

People of the Tor

by DR. G. OOSTERWAL

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NORTHERN NETHERLANDS NEW-GUINEA

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Netherlands New-Guinea is apparently a rich and important field for anthropological research. This study on the tribes of the Tor territory in Northern Netherlands New-Guinea by Dr. Oosterwal is a new proof of it. Not only a lively account is given here of the culture pattern of a hitherto unknown part of Netherlands New-Guinea, but throughout the whole of this monograph man comes to the fore: his struggle against the menace of extinction, because of hunger and, until recently, the masculinization process, resulting into a great shortage of women and girls; his answer to the very unfavourable environment and harsh circumstances in which he lives. Under such conditions, together with the very low level of technical knowledge and equipment, large aggregates of people seem to be impossible. It is the very small local community, on an average consisting of about 60 souls, children included, which has set its mark on the whole cultural pattern. There, the behaviour of the individual can well play an important part and it is the personal relationships which come to the fore in almost every aspect of life. Dr. Oosterwal gives a very vivid picture of the (small) community with its strong ingroup feelings, the great significance of public opinion, and also of the great dangers and many objections to the lack of chieftainship.

Kinship is another pillar of social structure. It stands for friendship, safety, intimacy and security. Nowhere, however, does kinship show a rigid structure; it is flexible and open. Of great importance is Dr. Oosterwal's description and analysis of the "deme", the bilateral, endogamous group, which hitherto has received but little attention in cultural anthropology. This deme is coextensive with the community, in which no other distinctly separated and exclusive kin groups can be distinguished, apart from the

nuclear family and the "domestic family". The latter is another characteristic of the social organization of the people of the Tor, which, like the deme, has so far received but little attention by anthropologists. Dr. Oosterwal discusses in this connection the disagreement between Murdock and Linton on family organization.

Marriages are contracted by sister-exchange. This is at least the ideal pattern. Exchange and reciprocity, however, play a very important part in every aspect of culture: in economic as well as in religious life, in personal as well as in tribal relationships. One should read for instance (in chapter three) the tremendous importance of the marriage-exchange and, in chapter five, the ceremonial exchange of gifts in connection with the making up of a great quarrel, to grasp fully the great significance of the exchange.

Of great moment is Dr. Oosterwal's analysis and description of Religion. Though in any aspect of culture religious representations play an important part, e.g. in economic life, during the pounding of sago, the hunt, the fishing, etc., in the centre of all religious phenomena are the ceremonies and representations connected with the cult house and the sacred flutes. This complex of cult houses and sacred flutes is well known in Northern New-Guinea, from the Mamberamo to the Marhkam Valley. But little or nothing was known so far about the symbolism, the mythological background and the functions of these cult houses and flutes in Netherlands New-Guinea. The monograph ends with a discussion of the „soeangi" (sorcery) which is feared everywhere, causing sickness, disaster and death by means of supernatural powers. The strong belief in these powers forms on one hand a permanent menace to the people of the Tor, but on the other hand, by means of this belief people learn to understand the meaning of sickness and death. Moreover, knowing from where disaster and death come, man can take revenge, *his* response to the challenge of these forces.

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People of the Tor

A CULTURAL-ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY
ON THE TRIBES OF THE TOR TERRITORY
(NORTHERN NETHERLANDS NEW-GUINEA)

by Dr. G. Oosterwal



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Contents

PREFACE	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	6
CHAPTER ONE: THE TOR TERRITORY AND ITS INHABITANTS.	9
1. The Tor district	9
2. People of the Tor	15
2.1. personal appearance	15
2.2. classification of tribes	16
2.3. relations between the tribes	27
3. Villages	31
4. Demography	36
5. Culture areas and the spread of culture	45
CHAPTER TWO: THE ECONOMIC BASE.	57
1. Sago and its significance for society	57
1.1. distribution and significance for society	57
1.2. the production of sago	59
2. Hunting	62
3. Fishing	67
4. The domestication of pigs	70
5. The collecting of forest produce	72
6. Plant cultivation	74
7. The food situation	77
8. Social significance of food	80
9. Landed property and tenure (usufruct)	83
10. Barter and exchange	88
11. Dammar exploitation	90
12. Division of labour between the sexes, status of women and the economic base of rank	94

CHAPTER THREE: MARRIAGE AND SEXUAL LIFE	99
1. The significance of marriage	99
2. Marriage by exchange	101
2.1. complications of the exchange-marriage	107
3. Other forms of marriage	114
3.1. levirate	114
3.2. sororate	116
3.3. marriage by capture and elopement.	117
3.4. 'love-marriage'	120
4. Rules of residence in marriage	122
5. Polygamy	127
6. Sexual life	134
7. 'Wambo'	143
CHAPTER FOUR: KINSHIP RELATIONS AND KINSHIP STRUCTURE	147
1. Introduction	147
2. Kinship relations and kinship terminology	148
2.1. kinship relations and terminology with the Berrick	150
2.2. kinship relations and terminology with the Ittik	165
2.3. kinship relations and terminology with the Mander	171
2.4. kinship relations and terminology with the Ségar and Naidjbeedj	174
3. Kinship structure	176
CHAPTER FIVE: SOCIAL GROUPS	189
1. The community.	189
2. The family	197
2.1. introduction.	197
2.2. the nuclear family with the Ittik and Mander	198
2.3. the domestic family	200
2.4. causes of differentiations in family organization	205
3. The bachelors' group	206
CHAPTER SIX: THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF CULTURE	211
1. Introduction	211
2. The 'faareh' or cult house	212
2.1. building of the faareh	213
2.2. symbols in the faareh	217
2.3. sacred flutes	228
2.4. social significance of the faareh	237
3. The 'House of Fatrau'	239

4. Beliefs concerning supernatural beings	247
4.1. the supreme being	250
4.2. culture heroes and demons	252
5. Rites de passage	254
5.1. ritual connected with birth	254
5.2. the ' <i>mengau</i> -ceremony'.	259
5.3. mortuary rites	261
6. The healing of the sick	262
7. 'Soeangi' or sorcery.	265

APPENDICES:

1. Survey map of the Tor territory to	8
2. Schematical survey of migrations towards, within and from the Tor territory to	56
3. Population pyramids of the Tor territory	273
4. Comparative list of vocabularies	274
5. List of kinship terms	278
5.1. terms of the Berrik and the Bora-Bora	278
5.2. terms of the Ittik and Mander	281
5.3. terms of the Ségar and Nardjbeedj	285
6. Diagram of kinship structure in the Tor territory	287
7. Map showing the languages and tribes of the Tor territory	

INDEX	289
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PHOTOGRAPHS

Preface

The data for this study were collected during a good two years' stay in Netherlands New-Guinea, from 1957 to 1959. From January 1958 to March of the same year I lived with the tribes of the Central Tor territory, such as the Berrick and the Beeuw, and among the tribes of the Upper Tor territory, such as the Daranto, the Waf, the Gocammer and the Bora-Bora. All these tribes mentioned I visited again during the months of May and June 1958. However, special attention was paid then to the tribes of the western Upper Tor territory: Bora-Bora, Ségar and Naidjbeedj. Owing to the attacks of the Moegit, a tribe from the Idenburg basin, south of the Gauttier mountains, I was not able to penetrate into the eastern Upper Tor territory when I went there the first time. Guides and bearers only wanted to accompany me to the Boe, a righthand affluent of the Tor, where I lived for a few weeks with the Bonerif who were roving in that territory. Later on, however, during the months of July and August 1958, I had the opportunity of penetrating the basin of the Upper Boe from another direction. A number of bearers from the Bora-Bora, who had adopted me by then as their son, were willing to accompany me to the eastern Upper Tor territory, a hard tour of about 5 days through a very hilly country. Our guides came from the Daranto tribe. Over a month I lived there with the Mander and the Foja in their village of Matebefon. On my way home, I had the opportunity to spend about one week with the Ittik who were just building their new village of Mèkwèr. Not until the month of April 1959 I returned to my field of investigation again. In the meantime I had the opportunity to work out some of my data and arrange the others, so that I easily could discern where the gaps were. During that time, however, I had the advantage of having at my disposal a number of informants from my field of investigation. Thus, in fact, I never lost contact with those tribes. From April to July 1959 I lived again with the tribes of the Upper Tor district and the adjacent territories. Actually, I

stayed about one year in the field of investigation. However, also after my last tour I had again a number of informants at my disposal who were of great help while I arranged and worked out my data.

These data were collected on the base of the genealogical method, while at the same time I tried to observe facts as much as possible. For that reason I tried to participate in their way of life: I went with the men on boar hunting, barter expeditions or collecting dammar. Frequently I also joined the women in the sago-acreages, which they highly appreciated. Generally, people were very friendly. I never felt in (great) danger, although I always went all by myself, very often in territories which were not yet under Government control. Most of the time I shared one hut or shelter with a number of families, though now and then, I also slept in the bachelors' house.

In order to observe as much as possible I sometimes stayed a month or even more at a stretch in one little village, and two or three months in the same area. No doubt, this made high demands, physically as well as mentally, but as a result I had the opportunity to assist three times the contracting of a marriage, one time a decease and three times I was present while women gave birth. Also a great number of ceremonies and feasts I was able to attend. With the Mander I participated in the 'Mengan-ceremony,' a ceremony to attain manhood, and a ceremony to restore a person to health again, who was hit by sorcery (*Bowèz*). Among the Naidjbeedj - and during a compulsory abode among the Naukena - I had the opportunity to attend some *faareh*-ceremonies.

Unfortunately I was not able to learn one or more languages spoken in the field of investigation. Only of one of them, the Berrick, I had a (rather) passive knowledge. In almost every tribe in which I lived, however, a great number of men had a rather reasonable speaking-knowledge of the Malay language, so that I could afford to work without interpreters. Only in one tribe, the Moerinjerwa, I had to make use of an interpreter, which did not result, however, in great knowledge about that particular tribe, living outside the Tor territory. Generally I had not a special informant either. The very small number of persons in one tribe or village (40-70) made close contact with almost everybody possible. Of course, some of the men were better informants than others, but most of the men contributed to the instruction in their culture and way of life. Even some of the women did so. One of them, Katocar's wife Goré, specially prepared

the sago for me, which created a special relationship, while Osman even offered me his daughter Beize as a 'second' wife. Of the male informants I like to mention here: Foaro and Kargetta among the Mander; Osja and Maisonda with the Ittik; the Bora-Bora men Gwennem, Ewan and Auwreitj, while from the remaining Tor tribes the men Dantar (Waf), Makkaitj (Naidjbeedj), Toeïer (Daranto) and Norbessie (Beeuw) specially should be mentioned.

When I went out to New-Guinea preparations were made for a general anthropological research. During my investigation in the field I abode by that intention as much as possible, though certain aspects of culture came more to the fore than others. When working up my data into a monograph I had the choice to work out one or some aspects of culture in detail, or to present first of all a general ethnographic picture of this Papuan culture. I decided to do the latter. First of all because, in my case, a monograph on one aspect of culture more or less includes the promise of working out the other data in the near future. I wonder, however, whether I will be able to do that within the reach of a few years, whereas time is very valuable with regard to New-Guinea, also as far as anthropological research is concerned. Moreover, we are already very well informed about the social structure of the Western interior of Sarmi by the former Government anthropologist Dr. Van der Leeden.¹ And although many differences appear to exist between the Tor territory and the adjacent Western interior of Sarmi, both territories do belong to the same larger culture area, which is characterized by the complex of cult houses and sacred flutes. Special attention was paid therefore to the function, the significance and the mythological background of these cult houses and sacred flutes, the more, as so far hardly anything was published on this aspect of Papuan culture in Netherlands New-Guinea.² But it seemed almost impossible to deal exclusively with the religious aspect of culture without mentioning first

¹ A. C. van der Leeden: 'Hoofdtrekken der sociale structuur in het Westelijk binnenland van Sarmi,' (Principal features of the social structure in the Western interior of Sarmi), 1956.

² J. P. K. van Eechoud has devoted a chapter to this subject in his 'Verslag van de Exploratie-tocht naar Centraal Nieuw-Guinea begonnen op 3 Mei 1939, afgebroken wegens het uitbreken van den oorlog op 10 Mei 1940.' (Report of the exploration-tour to Central New-Guinea, from May 3, 1939 to May 10, 1940), page 106-124, while also Van der Leeden has made reference to it in his 'Nota betreffende de sociale achtergrond en functie van de Sarmische feesten,' (Note concerning the social background and function of the Sarmi feasts). See further chapter VI, pp. 211-239.

the economic and social aspects of culture. And there is no ethnographical literature available at all on the people of the Tor. Finally, now the Tor territory in the very near future will take part in the world trade and the production for the world market, because of its very rich supplies of dammar (resin), a general anthropological picture of its people and their culture will be most valuable to the Netherlands Administration and traders. Later, however, I hope to work out some of the aspects mentioned here more in detail, especially the social-religious aspect of culture.

A special acknowledgement deserves the paragraph on the demography. During my investigation population figures were collected and repeatedly checked. First of all a census was made on a certain date, but as my investigation covered a period of about two years, also the changes (decrease and increase) could easily be recorded. Because of the very small number of persons in each tribe I do know all the men, women and children personally, so that the figures on birth (stillborn included), marriages and mortality are pretty well reliable. However, little is known about the individual's exact age. Starting from some fixed dates (war, floods) and facts, which easily could be checked (number of births, name-giving by Europeans and relativation), the ages could be estimated. But I know, these data are not the most reliable ones. This added to the very small number of the figures concerned and the few years of investigation, raises the question as to whether it will be justified to devote a paragraph to the demography of these people. Certainly, statistically the figures are of little value, and trends can hardly be discerned. However, it is just the very small number of individuals, which has set its mark on these communities and which to a very large extent influences the social organization in all its aspects. A slight increase or decrease in the birth-rate or death-rate immediately can and does effect these small local groups tremendously. From almost every aspect of culture it is quite obvious, that the autonomous groups are miniature societies. For these reasons, these population figures had to be discussed in this monograph.

The native words are printed in italics, except the geographical names and proper names. Of all these words, however, the spelling is based on Dutch phonetics. The following table of equivalence may be an approximate guide for the pronunciation:

á, aa, or a, when occurring at the end of a syllable,	is pronounced as a in father
a, when standing between two consonants, not at the end of a syllable,	is pronounced as a in the German word 'Bach'
ai,	is pronounced as i in wine
au,	- - - ow in how
é, ee, or e, when occurring at the end of a syllable,	- - - a in baby
e, when standing between two consonants, not at the end of a syllable,	- - - a in ago
è,	- - - a in fat
ì, or i, when standing between two consonants,	- - - i in big
í, or ie,	- - - ee in feel
ò, or o, when standing between two consonants, not at the end of a syllable,	- - - o in tropic
ó, oo, or o, when occurring at the end of a syllable,	- - - o in note
oe,	- - - oo in food
ú, or u, when occurring at the end of a syllable,	- - - ü in Führer
u, when standing between two consonants, not at the end of a syllable,	- - - u in burst
uw, at the end of a word,	- - - w in well

The consonants are approximately pronounced as in English. Only specially should be mentioned here:

dj,	which is pronounced as g in courage
j,	- - - y in you
sj,	- - - sh in show

As regards the native terms, no difference is made between the singular and the plural, for instance by adding an 's.' So I speak of one *faareh* (cult house) and of two *faareh*, of one *itinneek* and of two *itinneek* (places to store the sago), and of a *Beeuw* (tribesman) and two *Beeuw*.

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I also like to express my sincere thanks to the Far Eastern Division of the General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists at Singapore, which gave me the opportunity to spend such a long time in anthropological research, while so much other work still had to be done. Particularly I am greatly indebted to Pastor and Mrs. K. Tilstra at Hollandia for their hospitality and constant aid. Many a time, Pastor Tilstra, you have borne me up and your stimulating missionary spirit will always be an example to me.

His Excellency, the Minister of Education (Zijne Excellentie, de Minister van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen) kindly granted me financial support for the defrayal of the cost of living during the time I was working up my notes into this monograph. I thank you very much for it.

Many thanks are due to Professor Fischer who has done so much to prepare my going-out. I also thank you for your constructive criticisms, your encouragement and your aid during the preparation of this monograph.

It was Dr. A. C. van der Leeden, who first draw my attention to the Tor territory for anthropological fieldwork and who's advice and suggestions I gratefully want to mention here.

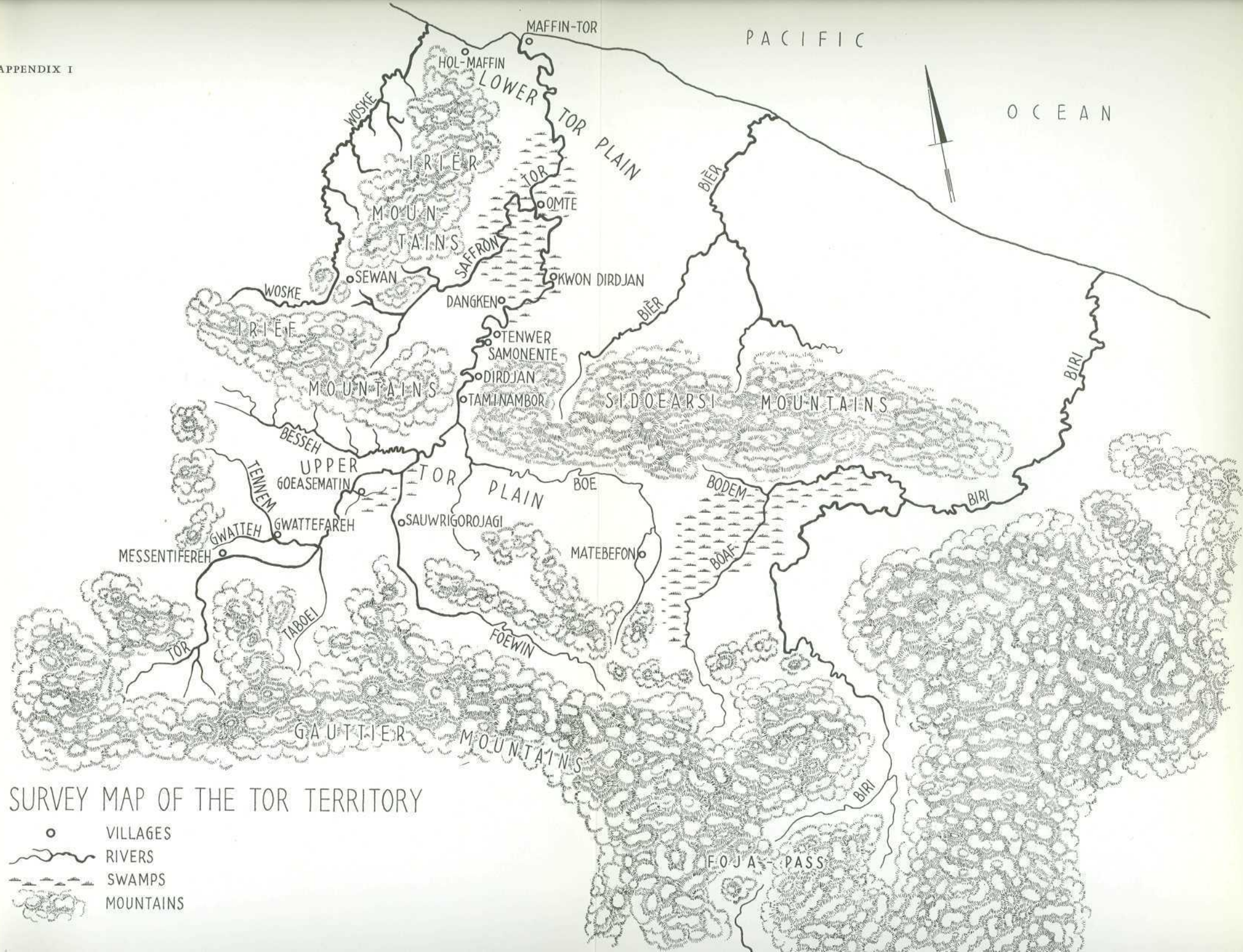
I also wish to thank the Netherlands Administration and the members of the staff of the Bureau for Native Affairs (Kantoor voor Bevolkingszaken), especially Dr. J. V. de Bruyn, Dr. J. Pouwer and Mr. F. H. A. G. Zwart for their helpful advice and aid.

Mr. Boelaart van Tuyl and Mr. Van Pamelan, I am grateful to you for

your help, especially for the inland transportation, and your hospitality. In your house I always found a cordial welcome, even when the door was 'locked.'

Finally, I like to tender my thanks to the People of the Tor themselves for their hospitality, friendship and, most of all, for their willingness to instruct me in their culture and way of life.

