'. This is done to locate lost items. A single frond from a sago palm is cut and tied at each end to form the shape of a boat. Then it is filled with water and special leaves are cut up and placed in on top of the water. It is then placed on the floor of the house of the person who is trying to locate the lost item. As it is released, it will tip over in one direction. If it tips and overflows to the left, it means that the lost item is still in the house. If it overflows to the right, then the item has been stolen. Though everyone knows how to do this, usually the most successful practitioners are called upon to assist others who have lost something. These people are not considered professional diviners because that is the occupation of the haose.

The other type of divination takes place when the Sawi want to go to war against a neighboring tribe. It is known as nab tohomoh 'victim magic' because the motive in going to war is to victimize the enemy and eat his flesh. This type of divination is used to learn the right time to attack the enemy. It takes place in the haem 'mens' longhouse'. A bag of special leaves is hung in the doorway or a piece of wood placed by the door. Then during the night the Sawi call upon the souls of their enemies to come. These souls are not the hamar 'ghosts' of dead enemies, but rather are the living myao 'souls' of their enemies. If, during the night, the house shakes or the bag of leaves or piece of wood is moved, then they know it is time to go to war. The object is to entice the souls of tribal enemies to come and try to harm the Sawi. When the wood is laid down or the bag hung up, they say, "souls of our enemies come and get us". Thus when the noise or movement indicating the souls' arrival occurs, all the men in the longhouse rise up roaring a war cry. Then all night they dance

and do other tohomoh 'magic' so their enemies won't see them in battle. The following day they leave before dawn to go to war, sensing that victory is already theirs.

8.4. Festivals

At large community wide festivals, usually known as bisim, the ritual and ceremony reach peaks of emotion as all-night dancing and feasting are involved. But it must be noted that the emotional highs which people experience are subordinate to the necessity of performing the ritual correctly. In fact, it seems that the intensity of emotion arises from this need to perform the ritual without error. A clear example of this is in the homon bisim 'celebration of death' (section 7.3.) where the male in-laws of the deceased ritualistically enter into different stages of touching the decaying body, which in turn aroused the emotions of the onlookers.

The Sawi have five different types of festivals and one subtype. We have already examined three of these in section 7.3. on funeral rites. Those were the homon bisim 'the separation rite'; the watavar bisim 'the releasing rite'; and the taub bisim 'the celebration rite'.

The fourth festival is called the haem bisim 'celebration of the longhouse'. This occurs after the construction of a new longhouse and marks the completion of a new village site. To celebrate, everyone goes to the forest and gathers lots of food with an emphasis on nan 'sago grubs'. After all the people have returned with their food, they all gather in the longhouse for the feast. Food is distributed and gifts exchanged, thus reinforcing kinship alliances. Then the gam 'dance' begins. Everyone, men and women and children, all dance around the longhouse and through the village. They move together in one large group, though men dance separately and the women follow behind. The dancing goes on all night and can continue for several days or until food runs out. One last note regarding the haem bisim is that it also includes the action of beating the hamar 'ghosts' out of the · village, hamar tamon.

The type of sub-festival is the atahap bisim 'the celebration of in-laws'. Another name used is odakem mim, which means "in-law play". This "play" is characterized by women clubbing, shooting with bird arrows, and forcing uncooked food into the mouths of men while spectators roar in hilarious laughter. There are opportunities for both men and women to hit certain men without fear of retaliation. However, the women are by far the most sincere in their task. Those who are the objects of this punishment are the younger male in-laws who are in a respect relationship with older kin, whether by blood or by marriage. These older kin, usually women, now publicly have a chance to exert their influence over their younger male in-laws. An older sister can hit a younger sister's husband and men may hit other men who took their clan sisters as wives. The occasion for this "play" is the calling of the taob bisim 'celebration rite' though it can happen in conjunction with any other bisim 'festival'.

The fifth festival is the nab bisim 'cannibal feast'. After a war, the bodies of enemies are brought back to the village. Quickly, in one day, as much other food as possible is gathered. This includes pig, sago grubs and fish. The enemy bodies are put on display and then ritualistically butchered with certain parts going to certain family members. The ensuing dance can last up to an entire month with more food being continually brought in

from the forest. Even when they move to a new village site, the **nab bisim** can continue on. At the end of the dancing, the enemy bones are distributed with the jawbone, as a fetish, going to the brother's daughter of the one who had done the killing. The skull, which during the feast is used as a receptacle for **nan** 'sago grubs', is kept as a trophy. By means of cannibalism, the Sawi vanquish their enemy. It is as if they are reliving the victory of battle. In eating the essence of their enemies, they magically assure themselves that there will be no repercussions from the **hamar** 'ghosts' of their enemies. They both killed the living enemy, and they had vanquished the dead enemy's **hamar**. There is a connection between war and hunting. Alongside the bodies of their enemies the Sawi place pig, fish, and grubworms. All are viewed as objects of the hunt and thus eaten together.

This is the third time the cannibalism motif has appeared in this study. First, the **yar** 'evil forest spirits' "eat" people. Secondly, the eating of sago with the contaminated hand which had touched rotting human flesh in the **gyfam ason** ritual. Thirdly, and no longer just symbolically, it occurs again in the **nab bisim**.

8.5. Rites of Passage

Rites of passage occur when individuals or groups move from one status to another. Arnold van Gennep noted in his classical work The Rites of Passage (1960) that these rites generally have three phases. The first is that of "separation" of those involved from their past statuses. The second phase is one of "transition" in which individuals undergo a change to the new status. The third phase is the "incorporation" of the people involved into their new statuses. Passage rites are often concerned with acquainting a person with the roles he or she is to perform in their new status and motivating them to perform them well.

Besides funeral rites, which have already been examined in section 7.3. other rites of passage among the Sawi include initiation into adulthood, marriage, birth, and child dedication. Because it is associated with the festivals we have just examined, the first passage rite we shall look at is the initiation of **haramon harigav** 'young unmarried men' into manhood. Though the Sawi are typical of the rest of Melanesia in that there is a rite of passage from boyhood into manhood, the Sawi ritual is not accompanied by the usual pomp and ceremony commonly seen elsewhere. An example of this kind of initiation is given by Peter Lawrence who describes male initiation among the Ngaing people of the Rai Coast in Papua New Guinea as follows:

> *Initiation for males takes place in either late childhood or early adolescence. The ceremony is conducted as follows: First, the boys' fathers and maternal uncles bring up their respective patriclan spirits to the cult house of the boys' settlement. Second, the boys are shown the sacred instruments and taught the Yabuling myth by their mothers' brothers. Third they are segregated for about a month and taught to play the sacred instruments. They are also given a symbolic beating by their mothers' brothers...At the end of the month's segregation, the boys are dressed in fine ornaments and formally presented to the women. Thereafter exchanges are carried out between the patriclans of the novices and those of their mothers' brothers. (Lawrence 1965:213).*

Among the Sawi, the initiation ceremony is usually done in conjunction with the **haem bisim** 'longhouse celebration', though it can be done separately if desired. The father and his brothers make a special grass-woven belt called a **raoh** for the young initiate. Then the boy, along with other teenage boys, is taken to the longhouse where the belt is fastened around his waist. Since the belt is one unbroken length it must be put on by placing the feet in first and pulling it up around the waist. It is deliberately made to be tight and thus requires much painful effort to put on and to get it in place. Streamers of split fronds are hung on each side from the belt and red mud is also rubbed on the sides. Other mud is rubbed on the face of the initiate. Then the father and brothers tie pieces of vine on each forearm, upperarm, calf, and thigh of the initiate. The final preparation is the piercing of the nose which is done with bamboo sticks heated in the fire.

Then the instruction begins. The boys are instructed all day long by elderly men in the longhouse, during which time they do not eat. Then at dusk they are asked, "Do you understand?", to which they reply in the affirmative. They are then allowed to eat and if the ceremony is done in conjunction with the **haem bisim** there will be all-night dancing. Then the next day the instruction continues. Subjects of instruction include words about taboos, lessons in morality illustrated by legends, and tribal mythology. Over and over they are asked, "Do you understand?" After several days it is concluded by the fathers saying, "My boy has become a man." Though the one ceremony is finished, the instruction continues from father to son in their own house. Females are also initiated in the same manner when their breasts become evident. They too are dressed ceremonially with the same type belt and vine ties which are made by their mothers and sisters. Their instruction takes place in their individual houses and is done by both mother and father.

Some mention has already been made of Sawi marriage rites in section 2.3. so here I will elaborate on that in more detail. The arrangements for a young girl's marriage partner are made by her mother's brothers or, if they are dead, by other members of the mother's clan. Since the Sawi practice sibling exchange, if these brothers have the name of a girl in mind whom they want in return they will mention it early on in the discussions. On the boy's side, arrangements for his marriage are made by his father and traditionally could be completed while he is still quite young. When it is time for the actual marriage to take place, agreement has to have been reached by all members of each family. One dissenting voice can nullify the whole arrangement. On the day of the marriage, the bride is dressed in finery which includes a belt with streamers, vines on her arms and legs, and a dog tooth necklace. The groom is dressed similarly.

When all is ready, the bride is taken by her family to the groom's house. Items of value, which have been collected from members of the groom's family and other kin as a brideprice, are laid out in the house. These items may include cooking vessels, stone axes, newly woven grass mats, etc. As the bride's family release her to her new family, they indicate their approval of the payment by gathering up the items and leaving. The items are then taken back home and distributed among the family members all of whom will be expected to contribute to the brideprice of the bride's brother who will soon marry the groom's sister. After the bride enters the house of the groom and his family, she will cook a stick of sago and hand it to the groom. This is the final step of the marriage ceremony. When the groom eats at the hand of the bride they are married. Later in the day the groom will give his new wife a valuable item that had been saved out of the brideprice in order for her to take it back to her house and give it to her father in exchange for the privilege of

packing up her sleeping mat and belongings. Within the next few days the bride and groom will go off to the forest for a honeymoon. Over the course of the next few months, the groom will continue to give gifts to his new father-in-law. Through marriage, there has been a reorganization of social relationships.

Rituals associated with birth are one of the ways Sawi society admits and incorporates new members. Along with this function, changes in the roles of those involved in the birth are recognized to have taken place. When labor begins, a Sawi woman is isolated away from her husband or any other men. She is taken to the forest area behind her house by her older sister and one or two other older women. A grass mat is laid out for her to sit on and a temporary shelter is constructed from sago palm fronds. While she is giving birth, special leaves are crumb'ed and rubbed on her stomach to magically speed the delivery process. After the child is born, the older sister cuts the umbilical cord with a piece of bamboo or burns it with a piece of smoldering wood. The placenta is placed by the sister on a nearby sago frond and left there. The sister then bathes the newborn infant and rubs its body with dry sago powder. Then the new mother washes her own body and they begin the trip back to the house. One of the other women who helped with the delivery will hurry back to the house ahead of the others. As they approach the ladder to the house, she will throw ash from the fireplace out the door on top of the new mother as a means of purification. Then all weapons in the house will be taken outside and left for the night. The next day they will be collected and brought back inside and stored in their normal place in the rafters. The new mother will continue to take ritual baths every day. During this time she stays in the house and doesn't cook any food due to her uncleanness by bleeding. When her bleeding is finished, she will go to the forest and process sago and collect sago grubs. After returning home she will cook it all and ceremonially give it to her husband to eat. She is then officially clean again.

The baby's social identity develops, in part, from its name. Naming of the infant won't take place for at least a year or until they know for sure that the child is going to live. Biological life has begun but sociological life doesn't start until the name is given. If the baby is a girl, the older sister who helped in the delivery has the right to name the child after herself. If it is a boy, the new mother's brothers may request the boy to be named after one of them. To give someone your name is to have someone become your **haowat** 'namesake'.

A final Sawi ritual to examine is the rite of **sasawaudon** 'child dedication'. Occasionally a Sawi couple will give up a child. The reason might be that they feel they have too many children already, or they may feel sympathy for a childless couple, or another couple may come to them requesting a child. Included in this last case would be parents who are asked to give up a child as a **tarop tim** 'peace child' in order to stop continued warfare (see section 2.4.). Whatever the case might be, the act of taking or giving the child is referred to as **omsor fan** 'stealing the child', even though it may have been given freely. While the child is growing up, he is never told about his adoption. Then when the child reaches the age of about 12 years old, the biological parents call the child and his adopted family for a ceremony called **sasauwadon** 'child dedication'. Both families and their extended kin come together in the biological parents' house with the adoptive family group sitting on one end and the biological family group sitting on the other end of the house. The foster parents ask the child to sit in the middle. Then they tell the child who his biological parents are. The biological parents then present lots of gifts to the adoptive parents as payment for raising the child. With this payment they give up all rights to the child. After the ceremony is

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over, the child continues to live with the adoptive parents. The revealing to the child the names of his real parents is the heart of **sasauwadon**. With the payment and releasing of rights to the child it becomes a becomes a transition point for the child as he enters a new socially recognized status with his adoptive family. In all of these Sawi rites, a major purpose is the creation or continuation of satisfactory relations within one's own kin group, as well as the promotion of harmony with the forces of the spirit world which influence life on earth for both the individual and the group.

9.0. CONCLUSION

In Sawi culture religion is very much a part of everyday practical activities. As with other pre-literate societies, the economic, political, and artistic behavior of the Sawi is permeated by religion. Thus knowledge of the traditional religious system is essential for the successful introduction of social changes. Dorothy Lee shows how religion is part and parcel of pre-literate people's worldview when she writes:

> *In primitive societies, we do not always find the worship of God or a god, nor the idea of the supernatural. Yet religion is always present in man's view of his place in the universe, in his relatedness to man and nonhuman nature, to reality and circumstance...his patterned behavior often has a religious dimension, so that we find religion permeating daily life - agriculture and hunting, health measures, arts and crafts...in these same societies, we find communion with the unperceivable and unknowable in nature, with an ultimate reality, whether spirit, or power, or intensified being, or personal worth, which evokes humility, respect, courtesy or sometimes fear, on man's part. This relationship to the ultimate reality is so pervasive, that it may determine, for example, which hand a man will use in adjusting his loin cloth, or how much water he will drink at a time, or which way his head will point when he sleeps, or how he will butcher and utilize the carcass of a caribou. What anthropologists label 'material culture', therefore, is never purely material. Often we would be at least as justified to call the operation involved religious. (Lee 1985:25)*

The importance of the practical nature of a society's religion must be acknowledged. That is the reason for such a study as this. Why do we need to understand the traditional religion of a people? Because in and through that religion people are asking the most important questions about life as they know it and they are receiving answers which in turn reinforce their beliefs. Things that people regard as changeless or things that don't impinge on their way of life are ignored in religion. People feel no need to have detailed knowledge about things which they have no control over. But things causing anxiety in people form the focus of their religion. Being in harmony vertically with the spirit world and horizontally with the living is a key felt need that is answered in religion and its accompanying ritual. So it is of prime importance to understand how the traditional religion functions in order to know what questions and needs to focus on in implementing change. Our goal is to provide input that will speak to the hearts of people and provide with them new alternative in life. By knowing their traditional religion we can better understand the con-

text in which people are going to inevitably interpret our message of assistance. New ideas are not accepted in a vacuum, but rather are related to what is previous known. So a thorough knowledge of a people's religious beliefs is essential for those involved in advocating change of any kind.

