

THE ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM, STOCKHOLM

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JOHN-ERIK ELMBERG

BALANCE AND CIRCULATION

Aspects of tradition and change among
the Mejprat of Irian Barat

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For Annika, Måns and Lisen

Preface

This book is based on fieldwork carried out during two periods by the writer in the Doreri part of Irian Barat (Bird's Head peninsula of Western New Guinea). In 1953 my application for a visa to do anthropological research in the Mamberamu—Baliem area was first granted, then countermanded a few days before my departure from Sweden. On arriving in Hollandia I was advised by the Dutch governor to start working instead around Ajamaru, a government station recently established in the interior of the Bird's Head peninsula. No information on its people was available to me before I was flown in. I spent the months May and June there, then after sick leave (July—September) also the next six months (September 28th—March 15th, 1954). I returned for three months in 1957 (September 26th—January 1st, 1958).

During elaboration the data soon appeared suitable for a demonstration of the interconnectedness of significant aspects in a socio-cultural system. These aspects also evidenced a process of change, stimulated by external influences which to some extent appear to have been sought, incorporated and adopted by the Mejprat. It should be mentioned that in my fieldwork I had not been intent upon testing a theory or solving some specific anthropological problem. I trust, however, that the principles of balance and circulation will shed some light on the nature of social cohesion in this kind of socio-culture, which has sometimes been labelled "open" or "loosely structured" (v.d. Leeden 1960; Power 1960).

In my descriptions and analyses of Mejprat norms and behaviour I have utilized some concepts that may be of interest also for conditions outside the Mejprat world, but the character of these studies is largely descriptive and interpretive, with some asides on how I acquired a certain knowledge, which process appears to possess a certain didactic value.

If some day a Mejprat should read this book, I hope he will accept my gratitude to his people for the part they played in making this book possible. Some, like Semer Sarosa, Safom Isir and Kasom Karet became keen and optimistic helpers without whom I should not have managed to cover the area the way we did. Others, like Chawer Sarosa, and his wife Wefo Kampuwefa, Pum Isir and Rupasa Tānaw have patiently tried to make me grasp the reality of their social and cultural world.

Acknowledgements are due to shipowner Sven Salén, Stockholm, and to Erik Grate, then Professor at the Academy of Fine Arts, Stockholm, whose friendly resourcefulness made my trips to New Guinea possible.

The following institutions and funds have supplied financial support to my field work and subsequent studies: Helge Ax:son Johnssons Stiftelse, Huma-

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Fil. dr. Ingvar Andersson, retired Archivist to the King, and Professors Bernhard Karlgren, Stockholm, and Carl-Gustav Izikowitz, Gothenburg, have shown a warm and active interest in my work in many ways, for which I remain deeply grateful. I have also profited from discussions or correspondence with Professor Alfred Bühler of Basel, the late Professor J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong of Leiden, Professor Otley Beyer of Manila, Dr Agnes Geijer of Stockholm and Mr. J. Langewis of Castricum, Holland, and from prolonged visits to the ethnographic museums and institutions of Basel (Museum für Völkerkunde), Leiden (Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde), London (British Museum) and Lisbon (Instituto Portugues de Aryueologia, Historia e Etnografia).

While in New Guinea, parts of my stay were made much more pleasant through the endeavours of Professor J. van Baal and his wife (he was then the Governor of Western New Guinea), Controlleur V. v. d. Veen and his family, Controlleur J. Massink, Aspirant-Controlleur G. Honnef, and Bestuur-assistent W. Achmat.

I must also thank Professor Sigvald Linné of the Ethnographical Institution of the University of Stockholm for the patience and sympathy he has been able to offer me and Docent Gösta Montell for the working space he made available.

To Docent C. Ehlert (Institute of general linguistics) I owe thanks for the time he took to discuss the Mejprat linguistic situation, and to my present chief Bengt Danielsson, Director of the Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm, for his understanding and encouragement. Mr. Keith Bradfield has earned my gratitude for his efforts to turn the language of the manuscript into English.

It is my pleasant duty also to thank also my friends and colleagues in social anthropology at the Ethnographical Institution, Stockholm, who like me took an interest in the field work, and were ever ready to share their knowledge and experiences, and to discuss the implications. I am indebted to all of them, but most to B. A. Bob Dreher, Fil. kand. Camilla Hollander, Elisabet Lind, Pekka Niämelä and Björn Ranung who shows his fine craftsmanship in the drawings.

Finally I should like to thank Fil. kand. Annika Elmberg, my wife, for the work she has done for me over many years, typing and retyping sections of the manuscript, making entries in the vocabulary file and typing out texts and translations. Mrs Rut Oldenburg has typed most of the final version including the Appendix and Mrs Sibylla Haasum typed the notes; I am very grateful for their help with this onerous task.

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Introduction

Orthography

The transcription of Mejprat used in this book is based on a tentative phonematic analysis¹. According to this analysis Mejprat contains 6 vowel- and 11 consonant phonemes. The vowels arranged according to their phonetic realisation are:

<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>ä</i>	<i>a</i>

The relevancy of the differentiation between /*e*/ and /*ä*/ is demonstrated in e.g.: *fe*, "skilful", *fä*, "not"; *ke*, "fruit, harvest", *kä*, "hollow"; *ne*, "give, emit", *nä*, "miss, lack"; *se*, "entire", *sä*, "empty".

The consonants given below in phonemic arrangement are:

	plosives	fricatives	nasals	resonants
labial	<i>p</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>w</i>
dental	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r</i>
palatal	<i>k</i>	<i>x</i>		<i>j</i>
velar				

The pronunciation of plosives unaspirated.

A phonetic description appears necessary in three cases:

1. /*f*/ is an unvoiced labial [*Φ*] or labiodental [*f*] fricative.
2. /*x*/ (transcribed *ch*) is an unvoiced velar fricative (as in German *Bach*).
3. /*r*/ is an alveolar flapped tremulant or an alveolar lateral, probably in free variation.

Quantity is not phonemic.

Stress. When, in polysyllabic words the first vowel is /*e*/, stress falls on one of the following syllables as indicated by the sign ' , e.g. *mená*. In other cases the first syllable is stressed as a rule. Second or third syllables containing /*ä*/ are always stressed but no sign is supplied.

¹ The aim of a phonemic analysis is to establish the sound units which are linguistically functional (See Gleason 1961). Phonemic transcription, in which each letter symbolises a phoneme, is usually given between slant lines. In the text of this book phonemes are just printed in italics.

The Setting

The Mejprat are a swidden-making Papuan population in the interior of the Bird's Head peninsula. An estimated 16,000¹, they live in the 4 administrative districts (Marä, Ajfat, Ajamaru and Ajtinjo) surrounding Lake Ajamaru, which consists of three minor lakes according to Mejprat terminology: Maru Tä, "the eastern or upper lake", Semetu (the middle lake), and Maru Jow, "the western or lower lake". Another, smaller lake in the southernmost district is called Lake Ajtinjo. The shores of the central lake are muddy and shallow. Secondary forest usually stops a hundred metres from the shore, leaving a marshy grassland (*miäch*) in between. In some parts north and south of the lake, "plains" (*semók*), are covered with very poor red earth. Surrounding the grassland and the plains, the "karst" area extends some 20 or 30 kilometres beyond the lake. This is an expanse of green hills, resembling sugar loaves huddled together. Beyond the "karst" area, the mountainous, high country (*cho*) begins, covered with dense jungle (*räwa* or *tiám*). The country nearest to the central lake is called *sa*, signifying "mouth of river, opening, strand".

The lake is situated some 200 metres above sea level. The rainfall is generous; in 1954 5,591 mm were registered at Ajamaru, of which 2,478 mm during June, July and August. October, November and December are the months with the least rain. Conditions during these months are sometimes like a drought, causing a great scarcity of food.

The Mejprat depended for their sustenance on gardening, collecting, and fishing. Hunting was occasional. Fishing was in many places occasional — sometimes being restricted to times of exceptionally low water, when fish were caught by poison which stunned or killed them. Only around the three central lakes, where fish were introduced by Government initiative, did people fish regularly. A great deal of fish was used for exchange. In most places, the daily protein need was satisfied by collecting and consuming sago grubs, butterfly larvae, locusts, snails, lizards, and frogs, with occasional additions of eggs, birds, fledglings and mice². Seasonal hunting (in October—December) was observed when flying foxes were shot with blow pipes. Wild boar, opossum and ground kangaroo were also reported to be hunted during the same period. Pigs and kangaroos at this time made nightly visits to the taro swiddens. Most of the game was used in ceremonial exchange. There was a marked tendency to make great feasts at the beginning of this season. The Mejprat also collected additional greens, especially gnetum leaves and edible bamboo stalks, and much of this was also included in ceremonial exchange.

Most people made themselves two new swiddens a year, and helped a number of relatives to make theirs. Taro, yam and sweet potato were grown regularly,

¹ The following statistical specifications and historical notes are found in Galis 1956a

² Hooen (1956) rightly stresses the importance of this type of food.

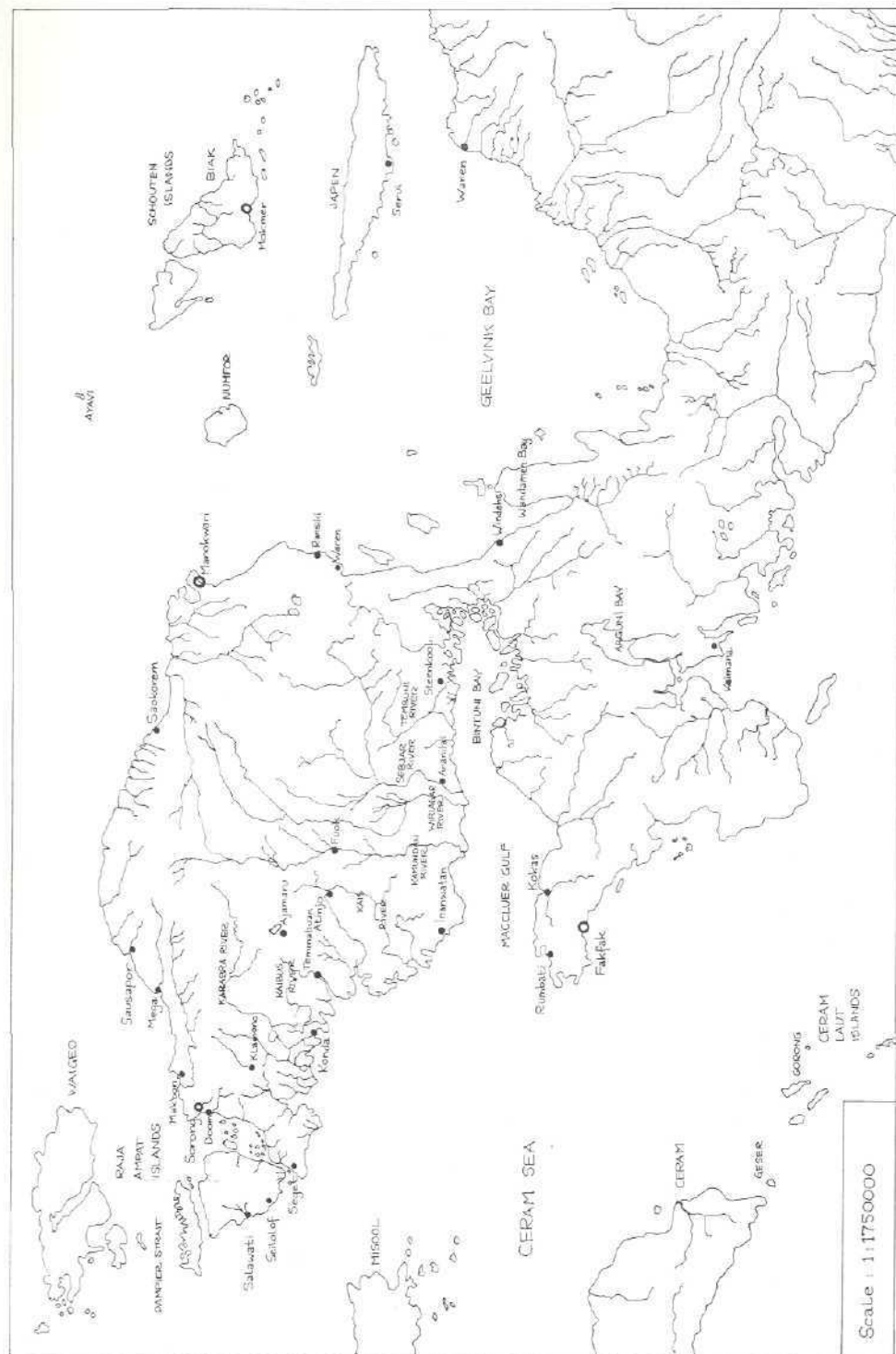
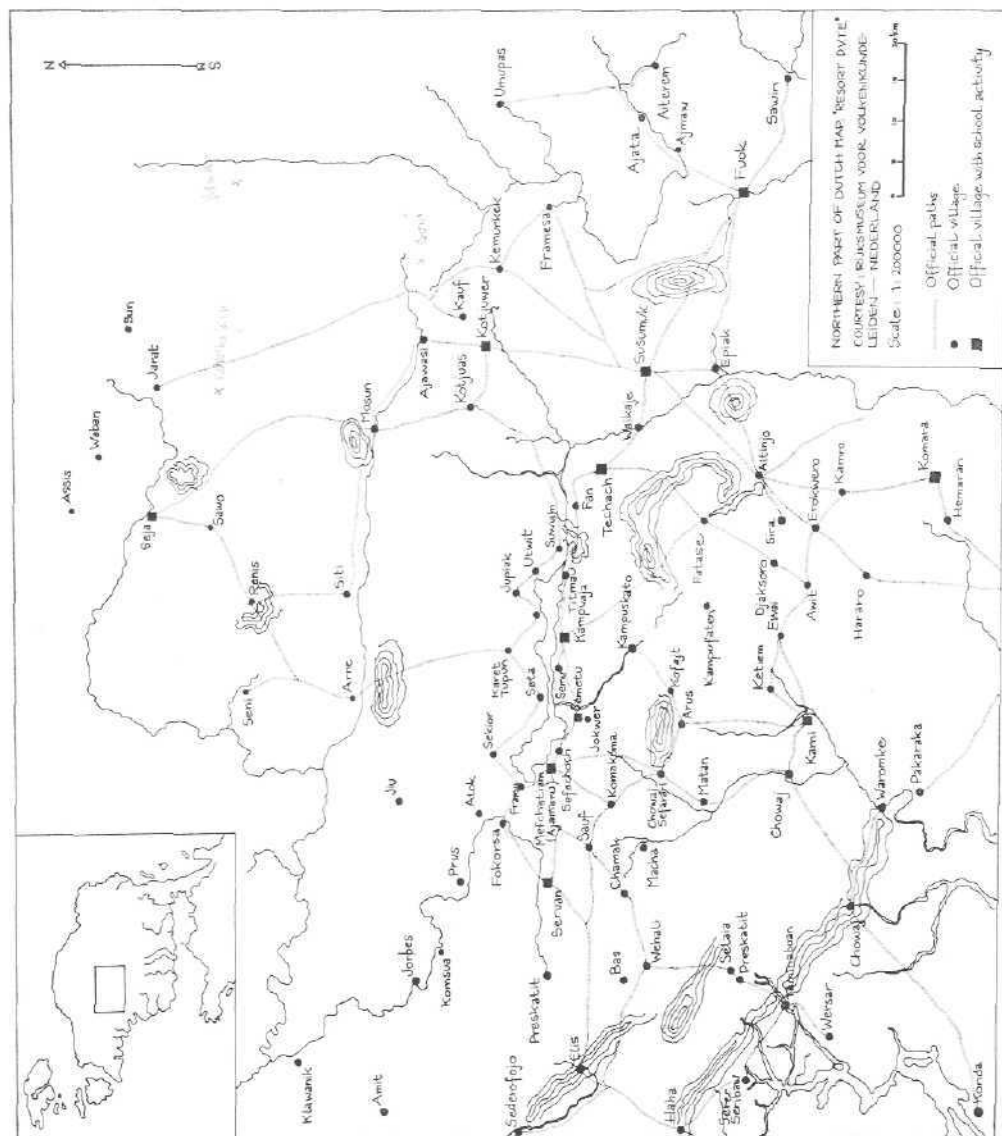


Fig. 1. Map showing position of the Doreri part (Bird's Head of Irian Barat).



yam and sweet potato on a much smaller scale from cuttings off the tubers. The old taro stalks were used as seedlings with a small part of the tuber still attached, similar to the custom on the island of Biak and to what was done with the "wild" tubers in the Great Andamans ³. Sugar-cane, *Abelmoschus-spinach*, and sometimes maize and *Saccarum edule* were additional plants put between the regular taro rows in the vicinity of the lakes. In some parts, ground nut, green peas and beans have lately been added as cash crops, while in the northern parts maize has an old standing as the "exchange crop", usually exchanged for foreign textiles, iron tools and canoes.

Communications inside the traditional world were of a great importance for cooperation and exchange. To be an experienced traveller (*merú*) was a term of praise. The Mejprat of both sexes were great walkers. When arriving at their destination women often composed "songs of the road" (*sióch is*), proudly recounting the places they had passed, and the events and incidents that had taken place, while people listened carefully. The net of pathways around the central lakes was well developed already when the first Dutch mapping party appeared for a short stay in 1908.

The Mejprat divided the non-related neighbours in "antagonists" (*m'pa*) and "people from distant parts, unknown people" (*serim*). In the western Prat part for instance, both the coastal people of Teminabuan and the Mejprat of Fuok (and most of the eastern part) were considered antagonistic, while unrelated Sawiet people as well as the northern Mejprat around Seni and Seja were regarded as just "unknown" and possibly as trade contacts. You had your trade friends (*tafóch*) among "unknown" people, not among the antagonists. Antagonists were reported formerly to have practiced slave hunting in the territory of the informant or to have cheated in extra-regional exchange. Judgements about unrelated groups differed greatly even inside the same part of the area and people from two adjacent villages walking to a third, had often to use very different paths to get there.

From 1924, Government patrols used the paths to make an appearance at irregular intervals. Not until 1934, however, can their presence be said to have had a major influence on Mejprat society, when orders were given to form villages called by the Malay term *k a m p o n g*. The Mejprat seem until then to have lived on their swiddens in small groups, occasionally meeting in larger groups for a few days to celebrate a feast. In October 1935, the first "hill district" with a number of kampongs was established around an administrative centre in Ajtinjo. The formation of villages around the central lake was not started until after 1950. In 1953, the larger villages like Mefchadjam, Kampuaja and Fouk had a school and a teacher, while smaller villages like Semu, Chowaj Sefarari and Framu had none. The schools functioned also as

³ Brown 1933 (1948, 152); Feuilletau de Bruyn (1920 mentions this method, which is still followed.

churches, and the Indonesian or Papuan teachers represented the Protestant or (in the eastern part), Catholic mission.

Village houses were built on both sides of a path, often at considerable distances from the swiddens. This created many problems for all concerned. The teacher complained that the schools often stood half empty. In 1957, some villages, like Jiu (no houses) and Sení (one dilapidated house), were only nominal; and the four houses in Kawf stood empty for weeks on end. Every village had one *kepala kampung*, village chief, who was given a dress and a badge by the Government. He was regarded as "the Government's man" and in a general way as responsible for making the Government's will known to the villagers. There was no Mejprat name for him. Government agents had also created lower chiefs called by the Malay titles, *radja*, *orang kaja*, *majoor*, *kapitan*. These belonged in the old tradition of coastal trade and techniques for bringing uncontrolled areas under administration.

The Mejprat traditional leadership of the medicine man or the eldest brother (or sibling?) was generally one of *primus inter pares*. The popotship of "big men" in the Prat part was achieved and the groups were fairly small. These new village chiefs thus had only the power they derived from association with the Government and the uncertain power the population informally accorded them in their sometimes timely function as "go-between". Every Mejprat had a personal name and a name regarded by the administration as a "family name". People with the same "family name" were officially regarded as of one *fam*, the Dutch-Malay term identified with (patri) "clan"⁴. The chiefs were regarded as chiefs of a *fam* or one of its branches.

Mejprat men who were ambitious to wield power or who had been in jail, where they had learnt some Malay and military camp manners, were offered the opportunity to function as clan chiefs or sub-clan chiefs. As will be shown later the paternal "fam"-name (thought necessary for Government registration) was also an innovation⁵.

The inherent paternal values of the Christian religion, the rather patriarchal attitudes of school teachers and the lower ranks of Indonesian and Papuan civil servants and military personnel, must have influenced the situation to a considerable degree. It is difficult to appreciate the impact of the methods used in introducing these new ways. School teachers, evangelists and lower civil servants, who in the eyes of the population are the representatives of the Government and the new ways (connoting superiority, wealth and success), were all male and, of course, used male channels to make their will known to the rest of the people. Their resounding denunciations about the local men behaving like "women", (*perempuan*), were heard in almost every village we visited and implied the greatest inferiority. Women could not be

⁴ Massink 1955, 9. The term *fam* is explained on p. 00.

⁵ Pouwer (1955, 102—3) recorded similar conditions in Mimika.

used as carriers (*kuli*) or roadworkers for the oil company (which was termed important work by the Government men) and could consequently not earn money the way men did. They were once again singled out as something unimportant. These aspects will be mentioned here in passing because they tend to be overlooked, but are playing a part in the process of transformation. *How* great a part, can be appreciated by the fact that although they will be shown to be contrary to traditional Mejprat ideals, even the last Controleur of Ajamaru, complained in 1955 about "the rigorous patriarchal system" shared alike⁶ by the population and the lower civil servants ("bestuurs-ambtenaaren"). He does not question the nature of this coincidence, nor does he give details of the "patriarchy" which he makes appear excessive. This condition seems a natural outcome of the forcible introduction of a number of important patrilineal and patrilocal features in the area, along with an unbalanced (if unintentional) show of male superiority.

Previous research

In 1954 an ethnographic survey with some paradigms of linguistic categories was incorporated in the present writer's field report (mimeographed), which was printed with a few additions in 1955¹. Indications of asymmetric as well as symmetric alliance were mentioned among the problems of Mejprat kinship terms; suggestions of bilaterality were noticed together with signs of unilineity, and the apparent lack of unity in parental terms for children was stated². The importance of the locality was stressed in matters of descent and group adherence³, although no precise picture was formed of these functions.

A difference was also indicated between the (traditional) feasts of the life cycle and the feast type called the Sachafra—Sepiak. The character of the imported ikat cloth as a medium of exchange also in the life cycle was established, and its imputed power was traced to the spirit Lord of the locality⁴. The popot leaders (entrepreneurs) were somewhat carelessly labelled "bankers", but the economic ties and tensions between the popot and their dependents were recorded, as was the existence of people who remained aloof from the popot⁵. The question was raised as to whether the popot-ship had developed out of local collective enterprises like the canoe building and maize-growing of the northern Mejprat, through contact with trade happy immigrants from the coast, or through a combination of both influences⁶.

⁶ Massink 1955, 26.

¹ The titles were: Notes on the Mejprat people of the Ajamaroe District (1954) and Fieldnotes on the Mejprat people of the Ajamaru District of the Bird's Head (Vogelkop), Western New Guinea (1955).

² Elmberg, 1955, 27, 28, 33, 99.

³ Idem, 27, 99.

⁴ Idem, 84—86, 32.

⁵ Idem, 34, 37.

⁶ Idem, 33, 96.

This report was dated March 1954. In May the District Officer at Ajamaru initiated an action to abolish the cloth as a means of exchange and got a certain immediate response from the population; later, however complications arose. In December the D.O. wrote of the easy dissolution of the system and of how the abolition obviously did not upset the Mejprat view of life⁷.

As an answer to this preparedness to move with the new times, new plans were discussed for the future of the Mejprat people. To assist the planners, a survey was made by Galis⁸ of the existent governmental reports and notes concerning traditional life and westernizing activities in this area. Galis, an anthropologist and officer of the Native Affairs Department at Hollandia, pointed out the non-traditional character of the village chiefdom, suggested that local groups were lineages rather than clans, and tentatively presented some categories of a dual system of classifications. He there joined "woman" and "death", opposing "man" and "life" in what now appears an un-Mejprat fashion⁹.

He discerned a difference in customary behaviour between the population of the north eastern part (close contact with maternal relatives) and that of the south western part (more contact with paternal relatives)¹⁰.

In the same year Pouwer, then a government anthropologist, spent some 6 weeks mainly, it appears, in the southern-most part of the area, doing some "preliminary research into the social structure"¹¹. In a subsequent article called "The problem of the kain timur" (i.e. the imported ikat cloth) he appears to make generalisations about Mejprat behaviour from such local experiences without reference to previously published data. The ideal marriage is stated to be with the MBD, and the Mejprat are considered to be ordered in rigidly patrilineal clans, although "irregular ramifications of sub-clans occurred"¹². Marriages, sometimes matri-local, are described as neither symmetric nor of an asymmetric connubium type. On this level he still considers the Mejprat woman as an article of exchange¹³.

Of more interest are his discussions of the exchange between bride-givers and bride-takers and of the emphasis laid on a difference between allegedly "sacral" cloths and "profane" cloths after the government had received and taken care of a huge amount of cloth¹⁴. He argues that the religious and

⁷ Massink 1954, 26.

⁸ Nota nopens het Ajamaroe-gebied (1956a).

⁹ Idem, 31, 55.

¹⁰ Idem, 55.

¹¹ Pouwer 1957, 317—319.

¹² Idem, 318.

¹³ Idem 301, 306. To judge from his latest map (1966, 274) he still works largely from what can be regarded as southern data when he classifies Mejprat cousin-terminology as Omaha. Data in this book are mostly northern in comparison.

¹⁴ Burnt or taken into custody: in Terminabuan District 205 pieces of cloth, in the Ajamaru District 365 and in the Ajtinjo District 314 pieces (Galis 1956a, 40).

ritual aspect of the feasts are of a subordinate importance, sometimes only a pretext. He terms the ceremonial long-house (Sepiak) a profane "gaming-house" and throws grave doubts also on the "sacral" nature of the Sachafra¹⁵. The popot are supposed to work their debtors with lavish generosity until they lose face and pay off their debts. The abolition of this cloth system had created a dangerous vacuum, the population was roused and the situation unfavourable¹⁶.

He finishes by saying that Western agencies had taken action. Apparently, this action comprised a new plan for the entire area and the restitution of a number of cloths that were now circulating with a governmental stamp on them.

The present author revisited the area in 1957, living for the most part in the neighbourhood of the north eastern village of Kawl but also making a tour of the some western, northern, eastern and lacustrine villages. The results were published in some preliminary notes¹⁷. It is pointed out that the use of "police Malay" for the investigations could be seriously misleading. A number of official "clan" names denoted a certain locality and a man (but apparently no woman) could alter this name if he moved to a new locality, in which case his ghost (after death) joined the local Lord of the ground¹⁸.

Together with indications of a vivid interest in horizontal kin and affinals and with the bifurcate merging type of kinship terms, this hardly spells a rigid patrilineity. The popot exchange is described as a series of feasts connected in some parts with four different houses, built to discharge also obligations connected with the life cycle. The popot leaders are reported to be largely dependent on the cooperation of their wives and very often to be members of the men's initiating societies. The ceremonies of the latter had essential similarities with those of the initiation for women. Finally the presence is recorded of patola-patterned cloth and bronze tympana of a Dong-So'n alloy, which appeared to testify to contacts with the great trade routes between mainland Asia and the archipelago.

In 1959 there appeared also an article by Barnett deriving from "his work on the survey of Native Welfare programs made in 1955 at the invitation of Netherlands New Guinea Government"¹⁹. The paper does not state under what circumstances the data were collected, but it does give an interesting view on the process of change.

The Mejprat — here called the Ajamaroe — are described as having lived in a state of mass anxiety, led by head-men who had proved themselves to be outstanding killers as well as wealthy popot. They had been waging an incessant if petty war against one another. Their activities were suppressed

¹⁵ Pouwer 1957, 308, 309.

¹⁶ Idem, 313, 319.

¹⁷ Elmberg 1959: Further notes on the northern Mejprats.

¹⁸ Idem, 72, 73.

¹⁹ Editor's preface in AA Vol 61:6 1959, VIII; Barnett 1959.

by the arrival of the Dutch who are said to have bribed them with beads, fish hooks etc., inducing them to declare a general amnesty, to abolish the system of warrior capitalism and to settle the population in villages.

Then the popot, "robbed of their natural right to murder and mayhem", began a "rapacious pursuit" of cloth in which everybody joined as peaceful conditions expanded²⁰. In consequence, the administration had to spend much of its time settling disputes and investigating suicides; the bride-price went up, the marriage rate went down and domestic quarrels intensified. The popot ceased to exist, and with them all the attendant bonds and groupings of relations and nonrelatives that their operations created, physically and psychologically²¹.

When the D.O. made the suggestion to abandon the cloth and to burn the "secular" items, it was soon agreed to have all ikat cloth out of circulation in six months. This is supposed to have led to growing villages, an increased number of marriages, more children being borne and coming to school—and the expectation that jeeps and trucks would soon arrive, "as if a bargain had been made . . ." ²². The Mejprat had also stopped celebrating their death feasts and now it appeared that the spirits of the recently dead caused them to be sick and their crops to fail. The Mejprat "were caught in a spiral of doubt and fear", i.e. fear of their ghosts and fear of the administration, until a third party (the author?) brought the people's complaints into the open²³. This apparently led to a permission to use registered and stamped ikat cloth in the feasts of the life cycle.

In an account and analysis of the popot feast cycle, the present writer in 1966 demonstrated a parallelism between this cycle and a traditional feast cycle, explaining the former as an acculturated form of the latter²⁴. The traditional process of feasts contained two almost parallel minor cycles of female and male initiation respectively, ending in a joint ceremony (Samu-chaj), in which a major life cycle was concluded (final funeral) and new ones inaugurated through the presentation of the sexually active neophytes ²⁵.

An number of conceptual oppositions were recorded as well as certain total representations in which such oppositions were joined. Examples of the former were:

²⁰ Barnett 1959, 1016.

²¹ Idem, 1018.

²² Idem, 1017.

²³ Idem, 1018, 1019. Pouwer (1957, 315) records that after the decision to abolish the cloth, the lower civil servants had acted very resolutely against any one who dared to give a critical comment on the cloth agreement.

²⁴ The Popot Feast Cycle.

²⁵ Elmborg 1966a, 132, 133.

sunrise	sunset
east — south	west — north
up, high	down, low
female	male
right	left
hot	cold
birth	death
red	black
Tu (female dema form)	Mos (male dema form)

Such oppositions seemed to be ceremonially joined e.g. in the performances of transvestites and the so-called Mechar women, of whom the left side was conspicuously male, the right side female²⁶; in the “hot” and “cold” houses of the Sachafra feast site; on the Sepiach site, where one female house was connected with the Megapodius bird and one male house with the pig; and in the case of two leaders cooperating in the rites of initiation (one connected with “life”, another with “death”).

The feasts can be ordered ²⁷ in a series of increasing complexity. Traditionally only initiation called for a closed feast house; other feasts of the life cycle were conducted in the open near a spirit tree or a cave. The feast cycles of the male secret societies were conducted on a feast site where four or five different types of closed houses were built, some of them huge, representing the cave dwelling of the dema. The traditional leader was a medicine-man or -woman termed “experienced person” and “moderator”, while in the newer forms the leaders were termed “cloth grabber”, “applier of dangerous heat”, “deadly sorcerer” and “axe man”. The shift was from traditional house types to types considered to be of extra-Mejprat origin. The patrilineal ideal of the “fatherly” popot seemed to some extent to be modelled on that of the coastal agent called “the axe-man”, who expected from his clients a dependent—like behaviour.

Finally two outstanding configurations are pointed out: that of a dynamic balance between complementary opposites and that of a circulation. The latter was demonstrated in the cyclic processes of feasts, in the ideal circuital itinerary of an exchange cloth, celebrated in special songs; in the dema’s sending out of a soul and receiving it back as a ghost; and in the traditional idea that 20 celebrated feasts comprised “a completed task”, resulting in the planting of a tree for the person who had achieved it.

The acculturated popot form of Mejprat feasts stressed a cycle of five feasts and emphasized strongly the cold, male and lethal aspect. It can be seen as substituting the static popot-follower relation for the traditional and alternat-

²⁶ Idem, 26, 32, 104.

²⁷ The following is taken from the section “Conclusion” (137—142).

ing roles of bride-giver and bride-taker, formally counting out women and denouncing inconvenient females as witches who were to be killed.

In a short article published the same year, the present writer also points out that Mejjprat names are related to important phases of the bearer's life and connected with his physical development, his participation in exchange group activities or a performance of individual feats²⁸. As a result of an important event a complex of interconnected new names are applied to the place of the event, to the participants and the near relatives and valuables (cloths, spears, bush knives).

This mechanism, it is argued, can be regarded as an expression of intra-group solidarity and/or a stimulation of it; and it can serve to emphasize continuity and to give formal stability in a cognatically organized society like that of the Mejjprat. Favourite topics in Mejjprat traditional stories and myths centered around exchange²⁹. Extra-regional exchange took place regularly and the Mejjprat exchanged bark-cloth, massoi, nutmeg, birds of paradise and slave children for above all cloth and iron tools from neighbours who were characterized as not war-like.

It thus appears that the solidarity of the cognatically organized Mejjprat is maintained in response to certain cultural norms regarding exchange between "hosts" and "guests", bride-givers and bride-takers—not primarily for defensive or aggressive purposes as Barnett suggested and as Langness found among the Bena Bena³⁰.

Field work and theoretic considerations

For the reasons stated in the preface, field work started in the form of exploratory study¹ to make a survey of the Mejjprat around the government station of Ajamaru. This survey was intended to throw some light also on the Mejjprat preoccupation with imported cloth which was used in ceremonies so frequent that the administration considered them detrimental to the intended stimulation of agriculture and life in the permanent villages².

The collection of data was begun by an unstructured observation of daily life in the village of Mefchatiam, and by informal interviews with some Malay-

²⁸Elmberg 1966b.

²⁹ And food, it should be added.

³⁰ Langness 1964, 180. Also Berndt (1964) argues this influence for other peoples of the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea as well.

¹ Selltiz 1959, 51.

² Veen 1953, 6. He describes how "the surreptitious participation in initiation and similar feasts" . . . "for long times keeps the population far away from the village" and "brings the administration numerous difficulties indeed". Galis (1956, 40) mentions that already in 1950 attempts were made to attack the system and "abolish the pressing payments of cloth".

speaking³ Mejprat who could be persuaded to let me accompany them in their daily work. A few of them gradually agreed to act as interpreters, but their usefulness was limited; with one exception they were connected with the popot feast cycle in progress in Mefchatiam⁴ and had vested interests in almost every aspect of local life.

The avowed purpose of my enquiries was to write a book covering the customary behaviour and the myths (a d a t) of the Mejprat. This (I argued) could render their way of life intelligible in their own terms to e.g. the administration. My association with the popot allowed me to record important linguistic data, the procedure employed in ceremonies and the work connected with them. However, it made people outside their circle, or people who were only reluctantly dependent on the popot, wary of my inquisitiveness.

Any Mejprat liked to speculate on the benefits arising from someone else's lending him one or more cloths, but he was completely adverse to making statements about his own (real) planning or resources. Questions as to who did what to whom in the observed exchange transactions were deeply resented and eventual answers unreliable⁵. Most people turned away and went off without a word. No information was offered that might be used against them.

Ultimately, I learnt enough of the language to make also enquiries on my own. With two helpers acting as carriers, cooks and interpreters I set out to collect comparative data from other parts of the area. Time was spent living for short periods (seldom longer than a week) in various shelters on swiddens, in feast houses and occasionally in empty village houses in the lacustrine, northern and eastern parts. This pattern was repeated during my second visit in 1957. It was necessary also because of the scarcity of fresh food which easily arose with three extra guests.

As uninvited guests we were variously received, first usually by ironical remarks and guarded answers, and after some time not seldom with more understanding and tolerance. We bartered our daily fresh food against salt, tobacco and razor blades, and paid for our presence at the ceremonies with cloth and salt, receiving food in return. With an increasing knowledge of diverse Mejprat ways of life, we aroused some favourable interest and it once happened (1957) that a middle-aged man followed us to several places persuading the local people to cooperate. School teachers acted rather in the converse manner, but schools were few.