APPENDIX 1, to page 8



SURVEY MAP OF THE TOR TERRITORY

- VILLAGES
- ~~~~~ RIVERS
- SWAMPS
- ⊘ MOUNTAINS

I. THE TOR DISTRICT

The river Tor and many of its tributaries, among them the rivers Taboei, Foewin and Boe, rise in the Gauttier mountains in Northern Netherlands New-Guinea. The Tor, in some places 250-350 meters wide, continues its strongly meandering course northward and flows out into the Pacific Ocean about 25 kilometers east of Sarmi. Far out into the sea the water still is brown in colour, owing to the quantities of silt, which the Tor pours into the Ocean.

The name Tor originates from the Berrick language area, which is situated between the village of Kwondirdjan in the north and Gwattefareh in the south. In the Kwerba language, which in the Tor district is spoken by the Ségar tribe, i.a., inhabitants of the village of Messentifereh on the upper course of the Tor, this same river is called 'Tessari.' On all available maps of the Tor district, the upper course of the Tor, which lies within the territory of the Ségar tribe, is represented by the name Tessari. However, from now on in this study, the name Tessari will no longer be used but the whole river, from its source to its mouth will be called the Tor. Similarly, the name 'Oedoeahit,' which one finds given on some maps to indicate the lower course of the Tor within the language area of the Kwesten, will be avoided.

The course of the river clearly can be divided into three distinct parts: the Upper Tor, the Middle Tor and the Lower Tor.

The Upper Tor. Between the Gauttier mountains and the coast stretches a range of mountains, 750-900 metres high, from east to west. Below the mouths of the Bessch and the Boe, lefthand and righthand tributaries to the Tor, the main river breaks through these Iriëf-Sidoearsi mountains and continues its course through a low coastal plain. The part of the Tor between the Gauttier mountains (source) and the Iriëf-Sidoearsi mountains

will be indicated here as the Upper Tor and its basin will be called the Upper Tor district.

On reaching the Upper Tor basin from the Gauttier mountains, the tremendous rapid flow of the river decreases somewhat. Great quantities of coarse debris – boulders and gravel – which have been carried along, are left behind in the plain and cause the river to change its course continually. That is why no villages are to be found along the upper course of this braided Upper Tor and it is useless for navigation. The numerous obstacles and whirlpools as well as the rapidity of the stream make the use even of dug-out canoes well-nigh impossible. That is the reason why proahs are unknown to the people of the Upper Tor. Occasionally rafts are used, but also a raft trip on the Upper Tor is a very precarious undertaking. Generally the Upper Tor people go on foot to the mouth of the Foewin, righthand affluent of the Tor, and build their rafts there. At the tributary confluence, the main river has lost most of its braided river character. The flow of the river is slower, and the masses of tree trunks and other obstacles no longer occur.

Almost all the tributaries of the Tor flow out into this upper course. From west, south and east, like the roots of a plant, the larger tributaries of the Tor such as the Tennem, the Besseh, the Foewin and the Boe, converge to the place, where the main river breaks through the almost inaccessible Iriëf-Sidoearsi mountain range. Those tributaries have become the natural fairway for the tribes to penetrate into the basin of the Tor. (Via the Foewin from the south-east, via the Boe from the east and via the Tennem and the Besseh from the west.)

Roughly estimated, the Upper Tor district is about 1400 square kilometres in area. Plains are relieved by ranges of hills, forerunners of the Gauttier mountains. Numerous rivulets intersect this territory, which is entirely covered with almost impenetrable tropical rain forest. These rivulets form the roads of communication between the villages and tribal territories. People follow the courses of the river beds, often wading up to their chests through the water. Heavy rains transform these rivulets into wild torrents, which repeatedly leave their former beds and seek a new course. Landslides are the order of the day in this hilly country, another reason why the inhabitants of this area live under a permanent menace.

The Upper Tor district is bounded to the east by an entirely depopulated mountainous country. Westward, the Upper Tor plain passes into the

plain of the Upper Apauwar, where the people belong culturally to the Western interior of Sarmi. A distinct culture boundary between these two areas – the Upper Tor district and the Western interior of Sarmi – does not exist. One area gradually passes into the other. Thus, the western Upper Tor region is a cultural transition area.

If and how far the Gauttier mountains on the southern boundary of the Tor area are at the same time a culture boundary is still uncertain. There are indications, indeed, that the tribes in the area south of these high mountains, in the basin of the Idenburg (the Lake Plain) may have the same culture pattern. Moreover, many tribes living now in the Upper Tor area are themselves original inhabitants of the Lake Plain and have settled in the Upper Tor basin via the only pass in the Gauttier mountains, which have summits of a height of 2500 metres. It is of the utmost importance for the tribal and cultural history of the Tor district that this only natural connection (pass) between the Idenburg basin (Meervlakte – Lake Plain) and the hinterland of Sarmi is situated in a direct line with the Boe, right tributary of the Upper Tor.

The Middle Tor. Just below the place where Besséh and Boe flow out into the Tor, the main river breaks through the Iriëf-Sidoearsi mountain range, which separates the Upper Tor plain from the Lower Tor plain. The Tor, the only natural connection between those two plains now changes its character. The river bed is much narrower, and consequently the river has a very rapid flow here. Heavy bankslides occur regularly. Down to the place where the river crosses again the mountains, the Tor is indicated by the name the Middle Tor, especially notorious for its many rapids and whirlpools.

The Sidoearsi mountain group itself is very important to the people of the Tor because of the enormous acreages of Agathis trees, which yield a kind of resin, called copal or dammar.¹

The Lower Tor. Below the Iriëf-Sidoearsi mountain range, the Tor has acquired a lowland character. The Lower Tor meanders widely across the plain. Its high banks impede a natural draining of the superfluous water. On account of this and as a result of the frequent floods, large swamps in which sago grows, are found in the Lower Tor area. These sago trees grow all the way down to the mouth of the river, as the Tor

¹See chapter II, page 90, seq.

only contains fresh water right down to its mouth. However, these swamps are also ideal breeding-places for the *Anopheles* mosquito and consequently foci of malaria. Besides the regular floods, these breeding-places are the reason that in former times so few people settled along the Tor, whereas the sago groves, which are very frequent, would suggest a dense population. Thanks to the influence of Administration and Mission, in the course of years more and more inhabitants from this large basin have migrated to the banks of the Tor, which from time to time claimed its victims, however. Malaria is still popular disease number one and highly endemic. There are even villages in the Upper Tor plain, where a violent mosquito plague prevents the inhabitants from sleeping at night. Especially in the village of Matebefon, people have to sit up all night by a thickly smoking fire and fall asleep at dawn.

The Lower Tor district is bounded to the West by the Iriër mountain range, running north-south with peaks of 500 to 600 metres high. These mountains are not only the watershed, but also a distinct culture boundary between the Lower Tor area and the Western Interior of Sarmi.¹ Towards the east, a distinct geographical boundary of the Lower Tor area does not exist. In this study, however, the Biër is considered the eastern culture boundary. The principal reason being, that with the exception of a small coastal fringe, the lowland area east of the Tor down to the Biër, is unhabitated. The original population is partly extinct or has been decimated and has migrated to the coast (Nengke, Dabé, Beneraf, Infantoe). In the latter case, they have partly been absorbed by the coastal population and only resemblances in language, myths, etc. point to a relation with the culture (of the interior) of the Tor district. Furthermore, great cultural differences exist between the people of the interior and those living in the coastal fringe, differences, which have been still more accentuated by Western influences.

The Lower Tor area is exceedingly fertile. The agricultural colonization will have a splendid chance as soon as the drainage problem has been

¹ Van der Leeden once suggested the *Woske* as the culture boundary between the Tor area and the Western interior of Sarmi. The *Woske* flows along the Western foot of this almost inaccessible mountain range, which prevents, even more than the *Woske*, personal contact between people from both culture areas. The Iriër mountain range is also the border between tribal territories, which, however, extend along either bank of the *Woske*. A. C. van der Leeden: 'Hoofdtrekken der sociale structuur in het Westelijk binnenland van Sarmi' (Principal features of the social structure in the Western interior of Sarmi), Leiden, 1956, pp. 7-9.

solved. In the western coastal plain cocoa planting has been started already and there are also plans to reclaim this fertile arable land along the Tor. The river itself can serve as a supply and transport fairway for material and products. Unlike the Upper Tor, namely, the Middle and especially the Lower Tor are in fact excellent fairways, also for small motor boats. Moreover, a short while ago the obstacles were cleared away between the villages of Samonente and Tenwer, where recently the Tor had cut through the neck of one its meanders. Then passage even for proahs was practically impossible. Nowadays, the Tor is navigable from the mouth up to Foewinfareh, where the Foewin flows into the Tor. Of the tributaries, only the Boe is navigable, although to a lesser extent than the Tor. The village of Oerbefareh on the Boe is, however, within easy reach of small motorrafts or large proahs with outboard-motors. The importance of the Tor as a fairway will be evident especially in the future, as the rich dammar stocks in the eastern Tor district are exploited by the Netherlands Government (Forestry Service).

It is remarkable that the Tor nowhere forms a natural boundary between the tribal territories, as is the case with most other large rivers in northern Netherlands New-Guinea. The Mamberamo is such a natural boundary just as the Apauwar for the greater part and the Biri. The tribal territories of the people of the Tor, however, always extend along either bank of the river. No doubt there is a relation between this fact and the direction in which the people have migrated into the Tor area.¹ On either side of the Tor are also the fields of the inhabitants and their sago-acreages. In order to visit them and to transport their products to the villages, the people of the Lower Tor and of the Middle Tor use dug-out canoes. For the purpose of navigation up and down the river, however, the proahs are of little importance. People of the Tor going to the coast walk along the forest paths.

The Tor is typically a tropical rain river with very great fluctuations in its waterlevel. The association of the Tor with the rain is very real in the representations of the inhabitants of the Tor district. According to the myths, there was a time when the Tor did not yet exist because rain had not yet been created. In those times, however, the people had hardly anything to drink. There were only a few wells. Oetantifié – and Malia especially among the eastern Tor tribes – is the giver of rain. He also

¹See paragraph 5: 'Culture areas and the spread of culture,' page 45

created thus the Tor and all the fish in it. At the same time he taught the people how to make rain – and how to stop it – so that the Tor should always keep on flowing in its due course. For, life without the Tor is inconceivable to them. The river makes the sago grow, on which their existence depends. Also every celebration of the flute ceremony is a guarantee that the Tor will keep to its normal course.¹

As far as fishing is concerned, the Tor is of little importance. Actually, there is sufficient fish to be had, but it is impossible to catch them with the fishing methods used here. The Tor is, however, of much greater importance for social and religious life. It promotes unity in the diversity of tribes and cultures. Everywhere in the Tor district the people are very conscious of their being 'People of the Tor' (Torangwa). The coming of the Administration still has strengthened this consciousness. All the tribes of the Tor area were united to form one district of Administration: the Upper Tor District.²

The entire extent of this Tor territory, stretching over about 2200 square kilometres, does not constitute, however, the actual dwelling area of the people of the Tor. Whilst certain rivers and certain parts of the forest play an important part in economic and cultural life or are regularly visited, other parts of this great river basin are never visited at all. There are parts of this dwelling area which are only accessible to men. Here, far away from those parts of the territory where women are allowed, the initiation house is built, where the youths are initiated. The house as well as the entire surroundings are strictly prohibited for women. On the other hand, certain swamps where the sago grows, are seldom or never visited by men.

Some areas are reserved for the abode of the dead. No living soul will ever set foot there. Thus, for instance, there is the Moere mountain in the hilly country of the Upper Tor region, at hardly a half day's walk from the village of Matebefon. Quite close to the mountain there is also a sago-acreage to be found. Never, however, will anyone approach that mountain or even set foot on it because behind that mountain, the village of the dead is said to lie.

There are certain rivers, in which no fishing is allowed, because blood

¹ See chapter VI: 'The religious aspect of culture,' page 211, seq.

² So the Administrative district of the Upper Tor does not coincide with the basin of the Upper Tor, since the basins of the Middle Tor and the Lower Tor also belong to this Administrative Upper Tor district. When in the following text the 'Upper Tor district' or 'Upper Tor area' are mentioned, the basin of the Upper Tor is exclusively meant, as described on page 10 of this paragraph.

from the progenitor's genitals is said to have been dripped into it. In the forest special spots are indicated on which the first cult houses were built. There, no man will ever go boar hunting. Signs of 'prohibited' warn the population that these particular parts of the Tor area are not to be entered.

Other signs in the forest indicate, however, that an extensive network of 'roads' exists in the dwelling area. Where the people always follow the same route, narrow traces have been formed in the forest. Mostly, however, the 'paths' in the landscape are only discernable by means of twigs bent in a special way or by signs made on the bark of trees. Wherever it is possible, however, the rivers and rivulets are always used as footpaths.

2. PEOPLE OF THE TOR

In this large Tor basin about a thousand people live, amounting to an average density of population of about two inhabitants to the 4.5 square kilometres. The different parts of the Tor district vary, however, considerably in this respect. In the Upper Tor area the average density is not more than one man to every 4 square kilometres, whereas the Lower Tor area has an average of one inhabitant to every two square kilometres.

2. 1. *Personal appearance*

A physical-anthropological investigation has not yet taken place in the Tor district. On the whole, the appearance of the people is marked by: a dark swarthy skin, crisp woolly hair, a broad nose and a predominantly dolichocephalic skull, the men being rather heavily bearded. Men as well as women are on the tall side, approximately on an average 1.73 and 1.65 m. in height respectively.

Their attire and decorations are pretty well identical all over the Tor district nowadays, although slight differences may be noted. In the western Upper Tor area one still sees the ingenious headdress made of rattan, which is also worn in the Western interior of Sarmi and the Mamberamo basin.¹ This 'tótóréra' is also known in the Lake Plain. Stomach shields consisting of twisted fern fibre, wound several times round the body, are only worn in the south-western part of the Upper Tor basin.² Formerly,

¹ Compare A. C. van der Leeden, *o.c.* page 14.

² During my stay in the Tor district men and especially the youngsters cast away their stomach shields, giving as a reason: 'Otherwise we cannot join in the game of football.'

however, they were very common everywhere in the Tor district. The same applies to the plumes made of dried and curled palm leaves, which, when stuck into their shields at the base of the back, give the appearance of a tail. Without this tail the men feel very ashamed and embarrassed.

Nowadays, the men usually wear a kind of shame cloth hanging down in front, whereas the women wear their shame cloth like very short pants. These cloths are made of crushed bark, although textile is coming more and more into use. Men as well as women attach their bark cloth to a rattan string which they tie tightly round their hips. Children go naked until they are five or six years old, except for the plaited rattan string round their tummies. In the eastern as well as in the western Upper Tor basin the men wear shoulder-straps made of tree fibre, which run crosswise over the back.

In the western Upper Tor territory men and women adorn themselves by piercing their noses with spills of bone of the cassowary, which meet obliquely at the top. Even if these spills are no longer worn, people still have the two holes at the top of their noses. In the eastern Upper Tor area they have at least four and usually six holes in the nose in which short wooden spills are worn. Through the pierced septum little bone spills about 20 to 30 centimetres long are worn and an ingeniously fashioned bamboo plug is stuck into the lobes of the ear. These plugs are the receptacles for the chalk, tobacco and betel nut leaves. All these articles and many more are also carried and kept in a knotted net, made of stringy fibre, which every man wears around his neck. In the eastern Upper Tor district instead of bamboo plugs the people wear triangularly twisted pinions of the cassowary, with or without a kuskus plume.

Other ornaments are: braided rattan ribbons, which are worn round the upper arm and under the knee; bands of shells worn round the forehead or across the chest; pendants and strings of shells and dog's teeth, etcetera. Tattooing is practically the same throughout the whole of the Tor territory: men as well as women make burns on their upper arms and chests with a glowing piece of wood. When these wounds are nearly healed, they are burnt open again, so that in the course of time big scars are formed. Another way of tattooing is done by making cuts, mainly on the face and chest, with thorns of the citron tree.

2. 2. *Classification of tribes*

The people of the Tor are divided into a number of autonomous groups,

all of them inhabiting their own territories, of which the boundaries are accurately fixed. These politically and socially autonomous groups will henceforth be indicated by the word 'tribe' and their territory will be called 'tribal territory,' in accordance with the definition of the tribe in *Notes and Queries*.¹

Yet the definition is in fact inadequate to express the nature of these autonomous groups in the Tor district.² They are far more than just politically or socially autonomous groups, occupying territories of their own. Between the members of these tribes exist traceable kinship relations. Moreover, a tribe in this district is a political as well as a social group. In addition, they mostly form a linguistic group too and owing to there being so few of them, also a village-community. That is why so often the names of villages and tribal names are confused in reports about the Tor district. However, there is still another reason: The tribes generally originate from village-communities. When the maximum of inhabitants in a certain territory was surpassed, many secessions took place, which were also due to quarrels, sorcery and other causes. The seceded group and their descendants were henceforth indicated by the name of the newly founded village. Afterwards, when these village-communities migrated, they usually kept the name of their original village, which became the name of the (new) tribe. Owing to the prolonged isolation all kinds of differences in language and other aspects of culture arose between the thus disintegrated groups. This same situation appears to exist in the basin of the Mamberamo. According to Van Eechoud, it is probable, that also in that district tribes came into existence as the result of disintegration, splitting and secession in local groups.³

Berrik: The Berrik tribes clearly illustrate the above mentioned. The village-communities of Kwondirdjan, Dangken, Tenwer and Samonente each form a politically and socially autonomous group, occupying its own territory. The name of the village is at the same time the tribal name. These four tribes together are, however, also indicated by the name 'Berrik,' which points to a traditional and mythological relationship

¹ *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 6th edition, revised and rewritten in 1954; page 66: 'A tribe may be defined as a politically or socially coherent and autonomous group occupying or claiming a particular territory.'

² See chapter IV, page 178.

³ See J. P. K. van Eechoud: 'Verslag van de Exploratietocht naar Centraal Nieuw-Guinea' (Report of the Exploring expedition to Central New-Guinea), May 3rd 1939 - May 10th 1940; part 2, pp. 43-51.

between these four tribes. Regular mutual contact between these tribes to a certain extent preserved the unity, which is still expressed in the comprehensive name 'Berrick.' On the other hand, isolation might have strongly stimulated the disintegration process, as is the case with the Séwan. This tribe lives in the basin of the Upper Woske. Originally, the Séwan were also Berrick men who migrated westward and founded their own village, which remained isolated from the other Berrick villages. The name Séwan, originally the name of the village, is now applied to the tribe. People on the Tor do not consider the Séwan as Berrick men anymore, but speak of them exclusively as 'Séwan people.'

In a wider sense, the name Berrick also indicates a language group, to which, apart from the four Berrick tribes, the Saffrontani, the Beeuw, the Séwan, the Daranto, the Waf and the Bora-Bora belong also. Between these different tribes from the Berrick language group, small linguistic differences appear to exist, sometimes in the pronunciation of certain words. Contacts with the tribes not belonging to the Berrick language area have caused other words to be included in their speech by the various tribes speaking the Berrick language. The Berrick language of the Bora-Bora differs slightly, for instance, from the Berrick language of the Séwan and of the Kwondirdjan idiom.

The widely spread circulation of the Berrick language in the Tor area has led some investigators to call the Berrick idiom 'the Tor language' or even 'the language of the Upper Tor.'¹ This is not quite true, as besides the Berrick, a number of other languages are spoken in the Tor district. All the same, however, this statement is not entirely unfounded. The Berrick language is not only the most used language, but it is also understood in all the language areas, which occur in the Tor district. This cannot be said of any other language. So the Berrick language can rightly be called a 'lingua franca' of the Tor district.

Saffrontani: The tribal territories of the Berrick extend on either side of the Tor. To the west, in the basin of the Saffron – which gave its name to the village and afterwards to the tribe² – the tribal territories of the Saffrontani and the Séwan are situated. The western boundary of the

¹ See for instance: H. K. J. Cowan: 'Een tweede grote Papoea-taalgroepering in Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea.' (A second large grouping of languages in Netherlands New-Guinea) *Nieuw-Guinea Studiën*, no 1 (1957), pp. 106-117.

² The word: 'taneh' or 'tani,' meaning 'child,' is used in a general sense for 'man.' So Saffrontani means: 'People of the (river) Saffron.'

Saffrontani territory runs through the Iriër mountains and so forms at the same time the culture boundary with the Western interior of Sarmi.

Kwesten: North of the Berrick tribal territories, and also on either side of the Tor, the tribal territories of the Kwesten are situated. In the first place this name indicates a language group. Besides the Wéjin, the Maffin and the villagers of Omte, even a number of coastal villages east of the Tor and the Biër, such as Kedir, Takar, Bettaf and Ansoedoe, do also belong to it. A close relationship, undoubtedly, exists between the people of the Tor and these coast-men: linguistically, mythologically and also as far as the kinship terminology is concerned.¹ According to myths noted on the coast and in the interior, several cultural elements from the Tor district have spread along the east coast as far as the villages of Bettaf and Ansoedoe.² It is very likely that also the language of the Kwesten has followed the same course, chiefly as a result of population migrations from the Tor interior to the east coast of Sarmi.

In a more restricted sense, the name Kwesten is also a tribal name, indicating the inhabitants of the village of Omte. Consequently, when in future the 'Kwesten' are discussed, this term will exclusively refer to the tribal name. The Maffin, who live on either side of the mouth of the Tor, will not be mentioned anymore. They, as well as the other tribes from the Kwesten language area are part of the culture pattern of the coast, which, in many aspects, differs from that in the interior of the Tor district.

Dabé: The tribal territory of the Dabé extends to the east of the Berrick area. A number of these Dabé, however, have migrated to the coast and are called Dabé-Pantai (Pantai meaning coast). A few of them, about thirty, remained in the interior of the Tor, where they lead a nomad life. Sometimes they join other tribes from the Tor district, such as the Berrick and especially the Bonerif. These nomadic Dabé from the interior are called Dabé-Ronto. Owing to the prolonged separation between the two Dabé tribes, differences in language have arisen. The Dabé-Ronto appear to have preserved the original language best of all, while the Dabé-Pantai, owing to close contact with the surrounding tribes of the Kwesten language area, have also linguistically been strongly influenced by these tribes. The

¹ A. C. van der Leeden: 'Verslag over taalgebieden in het Sarmische,' Hollandia, November 1954, page 7. (Report of the language areas in the Sarmi district. – mimeographed)

² See paragraph 5 of this chapter, pp. 45-55.

Dabé-Ronto, however, have adopted many Berrick and Bonerif words in their vocabulary.

Beeuw:¹ Nowadays, the Beeuw live in the villages of Dirdjan and Taminambor, situated next to each other on the eastern bank of the Middle Tor. In the Beeuw tribe, the separation into two villages was not accompanied by a division of the territory, nor by the development of two autonomous groups, as was the case with the Berrick, Dabé, and also the Ittik tribes, which will be discussed later. Other tribes from the Tor district always call them 'the Beeuw,' whereas the village names are seldom or never used to indicate the group. Moreover, remarkable for the unity of the tribe is the fact that the korano's - by the Netherlands Administration appointed headmen of the village - of Dirdjan and Taminambor both live in the village of Taminambor.

The reason why these two villages have not (yet) developed into two tribes with their own territory, must undoubtedly be ascribed to the fact that they only came into existence about ten years ago² and are situated in each others immediate neighbourhood.

Bonerif: Up to 1958 the Bonerif lived in the little village of Sasfin, situated on the Tor between the villages of Samonente and Dirdjan, on the territory of the Beeuw! This situation, however, became in the long run impossible, because the Bonerif themselves did not own any sago-acreage in this area. In 1958, however, the Bonerif were allowed to return to their own former territory on the Boe, where they nowadays live in the village of Oerbefareh. During their abode on the Tor, the Bonerif kept up close contact with the tribes dwelling in the Berrick language area. They intermarried with the Dangken and the Beeuw, whilst the Bonerif on their dammar-tours³ in the basins of the Boe and the Bodem, always shared their bivouacs with the Beeuw. This close contact between the Bonerif and tribes from the Berrick language area is very apparent in the Bonerif language. For instance, they very often have two words for several

¹ The spelling of the word 'Beeuw' as given here, differs from the orthography generally used in reports, where their name is spelled: 'Beo.' However, the pronunciation of the people of the Tor themselves corresponds more to 'Beeuw,' a spelling which has already been used on a map in the 'Report of the Military Exploration.'

² After the second world war the whole tribe still lived together in the village of Boefareh on the Boe.

³ See chapter II, paragraph 21, page 92.

conceptions, their own term and the *Berrik* term. Moreover, it is interesting to note, that the *Bonerif* have the same kinship terminology as the *Berrik* tribes and the *Beeuw*. The *Bonerif* themselves declare, that they used to have their own kinship terminology just as they now still have their own language. My *Bonerif* informants told me that they have 'forgotten' that particular kinship terminology.

Ittik: The tribal territory of the *Ittik* extends between the *Boe* and the *Biri*. Up to 1958 the *Ittik* have lived on the coast which was a compulsory dwelling place, because they had been terrorizing the *Tor* district for a long time. Along the coast, however, the *Ittik* had no territorial rights, so that for their sago, hunting and collecting of forest produce they remained dependent on the resources of their own territory in the interior of the *Tor* district. In 1958 they were permitted to resettle permanently in their own tribal territory, where they then founded the village of *Mèkwèr* on the *Bodem*.

In former years a small group, under leadership of a certain *Sendoea*, had detached itself from the *Ittik*. In the hilly country between the *Bodem*, the *Nongkef* and the *Boe*, which was ceded to him and his followers by the *Ittik*, *Sendoea* founded a village of his own. The rest of the *Ittik* remained in the lower lying swamp plains. As the *Sendoea* group and its descendents only comprised a very small number of people as compared with the large *Ittik* group, they were given the name of 'Ittik of the little village' or sometimes 'Ittik-Tor.' This village-community (of *Sendoea*) has developed into an autonomous tribe occupying its own territory, the boundaries of which were also strictly respected by the *Ittik*. After the secession of the *Ittik-Tor* from the *Ittik*, the latter associated themselves especially with the *Borto*. This association – between the *Ittik* and the *Borto* there existed also connubial relations – went so far, that both tribes were called by the very same name by the other people of the *Tor*: sometimes they all were called *Ittik*, and sometimes *Borto*. The original *Borto*, however, are practically extinct now. Only the *Ittik* have survived. That is why the name *Borto* is but seldom heard in the *Tor* district, which fact, by the way, is greatly appreciated by the 'real' *Ittik*.¹

Since the *Ittik-Tor* have detached themselves from the rest of the *Ittik*,

¹ On the accompanying tribe and language map, the original *Borto* territory is still marked separately, even though the territory is well-nigh uninhabited. Most of the remaining *Borto* now live with the *Ittik*, while a few have settled on the coast.

slight cultural differences arose between the two tribes. The Ittik-Tor lived isolated from the Ittik, but kept up close contact with other tribes in the Tor district, amongst others with the Infantoe and the Beneraf (not to be confused with the Bonerif). These cultural differences between the Ittik and the Ittik-Tor also include linguistic differences. The Ittik, who also form a linguistic group, appear to have kept more of the original language, while the 'Ittik of the little village' show a number of 'deviations' in their vocabulary (See appendix number).

Since the year 1958 the Ittik and the Ittik-Tor live together again in the same village. Both tribes strongly decreased in number during the preceding years. The Ittik and the Ittik-Tor, it is true, did have kept each their own 'ondowaffi'¹, but acknowledge only one headman of the village (korano), namely the Ittikman Maisonda. The latter was certainly right, when he declared: 'These differences in our language and other differences which do exist between us and the Ittik-Tor, will disappear in good time when we have been living together again long enough.' (Mèkwèr, July 1958).

Mander: South of the Ittik territory on the Upper Boe and Upper Foewin, stretches the territory of the Mander, which is the most southern tribe of the Tor district. Their territory is bordered by the Gauttier mountains, but where exactly the southern border of their territory lies, is unknown. The Mander, just as the other people of the Tor, do not penetrate very far into the Gauttier mountains. Yet the Mander themselves are a tribe who pushed their way into the Tor territory from the Lake Plain via the Gauttier mountains. In their case it is not so much the fear of the unknown which makes them avoid the high mountainous country as much as possible, but the fear of the warlike tribes from the Idenburg basin, who repeatedly invade the Boe basin via a narrow passage in this high mountain range.

For some years past, members of the Foja tribe do also live with the Mander. The Foja's tribal territory lies east of that of the Mander between the Siir, a righthand tributary of the Boe, and the Biri. It was indeed the Foja, who in former years (1945-1953) had much to endure from the attacks of the warlike Warès. However, with the exception of a few families, the Foja tribe is now extinct. A number of them fled to the coast, while the others have definitively settled with the Mander.

Since the year 1958 the last Foja village - Sirikan on the Boaf - has also

¹ See further chapter II: 'territorial rights,' page 85.

been abandoned and so the Foja no longer exist as an autonomous tribe.

The tribal territory of the Mander is at the same time a language area. Formerly the Mander language was only spoken by the Mander,¹ but since the Foja have lived together with the Mander, they have adopted the Mander language entirely. Save for a small number of words, these Foja do not recollect any more of their own language. Their kinship terminology is also identical with that of the Mander.

Daranto: The tribal territory of the Daranto is situated west of the Mander territory and is a transition zone between the eastern and the western Upper Tor district. In the culture pattern of the Daranto too are found elements of the culture area of the Mander, Foja, Bonerif, Warès, etc., as well as elements from the culture area of the western Upper Tor district, to which, among others, the Ségar, the Bora-Bora and the Waf belong.

In former years, the Daranto lived with the Mander in the village of Oetahfareh on the Upper Boe. However, when suddenly the mortality in that village rose to a high degree, the tribes suspected each other of sorcery and that is why the Daranto migrated westward (via the Foewin) and built their own cult house, which became the centre of a Daranto village. Before long the Daranto, for safety's sake, associated themselves with the Goeammer, a tribe from the western Upper Tor district.

Goeammer: The tribal territory of the Goeammer lies between the Taboei and the Timwah. The tribe is becoming extinct. A number have already settled down in the Daranto village Sauwrigorojagi on the Foewin, whereas a small group of about twenty people still live in their own tribal territory. As long as the latter remain in their village of Taboeifareh, one can still speak of the tribe of the Goeammer. Gradually, however, these last Goeammer will join the Daranto, so that in the near future both tribes will be integrated. This case is similar to that of the Ittik and the Borto. Already the inhabitants of the village of Sauwrigorojagi are indicated by the name of 'Daranto' as well as by the name of 'Goeammer.' My Berrick and Beeuw informants even told me, that this tribe had two names! The Goeammer as well as the Daranto belong to the Berrick language group.

¹ Foaro, the old korano of the Mander and a Soebar by birth, told me, that formerly the Mander and the Soebar formed together one language group. But now these Soebar are extinct, so that Foaro's (and others') statements cannot be checked anymore.

Waf: What distinguishes the Waf from most of the other Tor tribes is the fact that the members of the tribe live dispersed in small groups all over the tribal territory, though there is a semi-permanent village, Goeassematin, which is their home. This might be explained by the very unfavourable site of the sago-acreages, which makes a more sedentary life in one large group practically impossible. These sago-acreages are situated not only far from the village of Goeassematin, but also on the other bank of the Upper Tor. Only when the water level is very low, the people can cross the river on foot. Proahs are unknown here, as was already mentioned before. On account of this very unfavourable situation the Waf tribe presents a striking contrast to the Mander, among whom the very favourable food-position has quite a different influence on their social organization.¹

Bora-Bora: Originating from the Apauwar basin this tribe has migrated further and further eastwards in the course of the years. At present, the Bora-Bora are living at the village of Gwattefareh, the place where the Gwatte flows into the Tennem, a lefthand tributary of the Tor. The territory of the Bora-Bora extends from the Upper Tor to the Makkai, a righthand affluent of the Upper Apauwar. Thus, this territory forms a transition between the Tor district and the culture area of the Western interior of Sarmi. All contact between the people of the Tor with tribes from this Western interior of Sarmi is made via the Bora-Bora, who live in this plain of the Upper Tor. Consequently they form a link between these two culture areas. Via the Bora-Bora, culture elements from the Tor district have spread to the Western interior of Sarmi and through them culture elements from this Sarmi area have also penetrated into the Tor district. This acculturation process is still in full swing.

Ségar: There are two Ségar-tribes which both are called after the rivers on which they reside: The Ségar-Tor and the Ségar-Mebo. The Mebo is a tributary of the Apauwar, so that geographically the Ségar-Mebo cannot be reckoned to belong to the tribes of the Tor district. Formerly, both tribes lived in the same village in the basin of the Apauwar. Then one group seceded, migrated eastward and settled down on the Upper Tor. According to their abode, these Ségar-Tor should be reckoned to belong to the Tor tribes. Culturally, however, the Ségar-Tor belong entirely

¹ Compare chapter V, pages 205/206.

to the Western interior of Sarmi. In fact, the Ségar have hardly any contact with the other tribes of the Tor district, but are totally Western-Sarmi-interior minded. The Bora-Bora, their nearest neighbours, are the only ones with whom the Ségar maintain relationships.

Contact between the Ségar and the other Tor tribes is also hampered by a strong language barrier. The Ségar speak the so-called Kwerba, a language of the Western interior of Sarmi, and although this language is widely spread and is spoken from the Tor to the Mamberamo¹, it hardly shows any resemblance to the rest of the Tor languages. In respect of the languages spoken outside the Tor district, the different Tor idioms form a strong unity.

Remaining tribes: In addition to the above mentioned tribes there are a number of tribes in the neighbourhood of the Tor, with whom the Tor tribes remain in regular contact. The most important of these being the group of tribes, indicated as the AirMati tribes. To these belong amongst others the Sarma, the Weinafria and the Naidjbeedj. The first tribe lives between the Upper Ferkami and the Upper Woske. To the east, the tribal territory of the Sarma is bounded by the almost inaccessible Iriër mountains. Contact between the Sarma and tribes from the Tor territory takes place via the tribal territory of the Bora-Bora. Besides the easier accessibility of the western Upper Tor plain, another reason for this is, that the Naidjbeedj, to whom the Sarma are related, live themselves in the tribal territory of the Bora-Bora. These Naidjbeedj seceded from the Naidjbeedj-Bowéri² many years ago and got a claim through usage on the western part of the Bora-Bora territory. Culturally, however, these Naidjbeedj belong entirely to the Western interior of Sarmi and a great number of culture elements from this culture area have penetrated into the (western) Upper Tor district via them and via the Bora-Bora. To these culture elements belong amongst others: dances, songs, myths and kinship terms. Especially the first two elements have spread far into the Tor basin.

The Naidjbeedj (and other AirMati tribes), just as the Ségar, belong to the language area of the Kwerba.³ Many words and conceptions from that

¹ See also A. C. van der Leeden: 'Principal features etc.', pp. 24/25.

² Bowéri is another name for the river Apauwar.

³ That is the reason why on the accompanying tribe and language map the Kwerba language boundary has been marked right across the tribal territory of the Bora-Bora, although they belong to the Berrick language area.

language via the Naidjbeedj and the Bora-Bora have penetrated into the Tor territory, although in the language areas of the Tor they are terribly corrupted. The song-cyclis from the Djamè-complex is amongst others an example of this.

In addition to the AirMati tribes should also be mentioned the Bagoeidja, Naukena, Sassauwa, Sewadja and the Soromadja, all from the Western interior of Sarmi.¹ All these tribes remain in contact with one or more of the Tor tribes. Even the Kaowerabeedj from the Mamberamo basin visit the village of the Bora-Bora now and then.

Of the tribes which in the east are in touch with the tribes in the Tor district, here the Warès should be mentioned first of all. Their tribal territory stretches east of the Foja and Mander regions. These Warès must be held responsible for the many tribal migrations in the Tor district and outside it. Owing to the bellicosity of these Warès, several tribes from the territory between the Biri and the Tor have been decimated; some even wiped out. The Foja, for instance, have been reduced to a handful of people, the Soebar and the Broemia have been exterminated. The Kwanka and the Sigi have been driven to the east (Goëaai), while the Beneraf, Nengke² and also the Ittik, in former times a rather war-minded tribe itself, were forced to flee to the coast. For the extinction of the Meurte, Bireh and Gorja, the Warès are also responsible, etc. The whole of the most recent tribal history of the basins of the Biri, the Boe and the Tor, is to be read in that of the Warès.³ The only tribe in the whole of the eastern Tor territory which was left in peace by the Warès, is the Mander. However, they had to buy their 'unviolated neutrality' at a very high price, having to deliver girls and women regularly to the Warès.

In 1953-1954 the Warès themselves had to flee to the coast (village of Kiren, behind the coast, near the coastal place Taronta) for a still more powerful tribe, the Moegit. Like the Warès before them, this Moegit tribe now terrorizes the whole of the eastern Tor district. Nowadays, (1959) part of this Moegit tribe seems to have settled in the Administrative district of Goëaai, but not before again having driven away a number of

¹ See paragraph 5, page 45, seq.

² According to F. S. A. de Clercq: 'De West- en Noordkust van Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea' (the West and North Coast of Netherlands New-Guinea), Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, 1893, page 987, the Nengke (Lengké) and the Beneraf then still lived in the interior 'near the mountain range.' (Meant are the Sidocarsi mountains. O.)

³ See paragraph 5 of this chapter, page 47, seq.

tribes in that area. This Moegit tribe comes from the Idenburg basin (Eastern Lake Plain). In the years 1953-1958 they regularly crossed the pass in the Gauttier mountains, to the south of the Boaf, the Biri and the Boe, just as the Foja, the Mander and the Warès did before them. However, now these Moegit have been given their own sago-acreages in the Goeaai-district and as their contact with the Netherlands Administration has been favourable, it may be expected, that the Tor tribes and their neighbours will be spared further attacks from them. That is probable the reason why the Warès have recently returned to their original territory between the Biri and the Wagès (Wiroewaa).

2. 3. *Relationship between the tribes*

All the tribes mentioned above maintain all sorts of contact with each other. The most intimate relationship between two or more tribes is expressed in the relationship of Elder Brother - Younger Brother. This relationship need not indicate a real kinship relation. For instance, the Mander and the Borto both call each other 'Elder Brother - Younger Brother.' War is never waged between two 'brothers,' though sometimes there is a certain antagonism in the relationship. Neither will these 'Brother-tribes' practise sorcery on each other. The unity between real siblings also exists between the members of the two 'sibling-tribes': they have a right to use each others' territory and each one has the usufruct of fields and crops belonging to the other. In this tribal relationship, as also is the case in a true kinship relationship¹, the elder brother is considered superior to the younger brother in some respects. The 'brothers' call on each other and during these visits presents and gifts are exchanged.

The other extreme is the relationship characterized by a permanent state of war, which is the case with the Warès and the Moegit. Everywhere they can they try to do harm to each other by robbery, arson etc. Every encounter between people of such tribes immediately deteriorates into a fight with bow and arrow which generally ends with casualties on both sides.

Between these extremes, a great number of graduations exists. The mutual relationship between the tribes in the Tor district can best be expressed in one word: 'rivalry.' There is a constant spirit of emulation in all these tribes with their strongly developed ingroup - outgroup

¹ See further chapter IV, pp. 150-162, seq.

feelings. The favourite topic of conversation in all the tribes is about the stupidity, the backwardness or dirtiness etc., of the other tribes. During my stay with the Waf, the men had no good word to say for the Bora-Bora, their nearest neighbours, with whom they apparently were on best terms. Afterwards, when I stayed with the Bora-Bora, they did all they could to run down the Waf. The Mander do the same with the Daranto and vice versa. My investigation also became an important factor in this constant rivalry. One tribe tried to enlighten me still more than the other, which in some respects was a great danger to my investigation.

When the tribes come into touch with each other, they will miss no opportunity to 'prove' their own superiority. As soon as a man from another tribe pays a visit, he is immediately treated to the best food, if he belongs to a 'friendly' tribe. They will rather starve themselves than leave their guests without food. That would mean a defeat in the never ending game of rivalry. The organization of festivities, where the guests also are treated to much food, also belongs to this never ending game. Afterwards the guests will try to restore the balance by a quid pro quo. In their turn, they organize dance festivities or religious feasts and offer edibles and (counter-) gifts. Many a time, however, it occurs that a tribe is not capable to treat others to sufficient sago and pork. In that case his quid pro quo is the abduction of women or the practising of sorcery. It even happens, that a tribe, unable to give a counter-gift or a counter-festivity, suddenly attacks the tribe by which it has been treated several times. No other thing, however, does bestow so much prestige on a tribe as the organization of festivities and the accompanying distribution of food.¹

When the relationships between the tribes are very intimate, sometimes kinship plays a part. That is the reason why the Bonerif are privileged by the Mander above the other Tor tribes. However, in many cases the traditional kinship has but little influence on the tribal relationships. The Berrick tribes are an example of this. The Dangken maintain much closer relationships with the Bonerif than with any other Berrick tribe. Kwon-dirdjan has more intimate relationships with the Kwesten than with the rest of the Berrick.

Cultural relationship has defined to a high degree the relations between the Tor tribes mutually and between them and the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Tor district. As a rule, the tribes in the same culture area maintain closer relations with each other than with tribes from another culture

¹ See also chapter VI, paragraph 2.4., page 238.

area. That is the reason why the Bora-Bora are much more orientated on the Naidjbeedj and the Ségar, than on any other tribe from the Tor district, whereas the Mander maintain closer relations with the Foja and even with the war-like Warès, than with the Daranto or the Beeuw.

It is a remarkable fact, indeed, that linguistic unity between two or more tribes in the Tor district seldom or never has led to a more intimate relationship. In this respect, the Tor tribes greatly differ from what Van der Leeden wrote about the tribes from the Western interior of Sarmi, where linguistic unity does play a very important rôle when contacting other tribes.¹ The Bora-Bora, for instance, have much closer relations with tribes from a different language area (Ségar, Naidjbeedj, etc.) than with tribes like the Waf, the Beeuw, and the Berrick. The Daranto are on much better terms with the Mander than with any other tribe of their own language area. The same applies to the Dangken, the Kwondirdjan, etc. Thus it appears, that in the Tor district even the tribes which maintain the Elder Brother – Younger Brother relationship, do not belong to the same linguistic group.

Belonging to the same linguistic group is by no means a guarantee that those tribes are living on friendly terms. This situation is expressed in the Berrick language area by the words: '*Fas efforian*': 'we do understand each other, but we are not on speaking terms.' For instance, when a Beeuw comes into a village of the Kwesten, conversation is possible because of the close linguistic relation. However, he will first ask if conversation may be held at all. This is expressed by the question: '*Efforian?*' (The informants translated this question into the Malay language by: 'Disini ada bitjara?' i.e. 'Can we talk together?') An answer in the affirmative is often given in the shape of a basket filled with sago. Food and conversation appear to be closely associated with each other. However, it may happen that members or one individual of a certain tribe are 'persona non grata' in another village. In that case the question, whether any conversation is possible (i.e. whether one is welcome) is bluntly answered by the words: '*Fas efforian!*' (Translated by informants as: 'Disini tida ada bitjara.' – 'No conversation is possible here,' in other words: 'you are not welcome.') For the person concerned that '*Fas efforian*' means, that not

¹ 'Principal features etc.,' pp. 27/28.

² In the Kwerba language area and surroundings the tribes express this by saying: '*Nogoekwabai*.' However, on the grounds of a report of J. Dubuy, Van der Leeden (o.c. page 26) gives another interpretation of this word *Nogoekwabai*, it being simply an indication of (the unity of) all languages west of the Apauwar.

only a conversation is impossible, but that, moreover, it is not advisable to stay the night in that village. Food is not supplied to these strangers, which is the strongest proof of an hostile attitude.

A special relationship exists between the Mander and the Beeuw. The former will never enter the territory of the Beeuw, afraid that they will be killed by sorcery. More than once already the Beeuw have sworn to exterminate the Mander by means of sorcery, and the Beeuw have the name of being past-masters in killing by sorcery. In 1957 six people of the Mander suddenly died and their deaths were attributed to spells cast by the Beeuw.¹ Formerly, the Mander revenged themselves by attacking the Beeuw on their own territory. At present, however, the latter are under direct control of the Netherlands Administration, therefore arrow-attacks are too great a risk for the Mander now. Yet it is remarkable, that it is just the Beeuw, with whom the Mander maintain the closest economic relationships. Up to now it was the Beeuw who transported the forest produce (i.e. dammar) of the Mander to the coast and to the Lower Tor. There the Beeuw exchanged them for ironware implements such as axes, knives, etc., which they afterwards brought to the Mander. The latter never could or would accuse the Beeuw of dishonesty or overcharging! The Mander were always satisfied with what the Beeuw brought in exchange for their produce. For their intermediary services, the Beeuw received mainly pork meat. Owing to the dread of sorcery, the transactions were generally effected on the territory of the Bonerif or on the boundary of two tribal territories. Therefore, the economical relationship was solely and exclusively the basis for the 'good terms' relations between the Beeuw and the Mander.

Such a relation also existed between a number of tribes in the western Upper Tor territory and between them and tribes in the Western interior of Sarmi. There, however, silent trading played a great part in their encounters.

On the whole, matrimonial relations between tribes point to friendly terms. A relatively small number of marriages outside their own group² is only allowed with special tribes, however. The spacial distance is much less important than the historical and personal factors. The Bonerif may marry a Dangken and perhaps even a Kwondirdjan, but they are not allowed to wed a Berrik-Tenwer. A Mander will marry a Foja and also

¹ See further chapter VI, page 266.

² Most tribes are preponderantly endogamous. See further chapter III.

a Daranto, but not an Ittik. Beeuw people will marry a Berrik-Kwondirdjan and perhaps a Dangken, but never people from Tenwer, who live even much nearer. The only reason the Beeuw themselves give for it, is, that they are not 'senang' (at ease) in wedlock with a Berrik-Tenwer. This web of relations between the tribes of the Tor district amongst themselves and between them and the tribes in the surroundings of the Tor basin, is of great importance to the wandering bachelors.¹ For this reason, they will never sleep in certain villages, but prefer to stay in others. For instance, a Bora-Bora would never pass the night with the Berrik-Kwondirdjan, for fear of being struck by sorcery. Therefore, he always comes to stay with the Berrik-Tenwer. When a Bora-Bora goes on a journey, he times his trip in such a way that he will pass the night with the Beeuw, but not with the Bonerif. On the other hand, a Waf will always put up with a Bonerif or a Beeuw, but never with a Tenwer.

This relation pattern is constantly changing. The tribe where one stayed yesterday may be hostile to-morrow because of a certain event. Therefore it is a hard and fast rule, that people of the Tor first of all inquire, if the *efforian*-relationship still exists.

3. VILLAGES

Every tribe owns a territory of its own, the boundaries of which are accurately fixed.² The tribal boundaries were hardly ever disputed, although they are not visibly indicated anywhere by signs in the landscape. Without much effort, except for the strenuous foot-tours in this hilly country, I could map out all the tribal and section boundaries.³ As far as possible 'natural boundaries' are accepted as dividing lines: rivers, hill-ranges, etc. Many a time, however, the boundary runs right across a river, for example between the territory of the Waf and the Bora-Bora, which cuts the Besseh into two parts. The lower course belongs to the Waf and the upper course to the Bora-Bora.

Inside the tribal territory the tribesmen regularly wander about in search of food. Every tribe, however, has a semi-permanent residence, the main-village, which is the centre of social and religious life. Generally,

¹ See chapter V, paragraph 3.

² For forms of property, land tenure, rights of use, etc. see chapter II, page 83, seq.

³ The same

the *faareh*, the cult house,¹ is built here, which is constructed with great care.

On an average, a main-village has 8-12 houses, consisting of a floor made of bark strips, resting on piles, and a roof made of leaves. The river on which the main-village is situated, supplies the drinking-water. As an outlet for draining the filth and refuse, it is practically negligible, as it is forbidden to pollute the water with garbage. Thus it is absolutely forbidden to throw egg-shells from the maleo (brush turkey, *talegalla jobiensis*) into the river, otherwise these birds would not lay any more eggs. The offal of shot and roasted boar may not be thrown into the river either, otherwise the boar might become so wild during the hunt and tear open the stomach of the hunter, etc. Therefore the refuse is burnt or just thrown under the pile-houses. In the latter case, swarms of flies are attracted and they sometimes are a real plague and decidedly bad for the health of the inhabitants.

It is a remarkable fact, however, that only a few isolated villages, where no visitors are expected, appear to be dirty. Such a village is the Mander village Matebefon. However, in those villages where guests from other tribes are regularly expected, the inhabitants see to it that the place is kept clean. All the garbage – even the excrement of pigs and dogs – is immediately removed and burnt. This cleanliness must be attributed to their tremendous fear of sorcery. The food waste and excrement of humans and animals could be used for this sorcery by strangers against the inhabitants of the village. In this respect, some tribes have a very bad name and are even supposed to visit strange villages in order to collect refuse and do harm to the villagers. I am told that even pigs can practise sorcery.²

Apart from the semi-permanent main-villages, every tribe has a certain number of branch-villages, which are situated all over the territory. Generally, these villages only consist of four little houses and most of them are only built for very temporary use. However, this temporary character greatly depends on the function of the branch-village. Thus there are branch-villages namely, where the people stay turn and turn about to pound the sago. While the main-village is generally situated fairly central with regard to the sago-acreages, we often find such a branch-village near these sago-habitats. The main-villages and those sago swamps are often situated at such a distance from each other, that it is

¹ For the significance and function of this cult house see chapter VI.

² For the relation man-pig, see chapter II, pp. 65, 70-72.

impossible to go to and fro in one day. Moreover, when great quantities of sago have to be pounded, the women work for days at a stretch. During that time they reside in that branch-village. Husbands accompany their wives and hunt in the neighbourhood, carve their arrows or loiter about in the village. All implements which these people daily need, are to be found in these branch-villages, such as baskets made of folded tree-bark and bowls to prepare food in. Every inhabitant of the main-village, who is staying for a shorter or longer time in a branch-village, is supposed to use them.

When a certain sago-acreage is temporarily exhausted, another branch-village is set up near another sago-acreage. Often three or more sago-acreages are in use at a time. However, as soon as the distance between the main-village and the branch-villages becomes too great, the whole village complex is moved. A new main-village is built, surrounded by three or four of such sago branch-villages.

Consequently, there are branch-villages situated near the fields and gardens or in an area abounding in game. For people who visit their relations in another tribe, or men who are on a tour, which often entails long distances, the so-called 'hotel-villages' are built where these people can spend the night on their way. Often, near these branch-villages, banana trees and pawpaw trees are planted, which afford nourishment for the travellers. Any person from any tribe can make use of them. The villages of Gwanderfareh and Imié are examples of such hotel-villages in the tribal territories of the Daranto and the Mander. A very special village, in this respect, is the village of Iefte, which was built by the Mander exclusively for their guests. Chiefly because their fear of sorcery, the Mander do not like to have their guests stay for too long a time in their own village. The hotel-village of Iefte, which even consists of 9 houses, lies about an hour's walk from the main-village. When the Borto or the Bonerif come to visit the Mander they sleep in that hotel-village. At other times the village is empty.¹

Another kind of branch-village is the 'security-village' of which the villages of Bansenemo and Nagietfareh are examples. Sorcery is such an important feature in all the Tor district, that many tribes live permanently

¹ Owing to air-reconnaissance it was thought that the Tor district was rather densely populated. But many of these villages reconnoitred by air have proved to be for the greater part these and other branch-villages, which are merely alternately inhabited by the inhabitants of the main-village and further remain empty.

in fear of being threatened by illness or death. To escape from this great danger, the people of the Tor have built branch-villages, where they are supposed to be safe from sorcery. Situated high up in the mountains or hidden in a swamp, these homesteads are very difficult to find and only known to men of their own tribe or their nearest friends. As sorcery is an everlasting menace to many tribes, these security-villages are nearly always inhabited. Nowadays, it sometimes happens that Papua who are wanted by the police for some crime or other, hide in these security-villages where they are not to be traced. Also men, who because of adultery or someother 'perkara perempoean' (conflict about women), fearing the revenge of an angry husband or of a concerned-party from another tribe, find refuge in these security-villages.

Branch-villages, in general, also fulfill another important social function because there the sexual intercourse regularly takes place. This is out of the question in a main-village, whilst not all sexual intercourse is allowed even in the most out-of-the-way gardens.¹

As a rule, the above mentioned branch-villages have several functions. Some 'sago-villages' are, at the same time, 'hunting-villages' and 'hotel-villages,' etc. A few security-villages are, at the same time, hunting-villages and vice versa. However, the separate functions can easily be distinguished.

The form of the villages is partly defined by the natural environment. Villages on a river mostly are built stretching along the river, such as Matebefon (Mander), Sauwrigorojagi (Daranto), Goeassematin (Waf), etc. The same applies to the villages built on a range of hills. Bansenemo, situated on the top of a mountain ridge is a very remarkable example. A person wishing to go from the first to the last house, has to pass through all the houses lying in between, to reach it. On either side, the mountain has such a steep drop, that walking outside the houses is impossible. In fact, Bansenemo is a security-village in optima forma.

When the villages are not directly situated on a river but built in a clearing in the forest, the round shape is predominant. The dwellings stand in a circle round an open space, i.e. in Gwattefareh (Bora-Bora), Nemannemanfareh (Naidjbeedj) and also partly in Tenwer (Berrick).

Very significant in the shape and formation of the villages is also the religious factor. When cult houses (still) are the centre of social-religious life, they are situated actually in the centre of the village. The other houses

¹ See chapter III, page 135/136.

are built in a circle around the cult house, which is itself circular in form.¹ Sometimes people start the foundation of a village by the building of a cult house. Generally, however, the dwellings are first built around a village square, where later on the cult house will be erected. This is done because the building of such a sacred house entails so much time and pains, that it is impossible to wait with the building of ordinary houses. In the other case, however, a main-village will only be moved to the spot where the new village will be erected, when the cult house is already finished and in use.

For social life, the shape of the village is of great importance. Life in a circular village is much more intimate because every villager can be well abreast of the behaviour of all his fellow-villagers, night and day, and be a witness of everything in the village. When a husband beats his wife, every inhabitant is aware of it and puts in his word. Even the most intimate conversation can be overheard by all and sundry. A close mutual intercourse is possible, as everyone is able to converse from his own house with anyone he chooses. However, the chances of conflicts are also greater than in a village where the houses are built next to each other on a stretch.

Village names are often taken from the place where the village is built. The confluence of two rivers is called: '*fareh*' (*fereh*), which means 'mouth.' Before the village of Nemannemanfareh was built in 1958/1959, that part of the primeval forest where the river Nemanneman flows into the Boer, was called Nemannemanfareh. Afterwards the village was given the same name. Thus the village of Gwattefareh lies on the spot where the river Gwatte flows into the Tennem; Oerbefareh, where the Oerbe flows into the Boe; Boefareh where the Boe flows into the Tor, and Messentifereh where the Messente meets the Tor. Such confluences gave the names to: Obefareh, Kaboefareh, Taboefareh, and other villages. When the village moves, it assumes the name of the place to which it has been moved.

Villages situated at the foot of a mountain, frequently get the name of that mountain, such as is shown in the village names of Matebefon, Iefte and Bansenemo.

Sometimes the village bears the name of the founder or the progenitor. There are, namely, parts of the forest which for some reason or other remind the people of some ancestor. The former village of Borgesoe is an example of it.² Probably the Beeuw village Taminambor also preserves

¹ See chapter VI, page 215, seq.

² The myth of Borgesoe is discussed in chapter VI, pages 224-226.

the memory of Tamin, with whose penis (*bor*) there was something the matter, many years ago.¹

4. DEMOGRAPHY

The number of members in a tribe is very small. Nowhere in the Tor district is a tribe found numbering more than 85 individuals. On the other hand, there are several tribes consisting of less than 50 persons, including children. The very small size of the tribes in the Tor district is closely connected with the technical ability and the economical adjustment, which prevents larger concentrations in a natural environment which in itself is very unfavourable.

However, on the other hand, living in such very small groups has imprinted its stamp on the culture pattern of the Tor district. There, the behaviour of the individual can well play a very important part, while, on the whole, the actions and behaviour of the individual make it difficult to discern what the general rules of the social life are. It is true that in all societies, the real behaviour pattern diverges to some extent from the ideal pattern – as it does in ours too – but in these very small communities of the Tor district, it is often impossible for the members of the group to behave according to the ideal pattern. A certain ‘looseness of structure’ sometimes seems to be the consequence, but then we must not forget that this looseness in itself has a certain structure, which acts more in an integral than desintegral manner. This appears in every aspect of culture and in the following chapters will be referred to repeatedly.

In these small groups the smallest fluctuations in the demographic picture may have enormous consequences. That is one of the reasons why sometimes unproportionately big differences are seen between the statistics of these tribes. A closer examination of the demography of the tribes of the Tor district, therefore, should rather be composed of a number of views on the different tribes separately. Moreover, a demographical study cannot be made detached from the whole culture pattern and also in that respect great differentiations between the various tribes do exist: wars play a larger part in the eastern (Upper) Tor area than in the western Tor district; the great scarcity of food in some tribes appears to have a great influence on the size of the family. That is, for instance, why newborn children were thrown into the river with the Daranto as well as

¹ ‘*am*’ is a possessive pronoun and means ‘my’ or ‘mine.’

with the Waf. These and other cultural factors, which differ from tribe to tribe, greatly influence the population figures.

On account of the character of this essay, only the tendencies can be demonstrated, a demographic basic-pattern therefore, on which each tribe in particular has woven its own pattern.¹

The most striking trait, common to all the tribes of the Tor district is the disproportion between the number of males and females. In some tribes, it is true, the ratio is less unfavourable than in others, but the disparity between the number of males and females is a striking fact in all the Tor district. Some figures may illustrate this:

TABLE I - *Population figures of the Tor district (1958)*

Tribe	Number of males	Number of females	Boys (0-17)	Girls (0-15)
Ségar	27	17	15	8
Bora-Bora	32	18	22	7
Daranto	17	11	11	6
Mander	28	22	21	10
Beeuw	21	13	14	8
TOTAL	125	81	83	39

From these data it is apparent, that the disparity between the sexes is still greater in the younger age-groups than in the older ones. In fact, the disturbed balance already starts at birth: many more boys than girls are born. It seemed to me, it is true, that also more boys die at the age of 0-5 years, but nevertheless, even for the older age-groups, the difference is still considerable. With the Mander, for instance, there were in July 1958 11 boys and 5 girls under 5 years of age, while in the age-group from 6-15 years, there were respectively 9 and 5. With the Bora-Bora there were in February 1958 in the age-group from 0-5, 7 boys and only 2 girls. Since that year the disproportion even has become still larger. In July 1959, more than one year later, the Bora-Bora had 9 boys and only 1 girl in that same age-group. In that year 4 boys had been born and not a single girl! During the last two years (1958 and 1959), six boys and no girls at all have been born in the Bora-Bora tribe. During that time, three boys died: two of them were still-born, while one died at the age

¹See also page 190, seq.

of 9 years. In July 1959 the ratio in the age-groups from 0-10 was: 15 boys to only 4 girls.

This disparity of the sexes is naturally of great significance for the social organization in the Tor district. This masculinization process means in the first place, that many tribes are threatened with extinction. Owing to the enormous shortage of women and girls, an average of 47% of the men at the marriageable age were bachelors! As a result of it, a new social group came into existence, a social group merely consisting of 'permanent' bachelors.¹

Another consequence of the great shortage of women and girls is the strongly increased number of child-marriages. These are marriages between girls of about 8-12 years of age and men older than 25, which repeatedly occur in the Tor district.²

This disproportion between the sexes was also observed outside the Tor district. The Government doctor Van der Hoeven³ states that among the tribes investigated by him in the Western interior of Sarmi, there were approximately 128 men to every 100 women. For the age-group of 0-15 years Van der Hoeven gives the ratio girls to boys as being: 100 to 143. 'So there is,' he states, 'an enormous surplus of boys at birth, which, however, decreases at a higher age, but which is still very noteworthy at old age.'³

In these tribes in the Western interior of Sarmi, a large percentage of the men are also forced to remain bachelors. Van der Leeden⁴ recorded that with the Samarokena and the Moekrara respectively 12 and 11 men were bachelors, which shows an average of respectively 48 and 46% of the total number of males, as high a percentage therefore as in the tribes of the Tor district.

In addition, the forester Karstel, who collected data about the population of the Mamberamo basin, found that in the Aurauwidja tribe, of the 17 men, 9 were unmarried.⁵

¹See further chapter V: 'Social groups,' page 206 and, G. Oosterwal: 'The position of the bachelor in the Upper Tor territory,' *Am. Anthropol.* vol. 61, no 5. October 1959, pp. 829-839.

²See chapter III, pp. 110-112.

³J. van der Hoeven: 'Verslag van een mislukt toernee naar de Mamberamo, van 2-16 december 1950' (Report of an unsuccessful tour to the Mamberamo)

⁴'Hoofdtrekken der sociale structuur in het westelijk binnenland van Sarmi' (Principal features etc.) pp. 34/35

⁵H. R. Karstel: 'Toernee-rapport naar enige Agathiscomplexen in het Mamberamogebied, in de periode van 16 november t/m 18 december 1956.' (Report of the tour to some Agathis-creags in the Mamberamo region).

So this process of masculinization is also a great problem for the tribes in the surroundings of the Tor territory. What the actual factors are, which play a part in this process, is not yet certain. It is said of the Naidj-beedj and some of their neighbouring tribes in the western Upper Tor territory, that when their first-born is a girl, she is thrown into the river. However, this murdering of girls offers no explanation for the masculinization process, as this process also occurs in tribes where no infanticide is (was) practised. Moreover, it is practically certain that the disparity between the number of males and females in the Tor district is a fairly recent phenomenon. From the genealogies it appears, that formerly – i.e. one or two generations ago – there were about as many adult females as males. Bachelors were of rare occurrence then. However, it seems that even then already more boys than girls were born. Owing to the continuous state of war between the tribes, however, the equilibrium between the sexes seemed to be restored again at an older age. The present surplus of men may be ascribed then to the Pax Neerlandica, i.e. the end of the permanent state of war when the Netherlands Administration penetrated into these areas. This influence of the Netherlands Government is already strongly felt in those areas where the Administration is not yet actually established and where the masculinization process has also been noted. I offer this ‘explanation’ of the enormous male surplus in the Tor territory just as a (weak) theory. It is true, that in the eastern (Upper) Tor territory there raged a permanent war, but in the western Upper Tor district these wars were sometimes just ‘cold’ wars. The men killed in action there, were but very few. But on the other hand, even these few became very perceptible in the course of years, as the communities are so small.

Without doubt there are still other general and special factors responsible for this masculinization process. Besides the psychological factor (see below) this disturbance of the sex-ratio is connected, by some investigators, with a certain nutrition pattern.

It would be wise to have this masculinization process studied by a team of investigators, as was done in southern Netherlands New-Guinea, in which an anthropologist, a medical doctor and a nutrition specialist took part.¹

Anyhow, it is worth mentioning here, that the people of the Tor them-

¹ Population Research project among the Marind-Anim and Jeei-nan peoples in Netherlands South New-Guinea. S-18 project of the South Pacific Commission.

selves are very alarmed about this disparity in the sexes and that they themselves try to find an explanation. Thus, the Ittik man Maisonda, for instance, gave as the cause: 'Our fathers have given a medicine (obat) to their daughters, our wives, owing to which no girls can be born (any-more). Our fathers did not want us to neglect the old tribal rules and rites.' (Mèkwèr, July, 1958)

It does seem foolish to pay much attention to this irrational explanation. However, the idea that the great shortage of women and girls is to be attributed to the contact of the people of the Tor with the West, is very much alive in the whole Tor district. Moreover, the population uses the above mentioned 'explanation' (and similar ones) for another demographic symptom, which also seems to occur all over the Tor district, namely, the (small) decline in the birth-rate. This decrease in the birth-rate is hard to prove statistically, in contrast to the impaired sex-ratio. The only figures have been obtained from genealogies, which demonstrate a small decrease in the birth-rate. However, these genealogies are founded on the memory of the people themselves, and so are, no doubt, not absolutely reliable. That is why the birth-rate of the previous generations is mentioned here with (great) reserve.

The present birth-rate is exceedingly low. It is true, that in general, collectors and hunters have smaller families than agricultural tribes, but all the same, families in certain communities in the Tor district are exceptionally small.

TABLE 2 - *Size of the families in the Tor district (1958)*

Tribe	Number of women married more than two years	Number of children
Ségar	16	26
Bora-Bora	18	27
Daranto	12	15
Mander	21	35
TOTAL	67	103

These figures do not prove anything about the fertility of the women in the Tor district. The death-rate of children in their first year (still-born included) amounts to about 35-40%. From my own investigation and from genealogical data from the tribes of the Tor district, it is evident that

every woman gives birth, on an average, to about three children. In 1958 there were three Bora-Bora women who had been married longer than two years, and were without children, while six women had only one child.

As a rule, however, the families are somewhat bigger than would appear merely from table 2, as in many families one or more children are adopted, whose mother or both parents are dead. Of the 17 boys, there were 8 orphans with the Bora-Bora, while of the 10 girls, 3 were adopted by a family as 'anak piara' (foster-child). Incidentally, the number of deceased children, of which the parents are still alive, is the same as the number of orphans, namely, 11. Three of them were girls, which demonstrates that the death-rate of boys is considerably greater than the mortality of the girls, also when expressed as a percentage.

The figures of the Mander present a similar picture: 21 married females, widows included, had 35 children, 24 boys and eleven girls. Here also 3 women were childless, whereas 9 married women had only one child, of which 7 were boys. Just as with the Bora-Bora, every woman bears an average of about three children, which, however, is not sufficient to maintain the group, the more so, because also with the Mander 35-40% of the children die. The number of unmarried women who bear children, is so small, that it can be ignored.

For the other tribes, the population figures are practically the same. Sometimes the figures are proportionally somewhat more favourable, for instance among the Beeuw: 32 children to 14 families. Sometimes the figures, however, are still less favourable. With the Daranto, for instance, there were in 1959, 16 children to 13 married women. For the whole of the Tor district the figures, roughly given, are:

TABLE 3 - *Size of the families in the Tor district (1958)*

Number of women married longer than two years	Number of children younger than 16 years of age		
	boys	girls	TOTAL
230	200	140	340

From the genealogies may be concluded that about twenty years ago, there were about 54 children to 17 families with the Bora-Bora, while the Mander then had an average of 5 children to two married women.

It may be assumed that then the mortality of the children was as high as it is to-day. Therefore, one gets the impression that the fertility-rate was then (a little) higher than it is now. Then an average of about four children was born to one married woman instead of three nowadays.

The people of the Tor accept as a definite fact, what the genealogical data only seem to indicate, namely, that formerly more children were born than now. Many of them are convinced that it has something to do with the disappearance of the rites and institutions of old.¹

However, the real causes of this small decrease in the birth-rate will still have to be investigated. That again is a reason why an investigation team, as previously mentioned, is much to be desired.

Above all things, the psychological factor, mentioned by Rivers,² came to the fore as an 'explanation' of the decreasing birth-rate, during my own investigation. The question whether this factor actually had an influence and if so, in what way, will have to be subjected to a closer investigation.

Repeatedly the Mander, the Foja and also the Ittik and the Bonerif came to me and said: 'Tuan (sir), how stupid we are and how backward. We are unable to make anything beautiful and durable.' Some of them had actually seen an aircraft; they are familiar with iron axes and knives; they know of outboard-motors and of numerous other articles of Western culture. But, though their arrows belong to the finest of Netherlands New-Guinea and their sago-spoons and forks are models of wood-carving, compared to all these new Western products, their own implements fade into insignificance. That is why they have no desire or interest anymore to go on making those products of their own culture. 'We are stupid,' they say, 'we cannot make anything worthwhile.' Consequently, unemployment results within their own culture. Products of that culture have lost their value. The same applies to the products of their spiritual (religious) culture: sacred flutes, cult houses, myths, etc. In a capricious mood, the Mander, for instance, destroyed all their sacred objects, without

¹ It is interesting to learn that Van der Leeden during his investigations on the east coast of Sarmi, has stated the same facts. In his 'Nota betreffende de sociale achtergrond en functie van de Sarmische feesten' (Notes on the social background and function of the Sarmi feasts), January 1953, he writes on page 12: 'It is remarkable that all along the east coast, even in native Administration circles, decrease of the birth-rate is ascribed to the cultural disintegration, (although not proved and presumably statistically liable to contradiction).'

² See W. H. R. Rivers (ed): 'Essays on the depopulation of Melanesia', 1932, chapter VIII, The psychological factor, pp. 84-113.

any pressure from the Civil Administration or the Mission. These sacred products had lost their value too! A mental vacuum was the result: the old products proved obsolete and worthless, while the people had not yet a full share in the new culture.

Without a doubt the low rate of fertility in the Tor district is also connected with the fact that the fertility-period of the women is relatively short. Girls generally marry between 17 and 22.¹ However, when they have reached the age of 34 or thereabouts, they are already 'old women,' as a result of the very hard labour, which they have to perform. It is certain that the hard labour in itself influences the fertility and also the number of still-born children as well. Children are always born by very young women (18-26).

It is not very likely that the low birth-rate in the Tor district is also caused by polygamy. The population pyramid indicates that a (great) number of marriages are polygamous, but also that polygyny mainly occurs with old men. The women of these polygamous men are generally no longer young either and are mostly widows, who already have had children by a previous marriage. That may be the reason, that women of polygamous men hardly ever bear children.²

In the coastal area, east of Sarmi, where also a very low birth-rate is recorded, the migration of men is an important cause of the decrease in the number of births. The migration of the men of the Tor tribes, however, is not yet of importance. In 1958 only one man from the Lower Tor district resided in Hollandia. At the same time, in that year, a number of males were in the service of managers, but they worked for the greater part on their own territory, so rich in dammar. In 1958/1959 the Civil Administration (Forestry Service) applied for men to come and work on the project on the Boe-Bodem river(s). Of course, this left its mark on the native communities, but it did not result in a decrease in the birth-rate.

I got the impression, that women die younger than men. (see population pyramids). The former seldom reach the approximate age of 40-50. A high mortality for women is noticed in the age-group from 34-37 years of age. One of the causes of this is, doubtless, the fact, that on the women

¹ An exception should be made here for the few child-marriages. But even if these girls in some cases marry when they are 8-12 years of age, married life does not begin before they are 16. See further chapter III, pp. 110-112.

² See also chapter III, page 130, seq.

the task falls to forage for the whole tribe, which means very hard labour. Men reach a higher average age. After their 36th year, a somewhat higher mortality is noted, but as regards the men, the pyramid shows a more regular course.

Widows are hardly ever found in the Tor district. The period of mourning for women is no longer than from 3-8 months. After that period a widow is allowed to marry again. The great shortage of women is one of the reasons why hardly any widow remains unmarried for long. For the same reason, widowers are often compelled to remain unmarried, and just they are not at all to be envied in these communities, where men are dependent on women for their food. If it is at all possible, a man will always remarry when his wife has died. With the Bora-Bora, for instance, out of 14 married men, eight were married for the second time and four for the third time.

Without a single exception, all population pyramids in the Tor territory show an incision in the age-groups from 13-17 years of age. This incision may be caused by sudden mortality or by a strong decrease in the birth-rate. Very probably both factors occurred at the same time. In 1958, the year to which all population pyramids refer, it was 13-17 years ago that in New-Guinea the war raged against Japan. Several tribes along the Tor, such as the Waf, the Beeuw and others, took to roaming about the country, fearing the dangers of war. They then had no permanent domicile, while the sago supplies along the Tor were not used. Doubtless, more newly born children died on these roving expeditions than in other years. That fear of war and a state of panic also prevailed among the tribes who had not actually suffered from the war, such as the Mander, the Ségar, the Naidjbeedj and many others. This terror influenced, no doubt, the birth-rate too, which apparently strongly decreased at that time. Afterwards, however, it gradually increased again.

Of the diseases, which cause the greatest mortality in the Tor district, especially should be mentioned here:

1. *Malaria*, which is the most common disease and strongly endemic;
2. *Pneumonia*, which especially claims many lives of children;
3. *Filaria*, with which certainly half of the population is infected, and
4. *Franboesia* (yaws); about 15% of the population is suffering from this disease. People of the Tor themselves, however, never believe that death occurs from 'natural' causes. 'Very old men can die, but young people are killed,' is a saying very often heard on the Tor. Among

the causes of death, sorcery should be mentioned in the first place, according to the people of the Tor themselves.¹

It is a striking fact, that the bases of the population pyramids are too narrow to form a security for the existence of the population. The disturbed sex-ratio curbs the birth-rate too and is further of an enormous significance for the social organization in the Tor district, such as types of marriage, forms of residence after marriage, social groups, etc. As many bachelors have practically no means of existence within their own community, it may be expected, that many of them will migrate, and there are a lot of opportunities for this at the present.² Therefore, many tribal territories will become more and more depopulated in the future. However, the Western influences (Public Health Service, Dammar exploitation, work of Missions, etc.) will have a considerable effect on this prognosis.

5. CULTURE AREAS AND THE SPREAD OF CULTURE

With regard to the culture of the Tor territory, three culture areas are specially important:

1. The territory of the *Berrik-Dangken*, mainly situated on the western bank of the Lower Tor. From this centre, many elements of culture such as myths, dances, songs, language, etc., spread east, south, north and west. Even to the present day, new songs are composed with the *Berrik-Dangken*, which are sung all over the Tor territory and even beyond it.
2. From the culture area of the Western interior of Sarmi, in the first place radiating from the culture area of the *Kwerba*, a great number of cultural elements have penetrated into the Tor territory and this acculturation process is still in full swing. Especially the western Upper Tor territory (*Ségar*, *Naidjbeedj*, *Bora-Bora*, *Goeammer*, *Waf*) have adopted in their own culture pattern many cultural elements from the area of the *Kwerba* and owing to this acculturation it differs from the rest of the Tor district.
3. In the basin of the *Idenburg* (Lake Plain), south of the *Gauttier* mountains, a third centre is to be found, from where many cultural elements

¹ There is not yet much known regarding European diseases. We know, that years ago a kind of whooping cough (?) epidemic decimated the *Ségar* tribe, while influenza has caused great mortality among the *Mander*.

² See further chapter V: 'Social groups,' pages 206-210.

radiated to the eastern (Upper) Tor district. (Warès, Mander, Foja and also Bonerif), such as the very detailed initiation ritual in the House of Fatrau,¹ the Mengan-ceremony and the very minutes rules for sexual intercourse.

Thus, in the Tor district itself, three separate culture areas are easily to be distinguished, namely, the *Western Upper Tor Territory* (Bora-Bora, Waf, Goeammer, Ségar and Naidjbeedj); the *Eastern Upper Tor Territory* (Mander, Foja, Warès and Bonerif) and the *Central Tor Territory* (Berrick, Kwesten and Beeuw).

A certain number of cultural elements are to be found in all three culture areas nowadays, which strengthens the consciousness of being 'people of the Tor.' Modern western influences also stimulate a levelling of the culture in the Tor territory. Nevertheless, the three culture areas in the Tor district are yet very distinct. The differences in the three areas refer to the kinship terminology and the kinship structure; the social-religious aspect of culture, the way of counting, the language - (dialect -) differentiations and some aspects of the material culture.

The spreading of the cultural elements to, within and beyond the Tor district is, for the greater part, due to the migration of tribes. Of course, the so-called 'natural approaches' have played an important part in these migrations. While mountains and hill-ranges impeded a migration of tribes, the course of the rivers formed the paths along which the migrations took place and still do take place. Only where a pass in a hilly country or mountain range formed a natural connection between two basins or river courses, tribal contacts are evident. Such an important connecting road is situated in the source area of the Boaf and the Biri in the Gauttier mountain range, which will be further indicated as the *Foja-pass*. Apart from the Mamberamo, this Foja-pass is the only connection between the Lake Plain (Idenburg basin) and the hinterland of Sarimi, which has been extremely significant for the cultural and tribal history of the Tor district. Via the Foja-pass a great number of tribes have penetrated (and still do penetrate!) from the Lake Plain into the Tor district, while especially in former times regular contact existed between the inhabitants of the Lake-Plain and those north of the Gauttier and Foja Mountains in the Tor-Biri territory. The Soebar, the Foja and the Mander declare that they themselves originate from the Lake Plain and, as for the Warès, this can cer-

¹ The 'House of Fatrau' is the house where the youths are initiated. The songs, rituals, etc., connected with it will be indicated as the 'Fatrau-complex.' See further chapter VI, pp. 239-247.

tainly be proved. The Mander-Soebar man Foaro's story is as follows:

'On a certain day, when the Mander and Soebar were still living together in one village, a Soebar man paid one of his visits to his friends, the *Moanter*, living on the upper course of the Mamberaam.¹ This Soebar man's name was Siana. He was a bachelor. From his own village he went first to the Foja, who were then also still living on the Upper Mamberaam. There he stayed for two days. Then he went on to the Moanter. During his stay there, a woman fell in love with him. Her name was Naanwe. Therefore, when Siana had gone, Naanwe wanted to follow him. 'Whatever do you want?' the other Moanter asked. 'I want to marry Siana,' answered the girl. 'But child,' all the other Moanter replied, 'his village is so far from here.' But all the same Naanwe went. She loved Siana, and so they married and afterwards lived on the Boaf, where the Mander and the Soebar had their village.'