PACIFIC OCEAN

Jayapura

ARAFURA SEA

Agats

Pirimapun

Sawi Villages (see Map No. 2)

Merauke

MAP NO. 1
Irian Jaya formerly
Netherlands New Guinea

AU RIVER
Hohom
Tamor
Au Mauro
Minahai
FARAES RIVER
Sato
Ero
Moshi
KOPUAN RIVER
HUYAP RIVER
Kagas
EVDAV RIVER
YEEM RIVER
Kror
KRESSE RIVER
MANAM RIVER
Kamur
KRONKEL RIVER
Serumeet
Khawi
Haenam
Haeo
BYM RIVER
KANAI RIVER
Esep
Sanapai

MAP NO. 2
Approximate Location
of Sawi villages in 1962

INDEX OF TABLES

GLOSSARY OF SAWI·WORDS

Over 160 Sawi words have been used in the text so only prominent words are listed here in alphabetical order.

apsar	'taboo'
asigi	'ancestors'
atahap bisim	'celebration of the in-laws'
Atap Hapkon	'supreme good spirit'
bisim	'festive celebration'
borsoh	'deep standing swamp water'
er aravao	'row of birds' clan name
fifae	'bird emissary used by ghosts'
fiyao	'high-pitched call of ghosts and spirits'
foron maran	'to take the form of'
gyfam ason	'to touch the stench/flesh of a decaying corpse'
haem bisim	'celebration of a new longhouse'
haesap	'strength'
hamar	'ghost of recently dead human'
hamar saham	'bright light indicating imminent misfortune due to ghost activity'
hamar tamon	'to drive away ghost'
haose	'shaman'
haowat	'totem, namesake'
haur aphaem	'sky world'
homon	'death'
homon bisim	'celebration of death/separation rite'
homon gam	'dance of death'
ivar otaham	'wife exchange payment'
mar romon	'good relationship, harmony'
masahari	'underground world'
myao	'soul'
nab bisim	'cannibal feast'
nyam nahadon	'to discern'
remon	'regeneration'
rykoap	'funeral platform for corpse'
sasawaudon	'child dedication, adoption ceremony'
serip	'bird emissary used by ghosts'
Tamae	'female forest spirit'
tarop tim	'peace child'
taub bisim	'celebration of the pigs/celebration rite'
tohomoh	'magic'
waedon	'sickness'
wanes	'special binding pact to produce treachery'
watavar bisim	'celebration of the bones/releasing rite'
yanae tohod	'banyan tree'
yaitu	'trance, convulsions'
yar	'evil forest spirit'
Yar Ivar	'supreme evil spirit'

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ELOPI[1] NAMES

Eui Jung Kim[2]

UNCEN-SIL

IKTHISAR

Makalah ini untuk menggolongkan tipe-tipe nama yang diberikan orang Elopi di Irian Jaya, Indonesia.

Orang Elopi menggunakan beberapa dasar pemikiran yang berbeda dalam memilih nama-nama bagi anak-anak mereka, antara lain:

1. untuk menggambarkan ciri anak itu
2. untuk menggambarkan ciri orang tuanya
3. untuk mengenang/mengingatan peristiwa-peristiwa yang terjadi dalam hidup anak itu
4. untuk mengenang/mengingatan peristiwa-peristiwa yang terjadi dalam hidup orang tuanya
5. untuk mengingat peristiwa yang terjadi dalam hidup anggota-anggota keluarga lainnya.
6. lain-lain

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1   Elopi is one of the language groups in the West Lake Plain area in Irian Jaya, Indonesia (see map). This language group has also been called "Dou". The Elopi speakers live in five villages (Kordesi, Folita, Dueita, Iratoi, and Tauda.). The total population is about 700. They live by gathering food, hunting

2   Eui Jung Kim works under the auspices of the Cooperative Program of the Universitas Cenderawasih and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

0.   Introduction
1.   Characteristics of the person
2.   Characteristics of the parents
3.   Events in the child's life
4.   Events in the parent's life
5.   Events in other's lives
6.   Adopted names

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1. Background and purpose of this paper

The purpose of this paper is to begin to understand the Elopi world as shown through their personal names.

0.2. Data and its limitations

From October 1987 until January 1988, 550 names were collected from different villages (Kordesi, Iratoi, and Dofu). Of those, 203 meanings (36.9%) were gathered during personal interviews.[3] An interpreter[4] was used to aid in understanding the meanings. The following questions were asked:

1) What is your name? (new and old, see 3.3)
2) Why were you given that name?"
3) Tell me the story of how you received your name.

0.3. Approach

The classifications set up by Helen Miehle (1985) were followed. She wrote a paper on names in Iau, a neighboring language group. Other categories were added to explain differences found in Elopi. After listing a sample of Elopi names, some conclusions are drawn regarding the Elopi worldview.

1.4 The study which has been done on names

The previous studies of names have taken one of two directions:

1) The anthropological approach which focuses on the meaning and usage of names. Examples of anthropological studies of names are as follows:

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3   I am indebted to Ivor & Sylvia Green who spent several years previously studying the Elopi language and have given me copies of the work that they had done.

4   My interpreter was Kaiyai from the Taori-So language group in the Central Lakes Plain area and he has been in the area since 1985.

Names and Aliases in Kewa by Karl Franklin (1967).

The Buang naming system by Bruce Hooley (1972).

What's in a name? A descriptive study of Iau personal names by Helen Miehle (1985).

Pacoh names by Richard Watson (1969).

Names and naming in Mendi by Ryan, D'Arcy (1958).

Among these examples, Helen Miehle's article is the most recent and thorough study.

2) The linguistic approach which focuses on the linguistic structure of personal names. Examples of linguistic studies of names are as follows:

On the Syntax and Semantics of Nominal Compounds in Yoruba Personal Names by Niyi Akinnaso (1981).

Restrictions on personal name sentences in the Yoruba noun phrase by S.A. Ekundayo (1977).

0.4. List of names with its rationale

The meanings of the Elopi names that were gathered, fell into six different categories. These are:

        1) characteristics of the person
        2) characteristics of parents
        3) events in the person's life
        4) events in the life of the parents and other family members,
        5) other events in the village
        6) names adopted from proper nouns

All six categories will be discussed with examples.

2.1 Characteristics of the person

The Elopi usually do not give names to their children until they are certain that their child will survive. Parents often wait for several months before actually giving their child a name (sometimes even longer). During the interviews, it was discovered that a number of babies had not yet been given names. While the parents are waiting, they often choose a name for their child based on the characteristics that they see in the child. This is the way most Elopi children receive their name. Characteristics of the person may be classified into two categories: 1) physical appearance and 2) habitual behavior or actions.

1.1. Physical appearance

Parts of the body are referred to in Elopi names because the referred part is noticeable or abnormal or because they are easily distinguished from other people. Most parts of the body are used as names with a description. These are grouped into five different categories: hand, upper part of body (except the head), lower part of the body, skin, and the body as a whole.

1.1.1. Head

Name	Literal meaning	Rationale
1) Herehete	'bad eye'	She had a bad eye.
2) Ekai	'no ear'	She did not hear well.
3) Maoheba	'big head'	
4) Herekuti	'small eye'	
5) Sauheretaru	'blind child' ('child-eye-closed')	
6) Taitela	'slanted hair'	
7) Herekirihu	'eye with cascado'	He had a skin disease around his eye.
8) Heresiwa	'swollen eye'	
9) Birita	'teeth-shown'	His teeth are always exposed.
10) Torotohu	'flat nose'	
11) Herehitai	'twisted eye'	
12) Erakeihu	'ear ooze'	Pus came out of his ear.
13) Ayepe	'short tongue'	
14) Boube	'big jaw'	
15) Aiabu	'twisted mouth'	
16) Birihahu	'dirty teeth'	He often had food in his teeth.
17) Heresarihu	'eye-dirt-be'	He often had dirt in his eye.
18) Taisi	'untidy hair'	

1.3. Upper part of body (except the head)

1) Tatu	'rotten navel'	
2) Kaibo	'twisted hand'	
3) Huemana	'white throat'	
4) Aruhere	'black chest'	
5) Tueboro	'two nipple'	He has two nipples at one side of his chest.
6) Horasi	'popped-out-rib'	She is skinny and her rib is noticeable.
7) Fusabi	'small breast'	
8) Sakabehu	'big navel'	
9) Tabe	'big stomach'	
10) Kaikora	'red hand'	

1.3. Lower part of body

1) Araheri	'weak feet'	He did not walk well.

2) **Touhu**   'big scrotum'
3) **Soitihua**   'skinny knee'
4) **Turakai**   'scarred penis'
5) **Ibo**   'twisted leg'
6) **Soibiri**   'knee-vein'   He was so skinny and veins of his knee are exposed.

1.1.4. Skin

1) **Bekaihu**   'fire-scar-be'   She had a burn scar.
2) **Hatamana**   'white'   His skin is white from cascado.
3) **Itabihu**   'skin-wart-be'   He had lot of skin warts.
4) **Teha**   'mosquito-dirt'   He had scars from mosquito bites.
5) **Irihei**   'bad skin'

1.1.5. Body as whole

1) **Udukai**   'no blood'   She had been sick and she seemed so pale.
2) **Saukuti**   'small child'   She was very small.
3) **Tedereri**   'fat boy'

1.2. Characteristic behavior or actions

Sometimes Elopi people observe the repeated behavior of the child and give a name based on such behavior. These have divided into eight categories of behavior relating to different aspects of life:

     1) eating
     2) excretion
     3) movement of the whole body
     4) a type of claim
     5) children's games
     6) artifacts
     7) expression of emotion
     8) movement of part of the body

Examples are as follows :

1.2.1. Behavior related to eating

1) **Osa**   'sand eater'   He often ate sand.
2) **Bisa**   'rain eater'   He often drank the rain as it fell.
3) **Bulisaai**   'mouth-food-eat-not'   She did not eat much.
4) **Taisaai**   'fruit-eat-not'   He did not eat fruit.
5) **Dueirasa**   'name of river-water-drink'   He drank water from the Dueita river.
6) **Kuasa**   'earth eater'
7) **Hasakosa**   'excrement-eat-fast'   He often ate his excrement quickly.
8) **Tuhieri**   'sago-raise'   He grew up eating lots of sago.
9) **Oisawa**   'banana-eat-like'   He loved to eat bananas.

10) **Owahieri**   'kind of grass-eat'   He grew up eating a kind of grass.
11) **Tutaisa**   'sago fruit eater'   He ate sago fruit.
12) **Butuh**   'mouth-sago-be'   He always has sago in his mouth.
13) **Irasa**   'water-drink'   She often drank a lot of water.
14) **Arilisa**   'walk-food-eat'   She often kept on walking without stopping when she went to the jungle with her parents.

1.2.2. Behavior related to excretion

1) **Sisore**   'urination'   He urinated frequently.
2) **Huhu**   'noise when watery feces comes out   He frequently had watery feces.
3) **Kerihahu**   'kind of grass-excrement-be'   She ate a certain kind of grass and her excrement was mixed with that grass.

1.2.3. Behavior related to movement of whole body

1) **Kuruba**   'kind of little bird'   He did not stay at home, and wandered like a little bird.
2) **Hokuahia**   'constant sitter' (lit. "buttock-earth-touch")   He alway sat down and never stood up.
3) **Tehubahu**   'man-canoe-edge'   She wanted to sit on the edge of the canoe.
4) **Tehabehetija**   'man-other-follow'   He usually followed other people.
5) **Sarimarau**   'garbage-cover'   She often covered the garbage with something.
6) **Arabutaite**   'feet-find'   He often went out, and his parents had difficulty finding him.
7) **Maai**   'come-not'   He often did not come back for a long time when he went out.

1.2.3. Behavior related to a type of claim

1) **Kuorobe**   'clean' (lit."red")   She claimed that she was clean, but she actually was not.
2) **Seihia**   'himself-grow'   He claimed that he could make himself grow.
3) **Morkiri**   'boy'   He claimed that he was a big boy even though he was still a baby.
4) **Tebobita**   'man-regard'   She regarded herself as a man

1.2.5. Behavior related to children's games

1) **Udaterereja**   'house-behind'   He used to play at the back of the house.
2) **Oereja**   'sand-only-go'   She liked to play on the sand bar.
3) **Uhuri**   'wood-cut'   She liked to cut the wood for fun.
4) **Irahotari**   'water-gargle'   He liked to gargle water.

1.2.6. Behavior related to artifacts

| 1) | Kiribiraai | 'string bag-leave-not' | He carried his string bag around all the time. |
| 2) | Kirihora | 'string bag-make' | He liked to make string bags. |

1.2.7. Behavior related to expression of emotion

1)	Wabeili	'not cry'	He played by himself without crying when he followed his parents to the jungle.
2)	Teusuwa	'boy lover'	She liked to be with boys.
3)	Libusua	'food-mouth-sick'	She was hungry, kept on crying.
4)	Irakaraba	'water-afraid'	He was afraid of the water.
5)	Karikaraba	'moth from sago ' worm-afraid'	She was afraid of the sago moth.
6)	Kabiri	'arrow-afraid'	He was afraid of arrows.

1.2.7. Behavior related to movement of part of the body

1)	Kaibetai	**'hand-hold-not'**	He could not hold things well with his hands.
2)	Akaihada	'I-hand-excrement-' touch'	His hands often touched his excrement.
3)	Busah	'mouth-leaf-be'	She often put leaves in her mouth.
4)	Boihu	'jaw-be'	He often put his hands under his jaw.
5)	Mahahora	'head-turn'	He often turned his head.
6)	Bukai	'word-no'	He usually did not say anything.
7)	Suru	'sound of sniffle'	She often sniffled.
8)	Heredori	' eye-see'	The pupil of his eye moved around, i.e., he was able to see
9)	Butori	'mouth-spit'	He ate earth when she was hungry and and then she spat it out.
10)	Buruohu	'jaw-sand-be'	He often put sand on his chin.
11)	Keiyu	'kind of bird'	She often turned her head and looked something like a **keiyu** bird.
12)	Kaihoita	'hand-fingernail-throw away'	He often peeled his fingernail and threw it away.
13)	Turadana	'penis-wash'	He often washed his penis.
14)	Tabita	'noise from stomach'	People often could hear noises from his stomach.
15)	Bukuabei	'mouth-earth-be'	She often put earth in her mouth.
16)	Tueteta	'milk-find'	She always tried to find mother's milk.

2.0. Characteristics of parents

Sometimes names are given to children according to characteristics of their parents.

| 1) | Bori | 'red earth' | Red earth was put on her body pigs. after her father finished hunting. |

2)	Hieri	'adopted one'	Her parents died when she was little, and she was adopted.
3)	Kusa	'Kordesi child'	The Tause (name of neighboring language) and people call him a Kordesi child. His father was from Tause, his mother Elopi.
4)	Tepu	'adultery'	Her mother had often committed adultery, and she was born in the jungle.
5)	Peri	'wild lemon'	His parents owned lots of wild lemon trees.

2.0. Events in the person's life

Events in a person's life also could be used as names to remind them of those events. I have divided these into three categories:

> 1) events surrounding their birth
> 2) events which happened early in his life usually within the first several years
> 3) events which happened in his later life

3.1. Events surrounding birth

It is interesting to see that parents sometimes use objects seen in their dreams as names for their children.