Mejprat informants stated that they made swiddens for a certain ceremonial purpose like a funeral feast, an initiation feast or a marriage feast, and thus not simply in order to eat. These "feasts" (*poku*) were processes as defined for

³ Strictly speaking it is a form of Indonesian, used as a lingua franca. Cf Elmberg 1959, 72.

⁴ Idem 1955, 4—7.

⁵ Idem 1966a, 14.

instance by Beals⁶, i.e. as "a series of interlinked events which commences under certain defined conditions and which concludes under certain defined conditions. . .". My problem was to record and explain⁷ these processes, taking my starting point from the concrete work to which people were attending.

Major difficulties were that we could not pick the events we needed to observe, (we had to rely on chance and rumours) and that it was almost impossible to meet a definite person. Eventual agreements became upset, sometimes misunderstood or just forgotten.

The difficulties of transportation forced us to organize depots of canned food and rice in a number of places. Copal carriers returning from the cooperative shop in Ajamaru, or contract workers returning from the coast through Ajamaru were persuaded to take small consignments of such food to their distant home villages against a promise to pay the transport on my arrival there some weeks or months later. Finding the depots became more of a gamble than was intended when village sites had been moved or the entire village had taken off to a distant feast, faithfully taking the food depot with them. In 1957 we once managed to establish a kind of base in the village of Kawf during some nine weeks, thanks to the number of copal carriers walking between this village and Ajamaru.

However, for the first two weeks of each period I lived in the house of the Contrôleur (= District Officer) at Ajamaru, where I also spent the month of July 1953 (disabled in bed) and January and February 1954 (writing a field report).

At the time when my field notes were first worked out, Herskovits' hypothesis of the cultural focus appeared a profitable approach to the data⁸.

Since, according to the hypothesis, this focus should be a dominant concern of the people and the most highly developed aspect of culture, and since it was foreseen to represent potential or achieved cultural change⁹, the "popot feast" of the lacustrine Mejprat was considered to be a cultural focus.

That it was a dominant concern is corroborated by the authorities who recorded it as the occasion of cloth transactions¹⁰. Formally, no other ceremony appeared to be more complex. Finally, in the ceremonial data, a dichotomy was demonstrated between popot behaviour and traditional behaviour¹¹, which suggested a change in culture.

⁶ Beals 1967, 6.

⁷ Nadel 1951, 20.

⁸ Herskovits 1948, 544.

⁹ Idem 552, 554.

¹⁰ Masink 1954, 26: "(people are) kept busy all the time arranging their kain timoer (cloth, E.) business, collecting debts or paying them . . . An important part of the lives of the people is enacted in the roemah harta ('treasure house', E.) which could be compared to a stock exchange . . .". Cf Veen 1952, 6.

¹¹ Elmberg 1966a, 81, 82.

It was expected that, from the focal aspect, cultural patterns could be deducted which would explain the nature of the significant interactions. By concentrating on the popot feast, it appeared that a certain "family of phenomena"¹² could be isolated. The description of a number of different popot feasts showed that each feast belonged in a cycle, and by comparison two main kinds of cycles were established, one traditional and one acculturated¹³. All of them were closely connected with male and female initiation, and with the starting and the closing of the life cycle¹⁴.

The data needed for an explanation of such circuits proliferated at each turn of their course, and ethno-botanical, ceremonial and cosmological data, as well as social and economic data¹⁵, had to be considered in the light of the concomitant linguistic expressions and their semantic content. Since no general theory of cultural and social anthropology appeared to exist, I had tried to do as Leach and Needham described a few years later, namely to take the case as it came, and free (or as free as possible) of a priori assumptions, to try to understand the significant categories¹⁶—which to me meant as understood by the Mejprat themselves¹⁷.

Linguistic behaviour was consequently recorded whenever possible, especially as it soon became apparent that the many stereotyped phrases of what may be called police Malay¹⁸ were obstacles to understanding the categories that were specifically Mejprat.

This approach may well be termed a structural one, since both Herskovits and Lévi-Strauss have defined structure as a model after reality, fabricated in the mind of the student¹⁹. However, in my data, collected from participant observation, interviews (mostly informal) and linguistic material used in speech, are contained some conscious and unconscious models of the Mejprat, i.e. "mechanical models"²⁰. It is assumed that the semantic content in the terms of kinship, exchange transactions, and the patterns on exchanged cloths and bark cloths, express unconscious models. Conscious models are expressed in "jural rules"²¹, i.e. ideals of behaviour²² and in a certain aspect of Mejprat myths. These myths then explain and perpetuate patterns of status and social interactions.

¹² Nutini 1965, 710.

¹³ Elmberg 1966a, 134.

¹⁴ Idem 133, 134.

¹⁵ The economic aspect remains incomplete. A competent treatment of Mejprat economy was said to be expected from the agricultural officer who stayed at Ajamaru for two years (1950 & 1951). Apparently it did not materialise.

¹⁶ Needham 1963, 41.

¹⁷ Sturtevant (1964, 99—101) calls this approach "ethnoscience".

¹⁸ Cf. Elmberg 1959, 72.

¹⁹ Herskovits 1948, 214; Lévi-Strauss 1958, 305.

²⁰ Lévi-Strauss 1953, 525—7; 1958, 308—9, 311.

²¹ Leach 1961, 9. Cf Barth 1966, 23.

²² Nutini 1965, 720, 726.

It is also assumed that mechanical models are essential to the understanding of indigenous categories and the nature of their interrelations²³. Whenever possible they are complemented by "statistical models" built on observations of frequency²⁴. Nutini has stressed that "models designed to explain a given social segment must never contradict other models designed to explain other segments of the global situation"²⁵. Here, the models arrived at in the various aspects of Mejprat data appear reciprocally compatible. The categories used in such models were complementary opposites more often than not. In significant processes, they were matched to achieve a dynamic balance and such a process in its entirety, or a series of such processes, was thought of as a completed circuit. The principles of balance and circulation were thus found to express a fundamental aspect of traditional Mejprat culture.

Finally, the diachronical material available can be used to shed some light on the problem of cultural and social change. Change was demonstrated especially when models of kin behaviour regarded as traditional were compared to models of popot behaviour, or when models of territorial organisation were compared. The assumption is made that the western Prat part was more open to outside influences than the other parts studied, because of its nearness to the coastal trade centre of Teminabuan²⁶.

The repercussions of recent changes²⁷ in the coastal trade conditions of western New Guinea seem to explain certain tensions among the Mejprat, especially in relation to female ownership of cloth and male endeavours to possess it.

The main principles of balance and circulation will be treated at length in their proper context, but the principle of feminacentricity may require some prefatory explanation. It was originally apprehended as a preference or bias²⁸, structuring the relation between bride-takers and bride-givers, as well as the children's terms for certain relatives of the parental generation. Its inherent value ("femininity" is classificatorily superior to "masculinity") was an inference from the observation of behaviour. The Mejprat "dema"²⁹ i.e. the regional form of superhuman energy, was the supreme expression of this principle; in various aspects it generated, included and reconciled all opposites.

Forms of feminacentricity may resemble such forms of matrifocal organisation as have been described by Geertz from Java. She describes them, however, inside the nuclear family and the household, as "the network of ties between related women", which manifests "general underlying patterns of dominance

²³ Lévi-Strauss 1958, 309, 310; Nutini 1965, 721.

²⁴ Lévi-Strauss 1958, 312; Nutini 1965, 721.

²⁵ Nutini 1965, 722.

²⁶ Elmberg 1966a, 124.

²⁷ Ibid. l.c.

²⁸ Nadel 1951, 388—9, quoting Bartlett.

²⁹ Elmberg 1966a, 12, note 5.

and solidarity between kinsmen”³⁰. The feminacentric principle had a wider field of application in traditional Mejprat society, since it also appeared expressed in general classifications, and in forms of social organisation, ritual and cosmology.

³⁰ Geertz, 1961, 78.

Part 1. Principles of social organisation

Principles of kinship organisation

Because the social relations and organisation of the Mejprat were not of a type as yet frequently observed, it seems important to present information as fully as the material allows. The data cover kinship terminology, rules on kin behaviour, residence pattern and marriage system.

The current discussion of methods in anthropology shows that the analysis of kinship systems has been proceeding along two main lines¹. One line may be represented by Murdock² who considers a certain type of terminology to indicate a type of lineality, caused primarily by marriage locality and economic activities. The other is represented by Lévi-Strauss who analysed kinship terms as expressions for basic structural principles contained in the system, and in the entire social and cultural order³.

In the Mejprat data, the lineal aspect seems traditionally of limited interest, while the relations between groups of alliance was of paramount importance. However, social units of the clan and lineage order (as well as the fundamental role of the nuclear family) were at first taken for granted, and the information therefore seemed utterly contradictory. Informants simultaneously used the introduced term *fam* officially denoting a patri-clan⁴ and conveying an idea of patrilineal descent and inheritance of land, and expressions for an order according to certain geographical categories. As a consequence, Mejprat kinship terminology was both compared to Murdock's type criteria of lineality and analysed for its linguistic contents in terms of principles of classification. Together with the data on marriage and social organisation, the data collected on kinship terms, kin groups and kinship rules of behaviour may be taken to reflect the relevant social aspects, of which the principles of balance and circulation seem to be of primary importance. They imply an order tending to balance or to arrange in harmony "male" and "female" elements, and to move such elements in circuits.

A change occurring some 50 years ago in the economic relations with the coast⁵, and the simultaneous acceleration of westernizing influences, have helped to develop new categories. In 1953, in the western Prat area, popot leaders also expressed ideals of "unbalanced" male authority, exclusively male economic

¹ E.g. in the presentation by Schneider 1965.

² Murdock 1949, chapter 8.

³ Lévi-Strauss 1960, 54

⁴ Massink 1955, 9.

⁵ Elmberg 1966a, 124.

cooperation, and polygyny as an expression of personal wealth; leaders of recently introduced secret societies taught the inferiority of women⁶; government servants had introduced also the stable concept of patrilineal clans, villages and village chiefs; missionaries administered the absolutes of Christian religion, ranging from "God" to "the devil".

The extent to which these non-traditional concepts have influenced traditional Mejprat culture was often indicated in the attitudes of the informants. However, the degree of the integration of the non-traditional concept was not considered to lie within the framework of a general investigation.

Kinship terminology

Mejprat informants stressed that a horizontal dimension of kinship in terms of *mapuf*, the consanguineal family (male Ego, M, MB, MBD), was their chief concern. Many protested — especially north and east of the lakes — against my questions aimed at the construction of lineal genealogies of the conventional type, and against my inability to cope with their lateral interest in the siblings of affines and affines of affines. This horizontal interest seems now a reasonable explanation for the difficulties encountered in 1953—54 and 1957 by the interpreters, when trying to obtain such "vertical" information. To me the interpreters explained that people were just stupid and did not remember their ancestors properly, since the government had moved them into villages. The informants reiterated *merá merú ma*, translated as "too slow", while I was plotting the precise size of each nuclear family before recording affinal relations. This phrase may actually mean "(in this way) the individuals are stopped from circulating" and probably implied that no attention was being paid to those relations through which the Mejprat gained a sense of the flow of men, services and things through their society, i.e. of the total exchange which they perceived as taking place in "circuits" (*merú*).

Kinship terms were collaterally differentiated only within the limits of the first ascending and the first descending generations. This expanse, termed *tená*, "the present", was normally regarded as covered by the life span of one individual. The consanguineal families to which he belonged were within the same range. *Po sej*, "a different thing", connoted earlier times.

It was common to remember relatives only from the first and second ascending generation, while experts retained names from the second generation and, sometimes, the third. A few experts belonging to immigrant units prided themselves on remembering the names from three or more ascending generations. However, for FFZ and her descendants they gave the terms used by their fathers⁷, and

⁶ Ibid 84—85, 121.

⁷ Idem 1953, 28; idem 1966b, 44—45.

the names above the level of FF usually contained such allusions to the functions of the regional dema and to the categorization in "male" or "female" elements⁸ that they should be considered fictive — possibly fabricated in some cases as a response to excessive stimulation from the observer.

The terms of the Prat part were observed rarely in daily life, except when small children were using the terms for F, M and MB, or adults for MB or ZS. The name of a person was commonly used both for address (directly) and reference (indirectly). An uncertainty was often found among male informants in the lacustrine part concerning the terms for FZ, affinals and cousins, as well as a tendency to use *na* and *nano*, B and Z, for almost every person of the informant's own generation. Similarly in the lacustrine part, a son or a daughter called the mother's collaterals and affines *nemä*, M, *namu*, MB, or *nemä-na*, "mother-people", and the father's collaterals and affines *natia*, F, *nati* (also *nano*), FZ, and *natia-na*, "the father-people". Female informants often seemed to get involved in discussions with each other (and the interpreters) about the term for FZS: *narä* was observed mostly, but *n'temó* or *narä* were finally regarded by many as more "correct". *Cha* or *n'tu*, both conveying the concept of "true", was added to certain terms when used by younger informants. This seemed primarily to distinguish the members of the speaker's nuclear family. Thus, if necessary, *natia cha* was used to denote the father of the nuclear family, in contradistinction to any other paternal relative whom ego might call *natia*. However, it was also used to denote any person whom ego regarded as fulfilling the ideal role of a certain relative. Thus many informants have included a person as a "true" brother or sister in their genealogies, even if they did not have the same parents.

Both Chawer Sarosa and his wife Wefo Kampuwefa originally included such persons: Chawer mentioned a FBWB as MB⁹, (he quarrelled violently with his genealogical MB for years), and Wefo included a classificatory sister Meja as a "true" sister. The real genealogical situation was only revealed when Wefo's youngest son Junus was asked to check certain information and pointed out this "error".

The Mejprat system of kinship terms is thus observed to function as a means of integrating desirable persons into the active category of close kin.

No case of a man incorporating someone as a "father" was observed outside the field of popot activities¹⁰, but instead as a "mother's brother", "sister's child" or "sibling of same sex". Since in several cases women were observed to extend the use of *nawn* or *nati*, *narä* and *na*, commonly denoting FZ, FZS an "sibling of same sex", it could be maintained that such incorporations emphasized sibling solidarity as well as certain relations of the consanguineal family. These relations seem especially important for the exchange enterprises connected with the feasts of the Mejprat life cycle.

⁸ Idem 1966b, 46—47.

⁹ Idem 1966a, 77, 151.

¹⁰ Ibid 80.

Finally, the term *tafóch*, “bride-giver, friend”, was used by males to denote any extra-regional exchange partner. It has also been observed as a term of polite address for strangers. *Tafóch* was then used reciprocally. Women commonly used *nará* for such a partner of friend of any sex.

By the genealogical method, the direct kinship terms listed below were obtained in the following 15 lacustrine villages from informants representing 19 official descent units, called *fam*:

Koma-koma (the Koma-koma *fam*), Chowaj-Sefarari (the Chowaj-Sefarari), Mefchatiam (the Sarosa, the Pres), Semetu (the Isir), Semu (the Susim), Jokwer (the Isir-mä), Kampuaja (the Kampuaja), Kampuskato (the Kampuwefa), Titmaw (the Titmaw), Utwit (the Karet), Jupiak (the Na), Tupun (the Karet-Tupun), Arne (the Tchompa, the Arne), Siti (the Juntä, the Tchopa) and Seni (the Semuniak, the Wen). If less than 19, the number of *fam* using a term is added within brackets.

	<i>Man speaking</i>		<i>Woman speaking</i>	
<i>na</i>	B, FBS, MZS		Z, FBD, MZD	
<i>nano</i>	Z, FBD, MZD, GCh, FZ(5)	WZCh(6)	B, FBS, MZS, GCh	HM, HMBD
<i>n'temó</i>	FZ, MBS, MBD(6)		FZD, MBS, MBD(11) FZS(3)	
<i>nemä</i> ¹¹	M(17), MZ(17) MBD(11)	FBW, MBW(4)	M, MZ, MBD(6)	FBW, MBW(4)
<i>namu</i>	MB, ZCh	FZH ¹ , WBD	MB	FZH(1)
<i>natia</i>	F, FB M(2), MZ(2), MBD(2)	MZH	F, FB	MZH, ZH
<i>nati</i> ¹²	FZ(10), FFZ, MFZ	MBW(12)	FZ(6), FFZ, MFZ	MBW(11)
<i>natat</i> ¹³	FM, FF, MF, MM		FM, FF, MF, MM	
<i>narä</i> ¹⁴	Ch, BCh	WZ, WZCh(13)	Ch, BS, BD(6), ZChHB, HBCh MBD(2), FZS(13)	
<i>senim</i> ^{15a}		FZH(5), DH, ZH, WB, WP		FZH(5), HZH
<i>natién</i>	FZ(4)	MBW(3), ZSW, BW SW, FZHZ		HF, HMB
<i>nafas</i>		FZH(13), WBS, MBWB		FZH(13)
<i>nara</i>		WZH	FZS(3)	MBW(4)
<i>nawen</i>			FZ(13), BD(13)	BW, HZ, HMBW
<i>n'tefájn</i>				
<i>n'ta</i>		W(15) W(4)		H

¹¹ The form *namä* also occurred.

¹² For FZ *nano* and *natién* were used by men but not considered correct.

¹³ For GrGP the term *chochos* was preferred by some western Prat people but a majority of lacustrine informants regarded it as a Sawiet term.

¹⁴ *Narä* also occurred.

^{15a} Informants used confusedly *senim* and *natién*, but for HF only *natién* was common.

This terminology had its centre in the lacustrine area, though it extended somewhat beyond it to Seni, where "northern" and "western" terminologies were also recorded. A genealogical survey of kinship terms (m.s.) was carried out at a greater distance from the lakes. The results showed three more main terminologies (see table p. 38 ff), one to the west of the lakes, another to the north of the lake area and a third east of it. South of the lacustrine part, no contact was made with different terminologies. In this section the terminologies of the western, northern, eastern and lacustrine parts will be discussed.

Some terms from outside the lacustrine part were not as firmly established as those from inside it. However, as can be judged from the table, the genealogies inside each local part show a high degree of accord.

A comparison of the four main terminologies shows parts of the adjacent Sawiet terminology to be used inside the borders of the western Mejprat linguistic areas. This corroborates the often repeated information regarding immigration from the Sawiet area. Two sets of kinship terms were actually used as far east of a traditional linguistic border as Mefchatiam. Linguistically, one set was Sawiet, the other Mejprat. Some of the immigrant Tuwit, Safokawr and Sarosa people there would use either set, depending mainly on what language they happened to be speaking, Sawiet or Mejprat; they showed, however, a preference even in Mejprat for the Sawiet terms *nasuóro*, MBD, *n'chäisi*, MZ, and *narúwiet*, yB. The northern and eastern term *sajuoch*, MBD, was used informally and occasionally as far away as in the villages of Siti, Jupiak and Kampuaja.

A closer affinity is shown between the terms of the lacustrine, northern and eastern parts than between the western terms and the rest. The western terms F, M, FZ, MB, MZ, FB, are formally the same as those of the adjacent Sawiet area, and are recorded in Elis and Seruwan^{15b}. Terms for MBW, MZH, S, D, and W show a divergence from the Sawiet terms, but no resemblance to the other Mejprat terminologies.

The northern terms for F, M, FZ, S, D and B show no formal resemblance to those in the other parts. Likewise, the eastern terms for F, M, FZD, MBD are different from those recorded in the other parts. Finally, the term *n'temó* was used in Sawiet terminology as well as in all recorded Mejprat terminologies; and the terms *nämä* (or *namä*, *nemä*) and *nafas* occurred both in the Sawiet terminology and in several Mejprat terminologies.

In 1953—54 the terms quoted above were in genealogical contexts the ones considered as "correct" (*kaket*), often after a discussion in which the interpreter became heavily involved. During the first half of my period of observation, the lacustrine, Malay-speaking interpreters were necessary when annotating the genealogies, since few informants spoke Malay. Such interviews can now be seen to have contained an element of formality, since the interpreters expressed ideas as to "correctness" that were non-local and tinged by

^{15b} Elmberg, 1955, 100. Those of Elis coincided with those of Seruwan.

Village and fam	Framu: Sarosa	Sefokawr: Sefokawr	Jiu: Semuniak Atok: Karet Prus: Sifre Seni: Sarosa
	<p><i>namon</i>⁷ = B, FBS</p> <p><i>narúwiel</i> = yB</p> <p><i>nacháno</i> = Z, FBD, MZD</p> <p><i>nemájt</i> = MZS, WB, ZH</p> <p><i>n'iemó</i>⁷ = FZCh</p> <p><i>nasuóro</i> = MBS</p> <p><i>námä</i> = M, FBW</p> <p><i>n'cháisi</i> = MZ, MBD</p> <p><i>naro</i> = Zh</p> <p><i>napa</i> = MB</p> <p><i>nonó</i> = F, FB, MZH</p> <p><i>namuk</i> = FZ, MBW</p> <p><i>nafas</i> = FZH</p> <p><i>nawet</i> = S, BCh, D</p> <p><i>natej</i> = GP, GCh</p> <p><i>n'cholos</i> = GrGp, GrGCh</p> <p><i>n'simien</i> = W</p> <p><i>nafó</i> = BW</p>	<p><i>namon</i>⁷ = B, FBS, MBS</p> <p><i>narúwiel</i> = yB</p> <p><i>nacháno</i> = Z, FBD, WZ</p> <p><i>nemájt</i> = MZH, WB, ZH</p> <p><i>n'iemó</i>⁷ = FZCh, MZS</p> <p><i>nasuóro</i> = MBD</p> <p><i>námä</i> = M, MZD, FBW</p> <p><i>nerie</i> = MZ, MBW¹</p> <p><i>naro</i> = ZCh</p> <p><i>nápá</i> = MB</p> <p><i>nonó</i> = F, FB</p> <p><i>namuk</i> = FZ, MBW¹</p> <p><i>nafas</i> = FZH</p> <p><i>nawet</i> = S, BCh, D</p> <p><i>natej</i> = GP, GCh</p> <p><i>n'cholos</i> = GrGP, GrGCh</p> <p><i>n'siman</i>⁷ = W</p> <p><i>naräj</i> = BW</p>	<p><i>namon</i> = MB</p> <p><i>narúwiel</i> = B, FBS, FZCh...</p> <p><i>nachon</i> = Z, ZCh, FBD, MZD</p> <p><i>neméjt</i> = ZH</p> <p><i>nacho</i> = MZS</p> <p><i>nasuóro</i> = MBCh</p> <p><i>nemä</i> = M</p> <p><i>nerie</i> = MZ, MBW</p> <p><i>n'cháisi</i> = FWB</p> <p><i>nápá</i> = MZH</p> <p><i>nonó</i> = F</p> <p><i>nuseos</i> = FB</p> <p><i>namuk</i> = FZ</p> <p><i>nafas</i> = FZH</p> <p><i>nawet</i> = S, BCh, D</p> <p><i>natej</i> = GP, GCh</p> <p><i>nasimian</i>⁷ = W</p> <p><i>nafsie</i> = WZ, WB</p> <p><i>naräj</i> = BW</p> <p><i>nafó</i> = WBW⁷</p>

* have one term different using *napa* for MB

"Northern part"		"Eastern part"	
Renis: Naw	Sejá: Nawf Assis: Kinchow	Kotjuwer: Kotjuwer Kawf: Tānow, Fati Kemurkek: Kemurkek Framesa: Safuf, Asem	Umupas: Fati Fuok: Fuok
<i>nacho</i> ⁷ = B, FBS, MZS <i>nano</i> { Z, FZ ³ , FBD, MZD { GCh, MBD <i>namu</i> ⁷ = MB, ZCh <i>n'temó</i> = FZS, MBS	<i>nacho</i> ⁷ = B, FBS, MZS <i>nano</i> { Z, FBD, MZD { FZD, GCh, MBD ¹ <i>namu</i> ⁷ = MB, ZCh <i>n'temó</i> = FZS, MBS, MBD ¹	<i>naw</i> = B, FBS, MZS, MBS, GrGP, GrGCh <i>nano</i> = Z, FBD, MZD, GCh, FZ ¹ <i>namu</i> ⁷ = BM, ZCh <i>n'temó</i> = FZS <i>n'sajuoch</i> = FZD, MBD <i>faní</i> { FBW ³ , W ⁴ , WZ <i>fenie</i> { M, MZ, MBW, BW <i>nati</i> { FZ, MBW ² <i>napi</i> { <i>napia</i> { MZH ² <i>nawm</i> { <i>miné</i> = F, FB, MZH, FZH <i>narij</i> = S, D, BCh, WZ <i>n'telájp⁷</i> = W <i>sením⁷</i> = WB, ZH, DH <i>natat</i> = GP	<i>naw</i> = B, FBS, MZS, GrGP <i>nano</i> = Z, FBD, MZD, GCh, FZ ³ <i>namu</i> ⁷ = MB, ZCh <i>n'temó</i> = FZS, MBS, MBD ² <i>n'sajuoch</i> = FZD, MBD ² <i>faní</i> = M ² , MZ, FBW, BW, MBW <i>nati</i> = M ³ , FZ <i>piné</i> = F, FB, MZH <i>vará</i> = S, D, MBD ² , BCh, WZ ³ <i>n'telájp⁷</i> = W, WZ ³ <i>sením⁷</i> = WB, ZH, DH, FZH <i>natat</i> = GP
<i>fai</i> = M, MZ, FBW, MBW, FZ ⁵ <i>najuo</i> = FZ ⁵ , MFZ <i>nati</i> = D <i>moi</i> = F, FB, FZH, MZH <i>narij</i> = S, BCh, WZ <i>n'telájp⁷</i> = W, BW, SW <i>sením⁷</i> = WB, ZH, DH <i>natal</i> = FF, FM <i>rochos</i> = MF, MM	<i>fai</i> = M ¹¹ , MZ ¹¹ , MBW, BW, FBW ⁶ <i>napi</i> { FZ, FZSW, FBW ⁶ , MFZ <i>najuo</i> { <i>nati</i> = M ¹¹ , MZ ¹¹ , D <i>moi</i> = F, FB, FZH, MZH <i>narij</i> = S, BCh, WZ <i>nari</i> { <i>n'telájp⁷</i> = W, SW <i>sením⁷</i> = WB, ZH, DH <i>natat</i> = GP	¹ Kemurkek, Asem ³ Alternative terms ⁴ Alternative terms ² Safuf & Asem	³ Fati ² Alternative terms ⁸ Alternative terms ⁹ Alternative terms

⁵ Alternative terms
⁷ Reciprocal terms

what they understood to be the ideals of the Government and the Mission. These ideals included the demand for patrilineity and for a more retired female role than was traditional in social matters.

A number of terms, regarded as incorrect by some of those present, were therefore incompletely observed as "informal" but recurringly used (marked * below). These will be listed for comparative analyses together with some terms frequently used in ceremonial contexts and formulations of traditional roles (*watum*).

term	denotation or main connotations	terminologi- cal part	specification
<i>(n)atĩ*</i>	W, Z, M, MBD;	N, E, L	indirect term
<i>napi</i>	M	W, N, E, L	indirect term
<i>napia</i>	F	N, E	indirect term
<i>nari</i>	Ch	N	direct and indirect terms
			indicating same sex as speaker
<i>nati</i>	Ch	N	indicating different sex
<i>kurótio*</i>	Ch	N, E, L	indicating same sex as speaker
<i>kuátio*</i>	Ch	N, E, L	indicating different sex
<i>takut*</i>	Ch	E, L	indicating different sex
<i>taku*</i>	Ch	E, L	indicating same sex as speaker
<i>kupewámu</i>	ZS, FZS, HZS (w.s.)	N, L	preferred to the "correct" term
			direct and indirect
<i>sajuoch</i>	MBD	L	direct and indirect
<i>nará</i>	"friend" (w.s.)	E, L	direct and indirect
<i>kurámu</i>	BD (w.s.)	E, N, L	direct and indirect
<i>nafas</i>	intended W or H	E	used after marriage exchange is agreed
<i>n'ta</i>	H	N	direct and indirect term
<i>n'tafán</i>	W or H	N	direct and indirect term
<i>faj</i>	married woman, mother	L, N	indirect term
<i>pi, piú,</i>	married man.	L, N	indirect term
<i>pin</i>	father		
<i>n'tafoch</i>	relatives of W	N	direct and indirect term

Two approaches to kinship terminology

The lacustrine terminology can be classified according to certain terminological agreements and differences regarded as relevant to different types of social organisation. Cousin terms and significant trios of primary and secondary terms can be compared and classified into the wellknown types used by Murdock (1949), who regards them as indicating trends in evolution.

The typical lacustrine cousin terminology, however, does not fall into any of

the six types enumerated by Murdock, owing to the extended "mother" term for MBD (m.s.) in 13 out of 19 cases. In the remaining six cases, where the terms for cousins were employed instead, *n'temó* for cross cousins and *na* or *nano* for parallel cousins comprise a terminology of the Iroquois type^{15c}.

At the same time, the tendency to use the same term for cousins as for siblings (*na* and *nano*) orients the terminology towards the "Hawaiian" type. This case seems to be expected where a bilateral organisation is in process of transition toward a unilinear organisation^{15d}. One observes also features that are considered to be linked with lineal systems of descent: FB \cdot /. (is different from) MB; FZ \cdot /. MZ; B, FBS \cdot /. MBS, FZS; S \cdot /. ZS. This lineality seems confirmed by the following equations: F = FB; M = MZ; B = FBS; Z = FBD; S = BS; D = BS.^{15d} Seen together with the following agreements and differences

M = FBW Z = FBD Z = MZD D = BD D = WZD

M \cdot /. MBW Z \cdot /. FZD Z \cdot /. MBD D \cdot /. ZD D \cdot /. WBD,

the terminology is of the bifurcate merging type that Murdock finds consistent with non-unilocal residence and an organization in exogamous units such as clans, lineages, phratries and/or moieties^{15e}.

Further, there are noted certain terminological equations common in systems of symmetric alliance: FZ = MBW; FZS = MBS; WBCh = ZCh. This seems contradicted by the fact that FZH \cdot /. MB.

A similar contradiction is observed in the eastern terminology, where both the linguistic contents and the use of the W—H terms indicate symmetric alliance. A confirmation is seen in the cases of terminological agreement FZ=MBW and FZS=MBS, but the indications are overruled by FZH \nparallel MB.

Simultaneously, in two parts of the area, a greater terminological sensitivity is attributed to the role of FZH than to that of H or MBW.

It would thus seem that we have here a terminology in which the lack of integration, if perceived as an expression for a cultural lag, reflects the direction of change. According to Murdock, bifurcation and a trend towards extending the application of primary terms should be consistent¹⁶ with uxori-local residence and a trend towards bilocal residence. The indications of symmetric alliance are overridden, and a change towards an asymmetric marriage system is suggested.

This appears in accord with the declarations of lacustrine informants that sibling exchange was no longer tolerated unless as an exception in the event that very little or no cloth was to hand for exchange.

Since it has been recognized that kinship terms carry also a semantic content¹⁷,

^{15c} Murdock 1949, 225.

^{15d} Ibid 271.

^{15e} Ibid 125, 142, 150, 164.

¹⁶ Ibid 152.

¹⁷ Ibid 132. It was also mentioned by Hockett (1954, 147).

an analysis of the kinship terminology as a conceptual sphere or semantic field¹⁸ can be expected to provide some information on essential categories, and some basic principles for their application may possibly be discerned. Even if it has to be admitted that such contents may not necessarily mirror the present situation¹⁹, a comparison of the linguistic contents of local terms for the same important relationship ought to be of some structural interest.

It should then be observed that apart from the nuclear family, which is often taken for granted as the only structurally important and fundamental unit²⁰, there exists a consanguineal family²¹ which seems to correspond to the Mejprat concept of *mapuf*²² and consists of male ego, M, MB, and MBD. The term *mapuf* connoted also the consanguineal families of a brother and a sister. It denoted the circle of close kin with whom ego had frequent and important interactions. These are the terms that will be analysed.

The following distribution of certain "mother" and "father" terms first made me aware of a Mejprat relationship between status and the linguistic contents of the terms:

"Mother" terms

Terminology:	Sawiet	Western	Lacust.	Northern	Eastern
Direct:	(correct) <i>nemä</i>	<i>nämä</i>	<i>nemä</i>	<i>fai</i>	<i>faní</i>
	(informal) ?	<i>nemie</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>nati</i>
Indirect:	(correct) <i>nämä</i>	<i>napi</i>	<i>napi</i>	<i>napi</i>	<i>napi</i>
	(informal) ?	<i>nämä</i>	<i>nati</i>	?	(also FZ)

"Father" terms

Direct:	<i>nono</i>	<i>nono</i>	<i>natia</i>	<i>moi</i>	<i>piné</i> (<i>napia</i> for FZH)
Indirect:	<i>nono</i>	?	<i>natia</i> <i>pi, pia,</i> <i>pin</i>	<i>napia</i>	<i>napia</i>

¹⁸ Ullman 1962.

¹⁹ Murdock (1949, 118) emphasises that "survivals" are to be expected more often in functionally insignificant terms than in significant ones. The terms should be more significant inside the circle of close kin than outside it.

²⁰ Ibid 2.

²¹ Linton 1936, 153—155; Keesing 1959, 266.

²² Elmberg 1966a, 112.

In view of the already mentioned presence of a Sawiet terminology inside the Mejprat area, the lacustrine use of *nemä* seems to be influenced by the Sawiet terminology. The lacustrine direct "father" term *nati-a* seems to be derived from the "mother" term *nati*, similarly to the northern and eastern indirect "father" term *napi-a*, obviously derived from the indirect "mother" terms *napi*. The lacustrine indirect "father" terms, *pi-a* *pi-n* also seem to derive from the same term (bifurcation).

The most common "mother" terms were the direct/indirect *nati* and the indirect *napi*. Omitting the possessive prefixes, the morphemes *ti* and *pi* are left. Their commonly recorded connotations can be compared. *Ti* denoted "union, border" and by the addition of *sej*, there was formed the expression for "twilight, evening": *ti sej*, "the union (of light and darkness) itself". *Ti* also indicated "one night and one day".

A-ti connoted "the planter, the unifier, the finest, the principal, the right hand (side); the bisexual form of the dema" and certain matrilineal relatives of a man.

In data about the dema called Mafif, who acted both as a male and a female and initiated both boys and girls, the dema was denoted as *ati*, translated "radja, principal", but also implying the "joining" of the sexes²³.

Na-ti denoted "to bury, to plant (join to the ground); to be happy, to be the leader" as well as "somebody's union, incorporation"; *nati-ach* "to bury (plant) the cold force" = to copulate.

Ti is thus seen to be connected with ideas about "union" (of which planting is one kind); superiority and leadership". It therefore seems probable that *nati*, the preponderantly matri-lateral kinship term denoted "the fertile unifier (matrix), the principal". Since this term was extendable also to FZ, FFZ, and MFZ as well as to W and D (m.s), and since in the lacustrine part no woman giving information directly, without an interpreter, was ever observed to use it, *nati* implied some sort of classificatory superiority on the part of these women, and a corresponding inferiority on the part of the men. The "father" term *natia*, understood as *nati + a* ("nearness"), denotes "who is near the principal", which bears out the implication of classificatory male inferiority.

At the same time, *nati* seems in the northern terminology and possibly in the lacustrine, to classify also on a different level, and to be expressing—as it was used informally in the north by F for D and reciprocally between M—S — a nearness or closeness inside the descent group, different from the level of superior—inferior classification. This should follow from its signification of "union".

The uncertainty among male lacustrine informants concerning the FZ term previously mentioned probably indicated a relatively recent change in social relations. The extension of an otherwise matrilineal term to a patrilineal

²³ Ibid 102.

relative pointed in the same direction. *Nati* (m.s) for FZ seemed to be higher in status than the alternatively offered *nano*, "sibling of opposite sex" or *natien*, otherwise used only for affinal women and translated "a small or secondary *nati*". This translation probably implies the analysis *nati+ien* ("pet, dear, darling"), which holds an element of endearment (closeness) as well as of inferiority, since the male counterpart of the regional *dema* was termed *ien* or *in* and served as her watchman and lover.

At a first glance the morpheme *pi* may seem to contain opposite notions of both "father-ship" and "mother-ship", making void the categories just established. Among the popot of the western Prat area, the term *pi* occurred denoting "father of children, man married to more than one wife", as well as *pi-n*, "exalted man, man of leisure", while in the entire lacustrine part *pi-á* was recorded as denoting "father of children, mature man (safely eating large animals)"²⁴. *Po marú m'pi*, however, indicated everywhere "female fish (with roe)".