From this story and many others, it is evident, that in former years the people of the Tor-Biri territory and tribes from the Idenburg basin must have been on good terms and were regularly in contact with each other. Soebar, Mander and Foja declare to have crossed the Foja-pass on their flight from the Warès, who then really terrorized the inhabitants of the Lake Plain. The Mander and the Soebar, being chased away from their own territory, settled down in the basin of the Boaf-Siir, while the Foja went to live north of the Foja-pass. However, all these territories were not entirely uninhabited, so the said tribes either settled in the territory of other tribes and lived together, or, the inhabitants of the Lake Plain drove other tribes from their territory.

Later, the Warès continued their terrorization north of the Foja-pass. A number of them even settled down in the Biri basin and so caused another migration. This all reminds one of the great Migration of the nations in Europe, when 'peoples' pushed others in a western direction on their flight from the Huns. The same happened here. The Foja migrated farther north-westward to the territory of the Mander. The latter, in their turn, migrated to the upper course of the Boe, where they drove away the Beeuw. From the Upper Boe, the Beeuw wandered in the direction of the Tor. Even after the second world-war, they still lived in the village of Boefareh, where the Boe flows into the Tor. The Beeuw

¹ With the Upper Mamberaam actually the Upper Idenburg is meant, for the Idenburg is called Mamberaam by all the tribes of the (eastern) Tor district.

declare, that they were driven from their territory on the Upper Boe, because the mountain tribes, amongst others, the Mander, threatened to wage war on them. Indeed, up to now, a strong antagonism exists between the Beeuw and the Mander.¹

Formerly, the Daranto also lived on the Upper Boe, and after having lived together for a space of time with the Mander, migrated westward, following the course of the Foewin.

So the main direction of all these migrations points from S.E. - to (N) N.W., during which the natural routes were followed. Only a few tribes migrated eastward (Kwanka, Sigi), while others migrated to the coast via the Tor (territory). It is further known about the Broemia, the Bireh, the Meurte, the Soebar, the Gorja and others, that they have been exterminated by the Warès.

In the year 1947 a number of the Warès still lived south of the Foja-pass. It is very interesting to learn that the Military Exploration from 1907-1915 still met these Warès between the Gauttier mountains and the Mokkafiang in the most eastern region of the Lake Plain, so where the Idenburg has its source. Captain Ten Klooster² then met the Warès near the Somoer river, just west of the Mokkafiang. Then already the Warès terrorised the whole population wherever they went and drove the people away or murdered them. In the 'Report of the Military Exploration of Netherlands New-Guinea' we can read, that the Warès are a 'permanent menace to the resident population.'²

So most of the tribal migrations must have taken place between 1917, when the Military Expedition came to an end, and 1947. A year later, in 1948, one of the Warès villages south of the Foja-pass was entirely exterminated by an even more powerful tribe, the Moegit, also originating from the Lake Plain and since time immemorial the arch-enemies of the Warès. The latter fled as quickly as possible via the Foja-pass to the north and joined their fellow-tribesmen in the basin of the Biri. Last of all, however, the Moegit also crossed the Foja-pass, bringing panic and disaster into the Tor territory. Numerous tribes fled. In 1953 even the Warès migrated to the coast, where they sought protection against the attacks of the Moegit, who had pushed on already as far as the Boe. In 1955, the Moegit, who directed their attacks against the tribes who worked in the dammar-project on the Boe, came into contact with the police. Since

¹ See also page 30 of this chapter, and chapter VI, page 266.

² Militair Exploratie Verslag, pp. 256/296.

then, the Moegit have not ventured out as far as the Boe, but kept on harassing the eastern Upper Tor territory.

In 1957 the Civil Administration official, Maresch, then head of the District (Onderafdeling) of Sarmi, had a very fleeting contact with some Moegit, when he brought back a Moegit girl, abducted by the Warès. This contact proved very satisfactory. Most of the Moegit appeared to have retired behind the Foja-pass. A year later, the Moegit directed their attacks against the tribes of the Nimboran territory, where they had retired via the Idenburg.

Since the Foja-pass has been under the control of the Warès and the Moegit, regular contact between the Tor district and the Lake Plain seems to have been broken. However, owing to the penetration of the Foja, Mander, Soebar, and many other tribes, cultural elements from the Lake Plain were introduced into the Tor territory.

Seen in this light, an article by Cowan is of 'particular value'.¹ With the help of vocabularies, Cowan proved a relation between the languages of the Upper Tor district and the Tami languages,² which are spoken even on the other side of the Australian border. However, Cowan thought a 'direct borrowing of words between the Upper Tor and e.g. the Tami languages must be out of the question, because of the geographical situation...'. On my own investigation on the Upper Tor and the Upper Biri, I found in fact, that regular contact was kept up between the tribes north of the Gauttier mountains and the Upper Idenburg, which is the communicating-link with the Tami Plain.

We agree entirely with Cowan, when he writes, that this language adoption was not effected via the Nimboran. The contacts and afterwards the migrations proceeded via the Lake Plain and the Foja-pass. At the same time, this explains the fact, 'that the similarities of the Upper Tor and the Tami group partly differ from those of the Nimboran and Tami and of those of the Upper Tor and the Nimboran.'³ Similarities between the Upper Tor and Demta and Sentani are pretty well negligible, which might be another indication that the 'spread of culture' has taken place via the Foja-pass and the Lake Plain. It is again definitely established, that in New-Guinea one has to be extremely carefull with statements

¹ H. K. J. Cowan: 'Een tweede grote Papoea-taalgroepering in Ned. Nieuw-Guinea,' Nieuw-Guinea Studien, no 1 (1957), pp. 106-117.

² The river basin between the Nimboran hills and the boundary with Australian New-Guinea is indicated as Tami-plain. The Tami river flows into the Pacific Ocean, east of Hollandia.

³ H. K. J. Cowan, o.c. page 113.

that contact between the tribes are excluded because of a certain geographical situation. Sometimes distances in New-Guinea prove not to be so important as European investigators are apt to think.

From the Western interior of Sarmi, tribes have also penetrated into the Tor basin. All the actual facts regarding these migrations, which took place via the western Upper Tor plain, cannot easily be reconstructed. Only the route, which the Bora-Bora followed, can be traced with certainty. Formerly, this tribe lived on the Makkai, a right-hand tributary of the Apauwar. From there, they migrated eastward, following the valley between the Iriëf mountains to the north and the Gauttier mountains to the south. Stage by stage, the Bora-Bora followed the Tennem and now they have settled down in the lower course of this river.

The Waf, who also seem to come from the west, have followed the Besseh, which also takes its course through the Upper Tor plain and borders the Iriëf mountains to the south.

The migrations from the west and the east, all occurred via the large tributaries of the Tor: Foewin, Boe, Tennem and Besseh, which all flow into the Upper Tor, not far from each other. From there, the population migrated via the Middle Tor northward. A number of tribes settled in the Lower Tor territory, while another part of this 'Great Trek' reached the coast, along which these 'inland people' migrated further eastward. The Kwesten language is widely spoken along the east coast of Sarmi.¹ The population of the east coast villages Kedir, Takar, Ansoedoe, and Bettaf² still feel related to the people of the Tor. Myths from these coastal villages also point to the interior of the Tor:

'When Malia migrated with a number of men from Oeroewé (situated on the mouth of the Tor), he met two women from Kedir, namely, Sirié and Warié. Both women were fishing. The wind whistled oh. . oh. oh, weh. . weh. . . weh. . Then suddenly Sirié and Warié heard the voice of the storm in a bamboo. The two women cut that bamboo. Then Malia said to them 'Give that flute to me?' First the women refused. Later, however, they gave that flute to Malia. They could not help themselves. (?) As a sign of his gratitude, Malia then built a *faareh*, a cult house, at Kedir and taught the Kedir

¹ See also page 19 and note no 1 on that page.

² According to F. S. A. de Clercq, o.c. (compare page 26, note no 2), page 987, the villages of Kedir and Bettaf were still situated in the interior in 1893. De Clercq remarks, that the name Bettaf already occurs as a village name in the interior of the Tor on a map by Tasman.

people how they could do it themselves. From Kedir, Malia and his people wandered to Kaptiau.¹ Some days inland from that village lies a mountain (Jaffia), where Malia went to live until his daughter was grown up. One day, Malia gave his daughter a hard kick so that she tumbled down the mountain. Then she changed into a pig and since that time the people there keep pigs. Malia himself, however, went back to the coast again, to Bettaf, where he dug a very deep pit. In those times there was no rain and the rivers did not exist yet. Together with Ammèn, a Bettaf man who was married, Malia went boar hunting. Ammèn slept with his brother Soefto and Malia under the same roof. Later, Moktabersjan, a Takar man, joined them. He had two daughters. One girl was named Hoeli and became Malia's wife. Until Hoeli had given birth to her first child, they all remained near the well at Bettaf, which had been dug by Malia to obtain drinking-water. The first child of Hoeli was a boy and he was given the name of Saramsi. After the birth of Saramsi, Malia left for the Mountain Eije (Eier?), where he built a big *faareh*. This one he gave to his two sons (from a previous marriage): Tami and Kwanja. But still there was no water anywhere and the people became thirsty. It is true, that another well was dug, but that one also became dry. People had only coconut milk to drink. Malia decided to help the people again. He climbed a high tree (palmtree!) in order to fetch rain, but he tumbled out of the tree. When he climbed the tree again, he took cassowary meat with him. Now, indeed, he reached the sky (clouds), from where he never returned. While everyone that night was weeping and mourning, suddenly heavy rains poured down ceaselessly. Thus, large rivers, such as the Tor, the Boaf and the Boe, were created, which all abound in fish.² (Myth from Bettaf).

The Ittik pretend to be the direct descendants of Malia, but the inhabitants of the coastal village Bettaf maintain the same:

Malia Hoeli

|

Saramsi

|

Koidoas

|

Eboërre

|

Nadik

|

Kwetto-èn

|

Constantinus, the korano (headman of the village) of Bettaf.

¹ Kaptiau lies somewhat farther away, but the name of this coastal village was confirmed on many sides. I do not know whether formerly Kaptiau was situated more to the west.

Now Kediri, Takar, Ansoedoe and Bettaf, the villages where Malia and his family are supposed to have passed through or resided for some time, are just the very villages on the east coast of Sarmi, where the Tor language is spoken.¹ The kinship terminology and the kinship structure are also about the same as those in the Tor area, in contrast to the other coastal villages.²

*Thus the Tor territory has been an area of expulsion of peoples and their culture, which along the coast clashed and mingled with the Melanesian island-culture.*³

The spreading of the cultural elements from the three radiating centra, namely, *Dangken*, *Kwerba* and the *Lake Plain*, was not exclusively due to the tribal migrations as mentioned above. Owing to regular contact, direct and indirect, between the tribes of the three radiating centra, several cultural elements were and are still adapted into the own culture pattern. The Fatrau-complex has penetrated into the whole of the Tor territory from the Warès, Foja and Mander. Even the Naidjbeedj have recently become familiar with it via the Bora-Bora. The Ségar are the only ones in the Upper Tor territory, who are not (yet) acquainted with the Fatrau-complex, but this tribe is wholly orientated on the Western interior of Sarmi, where the Fatrau-complex is unknown. The Fatrau-complex may rightly be called a characteristic of the Tor culture.⁴ On the other hand, the Djamé-complex⁵ is characteristic of the Western interior of Sarmi. From the Kwerba area this cultural element also penetrated eastward, where via the Naidjbeedj primarily, it became a characteristic of the culture pattern of the western Upper Tor territory also (Bora-Bora, Waf and Goeammer). Due to regular contact between the tribes, the Bora-Bora learned it from the Naidjbeedj and the Bagoeidja. They adopted the dances and also the songs, which are sung in the original (Kwerba) language. During festivities among the Waf and the Goeammer, the Bora-Bora sang and

¹ See also page 19.

² Also in a few coastal villages west of the Tor, among them Serwar, myths are told about culture heroes, who came from the Tor territory. In one of these myths is told that the sago and the preparation of it originate from the Tor, probably the Middle Tor!

³ See appendix, where these expulsions and migrations schematically are mapped.

⁴ How far this Fatrau-complex also does exist in the Lake Plain is not yet known.

⁵ This complex, thus called by Van der Leeden, consists of all the representations, songs and dances, relating to Djamé, the 'mythical female cannibal.' See: 'Principal features of the social structure etc.,' pp. 15/16

danced the Siemar¹ and so spread the Djamé-complex. When I stayed with the Mander in 1958, the Daranto arrived at Matebefon, on the occasion of a *Mengan*-ceremony and danced the Siemar there, which they had learnt not so long before from the Bora-Bora and the Waf. The songs were still sung by the Mander and the Daranto in the Kwerba language, but the words are strongly corrupted, having already passed through two language areas. The Daranto as well as the Mander each speak a language, which strongly deviates from the Kwerba and they therefore do not understand what they are singing. The Djamé-complex, which Van der Leeden could still call a characteristic of the Western interior of Sarimi in 1955, now, in 1959, has spread over the whole of the Upper Tor territory. Only in the Central Tor territory, however, Djamé is still unknown. The regularly recurring festivities, to which many guests from tribes from isolated territories are invited, greatly stimulate this acculturation process.

Besides the many tribal migrations and the regular contact between the tribes in the Tor territory and between them and the tribes in the environment of the Tor district, during festivities, barter, etc., there is still a third cause for the spread of the cultural elements from the different areas, namely, living together in the same territory or even in the same village. Three factors have chiefly induced the tribes to join together: *Danger of war*; *scarcity of food* and the *contact with the Missions and the Civil Administration*.

In the above mentioned threat of war by the Warès, we have already briefly referred to the joining up of the tribes in the Tor territory. That is the reason why, for instance, the Mander lived for a long time with the Daranto in one village and the Ittik with the Bonerif. The latter also lived for a considerable time on the territory of the Beeuw, which they only left in 1958. During this dwelling-together, the tribes, coming from different culture areas, have adopted many representations and ceremonies from each other and adapted into their own particular culture pattern. With the Bonerif this is very obvious in the language and the kinship terminology. The Daranto have adopted the Fatrau-complex during the period they lived with the Mander.

Examples of a compulsory dwelling-together because of food scarcity, are: the Naidjbeedj in the territory of the Bora-Bora, and the Bonerif in the Mander area. Especially in the first case the fact of living together

¹ The Siemar is the dance consecrated to Djamé.

for such a long period strongly influenced the acculturation process in the Tor territory. The social and religious aspects of culture with the Bora-Bora, together with the material culture, are entirely linked up with the culture of the Western interior of Sarmi. It is true that this also holds good for the Waf, but to a much lesser degree, as the Waf have kept and still keep special contact with the Beeuw and the Daranto.

Of course, quarrels arose during this living-together, but tribes feared a possible war with the Ittik and the Warès so much, that only in a few cases did quarrels lead to separation or secession. These only occurred when the menace of war diminished and sometimes even disappeared, thanks to the penetration of the Netherlands Administration. This influence – Pax Neerlandica – is even felt there, where is no sign yet of direct Government control. After a minor quarrel the Daranto then left the village of the Mander and migrated westward. The Bonerif left the territory of the Ittik, while the Goeammer seceded from the Daranto.

Owing to stronger action by the Civil Administration in the Tor territory, we often observe a joining up of the tribes again. Moreover, the tribal isolation is broken by the penetration of trade and Missions. Sometimes, the Administration joined some villages together to simplify the administrative work. The very few numbers in a tribe, their (semi-) nomadic life and the hardly accessible territory, greatly hamper the administration. That is the reason, why small groups were joined together in places, which are within easy reach of the officials on tour, namely, along a large river or on the coast. Sometimes a tribe was even moved to another area, because it was a menace to its neighbours, among others, the Ittik.

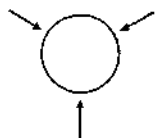
The very small communities also offer great difficulties for the work of the Missions. That is why now and then a school is built in one village, which is situated fairly central in respect to other villages in that area. The children from all the communities in the environment may attend the school in that central village. Many a time the parents consequently settle down in that central village too, provided there will be no difficulties as to food supplies or fear of sorcery.

Sometimes two or more tribes – but this is very exceptional – together build a new village with a school and a church in order to attract a 'goeroe' (native missionary and teacher) in this way. The best known example is the new village of Nemannemanfareh. On the spot where in 1958 there was still only primeval forest, in 1959 a large village was founded by no

less than three different tribes, who were not yet under direct Government control then, namely, the Naidjbeedj, the Sarma and the Weinafria. Today, Nemannemanfarch (probably) is with its two hundred inhabitants the biggest village in the hinterland of Sarma. A goeroe of the Seventh-Day Adventist Mission has a school there with more than 30 pupils, a great exception in this interior with its very scanty population.

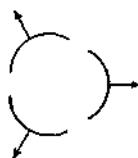
Schematically the tendencies mentioned can be represented in this way:

Before the arrival of
the Civil Administration:



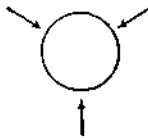
joining-together because
of menace of war

First contact
with Europeans:



separation and secessions
because of abating and
ending of wars

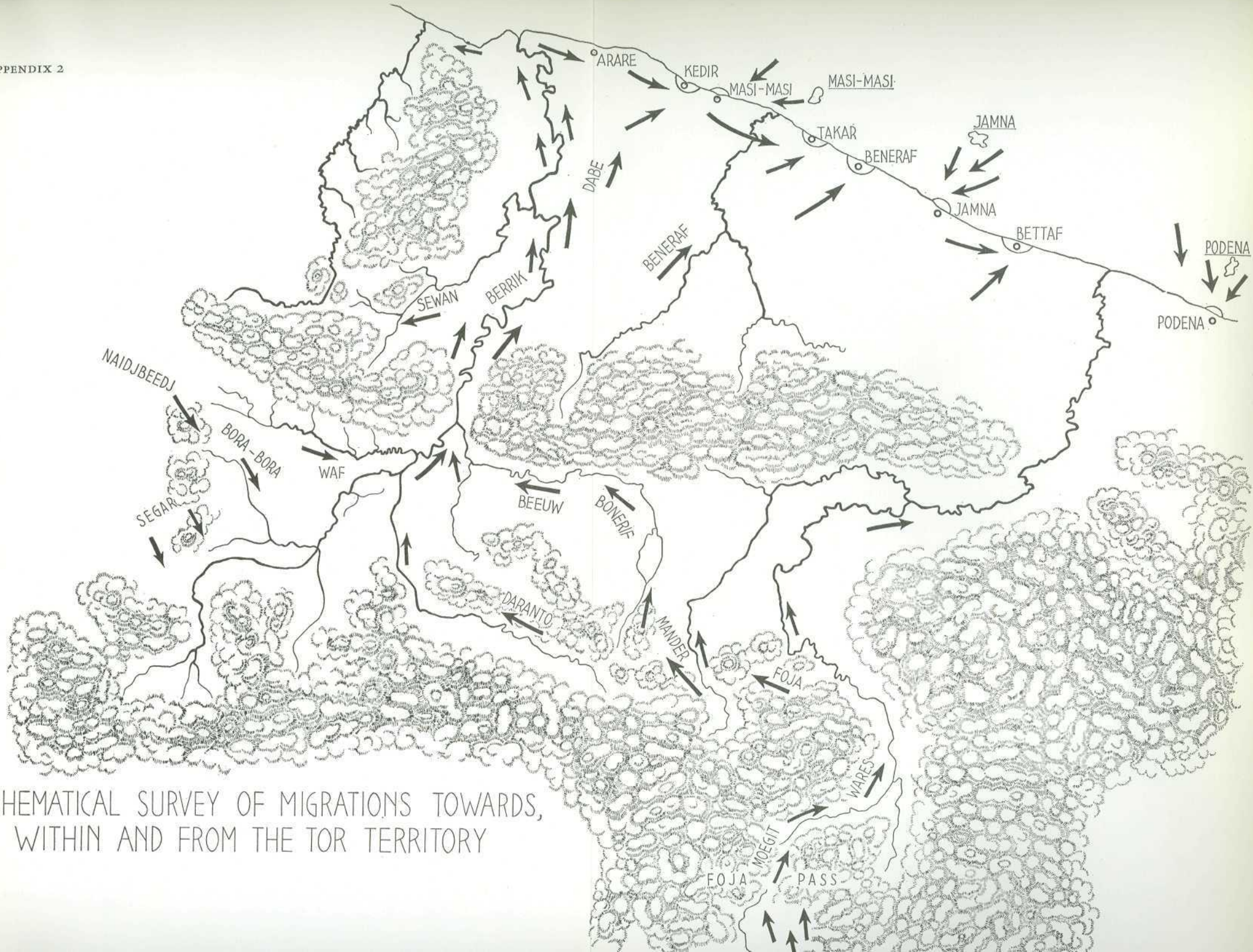
More intense action on the
part of Administration
and Missions:



joining-together

Of course, this scheme does not fit everywhere and always. In fact we found, that secessions occurred even before the arrival of the white man. Neither was a more intense action on the part of the Netherlands Administration always combined with a joining up of the tribes, because the inhabitants, on account of the afore mentioned difficulties with the food supply and their fear of sorcery, did not care to co-operate.

APPENDIX 2, to page 56



SCHEMATICAL SURVEY OF MIGRATIONS TOWARDS,
WITHIN AND FROM THE TOR TERRITORY

I. SAGO

I.1. *Distribution and significance for the society*

For their food supplies the people of the Tor district depend almost entirely on sago. This explains the great significance which sago has in the social and religious life on the Tor.

The sago palm is distributed very irregularly in the different tribal territories along the Tor. Only in the Lower Tor district and in the swamps of the Boe, the Bodem and the Boaf great clusters of sago trees are seen. Elsewhere in the Tor territory, however, only small groups of sago trees are scattered here and there. Sago ripens slowly and that is why most of the tribes have to possess a rather great number of sago-acreages at one and the same time. Therefore, a tribe like the Waf for instance, lives nearly all the time in small groups, dispersed in the different (sago) branch-villages. A few other tribes, such as the Ségar, wander from one sago-swamp to another. Generally, however, the different sago-villages are visited from the main-village. Then, of course, the distance between this village and the sago-hamlets is of great importance. The Mander, for instance, have at their disposal sago-acreages situated quite near their present main-village, Matebefon, about half an hour's to three quarter of an hour's walk from it. So, the women can reach the sago-acreages, pound and rinse the sago and return to their village, all in one day. The sago, pounded in one day, will generally be sufficient to live on for two days, so that the women only have to go every other day to their sago-acreages.

In most of the other tribes in the Tor territory, the Waf, Daranto, Bonerif, Berrik etc., the distances between the main-village and the sago-swamps are so great, that it is impossible to go to and fro in one day. Alternately, groups of women, men and children go to the sago-villages to stay there for some days, sometimes even weeks. While the women pound and rinse

the sago, the men hunt in the neighbourhood of the branch-village. However, a number of men always stay near the sago-swamp to protect the women, who are working there, because there are always men of other tribes, who want to abduct the sago-pounding women. Moreover, husbands are on their guard to prevent their wives from making secret appointments with bachelors or other men of their own tribe.

In these branch-villages women not only prepare the sago for their own husbands and children, but also for an extensive group of relatives, such as brothers, fathers, etc. However, the tribes of the Daranto, the Goeammer, and the Bonerif etc. differ from the Mander and the Ittik in this respect, that in these tribes every woman produces the sago (almost) exclusively for her own nuclear family. This manner of production stresses already the great difference in function between the Mander and Ittik family and that of other tribes in the Tor district, a difference which is demonstrated in various cultural aspects.¹

Owing to the fact that a number of people are continually absent from the community, village-life in those tribes is far less animated than in the Mander and the Ittik villages, where all the inhabitants come together again towards the end of the afternoon, because the sago-acreages are so near to the main-village.

The sago is stored in specially constructed repositories, the so-called *itinnek*. Whereas, however, in the Mander and the Ittik tribes, the *itinnek* are the exclusive property of and solely used by one single woman, in the other tribes the *itinnek* are for common use. This means that not only one family, but a group of families, who live together in one house,² possesses only one *itinnek*, at least where *itinnek* do exist in that particular village. For on account of the scarcity of sago, in most villages there is often no chance of building up a store.

The sago trees grow wild. They are never planted.³ The population however, asserts that these trees are planted by big bats (Baniki, flying-fox). These animals live chiefly in the large swamp areas of the Bodem and the Boaf and according to the Tor people that is exactly why in those areas the largest sago-acreages are to be found. This belief that the bats have always ensured - and are still ensuring - the food-supply of the

¹ See further chapter V.

² See also chapter V pages 200-206.

³ Especially on the Lower Tor this has changed the last few years.

people is also responsible for the appreciation of the people of the Tor for these creatures. The bat plays an important part in a number of myths, while the symbol of that animal is the most frequent and one of the most important symbols of the cult house.¹

However, the appreciation of the bats does not go so far in the Tor district, as to make the hunters spare them. Besides for ceremonial use, bats are even in a great demand as an appreciated addition to the monotonous sago menu.

1.2. *The production of sago*

The gathering of sago and its preparation is exclusively a woman's task. In most of the tribes this means, that women even fell the sago trees themselves. This is one reason why the sago-acreages are so much women's domain, and that men rarely ever enter the places where sago grows. There are even tribes, amongst others, the Goeammer, the Mander, and the Naidjbeedj, where bachelors are strictly forbidden to go to the sago-swamps. The same applies to those men, who temporarily are not allowed to touch anything feminine. Not only the sago itself is closely associated with the females and all that is feminine, but also the place where the sago grows. The same applies to the implements used for pounding and preparing the sago.

In view of this, almost as a matter of course, the entire property rights of the sago-acreages and the sago palms are invested in the women. Indeed the sago-acreages are entirely managed by women. Women may, if they feel inclined to, allow women of other tribes to fell trees in a certain sago 'doesoen' and pound the sago on behalf of their own tribes. During my investigation, this occurred with the Mander (July 1958). The Bonerif tribe had just moved from the village of Sasfin on the Tor to the hamlet Oerbefareh. There the Bonerif were going to help the Forestry Service in laying-out bivouacs and hewing paths in the forest, etc. However, there was no sago anywhere in the neighbourhood and the Bonerif were compelled to beg for it somewhere, if they did not want to starve at Oerbefareh. The Mander women then allowed the Bonerif women to get their sago from a certain acreage belonging to the Mander. However, when the Mander men heard of this, they were greatly agitated. It is true

¹ See chapter VI, pages 217-219.

that the women had a perfect right to give away the sago trees, but the men feared there would not be enough left for them to eat. 'Now we have so little to eat ourselves, and you must needs give away our sago,'¹ declared the men. The quarrel between the Mander men and women was afterwards amicably settled when both agreed that they would allow only seven trees to the Bonerif, but even this was quite a considerable number.

When the women pound the sago, they always do it in groups. Two or more women also work on one sago tree at a time: they chop it down, beat off the branches and remove the bark from as many places as there are women, who together own and work it. The pith which is then visible, is loosened by a special pestle (*Djòk*). The women sit on the trunk and by the aid of the *Djòk*, pound the pith to pulp. The chifs which are too coarse, are worked by their feet a bit ahead of them again in order to pound them to a finer pulp. From the bark of the sago tree a slanting rinsing-trough is made with a 'sieve,' also made of bark, at the end. In this trough the finely pounded pith, under a continuous stream of water, is kneaded and pressed through the sieve. The pulp which has been squeezed out many times, in this way, is then thrown away. The water in which the sago is suspended by the kneading and squeezing, is pressed through the sieve and is caught in another receptacle, also made of the bark of the sago-palm. In the second trough, the water remains until, after some time, the sago has sunk to the bottom. The water, which now is of a reddish colour, is run off. The sago meal is left. That is packed in a 'baai' (a basket made out of tree bark), and carried home.

The whole sago-production process demands heavy labour and some practice. Girls of about 8 years of age already go with the adult women, are given a small pounder in their hands and are taught how the pith must be pounded.

When pounding the sago, the woman sing a rythmical song: a kind of 'hymn of labour.' This singing visibly stimulates the tempo and especially the stamina of the women, who pound the sago. The text of the songs varies. I got the impression, that they improvise and vary the same theme, which relates to the sago pounding. For instance, when I visited the Mander women during the sago pounding, they began to sing: 'the Tuan and the women pound the sago,' 'the Tuan and the women pound the sago,' and went on repeating it endlessly.

¹ This was grossly exaggerated.

The most popular song of the Mander women, which is repeated again and again, goes: *Dé - to - éé, dé - to - éé, dé - to - éé.*



Dé - to - éé, Dé - to - éé, Dé - to - éé

'*Détóllé*' means the contents of the sago tree, the pith, which according to the Mander (and the other Tor tribes) becomes loosened, when it is sung to in this way. Though it is quite clear to us, that only the rythmical singing influences the achievements of the women, the people of the Tor believe that also the words themselves have a power which lightens the work of the women, more than when they only pound in silence. The same idea is found in the song, that the Bora-Bora women are accustomed to sing when pounding:

Dja - trèk, Dja - trèk,
Samèh - trèk, Samèh - trèk,
Dja - trèk, Dja - trèk; etc.

According to the Bora-Bora, this song is a sort of command to the sago tree to turn its pith into pulp (= *trèk*).

The singing of all these women, accompanied by the regular beating with the *Djòk* is heard far and wide. When the women get very tired, they interrupt their singing by making hissing sounds, whilst they go on pounding.

During the time that the women are working, the babies lie on a high scaffolding, tied by rattan bands. All over the Tor territory such raised floors are erected to serve as resting places for the little children. Sometimes there is a roof of leaves over it. The mothers then have their hands free. Only now and then during the rinsing and squeezing of the sago-pulp in the rinsing channel, one can sometimes see the mothers carrying their babies in a cloth of flattened out tree-bark or in a kain (sarong) on their backs, which greatly hampers them in their work.

2. HUNTING

Only the men hunt. The spoils, however, among the greater part of the tribes, are so minimal, ^{ours} that the men therefore only make a small contribution to the food-supply of the tribe.

In the first place, wild boar are hunted. This, however, is absolutely impossible without the help of dogs, small, lean and mostly mangy animals, who track the wild boar and chase them. The dogs know just how to hold the boar – especially when these are not too big – till the hunter only has to shoot the killing arrow. Without the assistance of his many dogs, a man can do nothing, the more so because, on the whole, Tor men are very bad marksmen. The arrows are always directed at the so-called 'tempat mati,' the spot lying directly behind the fore paws of the animal. However, even when shooting a tame pig in the village, while it stands still and the distance between the animal and the marksman is not more than 5-7 metres, the chances of hitting that 'tempat mati' are very small indeed.

Besides hunting wild boar, they also hunt the cassowary. However, never once in all my two years of investigation have I seen or even heard, that a cassowary was shot by a Tor man. Only in the tales a man occurs, who must have formerly lived and have been an extremely successful hunter of the cassowary. It also seems, however, that there are but few cassowaries in the Tor district. Their traces are mainly found in the Upper Tor territory.

For the food-supply of the Tor tribes, smaller animals than cassowaries or even wild boar, are far more important. Of the smaller animals in the first place should be mentioned the iguana and the various kinds of lizards which are found all over the country. Generally they are caught by hand. Further there are: rats, (opossums), mice, tree-frogs, and many kinds of larvae. Only snakes are not eaten.

Bird shooting occupies a special position. Birds, like the hornbill (*Rhyticeros plicatus ruficollis*), the brush turkey (*talegalla jobiensis*), imperial pigeons (*Ducula bicola*), parrots and many others are very plentiful in this territory. For the shooting of birds shelters are used; these consist of round huts built of branches and leaves in a forest, preferably on a high hill. These huts are one and a half to two metres in diameter and are so high that the hunter can easily handle a bow of 1.75 metres in it. A number of holes in the hut are used as loop-holes. Now and then the

hunters imitate the cry of the birds and that is done so marvellously well that this warbling and crying is indistinguishable from that of real birds. Very often an instrument is used to imitate the warbling and crying of the different birds. In the eastern Upper Tor district such instruments are often made out of scooped-out fruits in which a number of holes have been pierced. The birds, decoyed by this treacherous noise, generally fall a prey to the bird-hunter, especially if he is a good marksman. This form of shooting, however, demands much patience on the part of the hunter.

The hunting-weapon is the bow and arrow. Only the smaller animals are caught by hand and then killed by a blow with a chopping knife. There are just as many various types of arrows used, as there are various types of game. There are many kinds of bird-arrows, fish-arrows, boar-arrows and arrows to kill human beings. However, in practice, this distinction is not rigorously observed. Each kind of arrow has its own name and even in the Mander alone, I observed and noted 13 different main types. These were 13 basic types of which there were even dozens of possible varieties and every variety again has its own name. This name changes as soon as the arrow is of a different shape or is ornamented in a different way. The shape is chiefly connected with the kind of game which is to be hunted and with the fantasy of the one who carves the arrow. Van Eechoud mentioned in his report an enormous collection of arrows, even with the appropriate names.¹

The arrows consist of a bamboo shaft, about 1.70 metres long and a bamboo head, carved into all sorts of shapes. There are also arrows with wooden heads or with heads made of a cassowary or lizard's bone. The arrow heads are often master pieces of wood-carving and great attention is paid to the decoration of the bamboo arrows. The outside of the bamboo head is worked upon with the teeth of mice, whilst the hollow inside is painted red. This paint is obtained by chewing a certain kind of tree-bark, which mixture, when mingled with saliva, gives a red liquid which is waterproof.

This arrow carving is not done incidentally, between the other 'activities' of the men. Carving and repairing is a point in the men's working programme. It is a striking fact, that the carving and decorating of the arrows

¹ See J. P. K. van Eechoud: 'Verslag van de Exploratietocht naar Centraal Nieuw-Guinea, van 3 mei 1939 - 10 mei 1940.' ('Report of the Exploration tour to Central New-Guinea, from may 3rd - may 10th 1940).¹ pp. 165-186; pp. 231-256.

always take place on fixed days of the month and quite a group of men work on it at the same time. On certain days – it is not known to me, however, how these days are fixed – a number of men, generally five or six, take ample time to replenish their arrow supply. As tools are used: pigs' teeth and knives made of bones, for the coarse work, and teeth of mice for the more delicate work. The bone knives have now, for the greater part, been replaced by iron ones, but the teeth of pigs are still in use for fashioning bows and arrows.

Every man owns a great number of arrows of which he is the sole owner. That means, that they are not at the disposal of anyone else. In fact, it is regarded as a great disgrace when a man must borrow arrows from another. Being a private property, the arrows are broken and then burnt when a man dies. Only the ornaments on the shaft remain the property of the group to which the deceased belonged. His sons carve the same ornaments on their own arrows, sometimes with small variations, when the son is clever enough to express his fantasy on his arrow. Normally the men go hunting alone, only accompanied by four or five dogs; without them he is helpless. Only very seldom two men, either two brothers or members of one domestic family,¹ go hunting together. However, it is only the bachelors who are allowed to hunt in numbers together. In every village ten or twelve bachelors can be found to organize large drives, especially when traces of boar have already been discovered, in a certain part of the tribal territory. A day before the hunt is to take place every arrow is examined and, if necessary, repaired. When drives are to take place in the borderland between two tribal territories, two bachelors are sent as deputies to the other tribe(s) in order to inform them of the coming battue. This custom is strictly observed. Otherwise, the arrival of so great a number of able-bodied men, armed with bow and arrow, might be wrongly interpreted. A drive may last several days. Especially when a feast is impending and the guests have to be treated to a lot of food, among which pork meat, the drives may take three or four days. A week later the drive is repeated. After all, one or two boars are not sufficient to provide the guests with enough food as well. This is certainly not the case, when the objective is to gain prestige and respect by the distribution of a lot of pork.

Special wild boar are required also for religious ceremonies. When a feast is held in the *faareh* (cult house) where the sacred flutes will be

¹ See chapter V, page 200.

played, a special flute-boar must be killed. With this meat the flutes will be 'fed.' Otherwise the piping of the flutes will not have any effect.¹

If the *Wambo*² will have any effect, a special *Wambo*-boar is needed. These *Wambo*-boar and flute-boar are almost always hunted in drives, because as a rule, they are more successful than an individual hunt.

Occasionally, the bachelors invite a married man to assist them in their drives. This is done in order to have his dogs at their disposal, because unmarried men have hardly any dogs. It may also occur, that in a certain tribe very successful hunters live, such as Bostar with the Mander and Moeri with the Bora-Bora. In that case, such a married man is invited to participate in the drive, because of his personal accomplishments. However, the drives are a form of hunting, which is only practised by bachelors.

Between the hunter and the dead boar a special relation exists: when the spoils are divided between the fellow-villagers and consumed by them, the hunter who has killed the animal is not allowed to eat of it. This only holds good when the hunter has personally killed the beast. If the boar had already been killed by his dogs, the hunter may then partake of part of the spoils. Should, however, the marksman partake of the meat of the boar killed by him, according to the prevailing belief in the Tor district, his hunting luck would forsake him and he will never again be able to shoot a boar.

That which applies to the hunter, also applies to some of his relatives. Among the Mander, neither his father, nor his mother, nor his (elder) siblings are allowed to partake of the meal. On the other hand, his wife and children are allowed to eat the meat. Relatives in grandparents' generation, too, get their part of the spoils. These taboos of the Mander stress again the great significance of the hunter's family of orientation.³ The *Ségar*, the *Naidjbeedj* and the *Bora-Bora*, tribes from the western Upper Tor territory, only forbid the hunter himself and his namesake to eat of the slaughtered animal. Among the *Daranto* and others it is the rule, that the hunter and his siblings are not allowed to eat from the spoils.

It appears, that also when the spoils are divided certain rules must be observed. When the spoil is not a boar but a *couscous* (*phalanger*), an *iguana* or any other small animal, the father of the hunter is first of all

¹ See chapter VI, page 231.

² See chapter III, 'Wambo,' pp. 143-145.

³ Compare also chapter V, pp. 198-200.

given a portion; then his mother's brother and further all the brothers-in-law to whom the hunter is indebted for gifts of food. From a shot boar, the mother's brother first receives a portion and afterwards the other relatives. But in all cases, however, a portion is reserved for the hunter's wife and children, be it then only a small part of the total spoils. It may happen that in following the tracks of the boar one goes so far that one enters the territory of another tribe. However, this tribe has been warned beforehand, so that there is no objection whatsoever to chase and kill the harassed and already wounded animals on the territory of the adjacent tribes. Custom, however, demands, that in any case half of the killed boar is given to the tribe in question. This custom is strictly maintained.¹

The boar are sometimes trapped, but this method is only known to the Waf and Daranto, or anyhow they are the only ones who make use of it. In a spot where numerous tracks of boar meet, a wooden erection is built and covered with leaves. A very sharp pointed arrow is fastened to a branch in such a way that there is a high tension on it, and, as soon as the boar touches the branch, it becomes loose and flies in the direction of the animal.

Investigation has shown, that Daranto men have adopted this method of hunting from the Waf, who in their turn have learnt it from a Papua of the coastal area east of the Tor. This form of hunting was not much used. The older members of the tribe even considered this an inferior method. Actually it was chiefly a number of younger men, who set such traps in the forest.

The lower-jaw of the slain boar is always kept as a trophy. Between the leaves of the roof of a house, one always sees one or more jaw-bones of the boar. First of all these jaw-bones are hung up in the *faareh* (cult house). Hanging there they serve to further the success of the hunt, but as well, and possible first of all, for reasons of prestige. Guests, who enter the *faareh* during the festivities or on other occasions, must be impressed by the hunting luck of the tribe and the abundance of food at their disposal. For the same reason, rattan strings to which blown brush turkey eggs are attached are hanging in the *faareh*.

¹ A case is known, in which the Bora-Bora and the Ségar were at war and the Bora-Bora saw their way to shooting a boar on the territory of the Ségar, during a 'raid.' On this occasion they promptly left half of the spoil for the Ségar. The next morning, however, the Ségar village was burnt down by the Bora-Bora.

3. FISHING

More than any other form of food supply, fishing depends on the weather. Two methods of fishing are used: 1. Fishing with bow and arrow. 2. Damming and poisoning the rivulets.

Fishing with bow and arrow requires a lot of skill from the fisherman. Instead of bow and arrow, sometimes merely an arrow is used, the so-called '*bien*,' which is thrown with the hand. This arrow (spear) consists of a shaft to which 3-5 heads are attached. This fishing-method can only be practised in small rivulets through which the fishermen can wade, having the arrow ready to shoot or throw. The Tor itself is not important for fishing: the masses of water are too big and the stream is too swift, while the muddy water hides the fish from the fisherman! But heavy and continuous rainfall swells even the rivulets to mighty streams, which prevents all fishing. Especially at the foot of the Gauttier mountains and in the mountainous country itself, it rains hard all the year round. And if it does not rain one particular day, the rivulets are swollen all the same, because of the rains higher up the course. Because of all these facts, there are only a few days in the year left, when men can go fishing successfully. However, during the very few dry days every single moment is used for catching fish. Once I was present when the Bora-Bora man Gwennem came home late from a visit to the Daranto tribe. Wading through a river, not far from his own village, he discovered a great number of fish. Arriving home he woke every one up by a lot of shouting and noise and told them what he had discovered. Immediately - it was nearly midnight - all the men started, armed with bow and arrow, and flaming torches, in order to try to catch some fish.

The second method is as much dependable on the weather as the first one. There is no sense in poisoning the water unless it is almost stagnant. Moreover, swollen and rapidly flowing rivers cannot be dammed. Only after a long rainless period can one begin to dam. A number of boulders are put one against the other right across the current between the banks of the river. In front and behind these boulders small tree trunks are laid. The spaces between the boulders are blocked up with sand and over the trunks and boulders leaves and branches are laid. When at last the current has almost been checked, the water is poisoned in many places. A number of roots of the Niubbur tree are gathered and wound into a knot (ball). The bundle is put on a solid object, a boulder or a tree trunk and firmly

beaten with a branch or stone. In this way, the skin of the roots comes off and at the same time part of the roots are pulverized. These crushed bundles are swished to and fro, for some time, in the water. Sometimes the men dive down very deeply to put the poison from the roots as deep as possible. Very soon afterwards, 10-15 minutes, the fish float to the surface, dazed. The fisherman then only has to spear them on his arrow. This method of fishing is always more profitable than shooting with bow and arrow. During my visit to the Mander, eight men caught more than fifty fish in this way, small and large ones, in about 25 minutes.

In order to have enough poisonous roots at their disposal, some tribes, among others the Naidjbeedj, cultivate the Niubbur tree in and around the village.

While the men swish the crushed Niubbur roots under water, they sing softly, almost in whispers: *Goerié, goerié, goerié*, etc., which means: 'die, die, die.' Others sing in the same way constantly repeating themselves: *Aadebaai, aadebaai*, etc. (die quickly, etc.). Sometimes there are men who, as they declare themselves imitate the sounds of the dying fish. The fishermen declare, that the continuous repeated commands uttered in sing-song tones such as: 'die,' 'die quickly,' 'come to the surface,' etc. are successful. Here we encounter the same religious conception again which also played a part in the sago-pounding and which also has its influence on hunting. How far this singing really influences the fishing, the investigator has been unable to discover. At any rate, the fishermen never try to catch something merely by singing: 'die' or 'come to the surface.' Nevertheless, the population most emphatically declares, that the sing-song is definitely successful.

In many cases, the dam does not block the whole of the river but a few gaps are left in the middle. In this way, the dam is prevented from being flooded. Upstream from the dam, the men begin to beat the water and drive the fish in the direction of the dam. Near the opening, the other men are standing, to catch the fish which try to escape. Sometimes they use arrows, with or without bow, or only their hands.

The methods of fishing described above are almost exclusively practised by men. As a rule, the women have no opportunity to go fishing. Their many tasks take up the whole of the day. Now and again, however, one sees women fishing, especially when they are on their way to look for vegetables. The jungle is intersected by numerous little brooks with hollowed banks. Lying flat on their stomachs in the water, the women

sometimes grabble with their hands under the hollow banks of these rivulets. However, they usually do not catch many fish, only crawfish and numerous kinds of shellfish. This form of fishing may also be considered to be a form of gathering forest produce.

Between the fisherman and the fish caught the same relation exists as between hunter and the boar killed by him. It is, however, not prohibited for the fisherman to eat from the fish he has caught. The relationship fisherman - fish is most clearly marked during the actual catching of the fish. The fisherman spears the creature and after that puts it on the bank or, at low water, on the dry patches in the river bed. Afterwards, another man than the one who has speared the fish, picks it up and puts it on the leaf or in the net in which the fisherman keeps his fish, and carries it home.

The reason for this custom is made clear by a number of myths. Thus the Waf relate, that once there lived a man called Nébier. 'This man was an expert fisherman. But one day when he went out fishing, he did not catch anything. He realised that something was wrong, because this was unusual. Only towards the evening of the second day did he catch his first fish. This was a very special one, which he had never seen before. Nébier examined it very attentively and then put it into his basket. Suddenly he heard some one saying: 'I am Waf, do not put me into that basket.' (Does this mean, 'Do not eat me?' O.). 'Throw me back into the water.' But Nébier did not pay any attention to this. He went home, and told his wife the whole story. She got frightened, but nevertheless the fish Waf was eaten. The next day Nébier and his wife were dead.'

Here again we see the same relation as that between the hunter and the boar killed by him, which he is forbidden to eat. However, by letting someone else put the fish into the basket, the fisherman appears to escape the threat of death, whilst he can consume the very necessary food all the same.

Yet this custom is not strictly observed everywhere in the Tor district. The man who goes out fishing alone can hardly wait until someone else comes along who will pick the fish up for him and put it into his basket. In this case, the fisherman first leaves the fish for sometime on the bank of the river near his basket or net. Later on when he goes to another part of the river or homewards, he picks up the fish himself and lays it into his basket.¹

¹ For the social significance of fish, see paragraph 8 of this chapter, page 82 and chapter IV, page 160, seq.

4. THE DOMESTICATION OF PIGS

It may happen that during a hunt the young boar are also rounded up. Where it is possible the baby boar are caught, and brought home and taken care of. Hence, in the majority of the villages in the Tor district many such wild boar are found, in all sizes. This live-stock, however, is only augmented by catching more young wild boar in the forests. There is no question here of pig-breeding. The better word is 'domestication.'

The boar wander in and about the village and everything digestible disappears irrevocably into their greedy insides. The cultivation of turnips or other food plants is impossible because of these animals. Fences are of no avail.

In the very first place it is the woman's duty to look after these animals. It is she, after all, who has at her disposal the principal food (sago) of the societies on the Tor. Not only all human beings, but all animals, such as boar and dogs, as well are dependent on her. Very young boar are fed on sago-mash, while generally the bigger ones are fed on lumps of unpounded sago which are thrown to them.

Again this domestication of the wild boar demonstrates, that sago – and in a lesser degree it also applies to food in general – is of more than just biological value. The distribution of food creates certain relations. This applies, in the first place, to the interhuman relationship, but the animals are also involved in these relations. Thus through the dealing out of sago to the boar, a special relationship is created between them and the woman who looks after them. Perhaps this relationship may best be described as 'mystical': the woman who provides the boar with sago, addresses it as 'my son' or 'my daughter.' Her own children call it 'my brother,' or 'my sister,' while the rest of her relatives also include it in the same way in their kinship relations. The boar is also given a name in the same way as her own children. Very often, the little animal is named after the place where it was caught or found. However, there are boar who bear the same name as the boys and girls in the village, which in my opinion proves, that in the eyes of the Tor inhabitants these animals are really part of the community.¹ Moreover, this is apparent in numerous other conceptions and customs. For instance, when a man or woman dies, the boar which

¹ See for 'name-giving' and its significance, chapter VI, pp. 257/258.

belonged to them is killed too. However, nobody will eat of that meat! It is given to the dogs.¹

The boar really take part in the social life of the tribe. For instance when the Mander man Bostar, already father of two children, respectively 5 and 8 years of age, makes a call on his kinsmen, who are living in another village, his 'younger brother,' the boar Tibié, accompanies him. Bostar then calls: 'Tibié,' and the boar which is looked after by Bostar's mother Mada, comes running up to him. The road to the other village leads through rivers and along steep, slippery slopes, but Tibié faithfully follows his 'elder brother.' When Bostar leaves, he gives Tibié a sign (according to Bostar Tibié knows by himself when his 'elder brother' leaves) and goes home accompanied by his 'younger brother.' In the same way, the women are repeatedly followed on all their trips by their 'boar-children,' for hours on end and even on their most difficult expeditions.

When the boar is fully grown, it is killed. This occurs on the occasion of some feast or other, may be profane, may be sacred. If there is no feast in prospect then a feast is organized at the time of the slaughter itself, when guests from other tribes are invited.

A distant relative² spears the animal. The meat is divided between the whole tribe and all the guests present. Only the man or woman and his (her) family, who have looked after the boar are not allowed to eat anything. The bachelors Ewan and Woram even left the village when their boar were killed on the occasion of a profane dancing feast. When I asked the reason why the people who looked after the boar were not given anything to eat, they answered somewhat indignantly 'who would eat his own son or brother?'

This means, apparently, that they have all the trouble and none of the enjoyment, whereas all the rest of the tribe profit by it. In fact, each boar has but one owner. Every villager can indicate the owner, be it male or female, whereas the animal is, however, reared for the good of the whole community. Every tribesman considers himself a co-

¹ The dogs of the deceased are not killed, but become the property of his younger brother or his sons. The government has tried to prevent the killing of the boar, when the owner died. This also applies to the hewing down of the fruit trees. In certain aspects this has been successful, at least on the Lower Tor, where the Mission and Government have been established for some time. The inhabitants of those villages gave as a reason, that, if they went on slaughtering the boar at the death of the owner, the deceased would be given the boar's blood to drink in the hereafter.

² The term here applies to someone who has the least close kinship ties with the owner.

partner!¹ The question arises here as to what profit the owner himself or herself has from the care of the animal. He or she has to give sago to the animal, which is so scarce anyway in most villages, and which is often saved out of their scanty ration. When the animal is fully grown and slaughtered, only the co-owners benefit from the meat. The boar, however, is not kept in the first place to serve as food. The owner uses the meat as a medium of exchange. Moreover, it is also used for the fulfilling of his social obligations, such as food gifts to certain (affinal) relatives. After all is said and done – and this is a very important factor – the rearing of the boar and the distribution of the meat bestows honour and prestige on the owner.

To be able to partake of the meat oneself – in fact the food-situation is rather precarious in most of the communities in the Tor district, and roasted pork is a much coveted and favourite dish – many boar owners have their animals reared by members of another tribe. When such a boar is killed, the owner *himself* can eat of it to his heart's content. Only the one who looked after it, that is the person who has given it the sago, is not allowed to touch it. Thus in numerous villages in the Tor district, boar are found at large, which are not the property of that particular tribe, but of other tribes. Boar, belonging to the Ségar are tended by the Bora-Bora, and the Waf look after the pigs of the Daranto. In the Mander village of Matebefon, on the upper course of the Boe, there was a boar around, which belonged to the Saffrontani, who live far away in the lower Tor basin. For the rearing of the boar, the 'herdsmen' receive a compensation in the form of fish, fruit, a knife or, of late, even textile.

5. THE COLLECTING OF FOREST PRODUCE

Sago, even though it grows in some places in sufficient quantities, is a food, poor in nutritious ingredients. Certain nutritious elements which the body badly needs, such as proteins and fats, are completely lacking in it. Besides what the fishing and hunting yield, these missing elements are mainly provided by the products which are gathered in the forests, and therefore form a good addition to the very monotonous sago menu. Proportionally the quantity of foodstuffs collected would appear rather negligible, as the bill of fare of the Tor inhabitants consists for more than 90% of sago. The collected shellfish, larvae, slugs and worms signify, however, much

¹ That everyone considers the boar as his property is demonstrated by the fact, that everyone, who has food to spare, throws it to the boar.

more than appears from the percentage. As fishing and hunting bring in very little, these larvae, crabs and many kinds of worms etc. are of rather great importance for providing the necessary proteins and fats.

A distinct division of labour on a sex basis does not exist for the gathering of forest produce. While the preparation of the sago is exclusively woman's work, and hunting a man's job, the collecting of foodstuffs is done by both sexes. However, in practice it is again the women who mainly collect the forest produce. The men seldom bring something along. And if they do bring something edible from the forest, it is usually as an excuse for their absence from the village and their presence near the sago-acreages or the places where larvae and vegetables are found, and where the women generally are present.

Among the vegetables which are found in the forest, the kankoeng (*Ipomea Aquatica*) is the most important. Other leafy vegetables are not really sought, but picked up in passing. The collection of these leafy vegetables is almost entirely the work of the women. The produce chiefly gathered by the men, are the fruits of the bread-fruit tree and the Matoa tree. The former can be gathered all the year round. Deep incisions are made in the fruit with a sharp object and then it is thrown into the fire to puff. The seeds, the size of a marble, form a very good and tasty food. The fruit pulp is not eaten in this area. The kankoeng as well as the bread-fruit are gathered with a purpose. The Matoa fruit, on the contrary, are eaten in passing. To obtain these fruits the whole tree is very often chopped down. Perhaps in consequence of these predatory methods, the Matoa tree is rarely seen in the Tor district, even along the river banks.

The egg-hunting (eggs of the brush turkey) is chiefly done by the men. The women follow a more direct route in the forest: from the village to the sago-acreage or from the village to the places where the vegetables and larvae are found, and back again. The men, on the contrary, roaming about the forest during their hunting trips often happen to find nests of the brush turkey. The 'koréta' builds a big nest of twigs, leaves and refuse, sometimes three metres high and six to seven metres in diameter. In these huge nests are passages in which the brush turkey lays its eggs. The men burrow with their hands in these nests until they strike the passages and find the eggs. Mostly, there is already a chicken in those eggs. Such 'eggs with contents,' as the people of the Tor call them, are a much appreciated delicacy. They also play an important part in the presenting of food gifts to special kinsmen, in the same way as with the fish.

6. PLANT CULTIVATION

Comparative little attention is paid to the laying out and cultivation of gardens. To start with, a number of big high trees are cut down and the wood is then set on fire. This clearing, usually near a river, is the beginning of a garden. The felled trees are then left where they are and, when later on the grass and weeds have grown high, form the only paths of communication in the garden. When the gardens are the property of a group of people, the felled trees form the boundaries between the different plots.

A branch with a conical head, cut with a sharp implement, is used to make a number of holes in the ground in which the banana and pawpaw trees are planted. In the majority of cases these are the only plants in a garden. Only in the territories which are under government control are quantities of tobacco planted to provide for the new and growing need of tobacco. Tuberous plants such as ubi and kladi, Indian corn and pulse were, until now, unknown in the Tor district. The Mander and the Daranto have also planted sugar-cane in their plantations and one or two people from one or other tribe have also some green vegetables in their garden.

As soon as the banana and pawpaw trees are planted, they are left to look after themselves. The only important action, which can be considered as an attempt to tend the plants, is sexual intercourse in the plantation, which is customary among some tribes. According to them, this should stimulate the growth of the plants. On the other hand, however, when illicit intercourse takes place in the plantations 'the fruits grow crooked' or 'the plants will not grow.'¹

The lay out of the gardens concerns the men as well as the women. The man, in fact, generally does the preparatory chores such as cutting down the trees and setting fire to the forest. The woman clears away the many obstacles such as branches and leaves and together with her husband she plants the crops. The plantations may be the property of husbands as well as wives. If the wife is the owner, she will usually also look after her plantation. However, the husband has the right of usufruct. The same applies vice versa. If a man is the owner then he looks after the plantation and the wife also has usufruct rights. But, as mentioned before, not much attention is paid to the gardens.

The fact that bananas and pawpaws are the only crops is the reason why

¹ See chapter III, paragraph 6, pp. 135-140.

the output of the gardens only contributes to a very small extent to the food-supply of the communities in the Tor district. Bananas as well as pawpaws, moreover, ripen very slowly. The plantations are dispersed all over the tribal areas, so that sometimes the distances between the villages and certain plantations are very great. For the men who are hunting, or the women who go to the sago-acreages, these dispersed gardens are a godsend, because they can always find something to eat on the way. Other plantations are layed-out in the neighbourhood of hotel-villages and the security-villages. However, nobody waits until the bananas or pawpaws are ripe. The unripe bananas are thrown into the fire to puff. The pawpaws are cut into pieces and cooked in water.¹

Bananas and pawpaws are not a prey to the gluttony of the wild pigs. Possibly for this reason, bananas and pawpaws are the only crops. Among the Mander, for instance, where the sugar-cane is also planted and also among the tribes who nowadays also grow kasbi and kladi, the wild pigs cause a lot of damage to the gardens. Fences, which might protect the crops, do not exist. The Mander have solved the problem of these boar who uproot everything, by erecting shelters, where the people spend the night in turns. As soon as the boar forces its way into the plantation, it is the duty of these watchmen, usually two or three families or a group of bachelors, to chase them away. The Mander have even built a small branch-village on their very large plantations, where a number of men and women together have planted trees, sugar cane, and tuberous plants. This branche-village could just as well be called a 'guarding-village,' according to the function it fulfils. The Daranto and the Waf have also such 'guarding-villages.'

Coconut-palms are found almost exclusively in the lower Tor basin. In the Upper Tor district, they are practically non-existent. The possession of such palms is not suitable to a population which is constantly changing its domicile. The Bora-Bora for instance do own a number of coconut-palms which grow in the basin of the Apauwar, where they used to live. Although

¹ This cooking is generally done now in metal pots, obtained from traders, who give these and other implements as compensation for services rendered or in exchange for damnat. Earthenware pots, such as are used in certain parts of the Western interior of Sarmi are unknown in the Tor district. Another common method of heating the water required for the preparation of pepéda is as follows: - One heats a number of big stones in a fire and then places them in a bowl of water, and so on, until the water is really hot. This hot water is then poured on to the dry sago, and stirred constantly till a mash is formed which is called pepéda.

these trees now stand in the territory given to the Naidjbeedj, they remain the property of the Bora-Bora, as they were once planted there by their ancestors. On their journeys to the Naidjbeedj or even farther to the Sarma or the Bagoeidja, the Bora-Bora pluck the fruit and eat it on their way.

The general tendency is observed that the older men do more work in the plantations than the younger ones. These old men, who are of little value in the production process, stay for days on end in the gardens and carry out all kinds of light jobs. However, they do not only do it in their own gardens, but also in those of their (classificatory) children, younger brothers and sisters and their sibling's children. They build tiny shelters, cut away branches, burn refuse and so on. The younger ones repay their 'fathers' and 'elder brothers' for these activities with sago, which is brought to the plantations. Another more 'modern' form of repayment or remuneration is that the young men pay the income tax for their old fathers, who have no income themselves and therefore are unable to pay their obligatory yearly contribution of F. 2,— – F. 4.— or six guilders to the public revenue. These old men are not able themselves to leave their tribal territory to serve the government or traders in order to earn money. For many young men this, however, incurs a 'sur-tax' (over-burdening), especially when they themselves are not working for money either. Therefore, a number of young men migrate from their own village in the Tor district in order to earn money to pay their own taxes and those of their 'fathers.'

In the Upper Tor district horticulture in a more European sense is now already forcing its way. The large population concentrations at Neman-nemanfareh (Naidjbeedj, Sarma, Weinafria), where more than two hundred people live together, and at Gwattefareh (Bora-Bora) where now also a number of families from the Ségar and from the Naidjbeedj have migrated in order to send their children to school, have created quite a problem as far as the food-supply is concerned. Both of the 'goeroe's' (teachers) of the Seventh-Day Adventist Mission rightly concentrated their activities, in the very first place, on the horticulture in these tribal territories. In and around these villages large cultivations of kasbi are now found, while in the plantations round the village mainly Indian corn and beans are planted (katjang pandjang, katjang hidjau and katjang tanah). This wider economical scope does indeed make a large population concentration possible, whilst the food-situation in these villages has also improved. The influence of this can already be felt in the tribal social

life: people no longer need to go so often and for so long a time to their sago-villages. Moreover, several men now contribute more to the food-supply in the village. However, the greatest change is that the nuclear family does get a greater significance as an 'economical unit'.¹

To protect the kasbi, the Indian corn and bean cultivations, the boar which used to be at large here, have been transported to the branch-villages near the sago-acreages, among others Kabegoeimie. Instead, poultry is now kept in these villages, of which the eggs and meat may provide an important contribution to the food-supply in the Tor district in the future.

7. THE FOOD SITUATION

The food situation in the Tor district is very liable to fluctuations: fishing is well-nigh impossible in the rainy season; hunting spoils are very irregular and hunting is only intensely practised when a feast is expected to take place. The quantities of sago also show weekly, even daily, big fluctuations. All this makes the food situation very unstable and often very precarious. Most tribes have so little sago at their disposal, that it is impossible to form a store. Generally, each village has only one or two *itinnek* (wooden erections in which the sago-meal is stored). In many villages these *itinnek* are non-existent. Here the shortage of women and girls is also keenly felt, so that the food-supply (sago-gathering) for the whole group rests on the shoulders of a few women. For this reason storage is difficult, even if there is sufficient sago. Most *itinnek* are built by the Mander, where the sago is not only sufficient, but where the sago-production is entirely intended for the nuclear family. Where, however, the sago is already scarce and the sago-acreages are at great distances from the village, it is not at all uncommon that for days at a stretch, there is no sago available in the village itself. This occurs regularly with the tribes such as the Goeammer, Waf, Daranto, Bonerif, Kwesten, Bora-Bora, etc. The bill of fare then consists of roasted bananas and some bread-fruit. Sometimes they do not eat at all.

Generally, the young, newly married men have the most food at their disposal. The young wife is capable of preparing sufficient sago for her husband, children and even also for her (classificatory) brothers and fathers. Bachelors have but little nourishment. As long as the boys are small,

¹ See chapter V, paragraph 2, pp. 197-206.

their mothers and sisters look after their food. When the youths, however, are mature, their mothers are often dead already, whilst their sisters in the first place prepare the sago for their husbands, children and people living with them in the same house (domestic family). What is left over, is for the bachelors, but that is in most cases very little. As the number of bachelors is increasing all the time and there are so few women and girls, the bachelor feels the pinch of the shortage of food more and more. This lack of food is also one of the reasons why the bachelors leave their villages for a space of time and undertake long roving expeditions in and outside the Tor district.¹

As far as the food situation is concerned, the old men come off the worst. Generally their wives are so old and weak that they are incapable of preparing sufficient sago. The old men do not go hunting anymore and are very often also unable to collect the forest produce, as the bachelors can. This economically weak position of the old men is greatly responsible for the manifold occurring polygyny, and the peculiar forms of it.² This is also the reason why old people are often felt as a burden, sometimes almost too heavy for the community. In times of great food scarcity, certain tribes leave the old and crippled in the bivouacs (to die), when the tribes go roving in search of food.

The most ideal meal consists of sago and fish. Without fish, which is usually roasted, the population do not consider their meal complete. However, when there is some fish, be it ever so little, the sago has to be prepared in a special manner. The menu then starts with baked sago (sago bakar): the dry sago-meal is strewn on a banana leaf and on top of this are laid stones, the size of a man's fist, which have been heated in the fire. The hot stones are then entirely covered with the sago-meal. After that the banana leaf is folded and wrapped securely and tied with the veins of leaves. This package is then thrown into the fire and when it is burnt black on all sides, it is opened and the stones taken out of this now tough and roasted sago. The sago cakes are eaten without fish. When the 'sago bakar' is consumed, the pepéda (sago mash) is served together with the roasted fish or eventually roasted pork. On these occasions enormous quantities of sago - taken for granted that there are such enormous quantities available - are consumed. In most cases, all the sago stored in the village is eaten. Nobody cares, if for the next day, or even

¹ For the other reasons for the great mobility of the bachelors, see chapter V.

² See chapter III, Polygamy, pp. 128-134.

days, there will be none at all. Sometimes the sago is saved up by eating little or nothing for days at a time. However, as soon as there is fish or roasted pork in the village, the saved sago is consumed in one meal. This way of saving sago until there is fish, also causes great fluctuations in the daily sago-ration.

It is not yet known in how far this rather one-sided bill of fare and the above described methods of feeding influence the constitution of the population. A medical investigation will have to determine this. It is possible that the high rate of still-born children is a consequence of the food situation, which is very much the same as the situation described in the village of Nubuai in the Waropen, by Oomen.¹

Gradually, however, the type of diet is changing. In the paragraph on plantations, a number of new plants were mentioned which had been imported into some villages in the Upper Tor district. In the eastern Upper Tor district the Netherlands Administration since 1958-1959 has started a large project for the exploitation of the acreages of the Agathis tree. Tribes such as the Itrik and the Bonerif and some men from other tribes as well, who are employed by the Government as day-labourers, receive a remuneration as well as a certain amount of food, mainly consisting of rice and tinned fish. It is true that the plantations as a result are more or less neglected, but the food situation for these people has certainly improved. It is unfortunately a drawback – but this seems unavoidable – that certain tribes in this way become (entirely) dependent on transport for their food supply. When transport is interrupted or employment ceases, the population starves. The Berrick-Tenwer amongst other tribes were an example of this in 1958. When there was no more work (private dammar exploitation stopped) there were only neglected plantations in Tenwer, which yielded no fruit, or plantations where only tobacco was cultivated.

The unstable food situation and the frequently occurring scarcity of food are the reasons why the acquiring of food is of such enormous significance in the culture pattern of the Tor district. On contracting a marriage, the food acquisition is a factor of fundamental importance. The food-situation greatly affects the choice of the marriage partner, and also to a great extent the rule of residence after marriage. Dearth of food is of great significance also in certain forms of marriage, e.g. polygyny.

¹ H. P. C. Oomen: 'Poor food patterns in New Guinea.' *Nieuw-Guinea Studien*, 1958, no 1, pp. 39, 40, seq.

In kinship relations as well as in the relations with other tribes, the described food situation is evident, just as in the whole social structure. The status of the woman is determined to a great extent by this economical factor. Social groups mostly function as economic units whose purpose is to produce food jointly for their use or to have joint control of the food-supplies.

Religious life is aimed at consolidating the food position when natural means do not suffice. Fertility and vital power are the central themes in the religion of the people of the Tor district.¹ It was for all these reasons that this chapter was headed: '*The economic base.*'

8. THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FOOD

The production of food is not only and entirely meant for the maintenance of the body. Neither is the need of food only defined by mere biological factors, but to a great extent also by factors of a social and religious character.

Food is indispensable for establishing contact and for the consolidation of social relations. In the preceding chapters was already mentioned that '*fas efforian,*' the 'we understand each other, but are not on speaking terms,' was not, in the first place, expressed in words, but by refusing to offer food to somebody. Conversely, every conversation – and this also applies to negotiations (barter), parleys (amongst other things for establishing marriage relations) etc., – is introduced by the offering of food. Language and food again appear to be very closely related in the Tor district.

The distribution of food gives standing and prestige! During the festivities, to which guests from other tribes are invited, the hosts do their utmost to offer their guests as much food as possible. These distributions of food often have the character of a potlatch: one tribe tries to outdo the other. The gathering of so much food, however, demands great exertion. Months beforehand people are busy collecting the necessary quantities of sago, fruits and boar. Months at a stretch, before the feast as well as after it, the hosts themselves starve; before the feast, because they stint themselves of their scarce food to be able to offer it to their guests; and after the feast, because the food distribution was far more than they could afford. In the Tor district also, however, the rule holds good that 'man shall not live

¹ See chapter VI.

by bread alone.' Owing to the precarious food situation in the Tor district, it often is for many tribes impossible to give their hosts a greater or even an equal return feast, notwithstanding an exertion of months. In that case these tribes feel so ashamed and so hurt in their pride that they take to other means 'to revenge' themselves. That was the reason why the Ségar-Mébo abducted a girl and two women from the Bagoeidja in 1957, while the Ségar-Tor practised sorcery¹ against the Bora-Bora for the same reason.

Among all kinds of food, sago is of the highest social and religious value. Sago is a token of 'vitality' (vital power) and sometimes of life itself. It is also for this reason that the association sago and woman acquires a deeper significance. For woman herself is the giver of life and that in a double sense. It is she, who bears the children and again she is the one, who sustains the community by her production of sago. The association sago and life is also demonstrated by the belief of the people of the Tor that no sago can grow in the villages of the deceased. That is why life after death is torture. For that reason the deceased always have to ransack the villages of the quick to get the sago, which again entails great dangers for the latter.² Sick children are often rubbed with sago to give them 'new vitality.'

Without sago, people feel weak, tired and lack energy. For instance people, employed by traders or by the Government and who have merely eaten rice for a long time, say that they are starving because they got no sago. That was the reason why the labourers at Oerbefareh repeatedly left their bivouacs to go for a long time to the Mander in order to eat some sago. 'We feel so weak and tired,' they gave as a reason, though they got sufficient food at Oerbefareh, where they worked on the dammar project.³ But the food consisted of rice and beans! 'Vital power is only contained in sago,' according to them. Hence the custom in the eastern Upper Tor district of rubbing wounds and diseased parts with sago.

The sago is indissolubly bound up with marriage and sexual intercourse. The latter also serves to promote the continuity of life. The only marriage ceremony in the Tor district consists of the woman giving sago to her future husband, prepared by herself as a consolidation of the marriage bond. The offering of pepeda, however, to just any man means the same

¹ See (for this) chapter VI, page 265, seq.

² See chapter VI, page 261.

³ See page 93, seq.

as sexual intercourse. Hence, there exist avoidance rules between relatives of different sexes, by which a man is forbidden to eat pepeda, prepared by a certain female relative. Thus incest is to them not only the actual sexual intercourse between two relatives of different sexes between whom that intercourse is forbidden, but also the offering and the accepting of the pepeda.¹ Their idea is that, as informants expressed it: 'When he accepts the pepeda, he does have sexual intercourse with her.' It is not quite clear to me, whether this saying refers to the fact that these two actions are synonyms or whether it implies that the former action, as a matter of course, is followed by the latter.

The sago fork is the symbol of the penis. In the Upper Tor district it is the custom, that men, especially bachelors, take their sago forks out of their hair and show them ostentatiously to the girls and women. This gesture involves an invitation to sexual intercourse. Expressions also, in which the words 'sago' or 'pepeda' occur, as a rule also refer to sexual intercourse. During the marriage ceremonies, for instance, the bystanders crack all sorts of jokes referring to the sexual intercourse of the young couple, which are worded in 'sago' terms. For instance: 'If you always get so much pepeda, you will be happy (*senang*)' and similar expressions.

That the sago is the symbol of the female as such, obviously appears from the initiation² of the youths and from the prohibition to enter the sago-acreages for those men, who for some reason are not allowed to come into contact with something female.

Of old, the most costly gift which a man must bestow on his relatives, is fish. Homage to his wife's elder brother for instance, is paid, first of all, by offering fish. Even if for a long time no fish has been caught, and presents are given or exchanged such as knives, pins, etc., no one is ever exempt from the obligation to offer fish to the relatives, who are entitled to it. The social and ceremonial significance of fish expresses more than just its value as a nourishment. Therefore fish also plays a great part in the many food taboos. After their initiation the youths are not allowed to eat fish without scales, until they have taken part in the '*mengan*'³ ceremony. In the western Upper Tor district men, who organize a drive, must refrain from eating scaleless fish. The same applies also to the men

¹ This does not count for siblings, who are 'children of one navel.'

² See chapter VI, paragraph 3, 'The House of Fatrau,' pp. 239-247.

³ See chapter VI, paragraph 5, 'Rites de passage,' page 259, seq.

who want to play the sacred flutes.¹ Hence the 'ikan cascado,' the Malay word the people of the Tor use for 'fish with scales' is of such a great significance for every aspect of life on the Tor.

Other food taboos, such as for husbands whose wives are pregnant, for mothers after childbirth, for hunters, for initiandi, for people whose wife or husband has died etc., refer to green vegetables, shell fish and occasionally also to pork. The latter taboo applies especially to husbands, whose wives are pregnant.

9. LANDED PROPERTY AND TENURE (USUFRUCT)

Every tribe in the Tor district has a territory of its own at its disposal, the boundaries of which are accurately fixed. Seldom or ever is there a difference of opinion about the line of the boundaries, even though they are nowhere marked by signs. As much as possible 'natural boundaries' are taken as the dividing line, such as rivers, hill ridges etc. Frequently, however, the border-line runs right across a river or through the forest. An example of the former is the boundary between the tribal territories of the Bora-Bora and the Waf, which runs right across the Besseh. The upper course of the river belongs to the territory of the Bora-Bora, while the lower course is part of the tribal territory of the Waf.

The land tenure of a tribe comprises equal rights for all tribesmen to collect forest produce, hunt and fish, cut down sago-trees, lay out gardens and to live there. These rights date right back to the past. People argue thus: 'Our ancestors (*aboaai*) lived here,' or 'Our ancestors were the people who built their dwellings in this territory.' Very often these ancestors have even set their stamp on a certain territory, as, for instance, the progenitor (forefather) of the Ittik, who created the rivers with their fish, and the boar.

That is why the land tenure is on principle inalienable. It can only cease to exist in two cases: 1. When a tribe is extinct. 2. When a tribe has left its territory for a long time (read: for ever).

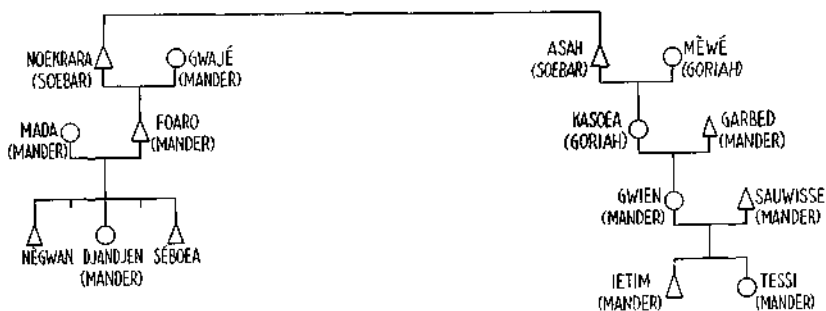
ad. 1. As long as there is one person living who is descended either through his or her father or through his or her mother from the ancestors, the land tenure is maintained. For instance, the dammar-acreage Siesif is situated in the territory of the Gorja, who are now extinct. Only the

¹ See chapter VI, page 232.

Mander woman Gwien is a direct descendant from these Gorias through her mother and her mother's mother (see scheme 1), so she is the only one, who can claim rights to that dammar-acreage.¹ Therefore, only the Mander are allowed to tap dammar in that territory.

The tribe of the Soebar, also extinct, owned a large sago-acreage between the basin of the Boe and that of the Siir. Several tribes in the Upper Tor district want to gather their sago there, but again only the Mander have a claim to that area. The Mander man Foaro is the only descendant of the Soebar (See scheme 1).

SCHEME 1



ad. 2. What the term 'a long time' conveys is rather vague.² The people themselves say, that an area is abandoned when a tribesman no longer urinates or empties his bowels there. In this manner they want to express the idea, that a tribe maintains the land tenure as long as one of his fellow tribesmen, be it male or female, visits that territory. When that has not been done for 'a long space of time,' the tribe loses its tenure. So the Mander and even the Warès have no longer any claims to their former territories south of the Foja-pass (in the Lake Plain area). In contrast to this, the Ittik remained owners of the area on the Boe, the Bodem and the Biri, even though they had lived on the coast for years, because regularly the Ittik 'passed their urine and emptied their bowels' on that territory. Chiefly for purposes of revenge against the Ittik who in former years were the terror of the Tor district, not all the tribes have always strictly respected these rights of the Ittik. However, that does not make

¹ For the kinship reckoning see chapter IV, pp. 176, 177, seq.

² See also page 183, seq.

this rule invalid. The Bora-Bora also retain their claims to their original territory in the basin of the Apauwar, because they do indeed visit that territory regularly.

Land tenure is a collective right. All the men and women of the tribe irrespective of age, have the same rights. Every member of a certain tribe has the same property rights on the territory as his fellow tribesmen. No one person has more authority over the territory than another. Decisions on territorial matters, such as the granting of certain rights to non-tribesmen, have to be made by the whole tribe (see below). In this respect, the interior of the Tor differs from the coastal area of Sarmi. For there, the *Safotemto* (*Ondowaffi* or tuan tanah; land-steward), is a prominent figure on territorial matters. Recently the tribes, who already are under Government control, have been urged to follow the example of the coastal area and other territories in New-Guinea (amongst others Hollandia and Sentani) and appoint an 'ondowaffi.' For the Administration and the traders, it is of course more satisfactory to negotiate on territorial matters with one person, having full authority, than with a whole group of people. In contrast to the nomination of the korano, however, who is appointed by the Government, here the tribes are requested to indicate the *ondowaffi* themselves, which is indeed a very wise decision. However, until now the tribes of the Tor district do not seem very keen to appoint such a 'land-steward.' This institution means nothing to them. Moreover, they do not feel the least the need for such a functionary, which they certainly do, for example, in the case of the function of korano.¹ After all, it appears that the men who might be considered suitable for the function of the *ondowaffi* are not very attracted to this position. Apart from that, there are not so many men in every tribe, who would be suitable, because of the many special conditions! In the Mander, for instance, only a man, whose patrilineal as well as matrilineal grandparents were Mander and dwelt in the Mander territory, can be appointed *ondowaffi*. This clearly demonstrates again that the right of land tenure harks back to the time of the progenitors and so is inalienable. To the Mander man Abies, who fulfilled the requirements mentioned above, the function of *ondowaffi* did not appeal at all. The responsibility was too much for him. He did not dare nor want to make independent decisions in matters which actually concerned the whole tribe i.e. all the descendants of the progenitor, who

¹ See chapter V, page 197.

live on the territory. For the same reason there is still no *ondowaffi* with the Bora-Bora, the Waf, the Goeammer, the Daranto and the other tribes. The only tribe who had an *ondowaffi* in 1959 was the Ittik, who got to know the institution on the coast.

The collective proprietary rights of the whole tribe on the territory should be sharply distinguished from the individual and collective property and usufruct of trees, private gardens and plantations. The collective land tenure gives the tribesmen the right to plant trees and lay out gardens on the territory. These latter become then private property. The man or woman, who plants the tree or sugar cane, is the owner, unless he or she emphatically mentions the name of another owner, when planting the tree or cane. In that case the one for whom the tree was planted, is the sole owner and this is told to the tree as well as to the owner. In this way parents lay out gardens for their children or a mother's brother plants trees and crops for his sister's children. In this way plantations or plots of plantations may be the property of one special man or woman.

Between the owner of a tree and the tree itself a relation exists, which may be compared to the relation between a woman and her pigs. The trees are given a name by the owner. At least, this was the case in the eastern Upper Tor district. On the death of the owner all his (or her) trees are cut down and the fruit burnt. Generally, however, the people of the Tor have already given their trees to their children or siblings before they die.

The sole owner of trees and plants, however, is seldom or ever the only one who has the usufruct of the plants. Siblings share in the usufruct of each others' trees and gardens. Husbands have the usufruct of the crops and gardens, belonging to their wives, and vice versa. In addition everyone is entitled to give the usufruct of his trees to a special friend or kinsman. Between certain tribes, there is an agreement, that when they stay in each others' territory and are hungry, they are allowed to use the fruits of the gardens.

Between the collective land tenure on the territory and the private property there are all sorts of intermediate stages. An example of this is the collective property of trees. In the south-western part of the Tor district, it is customary that a woman or a man is the sole owner of a tree, until the first crop is plucked. The tree then falls to the tribe or to a small group of kinsmen. The man remains the owner in name, but the

whole tribe has the usufruct and has a say in the matter. The latter is demonstrated by the fact, that on the death of the owner, the tree is not cut down. Thus, for instance, the coconut palms in the basin of the Boer are the collective property of all the Bora-Bora.

Another intermediate form of property concerns the right to the sago trees in the tribal territory. These are the collective property of the whole tribe. Two or three women, however, may get exclusive rights to a sago tree, for instance, when they have cut down that tree together. A similar arrangement existed here and there regarding the dammar trees, in which case those who were the first to tap the tree, could then claim all future rights to it.