1)	Tautari	'juice from breadfruit'	Bread fruit juice was given when he was born.
2)	Horisu	'turtle-moon'	His mother saw a turtle in the moonlight in her dream before he was born.
3)	Dosi	'eel'(in Tause language)	Her father saw an eel in his dream before she was born.
5)	Kuaitehuda	'name of tree which is used for making canoes'	His father saw this tree before he was born.

2.1. Events in the person's life when still very young

This category would be distinguished from 1.2. (characteristic behavior or actions) because of its non-habitual characteristics. There are three types of this categories: 1) events related to eating or excretion, 2) accidents, and 3) miscellaneous.

3.2.1. Events related to eating or excretion

1)	Hauru	'bloody excrement'	She passed excrement with blood in it.
2)	Debetuesa	'dog-milk-drink'	He drank the milk from a dog.
3)	Tuholoba	'sago-inside-throw'	She ate the skin of a sago cake and then threw away the inside.
4)	Hoihuhada	'sago-inside-throw'	He passed excrement when he was in the canoe.

5) **Boida**	'kind of poison'	She ate a kind of poison which was used to catch fish, and gave them to this child, but he vomited, and did not die
6) **Tewasaai**	'man-vomit-eat-not'	His parents chewed some food in their mouth, and gave some to this child, but he vomited.
7) **Hiatorisa**	'fish-raw-eat'	She ate fish from mother's string bag while she was being carried on her mother's back.
8) **Tuetahora**	'milk-circulate'	'She did not drink mother's milk, so her mother had too much milk in her breast.

3.2.2. Accidents

1) **Aiauruhu**	'tongue-blood-be'	Her tongue was bleeding.
2) **Saitai**	'leech'	She put a leech into her nose and blood came out.
3) **Apeja**	'float-go'	She fell in the river but she floated downstream and was rescued.
4) **Turaihu**	'penis-bone-be'	He had a severe pain in his penis.

3.2.3. Miscellaneous

1) **Idihorahu**	'skin-star-be'	He went outside his house at night night and in the star light, his skin looked shiny.
2) **Iraolodori**	'water-picture-see'	The stream was so clean, and she saw her face in the water.
3) **Birikai**	'no teeth	His teeth were late in coming out.
4) **Harahora**	'worm-cut'	He had a bad sore, and with a lots of worms in it, and he cut them up.
5) **Itetorai**	'out-throw'	He kept on crying inside the house, so he was thrown out.
6) **Kirikai**	'no string bag	He asked to have his own string bag.
7) **Nausa**		She said "nausa" after waking up.
8) **Hekia**	(name of his brother)	He liked to be called by his brother's name so it was given to him.

3.3. Events later in the person's life.

Sometimes a event later in life is chosen as a reminder of that event. In this case, a person might have two names. When parents try to use a new name from the event which they experienced, the previous name is not used any more. Such events are quite unusual. For example :

| 1) **Botou** | (name of another person) | He usually went with a Tause (neighboring language) and the name of that man was given to him after his death |

2) **Doia**	'insane'	He acted like the insane-- he ran away for no reason.
3) **Kariola**	(name of tree-thorn)	She was injured while she was cutting this tree
4) **Saiabesa**	'spirit-be-eat'	He once went to jungle having been enticed by a spirit.
5) **Siwateya**	'woman-want-sing'	He loved to sing a song[5] which says "I wish I could get married".
6) **Sueuru**	(kind of animal-blood)	She caught this animal and drank its blood.
7) **Biraboirai**	'corpse-cry-not'	He did not cry when somebody died. (Elopi people usually weep together when somebody dies.)
8) **Likudita**	'food-give'	He asked for food from other people when he became a widower.
9) **Likaisap**	'pig-floor-eat'	He killed many pigs and ate them under the floor of his house.
10) **Uwali**	'tree-pig	She followed the hunters, and she did not see a pig which was behind a tree.
11) **Tausira**	'bark cloth-slip off	His bark cloth easily slipped off.

4.0. Events in the lives of the parents and other family members

Important events which happened to family members also are used to provide names for their children. We can categorize such big events as follows :

    1) success at fishing
    2) death
    3) miscellaneous

Examples are as follows:

4.1. Success at fishing

1) **Bewat** 'spear-pierce'		This name was given after his father caught a big fish with a spear.
2) **Hiauda**	'fish-house'	He was born after his father brought lots of fish to his house
3) **Bekau**	'hole of traditional fishing net-blocked'	He was named as a reminder of the event through which they caught lots of fish using the traditional fishing net.
4) **Toria**	(kind of root)	His father caught lots of fish using this root. People beat the water using this root.

5   While staying in Kordesi, I could often hear a strange group of songs at night. These songs continued on for several nights. At first I thought they were mourning, but when asked, they explained that they were the boys lamenting their not being married. Not having the bride payment in terms of machete, pots, pans, fishingnets, and clothes is a reason for not being married. Another reason is not having a sister to give in exchange.

4.2. Death

1) **Iribara** 'afraid' — His father was hit by a felled sago tree, and it was already dark so the people were afraid to move him that night. The next day he was taken to the hospital by a plane and died at the hospital.

2) **Huitikai** 'no canoe' — Her father died beside the river, but he did not have a canoe, so his companion hit a tree to make a noise so that other people would come and get the body.

3) **Sisaruboise** 'dust-fall' — The body of his grandfather was put on the top of a certain tree, and after a while the was rotted away, and the dust from the body fell to the ground.

4) **Batakai** 'no gray hair' — His elder brother died when he was very young and his name was given to the younger brother.

5.0. Miscellaneous

1) **Korabei** 'tobacco-be' — Once his house was full of tobacco to be dried.

2) **Butubora** 'mouth-sago-cut' — Her elder sister did not go out to make sago even though she said she would.

3.) **Torahowa** 'raised pig-spear' — His father was very cruel and once he killed many pigs with his spear

4) **Bitatotoita** 'rain-head-wet' — His house leaked when it rained, so his head usually got wet.

5) **Irabalibai** 'water-flow fast' — His father once tried to paddle upstream, but could not because of the fast current.

6) **Budua** 'mouth-sago sprout' — Once her father killed a pig, and he saw that the pig closed his mouth still holding the sago sprout.

7) **Bitabaita** 'pole of canoe-pull' — Once she was shot with an arrow by an enemy, and she fell in the water, but her mother poled the canoe quickly, and saved her life.

5.0. Events in the village

Some people get their name as a reminder of events which happened at their village. This type of name tells us some historical events in their village. The following are examples:

1) **Tuaru** 'master' (in Indonesian) — A merchant came to Kordesi and said, "I am the master". So his parents named the child that.

2) **Erekala** 'just-bow-shoot' — With a bow his father killed enemies who attacked them.

3) **Teorikai** 'man-plenty-no' — There were very few people around when she was born.

4) **Bakaboia** — The name of a village man who was killed by an enemy.

5) **Dobau** 'yellow' — The Kirikiri people laughed at this child, saying, "you are yellow" (in Kirikiri).

6) **Salibea** 'Satan-food-give' — His father wanted to remind his son not to give any food to the Dani people. They taught that the Dani (mountain people) were spirits.

7) **Karos** — name of a missionary who worked in the area.

6.0. Cases adopted from proper noun words

Quite a number of people have their names from proper nouns. There are four related categories : 1) name of place, 2) name of animal and plant, 3) name of artifacts, and 4) name of grandparents and 5) miscellaneous.

6.1. Name of place

There are two types of places: 1)traditional land (i.e., where their food source and tombs are), and 2)place of birth.

6.1.1. Traditional land

They use the name of their traditional land[6]

Examples are: 1) **Deiru**, 2) **Siri**, 3) **Si**, and 4) **Udabutahu**

6.1.2. Place of birth

Elopi people usually deliver their baby at the river side, so most names in this category are names of rivers or streams. Here we may guess that different people use a same name related to this category. But there is no such case that two people share a same name in case of vernacular name.

Examples by the river: **Tisahuta**, 2) **Ekuletau**, 3) **Tilopi**, 4) **Lopunu**, and 5) **Tebasite** .

I included names related to places of birth even though they were not proper nouns. These tell where people delivered babies in unusual places. Examples of these are :

1) **Udaba** 'house-be' — This child was born at home.

6　Mixed clan membership. The people still move back and forth between their traditional clan land and the village.

2) Tepu	'jungle	She was born in the jungle.
3) Opopi	'sand-touched'	He was born on a sand bar.
4) Kelapasi	'coconut mountain'	"The one who was born at Kelapa mountain"
5) Satarabire	'grass-on-born'	She was born in the grass.

6.2. Name of animals and plants

Sometimes people give the name of a certain animal or plant with specific rationale, but at other times they seem to give a name to their children because they just like that animal or that plant. Ryan (1958:110) says : "The choice may be influenced by some bird or animal seen while the parents were trying to think of a name." The following examples belong to the second situation.

1) Aiaka	(kind of young leaf)
2) Orimahu	(kind of white tree)
3) Sana	(kind of tree whose leaves are used to decorate the body at a wedding)
4) Aita	'Cassowary tree'
5) Buaya	'crocodile' (Indonesian). There used to be a lot of crocodile hunting in this area.
6) Atibete	(kind of vegetable)
7) Dori	(kind of water snake)
8) Hori	(the top part of an old sago tree)
9) Isi, Alala	(kind of birds in this area)
10) Kora,	(kind of tree)
11) Suritou,	(kind of tree)
12) Au	'breadfruit tree'
13) Idihu	(kind of tree)
14) Borija,	(kind of tree)
15) Katatuhu	(kind of tree)
16) Biti	(kind of sweet potato)

6.3. Name of artifacts

This category of names tell us some of their artifacts. Examples are:

1) Dube	'mouth of fishing-net'
2) Hea	(kind of tool to peel the bark of sago trunk)
3) Oia	(kind of cloth made of tree bark)
4) Houkahu	'arrow bundles'
5) Bebi	(kind of traditional belt)

6.4. Name of grandparents.

There are many people who are given the name of grandparents. Examples are:

1) Tala, 2) Hai, 3) Horakoda, 4) Hasi, 5) Oke, and 6) Kasua.

6.5. Others.

There are some other uncommon cases like time of birth and religious customs. In the case of time, usually the name of the month when the child was born is used. In the case of religious customs, the name of the custom is used.

1) Apaduda	'April-born'	He was born in April.
2) Tetabu		(kind of sorcery in which some hair is taken, and put in a certain hole. When that happens, the one whose hair cut dies. the one whose hair was cut dies.)

7.1. Elements of the Elopi World important in names

From this study of Elopi names, we learn a little about how the Elopi view their world with names of important elements in their world. These cover such areas as: their natural environment, food, clothing, body parts, birth and death, children, marriage and sex, the spirit world, and neighboring groups. The Elopi also borrow names from other groups they have contact with. Relationships between various groups are also reflected in their names.

In this section, the reference number in the parenthesis refers to the points described. In some cases, the reference number indicates one name because there is just one name, but in other cases it indicates all the names which were included in that specific reference number section.

7.1. Description of the Elopi world

The **natural environment**:

> by the rivers (6.1.2, #1-4)
> by sand (1.2.1. #1; 1.2.5. #2; 6.1.2. #3)
> sago trees (1.2.1. #8, 12; 1.2.7. #5) (in swampy lowland)
> animals and plants (6.2. #1-16)

Food:

> food gathering by fishing (4.1. #1)
> string bag (1.2.6. #2)
> sago gathering tools (6.3. #2)
> hunting (2.0. #1; 4.3. #6).
> arrow (1.2.7. #6)
> spear (4.1. #1.)
> catching fish (4.1. #1).
> canoe (4.2. #2)
> paddle (4.3. #7)
> fishnet (6.3. #1)

Clothes:

bark clothes (3.3. #11; 6.3. #3), ·

Body parts:

sex organs (1.3. #2; 1.4. #4)
skin disease, cascado (1.1.1. #7; 1.1.4. #2)
Children:
body defects (1.1.1. #1).

their boasting (1.2.3. #1,2,4)
games played (1.2.3. #3)
foolish behavior (2.1.1. #1,2,3)

Marriage and sex: (3.3. #5; 1.2.7. #2).

Adultery (2.0. #4).

Birth (6.1.2.1. #1-5; 6.1.2.2. #1-5)

Death:

Burial: (4.2. #3)

Spirit world: (3.3. #4)

in hunting pigs (2.0. #1)
sorcery (6.5. #2).

Neighboring groups (5.0. #1,2,4,6).

7.2. Relationship with neighboring language groups

Through the names, we can trace some of what has happened between the Elopi people and their neighbors. Karl Franklin (1967:79) in his article on "Names and Aliases in Kewa" states the following:

It should be possible to trace out historical happenings by recording the names of, ·
for example, all men between 40 and 50 years of age in several adjacent tribes.

7.2.1. Names from other groups

In the Lake Plains area the people are nomadic and only recently have settled down into villages. However, if there is a need for food, they leave their villages to hunt and gather food. In following game or looking for food, they come in contact with other groups. This provides an opportunity for interaction with various groups of people. Babies which do not yet have a name often receive the name of person from another group.

A number of Dani people have come to live in the Elopi area, so there are more names which originated from Dani names. In many of these cases, there are no stories to explain the names. Some names given are: Yarabira, Bokiuda, and Etekai.

Other neighboring groups (see the map) give names to Elopi children. People do not always know what these names mean, but they do remember from which group the baby received his name.

1) Names given by Tause people: **Botou,Bakaboia,Dosi**
2) Names given by Kirikiri people: **Dobau**
3) Names given by Fayu people: **Saka, Tia**
4) Names given by Turu people: **Auti**
5) Names given by Biri people. **Hi, Bowa**
6) Names given by Bauzi people: **Bateri**
7) Names given by other Indonesians: **Bodius, Idala, Tuaru**
8) Names given by foreigners: **Karos, Joliki**

7.2.2. Significance of foreign names.

Types of relationship which exists between the Elopi people and other groups which are shown through their names.

Wars with other groups:

Erekala, (2.5. #2),

Bakaboia, (2.5. #4).

Derision by other groups:

Dobau (5.0. #5),
Tuaru (5.0. #1)

Fear of other groups:

Salibea (5.0. #6). (The story is that some time ago many highland people came down to an island belonging to the Elopi which was full of valuable trees. They cut down all the trees, and sold them. Salibea's father was so afraid of such aggressiveness from the high-landers that he gave a warning to his son that he must not have any relationship with the highland people.

Favorable relationship with:

Botou (3.3. #1)
Karos (5.0. #7)

7.2.3. Vernacular name versus Foreign name

In asking for the names of the people, the old name and the new name had to be specified because many people have two or more names. In the case of people who have more than two names, there are those who have two vernacular names (e.g. Maai and Sisoro ; Itabihu and Herekirihu), but in most cases people have one vernacular name and one foreign name.

Foreign names or new names have been introduced since the Elopi had contact with people from the outside world. Their first contact was with crocodile merchants around 1970. The proportion of vernacular names versus foreign names was determined by dividing the people into four different groups according to their age and sex: married men, married women, children regardless of sex, boys who are unmarried. (I have made a separate group for boys because, 1) this group of people live separately from their parents in the boys' house, and 2) many among them have had the opportunity to have an education, so the majority of them have foreign names.) The following chart shows the percentages.