In other contexts *pi* connoted "age" and "mother-ship". *A-pi* was explained as denoting "the old mother, the original mother, the mother *dema* of creation", and it occurred in expressions alluding to certain forms of this regional *dema*; e.g.: *a-pi pajf*, "the mother *dema*'s share" (=type of banana used ceremonially).

Na-pi conveyed "grow up, grow old; be sensible, mature, venerable; be a mother" and *ma-pi* "(honorifically) old, big, great, mother-like, superior", especially connected with *maku*, "small, secondary, inferior" in concepts like

spear (<i>ma-pi</i>)	and	spear point (<i>ma-ku</i>)
fish trap	and	its lid
the cloth case	and	its hood
main road	and	by-way
river	and	tributary
bow	and	arrow.

It thus seems that *pi* in different contexts mostly conveys an idea of "old, big, mature; mother-ship, superiority". The western lacustrine *pi*, *pi-n* connoting "married, exalted man, man of leisure" may then be regarded as having secondary contents. A probable explanation is found in the influence, mostly from immigrant people, featuring the popot ideals. Their conscious effort²⁵ to set up, in matters of exchange, the ideal of a new F—S behaviour (traditionally antagonistic), seemed coordinated with their reversal of the

²⁴ *Pi* was recorded only among the Sarosa and the Chowaj—Sefarari people. The form *pir* was used in many parts of the area to emphasize the (sexual) "male" aspect or context, e.g. *pir karet*, "man of a Karet father". *Apan pir*, "male snake" (often=penis).

²⁵ Elmberg 1966a, 75

traditional concepts of "superior woman"—"inferior man". In their processes of initiation they taught how to dominate females even to the point of accusing them of being witches and killing them. They strongly emphasized the role of the "fatherly" exchange leader and the status of men, which was enhanced through successful exchange.

The western Prat form *pin*, probably derived from *pi + n*, "result of age and experience", connoting "men of leisure"²⁶ may well have been coined by them, as its use was confined to the typical popot area. Chawer and other descendants of the "immigrants" were accused of using the Mejprat language wilfully. This may have been an example of a rebuff, as the common Mejprat denotation for *pin* was "worn out, blunt, useless" and this quality was often referred to in popot quarrels with his wife or his followers.

In the lacustrine use of the term *napi*, a notion of familial closeness may be implied. This seems especially so, when we remember the semantic connotations in the *mapi-maku* relation: two parts of a conceptual whole belonging closely together.

Similar to the Sawiet term, the western and lacustrine "mother" term *nä-mä*, *nemä* contains the morpheme *mä*. Both Sawiet and coastal Tehid informants translated *mä* as "the people of the mountains, the yokels". The same morpheme existed in Mejprat with similar denotation: "high, elevated; (place of) the bride-givers".

Ne-mä in the eastern part was recorded as denoting "married woman". *Ne-mä-n* denoted "cause to be elevated, go to bride's land, marry, copulate". *Ne-mä* as a "mother" term indicated the mother to be "of the bride-givers" in addition to her being *napi*, "the venerable" and *nati*, "the principal".

The same two trends obtained in the northern and western parts, where the "the venerable" and "the principal" terms were amplified by the direct *fai* and *faní*:

fa + i, "bride-giver" + "at the side of" = of the bride-givers

fa + ni, "bride-giver" + "to unite" = link with the bride-givers.

To the group of bifurcated "father" terms (*nati-a*, *napi-a*, *pi-a*) can be added the northern and the eastern *moi* and *piné*, expressing a similar adjunct or inferior element:

mo + i, "(he is) fetched" + "to the side" = added to her side

pi + né, "mother" + "to deliver, deliverer" = mother's deliverer (of cloth); of the bride-takers

The analyzed "father" and "mother" terms are thus viewed as classing individuals according the roles of bride-giver and bride-taker, and also to their "nearness" to a certain woman. The superior values connoted by "mother,

²⁶ Elmberg 1966a, 143.

²⁷ Leach (1961, 8) points out that in the Trobriands "my father" is not regarded as a consanguineal relative at all but as a kind of affine, "my mothers husband"

principal, bride-giver", are here provisionally called feminacentric, since focal value is attached to the Mejprat notion of femininity. The unique connotations of the *pi*, *pin* terms in the main popot area, obviously derived from "mother" terms, testify to an opposite stress on masculinity, present for instance in newer forms of initiation. This latter tendency seems to express itself also in the expanding use of the "mother" term *ne-mä*. If measured by traditional Mejprat values, *mä* definitely conveyed a notion of superiority, but we lack evidence for the Tehid and Sawiet *mä*, "mountain dwellers; high" being appreciated by the coastal informants as superior to *sa*, "coast dwellers; low". Conversely, coast dwellers of the Vogelkop area are observed to take a superior view of themselves, of their imported articles of trade and of their own political and religious organization, compared to the mountain dwellers and their products and conditions²⁸.

In the Mejprat area the *-mä* forms are thus seen to coincide with both a coastal (and immigrant) inferior value as well as a traditional superior one. This ought to have made the new term acceptable by all parties. A parallel to this terminological ambiguity is offered from Sulawesi (Celebes), where the designation *to-radja* for the traditional inlanders denotes "the high ones, mountain dwellers" but connotes "yokel, simpleton"²⁹ among surrounding peoples.

Regarding the male ego's terms for FZ and for MB, the term *namu* was used reciprocally MB—ZS, while BS was called *narä* by his FZ (*nati*, *nano* or *natiën*). An explanation for the MB—ZCh terms seems to lie in the same feminacentric principle, inside the sibling pair, causing bifurcation: their common female and superior link places them in the same classificatory inferior order. The morpheme *mu* of *na-mu* corroborates this explanation, as it denoted "hidden from view" and connoted "overshadowed".

The terms FZ—BCh remain semantically less explicit. The recorded uncertainty of terms on the part of male informants seems mirrored in the different linguistic connotations; "the principal" (*nati*), "the bitter one" (*nano*), "the little principal" (*natiën*).

The term *nati* has already been analyzed. The morpheme (*n-*)*ano* denoted "sharp, bitter, sour" and connoted "unripe, opposite, not fit to eat (or marry)". As *nano* connoted "sibling of opposite sex" as well as "member of second descending generation", the term may hold a certain ambiguity: both a prohibition to marry (distance) and an element of the fundamental cooperation (closeness) expected between males and females inside the B—Z pair and the *mapuf* circle of close kin. In all cases, FZ's term for BS was *narä* or *naku*,

²⁸ Dissel (1907, 1023) recorded in the beginning of this century that any foreigner living on the New Guinea coast considered him self a master of the inlanders.

²⁹ *Alfur* is a Halmahera term denoting "wilderness, waste land, jungle" and like the term *Toradja* in Celebes it connotes "inlander, country bumpkin" and is decidedly contemptuous. It was coined by the shore dweller (E.N.I.I:30).

which will be shown below to indicate a less close relation than does her term for BD, whom she called *nakut* or *naom* (informally: *ku ramu*). BD called FZ *naom*³⁰, which was translated (issuing) from the thigh-bone", implying the analysis (*n-*) *ao* + *m* "thigh-bone" + away from". The form *awm* (*aom*) denoted any instrument made from the thigh-bone (femur) and main bone (humerus) of the arm or a foreleg. The term for "thig", *na-fa-mu*, corroborated this translation as it literally denoted "member where the female principle (energy) is hidden", as did mythical references³¹ to the thigh-bone containing a life force appearing as the first (female) human being. This term, then, either alludes to someone beginning some socially important unit, to a honorific notion of a "number one person", or possibly to both ideas.

Thus, while the term for F implies someone "adjunct", the term for FZ seems to classify her as superior according to a feminacentric principle. It also appears evident that the terms of female ego for M, classifying her as being "of the bride-givers", "the fertile unifier" or "the venerable (superior) one", are on a different level compared with her term for FZ translated as "(issuing forth) from the thigh-bone".

In Seja, in the northern part, a female ego also used *naom* for FZ, and a male ego used a term of similar contents: *na-ju-o*. The morpheme *ju* connotes "bag, vagina, the spirit road". The *-o* adds emphasis. The term suggested some connexion with the cave abode of the *dema*. Since in all the different parts FZ (through F) had to pay fines to M and MB in case of the death of a minor child of either sex, FZ seems to be credited with a potential faculty to hurt her BCh. In the northern part, both a boy's and a girl's terms for FZ then emphasize a magic influence from her, though the girl seems to clothe it in more appreciative terms and the boy in terms that are not without hints of the lethal dangers to be reckoned with from the paternal aunt³². In the lacustrine part, female ego's term was the same, but male ego's three terms mirror a more general deference ("the little principal"), an ambiguity ("the bitter one", thus a certain closeness as well as distance) and a superiority ("the principal").

The uncertainty shown by male lacustrine informants about the FZ term

³⁰ In 13 of 19 cases. In the remaining 6 cases an interpreter was used, who in 1957 admitted that he had argued that *naom* and *nati* were "the same" and that "we had already begun using *nati*". From this there probably followed a supposition of the inherent reciprocity of terms.

³¹ From animal leg bones came the first beings, according to M 7, M 27, M 29.

Leach (1961, 20) offers the categories of e.g. "incorporation" and "alliance". Incorporation in a double "rope" unit would then be possible for female ego: one going out from FZ to FZS and FZSD, the other from F to ego to S.

³² See M 43, where initiation of a boy by his mother (and her people) was explicitly said to stave off dangerous paternal influence.

In the western Prat area, Sarosa informants maintained that boys were taken ill because of "bad medicine" from the bride-givers.

was not shared by any female informants. For FZ and M, two siblings of different sex commonly used terms of superior connotation and for F and MB bifurcated terms of inferior connotation. For a female sibling the tendency seemed to be that she was terminologically on an equal footing with both her FZ and MB, while for her brother this obtained only with his MB. In the northern part he seemed more dependent on FZ's evil influence than in the lacustrine part, where an uncertainty of terms occurred and where his one term of a slightly negative charge was the same as the term for his own Z. The lacustrine data can indicate the status of FZ in relation to her BS as positively affected by a social change that has not had an equal impact in the northern part.

Group relations terminologically made male ego of unequal status to FZ but of equal status to MB seem clearly brought out in the terms for Ch and cousins.

The morpheme *rā* of *narā*, Ch, denoted "empty (after a loss)"; *machú rā*, "they live empty" = they have given away their cloth and have not yet received any in return; *ara ma-rā*, "a tree emptied" = a tree stump. *Narā* was the term for Ch preferred by western Prat interpreters and by many informants there. In northern terminology two forms were used: *narā* by F for S and by M for D, but *nati* by F for D and by M for S. F's term for S and M's term for D and M's for S connoted "the finest, the best, the union (= uniting link?)".

A similar structure was observed in the pairs of informal terms for the "child" category:

<i>ki</i> ³³ + <i>né</i> ,	"small child" + "to deliver"	= child of same sex as speaker
<i>ki</i> + <i>ni</i> + <i>a</i> ,	"small child" + "to unite" + "near"	= child of different sex
<i>ku</i> + <i>a</i> + <i>tio</i> ,	"child" + "for" + "me"	= child of different sex
<i>ku</i> + <i>ro</i> + <i>tio</i> ,	"child" + "of" + "mine"	= child of same sex
<i>taku</i> ,	"my child"	= child of same sex
<i>taku</i> + <i>t</i>	"my child" + "my own"	= child of different sex
<i>nari</i> = <i>narā</i> ,	"the one falling away"	= child of same sex
<i>nati</i> ,	"the one principal, finest"	= child of different sex

In these terms there is linguistically indicated a closer relation between F—D than F—S and between M—S than M—D. The "correct" term *narā* put lacustrine children of both sexes on a par, seemingly obscuring a structure expressing familial closeness that was still observed in the everyday use of the pairs of "informal" terms.

Natat GP, seems to have to do with *at*, "food, bait", and *nat*, which signified "feed, strengthen". This appears also in the ironical phrase *jatat ara*

"*Ki* and *ku* denote anything small.

kawia, which was used for a person who had exaggerated notions of his own strength: "he reared the *kawia*-trees (certain gigantic jungle trees)". *Natat* could contain the concept "giver of strength". This terminology does not seem consistent with any common kind of lineal descent, but coincides with the structure of a "rope" descent group earlier described in New Guinea by Thurnwald and Mead³⁴.

A similar implication of relative "closeness" and "distance" seems to be present in the terms for CC (cross—cousins). The parallel cousins were classed with siblings: *na* and *nano*. In *na*, "sibling of the sex", the morpheme *a* indicated "closeness". The term connoted "member; animal or human leg; the groups intermarrying inside the home region".

N-ano, "sibling of the opposite sex", as analysed above, was found to hold an element of ambiguity: both distance and closeness. It is possible that the phrase "opposite sex" makes sex a classificatory criterion not immediately inherent in the term, as *nano* (w.s.) was used also for HM in the lacustrine part and generally for GCh, and connoted "of opposite kind or group".

The general CC term was *n'temó*, most probably derived from *nemó*, "to withdraw" (*temó* = "I withdraw"), and being analysable as "one who is withdrawing", thus implying distance. Male ego used a special term only for uterine CC of different sex (MBD): *nemā*, the same as was used for M, connoting "of the bride-givers" and implying closeness. Female ego found it "correct" to call her agnatic CC of different sex (FZS) *narā* or *n'temó*, but was observed to prefer *kupe wamu* or *nara*.

As analysed earlier, *narā*, the general and "correct" lacustrine term for Ch, denoted "someone lost" and *n'temó* probably "one who is withdrawing". The discrepancy between these literal denotations of distance and those of closeness in the informal terms *kupe wamu*, "our very own child" or *na-ra*, (direct form *ta-ra*, "my man") "person belonging to the speaker", may be indicative of recent changes in the social relations.

When these terms are compared to the northern and eastern terms *sa-ju-och* (MBD; m.s.) denoting "out of one vagina or spirit road" and *nara* or *ra tape* (FZS; w.s.) denoting respectively "person belonging to the speaker" and "person that I own", the indicated change may seem directed against some sort of domination by a MBD of her FZS.

On the other hand, such semantic discrepancies may also be ascribable to the simultaneous existence of two types of terms, one expressing status (the position of a person within a larger socio-cultural context), the other expressing "situs"³⁵ (within "a given small-scale framework").

It seems probable that traditionally the closeness—distance criterion applied

³⁴ Bohannan 1963, 141.

³⁵ Bohannan (1963, 167) uses this term, pointing out its currency among American sociologists and its relevance for Melanesia, "the home of a complex situs system."

to situs within a (nuclear or consanguineal) family and a sibling group, while superiority-inferiority were status categories. The tendency in the lacustrine "correct" parent—child terms could then be seen as disregarding situs and expressing only status. So, in spite of the semantic contents of distance in *narä*—indicating situs and bifurcation in northern F—S and M—D relations, and coinciding with the semantic contents of the lacustrine informal terms of the same relations—it could be used to express the inferior status of children in relation to adults.

The incomplete information on this difference does not allow a reconstruction, and it cannot be determined to what extent the two types of classification resulted in different sets of terms. The direct northern and eastern terms for F and M appear to denote status, the indirect and informal mostly situs. Also behind closeness (situs) the feminacentric principle seems present in (bifurcated) terms like *napi-a*, *nati-a* and *namu*, both m.s. and w.s.

Likewise, the informal use of *nati* (m.s.) seems to be a means of expressing closeness (situs) to M, Z, MBD, W and D. It was proper for them to supply ego with taro, and in this role of *ati* "planter" connoting with "right hand side, superior", the notion of superiority seems inseparable. Here closeness and superiority seem expressed. In the northern term *nati* for S (w.s.) the closeness seems to be related to the addressed and the superiority to the addressed's sibling of opposite sex, for whom the term *narä* connoted with "the lost one". The opposite conditions prevailed for the children of male ego. *Nati* as extended to FFZ or MFZ then expressed superiority inside the sibling pair (MF-MFZ)³⁶.

It seems then that although category oppositions were expressed in pairs like superior—inferior, close—distant, they can be considered inside a triad like $M \rightarrow S (\leftrightarrow D)$. In this case (w.s.), a feminacentric principle did not apply, but instead its viricentric opposite. This might also be expected in some informal term for F (w.s.), but was not recorded. In any case the feminacentricity seemed a dominant factor in the semantic analyses, being expressed also in female ego's direct/indirect term *nati-a*, F, related to the triad $D \rightarrow F (\leftrightarrow M)$.

If an element of closeness can be attributed to *nati* (m.s.) the extension of this term to FZ in the lacustrine part seems to reclassify *nati-a*, F, as "close to FZ", especially as the correct *nemä* seemed to have ousted *nati*, M, which remained informal. In the triadic situation then, the importance of male—female couples is asserted on all levels: H—W, between siblings and CC.

A few terms appeared to be associated directly with marital conditions. In the northern and eastern parts *n'tefájn* was used reciprocally by H and W. As the term occurred in songs as *tefáin*, it may be analysed as *n' + te-fa + in*,

³⁶ Elmberg 1955, 28. The FFZ term *nati* was recorded only in 1957. The same distinction was made with regard to MFZ.

"belonging + habitual bridge-giver + dear (intimate)" = intimate persons of the bride-givers. This would imply sibling exchange. In the lacustrine part the term denoted "wife" but not "husband". The common term for H was *n'ta*, connoting with the ever handy stringbag carried from the head by women and seemingly stressing a useful but adjunct status or situs, since a stringbag was often referred to as *maku*, implying the woman to be *mapi* and both to be parts of a whole. In the western Prat area the popot were also heard to use *n'ta* for "wife", thus probably implying equality of status or situs.

The term *miki* for secondary wife does not yet yield to analysis. (*N'*) *senim*, "inlaw through female link" (m.s.) was analysed as *se* ("entirely") + *ni* ("to join") + *m* ("away to") = to be joined completely. It implied both (in case of male ego—W's relatives) that they were joined by ego and (in case of male ego—DH, ZH) that the ego was joined to the female link. It seems interesting that female ego commonly used it only for HZH, where "joined to the female link" indicated the triad W—H—HZ, emphasizing the importance of the sibling pair and the pre-eminence of HZ. The term may reflect uxorilocality as well as male ego's bride-taking status.

Nafas, commonly FZH—WBS, contained the morpheme *fas*, observed as a special term for "taking up a theme (of a song) and returning it". This kind of song was sung by two groups challenging and answering one another in turns. A word or an idea was taken up from the preceding verse and varied in the answer. The term may be translated as "person that takes and gives in his turn". In the eastern (and sometimes also in the eastern lacustrine) part, it was used reciprocally by intended marriage partners and may therefore also imply sibling exchange.

The results of the above semantic analysis can be summed up in six points:

1) Mejprat kinship terms expressed status and/or situs, although no complete system could be constructed from the present material. In lacustrine cases of "correct" and informal terms for the same relative, the correct term reflected status, the informal situs. If there was a difference of direct and indirect terms, the direct terms mostly reflected status. In the lacustrine part the semantic difference between correct and informal terms showed a tendency to express status without regard for traditional situs and thus implied a change.

2) Classification reflected category oppositions (superior—inferior, close—distant), mostly applied to a sibling pair or a married couple. From the terms of the B—Z pair, the characteristic feature of complementary opposition can be deduced. The classification was applied on a feminacentric principle in a majority of cases (inside all sibling pairs except ego's own) and viricentric in one term of a female ego's (M—S)³⁷.

³⁷ Of the terms for the 12 roles inside one *mapuf* group, 7 terms were feminacentric, 1 was viricentric, and 4 neither.

3) Descent. Terms for Ch reflected the relations of the rope descent order. A change in the lacustrine social relations was probably indicated by a) the use of a Sawiet term for M that allowed diametrically different evaluations by immigrants and traditional residents, b) uncertainty of FZ terms (m.s.), c) extension of situs term to FZ (m.s), contrary to use in other parts; formally, F then seems "closer" to FZ than to M, d) the use of a traditional situs term for Ch to express status; also contrary to informal situs terms still in use.

4) Groups. The application of category oppositions show the importance of the sibling pair (B—Z) and the married couple as units of reference, reflected in the ensuing triadic situation (e.g. $M \rightarrow S (\leftrightarrow D)$) and implied also in bifurcated terms (F, MB, WBD). The *mapuf* group was reflected in the CC terms. Simultaneously *mapuf* relations implied a descent order of the rope type and the sibling bond (B—Z) constituted a concatenation between two ropes. Terms for MFW (outside the lacustrine part also H) reflected the presence of bride-giver and bride-taker groups. The term used reciprocally by siblings of different sex as well as its extended use indicate units of the moiety order.

5) Marriage. The northern and eastern terms for W—H (expressing equality) seemed compatible only with sibling exchange, the lacustrine terms (expressing inequality) indicated inferior male status and/or situs, implying asymmetric exchange. Inside the lacustrine part the term for FZH—WBS indicated that both belonged to opposite groups exchanging marriage partners. Since many terms expressed the "closeness" of F to M and others connoted F as "completely joined to" inlaws through his W, uxorilocality seems implied.

6) From the terms of the B—Z pair and of the northern, eastern and western W—H couple may be concluded an implied bipolarity of the fundamental units and the importance of harmony or balance between the complementary opposites. This should be expected to be brought out in the rules of behaviour presented in a following section.

Rules on kin behaviour

A Mejprat expressed the ideal role behaviour towards his kin in dyadic rules of *watum* understood as "our laws of the dema". These "laws" referred to the whole body of traditions upon which the traditional existence of the people depended. This puts the Mejprat "laws of the dema" in a category similar to the Indonesian *adat-law*.

The rules of kinship role behaviour were stated to be instilled by one's

mother. They did not describe exhaustive role attitudes, but stressed certain duties to deliver valuables, provisions and services. Though a European may regard them as a form of "obligations" a Mejprat used to stress a positive aspect of them and regard them as conferring *nasif*, "luck, favours, advantages". Even young presons repeatedly reminded me: *watum mave masif*, "the traditional rules predict prosperity, good luck".

Performances according to the rules were expected spontaneously or when called upon, and especially at the preparation of feasts and exchanges. The content of the rules was remarkably similar both in the lacustrine part and in the north and east, as was the order in which they were generally told, the men beginning with mother and mother's brother and the women with father and father's sister.

To the information on lacustrine rules, in the form supplied by an old male informant (o.), his youngest son (y.) who was just married, and the old man's wife (w.), will be added a few field data on the relationship in question.

a) Mother—child (o.m.s.): "Mother suffers discomforts and is sick to give birth to her child. She cares for me, gives me food, clothes, rain-cloak, bag and body-cord, especially at the initiation. A son provides her with "live food" (*mam*) as soon as he is able: birds, opossum, eggs and fish. When the son is grown up, she chooses his wife and gives much cloth. When the mother has died, her son, together with the mother's brother, cuts off her body cord and takes responsibility for his sister's handing over of death—cloth to the mother's brother's daughter. The son keeps her skull, the daughter the lower jaw, and the mother's brother gets bones from her hand or arm. The children have to obey their mother, who instills *watum*. A daughter has to help her mother to cultivate her swidden, and carry water and wood. A mother may beat her daughter, even when the daughter has grown up."

Data on the mother—daughter relation: No rule was offered. A daughter showed more of impersonal respect for her mother than for her father, (with whom she showed affection). But even if the daughter regarded her mother as an admired leader, whom she tried to please while still retaining a certain aloofness, this was no counterpart of the contentious father—son relation. A young married woman who was not otherwise given to sentimentality, burst into uncontrollable tears when she received a colour photo of her then deceased mother that I had taken some years previously. Half-grown daughters were, moreover, admonished by their mothers to visit their paternal aunts in order informants opined, to maintain a good relation between the sisters-in-law.

b) Mother's brother—sister's child (y.m.s.): "When mother has stopped giving me milk, I expect everything else from mother's brother and go to stay with him for some months at a time. If he lives far away, I stay for the

longest time with him and the shortest with mother and father. When I grow up, I accompany him on hunting and fishing trips, give him the game and run errands for him. He teaches me everything to do with the cultivation of swiddens and about the woods (as hunting ground). He initiates me and I live with him and his wife. Father sees this and gets angry. Mother's brother says: "Take it easy!" He will not be angry. He gives the most cloth when I get married. When he dies I give cloth (*charat*) to those who have helped him and to his MBD; otherwise he appears in my dreams to remind me."

Data on the mother's brother—sister's son relation: A man's face lit up if he saw, unexpectedly, his sister's son or heard his name, and he would then — unasked — point him out to me, if the boy stood in a crowd. The younger man would also look happy and would greet him exclaiming: *tamu*; the elder man answering with the informal term *kupe wamu*. Similarly a young man would acknowledge his maternal uncle. This is mentioned in contradistinction to the typical behaviour of a young man towards his father described elsewhere. A young lacustrine informant once explained to me some exchange ceremonies just taking place in which a man called Pum had a prominent role, without mentioning that Pum was his father.

c) Father—child: *Tatia ifó majer*, "father is now the origin", said the same young informant. "He must help mother give the children food and clothes. He beats me and is the only one doing this. When I am grown up he follows my mother and MB to the girl I am to marry and deliberates with her parents. When he is old I must help him lay out swiddens. My sister and my wife must give him vegetables. When he is dead I have to help mother with offerings (*potát*), and the funeral scaffolding, give cloth to his MBD and then take charge of the skull. My sister gets the lower jaw." (W.s.): "When she is a little girl, a daughter works on the swiddens her father has cleared. She gives him vegetables and cloth when she has grown up. He and his sister have to choose a husband for her. His sister and wife get together a very big stock of *rurá*-cloth that his daughter distributes among the relatives of her husband. She does everything with her father and she or FZ cuts off his body cord, when he is dead."

(O.m.s.): "A father dies, and perhaps the children do not take care of his skull. Then he sends a wild boar into the son's swidden, makes the daughter-in-law sick and gives his daughter bad dreams until the children do their duty, including the obligation of giving cloth to the father's MBD or her relatives. Then they give his ghost a little taro or fish and beg it not to cause misfortunes from then on."

Data on the father—son relation: The relation between F—S after initiation was characterized by reserve and lack of cordiality. Typically, when I wanted to meet a medicine expert in Mefchatiam, a young informant suggested,

that we should borrow a canoe and cross the lake to see his maternal uncle in the village of Setá—a whole day's journey in blazing sunshine. When I said I would rather speak with his father Pum, who lived five minutes away from us, the young man agreed reluctantly. During the time the three of us were together, the young man maintained an attitude of cool aloofness towards his father. The old man himself was amused by our subjects of conversation and would often use a warm tone of address to his son. However, the young man kept his distant attitude and was often greedy as regards (my) tobacco and food. On the last day a fierce scuffle ensued when I presented the old expert some items of clothing and his son took them away from him. The relation between a Mefchatiam popot and his son was recorded to be similarly aggressive³⁸.

In the northern and eastern area, where no instances of outspoken aggressiveness were observed, a certain distance was nevertheless marked between father and son: a son did not like to sit too near his father; a son eating would turn his back to his father, and rather than ask his father for help with, for example, the clearing of a swidden, a son would set to work with a brother or a cousin, until the father "felt ashamed" (*charä n'fit*), and joined them.

In the whole region, however, it was possible to observe that the relation of sons to an aged father was warmer and more appreciative. A young informant was probably explaining the difference in behaviour when he said: "an aged father does not do anything (more)" (*natia manis nenó aro fä*), i.e. no longer plays any decisive role in the exchanges. His role in exchanges is practically at an end when his physical strength and productivity have declined, and his possibilities of influencing the distribution of cloth are small. The sons of his sister are in normal cases now established men, who have made their most important marital exchanges and no longer need to depend on his support. He can once more take up the role of "biological father" towards his sons, a role that some fathers were observed to play tenderly during the son's childhood up to the age of about 6 years, i.e. the time when the body cord (*sum*), was applied. This was the time mentioned for a closer association with the maternal uncle, with longer periods of avunculocal residence. Even later, however, the father appeared to retain something of this positive attitude towards his sons, showing pride, for instance, over their work and their progress. As a rule it was the sons who were spiteful to their father. Their behaviour might be interpreted as a counterpart to the father's traditional preference for his sister's sons and the help he extended to them.

Data on the father—daughter relation: Young girls from around 6—10 years generally showed an inclination to a fondling bodily contact with their fathers. In the festive throng of an exchange meeting a young girl could be seen squeezing gently to her father while he stood talking to somebody in a

³⁸ Elmberg 1966a, 32, 31, 69.

friendly way. She would gently rub her face and nose against him, he would place his hand on her shoulder as if absentmindedly caressing her, without looking or stopping to talk. After a while she would run away to chat with comrades and come back to her father—it seemed to be a sense of proudness in her demeanour which originally made me notice this show of affection. When pausing during work or resting in a house or shelter, a girl of this age was often seen to nestle up against her father with a show of familiarity, to hand him a hot taro that her mother had roasted and to receive a generous piece from him.

Observed against this behavioural background, which seemed unique in its show of affection between Mejprat of different sex, the possibility of some sort of sexual relation between the two becomes increasingly likely. Some such relation seemed suggested in a ceremonial chant from Ajwasi where a man deplored the loss of his young daughter who had “leached together with her father”. Since the word *put* for “leach” connoted “penis”, and since the girl was apostrophied as “my little sun” (“sun” connoting “vagina” as the female counterpart in cohabitation), there remains little room for a non-sexual interpretation. Finally *takut*, a father’s informal term for his daughter, was also used by a male ego as an endearing term for his wife.

d) Father’s sister—brother’s child (w.s.): “A girl lives with her paternal aunt for long periods when the mother is not needing her help. But sometimes she may remain there too long, so that her mother becomes angry. The paternal aunt gives her brother’s daughter food, rain-hood, loin-string, bark-cloth, bags, peeling knife for taro and necklaces, especially at initiation. On the marriage of the brother’s daughter the paternal aunt gives a great part of the exchange cloth”.

(O.m.s:) “A man helps his sister to give FZ a little meat and cater to her other needs when she is old”.

e) Sibblings (o.m.s.): “Elder brothers (and parallel cousins) have the same obligations to younger brothers as has a maternal uncle to his sister’s son. The younger brother has to repay (*seróch*) this with corresponding services when he has grown up. Brothers must always cooperate in the cultivation of swid-dens, as well as in the work for weddings and burials. Sisters have the corresponding responsibilities to one another. A sister also has responsibilities to her brother (*fenjá wetó*, “she is after all a woman”, said a young informant): he can always get taro, rain-cloak, bag or body cord from her, and he always supplies her with eggs, fish and birds. When *rurá*-cloth is distributed by a man’s wife, his sister gets the most. After this it is the turn of his mother’s brother and his daughter”.

Mejprat observation on sibling relations. A young lacustrine informant

visiting the Kawf village noted that the people there were more occupied with the production of foodstuffs than, as in Mefchatiam, with cloth transactions. "Brothers treat one another here really as brothers (*Ifó na nesie na menó kaket*)", he added, and considered that brothers in the western Prat part were often mean and envious in their dealings with one another. He (himself a third son) was of the opinion that in the western Prat part each worked for himself. Here brothers and sisters all worked together in the swiddens or when fishing, which was according to the rules.

f) Cross-cousins (o.m.s): "A man is concerned for his MBD, and during her initiation he brings her food. The man's MBD always (but especially on the occasion of his initiation) gives him vegetables and helps to lay out and clear swiddens together with his wife. When MBD is to marry he has to choose a husband for her and receives *fejách*-cloth from her in return. At birth feasts for each one of her children he receives at least a piece of cloth, a necklace or a little knife. He supplies her with opossum, pork, fish and eggs and her husband with palm wine and also helps to clear her swiddens."

Female informants stressed, in a corresponding way, the relation to FZS. They described him in Malay as *saudara sunggo*, "a true sibling", who gave them meat and help in the fields and received vegetables and bags from them. He contributed to their brother's marriage exchanges, and at the birth feasts for his children they received a piece of cloth or a necklace.

g) Husband—wife (w.s.): "A husband has to give his wife tasty meat-food (*soch mam*), and a husband requires plenty of taro and other vegetables."

The following tasks were enumerated which also show the general division of labour (m.s.):

	Husband	Wife
<i>seki</i>	fell trees and build houses	
<i>samu</i> ,	cut leaves for roofing	remove leaf-veins
"build	sew together atap-leaves on	moisten the leaves, fold
houses"	sticks	and bundle them
<i>n'kach</i>	fell trees on swiddens	cut lianas, tear off branches,
<i>worá</i> ,		clear away small roots and leaves
"swidden		
work"		
	Both	
	make piles of brushwood	
	and burn it	
		spread the ash with bamboo shovels
		(<i>purák</i>)
	make fences	set taro plants, pull up weeds,
		plant mint, sugar-cane and spinach
		(Hibiscus) and fertility-promoting
		plants (Coleus etc), harvest, clean
		and prepare taro and other vege-
		tables.

	Husband	Both	Wife
<i>neká</i> <i>n' pomarú</i> "catch fish"		sow maize, beans, pumpkins	fish in rivers with the hands; with string and worm or taro as bait
	fetch poison bark, dam rivers with saplings		pound poison bar, strew at dam, collect stupefied fish
		Both use fish-spears;	fish with fish-trap at grass dams, from canoe in lakes

	Husband	Wife
<i>saso</i> <i>soch</i> <i>mam,</i> "get meat"	{ set snares or traps for birds, rats etc; hunt with spear: pigs, opossum, lizard etc. often with dog, look for tree-grubs, snakes	look for ant's eggs, frogs; feed found piglets with own milk and later with taro
<i>po</i> <i>marák,</i> "things of bark"	fetch bark fetch gnemon-bast cut pandanus leaves weave armlets (<i>trā</i>) of rattan	make bark-cloth make all kinds of strings, string-bags etc. remove thorns, main vein; dry leaves over fire, fold them and sew rain-hoods
<i>nuwian</i> <i>aj,</i> "draw water" <i>mo ro ko,</i> "fetch wood"		Both (carry wood and water; considered really to be women's work)

Data on *miki*, secondary wife: One case in 8 or 9 marriages of the collected genealogies was polygynous. No lacustrine informant offered any traditional rule for such a case except that you cannot marry two sisters. As long as the first wife led the work and affairs of the family, the second was more of a servant doing the heavier work about the swidden. Later, if she had some children, she might supersede the first wife in importance. Typically, Chawer Sarosa's first wife Wefó treated Munach, his second wife, with some firmness when ordering her to perform tasks on the swiddens in 1953. In 1957 Wefó, being older than Munach and with a declining number of relatives to assist her, was sleeping and eating alone in a small compartment of Chawer's big village house. Chawer was busy planning exchange meetings and swiddens together with Munach and her relatives.

Two reasons for polygyny were commonly stated: that more than one wife proved a person's popotship (though some big men in former times

were actual reported to have been bachelors) and that an old wife might not be sexually active any longer. In that case, she was given a pig, unless she was angry, and asked to contribute the main part of the cloth to the marriage exchange for the *miki*.

h) The married couple and their inlaws. (O.m.s.): "Between a man and his wife's people there are always the best relations (*m'po mof*). He works on their swiddens, gives them plenty of palm wine and they exchange only the best cloth." (Y.m.s.): "My father-in-law gives me fine things. I must be together with him and call him "father" (*tatia*) simply. My (true) father I do not think is as good. If a man gets into a dispute, his wife's father and brothers try to appease his opponents and negotiate between the parties. They show him solicitude and arrange fines or apportion ground for swiddens when he needs it. A man gets loans of cloth from his wife's mother to help his mother and sister.

A wife gives fine cloth to her father-in-law and works together with him on his swiddens."

Data on the relation between inlaws: If Mejprat men were shown pictures of people who did not arouse their particular interest, they called them simply *serim*, "unknown strangers". If the picture showed e.g. Melanesian soldiers in European uniforms or Papuan Whagi-warriors in native apparel, their exclamation of admiration was always: *t'senim-o!* "my wife's people".