A tribe may grant some of the above mentioned rights to another tribe or to some of their tribesmen. Thus, a generation ago (about 25 years) the Bora-Bora granted the Naidjbeedj the right of use to that part of their territory, belonging to the basin of the Apauwar. The Naidjbeedj received at the same time the right to settle in that territory, to gather the forest produce, to fish, to hunt and to lay-out gardens. The area, however, remains an inalienable part of the tribal territory of the Bora-Bora. However, if nothing out of the way happens, the Naidjbeedj will keep their rights of use, which in course of time assume more and more the character of land tenure. As far as is known the only, but very important return on the part of the Naidjbeedj consists of having given a number of sacred flutes¹ to the Bora-Bora.

A similar situation, in which a tribe permits the entire use of part of its territory to another tribe, exists between the Ittik, the Ittik-Tor, and the Bonerif. However, these rights reach back farther into the past than is the case with the Bora-Bora and Naidjbeedj. The Ittik and the Bonerif have a number of myths, according to which the progenitor (culture hero) of the Ittik, Malia, once ceded to Kesser, the progenitor of the Bonerif, a certain part of the Ittik area. For a long time the Ittik and the Bonerif dwelt on the same territory. At a given moment the Ittik, being short of sago, started cutting down sago trees on the acreages which had been granted to the Bonerif. A great conflict ensued, which ended in the Ittik refusing the Bonerif the usufruct of the territory. They made this known by the words: 'You Bonerif are no longer allowed to empty your bowels here.' From sheer necessity - for the Ittik were much more powerful than the Bonerif - the latter migrated to the swamp of Bandraf

¹ For the significance of this, see chapter VI, pp. 232-237.

and afterwards from there to Sasfin on the Tor. In 1958 the Bonerif moved again to the territory, which had originally been allotted to Kesser (Oerbe-fareh) and which is indicated on the attached map as Ittik territory. Now that peace between the Ittik and the Bonerif is restored again, the Ittik acknowledge the right of the Bonerif to use that particular part of their territory. However, when in 1958/1959 that part was bought off by the Civil Administration from the Ittik, the Bonerif were very dissatisfied, because they did not receive part of the sum paid by the Government.

A tribe may grant another tribe or some of the tribesmen special, minutely prescribed rights. That of usufruct of another's plantation has already been mentioned. A tribe may give others the right to hunt and fish on a particular area of his territory. Others can also obtain a right to certain trees. Once the Mander gave the Daranto certain claims to a part of their dammar-acreage between the Upper courses of the Boe and Foewin. The former also once gave the Bonerif the right to cut down seven sago trees in the sago-acreage near the village of Iefte and work them. The Bora-Bora once granted a similar right to the Waf, when the latter had had no mature sago trees at their disposal for a long time. But these and similar agreements differ from tribe to tribe and are greatly dependent on the scarcity or abundance of the sago in a particular territory, while social and demographic relations are also of great influence. These factors, after all, determine for the greater part also the whole pattern of property rights and usufruct in the Tor district and therefore may show greater and lesser differences among the various tribes.

10. BARTER AND EXCHANGE

Barter and exchange in the Tor district is mainly a part and a function of the existing social relations. These cause between the members of one tribe and also between the different tribes mutually, a very brisk circulation of articles of native as well as of Western make.

Barter, of which the main motive is to obtain articles which one lacks or which are not available in sufficient quantities, in fact, only takes place between tribes which do not maintain close social relations. As a rule these are tribes which are hostile towards each other, such as the Mander and the Beeuw, or tribes, who do not know each other because they live so far apart, or do not speak the same language, etc. In the south-western Upper Tor district barter displayed the characteristics of 'silent trade,'

which took place on the border of two tribal territories. Such a form of barter still occurs regularly in the borderland of two culture areas, where representatives of those areas meet. The people of the Tor such as the Waf, the Daranto, the Beeuw and even the Saffrontani and Berrik carry their products to the territory of the Bora-Bora, where also people from the Western interior of Sarmi come to exchange their articles. The Bora-Bora act as 'brokers' and interpreters on such occasions as the other Tor tribes do not understand the Kwerba-language of the Bagoeidja, Naidjbeedj, Dobbera, Sassawa and other tribes from the Apauwar basin. Once in a while the Bora-Bora enter the territory of these tribes from the Western interior of Sarmi in order to exchange products, which the other Tor tribes have given them to exchange. This exchange is carried on in the same way as between the Mander and the coastal population, where the Beeuw act as intermediaries. The main product of this latter exchange is the dammar.

Further there are not so many articles which are suitable for exchange. There is too great a uniformity between the tribes with their almost entirely self contained economy of the village, also as far as their (rather poor) material culture is concerned. Dogs for instance are in great demand and much sought after as an article of exchange. The Bora-Bora obtain their dogs, indispensable for hunting, from the Goeammer and once in a while also from the Waf. The Bora-Bora deliver those dogs again to the Naidjbeedj and the Ségar, who in turn possibly sell them again to the other tribes from the Western interior of Sarmi.

A 'modern' article of exchange is poultry, for which the inland tribes pay with arrows and pork.

The Bora-Bora once felt themselves badly cheated by such a transaction. They had bought some chickens from a tribe along the coast, on payment of arrows and pork. However, as roosters were much cheaper than hens - and the Bora-Bora actually did not know the difference between a rooster and a hen, only that the former was larger and fatter than the latter - they 'bought' practically only roosters and thought: 'How smart we are!' They could buy these bigger roosters for many fewer arrows and less meat. When later on, however, they learned the usefulness of the hens, they tried to save face by attacking the tribe from whom they had bought the roosters.

Of purely economical character is also the agreement, by which the tribes who tend the boar for men of other tribes, receive in exchange a compensation in the shape of articles of native or Western make.

Besides the articles which have an immediate value for the food-supply, there are others which, chiefly for the sake of social purposes, are obtained by barter transactions. To these belong not only the drums, which for instance the Bora-Bora obtain from the Naidjbeedj and which the Mander in their turn get through the agency of the Daranto from the Bora-Bora; but also cassowary quills, which are worn in the earlobes (the Mander sell these quills to the Daranto), strings of shells, shell-rings, etc. Other very favoured articles of exchange are also the charms and other objects having occult power which can cause disaster and damage to other people.¹ Notorious for their sorcery are the Kwerba, who sell their 'bewitched' articles through the agency of the Naidjbeedj and the Bora-Bora to most of the tribes in the Tor district and the Western interior of Sarmi in exchange for pork and articles of the Western culture.

II. THE DAMMAR EXPLOITATION

The Tor district is exceedingly rich in dammar (copal), a resin of the *Agathis* tree. The largest *Agathis*-acreage is found in the Sidoearsi hills in the eastern Tor area (Boe-Bodem area). Smaller *Agathis* groves occur on the upper courses of the Boe, the Foewin and the Tor and on the northern slopes of the Gauttier mountains, among others on the mount Aaire.

The people of the Tor have always used this dammar as a source of illumination, which is of great significance for the whole social life. In my opinion, this can hardly be stressed enough. Round a flickering dammar light the people sit together in a number of houses and talk about the events of the day, gossip and make fun of other tribes. Villages, lacking dammar, present a less lively picture at night. The people go to sleep there much earlier, because the wood fire does not promote social intercourse to such a degree. The amount of dammar at the disposal of a tribe even determines the planning of the day's work. In many tribes, the distances between the main-village and the sago-villages are so great, that it is impossible for the women to be back in their main-village before dark after a day of sago-pounding. This applies for instance to the Bora-Bora. But on the days when the men have collected enough dammar, the women do return to their main-village every day, even if it is as late as 9 o'clock at night. By the light of the dammar, the sago is distributed,

¹ See chapter VI, page 266, seq.

prepared and eaten. If there is no dammar, the women remain for some days in the branch-hamlets and come back later in the course of the afternoon to prepare their food by daylight.

As long as there is dammar in a village, the people have a lot to tell each other, which is important for the forming of a public opinion¹. During my investigation on the Upper-Boe, the men even refused on one occasion to discuss with me a number of tales and myths, when it appeared that there was no more dammar in the village. Their argument, expressed in Malay, was: 'Tida ada dammar, tida ada bitjara' (there is no dammar, we cannot speak together). Also when guests from other tribes are visiting the village, whether dammar is available or not is of great importance. The preparation of a (big) feast, either profane or religious, is accompanied by the collecting of great quantities of dammar, which is burnt in the houses during the mealtime or during the dancing and the talks at night.

On purpose I do use here the word 'collecting.' Generally there is no sign of tapping. The men dig the dammar out of the ground round the foot of the Agathis tree. Sometimes the resin comes of its own accord out of the bark and drops down; but often also the men make deep notches in the trunk, from which the dammar comes out and then flows along the trunk down into the ground.

This dammar exploitation by the population is now coming to an end. For the dammar is very valuable as an export article to Europe, where it is used in the chemical industry (varnish etc.). Moreover, the wood of the Agathis tree seems to be very suitable to be worked into triplex and multiplex. The European dammar exploitation was up to 1958 in the hands of private enterprises. Many Chinese, some Eurasians and a very few Papuas of the coast were interested in these concerns. The Eurasian dammar traders especially have exerted great influence: before the second world war Mr. Tessensohn (in this area known as Samson) and after the war Mr. Boelaart van Tuijl. The latter in particular has stimulated the dammar exploitation and exported a great deal, although he had to work under very difficult and strenuous circumstances. For the people of the Tor district his activities were of great consequence. He was the man who introduced the money-system into the Tor district. While the Chinese traders bartered (barter) the dammar from the population for (a very few) articles such as tobacco, textile-fabrics or ironware, Mr. Boelaart paid them in money, with which they could buy what they

¹ See further chapter V, pp. 191-195.

required on the coast. Mr. Boelaart also went with the people into the dammar area and in this way controlled and stimulated the production just as Mr. Tessensohn did before the war. He had shelters built on the Boe, where various Tor tribes dwelt together. In this way the Beeuw and the Bonerif had one shelter together at Oerbefareh, whilst the Berrick-Tenwer and the Saffrontani shared one at Djaarfareh, the place where the Djaar flows into the Boe. In these shelters not only the men of various tribes, but also their wives and children, lived for a long time and learned to get on together. This was of the greatest consequence for the acculturation process in the Tor district! Because the wives and children migrated with the men, a disruption of the community was prevented, which so often is the result of migration by men alone.

Of course, there are a number of difficulties inherent in this method. The Missions, who had a number of schools on the Lower Tor, were opposed to the migration of the children, who, in consequence, would not be able to go to school. Moreover, the plantations in the actual dwelling centre were more or less neglected, which meant that the population became dependent on the import of rice, which Mr. Boelaart transported in dug-outs from the coast to the shelters.

The money-system was introduced at a very quick rate and that also had its drawbacks. For instance, Mr. Boelaart tried to stop the marriage by exchange, by introducing the bride-price to be paid in money, and in fact some marriages have been contracted under these conditions in the Tor district. But the marriage by exchange – and indeed every form of exchange – is a base of the whole social life on the Tor, so that the stopping of this exchange, by the rapid introduction of the money-system, causes a great tension. Money also highly affected the relations between the various tribes. The people of the Tor have always felt inferior to the people of the coast, who in turn look down on the people of the interior. Mr. Boelaart, however, was always stressing the point, that because of their money the Tor people were not in the least inferior to the people of the coast, on the contrary, they could now assert themselves anywhere. While formerly the people of the Tor hardly dared appear on the coast, they now assume an attitude of superiority, as they are the 'money-owners' when they come down to the coast. Formerly sexual intercourse between inland men and women of the coast was unthinkable. Since the former have money at their disposal (and goods as well) sexual intercourse frequently occurs, especially between the girls and women from the coast

and the bachelors from the interior, with or without a compensation in money or textiles. That, of course, irritates the men of the coast, who have no dammar and consequently no money, so now and then serious quarrels break out between them and the 'inland-people.'

With the money, which the people of the Tor receive for their dammar – about F. 25,— to F. 60,— a bag of 80-100 kg.,¹ which depends upon the fact whether the dammar is 'clean' or 'dirty' – they could buy all kinds of Western articles such as axes, choppers, textiles, etc. Through the agency of the Tor tribes these articles also came into the possession of tribes in the Western hinterland of Sarmi, who had actually not been in touch with Western culture. Because of the rather intensive circulation of articles – presents and counter-presents – these articles circulated as far as the remotest parts of the Sarmi hinterland. They even reached the basins of the Terra, the Oméri and the Mamberamo, where e.g. the Soromadja use chopping knives which have come from Mr. Boelaart. So the Tor district is the gate-way through which these articles are (were) introduced into the hinterland of Sarmi.

By carrying-up rice and tinned-fish for the labourers and their families in the dammar areas, Mr. Boelaart helped to improve the precarious food-situation.² The drawback to this transport has already been mentioned, namely, that the population depended entirely on the import and the plantations were neglected or only planted with tobacco to meet the growing need of smoking requisites. When in 1958 the import of rice suddenly ceased, a great scarcity of food arose amongst some of the Berrick tribes and Bonerif, etc., which caused a sudden starvation.

In the same year (1958) the Government of Netherlands New-Guinea (Forestry Service) began to explore the Agathis-acreages in the basins of the Boe-Bodem, which from that time were closed to private exploitation. First the Government had investigated the possibilities of a profitable dammar exploitation and when the exploration made favourable progress, exploitation was started in 1959. Herewith a project in which millions of guilders are invested, was started: the Tor was made more navigable by clearing away the obstacles in the neck of the meander between the villages of Tenwer and Samonente. An auto-strada is projected from the Sidoearsi mountains to the coast. At the end of 1959 parts of the ground-

¹ On the world market the price of 100 kg pure dammar is approximately between F. 160,— and F. 180,—.

² Those foodstuffs were abstracted from the pay.

plan were already layed out. In the Agathis-area itself a small aerodrome has been constructed, which makes a quick supply of men and material and the transport of products possible. An entirely new village is being built with a simple clinic and even a school, so that the labourers can settle down permanently with their whole family in the dammar district on the Bodem. This enormous million-project will soon make Sarmi one of the biggest, perhaps even the biggest, export harbour in Netherlands New-Guinea.¹

Owing to this great project of the dammar exploitation the Tor district will (soon) be included in the western economy and production for the world-market. During my investigation, changes caused by Western influence, were hardly noticeable. Along the Lower Tor these influences were most obvious. But in the Upper Tor district, some tribes had not yet been brought under Government control, and others had only recently been contacted by the Civil Administration. However, it may be expected, that in the very near future great changes will take place in the culture of the Tor district, as described in this monograph.²

12. DIVISION OF LABOUR BETWEEN THE SEXES, STATUS OF THE WOMAN AND THE ECONOMIC BASE OF RANK

The preceding pages have made it quite clear that men and women each have their own chores. Trade, wood-carving, house-building and hunting are typically male occupations, to which a great many religious ceremonies should be added. Women, however, have to look after the food-supply of the tribe, which gives them, also because they are so few in number, an exceptionally high position all over the Tor district. This is demonstrated in various ways.

Public opinion is chiefly determined by women. When strangers come into the village, the women's attitude determines the way in which these strangers are to be received. When they do not like the visitors – and that

¹ Mr. Boelaart had achieved in January 1958 already a dammar production of half a million guilders a year. The Government will be able to effect a manifold multiplication of the production, owing to the gigantic project. In addition to dammar also copra from the rich coconut-acreage on Sarmi's east coast is exported via Sarmi.

² The Forestry Service asked me not to publish too many data about their dammar exploitation, such as about: regulation and buying off of the territorial rights, set-up and method of exploitation, etc. Time is not yet ripe, because everything is still in its first stage. For these data, however, we refer to the publications of the Forestry Service, as reports, etc.

may be a single stranger – the women leave the village all together. This is a sign to the men, that they have to chase the stranger away from their village, more or less forcibly. It can also be the other way round. During my stay in their tribal areas, the men repeatedly came to me and said: 'Friend, our wives like you very much.' This was also apparent when the Bora-Bora and Mander women went and pounded some sago, specially for me, and which they offered to me through their husbands. (Otherwise it might be wrongly interpreted!). Also because these women were pleased to see me, I obtained all the co-operation and friendship I could wish from the tribes.

Husbands have a great respect for their wives. During the discussions round the fire and the talks by dammar-lights, the women often do almost all the talking. This respect is rather great, especially when the woman produces a lot of sago, but it does not prevent the husbands from giving their wives a good thrashing, now and then, because the fire has gone out or because there is not enough sago or because their wives have committed adultery, which often is connected with a (too) small sago production. However, when a wife is badly treated by her husband, she tells him so frankly. When words do not help, she runs away from him. There is no greater shame for a husband, than when his wife leaves him. A man, however, will never leave his wife or send her away, because he is too dependent on her.

For that matter, the contracting of a marriage and the way in which the men talk about marriage, also demonstrate the high position which the woman occupy.¹

The fact, that women are excluded from certain religious ceremonies (or are not allowed to see some sacred objects or are forbidden to tread sacred soil or houses), does not discount this statement in the least.² Van Eechoud came to the same conclusion regarding the area between the Mamberamo and the Apauwar.³ Therefore it seems somewhat strange, that Van der Hoeven mentions in his report an inferior position of the woman in the area of the Apauwar. He reports there: 'Indeed, few areas will be found, where the woman is so absolutely without any authority and rights, as just here.'⁴ Of course, it is possible, that Van der Hoeven

¹ See further chapter III, page 99.

² See chapter VI, page 239.

³ See 'Report,' part 2, pp. 73-77.

⁴ J. v. d. Hoeven: 'Verslag van een mislukte tournee naar de Mamberamo, 2-16 December 1950.' (Report on an unsuccessful expedition to the Mamberamo, 2-16 December, 1950).

met exceptional cases. However, also according to Van der Leeden¹ the women are not without rights in the Western interior of Sarmi and they do certainly have authority and influence, also in social matters (marriages among others). Also my own experience in the Western interior of Sarmi between the Upper Apauwar and the Mamberamo contradicts what Van der Hoeven says with regards to the position of women in the basin of the Apauwar.

Economical factors are also a cause of certain differences in status among the men. An hereditary chieftainship is unknown here.² All men have the same political status. There are some, however, who, owing to their personal qualifications and achievements in the economic line, have obtained greater authority in their community. This leadership is always an achieved status³ and does not, in the first place, depend on the position which a man has in the kin group. An example of this is the Bonerif man Teeuwier. Thanks to his assiduity he was, for a long time, the only man of his tribe who owned plantations. This property and the distribution of plantation produce gave Teeuwier a certain prestige in his village. Also in other respects, as a hunter, as an organizer and as a builder of dug-out canoes, he outshines everyone else by his great skill and tremendous activity. Teeuwier now has a certain authority in his community. His influence and his authority are even much greater than those of the korano of the Bonerif, appointed by the Government.

Sèrret of the Ségar is just such a leader. He is a skilled hunter and therefore has a high status in his tribe. In the Bora-Bora tribe, Gwennem and Moeri are the leaders. The former because of his diligence in building houses, the laying-out of gardens and making arrows, drums, etc.; the latter because he is an excellent hunter. In most of the branch-villages of the Bora-Bora, there are one or more houses, built by Gwennem. So those are his property and as everyone gratefully makes use of these houses, Gwennem enjoys a certain respect in the tribe.

Less striking is the distinguished status of Woram. He owned a (great) number of pigs which he tended in the branch-village of Kabegoeimie and the meat of which he distributed among his fellow tribesmen. This

¹ Principal features, page 143, seq.

² See further chapter V, pp. 193-197.

³ R. Linton (The Study of Man, 1936, page 115) distinguished 'ascribed status' from 'achieved status.'

distribution of pork ensured Woram a good deal of respect among his fellow tribesmen. For this reason he is always out hunting, looking for little wild pigs which he can take care of.

For the defining of someone's status and function in the tribe, the above-mentioned economic factors are more important than, for example, someone's age which, in the Tor district, yet causes all kinds of status differences within the kinship.¹ The leaders, mentioned above, do not belong to the older men of the tribe. On the contrary. Achievements on the economic level depend partly on physical strength and stamina and generally young men possess these qualities more than the older men. Physical strength and stamina are also of great significance for blowing the sacred flutes, and here also the younger eclipse the older ones. The status of respect or reputation achieved at an early age, remains in full force up to an old age, but in general there are more leaders in the age group from 30-40 years than in the older age groups.

¹ See chapter IV.

I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MARRIAGE

IN our discussions about marriage the informants from all tribes of the Tor district always emphasized the great significance of it. Always and in every place they asserted: 'How can a man live without being married?' or 'How can a man eat when he has no wife?' These words point to the fact that the men of the Tor look upon marriage primarily as an economic institution. Naturally, sexual needs play an important role and there is also the social aspect which determines the significance of marriage. However, sexual needs can also easily be satisfied outside marriage, as sexual intercourse frequently occurs before marriage and the community acknowledges and approves of many manners of sexual intercourse between men and women outside wedlock.¹

A man of the marriageable age, however, first of all needs a wife to provide him with sago. While he receives sago from his mother and spinster-sisters up to adolescence, generally he has nobody to supply him with sago as soon as he has passed the age of twenty. Without sago, life is inconceivable to a Tor man.

When men have reached the marriageable age – when they are about twenty three – they usually have no mother to prepare the sago for them. Generally their sisters have married and provide for their own family and the domestic family² of which they form a part. The remaining sago, and that is really very little because of its scarcity, can be given to the bachelors as food.

The economical significance of marriage is also expressed in the only marriage ceremony known in the Tor district, namely that of the ceremonial eating of the sago-mash. Some days before contracting a marriage, the wife-to-be goes to the sago-creage to pound and rinse some sago for

¹ See paragraph 6, 'Sexual Life,' pp. 134-142.

² See for this conception chapter V.

her future husband. On her return to the village she prepares the pepeda and gives some of it – for the first time in her life – to her future husband. In the Bora-Bora tribe for instance the married couple-to-be sit on the ground in front of the house in which they will live after their marriage. Between them stands a basket filled with pepeda. The woman dips her fork into the sago-mash first and gives her prospective husband his first mouthful. Then the man goes on eating with his own little fork, without having given the first mouthful with his fork to his wife. It seems to me, that the fact that it is the woman who provides the nourishment and that the man therefore is dependant on her, is here expressed symbolically.¹

During this ceremony, the villagers stand around the young couple and witness this symbolical act. Meanwhile they call out to the couple cracking jokes which have a double meaning, because they refer to the food (sago) as well as to sexual intercourse. Food and sexual intercourse are closely associated in the Tor district and regarded as almost synonymous in married life.

These two biologically determined needs, food and sexual intercourse are the factors, which define and determine most strongly the ideas, actions and the culture of the people of the Tor.

Serving sago to a man in public means creating and consolidating marriage relations: The woman will supply the food for her husband, which makes his existence possible in the community, and the wife is assured that her children will have a father (*pater*).

Every woman is free to keep up a sexual relationship with several men at the same time, but the children of an unmarried mother are not accepted up to now.²

The fact now, that for the man a marriage is chiefly based on economics does not imply that in the choice of a wife he is only led by economic motives.

It cannot be said that in the Tor district a woman is merely appreciated for her energy, her achievements in the production of sago or because she is able to bear children. It is true, that weak and sickly women are less in demand, especially among the younger men, than the strong and healthy ones. Thus, the marriage of the Bora-Bora man Kawak to Singkèh was put off, because, at least that is what Kawak said, Singkèh had cascado (a skin disease) on the lower part of her body.

¹ Compare also chapter II, 'Social significance of food,' page 80, seq.

² See also page 142.

Kawak's argument was: 'How can she produce good sago?' (Does that mean perhaps sago without any nutritive power? O.) Not long after that, however, Singkèh married Bassin, a Naidjbeedj man.

During my stay with the Mander, Bostar wanted to marry the girl Waai. I asked him why he had chosen Waai for his bride, and he answered rather astonished: 'But friend, have you not seen her pretty face and have you not yet noticed her beautiful breasts?' However, when Bostar desired Waai for his bride, he was already married to Djoega, so he could then most certainly apply other standards than only the economic ones to influence his choice. I was unable to discuss matrimonial matters with the women. However, for them also life in this community is only complete in the married state. The economical aspect, however, does not weigh so heavily with the women as it does with the men, although it is not entirely absent. Her husband provides her, it is true, with fish and pork, without which a sago meal is incomplete. But in addition to this, social factors are of a greater significance.

2. MARRIAGE BY EXCHANGE

In principle, a man can only contract a marriage, when he can offer a younger sister or another female relative to his wife's brother in exchange. This obligation of exchange is expressed by the people of the Tor as: 'When you have no sister, you cannot marry.'

In this marriage by exchange the girls are the object of the exchange, which does not imply, however, that they are without any rights at all. There are a number of cases known, in which the girls refuse to marry the man who is allotted to them by their elder brother or others in authority, even if, by doing so, all other kinds of exchange arrangements or marriage plans cannot be realized. A girl can even take the initiative which for example happened with the Bora-Bora, when the girl Beise asked the young man Ewan to marry her. For the kin group of the girl marriage means a great loss. Her sago-production from then on will be for the benefit of others, while in a marriage outside her own tribe or in another village, the children, moreover, will belong to another kin group. This loss, however, will be compensated by another woman who will be received in exchange for her.

It is interesting to learn why the people of the Tor regard marriage by exchange of sisters, to be the ideal form of marriage. When I asked the

reason of the '*moeitabernawar*' (i.e. the obligation of exchange, in the Berrick-language), the answer came, that the exchange of sisters is necessary to avoid quarrels. It is certainly a fact that nearly all the quarrels in the Tor district are 'disputes about women,' which arise in a consequence of a failure to conform to the exchange obligations or the breaking of exchange-agreements and so forth.

A man can only marry, when he has taken part in the '*Mengan*-ceremony,'¹ which aims, as the men say themselves, at making a man of a youth. Before that ceremony a boy may have sexual intercourse. As they say, no children can be born out of that intercourse, because the man has not yet taken part in the *Mengan*-ceremony.

A similar rite is not known for the girls. In this connection a very remarkable contrast is to be noted between the status of boys and girls. The latter are allowed to have sexual intercourse 'as soon as their breasts begin to hang,' is the saying. But they may already marry long before that time. In 1958 there were in the Bora-Bora tribe alone, for instance, two girls who were already married at the age of eight and ten, but who were strictly forbidden to have any sexual intercourse.²

When a boy has set his heart on a certain girl, he consults first of all her elder brother, first in secret and later on in public. Afterwards he also announces his intention to the mother's brother and the girl's parents, usually in this order.

As a rule during these talks (small) presents are offered in which fish has an important part. During the first conversation, the question, is the girl's elder brother prepared to accept as a wife the woman offered to him in exchange, is raised. This, however, is often just a 'make believe.' For in the small village-communities with their small number of girls, not only does everyone know which girl a man can actually offer him in exchange, but also every man in the village knows beforehand whether or not the elder brother of his wife-to-be is willing to accept his sister. Such conversations are the order of the day in the bachelors' house. This 'make believe,' however, further also plays an important part in the contracting of a marriage. When both men, prospective brothers-in-law, have agreed about the sister-exchange, conversations with the mother's brother and the girl's father begin. Generally these talks are of little

¹ See chapter VI, paragraph 5.2., page 259, seq.

² See also pp. 110-112.

significance, although appearances are deceptive. The bride's father and mother's brother namely suddenly get very excited during the parley and blurt out in simulated rage: 'All right, the girl is there, but I am very angry.' Which means so much as: 'I don't care to give the girl to you.' The prospective son-in-law then gets up and answers, also with a simulated flow of abuse 'I am no longer willing to marry her!' Then he turns and leaves the hut and runs into the forest. A little later the girl flies after him, which means the first public announcement of the forthcoming wedding.

However, serious objections may be raised to a certain marriage by the girl's brother as well as by her father and her mother's brother, especially when the latter is not yet married. For then, he himself has the right to give his SiDa in exchange for a wife for himself.

The girl's father never has that right, unless it concerns an adopted daughter. Thus the Bora-Bora man Sarin gave his adopted daughter Orbath in marriage and received for her in exchange his wife Moantse. One of the chances for a bachelor to marry in his own village, with its shortage of women, is by adopting an orphan girl and taking care of her or letting someone else do it, and exchanging her later on for a wife.

In the Tor district a great variety of kinship relations exists between men and the female relations who are to be given in exchange. The chief criterion in this respect is, that the girl to be given in exchange must be younger than the giver.

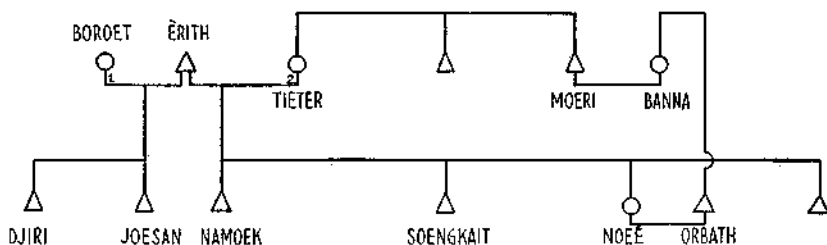
However, in the case of a real sister, a sibling 'of one navel,' this 'younger' applies to the actual disparity in age between them both, whereas this 'younger' in respect of the other female relations applies to the disparity in age between the connecting relatives in the generation of their parents.

Thus, in other words, FaYoBrDa is always regarded as ego's YoSi, even though she is in reality older than he is. A man can never give a FaElBrDa or a FaElSiDa in exchange as she is terminologically classified as his ElSi, even if she is actually his junior. Now, the fact that so many female relatives may be given by a man in exchange for a wife – although a sister-exchange remains the ideal pattern – is on the one hand a great advantage, because it gives men who have no real sisters an opportunity to marry all the same. On the other hand, it often causes considerable complications and conflict in the marriage exchange. For in this way many men at the same time can claim their right to the same girl, a right

which is merely a consequence of a man's kinship relation with the girl. Normally, her own elder brothers have the first claim, then her unmarried mother's brothers follow and after them, all the classificatory elder brothers, etc. However, in addition to the kinship status of a man, personal factors are also very important in respect of that right to a certain female relative.

One of the many examples of this in the Tor district is the case of the Bora-Bora girl Noéeé:

SCHEME II



When Moeri married he gave his SiDa (Noéeé) in exchange for his first wife Banna. But Noéeé still had two elder brothers and two half-brothers who all could claim the same right to give her in exchange for a wife. The result is, that the four of them are still bachelors!

A similar great variety appears to exist in respect of the kinship relations between a man and the woman he marries. Marriage prohibitions only apply to 'children of one navel,' which means men and women who have the same mother. Nor can anyone marry his or her own mother or father, while the third important marriage prohibition applies to namesakes and their children.

A name-giver and name-receiver bear a very close relationship towards each other, which in some cases is even closer than that between a father and his child or siblings mutually.¹

Apart from these relations and those to be mentioned later,² a man is comparatively free to choose whom he wants to marry.

Preferential marriages in the sense that a certain female relative is preferred to another female relative or to women not related, are unknown. However, as a matter of fact, in all tribes in the Tor district there is a

¹ For the significance of name-giving, see chapter VI, pages 257/258.

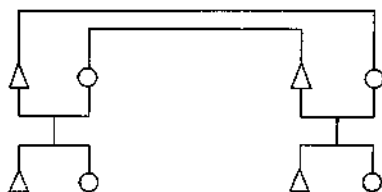
² See chapter IV.

preference only to marry girls of their own tribe (or of their own village). At least 90% of all the marriages in the Tor district are actually contracted within their own tribe, even though this tribal – and local endogamy is hardly anywhere based on a positive command or prohibition. This is only the case in very few tribes. The Bora-Bora for instance do recognize the prohibition of marrying anybody from another tribe which they express with the following words: (translated!) 'A Bora-Bora must marry a Bora-Bora.'

This endogamy, of which there are only few exceptions implies that one always marries a relative, because within the tribe all men and women are kinsmen. As most marriages are contracted between people of the same generation, who in this bilateral endogamous tribes are terminologically classified as siblings and cousins,¹ in his choice of a wife a man is mainly confined to his classificatory sisters and to his cross- and parallel-cousins. Therefore in the Bora-Bora tribe there is no single prohibition of marriage between cousins.

The Ségar officially recognize a prohibition of marrying a FaBrDa and a MoSiDa, but in practice it appears that they do not keep to this rule. When I pointed this out to them by quoting two examples of men, who did marry their FaBrDa and MoSiDa, the answer was: 'Yes, but it's only allowed when there is no one else in the tribe to marry.' In the Berrick tribe, a man may marry all his cross- and parallel-cousins, while the Mander and the Ittik say, that a marriage between paternal-cousins is out of the question, although actually they also do not always keep to this rule.

SCHEME III



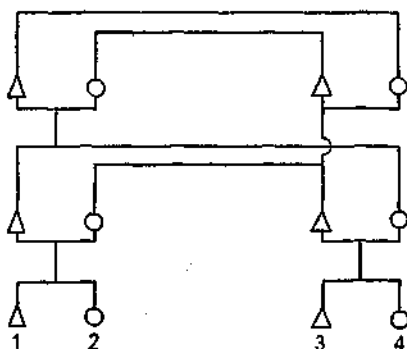
From the data it is now apparent, that the tribes which are most endogamous, recognize the fewest marriage-prohibitions. (The most striking examples of this are the Bora-Bora and the Ségar). The cause of this on the one hand is to be found in the very small numbers in the tribe, which

¹ See chapter IV, page 176, seq.

leave the men no other choice, and on the other hand the frequently occurring cases of coincidence, by which a man in more than one way can trace his kinship with one and the same person.¹ Thus as a consequence of the exchange-marriage, among others FaSiSo and MoBrSo are the same person (See scheme III).

In this way for instance through matrilineal descent a person may be ego's classificatory sister, whereas the same girl through patrilineal descent may even be a classificatory mother or daughter. Such cases not only occur theoretically but also in practice. Very often a girl is ego's parallel-cousin as well as ego's cross-cousin:

SCHEME IV



It refers to numbers 1 and 4: FaFaSiSoDa is classified as FaBrDa. 1 and 4 are at the same time FaSiChi. Traced through Mo, 1 and 4 are respectively MoFaSiDaDa, MoSiDa(So) and MoBrDa. These examples are taken from real life from the Mander as well as from the Bora-Bora tribes.

Now if a marriage with a parallel-cousin is forbidden, a marriage between 1 and 4 is still possible on the grounds of other tracings. Because of these and other cases of coincidence, the marriage-prohibitions for certain relatives have become less defined or have even disappeared. The same vagueness applies to the avoidance relations between certain relatives. Cases are known (see chapter IV) in which the woman's father-in-law was at the same time her classificatory elder brother, etc., etc. In this way some special rules of behaviour between brothers-in-law may become vaguer

¹ See G. P. Murdock: 'Social Structure,' page 136.

and sometimes disappear because they are simultaneously classificatory brothers.

In the next chapter we shall see how endogamy, together with these factors of coincidence and the small numbers in the tribes in which may be married, has strongly influenced kinship relations and kinship terminology.

2.1. *Complications of the exchange-marriage*

An exchange-marriage can only be contracted when all four parties concerned consent. However, that is not always the case in practice. The elder brother of the coveted bride may not be pleased with the girl offered to him in exchange. Or one of the women, who is given in exchange may have her objections. For instance, when in the Bora-Bora tribe the exchange-marriage was about to be contracted between the men Osman and Arbodji and respectively Nokor and Débar, Débar refused to marry such a scoundrel (orang djahat) as Arbodji! Thus that was the reason why the marriage between Osman and Nokor did not come off either. These two would have liked to marry each other, but Arbodji refused to give Osman his sister for nothing (pertjoema). In many such cases, however, it occurs, that one of the two marriages nevertheless does come off because others are drawn into the exchange. For instance the woman who refuses, marries another man who, in his turn, is obliged to offer a woman to the one for whom his wife was originally intended. Thus three-cornered, four-cornered, five-cornered and six-cornered exchanges take place or even still more complicated situations result, so that the entire community and even other communities are involved. Such an exchange is not (naturally) effected directly or simultaneously, but very often becomes a postponed exchange. In this way the Bora-Bora man Woram gave his younger sister Moantse to Sarin and received in exchange the promise that Sarin would give him another woman in due course. This example of Woram and Sarin is not the only one by far. These marriages by an indirect, postponed exchange are even in the majority, especially since the process of masculinization has caused a steadily decreasing number of women to be available. This is also the reason why the immediate, simultaneous sister-exchange is a great exception in the Tor district, which may already have been the case in the past as well. During the two years of my investigation in the Upper Tor district, about ten marriages took place. Only in two cases was an immediate and simultaneous exchange effected,

whereas in the eight remaining cases, only one pair at a time was concerned; a three-cornered or four-cornered exchange, in which case the exchange was postponed. Four of these marriages took place in the Bora-Bora tribe. Woram married Orbath, still an old 'debt' of Sarin's; Siem married Nokor with the promise, that some day he would give a woman in exchange to her brother Kawak, having already set his eye on somebody for this purpose. Gomabir married the widow Nokor, for whom he was not obliged to give a woman in exchange, because no exchange is required for a widow. Ewan married Wéjin. This last marriage was contracted after the young couple had waited for permission for two years. Ewan did not have to give another woman in exchange for Wéjin either, because this was a 'love-marriage.'¹

As long as an exchange debt is not paid off a man is indebted to his *WielBr*. Therefore, he is obliged to offer him presents regularly, such as fish, certain other food gifts, and nowadays especially articles of Western culture. At the moment, the situation in the Tor territory is such, that a number of individuals owe a woman to others. Many of them are debtors as well as creditors. All this, when fitted into the already existing pattern of gifts and counter-gifts, caused a very complicated pattern of gifts and counter-gifts, exchanging of presents and mutual assistance. Small presents for instance, which I gave to my bearers and informants, as a rule had changed hands in a very short time and I found that this happened very frequently. To obtain an idea of how the relations in a certain community really were inacted, I distributed a number of caps. One man got a blue cap with a red peak, another received a yellow cap with a white peak and a third a white cap with a yellow peak. They were all advertising caps on which were brands such as OMO, LAMBRETTA, etc. A few wore the cap themselves for a short time and then gave it to someone else. This person wore it in his turn for a short time, till his creditor asked him for it, so that he also had to part with it. The men do not part gladly with these much coveted articles. But when a creditor insists, there is generally no other way out. For that, the debt of a woman is too great. The Naidjbeedj man Wénau was very clever in asking me for a less conspicuous present than these caps, so that his creditor would not notice it immediately! In this way the caps (and other articles) circulated throughout the whole of the tribe so that the very intricate net of social relations was partly revealed. The principle of sister-exchange - and of exchange in general -

¹ See page 120, seq.

in this manner appears to be of an exceptional significance for the whole of the social structure in the Tor district.

Therefore Van der Leeden was quite right when he wanted to 'approach the social structure of the Western interior of Sarmi,' where the marriage by exchange is also the ideal form of marriage, from the conception of the exchange mechanism in the marriage contract.¹

An indirect and postponed exchange can also take place with people of other tribes, who are then in their turn also involved in this system of gifts and counter-gifts. As was already pointed out in the preceding chapter, the circulation of goods between the tribes (mutually) is also, for the greater part, based on and a function of the system of the exchange-marriage. Long before any European had set foot in the basin of the Upper Apauwar and the Terra - rivers in the southern part of the Western interior of Sarmi - Western articles, such as axes, knives and even clothes were already in circulation which via the debtors of the Bagoeidja, Ségar, Naidjbeedj etc. were received from the Tor district. In this way I found among the Dobbera, until now an unknown tribe who had never been in contact with Europeans, a number of clothes or rather the remains of them, which they had received from the Naidjbeedj-Mammaussòh and the Ségar-Mebo, with whom they keep up marriage-relations. The forester Karstel had the same experience. In 1956 he stayed in the basin of the Mamberamo and met there a number of small tribes, among others the Soromadja, who had rather new chopping knives in their possession. When Mr. Karstel carefully examined these knives, it appeared that he himself had sold them some time ago to Mr. Boelaart van Tuyl. The latter had distributed them by way of remuneration to the Tor men, and so they had come into the hands of the Ségar-Mebo, a number of whom had an exchange debt to the Soromadja. When the latter then heard that their debtors were in possession of chopping knives, a group of Soromadja men went to the territory of the Ségar-Mebo to demand the brand new chopping knives.

All these presents such as fish, knives, arrows, etc., and the numerous services rendered by the debtor to his creditor, however, can never redeem his debt. In this the offering of presents differs therefore from the bride-price (see below). Many men feel this debt as a heavy burden and seek as many ways and means as possible in order to wipe it out. The number

¹ Van der Leeden: 'Principal features etc.' page 161, seq.

of women and girls available for this purpose, however, is very few and is even steadily decreasing.

Yet there are, however, three ways of fulfilling the exchange-obligation and in that way being released from the 'everlasting' debt. One way is by handing a sacred flute to the man (group) from whom one has received one's wife. However, these sacred flutes are the property of an entire group of men, who must first give their consent to the relinquishing of such a flute. Therefore this payment very seldom occurs, because people are very reluctant to part with a flute. They are considered too important for one's own group.¹

A second way of meeting one's exchange-obligation is by giving a little girl in exchange for the wife one has received. Such infant-marriages (by exchange), i.e. marriages of an adult to a girl of about eight years of age, occur regularly in the Tor district. In 1958 two such infant-marriages existed with the Bora-Bora. When the man Sarin married, he then promised his WiElBr Woram, that he would give him in due course another woman in exchange. Before long Sarin was able to take charge of a foster-daughter Orbath, whose parents had both died. After he and his wife Moantse had taken care of the girl for more than a year, he offered her to Woram in discharge of the exchange-debt and Woram accepted her. That in this case a marriage was really contracted is apparent from the fact that Orbath and Woram ate the pepeda in the ceremonial way as an outward sign of their newly created economical, sexual and social bond. Of these three aspects of marriage only the economic plays a (small) part, because Woram and Orbath are not allowed to live together in one house, while sexual intercourse between the two is strictly prohibited.² After her marriage, Orbath lived on in her foster-father Sarin's house, and her husband Woram remained in the bachelors' house, where all unmarried young men live. The avoidance between them is even so strict, that they are never allowed to be alone together, not even in the village during the day. They may not even speak to each other. When I once wanted to make a snapshot of this couple they both objected. Fortunately, later on in the day more men and women and children appeared in the village and together with them Woram and Orbath were photographed. However, in order to avoid every contact Orbath and Woram refused to stand next to each other.

¹ See for this flute-exchange and its social and religious significance also chapter VI, pp. 234-239.

² See page 111.

That in this marriage only the economic aspect counts, is evident from the following. Sometimes Orbath accompanies the other women of the village or her domestic family¹ to the sago-acreages in order to pound and rinse the sago. However, she is not yet able to prepare very much sago; she is still too small for this. But from this small amount she gives part of it to her 'husband' Woram.

However, this does not occur in a direct way because Orbath is still not allowed to have sexual intercourse with her husband! So her foster-father Sarin gives the sago to Woram.

This marriage of Woram has both advantages and drawbacks. For Woram namely counts among the bachelors as a married man and therefore is hardly allowed to take part in the specific activities of the bachelors. He may not join them when they organize drives, while he is only admitted as a spectator at their prolonged preparations for certain feasts. However, fortunately for Woram in this respect the ideal pattern is not always quite in harmony with the real pattern. His young wife Orbath is hardly conscious of the marital bond. She plays daily with the other children in the village: she plays football with balls made from leaves or sits with the other children drawing figures in the sand, a game, which occupies the children in the Tor for hours on end.

The above mentioned objections are the reason why some men in the Tor district will not accept an 'infant-wife' in exchange for their sister. They like to make an example of the infant-marriage of the Bora-Bora man Gwennem. He was also married to a girl about nine years old. However, before there could be any question of a marital life (sexual, social, economical), the little girl Wérauwer, who must then have been about eleven years of age, died. Then there was a great commotion in the village. Gwennem was furious and demanded his sister Entse from his brother-in-law (SiHu), as he considered the marriage-exchange invalid. 'Moeri has given me something inferior in exchange,' Gwennem kept on declaring. Of course Moeri would not think of giving his wife back. However, now Gwennem has lost his sister and has no longer a wife, and does not receive any presents from his SiHu either, which would have been the case, if he had postponed the exchange. Gwennem is still furious about this. His fellow-villagers declare that he has practised sorcery,² so that the marriage of his sister and brother-in-law should remain childless.

¹ For this conception see chapter V, pp. 200-205.

² See also further chapter VI, paragraph 7, page 265, seq.

It is a fact that in all the years since that time no children have been born out of the marriage of Moeri and Entse. When I asked Gwennem about it, he immediately began to deny that he had cast a spell. The rest of the Bora-Bora, however, keep to their standpoint that Gwennem 'has closed the womb of Entse.' 'Otherwise how would you explain the fact that Entse and Moeri have no children?' my informants asked me.¹

The use of sorcery in connection with marriage affairs is a very frequently occurring phenomenon in the Tor district. When marriage-vows are broken and certain agreements are cancelled, the menace of 'Soeangi' (sorcery) follows inevitably.

This 'soeangi' hardly ever occurs among the fellow-villagers and relatives, but that this can happen and even between very close relations such as brother and sister as in the case of Gwennem and Entse, proves again how great the importance of marriage is for a man.

Besides the offering of sacred flutes and young girls in exchange for a wife, there is a third and a last way to redeem the exchange debt. That is the paying of a bride-price.

The compensation for the loss of a wife is given in the form of a certain sum of Western money and commodities. This bride-price marriage is a general rule in the eastern coastal area of Sarmi, but is an exception in the Tor district. People of the Tor even deny that the bride-price marriage exists! However, this denial by the population itself is connected with the deep disdain they have for that form of marriage.

There are, however, several known cases in the Tor district and because of the many complications of the exchange-marriage it is necessary to point these out. The bride-price is paid in a lump sum and so it differs entirely from the 'everlasting' offering of presents in the case of an exchange-debt, which moreover can never be redeemed in this way. This lump sum consists of Western money, a number of sarongs (cloths), some knives, arrows and some pork. So they not only include articles of Western culture! But the striking fact is that the fish, which plays such an important part in all marriage ceremonies, also in the presents which are given to WiELBr because of the exchange-debt, is lacking. This is a second important distinction between the exchange of presents and the bride-price. A third distinction is the air of mystery which envelopes the bride-price, while the exchange of presents and the marriage contract by means of the sister-exchange is the concern of the whole community and occurs in public.

¹ Chapter VI, par. 7, pages 265-271.

Informants indicate the bride-price marriage in Malay with the words: 'Kawin gelap' (Dark marriage). This bride-price marriage occurs with the Ittik, the Beeuw and the Naidjbeedj. One would expect it in the Ittik tribe more or less as they lived for a long time on the coast where the bride-price marriage prevails. Ittik men, who in those times wished to marry a girl from the coast, had to pay a bride-price for their wives. One might venture to state that the present occurrence of bride-price marriages among the Ittik are the consequence of their contact with the coastal population. Such outside influences also play an important part in the Beeuw tribe. In the paragraph about the dammar production¹ it has already been mentioned, that under the influence of the penetration of the money system and the great influence of Mr. Boelaart van Tuyl, marriages took place against the payment of a bride-price. However, the Naidjbeedj and the Dobbera have not undergone these modern influences and yet they recognize a bride-price marriage, even though they consider it inferior.²

The remark made by the Naidjbeedj man Makkaitj with reference to the occurrence of the bride-price marriages amongst them and the Dobbera emphasizes, however, the reasons for this fact: 'Toean (Sir), what must we do otherwise? There are no other girls we can give in exchange!' The exchange-marriage can no longer function properly in this small community. It creates too many complications, which are partly of a recent date through the rapidly diminishing number of women and girls, and partly also due to the endogamy in these very small communities. Altogether the bride-price marriage is indeed a cultural phenomenon, which is adopted from outside the Tor district, but it is also partly a consequence of the complications of the exchange-marriage, as a result of which a cultural background had developed, which caused foreign influences to have such a rapid effect.

In my opinion this confirms, also for the Tor district, what Lévi-Strauss

¹ See chapter II, par. 11, pp. 90-94.

² With the Naidjbeedj and the Ségar this bride-price payment also occurs in a very exceptional form: a man may by means of a number of valuable gifts, such as axes, knives, clothes and other articles of Western culture obtain a claim to a girl immediately after she is born. Her father accepts the presents and gives her to the one who bestowed them. The latter then takes the baby-girl to his own village. However, such a transaction seems only to take place between men of two different tribes.

wanted to prove in the whole of his work, namely, that we should see in the bride-price payment a 'modality' of the marriage exchange.¹

It is in every respect possible that such a development also took place along the east coast of Sarimi in former years. Informants on the east coast (Kedir, Bettaf) declared that the exchange-marriage used to be customary there. One of them, the old Mattau even stated, that he himself had got his wife in exchange for his younger sister. The fact, that many villages on the east coast are of interior (= Tor district) origin, makes these statements very acceptable. The local endogamy has always played a very important role in those villages on the east coast, while perhaps foreign influences (Melanesian) have promoted the transition from a sister-exchange to a bride-price marriage.

3. OTHER FORMS OF MARRIAGE

The manner in which the bride is obtained, is here regarded as a criterion for a certain form of marriage; in other words, the way in which the marriage is contracted. The status of the male and the female show no differences in all these forms and the same can also be applied to the status and the rights of the children born of these marriages. Besides the exchange-marriage in the Tor district may be distinguished:

1. levirate
2. sororate
3. marriage by capture and elopement
4. 'love-marriage'

3.1. *levirate*

In the Tor district the levirate is a very common form of marriage. Here, however, the restriction should be made, that it is a *junior-levirate*: which means that a widow always marries the junior brother of the deceased husband. This relation is also reflected in the kinship terminology and in the relation between these affinal relatives. For instance, there is no objection whatsoever to a man calling his elder brother's wife by her name, and the reverse. Their relationship sometimes has the character of a 'joking relationship' while it also is quite normal when these two affinal relatives

¹ C. Lévi-Strauss: 'Structures élémentaires de la parenté,' page 178, seq. 'Nous nous sommes constamment attachés à montrer dans ce travail que... c'est l'achat dans lequel il faut voir une modalité de l'échange.'

have sexual intercourse with each other.¹ In many tribes in this territory it is even a certain right of a man to cohabit with his ElBrWi. Accordingly a man is allowed to eat pepeda which is prepared by his ElBrWi, but he will never be permitted to receive sago-mash from the hands of his YoBrWi with whom he has to observe a strict avoidance relation.²

However, people do not always strictly observe the junior-levirate. There are many cases known of men who did marry their YoBrWi. That was mainly the case with the Foja, the Warès, the Bonerif and the Naidj-beedj. Undoubtedly the deviation from this rule, especially in the eastern Tor district, coincides with the frequently occurring forms of permitted extra-marital sexual relations, by which brothers are allowed to cohabit with each other's wives.² The consequence is that rules of avoidance between a man and his YoBrWi are not so strictly observed. In addition the great shortage of women and girls is certainly a factor in this deviation from the rule.

It is also this shortage of women and girls which has given such an enormous significance to the levirate in these communities. Because for the widow of his deceased elder brother a man need not give another woman in exchange, unless the deceased had not yet fulfilled his exchange-obligation.

But then for a great many bachelors the levirate, next to the marriage by capture, is one of the few possibilities to get married at all. The more so as the levirate very often also applies to the classificatory brothers of the deceased. The fact that this is not always and everywhere the case, however, is closely connected with the personal relations between the deceased and certain classificatory brothers. Therefore for the latter, the levirate is never a right to which they can make a claim. For brothers of 'one navel,' this is always the case.

The Ségar man Sèrret, for instance, absolutely ignored the claims of the younger classificatory brothers of his sister Waronne's deceased husband and gave her in wedlock to the Bora-Bora man Kiesmoèn. This was from an economic and social point of view much to the advantage of Sèrret, because now he is regularly offered presents by the Bora-Bora man Kiesmoèn.

If of a certain marriage children have already been born, the younger brother of the deceased takes the woman and adopts with her the children. FaYoBr, the step-father then assumes the full status of the deceased father.

¹ See paragraph 6 of this chapter, page 136, seq.

² The same.

Terminologically FaYoBr has always been referred to as 'father'¹ in contrast with FaElBr and (nearly) all other male relatives in father's generation.² This is a reflection of a real situation, as FaYoBr during Fa's life already holds the status of a 'second' father.

When a man is already married and his elder brother dies, the levirate may lead to a polygamous marriage. Among all polygamous marriages in the Tor district only that of the Goeammer man Biewa is a leviral polygamous marriage. He was already wedded to Ogwanneh and married after the death of his ElBr, the latter's wife Innek.

3.2. *Sororate*

By sororate we only mean here the marriage between a man and the sister of his deceased wife. Moreover, both sisters must be of 'one navel.' A marriage with a classificatory sister of the deceased does not therefore count as sororate. This restriction is made, because in this society nearly all women of the same generation are classificatory sisters.³ If a man marries his WiSi when his wife is still alive, we speak of sororal polygyny. But then this only occurs when both sisters are the offspring of 'one navel.'

This sororate, which occurs all over the Tor district is a junior-sororate as well: a man may marry the younger sister of his deceased wife, but never a WiElSi.

Terminologically this junior-sororate is also expressed in the different terms for WiElSi and WiYoSi. Between a man and his WiYoSi exists a totally different relationship than between him and his WiElSi. The former is always called by her proper name. He jokes with her and also has (permitted) sexual intercourse with her. She is looked upon as a kind of 'potential' spouse and as a 'potential' mother for a man's children.⁴

Contrary to the junior-levirate, this junior-sororate is rigorously observed. This is furthered by the custom, that a girl is not allowed to marry before her elder sister has married. In view of the tremendous shortage of women and girls, it seldom or ever occurs that a woman still has an elder sister when she marries, if she happens to have a sister at all. This is generally the reason why the sororate is a form of marriage which occurs

¹ See further chapter IV, page 151.

² The same.

³ See chapter IV, page 176, seq.

⁴ See chapter IV, pp. 161-162, and the list of relationship terms in appendix 5.

less frequently than the levirate, even though the women usually die younger than the men.

Moreover, the levirate is a right: an unmarried younger brother of the deceased has a claim to the widow, quite in accordance with the strong bond which exists between brothers. On the contrary, a man whose wife has died, has no claim to the younger sister of his deceased wife. Sometimes her relatives even demand that the husband also gives another woman in exchange for the sister of his deceased wife, although this is not a definite rule. But the brothers of the deceased woman and sometimes also other unmarried relatives claim the younger sister in order to offer her as a woman in exchange for a wife for themselves!

Sororal polygyny occurs very seldom in the Tor district. Only one example is known and even that concerns a special case. This is the sororal polygynous marriage of the Goeammer Emkef. When Emkef married his WiYoSi, after the death of her husband, there were no marriageable bachelors in the Goeammer available at the moment. At that time they had all migrated to the Daranto and to the Agathis-acreage in the source area of the Foewin.

3.3. *Marriage by capture and elopement*

We understand by a marriage by capture, a marriage in which a man appropriates a woman from another tribe against her own will or (and) against the will of her kin group.

Marriage by elopement means a marriage in which a man and a woman, both from the same village force a marriage to which the community is opposed, by means of an escape from the village. In both types of marriage the common factor is, that the only marriage-ceremony, eating the pepéda in public, is omitted. The capture and the elopement form the actual marriage contract.

Marriage by capture. Besides the levirate, the marriage by capture is another way in which a bachelor, who has no sisters or female relations to give in exchange, may obtain a wife. However, such a marriage by capture need not always be executed against the will of the captured woman herself. An example of this is the marriage (by capture) of the Bora-Bora man Katoear with the Naidjbeedj woman Goré. Katoear had given his sister to his fellow-villager Gwennem in exchange for the promise that the

latter would later on give him another woman. However, it was impossible for Gwennem to keep that promise. He had no exchange-woman. During a dancing-feast with the Naidjbeedj, where the Bora-Bora were also present, Katoear met the girl Goré with whom he also had sexual intercourse. But the Naidjbeedj refused to give Goré to the Bora-Bora man. Then Katoear sent Gwennem to the Naidjbeedj in order to abduct the girl and with a number of assistants Gwennem succeeded, also owing to the active co-operation of Goré. In that way, Katoear obtained a wife and Gwennem had fulfilled his promise.

It also occurs, however, that women of a certain tribe are unexpectedly attacked and abducted by men of another tribe. Some years ago a number of Séwan women were abducted in that way by men of the Naidjbeedj. They were at work in their sago-acreage on the upper course of the *Woske* and were attacked towards dawn. Two Séwan men were killed. The women and children were carried away. The little boy *Berja* was one of them.

The day after the woman is captured she already joins the women of her new abode to pound sago, collect vegetables, etc. Immediately they are taken up as much as possible into the new community. There is no question that they occupy a lower status than that of the women who actually belong to the tribe.

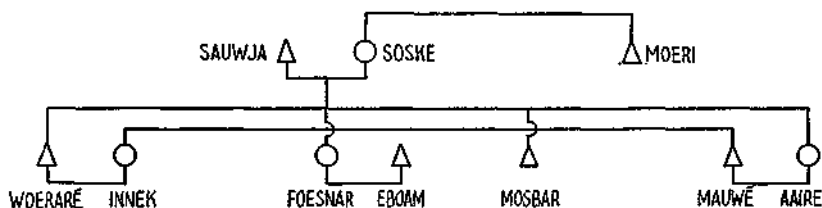
Marriages by capture are rather rare nowadays, the greater part of the *Tor* district being controlled by the Netherlands Administration now. In 1958 the *Daranto* tried to abduct the Bora-Bora girl *Beise* against her will, but they did not succeed. The following year an attempt to capture the Bora-Bora girl *Nokor* also failed. According to their own stories, marriages by capture frequently used to occur in former years. Some tribes on the *Tor* even have the reputation of being 'women-abductors.' That applies to the Bora-Bora, the *Ittik* and especially to the *Warès*. Very often wars were the result of such raids.

The reasons why a tribe abducts women from another tribe may differ. In particular, personal factors play a part in it. However, it is not true that abduction always took place because of a (great) shortage of women or girls in one's own tribe. With the *Warès*, for instance, it was primarily because of social-economic reasons. The captured women assisted in the preparing of the sago, which helped to improve the food situation of the tribe. At the same time, the social standing of the tribe increased because they could organize feasts better than any other tribe, at which great quantities of food were lavishly distributed to the guests. For that reason,

the Warès have very often terrorized the Tor district. As has already been mentioned, only the Mander escaped from their rapacity because they gave their women voluntarily to the Warès and in that way also 'bought off' their annihilation.

Marriage by elopement. Elopements are still very frequent in the Tor district. The numerous agreements and the many exchange-promises make it very difficult for a man and a woman to marry mates of their own free choice. By means of an elopement, a marriage is forced, which means that all arrangements and promises are void. If a man cannot meet his exchange-obligations, he also flees from the village with his chosen bride to escape in that way the rage and revenge of his affinal relatives. An example of the first case is the elopement of the Bora-Bora man Eboam and his bride Foesnar:

SCHEME V



Woeraré married Innek, the YoSi of Mauwé and wanted to give in exchange for her his YoSi Foesnar. But the girl definitely refused. As Woeraré had set his heart on Innek, he gave Aaire who then was still a little girl, thirteen years of age.

That was already against the rule, as a girl is not allowed to marry before her elder sister does. But Foesnar herself had taken Eboam into her heart, with whom she already had exchanged the deep incision on the upper thigh.¹ Before long Moeri, Foesnar's MoBr wanted to marry and therefore he wanted to give Foesnar in exchange for his wife. Moeri did marry, but Foesnar again refused to marry anyone but Eboam. However, when the whole community insisted, Eboam and Foesnar fled away, ignoring the whole pattern of exchange-arrangements and promises. Not far from

¹ See page 121 'love-marriage.'

the sago-swamp Semmerie they built a little shelter. When the community was convinced, however, that the couple really loved each other, they gave their consent. Before their first child O. was born, Eboam and Foensar were already allowed to return to their village. Informants all agreed that every exception to the rule is sanctioned when people are convinced that two individuals are really in love.¹

However, frequently one meets somewhere in the forest a couple with offspring who live quite apart from the group, because by means of their flight, they have evaded certain rules and since then for a space of time or indefinitely have been banished from their village.

A very special type of elopement was the marriage of the Ségar woman Nannaméje with Sieber. Nannaméje had married against her will a man called Essem, who really did not treat his wife very well. Therefore, one day Nannaméje left the house in which she lived and fled to the branch-village, where Sieber lived. By this act the woman so ridiculed her ex-husband that he has since seldom or ever appeared in his village. There are more cases in the Tor territory in which the woman, by the elopement, took the initiative in a marriage. Such an elopement is also the only way in which a marriage is dissolved.

3.4. 'Love-marriage'

It would never have entered the mind of the investigator to mention the 'love-marriage' as a special form of marriage, if it was not for the fact that the people of the Tor themselves distinguish this type of marriage from all others. However, it is very difficult to define this form of marriage accurately. The most important feature is, as the name already indicates, that this marriage, in the first place, is based on love, or, let us say, on a purely personal attraction, a Romeo and Juliet affair. This factor, it is true, is not lacking in the other types of marriage, as we already observed, but as was explained in the beginning of this chapter, these marriages as a rule are contracted on an economic basis.

A love-marriage is very rare. It is a deviation from the normal pattern. But although Linton calls such a marriage a 'psychological abnormality,'² this abnormality is highly esteemed in the Tor territory. That is shown in

¹ See below.

² R. Linton: 'The Study of Man,' 1936, page 175.

several ways: the man is not obliged to give a woman in exchange for his wife, nor is a bride-price demanded. A man even does not owe a debt to his WiElBr, although he does offer him small gifts now and then. In other respects also, many exceptions to the rule are permitted in such a marriage. In the Bora-Bora tribe, where the rule of endogamy prevails, a man (or a woman) may marry someone from another tribe, when it concerns a love-marriage. In other tribes, where endogamy is less strictly observed but where marriages are only permitted with people of tribes with whom (of yore) marital relations are maintained, a man is free to marry whom he likes, when it concerns a love-marriage. With the Waf a love-marriage was contracted in which a man married a girl who still had a spinster-sister.

All these and other exceptions are only permitted when the entire community is convinced that a man and a girl are really in love. As a rule, such a marriage can only be contracted when that love has been proved, and to this a rather high standard is applied. A sure sign of true love is a long and deep incision, which a boy and a girl inflict on each other on the upper part of the thigh.¹ Actually, that incision serves as a token – compare our engagement ring – that the boy and the girl will not marry anyone else, even if the whole community would not give its consent.

Another way of expressing his love is the great care which the bachelor bestows on his girl and the many attentions he pays on her. In these small communities, everyone knows to the minutest everybody else's business and such things do not escape the observation of the community. Of all the fish the Bora-Bora man Eboam had caught he had a special part sent to the girl Foesnar. It means really a sacrifice for a not yet married man to give food-gifts, unless he is obliged to do so officially. He has to spare it out of his own mouth. Ewan brought his betrothed a cloth which he had earned by working on the coast. This also was a great sacrifice and therefore a token of love according to the community.

Sometimes bachelors fetch fire-wood for their betrothed and by doing so, in the beginning they are held in ridicule by the whole community. Chopping and fetching fire-wood is a woman's task. Afterwards, however, this is explained as a proof of his love. A man, who does not really love his girl will not risk ridicule, the informants thought. For, in this community, the severest punishment of all is to be made to look ridiculous in the eyes of one's own fellow-villagers.²

¹ See also page 139.

² See pp. 192/193.

That a certain marriage really concerns a love-marriage is also clearly demonstrated after the marriage has been contracted. It appears that the husbands then take a much greater part in the looking after and the education of the children than is the case in many other marriages. That is also furthered by the different form of residence after the marriage. In contradistinction to all other marriage forms, the love-marriage is as a rule neolocal. To that rule there were no exceptions in the Tor district. In the only one-family house with the Bora-Bora Eboam and Foesnar live. A second one-family house was being built and intended for Ewan and Wéjin. The latter couple had to wait over two years for consent to their marriage. During that long time the bride's father and part of the community were not convinced of their real love.

These one-family houses also indicate a greater social unity between the spouses of a love-marriage. In addition, the sexual aspect in a love-marriage is more apparent than in the other types of marriage. In the case of a love-marriage, a husband appears to have less extra-marital (permitted) sexual relations, whilst his sexual intercourse before marriage is (pretty well) limited to his own betrothed. The latter, in turn, refuses sexual intercourse to other men than her own betrothed, on whom she has inflicted deep incisions and vice versa. To the community this is also a firm proof of 'true love.'

4. RULES OF RESIDENCE IN MARRIAGE

In the paragraph about the exchange-marriage it was already pointed out, that most of the Tor tribesmen greatly prefer to marry within their own village. This makes it advisable, with regard to the residence rules in marriage, to make a distinction between marriages contracted within one's own community and those, in which husband and wife come from different villages.

As for the latter, the people of the western Upper Tor territory declare, that the ideal is for a wife to follow her husband to his village (patri- and virilocality). But then they hasten to add, that the reverse is also possible. In the central and eastern Tor district such a slight preference of patri-locality to matrilocality is unknown. There, they simply say: 'People must choose for themselves where they want to live after the conclusion of their marriage.' From an investigation into the choice of residence forms in marriage, it was evident that all over the Tor territory the number

of patrilocal marriages was nearly the same as that of the matrilocal ones. Moreover, it appeared, that in the western Upper Tor territory more husbands had followed their wives to the villages of the latter than the reverse, notwithstanding the ideal preference for patrilocal residence. Thus with the Bora-Bora three exceptions were found to the rule of endogamy: one man had married a woman of the Saffrontani tribe and had followed his wife to her village. Another man married a Naidjbeedj woman, who settled in her husband's village. And recently a Naidjbeedj man married a Bora-Bora girl and is now living in the village of his wife. The same pattern is presented by the Waf, the Daranto and the Goeammer. In the central Tor district and in the eastern Upper Tor district the number of patrilocal marriages and the number of matrilocal ones appear to be well balanced. Further, not only does this concern the number of real cases but it also concerns the ideal pattern. We may characterize that pattern best as *ambi-local*: it is left to the married couple themselves to choose between the patrilocal or the matrilocal rule of residence.

By this term *ambilocal* is meant here, what Murdock (and others) has called: *bilocal*.¹ However, it seems better to indicate the 'either. . . or' by the prefix: 'ambi.' In accordance with the meaning of the word and the general use of the prefix, 'bi' indicates a simultaneity of two things, such as e.g. in *bilateral*, *bilinear* etc. *Bilocal* residence would then actually mean that a married couple takes up its residence in the village of the wife's parents as well as in that of the husband's parents, which is only possible, when a man marries a girl from his own village and at the same time takes up his abode in that same village. A distinction, however, must be made here between *bilocal* residence and *endogamy*. In the latter case, it is true, the man also marries a girl from his own village or tribe, but the couple may go to live outside their own village and so the rule of residence can be *neolocal*.

This rule of *ambilocal* residence applies to those marriages, which are contracted outside the home-village. Inside the home-village the married couple is also free to choose where they want to live. Besides, the newly married couple may choose then from more possible alternatives than merely from *matrilocal* or *patrilocal* residence. In *endogamous* marriages all forms of residence do occur.

As a rule the newly-married couple establishes a domicile in an already

¹ G. P. Murdock: 'Social Structure,' 1949, page 147: 'bilocal. . . when residence is optionally matrilocal or patrilocal.'

existing household of one or more families to whom husband or wife, or even both, are related. These kinship relations between the members of these different families of one household show a very varied pattern. Thus a couple may reside with the husband's parents or with those of the wife. They may go to live in the house of a sibling of one of the spouses or with a sibling of the parents of one of the married couple. Neolocal residence as a rule only occurs in the Ittik and Mander tribes. In the other tribes, neolocality is an exception and almost exclusively occurs when it concerns a love-marriage. Within the village the choice of a home is also never definite. People like to shift from one household to the other, sometimes several times a year. This happens, for instance, when the village is moved or when a husband or wife dies. But there also may be certain economical or social reasons, while a nuclear family many a time changes its abode just because it feels like it, after a quarrel, etc. Sometimes the couple first goes to live with the parents of one of them, while afterwards, when other brothers and (or) sisters are married, they found a common sibling household. In that case it does not matter whether they are the husband's siblings or the wife's siblings. For also in the choice of residence, husband and wife have exactly the same rights. These sibling households are preferred to all other forms of residence in the Tor territory. Married brothers 'of one navel' almost without exception live with their families in one house, sometimes even together with their married sisters. These sibling households are characteristic of the social organization of the Tor district.¹

Thus in marriages outside the village ambilocal residence is the rule, while inside the village, with the exception of the Mander and the Ittik tribes, the married couple prefers to reside with a married sibling, but actually every form of residence is possible (omnilocal residence). In any case, a couple is absolutely free in choice, which moreover is never definite either.

That choice, however, is defined by many factors. In marriages with fellow-villagers, personal factors play the most important part. Besides, there are other factors such as: want of space in a certain house or shelter, the prevailing division of working-parties, the tie between parents and offspring, the unity between siblings, etc., which all also define the choice of residence.

In non-endogamous marriages economical factors count primarily. In the Tor district husbands as well as wives may possess gardens. In this way

¹ See further chapter V, pp. 200-206.

it may occur that a wife owns more gardens and has more claims to gardens of other people, than a husband. In that case, a married couple has a more comfortable subsistence when they settle in the wife's village. That, for instance, was the reason why the Beuw man Toeïer followed his wife to the village of the Daranto and the Beneraf man Toesin joined his Ittik wife Broemie. The reverse, of course, also happens.

Wives may have more pigs and that also may be an important reason for a husband to follow his wife to her village. That was the case in the matrilineal marriage of Bassin and Singkèh.

An exceedingly important factor which in most cases settles the choice of residence after marriage, is the amount of sago available in a tribe. When a man marries a woman of a tribe which has a much larger quantity of sago at its disposal than his own tribe, that man will very probably take his domicile with the relatives of his wife. And, of course, the reverse also applies. The Mander tribe does make this very evident. They are pretty well the only tribe in all the Tor district, which has a sufficient amount of sago at their disposal. About 85% of the Mander are married to fellow tribesmen. These will not be further mentioned here. But of the remaining men and women who are married to people of another tribe, no one lives outside his (or her) own village. One Mander woman is married to a Foja man. This marriage is matrilineal. Another female married a Daranto, who even was the korano of his own village. However, after his marriage he left his own tribe and went to live at his wife's village. A Mander man wedded a Daranto girl, but he stayed in his own village, while his wife took up residence with him (patrilocality). In all these marriages in the Mander tribe, the amount of sago determined the choice of residence. So all this amounts to the fact, that theoretically marriage with the Mander is ambilocal – residence there is optionally matrilineal or patrilineal – but actually that ambilocal residence with them has become a rule of *endolocal residence*. Endolocal meaning, that the villagers, men as well as women, after their marriage to a person of another tribe, always stay on in their own village. This endolocal residence is, however, not the same as local endogamy. The Mander people are certainly allowed to marry people of another tribe, but they just remain residing in their own village.

Of course, this rule of endolocal residence can only function when intermarriages with those other tribes are ambilocal. In this rule of ambilocal residence, the Tor district appears to have in fact a very flexible

organization, which makes it very well suited to the difficult and continually changing circumstances.

That is not only of great significance for the life of the group but also for its survival. Besides this economical factor also the demographic factor appears to determine in a high degree the choice of residence in marriage. From the above it is obvious that the obligation of giving a sister in exchange is not always rigorously observed. Actually these marriages without direct exchange appear to be mainly marriages contracted within one's own group. The reason is, that in such marriages the woman's children will belong to her own group in any case. That is an argument which does count very heavily in these groups, which are continually threatened with extinction. In the case of a non-endogamous marriage, on the contrary, not only an important labourer is lost, but also the woman's children are lost to the group, unless the woman stays in her own village. Anticipating that which will be discussed more extensively later on,¹ I must mention here that offspring of a mixed marriage belong either to the tribe of the father or to mother's tribe. The criterion for this is mainly the choice of the domicile where the parents have settled after their marriage. Children of a Daranto father and a Beeuw mother are Beeuw, if the parents after their marriage have taken up residence among the Beeuw. But the children are reckoned to the tribe of the Daranto, when the couple lives in the village of the Daranto tribe. In this way, the choice of residence has an exceedingly great influence on the social organization of the Tor district. This ambilocal residence has become at the same time the basis of an ambilineal kinship system in the Tor district.²

Therefore, many tribes in the Tor territory demand that in the case of non-endogamous marriages either the exchange obligation must be fulfilled, or – and the people of the Tor themselves know how difficult it is to stick strictly to the rule of sister-exchange – they require that the husband should come to live in his wife's village. Many examples can be given: Sinoaf, a Berrick-Dangken, married a girl from the Bonerif and took up his domicile in the village of his wife, because the Bonerif made that demand. The same applied to Nombe when he married the Bonerif woman Dita. Bères, a Terrabeedja, married the Ségar woman Soenoewè, but had to settle with the Ségar, because of the lack of an exchange woman, although in this tribe patrilocal residence is the rule!

¹ See chapter IV, paragraph 3: 'Kinship structure,' pp. 181-184.

² The same.

This demographic factor is also the reason for the (recent) rule of endolocal residence with the Beeuw. When formerly a Beeuw married a Berrick or a Daranto, he was free to choose his domicile. Afterwards, when the Beeuw became conscious of the rapidly diminishing number of their tribe, they made the demand that every Beeuw, men as well as women, after their marriage had to remain in their own village, if the exchange-obligation had not been redeemed. Consequently the children, who were born of these non-endogamous marriages, would also be Beeuw. Owing to this demand of endolocal residence the number of Beeuw is rather quickly increasing now.

5. POLYGAMY

This paragraph exclusively deals with the marriage of one man with two or three women, because in the Tor territory only polygyny occurs as a form of polygamy. There also does exist, it is true, several forms of permitted sexual intercourse between one woman and two or more men, but in all these cases there is no question of a marriage. Polyandry occurs only in the form of polykoity¹ and never as polygamy. A woman, for instance, is permitted to have sexual intercourse with her husband's brothers, but she has always only one husband, who is the father (pater) of her children. In my opinion, this is also the case in an old and rather obscure statement², which says that in the territory of the AirMati tribes, who have now penetrated into the Tor basin (the Naidjbeedj and others), a form of polyandry does occur. This statement reads as follows: 'Here still exists a form of polyandry. When one of the men has procreated a child by a woman, one of the other men has the right to marry that woman, and then the next, and so on.' The word 'marry,' however, appears to be used in a too broad sense. In this report, nothing is stated about the status of the child, nor which of the men is the social father, etc. This 'form of polyandry' resembles much more the permitted extra-marital sexual relations, which occur all over the Tor territory and will be discussed later. But such sexual privileges by no means constitute marriage. And if the word 'marry' was used in a restricted sense, then it might be called 'successive polygamy.'

¹ H. Th. Fischer: 'Polyandry.' Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, 46, 1952; pp. 106-115.

² 'Verslag van de Militaire Exploratie van Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea,' (Report of the military exploration of Netherlands New-Guinea), 1907-1915, page 249.

Polygyny is rather frequent here. Of all marriages in the Tor district in 1958 about 20% were polygamous.¹ With the Bora-Bora three out of twelve married men were wedded to more than one wife. In the Mander tribe these figures were respectively 3 and 16. The Ségar tribe then had a very high percentage of polygamous marriages. Out of the eleven married men, four were polygamous, that is 36%.

These very low figures concerning this territory make the above mentioned percentages of little value. Even a small increase or decrease does greatly affect these percentages. When judging the significance of polygamy in the Tor district it is incorrect to form a judgment based on these very low figures, the more so because Murdock considers a percentage of 20 sufficient to call a society polygamous. However, as regards the Tor district a numerical criterion can never be satisfactory.

In the Tor territory monogamy is the rule, while, in general, monogamous unions are much more appreciated by the people than polygamous marriages. Yet, in view of the great shortage of women and girls, as a result of which nearly half of the men of the marriageable age were bachelors, the great number of polygamous marriages in the different tribes strikes one as being rather strange. Moreover, another factor which does not promote polygamy at all is the exchange-obligation. For this reason polygamy should be subject to further discussion here.