Statistics of vernacular names versus foreign names			
	Married men	Married women	Children	Unmarried boys
Vernacular name only	60%	91%	62%	17%
Both vernacular and foreign	37%	6%	7%	83%
Foreign name only	3%	3%	31%	0%

From the chart we see:

1) The majority of married men still have only vernacular names, but over one third of them have both.

2) Almost all married women have only vernacular names.

3) The majority of children still use only vernacular names, but around one third of them have foreign names only.

4) There are some boys who still use only vernacular name, but for the most part boys have both. Based on the above statistics, we can see that there is a trend for the Elopi people to have foreign names. This is similar to other language groups in Irian Jaya, where, except for a few old people, do not use their vernacular names. Now, most of Elopi people who have a foreign name as well as a vernacular name are called by their foreign name.

CONCLUSION

The vernacular names of the Elopi people have a meaning or rationale behind them. Such meaning and rationale come from characteristics of people or things in the their lives, and from the events which happened to them. These insights into their worldview forms the basis for future research.
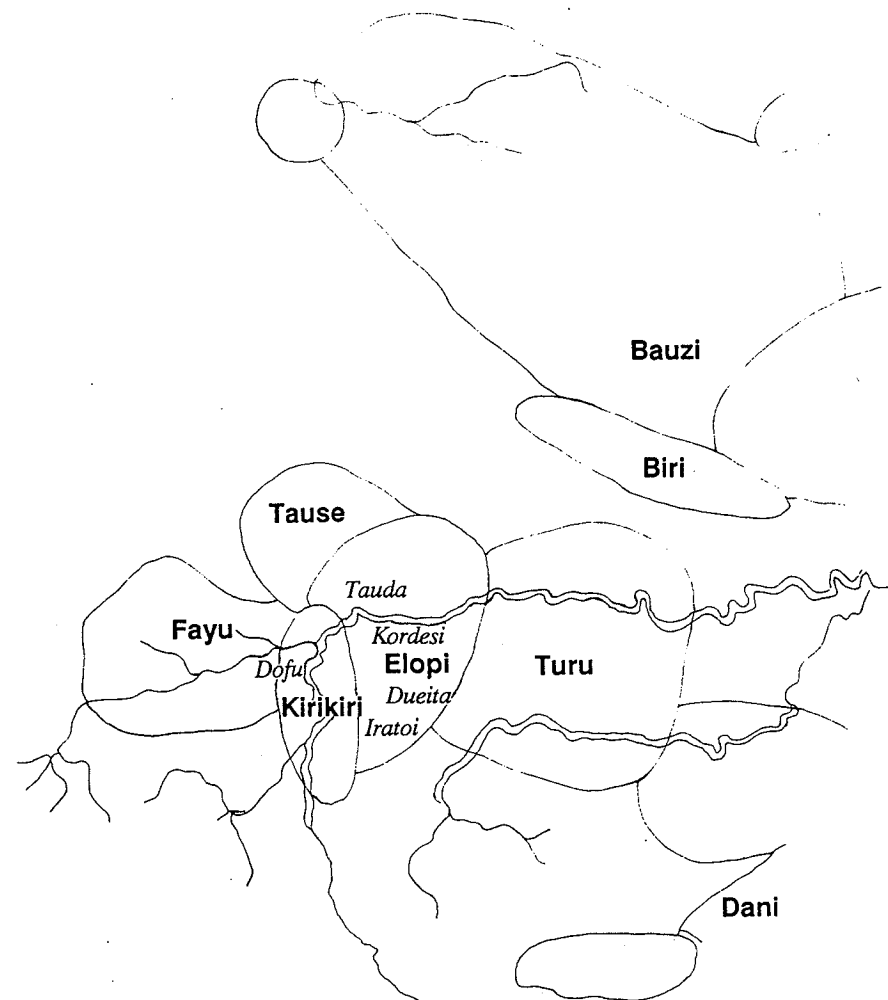
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A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF BERIK[1]

Peter N. Westrum[2]

UNCEN-SIL

　　　1.0 INTRODUCTION

　　　2.0 WORDS

　　　3.0 PHRASES

　　　4.0 CLAUSES

　　　5.0 SENTENCES

IKTHISAR

Makalah ini adalah ringkasan tatabahasa bahasa Berik berdasarkan data yang dikum-pulkan pengarang selama ia tinggal bersama masyarakat Berik, di Irian Jaya, Indonesia. Tingkat tatabahasa yang dideskripsikan adalah: kata, frasa, klausa dan kalimat. Model tag-memik digunakan sebagai model penganalisaan.

Kata, unit terbatas yang tidak dapat dibagi lebih jauh ke dalam bentuk "bebas", dibagi ke dalam kelas-kelas yang dibedakan satu sama lain menurut pola afiksasi.

Frasa terdiri dari satu tagmem inti dan satu atau lebih tagmem marginal yang kata-kata khas (khusus). Beberapa jenis frasa di bahas disini.

Klausa, unit dari predikat, pada umumnya mememuhi inti kalimat. Terjadinya jumlah dan jenis tagmem klausa inti dengan kata kerja masing-masing menjelaskan pentransitipan klausa yang padanya jenis-jenis klausa didasarkan.

Kalimat adalah unit dasar dari wacana. Kalimat-kalimat independen, dependen, sederhana dan komplex dideskripsikan.

ABSTRACT

This paper is a grammatical sketch of the Berik language based on langÀuge data gathered while living with the Berik people in Irian Jaya, Indonesia. The levels of the gram-matical hierarchy described are words, phrases, clauses, and sentences. The tagmemic model has been used as the model for analysis.

Words, isolatable units which cannot be further divided into "free" forms, are divided into classes which are distinguished from one another according to principles of affixation.

Phrases consist of at least one obligatory tagmeme with one or more marginal tag-memes whose fillers are typically words. Several different phrase types are identified.

Clauses, units of predication, most commonly fill the nuclei of sentences. The occur-rence of the number and kind of nuclear clause tagmemes with their respective verbs deter-mine the transitivity of the clause upon which the clause types are based.

Sentences are basic units of discourse. Independent, dependent, simple, and complex sentences are described.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The objective of this paper is to present a grammatical sketch of the Berik language, that is to say, to describe the different levels of the grammatical hierarchy of Berik begin-ning with the word level and going on to the levels of phrases, clauses, and sentences. The scope of this paper is thus limited to a description of these four levels.

Words are composed of simple and complex stems plus affixes. The complete analysis of these stems and affixes does not fall within the scope of this paper, though an initial at-tempt has been made in section 2 to identify some affixes. Similarly, at the other end of the grammatical hierarchy, i.e. sentences, paragraphs, and discourse, further research is needed to make this grammatical sketch more complete. In other words, a sketch like this cannot be considered to be complete at all levels of the grammatical hierarchy, but there are levels in this sketch where this incompleteness is particularly apparent, namely below the word level and above the sentence level. Grimes has stated in relating the study of discourse to sentences that "certain factors are needed for the understanding of elements in sentences that are not available within those sentences themselves, but only elsewhere in the dis-course" (Grimes 1975:8). The analysis set forth here, however, of Berik words, phrases, clauses, and sentences should be helpful to others who are interested in the languages of the island of New Guinea.

1.1. The Berik language is spoken by about 1,000 people living in five villages along the banks of the Tor River in the Jayapura regemcy, in the province of Irian Jaya (Western New Guinea) in Indonesia. Berik, the largest among the Upper Tor languages, is the "lin-gua franca" for smaller language groups in the area. The Upper Tor languages are a smaller sub-group of languages coordinate with other smaller sub-groups including Nimboran, Sen-tani, Demta, and Uria (Orya) and one large sub-group, Tami, to form the North Pap—Rn language group which in turn is a member of the Central New Guinea macro-phylum (Wurm 1971c). Cowan in his **Grammar of the Sentani Language** adds that Sentani belongs to a much larger supergroup of distantly related groups of languages which he has named the "North Papuan phylum." The exact nature of the relationships involved in this phylum, and the position of each group within it are, however, still very unclear (Cowan 1965).

These languages in still a broader system of classification are identified as being Non-Austronesian languages (or Papuan) in contrast to Austronesian[3] languages which are also found on the island of New Guinea. The only classifying distinction Barr and Barr make in their Index of Irian Jaya Languages (Barr and Barr 1978) is between Austronesian and Papuan languages. Berik is one of the Papuan languages.

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3   The Austronesian languages stretch from Madagascar to Easter Island, and from Formosa, Cham and Hawaii on the north to Indonesia, New Zealand, and Polynesia on the south. (Dyen 1965).

Austronesian   Papuan (Non-Austronesian)

                            Central New Guinea Macro- phylum

        North   Papuan   Phylum

    Tami   Nimboran   Upper Tor   Sentani

            Mander   Berik   Itik
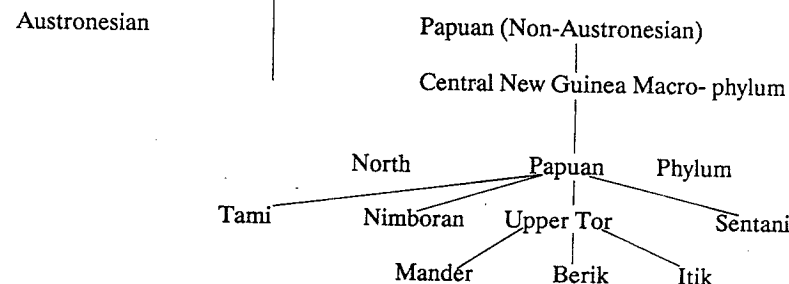
Chart 1. Language Classification

1.2. The data for this analysis of the Berik language were collected under the auspices of the Universitas Cenderawasih and the Summer Institute of Linguistics during eighteen months of residence in the villages of Tenwer and Somanente on the Tor river between 1973 and 1979. The data includes about 1,000 expressions (clauses and sentences) and 15 texts of varying lengths totaling thirty typed pages which added about 300 additional expressions for analysis.

1.3. The model used for this paper is the tagmemic model as developed by Kenneth L. Pike and others, and especially as presented most recently by Kenneth and Evelyn Pike in **Grammatical Analysis**, wherein they state that:

human nature across language barriers is in some sense uniform...and this uniformity the tagmemic theory attempts to capture. Further, the student is to see that language is not abstracted from life, but is merely one part of it, operating on principles necessary for all purposeful action. Here tagmemics differs from any theory which might prefer to treat a linguistic structure as if it were merely an abstract mathematical or logical system, rather than as a system of behavior comparable to systems of nonverbal behavior. (Pike and Pike 1977:vii,xiv).

In stating the basic notion of tagmemics, Pike says:

Central to tagmemics is the insistence on the possibility and necessity on both theoretical and practical levels, of keeping units as prime constructs in the theory and also to the internal linguistic structure of the speaker. Universal to the languages of the world, these units can be such only when high-level generalized conditions are met--a unit must have contrastive-identificational features, a range of variability, and distribution in class, sequence, and system (Brend 1974:viii).

Using the three basic terms of features, variation, and distribution, and applying them to the analysis of Berik, for example, we discover that units with the feature that they cannot be further divided into "free" forms are defined as being words. Words, however, have a range of variability in that some never take affixes, others have optional affixes, and still

others have obligatory affixes. Words are distributed in the grammatical hierarchy below the phrase level and are typical fillers of tagmemes in phrase structures.

Using the tagmemic model has allowed the organization of this field data into this grammatical sketch. The tagmemic concept of slot and class is used throughout the paper, and in some instances formulas are given to clarify the constructions. Less attention, however, has been paid to the more recent tagmemic developments of role and cohesion as outlined in chapters 3 and 4 of **Grammatical Analysis**.

1.4. The sound system of Berik has been described in "A Preliminary Berik Phonology" (Westrum and Westrum, 1975). The Berik orthography used in this thesis is based upon that description. There are 16 consonants and 6 vowels. The consonant and vowel symbols are given here along with articulatory descriptions and illustrative words.

Consonant symbol	Articulatory description	Illustrative word
b	voiced, bilabial stop	betef 'bamboo needle'
d	voiced, alveolar stop	dum 'spatula'
f	voiceless, labio-dental fricative	fas 'none'
g	voiced, velar stop	gom 'thigh'
j	voiced, alveopalatal grooved affricate	ju 'bird'
k	voiceless, velar	koksa 'bud'stopk
l	voiced, alveolar lateral	tatal 'vein'
m	voiced, bilabial nasal	mase 'nose'
n	voiced, alveolar nasal	nin 'meat'
ng	voiced, velar nasal	aiyang 'chicken'
p	voiceless, bilabial, stop	pasip 'boy's name'
r	voiced alveolar flap	jirar 'come'
s	voiceless, alveolar grooved fricative	son 'ashes'
t	voiceless, alveolar stop	tokwa 'fire'
w	voiced, bilabial semi-consonant	werem 'cough'
y	voiced, palatal semi-consonant,	aiyu 'basket'

Vowel symbol	Articulatory description	Illustrative word
i	voiced, high, close, front	fina 'stand'
e	voiced, mid, open, front	seseye 'black'
aa	voiced, low, close, front	aarem 'mouth'
a	voiced, low, open, front unrouded vocoids	ababala 'delicious'
u	voiced, high, close back	ulum 'bow'
o	voiced, mid, close, back rounded vocoids	oso 'brother'

WORDS

Words are isolatable units which cannot be further divided into "free" forms. Word classes are distinguished from one another as follows: (1) those which never take affixes, (2) those which optionally occur with affixes, and (3) those which obligatorily occur with one or more affixes. Words belonging to class (1) above, those which never take affixes, constitute small closed subclasses. Words which occur with optional affixes or obligatory affixes tend to be large open subclasses. All Berik affixes occur as suffixes.

Word classes are as follows.

2.1. Closed classes which never take suffixes.

2.1.1. Response words are often used as a simple reply to some former utterance.

ngga, sia	'yes'
wowo	'no'
fas	'none'
bar	'finished'
bai	'don't want'

2.1.2. Pseudo-imperatives compose a small class of words which are used by themselves when giving commands to others. These words are different from the inflected true imperative forms of the verbs 'come,' etc., which can occur in the imperative construction on the sentence level. (See section 5.3.2.)

au	'come'
aiyai	'watch out'
jesbaf	'don't'

2.1.3. Exclamatory words usually carry strong emotional meaning.

wa	'(amazement)'
nesik	'(pity)'

2.1.4. Interrogatives are used in forming questions. They may occur individually or in longer utterances. (See section 5.3.1.)

basa	'what'
Ai basa?	'What is this?'
nasa	'who'
Je nasa?	'Who is that?'
bafa	'why'
Je baf nunggiri	'Why does he run?'
fomera	'how many'
Junu fomera?	'How many birds?'
fwera	'where'

Je fwera	'Where is he?'
fonggalabar	'when'
Fonggalabar je fortiant?	'When did he arrive?'