While they were always quick to praise their wife's brother and father and willingly undertook, for example, to barter with strangers (like myself) on their account, it was common to complain of brothers-in-law who had gone too far in their demands on their sister's husband. But a husband did this in a special way, so that at the same time it sounded like boasting over his own capacity for extraordinary achievement. A typical example was the recently married Safom Isir who liked to talk of his brother-in-law Kajach's incredible hunting luck, his vast swiddens and well-built house. At the same time, however, he related that Kajach's enterprise in rearing a pig and building a pig-pen had obliged him to purchase a little piece of its pork for no less than four printed sarongs and two medium-sized Pokek-cloths. Even a year afterwards he was still boasting about this purchase by bitterly praising his "shrewd" brother-in-law and adding with self-ironical vehemence: "But this was only the beginning". He had accepted the challenge and was going to vie with him, demonstrating his own economic strength.

Wives were commonly observed to joke with their husband's mother in a rough way, which was taken with a silent smile or a rejoinder in a milder spirit. All the same the wife should give small presents of fine vegetables to her mother-in-law. Leaving the area I once gave M'pefato Remowk an unused aluminium sauce pan. She handled it, overjoyed, inspecting it from every

angle, then gave it to Wefó, her mother-in-law, saying: *Mān wer*, "it's too beautiful (for me to keep)".

The above traditional rules (*watum*) were primarily expressed in terms of ceremonies and exchange of goods and services. Properly handled, these categories were perceived as means to bring about happiness and prosperity. The occasions of birth, initiation, marriage and funeral delineate a field of social action, characterized by general exchange in which contributions of male goods and services are balanced by female goods and services: M gives S taro, bags and cloths and cares for him when he is young; S gives M "live food", assists her in agricultural work and cares for her when she is old.

In a majority of cases the kinds of goods and services exchanged were directly deducible from the sexual division of labour, and the preference for certain partners reflected significant groups.

In the preceding semantic analysis the pattern was conspicuous of a consanguineal family, beside that of a nuclear family, and also of the male—female pair or couple, of a rope descent unit, of a possible moiety division and of bipolarity as well as feminacentricity, in the fundamental categories of opposition.

In the section on the rules those categories were confirmed. The nuclear family was evidenced in the rules primarily as a child rearing unit, in which emphasis was laid on the role of the mother (feminacentricity). As soon as the children could walk about for themselves they left their parents for long periods to stay with the other grown up member (FZ or MB) of their respective consanguineal groups. A drastic change then started to take place in the son, who during a large part of his life maintained a reserve or even aggressiveness towards the father. A dead father's neglected ghost was expected to treat his son with aggressiveness but his daughter and sister's son with some consideration when approaching them for redress. It seems possible to interpret the ghost's different approaches to a son and a daughter as reflecting primarily the polarity between the consanguineal group of the father and that of the mother.

The fact that the son received his father's skull and arranged for the funeral may seem in contradiction to this interpretation of the F—S relation. As is well known from the anthropological literature however, opposed groups, usually moieties, commonly carry out each other's funerals and participate in each other's important ceremonies³⁹. It may also be of some importance that men and "male" categories were connected with death and funerals while women and "female" categories were associated with birth⁴⁰.

³⁹ Slotkin 1950, 452. A recent example from the Philippine Igorot is quoted by Eggan 1960, 27.

⁴⁰ Data from the western, northern and eastern parts state that a brother traditionally took care of his sister's skull and placed it in the cave spirit home. At the Sachafra feast among the popot of the western Prat part, a woman's brother placed her skull on the ceremonial platform, where it was left (Elmberg 1966a, 40).

In the terms of the rules, the relations of the consanguineal family were expressed in preferences for certain partners in combination with a lack of interest in other relatives: MBD mentions FZS (who mentions only MBD) but no other CC; BD mentions FZ but not MB; ZS mentions MB but male ego sees an eventual obligation towards FZ as assistance to Z; S considers F's obligation towards himself primarily as assistance to M and compares F unfavourably with MB (and even with WF). The fundamental polarity, harbouring also a feminacentric element, was typically confirmed also by the above BS—FZ relation, as well as by the last mentioned S—F relation.

The formulation "a daughter does everything with her father" and the aggressiveness between S—F reflects a descent order of the rope type as does also the vertical dimension of the consanguineal family group: S—M and MB—MBD (m.s.).

Residential organisation

A person's residence was observed as an important indication of social relations even though it was mentioned very little in the dyadic rules. Before marriage a man lived with his nuclear family as well as with his maternal uncle for long periods. A woman lived similarly with her paternal aunt.

When married, the woman moved first to the husband's mother and together with her cultivated a swidden. Then began the tug-o' war of which all the informants in the lake area spoke: the woman wanted *nemān*, "to cause (her husband) to be lifted up" to her father's tract. This signified the land of her FM and not that of her FW. The husband was encouraged through governmental policy to stay with his father. Informants pointed out, however, that they nevertheless lived successively for long periods in different places during the preparations for the feasts of important relatives, i.e. the members of the consanguineal family and their affines.

The governmental encouragement of marital viri-locality together with patrilineality, which may be presumed to exist in the immigrating groups that inherited their fam-names patrilineally from male "first ancestors", ought to result in a tendency to viri-local swiddens. However, wives in the lacustrine part preferred to cultivate their swiddens on their father's territory.

Thus even under certain patrilineal influences there is an orientation of swiddens in relation to the husband's mother as well as to his wife's father. Since before the forming of villages the people, when not attending feasts, lived on the swiddens, this is at the same time an indication of traditional residence⁴¹.

The husbands commonly lived with their wives, who cultivated swiddens in the tracts of their respective fathers.

⁴¹ Veen (1952. 5) terms the traditional way of life "nomadic".

In the effort to lead the Mejprat to a modernised existence close to schools and government agents it was officially preferred to register married sons as living in their fathers' houses. The sons were under a certain coercion to do this. The wives officially living in such a house would then be busy on distant swiddens. The case of Pum Isir and his two sons officially living in Mefchatiam shows the same traditional pattern of residence and/or swidden cultivation to be present both in his narrative concerning the commencement of his career⁴² and in the actual situation of the swiddens of his daughters-in-law.

Pum Isir mentioned that when single, he lived at Intá. The place was situated in the territory of the Na-folk, and his mother was a Na. A dema form followed afterwards from Isir-Rakak where his FM used to live. Now he was living on the Sefachoch-eminence, in the Karet partition. His wife was a Karet and had her swiddens there. Pum's and her son, Safom, who was married to Martina Kanepu, officially lived in a house in the village of Mefchatiam. (Pres' territory), but had his swidden at Sefachoch (the mother's tract). Martina herself went off to a swidden in the Kanepu partition (her father's) as often as she could. This sometimes irritated Safom, who wanted her to cooperate with his brother Tach's wife, who was a Pres, and who, apart from the swidden at Sefachoch, also had one near Mefchatiam (her father's tract).

The uxori-local residence actually reflected in a number of cases on how a man was called: the fam-name of a wife could be used as a fam-name of her husband. Two outstanding examples were Meritajok Kanepu-wefa and Imon Sarosa. Meritajok Kanepua-wefa was Chawer Sarosa's brother-in-law. In everyday life Chawer talked of him as "Sefakawr". "Sefakawr" also proved to be the name Chawer used for the fam of Meritajok's wife and for the land where they lived⁴³.

Imon Semetu was often talked about as one of Chawer Sarosa's most difficult dependents. He was always referred to as Imon Semetu and he was entered in my notes about a dozen times under this name. As this combination of names was nowhere to be found in the annotated Semetu genealogies, I finally wrote to Junus Sarosa, Chawer's son. He stated that Imon's wife was of the Semetu and Imon of the Sarosa. They lived on her land.

When recording genealogies in the area north of the lakes, men were often called by the same fam-name as their wives. In Malay this was called *masuk fam perempuan*, "to join the descent group of the wife". Mejprat seemed to have no corresponding term, but when urged, some informants expressed it as *manä n'tarof*, meaning roughly "in a way similar to a man 'following' his mother"—"following" signifying adhering to his mother's descent group.

⁴² Elmberg 1966a, 88—91.

⁴³ Actually it was the name of the home region and of the root or "host" fam; and Meritajok's wife was of the Chafuk (-Sefakawr), a "guest" fam.

This use of the fam-name of a man's wife does not seem to indicate an "incorporation" to the extinction of his own fam ties. The wife's fam-name was ideally the name of a partition where she had her swidden. Being called by that name, her husband was simply indicated as living on that ground. It seems understandable if immigrants of a different tradition would refer to the Mejprat male by expression like *raro rit*, "a man that is torn away"⁴⁴. The term was prevalent among the Sarosa and the Chowaj-Sefarari of the Prat part. For example, from a patrilineal point of view the Mejprat husband must seem to be torn away from his own ground and out of his own context of descent, when his wife's name could be used for him and he was living on her ground.

Thus in the Mejprat area two aspects of residence can be discerned: officially in a village and traditionally as dictated by the situation of the family's swidden. The often heard complaint from the governmental agents about empty villages showed the strength of the traditional pattern. *Rowt* and *aká* were the shelters and *charit* the type of house that were common on the swiddens and where people liked to stay.

During a lifetime the traditional residence of a male was thus observed to be connected with the tracts of his M, then of his MBW and later of his W. For a female the main tracts were those of her M, her FZ and of her FM. The consanguineal family ties are stressed in the crosswise residential connexion male ego—MBW and female ego—FZ after ego has grown out of the nuclear family. A rope descent order may be discerned in the orientation of female ego—F—FM. The bulk of the residential customs are feminacentric. A notion of circulation is indicated by the prolonged stay on different swiddens of the important relatives to help preparing their feasts.

Order of descent

The rope descent order indicated as traditional was evidenced also in the term *tarof*, which signified "I follow the descent unit of my mother" (m.s.) as well as "I follow the descent unit of my father" (w.s.). The right to cultivate land was transmitted in the same order as that of the rope (m.—w.—m. etc.). It was also observed in actual genealogical conditions as related by Chawer Sarosa. He related how a Sacharim woman, Semitafan, had a Pres brother and how she had "followed" her father, and he his mother. When I kept asking for an explanation, he was at a loss, finally venturing "an enmity, perhaps". However, Semitafan's SD, Sam, was not unfrequently described as a Sacharim. The only reasonable explanation seems to be that Chawer and some older people actually reckoned with a rope descent order. As a reason it may be adduced

⁴⁴ Cf. Elmberg 1966a, 71.

that the Sacharim were considered to be among the most ancient residents in the area and a descent order may have seemed significant to such "original ground owners" (*majer*).

As will be described later, two marriage systems of the so called Aluritja type are indicated, one with four marriage classes and another with five. In the five unit system more than one descent order may seem relevant. Inside it the rope descent order may be realised (male ego marries MFMBDSD) as well as unilinear patri-clans (male members only) and unilinear matri-clans (female members only), as male ego may also be said to marry FFFZDDD.

In each marriage the respective ropes or lines will then be regarded as descending from one B—Z pair. Finally, the official patrilineal and patronymic fam unit (male and female members) may also be realized inside the same five unit system.

MBD marriages are not possible inside a system of the Aluritja type. On the other hand, a system built on MBD marriages may contain patrilineal and matri-clans of the above mentioned type. The possibility of such a system in eastern Indonesia was first observed by van der Wouden (1935). In the subsequent research work Held counted it as a possibility on the Papuan Waropen coast⁴⁵ of the Geelvink Baai.

If patri-clans and matri-clans can be assumed also to occur in the Sawiet area, where MBD marriages were frequent, the notion of such clans might have been brought into the Prat area by male Sawiet immigrants, surreptitiously mentioned in Mejprat traditions. They could have maintained such a notion inside a five unit system of the type observed, in which the required marriage of the Aluritja type would allow also for patri-clans and matri-clans. However, for marriage conditions⁴⁶, the importance of something besides the rule of descent seemed demonstrated by the recurrent fission and fusion of siblings into different *mapuf* groups. It was also contradicted by the fact that the name of a woman's land could be used as a designation for her husband.

In the lacustrine part it was stated that today a person could choose if he (she) wanted to "follow" his mother or his father.

Furthermore, the tendency to classify relationships after their effectiveness, i.e. to be able to regard classificatory relations as "true" and to adopt a person without ceremonial formality, or even to categorize a stranger as a "bride-giver", pointed out that other aspects besides consanguinity were of great value.

Some relevant aspects seem contained in what appeared as a structured Mejprat consciousness of local topography and a correlated classification of social groups.

⁴⁵ Held 1947, 63.

⁴⁶ Pouwer (1955, 93—4) records that the speedy assimilation of "immigrants" into the *t a p a r è* group among the Mimika is effected by just forgetting their factual past.

At first this was suggested in genealogical contexts, where spontaneous equations and repetitious confusion of certain fam-names occurred. Typically, Chawer Sarosa of Mefchatiam on different occasions described his wife Wefó as of the Kami-aj as well as of the Kampu-wefa people. M'pefato Remowk was sometimes alluded to as M'pefato Koma-koma. This suggested the presence of marriage classes. In ceremonial contexts it was said that persons who were *tampan sejt* might substitute for each other⁴⁸. *Tapam sejt*, "of one ground", indicated localized units.

This seemed to be borne out by the way Chawer Sarosa and Frärek Chowaj-Sefarari grouped together a number of fam names occurring in their genealogies. They connected them with three localities called Sauf, Koma-koma and Kami-aj. If the present home localities of the two informants are added, the total of five is reached and an Aluridja system of the recorded marriages can be constructed that fits with the five localities(fig. 6). As the five Sarosa men thereof are known to have lived with their nuclear families in different localities and still form a unit, these localities have clearly been of a similar character and possibly of the same relative position within different systems of the same structure. Chawer often adduced *sa*, a "shore" character, to the Sarosa of Mefchatiam.

⁴⁸ Murdock (1949, 16) pointed out that descent refers to a cultural rule, affiliating an individual with a group of kinsmen for certain social purposes, such as mutual assistance or the regulation of marriage.

⁴⁹ Elmberg 1966a, 28.

Kinship groups.

Introduction: the importance of "the couple"

Ej (also *aj*), "a pair", signified any pair or couple. When an Englishman would say to a person: "Shall we go there together?", a Mejprat said: *nesia tio nemó ej ji-a?*, "with me, (do) you go there as a pair?" "A pair" often conveyed a degree of one-ness or completeness out of a certain diversity. In a bundle of counting sticks⁴⁹ (*tapá*), every single stick meant a debt, but a pair of sticks tied together indicated that the obligation was completed. *Ej sian*, "a pair of ducks", signified "one of each kind", i.e. a duck and a drake. Similarly *ej* could precede the name of any animal species and signify "one of each sex".

The Mejprat used *mapo ej* both of parents and of childless couples, translating it first as "household", but later as "one piece of pair". In mythical contexts the term signified the B—Z pair living as man and wife and not seldomly figuring at the beginning of things.

"The pair", *ej*, symbolized something powerful in itself. For example, if one saw a pair of birds in the woods, even a common species, this was regarded as a portent of good luck. In myths and stories the appearance in pairs of e.g. birds, stones or fruits signified that some spiritual agent was taking a hand in events. The English equivalent of *mapo ej* was mostly "a married couple". Middleaged female informants declared that the pair formed by husband and wife resembled the pair mother—son. But male informants were rather of the opinion that the woman "knew" the *dema* of the earth and was responsible for the things growing. The man "knew" the *dema* that made the rain fall. Only rain and earth together yielded taro. In this way the married couple represented everything in life. On the other hand, a man could not deny what female informants frequently pointed out: the man got vegetables, rain-hood, body-cord, satchel and bag from his mother when he was little, and from his wife when he was an adult.

While younger men agreed that taro was the foundation of everything and that the woman produced and "owned" the taro, they stressed at the same time that it was her duty to supply her husband with taro. Once Safom Isir, a young man married for one year, went about complaining that he had no food, because his wife was away. "Food" was first and foremost taro. A woman who did not give her husband taro had refused him a fundamental right and had cut him off from the very fountain of his well-being.

In Safom's case it proved that for a long time he had brought no fish or

⁴⁹ Elmberg 1955, 26.

meat to his house, and that this had made his wife so angry that she went away. While no male informant in the lake area expressed such absolute obligations towards the wife, it was obvious that when she needed such articles for ceremonial exchange, he should supply them. There was complete agreement on the point that a grown-up son also had such obligations to his mother. Safom's behaviour and that of his wife may be said to correspond to the division into female and male fields of activity, and to the female opinion that the pair wife—husband resembled the pair mother—son. The parties of *mapo ej* thus stood in a sort of delicate exchange relation to each other.

On a later occasion, the same young man gave an example of how far a man could go when he considered the balance to be upset. He returned one day from Mefchatiam to the village of Kawf, where we then were staying. He had been away six days in all and was looking thin and hungry, despite the fact that Mefchatiam was the (official) village of his parents and his wife. He had arrived there in the evening, when his wife was away. He felt disappointed and neglected as neither his mother nor his sisters were at home, and resolved not to accept any food during the period he was there. Various women repeatedly thrust taro and fish upon him, which he demonstratively distributed among the delighted small fry. He had also refused food at other places on his way back to Kawf. A Mejprat could do without food for a week or ten days, he concluded in his narrative. Then he might die, but in that case the fault would be hers, since she had not given him "true taro" (*awiak cha*), when his relatives were away.

A husband's dependence on his wife's taro production must not be made too obvious lest "he felt ashamed" (*ajt charä nefit*). Such hypersensitive reactions, which could be observed fairly frequently among young and newly married men, testified rather to feelings of insecurity or inferiority. The women on their side, seemed anxious to make the least possible fuss about the supplying of taro and unobtrusively stuffed the taro in their husband's bags. The men feigned not to notice. In obvious contrast to this behaviour, old men were not at all shy about accepting taro from their wives. They laughed and joked about the tubers, patted the women on the shoulder as a sign of their contentment. No man seemed shy when accepting taro from a mother or sister. Younger men obviously found it difficult to accept their (inferior) roles as husbands. This was perhaps also because of a conflict between the newer patriarchal values, which were propagated by immigrants, Western religion and Western institutions, and the traditional ideals of an exchange, which these men had come to regard as unduly dominated by the female "mother"-role. This role appeared to contain an institutional superiority, also noted in the bride-giver's role, and balanced by elements of responsibility and solicitude for the "inferior" party.

This traditional female primacy in significant male—female relations was

evidenced in certain sexual terms as well as in various terms of reference. The procreation of children was to a certain degree regarded as regulated by the exchanges between the bridegivers and the bridetakers. When such preliminaries were completed, the sexual congress implied that male "water" (semen) was placed in the female "blood" and out of this grew the new being. This sexual activity was commonly expressed in symbolical terms, which were used in song making or everyday wordplay.

The excited female organ was called *aju*, "sun", the centre of all heat. The excited male organ was *ko*, "fire-wood". Through the vaginal "heat", augmented by the "fire-tongs" squeezing the moving fire-wood penis, the latter would catch fire and "burn" (the orgasm), whereby the "water" (semen) like the resin of wood would be brought out. The female heat was thus regarded as primary in bringing or rather forcing out the male water. Women used the same expression for the occupations of the man and the child, when the man was not working on the swidden: *nesóm*, "to play". It seemed as if terminologically the men accepted the situation. In the northern villages of Renis and Sejá, as well as in the eastern part, a man often used the term for "mother" (*fai* or *fenié*) in everyday speech for all married women with whom he was in any way related, whether belonging to the same or an older or younger generation. This included his wife and her sisters. The term for "father" was not used in this way. In the lacustrine part the term *fai* had an honorific and polite sound. It was used in myths and ceremonious language referring to both married and unmarried women, but not in genealogical contexts. The same honorary values seem to be expressed in its use.

The B—Z pair was actually observed as functioning in certain formal contexts. This was especially the case when action was taken against someone, e.g. when a "secret" love affair was broken off and a girl openly accused a boy of having slept with her. Her B would then go to the swidden of the ex-lover's Z, cut down a banana plant "to cool his heat" and shout about what had happened to his sister. The Z of the ex-lover then told her F, who told his W, and she in her turn summoned her B. The B—Z pairs were involved also in the discussions about the fines to be paid. The culprit (ex-lover) expected his Z, M and MB to contribute as well as MBD and MBS. He also expected his Z to suggest to F that FZ should make a contribution if necessary.

Although in these contexts the terms *ej* or *mapo ej* were not observed for the sibling pairs, the two relevant parties were referred to by sibling teknonymy, e.g. *Sirmesér mano*, "Sirmeser's brother" and *Tewet jano*, "Tewet's sister". The B—Z pair appears to be regarded as a fundamental category, even more so than the nuclear and the consanguineal families. If its function is considered in terms of polarity, the sibling pair also seems to hold a complementary opposition similar to that of the married couple. This fundamental polarity seems

to be the rational explanation for the occurrence of mythical sibling pairs living as man and wife, and being of different moities⁵⁰.

In *mapo ej* there is thus found a polarity between the two parties forming this unit. The female knew the earth, the male the dema that gave rain. In this respect the parties were complementary. The result of their interaction in marriage was taro and progeny. However, a wife at the same time had a "maternal" role to serve taro, and to provide the husband with rain-hood and other necessities, and in turn she demanded that the man should provide her with meat and fish. Many men understood this in the first place as a filial duty. Linguistic indications of the men as some kind of "children" and the women as some kind of "mothers" also existed. It is not at all clear what categories stem from the general feminacentric relation between men and women and which derive from the special relation between near kin. The self-effacement of the wives in response to the young husbands' oversensitiveness in the taro question can be said to show a solicitude and a striving to establish a balance, which the old men achieved with jocularly and gratitude.

Though mythical B—Z pairs were mentioned as *mapo ej*, this term was not observed in connection with the actual functioning of such sibling pairs as demonstrated in data on certain proceedings of a jural character. Then the importance of the B—Z bond was stressed. It obviously overruled the parental bonds and rather makes the H—W relation seem subsidiary to the B—Z solidarity, especially as the parties concerned were referred to in terms of sibling teknonomy.

The nuclear family

Any small informal group that had formed for some common purpose was called *aran*, whether only one sex or both were represented. It was also a term for "nuclear family" and was sometimes translated as "only" or "the few". A few boys in a house of initiation used it in the latter sense when saying: *amu nepó tuf aran* "here are only the three of us".

At an initiation⁵¹ a mother warned her son of the acts of violence that would overtake her, her husband and her other children, if the son was not obedient to his instructors, and she repeated *nenót aran*, "remember your nuclear family". The first translation of *aran* was, however, *ja ng k u r a ng*, "the few".

In the special sense of "nuclear family" *aran* was observed only in the lacustrine area. "I, my true mother, true father, true brothers and true sisters—these, specifically, are *aran*", explained a young man. A few men also included

⁵⁰ E.g. M 7, M 15 and in the myth about Paw (Elmberg 1966a, 167).

⁵¹ Elmberg 1966a, 160.

MB and some uncertainty about the limits was thus noted. Before a son or daughter was properly initiated, this group negotiated fines on his or her behalf; fines for minor thefts and misdemeanours. A girl's FZ and a boy's MB were also sometimes observed to take part in such negotiations. They were not, then, counted among *serim*, "the out-groupers" to whom MBW, FZH and even—later—a SW or DH belonged.

Aran seemed at first (because of its particular accent) linked with *ara*, "tree", but in no case was "tree" a category the Mejprat were observed to associate with the nuclear family. A connection between *aran* and *aro*, *ara*, both translated as "a little", seems less improbable:

$a + ro$ = a little + of something
 $a + ra + n$ = little + of some things + result (=unit)

This analysis would explain how the word can signify "the few, only" as well as "nuclear family". It makes the term distinctly state that the nuclear family was regarded as a secondary unit derived from the larger groups of the bride-takers and bride-givers or the two consanguineal families. That the same word also applied to temporary groups like the initiates in a house of initiation, or to a group workers working for pay⁵² on a swidden (*kach ur* or *kach ren*), indicates the stability of the nuclear family as relative and temporary.

Nonetheless it is noteworthy that the term *aran* always occurred in an independent form. This is an indication of the independence of the group in its responsibility for the member's immediate support and care.

The Mejprat nuclear family was a residential group functioning as a household as long as the children were small, and to a certain degree as a working group. *Rawt*, the commonest wind screen on the swiddens, was small, and seldom afforded protection for more than two or three adults and a few children. Ordinary pile houses had a floor affording just about enough room for the nuclear family. In both types of building there was only one hearth, whereas in houses intended for several households there was a fire-place for each group.

In the agricultural work the nuclear family acted more as the core of a working group than as any self-contained group. The initial cutting away of lianas might be done by a husband and wife the children eventually helping. The tree-felling and planting was the result of a cooperation between members of the consanguineal families of both wife and husband. If a man's father helped doing clearing work, the son was observed to regard it as an

⁵² In 1953 such temporary groups of 2-4 young men received roasted taro while working and one or two cloths when the work was done. It was reported as not uncommon that three young men should jointly possess one cloth. Cf. the Fejāk-sipāk exchange in the section "Aspects of Mejprat exchange".

assistance to his mother who was expected to participate in the planting of the taro stalks. The weeding was often done by the wife alone.

If more than one household were to cultivate one swidden, separate houses and windscreens were placed far apart. Every separate lot was marked out with stakes laid on the ground, and it was regarded as planted by one woman.

As a working group *aran* was loosing its possibilities in the Prat part. In the year 1953 there were a considerable number of popot feasts⁵³. The work of cultivation on the swiddens was considerable, and at the same time a certain percentage of the population was working for the Oil Company in Sorong. This percentage consisted of younger men whose traditional occupation was the clearing of swiddens. Big jointly worked plots (*kach us* and *kach ren*) were considered much more common now than formerly. This was felt to be a consequence of popot feasts and the shortage of younger people.

In the Prat part Maser Na had six wives still living and ten children—did these 17 persons constitute one *aran*? All polygynists stated that people were *aran* in relation to their regional ground. The nuclear family worked on a part (*paro*), of that ground, and ate food that was produced by one wife on this part.

The connection between the concept *aran* and the food was also obvious in a form of adoption through “giving food” (*potos*). If two parents had no son to perform the funeral ceremonies at their death, they might come to an agreement with another parental couple to the effect that for their lifetime they should supply one of the latter’s sons with taro. The son in question then had to perform the ceremonies on the death of the sonless couple. It was stressed that the latter did not pay anything; the funeral obligation followed the receiving of taro, which was in itself a privilege. According to information, on the death of a wife, her husband and children gathered in a house. There the people from the surrounding region made a mock-attack on them until the husband finally promised a day for funeral exchanges. In this the nuclear group still seemed a unit, although other funeral ceremonies had the character of an interplay between consanguineal families.

Around the lakes the husband’s role was at first acclaimed as representing authority within *aran*. More first hand knowledge of the relations inside the nuclear family showed the role of the wife as patently of primary importance in matters of cloth economy, and that of the husband as more “adjunct” and “mediating”⁵⁴). The cloth handed over to a wife after marriage was called *rurá se*, “the complete collection” or *rurá ati*, “the collection of the principal” and she alone distributed it. Terminologically she was still the leader.

In a polygynous marriage the husband had opportunities to play his wives

⁵³ They are described in Elmberg 1966a.

⁵⁴ Elmberg 1966a, 68—72.

off against one other. This was seen in the case of Chawer Sarosa and his two wives⁵⁵. His potential influence in cloth matters was greater than that of a monogamous husband. However, on two occasions important for the growth and support of the nuclear family, a husband was not even allowed to be present, namely at *mepó sus*, the ceremonies of birth and for the promotion of agricultural fertility.

In important activities a husband was often coupled with a woman in a significant way. In a myth about the first Sachfra⁵⁶ it was a woman (representing the ground owners) who received the dema's message that a feast was to be held. In Pum Isir's narrative⁵⁷ it was his mother who conveyed the message from the dema to the effect that Pum must hold his first feast. In the narrative about the dema of the river Erut⁵⁸ it was likewise a woman who got a valuable textile fabric and who conveyed to her husband the instructions concerning the holding of a feast. At the funerals of married men it was customary to say that the deceased man's wife and daughters "remembered" his skull and "gave word" about the funeral feast. Also at the big popot feast in 1953 near Mefchatiam, the popot's wife considered herself to have been the first to work for the feast⁵⁹.

The ideal behavioural pattern of the myths may be said to agree in this point with the behaviour recorded at the real feasts. At the feasts, women also led by prompting the vociferating men in their address to the dema and the ghosts.

There were also cases where members of a nuclear family were indicated as primarily of *mapuf*, the two consanguineal families (alternatively: bride-givers and bride-takers). The first was the case of the men's wage money. Wage-earning married Mejprat men gave their money to their wives who dealt out the money inside *mapuf*. On one occasion Safom Isir's wife Martina distributed the 50 guilders he turned over to her (he kept 10 guilders) in the following characteristic way:

Será-Fijís (her F)	2:50	Pum (HF)	10:—
Kajách (B)	2:50	Sirmesér (HZ)	2:50
Merit-Mä (B)	2:50	Paulina (HZ)	2:—
Maju (Z)	2:50	Tach (HB)	4:—
Serúf from Utwit		Mater (HMB)	3:—
(class. F)	1:50		
Saraf (FZS)	2:—		

⁵⁵ Ibid. 71.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 167.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 88.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 144.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 12.

Martina kept 15:—, of some of which she was later to give her HM and HMBD when they had completed some ceremonies meant to hasten conception. *Fenjá mechúw m'sajm pítis, mum ra*, "Women are always distributing the money, they give (it) to people", as Safom expressed it.

He also explained that his consanguineal family received most, since Martina and he had no children. Hers would get more when they had children⁶⁰.

In another case the husband was observed to address his wife as *anu*, "you (plur.)" when asking her for some cloth he needed. In the beginning, when I regarded the nuclear family as the only primary and fundamental unit, it seemed a mistake for *amu*, "we" ("do we have some cloth?"). Later, several husbands asking for cloth confirmed this way of addressing a wife: *anu pepó aro po?* "(do) you people have a little cloth?" They seemed to regard her primarily as a *mapuf*-member, even in matters that concerned the husband very closely (like assistance to his Z or MB). These indications cannot be developed further since fuller details of observation are lacking.

A third case occurred in narratives concerning sons who had revenged a killed father, when the phrase *jano mawia nepó n'seká, mano nesā-o*, "a sister weeps to arrange revenge (so that) her brother lays out (magic) poison", was used.

The sister was thus indicated as a primary agent in bringing her brother to take action and therefore seemed closer to the father than her brother, i.e. as a member of the same consanguineal family group.

In the Mejprat nuclear family the parents acted as sole inculcators of behaviour up to the time when the children started to live with MB or FZ. It is notable that a daughter indicated only her mother as inflicting corporal punishment and a boy only his father. The punishing party was thus to be found in the opposite consanguineal family.

In many aspects of her traditional role the wife represented the mind of the family while the husband represented the arm. A balanced cooperation was certainly expected since they were regarded as a "couple". This seems also to be brought out by a phrase always used in connection with the most flagrant expression for un-balance, viz. the female suicide⁶¹. The phrase was *aw m'charā nefit*, rendered by informants: "She was shamed" (and therefore ended her life). It denotes "She was empty of cold force (and) flared up".

The expression alluded to the Mejprat belief that a "hot" kind of life-force and a "cold" kind were contained in the human body and were to be matched and kept in balance. Otherwise the person became too "hot" or too "cold"

* It appeared that Pum was given the money ostentatiously in front of others and therefore had to give a Z (class.), ZS and ZD each 2.50. His true Z was dead. After the birth of Safom's children he would get only something for himself, while Safom's M would receive more than before.

" In 14 cases of 23 (Elmberg 1955, 94) the woman killed herself after a quarrel with her husband.

to live. The married women who resorted to suicide had allegedly had an argument with their husbands before taking their life. The husbands were regarded as responsible for the ensuing un-balance and were fined accordingly by the traditional rules. The fines went to WBD and WFZS as well as to WFZ and WB.

In the western Prat area, disputes and discussions concerning fines and loans of cloth seemed at first, as mentioned above, to be carried on by men as representatives of the family. From the very outset the popot gave me the idea that this was their real field of work. However, their decisions proved to be subject to the approval of the women⁶². A traditional leader of ceremonies put it like this: *Sanet kepé nawe, fenjá sow aran m'kespó*, "If (it is) necessary to lay down the law, one woman talks for the family.

A wife kept, repaired and transported the family's supply of cloth. The husband was not allowed to take the fabrics he needed, but had to make a formal request which could be refused. Incoming cloth had to be handed over to her. She took active part in borrowing to meet such incidental needs as fines. If the husband failed to collect outstanding debts he threatened to send his wife to do the collecting:

"She bites, kicks and scratches"⁶³.

Summing up the main points, *aran* emerges as a traditional term for small groups of a temporary character. In the lacustrine area it was observed as connoting also "the nuclear family" though its limits seemed at times uncertain. Its semantic content implied that this family derived from larger units. As long as the children were small the nuclear family was a residential group defined as living from the taro produced by one woman in her traditional part of a home region. In the western Prat part the husband tended to regard himself as the representative of the nuclear family in economic and ceremonial matters, especially in front of administrative agents. Traditionally the spirit world approached him through his wife to make him begin important feasts. In matters of agricultural and natal character the wife and her female helpers made exclusive contact with the *dema*. Wives also prompted their husbands to call up spirits to a feast.

The position of a wife in the nuclear family seems to be based on her function as a producer: the cultivator of taro and bearer of children. She had control over the group's staple food and chief objects of value. The husband acted as a negotiator or contact man with the out-group world.

The non-relational form of the term for the nuclear family testified to the in-

⁶² Elmberg 1966a, 68 ff.

⁶³ She did. In 1953 some young men who followed me as temporary carriers were sometimes surprised en route by female creditors who suspected them of failing in their obligations and clearing out for good. Each time there was some loss of blood and hair tufts, and each time I lost a carrier.

dependence of the group in its responsibility for the immediate care and support of its members. When not immediately functioning for this common goal, its members were observed to belong primarily to their respective consanguineal families. The tension between adherence to a nuclear family, B—Z solidarity, and membership in a consanguineal family (or other large unit) was somewhat scantily illustrated in the material.

The consanguineal family

Mapuf, "the consanguineal family", was a group first mentioned in the answers to my question as to whether marriage with MBD was allowed: *tarof mapuf fä!*, "I don't follow (=marry into) my consanguineal family!" It was often mentioned in connection with ceremonies of death and initiation⁶⁴. The term had the connotation of "miniature" when used e.g. of a model of a house made for me (*samu mapuf*) or of an old pig that did not grow but remained small (*fané mapuf*). "Small" in a more ordinary sense was *maku*, conveying a notion of "not yet up to the mark, not mature, dependent".

The consanguineal family can be described as containing male ego—M—MB—MBD and the concomitant twelve roles. When regarded from the point of view of the sister's son it was called *cha* (or *ra*), "male"; it was *fa*, "female", when seen from that of the brother's daughter. As "male" it should above all contribute cloth to exchange feasts and receive vegetables, and as "female" contribute vegetables and receive cloth as follows from the rules of kinship behaviour.

There was a primary and a secondary *mapuf* for every individual. A male ego belonged in his youth to the group of his M, MB and MBD (primary). When married and having a family of his own, he belonged together with his D, Z and ZS (secondary). No differentiating term was observed for primary or secondary *mapuf*.

Inside a young nuclear or a consanguineal family, all assistance was to be requested and given in terms of *ne*, "to give". Outside these groups, the terms for cooperation were *tach* (denoting "protection, help" and connoting "order to help"⁶⁵ since it could not be declined) and *netách* ("cooperation against substantial remuneration"). Occasional, large and cooperating groups, formed on the latter basis, were called *perúr*, and occurred e.g. when organising surprise parties or fishing parties and when preparing vast swiddens.

In the previous data some indications were noted regarding the function of the consanguineal family. Dyadic terms and rules of kin behaviour have been interpreted as showing a male ego's orientation towards *fa mapuf* and a female

⁶⁴ Elmberg 1966a, 102 ff, 112.

⁶⁵ Idem 1955, 95. Requested especially from affinals like WB and DH.

ego's towards *ra mapuf*. A male ego was from the age of 5—6 years to have his maternal uncle and mother as his chief educators; female ego had her father and paternal aunt. If male ego should die during childhood *charat*-cloth was to be given to the maternal uncle by ego's F and FZ, the latter obviously being regarded as having some vital influence on ego's well-being. The maternal uncle initiated ego and claimed service for his swiddens. The maternal uncle and the mother supplied the lion's share of the cloth for the marriage-exchange; and if the exchanges were becoming tardy, the relatives of ego's wife asked: "Is your maternal uncel angry?" (*namu kenú*). In the lacustrine part ego addressed the two women in *mapuf* as "mother" (*nemä*) and he was considered to have corresponding duties towards them. When ego died, the death dues were to be given to the daughter of the maternal uncle. She mostly called ego *ra tape*, "man that I possess", described him as "a true sibling" but also used *nakut*, "my son", and the maternal uncle said *kupe wamu*, "our special, own child" (instead of the formal *namu*). These terms were not used of ego's sister, who belonged to another *mapuf*. It is worth observing that expressions for both sibling and filial relations were used by MBD, indicating—if at all meaningful—some essential affinity between mothership and sistership.