The principal reason for a polygamous marriage lies in the economic sphere. From what has been said above it is obvious that women are the most important food-producers. When they grow older – and in these societies they age much faster than the men – their work in the sago-acreages becomes too heavy for them. Elderly women are often so sickly and feeble, that they are hardly capable of seeing to their own food, and even become dependent on the assistance of other women. Also their ageing husbands who themselves cannot contribute to the food-supply of the family (meat, fish), are economically in a very bad way. If possible they will take a second wife who preferably must be younger than the first one. This second marriage is even greatly appreciated by the first wife, because then her task will become much lighter. That is even the case when the second wife is not so young. Two women, although they are not so young and strong anymore, are more capable of producing enough sago for the family (meaning husband) than only one. The

¹ From now on the terms polygamy (polygamous) and polygyny (polygynous) will be used as synonyms.

necessity for a polygamous marriage actually applies to every man whose wife is old, crippled or feeble. Once in a while a man did not get enough sago because his wife was lazy. An example of this is the polygamous marriage of Osman, an old man in the Bora-Bora tribe. His youngish wife Sinauwé would quite well have been capable of producing sufficient food for her husband and her son. However, Sinauwé was incorrigibly lazy. Abuse and thrashing had no result and Osman then married as a second wife the old widow Nokor.

A man himself contributes but little to the food-supply. This, however, especially applies to the older husbands and those who are physically weak. It is the younger and the able bodied ones who go on long expeditions in search of food. They are capable of shooting now and then a boar or a bird and are quick enough to catch a fish. It is also the young and able bodied men who are engaged by European traders or employed by the Government and can obtain food in this way. Moreover, young men (sometimes) still have their (classificatory) mothers and (spinster) sisters who can supply their sons and brothers with sago. Therefore, it is the older and the weaker men in the Tor district, who are polygamous. And their precarious economic situation (food situation) is the chief reason, although not the only one, for their polygamous marriage. Men, who have only married one wife, unanimously answered to the question, why they had not married a second wife: 'Fortunately, I do not (yet) need a second wife. I have still a robust wife.' Such polygamous marriages are not greatly esteemed. They are more or less a sign of weakness! Neither the skillful hunter, nor the privileged man, nor the man of status or one who possesses many gardens, is polygamous, but the old and feeble. The table (p. 130) gives a clear survey.

From this table it is evident that nine out of the fourteen polygamous men in the Upper Tor territory (Ségar, Bora-Bora, Ittik and Mander) belong to the oldest men of their village. Only three of them are comparatively young, while also only three men are indicated as being leaders of their group. But even this last figure is in fact slightly exaggerated. The Ittik man Osja is already so old and decrepit that he is already out of the picture. But since he has been a leader his name is still found on this table in that capacity. We must add, however, that Osja only married his second wife after he was succeeded by Maisonda as a leader and he no longer counted economically or socially and politically, and not when he was still a leader.

TABLE IV *Polygamy in the Upper Tor territory*

name of the polygamous man:	age:	leadership ¹	number of children in polygamous families:		
			first wife:	second wife:	third wife: ²
Arbodji	50-55	+	2	-	
Bateroef	45-50	—	2	-	
Boeabdzjé	30-35	—	1	-	
Ebram	35-40	—	1	1	
Ema	50-55	—	2	2	
Emkef	35-40	—	-	-	
Geserya	50-55	—	4	1	
Iema	45-50	—	3	1	-
Katoear	35-40	—	-	-	
Mauwé	40-45	—	2	-	
Osja	50-55	+	1	-	
Osman	50-55	—	2	-	
Sèrret	45-50	+	3	-	-
Sieber	35-40	—	3	-	

Arbodji is counted among the leaders because he is at present the korano of the Bora-Bora tribe. But he really has not much authority, nor does he belong to the economically strong ones of his community. The only real leader among these fourteen polygamous men is the Ségar man Sèrret. He is an exception to the rule in force in the Tor district, that leaders and economically strong ones are monogamous and that polygamy must be regarded as a sign of weakness.

The ages of the polygamous men speak for themselves. From the population pyramids it was already evident, that men over forty years of age already belong to the old ones of the tribe. Only the Mander man Boeabdzjé is a comparatively young man.

Among these fourteen men there are only four who have married a second wife which is rather young and who belongs to the fully productive members of the tribe: Boeabdzjé, Emkef, Katoear and Sèrret. Of these four, Sèrret is the only old man who married a rather young wife. Certainly, as a rule old men do their utmost to marry a young second wife, but they are seldom successful. In the first place, the women themselves

¹ The + mark denotes, that the man belongs to the leaders of the tribe.

² Only two polygamous men were married to more than two (= 3) women.

refuse to marry an old man. In a village there are more than enough young men, whom they prefer to marry. Moreover, for a young woman another woman must be given in exchange, which, for instance, is not necessary for an old widow. Thus, as a rule, it is the old and already feeble widows who are taken for a second wife. This also explains why so few children were born from the second (and third) marriages. (See table IV).

Young men hardly ever marry women older than themselves. Informants told me, that young men have an aversion to marrying old women. Moreover, they would be the laughing-stock of the whole tribe. Only one example in the Tor district can be mentioned here: that of the Bora-Bora man Gomabier. He was rather young, between thirty and thirty-five years of age and already a widower, when he married the very old widow Nokor. Nokor then was already over forty. The couple, however, was so cruelly exposed to the mockery of everyone, that they left the village for ever. Now they live in the branch-village of Kabegoeimic. Offspring are not expected anymore of this marriage.

The conclusion to be drawn from all these data is that in addition to other reasons, the main cause of polygyny remains the rather weak position of the (old) man and the exceedingly important economic status of the woman on whom the husband and the whole community are dependent for their food. It must be brought to the notice of the reader, that also according to Murdock, Lowie and others, polygyny is for the greater part conditioned by the division of labour by sex and the status of the woman. Thus Murdock states: 'Where women make an insignificant contribution to the economic life, as among the Todas, polyandry becomes a satisfactory adjustment. When the productive accomplishments of the two sexes is approximately equal, and a small unit is as efficient as a larger one, monogamy may be economically advantageous. When woman's economic contribution is large, and a man can produce enough in his sphere to satisfy the needs of several women, polygyny fits the circumstances.'¹

The conception, that economic weakness rather than power, wealth and standing in the first place lead to polygyny is not in accordance with the results of Van der Leeden's investigation among the Moekrara and the Samarokena in the Western interior of Sarmi. From his study it is obvious, that 'polygyny is a sign of power and prestige, accompanied by the need for a great many descendants. The existing polygynous families are of men, who are leaders in their group.'² Van der Leeden, however, also asserts,

¹ 'Social Structure,' page 36.

² O.c. page 138.

that 'men of high standing do not always have more than one wife.' Among the Samarokena, three men appear to be polygamous,¹ but three important Samarokena leaders 'only have one wife and do not care for polygyny.'²

Contrary to what Van der Leeden remarks regarding the polygamy in the Western interior of Sarmi, it appears from the report of Van Eechoud, that on the Mamberamo also polygyny 'is not a privilege of certain groups of men,' such as leaders or prominent men. Among the Kaowerawedj it is the economic weakness of the man, which seems first of all to be the very reason for polygamous marriages. Van Eechoud states, that polygamy occurs, because 'one or both wives are already decrepit, and therefore can no longer satisfy the sexual and culinary needs of their husbands' and because 'an elderly man must be taken care of and therefore wants to have a young wife.' 'I heard Anieboe emphatically say,' relates Van Eechoud, 'when he wanted his third wife: 'Who will take care of me, when I have grown old?''³

Indeed, about 75% of all polygynous marriages in the Tor district are a consequence of the economic weakness of the man. But though the economic factor is the main cause, it is not the only one. Social reasons for instance, also weigh. This applies to the polygynous marriage of the Ségar man Sèrret. His first wife Bouwjen was rather feeble and could no longer take part in the sago-production. Sèrret then took another wife, a rather young one. When the Ségar recently were brought under Government control, Sèrret was appointed the first korano. In the same year Sèrret married his third wife, Ettake, who also is rather young. The motive for this marriage, however, was not at all Sèrret's weak economic position. But owing to the labour of his two young wives - and his own skill as a hunter - he now has at his disposal a great quantity of food, which he lavishly distributes to others. These food-distributions have greatly added to his standing and authority in the tribe. In the beginning, however, the Ségar were not at all pleased with the third marriage of Sèrret. Especially the bachelors were in the opposition. However, a man like Sèrret, who is an important leader in his group, could afford to defy public opinion. Actually, the community - and especially the bachelors - oppose every polygamous marriage which is not contracted because of an economic necessity. In fact, these polygynous marriages are exceptions.

¹ A. C. van der Leeden, o.c., page 137.

² The same, page 138.

³ J. P. K. van Eechoud: 'Report. . .,' page 70.

Among those exceptions, apart from Sèrret's marriage, is also that of the Bora-Bora man Katoear and the Mander man Boeabdzjé. The latter is even practically banished from his village, so vigorously did the community oppose this second marriage. For the last two years he has not been seen in his own village. Now he lives alone with his two wives, somewhere on the upper course of the Boe.

Katoear is an exceptional case in every respect. He certainly cannot be called a leader, although the Bora-Bora more or less look up to him. 'Katoear can do everything,' the Bora-Bora used to say. For instance, he is the only man in the tribe, who plays about with the young girls of the village in broad daylight, without considering the annoyance and disapproval of his fellow-villagers. Neither did he do so, when he married his second young wife. Silently almost every man in the village envies him. He is a personality anyhow.

The Mander man Bostar also tried once to take a second wife, but his attempt failed, owing to the strong opposition of the whole community and especially of his wife Djoega. Djoega's attitude is the attitude of every young wife to the second marriage of her husband, when there is no economic necessity. In polygynous marriages between old men and elderly women there is hardly any jealousy between the two wives. They generally are on good terms. As a rule there is even a division of labour between them: one cooks, the other collects the fire-wood in the meantime; one fetches water, the other goes in search of vegetables, etc. Both wives also always live in the same house together with their husband. However, between two young wives of a rather young husband, jealousy and envy often flare up. That applies to the young wives of Sèrret as well as to both the wives of Katoear and Boeabdzjé. Between the two wives of Katoear, Goré and Sissimei, that jealousy has not yet come to an explosion, but the two wives never go out together. They do not even sleep in the same house: either Sissimei sleeps at her parents' house or Goré sleeps in the house of her relatives. Frequently even one of the two is not present in the village at all, but in one of the branch-villages. It is very difficult for Katoear to bestow his favours equally on his two wives. People sneer: 'A dog knows where to find his meat, but Katoear's wife is gone.' And nobody envies Katoear his polygamous marriage.

A special form of polygamy is the polygynous marriage of the Bonerif man Siétassir. When he married Tauwan, his mother-in-law came to live with them. Seeuws was then a widow, old, and had been married

three times already. Because of the severe mother-in-law taboos¹ and rules of avoidance, that communal life was rather difficult for Siétassir. Therefore he took Seeuws for his second wife, and so he was no longer troubled by all those taboos and rules of avoidance. In fact, Seeuws herself insisted on that marriage as well. In that way she was included in a social unit. Now she looks after the upbringing of her daughter's child.

In general it may be said, that polygyny in the Tor district always concerns marriages of one man and two wives. Indeed, I only met two men who were married to three wives, namely the Ségar man Sèrret and the Mander Geserya. The latter has three old wives, two of whom hardly take any active part in the production of sago. Also in this connection the polygyny of the men of the Tor bears a great similarity to the polygyny of the Kaowerawedj on the Mamberamo. Van Eechoud states in his report: '... it never occurs, that a man has more than two wives at the same time, barring a few exceptions.'²

From this and many other comparisons between the cultures of the Tor district and the Mamberamo district, the great resemblance between the two culture patterns is evident. One even may speak of a similar culture focus, which makes the whole hinterland of Sarmi one large culture area. Apart from the economic and social aspect of these cultures, it appears that this similarity is very obvious in the religion of the tribes living in the hinterland of Sarmi.³

6. SEXUAL LIFE

Sexual intercourse is certainly not just limited to marriage partners. Between the unmarried, sexual intercourse is very common and only forbidden, when the partners are too closely related. The Bora-Bora girl Beise for instance, has had sexual intercourse with every bachelor in her village, except with Arbodji and Osman. Arbodji and Beise are children 'of one navel,' while Beise's father is Osman's name-giver. Owing to that fact, Osman is even closer related to Beise than her own brother Arbodji.⁴

Apart from a few exceptions to be mentioned later on, the same rules as

¹ See chapter IV, pp. 161-163.

² O.c. page 69/70.

³ See further chapter VI.

⁴ For the meaning of this name-giving see chapter VI, pp. 257-258.

for contracting a marriage are applied to the pre-marital sexual intercourse.

A girl is considered sexually mature as soon as her 'breasts begin to hang,' and as a rule she will have a 'sweatheart' then. Although everyone in the village knows about it, they all ignore it. Only when the elder brother of the girl or the father for some reason or other have objections to the sexual intercourse of their sister or daughter with certain persons – for instance when she has already been promised as an exchange-woman – they will express their objections. In the bachelors' house, however, the adolescents have great talks about their sexual experiences. They boast about them and are cracking jokes about certain relations. Accordingly every bachelor is well informed about all everybody else's business.

The initiative to sexual intercourse may be taken by either of the two sexes. There are many opportunities for that. During the festivities for instance, when in the village or the cult house dozens of men and women are gathered together, a man may say to a girl, that he has 'to leave a moment to ease nature.' If the girl wishes to accept his proposal, she will leave the village after him in the opposite direction and meet at a certain spot in the forest. When a girl says to a young man: 'I am going up,' or, 'I am going to search for vegetables,' or, 'I am going to pound sago,' then all these expressions are invitations to sexual intercourse. Especially these and other expressions which refer to food or the preparing of it, are often used in this sense.

Another, identical form to invite a man or woman to sexual intercourse, is among the Mander couched in the terms: '*enmisbiednoea amsapka foereba*' (roll tobacco with me). A man rolls a kind of cigar and sends a child with it to his chosen one. The man knows that his invitation is accepted, if the woman or girl accepts the cigar and lights it. If the girl does not agree to his proposal, she tells the little child to take the cigar back to the giver.

By exchanging pinang (betel nuts) in a special way and in numerous other ways, the partners find each other.

The sexual intercourse takes place very secretly in the forest, in the gardens or in the branch-villages. That applies to the marital, the pre-marital as well as the extra-marital sexual intercourse. Only with the Mander and the Ittik does the marital intercourse seem to be indulged in now and then inside the houses of the main-villages, while sometimes, but very seldom, also sexual intercourse with bachelors may take place in the main-village (bachelors' house). However, sexual intercourse, which is not permitted for some reason or other, may never take place in the

gardens! For that would have a very bad influence on the crops. The people of the Tor say, that 'the fruits will grow crooked,' or that 'the plants would not come up at all.' But on the other hand, permitted sexual intercourse in the gardens has a favourable effect, as it stimulates the fertility of the gardens.¹

In the Tor district, in this way, a distinction is made between permitted sexual intercourse, which is intercourse that may take place in the gardens, and forbidden sexual intercourse, which is not allowed to take place in the gardens. Based on this criterion, there are in addition to marriage and pre-marital sexual intercourse, still two forms of permitted sexual relations:

1. *Attausa* or *attoan*
2. *Agamman*

1. By *attausa* is understood the sexual intercourse between a married man and an unmarried woman, who are not too closely related. This intercourse never occurs in the village and not even in one of the branch-villages, but a definite reason for that could not be given. The proper places for the *attausa* are the gardens and the forest. Just as in the case of the pre-marital sexual intercourse, only the brothers or the father of the girl may object to this relation, because of some existing exchange-agreements or promises. For these reasons, they may, if the relation is detected, demand a compensation from the man concerned.

2. By *agamman* is meant the right of two brothers to have sexual intercourse with each other's wives. Such sexual relations prevail among the Mander, the Warès, the Foja, the Ittik,² the Ittik-Tor, the Bonerif³ and possibly among the Daranto. However, this relation does not seem to exist in the western Upper Tor district. Whenever I tried to turn the conversation to that subject, the answers were vague and sometimes evasive. A special term for this *agamman*-relation could not be given there either.

It is remarkable indeed, that in this *agamman*-relation no allowance is made for the avoidance between a man and his YoBrWi, which avoidance is normally rather strict. Especially with the Warès people and the Foja, this *agamman*-relation is, moreover, possible between classificatory brothers

¹ See chapter II, page 74.

² Here the relation is called *Agamer*.

³ The Bonerif speak of *Aggamen*.

and their respective spouses, as result of which this form of permitted extra-marital sexual intercourse frequently occurs among these tribes. From the information of the Mander and the Ittik the conclusion could be drawn, that the *agamman*-relation only applies to certain classificatory brothers and not to others. I got the impression, that personal factors were of the greatest importance. In daily life also one is on better terms with some persons than with others. It appeared, however, that in the Mander and the Ittik tribes this *agamman*-relation did exist between those classificatory brothers, who had also laid out gardens together.

Besides from the fact, that in the *agamman*-relation sexual intercourse is permitted to take place in the gardens, it is also evident from the way the spouses talk about that relation, that they refer to a sanctioned relation. Informants declare that the man, for instance, asks his wife: 'Well, have you already had sexual intercourse with. . . (HuBr)?' The wife may answer: 'No, I have not. But have you already met. . . (HuBrWi)?' to which the man can give an affirmative or negative answer.

Sexual relations between a bachelor and a married woman are certainly just as numerous as the *attausa*-relations. Contrary to the latter, the former, however, are strictly forbidden. The partners concerned meet in deep secret, generally in the night, somewhere in the forest. The sanctioned sexual intercourse, on the contrary, usually takes place in full daylight.

When a forbidden relation between a bachelor and a married woman is discovered, the whole village is in commotion. Generally, the 'adulterous' wife gets a sound thrashing, while the bachelor for a time does not show his face in the village. If the wife's relatives (her brothers, her father and MoBr) and her husband had caught him, they probably would attack him with choppers and sticks, and sometimes even with arrows. This all depends largely on the personal relations between the bachelor concerned and the woman's male relatives. If this relationship was rather friendly, it generally ends with a thrashing of the guilty bachelor, or a compensation in the form of arrows, iron objects or other products of Western culture is demanded, which he has to pay to the husband of the 'adulterous' wife. Once in a while a young man is so seriously maltreated by the wife's relatives that he dies.

After the discovery of the forbidden relation, the man generally stays away from the village, but then life is very difficult for him. He wanders about in the forest and visits his relatives in another village now and then. By way of precaution, however, he prefers to avoid every contact with

other people. That means a life of starvation. He has no sago, for which he is dependent on the women of his own village. Now and then he may catch a lizard or shoot a bird, but further he lives by the fruit and vegetables he finds. Informants told me, that they preferred a good hiding or the payment of a compensation, for which they had to work hard, to being banished from their village. The only man, with whom the banished man keeps up regular contact in these hard times, is his elder brother. The latter keeps him posted with all details of the feeling in the village. When the matter has died down a bit, he sounds the husband and the relatives of the 'adulterous' woman on their feelings about an eventual return of his younger brother. According to the mood of these relatives, he advises his guilty younger brother either to return to the village or to stay away for some time.

A variant of this sexual intercourse in the Tor district between a bachelor and a married woman must be touched upon here. That is the relation between a bachelor and his elder brother's wife. This reminds one again of the prevailing junior levirate common in the Tor district. The potential leviral husband already may lay claim to his elder brother's wife, while his brother is still alive. The form of this sexual relation resembles somewhat the *agamman*-relation. Here, however, is no question of an exchange. Whereas the *agamman*-relation was mainly limited to the tribes of the eastern (Upper) Tor territory, this one-sided relation appears to occur also among the tribes west of the Tor and according to my impressions even more frequently. For especially there, this relation was not limited to a man and his ElBrWi, but a bachelor might also have a sexual relation with his YoBrWi, which, however, is also the case with the *agamman*-relation. It is true, however, that this relation between a married woman and her HuElBr seems to refer mainly to her husband's classificatory brothers, although this does not apply to all classificatory brothers. As we have already mentioned before regarding the *agamman*-relation, personal factors play an important part here.

The sexual intercourse between a married woman and an unmarried brother of her husband may never take place in the gardens. Even though this relation occurs very frequently, it is a forbidden form of sexual intercourse. But from the attitude of the people themselves, however, nothing points to this being a forbidden relation. Morally it seems to be permitted,

which again indicates the solid unity between **siblings**, which is evident from all aspects of culture in the Tor territory.

It is a remarkable fact in the Tor district, that sexual intercourse with certain relatives is forbidden, whereas a marriage to the very same relatives is sanctioned. In other words, with certain relatives, sexual intercourse is only permitted in a matrimonial relation. Two examples may illustrate this: The Bonerif man Siétassir married his wife's mother,¹ while the Bora-Bora man Osman married his wife's daughter. Very strict rules of avoidance do exist between a man and his WiMo and sexual intercourse between a man and his WiDa causes the whole community to be violently indignant. Nevertheless, there were no objections raised to marriage in these two cases. All the same, such alliances are exceptions.

In the western Upper Tor district it is the custom, that an unmarried couple in sexual intercourse inflicts with a sharp object a deep wound upon each other's upper thigh, generally the right one. Van der Leeden observed the same in the Western interior of Sarmi, to which the western Upper Tor district is culturally very closely related. In fact, the inflicting of this deep wound of about 10 cm in length seems to point to an 'erotical effect,' as Van der Leeden states.² But these wounds are not always inflicted, far from it. According to informants among the Naidjbeedj and the Bora-Bora, men and women only inflict those wounds upon each other, when they are both really in love. When discussing the 'love-marriage,' this injury was already mentioned.

Sexual life is a daily subject of conversation. Nobody is secretive about it. Men and women crack jokes about it in the presence of many others, even their children. But then the latter are well versed in all things concerning sexual life. Certain expressions and gestures concerning sexual life are as well known to children as they are to adult people. After all, during the wedding-ceremony it is especially the younger ones, sometimes the very youngest of the bystanders, who shout the loudest: 'If you always get so much sago, you are well off,' which refers to the sexual intercourse between the two marriage partners. Others cry: 'Look out that she gives the first pepeda to you,' hinting that the woman may have intercourse with another man.

¹ See page 133, seq.

² 'Principal features, etc.,' page 126.

It is customary for a couple to leave the village for the gardens or the branch-village immediately after contracting a marriage. The greatest jokers call out to the bridegroom when the couple is leaving, that he should 'clutch his penis' which causes uproarious hilarity among the bystanders (May, 1958, Bora-Bora). The bridegroom and the bride, who otherwise really are not so shy, do feel a bit uncomfortable at these and other remarks and disappear in a hurry.

It is remarkable that one tribe is more preoccupied with sexual matters than another. Thus, for instance, the Naidjbeedj men busy themselves with carving wooden penes, which they always carry on them to show to others and make jokes about them. The Naidjbeedj people as well as the Waf expressly wanted to know which words were used for 'penis' and 'sexual intercourse' in Dutch. I know that masturbation is practised among them. With the Mander and the Bora-Bora, on the contrary, sexual life is kept more in the background. Normally, they hardly ever talk about it. The Mander people explained to me what *agamman* was, but they added at the same time, that it rarely occurred.¹ The Foja and the Bonerif, on the contrary, thought *agamman* a splendid institution. Among the Beeuw and the Daranto frequent pre- and extra-marital sexual relations are practised, and the people there liked to talk about them, while the Ségar and the Naidjbeedj are keenly interested in everything which concerns sexuality.

These dissimilarities between the tribes are so striking that one cannot help wondering what the reasons may be. The more so, because these dissimilarities are also found among tribes, who do have the same culture pattern.

Of course it is not impossible that individual factors play an important part in these striking differences. In that case these dissimilarities would only seem to be present and thus they would not be characteristic of the culture in question. In that case, the greater or lesser individual interest of my informants for sexuality would then erroneously have been mistaken for a cultural difference. This explanation, however, is not very satisfactory. In nearly all the tribes I have had just the same contact with every man without the help of an interpreter. Some of them were better informants than others, but all the same, the individual opinions or views regarding the data about these societies in none of the cases prevailed.

The differences referred to, therefore, really seem to be differences

¹ This was rather exaggerated, but it is just how they talk about it.

between tribes and not between individuals, although individual differences cannot be denied.

It is remarkable that the Mander, the Ittik and the Bora-Bora, tribes where sexuality comes less to the fore and where sexuality had rather less influence on the everyday life, are the only tribes in the Tor district who have sufficient food at their disposal. The Bora-Bora have a lot of domesticated pigs in their village. The Ittik and Mander have stored sufficient quantities of sago, while fishing is more important in the Mander and in the Ittik tribes than in most of the other tribes. With the Naidjbeedj and the Daranto hardly any fish were caught. The Waf and the Goeammer had to struggle with great shortage of sago, while also the Naidjbeedj and the Ségar repeatedly had to starve owing to the lack of food. Is it just an odd coincidence, that in tribes, who have the most precarious food-situation, sexuality is an all-important matter, whereas in the Bora-Bora and the Mander tribes with whom sexuality recedes more to the background do not suffer (so much) from starvation?

Of course, other factors count, but these economical factors: sufficient food on hand (sago, fish and pigs) and the serious shortage of food – a permanent under-nourishment¹ – seem at the first sight the most important. It seems, therefore, that where one of these primary necessities of life is not sufficiently satisfied, the other comes still more to the fore.

Besides, it is also a fact that the men among the Naidjbeedj and the Waf for instance, spend more time in doing nothing than the Mander and the Bora-Bora men do. The Mander men more than in any other tribe, are involved in the search for food, especially in the search for vegetables and the laying-out of gardens. The abundance of game in the Mander area is the reason why the men are such intensely active hunters. With the Naidjbeedj and the Ségar sago is very scarce. The women of these tribes are more active in collecting vegetables and other forest produce than the Bora-Bora women who are busy all day long with the sago production. Therefore the men among the Naidjbeedj, the Waf and also among the Bonerif tribe for instance, have more hours of leisure, which they pass in idleness. It is possible that this idleness also (greatly) influence the different mental attitude towards sexuality.

A number of changes in respect of sexual intercourse are to be observed at present in the Tor territory. As far as the pre-marital intercourse is

¹ This also means – and often mainly – a shortage of the most essential food-ingredients.

concerned, it must be mentioned, that the people of the Tor now have adopted a different mental attitude towards the consequences of sexual intercourse. Although intercourse between the unmarried was considered permitted, as a rule a pre-marital child was killed, unless the man in question married the girl before the birth of the infant. Generally this was not possible because of the many marriage-arrangements and exchange-promises. Moreover, the husband had to offer for his wife another woman in exchange, which is generally impossible. It did not happen very frequently, it is true, that a girl gave birth to a pre-marital child,¹ but if it happens nowadays, the people adopt quite a different attitude towards the unmarried mother and her child.² Both are fully accepted now by the community. Nobody looks down upon them disdainfully. The men say: 'We have done it ourselves.' Nobody gets excited about it. Every bachelor regrets that he cannot marry the girl.

A great change appears unmistakably to have taken place in the attitude towards the unsanctioned sexual intercourse between a bachelor and a married woman. Owing to the enormous shortage of girls and women, on an average 47% of all men in the marriageable age are bachelors, sexual intercourse between a married woman and a bachelor, formerly an exception, has even become a rule today. In former years these exceptions could be severely condemned, especially because public opinion sided with the enraged husband and the indignant relatives of the 'adulterous' woman. All these things have changed now. The numerous bachelors collectively back their colleague, which means that more than half of the men no longer support drastic action. Their argument is: 'But there are no other women,' which is even echoed by the other fellow-villagers. Thus, in some communities sexual intercourse between a bachelor and a married woman does enrage a deceived husband and some relatives, but no punishment follows. In other villages such relations are even frequently condoned. 'What else can we do?' the Mander man Foaro asked. A last 'survival' of the forbidden character of these relations is the fact, that this sexual intercourse is still not allowed to take place in the gardens. And, as informants told me, this taboo is strictly observed.

¹ See chapter VI, page 260.

² Among the Mander she is called: '*meljantanèh grèner*,' which means: not yet married and already given birth.

7. WAMBO ¹

Wambo means song, dance, feeling, spirit, power and leaves of trees, which are all used for the same purpose: to win the woman one desires. In the paragraph about sexual life, a number of ways were mentioned, by which men and women may invite each other to practice sexual intercourse. But *Wambo* is more than that. Although women were able to refuse to smoke the offered cigar or decline the invitation to go and collect vegetables, *Wambo* is irresistible.

According to myths of the people of the Tor, *Wambo* is the song of the tree kangaroo: 'In former times the kangaroo owned a number of sago plantations, just like the bat. One day a woman called Soengkait, pounded sago which belonged to the kangaroo, but Soengkait did not know that. So the woman had sexual intercourse with the kangaroo as it was his sago! Then the woman herself was transformed into a kangaroo and she no longer wanted to go back to her husband. The latter, however, and all the men from the village hunted the kangaroo, who had seduced and abducted the woman. In the place of his wife, the betrayed husband received, however, the leaf of a tree, which, together with the song the kangaroo taught him, would give him another wife.'

Together with a betelnut or a cigar the *Wambo* leaf is smuggled into the desired woman's hand. As soon as she eats from the leaves, it is said, she will fall madly in love with the giver and will not be able to resist seduction. Informants unanimously say, that even women, who loved their husbands and had contracted a love-marriage, have run after other men 'owing to the power of *Wambo*.' No wonder, that men, who under no condition will part with their wives, tell their women the most horrible things about that 'terribly malicious (djahat) *Wambo*.' But that only strengthens their belief in *Wambo*'s seductive power and it is precisely that absolute belief in the power of *Wambo*, which makes it possible to be seduced.²

As the winning of a woman's heart and sexual life play such an important, sometimes an even dominant part in a great number of communities in the Tor basin, it is not surprising that *Wambo* is so tremendously important. One may even speak of a *Wambo-complex*.

¹ This paragraph might just as well have been inserted in the chapter about religion. But because *Wambo* means: 'Liebeszauber,' 'Love spell,' it is put after the paragraph about sexual life.

² See chapter VI, paragraph 7, pp. 269-271.

To be able to sing and to dance *Wambo*, first a boar has to be shot. Very often therefore the hunt of the men, especially of the bachelors, is determined by *Wambo*. Those hunts are not always successful. Then the men have to try again and again. For days and weeks *Wambo* is the movingspring. And when the boar is killed and prepared and the *Wambo* festivities can begin, *Wambo*, the power of seduction reaches its climax. Then the men start dancing and singing. This squat- and jump dance, accompanied by the drums, reminds one of the jumps of the kangaroo.

'Kangaroo-dance' people call this dance of the *Wambo* therefore. By imitating the movements of the tree kangaroo it is possible - that is the idea - to exercise the same seductive power of the kangaroo, when he seduced the wife Soengkait and had sexual intercourse with her. It is a dance for men only. The words of the songs differ from tribe to tribe, although the theme is the same everywhere: '*Sauwri mebo...*' Sauwri will you follow me. . .,' after which other men call out the names of their chosen ones. Women, who hear their names called are completely in the power of the *Wambo*. They cannot resist. During the dance festivities, which last from nightfall to dawn, as all feasts do, girls and women leave the village, very stealthily - again with the same pretext, that they must ease nature - and have sexual intercourse with their seducers. Often these *Wambo* feasts last for nights on end. By day the men sleep or loiter about in the village. But as soon as night falls *Wambo* takes possession of them and they dance and sing and cohabit.

In an endless number of variations, the same song is repeated: 'Singkèh, I want to meet you; Singkèh's breasts do already hang, this very night I shall touch her; Singkèh must ease nature, Singkèh's pepeda is the best of all,' etc. Sometimes the words which are sung, relate in detail what the singer wants; sometimes the words are symbolic. But the meaning of this symbolism is well-known to every man and woman.

Culturally it is quite interesting to learn, that this type of *Wambo* song comes from special villages. Thus Dangken is the village from where the favourite and most popular *Wambo* songs originate. Also the myth of the kangaroo was best known among the inhabitants of the village Dangken. From there many *Wambo* songs and myths are spread to the north, the east and the south. It should be stated here, that *Wambo* is unknown in the Western interior of Sarmi. *The Wambo-complex is characteristic of the Tor district: Lower Tor (Kwèsten, Berrick), Middle Tor (Beeuw), eastern Upper Tor area (Bonerif, Ittik, Ittik-Tor, Borto, Mander, Foja, Daranto, Goeam-*

mer, Warès). Only the Ségar and the Naidjbeedj tribes know nothing of *Wambo*. These tribes are, also in a 'negative' sense, completely linked to those of the Western interior of Sarmi. Perhaps it is safer to say that *Wambo* as yet is unknown among the Ségar and the Naidjbeedj tribes. The *Wambo*-complex has spread from the (Lower) Tor nearly all over the whole Tor district. Even outside the real Tor district, the *Wambo*-complex occurs: also several villages in the coastal area east of Sarmi are in touch with it. Of recent years, *Wambo* has becoming more and more known in the western Upper Tor district. The Bora-Bora and the Waf tribes have already come into contact with it and without doubt, in the near future, the other tribes of the western Upper Tor district will dance and sing *Wambo*. The *Wambo*-complex is still a characteristic of the Tor district just as the Djamé-complex was typical of the Western interior of Sarmi. The sexual dance and the spirit of seduction, however, are not unknown in the Western interior of Sarmi.¹

Wambo is not only sung at a *Wambo* feast. Men always need the spirit and the power of *Wambo*, don't they? On their way they hum the *Wambo* songs. When they go out fishing, hunting or during the long tours as the Tuan's bearers, they always sing or hum the song of seduction. Men always have the name of a loved one in their minds, but the chosen one does not always cherish the same sentiments for her lover.

Therefore, *Wambo* must be repeated incessantly. In the complicated pattern of exchange-arrangements, a man and a woman cannot always follow the desires of their heart. Then *Wambo* is the most powerful help. But *Wambo* is even more than that. To sing *Wambo* after an exerting and dangerous expedition seems to be a kind of working-off of one's emotions. During our tours after a long and dangerous tour when we at last found or erected a shelter, I always tried to go to sleep as early as possible. My bearers, however, never could get to sleep. They then sang and danced *Wambo*, sometimes until early in the morning. Then there is no woman near to be seduced, but the singing of *Wambo* breaks the tension. It is true, this also applies to other songs, but it remains a striking fact, that after a very difficult and particularly dangerous expedition, the men always sang *Wambo*. After having sung *Wambo* all night long, they were again to march the next morning.

¹ See further chapter VI, paragraph 3.a., pp. 321-323.

I. INTRODUCTION

Life in the Tor district is for the greater part governed by kinship. For the individual, kinship stands for: safety, security, friendship, intimacy and certainty.

In the Tor district everyone feels constantly threatened by 'soeangi' (sorcery). One only feels safe from this as long as one is amongst ones relations, because on principle, no one will cast a spell on a relative. That feeling of safety sets the mind of a Tor man at rest. This is most obvious when one observes the Tor man when he is among strangers. No noise is made, nobody laughs, but the men huddle together in a subdued mood. They hardly talk at all and when they do speak, they do so in whispers. As soon as they are back among their own people, every sign of anxiety and depression disappears. On the other hand, however, every stranger, which means everyone who is not related, is treated with mistrust, because it is thought that he has evil intentions. They cannot imagine that anyone would leave his kith and kin to mix with strangers, otherwise than for the purpose of sorcery. Every stranger in the village is therefore watched with Argus eyes to prevent him from collecting refuse in order to perform sorcery with it, or to guard against his hiding a piece of bewitched material somewhere, which might cause sickness and death. Therefore the security-villages are known only to the nearest of kin. No stranger is allowed to come near them.¹

When a person is hungry, he knows that he can always appeal to his relatives for food, at least as long as they have it themselves. On the other hand, it is equally impossible to refuse a relative sago or other food-stuffs, when he asks for it. This, in view of the everlasting scarcity of food, means a lot to everyone. Nothing else indicates so clearly the fact that kinship means security, than these gifts of food. One can always

¹ For this 'soeangi' see chapter VI, pp. 265-271.

count on one's relatives. That also holds good when one is in trouble, or requires the assistance of other people, for instance with the building of houses or the carrying out of certain activities, even to the extent of the abduction of women.

Friendship and kinship are pretty well synonymous. Of course, there are unrelated persons with whom one is on friendly terms, but such people are also considered as relatives and addressed by a kinship term. In the preceding pages, an example has already been mentioned of the friendship relation, which may exist between two or more tribes. This relation is expressed by the terms *ElBr-YoBr*.

Individuals, also non-relations, with whom one is on intimate and familiar terms, are addressed by a kinship term, which means that he is no longer considered a stranger. The most common kinship term here is also that of 'brother,' although other terms may occur, like those of 'father,' 'son' etc. After having worked for sometime among one particular tribe, the elders of the tribe began to address me by the term equivalent to son. Then the younger ones came to me and asked 'What are we going to do, call you *oa* or *mèmmè*? (i.e. father or mother's brother). As a rule I was afterwards addressed and designated as '*mèmmè*.'

One's status and function and one's relation to others are for the greater part defined by kinship. This ensures that everyone knows exactly how he has to behave towards others. In this way, everyone knows his exact place in the community, which not only gives assurance to the individual but also makes him an integral part of the group. Thus – as has already been mentioned briefly – assistance and service are functions of relationship, which to a high degree also affect the exchange of gifts and economic life.

Finally, kinship also appears to be of utmost importance for the religious life in the Tor district. Numerous religious rites only take place by or for the particular relatives or kin groups. The passing of sacred objects, like sacred flutes, and the telling of myths are also a function of certain kinship-relations. In some cases, these religious representations and observances chiefly appear to be a projection of a number of elements of the kinship structure.

2. KINSHIP RELATIONS AND TERMINOLOGY.

In general, kinship terminologies are seen as a representation of existing social relations.¹ The starting-point of the following description of the

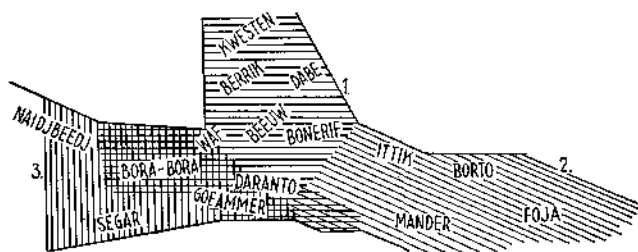
¹ See G. P. Murdock: 'Social Structure', pages 107-112.

kinship relations and the kinship structure in the Tor district is the kinship terminologies, which were founded on genealogies. (For these terminologies see appendix 5).

In the Tor district three groups of kinship terminology may be distinguished which accentuate in greater detail the differentiations between the three culture areas mentioned in chapter I. These three groups are:

1. The terminology of the Berrick (to which that of the Kwesten is structurally related)
2. The terminology of the Ittik and Mander (eastern Upper Tor district)
3. The terminology of the Ségar and Naidjbeedj (which are closely related to the terminologies of the Western interior of Sarmi)

Apart from these structurally and linguistically differentiated groups, terminologies occur, which are transitions, because they have some elements of all three groups. These terminologies are found in the transition area between two or more culture areas as for instance among the Bora-Bora and the Daranto. Schematically the situation may be presented as follows:



The kinship terms are given in the list (appendix) undeclined and without prefixes, except for some terms of the Ségar and the Naidjbeedj. For it seems, that among the latter such expressions as for So, Da, SoSo, SoDa, cannot be used without a possessive prefix (*tjo*, *tjom* and *tjon*.) Contrary to this, the rest of the Tor tribes use those possessive prefixes (*am* – mine; *im* – her, his) exclusively when a particular, generally confidential or intimate, relation must be expressed. The use of these prefixes is especially necessary when only one term exists for two or more kinship relations. (Classificatory terms). Thus the Berrick term *ieje* denotes Mo as well as MoSi and FaBrWi. To make it clear that one means one's own mother,

the expression *amieje* is used. In the same way, *amoa* comes next to *oa*, respectively for Fa and for FaBr and MoSiHu. Terms which are only used for one relative (denotative terms therefore), such as the Ittik term *jetti* (Fa) or the term *mèmmè* among the Bora-Bora (for MoBr), are never used with a prefix.

There is still another reason why it is better to render the kinship terms in their basic form. By the use of the prefixes namely, the ending of the word itself is very often altered. The Berrick term *aja* (ElBr) changes with the prefix *am* into *amajena* and the term *ébo*, which in the Berrick language is used for WiFa and DaHu, changes into *amebone*. Once in a while the use of such a prefix may even make the basic form of the word unrecognizable, which e.g. is the case with the Berrick term *ossòh* (YoBr), which with a prefix changes into: *amostogwaai*.

The population itself makes hardly any distinction between terms of reference and terms of address. They prefer to address each other by their personal names, but if that is impossible, e.g. in a case of existing name-taboos, the terms of reference are used as terms of address. The terms here mentioned therefore, are all terms of reference. If a special term of address exists, it will be mentioned separately.

2.1. Kinship relations and terminology with the Berrick

The Berrick terminology is most widely spread in the Tor district. Not only do the tribes from the Berrick language area use that terminology, but also the Bonerif and (in pretty well the same form), also the Dabé. However, at the same time must be mentioned that the terminology of the Bora-Bora, Waf and Gocammer tribes, who do speak the Berrick language, but for the greater part of their culture link up with the culture of the Western interior of Sarmi, differs in a number of important points from the actual Berrick terminology. Therefore, in the Tor district, one is confronted with the curious phenomenon that terminologies of tribes speaking a Berrick language, deviate structurally and even linguistically from the Berrick terminology, whereas tribes who speak other languages do use the Berrick kinship terminology. In any case, for the Tor district, Gifford's statement that kinship systems are first of all linguistic phenomena, does not hold good.¹ Also noteworthy is the fact, that among certain

¹ E. W. Gifford: 'A problem in Kinship Terminology.' *Am. Anthr.* 42 (1940) pages 193-194: 'Kinship systems are first of all linguistic phenomena. . . and only secondarily social phenomena.'

tribes in the Tor district, a number of Berrick terms are really used, but only to indicate totally different kinship relations.

From the six major criteria and the three subsidiary criteria, which are distinguished by Murdock¹ and others in the analysis of the kinship terminology, the Berrick appear to have almost only taken the *age-criterion* into consideration. In parents' generation, a difference is made between FaElSibl and FaYoSibl, while also MoElSi is terminologically distinguished from MoYoSi. The same happens with ego's own siblings. For the classificatory siblings – these are all parallel and cross-cousins – however, in distinguishing elder and younger, the real difference in age is not decisive, but the age-set of their parents. Thus FaYoSiSo and MoYoBrDa are therefore always ego's *ossòh* (YoSibl), even if they are actually his senior. Also in child's generation, the children of an ElSibl differ terminologically from those of a YoSibl, while the spouses of an ElSibl are also indicated by an other term than the one used for YoSibl.

There is only one exception to this important rule of the age-criterion, namely the term *mèmmè*, which indicates MoElBr as well as MoYoBr. In fact, with the exception of the Ittik, all tribes in the Tor district ignore this age-criterion regarding MoBr.

This is quite in accordance with the actual relations. Between MoElBr and MoYoBr, who both occupy a very personal and important position,² only very slight functional differences exist in the social pattern. It is quite a different case with FaElBr and FaYoBr and with MoElSi and MoYoSi, who each occupy quite a different function in the social and family life. The terminological distinction between elder and younger is quite in accordance with this. FoYoBr occupies, as was already stated, the status of a potential father, quite in concordance with the junior-levirate, while FaElBr is of but small importance or none whatsoever in the net of the kinship relations. In practice the latter is often indicated – even sometimes addressed-by the term for FaFa (*aboai*), especially when the difference in age between him and ego's father is rather great. The amicable and often confidential relation between FaYoBr and ego, on the other hand, may be a motive to indicate each other by the terms ElBr-YoBr (*aja-ossòh*), while they address each other by their proper names. However, even

¹ G. P. Murdock: 'Social Structure', pp. 101-106.

² For that exceptional status see also page 168 and pp. 235/236, 241/242.

then FaYoBr retains a certain authority over his ElBrSo, who vice versa respects the authority of his uncle.

In the entire pattern of kinship relations, FaElBr as well as FaElSi retire into the background. In fact both are then indicated by one and the same term: *nieje*, ignoring the difference in sex. That in contradistinction, a distinction in sex is made with FaYoSibl, is quite in accordance with the very important and specific functions which FaYoBr and FaYoSi respectively occupy. FaYoSi, moreover, is the woman, whom Fa has given in exchange for his spouse, which in itself is sufficient reason to distinguish her terminologically also from FaElSi.¹

Further the sex criterion in the whole of this terminology is almost completely ignored; *aja* stands for Br as well as for Si; *nieje* means FaElBr as well as FaElSi etc., *mèmmè* stands for SiSo and SiDa (m.s.) while *aboaai* means FaFa and FaMo. In addition, the much used term *taneh* for child must be mentioned in this connection. A great number of Berrick terms are reciprocally used. This is the case with the terms: *nieje*, *mèmmè*, *aboaai* and with most of the affinal kinship terms. (See page 159). In many cases this reciprocity applies to relatives of different generations like the terms *mèmmè* (MoBr-SiSo), *nieje* (FaElSibl-YoBrChi) and *aboaai* (FaFa-SoSo). The latter term is reciprocally used by people who have two generations between them. From all this it is obvious that in their terminology the Berrick do not attach much importance to the difference in generation.

Actually in practice this generation-criterion is still further ignored, because first of all the difference in age between two relatives is taken into consideration, whereas not so much attention is paid to the fact that they belong to a different generation. When, for instance, a BrSo does not differ much in years from ego, they indicate each other by the sibling terms. Several personal factors also repeatedly break the ideal kinship pattern, playing a part in this neglect of the generation principle. That is also the reason why actually no terms exist which are not used in a classificatory way at the same time for other – younger or older – generations. It is true that such phenomena occur in all societies – even our own – but among these small, often endogamous Tor tribes, where people are all related in even more than one way – it appears to be the rule. These actual relations constantly break the ideal kinship terminology and as the tribes

¹ Compare for this the sibling terminology of the Mander, where already in ego's generation a distinction is made between ElSi (m. s.) and YoSi (m. s.) page 172.

are so small, it is even difficult to ascertain which are the exceptions and what is the rule.

From the terminology it appears that the Berrick use one term for Fa, FaYoBr, FaYoSiHu and MoYoSiHu: *oa*. So no distinction is made here between the grades of kinship, which is also apparent from the terminological identification of MoYoSi, FaYoSi, MoBrWi and FaYoBrWi: *ieje*. Apart from the term *nieje* (FaElSi, MoElSi, FaElBrWi, FaElSiHu, etc.,) moreover the negligence of the criterion of collaterality is evident from the terms *gitogwaa* and *jafontogwaa*, which respectively mean So and Da, and at the same time indicate all the offspring of an elder sibling. Finally the terminological identification of all cousins with siblings points to the same negligence of the criterion of collaterality.

To the sibling group, which all over the Tor district forms a strong unit, do not only belong however all the cousins, but also all the members of the same generation, relatives and even non-relatives, with whom one is on friendly and intimate terms and who are then also indicated by the same sibling terms.

The terminology of the Bora-Bora, Goeammer and Waf shows a number of very important deviations from the Berrick terminology.¹ These concern:

I. The Cousin Terminology

	<i>Berrick</i>	<i>Bora-Bora etc.</i>
FaBrChi	siblings	siblings
FaSiChi	siblings	<i>bekkam</i>
MoBrChi	siblings	<i>bekkam</i>
MoSiChi	siblings	<i>komoen</i>

Whereas the cousin terminology of the Berrick answers to the so-called Hawaiian-type,² this cousin terminology of the Bora-Bora, the Waf and the Goeammer, belongs to the so-called Iroquois-type³. In this aspect

¹ The affinal kinship terminology will be discussed later on. No differences exist therein between that of the Berrick and that of the Bora-Bora, Waf and Goeammer.

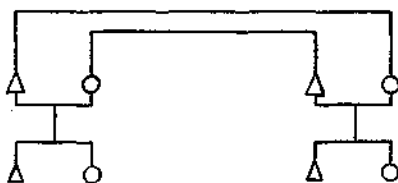
² G. P. Murdock, o.c. page 223: 'Hawaiian - all cross and parallel cousins called by the same terms as those used for sisters'.

³ Idem, 'Iroquois - FaSiDa and MoBrDa called by the same terms but terminologically differentiated from parallel cousins as well as from sisters; parallel cousins, commonly but not always classified with sisters.'

these tribes from the western Upper Tor district link up entirely with the culture of the Western interior of Sarimi, where according to Van der Leeden, this Iroquois cross-cousin terminology is one of the most typical phenomena.¹

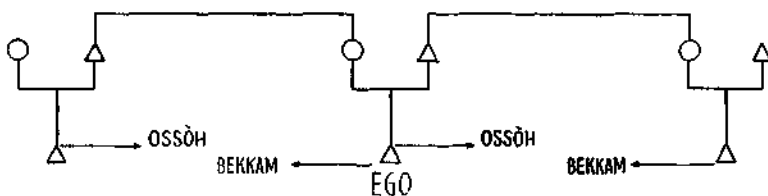
The terminological identification of FaSiSo with MoBrSo is among the Bora-Bora a consequence of the marriage by exchange. Fa(Yo)Si and MoBrWi are the same person then, while in the next generation FaSiSo is identical with MoBrSo.

SCHEME VI



Now it is interesting to note, however, that the population of the western Upper Tor district itself makes a terminological distinction between FaSiSo and MoBrSo. In that case there is no question of an Iroquois cross-cousin terminology! They emphasize the fact that the term *bekkam* exclusively applies to the offspring of *mèmmè*, to MoBrChi. The children of FaSi are indicated according to them by the sibling terms, which is also evident from their own way of tracing. Because if no marriage by exchange has been contracted – and that this is often the case was proved in the preceding chapter – MoBrSo and FaSiSo in fact indicate each other by a separate term, in which case FaSiSo, being the son of an *ieje* (FaSi) is addressed by the sibling term and in which case only for MoBrSo the term *bekkam* is applied.

SCHEME VII



¹ Hoofdtrekken, (Principal features) page 66 (65).

However, these marriages are not according to the ideal pattern and as such are considered to be exceptions to the rule of marriages by exchange, which are not greatly appreciated. However, when the marriage of one's parents is contracted by means of sister-exchange and MoBrSo and FaSiSo are consequently one and the same person, the latter is also indicated by the term *bekkam*, but that is really done almost unconsciously. FaSiSo counts as *bekkam* by the mere fact that he is an offspring of MoBr. For instance, informants themselves were very surprised when I pointed out to them, that they themselves also addressed FaSiSo by the term *bekkam*.

Now this is again an important point. When, as a consequence of plural kinship tracings, which in fact are a rule in the Tor district, two or more kinship terms may be used to indicate one and the same person, always one is chosen which from then on will be used permanently for that particular relative. Which of the two or more terms is chosen depends partly on the personal relations which exist between these two relatives. In case there is a choice between the term for FaSiSo (sibling) and MoBrSo (*bekkam*), the latter is always chosen. Consequently, in practice, FaSiSo is addressed by the same term as MoBrSo and that is why this Iroquois terminology is included in the list, the more so, because at the same time it coincides with the ideal pattern. However, the theory of this structure deviates somewhat from this pattern. For the Tor district, the rule applies that the Iroquois cross-cousin terminology is altogether a consequence of the marriage by exchange.

From all this it is moreover evident that the Bora-Bora, Waf and Goeammer purposely make a distinction between kinsmen, who are linked to ego through a male and those who are linked through a female connecting relative. This criterion of bifurcation, which the Berrik have disregarded totally, is in the terminology of the Bora-Bora, Waf and Goeammer observed in connection with several kinship relations, owing to which this terminology deviates also in other aspects from that of the Berrik (see below).

Before mentioning these deviations, the term *komoen* first requires special attention. First of all, it is made obvious that also parallel-cousins, who are traced via Fa are distinguished terminologically from the maternal parallel-cousins.

FaBrSo – sibling
MoSiSo – *komoen*

This special term makes it again obvious, that a unilineal element exists in the kinship terminology of the tribes in the western Upper-Tor district, which however was absolutely non-existent in that of the Berrik.

It is interesting to note, especially from a cultural historical point of view, the very wide spread of the term *komoen* in the hinterland of Sarmi. From the Daranto on the Foewin, some kilometres east of the Tor as far as the tribes of the Mamberamo, like the Kaowerawédj¹ amongst others, this term *komoen* occurs. It is found there in terminologies and language areas, which are totally different in other respects. Van der Leeden states² that the term *komoen* for MoSiChi is also heard in the language area of the Airoran, to which amongst others, tribes of the middle course of the Apauwar and on the lower course of the Mamberamo belong (Kabeso). From there eastwards between the Waim and the Woske, this term occurs nearly homonymously in the territory of the Saberi, namely *gomena*.³

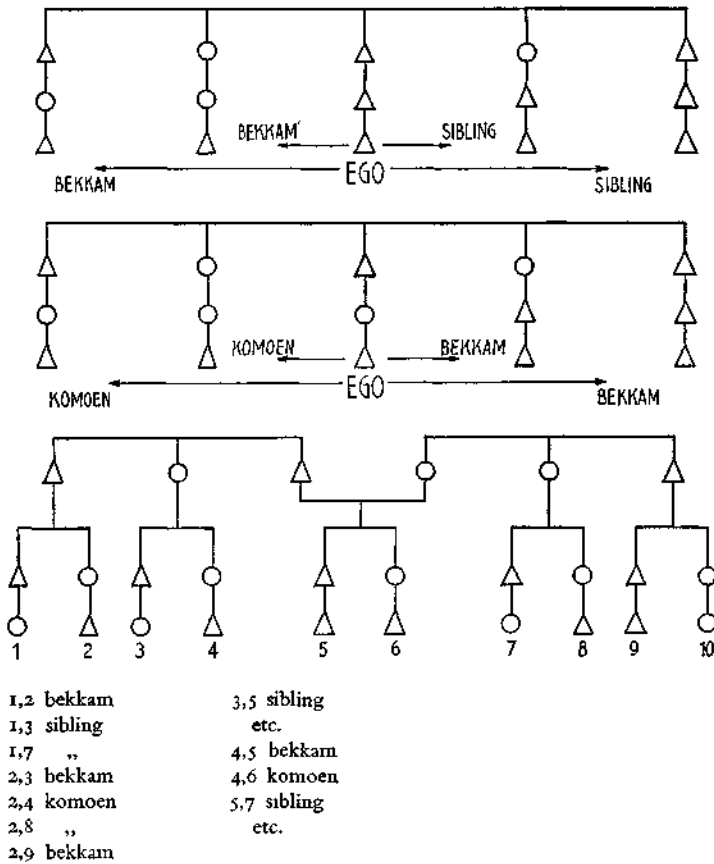
As is the case amongst the Berrik with the sibling-terms, amongst the Bora-Bora, Waf and Gocammer the different cousin-terms are also classificatorily used for a large group of distant relatives in the same age-set and with whom they are on as friendly terms as with the authentic cousins. In these distant kinship-tracings, it then depends on the sex of the parents on both sides, whether the distant relatives indicate each other as *bekkam* (FaSiSo/MoBrSo) or as *komoen* (MoSiChi). In other words, the issue is, whether two individuals are related to each other in paternal or maternal descent. (If one is related via his father as well as via his mother, one particular way of tracing is always chosen – see above). If, for instance, that kinship is traced via ego's father and via his father, then both distant relatives address each other as brother. If these connecting relatives in parents' generation are both women, the term *komoen* is applied to them, etc. (see scheme). Nobody bothers if these parents were indeed each others brother or siblings. For the definition of that relationship it is sufficient to say: 'His father and my father called each other as *aja-ossòh* (ElBr-YoBr), for that reason we are each others *aja* and *ossòh*, etc. Generally, the population's knowledge of genealogy was very scanty indeed.

¹ Van Eechoud notes, it is true, that the Kaowerawédj classify all cross and parallel-cousins with siblings, but pending my stay with a number of Kaowerawédj tribes (on the Kaboe, the Egònnie and the Mamberamo) it appeared that the Kaowerawédj did distinguish MoSiChi (*komòn*) from FaSiChi/MoBrChi. Therefore indeed they do not make an exception to the rule for the Western interior of Sarmi, as noted by Van der Leeden.

² Van der Leeden, o.c. page 63 (25).

³ The same.

SCHEME VIII



2. Another important difference between the Berrick terminology and that of the Bora-Bora, Waf and Goeammer, concerns the particular term for SiChi: *Annaitj*. While in the Berrick terminology the term *mèmmè* for MoBr is used reciprocally for SiChi, the Bora-Bora etc., have a special term for the latter relative, thereby taking into consideration the criterion of generation and the criterion of polarity. This special term for SiChi is an exception all over the Tor district. In all other terminologies, MoBr and SiChi reciprocally use the identical terms. In this way the terminologies of the Tor district are quite distinct from those of the Western interior of Sarmi and consequently the Bora-Bora, Waf and Goeammer, in this

respect, appear also to belong to the Western interior of Sarmi. In fact the term *annaítj* already points to it. It is found in the same form in terminologies of the tribes, who belong to the Kwerba language area, such as the Ségar, the Naidjbeedj, the Bagoeidja, the Dobbera etc. However, there this term is not merely used by MoBr as indicating his SiChi, but also by MoSi. Among the Bora-Bora, Waf and Goeammer, however, MoSi addresses her SiChi with the term for son (*gitogwaai*).

3. The third important difference between these tribes from the western Upper Tor district and the other tribes from the Berrik language area, concerns the bifurcation-criterion in the grand-parental terminology. The Berrik only know one term for all grandparents and their generation-set: *Aboaai*. In contradistinction to this, the Bora-Bora, the Waf and the Goeammer make a clear terminological distinction between the parents of the father and those of the mother.¹ Similarly in the cousin-terminology, the sex of the connecting relative plays an important part in the classification of relatives (bifurcation):

FaFa, FaMo: *esja*
MoFa, MoMo: *afòh*

Both terms are used reciprocally for respectively SoChi and DaChi, and in this case, just as with the Berrik, the generation-criterion is neglected.

The terms *esja* and *afòh*, moreover, apply to all fellow members of the generation of FaFa (FaMo) and MoFa (MoMo). However, it is very remarkable, that in the classification of the tertiary and distant relatives in the grandparents' generation, it is not the sex of ego's parents which is decisive, but the sex of the connecting relatives in the grandparents' generation. The reason why this fact therefore deserves so much attention is, that in all other classifications of relatives, also in those of distant relatives, the sex of the connecting relative in the parents' generation has a decisive significance (see page 156).

This then applies to the terminologies of the Tor district as well as to those of the Western interior of Sarmi. However, the Bora-Bora, Waf and Goeammer have:

¹ The term *aboaai* also occurs in the Bora-Bora tribe, etc., but there it indicates a grandparent in general, as for instance the term child is used next to son or daughter. The term *aboaai* also indicates a progenitor in general.

FaFa : <i>esja</i>	FaFaBr : <i>esja</i>	FaFaBrWi : <i>esja</i>
FaMo : <i>esja</i>	FaFaSi : <i>esja</i>	FaFaSiHu : <i>esja</i>
MoFa : <i>afðh</i>	FaMoBr : <i>afðh</i>	FaMoBrWi : <i>afðh</i>
MoMo : <i>afðh</i>	FaMoSi : <i>afðh</i>	FaMoSiHu : <i>afðh</i>
	MoFaBr : <i>esja</i>	MoFaBrWi : <i>esja</i>
	MoFaSi : <i>esja</i>	MoFaSiHu : <i>esja</i>
	MoMoSi : <i>afðh</i>	MoMoBrWi : <i>afðh</i>
	MoMoSi : <i>afðh</i>	MoMoSiHu : <i>afðh</i>

*Affinal relationship.*¹ In addition to the term *moena* for WiMo (see page 163), the terms for wife and husband are the only terms which are not used also classificatorily for other affinal and consanguineal kinship relations. The term *angwa* for husband literally means man or male, while the term *woei* (wife) means female in general. To indicate that one really means wife or husband, the possessive prefix *am* is attached to the term. Moreover the term *woei* changes thus into *amwoejena*. Both terms are real terms of reference. Husband and wife address each other by their name, either by the real name or a nickname. In fact, in general, all affinal relatives call each other by the name as much as possible. However, for a great number of affinal relatives this is not allowed owing to the existing name-taboos, which are rather strictly observed. Only 'very old people' need not heed these name-taboos. For the younger ones, however, they are of such importance, that any words which only sound like the name of the relative concerned, may not even be uttered. For instance, between the Upper Tor area and the Upper Apauwar basin flows a river which is called Makkai(t). This river name is almost identical with the name of the brother-in-law (SiHu) of the Naidjbeedj man Auwreitj, so that the latter never mentions the name of the river. When Auwreitj spoke about that river, he always had to call someone else to be able to explain which river he actually meant. That happened very often, because Auwreitj was my guide in that river basin. Auwreitj then said to a bearer: 'Just tell Tuan the name of my brother-in-law's river.'

Fonnap, an important man among the Daranto, is another example. The Berrick word for water is *Fðh*. Consequently certain affinal relatives of Fonnap are never allowed to use this very common word 'water.' Instead they speak of Foewin, which is the name of the river, from which

¹ In the affinal relationship terminology there are no differences between Berrick and Bora-Bora, Waf and Goeammer.

the Daranto fetch their water. Nowadays these relatives use the Malay word for water (air). This penetration of the Malay language is a magnificent way out for these people. During lively discussions in their native tongue now and then a Malay word is heard, which is frequently used as a substitute for the native term, because the latter resembles the name of a certain affinal relative, whose name may not be uttered. Such name-taboos apply first of all to the WiBr and SiHu, who may only address each other by the relationship term: *Moesa*. Between these two relatives exists a particular relationship, which is closely connected with the marriage structure in the Tor district. If no immediate exchange has taken place, the bride-receiver (SiHu) is in the bride-giver's (WiBr) debt. The former has to pay his respects to the latter, which is done by offering presents and assisting in all kinds of enterprises.

In the case of a direct marriage-exchange, a similar relation exists between the two men, because they are their bride-giver as well as their bride-taker. This is the ideal situation, which possibly explains the reciprocal use of the word *moesa*. Helping one another is now quite reciprocal, while the bestowing of gifts has the character of an exchange of gifts.

On the face of this it is perhaps remarkable that the term *moesa* applies to WiElBr as well as to WiYoBr. For in a marriage by exchange, a man could only give his YoSi in exchange for a wife, so that his relationship with his WiElBr is quite different from that with his WiYoBr. But then a marriage by exchange concerns the whole group and does not apply to one single individual - in this case WiElBr. So what was just stated about the reciprocal and the ambivalent relationships between WiBr and SiHu, as a consequence of a direct sister-exchange, also applies - in a much lesser extent - to their brothers amongst others. This, by the way, explains the reciprocity of the affinal kinship relationships, which is clearly expressed in the terminology.

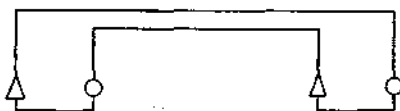
The term *moesa* is also classificatorily used for WiSiHu (v.v.) and HuBrWi (v.v.). It is probable that the strict avoidance-relation which exists between a man and his WiSi has also influenced the relationship with the husband of WiSi.¹ The grade of kinship, however, is here quite different from the relationship WiBr-SiHu, which is not taken into consideration. For it appears to be of greater importance that with the relationship WiSiHu-WiSiHu, both partners are of the same sex and the same applies to the relationship HuBrWi-HuBrWi. In the affinal kinship terminology

¹ See the term *annaissi*, pages 161/162.

namely, it appears that more than in the case of the consanguineal kinship terminology, the sex of the addressed person is taken into account.

It is very improbable that the term *moesa* should also be applied to WiBrWi and HuSiHu. In the list of kinship terms, this term therefore is put between brackets. Pending the investigation, informants hesitated themselves when mentioning the term *moesa* for these affinal relations, while there were others who pretended not to know anything about it. However there are still other reasons why the use of the term *moesa* for WiBrWi and HuSiHu seems unlikely. First of all, both these relations are of different sexes and the term *moesa* evidently applies solely to affinal-relations of the same sex as the speaker himself. A far more important reason, however, is the fact that by the (direct) marriage by exchange these two affinal-relations are actually siblings.

SCHEME IX



In the affinal-kinship terminology of the Mander and Ittik it is obvious that this coincidence is taken into account and WiBrWi and HuSiHu are there indicated by the sibling terms (see their terminology).

Some affinal-kinship terms are, in practice, only used as terms of reference because those affinal-relations are called by their first names, as we have seen. Other terms, such as the term *moesa* just discussed, are, also in practice, terms of reference as well as terms of address. However, after all, there also exist affinal-relationship terms, which may be used exclusively as terms of reference, because it is strictly forbidden to address that particular affinal-relation, not even by a kinship term. That amongst other things applies to the WiElsi (v.v.) and HuElBr, who are indicated by the term *annaussi*. This term signifies: 'I must avoid him or her.' Thus, sometimes other relations than only the ones mentioned in the list, are indicated by 'annaussi,' when regarding this affinal-relation there exists an equally strict avoidance-relationship. For instance this applies to the parents-in-law (WiFa, WiMo, HuFa, HuMo).

The rigorous avoidance-rules, implied in the prohibition to address each other and accept food from each other, or to be alone together etc., apply

in particular to a man and his WiElsI, and to a woman and her HuElBr. This wide differentiation between elder and younger is quite in accordance with the existing junior-levirate and the junior-sororate. Quite a different relationship exists therefore between a man and his WiYoSi and a woman and her HuYoBr, which is indicated by the term *soeina*. In fact, these affinal relations are potential spouses. The relationship between *soeina* is very much like a joking-relationship. They tease each other, they joke together, while the relationship may be very intimate. *Soeina* always call each other by their first name or by a nickname. Sexual intercourse between a man and his *soeina* frequently occurs. It seems, as if in the face of the exceedingly strict avoidance-relationships between a man and his *annaussi*, the very liberal relationships with his *soeina* must be considered as a counterpoise, which restores the social balance.

Avoidance-relationships not only exist between relations of the opposite sex, as between a man and his WiElsI or his WiMo, but between two men and two women as well. An example of the latter is the relationship between a woman and her HuElsI, which by the Tor men is also indicated by the term *annaussi*. This avoidance-relationship between two women is very probably a result of the relation between elder and younger siblings. The relationship between a man and his ElBr has much in common with that between him and his father, also as far as several rights and duties are concerned. In the same way the relationship between a woman and her YoSi very much resembles that of Mo-Da. It is even quite normal for a woman to address her EIsI by the kinship term *ieje* (for Mo.) In these cases the relationships between ego and a HuMo and a HuElsI are almost identical. The same applies *mutatis mutandis*, in fact, for the relationship between a man and his WiElsI, which is then identical with the relationship between him and his WiMo. Among the Mander and the Ittik, therefore, only one single term is used for WiMo and WiElsI. Such an identification also applies to a HuElBr and a HuFa.

Contrary to the very strict avoidance-relationship between a woman and her HuElsI, there exists the very intimate and familiar relationship between a woman and her HuYoSi. This contra-distinction must be considered first of all against the background of the marriage by exchange. For it is these two women, HuYoSi and ElBrWi, who are 'interchanged' at the marriage exchange. This particular 'close association of their fate,' has created between these two women a friendly and very intimate relationship. It occurs rather frequently that these two women even form an

economic working-group, who own one sago tree, work it together and go out collecting vegetables together. Jokingly, at least, I take it that is meant jokingly, these women address each other by the term *moeta*, which literally means 'exchange.'¹

An exceedingly strict avoidance-relationship exists among the Berrick – and the same is the case in all the tribes in the Tor district – between a man and his WiMo. In this respect that relationship is unique. Therefore the term *moena* is not used classificatorily for any other (affinal) relationship. A man is not allowed to address his *moena*. He may never be alone with her, while it is also strictly prohibited for him to eat sago-mash prepared by his *moena*. The man who breaks the first two rules, will be plagued with severe headaches and he who nevertheless eats food prepared by a WiMo, will get a violent pain in his insides and will probably die.

Concerning WiFa (*ebo*), a man also has to observe all kinds of avoidance rules and vice-versa, but these are not so strict as those between a WiMo and a DaHu. The *ebo – ebo* relationship, in fact, shows with regard to the avoidance among the different tribes, many more varieties. However, it becomes extremely difficult for a man, when he has to live with his parents-in-law in one house or shelter. This occurs regularly, as was the case with the Bora-Bora men, Moeri, Ewan and Katoear, the Bonerif man Siétassir, the Waf Dantar, the Berrick Aaften etc. Numerous solutions are tried to make the life of such a man somewhat bearable. Thus there are men who build a shelter somewhere in the forest where they stay most of the time as it were, 'to hunt.' The Waf man Dantar is such an example.

Others make a kind of partition in the house, where their parents-in-law live. That partition consists of the breaking away of some pieces of treebark in the floor of the hut. In a very few cases small houses are built of which the floor consists of two parts, separated by a middle path.

The most effective solution of this housing-problem was found by the Bonerif, Siétassir. He simply married his mother-in-law, the widow Seeuws, as a secondary marriage. By so doing, he had nothing more to do with the avoidance rules.²

In addition to the numerous affinal-relationship terms, a great number of kinship-terms are used: *Oa*, (Fa etc.), *ieje* (Mo etc.), *nieje*, (FaElSibl etc.)

¹ Compare for this page 102, where *moeinabemawar* is called the marriage exchange (obligation).

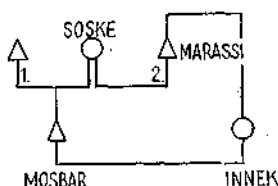
² See also page 139.

gitogwaai, (So,SibISo), *jafontogwaai*, (Da, SibIDa) and possibly the sibling terms for WiBrWi and HuSiHu.¹ Moreover it seems that a man addresses his WiFaFa, WiMoFa, etc., by the same terms which are used by his wife.

Compared to the Western interior of Sarmi, the tribes of the Tor district possess accordingly a relatively small number of specific affinal-relationship terms, as Van der Leeden has already pointed out.² The attached list of (affinal) kinship-terms of the Ségar and the Naidjbeedj, tribes from the western Upper-Tor district, which are entirely linked-up with the Western interior of Sarmi, points in the same direction (see also page 000).

This phenomenon is a consequence of the fact, that in the Tor district most marriages are contracted inside their own small group, of which everyone is related to everyone else – and, frequently even in more than one way. Owing to this, all these marriages are contracted between relatives, so consequently every man and every woman indicate his (her) affinal-relations also as consanguinal relatives. Of course, this greatly influences the behaviour patterns regarding avoidance and familiarities, taboo and joking, as well as the terminology used. The difference in age, sex and also all kinds of personal factors, determine the relationship between the affinal relatives and the terminology to be used. When the Bora-Bora woman Innek married, her classificatory brother Marassi became her father-in-law.

SCHEME X



Innek addresses her HuFa/ElBr by his name. There is no question of avoidance, although that should be the rule here. Both families, that of Innek and that of Marassi live together in the same house and form a domestic family.³

Another example is Eboam, who married a (classificatory) YoSi. His

¹ See page 161.

² Van der Leeden o.c. page 66.

³ See for this conception chapter V, page 200, seq.

WiElBr is at the same time his own YoBr. In this relationship the avoidance is not observed either.

These are only two examples taken from the Bora-Bora. However, it is a phenomenon occurring all over the Tor district. In these endogamous kinship groups (tribes), most of the distinctions between affinal relations and consanguineal relatives become less discernable, and some even disappear completely. As a result, not only the distinction between consanguineal kinship and affinal relationship disappears, as is evident from the terminology, but also most of the other criteria are suspended in that,¹ owing to which the whole terminology shows a strongly classificatory character.

2.2. *Kinship-relations and terminology among the Ittik.*²

In this terminology, the thing that strikes you immediately is, that the terms for Fa, Mo, So and Da (respectively *jetti*, *ene*, *kaintoi* and *joffomtoi*) are all applied only to one relative. Denotative kinship terms³ hardly occur in the (other) terminologies of the Tor-district and when they do occur, they never refer to one of the members of the nuclear family. Also, in the adjacent Western interior of Sarmi, where the number of denotative terms are (much) more numerous than in the Tor district, the terms for Fa, Mo, So and Da always appear to be used classificatorily.

The Ittik terminology reflects, in this respect, real social relationships. For while among all other tribes of the Tor district, with the exception of the Mander, the family for the greater part becomes merged into a bigger family-unit,⁴ with the Ittik and the Mander the nuclear family is a unit in itself.⁵ In the whole of the social and economical life, the family takes up such a particular and important place, that the Ittik express these unparalleled relationships between parents and children in a special terminology.

The relationships between siblings, 'Children of one navel,' are not so exclusive as those between parents and their children. Within the strong

¹ See for this further par 3 Kinship structure, page 176.

² From the following relationship terminology mainly those aspects which deviate greatly from that of the Berrik/Bora-Bora will be discussed.

³ G. P. Murdock, o.c. page 99.

⁴ See further chapter V, page 200, seq.

⁵ For the position and function of the nuclear family in the Tor district see further chapter V, page 198, seq.

unit which all siblings in all tribes of the Tor district form, cousins and special friends are included. Therefore the sibling terminology very often applies to all cousins. However, besides this, special terms of reference also exist for cross-cousins and the maternal parallel-cousins:

FaBrSo: siblings
FaSiSo: *esjan*
MoBrSo: *esjan*
MoSiSo: *aiøese*

So the cousin-terminology of the Ittik – and the same applies to that of the Mander – is of the Iroquois type. Of course, this deserves special attention. Van der Leeden states in his dissertation, that the Iroquois cross-cousin terminology is one of the most typical phenomena of the Western interior of Sarmi and that outside this Western interior the cousin terminology 'everywhere in the Sarmi-area shows the so-called Hawaiian type.' From the preceding pages it appears that the cousin terminology of the Bora-Bora, the Waf and the Goeammer is also marked by the Iroquois cross-cousin terminology. It is true, however, that these latter tribes of the western Upper-Tor district form part of the culture area of the Western interior of Sarmi. This definitely is not the case with the Mander and the Ittik. These belong to quite another culture area and so far have not had any direct contact with tribes from the Western interior. It is evident, that the Iroquois cross-cousin terminology is spread to a much greater extent than Van der Leeden then could have suspected. It even seems quite acceptable to expect the Iroquois terminology also among the tribes in the Lake Plain.

Far more than in the Berrick and the other terminologies of the Tor-district, the criterion of generation and the criterion of polarity are neglected in the Ittik terminology. Examples are the terms: *owèh*, (amongst others FaElBr-YoBrSo), *babba* (amongst others FaFa-SoSo) *mamma*, (amongst others FaMo-SoDa) and *ieje*, (amongst others MoYoSi-ElSiSo), which are all used reciprocally for several generations. Of these terms, the term *babba* firstly demands attention. *Babba* applies to FaYoBr, FaFa, MoFa, FaSiHu and MoSiHu. The special feature is not that male relations of different generations, grade of kinship etc., are indicated by one term, in which fundamental distinctions between relatives (generation, affinity, collaterality, bifurcation) are ignored. That is a general phenomenon in

the Tor area and is closely connected with the special kinship structure.¹ However, the striking fact is that FaFa and MoFa are terminologically identified with the *younger* (affinal) relatives of father and mother. In view of what has been mentioned before about the significance and the function of the age-factor,² one might expect that just FaE/Br, FaE/SiHu etc., would be identified with the grandparents.

The term *babba* may be best approached from the significance of, and the particular relationships in the nuclear family with the Ittik. There the status of the father is unique. His position as well as that of the mother, is not to be compared with that of any other male or female relative. This is also obvious in the terminology. At the death of a father or a mother, the nuclear family can no longer function normally. However, the number of deaths is very great and therefore in many cases father's or mother's task has to be taken over by other relatives. However, for this 'social paternity'³ not all relatives, by far, are qualified. In practice, this function of 'social father' can only be fulfilled by those men, who are indicated by the term of 'babba.' FaFa and MoFa fulfil even during their son's lifetime the function of 'social father,' although it does not often happen that FaFa and MoFa are still alive when their grandchildren are growing up. When, for instance, a child's father leaves the village for a long space of time, the FaFa or the MoFa replaces him as guardian of the child. He then takes care of the children, when the mother is away at the sago-acreage. He carves the arrows for his grandchild and tells it the old tribal stories.⁴ FaFa and MoFa also tend the fields of their grandchildren or even lay-out new ones for them.

As for the status of FaYoBr, he is mother's potential spouse (junior-levirate) and ego's potential-father. The relationship between a man and his ElBrWi is exceedingly tender and intimate and that has its significance for the next generation, to whom he is FaYoBr. The latter has, even during the life of the father, the status of a 'social father' who has ElBrSo (Da)'s welfare at heart. He takes his ElBrSo hunting with him, he plays and goes about with him as if he were his own son. Sometimes he also

¹ See for this paragraph 3, Kinship structure, page 176.

² See pp. 131, 164.

³ 'Social father' is used here as a synonym for the 'potential father' (see pp. 151/152) 'second father' and 'guardian.' Thereby is meant an (affinal) relative, who during the life of ego's real father assumes a status like this one.

⁴ Tribal stories are distinguished from myths. The latter the child generally learns from his MoBr. See chapter VI, pp. 241/242.

lays out fields for his ElBrSo or plants trees for him. When the father again is absent for a long space of time, his YoBr takes over his function as much as possible. He also has sanctioned sexual intercourse with his ElBrWi, ego's mother. A totally different relationship exists between a man and his YoBrWi and, in the next generation, between a boy and his FaElBr. Everything already mentioned about the relationship between a woman and her HuElBr among the Berrick – the *annaussi*-relationship – also holds good for the Ittik. The term *semauwa* is identical with the Berrick term *annaussi*.

In many cases, FaYoSiHu also fulfils the function of a social father. In the marriage by exchange, the FaYoSiHu is the same person as the MoElBr. All over the Tor district, the status of MoBr is so unique that, without exception, MoBr is terminologically distinguished from all other male (affinal) relatives, from the parents' generation. In the economic, the social as well as in the religious life, MoBr fulfils an unparalleled function. Like FaFa and FaYoBr, he can act as foster-father to his SiSo. But he is still more than that. He lays out fields for his SiSo and helps him to build houses. If there are conflicts, he stands by him. It is also MoBr who is the spiritual father of a boy. At the initiation in the house of Fatrau,¹ MoBr supports his SiSo; he is the one who helps him through the difficult time and supplies him with food etc., etc. Of course, on the other hand, he has many obligations, such as bestowing presents, blowing the sacred flutes,² etc., but in any case, MoBr accomplishes a task, which in many respects is more important than that of ego's own father. Whereas all over the Tor district these functions are accomplished by MoElBr as well as by MoYoBr, with the Ittik it is primarily the *MoYoBr*, who has such an important place in his SiSo's life. The Ittik are therefore the only ones in the Tor district who have a terminological distinction between a *MoYoBr* (*memma*) and *MoElBr* (*owèh*).

All the same, the term *owèh* for *MoElBr* is remarkable. For the terminology here is not (quite) in accordance with the real social relationships, as the term *owèh* actually denotes rather unimportant relatives, which is not at all the case with *MoElBr*. Something is wrong somewhere and it is quite possible that I have been misinformed about these *MoBr* terms among the Ittik. Still another point requires attention. In practice, *MoElBr* and *FaYoSiHu*, as a result of the direct sister-exchange, are one

¹ See chapter VI par 3: The house of Fatrau, page 241, seq.

² See chapter VI par 2.3., pp. 235/236.

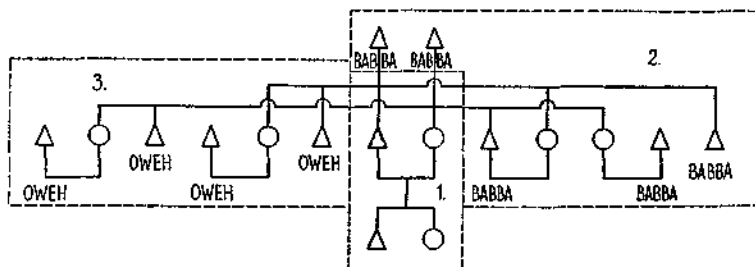
and the same person. From this coincidence one might expect that both these relations would be indicated by the same term and preferably by the term *babba*, which entirely fits in with the status of the MoElBr. But that is not the case. Here we have to do with a problem similar to that regarding the identification of MoBrSo and FaSiSo with the Bora-Bora (see page 156). Notwithstanding that coincidence, the Ittik continue to make a terminological distinction between MoElBr and FaYoSiHu. However, when one may use both terms (*owèh* and *babba*) for the same person, as a result of the direct sister-exchange, with the Ittik, the stress is laid on the tracing via the father's line, which is not the case in the Bora-Bora tribe. In other words, in that case the term *babba* is always used, which closely corresponds with the special status of the MoElBr. Moreover this is the ideal pattern.

The status of FaYoSiHu and the terminological identification with *babba* may also be explained by the fact, that he is the husband of a female relative, who is addressed by the term *mamma*, namely FaYoSi.

Finally, the term *babba* also applies to MoYoSiHu. This identification will have to be approached again from the angle of the internal relationships of the nuclear family, which is of such a pronounced character among the Ittik. MoYoSi is there the potential-spouse of the father (junior sororate) and this means that in the next generation MoYoSi is the 'second mother' of ego. The relationship between a man and his WiYoSi is indeed extremely cordial. Just as on the death of ego's father, his YoBr (*babba*) takes his place, so does her YoSi take her place in the nuclear family on the mother's death. In this way her husband may (also) be Ego's real father and therefore fulfils the position of a social-father (*babba*).

The following table gives a review of the *babba*-relationships. According

SCHEME XI



to criteria, which the Ittik apply themselves, kin relations with males in the parents' and the grandparents' generation may be divided into three grades; these are:

1. the own father – *jetti*.
2. all social fathers – *babba*
3. all remaining male relatives – *owèh*.

The Ittik terminology differs from that of the Berrick because it pays more attention to the sex criterion. This is, amongst other things, evident from the grandparents' terminology. Contrary to the Bora-Bora, however, where the sex of the connecting relatives is the most decisive factor, among the Ittik the sex of the indicated person himself is decisive. In fact, the grandparents' terminology of the Ittik has still another interesting aspect. In addition to the terms *babba* and *mamma* respectively, the terms *tworren* and *okse* are also used as terms of address for MoFa and MoMo. The interesting point is not the distinction according to sex, but the fact, that here Fa-parents are distinguished from Mo-parents. Besides the distinct bilateral relationship tracings: (*babba – mamma*), the Ittik apparently also know a unilineal one. A unilineal tendency, moreover, is evident from a number of other terms, in which a distinction is also made between Fa-relatives and those of the mother:

FaElSi: *owèh*
FaYoSi: *mamma*
MoElSi: *ottre*
MoYoSi: *ieje*

The special terms for FaBrChi and MoSiChi have already been mentioned. What applies to the unilineal elements in the terminology of the Bora-Bora, Waf and Goeammer, also applies to the unilineal tendencies in the Ittik terminology: one definite unilineal line, which means either a matrilineal or a patrilineal line is not discernable. They may be elements of one line as well as of the other.¹

In summing up, it may be said, that next to the age-criterion, which in all terminologies of the Tor district plays such a predominant part, the sex criterion is also of a certain importance among the Ittik. On the other hand, however, other criteria, such as the generation-criterion e.g. are

¹ See for this further par. 3 Kinship Structure, page 176.

pretty well more ignored than in the other terminologies of the Tor district.

Affinal-kinship. After all what has been said about the affinal-kinship relations among the Berrick, a few remarks will now suffice here. The term *ebo* is applied to DaHu (m. and f.s.) as well as to SoWi (m. and f.s.). The other way round, the term *ebo* is also reciprocally used for WiFa as well as for HuFa (HuMo). Only WiMo is indicated by a special term: *moena*. While this term with the Berrick, the Bora-Bora etc., is a denotative term, among the Ittik, WiELSi is also indicated by the term *moena*, an identification, which is in every respect understandable and acceptable.¹

It is quite possible that I am not sufficiently informed with regard to the term *nauwies* for HuBr-BrWi. For it is strange that here the difference in age is of no consequence, as it certainly is in the case of all other terminologies in the Tor district. Yet the junior levirate, which influences this terminology, among the Ittik is just as important as in the other tribes of the Tor area. I have not been able to discover another term except *nauwies* for HuBr and BrWi. However, it is just possible that the frequently occurring *agamman*-relationship influences this terminology. For, owing to the exchange of wives, every distinction between a husband's elder and younger brother is lost. For that matter, there are many factors which almost efface the kinship distinctions² in the societies of the Tor district. Next to the term *ebo* for HuFa and HuMo, the term *ienek* is also mentioned between brackets. The latter term comes from the Mander, but is used next to the term *ebo* as a term of address as well as a term of reference.

2.3. Kinship-relations and terminology with the Mander

After what has been said about the kinship-relations and the terminology among the Ittik, a few remarks will suffice here. For in many respects, the Mander terminology links up with that of the Ittik, both linguistically and structurally. That is the reason why both terminologies are considered to belong to one group (see page 000).

In the Mander terminology, which is now also used by the Foja, in common with all the other terminologies in the Tor district, the age criterion is again a decisive factor. In addition to this, however, the sex

¹ See page 161.

² See paragraph 3: Kinship Structure, page 176, seq.

criterion also influences the terminology. This applies to the sex of the one who is addressed, as well as to the sex of the speaker, as is evident from the sibling-terminology:

ElBr: male speaking	- <i>aja</i>
ElBr: female speaking	- <i>iestènne</i>
YoBr: m. and f. speaking	- <i>koestanèh</i>
ElSi: m. and f. speaking	- <i>aja</i>
YoSi: male speaking	- <i>somoer</i>
YoSi: female speaking	- <i>koestanèh</i>

In this sibling terminology, however, quite another point requires our attention, namely the special terminological reference to the relationship ElBr-YoSi:

ElBr-YoBr:	<i>aja-koestanèh</i>
ElBr-YoSi :	<i>iestènne-somoer</i>
ElSi-YoBr:	<i>aja-koestanèh</i>
ElSi-YoSi :	<i>aja-koestanèh</i>

In fact, in all the tribes of the Tor district, this is a very special relationship which is connected with the exchange-marriage. For in this case a man always gives his younger sister in exchange for a wife. Only the Mander, however, have expressed in the terminology that special (marriage-) status of an elder brother and his younger sister and the relationship between these two. From this it is again evident how great the significance of the marriage-form in the Tor district is for the kinship-terminology.¹

The cross-cousin terminology is of the Iroquois type, however again with the same (theoretical) restrictions which were put forward with the Bora-Bora, the Waf and Goammer, namely that this is a result of the sister-exchange at the marriage.² However, more than is the case among the Bora-Bora, also the sibling terms are used to denote these cousins, as well as the different terms *esjan* (MoBrSo/FaSiSo) and *aioese* (MoSiSo).

Just as among the Ittik, the nuclear family has a special place among the Mander. This status of the nuclear family in the social organization,

¹ See page 154, seq.

² See pp. 153-155.

however, is not so evident in the Mander terminology as in that of the Ittik. For the term *tata*, for father, is here also used classificatorily for FaYoBr, whose position as 'social-father' indeed very much resembles that of Ego's own father (junior levirate). Therefore all other male relatives are referred to by another term, either by the term *euwèh*, or by the term *babba*. The latter term, however, does not only apply to FaYoSiHu and MoYoSiHu as it does with the Ittik, but to FaE/SiHu and MoE/SiHu as well. Thus here the age-criterion, which otherwise is so important in the terminologies of the Tor district, is absolutely ignored. Whereas FaSi and MoSi both terminologically are distinguished according to age, that distinction does not apply to their spouses. We will revert to this subject when discussing the affinal-kinship terminology.

Affinal-kinship. The first thing that strikes us in the affinal kinship terminology of the Mander is that here more than is the case in any other tribe, the age-criterion is ignored, which causes this terminology to differ on many points from the terminology of the Ittik. No doubt certain definite causes for this situation can be pointed out.

Firstly, the term *ieje*, which is used for MoE/BrWi as well as for MoYoBrWi. It seems quite possible to conclude that the neglecting of the age-criterion is a consequence of the fact that that criterion was not taken into consideration with the term for MoBr: *mèmma*.¹ The neglecting of the age-criterion for FaSiHu and MoSiHu is more difficult to explain, the more so, because a terminological distinction is made between FaE/Si and FaYoSi, respectively *euweh* and *ieje*, and between MoE/Si and MoYoSi, respectively *euwèh* and *ieje*. However, this neglecting of the age-criterion remains rather puzzling for the time being. The contradistinction between the affinal-kinship terminology of the Ittik and that of the Mander, becomes still more marked owing to the fact that the latter do consider the difference in age in the relationship between HuBr and BrWi, whereas the Ittik on the other hand, ignore that criterion regarding these relatives:

HuE/Br : *nauwies*
 Ittik: HuYoBr: *nauwies*

HuE/Br : *semauwa*
 Mander: HuYoBr: *nauwies*

The term *semauwa* and likewise the Berrick term *annaussi* points to a very strict avoidance-relationship which exists between the two relatives.

¹ For the status of MoBr compare page 168.

Among the Mander it appears that this avoidance is considered much more important than among the Ittik.

Whereas in all terminologies of the Tor district, WiSiHu (v.v.) is indicated by the same term as WiBr, HuBrWi, SiHu and in some cases also as HuSi and BrWi (see the term *moesa*), the Mander indicate WiSiHu by a special term. Here terminologically no distinction is made between the elder and the younger one. The relationship WiSiHu-WiSiHu is indeed a very special relationship, for it refers to the husbands of the two sisters. That special relationship between two sisters is evident in many aspects of the culture in the Tor district. In the terminology, the offspring of two sisters are also indicated by a special term. In the mythology, it was two sisters who together were the first possessor of the sacred house, while two sisters also knew the secret of the sacred flutes which afterwards the men wrested from them by brutal force.¹

Functionally, the relationship between two sisters at present is of little importance. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the explanation of the special terms for the spouses (and the offspring) of two sisters should be sought in the history (mythology).

2.4. Kinship-relations and terminology with the Ségar and the Naidjbeedj

The kinship terminology of the Ségar and the Naidjbeedj greatly differs from that of the other Tor tribes. These differences not only refer to the linguistic aspect of the terminology, but they are also the result of obvious structural differences.²

The first thing which strikes one is that this terminology has a strong generative tendency. With the exception of the term *mamakaai* for FaElBr, FaElSi (v.v.) not one term is also used classificatorily to indicate relatives of different generations. From the special terms for MoBr-SiSo, FaFa-SoSo, FaMo-SoSo etc., it is evident that, compared with the Tor terminology, the criterion of polarity among the Ségar greatly influences the kinship terminology. Again, with the exception of the term *mamakaai*, the reciprocal use of terms only occurs between people of the same generation, as is the case with the terms *tenmenie* (cross-cousin) and *komoen* (MoSiChi). In fact the reciprocal use of these terms is logical, as, in both cases, they concern exactly the same kinship relation.

¹ See chapter VI, pp. 229/230.

² See Kinship Structure, page 176 seq.

Difference in sex also appears to be a criterion, which the Ségar and the Naidjbeedj have taken strictly into account:

ElBr: *aka*
ElSi: *auwaai*
FaFa: *tettebore*
FaMo: *abaga*
etc.,

There are still a number of classifications which require special attention. That applies first of all to the terms *tideka* (for father) and *jaka* (for mother). The former also applies to FaBr, but the term *jaka* does not also apply to MoSi, however, it does to FaBrWi. This deviation from the other terminologies of the Tor district is due to the fact that, in the kinship structure of the Naidjbeedj and the Ségar, patrilineal tendencies are obvious.¹ The cousin-terminology is also in accordance with this.

The grandparents-terminology shows great similarity to that of the eastern Upper Tor district (Ittik, Mander), but differs fundamentally from that of the Bora-Bora, although the latter are their nearest neighbours and are culturally very closely connected with them and the tribes of the Western interior of Sarmi.

Affinal-kinship. Great differences exist also between the affinal-kinship terminologies of the Ségar and those of the other Tor tribes. The Ségar terminology is especially noted for an excessive number of denotative terms (about 15) while, at the same time it is remarkable that, compared with the other terminologies of the Tor area, so few consanguineal kinship terms are classificatorily used for affinal relatives. This is connected with the fact that marriage in the Tor district is endogamous, owing to which people always marry relatives.² On the other hand, marriage among the Ségar and the Naidjbeedj is predominantly patri-local, thus causing the consanguineal kinsmen to be clearly distinguished from the affinal relatives. Moreover, the tribes from this western Upper Tor district, as also from the entire Western interior of Sarmi, have a great number of marriage prohibitions, amongst others those which make a marriage between cousins impossible. So the consanguineal kinsmen do not coincide with the affinal relatives, which is generally the case in the Tor district.

¹ See par. 3 of this chapter.

² See pp. 164, 179.

Owing to this, the Naidjbeedj and the Ségar recognize many more differences between the different affinal relations. Thus there are special terms for WiFa, WiMo, HuFa, HuMo, DaHu and SoWi. The classification of MoSiHu with FaFa and MoFa also occurred among the Mander and the Ittik, but why the FaSiHu is excluded from that identification and is indicated by a special term, is not quite clear.

The social structure of the Ségar and the Naidjbeedj mainly links up with the structure described by Van der Leeden of the Western interior of Sarmi. This structure, as will be evident later, presents a different pattern from the kinship-structure of the Tor district and will not be specially dealt with in the coming chapters.¹

3. KINSHIP STRUCTURE

From the given analysis of the kinship relations and the terminologies, it is clear that the kinship systems in the Tor district are founded on a bilateral base. This is most obvious in the terminology of the Berrik, where no single distinction is made between father's and mother's relatives:

<i>oa</i>	: Fa, FaBr, FaSiHu, MoSiHu
<i>ieje</i>	: Mo, MoSi, FaSi, etc.,
<i>aja-ossdh</i>	: Siblings and all parallel and cross cousins
<i>aboaai</i>	: FaFa, MoFa, FaMo, MoMo.

The only exception here is the special term for MoBr. However, his special status need not necessarily be a consequence of, or even be connected with, a unilineal kinship-system. It should be seen much more against the background of the differences in status between men and women – in a closer relation between a man and his younger sister – when contracting a marriage by exchange.² WiBr acts as the bride-giver and from this position derives a special status, which in the next generation also holds good regarding SiChi. This is evident in all aspects of the social and religious structure of the Tor district, while this is also expressed everywhere in the kinship terminology. It is quite possible, that this is the reason, why, in the other terminologies of the Tor-district (Bora-Bora, Waf,

¹ See further page 187, seq.

² Compare also the sibling terminology of the Mander, page 172.

Goeammer and Mander and Ittik) MoBrChi is indicated by a special term. For, it is in fact only the offspring of MoBr, who are terminologically distinguished from the siblings, whereas the FaSiChi are addressed by the sibling terms.¹ This view of the participants themselves on the kinship structure may greatly contribute to a clearer conception of the intricate structure problem.

Among the other, less widely spread terminologies, occur in addition to the preponderate bilateral, also a number of unilineal elements, as e.g. the grandparents' terminology among the Bora-Bora, the special terms for MoSiChi among the Bora-Bora, the Mander and the Ittik and perhaps the special term for MoSi among the Ittik.² Whatever the ultimate significance of this terminology may be,³ it seems to me that it is in every way justified to state here that the whole of the *present* kinship-system in the Tor district is bilateral in character. In fact, this is evident from the entire pattern of the social and economical organization: the territorial rights pass from the father as well as from the mother on to the children, and to keep rights on a certain area, it appears to be sufficient when only one man or one woman regularly visit that area and empty their bowels there. To become 'ondowa ffi'⁴ the population demands that both parents of a man and all four grandparents belong to the same tribe.⁵ The tribal name is passed on to the child via the father as well as via the mother; men and women have the same territorial rights and the same say in village affairs, etc.⁶ The rules of residence are never unilineal in character either. Marriages between people not coming from the same village are ambilocal (among the Ségar and Naidjbeedj they are patrilocal in such a case), while with the endogamous marriages, the newly-weds are hardly bound by any special rule and are free in the choice of their residence. More than 90% of all marriages contracted in the Tor district are endogamous. This fact is indeed decisive for the special form of the bilateral kin-grouping in the Tor district.

In the case of a (strict) bilateral kinship reckoning, the children belong

¹ See pp. 153/154. Compare also the description of the term *babba* on pp. 167-170.

² The Ségar and the Naidjbeedj are no longer considered, because the whole of their kinship structure is (still) clearly patrilineal, whereas the structure of the Tor district is approached from the bilateral angle.

³ These are further analysed on page 185.

⁴ See chapter II, page 85.

⁵ The same.

⁶ See chapter V, page 192.

to the kin group of the father as well as to that of the mother. Owing to the local endogamy, however, in these small communities of the Tor district both these groups nearly always coincide. That is where this bilateral kin group differs from the European (kindred¹). However, there are still more differences. On account of endogamy, the number of people belonging to the bilateral kin group are greatly limited, while moreover one group is clearly defined from the other. Thus bilateral kin groups arise, that can act as a unit (group) and have continuity. In this way these groups may claim territorial rights on a certain area, which mostly date back to the founders of the village, a married couple, or two or more siblings with their spouses. In other words, this bilateral kin group is not merely a genealogical descent group, 'consanguineal group'², but the members of these groups are at the same time 'united by common residence.' Such an endogamous bilateral kin group is indicated by Murdock by 'deme'³. Such a deme functions entirely as a lineage or clan.⁴ Both structural forms develop owing to a limitation of the number of members. In a clan this limitation is only effected by means of a unilineal descent reckoning, while in the deme, the limitation is effected by the rule of endogamy and the fact that one remains in the village (endolocal). All objections which generally are imputed to the bilateral kin group (kindred),⁵ do not apply to the deme. It is another example of the fact, that a 'bilateral kinship reckoning can give rise to a kinship system, which guarantees continuity, clarity and viability.'⁶ Thus every deme, just as the clan, has its own name by which members of one deme are clearly distinguished from members of the other demes. So the group which so far has been indicated by the word tribe, is according to this terminology and structure in fact a deme.

Within the deme all members are kin and that even in more than one way. Besides the nuclear families and the domestic families,⁷ also owing

¹ Murdock o.c. pp. 46, 56-57 seq.

² Murdock defines a consanguineal group as a group of which the members 'are bound together exclusively by consanguineal kinship ties,' o.c. page 42, seq.

³ o.c. pp. 62-64. Deme- an endogamous local group in the absence of unilinear descent, especially when we are regarding it as a kingroup.

⁴ The conception 'clan' is used here in the sense of a 'unilineal descent group.'

Lowie and Murdock speak here of 'sib.'

⁵ See Murdock, o.c. pages 60-62.

⁶ J. Pouwer: 'Loosely structured societies in Netherlands New-Guinea,' *Bijdragen Taal- Land en Volkenkunde*, part 116, page 117.

⁷ For the family organization, see chapter V, page 197, seq.

to the bilateral way of tracing, no other distinctly separated and exclusive kin groups can be distinguished. The deme is 'coextensive with the community,'¹ and consequently, the most fundamental distinctions between relatives, like grade of kin, affinity etc., become less clear for the greater part, or even disappear altogether. The affinal kinsmen therefore are always each others consanguineal relatives, while it is even practically impossible to make a distinction between secondary, tertiary and distant relatives. Also the criterion of bifurcation is almost dispensed with in these small bilateral and endogamous groups, because the relatives who are traced via the father or via the mother really belong to one and the same kin group. In fact, in a bilateral kinship reckoning, no terminological distinction is really made between the father's and the mother's relatives, nor, if these by coincidence should not belong to the same group, as is the case in the deme. The influence of the deme therefore on the kinship relations and on the kinship terminology is extremely strong. In fact, only two fundamental distinctions remain between the relatives, members of the same deme, which cannot become less distinguishable nor disappear. These are the differences in age and sex. No wonder that it is exactly these two criteria which are typical of the entire kinship terminology of the Tor district. The other, less frequently occurring terminological distinctions, are founded on the fact that sometimes the nuclear family occupies a most important place in the social and economic life and is a rather select social group. However, when that is not the case and the nuclear family is absorbed in a bigger social and economic unit, as is the case with the Goeammer, the Daranto, the Waf, the Beeuw etc.,² the kin relations and the terminology are entirely predominated by the age-criterion and the sex-criterion.

Moreover, all this is interesting because these demes in the Tor district may throw a light on the theoretical approach to the deme by Murdock and especially on the 'highly tentative hypothesis'³ drawn up by him. This hypothesis asserts that the deme has an extremely strong influence on the 'kinship terminology within Ego's own generation, but none whatsoever on other generations . . .'⁴

From studying the deme in the Tor district, however, it is evident (see

¹ A description of the 'community' follows in chapter V, pp. 189-197.

² See page 220 seq.

³ Social structure, page 159.

⁴ The same.

above) that the latter really has had an influence on the kinship terminology in other than merely ego's generation.

There is indeed (as with the Berrick) only one term for siblings and all cross and parallel-cousins, but at the same time also only one term for Mo and MoSi, FaSi, MoBrWi and FaBrWi; one term for Fa and FaYoBr, FaYoSiHu and MoYoSiHu; and one term for FaFa, and MoFa and others of their generation. The situation is – and this in contradiction to the statement of Murdock – that in many demes in the Tor district the cousin terminology is less influenced by the deme structure than the terminology in the first ascending and first descending generation.¹ Moreover, it is evident that the demes have not all influenced the kinship terminologies in the same way all over the Tor district, which, because of this, show lesser or greater variations. This is an important point, because this shows that those influences of the deme are also dependent on other (e.g. social and historical) factors. That the deme among the Ittik and the Mander has far less influenced the parents' and the child's generation, is chiefly due to the fact that here the independent nuclear families as functional groups come so much to the fore in the whole of the economic and social life.² What applies particularly to these demes is that 'the strongly functional parent-child relationships stand out in especially strong relief, with the result that avuncular and nepotic relatives are denoted by distinctive kinship terms.'³

However, where the independent nuclear family is far less important which, according to Murdock, never or seldom happens⁴ – as among the Goeammer, the Daranto and the Bonerif, the deme has exercised a much stronger influence on the terminology of parents' generation (compare the kinship terminology!). With the Goeammer and the Bora-Bora (Daranto and Waf) the influence of the deme is (has been) even stronger in those generations than in Ego's own generation, where siblings are distinguished from MoBrChi as well as from MoSiChi.

Murdock's thesis that demes are of great significance, especially in ego's generation in the kinship terminology and not in the parents' and child's generation, merely applies when the family structure is indeed of an outstanding importance, which in fact is Murdock's starting-point.

¹ Murdock o.c. page 160 (proposition 16).

² See for this chapter V, par. 2.2. page 198, seq.

³ Murdock o.c. page 159.

⁴ See chapter V: Social groups, par. 2., pages 197-206. Compare also Murdock o.c. page 3, seq.

The demes of the Tor district, where indeed the nuclear family has a strong autonomous status, also confirm the hypothetical statement of Murdock as to why exactly there the deme has such an overwhelming influence on the terminology in ego's generation, and why it is of so little consequence in the other generations. However, the independent nuclear family is not in all demes of the same importance, and this Murdock has not taken into consideration in his cross-cultural survey. For, where that is the case (Goeammer, Waf, Bonerif etc.,) the demes do have an enormous influence on the terminology of the first descending and the first ascending generation, which means that almost all distinctions between relatives, except the differences in age and sex, have disappeared.

The deme-structure can only exist and be maintained when the bilateral kinship groups are and remain absolutely endogamous. As is evident from the foregoing, however, there are demes in the Tor district in which not all marriages are contracted within the deme. The number of non-endogamous marriages amounts to about 10% there, but even such a small number in a consistent bilateral kinship reckoning may in course of time endanger the survival of the deme. This is the case even if merely a few Berrik men marry Bonerif or Kwesten – and most of the non-endogamous marriages in fact occur in these tribes – because then the bounds of this group become less distinct. Offspring from such a marriage have territorial rights in the territory of their mother's deme as well as in that of their father. Numerous disadvantages, which are inherent to the kindred, might be the result: the group no longer acts as a unit; conflict situations arise about the territorial rights, while the continuity of the group is also threatened.¹ The population itself is very conscious of these disadvantages. Therefore the non-endogamous marriages remain exceptions and are far less appreciated than the endogamous ones. On the other hand, the people of the Tor are also aware of the fact that the demes in the Tor district are too small to be strictly endogamous. Again and again informants asked themselves: 'What else can we do? We do not have enough girls.' However, abandoning the endogamy also endangers the deme structure. Here lies a difficult dilemma, which has been solved by the population itself in this way. The necessary non-endogamous marriages are allowed, but the children which are born from such marriages are said to belong either to the group of the mother or to that of the father. First

¹ See Murdock, *o.c.* pp. 60-62, and Linton, *The Study of Man*, 1936, pp. 160-166.

of all this is evident – and that is a cardinal point – from the name of the group (deme-name) of those children. A child born of a marriage between a Berrick and a Bonerif is either a Berrick or a Bonerif, but never both at the same time. That name also decides all rights and duties, which the membership of the deme entails. What deme-name a child gets, in other words, to which of the two demes such a child will belong, depends chiefly on the fact, where the parents have taken up their residence after their marriage. The children of the Mander man Tassangoea and the Daranto woman Jano are all Mander, because after their marriage the couple went to live among the Mander. Contrary to this, all the children of the Beeuw man Toeier and the Daranto woman Moannez are Daranto, because Toeier after his marriage took up his abode with the relatives of his wife. This rule again signifies a limitation of the bilateral descent rule, this time not by means of endogamy, but by means of the *residential factor*. However, the bilateral principle is maintained in so far, that the children of a *mixed* marriage in principle have equal rights in their father's kin group, as well as in the deme of their mother. So unilineal descent groups are here out of the question. These rights even pass on to the grand-children, so that even after some generations territorial rights can be claimed on the territory of those demes, from which one descends either via the father or via the mother!

However, it is only possible to live in one place at the same time, and owing to this limitation one becomes either a member of the mother's deme or of that of the father, in which case then indeed a unilineal principle is introduced, without emphasizing *one* definite descent line, however. Therefore, it is better to speak of *ambilineality*.¹

Through the ambilineal descent rule, which is possible thanks to the

¹ This ambilineality has received more and more attention recently in the ethnological literature. See e.g. W. H. Goodenough: 'A problem in Malayo-Polynesian Social Organization,' *Am. Anthr.* 57, 1959, pages 71-83 and R. Firth: 'A note on descent groups in Polynesia,' *Man*. Jan. 1957, pages 64-68. At the moment ambilineality, especially in studies on the social organization in Netherlands New-Guinea is the centre of interest. See for this J. Pouwer: 'Socio-political structure in the eastern Vogelkop, part I, pp. 20-41 (meanwhile published in the *N. G. Studien*, 1960) and Pouwer's discussion with Van der Leeden in the 'Bijdragen Taal-Land en Volkenkunde part 116 (*Anthropologica*) pp. 109-149. 'Loosely structured societies in Neth. New-Guinea,' the review of Van der Leeden's dissertation (pp. 109-118) by J. Pouwer, to which the former has answered in his article 'Social Structure in New-Guinea,' pages 119-149. The ambilineal system is in fact clearly to be distinguished also in the Tor district, although it is as a type of social organization not so important as e.g. that in the Vogelkop (see essay by Pouwer). Nevertheless it is important in the Tor district where it presents itself as a form of adaptation to life in 'harsh circumstances or even in a marginal situation.'

ambilocal residence of the non-endogamous marriage and the bilateral basis of the kinship structure, the structure of the deme is maintained notwithstanding the few non-endogamous marriages. Thus the deme is guarded from disintegration and remains a clearly defined group which can continue to act as a unit. This 'open-ness' of the deme structure is an adaptation to the very unfavourable circumstances, in which the people of the Tor live. A rigid deme structure is impossible in this natural and cultural environment, but the open (loose) deme structure benefits the integration and the viability of the deme.

In this loose deme structure a great variety of individual behaviour is possible. Not every inhabitant of the Tor district, whose parents originate from two different demes, also chooses for himself the membership of the deme in which he was born. On the strength of the bilateral descent rule, everyone may belong to his mother's deme or to that of his father. Nobody is bound hand and foot to the decision, which his parents, by the choice of their residence, have made for him, although this is, in practice, usually the case.

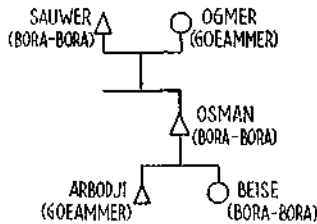
Now this right to one's own choice is a very important point indeed in this open deme structure. By this right the principle of the ambilineality is decided.

Dobber is a son of a Beeuw mother and a Waf father, who after their marriage settled with the Beeuw. As a boy of 15 years of age, Dobber was initiated into the Waf tribe, because owing to the scarcity of boys of that age in the Beeuw, no initiations could take place for a long time. Dobber, however, after his initiation went to live with the Waf and after having lived 'a long time' in that deme he also himself became a Waf. His brother and sister, however, are both Beeuw. Not only the children of a mixed marriage have this right to their own choice, but even the grand-children and the great-grand-children. Everyone who is able to trace his kinship to two or even more demes, may himself choose to which deme he wishes to belong. The only condition being – apart from the consanguineal relationship, for the deme is and remains a descent group – that one has one's abode for a 'long space of time' in the deme of one's choice. The conception of 'a long space of time,' was not further formulated. However, it means many, many years, so that the choice is final. Public opinion¹ decides when the time has come for such a person to be

¹ For the significance of public opinion see chapter V, page 192, seq.

allowed to assume the deme-name, and participate in all the rights of that deme. The example of the Goeammer man Arbodji may illustrate this here:

SCHEME XII



After his marriage with the Goeammer woman Ogmer, the Bora-Bora man Sauwer went to live in the village of the Bora-Bora. Their son Osman became and remained a Bora-Bora. He had two children, a boy Arbodji and a girl, Beise. After the death of his wife, Osman gave his son to a distant relative among the Goeammer to be taken care of. Beise remained in the village of the Bora-Bora and was brought up there. When Osman married again, his son Arbodji and his daughter Beise came to live with him again. However, when the former was grown up, about 16 years old, he went back to the Goeammer and stayed there for 'a long time.' Now he is a Goeammer, whilst his younger sister is a Bora-Bora.

Whereas the kinship terminology of the Berrick, Beeuw and Bonerif and that of the Kwesten, exclusively points to a bilateral kinship structure, a number of unilineal elements occur in the terminologies of the western and eastern Upper-Tor district. Although these are functionally of not much importance, yet the question should be raised as to whether perhaps factors of historical or social character can be indicated which could account for these unilineal elements in an otherwise bilateral kinship structure. About these historical factors, there is little to be said so far (see page 188). However, also with regard to the social factors etc., the data are extremely vague. For instance, in particular the influence of the ambilineality on the kinship terminology is not yet very clear.

In the eastern Upper Tor district (Ittik-Mander) these unilineal elements concern:

1. the special term for MoElSi.
2. the cousin-terminology.

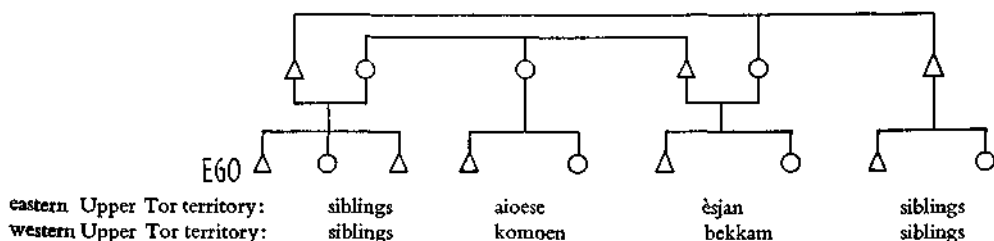
In the western Upper Tor district (Bora-Bora, Waf, Goeammer) these unilineal elements concern:

1. the cousin-terminology.
2. the grand-parents terminology.

The special term for MoEiSi (*ottre*) need not necessarily be an element of a unilineal structure. It seems that the term is more connected with the special status of WiEiSi in this eastern Upper-Tor district. All over this area exists a very strict avoidance relationship between a man and his WiEiSi. Such avoidance relationships also exist between a man and other female affinal relations, amongst others BrWi, but yet in fact this rule especially applies to WiEiSi, who then is indicated among the Mander and the Ittik by a term different from the other female affinal relations of the same generation. Just as the special status of WiBr (as bride-giver) in the next generation bestows on him that special status of MoBr, the special status of WiEiSi can lead in the next generation to the special status of MoEiSi, a status which is also expressed in the terminology.

The cousin-terminologies of the eastern and western Upper-Tor district show the same picture:

SCHEME XIII



It is true that especially in the eastern Upper Tor district besides these special terms also the sibling terms are used, but still these special cousin-terms retain their own significance. The special terms for MoBrChi were already explained in the foregoing pages as a consequence of the special status of MoBr. Indeed, the population itself explains the special terminology in this way. More difficult to explain is the special term for MoSi-Chi. Van der Leeden has already struggled with this 'terminological

puzzle,¹ in which he sees proof of the functional significance of the matrilineal descent group in the communities of the Western interior of Sarmi.² However, in a mere matrilineal structure one would sooner expect that MoSiChi would be identified with siblings. However, what the significance of these special terms really is, yet remains rather vague. In the preceding pages the term for MoSiChi and the special term for the spouses of the two sisters were connected, while at the same time was pointed to the mythology in which two sisters again and again have an important function, or enriched the people with new discoveries e.g. the sacred flutes etc.³ However, as yet there are too few data available to accept this as an explanation for the terminology in question. Then there is still another point. In a deme structure where the siblings form such a strong unit as is the case in the Tor district, one would sooner expect that all cousins would be classified as siblings. From the above it is evident, however, why the MoBrChi are excluded from that identification. In my opinion the fact that the paternal parallel-cousins are identified with the siblings is connected with the special family organization in the Tor district, the so-called (fraternal) domestic family,⁴ in which two or more brothers found one common household. Such a domestic family functions as one large nuclear family. The adult men are all addressed as father, the women as mother, while all persons of the same generation as ego's, are indicated by the sibling terms. That, in fact, is obvious in such a domestic family. However, for MoSiChi this is not the case, and this might also be an explanation of the special terminology.

In the grand-parents terminology of the western Upper Tor district, a distinction is made between the paternal relatives and the maternal relatives. This terminology points to a unilineal element, which may be patrilineal as well as matrilineal. It is possible that this terminology is related to the ambilineality in this district where, in fact, also a unilineal element comes to the fore, without emphasizing one special line. However, it is also possible, that this special terminology is as well connected with the organization of the domestic family, which is precisely the most important factor in the western Upper-Tor district (Goeammer, Waf, Bora-Bora). There the parents of the father are separated from those of the mother, which is also evident in the terminology. As the men are more numerous in the Tor district, that special form of domestic family which is founded

¹ Principal features, page 60.

² The same, pages 60 and 161.

³ See chapter VI, pp. 227, 229, 230.

⁴ See chapter V, page 200.

by two or more brothers, prevails (patrilocal residence). Consequently, these unilineal elements get a patrilineal tendency.

This fits in with the structure of the Ségar and the Naidjbeedj living in the Tor district. Whereas, except for the nuclear family and the domestic family, no other kins groups are to be distinguished in the deme, the local groups with the Ségar and the Naidjbeedj are built up from a number of patrilineal lineages, although their structure is not always (easily) distinguishable.

However, among the Naidjbeedj there are at least two patrilineal groups to be distinguished, which are of great functional significance, among other things for marriage, because they are exogamous and patrilineal.¹ These are the Mammaussòh and Taibor groups. The Naidjbeedj village Nemannenmanfareh thus consists of different patrilineal units, which, however, also occur in other villages of the Western interior of Sarmi. We can call these patrilineal kin groups best by the term patri-clan². As an example we take here the Mammaussòh clan. Members of this clan, as we have already seen, live with the Naidjbeedj but we meet them also in the basin of the Terra, the Oméri and even in the basin of the Mamberamo. A number of Kaowerawèdj from Pionierbivak (on the Mamberamo), also belong to this Mammaussòh clan, which obviously is not a territorial unit. Neither does it possess or claim a territory of its own. It is the local group, which claims territorial rights and members of that special local group, no matter to which greater patri-clan they belong, have rights there. For here too, the entire social life in this territory, is life in the village-community. The unity of the clan fades into the background. This unity is only expressed in the stories about the common origin, on the occasions of the big faareh-feasts,³ by the possession of the common flute signs etc.⁴ Owing to the great significance of the local group, a preference (here too!) for endogamous marriages (village endogamy) and bilateral tendencies as a consequence of the difficult natural living conditions,⁵ these patrilineal units become more and more indistinct.

¹ There are exceptions, but the exogamy as well as the patrilocal residence are considered an ideal pattern by the population itself.

² Clan is here also used in the meaning of a unilineal kinship group (compare page 178).

³ See chapter VI, page 237, seq.

⁴ The same, pp. 235-237.

⁵ See Van der Leeden o.c. pages 158-167 who deems it probable 'that the bilateral descent group is closely connected with the atomistical community structure and the difficult living conditions in which man exists in this wild part of the Sarmi area.'

Now the question remains as to whether such a development has perhaps also occurred in the course of years in the Tor district. In that case the unilineal elements could also be explained from this historical viewpoint. It may be possible, though the unilineal elements may be a later development as well. At present, however, there are no unilineal units in the Tor district. The whole of the kinship structure is founded on a bilateral basis in which the endogamous local group (deme) and the independent families play an all-important part.

I. THE COMMUNITY

Social life in the Tor district is in the first place life in a village-community. This is the largest and by far the most important social group. As we have already seen, fellow-villagers are always related to each other and broadly outlined it can be stated that actually the kin group coincides with the village-community. For, even though members of a certain kin group live in different villages for instance, in such cases the village solidarity is evidently more important than the kinship ties. This was very obvious when in 1958 a conflict broke out between members of a number of Berrick villages. Then the other Berrick men did not side with those to whom they were nearest of kin, but with the village-community to which they belonged. In fact, each conflict between members of two or more villages develops into a conflict between the village-communities as such, just as a non-endogamous marriage for instance, always concerns two demes.

The village-community is a typical 'we-group' with a very strongly developed esprit de corps. In many cases, moreover, this sense of unity is strengthened when the villagers have their own language as e.g. the Mander, the Ittik and the Bonerif. Outside this in-group, life is very difficult for an individual. This is not in the first place because a person is not able to obtain food outside his own village. Most people have relatives in other villages who are quite willing to provide them with foodstuffs. But nevertheless one feels an outsider in a strange village. For also in the Tor district the word holds good, that 'a man does not live by bread alone.' Even when there are no linguistic or dialectic difficulties one is often unable to take part in the conversations which are held in that strange village.

In fact those conversations have generally only one theme: the superiority

of one's own group, and the inferiority, the backwardness, the dirtiness and the stupidity of all others.¹

In that strange village nearly everything is (slightly) different from home, even though both villages are part of the same culture area. People don't feel sure of themselves; sometimes they even feel weird, because one is unfamiliar with the correct behaviour or the whole pattern of social relations. Moreover, one always feels insecure because of the ever threatening danger of 'soeangi' (sorcery). People feel only safe for soeangi amongst their own fellow-villagers, because nobody will cast a spell on a fellow-villager, but all the more on a stranger.

Each village-community shows in some sense smaller or greater cultural differentiations. In every village, for instance, different embellishments and finery are to be seen, whereby even a European immediately can recognize a Mander from a Daranto or even an Ittik. The arrows of the diverse village-communities have different ornamental figures and are often even of a different shape. Each village-community has its own way of making sago spatulas and sago forks and decorates them in their own special way. In fact the same may be applied to every form of wood-carving.

Songs and dances are very often the property of one village and even if they have spread over a wider area, which is the case with most of the religious songs and dances, nevertheless locally they still display lesser or greater differentiations.

But the distinctions between the diverse village-communities are even much more profound. Their ideas about what is decent and indecent widely differ. Every village-community has its own values and interests. In connection with this fact the dissimilarities which do exist in the diverse village-communities regarding the appreciation of the rules for sexual intercourse should be pointed out once more. But also the function and the meaning of the most common religious representations are interpreted differently in almost each village-community. All this is still more striking when one considers that all these deviations occur in village-communities, which often lie in each other's immediate neighbourhood and belong to the same culture area, which is for instance the case with the Berrick villages. The number of 'personal' varieties on the same common culture pattern is so great in the Tor district, that it seems almost impossible to give a general outline of 'the culture' in the Tor district, and for that reason

¹See for this ethnocentrism also pp. 27-31.

'community studies' are to be preferred to a general culture survey. But thanks to the common origin of many village-communities and the manifold contacts between the members of the diverse demes, it is quite possible to speak of a 'cultural unity,' which in this area no doubt should be more emphasized than the cultural diversity.

In the meantime the people of the Tor themselves try to maintain the 'we-group' character of the village-community as much as possible. For that reason also every non-endogamous marriage is still considered as a little appreciated exception. Sometimes several villages celebrate their initiation ceremonies together, because the number of boys in the age-set of 14-17 years is too small to carry them out in every village apart. But there are many village-communities, like the Daranto, the Mander and the Ittik amongst others, who prefer to postpone such ceremonies for several years, rather than celebrate them with other village-communities. That is the reason why amongst those tribes it often occurs, that individuals who had long been ripe for initiation and the '*mengan-ceremony*'¹ had not yet undergone these ceremonies.

The 'we-group' feeling is also expressed in the opposition of the village-communities, small as they may be, to be joined up with other villages. They all try to maintain their independence and isolation as long as possible. Attempts to join up villages either for educational reasons, so that a better school can be built there, or because of reasons of administration or for whatsoever other reason, often fail because of this mental attitude. An important cause of this failure is in fact also the problem of the territorial rights, which are indeed bound up with the history of every village-community. And even if these territorial rights are settled, there always remains the fear of sorcery as an important reason why the village-communities are not very keen on contact with other communities.

In each of these village-communities, where relatives from generation to generation live in a close 'face-to-face association' there exists about all things a certain communis opinio. This does not mean, however, that all values and interests are fixed for ever, which are passed on then from generation to generation. In these small groups alterations continuously occur, caused by natural catastrophes or by demographic and cultural factors to which the community has to adapt itself. The 'représentations collectives' have a dynamic character here and one of the reasons for this

¹ See for these ceremonies, chapter VI, pp. 259/260.

is, that in such a village it is also a definite fact that not everyone thinks in the same way. All villagers, male or female, young or old, contribute to the general opinion. Everyone knows everyone very thoroughly from the cradle to the grave and knows his opinion about all matters. To sit and talk together is in the communities of the Tor district even a definite part of the culture pattern. In every village at night one sees groups of inhabitants sitting together in the houses discussing the events of the day. Moreover, they sometimes gather together on specially fixed evenings in the village square or on the bank of the river, sitting on tree trunks specially laid there for the purpose, and exchanging views on all kinds of subjects deep into the night at the light of a burning piece of dammar. This dammar is fetched some days earlier by the men from the dammar-acreage, specially for such discussion evenings. Good care is taken that there is more than sufficient dammar to serve as a source of light. For this dammar is, for such discussion evenings, just as necessary as food for certain feasts: when it has burnt out people go away, even although the subject matter is by no means exhausted.¹

Besides these special gatherings, there are also those of the men and women separately. The latter withdraw to the sago-acreages, where they can talk without being disturbed by the men. When the men have something to discuss mutually they assemble in the sacred house or in the house of the marriageable youths and the elder bachelors.

From all these discussions, all day long during their work and on those special discussion evenings far into the night, an opinion about men and things, which is accepted as the right one by the whole community, is evolved. It is a public opinion, which is the crystallized view of everyone about everything.

This public opinion regulates life in the village-community to a high degree. For the Tor district, it is the only form of social control. Whoever opposes it, is an outcast, unless he is a very strong personality. Normally, however, everyone who does not behave according to what is deemed decent and sanctioned, will succumb to the power of public opinion. For instance, when someone infringes on one or the other sexual taboo, as a rule he will get a (thorough) hiding from the wronged one(s), which is sanctioned by the whole community.

¹ Compare for this also chapter II, page 91, where is stated that the people refused to discuss a myth, with as argument: 'There is no dammar, therefore we cannot talk together.'

A second, very efficient way to call a person to order consists of the community publicly expressing its displeasure about a certain action or view. For instance, when the Bora-Bora man Ewan wanted to introduce a strange song into his village, which the whole community abhorred, everyone, as if by agreement, began to shout and abuse him loudly as soon as he sang or hummed his melody. Ewan kept it up for a few days. After that this song, which described a love affair between a boy and a girl, was heard no longer in the village of Gwattefareh.

Still another frequently applied measure is the ridiculing of a particular action or representation of facts. Much fun is made of the trespasser, who can then no more show his face in the village without being laughed at. Very often he is even laughed at right in his face. An example of this is the Ségar man Sieber.¹ In such cases the trespasser does not show himself in the village for some time until the feelings have quietened down a little. According to informants a man can even be compelled to leave the village (for some time). But generally one does not let it come as far as that but chooses of one's own accord the course of exile. The voluntary or involuntary banishment out of the village is in fact the severest punishment which exists. Many informants declared that they would much rather have a sound thrashing.²

The fact, however, that except the social control of public opinion, no form of authority exists, clearly has its drawbacks. The power of the *communis opinio* is normally sufficient to allow life in a village-community to pass without too many commotions and turbulences, but that is for example no longer the case, when the community splits into parties. Then there is no one, who by virtue of his status is able to lay down the law. In serious matters the community threatens to be divided into two parts, which would mean disaster for these already very small communities. It is true, that such upheavals rarely happen, but the fact remains that they are possible indeed. We did already mention in the first chapter that a number of independent village-communities came into being because of such quarrels. The following example shows the way in which this could be possible and at the same time it points out, how the people of the Tor generally solve this serious problem:

In 1958 a great conflict broke out among the Bora-Bora between the

¹ See chapter III, page 120.

² See also pp. 137/138, where a case of exile is mentioned in connection with the trespassing of a sexual taboo.

group of bachelors¹ and the other members of the community. Led by Ewan, the bachelors wanted to introduce the Jausing-dance into their village, to which the older ones especially were very much opposed. Very soon there was violent abuse on all sides, during which scenes everyone disclosed minutely all the shameful facts of the lives of their opponents. Even several younger women began to concern themselves with the conflict. The whole village threatened to become divided into two groups. Neither of the parties wanted to give in, the more so, because finally the conflict was not only confined to the introduction of the Jausing, but at the same time was drawn entirely into the personal sphere. Long bottled-up grievances, which always lie dormant, now came to the surface. All this happened with great vehemence and excitement.

Towards midnight some women started calling out: 'Stop it, go to the river.' Women are the peacemakers here! Other women very soon took up the cry: 'Stop quarreling; all go to the river now.' After a while also some older men, who for the greater part had succeeded in keeping out of the conflict, took over the call of the female peacemakers, after which the 'fighting-cocks' really stopped their abuse. Not long afterwards, when the women kept on crying: 'All go to the river,' the 'Bantams' did go to the river. First the moderates went, and later the most radical followed too. With big burning torches in their hands, practically all villagers went to the river. On the way they plucked a strongly aromatic herb (a kind of fern), with which the whole body was rubbed from top to toe. Not a single spot was passed over. After that they dived, laughing and joking, into the river, where all the 'dirt' was washed off.

On their way back to the village, the two greatest opponents, Ewan and Gwennem, walked hand in hand, side by side, as indeed only intimate friends do! The conflict had come to an end. No one in the village would ever speak about it again, nor about all the hateful things which they had called out to each other in their rage. Informants gave as explanation: 'The river has washed off and taken away everything. Nobody can talk about it anymore. Everything is vanished. How could we live a decent life otherwise?' And there is no difference of opinion in the Tor basin about the fact that the river indeed washes away every evil spoken word, every cherished thought of hatred.

But the conflict is only really ended and the recovery of unity actually

¹ See page 266, seq.

complete, however, when after the ritual purification, gifts are exchanged between the members of the two parties. With the Bora-Bora that happened the very same night. Whereas the men during and after the ritual cleansings in the river were in the most cheerful mood and exuberantly joked together, during the following exchange of gifts there reigned a solemn, almost subdued mood, and hardly a word was spoken. That particular sphere was still more accentuated by the burning of a very small piece of dammar, which but dimly lit the seat of action and cast deep shadows on the faces of the participants.

The remarkable fact of this exchange was, that the men handed each other money instead of articles of their own culture. Some of them had earned that money from a European trader; others had been given it or had received it in exchange for other articles. It was also typical that the value of the money, according to European standards, played no part at all. This was all the more striking, because the people of the Tor as a rule set great store on money. It is in their eyes, who formerly knew no form of money, a means which gives the possessor standing and prestige. To them money is worth more than any other article of their own or Western culture. At the same time this shows, how much value these people attached to the making up of the conflict, which threatened to endanger the so highly esteemed unity of the village-community. Thus Ewan, for instance, laid down three guilders (about eighty U.S. dollar cents) on a piece of beaten bark, especially laid there for the purpose and said: 'I have said many evil things; now I give a lot of money.'¹ And so did the other men. Gwennem, for instance, put down three 'kwartjes' (about 20 U.S. dollar cents) on the bark cloth.

In recent years, instead of money, articles of their own culture, such as arrows, dog-teeth, dancing bands, feathers, etc. were spread out on the 'cloth.' Then, when all the men had laid down their gifts, they took one by one a gift from the adversary away from the cloth. That is what they did now with the money. After that they left the hut where the exchange of gifts had taken place, without saying a word!

The atmosphere in which this exchange of gifts took place is an indication of how extremely high the unity in (and of) the village-community is valued by everyone. Ewan told me after this ceremony, very much relieved: 'Now we can go on living again.'

¹ He said: 'A lot of money' because he had no idea of the real value of that money.

Yet in other respects the entire lack of monocratic authority evidently gives rise to great difficulties in these village-communities. There may then well be a distinct public opinion on certain rules of behaviour, values and interests, but with regard to particular matters of organization or certain activities to be carried out, etc., that *communis opinio* does not always exist. Then nothing is accomplished and there is no question of any communal action. Whereas towards the other village-communities people are always conscious of being an in-group and therefore act as a unit, big differences often exist between the members, where typical village matters are concerned. Once the Bora-Bora postponed a drive hunt for days, because the participants could not agree where the battue should be held, who would be beaters and who would shoot the boar. With the Waf all the village-community was in a state of chaos, when in 1959 a new village had to be built. Some of them wanted to migrate further in the direction of the Tor river, while others wanted to remove the village in the direction of the Foewin. The result was, that for the time being, nothing happened, although the state of the houses as well as the situation of the main-village with regard to the sago-acreages was untenable. For this latter reason many women stayed away from home and remained at the branch-villages of Semmeri and Djoetifareh. Finally, the main-village was removed a few hundred metres up the river in the direction of the Tor. In this way days and even months will pass in heated discussions with the result that nothing is achieved after all.

Another example of it is the building of the bachelors' house with the Daranto. Already in 1957 the building was on the brink of tumbling down. Everyone was convinced that it was necessary to erect a new building. But they all could not agree as to whether this new building also had to have two floors or that the building should have only one floor with a passage in the middle. And that was the reason why nothing happened at all. About more than a year afterwards the house tumbled down on the very night that more than twenty bachelors and myself with my bearers slept there. In hot haste the building was repaired and strengthened, on which all the men worked together.

Among the Naidjbeedj there was even once a heated debate about the erecting of a sacred house.¹ The result was, that the new sacred house had not yet been built when the old one tumbled down.

That these consequences of this spirit of 'liberty, equality and fraternity,'

¹ See for the significance of the sacred house chapter VI, pp. 212-239.

are felt as a drawback by the people of the Tor themselves, is evident from the fact that those communities, which are already under the Government control and consequently have a village headman appointed by the Dutch Administration, would not gladly do without him any more. While the institution of headman of the village is still too new to be able to expect too much of it, it is yet remarkable how rapidly this institution is accepted by and even is popular with the population itself.

In those areas where missionary corporations are already at work it is in the first place the goeroe who, more than the korano (headman) is the leader of the community. This authority depends to a great extent on the knowledge of the village teachers. People of the Tor highly respect that knowledge, in which they see an important means of participating in the modern way of life which they have learned to appreciate. But because these goeroes come from outside the Tor district and some of them adapt themselves with great difficulty to the small community, they sometimes remain in the eyes of the people an authority of 'foreign' origin. That is obvious in still another way. Whereas the korano, who is a native of the area (area in the most narrow sense of the word, frequently only the village and its surroundings) reckons with public opinion, some goeroes tried to wield authority without or even against public opinion. If the goeroes in this way took an unfair advantage of their authority, the community know how to make life unbearable for them. It has happened more than once that through the power of public opinion, the goeroes were compelled to leave the village, sometimes even with a good thrashing into the bargain.

2. THE FAMILY

2.1. *Introduction*

All over the Tor district the nuclear family as a kin group is clearly distinguishable. However, with regards to its function as a social group great differentiations exist between the diverse village-communities of the Tor district. Whereas among the Ittik and the Mander the nuclear family as an independent unit in the whole of the social and economic life comes to the foreground, it is in the other village-communities more or less a secondary part of a greater social and economic unit, which we shall call the 'domestic family' henceforth.¹

¹ See for the definition of this conception, page 200.

Here and there between these two extremes all kinds of transitory forms exist, and therefore it is difficult to bring all those different forms of family organization simply under a single heading. In this connection Linton's¹ advice should also be taken to heart to avoid making a great mistake in asserting, that 'any grouping composed of father, mother and children must constitute the *social equivalent*² of the family among ourselves,' or of the family in other (non-western) societies.

In the following, only the two extremes will be dealt with, where the differentiations between the forms of family organization come most clearly to the foreground.

2.2. *The nuclear family with the Ittik and the Mander*

The village-community here consists of a number of nuclear families, who each function as an independent unit. This is, in a certain sense, already apparent from the fact, that every nuclear family lives in its own house. Such nuclear family habitations are namely very exceptional among the other tribes of the Tor district.

In the case of the Mander and the Ittik, these nuclear family houses have entirely the character of a personal home. All members of the family do sleep there, while the fire, on which the woman of the house prepares the meals which are eaten by the members of the family together in the evening, is also there. Having 'supper' together is especially a very clear indication of the special unity of the family.

The nuclear family is here also the most important economic unit. The wife makes her sago in the first place for her own family, while also every woman here has her own *itinek*, where she stores her sago.³

It is remarkable that with the Mander and the Ittik, the men are far more concerned with the food-supply than is the case elsewhere. The fact that the nuclear family is such an independent unit causes the married women to be so occupied with the sago-making for her family, that the husband has to assist her with all the other chores. And thus we see that the men besides hunting and fishing, also go out searching for fruit and vegetables. Spouses lay out gardens together, the husband being especially occupied with the burning down of the forest and doing the heavy preparatory work,

¹ R. Linton, *The study of man*; 1956, page 153.

² Italics are mine. O.

³ See also chapter II, page 58.

while the wife helps with the planting and tending the gardens. Besides these family gardens, the Mander and the Ittik do have gardens indeed, which are laid out and kept up by a number of nuclear families together, but in those cases the gardens are distinctly divided into as many plots as there are nuclear families. Inside these family plots, husbands and wives plant trees and vegetables for themselves and their children. In this way every member of a nuclear family has his own trees, and in addition it seems customary that the boy receives his first tree from his father and the girl her first tree from her mother.

Another fact which especially struck me among the Mander was that the men very often stayed behind in the village to look after the children when their mothers had gone to the sago-acreage. With the other tribes there is always one or more women present in the village during the day to look after the children in general, so that also in this respect in the case of the Mander and the Ittik the husbands and wives are more dependent on each other.

Moreover, the intimate and select character of the nuclear family and its particular unity is further evident from the fact that in the case of the Mander and the Ittik, sexual intercourse is largely limited to that between husband and wife. This is even more remarkable because the rules of the permitted extra-marital sexual intercourse like the *agamman* and the *attausa*¹ are just as well known to them as to the other tribes of the Tor district.

Besides the special denotative kinship terms for respectively Mo, Fa, Da and So² there is finally another phenomenon which points to the intimacy and independance of the nuclear family with the Mander and the Ittik. When namely the mother dies at child-birth, the child must necessarily perish too because no other woman may feed the child.³ In contradistinction to this, I more than once observed among other tribes, that the children were given the breast by other women than their own mother, after the death of the mother as well as when the mother was absent from the village for a shorter or longer time.

¹ See chapter III, page 136, seq.

² See chapter IV, pp. 165-171.

³ It is not quite certain whether this is also the case with the Ittik. Some informants stated that it was; others, however, denied it. However, it is possible that the Ittik during their stay on the coast have undergone so many modern influences that this former custom has now disappeared.

In the case of the Mander and the Ittik there are also a number of polygynous families, consisting of one man, two (or three) wives and their children. However, that which applies to the nuclear family also holds good for the polygamous family: it is a close and independent unit. The members all live together in one house in which no partitions whatsoever are erected. There is also only one fire-place, on which the food for the whole group is prepared! The meals are also taken together.

Just as the nuclear family, the polygamous family is also an economic unit. Both women of the family supply together the food for the whole group, and very frequently there is a division of labour between the two wives. One woman for instance pounds the sago, while the other goes in search of vegetables and fruit. The one looks after the firewood, while the other fetches water from the river, and so on.

Children of polygamous families denote each other as siblings, while they use the term for mother to indicate both the wives of their father. The latter is just the more striking because the Ittik terms for Fa, Mo, So and Da are otherwise never used as classificatory terms to denote other kinsmen as well. People regard the polygamous family, obviously, as an 'indivisible unit.'

2.3. *The domestic family*

While among the Mander and the Ittik the nuclear family is obviously an independent unit, the other extreme we find among tribes such as the Goeammer, the Daranto, the Waf, the Beeuw and some others, where the nuclear family is pretty well absorbed in a greater social and economic unit in which it has only a more or less subservient position. That greater unit will be indicated here as the *domestic family*.¹ It consists of a number of nuclear families which are united by consanguineal kinship ties, and which form together one household. First of all it is the siblings with their respective spouses and children, who form such a domestic family, which again denotes the very close unity between siblings and its significance for social organization in the Tor district. In this domestic family, the 'fraternal joint family'² is of paramount importance, which is not so much a con-

¹ The conception has been adopted from Notes and Queries, 6th ed., page 71. It means here: an extended family occupying one single domicile.

² For this conception see G. P. Murdock, o.c. page 33: 'Two or more brothers with their wives establish a common household.'

sequence of a particular preference, but rather the consequence of the numerical majority of the men (brothers) in these societies. In addition, it may happen that the nuclear families of one domestic family are united on the basis of the relationship Fa(Mo)-So; Fa(Mo)-Da; MoBr-SiSo; etc., but these only form a minority. It is the sibling joint family (domestic family) with the majority of fraternal joint families, which are characteristic of the social organization of the Tor tribes, except the Mander and the Ittik. No one, who still has a married brother or sister will go with his family to live-in with another relative.

Although the character of the domestic family shows (lesser or greater) differentiations between the tribes, there are yet some general characteristics to be noted. The domestic family is the smallest economic unit. The married women of a domestic family (sometimes sisters, more frequently sisters-in-law, HuBrWi, HuSi or BrWi) together supply the sago and the vegetables for the entire household. It is certainly not the case, that a woman specially looks after her own nuclear family. No, the women of one domestic family also possess only one *itunek*, in which the sago for the whole domestic family is stored. Generally, a certain division of labour is observed in the food production and the cooking of the meals. One woman goes to pound the sago, while the other(s) go(es) in search of vegetables, collect firewood, fetch water and so on. Another time the division of labour will be just the reverse. There is also but one fire in the house where the domestic family lives, on which the food for all the members together is prepared. At night, they also take their meal together. This fact especially points out again, that the domestic family should not be looked upon as a 'cluster of families,' but as an 'indivisible unit'.¹ The various families of the domestic family also never act separately. They are fully integrated in the domestic family. In the houses where the domestic families live no partitions in any shape or form are erected. The men sleep together and the women sleep together with the little children between them.

Each domestic family has its own gardens which have been laid out by all the men together. In contrast to that which has been mentioned in this connection with regard to the Mander and the Ittik, these gardens of the domestic family are not, however, further subdivided into family-plots. But also in this case every man and every woman has his (her) own trees, and the other members of the domestic family have the usufruct.

¹ G. P. Murdock, o.c. page 40.

The domestic family is also a nomadic group. In times of dire food scarcity the population migrates for days, even weeks at a stretch, into the forests and the sago-acreages, in search of food. The entire village-community then falls (temporarily) apart in a number of nomadic groups, which as a rule coincide with the domestic family of which the village-community is (was) composed. Every roving group builds its own shelter in which all members find a place. In that shelter also no partitions are made, and there is only one fire-place again. All foodstuffs which the men and the women find during their wanderings, are intended for the entire household (domestic family).

The indivisible unit of this domestic family is still more accentuated by the fact, that the brothers, who have founded that unit, are allowed (free) sexual intercourse with each others wives.¹ In fact, as was already apparent, this close unity is also expressed in the kinship terminology.²

When one of the parents dies, the domestic family continues to exist, contrary to the nuclear family with the Mander and the Ittik. There are two examples from the Bora-Bora: Two brothers, Sama and Moeri, formed with their wives and children one domestic family. When Narko, the wife of Sama died, shortly after the birth of their daughter Wéjin, Moeri's Wife Entse henceforth looked after the widower and his child. She has brought her up as her own child: she nursed her HuBrDa, so that she remained alive, and took care of her. Sama also had sexual intercourse with his ElBrWi (Entse) after the death of his wife. The domestic family continued to function normally. Entse, later on assisted by her daughters, supplied the group with sago and vegetables.

The other example concerns the domestic family, which was set up by the man Orbath and his sister Débar. The husband of the latter died in 1957, but the domestic family remained intact. In this respect the domestic family rather differs from the nuclear family. When for instance in the case of the Mander and the Ittik one of the parents dies, the family ceases to exist. The position of the widowers is then not nearly so bright as with the Goeammer or the other tribes, where the domestic family is the prevailing form of family organization. Whereas, as in the case of the Bora-Bora, the widowers remain to live in and form a part of the domestic family, among the Mander and the Ittik widowers as for instance Kargetta

¹ See for this *Aganman*-relation chapter III, page 136, seq.

² See chapter IV, pp. 186/187.

and Nègwan, have to live in the bachelors' house. That is a very important differentiation.

Finally, also the education of the children appears to be a matter which concerns the entire domestic family, although here and there the father and mother apparently have their own special task in this connection. The former, for instance, carves the first arrow for his son and plants the first tree for him. This especially applies, however, to the non-fraternal domestic family.

The domestic family, as we have learnt to know it in the Tor district, can, as a form of family organization, possibly prove of significance for the theory of cultural anthropology, in which it has hitherto received little attention. Lévi-Strauss sees in it the most original form of family organization, from which later the independent (nuclear) families will have originated.¹ Murdock describes the 'fraternal joint family,' as a 'comparatively rare form of the family,' which 'occupies in some respects an intermediate position.'² The form of these domestic families in the Tor district touches, moreover, also the core of the disagreement between Murdock and Linton on family organization.³

In the village-communities of the Tor district the domestic family is indicated by a special term, namely: '*Dzjigidzjaarberi*,' which means: 'members (family) of one house'.⁴ The domestic family is regarded by the people of the Tor themselves as an 'indivisible unit' – which incidentally is not only evident from its name – and not as a 'cluster of nuclear families,' as Murdock sees every form of family organization, which is larger than the 'nuclear family.' This does not mean, however, an affirmation of the by Murdock criticised statement of Linton, that the 'consanguine family' (extended family) should indeed be treated as an 'indivisible unit.' On the contrary, because the domestic family as such cannot merely be regarded as a consanguine family.⁵ The domestic family distinguishes itself from

¹ C. Lévi-Strauss: 'Structures élémentaires de la parenté'.

² Social structure, page 33.

³ See for this discussion: G. P. Murdock, o.c. chapter I-III, and then in particular pages 3, 39 and 40; and R. Linton, o.c. chapter X, pages 152-172.

⁴ Compare with this also the Malay term for 'nuclear family': 'isi rumah' or 'rumah tangga.'

⁵ In short may be mentioned here what others have understood by a consanguine family. Linton divides the forms of family organization into two different types: the consanguine family and the conjugal family. The first type may be described as a 'nucleus of bloodrelatives, surrounded by a fringe of spouses, who are of only incidental importance to the functioning of the family

the consanguine family in the first place by its temporary character. In this respect the domestic family resembles in every way the independent nuclear family in our own society or in that of the Mander and the Ittik. The domestic family, it is true, does not cease to exist immediately at the death of one of the spouses, but it does when both mothers or both fathers have died.

Another similarity between the nuclear family and the domestic family is, that both 'normally consist of members of only two generations' and in any case the domestic family never consists of more than three generations. Consanguine families (extended families) on the other hand, consist of three and more generations and are characterized by indefinite continuity over time.¹

But what the domestic family does have in common with the consanguine family, is that the adult members are also affiliated by blood-relations and not only by marriage ties, as is the case with the conjugal (independent nuclear and polygamous) family.

Another similarity between the domestic family and the consanguine family is the characteristic that at marriage 'only one of the spouses breaks the tie with his family of orientation.' For, in the case of an independent nuclear and polygamous family structure, both spouses are socially if not physically separated from their respective families of orientation.²

Thus the domestic family represents a type of family structure which stands in between the two main types. It shows a number of characteristics of the conjugal family as well as of the consanguine family. Linton has taken this third possibility into account, although he did not describe it, unit (lineages, clans). The conjugal family on the contrary 'capitalizes upon sexual attraction and consists of a nucleus of spouses and their offspring surrounded by a fringe of relations who are of only incidental importance to the functioning of the family unit, (for instance the nuclear family in our own society). Murdock has divided the forms of family structure into three types: the nuclear family, the polygamous family and the extended family. This latter corresponds closely to Linton's consanguine family and consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of the parent-child relationship, i.e. by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents. The nuclear family consists typically of a married man and woman with their offspring, whereas the polygamous family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated by plural marriages. When both of the latter types of family structure are not absorbed in a larger familial aggregate, Murdock speaks of an 'independent family.' Thus Murdock's tripartition is reduced to a bipartition, in which the independent nuclear and polygamous family, both corresponding to Linton's conjugal family, form a sharp contrast to the extended family (Linton's consanguine family), which has entirely different characteristics. See further Murdock, *o.c.* pages 32 and 33, and Linton, *o.c.* pages 152-172.

¹ G. P. Murdock, *o.c.* page 33.

² The same.

as he did in the case of the pure consanguine and conjugal family.¹

Murdock did mention this form of family organization. He called it the 'fraternal joint family,'² which very much resembles the domestic family in the Tor district. Whereas, however, in the latter especially the sibling relationship unites the members of the group together, it is only the Br-Br relationship, which unites the fraternal joint family. Murdock, however, considers the fraternal joint family as a 'cluster of nuclear families,' and not as a unit. On the contrary I cannot do otherwise, as the people of the Tor themselves do, than to continue to regard the domestic family in the Tor district as an independent, indivisible unit. But, I also believe, that actually the domestic family of the Tor district and the nuclear family are of equal rank. The functions, which are fulfilled by the nuclear family, in the case of the Mander and the Ittik, for the members of the family as well as for the community as a whole, are for the remainder of the Tor tribes mainly a characteristic of the domestic family.

2.4. *Causes of differentiation in family organization*

The great similarity, which, functionally considered, does exist between the nuclear family, such as is apparent with the Mander and the Ittik, and the domestic family of the other Tor tribes, cannot disguise the differences, which also exist between these two forms of family organization. At the same time, however, the investigator is confronted with the question: 'What are the reasons, that among the Mander and the Ittik the nuclear family occurs exclusively, whilst in the other Tor tribes the domestic family is (practically) the only important social group besides the deme?' Undoubtedly there must be certain causes.

Otherwise the Mander and the Ittik do not culturally differ from the other tribes of the Tor district. It is true that these first tribes have lived in greater isolation than many other tribes. But the theory that the domestic family should have come into existence as a consequence of contacts with other tribes, whereas the Mander and the Ittik should have kept the 'original' form of family organization, can certainly not be based on facts.

The explanation, I think, must be sought in economic and oecological factors. It is remarkable, indeed, that the Mander and the Ittik are the

¹ The study of man, page 172: 'Thus a society may base its family organization entirely on either the conjugal or the consanguine unit, or it may recognize both.'

² Social structure, page 33.

only tribes in the Tor district, who have more than sufficient sago-acreages at their disposal, which moreover are situated near the main-village. On the other hand, the other village-communities – some more than the others – are marked by a chronic lack of sago, of which, moreover, the find spots for the main part lie at a greater distance from the main-village. These factors appear to have a very great influence on the form of the family organization of these otherwise culturally rather homogenous tribes. In the Mander and the Ittik tribes it is easy for a woman single-handed to supply the (nuclear) family with sago. There is no necessity for families to join together in order to be able to exist. The difficult task of the sago production under circumstances, which have already been discussed,¹ is among the other tribes too much for one woman alone. Then the domestic family has its great advantages, whereas the functioning of independent nuclear families is extremely difficult. The domestic family is in these natural environments, and with this food situation, far less vulnerable than the nuclear family. Not only, because in the case of dearth of food, collectively the people can achieve more than singly, but also if a woman dies, a domestic family can survive, which is not the case with the nuclear family. This is an extremely great advantage in this district with its high death-rate, for the members as well as for the tribe as a whole.

In my opinion, the domestic family, being so characteristic of the social organization of the Tor district, must be considered as best suited to the existing concrete situation.

3. THE BACHELORS' GROUP

By a bachelor is meant here a man at the marriagable age (25 years and older) who for whatever reason is not yet wedded. They must be distinguished from the *not yet* married youths and the widowers, who have not remarried.

The bachelor was formerly a *rara avis* in the Tor district. In fact there was no room for him in the whole of the social and economic pattern. 'How can a man live (eat) without a wife?' Whereas the youth still gets his food from his mother or his sister, and in many cases the widower remains a part of the domestic family, the bachelor has generally nobody who supplies him with sago. At the most, he receives some food from his sister(s) which however generally is merely a very scanty left-over.

¹ See chapter II, pages 59-61.

The bachelor had formerly no function whatsoever in the community. Married men accompanied the women to the sago-acreages or to the vegetable find-spots. All this is strictly forbidden to the bachelor. Married men are also responsible for the education of their own or their siblings' children: they lay out fields for them, initiate them into the mysteries of the forests and the hunt and teach them to hunt and fish. But even as MoBr the bachelor was not concerned with the education and the care of his SiSo. This shows how inferior the bachelors were considered. This is also evident from the fact, that a bachelor was never asked to act as a name-giver.¹ Bachelors were men who were in some way physically or mentally unfit.

But this can no longer be said of the many bachelors who at present live in the Tor district. They are victims of the process of masculinization, as a result of which an average of 30% of all the men at the marriageable age have to remain unmarried.² Both these factors: the very swift increase in the number of bachelors as well as the totally different causes of their celibacy, have brought about a radical change in the position of the bachelor and his function in the village-community. The people of the Tor have adapted themselves excellently to these exceedingly unfavourable demographic circumstances. This adaptation is apparent in the creation of a new social group, entirely consisting of these bachelors-out-of-sheer-necessity, which has come to be of great significance for the members themselves as well as for the entire village-community.³

As soon as the boys are initiated⁴ they no longer are allowed to sleep with their kinsmen in the village, but they have to pass the night in a separate house which is set apart especially for the unmarried youths. In the beginning this youths' home is nothing more than a dormitory for the newly initiated youths. During the day they mix with their own relatives. The mother continues to provide sago for them, while the father takes them with him hunting and fishing, teaches them to carve arrows, and so on. Only when the boys have grown a few years older – about 17-19 years of age – do they begin more and more to go out together exclusively. They go hunting together, they share their scanty meals and go together on long roving expeditions. It is especially at this age that the boys become

¹ For the significance of this name-giving, see chapter VI, pp. 257/258.

² See chapter I, pp. 37-40.

³ More extensively this change is discussed in: G. Oosterwal: 'The position of the bachelor in the Upper Tor territory'. *American Anthropologist*, Oct. 1959, Vol. 61, no 5, part 1

⁴ See for this initiation, chapter VI, pp. 241-247.

closely united. In these last years of their youth, a very strong group consciousness is growing among them. Lack of continuity, however, was the most important reason why formerly this aggregate of youths has never developed into a social group. For, after having gone about with each other for some years, one by one the young men married and left the youths' house and the youths' group. Every new initiation, it is true, brought new youngsters into the house, but for that reason the group bore a strongly alternating character. The unmarried were more a 'social category' than a social group.

Because of the great shortage of women and girls, most of the youngsters cannot marry now, while others marry when they have grown much older than before. That is why the group acquired a certain continuity – which was formerly lacking – while the group partly lost its alternating character. In this way it was possible for the social category to develop into a social group with a strong esprit de corps and with its own characteristics.

Also the type of the 'unmarried man' changed. The youth became a bachelor. These changes are evident also in the youths' house, which became a bachelors' home now. The youths' house was decidedly a transit house. The unmarried youths even did not keep their scarce possessions there, but kept them in the house of one of their relatives. Those, who now have little or no chance of marrying, have brought all their belongings from the village houses to the bachelors' house, which has become a sort of permanent residence now. As more and more bachelors took up their permanent residence in the bachelors' house, the need of larger houses grew. In some villages separate bachelors' houses have even been built besides the already existing youths' houses, where the boys who are not yet married – boys at the age of 14-23 – live! Elsewhere, the old youths' houses have been enlarged, part of which is then (sometimes) intended for the bachelors and another part for the still unmarried youths. But while formerly the youths' houses stood outside or on the border of the village, the bachelors' houses are now frequently to be found in between the other village houses. This also points to a great change in the (social) position of the bachelor.

The social group of the bachelors is characterized by a very strong esprit de corps and by strong in-group feelings. Several factors account for this new spirit. First of all it is a group bound by the same lot, in which the members have all the same interests. As yet all members are of about

the same age. But as the process of masculinization continues, the character of age group surely will become blurred, but it greatly contributed to the group spirit when the group came into being.

Bachelors also form a kin group, the members of which call each other 'brother.' The bachelors therefore form a brotherhood in the most real sense of the word. What has been previously observed in connection with the unity between siblings also applies in a way to these bachelors who are each others classificatory brothers.

The precarious food situation of the bachelors still remains a big problem. This is one of the reasons for the great mobility of the bachelors' group. On the other hand it is just through this mobility that the bachelors were able to perform specific functions. Thus barter is for the greater part practiced by the bachelors, for which they make rather long tours. During my stay in the village of Gwattefareh, the bachelors of the Bagoeidja tribe even came there - 12 strong men together - to exchange their products. Another time the bachelors of the Kaowerawedj-Egónnie¹ appeared at the village of the Bora-Bora.

Owing to their mobility the bachelors keep up all economic and social contacts with other tribes and make new ones. In this way they also greatly contribute to the cultural unity of the whole Tor district.

No feast can be organized in one of the village-communities of the Tor, the Apauwar or the Biri without the presence of the bachelors from the different areas of the hinterland of Sarmi. Thus the bachelors have also brought their own community in contact with (the products of) western civilization.

Even within his own community, the bachelor has his specific functions now. The group of bachelors is responsible for the organization of all kinds of festivities. Bachelors fix the day, on which these festivities shall begin; they single out the boar, which are to be slaughtered, and build the erections on which those pigs will be roasted. The bachelors also dispatch some of them to invite other tribes. When a feast is drawing near, either a profane feast or a religious one, such as the faareh-feasts,² the bachelors go out for days to shoot, by means of a battue, as many wild boar as possible. In those areas, where the hunting of the lone hunter produces but little, the drive, which is exclusively a prerogative of the bachelors, is of extreme importance for social-religious life. For instance,

¹ The Egónnie is an affluent of the Mamberamo.

² See further chapter VI, pages 212-239.

the sacred flute-feast cannot take place, unless a special flute pig has been killed and that is the task of the bachelors' group. Also the blowing of the flutes – which is so exceedingly important for the existence and the survival of the group¹ – is done principally by bachelors now.