2.1.5. Numerals one to four are single words. Numbers larger than four are composed of combinations of these four numerals and other words, and form numeral phrases. (See section 3.1.)

daamfena	'one'
naura	'two'
nawerningna	'three' (two plus one)
nawernaura	'four' (two plus two)

2.1.6. Manner Adverbs occur in the modifier slot of Verb Phrases, but unlike other modifiers are never inflected. (See section 3.9.2.)

mese	'also'
gamjon	'again'
enggam	'like this'
maa	'already'
gamerje	'not yet'
galap	'later'

2.1.7. Temporals generally refer to days or parts of a day and are monomorphemic. (Visual reference is sometimes given by gesturing to the position of the sun.)

namwer	'today, now'
gwirmir	'tomorrow'
ir	'yesterday'
jem	'day before or day after'
gwerem	'noon'
dafef	'afternoon'

2.1.8. Locationals function mainly to mark position.

afunup	'middle of'
sagap	'on'
burawer	'behind'

2.1.9. Conjunctions join two or more constructions together either on the phrase or the sentence level. Phrase level conjunctions are optional joiners in Coordinate Phrase constructions.

yo	'and'	
Salmon	yo Martinus	'Salmon and Martinus'
afa	'or'	

Gwirmir   Bular afa   oso jemna ge tifi.
tomorrow   Bular or   brother his pl go-fut
'Tomorrow either Bular or his brother will go.'

Sentence level conjunctions join clauses together either in a coordinate or a subordinate relationship to form sentences. (See sections 3.4 and 5.3)

ane 'and'

Aame is   udanaburswana   ane is gerna   tane gitowai.
you you   pregnant   and you give birth child male
'You are pregnant and will give birth to a boy.'

ga   'and'

Sa   orotena   ga   asis bili.
imp   boil   and   you   tell
'Boil the water and tell me.'

jeuga   'but'

Niko   kasiyan   tombana   jeuga Tuan ga   fos   telbili.
Niko   peanuts   eats   but   Mr.   rel   water drinks
'Niko eats peanuts, but Mr. drinks water.'

jebas   'because'

Ai as   sina,   jebas asia   wisiam bitolu.
I I   cry   because I   coolness feel
'I cry because I am hungry.'

jengga   'then'

Twena   nunggirbisi   jengga   jensiriber.
pig   ran   then   snorted
'The pig ran then snorted.'

jamer   'until'

Ai   sofsant   jamer ai   fosant aure.
I   went   until I   arrived there
'I went until I arrived there.'

2.2. Open classes of words which optionally include suffixes.

2.2.1. **Nouns** occur on the phrase level as Nuclei of Noun Phrases and Coordinate Noun Phrases, as either Item or Possessor in the Possessive Phrase, and as Axis in the Location Phrase.

2.2.1.1 The suffixes with which nouns might occur are as follows:

a. -na

Nouns occurring as the Subject of a Berik sentence are usually affixed with the -na focus suffix. However, not all nouns as Subject take this inflection.

Banggena   aiserem je   tawefa   tinibe.
squirrel-fox   this   it   climb-fut   tree-place
'The squirrel fox will climb the tree.'

b. -s

Nouns occurring as the Object of a sentence are usually affixed with the -s object marker suffix.

fo 'water'

Ai   fos   telbi.
I   water-obj   drink
'I drink water.'

c. -ap and -wer

The locational suffixes -ap and -wer occur on nouns and indicate position or location.[3] If an action in a clause is towards the speaker, -ap is used. If an action is away from the speaker, -wer is used. (see section 3.8.)

+ Head	+ locational suffix
nouns	-ap (action towards) -wer (action away from)

Morphophonemic comments:

Here and elsewhere in this paper, if a noun ends in a vowel, the initial vowel of the suffix is deleted. If a noun ends in a nasal, the initial /w/ of the locational suffix is deleted.

3   Nouns and their locational suffixes must be distinguished from relators though orthographically they appear similar. (See Section 3.8.1.)

Je   jinap   ila. '
he   house-loc   comes
'He comes to the house.'

Je   jinawer   sofwena.
he   house-loc   goes
'He goes away from the house.'

In some cases, either of the locational suffixes is used, especially when the action of the sentence is not directional.

Oso   imna   sitap   fitna.
younger sibling   your   outside-loc   stands
'Your brother stands outside.'

Tuna   sitawer   fara.
stone   outside-loc   lies
'The stone lies outside (the box).'

d. -yan

The negative suffix **-yan** (see section 2.3.1.f.) can occur on nouns in Non-Transitive Clauses. In the following examples, it negates the whole sentence.

Ai   taneyan.
I   child-not
'I'm not a child.'

Je   namwer   bwernabaryan.
he   now   sickness-neg
'He isn't sick now.'

e. -em

The instrument suffix **-em** occurs on nouns as instrument.

Korano   atem   difnant.
chief   canoe-inst came
'The chief came by canoe.'

Je   twena   ginem   tana.
he   pig   arrow-inst kill
'He killed the pig with an arrow.

f. -far

The suffix **-far** occurs on nouns as comitative. (An allomorph **-bar** occurs with pronouns. (See section 2.2.2.6.c.)

Niko   uwafar   fonap ge ·   tini.
Niko   father-acc   water pl   go
'Niko goes to the river with father.

Niko   jebar   ge   sofwa.
Niko   he-acc   pl   go
'Niko goes with him.'

Je   Koranofar ge   nasona.
he   chief-acc pl   talk
'He talks with the chief.'

g. -bara

A relational suffix **-bara** occurs on nouns and indicates a special form of accompanying relationship between a noun or pronoun and the noun to which it is attached, and carries the meaning 'to have.'

Aame   ke   yafontoibara?
you   ques daughter-have
'Do you have a daughter?'

Gworabara   fo   tartarfer   orotona.
cover-have   water quickly boil
'The water boils quickly with a cover.'

h. -mana

The suffix **-mana** occurs on nouns as possessor.

Jina   Koranomana   unggwandusa.
house   chief-poss   big
'The chief's house is big.'

Tane uwamana   **maa   sofwa.**
child father-poss   already   go
'The father's child has already gone.'

If the noun as possessor precedes the Item it possesses, an allomorph **-em** occurs on the noun as possessor. In this occurence, although possession is indicated on the possessor, location or accompaniment is also indicated on the Item possessed. (See section 3.7.)

Koranoem jinap
chief-poss   house-in
'in the chief's house' '

i. -f

A benefactive suffix -f occurs on nouns as benefactive or recipient.

Musa   fenbit Minaf   golbitent.
Moses bandage   Mina-ben   gave
'Moses gave the bandage to Mina.'

Ai   bangkona   Susterf   eyembili.
I   bench   Sister-ben   make
'I make a bench for Sister.'

Aame   nanf   eyembili?
You   who-ben   make
'You are making it for whom?'

2.2.2. Pronouns occur as the nucleus of the Pronoun Phrase, and in the Possessor slot in the Possessive Phrase. The basic form of Berik pronouns is indicated in the box below.

person	singular	plural
1	a(i)	ne
2	i	i + verb plural marking
3	je	je + verb plural marking

2.2.2.1. Subject pronouns

There are two sets of subject pronouns which differ in form according to the positions in which they occur. Either pronoun may be used singly or together, or with nouns or names. In the negative construction co-occurrence of pronoun-1 and pronoun-2 does not occur. A further description of these pronouns is given in the description of Phrase structure in section 3.6.

Subject pronoun-1 is identical to basic form of Berik pronouns with the exception of second person singular which has the form **aame** 'you' and not 'I'. The second vowel of the first person singular pronoun is deleted when a suffix is added.

Subject pronoun-2 is the basic pronoun form plus the suffix **-jam** except for the third person singular which does not posit the basic form. Its form is merely **jam** 'he.'

Subject pronoun-1   Subject pronoun-2
ai   ajam   'I'
aame   ijam   'you'
je   jam   'he/she/it'
ne   ne jam 'we'

Ai   tonora.
I-1   plant
'I plant.'

Ajam   tonola.
I-2   plant
'I plant.'

Ai ajam   tonolyan.
I-1   I-2   plant
'I do not plant.'

When used with nouns or names, the pronoun follows the noun or name, and either one or both pronouns may occur.

Petrus je   jam   onap   sofwa.
Peter he-1   he-2   jungle-to   go
'Peter goes to the jungle.'

Petrus je   onap   sofwa.
Peter he-1   jungle-to   go
'Peter goes to the jungle.'

Petrus jam   onap   sofwa.
Peter he-2   jungle-to   go
'Peter goes to the jungle.'

2.2.2.2. Other suffixes with which pronouns occur are as follows:

a. -s ~ -m

Pronouns occurring as the Object of a sentence are affixed with the -s ~ -m object marked suffix, seemingly in free alternation. Perhaps one set of object pronouns is used with one class of verbs and the other set with other classes of verbs. More research is needed to clarify this point.

Gwirmir   wini as   damtafa.
tomorrow   woman me   see-fut
'Tomorrow the woman will see me.'

Niko   am   saftena
Niko   me   hit
'Niko hit me.'

b. -p

The suffix -p occurs on pronouns in the Adjunct4 slot of Bitransitive clauses as benefactive.[4]

Fi	ap	golbili.
salt	me	give

'Give the salt to me.'

c. -mena and -rem

There are two sets of possessive pronouns. They occur in the possessive slot in the Possessive Phrase. (See section 3.7.) Possessive pronoun-1, which takes the -mena suffix, follows the possessed noun.

Jina	mena	aure.
house	my	there

'My house is over there.'

Possessive pronoun-2, which takes the -rem suffix, precedes the possessed noun.

Ajam	sofwa	alem	jinap.
I-2	go	my	house

'I go to my house.'

d. -nan

The suffix -nan occurs on pronouns in the Object slot of the Transitive clause as reflexive.

Ai	anan	safsafulu.
I-1	myself	hit

'I hit myself.'

e. -bar

The suffix -bar occurs on pronouns as comitative.

Bular	jebar	fonap	tini.
Bular	he-acc	river-to	go

'Bular goes to the river with him.'

4   Adjunct here is used to include not only the traditional notion of Indirect Object, but also in a wider sense is used to include Instrument which occupies the same position in the clause. (See Section 4.0.)

f. -yan

The negative suffix -yan when occuring with pronouns indicates negation. It usually occurs in short response statements.

Aiyan
I-1-neg
'Not I.'

g. -serem

The suffix -serem is often added to demonstratives (see below) to indicate "particular referent."

Jina	aiserem	Gijonmana.
house	this	Gideon's

'This particular house is Gideon's.'

h. demonstratives

The first person singular pronoun ai 'I' without any suffix is identical to the demonstrative pronoun ai 'this,' and the third person singular pronoun je 'he' is identical to the demonstrative pronoun je 'that.'

2.2.3. Modifiers

Modifiers occur in one of several modifier slots in the Noun Phrase and the Verb Phrase. Modifiers are subclassified semantically into the following categories: color, shape, sensual perception, spatials, quantifiers, and a miscellaneous category.

2.2.3.1. Color

This list of six colors is exhaustive with all colors portraying syllable reduplication and vowel harmony.

sinsini	'white'
seseye	'black'
berbere	'red'
ikikini	'green'
bwelkat-bwelkata	'yellow'
ibam-ibama	'blue'

The following lists are not exhaustive. Representative examples have been chosen.

2.2.3.2. Shape

unggwandusa	'large'
bastantoiya	'small'
bukona	'round'

ferfera	'flat'
bubwalna	'long'
tofora	'short'

2.2.3.3. Sensual Perception

kakala	'hot'
wisimi	'cold'
kekelna	'hard'
nonona	'soft'
titini	'wet'
setera	'dry'

2.2.3.4. Spatials

giri	'deep, tall'
gwetmana	'near'
bijua	'far'
teten	'empty'
enbisini	'full'

2.2.3.5. Quantifiers

Berik numbers do not belong to this class since they are basically non-inflectable, though they are sometimes used as modifiers. Things numbering more than three are usually referred to as 'many'.

ane	'many'
seyafter	'all'
fas	'none'

2.2.3.6. Other Attributes

waakena	'good'
sasara	'happy'
baabeta	'strong'
bunar	'true'
samem	'slow'
taban	'finished'

The demonstrative and possessive pronouns are also modifiers and are discussed in Section 2.2.2.4. and 2.2.2.6.

2.2.3.7. Modifier Suffixes

The suffixes which might occur on modifiers are as follows:

a) -sus

An intensifier suffix -sus is added to most modifiers and carries the meaning of 'very.'

berberesus red-very	'very red'
bukonasus round-very	'very round'
kekelnasus hard-very	'very hard'
bijuasus far-very	'very far'
anesus many-very	'very many'
baabetasus strong-very	'very strong'

The modifier may be reduplicated in order to indicate even greater intensity.

waaken-waakena good good	'very good'
waaken-waakensus good good	'very, very good'

b. -fer/-ber

The suffix -fer ~ -ber added to modifiers indicates verbal modification.

waakenfer 'well, carefully, etc.'

Susi lampunu	waakenfer	gworansona.
Susie lamp	carefully	place

'Susie places the lamp carefully.'

bastantoifer 'a little'

Je	bastantoifer	sarbana.
he	a little	hears

'He understands a little.'

bijuaber	far	
he far	go	'He goes far.'

c. -yan

The negative suffix **-yan** occurs on modifiers and negates the description.

    unggwandusayan   'not large'
    large-not

    samemyan   'not slow'
    slow-neg

2.3. Open classes of words which obligatorily occur with one or more suffixes.

2.3.1. Verbs

Verbs are the most complex morphological component of the Berik language. Verbs occur as the nucleus of all Verb Phrases which in turn are the nucleus of the predicate slot in Transitive and Intransitive clauses. Morphemes occurring on the verb root as suffixes may mark number of subjects or objects, gender of objects, size of objects, distance of the speaker from the place of action, height of objects, the general time of day, tense and negation. To illustrate this complexity, the different forms of the Berik verb 'to give' are given in the following matrix. The first set of entries are Berik verb forms used to mean giving one or two or three large items to a male using the tenses of present, past, and future, and further specifying whether the item or items were given in sunlight or in darkness. The second set of entries show the same information with the only exception that the large item or items were given to a female, not a male.

Entries for the Berik verb 'to give' (to a male)

		Present	Past	Future
1 lg.	sunlight	gulbana	gulbanant	gulbafa
	darkness	gulbasa	gulbafant	gubafa
2 lg.	sunlight	terbene	terbenent	terbefe
	darkness	terbese	terbefent	terbefe
3 lg.	sunlight	kitobana	kitulbanant	kitobafo
	darkness	kitobasa	kitulbafant	kitobafo

Entries for the Berik verb 'to give' (to a female)

		Present	Past	Future
1 lg.	sunlight	gobili	golbilint	golbifi
	darkness	gobisi	golbifint	golbifi
2 lg.	sunlight	terbili	terbilint	terbifi
	darkness	terbese	terbefint	terbifi
3 lg.	sunlight	kitobili	kitulbilint	kitulbifi
	darkness	kitobisi	kitulbifint	kitulbifi

Still other matrices would be needed to illustrate all the above information for the verb 'to give' with the only change that a small item is given, not a large one. Other matrices would be needed to display all the above information and adding the variable that the giving was done at some distant place.

The Berik verb 'to tie' with many of its inflections is given below. The entries are glossed for tying one, two or three large items, close to the speech act location, using all three tenses, and also specifying whether the item or items were tied in sunlight or in darkness.

Entries for the Berik verb 'to tie'

		Present	Past	Future
1 lg.	sunlight	fwirena	fwirenant	fwirena
	darkness	fwiresa	fwirenant	fwiresa
2 lg.	sunlight	faarena	faarefant	faarefa
	darkness	faaresa	faarenant	faaresa
3 lg.	sunlight	taferebili	taferebilint	taferebifi
	darkness	taferebisi	taferebifint	taferebisi

Another matrix would be needed to illustrate all the above information for the verb 'to tie' with the only change that the tying is done at some distant place.