In the present data the *mapuf* group was manifested especially on the occasions of decease and initiation. It was said that one "postponed dying" until one's *mapuf* was present. An old man's body-cord (*sum*) was severed by his sister and/or his daughter. The son of the sister at the same time also performed some service, for which he was rewarded, as were the two others, with cloth. The cord of a deceased woman was severed by her son and/or her brother, who together with her brother's daughter were rewarded in the same way.

If a young girl died before she had been initiated, *charat*-cloth was handed over by F and FZ to the maternal uncle, i.e. to the opposite *mapuf*. If she died later, cloth was given to the FZS and/or BD. It is therefore assumed that membership in *mapuf* did not automatically follow after birth.

It seems probable that for a boy the initiation, with its application of the body-cord and the traditional perforation of the nose, served as an admission ceremony in *mapuf*, just as the application of the body-cord and the tattooing did for the girl. The boy's maternal uncle was most frequently referred to as the one performing the operation of perforating the nose, his daughter and the mother of the boy were food-providers, and the father and the paternal aunt were "payers".

The paternal aunt acted in a similar way as tattooer for the girl. FZS acted as food-provider and M and MB as "payers"⁶⁶.

In all the houses of initiation *mapuf* functioned in the same manner. An

⁶⁶ Idem 1966a, 102, ff.

essential part of the ceremonies consisted in giving the initiate water, taro, vegetables, and crayfish from the region, i.e. introducing him (or her) to his (her) *mapuf's* region.

Terminologically, the data presented the nuclear family as of a secondary and temporary character. After being initiated into his consanguineal family a person should traditionally have his staunchest and most friendly helpers there. Within the consanguineal family there was no counterpart of the dunning for cloth that took place between M and F when their respective relatives prepared a feast, nor to the strained or unfriendly relations between F—S and M—D of the nuclear family. The 23 cases of female suicide⁶⁷ demonstrated, together with the not unfrequent cases of wife-beating treated by the court at Ajamaru, the instable atmosphere of the nuclear family, in which a mounting claim for a non-traditional male influence was probably also of some importance. A spreading polygyny, though still not frequent, might have added a certain anxiety. Finally, though no observations were made on divorce, it did occur.

Ideally, for every person who at the initiation in a sense severed some ties with his nuclear group, a primary or, later, secondary consanguineal family was always at hand, friendly and positive. According to some Mejprat views, the very first "marriages" in mythical times were between a brother and a sister.

Traditionally the nuclear family seems to have been a meeting point for two consanguineal families which cooperated through roles of complementary opposition for their own perpetuation.

In the information obtained on *mapuf*, informants talked about e.g. the roles of B, Z, BD and ZS⁶⁸, but mostly there were more than one sibling to each role. Data suggested that 2 or 3 persons could cooperate in the same role, but disagreements became too numerous and continuous support unreliable if 4 or more persons were involved. The eldest brother and the eldest sister were the most important among siblings of the same sex, and each acted to a certain degree as a leader for his or her younger siblings. In 1957, in the western Prat part the term *taro jase*, "elder male sibling" (m.s.), was used as a term for a male "leader" of cooperative efforts like building a dance house or clearing a *kach ren* swidden. However, female informants denoted the wives of these leaders as *taro mase* "the true leaders", who had originally taken the initiative and now led the work and distributed taro. In these instances the participants were variously related, unrelated and of different generations, but thus found it possible to have their efforts coordinated by someone they called "elder sibling".

It was obvious, however that younger siblings sometimes broke away from the mechanically formed consanguineal family to join other ones. This process

⁶⁷ Idem 1955, 93.

⁶⁸ Neither Mejprat nor Malay is usually concerned with the numerus of nouns.

was at first recorded through the extension of sibling terms, later through important cloth dealings that some informants were having with distant relatives or affinals, counting them (classificatorily) as close relatives. Chawer Sarosa mentioned⁶⁹ a FBWB whom he called *ramu* and who acted as MB. Pum Isir mentioned Keret-musi Karet, with whom he was not related, as his (classificatory) MBD. Safom Isir, who had two elder brothers, was looking for new possibilities in the village of Kawf and offered to join any group where he would enjoy brighter prospects than in his own consanguineal family.

This fission and fusion was readily accepted and regarded as a readjustment to create more favourable conditions — but the roles to be played were the traditional ones of the consanguineal family.

Review

In the kinship groups the importance of the sibling pair seems specifically stressed. It will be remembered that a sister appeared to have some essential power over the lives of BCh, and—seemingly—a mother over her son's faculty of reproduction. The many indications of some essential affinity between the relations of M—S and W—H recall that terms used in M—S and B—Z relationship were employed also between MBD—FZS. The use of a sibling teknonymy of a B—Z structure, and the formal actions by sibling pairs e.g. in cases of denounceable sexuality and in cases of filial vengeance, made the B—Z pair of fully initiated individuals seem of primary situs importance, with the F—D (and therefore also M—S) relation being ranked next to it and the W—H relation being ranked last.

This is also the context in which the informal terms for BD (w.s.) and ZS (m.s) should be considered. They were observed as respectively *ku ramu* and *kupe wamu*, both of which indicate a plural owner: "our child" and "our own children", once more stressing the importance of the B—Z pair of the M—S and F—D relations.

The rope descent order was repeatedly emphasized through the M—S and F—D relations, not only in terminology but also in rules of behaviour, residential habits and the relation of the *mapuf* group.

Here we seem to have the lines of some magic and/or sexual communication between M—S, F—D and B—Z which seems fundamental to the social relations. Indirect, as well as certain observed data, have suggested some sort of sexual relation between F—D that might have a parallel M—S relation. Seen

⁶⁹ Elmberg 1966a, 154 note 26.

together with the form of rope descent known also from the Mundugumur, a M—S and F—D sexuality does not seem improbable⁷⁰.

In various parts of the world the occurrence has been pointed out of P—Ch and B—Z marriages in a number of myths, and of beliefs about their reciprocal influence over each others' fertility.

Surveying a number of such instances, Moore argues that "just as fictive kinship may be resorted to, to bind unrelated persons socially, so fictive incest (= mythical data, E.) and fictive parenthood (= magical data E.) can be part of the idiom of descent"⁷¹. In the Mejprat situation such fictive parenthood underlines traditionally significant relations inside the consanguineal family. Mythical B—Z "marriages" served also to express and explain the social organisation, which will be discussed later.

For the adult individual of the lacustrine part, the consanguineal family appeared in many respects to be of a greater emotional, economic and ritual importance than the nuclear family group, which can be viewed primarily as a nursery developing the relations that constitute different future consanguineal families. Emotional relations inside the latter group were charged negatively (F—S, M—D) as well as positively (M—D, F—D). The group was thus furnished also with the aggressive dynamics of a non-complementary opposition. Relations inside the consanguineal family were—ideally—only positively charged.

The consanguineal family could be generated only through the nuclear family which effected the important joining of two complementary ropes. But when this joining was achieved, the interests of the younger generation were directed horizontally away from the nuclear group. Traditionally this prepared them for the future marriages of their own generation and those of the next, in fulfilment of the marriage system and in perpetuation of the social organisation.

* The form may be sexual stimulation, masturbation or coitus.

There is some difficulty in assessing what Mead (1935; 1950, 128 ff.) is really saying about these aspects of life among the rope—organised Mundugumur. The father is said to have "a strong sense of possession in his daughter". "He may sleep in her sleeping basket with her until she marries..." "Often after the mother has carried up an especially tasty dish for the father's evening meal, it is the daughter, not the mother, who is bidden to creep into her father's sleeping-bag for the night." If she substitutes for her mother, is not some sort of sexual behaviour expected? If so, the rope—organised Mundugumur society indicates similar lines of communication to those of the Mejprat society.

⁷¹ Moore 1964. 1317.

Marriage.

A situation of change

According to the government registration, the Mejprat were organized in patrilineal "clans" termed *fam*. Local divisions, "subclans", were headed by government appointed chiefs, who by Government officials were given Indonesian titles like *majoor*, *kapitan* and *radja*. Some of those were even regarded as chiefs of an entire *fam*⁷².

Each *fam* had a name. As "name" in Mejprat is *som*, younger informants sometimes stated that *som* was the equivalent of *fam*. It seems more correct to say that they used *som* to signify the patrilineity connected with the recently introduced identification of individuals through a *fam* name only. *Fam* is regarded as a pidgin-Malay form of the Dutch "van" (from) and signifies "family name"⁷³. In the Malay of New Guinea *fam* appears to cover a whole series of connotations, from the above mentioned "patrilineal clan" to "kindred".

In all contacts with occidentals and their institutions a Mejprat had to state his "fam name". This name appeared to be a consequence of the registering activities of the authorities which were started in the middle of the 1930's but suspended between 1941—1950. In this connection a Mejprat was required to state his father's *fam* name. These *fam*-names were afterwards carefully borne in mind because—as Akus Sarosa said—one had "got them from the government". They were probably understood as part of the new style of life⁷⁴, since they were also used in schools and by the Christian missions. On several occasions vehement discussions arose in connection with genealogical recordings, when younger Mejprat had opinions differing from those of the older ones about a person's *fam* name. Originally patrilineal Sawiet immigrants of the western Prat appeared to have a fairly good idea of what was required, although their sons by Mejprat women did not always share their conception.

Through such administrative and educational coercion the Mejprat were learning to think if not to live in terms of a patrilineal *fam*. Their traditional culture, however, comprized a different order of descent (the rope) as well as social units that were geographically defined, like *tiáro*, "the home region"

⁷² Massink 1955, 9.

⁷³ Clercq 1876, 16.

⁷⁴ Kamma (1948, 182) quotes instances from New Guinea where the Indonesian titles "majoor" and "dimara" were used as a "family name" in the coastal area of the western part of the Bird's Head peninsula. Also the Mimika were requested to state a patrilinear "fam name" in an ambi-lateral situation (Pouwer 1955, 63, 101—107).

(and the people living there), and *paro*, "regional partition". Consequently the Mejprat used *fam* with a varied content, now indicating some form of "patrilineal clan" and at other times referring to any of the traditional units or their acculturated forms.

This situation of change seemed to be reflected also in the varied response to my efforts to collect *fenit mená* or *tjeritra fam*, i.e. the myth of origin, allegedly preserved by each *fam*. Most male informants, however, told myths dealing with their mother's *fam* or made female siblings tell the myth connected with the *fam* name of the male informant. The term *fenit mená* was translated "the perfect standard for the relevant people" (i.e. those of one region). This stressed that the myth expressed certain fundamental regional relations of status, transmitted according to a rope model.

One myth of the Sarosa (M 32) and that of the Karet (M 14) evoked very different judgements if retold to other Mejprat people. So for instance some people of the once coastal Sesa (now living in Mefchatiam) considered the Sarosa version as "incorrect" since the Sarosa "actually" belonged to the coastal peoples and their ancestors had emerged from the mango tree in Sejfi, mentioned in the myths of the Sesa people. Chawer Sarosa of Mefchatiam agreed to this, but held that Sejfi and those places of yore were too far away nowadays. Even his tree spirit home mentioned in the myth was too far away and his "real" spirit homes were the wells of Mis and Wochaju, and the adjoining stones and trees. In accounts from his youth his tree spirit home was situated near Sauf and called Fejtmaris (associating to some maternal ancestress), but today a tree with this name grew outside Mefchatiam. The tree mentioned in the myth was not functioning any more, although it was called Fejt-achina and associated with a paternal ancestor.

Similarly the above-mentioned myth of the Karet was considered "incorrect" by the Karet-Tupun people. The latter considered that this myth was a corrupt form of the well known Sesa myth. Subsequent investigations proved the pertinent Karet informants to have mothers of the Sarosa people. These women had transmitted to their sons a traditional Sarosa myth of the present day Sesa type. Doing this, they demonstrated the pattern of traditional Mejprat descent reckoning: M \rightarrow S; F \rightarrow D

Inside the Mejprat area it appears important to possess a myth of origin stating the relation of one's own unit to at least one other unit in terms of "groundowner, bride-giver, host rope" and of "immigrant, bride-taker, guest rope". The typical myth of the (original coastal) Sesa did not do this, and the necessity seems obvious for Chawer's group (or any other immigrant group) to render such a mythical "charter" in terms structurally relevant to their present situation.

The administrative requirement for a *t u a n t a n a* was a further source of innovation. *T u a n t a n a* was the term used by officials to denote a person as

a "groundowner" or a representative of the "groundowners" with whom to negotiate the purchase of ground for government purposes (house sites, air strip, agricultural experiments etc.). Some Mejprat people were prepared to accept this function also, using the traditional Mejprat term *fa majr*, "female root, bride-giver, regional host rope", to describe their new function, though not belonging traditionally to that category.

These conditions have caused much confusion in the interpretation of information and afterwards necessitated a lengthy re-analysis and checking of the relevant data. When considering the Mejprat marriage, a departure will be made from the traditional terms for bride-giver and bride-taker.

Bride-giver and bride-taker

The terms *tafóch* connoting "bride-givers" and *ko* connoting "bride-taker" were used throughout the Mejprat area. In the northern part it was observed as a term of address for the relatives of W (m.s.). From the fact that *ko* denoted "(fire-)wood" and *tafóch* "fire", it can be seen that no notion of explicit "giving" or "taking" was inherent, but rather of bringing fire-wood to the fire.

Mention has already been made of the symbolic representation of sexual congress as feeding firewood into the fire and to the element of a certain female primacy or superiority in this relation. In a parallel way the Mejprat classification of *tafóch* as "hot, alive" and *ko* as "cold, dead" assigned a classificatory superiority to the bride-givers' role. This was also expressed in formal behaviour pertaining to certain conflict situations, e.g. discussions about fines when a clandestine love affair was brought to light. The girl's B and consanguineal family delivered torrents of threats and abusive language and demanded quite improbable amounts of cloth (a hundred pieces or more). As one informant expressed it, should the boy be let off lightly, he might think that the girl was of no importance—and after all, those making this terrific row "they were the bride-givers" (*ana tafóch*). They thus showed the superiority inherent in their role.

Although being *tafóch* was superior to being *ko*, the bride-givers should "be solicitous" (*wakar*) about the bride-taker. In exchanges, the quality of things given by the bride-givers was often emphasised (e.g. they would give taro of the Sapur kind, considered the finest of all) while the bride-takers' ideal was to give "things in abundance" (*po wer*). The character of the bride-takers' services and gifts was markedly "male" and according to the sexual division of labour: besides cloth also meat, fish, palmwine, and assistance in clearing swiddens and building houses. The bride-givers chiefly gave tubers and vegetables,

bags and strings. They also gave assistance when burning a swidden and preparing the ground for planting, which was correspondingly "female".

Cloth was supplied predominantly by the bride-takers. The bride-givers administered and improved certain important exchange lots, which will be described in a later section. Taro and bark cloth, as well as the imported types of cloth, were regarded as produced or acquired through a cooperation between males and females⁷⁵, and it seems significant that the products most characteristic of the two exchange parties required a male-female cooperation.

An unmarried son or daughter was observed to talk about the parental exchange parties in terms of *fa* (the mother and her people) and *ra* (the father and his people), implying *mapuf*; the consanguineal family or families were thus regarded as the core of the respective exchange groups.

The principle of "mixture"

In the lacustrine part two statements were often made by men in reply to my questions about who was considered the best person to marry. The popot said: She must be rich, otherwise you become a pauper. Others stated: You may take anyone who is not too closely related, preferably someone far off among your mother's people: *fenjá mo meriá*, "women fetch (husband) from afar".

The last phrase, besides reflecting uxori-locality and making the women active agents in the selection of marriage partners, also seemed to bring out the importance of geographical distance.

This information simultaneously stressed the possibility of a choice. In the genealogies, the marriage partners of a sibling group and their parallel cousins indicated a puzzling variety of *fam* to choose from.

Conditions were different in the adjacent villages of the Sawiet area. There in the villages of Macha and Elis, MBD-marriages were observed. But in the same area the old village head-man Sachoromanak Tuwit, from the village of Seruwan, said that among the Tuwit folk MBD-marriage was no longer contracted. Instead, the marital practice prevailing among the Sarosa in Mefchatiam was applied: only in this way could one become rich, for then "the cloth circulated in all directions" and not only within a small circle. Sachoromanak, too, asserted that this implied a "free choice", with a preference for remote relatives on the maternal side.

No informant in the lacustrine area spoke of MBD-marriage as the ideal, and only among the Na-folk did one informant consider it to be allowed. The most important Na-man in the Prat region, Masar Na, however, can be shown to be married according to the same principles as the Sarosa. According

⁷⁵ Elmberg 1959, 76.

to Masar MBD-marriage was forbidden, as was sibling-exchange, which prohibition was stressed.

The ceremonial expert Pum Isir gave me a clue to this. He said that between a man and his wife common relatives formed "a chain" (*prat*) so ordered that *neká ra je fenjá, ra je fenjá*, "they were mixed, every other man, every other woman". He elucidated this by saying that a woman thrust the digging stick in the ground, set the taro stalk in the hole and in this way taro was formed in the soil. Every other thing mentioned had a female symbolic value (woman, ground and hole), and every other thing male (stick, taro stalk, taro tuber).

To the north of the lakes the genealogies showed a number of sibling-exchanges, which were said to have been in general practice earlier. The same was said to have been the case in the Ajfat region in the south.

In all this Pum saw the *neká* principle, the "mixture" of every other man, every other woman; but he, too, was of the opinion that sibling-exchange was not good for a large circulation of cloth.

Finally it was pointed out that an affinal fam of a certain man's MB was identical with the fam of this man's bride-givers. This made for a marriage according to Pum's "mixing" principle. This principle can be applied horizontally inside a marriage system as recorded by Elkin with a so-called Aluridja type of kinship⁷⁶.

A collocation of different genealogies shows that Pum Isir, as well as the important popot in the Prat part, had wives who can be described horizontally as the husband's MBWBD. This will be called the popot system. The same relation can be shown for Sachoromanak Tuwit and his son Manak, who had indicated that there had now been a "change over" to the ways of marrying practised by the Sarosa in Mefchatiam (see figs. 4 & 5). In the South Australian Aluridja system the key relation is expressed vertically so that the wife is

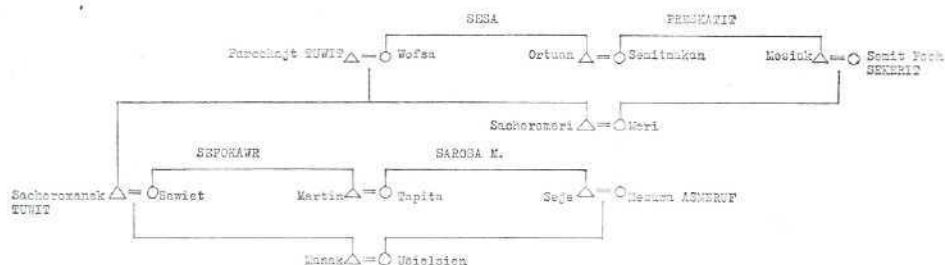


Fig. 4. Combined data from the genealogies of the Tuwit, the Sesa and the Preskatit show the brother (Sachoromeri) and the son (Manak) of Sachoromanak to be married with MBWBD (Popot system).

⁷⁶ Elkin 1954, 71—74. As will be discussed later on, the locality appears to be of greater importance than the genealogical context for the Mejprat system.

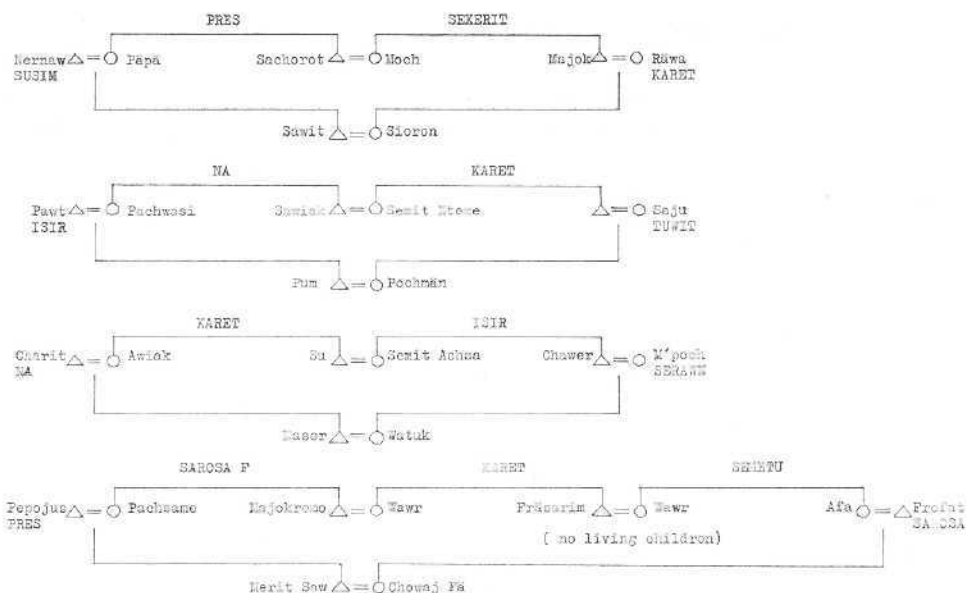


Fig. 5. The marriages of four important exchange leaders of the western Prat part showing the Popot system. Sarosa F=Sarosa Framu.

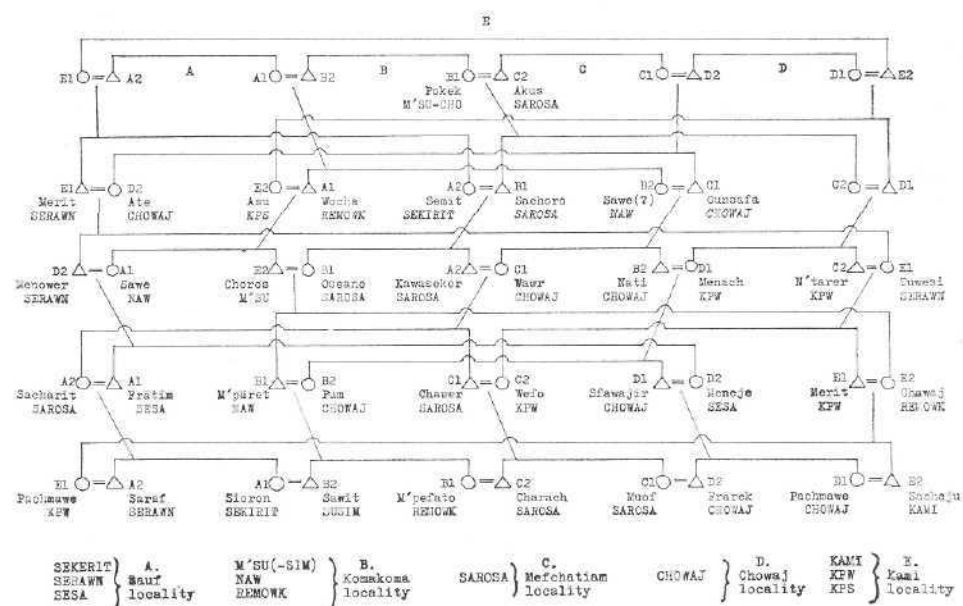


Fig. 6. A model of marriage connections showing the suggested functioning of five geographically defined marriage classes (A, B, C, D and E) of the Popot system. Reconstruction according to data in the genealogies of the Sarosa and the Chowaj-Sefarari. All marriages are true, other relations may be classificatory. KPW=Kampuwefa, KPS=Kampuskato.

her husband's FMBDD. In a system based upon these principles, one in which neither MBD-marriage nor sibling-exchange is permitted, there must be at least five units (see fig. 6). If one organizes a system with four units, in which every man still marries his FMBDD (the Aluridja characteristic), one automa-

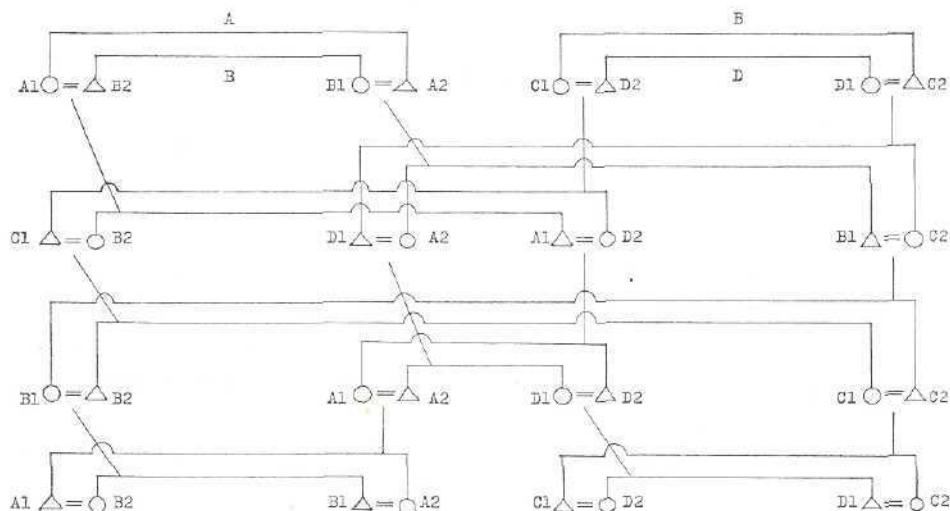


Fig. 7. A model of the Nesim marriage system with four marriage classes (A, B, C, and D). Reconstruction.

tically gets a system having sibling exchange (see fig. 7). The same horizontal, "mixed" chain as was found in the popot system between man and wife cannot be established, but a vertical connection is possible: a man marries his MFZSD and unites two ropes issuing from a B—Z pair. Further, a woman's FZS marries her husband's MBD, and here a similar chain is formed, one in which every other link is male, and every other link female. From *nesim*, the Mejprat term for sibling-exchange, the system with four units will be referred to as the nesim system.

The occurrence of such a nesim system is indicated in different ways in the northern and eastern parts of the region. First and foremost, sibling-exchange was still allowed and applied there. Secondly, according to the nesim system ego's MB marries ego's FZ, and the terms for MBD and FZD should tally. This they actually do according to the survey in the eastern part of the northern region. However, the genealogical material is not sufficiently broad to allow observations of an eventual parallel exchange of the parties' cross-cousins.

Thirdly, sibling exchange tallies with the observed structure of the kinship terminology.

The use of a reciprocal term of address for married couples, *tefájn*, can be understood as an expression for the reciprocity of the system (symmetry) and for the fact that both parties should be “bride-giving”.

Two connubium systems are thus indicated, one asymmetrical five unit popot system, the other a symmetrical four unit nesim system. Both concur with the Aluridja type of marriage with FMBDD. Finally, the number of units in both can be combined with the number of marriage classes (4 and 5) included in two mechanical models of Mejprat social organisation, as will be demonstrated later.

The meeting of the ropes

The meeting of two ropes was linguistically indicated in some current Mejprat terms. One was the northern kinship term *sajuoch*. This connoted MBD (m.s.) and denoted “from *one* womb”. In a four unit system a male ego’s daughter and the son of his *sajuoch* should ideally marry. This marriage is thus indeed a union of two rope descendants of a brother and a sister.

In a five unit system the daughter of a MBD married a male ego’s son. Two ropes still obtain from two siblings of different sex, as a man was marrying his MFMBDS, but these descent lines no longer included ego’s son and his *sajuoch*. In the western Prat part, which is possibly the part acquainted with the five unit system for the longest time, this term was never observed, while

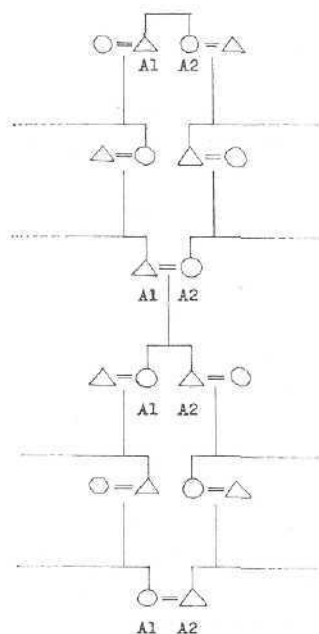


Fig. 8. “The meeting of the ropes” in a four unit system (Nesim).

in the eastern Prat part the term was sometimes used, although it was not regarded as "correct". The changing conditions of a five unit system developing out of a four unit system may have rendered the term obsolete.

In discussions about how closely related a man and his wife could be, it was stated that the traditional rule was — obviously from the point of view of an original sibling pair in a four unit system — "the great grandchildren return" (*nano nerú*) and — from the point of view of the parents in either systems — "the children close the circuit" (*narā rut*). *Nerú* was used of a cloth "returning" to an original donor after a round among his relatives. Such a "return" was always viewed with a satisfaction greater than anything else. Cloths were named after it and the "circuits" the cloth had completed were enumerated and described in so called "cloth songs"⁷⁷. *Rut* was used of the sun returning below the earth after circling the sky, and of long trips taking a party in a wide circle through the Mejprat territory back to the starting point.

The use of these two terms together with the above kinship terms indicates that the descent ropes from a brother-and-sister pair were regarded as meeting again after a certain number of generations. In a four unit system this happened in the second descending generation, where the term *nano* was applied for "grandchild" (fig. 8).

The differentiated kinship terminology can be seen really to cover the range of these three generations only. The sporadic use of *chochos* for GGP in the western Prat area probably indicated the need for an enlarged reach of a four-generation terminology, which was observed to cover the span necessary in a Popot system to make the rope descendants of a brother-and-sister pair "return" to one another and unite in marriage. The term *nano* was extended also to the third descending generation (great grandchildren). This makes every brother-and-sister pair the beginning of a new "circular" unit of two ropes spreading apart to close the circuit two or three generations later. Again, it makes every individual complete his "rope joining" in the prescribed ideal marriage. The expression *a rut*, recorded in discussions about descent in Mefchatiam, can be translated "the joining of the ropes" and suggests a notion of "a closed bilateral rope cycle".

Some kind of bilateral descent cycle is of course inherent as a possibility in the idea of any marriage system. In Negri Sembilan, for instance, it is pointed out by P. E. de Josselin de Jong⁷⁸ that in every fifth generation of a clan the woman "equals the ancestress of five generations back and only she may therefore assume the rôle of becoming a new tribal founder for a new *parui*" (= extended family). The term "clan" is used by the author to translate *suk u* which denotes: "leg of an animal" or "quarter" and though there are four original clans, clans are not "at present genealogically related". This situation is similar to conditions established among the Mejprat.

⁷⁷ Elmberg 1966a, 43, 154.

⁷⁸ Josselin de Jong 1952, 87, 66, 71.

In a four unit marriage system a Mejprat may live to see his descent cycle closing, furthered by his lifelong careful work and planning for the exchange feasts below the Fejt tree, which alone ensured the circuit's right course. Various ceremonial forms and details assured him of the cosmic character of every Mejprat cycle.

It seems also probable that the longer span of three generations in a descent cycle of a five unit marriage system made this final experience impossible⁷⁹. Here the popot feast in the western Prat area, of a more elaborate type and with stable buildings, may possibly have provided a substitute for this satisfaction.

In the discussion on asymmetrical marriage systems it has been argued that this asymmetry is a risky form of exchange because it is not immediately reciprocal and that "an insurance" is needed⁸⁰. The Mejprat practised a type of marriage called "the return marriage" (*n'tan*) which apparently gave an increased security.

The genealogies from the Prat part showed several cases in which a brother and a sister of one fam (e.g. the Naw) both had marriage partners of the same name (e.g. the Chowaj-Sefarai). I used to suspect instances of true or classificatory sibling exchange, but this was vehemently denied. In the case of the above Naw sister (=ego), it was declared that her Chowaj-Sefarari husband was of a *paro cha sej* which usually did not marry with this Naw fam and was completely different from the fam of ego's BW. Owing partly to the individual mobility and fluid conditions in the area, these cases were never properly investigated. However, the Mejprat term proclaimed e.g. the Chowaj-Sefarari husband to be of "a special male partition", which suggests that the division of the Mejprat home region into four or five partitions (establishing marriage classes), subdivided into a "high" and a "low" moiety, probably contained also further sections. By this device, the marriage system appears to have been multiplied (more than one circuit) and the exchange goods travel in more than one direction through the society.

⁷⁹ Some alleged child marriages reported by the Mission to the administration in 1954 may have been desperate attempts to close such a cycle in spite of everything. Similarly an 8 year-old girl's suicide in Fuok when her father wanted her to marry a man of some 40 years (Elmberg 1955, 94) allegedly stopped an attempt to "join the ropes".

⁸⁰ Lévi-Strauss 1949, 324; Needham 1961, 107.

Principles of local unit adherence

Dual organisation

In current concepts of moiety and of dual organisation, a certain difference of opinion can be demonstrated. Murdock, for example, seems to class moiety division with non-exogamous, consanguineal kingroups of a higher order, as distinct from "pseudo-moieties", which are distinguished as "living on opposite sides of a village square, or oppose one another in games"¹. Lévi-Strauss started out considering moieties to be one of many socio-cultural bi-partitions ultimately expressing the principle of reciprocity. Later on, he stated hypothetically that dualism exists only as a border form of triadism. Of the former, he recognises a diametrical form and a concentrical².

Keesing observed that a moiety may serve various functions, "as for example: to provide a basis for exogamous marriage, occupational specialisation, or ritual activities"³. Honigman is content that when "the social system makes do with only two linearly organized descent groups, then each division constitutes a moiety"⁴. Bohannan, finally, makes the comprehensive definition: "A moiety is any group, based on any principle, so long as there are only two such groups in the total society"⁵.

In writings dealing with Indonesian anthropology the characteristic elements in the description of moieties and dual organisation appears to be the definition of groups according to a geographical (or topographical) division following a polar world view. In the beginning of this century, Rouffaer and Ossenbruggen (following Durkheim) put forward the hypothesis that the territorial Javanese *desa* unit had been subdivided into two opposite moieties, and each moiety further into two "classes". This subdivision into four parts and four groups of people seemed to be supported among other things by the existence of group terms denoting "a quarter (of something)" and connoting a territorial division, as well as the people living in it⁶.

Soon afterwards, Rassers noted the complementary character of the pairs of opposites appearing in Javanese *wajang* plays, myths and ceremonies, and in the arrangement of the Javanese house. He demonstrated a polar

¹ Murdock 1948, 47.

² Lévi-Strauss 1949, 87, 107. His later (1956) views on the diametrical character of Indonesian moieties (123, 127) remain empirically unsubstantiated. Cf J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong 1952, 52 and Needham 1957, 168.

³ Keesing 1959, 278.

⁴ Honigman 1963, 99.

⁵ Bohannan 1963, 142.

⁶ Ossenbruggen 1918, 6, 27, 29.

organisation of the Javanese cosmos (to a certain degree substantiating the hypothetical territorial division into moieties) and the presence of merger concepts symbolising the unity of opposites⁷.

In the discussion of Indonesian data, the intrinsic unity of such opposites has been variously formulated as a 2 + 1 or 2—3 structure. This is demonstrated for instance in genealogical terms when the Toba Batak of Sumatra are described as being made up of the Lontung and the Sumba moieties⁸. Tobing, in his study on the Toba Batak, demonstrated that a vertical 2—3 structure (heaven—underworld—the human world) is combined with a horizontal 4—5 structure (four cardinal points + centre)⁹. Behind the latter, a territorial 2—3 structure can be glimpsed in the data discussed by Ossenbruggen and Tobing. According to them, *hula-hula* is the term not only for “bride-giver” but also for a group that is traditionally regarded as the oldest inside a certain inland *marga* locality¹⁰. Its inland character makes the dichotomy “inland—coastal plain” pertinent at the level of territorial organisation.