The bachelors' group can also assert itself in still other respects. As a homogenous group with pretty well the same interests, the bachelors form a power in the village-community. For instance, the korano of the Bora-Bora owes his authority in his village for the greater part to the bachelors who back him up. He often eats with them; he sits for hours in their house talking with them, while an elder bachelor even has been appointed Mandoer, the assistant of the korano. In other communities, which still lack chieftainship, the bachelors' group exerts great authority. The bachelors' group forms a unit – its members having the same interests and the same set of values – which greatly influences public opinion.

It is not known, what course the masculinization process will take, with which the (continued) existence of the bachelors' group is so closely connected. But even if this process continues (for the time being), it is not in the least certain how the bachelors' group will develop in the near future. At present they are greatly attracted to the European centra, where the bachelors may find work, food and in the near future perhaps a wife. That is why more and more bachelors now leave their own village-community to serve for a long period European traders or the Netherlands Administration. Thus the Berrick bachelors were the cargo-shippers on the river Tor in the service of European traders, while at present especially many bachelors are put to work on the dammar-project in the eastern Tor district.

The penetration of Mission and Administration in these areas also means, that certain festivities, at which the bachelors fulfilled special functions, are no longer allowed to be held. Loss of function of the group also means desintegration. Generally, it can be said, however, that just these contacts with the West, anyway have proved to be a great advantage to the bachelor, for whom, actually, is no room in the select and exclusive village-community.

¹ See chapter VI, page 234, seq.

I. INTRODUCTION

By religion I mean here: all those representations, beliefs and aspects of conduct in which man takes into consideration another world than the normally perceptible one.

In this definition, the manner in which a man regards that other world is purposely left out of consideration. This can occur by means of a coercive attitude, as well as through a 'feeling of the utter dependence of our being,' ('Gefühl der schlechthinnigen Abhängigkeit,' Schleiermacher). Both contrasting attitudes occur at the same time in the religion of the Tor population – and certainly not only in that religion. They do not exclude each other, but rather complement each other.

A distinction between 'social' and 'anti-social' does not throw a light on the nature of the religious phenomena and therefore was not included in this definition. Neither do we consider from what conscious or unconscious motives man contemplates that world. That is an important point. For in many cases investigators are apt to make a distinction between religion and magic, based on the fact that the latter is of a pragmatic nature and the former not. But in the religion of the Tor population – and also in this respect this religion is not an exception – many motives appear to be active. In numerous religious phenomena sensations of fear and impotence, feelings of awe and dependence occur at the same time together with motives which aim at being directly or indirectly effective. One may even maintain that with the Tor people, who live in such exceedingly difficult circumstances and are permanently threatened with starvation, extinction and other catastrophes, the pragmatical function is more or less the focus of the religion.¹

To set religion against magic or even to distinguish between the two, on

¹ See for this page 219, seq.

whatever criteria, is not possible in the Tor district. Therefore I shall only speak exclusively about 'religion' of the Tor people.

In the Tor territory there is not one particular word which can here be 'translated' by religion. Apparently this entire complex of religious phenomena is too indefinable and too unlimited and unrestricted. But the population itself does subdivide the many phenomena into groups which are represented in special conceptions. Thus there are the representations and practices which are connected with the cult house, for which now often the non-idiomatic term 'Karawari' is used. Apart from this there exists a complex of representations and practices which are called 'Fatrau' and which among other things refers to the initiation and the way in which man acquires power over nature.

Of very great significance for daily life in the Tor district are the religious phenomena, which are connected with the causing (or explaining) of misfortune, sickness and death and which by the population are indicated (in the Berrik language) by the term 'Bowèz.' This name is, however, just as those with which the other language groups between the Tor and the Mamberamo indicate these phenomena, substituted by the Malay word 'soeangi,' which has now got quite another meaning.

This distinction and sub-division, created by the population itself, will be followed as much as possible in this chapter, which, I hope, at the same time will give the most accurate possible picture of the religion in the Tor district.

2. THE 'FAAREH' OR CULT HOUSE

In the centre of all religious phenomena are the practices and representations, which are connected with the cult house, the *faareh*. In many cases that house actually stands in the centre of the main-village, also as a token of the very important function which the faareh has for the entire social life as well.

The idiomatic term faareh is here rendered by 'cult house.' This translation is chosen on purpose in preference to terms such as 'house of men' or 'sacred house of men' as others happened to have named the faareh. The term 'house of men' does not reckon with the sacred character of the faareh and for that reason is discarded. It is true, that the men are the sole owners of the faareh, so that for those who deny the religious function of the faareh¹ the term 'house of men' is the most obvious.

¹ Among them O. Finsch. See: G. A. van der Sande: 'Nova Guinea,' Vol. III, 1907, page 296 seq.

Later investigators have as a rule perceived the religious character of the faareh and then indicated it with the term 'sacred house of men.' This is a very correct interpretation of the term faareh. Without further explanations, however, this term gives the impression that the faareh is prohibited to women and that is definitely not the case. Women even fulfil with certain practices in and around the faareh, very essential functions. For that reason it seems to me more exact to define the term faareh as widely as possible and therefore to use the word 'cult house.' Of course, this term also has its drawbacks. Not only is the faareh the property of the men, but women are also forbidden to enter it at certain times, namely when the sacred flutes are put away there. And so for the greater part of the year the faareh is therefore a 'sacred house of men.'

However, the faareh is not a house of men in the sense that women are never allowed to enter it, as is the bachelors' house and the house of Fatrau.¹ That is why the population itself emphatically distinguishes the faareh from the 'house of men.' And in order not to give 'outsiders' the impression that the faareh is such a house of men, the term cult house seems the least inaccurate.

2.1. *Building of the faareh*

Already because of its outward appearance, its interior and its functions the faareh has its own place among all other houses in the Tor district. Everything in and around that house is different and it is because of this 'complete difference' that the faareh is 'set apart' and is called 'sacred.'²

In fact this is already evident during the building of the faareh.³ As soon as part of the house is finished, a feast is organized. And the more important that part of the house, the longer the feast also lasts.⁴ Thus there are festivities as soon as the ground plan is laid out and the piles which mark the outline are driven into the ground. Then follow the feasts on the occasion of the finishing of the rafters and the construction of the roofing.

¹ See page 239, seq.

² The faareh is certainly not only sacred, because the sacred flutes are kept there, as Van der Leeden remarks. O.c. page 14

³ Van Eechoud gives on pages 112-116 of his 'Report' an extensive description of the various parts of the cult house.

⁴ Compare: A. C. van der Leeden: 'Nota betreffende de sociale achtergrond en funktie van de Sarmische feesten.' (Note concerning the social background and function of the Sarmi feasts), January, 1953.

Also the laying-out of the floors is such an important event, that a great feast is organized, as likewise the suspending of the central pole and the placing of the loft. When finally the whole building is ready the inaugural feast follows.

The building of the faareh takes many months. This is not only because it is such a big job, but first of all owing to the long intervals which always follow the finishing of the different parts of the faareh. I do not know if there is a fixed time for this non-activity, although I had the impression that the lengths of these periods of rest and the duration of the feasts are connected with the importance of the finished part.

In April 1959 the faareh of the Sesawa and the Naukena (among these tribes called *koeu*) was already longer than six months under construction. In the same month a feast was organized for the construction of the first floor and the hanging of a number of figure symbols.¹ But in July the finishing touches to the floor, which should be the next activity, had not yet begun.

The building is held up even longer between this finishing of the floor and the erecting of the gaba-gaba wall. But in this case one cannot speak of inactivity. It is true, the building itself is discontinued, but in the meantime the men and women are busy collecting foodstuffs in order to be able to celebrate the inaugural feast of the faareh, immediately after the walling-in. This is the greatest (religious) feast, to which from far and wide guests are invited. Now it seems to be the rule that this inauguration feast takes place immediately after the walling-in. Van Eechoud² even declares that it must be celebrated 'at the latest, the following day.' The preparations for this feast, however, frequently take months. The women remain for weeks at a stretch in the sago villages, while the men are continually out hunting. These lengthy preparations only explain the long building inactivity in the latter case, but not the other periods of rest which follow the finishing of a certain part.

However, everything points to the fact, that these intervals are an essential part of the total building of the faareh. They are 'sacred periods.' Something of this is more or less evident in the totally different attitude which is shown in connection with the frame work of the faareh and its parts during that period. Whereas the men during the building activities repeatedly walk over the joists to fix the rattan connections or sit on the

¹ See page 217, seq.

² O.c. page 118

rafters when putting on the roof etc., every contact with the faareh when the building is discontinued, is strictly avoided.

For instance with the Naidjbeedj, the cult house is built in an open space, where men and women continually pass to fetch water. However, as soon as the resting-period has begun a long detour is made to reach that place in the river. Asked for the reason of this peculiar behaviour, they answered, that by touching the rafters the hunting luck immediately would cease. If the men should then go hunting they would not shoot a single pig. That is serious enough in itself, but in connection with the significance and the function of the faareh it would mean disaster. For without pigs the faareh could not be inaugurated. Moreover, if the men and women during the periods of inactivity should touch certain parts of the faareh, the pigs would become so wild that they would attack the hunters and tear open their bellies. Touching the rattan connections between the joists of the building would impede the growth of the sago trees or their trunks would remain dry (empty). In the village of Amniharifareh during the resting period the population had even hung a taboo sign of so-called 'Kabbam' leaves in front of the entrance to the faareh. Everyone who would touch that sign or ignore it would get violent stomach ache and probably even die.

The faareh is a high round building with a broad conically formed roof (see photograph). The ends of the rafters jut out over the edge and their ends are supported by poles which rest on the ground. Between the wall, which is erected on the edge of the floor, and those supporting beams, a covered gallery is formed, a corridor running around about 1.5-2 metres wide. During the great faareh feasts, when the house itself is overcrowded with men and women, the others stay in this covered gallery, where they sit on the floor to rest after dancing and where they can talk and eat. Two openings opposite to each other in the side walls form the entrances to the cult house. Right across the cylindrical interior stand two parallel rows of posts which form a kind of passage which runs from one entrance to the other. So the interior of the faareh consists of three parts: in the centre the corridor of about one and a half metre and on either side of it a space. In every quadrant of the circular floor a square opening is reserved in which the fireplaces are made. During the festivities in the faareh four heavily smoking fires burn, which makes it for a European well-nigh impossible to stay inside longer than an hour or so.

The posts which form a kind of aisle in the centre of the faareh, are

connected with cross-beams on which the rafters rest which run from the passage to the faareh wall. These rafters form the base of the first floor, which reaches to both sides of the passage and at about man's height. Now when people dance in the faareh they are grouped so that the men, one behind the other, stand in the aisle, so that they can hold the joists of the first floor with their hands, while the women dance in the spaces on either side of the passage with the joists which support the first floor, above their heads.

Generally that floor serves as a storage for the foodstuffs, which are destined for the faareh feasts; big baskets of dried sago, and the containers made of folded treebark for the preparation of the pepéda.

Above this first floor (and the aisle) there is a garret. A small trap-door leads to it (see photograph). I am under the impression that in the garret the heads of slain enemies are kept. An indication of this is the fact that during the festivities these skulls hung under and on the faareh, whereas when the feast was over, they were carried inside together with the flutes, which during the feasts were stowed away elsewhere (see page 230).

These flutes hang visibly for everyone in long loops on the wall (see photograph), but not a trace of the skulls was to be seen in the entire interior after the feast. Nobody would tell me either where these skulls were stored, although I suspect that they were carried to the loft. Another clue is also the statement of Van der Leeden, who thinks that these garrets formerly must have been the storage places for the skulls of the deceased, in the case of the Samarokena and the Mukrara. However, in the district between the Upper Tor and the Upper Apauwar, I have repeatedly seen these skulls in the houses. Sometimes they were hanging on a frame of branches in front of the dwelling.¹

In the centre of the faareh, reaching from the top of the building down to the centre of the circular floor, the tall centre post hangs. This pole, called *Bor*, is wedged in between two crossbeams, which connect the two first floors on either side of the aisle and is firmly bound to them with rattan braidings. Later, at the inauguration of the faareh, this hanging pole will be chopped off at about man's height. The top of the *Bor* sticks out like a pointed spear through the conical roof (see photograph). On this spear which is about one and a half metre long, a crown of braided rattan

¹ Compare also: Carl A. von Schmitz: 'Zum Problem des Kannibalismus im Nördlichen Neuguinea.' *Paideuma*, Band VI, May 1958, pages 385-390 seq.

and fibre is fixed, which in recent times has already been replaced by a ring of western make, for instance the rim of an aluminium plate.

2.2. *Symbols in the faareh*

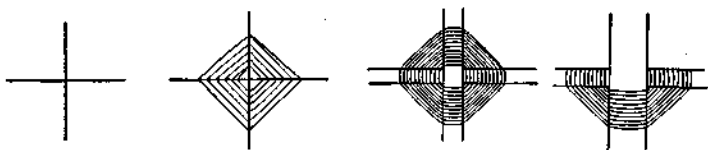
In the given definition of religion there has been some talk of two worlds: that of men and another, invisible, intangible one, which people take into consideration in their representations and actions. This other world manifests itself in the symbols which are sensorially perceptible signs in which the two worlds meet (=literally symbol). Sometimes, these tokens are visible objects which are made by human hands. That refers among other things to the faareh itself, as well as to the rattan and wooden figures affixed there. Sometimes, these symbols also illustrate activities, for instance the blowing of the sacred flutes, the dance and the sung and spoken word. The characteristic of all these symbols is that in them the two worlds, the two realities, meet.

First of all the rattan figures will be described, then the meaning of the flutes and the representations which are connected with them.

Figure symbols. There are mainly three kinds of figure symbols which are represented in the faareh:

1. The bat (flying fox).
2. The moon.
3. a The phallus.
3. b The phallus.

1. Whoever sees this image of the bat in the faareh will have the greatest difficulty in recognizing in it the shape of the animal. Two twigs of about the same size are put one on top of the other in the shape of a cross and tied in the centre with a rattan band. Then across the four equally long arms of the cross, rattan bands are stretched, thus forming a square standing on its axis. There are certainly at least ten of these plaited rattan figures of all sizes hanging down from the beams and the ceiling of the faareh. The population itself refers to these figures (symbols) with the Malay name 'kalong.' The same bat figures, moreover, also occur as rattan connections between two joists of the faareh, fixed to the place where these joists cross.



These connections are also called bats. Sometimes, these two rattan connections are only stretched across two corners of the crossed beams so that it appears as if only the half of a bat figure is formed. These tokens also bear the name of kalong, which in this token is meant to be represented stylistically with out-stretched wings (see photo).

Questions about the significance and the functions of these figure symbols generally were fruitless. Usually they only knew that these kalongs must be present in the cult house. Without these figures they did not feel 'senang' (happy). Without a single exception all those symbols in all kinds of varieties were to be found in all the cult houses which I visited between the Tor and the Mamberamo. And without exception these tokens were referred to by the native (idiomatic) name for flying fox.¹

Everyone in the village is able to make these bats, and everyone does make them too. The men generally fix the connections between the joists, and the women frequently make the figures of plaited rattan. These activities were never assigned to specialists who in this case might have been able to throw more light on the functions and the sense of these bat symbols.

However, from what is related in the myths and the tales about the bats and from certain practices in the faareh, I dare say, however, that I can give an acceptable explanation for the presence of these symbols and their functions.

According to the tribes of the Tor the sago trees (sago forests) are planted by bats. The greater the number of bats, the greater also is the number of sago trees in the Tor territory. The people indicate especially the large sago-acreages in the swampy basin of the Boe and the Biri, which are now the property of the Ittik. In that large sago area there are enormous numbers of bats, which are said to have planted the trees.

Now there certainly exists a casual connection between the great quantities of (ripe) sago trees and the presence of countless bats. The reason being that the flying foxes feed on the fruits of the ripe sago trees. The

¹ Compare the Report of Van Eechoud who also mentions these bat-rattan connections. However, he does not refer to the hanging rattan figures. (page 115)

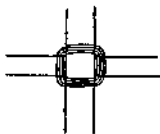
Mander declare, moreover, that the flying foxes pick the fruit and throw them on the ground, from which then the new sago tree is said to grow. Here lies then a similar problem as the hen and the egg in our case. The Tor men then declare, that the bats cause the presence of the sago, whereas the Westerner would rather see the connection the other way round. In this way, the bats make themselves indispensable to the community. Without sago the people would all die. In the eyes of the Tor people it is the bats who make life possible by their work.

In the faareh most of the bat figures are hung above both entrances at the ends of the aisle. When the men are dancing they keep on looking at these symbols and in their songs they call to them: 'Fly out, bat. The bat flies out.' Every repetition of the feast in the faareh is a guarantee that the bats will indeed fly out and will continue to plant the sago, in which way they make existence (i.e. life) for the people of the Tor possible.¹

2. A second symbol is likewise a figure of plaited rattan, which is in the form of a circle. In this case a rattan band is wound so many times round a twig that a big round disk is eventually formed. The smallest rattan disks have a diameter of about 10 centimetres, and the largest a diameter of



15-20 centimetres. Just as the bats, these figure symbols hang in different sizes on the ceiling and on the joists again, mainly at both ends of the aisle where the eye immediately falls on them. In this form these symbols also occur again as rattan connections between two crossing beams and then they have a diameter of at least 15 centimetres.



According to the population these figures and connections represent the moon. They are then also called *m(w)oar*, *amworria*, *nonger*, *seen*, etc.,

¹ It is very interesting to learn, that the flying fox in a great number of New-Guinea cultures plays such an important rôle. G. Bateson: 'Naven,' page 139. K. Holzknecht: 'Über Töpferei und Tontrommeln der Azera in Ost-Neuguinea.' *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 82, pp. 97-111.

by which respectively the Berrick, the Ségar, the Mander and the Bonerif indicate the moon. During the faareh feasts the dancers look at these symbols and chant in endless repetition: 'Then the moon rises, the moon rises, moon rise.' Weeks, even months at a stretch, as long as the feast endures, this monotonous singing is repeated every night. As long as this refrain is repeated, the people know that the moon will indeed keep on rising and not disappear from the sky for ever. This is what Chesterton meant: The repetition in Nature may not be a mere recurrence, it may be a theatrical 'encore.'¹

What is it, however, which makes the Tor men call repeatedly for the rising of the moon? Why are those symbols hung in such great numbers in the cult house?

There is a custom which occurs everywhere in the Tor territory, that of vacating the houses when there is a full moon, and sitting outside in the full moonlight. Small children, who as a rule normally sleep at about 8-9 p.m., are awakened when the moon is full, although it is sometimes in the middle of the night or even towards dawn, and are carried outside in the arms of their mother (sometimes father). The older children are also awakened and must go and play in such places where the full moon shines on them.

The moon seems to possess vital power. Just as the moon waxes from a crescent to a round disk, in the same way will the small children upon whom the full moon has shone, become adult. Animals and vegetation too will also thrive in that way. Among the Mander, for instance, at full moon, lumps of sago were thrown to the domesticated pigs in the evening or at night, which at other times they only got during the day. That sago was then thrown to the pigs in such a way, that they stood in the full moonlight whilst eating it. Nobody is then allowed to chase these animals from that spot. Children who love to shoot with bow and arrows at those tame beasts or throw stones at them, are strictly forbidden to play that game. The light of the full moon, people believe, will make the pigs grow and become fat. The same applies to the sago and the crops in the gardens.

Explained in this light it is very easy to understand why the people in the faareh repeatedly call out for the rising of the moon. The many moon figures symbolize the vitality which makes children and pigs come to full growth and ripens sago and bananas to serve as food.

¹ G. K. Chesterton: *Orthodoxy*. Netherlands edition Prisma Series. pages 73/74.

A number of round figure symbols in the faareh are also indicated by the name of 'mom,' which literally means woman's breast. It appeared that this mainly referred to tokens which were affixed to the ceiling and in the 'woman's department'¹ of the faareh as rattan connections between the joists. In fact, these connections are more or less globular when they are brought on the crossing joists, contrary to the suspended moon symbols, which are all flat disks. The latter are never indicated with the name of 'mom.'²

The *mom* are not addressed in the songs which are sung during the nocturnal dancing. However, in my opinion, their presence in the faareh points to the fact that they also have a certain function in the ritual of the cult house. In many aspects of the culture, the mother-breast appears to be closely associated with the 'life-giver.' Thus, for instance, the population explains the long lactation period – generally lasting two years or sometimes even longer. Even when the children are grown up and fall ill, the mother suckles them, owing to which they are supposed to be kept alive. With the Bonerif, the Mander, the Foja and others, there is a custom that dying men during the death songs³ call for the mother-breast (*moema, moema*). Seen in this light it seems quite plausible that these *mom* symbols in the faareh also signify 'life-giver,' thus functionally entirely fitting in with the cult of the faareh.⁴

3. a. Apart from the woman's breast, a phallic symbol also figures in the faareh. On the lower side of the first floor, clearly visible to all dancers, a penis, carved out of wood is suspended. In some cases even the scrotum is represented. The top of the penis is very clearly designed, in which an opening bigger than normal is carved. With some tribes where the penis was carved out of white wood, the penis end was coloured a fiery red, in order to make it very conspicuous. I also visited faareh where two penes hung, one in each woman's department. However, as a rule one was esteemed sufficient.

Whereas the bat and the moon symbols figure as well in the aisle as in the other departments of the sacred house, the wooden penis hangs ex-

¹ This is the space on both sides of the aisle under the first floor.

² Van Eechoud states in his Report that the rattan connection 'tabjien' (woman's breast) is used when connecting the *tietjerie* (rafters) with the *manjak* (big rattan on the upperside of the roof-rafters) but at irregular intervals, O.c. page 115/116.

³ See pp. 261/262.

⁴ See page 239.

clusively in the spaces which are meant for women. Informants from all tribes declared unanimously that this phallic symbol was hung especially for the women. Now here should be noted that the men did not speak in the least respectfully and piously about this phallic symbol. On the contrary. When I led the conversation up to it, it generally gave rise to the telling of the most obscene jokes, which even days later gave rise to hearty laughter. In fact it would not have been necessary to lay stress on this fact, were it not, that Van Eechoud, in my opinion, has been misled by this sexual joking. In his extensive description of the diverse parts of the cult house – with the Kaowerawèdj on the Mamberamo – no mention is made of this phallic symbol. This is rather strange, as in all other important aspects, the building and arrangement of the cult house of the Kaowerawèdj are absolutely identical with those in the Tor territory and the Western interior of Sarmi. In another place in his Report, however, an explanation is to be found of the absence of this phallic symbol. 'A couple of youngsters had nailed a big wooden penis in the newly built Kón (= faareh O.) with the explanation: this is Marconi's penis – the house boy of the District Officer. Fortunately, I heard this story just in time, for this wooden penis was already jotted down in my notes as the only plastic example that was to be found and it was already imitated in both models, which I had made of this Kón.'¹

However, the fact that the penis, in all sorts of dimensions and colours, figures in all the cult houses which I visited between the Tor and the Mamberamo, points out that although it may be a source of amusement, it also has a certain function in the faareh cult.² According to informants, women are meant to look at the penis all the time they are dancing. This will cause them to become excited (libidinous). This libido of the women during the jiggling in the faareh must be seen as a preparation for sexual intercourse during the nights of the faareh feasts. The bat and the moon have to do their work by themselves i.e. without human assistance. (Planting the sago, stimulating the growing power, giving life etc.) However, stimulating fertility and the procreation of new life, for which purpose the penis is also hung up in the faareh, must also be achieved by human

¹ Van Eechoud: 'Report,' page 61.

² That people joke about the phallic symbols is no reason why they should not have another function. Of many peoples all over the world it is known that they even give as a motive for their phallic symbols, that they serve as amusement. Compare e.g. the chapter 'Phallism' in the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.

action. Probably that is the reason why there is only one penis suspended, whereas so many moons and bats are necessary.

During the feast men and women regularly leave the overcrowded faareh in order to rest from the exciting dances, and to eat and cohabit. The man tells the woman that he has to 'relieve nature' and goes into the forest. The woman for whom that statement was intended follows him later via a detour. According to informants not a single woman, who while dancing has been charmed by the wooden penis, will (be able to) refuse the invitation to sexual intercourse.¹ This also means, that for these occasions many of the usual taboos which forbid sexual intercourse between certain relatives, do not count. I know of cases where during the faareh feasts men had sexual intercourse with their WiElSi, YoBrWi and other relatives with whom otherwise every (sexual) relation is forbidden.

It is quite plausible that this very frequent sexual intercourse during the faareh feast aims to stimulate fertility. Just as the sexual intercourse in the gardens immediately after the planting promotes the growing power of the crops,² the coitus also stimulates fertility as part of the faareh ritual and the growing power of the crops, which makes the existence of the community possible. It also promotes the fertility of man and animals.³

3 b. The paragraph about the building of the faareh (page 216) ended with the description of the long, hanging centre post which sticks out of the top of the faareh through a ring of plaited rattan and fibre. That centre-post is called *Bor* in the Tor territory, which means penis.⁴ At first sight that centre pole and that ring seem a magnificent phallus-vulva symbol, although that ring is not called vulva, but anus of the cassowary, by the population. It is not known to me if this ring fulfils a function in religious life of the Tor people. The significance of the *Bor*, on the contrary, deserves every attention.

When the centre pole was placed it hung as far down as the floor of the faareh, just above the centre of the circular floor. The culminating point of the inauguration feast is reached, when this pole is chopped off about two metres above the floor. Beforehand a number of deep notches are

¹ The words 'tidak bisa' and 'tidak boleh' were used. It seems to be a sort of 'sacred obligation.'

² See page 74.

³ In this connection again must be pointed out the great importance and functions of the Wambo complex. See pp. 143-145.

⁴ The Kaowerawèdj call this centre pole *tóm*, which according to Van Eechoud also means 'penis.'

made in the *Bor*, so that with *one* firm blow with a chopper the lower end of the pole can be broken off. Around this 'penis' stand a number of strong men, who take hold of the lower end of the *Bor* and when the blow with the chopper is given, with a sudden and skillful rotating movement break off the penis (literally: 'screw off'). This is a thrilling moment. All noise and hilarity cease. A very important event is about to occur which is deeply felt by the population. Evidently much depends on it.

With this important action the faareh is put into use. Immediately after the 'screwing off of the penis,' men and women begin their wild dancing, which from that moment on is going to last for many nights. All sexual and all food taboos which had to be observed during the preparing of the faareh feast, are annulled with the tearing off of the *Bor*. The men may again eat unscaled fish, while, especially on the first night, sexual intercourse will be very frequent. From everything it is evident that the tearing off of the centre pole is the culmination, the very heart of the activities in the faareh. Without this action, the faareh itself and the applied symbols would not have any effect.

Informants were exceedingly vague in their theoretical explanations about the function and the significance of the *Bor* and the chopping off of its lower part. To be more enlightened about this very important symbolic action, in my opinion, it should be connected with a number of myths, which are heard on this and other occasions among the diverse tribes and in which the rites are reflected:

'The woman was called *Mauwria* and her daughter named *Soefsa*. *Mauwria* was married to a 'laki-laki setan' (?)¹, called *Borgesoe*. The people had not much to eat. *Borgesoe* went hunting every day but when he had shot a pig or a cassowary, he threw it into the water. Then he only brought home the blood of his own penis, gave it to his wife and said: 'This is

¹ This myth is recorded in the Malay language and this term is used in it. So they did not say 'setan laki-laki,' which would mean 'male devil,' but 'laki-laki setan.' This is not a grammatical error, but in my opinion on principle they wanted to express the fact that *Borgesoe* was a man (a human being) but not an ordinary man, but a demonic one. There also exist 'perempuan setan,' satanic women. These creatures also have all features in common with human beings, but at the same time they are the enemies of men. Formerly, before the present human race existed, they lived on earth, but since then they are invisible. However, they still try to do harm to man, by destroying the sago and pigs, as they did before. Besides these 'orang setan,' there are also people who formerly lived on earth, and afterwards went to heaven, but who are the helpmates of the people. These (often) are the culture-heroes, who still come to the assistance of the people, who are in any kind of need. *Malia* is one of them. (See for this further paragraph 4, 'Beliefs concerning Supernatural Beings,' pp. 247-254.

blood of a pig, alas, the animal itself is not here.' Mauwria mixed the blood with some sago (not pepéda, because there was no pork¹) and ate the mixture. However, one day Mauwria secretly followed her husband and saw what happened. The same evening when she again received blood from Borgesoe, she told him that she was unwell and would eat it afterwards. Next day, when Borgesoe again went hunting, Mauwria and Soefsa killed the only babi piara (pig) they possessed, prepared it and made plans to murder Borgesoe. It was his fault that the people had nothing to eat. How were they to kill him, for Borgesoe was not an ordinary human being but a giant. That evening, when Borgesoe came home and again gave the blood of his own penis to Mauwria, both Mauwria and Soefsa pretended that they were seriously ill, but they simulated.

Borgesoe went to sleep. He snored lustily. The same night Mauwria and Soefsa murdered Borgesoe by screwing off his long penis, and then they both fled.

Somewhere on the upper course of the Boaf, on the mountain Disarge, both women met the man *Mamdzjé*. He lighted big fires on the mountains and built big houses, which all were faareh. However, that was only his joke, for he was all alone on earth (!)

When Mauwria met Mamdzjé she had hidden her daughter in one of the big houses, for Mamdzjé wanted to kill them with arrows. When Mauwria all the same approached him he firmly pinched her breasts and said: 'Oh, oh, there is milk, then there must be life too' (then there are children as well. O.) 'No,' Mauwria said, 'Come, come do not deceive me,' Mamdzjé went on, 'I see and feel it by your breasts.'

The next day Mamdzjé went to fetch a container (made of tree bark) to put the sago in, which Mauwria had pounded. To do that, Mamdzjé had to climb a high tree and thus discovered Soefsa, who was hidden in one of the many faareh.

However, the sago did not taste good. Whatever was done, nothing helped to make the sago tastful. Then Mauwria said: 'Borgesoe is dead, let us cohabit.' When they had had intercourse the sago tasted delicious! Then Mamdzjé said: 'I want to marry Soefsa, for you are old already.' Mauwria went away and Mamdzjé and Soefsa remained at the faareh. . .'

As a result of the murder of Borgesoe, which was committed by unscrewing the penis, Mauwria and Soefsa could have sexual intercourse with other

¹ See page 79.

men. It is from that intercourse that men have come into the world, according to the Mander, the Foja, the Ittik and the Bonerif. The son of Mamdzjé and Soefsa was called *Kivaanja*. He became the progenitor of the Mander. Mauwria went away and afterwards wedded *Djiroetti*. She bore many more children. Moreover, the population connects the sexual intercourse of Mamdzjé with the possibility of eating pepéda, which is the most important food, while by murdering Borgesoe people also dispose(d) of pigs. Finally, it appears that after the violent death of Borgesoe, men were taught to blow the flutes and the playing of the flutes is exceedingly important for the community.¹

Looking at it this way the chopping off of the penis of the faareh is a recurrence of a very important event in prehistorical times. It is a renewed experience of the murder of the giant, by which the birth of the human race and their existence is rendered possible. Borgesoe literally means 'blood (from) penis'. (Bor = penis; Gesoe = blood). This myth implies a justification of the action in the faareh and at the same time gives it a meaning and significance. Even more so is the whole rite a recurrence of what once happened. The bats take care of the sago-growing, but without the screwing off of the penis, by which the coitus became possible, people would have to starve, because the sago would be uneatable.

The screwing off of the penis is also a guarantee for men that they can continue to blow the flutes, which also give vitality, fertility and growing power. Seen in this light the action of the chopping off of the centre pole also fits in with the other symbols in the faareh. To those other symbols not only belong the items mentioned from 1-3, but all actions in and around the faareh, the entire cult. And cult is symbolism.²

The chopping off of the centre pole has still another, extremely important significance, which is also told in the myths. These myths relate that formerly not the men, but the women possessed the faareh. Many myths state that originally two sisters were the proprietresses of the faareh. In those times men were forbidden to enter the faareh. There are even myths, which speak of a 'women's mastery' in those days. For the one who possesses the faareh also has the power over fertility of men and animals and over the growing power of the crops. On these things the existence and continuance of the group depends. Afterwards the men

¹ See page 234, seq.

² G. van der Leeuw: 'Inleiding tot de phaenomenologie van den godsdienst,' (Introduction to the phenomenology of religion), 1948, page 142.

have wrested the faareh with brutal force from the women, which was of outstanding importance for the men themselves as well as for the whole community. For not only in this was the 'women's mastery' put to an end, but their power and authority were passed on to the men. In fact, in their turn women became dependent on men. Some male informants expressed it in this way: 'Without us, women are practically helpless.' The significance of this status is apparent in the whole cultural life of the Tor, and its justification is laid down in the myths, of which the following is one of the most important: 'The man (giant) *Djiramboekerker* had an extremely long penis,¹ which prevented him from walking. For when he walked, his penis dragged many metres behind him. That is why *Djiramboekerker* could not even leave his hut to pass his water and empty his bowels. Both his daughters *Warkoe* and *Sirié* then had sole authority. They lived in a little house, which stood between that of their father and the faareh.

Warkoe and *Sirié* regularly went into the forest, killed an enormous snake and brought it to the faareh (which then could justly be called a 'sacred house of women.') There they blew the sacred flutes till dawn.

Once upon a time *Djiramboekerker* in spite of all, tried to leave his house to have a look at his daughters who were in the sacred house blowing their flutes. With a burning piece of wood the old man was driven back to his own house again. *Djiramboekerker* was powerless. Both his daughters held the whiphand over their father and now and then even gave him a thrashing.

One day at high tide two men (twin-brothers) were washed ashore. They even reached Iefte, where *Djiramboekerker* lived with his two daughters. When both his daughters were in the forest, *Djiramboekerker* begged the two men to chop off his long penis. This was done. Now *Djiramboekerker* could walk again and move about. With both the men he went into the faareh. They took the flutes and blew them, but no sound was heard. Then the men went hunting pigs. Little pieces of pork were given to the flutes, after which they produced most beautiful sound. Immediately both women ran to them crying: 'What are you doing there? You are not allowed to be there. That is our house and those flutes belong to us.' Whereupon *Djiramboekerker* took a piece of wood and began to give his daughters a sound beating. They both fled, as fast as they could. Blood streamed from their bodies, where their father

¹ Another version tells that *Djiramboekerker* had a very long tail.

had hit them. Never again were they to enter the faareh and they were only allowed to pound the sago.'

This myth, no doubt, illustrates what the chopping off of the centre pole really means. The repeated presentation of this event from prehistoric times justifies and maintains the special status of the 'man' in the communities of the Tor territory.¹

2.3. *Sacred Flutes*

The flutes (Berrick language: *awat*) are composed of a piece of straight, very hard bamboo. The length varies from 80-170 cm., according to the kind of flute. Informants declare that formally about eight types existed, each with its own name. Of all these, two are generally used nowadays, that is to say, a male group, about 1.70 m. long and with a diameter of about 3 cm. and a female kind of flute, which only measures one metre. In still another respect these kinds of flutes are to be distinguished from each other. The female flutes are made of bamboo of which two shafts are grown together, so that one gets the impression that the upper end is a double flute.

Both flute groups have only one aperture, the flute mouth, as the population itself calls that opening. On one side of that aperture a rectangular notch is made, which points upwards when the flute is played. Directly around and under that notch, all sorts of figures are burnt into the hard bamboo.²

Neither the male nor the female flutes may be touched, seen or even heard by women.³ They are exclusively the property of men. Infringing upon this taboo would be disastrous for the women as well as for the whole of the community as such, because Oetantifié⁴ would immediately descend and punish the entire territory with heavy downpours and floods. The water would rise so high, that nobody in the whole world(!) could escape, even if they climbed the highest mountain. The flood would put an end to every living creature.

¹ See further also page 237, seq. 'Social significance of the faareh.'

² The flutes can be classified under the heading of: 'Notched-flute group.' Notes and Queries, 6th ed. page 320/321.

³ There is only one exception. For when there is a flute feast on hand and the flutes will be played, one special flute (kind of flute) is blown. That sound is meant as a warning that the women have to disappear from the feasts as quickly as possible to prevent disaster. See pp. 230/231.

⁴ See further par. 4. 'Beliefs concerning Supernatural Beings,' pp. 247-254.

Therefore, men carefully take measures that women are never able to see or hear the flutes. When the flutes have to be carried from one place to another, the women are first of all chased away. Then many men get wildly excited. They shout maledictions at the females and often even use a long stick to urge them and their children to greater speed in leaving the 'sacred' place. When I left the village of Nemannemanfareh with a number of well wrapped up flutes – they were wrapped up in leaves together with a bunch of arrows in such a way that one got the impression that the bunch only contained arrows – some women were even thrashed by the men, because they did not disappear into their houses fast enough.

Generally the flutes are kept in the faareh. After the inauguration feast in the cult house, the flutes are brought there and hung on specially made loops (see photograph). The presence of the flutes in the faareh implies that this building is strictly forbidden to women. In fact, as long as the flutes are hanging there, no dancing or singing is allowed in the faareh. As soon as the faareh feast is on hand, in which women also participate, the flutes are transferred to a flute house specially destined for that purpose. (The word 'flute house' is the literal translation of the Berrick word 'Awatdzjaar.') It is a small, rectangular building, closed on all sides, which very much resembles a very ordinary village dwelling. It stands next to the cult house. As long as the faareh feasts last the flutes are kept in that house. No sooner is the feast ended – and this is announced by blowing a special flute and the appearing of the flutes, well wrapped up in leaves before the entrance of the faareh – then all women and all not initiated youths must leave the sacred house.

It is remarkable, that according to the myths in former times the flutes were not the property of the men but of the women. With all tribes of the Sarmi hinterland, great as the cultural difference may be between them, exist myths, in which two women, generally twin-sisters, are the original proprietresses of the flutes. Characteristic for all these myths is the fact that they all more or less ascribe the origin of these sacred flutes to completely accidental discoveries. This is the more striking, because the faareh was not discovered by chance, but was given to man by a Higher Being.

The myths then relate how the women, when they were pounding the sago in the forest or fishing on the shore, suddenly heard the sound of one or more flutes, which surprised them.¹

¹ See chapter I, pp. 50/51, where such a myth has been mentioned.

Sometimes it is the tree-kangaroo which blows on a bamboo, in other cases it is the wind. Women then furtively take the bamboos with them and hide them at a distant spot, where the men cannot see them. Sometimes that place is a closed loft of a village-hut, but in most cases it is the faareh. For in those times the women generally owned the faareh. There appears to be a clear relationship between owning the sacred flutes and the ownership of the faareh. However, in the myths the men were forbidden to enter the faareh, when the flutes of the women were kept there. The faareh then was more or less a 'sacred house of women.' Afterwards, when men had taken the flutes by brutal force from the women, the faareh became the possession of men, who since then have remained the sole owners. This conquest was effected with brutal force and two cult-ceremonies in the faareh are still a commemoration and a justification of these also socially important events. One action, the chopping off of the centre pole, the penis of Djiramboekerker, has been mentioned already. The next ceremony is likewise a representation of the brutal conquest of the flutes by men.

During the inaugural feast the flutes are kept in the small flute house next to the faareh. When the end of the ceremonies in the faareh is approaching, the flutes, well wrapped up in leaves, are carried to the nearest entrance of the faareh to frighten away the women, who are present in the sacred house. Some women hasten to leave the faareh. Then the flutes are carried back to the flute house and there played by a number of men. This is a sign for the other women that things are getting serious and that they must cease dancing as soon as possible and leave the cult house. However, two women¹ stay behind, partly hidden in a dark corner of the faareh. When the men, who first have made a few rounds in procession with the flutes, bring them to the faareh, they pretend that they suddenly discover there those two women and they get very excited. With their face covered with their hands - in order not to see the flutes - both women flee as fast as they can, pursued by a number of shouting men waving sticks.

From that moment the cult house chiefly serves to celebrate the flute feasts, which are a purely masculine affair. Only a few times a year other feasts are held in the faareh, when together with men and women from other tribes they dance and sing and eat. Such a feast rather resembles the inauguration feast of the faareh, during which bats, moons and the

¹ As a rule these are two old women.

penis are believed to perform their tasks. Only the chopping off of the middle pole is omitted.

On the other hand, during the flute feasts, dancing and singing in the cult house is forbidden. Men are, in those times, not allowed to have sexual intercourse, whereas in the case of the smaller flute feasts guests from other tribes are not always present. Flute feasts are first of all an affair of the men in their own group.

Every flute feast is preceded by hunting and slaughtering a special flute pig. Specially the bachelors play an important part in this business, as they are more capable of getting a flute pig with their drives than the individual, although he may have a number of dogs. The meat of the flute pig is roasted over a special fire in the faareh. Round that fire also the flutes are laid. Outside the faareh other men are preparing the pepéda. When the flute pig is roasted and the pepéda cooked, little pieces of both are put into the mouths of the flutes. Pepéda and pork are also for the flutes the ideal food! Informants assured me, that these flutes really consumed that food. Very soon the lumps of food are taken out of the flute mouths and eaten by the men themselves. The bones of the pig and everything which has not been eaten, is not given to the dogs, which is normally the case, but burnt outside the sacred house, on a fire, especially laid for this purpose.

Before the flutes have eaten, the men are not allowed to blow them.¹ After all, they say, the flutes would not be able to give forth sound without being fed first, or anyway, not the right sound. (For this compare the myth of Djiramboekerker, page 227)

At least four or five ways of playing are known. Some flute ceremonies take place in the faareh, others in a clearing in front of the cult house. If this house stands in the middle of the village, before the flute feast begins, a kind of fence is made round the open space in front of the sacred house, so that in any case women and uninitiated will not be able to see the flutes. Frequently, women and children are temporarily driven away from the main-village, at least during the nights when the flutes are blown.

The men form couples, some with female flutes, others with male ones. However, the men who blow the female flutes are by far in the minority, because there are less female flutes than male ones. During the flute feasts, however, they change hands. Sometimes men blow a male flute and on

¹ Apparently an exception is made for the occasions when the flutes are blown to give the women in the faareh a sign to leave the building and the surroundings. However, that is not considered to be a real blowing of the flutes.

another occasion a female one. When the men stand there in couples, the female flutes gathered at one place (together) and the male at other places, there is a strained atmosphere. Nobody utters a word. Nobody even laughs. Apparently the men are all impressed by the important and mighty event. Other faareh feasts, just like the profane feasts in the village are accompanied by much noise and exuberant cheerfulness. The blowing of the flutes, however, is felt as a solemn ceremony. So much depends on it!

Men with the female flutes begin to blow. Then the others start their 'music' and that is so loud that the sound of the female flutes is drowned, however loud the men blow them.¹ It seems as if all the tension is unloaded in the blowing of the flutes which demands much strength and exertion. For a European the sound which these flutes produce is not at all pleasing to the ear. Someone once compared it to 'the grating sound which a steel saw makes on train rails.' Men of the Tor, however, are fully charmed by this sound, though that enchantment is not entirely due to the beauty of the music. (For the meaning of the sound see following).

The sound differs according to the shape and length of the flute, while the one who blows the flute can regulate the pitch with his hand (see photograph). In that sound now lies the whole significance of the flute. It is the sound, that is thought to bring about the required effect.² The better the sound ('the more beautiful,' as the people say themselves), the stronger the effect. The production of the right sound however, demands enormous exertion. Therefore the blowing of the flutes is mainly an affair for young and strong men.

In order not to damage the sound, the men have to observe certain food and other taboos during the flute feasts. First of all certain animals may not be eaten such as turtles and especially unscaled fish.³ This also holds

¹ I do not know if this drowning of the sound has a symbolic meaning.

² See page 233, seq.

³ Van Eechoud mentions in his 'Report,' that the flute players are not allowed to eat 'big fish' and according to him, Le Roux stated that 'salted fish' should be avoided. Although Van Eechoud states that Le Roux is right, he declares that the prohibition is not because of the fish being salted, but because of the fact that they are big fish. However, in my opinion it concerns neither the size of the fish nor their being salted, but the fact that the fish have no scales. The distinction between smaller and bigger fish is not found to be important anywhere else in the social-religious pattern. In contra-distinction to this, the prohibition to eat fish without scales appears in ever so many rites and ceremonies (hunt, initiation, rites de passage etc.). Van Eechoud is partly right, because nearly every big fish in the hinterland of Sarmi has no scales.

good for all the time during the preparation of the flute feast. Moreover, it is strictly prohibited for the men to cohabit during the flute feast. However, I am under the impression that not everyone strictly observes the latter taboo, especially not in the case when the flute feast lasts for some weeks. Nobody is allowed to blow the flutes before he has ritually cleaned himself for this purpose. The men rub their bodies all over with aromatic plants, after that they bathe in the river to wash off the remaining bits of leaf and fluff. A man who is not clean would spoil the sound of the flute and consequently the effect of it. Nor are men, who have wounds or the frequently occurring disease 'cascado,' permitted to blow the flutes. Van Eechoud mentions in his report an event, which in a special way accentuates the significance of the sound of the flute: 'On the front gallery of an administrative office on the Edifalls (Mamberamo) lay part of an engine, a six-sided metal pipe of about 60 cm. long. One of the grown-up boys blew on it and a sound was produced that was surprisingly like that of the flutes. In the kitchen, at a distance of 15 metres away stood a woman who immediately turned her head away, but cried out angrily. Then one of the men came to the office and dealt the boy a blow. The latter argued that it was not a flute, but only a part of an engine, but the man declared that it did not matter, the sound was the same in any case.'¹

Here we must ask ourselves: 'Why are the flutes blown? What purpose does the playing of the flutes serve?'

A remarkable fact is that the population (men) are more intent on the ceremonies, which are connected with the flutes, than for instance on dancing and singing in the faareh. The significance of the flutes as a rule is better known to them than that of the figure symbolism. After all, the seriousness with which the men take part in the flute ceremony is proof of this, as well as the tension and fear that something might go wrong when these ceremonies are not executed in the right way. Unanimously they answered the foregoing questions: 'Tuan, but we must live!' or sometimes: 'Tuan, but we must eat!'²

Flutes possess vital strength and growing power. The blowing of the flutes ensures good order, the 'natural' course of things, whereas negligence in blowing the flutes in the faareh causes chaos. As long as the men blow the flutes, the water in the Tor will flow and the river will keep its normal course. If women and un-initiated should see the flutes, but also if the men

¹ Van Eechoud: 'Report,' page 108.

² Compare page 99 where eating and living prove to be synonyms too.

do not treat them with the utmost respect or blow them in a wrong way, such a continued and heavy rainfall would occur that the whole territory would be inundated. The population says that when the flutes are not blown, Oetantifié¹ will come down and put an end to all life. Therefore playing the flutes is connected with the continuity of life and the natural order.²

However, as long as the men keep on blowing the flutes regularly, the natural order will not be disturbed; rain falls in good time, the sago will grow, the crops will come up and ripen, sun and moon will keep on giving their light, children will be born, men are protected from disease and death etc. If the flutes are not blown or do not bring forth the right sound, chaos and death will reign. That is the reason why the flute feasts take place at regular intervals, which means 3-4 times a year. Moreover, there are immediate inducements, which compel the men to blow the flutes in the sacred house for a direct purpose. Thus (smaller) flute feasts are held after the laying-out of gardens or planting. Blowing the flutes is said to promote the fertility and assure the growth of the crops. Van Eechoud mentions that among the Kaowerawedj the flutes are blown 'boeat pisang' or, as is explained, 'When we gather the bananas and the kasbi and so on, we say we must not do it 'pertjoema' (in any way, here, carelessly, without ceremony), but let us first blow the flutes.'³

Not so long ago the Ségar had a very lengthy flute feast, when they were threatened with starvation because there were no ripe sago trees to be found in the acreages.

That flutes give life is among other things evident from the custom of holding a flute ceremony in cases of serious diseases, which ceremonies, they suppose, will cause the sick person(s) to recover. The sick person himself, however, is not allowed to touch the flute. For instance, men who have a headache or a stomach ache, which conditions often occur here, are definitely excluded from taking part in the flute ceremony. Among the Mander even in 1957 a flute feast was held, together with the Bonerif, because of the fact that many more children were still-born than was normal.

Apart from the division of flute series in long, short, very long and very short ones, female and male instruments, etc., the flutes are moreover

¹ See further par. 4, pp. 247-252.

² The same.

³ 'Report,' page 108.

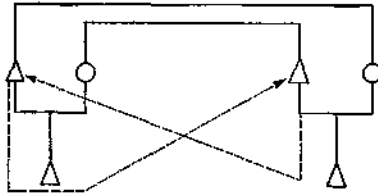
divided in another way into groups. Many of the kinds of flutes already mentioned form one special group which is distinguished from the other by its name and own decorative figures. This causes every flute to have two names. One name is the name of the kind, which is fixed by its length and its sex, the other is the name of the group to which flutes of all lengths and of both sexes belong. This group-name is the name of a certain kin group! So flutes are at the same time a group symbol, a personification of a certain kin group. That personification, after all, was already apparent by the way in which people speak about the flutes. They are called male or female; they are fed and people are convinced that the flutes really consume this food, although afterwards they take away the pieces of pork from the flute mouths.

So the preserving of the flutes, which are the symbol of life in the broadest sense of the word, actually means the maintaining of one's own group. In other words: in those sacred ceremonies the group seeks itself, its own continuity and existence.¹

Very interesting, especially from the angle of the social structure in the Tor territory, is the composition of these kin groups, which are symbolized by the flutes. Of course, it is a group entirely consisting of males. However, the kin association lies in the relationship MoBr-SiSo. In other words, the group which owns the flutes and is symbolized by these instruments consists of men of a matrilineal kin group! The peculiarity here, however, is that a youngster does not receive his first flute from the hands of his MoBr, but from his own father, who himself does not belong to the flute group of his son, but to the one of his SiSo. All this means that the whole Mo(Br) group profits by the blowing of the sacred flutes, in which, I think, again a compensation must be seen for the group's loss by the giving away of a woman to the father's group. *Thus a marriage by exchange always implies a double exchange.* The bride-giver yields one woman and receives another woman in return. But for a giver of life who has been relinquished – the woman produces the food and bears children, both of which maintain the group – the bride-giver also receives a flute, which also is a giver of life. However, that flute is not given directly to the bride-giver, but indirectly in the next generation from the hands of the bride-taker's son, ergo from his SiSo. So the ideal marriage by exchange is in fact marked in this way by a direct as well as an indirect exchange. That marriage by exchange, moreover, has a double symmetry, which stretches over two generations.

¹ See further chapter VI, page 252.

SCHEME XIV



The particular relationship between a MoBr and his SiSo, which is evident in all aspects of the culture, is at the same time bound up in the religion.

If in the Tor district a marriage is contracted without the sister-exchange being observed, this social requirement is still fulfilled with the help of the religion, which in this way restores the balance and forms a completion and a keystone of the social structure.¹ Informants declared that in special cases a marriage by exchange might be contracted if instead of a woman, a flute was given in exchange for the bride received from the bride-giver. In that way the exchange obligation would be entirely fulfilled. Of course that bestowing of the flute means more than just the gift of the bamboo pipe itself. For a man can make as many flutes as he likes. However, the sound produced by that flute, the flute token (*i.e.* the figures which are carved round and under the mouth of the flute), and, last but not least, the name of the flute (group name) are important.

Those are the reasons why these names in the Upper Tor territory and the Upper Apauwar are so widely spread, although a flute, owing to its important function and significance in the community, is but reluctantly given away. That indeed is a thing which every investigator in these areas has experienced. In old reports it has been mentioned already,² and Van Eechoud did not succeed in buying a flute either.³

Neither would the people give me a flute in the Tor territory because, as the men said, 'with the flute our sago will disappear.' Afterwards the men changed their minds! They were willing to cede me two flutes on the following conditions:

1. That I would never show these flutes to my wife or to any woman in the Netherlands or anywhere in the world. (This in connection with the catastrophe brought about by doing so. See page 228)

¹ See further page 239.

² G. A. van der Sande, Nova Guinea, chapter XII, page 127, seq.

³ *O.c.* page 169.

2. That the Netherlands people (the white men) henceforth would give their womanfolk in marriage to the Tor men (Bora-Bora, Naidjbeedj, Ségar etc.)

Especially the last item was emphasized and indicates again how important a part the flutes play in the contracting of a marriage (especially the exchange) in the Tor territory.

The matrilineal kin groups, of which the flutes are a personification, are in many demes hardly or no more to be distinguished. Under influence of the bilaterate and the local endogamy the deme, indeed, has become the flute-possessing group. Only the Ségar and the Naidjbeedj show also in this respect quite a different picture. There the members of one flute group live in different villages and consequently the flute names are far more widely spread than in the Tor district. Because the Naidjbeedj and the Ségar intermarry with the Sesawa, the Naukena and other tribes in the Western interior of Sarmi, where marriages are patrilocal, in every one of these groups a number of the same flute names was found. One flute name, the *Djaboen*, is even heard from the Tor territory (Naidjbeedj) up to the Egónnie (Mamberamo) Kaowerawèdj, a distance of a few hundred kilometres.

2.4. *Social significance of the faareh*

A great number of guests from other tribes are invited to the faareh feasts. The importance of a feast may even be judged by the number of people, who are present. Special ambassadors are sent in all directions by the tribe who figure as host, to invite people from other villages. These guests often come from quite alien language and culture areas, so that these faareh feasts add greatly to the cultural integration of these areas. Warès people are invited by the Mander, who in their turn assist at the faareh feasts among the Daranto. Often these tribes have to cover enormous distances to reach the village, where the feast is held. From narrations we know that the Mander and the Soebar from the basin of the Biri were present at the feast with the Foja, who then still lived on the upper course of the Idenburg. Recently (1957) men and women of the Bora-Bora attended a feast, which was organized by the Sewadjiwa on the occasion of the inauguration of a cult house on the mountain Moekwa, about a week's walk from the village of Gwattefareh. That was the first time that the Bora-Bora penetrated so far into the Western interior of Sarmi. They did not know

their way at all. On the border of the tribal territories of the Bagoeidja and Sewadja on the Terra, the Sewadja man Koppi was waiting for the Bora-Bora and led them to the tribal region of the Sewadjiwa. At that feast the Bora-Bora got to know people from all over the southern hinterland of Sarmi, some of whom afterwards also called a couple of times on the Bora-Bora. Faareh feasts not only consolidate and restore (old) bonds of friendship, but are, moreover, of great use in making contact between the tribes, which show wide cultural differences. In this way these faareh feasts have strongly promoted the acculturation.

In addition, faareh feasts stimulate barter in the Tor territory and the adjacent culture areas. Since the Bagoeidja and the Bora-Bora were present together at a faareh feast with the Ségar-Mébo, the former regularly appear in the village of Gwatterfareh to exchange their products with those of the Tor district and articles of Western make.

The food distributions – which have the character of a potlatch – also play an important part in the everlasting rivalry of the tribes. The more food is offered to the guests, the higher the hosts are held in respect. Those food distributions make the other tribes envious, who in their turn will try to offer their guests still more food. The duration of the faareh feast – and the longer the feast lasts, the greater the prestige the host acquires – primarily depends on the amount of food, which a tribe is able to collect. Months before the feast the women are busy preparing sago, which is wrapped in leaves and stored in big bales on the first floor of the faareh. The men are constantly hunting in order to shoot as many pigs as possible. These are then roasted and also kept on the first floor of the faareh. It is known that men and women who give the feast, starve long before that time, because they save their (scarce) food for their guests. Everything is done to convince the guests of the opulence of food the hosts have at their disposal. For that reason long strings of blown out eggs of the brush turkey are hung about (see photograph) and between the roof covering of the cult house dozens of pig-jaws are stuck, which are very conspicuous to the guests during the dancing.

Up to the present day the Tor men remember the feast that the Bora-Bora once organized on the occasion of the inauguration of a sacred house on the Middle Tennem. After this feast was over, there was even food left. When the guests from the Ségar, the Naidjbeedj, the Waf and the Daranto departed, the Bora-Bora fed the dogs with it before the eyes of the guests. It seems that the Bora-Bora after that were held in extremely great respect.

The flute ceremonies, as we have seen, are masculine affairs. In my opinion, the social significance of that fact cannot be stressed enough. The symbolic recurrences of the conquest of the flutes, and of the faareh (by the chopping off of the centre pole) are, also socially, the most important cult activities in the faareh. The possession of the flutes (and through them of the sacred house) emphasizes the man's status as against the very important position of the woman. Indeed, owing to her labour, namely the production of the sago, the whole community is dependent on her. The men are keenly conscious of their dependence and their inferiority in this respect. In addition, the maintenance and continuity of the group depends on the woman. The man knows that the birth of children is the consequence of coitus. However, it is again the woman who produces life. Thus the existence as well as the maintenance of the group are dependent on the woman, which explains her important status in the communities of the Tor territory. By the possession of the flutes, which have a viviparous and genetic power and are a means to maintain the law of nature, however, the dependent and inferior status of the man is abolished. With the possession of the flutes, the men likewise possess the faareh and its symbols, which plant the sago, promote fertility and growing power. In this way, the woman actually becomes dependent on the man, because she can only work on what he has 'created' or has in his hand and maintains. Thus again, the social organization meets its counter-picture in the religion, its closing up, its completion and its perfection.

Seen in this light, it is perfectly plausible, that men will keep their property solely for themselves. Their status is at stake. Therefore, I think, notwithstanding their often 'make-believe,' the excitement and anger of the men are fundamentally real when they storm at the women, who on purpose or by chance approach the sacred flutes too closely. The women, on their side, play the same game, maintaining the necessary social balance in the community.

3. THE HOUSE OF FATRAU

Fatrau is the spirit of the hunt and the forest, and the house of Fatrau is meant in the first place to initiate the youngsters into the mysteries of the hunt and the forest. However, in that house the youths are also taught all the means with which men are endowed in order to have the surrounding world in their power. The representations and beliefs concerning Fatrau

and the practices in and around the house – the Fatrau complex – are exclusively masculine affairs. Together with the possession of the sacred flutes, this knowledge of, and power over nature is a counter-balance to the powerful status of women.

The house of Fatrau is always situated in a very solitary spot in the forest, a long distance from the village. This already shows that the house of Fatrau is of an entirely different character than that of the faareh, which indeed may stand in the centre of the village. Moreover, women are allowed to enter the faareh and even when the flutes are stored there, they are allowed to look at the building. In the case of the house of Fatrau, everything is quite different. Even the whole environment of the house is strictly taboo to the women. According to some stories, women, even if they inadvertently came too near that house when searching for vegetables, were 'struck immediately by a sudden stomach disease and died immediately as a result.' This house is indeed pre-eminently a man's house.

There is still another difference between the faareh and the house of Fatrau. Whereas the faareh and the symbolism belonging to it, together with flutes, are cultural phenomena, which occur (occurred) from the Mamberamo in the West till (far) past the district of Hollandia and the boundary of the Australian part of New-Guinea, the house of Fatrau is characteristic of the Tor territory.¹ To the east it is not found farther than the territory of the Mander, the Foja and the Warès. From there this cultural element has spread in a western direction over the Tor district into the tribal area of the Bora-Bora. The Naidjbeedj and the Ségar are not yet familiar with this Fatrau complex, which again proves that they are geographically, but not culturally part of the Tor district. In addition, farther west in the Western interior of Sarimi, the Fatrau complex is completely unknown.²

Like the faareh, the house of Fatrau is an entirely closed building. It is, however, rectangular in shape. The floor, consisting of whole strips of thick tree bark, is supported solidly by piles and joists, as it has to serve the same purpose as in the faareh, as a dance floor namely.

Only the four openings in the floor, which in the cult house are meant

¹ At least as far as we know now. Investigation into the social and religious structure of the tribes in the Lake Plain etc., will throw more light on this.

² There seems to be an initiation, which however takes place in the sacred house. (Compare the Report of Van Eechoud. But Van Eechoud, too, only knows very vague details about this initiation.

for fireplaces, are absent in the house of Fatrau, as no fire may burn in the house of Fatrau at all.

When the boys have reached the age of 14-15, they are unexpectedly seized and dragged to the solitary house of Fatrau. The capturing is often very roughly effected, so that the boys get the shock of their lives. Rumours have reached them already about the atrocities which the boys in the house of Fatrau have to undergo and that is why they struggle against being taken prisoner. I know one boy, sixteen years of age, in the Tor territory (Sjerman), who even saw a chance to escape from his guard's grasp and then fled to the coast area, where he went into the service of a European trader. However, tales about torture in the house of Fatrau are grossly exaggerated and apparently only intended to frighten away women and not yet initiated youths, and to promote respect. Moreover, every boy has a protector, who prevents his pupil from suffering too much. This protector is always a MoBr of the initiandus, who, as long as the initiation lasts, assist his SiSo physically and mentally.

The boys are shut up in the house of Fatrau and must 'stay and sit' there for more than two months. This 'stay and sit' may be partly literally interpreted. In the beginning namely, the boys are not allowed to stand or walk. During all that time they have to sit, their legs stretched out in front of them, sometimes spread out, and their hands constantly on their knees. Even when they eat, they are not allowed to move their hands. Their MoBr sticks the food into their mouths. This only happens once a day, in the course of the afternoon. The food is cooked by their MoBr himself as the boys may not come into contact with anything, that has been handled by women.¹

One of the older men leads the whole initiation. According to what informants told me, he is the most able hunter and knows most myths and stories. He is also the man, who kills a big snake – and preferably more than one – before the initiation. The fat is kept apart and is used at the initiation ceremonies. Formerly, that snake fat was kept in a container specially made for it. Now, however, one sees even in the areas which are not yet under government control, margarine tins used instead, which have penetrated into these areas via other tribes on the coast.

As soon as the leader gives the sign, the men who are outside the house of Fatrau make an alarming row, while the men in the house push against

¹ An exception however is made in the case of the sago-meal, which indeed is always prepared by women.

the door with all their strength to keep it shut. Meanwhile, they continuously shout: 'Keep the door shut. Don't let Fatrau come in. Keep the door shut!' From what the boys have previously heard about Fatrau, they must now believe that Fatrau will come in and devour them.

The excitement of the men, who keep the door shut forcibly, strengthens them in their belief. Among other tribes e.g. with the Bora-Bora, moreover, they blow on the triton shell on that occasion. The heavy, sonorous sound announces the coming of Fatrau. At a sign from the leader the door of the house flies open and a few men rush in, the container with snake fat in their hands. Then the boys must sit with their legs spread, keep their heads up and have themselves anointed all over with snake fat. That again is done by the MoBr. Meanwhile the men sing: '*Wakambak daureh aimeroa bomkeroa* etc. . . .' 'Wakambak, anoint the faces, anoint the black face, anoint the white face. . .' Sometimes this song is simply shouted, while the men are jiggling and jumping up and down. Sometimes, however, this song is sung in a whispering, almost pleading tone. The origin and the significance of these activities and performances are again to be found in the myths, which the boys themselves now hear from their MoBr:

'*Wakambak*' is a woman with a black skin. Her younger sister, *Totronaibak* on the contrary, was white. One day those two women lit a fire in the house where their mother *Woeibak* was sleeping. Before they could prevent it, the fire suddenly got so big and spread so rapidly, that the mother burned to death and both sisters were covered with burns all over their body and fell seriously ill. Then they went into the forest to cut trees, peel off the bark and beat it.¹ That tree bark is called *Jakwasti*. Whilst those two women were beating the *Jakwasti*, suddenly a big snake appeared which went to sleep quite near the two women. The snake was called *Rewi*. *Wakambak* and *Totronaibak* did not see the snake, however. While beating the tree bark, suddenly one of the women (probably *Wakambak*, O.), missed a beat and dealt a heavy blow to the snake *Rewi*. It was immediately dead, but its fat came up and covered the body of the two women and at the same time all their burns disappeared. They were no longer weak and ill, but strong and beautiful.

Now in those times there were a lot of boys, who were all weak and sickly. They heard what had happened and came to *Wakambak*. The first

¹ For the healing power of that tree bark see paragraph 6, page 263.

boy who came was called *Dauwra* and was white. He brought with him his own song. As soon as he was anointed with the fat of *Rewi* he fetched his brother *Focwa*. The latter was black as jet. He also came with his own song and was anointed with the snake fat. Then *Bofja* arrived, who likewise was jet-black and sang his own song.

However, not only all boys, black and white, came, but also the animals wanted to be anointed. First of all came *Mambroek*. *Wakambak* cried: 'Bofja, be quick, there is (the) *Mambroek*.' Bofja caught the animal and *Wakambak* anointed it. How fine and big the animal grew!

Also the pigs came and all other animals and still more boys. There was quite a bustle around *Wakambak*. And the boys sang: 'We come to fetch snake fat' and 'anoint the black faces, anoint the white faces,' and so on. When all the boys and animals were anointed with the fat of the snake *Rewi*, *Wakambak* built a big house. Everyone, who had been anointed with snake fat entered, also *Wakambak* and her sister *Totronaibak*. Then there was singing and dancing. Everyone was happy (*senang*) for now they would grow big and strong and no longer be ill. The dancers all bound white tree bark round their heads; that was tree bark called *Barsoef*.

The noise in the house of *Wakambak* and *Totronaibak* drew the attention of the men. They came running along and saw what had happened. They were envious. 'What now! Are those women to possess that fat, which cures men of their illness, revives their spirits and makes men and animals beautiful and strong?' At an unexpected moment the men grabbed the fat from the hands of *Wakambak* and since then have kept it in the house of *Fatrau*.¹

To prevent losing it again to the women – and that would mean losing their prestige to the women – it is strictly forbidden to females even to be in the neighbourhood of the house of *Fatrau*. The women are strictly forbidden to hear the names *Wakambak*, *Rewi*, *Jakwasta* etc. According to the men they would immediately die on hearing those names. (The secret of the men).

For days at a stretch the boys listen to these stories and myths. The worst torment, however, is not that they have to sit all those days in the same stiff attitude, but that no fire is allowed in the house. The idea is

¹ This myth was recorded by the Mander. Narrators were *Foaro* and *Osja*, an *Ittik* man who visited the Mander.

that otherwise the fire would consume them. However, especially at night it is sometimes very cold. All that time the men themselves are not troubled with the cold. At night they keep warm by dancing and singing in the house of Fatrau and at daybreak they go back to their village to sleep near a fire. Only those men, who, as MoBr, take care of their SiSo remain by day in the house of Fatrau. Everyone of them then prepares the food for his pupil, whilst during the day everyone tells his SiSo, the many, many myths which likewise are an explanation of the activities in the house of Fatrau and which 'render an account of all that may happen in this life. . .'¹

In this hazardous life on the Tor, Nabarssof especially plays a very important part. This name is almost continually on the lips of all men. When they go hunting and discover the traces of a pig, they call out 'Nabarssof.' During the hunt, during their drives, they continually repeat the name 'Nabarssof.' When they are startled by something, their first reaction is 'Nabarssof.' If they suffer or are afraid, every time anew the Tor men call out 'Nabarssof.' In a thunderstorm, with thunder, lightning and floods etc., etc., it is always Nabarssof. The boys in the house of Fatrau are taught that Nabarssof, together with the snake fat of Wakambak, commands powers, which makè sick persons recover, make animals obey men, drive away hunger and are able to help men in all circumstances. The whole basis of the initiation ritual is founded on and justified by the myths about the human being Nabarssof.

'When both the sons of Nabarssof were about 14 years old, they suddenly fell seriously ill. That sickness prevented them from growing. Nabarssof who then still mourned the death of his wife, gave to his sons all the food which he could find on his long trips, but the two boys did not like the food and languished. Nabarssof had to give the food to the dogs. Even when the boys were together, isolated in a small house, they did not get better. At his wit's end, Nabarssof wandered far away. There he met many people who were organizing a big feast. During the feast he learned why his own children were so ill, whereas here were so many strong, big men together. He returned immediately to his own area. It was a very long journey.'² As soon as he came home he anointed his sons, who

¹ J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong: Levensbericht van K. Th. Preusz. (Biographical Note of K. Th. Preusz). Jaarbericht van de Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen, 1938, page 13.

² Does all this perhaps refer to the taking over of this cultural element from the south-east, (Lake Plain district)?

were emaciated and nearly dead, with the specially prepared snake fat. Then they grew strong and tall and shot a lot of pigs.¹

Knowledge of these and other myths gives power. That is why the one who knows most myths is the leader in his community. However, the men carefully see to it that these myths and narratives do not fall into wrong hands, but then it is only the MoBr who passes these tales and myths to his SiSo. This explains why the same myths, even inside the same deme show sometimes tiny differences. MoBr also teaches his SiSo the collection of songs, which refer to Fatrau, the 'Lord of the animals.' Each one of these songs, namely, is connected with a certain species of animal. Without knowing this song a man would never be able to shoot a cassowary or a crown pigeon. He would never be able to shoot a pig or to catch a fish. Then tales are told of men, who in recent years without this knowledge had tried to venture into the forest and as a result, died hopelessly of starvation:

'The old *Djifoetik*, a FaFa of the Mander man Kargetta, once went into the forest all by himself, without having learned in the house of Fatrau how one should move in the forest. Not even a *gommòh* (fruit of the bread-fruit tree) could he secure. Fatrau did not bestow any hunting-spoils on him at all. When, starving and miserable, he tried to return to his village, he lost his way. If other people had not then found *Djifoetik*, he would have succumbed miserably.'²

When the boys are considered to know enough about life in the forest they must put their knowledge into practice. For the first time they are allowed to get up and, led by the other men, they march into the forest. If at that moment a woman should happen to be near, she would immediately be killed. For days the initiandi roam about in the forest, learn the mysteries of the forest in practice and are taught how to master animals. In the evening they build a simple shelter and lit big fires. 'Now we need no longer be afraid, that the fire will devour us,' the informants declared. 'Now we can put out the fire when we wish,' referring to the fire that killed the mother of *Wakambak* and *Totronaibak*. During these trips the boys are also taught to beat a special tree bark, the so-called *Barsoef*. In this,

¹ This myth is recorded among the Beeuw. The same version is known among the Daranto, the Waf and the Bora-Bora.

² The Mander man Kargetta told this narrative. Abies confirmed it.

as in the prepared snake fat, certain powers are said to be hidden which are imperative for the growth and health of the boys. When this tree bark has been flattened, it is cut in strips by the boys and worn as a band round their heads. Only when the initiation is ended and the boys return to the village, they are allowed to discard these strips of Barsoef.

This knowledge of the mysteries of the forests and forest life is supposed to give men power over nature. At the same time in the house of Fatrau the boys learn the secret of the flutes and the power which is concealed in these instruments. Moreover, the boys are instructed in the practice of sorcery, how they can discover it and how they can avert it.

During the last part of the initiation period, the boys join in the dancing and singing at night in the house of Fatrau. The dancers accompany themselves with drums.

After a good two months, the initiation is finished. Every boy now gets new arm and leg bands, which his MoBr braids for him and which he himself fixes on his arms and legs. When the boys finally leave the house of Fatrau, they first march to the river. On their way they gather all kinds of aromatic leaves and rub them all over their body. Then they wash themselves absolutely clean in the river so that no single fragment or fluff is to be seen. On their way to the main-village they gather all kinds of leaves and flowers (especially yellow flowers) and stick them in their hair and through their arm and leg bands. Decorated in this way the boys return to their village. Their mother has already cooked the pepéda, to which they rush immediately, because they are ravenous. A big dance feast, to which also guests of other tribes are invited, ends the initiation.

Henceforth, the boys are no longer allowed to sleep in their parental houses. From now on they must pass the night in the bachelors' house. Moreover, the boys, from the moment of their initiation, are bound to all sorts of food taboos, of which the most important is that they are not allowed to eat fish without scales. Only after the 'mengan-ceremony'¹ which takes place 4-6 years later, these taboos are abolished.

The necessity of a period in the house of Fatrau was expressed by the Mander in the words: 'When the boys do not come in the Fatrau, they will not grow.' This idea is based on the myths, which tell about the boys of Nabarssof and about the boys who were anointed by Wakambak and then grew tall and strong. Here, the man moreover, acts as a conqueror,

¹ See Rites de passage; paragraph 5.2., page 259.

as one who looks for and finds means to prevent his being helplessly delivered to the powers of nature, visible and invisible, but to have them under his control. Thus the man keeps the power, which rules the whole life on the Tor, in his own hands; thunder, lightning and rain, the fire, but also the people and animals with which he comes into contact. This power may be used for good as well as for evil; he has the power to kill people by means of sorcery¹ but also to heal sickness.²

Socially, the initiation means the termination of the period of childhood. This is very obvious in the relation of the boy to the opposite sex. He is now separated from his mother and sister. It is made clear to him, that he really is not quite so dependent on women as in the time when he was still a child. Being a man he possesses powers which make the sago grow and give him supremacy over the animals in the forest. He is taught that the women are not really the ones on whom the existence and maintenance of the group depend. That is why his attitude to women is totally altered. Now he may have sexual intercourse, conquer the women by this means, if needs be by *Wambo!*

4. BELIEFS CONCERNING SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

In the representations and beliefs concerning higher beings the most striking fact is the distinction made between beings, who have never been human, and higher beings who formerly have lived on earth and from there, after having completed their tasks, have gone to heaven.³ This is a fundamental distinction which is interwoven in all representations of the nature, the place and the function of these spirits in religious life. *Oetantifé*, who in the south-western Upper Tor territory is indicated by the name of *Oenis*, is such a higher being who has never been human. It is not known if he acts (is able to act) as a human being and if he can eat, dance, sleep and cohabit. As regards *Malia* and other agencies, who formerly were human beings, this is known for certain. For these beings, even after they went to heaven, have never completely and for ever discarded their 'being human,' but may sleep, marry, sing and so on. In religious

¹ See paragraph 7, Soeangi; pp. 265-271.

² See paragraph 6, The healing of the sick, pp. 262-265.

³ These 'humans' have not died. Therefore they must be distinguished from the 'ghosts' of the deceased, the *éwas*, to be discussed later.

life these beings are much more akin to men. The name of Nabarssof is daily on everyone's lips and people like to talk about Malia. Oetantifié, on the contrary, is the incomprehensible, the elusive, mysterious 'power in the background,' whom the population itself prefers to keep at a distance and to avoid. However, one cannot escape Oetantifié. He sees and knows everything; he is everywhere. This latter especially makes the difference between him and the other higher beings still greater. An example can best illustrate this:

In 1959 when I crossed from the Tor to the Mamberamo, a number of bearers from the Tor territory went with me. In *Pionierbivak* on the Mamberamo we again had a palaver about the higher beings and from this it became evident that Oetantifié was also present in the sky above *Pionierbivak*. As for Malia, Nabarssof and the other 'minor gods,' this was pertinently denied. The latter only inhabit the sky above the Tor district and then, even especially, the sky above the tribal areas, where they actually belong, such as those of the Ittik, Berrick, Beeuw and Bonerif.

This fundamental distinction is also made as much as possible (but not yet entirely consistently), in the myths: Oetantifié as well as Malia and Nabarssof are 'Urheber' (Söderblom). However, whereas for instance Malia created the fish, pigs and faareh solely for the Ittik and the tribes (directly) related to them, the 'creative power' of Oetantifié also included the hostile tribes and the unknown areas. Opposite the all-pervading and Universal Being are the typical tribal gods, whose jurisdiction does not reach beyond the boundaries of the tribal area.