A further set of examples illustrates the dramatic changes that take place in many Berik verb roots by looking at some forms of the Berik verb 'to place.' The entries are those used to describe specifically placing one, two or three large items either in a low or in a high place and either close to or distant from the person as he relates the action.

Entries for the Berik verb 'to place'

		Close	Distant
1 lg.	low	gwerantena	gwerantetfa
	high	gweransona	gweranswetna
2 lg.	low	tosontona	tosontetfa
	high	tosonsona	tosonswetna
3 lg.	low	bununtona	bununtetfa
	high	bununsona	bununswetna

Changes in the verb root, the addition of several suffixes, and the fusion of these morpheme markers all combine to make the problem of analysis complex. More research on verb morphology needs to be completed. Study thus far, however, shows that the following items are marked on Berik verbs, mainly as suffixes. Entries have been chosen to demonstrate some degree of regularity.

2.3.1.1. Verbal suffixes

a. Number

The number of the subject or object in a sentence is usually marked in the verb by changes in suffixes or by the addition of a pluralizer: in transitive clauses, the number of the object is usually marked; in intransitive clauses, the number of the subject is marked.

Transitive verbs marked for number of the object include:

Subject Object	Verb sg	Verb dual	Verb plural	
	damtana	domsona	damtabili	'see'
	saftana	sofsona	saftabana	'hit'
	nasbana	nasona	nasbabili	'tell'
	telbese	telmisi	telbebesi	'drink'
	wirusu	wirsosa	wirtababisi	'wash'

Intransitive verbs marked for number of the subject:

Subject	Verb sg	Verb dual	Verb plural	
j	ila	ge jila	ge jalbili	'come'
	sofwa	ge sofwa	ge sofwabili	'go'
	nasona	ge nasona ge	nasbawena	'speak'
	fina	ge fina	ge fibili	'stand'

The pluralizer ge has not been written as a verb prefix because question words can occur between the word and the verb, and because there are no other prefixes in Berik. (See also section 3.9.)

Je ge	baf	jila?	'Why did they come?'
3rd pl	why	come	
Je ge	bas	jila?	'What did they come for?'
3rd pl	what	come	

b. Gender

The gender of the object of a sentence is marked on many verbs by changes in either the verb root or the suffix. Many Berik nouns have gender although it is overtly marked only in the verb. Things that fly are generally feminine, and things that crawl are masculine. An inanimate object such as a rock can take either marking.

Transitive verbs marked for gender of object by changes in the root:

Subject Object	Verb masculine	Verb feminine	
	damtana	domola	'see'
	saftana	sofola	'hit'
	gerbana	golbili	'give'

Changes in the verb suffix:

	sarbana	sarbili	'hear'
	eyebana	eyebili	'make'
	gwebana	gwebili	'do'

c. Distance

The suffix -tet is used with some verbs to indicate that the predication is some distance from the speech act location.

	Subject Object	Verb near	Verb far	
		disultena	disultetna	'fetch'
		gwerana	gwerantetna	'place'

Ai	fos	disultena.	'I fetch water.'
I	water	fetch	
Je	fos	disultetna aure.	'He fetches water there.'
he	water	fetch-far there	

d. Height

Relative height of an object in a clause in relation to the speaker's height is marked in some verbs

Subject	Object	Verb low	Verb high	
		gerantona	geransona	'to place'
		tosontona	tosansona	'to place'

e. Tense

The tense of an event is marked by the verb final suffix. The suffix **-nt** indicates past tense, and the suffix **-f** indicates future.

Subject	Verb present	Verb past	Verb future	
	tini	tinint	tifi	'go'
	jila	jilant	jifer	'come'
	tumili	tumilint	tumilfi	'eat'

In addition to tense, the general time of day is indicated on the present tense verb to distinguish early morning from noon and from evening.

Subject	Verb morning	Verb noon	Verb evening	
	telbeser	telbefer	telbener	'drink'

f. Desire and Negation

Desire and Negation are also verb final suffixes. When the desire or negation suffix occurs, tense is not indicated.

Subject	Verb present	future	desire	negation	
	tini	tifi	tif	tiyen	'go'
	tumili	tumilfi	tumif	tumilyen	'eat'
	nwini	nwinfi	nwinf	nwinyen	'sit'

g. Continuous Action

The continuous acton suffix **-yafefa** is added to a verb to denote action that is ongoing. Only one example of this has been inventoried in our research thus far.

eyebabiyafefa.   'cook continuously' (from dawn to dusk)

Aame	tumilgal	eyebabiyafefa.	'You cook the food continuously.'
you	food	cook-cont.	

h. Verbalizer -tena

All of the above are inflectional affixes on Berik verbs. The following is a derivational suffix **-tena** which can be added to a modifier to form a verb.

waakena	'good'
waakentena.	'make good'

Je angtane	waakentena. 'He healed the person.'
he person	good-make

3.0. PHRASES

3.0. Phrase structures consist of at least one obligatory tagmeme with one or more marginal tagmemes whose fillers are typically words. Berik phrases are usually short. The Numeral Phrase and Temporal Phrase are phrase level tagmemes, that is phrase structures which constitute parts of other phrase structures. All other phrases manifest clause level tagmemes.

3.1. Numeral Phrase

The numerals one to four are simple words and have been described above.(See Section 2.1.5.) The numeral five in Berik is **tafna guri**, a two-word phrase meaning 'hand whole.' Numerals five and larger than five form Numeral Phrases consisting of some reference to one or more hands of a person or one or more feet plus any numeral one to four. The numeral six, therefore, is **tafna aafwer daamfena**, meaning 'hand other one.' Any reference to another hand or another foot implies the obligatory inclusion of the first hand or first foot. Berik numbers from five to twenty are as follows:

5 =	tafna guri	'hand whole'
6 =	tafna aafwer daamfena	'hand other one'
7 =	tafna aafwer naura	'hand other two'
8 =	tafna aafwer naweringna	'hand other three'
9 =	tafna aafwer nawernaura	'hand other four'
10 =	tafna nau sama guri	'hand two both whole'
11 =	tafna nau sama guri tufa daamfena	'hand two both whole foot one'
12 =	tafna nau sama guri tufa naura	'hand two both whole foot two'
13 =	tafna nau sama guri tufa nawerninga	'hand two both whole foot three'
14 =	tafna nau sama guri tufa nawernaora	'hand two both whole foot four'
15 =	tufa guri	'foot whole'
16 =	tafna nau sama guri tufa aafwer daamfena	'hand two both whole foot other one'
17 =	tafna nau sama guri tufa aafwer naura	'hand two both whole foot other two'
18 =	tafna nau sama guri tufa aafwer nawerningna	'hand two both whole foot other three'
19 =	tafna nau sama guri tufa aafwer mawermaira	'hand two both whole foot other four'
20 =	tufa nau sama guri	'foot two both whole'

Perhaps because singular, dual, and plural are marked on Berik verbs, numerals are seldom used explicitly in stretches of speech. There is also non-uniformity among Beriks when eliciting numerals over ten. With the introduction of monetary units, uses of the calendar, and measurements in carpentry, Indonesian numbers are increasingly being used.

3.2 Temporal Phrase

The Temporal Phrase is used commonly to refer to some portion of the time of day. It consists of an obligatory nucleus filled by some reference to light or darkness and an obligatory margin filled by a reference to the intensity of sunlight.

temporal TP =   + Nuc: light or dark   Mar: intensity of sunlight
                    Nuc: darkness   Mar: intensity

                          gwini   bener   'early morning'
                          dark   fading

                    Nuc: light   Mar: intensity

                          gwere   bolap   'high noon'
                          sun   zenith

3.3. Noun Phrase

The Noun Phrase in Berik can be represented by the formula: noun phrase NP = + Nuc: noun + (Mar: modifier) ± Mar 2

The chart below summarizes the occurrences of modifiers and other words and phrases of modification in the Noun Phrase. The Noun Phrase can fill the clause level slots of Subject, Object, Adjunct, Topic, and Comment. The Nucleus, filled by a noun can be modified by one or two modifiers.   Mar 1 is most commonly filled by a modifier. If there is a Mar 2 it is usually a quantifier (as modifier, see section 2.2.3.5.) or numeral.

+ Nuc:	+ Mar :	± Mar:
noun	modifier	modifier
Co-ord Noun Phrase	Temporal Phrase	numeral
noun	Numeral Phrase	
	Dependent Clause	

6   The Pronoun Phrase has not been included in the description of the Noun Phrase. In Berik sentences, one or two pronouns following a noun phrase can also stand in an appositive (appositional) relationship to it. Further research is necessary to clarify this relationship.

Nuc: noun	twen pig	Mar: modifier		unggwandusa large	'large pig'
Nuc: noun	ir yesterday	Mar: Temporal Phrase		gwini bener darkness fading	'yesterday morning'
Nuc: noun	twen pig	Mar: noun	tane child		'baby pig'
Nuc: noun	ton stone	Mar: mod	bukona round		
		Mar: quantifier	ane many		'many round stones'

There has been no further attempt beyond what has been stated above to order the modifiers because they most often occur singly. If two or more words of modification are desired, usually two or more sentences are used.

Ai twena   ane   damtabilint.   Twena   jeserem je   unggwandusa.
I   pig   many   saw-pl-past   pig   those   they   large
'I saw many pigs. Those pigs were large.'

If two or more modifiers occur, the stream of modifiers may be broken by the occurrence of the verb and/or a repetiton of the Subject of the clause.

Ai   tane bastantantena gam   sarbabili   Tenwermana.
I   child small-many rel   hear   Tenwer-poss
'I hear the small Tenwer children.'

Ai   twena anesus   ai damtabili unggunfena setetina
I   pigs many   I see   large   black
'I see many large black pigs.'

In the final example above, the language assistant was strongly encouraged to give a simple sentence with more than two modifiers. The modifiers, however, were permuted from the noun phrase to follow the verb and in that position acquired verbal suffixes. The strain of producing such a construction confirmed the fact that it was quite unnatural.

3.4. Co-ordinate Noun Phrase

The Co-ordinate Noun Phrase consists of two or more obligatory nuclei filled by Noun Phrases joined together by an optional conjunction. If the conjunction is omitted, the meaning is 'and.' The conjuctions **ane** 'and' and **o** 'and' are used to combine Noun Phrases whereas the conjunction **afa** 'or' is used to present alternatives.

co-ord NP =   + Nuc: NP   + (+ conj: ane   + Nuc: NP)n
                                      o
                                      afa

Nuc: Jon	Nuc: Sarles	conj: ane	Nuc: Martinus
John	Sarles	and	Martin

'John, Sarles, and Martin'

Nuc: Daud		conj: o	Nuc: Sekati
David		and	Scotty

'David and Scotty'

Nuc: Musa			Nuc: Niko
Musa			Niko

'Musa and Niko'

Comments: The conjunction **o** 'and' is used infrequently, but when it does occur it is usually with only two nouns.

3.5. Accompaniment Phrase

The Accompaniment Phrase consists of one or more animate nouns plus an obligatory accompanier suffixed with the **-far** suffix. (See Section 2.2.1.1.f.) This phrase occurs in the clause level tagmemes of Subject and Topic.

Ai, Daud, Sekati,	Piterfar	twensar.
I David Scotty	Peter-acc	eat

'David, Scotty, Peter and I eat together.'

Musa	gwolafar	onap	sofwa.
Musa	dog-acc	jungle-to	go

'Musa goes with his dog to the jungle.'

Korano	gwolafar	aare.
chief	dog-acc	here

'The chief with his dog is here.'

3.6. Pronoun Phrase

As stated in the section on words, there are two sets of subject pronouns which may occur singly or together. (See Section 2.2.2.1.) When used together, they form a Pronoun Phrase. The Pronoun Phrase, therefore, consists of two nuclei, one which is filled by a pronoun from subject pronoun set 1 and the other filled by a pronoun from subject pronoun set 2. The Pronoun Phrase can occur in all clause types. Below is given an expansion and abbreviation of a common sentence in order to show the occurrence and position of pronoun-1 and pronoun-2.

Single subject pronoun-1:

Ai		mirunus	tonola.	'I plant corn.'
I-1		corn	plant	

Single subject pronoun-2:

Ajam		mirunus	tonola.	'I plant corn.'
I-2		corn	plant	

Pronoun-1 and pronoun-2:

Ai	ajam	mirunu	tonola.	'I plant corn.'
I-1	I-2	corn	plant	

Permutation of pronoun-2:

Ai		mirunu	ajam	tonola.	'I plant the corn.'
I-1		corn	I-2	plant	

The Object may be omitted:

Ai		ajam	tonola.	'I plant.'
I-1		I-2	plant	

Co-occurence of pronoun-1 and pronoun-2 is obligatory in a negative sentence.

Ai		mirunu	ajam	tonolyan. 'I don't plant corn.'
I - I		corn	I-2	plant-neg

Co-occurrence is forbidden with some predicates as in the following example. Only pronoun-1 occurs with these predicates.

Ai		simaltwola.	'I sing.'
I-1		sing	

The data can be summarized in the chart below.

	Ai	ajam	mirunu	tonola.
	I-1	I-2	corn	plant
Pronoun-1 occurrence	x		x	x
Pronoun-2 occurrence		x	x	x
Pronoun co-occurrence	x	x	x	x
Object omitted	x	x		x
Pronoun co-occurrence obligatory	x	x	x	x -yan 'not'
Pronoun co-occurrence forbidden	x			'sing' class of verbs

Chart 2. Pronoun-1 Pronoun-2 occurrence

Both pronouns occur obligatorily when the clause in which they occur is negated. In Intransitive, Bi-Intransitive, and Non-Transitive clause types, the two pronouns always occur contiguously.

Je	jam	aulyan	Somanentewer. 'He doesn't go to
he-1	he-2	go-not	Somanente-to Somanente.'

In Transitive and Bitransitive clauses, however, the Object and Adjunct may occur between the two pronouns.

Je		tafna	jam	wirsoyan. 'He doesn't wash his hands.'
he-1		hands	he-2	wash-no

Ai		bangkona	Susterf	ajam	eyebili
I-1		bench	sister-for	I-2	make
'I make a bench for sister.'					

In some cases, either pronoun-1 or pronoun-2 can occur following a noun to which it refers. When a noun occurs with a pronoun-1, the noun is always animate. When a noun occurs with a pronoun-2, the noun may be animate or inanimate. Co-occurrence of noun, pronoun-1, and pronoun-2 is possible, but rare.

Korano je	onap	sofwa. 'The Chief goes to the jungle.'
Chief he-1	jungle-to	goes

Gwili	jam	bosoka. 'The banana is unripe.'
banana	it-2	unripe

Matius je	jam	tainena. 'Matthew, he crawls.'
Matthew he-1	he-2	crawls

3.7. Possessive Phrase

The Possessive Phrase can fill the clause level slots of Subject, Object, Adjunct, Topic, and Comment. It can take either of the following forms: a margin filled by an optional Item and a nucleus filled by an obligatory Possessor, or less frequently an obligatory Possessor followed by an obligatory Item.

In the Item plus Possessor form, the obligatory Possessor is either a possessive pronoun-1 or a noun plus a possessive suffix. In this form, the Item is never suffixed.