This appears from the fact that the term *boru*, connoting “bride-taker”, was used of a resident group permanently acting as (inferior) bride-taker inside the *marga* locality. Such *boru* groups are indicated as “in-dwelling” groups¹¹ who are characterised as having immigrated from the coastal plains, where they still own ground. But since “bride-giver” and “bride-taker” are alternative roles, the permanent localisation of this dichotomy indicates a conceptual opposition of a different order, probably in the nature of superior and inferior moieties or sections as territorially defined. This indication seems corroborated by the creation of so-called *bius* units, which were geographically defined¹². These were organised in areas where the genealogical *marga* units had become unimportant or indistinct. The population then united to form “a political community” which experienced solidarity also outside the sphere of the necessary sacrificial feasts. Vergouwen quotes one detailed example of a *bius*. It was divided into two groups of four small *marga*¹³ each. He states also that cooperation was regarded as necessary to perform the proper rituals to avert such general disasters as famine and sickness, thus indicating the “total” character of the ceremonies¹⁴. He adds that the most common primary division of the sacrificial animal was into halves (lengthwise) “for two combinations of participating groups, each of which was given a half”¹⁵.

⁷ Rassers 1925, 1931; idem 1959, 42, 43, 136, 222, 273.

⁸ Vergouwen 1964, 5.

⁹ Tobing 1956, 120, 169.

¹⁰ Ossenbruggen 1935, 69, 70, 72, 73, 105, 118.

¹¹ Vergouwen 1964, 50; Tobing (1956, 80) characterises Balabulan, a symbol of the bride-taker, as owning paddy fields in the coastal plains.

¹² Vergouwen 1964, 73.

¹³ Idem, 76.

¹⁴ Idem, 74.

¹⁵ Idem, 78.

It appears that the original polarity of the *marga* locality was recreated in the dual organisation of the *bis*.

In Negri Sembilan, descendants of Minangkabau immigrants were found to be divided into two *larèh*, a term connoting "harmonious, belonging together". P. E. de Josselin de Jong refuses to call the two parts moieties "because, although they do bisect the entire community, they do not consist of clans that are, at present, genealogically related"¹⁶. He calls them *phratries*. The society is traditionally made up of four clans termed *suku*, connoting "leg of animal, clan, a quarter of something"¹⁷. There are two *suku* to each *phratry*. It was observed, however, that when members of such a clan move to a new locality, they ultimately shed their clan name and retain only a later adopted locality name¹⁸. If this means anything at all, it seems to indicate aspects in which the genealogical context is less important than the territorial context. Since each village has a council, consisting of representatives from the four *suku* making up the pair of *phratries*, the existence of this pair expresses also a dual organisation of the territory. Although de Jong does not suggest this, it seems possible that "the sense of unity" existing between the two *phratries* in spite of "a sharp rivalry"¹⁹ may be of the same order as in Minangkabau between the two territorial categories *darè* "land, highlands" and *ranta u*, "littoral lowlands"²⁰.

The reason for my assumption is that opposites of the type "downstream, coast"—"upstream, inland area" or "plains"—"hill (or forest) area" are observed to be significant categories of classification in a number of cases. In the Andaman islands, for example, Portman noted terms for this opposition and indicated *ar yau to*, "the coastal people", as classificatorily superior to *erem taga*, "the forest people". Still, institutional adoption took place between them²¹. Rassers found one inland form of the Javanese kris handle and one littoral form, which were established in the two "principalities" of the Mataram state²². He regards the shape of this important ceremonial symbol as reflecting the social division into a littoral part (Surakarta) and a forest part (Jogjakarta).

There are also indications of a more specialised form of traditional society. In the riverine societies (or: societies with riverine categories) of for instance Nias, Bali and the Moluccas, important social and ceremonial relations are arranged according to similar dualistic models, originating the characteristic 2—3 structure and in some cases, secondarily, a 4—5 structure.

The Balinese perceive a fundamental opposition in the polar categories of

¹⁶ de Josselin de Jong 1951, 12.71.

¹⁷ Idem, 66.

¹⁸ Idem, 67.

¹⁹ Idem, 73.

²⁰ Idem, 7.

²¹ Portman 1898, 24, 25.

²² Rassers 1959, 230—1.

"upstream, inland" (*k a j a*) and "downstream, seaward" (*k e l o d*). This category of bipartition as well as others are also of an inherent one-ness, and various forms of a 2—3 structure are quoted by Swellengrebel: the village temple system, the disposition of dwelling quarters, royal places and cremation structures, as well as the relations between man and the ordered universe²³. Grader (1949) notes the dichotomy between mountain temple (worship of celestial gods) and sea temple (exorcism of underworld forces). This dualism was also contained in a centre temple (veneration of celestial and underworld forces), situated between the mountain area and the sea. He reported that the desa community was formed by the group using the three temples²⁴. This seems to indicate a geographical or topographical definition of larger social units of a 2—3 structure.

In the Moluccas the ground of an island was sometimes divided into sea shore, forest and mountain regions, which in Ambon were paralleled to the legs, trunk and head of a human being²⁵. Separate social groups were connected with the sea (legs) and the mountains (head), while there are suggestions that the central part (forest, trunk), remained the symbol of unity²⁶. One is reminded that "head" (*k e p a l a*) also suggests "head water, well", (*k e p a l a a j e r*), since the terms "upstream" and "downstream" are important. It appears that the categories of "right" (*w a m e*) and "left" (*w e*) were applied to the organisation of village and district from a position facing the sea²⁷. Jansen equates "right" with "east, sunrise" and "left" with "sunset, west", apparently taking his bearings from the water course Batugadja which descends in a northwestern direction from Soja-diatas, as found Ambonese townspeople still doing in 1948.

From Ceram the importance of the two directions "upstream, inland" (*l o r á j a*) and "downstream, seawards" (*l o l á u*) has been demonstrated²⁸. They are complemented by "right" (*l o d í*) and "left" (*l o k á i*), always given from a position facing the sea, i.e. as a river runs from the central hills. "Downstream" is also connected with men and death, while "upstream" connects with women and life²⁹.

These relations are suggestive of certain categories prevalent on Nias according to the survey by Suzuki. In a number of myths a female dema or clan ancestor appears at the source of a river and her male counterpart at the

²³ Swellengrebel 1960, 41—46.

²⁴ Grader 1949, 184.

²⁵ Jansen 1933, 455. Valentijn (174—26) as quoted by Keunig (1956, 136), reports a traditional structure from Ambon in the 17th century. Cooley (1962) apparently found nothing of that sort.

²⁶ Jansen 1934, 7—9, 10—35.

²⁷ Idem 1933, 445.

²⁸ Jensen 1948, 22, 221—232.

²⁹ Idem, 1939, 48; 1948, 211, 231.

outlet³⁰. In social and ceremonial aspects the "upstream" category is superior to "downstream", and these two together with the directions of "sunrise" and "sunset" are stated to be the only traditional and important directions. However, "right" and "left", which appear very frequently in these contexts, ought to be included. Ethnographers have in a general way associated "south" with "upstream" and "right side" with "sunrise", without specifying a point of departure³¹. Apparently the main directions can be properly coordinated and understood only in a local context when oriented along a watercourse.

Among the Waropén people in New Guinea, Held ³² found a dichotomy between the upstream area and downstream area of the rivers, where people lived in what were termed "head villages" and "tail villages". Nowadays the two kinds of villages are situated in the coastal area, quite close to one another. The terms referred to the "head" and "tail" of a mythical animal (a Triton shell or a bisexual snake) which symbolised the unity of the opposite parts. The ceremonial house for initiation was regarded as the trunk of this monster. Held regarded this ceremony itself as one of a "total" character. It was originally performed far off in the forest or in the hills, but was later performed on the coast in an ordinary house, where a small model of the old ceremonial house was placed and tree boughs with green leaves were brought in³³.

If, as Held thought, this was done to stress the forest character of the original feast site, we can also interpret it as stressing an intrinsic identity of ceremonial house, forest area, and animal trunk, and as expressing totality. Traditionally, tail village clans had earlier lived in the interior, which suggests both the order of tail, trunk and head, and a 2—3 structure of the Balinese and Moluccan order. Simultaneously, a 4—5 structure was observed in the distribution of houses in the villages.

Conditions in the Mejprat area lend themselves to a similar interpretation. In an originally riverine region "source" and "mouth" areas are opposed, but certain common ceremonies are performed half way between. This 2—3 structure appears also as a 4—5 structure.

The region of the Tu dema

The term *tiáro* seems to mean a "given union". The term was not often observed in the lake area. When it occurred, it connoted a region as well as the people living inside it. In the present data, it is connected with ceremonies of a holistic character. So, for instance, at the death of a still reproductive woman, when *tiáro-tiáro*, "people from everywhere", made an attack with mock weapons on the remaining members of the family (husband and children).

³⁰ Suzuki 1959, 4, 5, 23.

³¹ Ibid. 57, 58.

³² Held 1947, 172.

³³ Ibid. 170, 174.

The armed and dancing women who led in the guests to a feast site were called *po tu tiáro*. A popot leader called the northern wall of his Sepiach-house *ti matíoch tiáro*, "wall for those who have become most eminent in the region". The armed women who danced on the morning of Chawer's Sachafra-feast³⁴ were referred to as *po tu tiáro*, "dema-women from the (whole) region".

The expression *tiáro- tiáro* was used of the women taking part in the exodus from Chawer's Sachafra-house, when women of the Chowaj and Äwaj, Kampu-Wefa and Arus, Semetu and Isir, and Sarosa and Remowk acted as bearers of the cloth bags³⁵.

The home villages of these bearers suggest largely the Prat area south of the lakes. They lie to the west of a line drawn from Kampuaja through Kampuskato to Äwaj. Only the bilingual village of Titmaw is excluded, while the likewise bilingual Äwaj and Kami are included.

If this were the Sarosa's *tiáro*, it would be almost identical with the entire linguistic unit. The Sarosa are alone in the material, however, in showing such a wide distribution of the localities of connected fam. Only some Sarosa informants, for that matter, were observed to use the quite uncommon double form in connection with this term, thus indicating a plural.

In the lacustrine area the genealogical data of the fam included marriage partners from a much smaller number of neighbouring localities. Unfortunately the information concerning the extent of these localities and their "owners" remains contradictory.

The term *satúoch*, occurring to the north and east of the lake area, connects with *tiáro* and with *tu*, a dema, and offers a functional as well as a linguistic explanation of the concept of *tiáro*.

The above-mentioned funeral attack with mock weapons in the lacustrine area occurred similarly north and east of the lakes. The attackers were then termed *satúoch*, analysed as *sa* "one", + *tu*, "great being, dema", + *och*, "completed", and connoting "connected with one dema". This term, like *tiáro*, was used both for a region and for the people living there.

Especially north and east of the lakes, *tu* occurred in everyday speech connoting "real, true" as well as "master, expert, ruler". The concept *cha* was preferred in the western Prat part to convey "real, true", probably because it also conveyed male-ness which was often stressed there, while *tu* seemed to connote a certain femininity. *Tu* or *Tu-mená* was frequently mentioned in connection with the occurrence of the first human beings in the myths. The Nawpeople (M 22) said that this dema was a creator similar to Mafif³⁶ but

³⁴ Elmberg 1966a, 26, 27, 45, 65.

³⁵ Ibid. 41.

³⁶ The two tricksters Mafif and Sifaj (Siwa) were the heroes of many entertaining tales, which differed clearly from the myths of origin. They will be treated in a separate article. One tale from Sejá and another from Fuok are recorded in Elmberg 1955, 45—47. Sifaj is quite different in M 10.

much earlier. The Juntä-people (M 12) spoke of this dema "nursing" a child. Since Mafif's role had strong female accents, the femininity of the Tu dema seems clear.

Also in the myth of the Chowaj-Sefarari, (M 7) there is an old woman by the name of Tumena or Mena-Räwa. After having turned herself into a cassowary, she is killed and her flesh is transformed into the first human beings. Her son, born before this event, became an Arit-bird, which was a form of the human soul energy.

Two other creation myths link a female Tu with the division of land near Mefchatiam. In the first myth (M 28) a dog and a man come to a tree where an opossum is sitting. The dog barks until the opossum changes into a woman who is not a spirit, not a human, but a "Tu being" (*ratu*). From her cut up body came later the four major fam. She conducts him to the underworld, where she gives him maize seed which he deals out to the men of his own world. In the second myth (M 48) about how taro came into this world, a woman is taught in a dream how to grow taro and to find such plants at a place called Tu Awiak, where the regional dema had her garden. The woman then plants taro at eight places on the northern and southern shores of the lake.

Chaver, in my first interviews with him, used *Tu*, *Tu-mená* or *Ratu* of the dema who were said to have given certain old and precious pieces of cloth. He indicated that they were similar to (*matjam*) *n'taku*, the collected ghosts of the dead. Soon, when pressed for an explanation of the differences, he stopped using *Tu* and explained *n'taku* as denoting "original owner of the ground" as well as the "ghosts of the dead" (staying at a spirit-home). I adopted this use in my interviews and annotations, seeing also the linguistic connection between *naku*, to "increase, create, collect", and *n'taku*, if taken to imply "collector of dead ghost" and "causer of increase".

When Chaver first told how the Sarosa-people had arrived in the Prat region (M 32), he alluded both to *tu*, an opossum-woman, and to four pieces of land in the region, called respectively Räräk, Chomá, Samä and Samú. Later he mentioned the opossum-woman who had "given" four pieces of ground Sä,ramú, Sä-ramä, M'räräk and Sä-chomá, which made up the Pres region.

Against this background the term *satúoch*, "connected with one dema", is endowed with a very definite meaning: the region traditionally belonging to one female dema who created the first human beings and instituted the four partitions of the land to be occupied by them. It equates the "given union" (*tiáro*) and connotes "home region"³⁷. Finally the term *Wej mo roáw* some-

³⁷ Barton (1949, 137 note 1) was apparently the first to use this term for a territorial unit of a valley, since he found no regular Kalinga or Ifugao term for it. For this traditionally endogamous Mejprat unit I will just use "region". Dozier (1966, 57) points out that the northern Kalinga equates "kinship group" with "endogamous region" (*b o b o l o y*).

times applied to the first mythical human beings and seemingly used as a personal name, is properly understood as "the pair who continue after her", if "her" means the Tu dema.

Social and geographical polarity

Certain social and geographical facts concerning a region were commonly viewed by the Mejprat as integral parts of an extensive category termed *n'tocho* or *n'teká*. Both terms connoted "exchange" and implied the transactions taking place in Mejprat society. By "transaction" is here understood the communication of scarce and valuable goods and services³⁸.

Such social and geographical constituents of a region were referred to in the myths of origin (*fenít mená*), as well as in the spontaneous explanations given when kinship terms were recorded by the genealogical method. They also occurred in discussions about cloth exchange, when again the myths were cited. People told their myths in more or less ideal form, answering my inquiries about "the first human beings" (*manusia pertama*), or "the fam story" (*tjerita fam*).

In analysis, these myths may be considered as statements relating to transactions between the traditional units of "host ropes" and "guest ropes", and as reflecting both pattern and process. It emerges that informants who thought of themselves as of immigrant stock (*orang baru*) have submitted myths of a relatively complete and explicit pattern, the probable reason being their greater need for a detailed standard of behaviour in their new surroundings. Examples are provided by the Arne, the Charumpres and the Sarosa (M 1, M 5, M 31). On the other hand, the myth of the Pres (M 23) in its recorded form appears to contain fewer items of information and is very brief, although the Pres were regarded as "the Masters of the whole region" (*tu majr*), i.e. its most ancient inhabitants. Possibly they took their regional relations so much for granted that having stated the place of emergence of their first woman ancestor they felt the rest to be obvious—only it was not to me.

In 1953—54, when the majority of the myths were collected, I originally had the impression that they were primarily "legal charters" in Malinowski's sense, stating above all the rights to the soil. What gradually changed my outlook was the wealth of spontaneous information accompanying the statements about kinship; information on trees, caves and stones connected with different ancestors, on "hosts" and "guests", and on what was *majr*, "(situated at) the base" and what was *mapu*, "(situated at) the extreme end". Traditionally *majr* denoted "root, origin" and was considered "superior" to *mapu*, connoting "the extreme or most distant part; top, crest", which carried the

³⁸ Oliver 1955, 227.

implication of "secondary, inferior". These terms were employed also when the *mapi-maku* relation (p. 44) was explained to me: *mapi* was compared to *majr*, "the root, origin". Similarly a regional part termed *cho*, connoting "hill country, upper reaches", was connected with *majr*, a part termed *sa*, connoting "shore country, lower reaches", with *mapu*, "the most distant part". Since, for instance, hills, mountains, big stones and trees were similarly regarded as having both "a root", which housed strength and generated energy, and "an extreme part", which was crumbling away, branching out and generally weakening, *cho* was indicated as primarily referring to the show of energy, the turbulence of the upper part of a water course (in the hill country) and *sa* to the quieter (weakened?) flow in the plains near the mouth. A traditional saying argued the superiority of what comes first in fairly similar terms: *aj mesá mana ma na*, "the water runs down (when washing) from the head towards the legs". This saying was also quoted in slightly altered form to stress the superiority of the area near the source, as compared with the lower reaches: *aj mesá maná ma sa* "the water runs down from the source towards the outlet".

Mejprat territorial and social units were thus referred to in terms of polarity, or indicated as connected with such ideas. *Tiáro*, "the (home) region", appeared to be organised sometimes along a watercourse joining the partitions of the upper and lower reaches, at other times in connection with a system of partly real, partly imaginary tunnels (*wor*) uniting the hill and shore partitions. A dual organisation seems of fundamental importance to an understanding of the Mejprat social and territorial division.

Certain fam names argue a moiety division into a shore group and a hill group. The Sarosa, ascribing the character of "shore" (*sa*) to the group living at Mefchatiam, occasionally mentioned another group called the *Cho-Sarosa*. The latter was described as *m'pa*, or in Malay: *perempuan*, *tinggal di hutan sadja*. The Malay expressions connoted "female" and "keeps only to the forest" and the Mejprat term was used also of a "traditional opponent, antagonist". Genealogies from all over the area contained similar information, although somewhat differently phrased. In the northern and the eastern parts such terms were used together with modern fam names unless the informants were young people.

In the lacustrine part the pair *Isir-mä* and *Isir-aj* were proudly distinguished by the *Isir-mä* themselves, even if young informants could not explain why. Together with some similarly constructed fam names mentioned in genealogical contexts, the following pairs emerge:

<i>sa-cho</i>	e.g.: Saffle—sa	— Saffle—cho
<i>aj-cho</i>	e.g.: Sapa—aj	— Sapa—cho
<i>aj-mä</i>	e.g.: Isir—aj	— Isir—mä
<i>mu-tä</i>	e.g.: Mu—Naw	— Tä—Naw

The categories of the right hand column associate with "high, elevated" in relation of those of the left hand column, which associate with "low":

<i>sa</i> — "opening, mouth of river, shore area"	<i>cho</i> — "hindrance, rapid, hill area"
<i>aj</i> — "water"	<i>mā</i> — "elevated"
<i>mu</i> — "hidden, lower (reaches)"	<i>tā</i> — "upper (reaches)"

While the "high", "hill" category connoted with femininity as well as superiority, the "low", "water" category was associated with maleness and inferiority. The coastal Tehid and the Sawiet people seem to have used *sa* for "head; shore" and associated it with superiority. Since their use of *mā* also implied "inlanders, country bumpkins", this pair of opposites obviously had diametrically different connotations in the Sawiet area and in the Mejprat area. This ought to have enabled many Sawiet immigrants in the Mejprat area to accept with a perfect composure their traditionally low classification as *sa*.

Since *tā* also connoted "east, south", and *mu* also "west, north"³⁹, these positional indications seem to suggest the existence of more than one system. In the present data, three different systems emerge.

One such system started from the length of a water course, and the region was dichotomised in "source area" (*cho*) and "mouth area" (*sa*). At the same time, the division into "right bank" and "left bank" was also important and gave rise to four partitions, ideally meeting halfway along the water course at what was termed "the meeting place" (*titā*). Another system employed a vertical (intra-partitional) classification from the water course, using the terms "up-country" (*mu*) and "by the river" (*aj*); the latter term then connoted "superiority". The two systems could be combined. There is evidence also of a further system: a number of tunnels were said to branch out from a central point, their mouths being ceremonial places, the positions of which were designated by points of the compass.

The first system, emerging from certain status terms, denoted what will be called "marriage classes". It covered four partitions, and seems by reason of its simplicity to be primary. The right-hand and left-hand categories are seldom reflected in rope-names, but were taken for granted when intra-regional status was discussed: *tu majr*: "Masters of the (real) root, the regional ground owners"⁴⁰ were considered to stem from a female ancestor who was localised to the right bank in the source area. This same relation was expressed also in certain versions of the myths, e.g. by the Wen (M 55), the Kosamach (M 17) and the Kotju (M 18).

³⁹ Elmberg 1966a, 135.

⁴⁰ In this context "ground-owner" indicates a certain top status within a region or a partition, conferring a decisive influence in important affairs.

The simplest cases described a women and her implied sister, living on either side of the water course in the source area. They were accounted as, "bride-givers" (*fa*) of the left and right bank. The man or men were described as "strangers" (*serim*), which connoted "bride-taker". In other cases, two men from the mouth area were described as brothers. The older of them was localised to the partition on the left bank of the water course, i.e. diametrically opposite to the first women. This situation, which characterises the partitions and marked a starting-point for inter-regional marriage exchanges, can be described as in figure 9.

The moiety adherence expresses here domicile in the source area (*cho*) or the mouth area (*sa*). Since all four persons are regarded as the "children" of the same "mother dema" (*tu api*), the ropes formed by their respective descendants can be said to constitute a phratry in each region. The ropes of one region are also called *me-ná*, which is made up of *-na*, designating "siblings" (sex not being stressed), and "action group" (somebody's crowd). One brother and one sister, however, constitute a polar pair and the pairs of a sister rope and a brother rope stemming from them were termed *mano*, "siblings of different sexes". The two sister ropes were ranked as *fa majr*, "female root, ground-owning host ropes", and the two brother ropes as *ra majr*, "male root, ground-owning guest ropes".

The "right bank—left bank" pair of opposites is not recorded in the common form *ati-atá*, but in the form *cho-atá*⁴¹: the Kosu-cho and the Kosu-ata near Kotjuwer and the Cho-Fatim and the Fatim-ata near Ajata.

Other partition terms that were not used together with rope-names but as class terms for the regional units, and which also denoted the four partitions in the houses of initiation⁴², were explained by this primary division. They occurred both in the lacustrine part (M 32) and the northern and eastern parts, namely Rarák (or M'rarák), Chomá, Samá and Samu. *Ra-rák* was translated "(the place where) the being suddenly appeared" and denoted the right-hand partition in the source area. *Cho-má*, "the hills of her sister", denoted the left-hand partition. *Sa-mä*, "the high or superior part of the mouth area", was probably that called in the previously mentioned terminology *atá*, i.e. the left-hand partition of the mouth area, since the most "distinguished" bride-taking rope came from this partition. *Sa-mú*, "the hidden or inferior part of the mouth area", is indicated as the right-hand partition of the mouth area⁴³. In this context it was stressed that in ceremonies people could substitute each

⁴¹ In these explanations "right side" and "left side" were never equated or coordinated to "east—south" (*tá*) and "west—north" (*jaw*).

⁴² Elmberg 1966a, 105, 106, 118; only in the most recently introduced form of male initiation was the number of initiates five (idem, 125).

⁴³ "Mouth-area" (*sa*) indicates probably the relative position of the "superior left hand" partition and the "inferior right hand" partition.

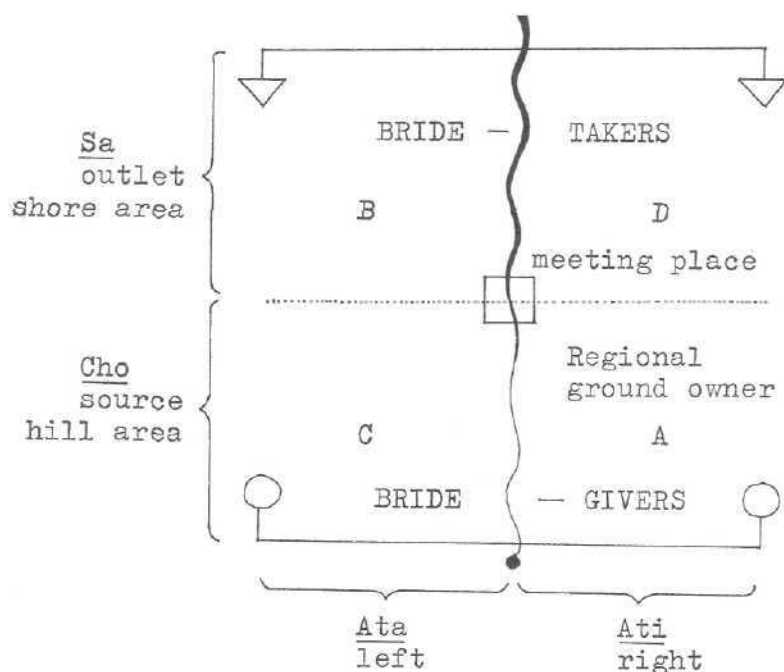


Fig. 9A. Regional organisation: primary model of four partitions and two moieties. Partitional status order: A, C, B, D.

other, if they were of *tapam sawt*, "of one ground", i.e. of the same inter-partitional marriage class and status.

Some myths describe a second type of situation in which the first woman and the first man have their genesis in the same partition within the source area: she by the river and he higher up in the forest⁴⁴. It was presumed then that she had a "brother" in the mouth area, while her marriage partner had a "sister" there, who also married each other, i.e. a form of sibling exchange. Their respective children, or a further two pairs of siblings, were domiciled correspondingly (fig. 10). The same pattern was considered demonstrated in the myths about the four original women (M 28) and the four groups originating in the four corners of a house (M 26, M 7).

The siblingship marked on the drawing existed also between the ropes traditionally considered to descend from them. In each partition there thus existed two main statuses, *tu pejr*, "Master of the lesser root, partitional host" (A¹, B¹, C¹, D¹) and *ra serim* "partitional guest (A² etc.). Since also the term *fa majr* was used for "partitional host rope" in the western Prat, this relationship is equivalent to that of "bride-giver—bride-taker", particularly as *serim*

⁴⁴ E.g. M 19 and M 45. The Mejrpat explained the M 12, M 15, and M 53 similarly.

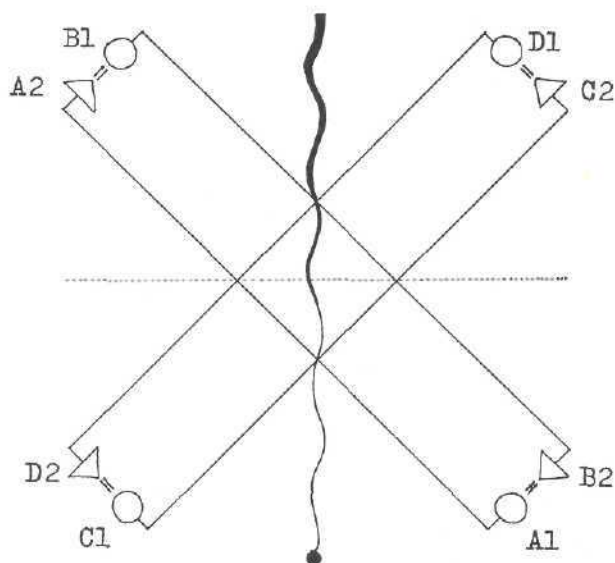


Fig. 9B. Regional organisation: secondary model. Partitional host ropes: A1, B1, C1, D1. Partitional guest ropes: A2, B2, C2, D2. These denotations can be applied to the model of the four unit marriage system (Nesim), demonstrating the probable function of the partitional group (*paro*) as a marriage class with two sections.

connoted “bride-takers, male affines”, while *ja* indicated “bride-givers”. On occasion all the “first people” in such a region were admitted to have been the “children” of the mother *dema*, and consequently siblings, but marriages between them had occurred in the time that is called *po poséj*, “the different time”, when no rules (*watum*) yet existed.

This lateral dichotomy of “by the river (host)” and “up in the bush (guest)” appears expressed in the terms *aj* and *mu* respectively. Although ceremonially the “source”—“mouth” and the Raräk, Choma, Samu and Samä ranking order still applied on important occasions like Neche Mamos ceremonies in 1957, the lateral relation “river”—“bush” was invoked in quite a number of lesser matters of everyday life and cloth exchange, for instance in abusive language. It is conceivable that by and by the role of the watercourse as a regionally binding factor was experienced less strongly in certain cases.

Each partition, however, contained a polar pair of host rope and guest rope (sections). Where two adjoining parallel regions met, four perfect polar partitions could form a further perfect region (tertiary structure). One such region has been observed, and many others indicated. In such a region one can foresee disputes as to regional leadership (“regional ground ownership”), since the

traditional *tu majr* in the one riverine region will assume a lower rank in the new, nonriverine region.

The uniting element in such regions was the concept of *wor n'su*, a system of tunnels binding together the cult sites belonging to a brother rope and a sister rope.

Certain signs, painted on the chests of neophytes and termed *wor n'su*, depicted the regional system as a centre of two circles or diamond shaped figures from which eight (or four) tunnels radiated (fig. 10). Just like the number of five initiates and five partitions in the house of Toch-mi initiation, this sign presupposes five regional partitions, of which one in the middle of the region.

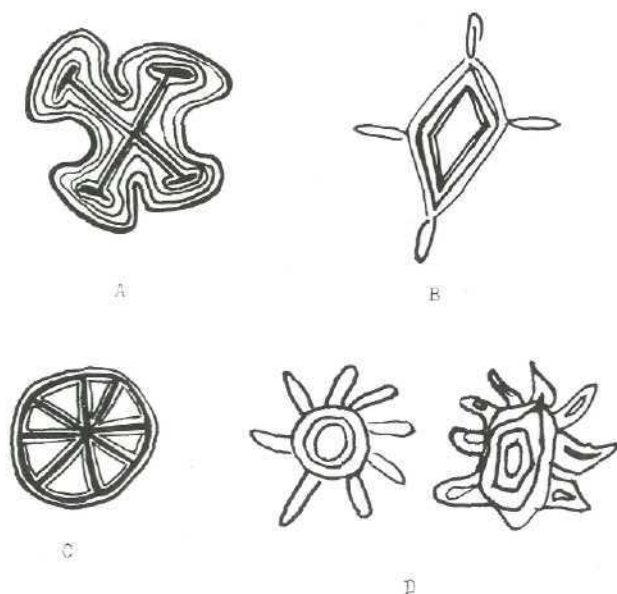


Fig. 10. Drawings termed *wor n'su* "the tunnel system". A and C: red paint on a bark wall of a Karet Tupun house of male initiation; B, D and E: white and red paint on the chests of neophytes in Tuwer.

Five original siblings pairs were mentioned in a number of myths, all of which contained also a catastrophic flood leading to a reorganisation, purely on the basis of five partitions (M 2, M 6, M 38). One of these myths (M 2) contained mention of a central, subterranean place from which the five sibling pairs depart through tunnels to marry and assume possession of an area on earth.

In a region at Ajamaru which was divided in this way, the partitional groups were orientated according to the cardinal points of the Mejprat: the host group

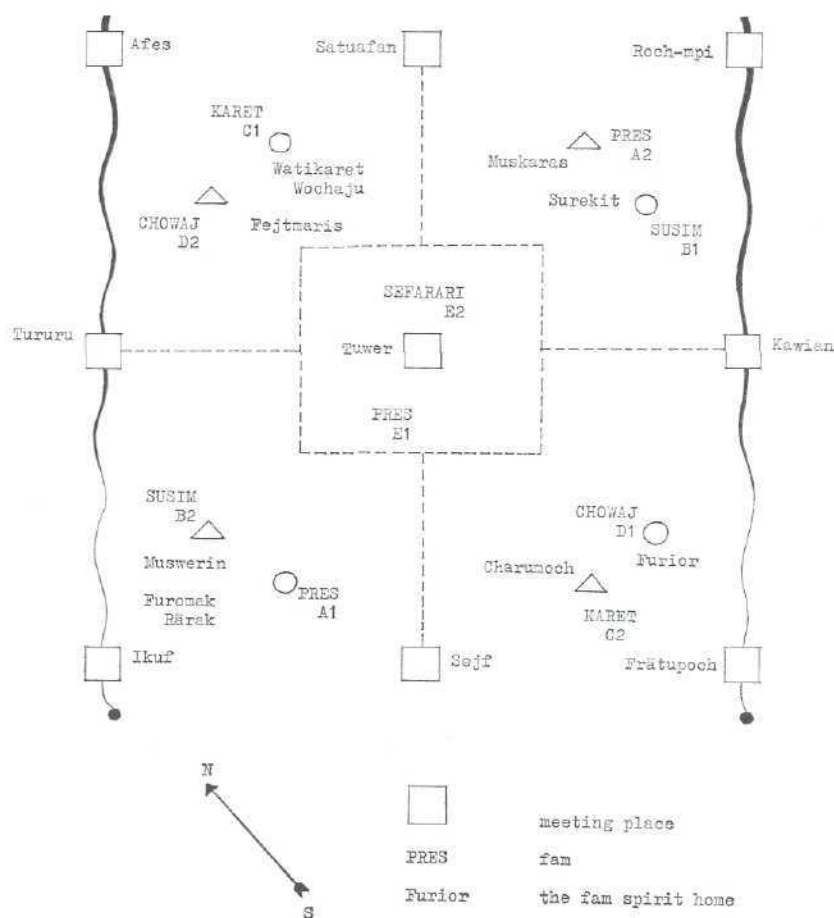


Fig. 11A. Regional organisation: tertiary model of the Pres type with five partitions. Actual relations as denoted by the positions of spirit homes. These denotations can be applied to the model of the five unit marriage system (Popot).

had its spirit home to east or south (*tā*) of that of the guest group (fig. 1A).

No watercourse here united the collaborating groups, of whom the Pres, the Susim, the Karet and the Chowaj-Sefarari were counted as "partitional ground owners, host ropes" (*fa majr*). On the other hand, the external boundaries of the region were marked by watercourses to the east and west.

As clear from the sketch in fig. 11A, a territorial boundary ran out onto the promontory at Satuafan below Ajamaru. West of this and as far as Afes, the Chowaj had traditional fishing rights that had been taken over from the Sarosa and the Karet. East of the land boundary and as far as Roch-m'pi, the Pres and the Susim fished. Previously, however, the Pres and Susim had

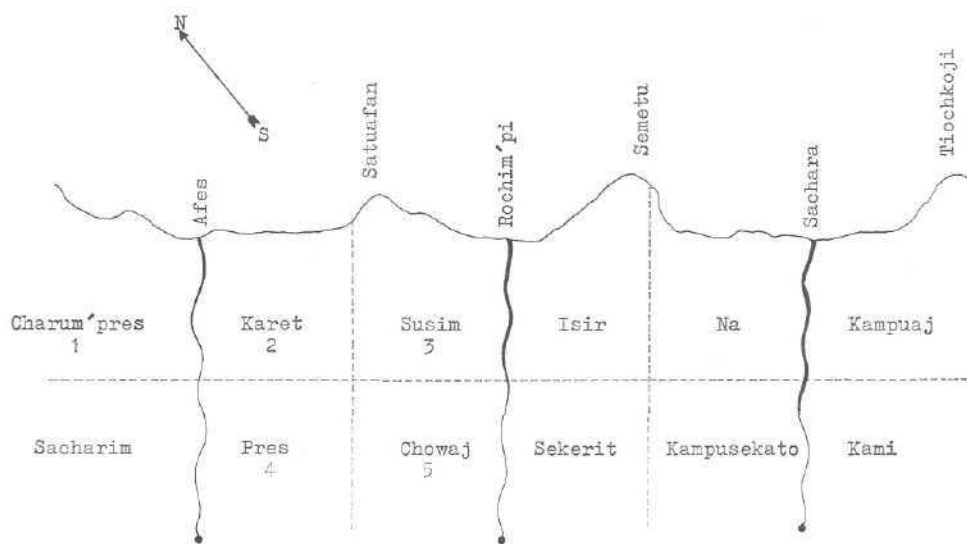


Fig. 11B. Position of certain partitions near the village of Mefchatiam. Ideogram.

fished as far as to Semetu, but had been forced out, according to tradition, by the Na and the Moju. The Pres and the Charu-m'press were also said to have fished west of Afes.