Punishments by Oetantifié, which are the consequence of certain transgressions, affect the whole world, known and unknown. Even if I, for instance, should show a woman in the Netherlands one of the sacred flutes, which are closely associated with Oetantifié, it is said that all the inhabitants of the Tor territory and of the whole earth would be destroyed by an enormous flood, for Oetantifié's power is universal. Oetantifié is in power and might very superior to all higher beings in the Tor territory. He is the Supreme Being (see below).

As observed above, Oetantifié as well as Malia were said to live in the sky, from where their 'Shadow' (Preusz) hovers over the earth. This word 'sky' is a translation of the native terms such as *Oemeau* (Bonerif), *Gara* (Mander), *Boosjan* (Kwesten) etc. Some tribes hardly even make a difference between clouds and sky. It is said of Oetantifié 'that he is everywhere where there are clouds and where it rains.' The Berrick term for sky, for

instance, is *Oetantifin*, so that in fact with *Oetantifié*, the sky itself is meant, or at least a personification of it.

This unity between sky-clouds (rain) and the Supreme Being is also apparent in the south-western Upper Tor district. The Supreme Being is there called: '*Oenis*'; rain stands for the word '*Oen*' (on) and heaven is '*oenissia*.' In the representations of the Supreme Being in the Tor territory, a relation between him and the rains is always evident. (see below).

A distinction between sky and heaven is unknown to the Tor men. Thus it may be explained that the Berrick groups who are already in touch with Christianity, translate the first line of the Lord's Prayer as '*Amoa soerga menebnoeni*.' Thus the Malay word '*soerga*' was used to distinguish that heaven, which is the abode of God, from the sky in which *Oetantifié*, *Malia*, *Nabarssof*, *Wakambak* and other higher beings reside.

To the beings who have never been human, belong, besides *Oetantifié*, also *Goe(i)r* (*Abiedj*) and *M(w)oar*. These are personifications of respectively the sun and the moon. Generally the representations of these two beings are rather confused. It is said of the moon that she gives growing-power and in the *faareh*, where many moon symbols are kept, they sing to her during the feasts and beg her to go on with her work.

The place of the sun in the religious life is not very clear. It is said that the sun has always been there. Before human beings existed, he was already there. In a number of villages the sun is also called the 'father of the human race.' However, this is not because he is supposed to have created man, but because he takes care of him and protects him. At least the informants expressed it in these words.

He would then be in the religious life of the Tor a counterpart of *Oetantifié*, who is specially represented as the being who has the power to destroy man. However, the vagueness in the representations about *Goe(i)r* is likewise a token that he is of but little importance in religious life, contrary to *Oetantifié*.

An energetic goeroe, who in his preaching of the gospel used as many native terms as possible, used instead of the Malay term '*Allah*' the word '*Goe(i)r*' for God, because people had told him that *Goe(i)r* was their 'heavenly father.' The experience taught, however, that by this term a totally wrong impression was given of God as the 'Father who is in heaven,' in the sense of the Bible.

4.1. *The Supreme Being*

Oetantifié shows essentially a double aspect. He is the Creator-God, who is the origin of the world-order. He made rain fall on the earth and gave the Tor and other rivers a definite course. He also gave vigour and fertility. This world-order is unalterable. Oetantifié performed his creations once and for all. This world-order is perfect and is accepted by the people of the Tor in a spirit of affirmation ('bejahend'). Oetantifié functions here as a power in the background. However, that same rain, thunder and lightning often cause catastrophes, floods and landslides in the Tor district, which are also caused by Oetantifié. For a heavy, continual rainfall is seen as a consequence of a descending of 'Oetantifié,' who forms a cruel menace to this perfect world-order. With every continuous rainfall and with every (minor) flood, the people of the Tor are seized with panic, lest Oetantifié should get ready to descend and then there would be no end to the rains, the river floods and a total annihilation would be imminent. When it begins to thunder the people shake their fists at the sky and call out that: 'he up above should cease making rain.' However, the name of Oetantifié is then not mentioned. As soon as the rains have ceased, Oetantifié is quite forgotten. He is banished again to the background. Thus Oetantifié is the creator of good – for the world-order is good – but at the same time the one who constantly threatens that world-order with annihilation and, by floods, causes the death of men, animals and all crops.

However, the people are not entirely submitted to his arbitrariness. In the sacred flutes men possess means to prevent the descending of Oetantifié. There exists everywhere a close association between the sacred flutes, Oetantifié, the rains and the river Tor.¹ If people only blow the flutes regularly, the natural order will be maintained, it will rain at regular intervals, the Tor will keep to its due course and the crops will keep on growing and ripening etc. The regular blowing of the flutes means the maintaining of the natural course of things, once created by Oetantifié. The blowing of the flutes in the right way will prevent Oetantifié from descending.

Yet the people of the Tor are convinced that also this use of the sacred flutes is not always effective. Floods and heavy downpours still occur and will keep on occurring. The menace of the 'descending of Oetantifié,' which means the end of the world-order, chaos and death, still remains

¹ In the basin of the Upper Apauwar the association is: sacred flutes – Oenis – rains – Apauwar.

real. For it may occur that a woman or an uninitiated sees a sacred flute or hears its sound. This will immediately cause a catastrophe. One individual of one certain tribe can in that way cause the annihilation of all human beings.¹

Apart from all this, Oetantifé may become so wrathful, that even the blowing of the flutes is no longer able to 'keep him above' (prevent him from descending). To my question why Oetantifé suddenly became so wrathful (was angered), the men answered: 'We do not know; Oetantifé is different from man.'

The latter of the two aspects of Oetantifé, the wrathful, the treacherous, the elusive, the annihilating power, comes most to the fore in the religious life on the Tor. In his benevolent aspect Oetantifé shows more or less the character of a deus otiosus, who long, long ago, once and for all, completed his work and afterwards 'retired.' All this, however, causes the presence of Oetantifé to constantly cast a black shadow over the natural order, created by himself, so that he is considered more as an evil spirit than a benevolent god.

Here one is forced to consider whether perhaps the offering of pork to the flutes might not be seen as a sacrifice to Oetantifé. All the elements for a sacrifice are present: the sacrificers, the sacrificial animal (the flute pig must be specially hunted and may not even be seen by women), the sacred place where the sacrifice is made and the special time, and ultimately Oetantifé would be the one who receives the sacrifice. Van Eechoud mentions in his Report,² that the Kaowerawedj, who are (culturally) related to the people of the Tor, do indeed sacrifice to the Supreme Being (named Nabanéti). According to him the explanations of the Kaowerawedj themselves about that offer leave 'no room for doubt.' Yet I am inclined not to consider the offering of the pieces of pork to the flutes as a sacrifice to Oetantifé. The essence of a sacrifice is the seeking of contact with the one to whom the offering is brought. That contact can for various reasons be sought – positive or negative – but the men of the Tor do not wish to have any contact with Oetantifé. They avoid it as much as possible. Moreover, they do not even know if Oetantifé can eat.³

It is nowhere apparent that a sacrifice to Oetantifé is demanded, to

¹ After a heavy flood it may occur that men of another tribe are accused of having used their flutes carelessly. That is a reason for sending a punitive expedition to that tribe.

² pages 97/98 (part 2.)

³ Van Eechoud gives as a sacrificial formula with the Kaowerawedj: 'Nabanéti, please eat this piece of pork, Nabanéti.' 'Report,' page 98.

maintain the natural order. The attitude of the Tor men is also an argument against the idea of a sacrifice to Oetantifié. When there is a heavy rainfall, thunder and lightning, many of them become enraged and shake their fists at the 'one up there' who makes the rain fall. No help is asked of Oetantifié, for which a sacrifice would be required; no one ever tries to win his favour, for instance by means of an offering.

On the other hand there are other facts which make it plausible that the offering of pork to the flutes themselves is justified and sensible. The attitude towards the flutes is, in the first place, quite different and seems more like a genuine sacrificial attitude. One knows that the flutes accept the offer of meat by eating it. One speaks to the flutes and one expects help from them. But what may be the deeper meaning of that sacrifice?

The slaughtering of a ceremonial pig also takes place at Wambo feasts and even at some profane feasts. That meat is distributed to all present and that distribution of food (meat and sago) we have learnt to see as a means of forming or consolidating friendship (kinship) ties. Moreover, by eating together (as a consequence of it), a very strong ingroup feeling, bond of unity arose between the participants. This is actually what the offering of the meat to the flutes stands for. Flutes are personifications not of Oetantifié, but of human groups. By eating together – for the men share their food with the flutes – one confirms the unity with the group, of which the flute is the symbol. One first gives food to the flute and afterwards eats oneself from those pieces which one takes out of the mouth of the flute. The men identify themselves in that way with the flute. It is a proof of group-unity and solidarity. This applies to the members of one group, as well as for all groups together. This eating together of all the groups of men confirms and strengthens the solidarity, the esprit de corps also of the male group as such. Oetantifié has further nothing to do with it.

4.2. *Culture Heroes and Demons*

In contrast to the attitude of panic and a 'feeling of being menaced' towards Oetantifié, is the attitude of confidence and dependence with which the people of the Tor approach the other higher beings who formerly were themselves human. Whereas Oetantifié always represents the unknown, the capricious and the malevolent of the higher power, spirits such as Malia, Nabarssof, Wakambak etc., are friendly, benevolent beings, whose actions are familiar to men and on whose help one can always rely. Especially

the latter fact is important. Men in need call on Nabarssof. In cases of sickness Wakambak is called on and begged to act in favour of the sick person.¹

Not that the people only take a passive attitude, but their treatments and actions are made successful by Wakambak and Nabarssof. The fisherman and the hunter call on Nabarssof and they know that he will intervene. That is a great comfort. One knows that one is not left entirely helpless and powerless to the caprices of Oetantifié. However, Oetantifié is more powerful than Wakambak and Nabarssof, so that their help is not always effective. But then, one is at least certain of the cause of the misfortune and one's belief in the power of Wakambak and Nabarssof remains unshaken.

In the eastern Tor territory Malia is chiefly the culture hero. He taught the people to build the cult houses, he caused the rain,² and gave fish and pigs to men. The whole of his life story is known. One knows where he came from, what he has done and one points to the mountain from where he ascended to the sky.

Nabarssof and Wakambak were also human beings in former days who yielded their secrets (mysteries) and bestowed important institutions and rules, such as the Fatrau complex, the healing of the sick etc., to posterity.³

Next to these benevolent spirits and helpers, the population also knows agencies who likewise have lived as human beings on earth and from there have ascended to the sky, but who now are some kind of malevolent beings. A general name for them does not seem to exist, but every demon has his own name, as is also the case with the benevolent spirits. One of them, Borgesoc, was already mentioned in the foregoing (see page 224). They are all spirits who try to do harm to people, among other things by undoing the good which had been brought about by Malia, Wakambak, Nabarssof and the other benevolent spirits. It is said that there are demons who cause men to be unlucky in hunting for a long time. Some demons – and there are male as well as female ones – oppose the influence of Wakambak, so that a sick man dies all the same. Others prevent the fish from 'rising to the surface' or the growth of sufficient sago, etc.

¹ See page 264, where a description of a healing is given.

² Here we meet one of the contradictions (incomprehensibilities) which are so characteristic of the myths in the Tor territory (and all over New-Guinea).

³ Wakambak is a woman and in connection with the social structure it is not uninteresting to consider that Wakambak is still requested to fulfil her task at the initiation of the youths and the healing of the sick – both absolute masculine affairs where women actually may not be present.

In addition to these demons, the population recognizes another sort of malevolent beings, namely the ghosts of the deceased. For two reasons, however, the latter are not reckoned to number among the supernatural beings, for which reason they will be discussed later in this chapter.¹

In the first place they are ghosts of deceased persons, whereas a characteristic of the higher beings mentioned here, is that either they had never been human beings at all or formerly they had lived on earth, without ever having died. A second characteristic of these ghosts of the deceased is that they do not live in the sky, as is said of the supernatural beings, but their villages are to be found somewhere on earth.

5. RITES DE PASSAGE

In the Tor territory every man – and in a lesser degree that also applies to the women – passes through a number of stadia in life, of which the transitions are clearly marked by certain ceremonies. For the man there are chiefly three such periods:

1. That of the child, which begins with the birth ceremonies and ends with the initiation.
2. that of the youth, which begins with the initiation and ends with the ceremony of the 'attaining of manhood' (Mengan-ceremony).
3. that of the man, which ends with the mortuary rites, after which one begins another life in the village of the deceased.

Within these three great periods in life, smaller transitions are seen, such as the first contact with the earth and the cutting of teeth in the period of the child; the perforating of the nostril in the period of adolescence and the marriage during the stadium of the life of the man. However, as a distinction of a certain period in life, these happenings have little significance and therefore will be further left out of consideration.

5.1. *Ritual connected with birth*

Already before the birth of the child, the father as well as the mother are subjected to certain taboos which, however, differ from tribe to tribe. In the western Upper Tor territory a man is strictly forbidden to dig a hole when his wife is pregnant. Neither may he plant, or build a house. In the eastern Tor territory especially, such a man is forbidden to kill. There-

¹ See pp. 261/262.

fore he may not go hunting or fishing. Furthermore it is generally forbidden for the husband as well as the wife to eat pork, and fish without scales.

Shortly before her delivery, the woman must leave the village and take her place in the birth house, which is erected outside the village on the border of the forest. In the western Upper Tor district such a house is built of a number of long branches of the sago palm, which are put slantingly one against the other, in the shape of a pyramid. On the other hand, this birth house in the eastern Tor territory is a permanent (semi-permanent) house, consisting of a rectangular floor on piles, one back wall and a leafy roof.

The woman may not leave the birth house until the child has been born and the placenta has also left the body. Sometimes the woman only needs to stay one or two days in the birth house, but it occasionally happens, that she stays there six or seven days, as for instance with the Mander woman Djandjen.

Whereas in the eastern Tor district it is strictly forbidden for a man to be in the neighbourhood of that house, the husbands among the Bora-Bora and the Waf are allowed to bring food to their own wives. Apart from that, they also have to avoid the little house until the birth takes place. In the hut itself the woman is assisted by a classificatory mother, whose task it is to rub the abdomen of the pregnant woman with a certain leaf.

Of very great importance for a happy birth is the singing, which, indeed, appeared to be enormously important in the whole culture pattern of the Tor district (hunting, fishing, initiation, faareh cult, healing of the sick, etc.). In this culture evidently the song is still what the word *carmen* really means: a song, but at the same time spell and prayer. When the moment of delivery approaches, the moaning of the woman stops, and the singing of the woman grows in intensity and frequency. The contents of the songs varies. Informants declared that they did not know the words of those songs. Now it is true that everything which has to do with childbirth is taboo for men, likewise the songs, but that they should not know the words of the songs as they repeatedly declared, seems to me, mildly expressed, not quite truthful. Even I could hear the words in the village, which the women in the birth house sang. From them it was apparent that the songs referred to the abdomen, the lower part of the body of the woman, and to the child. The woman sings to her child that it must leave her body. 'She must sing to be able to give birth to the

child,' the male informants declared. In the words sung, they see a means to make the birth easier. Once, after the woman's repeated begging, I gave the Bora-Bora woman Moantse an aspirin (anacine) tablet when she was in the birth house. Shortly afterwards she began to sing: 'The Tuan helps me at the birth. . .' (repeated).¹ During these critical days before the birth, most men remain in or around the village. Hardly anyone goes hunting and nobody will leave the village for very long. It depends also on their presence, whether the birth will take a normal course. Everyone is connected with the birth and co-responsible for the good result. It appears that birth, just as all other important rites de passage, is an affair which concerns the whole community.

When the child is on the point of being born, the father-to-be warns all the men in the village. These then immediately grab their bows and arrows and run with them to the river. On their way there, they pick the strongly aromatic leaves of a kind of fern, with which they rub their bodies from top to toe, as soon as they arrive at the river. Then they bathe in the river, washing away all the green leaf fragments from their bodies. In a 'state of cleanliness' they hastily return to the village. This 'state of cleanliness' is taken so seriously that the men who have cascado or big wounds are not allowed to participate in the coming ceremony. (Just as such men were not allowed to blow the sacred flutes). After having returned from the river the men go and stand, side by side, quite near to the birth house. Each of them holds his bow in the left hand, and sets it in front of him on the ground. Then an arrow is put on the bow, and drawn as far as possible. A number of reserve arrows are clasped together with the bow in the left hand while the arrow which lies on the tightly drawn bow, is held with the right hand. In that position - sometimes ten or more in a row - they stand for quite a time, which is in itself an exertion. The arrow is not shot and the bow must be kept drawn as much as possible.

In the meantime the men do not utter a word. During the bathing in the river they talked and joked a lot. However, now that they stand before the birth house, they make no noise at all. Just as with the blowing of the flutes, these men are fully conscious of the great importance of the bow and arrow ceremony and of everything which depends on it. At a sign from her husband, the pregnant woman leaves the birth house and then walks a few times between the men and their bows resting on the ground. At the same time the woman has to bend very deeply. The idea seems to be

¹ Compare also page 60, where a case was mentioned of 'help at sago pounding.'

that just as (normally) the arrow leaves the tightly drawn bow, thus the child shall leave the mother.¹ It is very easy to understand that this ceremony is indeed a great help, as the men of the Tor proudly declare, but then that is for quite another reason than they suppose.

After the birth,² sometimes the day after, sometimes several days afterwards, the name-giving follows. Already before the birth, a man or woman is requested to name the expected child. This name-giving is considered quite an honour. Those who are requested by the parents to act as name-giver, generally owe that to special qualities. A skilful hunter is invited, or a great leader. Generosity and kindness are also qualities which are highly appreciated. People believe that with the name all those good qualities, talents and skill of the name-giver will pass on to the newly born. It may also be health and strength. That is the reason why very old people, even if they have no further exceptional qualities, are sometimes asked to name the child. It is then expected that the child will also live long. When giving a name, hardly any difference is made between girl's and boy's names. Thus there is among the Bora-Bora a man as well as a girl who are called Orbath and there is a boy as well as a woman with the name Nokor. The absence of this distinction in sex with the name-giving, however, seems rather comical, when under the influence of the West, new, but for us well known names are given. On the Lower Tor (Kwesten) there is a boy called Juliana and among the Mander is a girl with the name of Ibrahim (Abraham). The Wéjin even have a girl with the name of Samson.

The name-giver goes for a walk on the day when the child is expected, with the purpose of making a 'long tour.' Among the Bora-Bora and the Ségar, the men always go to the mountain Aire and try to climb up it as high as possible. As soon as the man comes back, he goes straight to the house of the new born child (sometimes it is still in the birth house) and says to the infant: 'Amdobbot.' This means literally 'my name' (Berrick language). This term indicates that the name-giver conveys his own name to the child and with his name all his good qualities and skill. That is why the name-giving is seen as one of the most important events of the birth ritual. That is why it has to be performed in the right way. Nobody

¹ From tales and talks I learnt that the drawn bow represents the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

² The details of the birth, the help which the father (in the western Upper Tor territory) of the child gives, etc., will not be discussed here as it is not to the point.

may talk to the child before the name-giver has 'laid' his name on the child. Until the child has received its name, the parents have to keep strictly to the prescribed taboos. Likewise the 'long tour,' which the name-giver undertakes, must contribute to the welfare of the name-receiver. When I was once asked to act as name-giver, there was some talk in the village, as to whether I too should have to undertake this 'long tour.' The general opinion was, however, that this was not necessary and as reason was given: 'You have already come from so far.' I am under the impression that the undertaking of that 'long tour' has something to do with the stamina of the infant and especially with the long life of the name-receiver.

By means of name-giving, a very peculiar relationship is created between name-giver and name-receiver. This relationship over-rides every other kinship relation which may already have existed between name-giver and name-receiver. For instance, when a MoBr acts as name-giver, then the 'amdobbot-relationship' does take the place of the relationship MoBr-SiSo. This 'amdobbot-relationship' is even in many respects more intimate than the relationship: Fa-So (Da). For the name-giver has bestowed on the infant, that which even the father cannot give his own child: health, long life, personality, talents, skill etc. A mother gives her child its body, the 'soul' comes from the name-giver.

The pronouncing of the name of one's namesake is strictly forbidden. They call each other 'amdobbot' and refer to each other in the same way. Children of two namesakes are never allowed to marry each other, and this taboo is, as far as was investigated, very strictly observed. The 'amdobbot-relationship,' however, is not in the least a relationship, in which the partners have to avoid each other. Namesakes are on very friendly terms, they take care of each other, the elder one protects the younger one, they joke together, while the younger very often pays his respects to the older one by the offering of presents. When there are quarrels, they side together and in discussions always agree. This 'amdobbot-relationship' is indeed all over the Tor territory a very unique relationship.¹

After having received a name, the infant is taken up in the village-community. This completes the transit rite and the infant's first period of life begins. This ends when the boy is about fourteen years of age. Then he is seized to be initiated in the 'house of Fatrau,' after which the period

¹ *Amdobbot* is a Berrick term. Elsewhere in the Tor territory one speaks of: *Ambossena* (Bonetif), *Amboese* (Ittik), *Amboesene* (Mander.)

of adolescence starts.¹ The third phase of life begins with the '*mengan*-ceremony.'

5.2. The ceremony itself is very simple. The *mengan* is a large red oblong fruit, which grows wild everywhere. At the time when the *mengan* is ripe and there are enough youths, who must be 'made man,' the women are told to prepare great quantities of pepéda, in which, however, on this occasion no lemon may be squeezed.

The men beat the *mengan* fruit to pulp with stones, and afterwards mix the pulp and the rind with the pepéda, which gives the latter a red colour. Hence in the Malay language, instead of '*makan mengan*' (eat *mengan*) they also speak of '*makan merah*' (eat 'red').² The youths have to sit in the village next to each other on the ground and their fathers give them the first bite of *mengan*. After that, they may serve themselves. After the distribution of the first bite, all the other 'men' also take part in the meal, which passes in a most hilarious mood. This is not so very surprising, because the subjects of the conversation during the meal refer to marriage and sexual intercourse. After having taken part in the *mengan*-ceremony the youths are allowed to marry and the conversation and the jokes are meant to prepare them.

After the meal they dance. From the neighbouring tribes, guests have come to join the dance feast. The newly 'initiated' men dance in the centre. Round about them the other dancers group themselves with their drums and arrows, while the women gather round these men and also join in the dance. Such a *mengan* feast generally lasts three to four days.

The significance of this simple ceremony of 'becoming man' is especially apparent from a number of myths and tales, which in different versions are known in the Mander, the Foja, the Ittik and other tribes. In one of those myths it is related that in days long past, a man *Gwaareh* and a woman *Dekker* or *Naage*, who were the first humans, cohabited, but no children were born from that intercourse. 'Try as they could to beget children, nothing helped. When they died there would be no one left on earth. The man went hunting. After a few days he saw a tree-kangaroo and wanted to shoot it. However, *Gwaareh* missed it. The kangaroo fled.

¹ See pp. 239-247.

² It is probable indeed, that the 'eating of red' refers to the blood of *Borgesoe* (page 224). Compare also: St. Lehner: 'The blood-theory of the Melanesians.' *Journal of the Polynesian Society*: 37, 426-450.

Gwaareh, however, followed the tree-kangaroo until he lost its tracks. Exhausted he sat down. Suddenly he heard overhead a sound as if somebody whistled. When Gwaareh looked up he saw the tree-kangaroo. He shot and again he missed. Instead he hit a big, red, oblong fruit, – the *mengan*. He took it home with him and ate it. After he had eaten it, his wife begot children, from whom all mankind are descended.¹

The Mander man Boster believed that a married couple could not beget children when the husband had not first eaten of the *mengan* fruit.² As an example he named the man Tassangoea, who is still alive. When the *mengan*-ceremony was held the last time, now about five years ago, Tassangoea was not present in his village. In the meantime he had married a Daranto girl, but in fact the couple still had had no children when I was with the Mander.

The opinion of the Mander man Bostar is also held by most of the other tribes. With the Daranto, the very low birthrate was attributed to the long postponement of the *mengan*-ceremony, so that the men married before they had eaten of the *mengan*; or others had not been able to repeat the eating of it. For this repetition is necessary. That is the reason why at every *mengan*-ceremony all men present, young and old, eat of the *mengan* fruit. Every repetition of the *mengan* feast is a guarantee that the coitus will have its effect and that the woman will go on producing children.

The great social significance of the *mengan*-ceremony is evident. Here it is again obvious that the maintaining of the group – through the births – is not exclusively a woman's affair, but husband and wife are equally important. 'Without a man, a woman can do nothing,' is the idea uttered in different ways by my informants.

As far as I know, the *mengan*-ceremony chiefly occurs in the Tor territory. It seems to originate from the eastern Upper Tor territory (Mander, Foja), from where this cultural element was spread all over the Tor area. In the Western interior of Sarmi, I have not met this ceremony anywhere, although the *mengan* fruit does grow there. Neither Van der Leeden nor Van Eechoud, however, mention it.

¹ In another myth Gwaareh is called the son of Mauwria, who married Mamdzjé after the murder of her husband, whose penis she screwed off. Hence, the 'red' of the *mengan* may refer to the blood of (the penis of) Borgesoe.

² That so few children are born from the so frequently occurring pre-marital sexual intercourse, they ascribe to the fact that the youths have not yet eaten *mengan*.

5.3. The third period of life, the period of the (married) man, ends with death. Death is also a transition, which is marked by a certain ceremony. The people of the Tor think that a human being at his death becomes an *éwas*.¹ An *éwas* is supposed to be another human being, a being with a *ko(e)we* (soul?), such as the living also possess, but without its earthly body. The *éwas* has another body which looks exactly like the earthly one, but differs essentially. For instance, the *éwas* is able to float in space. Some parts of that body, the armpits and the groins are luminous. Something is burning there and one can see the flames. People suppose that the *éwas* live together in a big village. The population knows more or less where the villages of the *éwas* are situated. One lies behind the mountain Moere. These places are avoided because one is afraid of the *éwas*. Life in such a village of the deceased goes on in about the same manner as in the villages of the living; they also dance and cohabit. However, according to my informants, there is a great scarcity of food. Therefore they have to leave their village repeatedly and go to the villages of the living in order to search for food. However, the living do not like this in the least. When a falling star is seen in the evening or at night, everyone calls out loudly: 'That is the light of the *éwas*.' Immediately everyone flees into his own house. The *éwas* are then out searching for food. From the hissing sound the *éwas* make,² the Mander moreover know how many there are in the air – one, two or more.

When a man feels that he is going to die, he begins to sing. The whole song consists of a continually repeated melody with the words: *ossòh-ossòh*; *ieje-ieje*; *tanèh-tanèh*; etc. Alternately the dying man sings the terms with which he indicates his relatives. The latter wait until he starts singing and then join in with their singing. Meanwhile, in a squatting position they perform a dance. Those relatives then sing: *mèmmè*, *aja*, etc., or whatever the kinship relation with the dying person may be. When the dying person ceases to sing, the others also cease. However, as soon as he starts again, the others join in and repeat their squatting – jumping dance. When the dying person has drawn his last breath, his relatives go on with the singing and dancing. First their song dies away and a moment later the dancing ceases. Then everyone is quiet for some time.

While the deceased, wrapped in sago leaves, is still in the village, all his

¹ The term '*éwas*' comes from the Mander.

² What sort of hissing sound they meant was not clear to me. When they declared that they distinctly heard a hissing sound when the *éwas* came over the village, I could hear nothing.

arrows are broken. His house and his possessions are burnt, his trees cut down and his pigs killed. The meat is eaten by no one, but is given to the dogs.

This action symbolizes a radical break with the deceased! Already during the singing, the dying person was only addressed by his kinship term and not by his own name. This already indicates that consciously they create a definite gap between themselves and him, who before long will be a feared *éwas*. Also later – mainly during the first months after his death, the (nearest) relatives are not allowed to pronounce the name of the deceased.

Formerly the deceased was put on a scaffold, about 2.5 metres high. With the Daranto and the Mander this scaffold is sometimes built in the trees. Elsewhere in the Tor territory long ago there existed the ancient custom of burying the corpse under the house of the deceased, whereupon the village was generally abandoned. However, now nearly everywhere in the Tor territory, the deceased are buried at a distant spot, outside the village. Nobody, however, will venture to go near these burial places. These places are strictly taboo.

6. THE HEALING OF THE SICK

In the Tor territory numerous methods exist of healing illnesses of all kinds. Some of the methods can only be used by men, whereas others are exclusively practised by women. Then there are also methods which can be exercised by men as well as by women. However, whereas the exclusively masculine methods can only be applied to men and the initiated youths, the feminine methods hold good for female as well as for male patients.

The best known feminine method of curing is the '*fesbizie*,' the sucking of blood. The idea is that certain pains, swellings and infections are caused by bad blood. When the bad blood is taken away from the injured spot, the sick person will be cured. The belief in this method is extra-ordinary strong.

The woman gets a lot of large '*orròh*-leaves' and puts one on the infected spot. Then she takes some chalk in her mouth, or strews that chalk over the leaf and then with her tongue rubs the leaf at a tremendous speed. In a very short time blood appears. It spreads over the leaf and comes into the mouth of the attending healing-woman. She has to stop the treatment

repeatedly to spit out the large quantity of blood on the floor and to put a new *orròh*-leaf on the infected spot.

This method of treatment is according to the patients an excellent remedy, apparently because everyone is unshakeably convinced beforehand of the beneficial results. The sucked-out blood, however, is nothing more than a red liquid, consisting of much saliva from the woman healer, some blood from her tongue which has been torn open by the rubbing, and possibly some juice of the *orròh*-leaf, which, with the chalk, colours the saliva a dark red. People of the Tor, however, unshakably believe that it is blood.

There is besides a method of drawing blood, which is chiefly applied by the men, and in this case the blood really does flow. In the case of headaches and backaches or pains in the chest, deep incisions are made with a sharp object (pig's tooth or a knife), in the affected part of the body, from which the blood then trickles down. Some persons lose so much blood that the remedy is worse than the disease. Backaches and headaches very often occur in this area and that is the reason why in this part so many men are seen with enormous scars on their chest, back and forehead. Medicines given to the sick are chiefly prepared from different kinds of tree bark, roots and leaves. It is said of the tree bark *Barsoef*, that it possesses vital energy. The tree bark which is sometimes applied to the affected spot or person, who is seriously ill, is rubbed all over him. Thus they always rub in the direction of the head, till the illness comes out there. Another, very effective way of exorcism – sickness is considered an evil spirit – is stamping vigorously on the ground. The stamping begins at the legs of the patient, then at his waist and so on further up until with the stamping at the head, the disease is finally driven out of the body. They also think that together with the disease, a lot of vital power leaves the body, so that on account of that the seriously ill patient can hardly breathe. Therefore they breathe into the hollow of the right hand of the patient and then press it immediately to his right ear. Another person breathes into his left hand and immediately presses it to his left ear. This is repeated several times. By this breathing it is thought that the patient will get his breath back and live.

This 'breath of life' can also be given to the patient by blowing on the sacred flutes. In this connection it is an interesting point to note that the words 'breathing' (breathe) = *oembenauw* and 'breathing in someone's hand' (*moniauw*) with the purpose of providing the person with new

breath (vital power), is closely connected to the 'blowing on the flutes.' (= *moniauwva*; *mosiauwva*). They believe that the flutes themselves breathe, (just as they can eat). The man blows through the top opening into the flute, but the air has to leave the flute again by the same opening, which is the only one. The sound of the flute is proof that the flute breathes and that the patient will profit by its breath. That is why, when playing the flutes, that (right) sound is so important.

The blowing on the body also plays an important part in another masculine way of healing the sick, that is the 'obat Fatrau.' I have only seen this 'obat' practised once by the Mander tribe.

In July 1958 I was awakened in the night at about one or two o'clock by Foaro, who came to tell me that his son Séboea had died. However, when I examined Séboea, I discovered that he was unconscious, but that his heart was still beating very feebly. I informed his father and the others of this. To be absolutely sure, one of the men fetched a piece of burning wood and touched the soles of the feet of the dying man with it. Séboea showed no reaction. Another man then pressed a piece of burning wood against his wrist. He moved his arm just a second. Immediately every woman and child was chased from the house where Séboea lay. Some men hurriedly fetched the remains of the prepared snake fat from the house of Fatrau, while Séboea's father and a number of other men already started to spit and breathe on the body. When the men came back with the snake fat the whole body of the sick man was anointed with it, but not until, with a lot of noise and excitement, a number of curious women and children had been chased away. While rubbing the body with fat and saliva, the men chanted in a whisper, so that on no account the women and children in the village should hear: '*Wakambak, sendembah boertema boemkeroa* etc.' So the same songs were sung as during the initiation in the house of Fatrau: '*Wakambak, rub him with snake fat, Wakambak rub him, etc.*'¹ For some time the men kept on in that way, rubbing, breathing and singing. Then Séboea went to sleep quietly. The very high fever died down. The next morning already, Séboea, with four other persons, who were supposed to have been struck by sorcery, left for the security-village, high up in the Gauttier mountains.²

Saliva is a much used medicine. Very often mothers rub the sore spots of their children with their own saliva, generally with a special leaf or a

¹ See page 242.

² See further also paragraph 7, 'Soeangi,' page 265, seq.

piece of tree bark. The snake fat was already mentioned in the myth of Wakambak as a remedy to cure people who were as good as dead. However, it is believed that Wakambak herself must rub it into the affected body, if the snake fat is to have any result. While singing they know that it is indeed Wakambak who anoints the sick with 'her fat.' So Wakambak participates here symbolically in the singing.

7. SOEANGI (SORCERY)

By the term Soeangi the people of the Tor understand the causing of disease, disaster or death by means of supernatural powers. Nothing creates so much excitement, terror and panic among the people of the Tor as just this soeangi. By far the most cases of disease and all accidents are imputed to this, while soeangi is also regarded as the cause of (nearly) all deaths. The Mander Séboea expressed it in these words: 'Nana (sir), old people can die, but we (meaning the younger ones, O.), cannot just die. We are killed!'

This soeangi cannot only be practised by every individual apart, but also by a group of people together. It does not mean, however, that there are only a few in a tribe who possess this skill. Everyone can practise soeangi. This, at least, is the opinion of the group. An individual can pretend that he does not know anything about the soeangi practices.

From time to time during his life, everyone is obliged to make use of soeangi methods or accuse someone else of soeangi. Sometimes the village interests demand it;¹ sometimes someone may have a personal grievance against another person or against a group of people in such a strong way, that he wishes to strike them with sickness, disaster or even death.

There are, however, in every village certain individuals who are reputed to be greater sorcerers than the other members of that village, just as there are men in every village, who have better results with hunting and fishing. Such people are then requested by their fellow-villagers to help them with the practising of soeangi.

Neither is soeangi a privilege of men only. Women are also capable of it and they even assert that also the pigs can practice soeangi. Soeangi is, however, mainly practised by men, for which practical reasons exist. For a number of such practices one must have at one's disposal refuse originating

¹ See for this further page 266.

from people or groups of people, against whom the soeangi is aimed, and men have more opportunities of obtaining this refuse from other villages than women.

As a rule, soeangi is only practised on people from another village or tribe and only in very special cases is sorcery used against one's own demefellow. However, the latter cases of soeangi are always less serious than those aimed at real 'outsiders,' non-relations. Very often the 'practiser of soeangi' does not confine himself to just one individual, but aims his practices at a whole group of people, mostly a whole tribe or an entire village. In this way, soeangi is distinctly social in character and one may state in connection with the Tor territory, that soeangi there shows for the greater part a social character.

In the never ceasing rivalry between the tribes of the Tor district, soeangi plays an exceedingly important part. For instance, when a tribe sees no other possibility of revenging a certain defeat, it reverts to soeangi. The Daranto are an example. In 1957/58 the Mander began tapping dammar in acreages, which were, it is true, their property, but which they had rather neglected up to that time and had therefore been tended by the Daranto. The latter now saw their existence threatened and therefore took revenge by means of 'bowèz,' as they call the soeangi.¹

Apart from this there are also cases of soeangi known, which are caused by a 'feeling of humiliation' because people were not capable of giving a number of potlatch-like food distributions equivalent to those of other tribes. A well functioning soeangi certainly gives a tribe as much power and prestige as the distribution of food. Some tribes in and outside the Tor district owe their power and prestige especially to their great skill in practising soeangi. The Beeuw are an example. They are said to be responsible for the great number of deaths which have recently hit the Mander (1957). Notorious for their skill are the Naidjbeedj-Mammaussòh and the Kwerba in the basin of the Apauwar, who are related to them. Therefore they are honoured as well as feared by all the other tribes. Many Tor men who want to perform soeangi, which of a certainty will lead to the desired result, contact these Naidjbeedj and Kwerba via the Bora-Bora in order to obtain from them the 'charmed' material which is necessary for the practice of soeangi. On the payment of pork, arrows, knives and other articles these 'charmed' resources are indeed to be had.

With soeangi one does not think of evil spirits who cause accidents,

¹ See for this case of soeangi also page 270.

disease or even death, but the materials used are supposed to possess those evil powers, in conjunction with the spoken anathemas and curses. The soeangi practices and the way in which they are used, are very varied. A number of tree bark kinds are important which are supposed to be very powerful. He who intends to practice soeangi takes a piece of that tree bark and chews it till his mouth is full of a red, brownish liquid, consisting of saliva mixed with the sap of that tree bark. Then he takes an arrow, binds it with a liana, several metres long, and puts the arrow in the normal way on his bow. The latter is now drawn as tight as possible. At the moment when the arrow is shot in the direction of the victim(s), the man swallows the liquid and says to the arrow: 'Mettiebin, (= name of arrow) hit so and so.' The arrow then flies in the direction of the victim, but is detained by the liana. Some metres further it falls to the ground.

This bow-and-arrow-soeangi is much practised in the Tor territory. In addition to this there are also practices in which material is used which has been in contact with the victim or is his property. This may consist of food-remains, tufts of hair, betelnuts which have been spat out, also hairs of his pigs, the juice of the banana tree which the victim has planted or of which he is the owner and even the excrements of his dogs. The use of such means is said almost always to be effective. Everyone is scrupulously careful not to leave any food remains or other refuse lying about. Even the excrements of dogs and pigs are immediately removed from the village or burnt so that no one will be able to use these objects for soeangi against him.

Food remains or betel nuts are put into a melange of snakefat, chewed tree bark and water, after which, while pronouncing a deathly spell, it is all stuffed into a bamboo cylinder. A stopper is put on it, so that the 'powers' stay in the cylinder. Other cylinders - nowadays already here and there bottles are used - are filled with a mixture consisting of leaves, all kinds of animals such as locusts, crabs, lizards and further saliva and vegetable juices etc. These filled cylinders are buried somewhere in the village of the victims, which causes the entire village to come under the spell of the soeangi. The sorcery can now strike everyone, also those who are not specially mentioned by their names in the apophthegms. Only in the security-villages, where members of other tribes cannot come, a human being is safe from this kind of soeangi.

The blood of a menstruating woman is a very effective soeangi expediant. That is one of the reasons why the women never remain in their village

during their menstruation periods, but go and live during these days in absolute seclusion. Sometimes, as in the eastern Tor territory, the women stay in the birth house outside the village. However, for the greater part they are in the forest or in one of the *branche-villages* during that time.

The last, very effective way of committing *soeangi* to be mentioned here, is to give someone inadvertently a 'charmed' object. That works like a 'booby-trap.' It is said that whoever touches that object or makes use of it, is sure to die or fall seriously ill. Such materials may be betel nuts or a cigar, which one offers to the victim. Sometimes even a knife or a piece of clothing is 'tampered' with and offered to the victim. I was a witness to such a case of *soeangi* with the Bora-Bora:

One day at about five o'clock in the afternoon, the man Katoear came running into the village screaming with terror 'There is *bowèz*' he cried. Suddenly the whole atmosphere of the village changes. Everyone runs shouting excitedly through the village, not knowing what to do first. Nobody doubts Katoear's words. Why should there not be *soeangi*? Every day one feels threatened by that evil. By fits and starts Katoear tells how he had passed by 'that ironwood tree on the Tor,' where the Bora-Bora always sit to rest a moment on their way, even if they are not tired. At the foot of that tree he had seen some tobacco leaves lying. 'That is strange,' he thought and the whole village agreed. Nobody would just leave their tobacco leaves lying about without reason. That everyone understands and men as well as women again begin to shout. However, no one listens to anyone else. Everyone does what Katoear had also done. He had immediately asked himself: 'Who may have passed here to lay those tobacco leaves under the tree of the Bora-Bora?' When Katoear then discovered the footmarks of the Daranto man Toeier he at once knew: 'This is *soeangi*.' Everybody in the village again starts running around and shouting on hearing this news. Everyone becomes more and more excited. Then Katoear continues: 'I thought to myself, do not touch those leaves. They will harm you. So I ran home, as fast as I could to tell it to the others.' As soon as Katoear's story has come to an end, the excited shouting starts again. Everyone begins to shout and nobody listens to what anyone else has to say. After about a quarter of an hour they finally agree what they should do. The men grab their bows and arrows and run into the forest in the direction of the Tor. Perhaps they may still find that Daranto fellow. Late in the evening they returned. They had not found anything and also the tobacco leaves under the iron-

wood tree had disappeared. Nevertheless, everybody was convinced for ever that it was soeangi.

The way in which the population ascertains that soeangi is practised on them is somewhat strange. In the case just mentioned with the Bora-Bora, the presence of tobacco leaves in a place, where they were not expected, was a sure sign of soeangi. Actually, everything which deviates from the normal standard pattern is regarded as such a sign. Thus the headaches and stomach-aches need not necessarily be a consequence of soeangi, but when someone suddenly has a piercing pain in his head or any other part of his body, then it is surely a sign of soeangi. Certain spots on the body of a dead person may point to soeangi. For instance, the Mander saw a spot on the body of Iemor, which looked suspiciously like the point of the arrow Mettiebin, which confirmed what they indeed already 'knew,' namely, that soeangi had been committed by means of the arrow Mettiebin. That was the cause of Iemor's death.

Here the question must be raised if these and other cases of disease, accidents and death are really a consequence of soeangi practices. The scientific investigator answers this question in the negative. The people of the Tor, however, have a staunch and unshakable belief in the effect of this and other soeangi practices. It is, as a matter of fact, actually this belief which leads in many cases to the desired result. The soeangi expedient itself is of secondary importance, although they do not think so themselves. For every man who intends to bring disaster, disease or death to someone by means of soeangi, tells this to one of his friends or acquaintances and via them the victim hears of it. When for instance the Beeuw commit soeangi against the Mander, they tell that to one or more Bonerif or Ittik people. These intermediaries want to help the victims – for not one of them doubts the power of the soeangi – and therefore hasten to the village of the Mander to tell them what they know. The supposed victims are seized by panic, but having been warned they can save themselves by going, for instance, as soon as possible to their security-villages. Any kind of antidote against the already committed sorcery does not seem to exist. However, when one does not fall ill immediately after having heard from others that soeangi has been practised, it is owing to one's quick escape from the workings of these dangerous spells. This is what they believe. However, the belief in the soeangi itself remains unshaken in spite of everything. The failing of the sorcery – and that happens frequently, especially when

the victim is not told about it – is ascribed to the wrong application of the soeangi medium or to the flight of the victims. However, one day or another, the victim will fall ill or die and then everyone knows that the soeangi was ultimately effective.

Disaster, disease and death, it is thus firmly believed, are the consequence of soeangi. This belief is irrevocable. The facts in themselves are of no consequence. The belief itself is the foundation of these facts. This can once more be illustrated by the case already mentioned, the soeangi of the Daranto against the Mander. The former knew, as well as all the tribes in the Tor territory, that the Beeuw had sworn to extinguish the Mander by means of soeangi and the many deaths among the Mander in recent times are a proof to everyone that the Beeuw seriously meant to keep their oath. That is why the Mander live in permanent fear that more deaths will occur. That knowledge and that fear were skilfully used (misused) by the Daranto. For when they actually were no longer allowed to fetch their dammar from the acreage of the Mander, they told them that they had heard that the Beeuw had begun to practise soeangi again. This was, on close inspection, a lie, and a lie they were well aware of. The Daranto could not then know that the Beeuw men were committing soeangi, which after all was not true either. However, the Mander believed what the Daranto told them and even more so, because they named some Mander men, who were especially threatened, such as Séboea, Soengoen and Daas. As fast as they could, the Mander left the disputed dammar-acreage to warn their fellow-villagers, who were in danger. That day when the Mander returned from the dammar-acreage, Séboea and I were fishing. As soon as we came home we heard the whole story. Immediately Séboea became agitated. He intended to leave the village early the next morning to seek security. That evening he was still willing to help me with the cooking of the rice. Both the other men, Soengoen and Daas, departed the same evening. It was that night, that Séboea's father Foaro warned me that his son had died.¹ When I examined him it appeared that he still lived. However, he was lying bathed in perspiration. Now and then he was delirious and then fell back again into unconsciousness.

In this incident lies an answer to the question, which we have put ourselves regarding the effect of soeangi. Of course there is a possibility that soeangi now and then may have a certain effect on the constitution of the people.

¹ See page 264 where the further course of the illness is described.

However, then it must be added that such an effect, if any, is not the result of the automatic working of the soeangi medium. It is solely based on the irrevocable belief of the whole population and of the victims in particular, in the effect of soeangi. Here we have to deal with a psychical, or rather with a psychosomatic phenomenon.

The foundation of that strong belief, however, still remains a problem, a belief, which seems to remain unshaken even when it is evident (or is it only apparently evident?), that deception is being practised. Why is the population disinclined to see that deception? Or otherwise, how is it to be explained that the people of the Tor do not mind this deception? Van Baal has gone deeply into such problems and has tried to find a solution in the unreflecting attitude to life with the Marind-Anim.¹ Everything he states regarding the belief in magic and the unreflecting attitude to life with the Marind, can certainly be applied to the people of the Tor. In my opinion, however, there is still another reason, why these people cling so strongly to their belief, even when (sometimes) it is based on deception. For it is by means of this belief that man learns to understand the meaning of disasters, diseases and even the problem of death. The irrevocable belief in the soeangi therefore has a very important function. In that belief lies man's certainty ('substance of things') that nothing in this life is left to chance, but that even disease and death are caused by human actions.

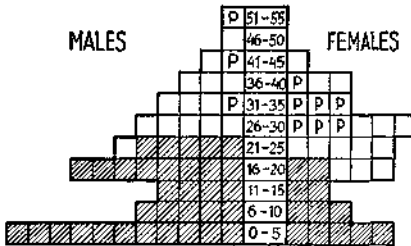
On the other hand man may, knowing that disease and death are caused by man (try to) cure those diseases and he may escape death by flight. Just as nature (sago, pigs, fish) in religion is submissive to man, he has by means of his belief in soeangi, also a certain control over disease and death. If a man finally does die, his relations will at least be certain of the reason and the cause of that death, and, moreover, they have a scapegoat on which they can revenge themselves.

These important functions make it understandable at the same time that this belief in soeangi is so strong, although it is not entirely explained. For an outsider, however, every religion, even the Christian religion, when purely rationally approached, shows some signs of foolishness and self-deception.

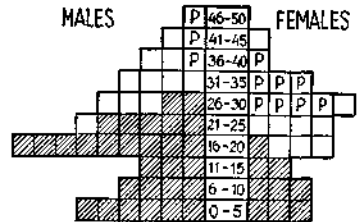
¹ J. van Baal: 'Over wegen en drijfveren der religie' (Ways and motives of Religion), pp. 328-345.

APPENDIX III

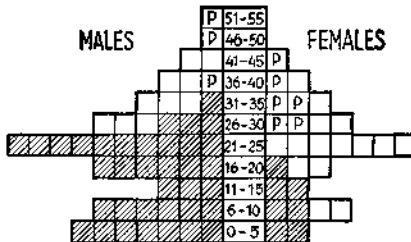
POPULATION PYRAMIDS OF THE UPPER TOR TERRITORY
(JULY 1958)



POPULATION PYRAMID OF THE MANDER



POPULATION PYRAMID OF THE SEGAR

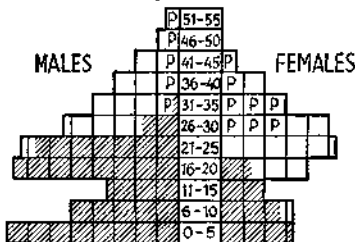


POPULATION PYRAMID OF THE BORA-BORA

LEGENDA:

- 1 PERSON
- ▨ UNMARRIED
- P POLYGAMOUS
- WIDOW OR WIDOWER

POPULATION PYRAMID OF THREE REPRESENTATIVE TRIBES:
MANDER, SEGAR AND BORA-BORA (±250 PERSONS).



LEGENDA

- 3 PERSONS
- ▨ UNMARRIED
- P POLYGAMOUS
- WIDOW OR WIDOWER

COMPARATIVE LIST OF VOCABULARIES

APPENDIX 4

	<i>Berrik</i>	<i>Bonerif</i>	<i>Ittik</i>	<i>Ittik-Tor</i>	<i>Mander</i>	<i>Naidgbeedj</i>	<i>Kivesten</i>	<i>Dabe</i>
<i>hand</i>	taffa	taffa	taffer	taffah	taffah	mantaitj	fa	teffah
<i>to give</i>	assasgoerbauje	damgoerbat	absekorber	absekorbe	gorba	antemin	dakariskorber	
<i>finger nail</i>	ottam	taffaweratan	serretor	sarettoh	taffakor	tadsjerabeedj	or	oetoem
<i>foot</i>	tof	taef	tef	teff	taan	tumedj	teef	tuuf
<i>knee</i>	samwan	samman	moren	saaffeh	geroen	soemwan	seben	sammoen
<i>to walk</i>	sofwee	naargoejaar	setufoh	arremettifeh	degewar	koema	isowar	nesfure
<i>road (path)</i>	neer	naar	naar	naer	ner	agwamaitj		naar
<i>to come</i>	mesforja	mammeforia	sedjakan	arremettifeh	fiterfierre	waboenam	idjaker	mesnafroetje
<i>to swim</i>	foshaboet	djamdjanuuf	fohsedeendebye	fohsetuusse	sanere	taangor		neinandjaankier
<i>skin</i>	tifien	tefime	tiefen	tiefen	tiefe	kora		tiefene
<i>belly</i>	oo (oofian)	oena	oeh	oe	koe	goeoom	oen	oene
<i>breast of woman</i>	mom	muma	moem	moem	mom	memme		mom
<i>bone</i>	erna	errene	erre	arenne	kerane	kaka		baar
<i>blood</i>	ewes	ewieseh	kwosse	kusene	gesoe	goemma	auwes	erranne
<i>vein</i>	tattera	tattale	tatter	tataar	tatare	tagga		skarre
<i>head</i>	doeak	nabbareh	nabbarror	napar	nebbar	tsjuwagga	naar	debaar
<i>neck</i>	moena	engerah	ienker	ienker	gaskerane	akka		moerane
<i>hair of head</i>	napafa	nabassaffeneh	nabbarrare	sendah	nebbarare	nerntj	marsafen	dbarsafe
<i>nose</i>	maseh	massene	maseh	maseh	masch	oednj	masen	mase
<i>mouth</i>	erem	erremmeh	oermoh	nuef	mief	mauwe	muef	mief
<i>tooth</i>	or	oere	oer	oer	koer	gwarne	oor	oer
<i>tongue</i>	mafram	maaffereme	meffrem	maefem	maferem	teroe		maaffron
<i>to eat</i>	makatoe(m)ir	nengatoeir	tiemeh	dekkassuemen	tiemere	nan(ue)	toembar	demtoenbref
<i>to drink</i>	matebir	terbi	fohserbir	fohseterbier	kerbere	pennam		fonaterbere
<i>ear</i>	niwa	jerrena	joerre	jeere	keerre	njar	isrbar	jurre
<i>to hear</i>	amsara	kiuessaar	iendemesar	menunassat	sarer	djanmediedj	jerem	messasaren
<i>eye</i>	noewè	noena	nauwe	nauwe	nocenne	noekwe	oeroeaserber	noeoh
<i>to see</i>	amdamtena	iesidommo	assemdamtar	memmadamtar	dommere	neboeg	noein	messendommere
<i>to lie down</i>	namaram	noesetak	noesetoh	annoestaffe	emtafareh	noegwara	isangskir	noeksnjettaan
<i>to cry</i>	orgoed	djamjana	sorresjer	oerbe	goe	djawardjaitj	noenstar	dommafietktan
<i>to sit down</i>	noem	noena	dekwen	kwonfeh	emzoekferch	monanem	iskunter	demnakoeien
<i>to stand</i>	ieroewe	djamfiana	serrettier	anneerrettu	fiatega	iebatam	siesserosker	nekemafja
<i>man</i>	angwa	angwo	onkwe	ongkwe	angwe (gain)	abartj(anna)	angkwan	angkwoh
<i>woman</i>	woei	woet	tiop	naf-naf	kwoffena	ees (eis)	woeien	woei
<i>to die</i>	muster	maffoetoe	meddoh	mettier	mestiere	gworram	istier	mestieren
<i>bird</i>	djoh	djoe	duu	doe	dsjoe	gaidjettin	doen	doe
<i>egg</i>	soejoe	jagm	suje	soewe	soewe	gorètta	doesoei	jakinsoei
<i>feather</i>	safna	saffena	doesaffe	memmeffefo	saffena	marsta		saffene
<i>to fly</i>	jamfeno	djammeffoena	neboake	neboake	iemoeppereh	gwonaitj	amefen	demiefenan
<i>meat (flesh)</i>	mattau	mattau	kannin	kannien	ganien	tjibietj	okkardnin	mattannien
<i>fat</i>	terree	tilie	fannene	fenaneh	tiefene	banietj	keren	toeon
<i>tail</i>	nangra	nangarrah	fannesse	daaic	foaseh	ettoeroem		nankere
<i>snake</i>	auwas	os	oos	os	os	izzia	oos	oehs
<i>fish</i>	djegat	fobbar	orke	fohbar	baar	seegwien	domten	orke
<i>mosquito</i>	san	saan	san	san	sen	adzjene	sèn	tsaan

	<i>Berrik</i>	<i>Bonerif</i>	<i>Ittik</i>	<i>Ittik-Tor</i>	<i>Mander</i>	<i>Naidjbeedj</i>	<i>Kwesten</i>	<i>Dabe</i>
<i>tree</i>	tie	boerrah	tie	ti	boere	boema	fon	tiboer
<i>root</i>	tsakra	faranòh	boere	boehr	teboertera	toegwam	tiaren	terane
<i>earth</i>	òh	ooh	èh	òh	kòh	iezoewe	ein	òh
<i>stone</i>	ton	toon	tòkwen	tòkwen	birà	tònne	toon	tèr
<i>sand</i>	doeies	doeies	dewes	dèwes	boe	ierriet	doeies	doeies
<i>water</i>	fòh	foh	fòh	fòh	foh	bietoew	fon	foh
<i>mountain</i>	tèrem	terrier	terren	tèren	kier	essieuw	teren	terren
<i>sun</i>	goer	goeier	boesjan	boesjan	boesjan	abiedj	wakar	kwoakker
<i>moon</i>	mwar	feen	feen	pfèn	nonger	amworria	fèn	faan
<i>star</i>	matòh	daam	mòhte	mòhte	monte	gwinte	boesjan	maton
<i>cloud</i>	onjan	oemejan	kaar	kahr	gaar	anniesia	keer	wocinies
<i>rain</i>	aròh	aro	odde	ohrdek	korek	on	saan	ado
<i>wind</i>	dee	niendai	kweris	goeris	goeris (<i>kwessin</i>)	essioe	kweci	kwoi
<i>hot</i>	goessar	jairairar	mef	farare	forèrè	noegoeom	maf	jarare
<i>cold</i>	oeissin	kwauw	wiesem	wiesem	bodbet	kinkenem	kwèsoean	kwoikeje
<i>fire</i>	tòkwa	tie (toekwa)	tier	tie	giet	siedah	tien	tjenier
<i>smoke</i>	nongan	noengwan	nouwet	nouwet	noètteh	nieëuw	noèngken	noenka
<i>ashes</i>	tson	sòn	dos	dos	son (dos)	maraka	son	tisson
<i>black</i>	moedjan	moedjan	soisoije		kagete	iedjem	mjaan	bierbere
<i>white</i>	tsintene	siensene	siensene	sienseneh	sinsene	ezzieram	siesenen	
<i>red</i>	berbere	berberer	bierbere	bierbere	bierbere	norròhnem	bierberen	bierbere
<i>small</i>	bastogwai	dantoeé	obattoije	ebatetoé	mingetogwai	arrikarrikaam	kassitanan	daantwaje
<i>big</i>	sanbeka	tjoekoergire	sokkwotte	sokwete	sogwette	dedjauwer	doeasakaran	sokkwotte
<i>long</i>	biedjoea	borborrena	kerkerrer	kerettine	kèrgere	biedjoeom		borborre
<i>new</i>	ibbermie	namoekemana	gjare	kiare	kiare	essam	jebremen	iebreme
<i>good</i>	wejakkena	waraffe	waraffe	warahfe	weraaf	ezzenem	bosserren	iekekiene
<i>night</i>	goeien	ogwien	okwien	boesjannem	koorrien	kwonne	fafakoëisen	okwen
<i>many</i>	anmangen	sokoeffah	naanse	soikef	mottogwah	tommaan	doeasmer	
<i>I</i>	aai	aai	aai	aai	aai	tjo	akref	ajatkwien
<i>one</i>	aaften (grie)	aaftengrie	aaftiende	aaftenne	aaftegena	aawerjaas	aafteimer	daanfenenne
<i>two</i>	nouwra	nouwedem	nouwe	nouwedem	nauweth	nennemoeana	nouwer	nouwedem
<i>three</i>	nouwer-ningena	nouwed-ningena	nouwe-ningke	nouweninge	nauweth-ningene	iesienie	nouwer-nengken	nouwet-nangkene
<i>four</i>	nouwer-nouwra	nouwed-nouwere	nouwe-nouwe	nouwedem-nouwedem	nauweth-nauweth	sieniemaròh	nouwet-nouwet	nouwer-nouwer
<i>five</i>	taffagoerie	tafnagoerie	nouwe-nouweningke	toessorre	nauweth-nauweth-ningene	mantantaaitj	fanaffer-temmoemner	tafonbaar

Pairs of kinsmen	KINSHIP TERMS of the BERRIK, Beeuw and Bonerif	
	term for former	term for latter
Fa-So	1 Owa	2 Gitogwaai
Fa-Da	3 Owa	4 Jafontogwaai
Mo-So	5 Ieje	6 Gitogwaai
Mo-Da	7 Ieje	8 Jafontogwaai
Br-Br	9 Aja	10 Ossòh
Br-Si	11 $\frac{Aja}{Ossòh} \frac{(ElBr)}{(YoBr)}$	12 $\frac{Ossòh}{Aja} \frac{(YoSi)}{(ElSi)}$
Si-Si	13 Aja	14 Ossòh
Hu-Wi	15 Angwa	16 Woei
FaBr-BrSo	17 $\frac{Nijeje}{Owa} \frac{(FaElBr)}{(FaYoBr)}$	18 $\frac{Nijeje}{Gitogwaai} \frac{(YoBrSo)}{(ElBrSo)}$
FaBr-BrDa	19 $\frac{Nijeje}{Owa}$	20 $\frac{Nijeje}{Jafontogwaai}$
FaSi-BrSo	21 $\frac{Nijeje}{Ieje} \frac{(FaElSi)}{(FaYoSi)}$	22 $\frac{Nijeje}{Gitogwaai} \frac{(YoBrSo)}{(ElBrSo)}$
FaSi-BrDa	23 $\frac{Nijeje}{Ieje}$	24 $\frac{Nijeje}{Jafontogwaai}$
MoBr-SiSo	25 Mèmmè	26 Mèmmè
MoBr-SiDa	27 Mèmmè	28 Mèmmè
MoSi-SiSo	29 $\frac{Nijeje}{Ieje} \frac{(MoElSi)}{(MoYoSi)}$	30 $\frac{Nijeje}{Gitogwaai} \frac{(YoSiSo)}{(ElSiSo)}$
MoSi-SiDa	31 $\frac{Nijeje}{Ieje}$	32 $\frac{Nijeje}{Ieje}$
FaFa-SoSo	33 Aboaai	34 Aboaai
FaFa-SoDa	35 Aboaai	36 Aboaai
FaMo-SoSo	37 Aboaai	38 Aboaai
FaMo-SoDa	39 Aboaai	40 Aboaai
MoFa-DaSo	41 Aboaai	42 Aboaai
MoFa-DaDa	43 Aboaai	44 Aboaai
MoMo-DaSo	45 Aboaai	46 Aboaai
MoMo-DaDa	47 Aboaai	48 Aboaai
FaBrSo-FaBrSo	49 Aja	50 Ossòh
FaBrDa-FaBrSo	51 $\frac{Aja}{Ossòh}$	52 $\frac{Ossòh}{Aja}$
FaBrDa-FaBrDa	53 Aja	54 Ossòh
FaSiSo-MoBrSo	55 Aja	56 Ossòh
FaSiDa-MoBrSo	57 $\frac{Aja}{Ossòh}$	58 $\frac{Ossòh}{Aja}$
FaSiSo-MoBrDa	59 $\frac{Aja}{Ossòh}$	60 $\frac{Ossòh}{Aja}$
FaSiDa-MoBrDa	61 Aja	62 Ossòh

Pairs of kinsmen	term for former	term for latter
MoSiSo-MoSiSo	63 Aja	64 Ossòh
MoSiDa-MoSiSo	65 <u>Aja</u> Ossòh	66 <u>Ossoh</u> Aja
MoSiDa-MoSiDa	67 Aja	68 Ossòh
WiFa-DaHu	69 Ebo	70 Ebo
WiMo-DaHu	71 Moena	72 Ebo
HuFa-SoWi	73 Ginauwa	74 Ginauwa
HuMo-SoWi	75 Ginauwa	76 Ginauwa
WiBr-SiHu	77 Moesa	78 Moesa
WiSr-SiHu	79 <u>Annaussɪ (WiElSi)</u> <u>Soema (WiYoSi)</u>	80 <u>Annaussɪ (YoSiHu)</u> <u>Soema (ElSiHu)</u>
HuBr-BrWi	81 <u>Annaussɪ (HuElBr)</u> <u>Soema (HuYoBr)</u>	82 <u>Annaussɪ (YoBrWi)</u> <u>Soema (ElBrWi)</u>
HuSr-BrWi	83 <u>Annaussɪ (HuElSi)</u> <u>Soema (HuYoSi)</u>	84 <u>Annaussɪ (YoBrWi)</u> <u>Soema (ElBrWi)</u>
FaBrWi-HuBrSo	85 <u>Nieje</u> Ieje	86 <u>Nieje</u> Gitogwaaɪ
FaBrWi-HuBrDa	87 <u>Nieje</u> Ieje	88 <u>Nieje</u> Jafontogwaaɪ
FaSiHu-WiBrSo	89 <u>Nieje</u> Owa	90 <u>Nieje</u> Gitogwaaɪ
FaSiHu-WiBrDa	91 <u>Nieje</u> Owa	92 <u>Nieje</u> Jafontogwaaɪ
MoBrWi-HuSiSo	93 Ieje	94 Gitogwaaɪ
MoBrWi-HuSiDa	95 Ieje	96 Jafontogwaaɪ
MoSiHu-WiSiSo	97 <u>Nieje</u> Owa	98 <u>Nieje</u> Gitogwaaɪ
MoSiHu-WiSiDa	99 <u>Nieje</u> Owa	100 <u>Nieje</u> Jafontogwaaɪ
WiBrWi-HuSiHu	101 (Moesa)	102 (Moesa)
WiSiHu-WiSiHu	103 Moesa	104 Moesa
HuBrWi-HuBrWi	105 Moesa	106 Moesa

Pairs of kinsmen	KINSHIP TERMS of the BORA-BORA, Waf and Daranto	
	term for former	term for latter
Fa-So	1 Owa	2 Gitogwaai
Fa-Da	3 Owa	4 Jafontogwaai
Mo-So	5 Ieje	6 Gitogwaai
Mo-Da	7 Ieje	8 Jafontogwaai
Br-Br	9 Aja	10 Ossòh
Br-Si	Aja	Ossòh
	11 Ossòh	Aja
Si-Si	13 Aja	14 Ossòh
Hu-Wi	15 Angwa	16 Woei
FaBr-BrSo	Nieje	Nieje
	17 Owa	Gitogwaai
FaBr-BrDa	Nieje	Nieje
	19 Owa	Jafontogwaai
FaSi-BrSo	Nieje	Nieje
	21 Ieje	Gitogwaai
FaSi-BrDa	Nieje	Nieje
	23 Ieje	Jafontogwaai
MoBr-SiSo	25 Mèmmè	26 Annaitj
MoBr-SiDa	27 Mèmmè	28 Annaitj
MoSi-SiSo	Nieje	Nieje
	29 Ieje	Gitogwaai
MoSi-SiDa	Nieje	Nieje
	31 Ieje	Jafontogwaai
FaFa-SoSo	33 Esja	34 Esja
FaFa-SoDa	35 Esja	36 Esja
FaMo-SoSo	37 Esja	38 Esja
FaMo-SoDa	39 Esja	40 Esja
MoFa-DaSo	41 Afoh	42 Afoh
MoFa-DaDa	43 Afoh	44 Afoh
MoMo-DaSo	45 Afoh	46 Afoh
MoMo-DaDa	47 Afoh	48 Afoh
FaBrSo-FaBrSo	49 Aja	50 Ossòh
FaBrDa-FaBrSo	Aja	Ossòh
	51 Ossòh	Aja
FaBrDa-FaBrDa	53 Aja	54 Ossòh
FaSiSo-MoBrSo	55 Bèkkam	56 Bèkkam
FaSiDa-MoBrSo	57 Bèkkam	58 Bèkkam
FaSiSo-MoBrDa	59 Bèkkam	60 Bèkkam
FaSiDa-MoBrDa	61 Bèkkam	62 Bèkkam
MoSiSo-MoSiSo	63 Kommoen	64 Kommoen
MoSiDa-MoSiSo	65 Kommoen	66 Kommoen
MoSiDa-MoSiDa	67 Kommoen	68 Kommoen

For the affinal kinship terms see the terminology of the Bèrrik.

Pairs of kinsmen	KINSHIP TERMS of the Ittik and Ittik-Tor	
	term for former	term for latter
Fa-So	1 Jetti	2 Kaintoi
Fa-Da	3 Jetti	4 Joffomtoi
Mo-So	5 Ene	6 Kaintoi
Mo-Da	7 Ene	8 Joffomtoi
Br-Br	9 Aja	10 Oestaneh
Br-Si	11 $\frac{\text{Aja (ElBr)}}{\text{Oestaneh (YoBr)}}$	12 $\frac{\text{Oestaneh (YoSi)}}{\text{Aja (ElSi)}}$
Si-Si	13 Aja	14 Oestaneh
Hu-Wi	15 Ongkwe	16 Tiop
FaBr-BrSo	17 $\frac{\text{Oweh (FaElBr)}}{\text{Babba (FaYoBr)}}$	18 $\frac{\text{Oweh (YoBrSo)}}{\text{Babba (ElBrSo)}}$
FaBr-BrDa	19 $\frac{\text{Oweh}}{\text{Babba}}$	20 $\frac{\text{Oweh}}{\text{Babba}}$
FaSi-BrSo	21 $\frac{\text{Oweh (FaElSi)}}{\text{Mamma (FaYoSi)}}$	22 $\frac{\text{Oweh (YoBrSo)}}{\text{Mamma (ElBrSo)}}$
FaSi-BrDa	23 $\frac{\text{Oweh}}{\text{Mamma}}$	24 $\frac{\text{Oweh}}{\text{Mamma}}$
MoBr-SiSo	25 $\frac{\text{Oweh (MoElBr)}}{\text{Mèmma (MoYoBr)}}$	26 $\frac{\text{Oweh (YoSiSo)}}{\text{Mèmma (ElSiSo)}}$
MoBr-SiDa	27 $\frac{\text{Oweh}}{\text{Mèmma}}$	28 $\frac{\text{Oweh}}{\text{Mèmma}}$
MoSi-SiSo	29 $\frac{\text{Ottre (MoElSi)}}{\text{Ieje (MoYoSi)}}$	30 $\frac{\text{Ottre (YoSiSo)}}{\text{Ieje (ElSiSo)}}$
MoSi-SiDa	31 $\frac{\text{Ottre}}{\text{Ieje}}$	32 $\frac{\text{Ottre}}{\text{Ieje}}$
FaFa-SoSo	33 Babba	34 Babba
FaFa-SoDa	35 Babba	36 Babba
FaMo-SoSo	37 Mamma	38 Mamma
FaMo-SoDa	39 Mamma	40 Mamma
MoFa-DaSo	41 Babba (Tworren)	42 Babba (Tworren)
MoFa-DaDa	43 Babba (Tworren)	44 Babba (Tworren)
MoMo-DaSo	45 Mamna (Okse)	46 Mamna (Okse)
MoMo-DaDa	47 Mamna (Okse)	48 Mamna (Okse)
FaBrSo-FaBrSo	49 Aja	50 Oestaneh
FaBrDa-FaBrSo	51 $\frac{\text{Aja}}{\text{Oestaneh}}$	52 $\frac{\text{Oestaneh}}{\text{Aja}}$
FaBrDa-FaBrDa	53 Aja	54 Oestaneh
FaSiSo-MoBrSo	55 Esjan (Aja)	56 Esjan (Oestaneh)
FaSiDa-MoBrSo	57 $\frac{\text{Esjan (Aja)}}{\text{(Oestaneh)}}$	58 $\frac{\text{Esjan (Oestaneh)}}{\text{(Aja)}}$

Pairs of kinsmen	term for former	term for latter
FaSiSo-MoBrDa	59 Esjan $\frac{(Aja)}{(OestaneH)}$	60 Esjan $\frac{(OestaneH)}{(Aja)}$
FaSiDa-MoBrDa	61 Esjan (Aja)	62 Esjan (OestaneH)
MoSiSo-MoSiSo	63 Aioese (Aja)	64 Aioese (OestaneH)
MoSiDa-MoSiSo	65 Aioese $\frac{(Aja)}{(OestaneH)}$	66 Aioese $\frac{(OestaneH)}{(Aja)}$
MoSiDa-MoSiDa	67 Aioese (Aja)	68 Aioese (OestaneH)
WiFa-DaHu	69 Ebo	70 Ebo
WiMo-DaHu	71 Moena	72 Ebo
HuFa-SoWi	73 Ebo (Ienek)	74 Ebo (Ienek)
HuMo-SoWi	75 Ebo (Ienek)	76 Ebo (Ienek)
WiBr-SiHu	77 Moesa	78 Moesa
WiSi-SiHu	79 $\frac{Moena}{Nauwies} \frac{(WiEISi)}{(WiYoSi)}$	80 $\frac{Ebo}{Nauwies} \frac{(YoSiHu)}{EISiHu}$
HuBr-BrWi	81 Nauwies	82 Nauwies
HuSi-BrWi	83 Moesa	84 Moesa
FaBrWi-HuBrSo	85 $\frac{Oweh}{Ieje}$	86 $\frac{Oweh}{Ieje}$
FaBrWi-HuBrDa	87 $\frac{Oweh}{Ieje}$	88 $\frac{Oweh}{Ieje}$
FaSiHu-WiBrSo	89 $\frac{Oweh}{Babba}$	90 $\frac{Oweh}{Babba}$
FaSiHu-WiBrDa	91 $\frac{Oweh}{Babba}$	92 $\frac{Oweh}{Babba}$
MoBrWi-HuSiSo	93 $\frac{Oweh}{Ieje}$	94 $\frac{Oweh}{Ieje}$
MoBrWi-HuSiDa	95 $\frac{Oweh}{Ieje}$	96 $\frac{Oweh}{Ieje}$
MoSiHu-WiSiSo	97 $\frac{Oweh}{Babba}$	98 $\frac{Oweh}{Babba}$
MoSiHu-WiSiDa	99 $\frac{Oweh}{Babba}$	100 $\frac{Oweh}{Babba}$
WiBrWi-HuSiHu	101 as siblings	102 as siblings
WiSiHu-WiSiHu	103 Moesa	104 Moesa
HuBrWi-HuBrWi	105 Moesa	106 Moesa

Pairs of kinsmen	KINSHIP TERMS of the MANDER	
	term for former	term for latter
Fa-So	1 Tata	2 Gaintogwa
Fa-Da	3 Tata	4 Kefontogwa
Mo-So	5 Ieje	6 Gaintogwa
Mo-Da	7 Ieje	8 Kefontogwa
Br-Br	9 Aja	10 Koestaneh
Br-Si	11 Iestenne (ElBr)	12 Somoer (YoSi)
Si-Si	Koestaneh (YoBr)	Aja (ElSi)
Hu-Wi	13 Aja	14 Koestaneh
FaBr-BrSo	15 Angwe	16 Kwoffene
FaBr-BrDa	17 Euweh (FaElBr)	18 Euweh (YoBrSo)
FaSi-BrSo	Tata (FaYoBr)	Gaintogwa (ElBrSo)
MoBr-SiSo	19 Euweh	20 Euweh
MoBr-SiDa	Tata	Kefontogwa
MoSi-SiSo	21 Euweh (FaElSi)	22 Euweh (YoBrSo)
MoSi-SiDa	Ieje (FaYoSi)	23 Gaintogwa (ElBrSo)
FaFa-SoSo	23 Euweh	24 Euweh
FaFa-SoDa	Ieje	Kefontogwa
FaMo-SoSo	25 Mèmma	26 Mèmma
FaMo-SoDa	27 Mèmma	28 Mèmma
MoFa-DaSo	29 Euweh (Ottre)	30 Euweh (Ottre)
MoFa-DaDa	Ieje	31 Gaintogwa
MoMo-DaSo	31 Euweh (Ottre)	32 Euweh (Ottre)
MoMo-DaDa	Ieje	33 Kefontogwa
FaBrSo-FaBrSo	33 Babba	34 Babba
FaBrDa-FaBrSo	35 Babba	36 Babba
FaBrDa-FaBrDa	37 Mamma	38 Mamma
FaSiSo-MoBrSo	39 Mamma	40 Mamma
FaSiDa-MoBrSo	41 Babba	42 Babba
FaSiSo-MoBrDa	43 Babba	44 Babba
FaSiDa-MoBrDa	45 Mamma	46 Mamma
MoSiSo-MoSiSo	47 Mamma	48 Mamma
	49 Aja	50 Koestaneh
	51 Aja (FaElBrDa)	52 Koestaneh (FaYoBrSo)
	Somoer (FaYoBrDa)	Iestenne (FaElBrSo)
	53 Aja	54 Koestaneh
	55 Esjan (Aja)	56 Esjan (Koestaneh)
	(Aja)	(Koestaneh)
	57 Esjan (Somoer)	58 Esjan (Iestenne)
	(Iestenne)	(Aja)
	59 Esjan (Koestaneh)	60 Esjan (Somoer)
	61 Esjan (Aja)	62 Esjan (Koestaneh)
	63 Aioese (Aja)	64 Aioese (Koestaneh)

Pairs of kinsmen	term for former	term for latter
MoSiDa-MoSiSo	65 Aioese (Aja) (Somoer)	66 Aioese (Koestaneh) (Jestène)
MoSiDa-MoSiDa	67 Aioese (Aja)	68 Aioese (Koestaneh)
WiFa-DaHu	69 Kaiboa	70 Kaiboa
WiMo-DaHu	71 Moena	72 Kaiboa
HuFa-SoWi	73 Ienek	74 Ienek
HuMo-SoWi	75 Ienek	76 Ienek
WiBr-SiHu	77 Moesa	78 Moesa
WiSi-SiHu	79 Moena (WiEISi) Nauwies (WiYoSi)	80 Kaiboa (YoSiHu) Nauwies (EISiHu)
HuBr-BrWi	81 Semauwa (HuEIBr) Nauwies (HuYoBr)	82 Semauwa (YoBrWi) Nauwies (EIBrWi)
HuSi-BrWi	83 Moesa	84 Moesa
FaBrWi-HuBrSo	85 Euweh Ieje	86 Euweh Gaintogwa
FaBrWi-HuBrDa	87 Euweh Ieje	88 Euweh Kefontogwa
FaSiHu-WiBrSo	89 Babba	90 Babba
FaSiHu-WiBrDa	91 Babba	92 Babba
MoBrWi-HuSiSo	93 Ieje	94 Gaintogwa
MoBrWi-HuSiDa	95 Ieje	96 Kefontogwa
MoSiHu-WiSiSo	97 Babba	98 Babba
MoSiHu-WiSiDa	99 Babba	100 Babba
WiBrWi-HuSiHu	101 as siblings	102 as siblings
WiSiHu-WiSiHu	103 Siauwen	104 Siauwen
HuBrWi-HuBrWi	105 Moesa	106 Moesa

Pairs of kinsmen	KINSHIP TERMS of the SĒGAR and NAIDJBĒEDJ	
	term for former	term for latter
Fa-So	1 Tideka	2 Tjomana
Fa-Da	3 Tideka	4 Tjomeedj
Mo-So	5 Jaka	6 Tjomana
Mo-Da	7 Jaka	8 Tjomeedj
Br-Br	9 Aka	10 Nanaker
Br-Si	11 Aka (ElBr) Nanaker (YoBr)	12 Auwaai (YoSi) Nanaker (ElSi)
Si-Si	13 Auwaai	14 Nanaker
Hu-Wi	15 Tjomboeria	16 Tjomees
FaBr-BrSo	17 Mamakaai (FaElBr) Tideka (FaYoBr)	18 Mamakaai (YoBrSo) Tjomana (ElBrSo)
FaBr-BrDa	19 Mamakaai Tideka	20 Mamakaai Tjomeedj
FaSi-BrSo	21 Mamakaai (FaElSi) Tademeedj (FaYoSi)	22 Mamakaai (YoBrSo) Tjomana (ElBrSo)
FaSi-BrDa	23 Mamakaai Tademeedj	24 Mamakaai Tjomeedj
MoBr-SiSo	25 Baboeai (Babiedj)	26 Annaitj
MoBr-SiDa	27 Baboeai (Babiedj)	28 Annaitj
MoSi-SiSo	29 Tjomenara	30 Annaitj
MoSi-SiDa	31 Tjomenara	32 Annaitj
FaFa-SoSo	33 Tettebore	34 Tjomaran
FaFa-SoDa	35 Tettebore	36 Tjomaran
FaMo-SoSo	37 Abaga	38 Tjomaran
FaMo-SoDa	39 Abaga	40 Tjomaran
MoFa-DaSo	41 Tettebore	42 Tjomaran
MoFa-DaDa	43 Tettebore	44 Tjomaran
MoMo-DaSo	45 Abaga	46 Tjomaran
MoMo-DaDa	47 Abaga	48 Tjomaran
FaBrSo-FaBrSo	49 Aka (Nadjirem)	50 Nanaker (Nadjirem)
FaBrDa-FaBrSo	51 Auwaai (Nadjirem) Nanaker	52 Aka (Nadjirem) Nanaker
FaBrDa-FaBrDa	53 Auwaai (Nadjirem)	54 Nanaker (Nadjirem)
FaSiSo-MoBrSo	55 Temmenie	56 Temmenie
FaSiDa-MoBrSo	57 Temmenie	58 Temmenie
FaSiSo-MoBrDa	59 Temmenie	60 Temmenie
FaSiDa-MoBrDa	61 Temmenie	62 Temmenie
MoSiSo-MoSiSo	63 Kommoen	64 Kommoen
MoSiDa-MoSiSo	65 Kommoen	66 Kommoen
MoSiDa-MoSiDa	67 Kommoen	68 Kommoen
WiFa-DaHu	69 Tjomon	70 Tjomnaboeria
WiMo-DaHu	71 Tjomegoea	72 Tjomnaboeria

Pairs of kinsmen	term for former	term for latter
HuFa-SoWi	73 Tjomanaar	74 Annauwies
HuMo-SoWi	75 Tjomeribor	76 Annauwies
WiBr-SiHu	77 Tjomesau	78 Tjomoeëedj
WiSi-SiHu	79 Tjomesau	80 Tjomoeëedj
HuBr-BrWi	81 $\frac{\text{Tjomerrek (HuElBr)}}{\text{Tjombedidj (HuYoBr)}}$	82 $\frac{\text{Tjomerrek (YoBrWi)}}{\text{Tjombedidj (ElBrWi)}}$
	81 $\frac{\text{Tjomerrek (HuElSi)}}{\text{Tjosamir (HuYoSi)}}$	82 $\frac{\text{Tjomerrek (YoBrWi)}}{\text{Tjosamir (ElBrWi)}}$
HuSi-BrWi	83 $\frac{\text{Tjomerrek (HuElSi)}}{\text{Tjosamir (HuYoSi)}}$	84 $\frac{\text{Tjomerrek (YoBrWi)}}{\text{Tjosamir (ElBrWi)}}$
FaBrWi-HuBrSo	85 Jaka	86 Tjomana
FaBrWi-HuBrDa	87 Jaka	88 Tjomeedj
FaSiHu-WiBrSo	89 Mamaree	90 Tjomaran
FaSiHu-WiBrDa	91 Mamaree	92 Tjomaran
MoBrWi-HuSiSo	93 Jaka	94 Tjomana
MoBrWi-HuSiDa	95 Jaka	96 Tjomeedj
MoSiHu-WiSiSo	97 Tettebore	98 Tjomaran
MoSiHu-WiSiDa	99 Tettebore	100 Tjomaran
WiBrWi-HuSiHu	101 $\frac{\text{Tjohameere}}{?}$	102 $\frac{?}{\text{Tjombedidj}}$
	101 $\frac{?}{\text{Tjomesau(?)}}$	104 Tjomesau(?)
WiSiHu-WiSiHu	103 Tjomesau(?)	104 Tjomesau(?)
HuBrWi-HuBrWi	105 Nadjirem	106 Nadjirem

Diagram of Kinship Structure in the Tor Territory

One term for: Fa		Mo	FaBr	FaSi	MoBr	MoSi	FaBrChi		FaSiChi	MoBrChi	MoSiChi	FaFa	FaMo	MoFa	MoMo	Child
<i>Berrik</i>	FaBr FaSiHu MoSiHu	MoSi MoBrWi FaSi FaBrWi	Fa etc.	Mo etc.	SiSo SiDa	Mo etc.	siblings		siblings	siblings	siblings	FaMo MoFa MoMo	FaFa etc.	FaFa etc.	FaFa etc.	BrChi SiChi HuBrChi HuSiChi WiBrChi WiSiChi
<i>Bora-Bora</i>	FaBr FaSiHu MoSiHu	MoSi MoBrWi FaSi FaBrWi	Fa etc.	Mo etc.		Mo etc.	siblings		MoBrChi	FaSiChi		FaMo	FaFa	MoMo	MoFa	BrChi SiChi HuBrChi HuSiChi WiBrChi WiSiChi
<i>Ségar</i>	FaBr	MoBrWi FaBrWi	Fa				siblings		MoBrChi	FaSiChi		MoFa MoSiHu	MoMo	FaFa MoSiHu	FaMo	BrChi HuBrChi HuSiChi
<i>Ittik</i>			FaFa FaSiHu MoFa MoSiHu	FaMo MoMo	SiSo SiDa	MoBrWi FaBrWi	siblings		MoBrChi	FaSiChi		MoFa FaBr FaSiHu MoSiHu	MoMo FaSi	FaFa etc.	FaMo FaSi	
<i>Mander</i>	FaBr	MoSi MoBrWi FaSi FaBrWi	Fa	Mo etc.	SiSo SiDa	Mo etc.	siblings		MoBrChi	FaSiChi		MoFa FaSiHu MoSiHu	MoMo	FaFa etc.	FaMo	BrChi SiChi HuBrChi HuSiChi

Index

- Acculturation: 24-26, 45-55, 91, 92, 113, 209, 237-241, 244, 260 (see culture change)
- adoption: 1, 41, 103, 114, 115
- adultery: 34, 95, 137, 138, 142
- agathis: 11, 90, 91, 93, 94, 116, 117 (see danmar)
- age-group: 37, 38, 43, 44, 156, 191, 209
- AIRMATI: 25, 26, 127
- ambilineal: 126, 182-184, 186
- ambilocal: 123-126, 177, 183
- ambobbot*: see namesake
- Ansoedoe: 19, 50, 52 (see coast, east of Sarmi)
- Apauwar: 11, 13, 24, 29, 50, 75, 85, 95, 96, 109, 156, 216, 236, 250, 266
- avoidance: 82, 106, 110, 113, 115, 134, 136, 137, 139, 160-165, 173, 174, 185, 215, 251, 261
- Bachelors: 2, 31, 38, 39, 45-47, 58, 59, 64, 65, 71, 75, 77, 78, 82, 99, 102, 104, 110, 111, 114-117, 121, 128, 132, 134, 135, 138, 142, 144, 192, 194, 196, 203, 206-210, 213, 231, 246
- BAGOEIDJA: 26, 52, 76, 81, 89, 109, 157, 209, 238
- barter: 2, 53, 88-90, 209, 238
- bat: 58, 59, 143, 217-219, 221-223, 226, 230
- BEEUW: 1, 3, 5, 18, 20, 21, 23, 29-31, 35, 37, 41, 44, 46-48, 53, 54, 88, 89, 92, 113, 125-127, 140, 144, 179, 182-184, 200, 248, 266, 269
- BENERAF: 12, 22, 26, 125
- BERRIK: 1, 9, 17-21, 23, 25, 28-31, 34, 45, 46, 57, 79, 89, 92, 93, 105, 116, 126, 127, 144, 149-153, 155-159, 163, 168, 170, 171, 176, 180-182, 184, 189, 190, 210, 220, 229, 248, 249, 257, 258
- Bettaf: 19, 50-52, 114 (see coast, east of Sarmi)
- bilateral: 105, 116, 123, 176-184, 187, 188, 237
- bilocal: 123 (see ambilocal)
- Biri: 13, 21, 22, 26, 27, 46-49, 84, 218, 237
- birth: 2, 4, 37, 38, 41, 43, 83, 142, 199, 202, 226, 239, 254-256, 260, 268
- rate: 4, 40, 42-45, 260
- blood: 14, 224-227, 259, 262, 263, 267
- Boaf: 22, 27, 46, 47, 51, 57, 58, 225
- boar: 2, 15, 32, 51, 62, 64-66, 69-72, 75, 77, 80, 83, 89, 129, 144, 196, 209 (see pig)
- Bodem: 20, 21, 43, 57, 58, 84, 90, 93, 94
- Boe: 1, 9, 10, 11, 13, 20-23, 26, 27, 35, 43, 47-51, 57, 72, 84, 88, 90-93, 133, 218
- BONERIF: 1, 19-23, 28, 30, 31, 33, 42, 46, 53, 54, 57-60, 77, 79, 87, 88, 92, 93, 96, 115, 126, 133, 139, 140, 144, 150, 163, 180-182, 184, 189, 220, 221, 226, 234, 248, 258, 269
- bor*: 36, 216, 223, 224, 226 (see penis)
- BORA-BORA: 1, 3, 18, 23-26, 28-31, 34, 37, 40, 41, 44, 46, 50, 52-54, 61, 65-67, 72, 75-77, 81, 83, 85-90, 100, 101, 103-108, 110-112, 114, 116-118, 121-123, 128-131, 133, 134, 139-141, 145, 149, 150, 153, 155-159, 163-166, 169-172, 175-188, 193, 195, 196, 202, 209, 210, 237, 238, 240, 242, 255, 256, 257, 268, 269
- Borgesoe: 35, 224-226, 253, 259, 260
- BORTO: 21, 23, 27, 33, 144
- breast: 221, 225
- bride-price: 92, 109, 112-114, 121 (see marriage)

- Cannibalism: 216, 259, 200
 cassowary: 16, 51, 62, 63, 90, 223, 224, 245
 ceremonies: 2, 14, 64, 94, 95, 100, 102, 112, 117, 139, 191, 195, 230, 232-235, 239, 241, 252, 254, 256 (see *faareh*, feasts, marriage, religion)
 chieftainship: 96, 193, 196, 210 (see korano)
 clan: 178, 187, 204
 coast: east of Sarmi: 12, 19, 21, 22, 26, 42, 43, 48, 50, 51, 52, 66, 85, 112, 114, 145
 people of the: 12, 19, 89, 92, 93, 111, 113, 241
 community: 112, 113, 117-122, 130-133, 139, 142, 143, 148, 178, 179, 186, 187, 197, 202, 203, 206, 207, 210, 219, 223, 226-228, 236, 238, 239, 245, 256 (see *deme*)
 coincidence: 106, 107, 113, 115, 116, 141, 155, 161, 169, 175, 178, 179, 189, 202
 conflict: 35, 87, 103, 168, 181, 189, 194, 195 (see quarrel)
 cousins: cross: 105, 106, 116, 117, 151, 153, 154, 156, 166, 172, 174, 175, 180, 184-186
 parallel: 105, 106, 116, 117, 155, 156, 166, 172, 175, 180, 184, 186
 creation: 14, 51, 83, 239, 249-251
 cult house: 3, 5, 15, 23, 32, 34, 35, 42, 50, 59, 64, 66, 135, 174, 192, 196, 212, 253 (see *faareh*)
 culture: 3, 4, 7, 11, 12, 14, 17, 19, 23, 36, 42, 43, 45, 46, 52, 53, 54, 111, 120, 134, 139, 140, 150, 154, 155, 190, 195, 255
 area 3, 11, 12, 13, 23-25, 28, 29, 45-55, 89, 134, 149, 166, 190, 237, 238
 boundary: 11, 12, 19
 change: 42, 141, 142, 199, 208 (see acculturation)
 differences of: 12, 17, 19, 22, 36, 37, 46, 58, 140, 229, 238, 240, 245
 hero: 87, 224, 248, 252, 253

 DABE: 12, 19, 20, 150
 dammar: 2, 4, 11, 13, 20, 30, 43, 45, 48, 75, 79, 81, 84, 87-95, 192, 195, 240, 266, 270
 dance: 25, 28, 45, 52, 71, 91, 118, 190, 194
 Dangken: 17, 20, 28-31, 45, 52, 126, 144
 DARANTO: 1, 3, 18, 23, 28-34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 48, 53, 54, 57-61, 63, 65, 68, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 81, 84, 85, 88-90, 95, 116-118, 123, 125, 126, 127, 136, 140, 141, 144, 149, 156, 159, 160, 179-182, 190, 191, 196, 200, 237, 238, 260, 262, 266, 268, 270
 death: 30, 34, 37, 64, 71, 81, 86, 114-117, 167, 169, 184, 199, 202, 204, 212, 221, 226, 234, 244, 247, 250, 254, 261, 263, 265-271
 deme: 178-184, 186-189, 237, 245, 266
 demon: 224, 252-254
 disease: 12, 34, 44, 45, 147, 212, 233, 234, 240, 243, 244, 253, 262, 263, 269, 270, 271
 divorce: 120
 Djamé: 25, 26, 53
 complex: 26, 52, 53, 145

 Echoud, J. van: 3, 17, 132, 134, 156, 213, 214, 221-223, 232-236, 251, 260
 endogamy: 30, 105, 107, 113-116, 121-127, 152, 164, 165, 175-179, 181-183, 187-189, 191, 237
 endolocal: 125, 127, 178 (see marriage)
 ethnocentrism: 28, 92, 190
 exchange: 30, 72, 75, 82, 88-90, 92, 107, 108, 110, 112, 118, 119, 131, 138, 152, 160, 163, 195, 235, 236
 of gifts: 27, 28, 108, 112, 135, 148, 160, 195 (see marriage)

Faareh: 25, 32, 50, 51, 64, 66, 87, 209, 212-240, 248, 249, 255
 family: 2, 22, 36, 40, 41, 58, 65, 71, 94, 124, 128, 151, 165, 178, 180, 188, 197-206
 domestic: 78, 99, 109, 111, 164, 178, 186, 187, 197, 200-206
 nuclear: 58, 77, 122, 124, 165, 167, 169, 172, 178-181, 186, 187, 197, 198, 201-205
 Fatrau: 239, 242, 245
 complex: 46, 52, 53, 240, 253
 house of: 46, 212, 213, 139-247, 264 (see initiation)
 feast: 2, 28, 52, 54, 66, 71, 77, 80, 91, 109, 111, 118, 144, 187, 192, 209, 210, 213-216, 219-223, 228, 230, 234, 237, 238, 244, 246, 252, 259
 fertility: 40, 42, 43, 136, 222-226, 234, 239, 250
 rate: 40-43
 flute (sacred): 3, 14, 42, 50, 64, 65, 83, 87, 97, 108, 110, 112, 148, 168, 174, 186, 187, 210, 213, 216, 217, 227-239, 246, 248, 250, 252, 256, 263, 264

- Foewin: 9, 10, 13, 22, 23, 48, 50, 88, 90, 116, 117, 156, 159, 196
- FOJA: 1, 22, 23, 26-30, 42, 46, 47, 49, 52, 113, 115, 125, 136, 140, 144, 171, 221, 226, 237, 240, 259, 260
 mountains: 46
 pass: 11, 22, 27, 46-49, 84
 food: gifts: 28, 66, 72, 73, 106, 121, 128, 147 (see gifts)
 distribution of: 64, 70, 80, 96, 109, 118, 132, 147, 238, 266
 scarcity of: 36, 53, 79, 93, 99, 141, 177, 202
 friendship: 34, 47, 86, 95, 147, 148, 166, 238, 252, 269
- Gauttier mountains: 1, 9-11, 22, 27, 45, 46, 48-50, 67, 90, 264
 ghosts: 247, 254, 261, 262
 giant: 225, 226, 227
 gifts: 27, 28, 66, 72, 73, 93, 102, 106, 108-114, 121, 128, 132, 160, 168, 195, 236, 258 (see exchange)
- GOEAMMER: 1, 23, 45, 46, 52, 54, 58, 59, 77, 86, 89, 114, 115-117, 123, 141, 144, 150, 153, 155-159, 166, 170, 172, 177, 179-186, 200, 202
- Hawaiian (cousin terminology): 153, 166
 healing of sick: 242-244, 247, 253, 255, 262-265
- Idenburg: 1, 11, 22, 27, 45-47, 49, 237 (see Lake Plain)
 incest: 82 (see avoidance and taboo)
 infanticide: 36, 39
 initiation: 14, 46, 82, 183, 191, 207, 208, 212, 229, 239, 241-247, 253, 255, 264
 intercourse (sexual): 34, 46, 74, 81, 82, 92, 99, 100, 102, 109, 111, 113, 115, 116, 118, 122, 127, 134-144, 162, 169, 190, 199, 202, 222-226, 231, 233, 247, 259, 260
- Iroquois (cousin terminology): 153-155, 166, 172
- ITTIK: 1, 3, 20-23, 26, 31, 40, 42, 51, 53, 54, 58, 79, 83, 84, 86-88, 105, 111, 113, 118, 124, 125, 129, 135-137, 141, 144, 149, 150, 162, 165-171, 173, 174, 175, 177, 180, 184, 185, 189, 191, 197, 198, 201-205, 218, 226, 248, 258, 259, 269
- Joking (relationship): 114, 115, 116, 135, 139, 140, 225, 258, 259
- Kangaroo: 143, 144, 230, 259, 260
- KAOWERAWEDJ: 132, 134, 156, 162-164, 187, 209, 222, 223, 234, 237, 251
 karawari: 212 (see cult house)
 kindred: 178, 181
 kin group: 96, 101, 117, 165, 177-179, 187, 189, 197, 209, 235, 237
 kinship: 17, 27, 28, 70, 71, 80, 97, 103-106, 116, 124, 258, 261
 structure: 46, 52, 164, 170, 171, 174, 176-188
 terminology: 19, 21, 23, 25, 46, 52, 53, 107, 113, 114, 147-176, 180, 184, 262 (appendix 5)
- korano: 20, 22, 23, 85, 96, 125, 130, 132, 197, 210
- KWERBA: 9, 25, 29, 45, 52, 53, 89, 90, 158, 266
- KWESTEN: 9, 19, 28, 29, 46, 50, 77, 144, 149, 181, 184, 248, 257
- Lake Plain: 11, 15, 22, 27, 45, 49, 52, 84, 166, 240, 244
 leader(ship): 21, 96, 97, 129, 130, 132, 133, 241, 242, 245, 257
 Leeden, A. C. van der: 3, 6, 12, 15, 19, 25, 29, 38, 42, 52, 53, 96, 109, 131, 132, 139, 154, 156, 164, 166, 176, 182, 185, 187, 213, 216, 260
 levirate: 114-117, 138, 151, 162, 164, 171, 173
 lineage: 178, 187, 204
 linton: 96, 120, 198, 203, 204
- Malia: 13, 32, 50-52, 87, 224, 247, 248, 249, 252, 253
- Mamberamo: 13, 15, 17, 25, 26, 38, 46, 47, 93, 95, 96, 109, 132, 134, 156, 187, 209, 212, 218, 222, 233, 237, 240, 248
- MÄNDER: 1, 2, 3, 22-24, 26-30, 32-34, 37, 40-42, 44, 46-49, 52-54, 57-61, 63, 65, 68, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 81, 84, 85, 88-90, 95, 105, 106, 116, 119, 124, 125, 128-130, 133-137, 140, 141, 144, 149, 162, 165, 166, 171-175, 177, 180, 182, 184, 185, 189-191, 197-205, 226, 234, 237, 240, 257-262, 264
- marriage: by capture and elopement: 114, 117-120
 by exchange: 90, 101, 107, 113-119, 121, 122, 126-128, 135, 136, 142, 145, 154, 155, 161, 162, 168, 172, 176, 235

- infant: 38, 43, 108, 110, 111
 love: 47, 108, 114, 119-122, 124, 139, 143
 preferential: 104
 prohibitions: 104, 105, 116, 119, 175
 residence in: 45, 79, 122-127, 177, 178, 182, 183, 187
 masculinization: 38, 39, 107, 207, 210
 matrilineal: 85, 106, 117, 170, 235, 236
 matrilocal: 122, 123, 125
 Melanesian: 52, 114
mengan-ceremony: 2, 46, 53, 82, 102, 191, 246, 254, 259-260 (see initiation)
 migrations: 12, 13, 17, 19, 22-24, 26, 46-50, 52, 53, 92, 116, 202
 Mission: 12, 43, 45, 53, 54, 71, 92, 197, 210
 Seventh-Day Adventist: 6, 55, 79, 90, 95
 MOEGIT: 1, 26, 27, 49, 118
 monogamy: 128, 130, 131
 moon: 219-223, 230, 234, 249
 mother's brother: 66, 86, 102-104, 151, 152, 157, 158, 167-169, 173, 176, 185, 207, 235, 236, 241, 242, 244-246
 Murdock, G.P.: 123, 128, 131, 148, 151, 153, 165, 178-181, 200, 203-205
 myths: 12, 13, 19, 25, 42, 45, 50-52, 59, 69, 87, 91, 144, 148, 167, 174, 186, 192, 224, 226-228, 231, 241-246, 248, 259, 265
 Nabarsof: 244, 246, 248, 249, 252, 253
 NAIDJBEEJ: 1, 2, 3, 25, 26, 29, 34, 39, 44-46, 52, 53, 55, 59, 65, 68, 76, 87, 89, 90, 101, 107-109, 111-113, 115, 117, 118, 123, 127, 139-141, 145, 149, 158, 159, 164, 174, 177, 187, 196, 215, 237, 238, 240, 266
 name: 70, 86, 113, 115, 150, 151, 159, 160, 162, 178, 182, 235-237, 243, 253, 262, 267
 giving: 4, 70, 104, 134, 207, 257
 sake: 65, 104, 258
 of tribes: 19, 177
 of villages: 17-20, 35
 neolocal: 122, 123, 124
 Oerbcfareh: 13, 20, 35, 59, 81, 88, 92
 Oetantifié: 13, 228, 234, 247-251
ondowaffi: 22, 85, 86, 177, 201, 230, 237
 ownership: 71, 72, 86, 96, 125, 237 (see property)
 Patrilineal: 85, 106, 117, 126, 170, 175, 177, 186, 187
 patrilocal: 122, 123, 125, 126, 175, 177, 187, 237
 penis: 36, 82, 140, 221-227, 231, 260
pepéda: 75, 78, 81, 82, 100, 109, 113, 115, 117, 139, 144, 216, 225, 226, 231, 246, 259
 phallus: 221-228 (see penis)
 pig: 32, 51, 64, 70-72, 75, 86, 96, 97, 125, 141, 209, 210, 215, 220, 224, 225, 227, 231, 238, 243, 244, 245, 248, 251, 252, 262, 263, 265, 267, 271
 polyandry: 127
 polygamy (polygyny): 43, 78, 79, 114-117, 127, 128, 200, 204
 potlach: 28, 80, 266
 prestige: 28, 64, 66, 72, 80, 96, 97, 118, 131, 132, 238, 243, 266
 property: 59, 64, 71, 72, 74, 76, 83-88, 96, 108, 124, 190, 229, 239, 262, 266, 267
 public opinion: 91, 94, 132, 142, 183, 191, 192, 193, 196, 197, 210
 Quarrels: 17, 54, 60, 93, 102, 111, 124, 193, 258 (see conflict)
 Rain: 14, 51, 67, 234, 249, 250, 252, 253
 religion: 14, 28, 31, 34, 57, 68, 80, 81, 94, 95, 148, 168, 190, 209, 211-271 (see ceremonies, cult house, feasts, flute, etc.)
 rites: 40, 42, 148, 193, 195, 221, 224, 226, 232, 233, 246, 254, 256
 mortuary: 254, 261, 262
 de passage: 254-262
 rivalry: 27, 28, 238, 266
 Sacrifice: 251, 252
 SAFFRONTANI: 18, 19, 72, 89, 92, 123
 sago: 3, 11, 12, 14, 21, 28, 29, 32, 33, 44, 52, 57-61, 68, 70, 72, 73, 75, 77-84, 87, 88, 99-101, 109, 111, 113, 118, 120, 125, 128, 129, 132, 134, 135, 138, 139, 141, 143, 147, 163, 190, 198, 200, 201, 202, 206, 207, 214, 215, 218, 219, 220, 222, 224-226, 228, 229, 234, 236, 239, 241, 247, 253, 255, 261, 271
 saliva: 263, 267
 SARMA: 25, 55, 76
 Sarmi: 9, 11, 24, 50, 52, 94, 134, 156, 166, 187, 209, 229, 232, 238
 Western interior of: 3, 11, 12, 15, 19, 24-26, 29, 30, 38, 45, 50, 52-54, 75, 89, 90, 93, 96, 109, 131, 132, 139, 144, 145, 149, 150, 154, 156-158, 164, 165, 166, 175, 176, 186, 187, 222, 237, 240, 260
 SEGAR: 1, 9, 23-25, 29, 37, 40, 44-46, 52,

- 57, 65, 66, 72, 81, 89, 96, 105, 107, 109, 112-115, 120, 126, 128-130, 132, 134, 140, 141, 145, 149, 158, 164, 174, 177, 187, 193, 220, 234, 237, 238, 240, 257
- SEWAN: 18, 118
- sex: disparity between: 37-40, 45
 division of labour: 73-77, 94, 121, 124, 131, 133, 200, 201, 203, 262, 263, 265
 siblings: 27, 65, 76, 82, 86, 103-105, 112, 115-117, 124, 134, 136, 138, 139, 151, 153-156, 161, 165, 166, 172, 177, 178, 180, 183, 185, 186, 200, 209
- Sidoearsi mountains: 9, 10, 11, 26, 90, 93
- snake: 237, 241, 242-245, 264, 265, 267
- social: father: 114, 116, 127, 151, 167, 168, 169, 173
 group: 38, 45, 179, 189-210
 organization: 4, 24, 38, 45, 124, 126, 172, 177, 182, 200, 201, 206, 239
- soeangi: 110, 112, 190, 212, 247, 265-271 (see sorcery)
- SOEBAR: 23, 26, 46-49, 84, 237
- songs: 25, 26, 45, 52, 60, 61, 68, 143-145, 190, 193, 219, 221, 231-233, 243, 244, 246, 255, 261, 262, 265
- sorcery: 2, 17, 23, 27, 28, 30-34, 45, 54, 55, 81, 90, 111, 112, 147, 190, 191, 246, 247, 264, 265-271
- sororate: 114-117, 162, 169
- status: 80, 96, 97, 102, 104, 114, 115, 118, 124, 127, 129, 131, 148, 167, 168, 169, 172, 176, 181, 185, 193, 207, 208, 227, 228, 238
 differences: 95-97, 213, 226-230, 236, 239, 240, 247, 260 (see woman)
- structure (social): 3, 36, 80, 109, 176
 looseness of: 36, 183
- sun: 234, 249
- supernatural beings: 224, 228, 247-254
- symbol: 59, 100, 214, 217-228, 233, 240, 249, 262, 265
- Tabacco: 79, 143, 155, 164, 268, 269
- taboo: 134, 142, 150, 159, 160, 192, 193, 215, 223, 224, 232, 233, 240, 246, 254-256, 258, 261, 262
- Taminambor: 20, 35
- Tennem: 10, 24, 35, 50, 238
- Tenwer: 13, 17, 30, 31, 34, 79, 92, 93
- territorial rights: 21, 177 (see property and ownership)
- trade: 54
 silent: 30, 88
- transition: 112, 114, 149, 198
 area: 11, 23, 24, 149
- tribe: definition of: 17
 origin of: 17 (see also community, deme and name)
- Unilineal: 156, 170, 176, 177, 178, 182, 184-188
- WAF: 1, 3, 18, 23, 24, 28, 31, 34, 37, 40, 41, 44-46, 50, 52-54, 57, 66, 69, 72, 75, 77, 83, 86, 88, 89, 121, 123, 140, 141, 150, 153, 155, 159, 163, 166, 170, 172, 176, 179-181, 183, 185, 186, 196, 200, 238
- Wakambak: 242, 243-246, 249, 252, 253, 264, 265
- Wambo: 65, 143-145, 223, 247, 252
- war: 4, 26, 27, 29, 36, 39, 44, 48, 53-55, 118, 251
- WARES: 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 46-49, 52-54, 84, 113, 115, 118, 119, 136, 145, 240
- widow(er): 41, 43, 44, 106, 114, 115, 120, 131-133, 163, 202, 206
- women: shortage of: 38, 40, 77, 78, 103, 107, 110, 113, 115, 116, 118, 126, 128, 142, 181, 208
 status of: 80, 94-96, 102, 114, 118, 131, 176, 197, 213, 226, 227, 229, 231, 236, 239, 240, 243, 253
- Woske: 12, 18, 25, 118, 156



1. People of the Tor

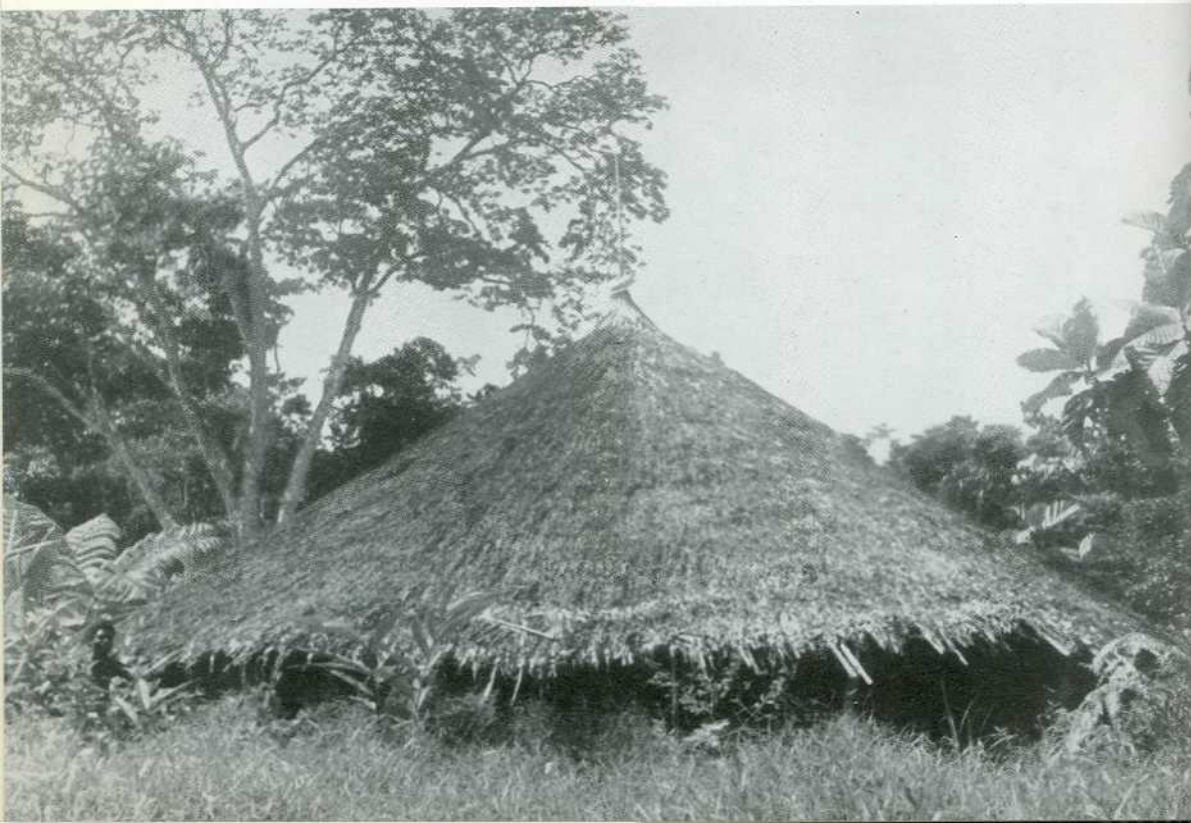
2. The Ségar man Marraitj





3. Fishing by poisoning the water

4. The *faareh* (cult house) of the Naidjbeedj





5. *Faareh* under construction
Notice the very long rafters



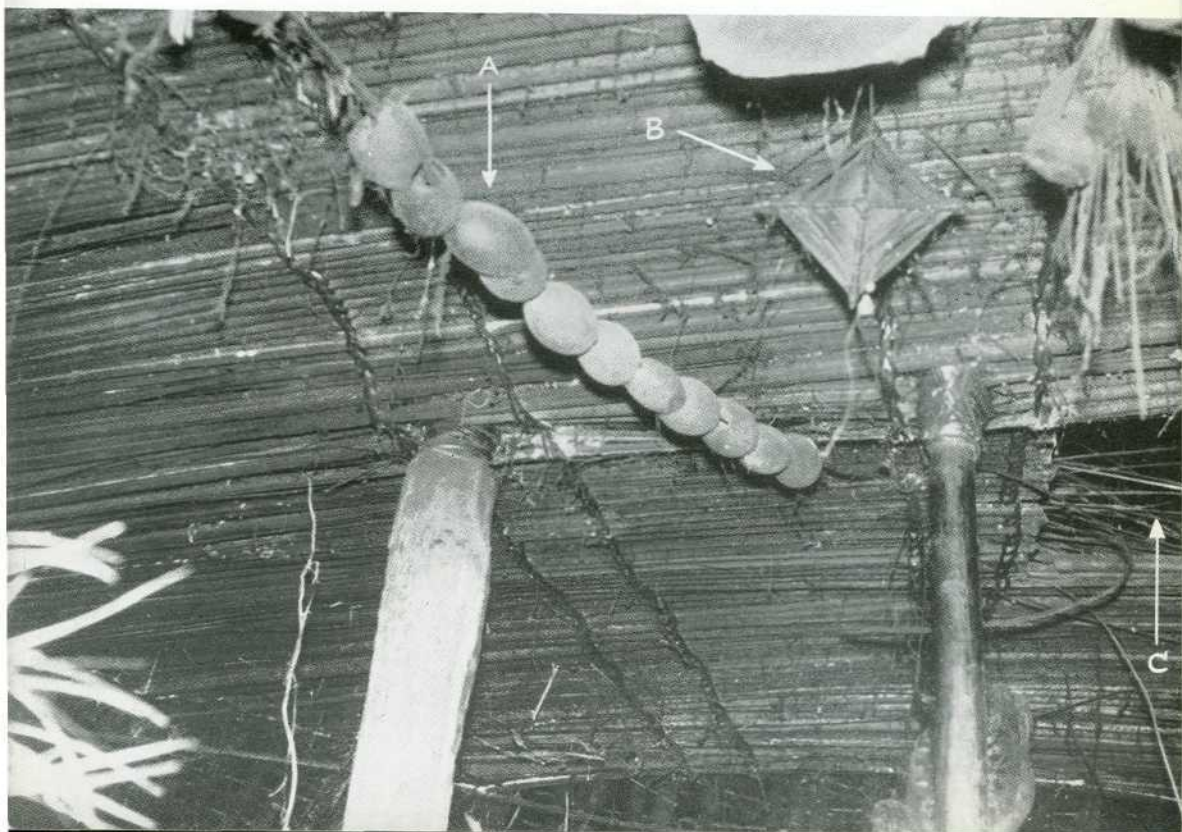
7. Male dancers in the *faareh*;
their hands resting on the beams of the first floor.



6. The covered gallery of the *faareh*

8. Interior of the *faareh*

arrow a) string of blown out eggs of the brush turkey arrow b) symbol of the bat arrow c) entrance to the garret





9. Sacred flutes kept in the *faareh*
others standing beside the fireplace



10. The sacred flutes are blown



II. Healing of the sick by 'feshizic'

LANGUAGES AND TRIBES OF THE TOR TERRITORY

SCALE 1:100,000

LEGENDA

--- --	LANGUAGE AREA	OF THE	BERRIK
.....	"	"	KWERBA
- - - - -	"	"	DABE
.....	"	"	BONERIF
++++++	"	"	ITTIK
.....	"	"	MANDER
- - - - -	"	"	FOJA
.....	"	"	WARES

	TRIBAL TERRITORIES	○	MAIN-VILLAGE
	BEEUW TRIBAL NAMES	△	BRANCH-VILLAGE
			MOUNTAIN-TOP
		750	HEIGHT IN METRES