+ Item	+ Possessor
Noun	possessive pronoun-1
	noun + possessive suffix, -mana

Item: noun tane	Possessor: possessive pro-1 imna
child your	
'your child'	

Item: noun celana	Possessor: noun + poss Daudmana
pants	David's
'David's pants'	

The Item tagmeme is optional in context as in:

Je	ke	gwola	imna? 'Is he your dog?'
he	question	dog	your

Je	ke	imna? 'Is he yours?'
he	question	your

In the second form, which is used to indicate location or accompaniment the obligatory Possessor is either a possessive pronoun-2 or a noun plus a possessive suffix. The noun as nucleus of a Noun Phase, occurring as an obligatory Item in the Possessive Phrase, always bears locational or accompaniment suffixes.

+ Possessor	+ Item
possessive pronoun-2	noun + loc/acc suffix
noun + possessive suffix, -em	

Possessor: poss pro-2 alem	Item: noun + loc	jinap
my		house-in
in my house'		

Possessor: poss pro-2 jelem
            his
'with his father

Item: noun + acc uwafar
                  father-with

Possessor: noun + poss Daudem
              David's
'in David's house'

Item: noun + loc jinap
                house-in

3.8. Location Phrase

Location in Berik can be expressed in two contrasting ways. As was discussed in the word section (2.2.1.c.), the locational suffixes **-ap** and **-wer** occur on nouns and indicate position or location as in:

Tuna	kartonap	fariton.	'The stone lays in the box.'
stone	box-in	lays	

The Location Phrase may also be composed of: (1) an obligatory axis which is related to the phrase in which it occurs by an obligatory postposition relator, or (2) a location word preceded by one or more modifiers.

3.8.1. Axis + Relator

The usual locational suffixes **-ap** and **-wer** always occur on the relator. The Location Phrase can fill the clause level slots of Location in the Bitransitive, Transitive, and Non-Transitive clauses and the Adjunct as scope in the Bi-Intransitive clause. A limited number of relators found to date are listed below.

+ Axis	+ Relator	
noun		
	aarmap	'into'
	afunup	'middle of'
	gwetmanap	'by'
	gwonap	'under'
	sagap	'on'
	ternap	'near'
	binisamer	'edge of'
	burawer	'behind'
	masnawer	'in front of'
	tamer	'over'

Tuna	karton	gwonap	fariton.	'The stone lays under the box.'
stone	box	under	lays	
Tuna	karton	burawer	fara.	'The stone lays behind the box.'
stone	box	behind	lays	

In one instance, the Location Phrase with Axis and Relator alternated with the noun and its locational suffix.

Je	titik	sagap	nwini.	'He sits on the floor.'
he	floor	on	sits	

Je	titikap	jam	taifayan.	'He isn't lying on the floor.'
he	floor-on	he	lies-not	

3.8.2. Modifiers + location word

The location word carries the usual locational suffixes **-ap** and **-wer**, and is preceded by one or more modifiers.

tantantane	jam	orgul	tamanap
children	their	play	place
'the children's play area'			

3.9. Verb Phrases

All Verb Phrases fill the Predicate tagmeme of clauses.

3.9.1. Basic Verb Phrase

The Basic Verb Phrase can be represented by the formula:

$$VP = \pm \text{ modifier} + (\pm \text{ pluralizer} + \text{verb})$$

In other words, the Basic Verb Phrase consists of an optional margin filled by a modifier and an obligatory nucleus filled by an option Pluralizer and an obligatory verb, always in that order. Modifiers occur with verbs in all clause types.

Margin:	mod	gamjon	Nucleus:	verb	jifa
		again			come
'come again'					

Margin:	mod	samem	Nucleus: pluralizer ge + :	verb	nasona
		slow	pl		speak
'speak slowly'					

In rare cases, a locational may occur between the modifier and the verb. When it occurs there, it is not considered to be part of the verb phrase.

Kristin	bunarsus	tesap	teafna.
Christine	true-very	sago area	go
'Christine truly went to the sago area.'			

3.9.2. Imperative Verb Phrase

The Imperative Verb Phrase consists of an obligatory imperative marker **das ~ jas** (or their abbreviated forms, **sa** or **s'**) and an uninflected form of a transitive or intransitive verb. These true imperatives, though uninflected, contrast with the pseudo-imperatives in that the true imperatives are part of the inflectional system whereas the pseudo-imperatives are not. (See section 2.1.2.).

Das	armanul!	'Buy!'
imp	buy	

Sa	armanul!	'Buy!'
imp	buy	

S'armanul!	'Buy!'
imp-buy	

3.9.3. Cessative Aspectual Verb Phrase

The Cessative Aspectual Verb Phrase consists of a nucleus filled by any verb plus a margin filled by the cessative word, **atikwona** 'stop.' The suffix **-ram** occurs on both the verb and the cessative word and indicates that the clause in which it occurs is subordinate to the following clause in the sentence. (See Section 5.4.2.2.).

Korano	aajes	nasonaram	atikwonaram,
Chief	he	speak	stop

'When the chief stopped speaking, . . .'

3.9.4. Incessative Action Verb Phrase

The Incessative Action Verb Phrase consists of a noun from a small class of nouns and an incessative action verb, **gwebali**. The incessative action verb can be inflected for all tenses.

Je werem gwebili. 'He coughs and coughs.'
he cough does continuously

Ai	naaremem	gwebili.	'I paddle and paddle.'
I	paddle-with	do continuously	

3.9.5. Hortative Action Verb Phrase

The Hortative Action Verb Phrase consists of the hortative marker **gan** and any verb. The verb may be marked for either future or present tense.

Gan	gastafe!	'Let's cut.'
hort	cut-future	

Gan	toteni!	'Let's go out.'
hort	go out	

4.0. CLAUSES

Clauses are units of pedication. Berik clauses normally contain one predicate, except for cases in which one clause is embedded within another. Clauses most commonly fill the nuclei of sentences, but they can also occur as clause level constructions embedded within another clause. A clause consists of optional tagmemes of Time, Subject, Object, Adjunct, and Location and an obligatory Predicate. Although the Subject is regarded as being an optional nuclear tagmeme, this means that it is not necessarily an overt Noun Phrase as Subject, but, in fact, is one that is understood. In a multi-clause sentence, for example, the Subject may be omitted, especially if it has been introduced in a previous clause. The occurrence of the Object and/or Adjunct with their respective verbs determines the transitivity of the clause as in other languages. In other words, within the clause, there is an important interrelationship between the Predicate and the other nuclear tagmemes. The tagmemes of Time and Location are marginal tagmemes since they are not directly related to the predicate, but are more commonly Setting.

Each clause type then correlates the set of verbs which may occur within the Predicate with the number and kind of roles of its other nuclear tagmemes (Pike and Pike 1977). The roles are: actor, undergoer, and scope; the slots are subject, direct object, and adjunct. The central meaning of the roles are: the actor is that which does the action of the verb; the undergoer is the item on which the actor acts; and the scope is the direction or goal toward or away from which the action is directed or an instrument used in performing the action.

If a clause has no actor, transitivity is irrelevant and the clause is referred to as Non-Transitive. It could also be referred to as **Equative**:

Gwili	je	bosoka.
banana	3rd	unripe

The banana is not ripe.

If a clause has an actor, it is defined to be one of a set for which transitivity is relevant For this set, then, the choice is between an undergoer and no undergoer. Those which have no undergoer are **Intransitive**:

Minyak	mes	oroto.	'The oil already boils.'
oil	already	boils	

Those which have an optional undergoer are **Transitive**:

Mina	tumilgal	eyebili.	'Mina cooks food.
'Mina	food	cooks	

The final distinction is based upon those having a scope:

Bitransitive:

Ai	buku	jep	gubanant.	'I gave him a book.'
I	book	3rd-to	give-past	

Bi-Intransitive (or Semi-transitive):

Maria		tesap	sofsant.	'Maria went to the sag
Maria		sago place	go-past	

In many cases, location or destinations would fall into the nuclear Adjunct slot of the clause as scope, especially when the location is in some way essential to the meaning of the Predicate. In these cases, the location is often directional.

Niko		onap	sofsant.	'Niko went to the jungl
Niko		jungle-to	go-past	

In other cases, locations or positions are marginal tagmemes of Location, especially when they are not essential and only weakly related at the most of the Predicate, and when they are not directional, but purely setting.

Niko	twena	tana	onap.	'Niko killed the pig in the j
Niko	pig	killed	jungle.'	

4.1. Clause Types

There are five clause types in Berik: Bitransitive, Transitive, Bi-Intransitive, Intransitive, and Non-Transitive (Equative). The chart below displays the tagmemes associated with the various clause types[7]. The Temporal and Locational tagmemes are marginal; the other tagmemes are nuclear. Temporals, though most often occurring as the first tagmeme of a clause, especially to indicate a new paragraph, may permute to other positions in the clause except following the Predicate. Locationals may precede or follow the Predicate.

	Temp	Subj	Obj	Adjunct	Loc	Pred
Bitransitive	±	±	±	±	±	+
Transitive	±	±	±	–	±	+
Bi-Intransitive	±	±	–	±	±	+
Intransitive	±	±	–	–	±	+
Non-Transitive (Equative)	±	Topic	–	–		Comment

Chart 3. Clause types with associated tagmemes.

4.1.1. Bitransitive Clause

The Subject, Object, Adjunct, and Predicate tagmemes are nuclear in the Bitransitive Clause and normally occur in that order. The Subject, Object, or Adjunct might not actually appear in the surface structure of the clause, but they would be understood in context.

7 The traditional slot terms of Subject, Object, etc. have been used in the above Chart rather than the role terms of Actor, Undergoer, and Scope.o

The Object tagmemes are cross referenced in the Predicate as suffixes on the verb. Clarifying the explanation of Objects and Adjuncts in the introductory paragraph, the Adjunct as scope may be a recipient or donator of a thing or action, a locational, or an instrument used in performing the action.

Temporal and Locational tagmemes are marginal in all clause types.

Mar: Temp Nuc: Subj   Object Adjunct Predicate   Mar: Loc

Ir	ai	buku	jep	gubanant	jinap
yesterday	I	book	him-to	gave	house-in

'Yesterday I gave the book to him in the house.'

	Joel	mirunu	Tuanf	iribeyele.
	Joel	corn	Mr.-for	plants

'Joel plants corn for Mr.

	Je	faawena	jinap	gelna.
	he	spear	house-in	places

'He places the spear in the house.

Gamer	je	tini	tobalsiusint	twen	sagabe
then	he	stick	threw	pig	back-on

'Then he threw the stick onto the pig's back.

	Ai	tesala	betefem	tebili
	I	leaves	needle-with	sew

'I sew leaves with the needle.

Comments: The Adjunct may permute to follow the Predicate.

4.1.2. Transitive Clause

The optional Subject, Object, and obligatory Predicate tagmemes are nuclear in the Transitive clause. The Subject is omitted in an imperative.

Several features of the Object are marked in the Predicate. (See section 2.3.1.). The Object may permute to precede the Subject or in some rare instances to follow the Predicate.

Temporal and Locational tagmemes are marginal.

Mar: Temp	Nuc: (Obj)	Subject	Object	Predicate		Mar: Loc
Namwer		Mina	tumilgal	eyebili		dapurwer
now		Mina	food	cooks		kitchen-in

'Now Mina cooks in the kitchen.'

Fos	disultena	
water-you-2	get 'Get water!'	

Tane	je	ginas	eyebana
child	he	arrow	makes 'The child makes an arrow.'

Tini	ai	goltesant.
stick	I	picked-up 'I picked up the stick.'

4.1.3. Bi-Intransitive Clause

The optional Subject and Adjunct as scope and the obligatory Predicate tagmemes are nuclear in the Bi-Intransitive clause. Temporals and Locationals are marginal. As with the Bitransitive clause, the Adjunct may be a locational essential to the Predicate, or an instrument used in performing the action. The Adjunct always carries the locational or the instrumental suffix.

Mar: Temp Nuc:	Subj Adjunct	Pred	Mar: Loc
Ir	Maria je tesap	sofsant.	
yesterday	Maria sago place-to	went 'Yesterday Maria went to the sago place.'	
	Amnip	jila!	
	me-to	come 'Come to me!'	
Tuna	karton mifip	falnutena.	
stone	carton lip-at	lays	
'The stone lies at the lip of the carton.'			
Aamke	atem	difna?	
you-ques	canoe-by	come 'Did you come by canoe?'	
Je	jam	nwini kursinip.	
she-1	she-2	sits chair-on 'She is sitting on the chair.'	
Tane	jitamwer	naodna	
child	outside	plays 'The child plays outside.'	
Banggena	taosent	tinibe	
	squirrel	climbed tree-on 'The squirrel climbed the tree.'	

Comments: The adjunct may permute to follow the Predicate. Most Predicates in this clause are verbs of motion.

4.1.4. Intransitive Clause

The optional Subject and obligatory Predicate tagmemes are nuclear in the Intransitive clause. As in other clause types, Temporals and Locationals are marginal.

Mar: Temporal	Nuc: Subject	Predicate Mar: Locational
Namwer	wini je	irwana.
now	lady she	gets up 'Now the lady gets up.'
	Aro jem	nwintana.
	rain it	sits 'It's raining. (Rain is falling.)'
	Das iruwe!	
	imp get up 'Get up!'	

Minyak	mes oroto		dapurwer
oil	already	boils	kitchen-in
'The oil is already boiling in the kitchen.'			

Ai	bastantoifer sarbana.	
I	little understand	
'I understand a little.'		

Tantantane seyafter	jam ge	taibinene.	
children all	they pl	crawl	
'All the children crawl.'			

4.1.5. Non-Transitive (Equative) Clause

The obligatory Topic and obligatory Comment are nuclear tagmemes in the Non-Transitive (Equative) clause. (See comment below for exclamations.) Temporals, as in other clause types, are marginal. Unlike other clause types, Locationals may fill the nuclear Comment slot. Common fillers of the Topic and Comment slots are listed below.

± Temporals	+ Topic	+ Comment
Temporals	Noun Phrase	Modifier
Temporal Phrase	Possessive Phrase	Numerals
	Question word	Response word
		Noun Phrase
		Location Phrase
		Possessive Phrase
		Question word
		Exclamations

Comments: Temporals may also follow either the Topic or the Comment. In exclamations (which are statistically few in number), the Topic may be omitted. Typical examples of the Non-Transitive clause type follow.

Paulus	aame	mamkaya.	
Paul	you	mad	'Paul, you are mad.'

Ir	fena	barbarsus.
yesterday	clothes	finished-emp

'Yesterday the clothes were completely gone (sold out).'

Ne seyafter	mafnabara.	
we all	breath-have	'We all have breath.'

Je	namwer	bwernabaryan.	
he	now	sickness-has-neg	'He isn't sick now.'

Gwili ue	bosoka.	
banana it	unripe	'The banana is unripe.'

Gwolna je	nanmena?	
dog it	whose	'Whose dog is it?'

Sandal	amna	tikar	fensawer.	
sandals	my	mat	beside	'My sandals are beside the mat.'

Je	bwernabar	namwer.	
he	sickness-has	now	'He is sick now.'

	Nesek!	'That's pitiful!'

5.0. SENTENCES

Sentences are basic units of discourse. Berik sentences may be broadly classified as being either Independent or Dependent. An Independent Sentence is one which includes one or more clauses, one of which is an independent clause. This independent clause is not tied by some tagmemic feature, as for example, a subordinating tagmeme, to a preceding sentence.

Ai	twena	tane	tafam	tebana.
I	pig	child	hands-inst	catch

'I catch the small pig with my hands.'