Traditionally, this part of the area has the division schematically reproduced in fig. 11B. Watercourses debouched at Afes, Roch-m'pi and Sachara. The name in each partition denotes the partitional host rope. In each riverine organisation of partitions, the name in the right-hand partition by the upper reaches of the water course denotes "the regional ground-owner" (*tu majr*). It is thus clear that two regions meet at the Satuafan frontier, and that the two adjacent partitions comprise the above-mentioned regionally cooperating unit. Data on the Sacharim and the Sekerit show these ropes to have "died out". It is not clear whether their disappearance was a contributory factor to the more recent regional formation, or a consequence of it.

In this new region, the Chowaj could be expected to function as regional ground-owners, but the Pres emerged in this capacity on several occasions⁴⁵. Sarosa informants, however, stressed the importance of the Tuwer site, where the Chowaj-Sefarari, sometimes also called the Chowaj, were considered the most "distinguished". A closer study of the origins indicated in the myths, and the factual situation of the spirit homes which associated each rope and fam to a specific locality, showed that the units functioning as host ropes had spirit homes situated east or south of those of the guest ropes. The guest ropes were thus located north and west of the host ropes, as shown on the ideogram

⁴⁵ Elmberg 1966a, 18, 21, 24, 28, 246 note 12.

in fig. 11A, which gives also the names of the market places marking where two (or more) boundaries met^{46a}.

Certain data on the ropes in question suggested major changes in the partitions, which had possibly taken place in connection with the formation of the newer region. Via what is called here partition 1 (fig. 1B), a Frafachajuo group from the Safokawr district had moved into partition 3, and now called itself the Pres or M'pres. The Susim of partition 3 gave their moiety character as originally male and littoral (guest rope) and their old name as the Su. The morpheme *sim* appears to have denoted a host rope, and the compound name is supposedly created by the administration. It may also be a combination of the names of a brother and a sister rope. According to a Sarosa myth (M 32), the Sarosa of partition 2 had originally left Seket on the coast, and on their arrival in the lacustrine area negotiated with a ground-owning Pres woman, who in her capacity as regional ground-owner could claim the liver of game they killed. This showed the Sarosa as primarily "living in" members of the Pres region. Both the Chowaj and the Pres could assert with some justification that they were *fa majr*, in so far as they belonged to the source area. But was a reclassification possible which would give the Chowaj regional priority to the Pres, who had been regional ground-owners in a region of their own? The existence of a fifth partition around Tuwer seems to be a solution to such conflicts of interest.

Informants from the Sarosa and the Susim used the name Tuwer as a rope or fam name for the members of the Chowaj-Sefarari and the Pres living there, i.e. the competitive regional ground-owners. The Tuwer district functioned as a unit in the marriage system, as indicated in the genealogy of the Sarosa. In Tuwer, also, tunnels from the surrounding four partitions and their spirit homes were thought to meet.

I was often told of children, who in spite of warnings had gone too near the Sarajn cave near Rochmpi and been found wandering in the forests around Tuwer. This was explained by Tu, the regional dema, having taken the children through the tunnels and released them through the Fuiar cave. The names Tu-wer, "the surpassing, supereminent Tu", and Fu-i-ar, "(central) cave with tunnels spreading out", indicate this to have been the locality where the regional dema had its subterranean abode, which was called Seku. In 1953, when festively clad women returned from Fuiar to the Sachafra feast in Mefchatiam, the feast site was regarded as linked with the dema's abode, and the road to reincorporation with the dema was free for the ghosts.

Certain disputes in the region could be settled by an ordeal called "to throw

^a *Ti* connoting "border" appears to denote a "union". This indicates that the border is conceived primarily as a line of contact.

stones until blood" (*naj framés*), which was reported to take place at Tuwer^{46b}. The parties concerned, conducted by experts, first swore an oath (*netú*), which called upon the dema to witness the truth of their different statements. They then heaped abuse upon each other and finally threw stones and pieces of wood, in more recent times also spears, until the one party was injured or killed. The side which had "the first bleeding (or mortal) wound" (*serä n'tim*) was considered to have been proved at fault. The judge was the regional dema, the originator of the *watum* rules. The dema was considered to have recalled the "shadow" (*naúwian*) of the injured and thus rendered them slow and vulnerable.

At the same time, certain extra-regional influences were associated with the Tuwer locality. The Chowaj-Sefarari reported themselves to be a group of the Rari on the coast near Worange, who had moved into a Chowaj partition a good way south of Tuwer. From there they had moved to Simparu, close by Tuwer. The group itself—which included Chawer's DH Frärek—was called alike the Chowaj and the Chowaj-Sefarari.

The Chowaj's spirit homes were the cave of Fuiar and the stone known as Wosa. They belonged to the Toch-mi society, in which the influence of the coastal people was considered great. The above-mentioned Frärek built in 1954 a Taro dance house "down by the coast" for the neophytes who were initiated at Simparu⁴⁷.

The Pres of Tuwer lived close by the spirit home tree called Fejt Senik or Fejt Tepoch, which was the central "meeting place", *titá*, for exchanges and ceremonies such as the ordeal by stone-throwing. This tree, which Chawer called "the tree of all people" (*ara será*) was stated to have "moved" from the district of the Furomak cave in partition 4. The Pres group was said to include members of the previous Frafachajuo group who had moved into partition 3. They were known members of the foreign Uon society. At their previous home at Fachajuo in the Sefokwar district, Komean and Oron had according to the myth risen to heaven in a boat that was later considered to ferry Uon initiates to the afterworld.

Around Fejt Senik ("The Fejt tree by the sandy beach") stalagmites were arranged "like a boat" (*serúwiak*); this was observed to be a most remarkable piece of work. At other meeting places the people had either set out some stalagmites called *tar afrá*, "stony erections", or made a row of ballast stones transported from some harbour or market place on the coast, e.g. Konda.

^{46b} The term "to throw stones until blood" lends some probability to the information that the "immigrants" had lately made the ordeals deadly, which was not the rule earlier. Even the mock-fights (*umes*) could nowadays end in killing; in 1956 four persons were thus killed at Jupiak. Pospisil 1958, 88—95 has described a Kapauko war as similar to this ordeal.

⁴⁷ Elmberg 1966a, 51.

Ballast stones were observed above all in Sawiet and the western Prat area up towards the village of Seni.

In this central partition we thus find that extra-Mejprat social and ceremonial groups had established themselves, that there had been moved to it a traditional ceremonial centre for the regional ground-owners, the Pres, and that ceremonies were performed there by which the regional dema's "judgment" in serious disputes was revealed.

No term like "mid-point" (*masuf*), or "navel" (*m'pit*), was observed for this partition, only "halfway" (*mis*), despite the fact that Tuwer lay closer to Chowaj than Mefchatiam, and *cho*. Tuwer was thus reckoned in the "superior" area and was supposed to be connected by a tunnel with the Chafach hill, from which "the sea below Konda" and the western part of Lake Ajamaru could be seen.

Chawer Sarosa took me there in 1957. He stressed that he really was a Pres man, and that the places he had reckoned up in his great chant (*neche mamós*) four years previously could be seen from the hill in fine weather. In the misty weather prevailing at the time, it seemed likely that this was a great exaggeration. But Chawer maintained that he could see "the shore" (*sa*), at Konda, at Ajamaru and at Lake Ajtinjo. He added: "I was greater than the Majoor of Konda, I was a truly great popot".

At first the setting of such boundaries for Chawer's activities and the implication that a sort of "super-region" had been at his disposal, seemed mere boasting. The only linking together of regions hinted at in the myths seemed to apply to two regions (M 48) that lay adjacent to each other in the eastern part of Lake Ajamaru.

The Chafach hill, however, was part of a long narrow ridge running mainly NW—SE, which also the available map shows to function as an irregular watershed. According to the traditional division into source areas and mouth areas, the source areas were thus collected uppermost on all sides of the watershed. If the source areas were understood as a coherent *cho* area, then they were surrounded by a similarly coherent *sa* area, roughly like an island with a hilly interior and low shores.

At Chawer's Sachafra feast, eight women from very disparate areas in the Prat part had ceremoniously borne sacks of cloth from his house to the joint Sepiach house⁴⁸. While their names admittedly suggested origins disseminated over more than one region, they did not immediately appear to cover Chawer's great super-region. On the other hand, their connections with the traditional rope conditions in the area previous to 1935, when official registration began, are uncertain. It is clear, however, that Chawer — and those among his supporters who prompted him at the feast in 1953 — was concerned to maintain in his *Neché-mamos* chant that his exchange gifts gave the ghosts entry

⁴⁸ Ibid. 40, 41.

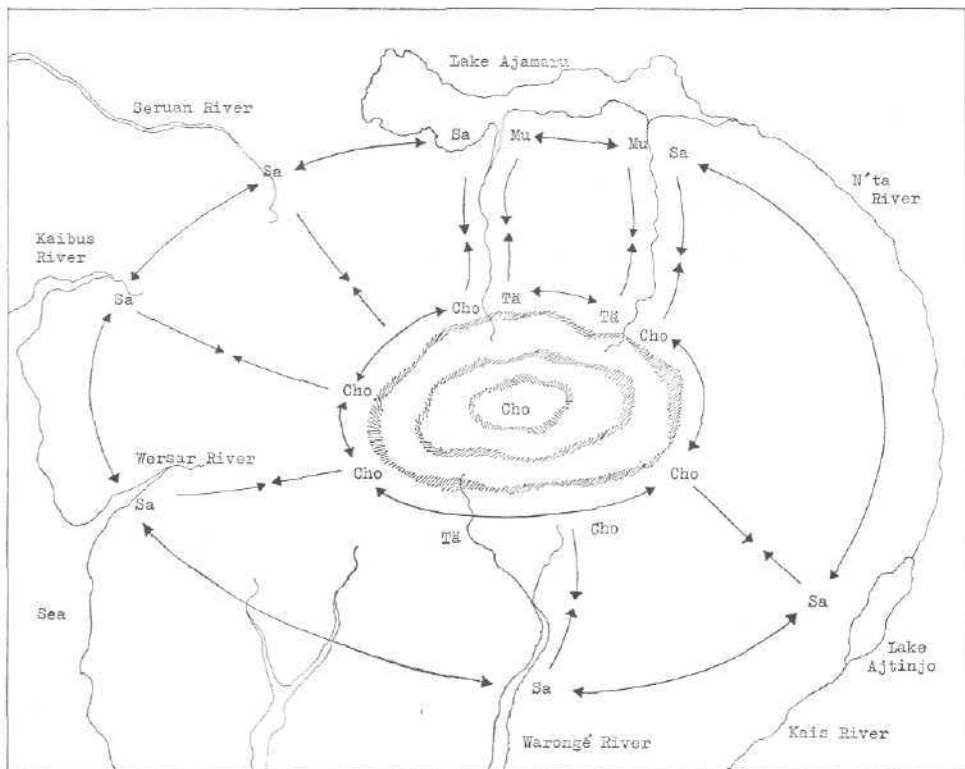


Fig. 11C. Ideogram of the super-region of Chawer Sarosa.

to spirit homes even outside the Prat region⁴⁹. His invocation of "She-suddenly-made-the-Pres-appear"⁵⁰ was associated with the moved Pres-tree, and thus to the Chafach hill where he several years later asserted once more his view of a super-region.

It should be added that further indications of some fifth partions in the Marä area exist: the Tuoch-district, where the Sefa-niwi lived, and the Chapoch-area, where the Sefa-wen had still been living in the 1940s. These districts too were spoken of as "halfway" (*mis*), i.e. centrally situated localities where numerous paths met, and where particularly important exchanges and ceremonies took place at the spirit home tree. Even so, the associated rope or fam name contained the term *sefa*, "different, outside the common". This term was included in the name of the traditional house of male initiation (*charit sefa*), which with its four partitions of bark or fern twigs could express the symbolic unity of the four regional partitions. When, therefore, the term was used in connection with the central fifth partition, it allows for a similar

⁴⁹ Ibid. 29.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 153.

symbolic concept of unity. The fifth partition assumed in this way the traditional importance of the upstream right-bank partition.

The parent groups of the above-mentioned peoples were stated to have been important dealers in cloth and slaves. It seems as if their access to a wealth of import goods helped to make them particularly acceptable. Above all cloths and iron goods were regarded as produced by the dema, and brought to New Guinea by her friend and servant In, "the wind". The Rari thus lived in the coastal area near Woramgé, and the Niwi "on the road to Sausapor". The Wen had originally interacted only with groups on either side of the River Seni, until a Wen-Sefa-Niwi group domiciled there moved to Chapoch (which was a tunnel centre), where it was called the Sefa-wen.

Similar composite names, such as Sefa-Kit in the eastern part, Sefa-Fatim near Kotjuas and Sefa-Choch in the vicinity of Framu, suggested the probability of similar five-partional formations. On the other hand, indications are lacking of any more extensive fusions of regions into further super-regions. The invocation at a Neche-mamos feast in Ajwasi was strikingly free from references to territorial units (Appendix 3).

The pattern of social or political organisation observed in the recorded data is thus based on a polar relationship between "source areas" and "mouth areas", "high" and "low" districts, "hill" and "shore". The region was regarded as composed of four partitions, which traditionally comprised the foundation of the symmetrical marriage system here termed Nesim. At the same time a 2—3 structure is expressed in the pattern of opposite source and mouth areas with a central meeting-place in between. Only a few fam, which described themselves as recent immigrants, indicated a regional division into five, consistent with a central district for regional ceremonies and the settlement of intra-regional disputes. According to the available data, it was connected also with extra-regional ropes or fam, the names of which were constructed with *sefa*, signifying "not ordinary" and probably connoting "symbol of unity".

The regional partitions could be regarded as bound together by a through-flowing water course (sometimes perceived as a string of water holes), by whose right bank in the source area lay the most important partition. The partitions were understood also to be joined together by tunnels, and near the middle of the tunnel system—but classified as "source area" or "high"—was the regional dema's subterranean cave, which was a necessary condition for the function of the fifth partition.

A concatenation of two regions was indicated by only one myth. In one case, the position of certain regions on both sides of a water shed seems to have led to the concept of a great, central "hill" area, surrounded by a coherent "shore" area. In this super-region, Chawer Sarosa considered himself—rightly or wrongly—as the leading popot, partly because he could traditionally count

himself among the Pres, who were regional ground-owners where the highest point was situated.

Here as in the primary and secondary quadruple division and in the tunnel based quintuple division, the relevant relationship was a polar tension between "source area" and "mouth area", "(high) hill" and "(low) shore". This dichotomy expressed not a static relationship but only a positional aspect of the elements in a process.

These elements included the four or five marriage classes defined by the regional division into partitions. Each class became divided into a "high" and a "low" section, and there are suggestions of further subsectional partitions.

As parts of this process we can regard marriage and other exchanges, through which polar units were matched (*seká*) or united (*nati*). This traditionally generated "increase" (*neku*), in such forms as "happiness, energy" (*nati*), "health, power" (*neták*), "power of growth" (*nesák*) and "progeny" (*naku*). From a structural point of view an important principle appears to be contained in the term for "border", *ti*, denoting "union". It suggests primarily a line of positive contact and an attitude of reaching out to "out groups". This is in accord with the relative openness of Mejprat society, noted for instance in the fission and fusion inside consanguineal groups, in forms of adoption and in the incorporation of strangers into the socio-cultural system.

The inference to be drawn from the above three structures is apparently that to a thinly populated riverine region—primary model—with its source and outlet areas divided into left and right bank, the central border-line between the two areas became in time more positively significant than the other borders, and that its central portion on the water course became the one most important, partly because it was the easiest part to negotiate. Although the dwelling place of the dema was in the upper right hand partition, the one-ness of the polar opposites was finally experienced most strongly in the centre of the region and apparently as an additive result. In accordance with the symbolic way of counting, known also from Amboina and Ceram, the Mejprat term for "three" (*tuf*) connoted "all". Derived from *nuf*, "of both kinds", the term apparently denoted "the union of polar opposites". If written the symbolic way with figures, it amounted to the well known $1 + 1 = 3^{51a}$.

The secondary and tertiary structures demonstrate a proliferation of groups and apparently an increasing density of population, resulting in an increased consciousness of the other borders and "out groups". This, in turn, permitted the establishment of a non-riverine region and the concept of a concentric super-region. A certain competitive relation remains between the upper right hand partition and the central fifth partition in the present situation of change.

^{51a} Jansen 1933, 447. The "high—low" dichotomy of Chawer's super-region is acted out after an inherent 2—3 model, where the importance of the "half way between" location (*mis*) is stressed.

In the western Prat, the use of the same term in different contexts was not explained by one model alone, but sometimes one, sometimes another was referred to. *Cho*, for instance, indicated a unit situated sometimes in the source area (primary model), at other times anywhere near a river or a water hole (secondary model), and finally also "up in the bush" (five unit model of the Pres type). The term was always used for a host group and evidently connoted superiority. Since an earlier four unit marriage system was in evidence, I take the secondary structure to correspond (or to have corresponded) to a real organisation, and the tertiary structure likewise, because it was observed. In the case of the primary system we just do not know.

Partition and partitional units

In the following section some important intra-partitional data will be presented, starting with the terms for "partition" and their contents. Certain relations and functions of relevant categories will then be established.

Two main terms connoting "partition" were observed. In the western Prat part the term *n'sajr* or *sajer* occurred connoting "part of something originally shared or distributed", as for instance: *m'sajr po fenjá m'fo* "the fundamental spot of a woman's things (=sexual parts) is here"; *sajer aj ro M'sun*, "a water partition at M'sun". In the other parts, *paro* or sometimes *parók* (also *paróch*) connoted "partition, partitional group". *Paro* denoted "a minor part of something" and *paróch* or *parók*, "what has become a minor part of something": *raro Sarosa paro m'Framu* "(of) the Sarosa people (there is) a partitional rope at Framu"; *parók Isir-mä*, "what has been partitioned to the Isir hill moiety".

A number of different expressions were used to indicate a given partitional unit, of one name. One could refer, for instance, to *paro a Karet*, "partitional unit of the Karet rope", to *ra fam Karet*, "fam Karet people", or to *ra Karet*, "Karet people"; the latter two expressions also connoted "people of the Karet ground; people connected with the Karet (in-marrying males) or with the spirit home of the Karet". These expressions were sometimes clarified with the terms *ra saworó sejt*, "people of one spirit home", *tapám sejt*, "of one ground" (=one marriage class?) or *ra maka pejr sow* "people gaining their livelihood from the same allotment(?)". It is assumed that this unit may be called a partitional rope, in contradistinction to *raro a Karet*, "people of the Karet ropes", i.e. a regional rope unit. No single leader was observed for either unit.

The ground was identified by its name and its spirit homes, while the partitional group was associated with a given piece of ground by "the perfect standard for the relevant people" (*fenüt mená*), i.e. a specific myth. This indicated as the "place of origin" a spirit home, which showed what partition and

region one belonged to, and set the character of host rope or guest rope. There were usually indicated also one or more groups with which one intermarried. The basic elements of essential social behaviour were thus stated.

Traditionally, the rope unit bore the name of the ground, and if one migrated from the region one's name was altered or changed for that of the new locality, as will be shown in the following. In this context, the partitional rope emerges as a counterpart to the optative-exclusive ramage of the ambilateral societies⁵². Traditionally, every partition also contained two main spirit homes, one connected with the host rope (*majr*), the other with the guest rope (*serim*).

Apart from by its name and spirit homes, a partition was characterised also by its boundary meeting places, which were termed *titá*. Between meeting places, borders seemed to be indistinct unless they followed bodies of water, as was demonstrated in the previous section.

The spirit home

The occurrence and use of a large number of different terms for the spirit homes⁵³, in spite of the fact that they related always to a tree, a stone, or a cavity (with or without water) seems ascribable to the fact that a term could be used both in a general and a specialized sense, and that it could form the starting point for polar dichotomies. The general use included

a) *saworó* (w. Prat part) preferred by some informants and regarded by many as derived from the Sawiet term *sawólo* connoting "main place of emergence"; b) *ju* (w. Prat part and other parts), denoted "bag, pouch, vagina" and connoted the same as *sois*, "the old (vaginal) road"; and c) *totor*, translated as the "tunnel gate" and implying the analysis *tot* (the stopper, plug) + *or* (the tunnel), "the stopper of the tunnel". The three terms often connoted a certain small area, holding one or more sacred trees, stones, caves (or cavities) and/or waters.

In a special sense the terms referred to pairs of opposites at the interpartitional level as well as the intrapartitional level. *Saworó* and *ju* were used at the interpartitional level for what may be termed "a spirit hole". Each connoted the dichotomies "river source—lower course (*mana—masá*)", "female cave—male cave (or orifices of tunnels or subterranean water courses)" (*ju—rajn*). As *totor* was denoted a spirit tree of a sister rope together with the stone of the brother rope in an opposite partition. There were, however instances (in the w. Prat

⁵² Murdock 1960, 11.

⁵³ Pouwer (1957) introduced this term. Actually it is more convenient than accurate, since most Mejprat informants conceived of this category as a passage uniting the world of men with the dwelling place of the dema. But in the western Prat the term not infrequently connoted the entire underworld.

part) where the stone of a guest rope appeared near the partitional Totor tree of the host rope. This pair, often called just Fajt, was referred to as “(female) tree—(male) stone” (*fajt—fra*). It thus appears that the spirit tree may represent the inter-partitional unity of a brother and a sister rope, as well as reflecting the intra-partitional relation host rope—guest rope.

Intrapartitionally, this kind of polarity was further developed in a manner reminiscent of that observed by Dumont among the Southern Indian Pramalai Kallar, and which seemingly indicated the existence of sub-units. It appears that also Mejprat units and sub-units construct “an own picture of this (female—male) dichotomy”⁵⁴, usable in their own alliances. Such pictures do not entirely fit each other, and are to some extent contradictory; with Dumont, we can say that the dichotomy is “subjective, incomplete and inexact”^{55a}.

In some names for spirit homes apparently belonging to such sub-units certain pairs of terms were indicative of a bipolarity of the male—female kind:

spirit holes	{ <i>watir—ām</i> , “female inlet—male outlet (of intermittent streams)”
	{ <i>ako—kajak</i> , “female—male caves or pits”
spirit trees and stones	{ <i>fra—at</i> , “male stone, boulder—female hill”
	{ <i>atu sa—aut cho</i> , “(male) shore hill—(female) forest hill”
	{ <i>fra—frā</i> , “male stone (e.g. stalagmite)—female stone (e.g. round or red)”
	{ <i>fa n’ka—sā n’ka</i> , “female tree (gnemon, waringin)—male tree (mango, pinang)”

As examples may be quoted the case of Karet and Isir informants from Mefchatiam. The Karet people there usually mentioned the Watir-karet water hole as their spirit home, but a few have referred to a water nearby called Ämperoch-fä (“the water that cannot be stopped”). The Isir of this village claimed to be using the Karet spirit homes. But Pum Isir of that rope showed me a number of Isir spirit homes in a partition near Semu, where they had earlier used to live: the well Inta, the rock Fra Sif and the trees Sä-n’ka-mit and Fajt-sif or Fa-n’ka.

Attempts to make a complete list of all groups within a single region and its partitions were abandoned, partly because the meaning of all the explanations given seemed contradictory (until it was finally understood as a bipolarity), partly because of a misunderstanding as to the nature of the “transfers” of the spirit homes that were mentioned, and which at one point seemed to make all indications of the location of spirit homes meaningless.

As an example of the former, there will be quoted contradictory information on the classification of cavities in the big rock called Fra-sif or *atu sif-aj* “the rock of the Sif couple (Megapodius)”.

⁵⁴ Dumont 1957, 164.

^{55a} Idem, 164.

The rock showed three cavities, but the Mejprat were interested only in two of them, the highest, which was called *kaják*, thus male, and the lowest, called *ako*, thus female. A ceremonial expert of the Isir (Pum) maintained that the first female bird had appeared out of the female hole, and that the people who got their "shadows" from it were superior to those who got their "shadows" from the top "male" cavity. Some popot of the Sarosa rated the female cavity as "low" and the male one as "high". When I put this to Pum, he wanted to prove his case by classing the female cavity as *majr*, "root" because it was low, and the male one as *mapu*, "situated at the crown", and therefore inferior. This did not make sense to me at the time.

It later emerged that the "root, origin" was traditionally superior in relation to the "uttermost, most remote part, the top", which was considered secondary. This was clearly reflected in the terms for upper arm and forearm, and for thigh and shin (*natem majr*—*natem mapu*; *na majr*—*na mapu*). Large stones, and mountains and trees, were likewise considered to have a root or original part, where the strength was situated and from which its power issued, as compared with an outermost part, which was weak, disintegrating or soft. *Cho*, the area around the upper reaches of the watercourse, seems to have assumed its high value from the generative power of the source, and its character of an origin, while the low value accorded to *sa*, the areas around the mouth, seems to be connected with the calmer flow and its character of *mapu*, "outermost part", where the water's power is less spectacular (usually no waterfalls or rapids).

Chawer Sarosa, who probably employed an acculturated evaluation of male and high as superior, was one of those who had changed the place of his spirit home. In one myth (M 33), the Sarosa spirit home, Wochaju, was given as situated near Elis in the Sawiet area. Chawer, however, regularly referred to the Sarosa's current water spirits home at Mefchatiam as Wochaju, even though this was the same water as he called Watir-karet as water spirit home for the Karet.

He also spoke of a tree spirit home that he called Fejt-maris. In accounts from his youth this was situated "opposite Sauf", but today the situation of Fejt-maris was only ten minutes' walk to the north west of Mefchatiam. Chawer had also called the Tuwer totor tree Fejt-maris, but that he explained, was when he had lived there for a longer period. Opposite Sauf was too far away when he needed the tree. The moving and re-planting of Fejt trees was often mentioned by the self-styled immigrants and also occurred in two myths. (M 8, M 32). What appeared important was not so much the individuality of the tree—Chawer's traditional tree was a mango tree, in Tuwer it had been a gnemon tree and at the present Fejt-maris grew a huge croton bush—as the structural relations between the tree and the rest of the spirit homes of the region, or partition.

Even if the main character of a spirit home was that of a tree, a hole or a stone, in the western Prat part it was often complemented with the other two items. At Fejt-maris the Sarosa showed not only the croton bush but some small stalagmites and a crevice in the ground, the Isir at the Fra-sif stone pointed out also the Fajt-sif tree and the At-saworo cavity and so on.

Present data indicate a functional difference between spirit holes and spirit trees, while the function of the spirit stone does not appear at all clear.

Out of the spirit hole the dema was thought to send forth "the shadow" for a new-born rope member, and it was back to the hole that the ghost of a dead person returned. Food, palmwine or tobacco was offered at the hole when particular favours were wanted from the dema: the return of a particular cloth, the application of sickness to a particular person or simply hunter's luck or lover's luck. Likewise when a person's swidden became infested with bugs or other pests or just did not grow well.

In certain contexts the spirit tree and the stone were looked upon as the dwelling places of respectively a female and a male form of the dema. Under other circumstances the stone appeared to be the sexual remnants of a first male being or of tools (whet stone, fire stone, axe) used by such beings (M 37). Only in times of drought when a failure of all crops was imminent was a ceremonial coitus first enacted with a dry length of rattan at the spirit hole; later the spirit tree was approached with sacrifices of food, followed by the whipping of the tree trunk and the anointment of the spirit stone with red-coloured taro paste.

That the stone was here understood as a male organ that was to "catch fire" in coitus with the female dema and thus generate rain indicates the penis character of the stone tool. A large number of spirit homes were comprised also of stalagmites, which were called "stony erections" (*tarafrá*). The Mejprat turned to the spirit tree in matters relating to the whole partition or region, e.g. when staging the above-mentioned ordeal by stone-throwing to settle disputes, when setting out on an attack or returning from one, and when requesting that the rain should cease or begin to fall. The known forms of antropophagy were exercised under the branches of the spirit tree^{55b} and extra-regional ghosts were housed there as the skulls of killed enemies were attached to the tree. The popot half broke off a branch there to pronounce that he had acquired a particularly fine piece of cloth, although any damage to the tree was traditionally regarded as a misfortune.

A sacrificial platform on four legs was raised by the spirit tree when someone had died. The corpse was placed on another platform elsewhere or dried over fire, but hot energy (*an*) from the corpse appeared in or near the tree in the form of birds, butterflies or other flying creatures, which were collectively

^{55b} Elmberg 1955, 52.

called *tät*. This term connoted "upper, female, conjoined with the wind, partly cold or male".

Summing up these data, the particular female character of the spirit hole and the male character of the spirit stone is indicated in contradistinction to the more general function of the spirit tree, in which male and female elements meet and are integrated, although with a certain feminacentric emphasis on the latter. In a cave under the tree lives Tu, Api or Ati, i.e. a female form of the dema. She is the judge in the supreme ordeal, and she is bound up with the very term for anthropophagy, *napo ati-ät*, which denotes "to consume the food of the female dema". The popot from the western Prat part, on the other hand, could recklessly half break off a branch of the tree, which traditionally boded misfortune. Also certain forms of energy appear at the tree in forms that were understood as at once hot and cold, namely as birds. In the results of the comparisons between the different connotations of the spirit home terms, we find certain structural differences. When the spirit home term connoted the unity of a brother rope and sister rope, it stressed the dichotomy of the "river source—lower reaches" type and reflected an interpartitional polarity. When the term connoted the host-guest relation, it expressed an intrapartitional polarity. Finally, the concurrence of all three phenomena seemed to represent both a complementary opposition (stone—hole) and a form of integration: in the lacustrine part the tree was sometimes called "the tree of the conjoiner" (*ava ni*).

It seems probable that such integrated spirit homes were particularly functional when secondary hosts and guests were present in the sections.

The name

The traditional explanation of the Mejprat rope names and fam names was that the name of the ground became the name of the first being, and subsequently of its offspring. The name of the actual hole through which the ancestor made his or her entry could be something entirely different. The traditional explanation was mentioned also in some of the myths, e.g. those of the Wen (M 55), the Naw-Chara (M 23) and the Fati (M 8).

If the rope name stemmed in the myth from a woman, then her descendants counted themselves as belonging to *fa majr*, i.e. a bride-giving host rope, while if it stemmed from a man, the descendants were *ra serim*, bride-taking guest rope. If, as in one myth of the Karet (M 15), there were a brother and sister of the same name—the descendants forming a brother rope and a sister rope—then it was stated that they had appeared at different places. How then could they have the same rope name? The situation seems to be a secondary development, where an explanation originally made is applied to a later situation

in which the name is differently constructed. In quite a few myths, in fact, it is suggested that the present rope or fam name is composed of two names, one female name (bride-giving host rope) and one male name (bride-taking guest rope).

So for instance in the myth of the Susim (M 44) where the first male ancestor is called Su. The Su or M'su also occurred as a rope name in some genealogies, where it was equated to the present fam Susim. The myth, however, mentioned also a woman of the Sim people. This appears to explain the present name of the Susim as Su + Sim, i.e. as composed by the name of a brother rope and that of a sister rope.

One myth of the Isir (M 11) features the two names (Fra) Sif and (Fra) Sir for the unit otherwise referred to as the Isir. Another myth of the Isir (M 10) connects the ancestral Sif-bird with the present Fra Sif stone and place, which according to some informants, was before the foundation of government villages situated among the hills, but was now pointed out near the lake. The Charok-Sir birds were associated with the Isir Rakak place in the hills and its Fra Sir stone. Both these were spirit homes of the present day Isir.

The Sif bird was identified as the bush turkey (*Megapodius*); ground walking, appearing out of a huge brooding mound it was classified as "female" in relation to the Charok-Sir birds. The latter were heard crowing before sun-rise, and they were considered to be telling the sun when to appear. Afterwards they settled in the tree-tops, holding an animated "conversation" with voices and intonation like men discussing cloth. They were considered "male".

That consequently the Sir and the Sif are presented as the names of a shore-settling sister rope and a hill-settling brother rope can hardly be doubted, since similar explanations have been given in genealogical contexts by a number of other peoples. The Asim (As-sim?) in the village of Framesa have mentioned the As rope and the Fra Sim, then Wen of the Seni village referred to the Su-Wen ropes, and the Semuniak in their myth (M 38) seems to corroborate the eventual existence of a (male) Su rope by giving a long explanation for the Su stone or Fra Su. The myth of the Safuf (M 32) probably contains information about a female Sa rope and a male Fuf rope, i.e. about one brother rope and one sister rope. The name of Sa or M'sa denoting "orifice" or "her orifice" seems indeed to be derived from the regional host rope of the Fra M'sa, named after a certain rock formation, broken through by the river and situated close by the present village of Framesa.

Similar conditions seem to be reflected by the myths of the Kotju (Cho-su) and the Sa of Kawf (M 17 and M 28). In the former myth, a woman's place of emergence is called Cho-Katim ("Cho is first"). She is called Cho-Su as she marries the Fra Su-wi man. By this construction the present name of Chosu (government spelling: Kotju) seems explained as a compound of a

female rope name and that of a male rope. In the latter myth a girl named An-Wawn, who is clever at making bark-cloth (*kit*), marries the boy Sowar Moch, and their spirit homes are called Kit and Moch. This seems to corroborate the implied suggestion of the Sa that they were counted as strangers, guests or immigrants in the Kit-Moch parts around Kawf, but reckoned the lacustrine Sarosa as their maternal kinspeople.

Traditionally the ground was not bought or sold. A kind of corporate ownership appears to have been vested in the *fa majr*, "the female root" connoting "bride givers, hosts ropes" and nowadays comprising not only *tu majr*, "the regional ground owners, but also *tu pejr*, "masters of the lesser root" or "partitional ground owners". "Ground owner" in this sense indicates a certain top status, conferring a decisive influence in important regional or partitional matters. Since *tupejr* was also the term for a form of the dema, these ground owners may have been regarded as the representatives of the dema. *Ra majr* or *ra serim*, "male root" or "male strangers" connoting "bride takers, guest ropes, immigrants", was the term for the other partitional ropes.

The ground was perceived as a part of the Mejprat way of life. Through the process of *nechúw*, "staying on continuously", i.e. using the ground so as to be able to take part in appropriate social interactions, an accepted individual, a stranger or a group of immigrants acquired a right to take part in life in that partition and region. After death, their ghosts were conducted to the regional dema and eventually did not return to the spirit homes of their original region. It is indicated that a newcomer joined the same moiety as he used to belong to, but what the rules were for joining a regional marriage class, remains uncertain.

Accepting a partitional role in the regional system of marriage and exchange, a stranger took on the name of the rope that supported him and tried to find him a wife. He might use only that name or put it in front of his old (partitional) name, if he wanted to retain some old contacts.

After one or two generations the old name fell out of use, and only the new was retained. The Fra-fachajuo, for instance, from the Sefokawr area, had in this way become the Pres near Ajamaru, the Chowaj-Sefa-rari of Tuwer were already called by many the Chowaj, and in Seja there lived the Naw-Chara who in daily speech were called simply the Naw, the old double name being used first when they recounted the myth of their origin.

The Sarosa, the Fan and the Tuwit, on the other hand, were examples of groups in the Mejprat area who had retained extra-Mejprat names. A contributing factor here may have been a patrilineal descent reckoning on the part of the original groups, parallel with the official registration of fam names soon after their immigration. In the village of Jiu, however, there was a fam Sematukoch and in the village of Kawf lived the fam Sa, who by their own account comprised former Sarosa groups. Chawer Sarosa confirmed the in-

formation obtained from Jiu, and considered that the group in question had split earlier than his own group from the Sarosa in the village of Framu, and had time to become fully integrated. In Jiu there was also a fam Tăro, which comprised a previous Karet group that had become integrated. In all these three cases, it was pointed out that the group now had "a spirit home all to itself" (*saworó sow sejt*), the ties with previous groups of interaction thus being broken.

As previously mentioned, there were traditionally two partitional statuses, namely *majer*, that of the host, and *serim*, that of the guest. The right to usufruct was considered primarily to belong to the host ropes. The real owner of the ground was Tu or Tu-api, the mother dema, who according to several informants "was" everything within the region: the earth, the water, the trees, the stones and the creature. It was in the capacity of her descendants that the host ropes had this right.

Ceremonially, a partitional host rope regarded itself as superior, and partitioned out to the guest rope the most highly regarded type of taro, known as Sapur. In some way, this was connected with the right to use the earth. In return for this, the hosts at each feast received a piece of white cloth called "ground cloth" (*po tapám*), which in the western Prat part was sometimes called in Malay *seva tana*, "ground rent". This cloth was worn ceremonially and in the event of a failed crop was sometimes offered to the dema, by being buried down in the unfertile swidden.