Dependent sentences are those involving single words, phrases, and dependent clauses and are tied by contextual information to a preceding utterance. A dependent clause in this analysis is defined as one which includes a subordinating tagmeme.

Ngga.	'Yes.'
yes	

Fwera? 'Where?'
where

Jerem	jinap. 'In his house.'
his	house-in

Afwer	fas.	'The others are not.'
others	none	

Aame	baif is	gwenaram,
. . . you	don't want	you do

'If you don't want to do it, . . . '

It should be noted that this definition of dependent clauses and sentences differs from that used by other researchers in describing other Papuan languages. The structure of Berik does not exhibit medial and final verbs as described by Murane in *Daga Grammar* and Tipton in *Nembi Discourse Structure*. Berik has a very different grammatical structure from those languages and does not make the same distinctions between independent and dependent clauses and sentences as described by those researchers.

All sentences are marked with final falling intonation with varying degrees of pause between them when grouped into larger units of discourse. The remainder of this section will concentrate on the description of Independent Sentences.

5.1. Sentence tagmemes

Sentences are composed of marginal and nuclear tagmemes. Marginal tagmemes include introductory exclamations, terms of address (including personal names and kinship terms), and Hortatory introducers.

Wa,	fona	jam	orotona.	
Exc	water	it	boil	'Oh, the water is boiling!'

Tane amna	esorol	ajur	gulbana.	
child my	advice	I	give	'My child, I give you advice.'

Ao,	ne	tumilgala	gan	eyebabi.	
Hort (come)	we	food	hort.	cook	'Come, let's cook the food.'

The nucleus of an Independent Sentence may be filled by any of the five Berik clause types.

5.2. Independent Sentences

Independent Sentences may be either **Simple** or **Complex**. If a sentence contains only one independent clause, it is a Simple Sentence. Simple Sentences may contain clauses embedded within them however, as the fillers of a phrase slot.

Wini	fona	aje	gwidnirim	jega	am	damtana
lady	water	she	carry rel.	me		see

'The lady carrying water sees me.'

If a sentence contains more than one independent clause, which is in either a coordinate relationship with another independent clause or a subordinate relationship with a dependent clause, it is a Complex Sentence.

The role of any Independent Sentence nucleus may be that of an interrogative, an imperative, a hortative, or a statement. These four roles shall be discussed in relationship to the Simple Sentence, but their constructions may be used in the same manner with Complex Sentences. Complex Sentences will be discussed showing coordination, subordination, and the use of conjunctions.

5.2.1. Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative Sentences are identified by a question marker, **ke**, or an interrogative word occurring either sentence initially or following the subject. In Complex Sentences, neither the question marker nor the interrogative need be repeated in clauses following the initial clause. In rhetorical questions, the implied answer is always in the negative.

Maria	je	ke	tesap		sofsa?
Maria	she	ques	sago-to		go 'Did Maria go to the sago place?'

Fonggalabar		ne ge		sofsa?
when		we pl		go 'When shall we go?'

Aame	ke		twena im		damtanant,	ga	im	nunggirin?
you	ques		pig you		see-past	and	you	run-past

'Did you see the pig, and then run?'

Je		ke		tosa?
3rd		ques		know 'How can she know?'

5.2.2. Imperative Sentences

Imperative Sentences are used to give commands. The imperative markers, **das**, ~ **jas**, **sa**, and **se** occur before any present tense transitive or intransitive imperative verb form. Other verbal suffixes. (See Section 2.3.1.) do not occur on the verb in the imperative construction.

Thimbwat,		das	nwinte!		'Thimbwat,	sit down!'
Thimbwat		imp	sit			

Titiki		aiserem	je	oltunabora.	'Se	tokso!
floor		this	it	dirty	imp.	sweep

'The floor is dirty. Sweep it!'

The correctional Imperative consists of two clauses: a negative statement followed by a positive imperative.

Nwinyen;		das	tate!	
sit-not		imp	lie down	'Don't sit; lie down!'

Denggam	ti	taiyan;		nombe	s'gwidni!
axe-with	wood	cut-not		machete	use

'Don't cut the wood with an axe; use a machete!'

In a Complex Sentence the imperative marker is not repeated in clauses following the initial clause.

Ama,	das	armanul	tumilgala,	ga	is	eyebabili
friend	imp	buy	food	and	you	cook

'My friend, buy the food and cook it!'

The single clause negative imperative is given by a negative imperative marker, **ibsam** 'don't,' plus any transitive or intransitive verb which carries a final suffix **-ram**.

Ibsam		jilaram!	'Don't come!'
neg-imp		come	

Ibsam		gutalaram!	'Don't scratch!'
neg-imp		scratch	

5.3.3. Hortative Sentences are those which express advice or give suggestions or exhortations. The Hortative Sentence introducer **ao** 'come' precedes any clause containing the Hortative Action Phrase. (See Section 3.9.6.) In Complex Sentences the Hortative Sentence introducer occurs sentence initially and the hortative marker **gan** occurs before each verb.

Ao,		gan	nwinte.	
Hort (come)		hort	sit	'Come, let's sit.'

Ao,   ne   tumilgala   gan   eyebabi gan   tesarabali.
Hort (come) we   food   hort   cook   hort   dance
'Come, let's cook the food and dance.'

5.2.4. Statements

Statements are all those sentences which are not of the preceding types, that is interrogative, imperative, or hortative. Statements are by far the most numerous type of sentence, and as with the other sentence types, tend to be short.

There are few conjunctions in Berik so that normally complex English sentences are written as several Simple Sentences in Berik. The Simple Sentences are chronologically related so that the action included in the first sentence would occur logically before any action in the sentences which follow. However, if a conjunction occurs or if a verbal suffix which marks the linking of clauses occurs, then the sentence is a Complex Sentence. Example of a Complex Sentence:

Je Somanente   aolna   udarna ga8   domolnutna.
he Somanente   go   plane re   see
'He goes to Somanente (in order to) see the plane.'

Example of two Simple Sentences:

Je   Somanente   jem aolyan. Je   udarna jem   domolyan.
he   Somanente   he go-neg he   plane   he   see-neg
'He doesn't go to Somanente. He doesn't see the plane.'

Further analysis of texts should give greater insights into this tendency toward shorter constructions. Chart 4 below summarizes the presentation of material regarding Complex Sentences in the paragraphs following it.

5.3. Complex Sentences

Complex Sentences are composed of two or more clauses of which at least one is an independent clause. These clauses are in either a coordinate relationship or a subordinate relationship in which one clause is subordinate to the other.9

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8   See Section 5.3.1. regarding this particle.

9   Both the coordinate relationship and the subordinate relationship between clauses in sentences have been grouped together under the general term complex (as contrasting with simple) sentences, rather than using the more usual distinction of complex verus compound.

Independent Sentences		
Simple Sentences (used to illustrate roles)	Complex Sentences (used to illustrate coordination and subordination)	
	Coordinating relationship	Subordinating relationship
a) interrogative b) imperative c) hortative	a) joined by coord. conj	a) joined by subord. conj or rel particle **ga** in non-initial clause positions
d) statement	b) joined by rel particle **ga** clause initially	b) joined by a subord suffix **-ram**

Chart 5. Simple and Complex Sentences

5.3.1. Those clauses which are in a coordinate relationship are joined to one another by a coordinate conjunction, ane 'and,' or more commonly by a relational particle, ga, occurring between the clauses. This relational particle occurs frequently in discourse and needs more analysis with respect to higher grammatical levels, i.e. paragraphs and discourse. A contrastive conjunction, **jeuga** 'but,' also joins two or more clauses together in a contrasting coordinate relationship.

Aame   is   udanaburswana ane   is   gerna   tane   gitowai.
you   you   pregnant   and   you   give birth   child   male
'You are pregnant and you will give birth to a boy.'

Ai   jigala   gartesant ga   ai   tisin   jamer jinabo.
I   goods   got   and   I   walked   until   house-at
'I got the goods and I walked (until I arrived) at the house.'

Gwidmir Tuan   gwili   tegafar   ga   ai as   tombafa.
tomorrow Mr.   bananas   cut-fut   and   I I   eat-fut
'Tomorrow Mr. will cut the bananas and I will eat them.'

Das   orotana   ga   asi   s'bili.
imp   boil   and   me   imp-tell
'Boil (the water) and then tell me.'

Fonggalabar aame   twena damtana   ga   im   nunggiri?
when   you   pig   see   then   you   run
'When you see the pig, then do you run?'

Niko   kasian   tombana, jeuga Tuan ga   fos   , telbili.
Niko   peanuts   eats   but   Mr.   rel   water   drinks
'Niko eats peanuts, but Mr. drinks water.'

5.3.2. Unlike the coordinate relationship in which two or more independent clauses are joined by coordinate conjunctions or the relational particle **ga**, clauses in a subordinate relationship consist of one independent clause and one or more dependent clauses.

5.3.2.1. The clauses may be joined together by subordinating conjunctions; **jengga** 'then,' **jebas** 'because' or by the relational particle **ga** which occurs in various slots in the second clause, except clause initially, but always precedes the predicate. The subject of the second clause may be omitted if it is co-referential with the subject of the initial clause.

Wa,	twena	nunggirbisi, jengga	jensiriber.
exc	pig	runs then	snorts

'Oh, the pig runs, then (it) snorts.'

Ai, as sinar,	jebas	asia	wisiam	bitolu.
I I cry	because	I	coolness	feel

'I cry because I am hungry.'

Ai	siafras	nasonar asis	ga	tawastona.
I	wrongly	speak you	rel	tell

'(When) I speak incorrectly, then you tell me.'

Je	fomfoma	artena, esala	gam	tebili.
he	how	know leaves	rel	sew

'How does he know (how) to sew leaves (for roofing)?'

Je	Somanente	aolna	udarna	ga	domolnutna.
He	Somanente goes	plane		rel	see

'He goes to Somanenete (in order to) see the plane.'

5.3.2.2. A subordinating relationship between two clauses may also be indicated by the presence of the subordinating suffix, **-ram** on the verb of the initial clause in the Conditional and Sequential Sentences. In all the examples studied the two clauses are chronologically related with the action of the first clause occurring before the action of the second clause.

The Conditional Sentence is an example of this. The Conditional Sentence consists of two clauses; an initial dependent clause setting forth a condition, and a resultant independent clause.

Aame	baif	is	gwenaram,	ai	isas	saftana.
you	not want	you	do-subord	I	you	hit

'If you don't want to do it, I'll hit you.'

Barsa	is	taabuntnorom,	abgwona	bastoifer	is	terbana.
rice	you	get-subord	me	little	you	give

'If you get rice, give me a little.'

Aro	jem	nwinteram,	wat	nejema	tibeyen.
rain	it	falls-subord	palm·stems	we	go-neg

'If it rains, we won't go for palm stems.'

Sequential Sentence examples:

Suster	forteram;	Daud	saptena.
Sister	come-subord	David	hit

'After Sister came she hit David.'

Ne	ke	nesne	nwinteneram	ke	nesne	twina?
we	ques	we	sit-subord	ques	we	eat

'Shall we sit and eat?'

Aame	ijes	gurulum	je	futu
you	it	plant-subord	it	died

'What you planted died.

Au,	jinas	tabanswenaram	ga	nesne	nwintena
come	house	finish-subord	then	we	sit

'Come, let's finish the house and sit.'

Namwer wini	je	irwanaram	ga	gwina
today lady	she	gets up-subord	then	goes

'Today the lady gets up and goes away.'

5.3.2.3. The Causative Sentence consists of an initial transitive clause containing a Predicate word, **taatwobana** 'to cause or to force,' and a final "effect" clause. The understood subject of the final clause is the object of the initial clause, and the Predicate of the final clause carries an **-f** final suffix on the verb.

Je	wina	gam taatwilbini	titik sapusof.
he	wife	rel forced	floor sweep

'He forced his wife to sweep the floor.'

Je	Mina	gam taatwilbili	nanaf	sofwef.
he	Mina	rel forced	vegetables	go

'He forced Mina to go for vegetables.'

Korano	anggwona	jes	taatwobana	tis	taarif.
chief	man	he	forced	wood·	chop

'The chief forced the man to chop wood.'

Another Causative type Sentence in which the causing action is less overt consists of an initial clause containing a noun phrase and a Predicate word, **gwebana** 'to cause thru non-overt actions' and a final "state or effect" clause including the particle **ga** 'change of state' preceding the verb.

Anas	sa	gwebana, je		bwerna	ga	folbana.
worms	cause	he		sickness	c.s.	become

'Worms cause him to become sick.'

Kwimal		le gwebana, je		bwerna		ga folbana.
jungle spirit		it caused he		sickness		c.s. became

'A jungle spirit caused him to become sick.'

Baapta Yesusmana	je gwebana,		angtane jeserem		ga waakensona.
Power Jesus-poss	it caused		person that		c.s. healed

'The power of Jesus caused that man to be healed.'

Finally:

Niko	aame	ifom	gwebana,	tane jeserem je		ga siana?
Niko,	you	you-how caused		child that he		c.s. cry

'Niko, how(or why) did you make that child to cry?'

Note also that in a question, the noun phrase and predicate word **gwebana**, can permute to follow the object.

Niko,	aame	tane jeserem je ifom	gwebana,		ga	siana?
Niko,	you	child that he you	how caused		c.s.	cry

'Niko, how did you make that child cry?'

5.3.2.4. Other examples of complex sentences include:

1. reason - RESULT: (because, so, therefore)

Jem	temawer	titiki je	oltunoboro, je jes toksona		titiki je.
it	because	floor it	dirty she it sweep		floor it

'Because the floor was dirty, she swept it.'

2. means - RESULT: (by, through)

Titiki eswatem	toksolaiserem,		je	titiki jem	waakensona.
floor broom-with	sweeping		she	floor it	cleaned

'By sweeping the floor with a broom, she got it clean.'

3. purpose - MEANS: (in order that, so that)

Je	titik	toksona jiga titiki	gam	waakenswef.
she	floor	swept so	then	is clean

'She swept the floor in order to get it clean.'

4. concession - CONTRAEXPECTATION: (although, in spite of)

Titiki	jeserem safe	jam toksola,
floor	that contrary	she swept

titiki	jeserem jam	waakensweyan.
floor	that it	clean-not

'Although she swept that floor, that floor isn't clean.'

5. grounds - CONCLUSION: (therefore I conclude so)

Titiki	jeserem waakena,	je	mes	toksona.
floor	that clean	she	already	swept

'That floor is clean, (so) she must have swept it.'

6. grounds - EXHORTATION or IMPERATIVE (see also 5.3.2.):

Titiki aiserem	je	oltunoboro,	se	tokso!
floor this	it	dirty	imp.	sweep

'The floor is dirty, so sweep it!'

7. condition - CONSEQUENCE:

Afa	titiki	je oltunoboro,	je	gam	toksona	titiki je.
if	floor	it dirty	she	then	sweep	floor it

'If the floor is dirty, she'll sweep it.'

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter on Sentences has sought to describe the distinctions between Independent and Dependent Sentences, and also Simple and Complex Sentences. Simple Sentences were used to show the different roles a sentence might play, and Complex Sentences were used to demonstrate coordination and subordination. Several examples were used in each Section to show the most common constructions. Further research needs to be done in order to make these distinctions even clearer. Especially needful is an analysis of the

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