A guest rope, however, could play the part of host vis-à-vis a more recent immigrant group, as the Pres did towards the Na near Mefchatiam or the Sarosa towards the Tuwit in a partition that really belonged to the Karet.

When Massink had the impression that the ownership of the ground was often contested⁵⁶, the issue may possibly have been similar additional guest and host relations.

For example, near Mefchatiam, the Moju, the Na and the Susim contended each others claims to be *tu pejr*, translated as *tu an tana*, which was the administrative Malay term used for "(legal) ground owner". The traditional connotation of the Mejprat term, however, indicated membership of a female rope descending from the first partitional ground owner. In 1953, spokesmen for the Pres, who were *tu majr*, "masters of the real root" i.e. of the whole region, acknowledged the Susim but in 1957 the Na. Each time the reason offered was that the other party had not properly delivered "the ground cloth" (*po tapám*). To judge from their respective myths the three contending fam may be classed as "guests, immigrants" (*serim*). Other data, however, suggest the Susim to be incorporated in the partition as successors to the precedent Sefaniwi people, now expired in these parts. The Susim then appear as parti-

⁵⁶ Massink (1955, 9) states that it is "not always easy to answer who is the owner of the ground which is claimed by a certain clan".

tional hosts (*tu pejr*) admitting the Moju as its subdivisional and complementary unit or subsection, while a part of the Pres, acting as a partitional guest rope, had admitted the Na as subdivisional unit.

Such units are here assumed to be localized subsections and the terms *pechá som sej* and *pechó som sej* were used of them. These terms appear to be based on a *cho—cha* dichotomy and the translation “a cold (or hot) subdivision of a particular distinction” seems possible. This complementary opposition is thus of the “hot—cold” type, the terms also connoting “female, right side—male, left side”. The connotations run parallel to similar distinctions of totems (brother—sister relations between animals) and seemed functionally applicable in the afore-mentioned *n'tan* type of marriage.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the registration of rope names as fam names led in a number of cases to an alteration of their forms. So, for instance, the Charumprés were registered as the Lumless, the Chosu as the Kotju and the Tānaw as the Tenó, while the Sarósa and the Titmaw suffered only minor changes, as the Selóssa and the Djitmáu. Other units were constantly referred to in contemporary genealogies and were connected with observable spirit homes, or else their “myths of origin” were recorded, but they did not seem to exist as fam units. This was the case with e.g. the Sacharím, the Matiafáno, and the Enoch.

Totem

The term *newách*, “totem”, was applied to a plant and an animal connected with each fam. Both were expected to figure in the myth of origin. However, in a majority of cases the male informant was shown to quote the same totem (and myth) as his mother, who allegedly had hers from her father's mother; it had thus been carried over in a rope-like fashion. The instance of the Karet of Mefchatiam demonstrated this quite clearly: Karet informants having Sarosa mothers gave their totem as the mango tree and the bee usually connected with the Sesa-people, to wich the Sarosa were considered to belong (M 40).

There remain, however, many cases in which the connection between the myth of origin and the totem stated cannot be demonstrated, and where the deciding principle thus cannot be discovered. A typical case is provided by the Sarosa of Mefchatiam.

Chawer Sarosa, whose mother was a Chowaj-Sefarari woman, stated in recounting his myth (M 33) that “the snout-snake” (*apán penéjff*), and a croton species (*será*), were his totems. The snake figured in the myth, but not the croton plant; neither the animal nor the plant, however, were in the recorded Chowaj-Sefarari myth (M 7). Nor did Chawer include the mango tree or the

bee from the Sesa myths as might have been expected, in that the Sawiet speaking Sesa group, who had recently moved into Mefchatiam, mentioned the Sarosa in their myth (M 40).

In a similar unaccounted-for manner the frog was reckoned as a totem animal by the Tuwit, the Pres-Katit and the Pres-Sia (who had moved into Mefchatiam quite recently), and a large lizard (*apuk tit*), by the Wen, the Na, the Nawf, and the Tānaw, although nothing in their myths seems to support this function. The data thus remain incomplete.

The plant totem was used in oath-like assurances of the type *tatu ara m'paw*, "I swear by the taboo tree". This was uttered to give emphasis to a certain piece of information, e.g. the number of pieces of cloth delivered in a prolonged exchange. It was expected that the dema would punish a person who falsely used this phrase, by the totem animal injuring him in some way. This conception reflected the usual division between the female dema (tree form) and its supervisory function on the one hand, and the dema's male form (Mos), acting on her behalf, on the other.

In addition to this, there were cases when someone expressly gave his own or his father's animal totem as a food taboo. This could apply also to products from the totem tree, as when certain Karet people refrained from eating the fruits of the jambo and certain Sesa people reported avoiding mango. A food taboo of this kind was specific and related only to a particular species, e.g. light-red jambo, while other sorts could be cheerfully consumed.

The animal totem usually remained a food taboo for life, while the plant (or its fruit, leaves or other edible parts) was thought suitable for consumption after the period of a person's initiation.

Insufficient information is available to make any categorical statement as the person's or group's relations in general to the totem animal. It was sometimes regarded as a sign from the dema, directed specifically at the person who saw it. The sign could be interpreted as a warning, good tidings (above all if two animals were copulating) or as information on what direction to take. While the majority seemed to regard it as a form of the dema (Taku, Tu, Api), it was pointed out on some occasions that it was born of the dema.

It seems evident that the relation between totem plant and totem animal reflects the complementary opposition of the Mejprat categories of male and female. Of the totem trees, such as the gnemon, the banyan and the jambo, it was expressly stated that the totem animals lived in the blossoms, fruits, sap or leaves of the tree and inhabited its cavities, which were called by the same name as the human vagina (*ako*). It was emphasised that a good drum was ideally regarded as manufactured from a hollow totem tree, in which the totem animal had lived. The animal was then spoken of as *su*, one of the circumlocutions for "penis", thus further emphasizing its particular relation to the tree as a sort of lover and son (born from the tree, lives from the tree). This

relation exists in certain myths between a dema woman and a male being (M 1, M 4, M 9). It is reminiscent to some extent also of the brother-sister relationship between the first pair of humans who occurred in other myths and who are mentioned particularly in the Karet myth M 15; the situation can in all cases be seen as reflecting the principle of complementary oppositions "expressed in a certain code"⁵⁷.

A relation of siblingship was established between certain pairs of animal totems, for example between the crocodile and the varanus lizard. It was maintained by some informants of the Semuniak at Seni, who had the crocodile as their animal totem, that the crocodile always had twin children and that it forced them into the water as soon as they were hatched. The one that could swim became a crocodile, and the other disappeared into the forest and became a varanus, the animal totem of an adjacent group of the Sarosa.

This referred to the opposition between the categories "water" and "forest" as well as "male" and "female", because the crocodile was accounted as "male" by informants who characterized the lizard as "female". Similarly, the bush turkey of the Frasif and the male bird of paradise of the Naw were paired off as sister and brother. So, for instance, were the bush turkey (female) and the bush hen (*Maleo*), the white cockatoo (male) and the lory, and the red opossum (female) and the white opossum (male) throughout the Mejprat area. Such categorization of totem animals becomes meaningful in the context of partitional subdivisions, probably of the section order.

To sum up, important relations of the partition and the partitional rope were characterised by the unit's being bound to a certain spirit home with the surrounding area. This was demonstrated also by significant changes in names and myths when an individual or group moved to another region. This bond determines intrapartitional status (marriage class) and social behaviour, such as marriage and exchange. The dominant principle in these relationships is polarity, expressed in complementary male and female categories. These reoccur in the terms and known functions of the spirit homes, both interpartitionally (sister rope—brother rope) and intrapartitionally (primary and secondary host-guest relations), in the latter case probably showing the presence of localized sections. The ground and rope names, and the partitional rope totems, demonstrate similar polarities, expressed in pairs of host—guest, plant—animal, female—male dema forms, mother—son (lover), sister—brother. These polarities comprise no integrated system, but must usually be seen in separate pairs, in which the polarity, in comparisons, can appear contradictory, subjective and incomplete. In the functions of the spirit home tree, finally, there could be seen a certain integration of opposites, which was connected with certain supreme actions on a partitional or interpartitional level.

The regional system, defining topographically moiety adherence, marriage

⁵⁷ Rassers 1925, 1931; idem 1959, 42, 43, 136, 222, 273.

classes and eventual subdivisions (sections), ought considerably to have facilitated the observed movements of individuals between the local systems (fission and fusion): every region supplied a formalised network of statuses. The social emphasis appeared to be on integration.

Part II. Balance and circulation in goods exchange

Traditional contacts with Indonesian trade-cycles

In the 17th century, when Europeans from the Moluccas made closer contact with western New Guinea, they found that other traders and their characteristic goods had arrived before them. As early as in 1616, the Dutch found Chinese porcelain and Indian coral beads on the island of Biak¹. When they later, between 1636 and 1665, sought their way to the Onin peninsula by the MacCluer Gulf to obtain aromatic massoi bark and hard-working slaves, they had offer to buy them on the same terms as the Javanese, Macassars and Malays (from Malacca), namely in exchange for cloths². In 1665, the Governor on Banda hoped to obtain control of the Japanese trade with massoi bark from New Guinea³. From about 1590 the Chinese working from Manila had probably also arranged contacts with the Japanese market⁴. From the very beginning there were Dutchmen in the Moluccas who considered that the Chinese on the Philippines and in the Moluccas should be kept down⁵ (see falsification). In 1775, however, Forrest observed that Chinese traders still used to sell blue cloth, china and glass beads on the Dorey coast, i.e. on the western shores of Geelvink Bay⁶.

These notes made in passing about early non-European traders on the coasts of western New Guinea are not as isolated as they may at first seem. The specialities exclusive to the eastern parts of the Indonesian archipelago called the Moluccas or the Spice Islands were the clove, the nutmeg and massoi bark. The latter grew only in New Guinea and the finer qualities of this bark were apparently sold as "clove bark"⁷. These articles seem to have attracted the early attention of Arab and Chinese traders. On what appeared to be fairly slight evidence, cloves have been considered as known in China even during the later part of the Han period⁸. However, in later years Han ceramics have been found in various parts of Indonesia as archeological goods⁹. The recent discovery among the Mejprat in western New Guinea of large difficult-to-

¹ Kamma 1954, 213.

² Haga 1884; I, 70—71, 80.

³ Ibid. I, 91.

⁴ Blair and Robertson 1903—1908; VV, 316 Japanese traders appear not to visit the Moluccas by that time (van Leur 1955, 184).

⁵ Verhaal 1871, 590.

⁶ Forrest 1780, 121.

⁷ Hoëvell 1875, 72. Schafer (1963, 172 note 177) quotes a Chinese opinion that "clove bark" is an "Indonesian cinnamon". For massoi appears to be no special Chinese term.

⁸ Flückiger 1874, 250; Schafer 1963, 171.

⁹ van Leur 1955, 182; Orsoy 1949, 5, fig. 1, 2, 3.

transport bronze pieces—with a chemical composition agreeing essentially more with the Dong Son alloys of the Han period than with later work¹⁰—lends further credibility to the existence of some sort of long range trade connections along the mainland coast.

Trading Arabs and Indians seem to have used the sea route to China in the second century A.D.¹¹ In the beginning of the 5th century, the Chinese pilgrim Fahien is recorded to have returned home from Tamlook on the Ganges via Ceylon and Java¹². In the 7th century we even know a rough time-table and certain ports-of-call on this China—India pilgrim route, which depended on the north-east monsoon for the outward journey and the southwest monsoon for the homeward run. The Indian and Arab sea-trade between the Malay Archipelago and China was by this time of considerable importance, and from the 8th century an Inspector of Maritime Trade in Canton registered foreign captains and collected freight charges and export duties. The detailed data available from the 13th century about the goods then imported and the countries of production east of Java include mention of Timor, the Moluccas and Banda.

As the products of Banda are mentioned nutmegs, little black slaves, mace and “small clove bark” (probably tender massoi)¹³. The list of goods known by the Chinese to be essential to this trade includes also blue cotton cloth, Chinese coins, chinaware, pieces of iron gongs, and “pa-tu-la” cotton cloth¹⁴. Patola is a class of textiles originally ikat-patterned and imported to Indonesia from the Gujerat province of Northwestern India, textiles which have had and still have a very specialized use in Indonesia. In certain parts of Java, silk patola cloths belong to the court costume of only the highest dignitaries¹⁵. The Toradjas of Sulawesi (Celebes) called it *m a w a*, *m e s a*, *m a b o r i* and other names and counted it among the ancient heirlooms required for a number of ceremonies¹⁶, as did the people of the Moluccas¹⁷. Bühler has shown its great influence on Indonesian textile patterns (1959), especially in the eastern parts of the Archipelago.

The trade routes that brought out the Gujerat patolas followed the rhythm of the prevailing winds, and had been operated long before the advent of the Europeans. The facts are repeatedly mentioned in the ethnographic literature. A

¹⁰ Elmberg 1959.

¹¹ Rockhill 1912, 6 ff.

¹² Groeneveldt 1880, 6—7; Schafer, 1963, 11, 12.

¹³ Rockhill 1912, 257.

¹⁴ Ibid 271.

¹⁵ Rouffaer & Juinboll 1899, 131, plate 41. Its use is recorded on east Javanese sculptures from the 13th century.

¹⁶ Kruit 1938: IV, 46.

¹⁷ Barbosa (II, 198) reports its presence in Banda in about 1518, Antonio de Brito in 1522 (Rouffaer & Juinboll 1899, 417).

comprehensive picture of Indonesian trade at that time is given by van Leur in his study "On early Asian trade". This shows Indian cloth as coming to Indonesia mainly from two regions: the finer cloths especially for Java from the Coromandel coast, the coarser kinds for Ternate, Banda and Ambon from Gujerat¹⁸. Pires in 1515 also knows the Gujerati to have sailed south of Sumatra to Gris e in Java, where they obtained the products of Ternate, Timor and Banda until the middle of the 15th century. In the beginning of the 16th century Pate Cu uf, who was king of Gris e, "used to own the shipping to the Moluccas and Banda"¹⁹. By that time, however, the Bugis people from Celebes, people from Malacca and the Macassar people also regularly traded with Banda, as did the Javanese in other centres of trade such as Bantam, Japara and Kuban. The route from Java went via the islands of Bali, Sumbawa, Bima and Lombok, where "inferior" kinds of cloth were bought for Banda²⁰, and sometimes also on to Kei, Aru and Ceram before reaching Banda. Banda in turn had trade connections—mostly bringing in slaves, sago and massoi—with Ambon, Ternate, Kei, Aru, Ceram, and—through the Ceramese—with the coastal population of western New Guinea^{21a}.

Even in the 17th century the population of different islands in the Ceram Laot group, as well as some coastal villages of eastern Ceram, had discrete "sosolot" or "sesolot"-areas with exclusive trade rights on the Onin-coast of New Guinea^{21b}.

There, on the southern bank of the MacCluer Gulf, the main trade places were situated: Ati-Ati, Fatagar, Rumbatti and Patipi. The two first traditionally traded north of the Gulf (the Nottan area) around the rivers of Kais, Kaibus and Rumkai, while the Rumbatti and the Patipi went to the present Inanwatan and to the east, into the Gulf²². In these "sosolot" were found middle-men, or "chiefs", with such Indonesian titles as *ra d j a*, *o r a n g k a j a*, *m a j o o r* and *k a p i t a n*; special Moluccan titles like *d j o d j a u*, *s e n g a d j i* and *k o r a n o* were also used.

The occurrence of these titles is bound up with the taxes exacted by the north Moluccan kingdoms of Ternate and Tidore from their vassal peoples. Wilken²³ considered that the campaigns of these warrior princes in eastern Indonesia can be interpreted also as an attempt to spread Islam by a "holy war", and the tax as a per capita payment by which heathens could purchase exemption from the depredations of the Moluccan war-fleets (*h o n g i*). This was obviously the case on the islands of Buru and Sula. On the latter, non-Moslems

¹⁸ Pires I, 216 .

¹⁹ Ibid. 228.

²⁰ Idem 206; Schrieke 1925, 114.

^{21a} Haga 1884; I, 19.

^{21b} Ibid. 103.

²² Aa 1880, 42.

²³ Wilken 1875, 5, 7.

paid two taxes, one of the same type as the Moslems, plus an extra-ordinary tax. The latter was abolished on conversion to Islam.

At the end of the 15th century Biak is believed to have lost its independence, and when later those responsible for payments of tribute arrived with the east monsoon to Tidore, they received in exchange titles which probably reflected real functions : *ra dja* (prince), *se ng a dji* (district chief), *di ma ra* and *ko ra no* (village chief)^{24a}. Tribute was exacted primarily from subjected peoples on the coast, in time for the east monsoon. When it was presented, the Sultan gave them a flag and a sort of official dress. Later on, clothes were given, and titles were conveyed without reference to the function of the bearer. With this, the Biak people themselves are thought to have been able to begin to give titles to their own *ma ni bo b* or "trade friends"^{24b}. This institution is developed in various forms also in the Bird's Head peninsula, where certain Biak immigrants had settled, above all among the Moi and the Madik in the north-western parts²⁵, and among the Karon²⁶. According to certain incomplete reports²⁷, there is evidence of the institution of "trade friends" in the latter part of the 19th century and in the 20th century in the inner parts of the Bird's Head peninsula, from the Arfak, the Manikion and the Hatam down to the MacCluer Gulf. In these areas, a "trade friend" was apparently called "san" and friendship cemented by marriage.

Actually it is probable that these data refer to two different institutions: one is the trade agent and the other is the trade friend. Trade friends appear to make ceremonial exchange which for both contains a ritual element and they are not allowed to intermarry. The trade agent hardly experiences anything ritual in his dealings with the clients and also tries to intermarry. Evidently both types have occurred in these parts (*Mp ra pam*=trade agent; *tafóch*=trade friend) but at present cannot be sorted out properly in the literature. However, it should be recorded that it is inexact to label a "tax-collecting" agent a trade friend.

In the beginning of the 16th century, Tidore and Ternate, the two competing powers in the northern Moluccas, also extended their war enterprises to the coasts of New Guinea. Some time after 1534 Tidore conquered Misool of the Radja Ampat islands and the eastern part of Ceram. Kamma, surveying the

^{24a} Kama 1948, 181, 540.

^{24b} Held (1947, 81, 82) argues that the Waropen *ma ni wo wi* or *ka mu ki* relation—in which a dress and a title were also given—is only a form of ceremonial exchange (potlach). It does not appear improbable that some indigenous form of trade friendship is present in many societies of the Bird's Head. But that the giving of a foreign title and dress is unconnected with the Biak tradition, is hard to believe. A better term for the latter, perhaps, would be trade agent.

²⁵ Ibid. 540; Idem 1954, 10.

²⁶ Bruijn 1879, 103.

²⁷ Feuilletau de Bruyn 1920, 166, 167; Feuilletau de Bruyn 1954, 11—42; Rosenberg 1878, 545.

relevant literature in 1947, remained uncertain whether or not the Ceram Laot islands and their "sosolot" went to the victorious sultan of Tidore²⁸. The Papuas of Kapaur, at least, did not seem to think so, as in 1676 they killed off a great number of Misool-people who were sent to catch slaves there by order of the sultan of Tidore. A number of chiefs were all the same created in these parts on behalf of this sultan, but obviously in accordance with the earlier sosolot divisions²⁹. Later the Ceramese regained their power to appoint chiefs there, though formally in the name of the sultan³⁰.

The sosolot have retained some interdependence with the earlier sosolot-owners from Ceram and Ceram Laot to the present time. In 1902 on the New Guinea coast, the radja in Ati-Ati, Rumbatti and Patipi still did not speak the language of the country but had Ceramese as their mother tongue. A number of the other villages were bilingual and Ceramese "colonies" were reported in a great many villages outside Ati-Ati, Onin, Rumbatti and Patipi³¹. Also, the radja Rumbatti reckoned his family line after Bau, a ship's captain from Gritjik-Surabaya in Java who had married a local woman³².

In Kokas and therefore certainly also elsewhere in Onin up to the advent of World War II, trade connections with Gessir and other Ceram Laot islands remained unsevered³³.

It has been observed that "chiefs" were created quite easily along the coast of New Guinea. Forrest wrote in 1775 from Dory: "En même temps je le fis Capitano en lui donnant un habit et des caleçons de toile et en tirant trois coups de fusil; c'est la ceremonie que pratiquent les Hollandois"³⁴. There is a closely similar description of this ceremony by a Dutchman 85 years later³⁵.

In the beginning of the 19th century it is expressly stated that such a chief worked, prepared his food, dressed and lived like the other men, and was not

²⁸ Kamma 1948, 179.

²⁹ Adatrechtbundels no 33, 338.

³⁰ Müller 1857, 67.

³¹ van Diessel 1902, 621.

³² Hille 1905, 238.

³³ Elmberg 1955, 32, 33.

³⁴ Forrest 1780, 126, 127.

³⁵ Goudswaard 1863, 60: "How insignificant they (the titles, E.) are and the authority connected with them is demonstrated by the fact that traders and even missionaries appoint such chiefs, or more correctly: agents. They take a mambri, a brave or a rich man of some influence, give him a pair of trousers, a jacket and a head cloth, give him three blows on his head while simultaneously crying out 'majoor' or 'kapitein laut'; after the title is proclaimed, this person cries out 'ho'. They then fire a shot gun in his honor, and by this he is established as a chief. Such agents are employed by Mr. Fabritius (a famous trader, E.); yes, by the same procedure also Mrs. Fabritius has raised some three or four persons to 'majoor' or 'kapitein laut' who have proved themselves very serviceable as her agents..." Kruijt (1930, 358) tells how in Celebes the sultan of Ternate used to create a k a n j o leaders who brought in the yearly tribute, through a similar process of dressing and firing a shot. Apparently the practice in New Guinea was no isolated occurrence.

honoured in any noticeable way³⁶. Of one of them it is said that he received yearly 40 bundles of massoi bark, some birds and tobacco from his six villages in the hills "at the arrival of the Ceramese". Such a chief had no salary and no jurisdiction, and was actually only a kind of local agent to a foreign trading party, later also to a missionary or a housewife³⁷. None the less, he has been observed to create sub-chiefs, and to take commission on the goods landed³⁸, and in the beginning of this century he received *labuan batu*, anchorage fees and landing fees, from traders who wanted to do business inside his traditional *sosolot*³⁹.

It was noted also that the tone and the behaviour of the traders towards "the natives" was very superior and that the chiefs or agents called their "so-called subjects" with the Malay term *anak-anak*, "children", but "the subjects" are known to have parried with nicknames like *Radja Gatel*, ("King of Itch") and *Kapitan Sandu* (Captain of Opium)⁴⁰. The linguist Dissel who worked in this area for many years found the claims of "the mock chiefs" slightly ridiculous, and founded on the ancient idea that any foreign strand dweller would think himself the lord and master of every living thing in the interior⁴¹.

With the advent of the west monsoon on the coasts of New Guinea came also the expectations of trade. Around 1603, Dutch traders were advised to be in India in September to catch the western wind⁴². By December they should be in Macassar, because in January the traders left for Ambon and Banda. In the beginning of the 19th century it was observed at Lobo, south of Onin, that inland trade sprang into life with the arrival of the "west monsoon" and in expectation of the Ceramese traders⁴³.

Raffray⁴⁴ in the 1880's recorded that the traders sailed each year from Ternate in January, when the south-west monsoon drops, to the coasts of New Guinea with colourful cloths, iron etc. At that time the term "linso costa", a Portuguese term for woven fabrics from the Coromandel coast, was still used for red-chequered cloths that attracted a price of 30 tomang wet sago⁴⁵.

To a large extent this was an account trade. The visiting foreign traders advanced goods and also needed an agent (called "*radja*" etc.) to stay when they left and see that the return goods were ready for them when

³⁶ Müller 1857, 67.

³⁷ Goudswaard 1863, loc. cit.; Hille 1905, 252; Dissel 1904, 621.

³⁸ 204 Dumont d'Urville 1835, 204.

³⁹ Dissel 1904, 634.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 790, idem 1907, 992—994, 1002.

⁴¹ Dissel 1907, 1023.

⁴² Rouffer & Juinboll 1899, Appendix III, XIV; Gijssels (1871, 478) in 1612 states that in Ambon the western winds start in the middle of November, or the beginning of December, an keep on blowing until April.

⁴³ Müller 1857, 61.

⁴⁴ Raffray 1878, 386.

⁴⁵ Aa 1880, 42.

they came back⁴⁶. This was the arrangement in Ambon when the Dutch came there in the beginning of the 17th century. The "organcays", (*o r a n g k a j a*) there acted as agents, asking and receiving an advance of "cloths, gongs or other goods" from the foreign traders and advancing this to the "boeren" (peasants) of their villages against a certain percentage. This percentage or commission increased year by year if the peasant did not turn in his harvest of cloves satisfactorily, until he and his entire family became the slaves of the agent⁴⁷.

According to early Dutch information⁴⁸, only two of these agents were then true Ambonese. One "Cappitein Hittoe" came from the north-eastern end of Ceram, others were of Javanese fathers and native mothers. Even earlier the Portuguese had complained that the Javanese were "worshipped" by the people of the Moluccas⁴⁹, and Gijssels⁵⁰ describes how the *o r a n g k a j a* were entertained in village temples and given food and drink, and how people danced around the houses where they were. The foreign element and the superior attitude seem to have been accepted in Ambon, in a way not observed in New Guinea.

Along the coasts of the Bird's Head peninsula and to the south of the Mac Cluer Gulf⁵¹, the early Dutch traders found a system of advance payments being used by the middlemen of mixed or immigrant stock who were termed Papua⁵². According to Rumphius⁵³, the indigenous population (generally termed Hali-fur or Arafura) were given advance payments of bush knives, inferior cloth, black sugar and rice to induce them to bring out from the interior massoi bark, nutmegs and slaves⁵⁴. In the 18th century Forrest observed this system at Dory, and referred to it as a Chinese system⁵⁵. In the ethnographic literature on South-east Asia, a certain form of the system seems to be regarded as specifically Chinese⁵⁶. According to the description by Vlekke⁵⁷, the Chinese persuaded

⁴⁶ Adalsbundetrecht 33, 388.

⁴⁷ Gijssels 1871, 350.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 358; Keuning 1956, 136.

⁴⁹ Pires, 206.

⁵⁰ Gijssels 1871, 351.

⁵¹ Pouwer (1955, 215—220) has given a survey of the early situation south of Kokas in the Kuwiai part.

⁵² Cf. Dissel 1907, 1024.

⁵³ Rouffaer 1908, 13.

⁵⁴ Other products were also involved (e.g. bird of paradise, trepang and sago) as well as other methods, not always gentle. Rumphius records two men called Simoos and Backer (1741, II:65) who used a mirror and told the Harafora that what they saw in it was their "God". This "God" was made to exhort the Harafora so sell their massoi cheaply. The exposed swindlers were killed.

⁵⁵ Forrest (1780, 126—129) commented on how reliable the Dorei people were, actually bringing back to him the goods advanced when they could not effectuate his orders.

⁵⁶ Purcell 1951, 503.

⁵⁷ Vlekke 1947, 13.

Indonesian farmers to receive goods in advance against a promise to pay with products of the future harvest. The price of these products were fixed at a low level. In the following year the rates of the Chinese goods had risen, while the price offered for the Indonesian products was still lower. Finally the farmers virtually became slaves⁵⁸ of the Chinese traders.

It should be stressed, however, that in a number of cases there existed indigenous systems of delayed exchange that could be misused by any trader, Chinese or not. Sahlins has pointed out the importance of unequally balanced exchange which creates a feeling of inequality and indebtedness, and leads to further occasions of association⁵⁹. This may obviously help to generate the social cohesion. The same principle appears to apply both in the intertribal *kula* of the Trobriands and in their inter-village *was i* exchange of vegetables against fish⁶⁰. An expression of the same principle seems contained in Mead's description of the Manus and in Adriani's and Kruit's description of the Eastern Toradja.

Mead relates that the Manus "enjoyed paying for dead horses" and that e.g. the best method of obtaining fish from them was to "lend" them some 30—40 rolls of tobacco. "So great was their honesty that such a procedure ensured more fish than trusting to any desire to obtain future tobacco"⁶¹. Obviously, they were more stimulated by the principle of delayed exchange.

Adriani and Kruit⁶² observed that the Toradja of the eastern part of Celebes had a similar preference. They concluded that the Toradja wanted to see and own the goods before working to pay them off. They preferred to have things "on credit". Similarly, they expected to trade in their own products in a delayed exchange with the coastal Todo, an immigrant Muhammedan population acting as middlemen between the Toradja and the Chinese traders. For a very large part, the Toradja trade in forest products aimed at collecting treasures of cotton cloth and Buginese trousers, articles which were not worn but kept in the rice barn⁶³. They were also exchanged and displayed on occasions of ceremonial exchange.

In the 19th century a similar situation seems to have existed on the islands of Buru and Ceram, where a fairly sparse Muhammedan population in the coastal villages negotiated to the inland Halifuru what were called *pusaka* and *harta*, i.e. goods serving as sacred heirlooms and objects of ceremonial exchange.

⁵⁸ Also between Indonesians, debts or extreme conditions of poverty were conducive to "slavery" or some sort of dependency for limited or unlimited periods. Cf Wallace 1869, 163; Riedel 1886, 53, 156, 170; Ruibing 1937, 19, 46; Kruijt 1938, III:512.

⁵⁹ Sahlins 1965, 177—8, 185. He sees it as a potential of the Melanesian "big men leadership systems".

⁶⁰ Ibid. 195 quoting Malinowski 1822, 187—9, on "ceremonial barter with deferred payment".

⁶¹ Mead 1930, 123.

⁶² Adriani & Kruijt 1950—51, I.342.

⁶³ Ibid. 344.

These consisted mainly of chinaware and cloth. From the 17th century⁶⁴, this class of middle-men on Buru primarily negotiated the goods termed in Dutch "aarde werk en lijnwaad"⁶⁵ to the heathen people of the mountains, who were thought to be reckless buyers and could obviously be forced to spend several years working of the debt incurred.

On Ceram it was recorded around 1860 that coastal radja had "divided" the mountain dwellers between themselves, supplying them with the same "aarde werk en lijnwaad" against sago, tobacco, woven cloths and plaited mats or damar resin⁶⁶.

Against this background, the observations of Forrest, made nearly a century earlier in New Guinea, do not seem so isolated. He noted⁶⁷ that the coastal population at Dorey did not cultivate much vegetables, but obtained them instead from the Harafora. They did not pay for each load," mais qu'une hache ou un couperet donnés une fois a un Harafora soumet ses terres et son industrie a une taxe éternelle et que dés lors il ets obligé d'apporter de temps à autre des presents a celui qui lui a fait ce pretendu don. Tel est le pris que ces Indiens mettent au fer."⁶⁸ Only if the tool cracked or became too blunt to be of any use had the Papua to supply him with a new one—or else the relation ceased. Forrest perceived the usage of advances as a Chinese system⁶⁹.

Half a century later, d'Urville briefly visited Dorey and received the impression that the coastal Papua had a monopoly on the garden produce of some interior groups, although not of such a tyrannical type as described by Forrest⁷⁰. Though this sometimes disastrous system of advances is mentioned during the 19th and 20th centuries⁷¹, no further details appear to be known about this particular trade in adzes or axes. In 1877 a visit was made to a group of the Karon living three day's march from the coast. They were said to acknowledge as chieftain an old Mafoor man (i.e. a Nufor or Biak speaking person) who lived down by the coast in the village of Wapai. The latter enjoyed a high reputation and received "tax" every year, consisting of birds of paradise and slaves. He was characterized as "very crafty" and used strong, adult "slaves" for his agricultural work; he acquired goods and services in exchange for "blue cloth, bars of iron, bush knives etc."⁷² He appears to be another case of the

⁶⁴ Adatrechtbundels vol. 16, 22.

⁶⁵ Wilken 1875, 5, 7, 39.

⁶⁶ Bosscher 1855, 34; Rosenberg 1860, 149; Martin 1894, 119.

⁶⁷ Forrest 1780, 126—7.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 125.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 125.

⁷⁰ Dumont d'Urville 1839, 194.

⁷¹ Bastian 1844, II:32; Dissel 1904, 790; Idem 1907, 1005; Hille 1907, 571; Wichman 1909 235; Wallace 1869, II 360.

⁷² Bruijn 1879, 104.

coastal agent trading with the inland people, probably in terms of delayed exchange.

In the Sawiet are the term *na temáq* and in the Mejprat area *ra pam* denoted "axe man" and connoted the coastal agent supplying adzes or axes to the mountain people. He was supposed to retain a power to hurt or kill a client as long as the tool lasted⁷³. The term also connoted a medicine expert belonging to the Uon society and administering the secrets of its alleged founder, the coastal and originally foreign Baw.

Axe men also appeared in Mejprat myths told by people describing themselves as immigrants who had married Mejprat women⁷⁴. The mountain people were described as hairy, ignorant or dumb savages who were being helped towards a more civilized way of life by the superior axe men. In one case (M 37) the obliging axe man actually cuts off the tail of the inlander. Since ideally the neophytes of the Uon society also presented their leaders with an axe⁷⁵, this society was obviously capable of functioning somewhat like a fan club for the coastal middlemen, stimulating an interest in the coastal axe trade.

It is a fact that axes have seldom been noted in the ethnographical literature as an important item of trade for the Bird's Head coasts⁷⁶. In the early period of European contact the most commonly listed articles for the present Moluccas with the Bird's Head were all kinds of cloth—often coarse cloth or "bad" cloth—chinaware and iron or sword blades⁷⁷. In the 19th century also gongs, powder, fire-arms, opium and glass beads were expressly noted⁷⁸.

The Onin radjas advanced these articles to their sub-agents in the sosolot areas, who in the beginning of the 20th century had to move with great circumspection when travelling at a distance of even one or two days from the coast. In 1907 Hille reports the untimely death of an Ambonese trader, Sefnat Pelletium, who had contacts with the inland Mantion through a coastal *d j e d j a u* (sub-agent) from the Worombari river⁷⁹. When, according to the trader, not enough birds of paradise and massoi bark were forthcoming, he went inland together with the *djedjau* and met the debtors under a bread-fruit tree. The Mantion people, regarding the debt as practically settled, were violently insulted by the trader, who also threatened the *djedjau* with "murder and fire". The *djedjau* then shot the trader's rifle-carrier, another coastal

⁷³ Elmberg 1966a, 130.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 117, 166. Cf. the M 10, M 30, M 37 and M 45.

⁷⁵ Elmberg 1966a, 121.

⁷⁶ Only Goudswaard (1863, 48) seems to list them. Blacksmiths were at work on the island of Doréh in 1865, but were famous mainly for their bush knives and spear points (ENI II, 717).

⁷⁷ Rouffaer & Juinboll 1899, Bijl. III, XIX (dated 1603); Rumphius 1705, II: 63; Pires 1944, 206, 216; Jonge & Deventer 1862, 336.

⁷⁸ Dissel 1904, 790; idem 1907, 995.

⁷⁹ Hille 1907, 571.

man wounded the trader by a second shot, and the Mantion finished off the two men with spears and arrows.

In the same year (1905) a radja (sub-agent) of the Seremuk river invited some traders from Ati-ati to shoot birds of paradise in the upper reaches of the river, and eventually conducted them past the upper part of the River Karabra. On their return to these tracts a second time, they had an unfriendly encounter with some people whose language they could not understand. An accompanying guide from the Kaibus river system killed one of their people, and for years afterwards no traders dared to come back⁸⁰.

Some fifty years earlier Wallace had observed that the Goramese and Ceramese traded with "the most treacherous and bloodthirsty tribes" of Onin and more southern parts of New Guinea. Scarcely a year passed without loss of life.

All the same, this trade from various Indonesian islands, India, China, and finally from Europe was carried on for a considerable time until the advent of the Japanese in World War II. It distributed cloth, mainly cotton goods, chinaware and iron tools through inter-tribal trade or exchange as well as through intra-regional exchange. Probably this steady flow worked by the mechanisms of delayed exchange, though the precise conditions of inland inter-regional exchange remain uncharted. The same is true of the inland growth of sub-agent spheres of influence along the river systems, especially after the foundation in 1905 of such coastal villages as Konda, Jahadian, Mugim and Inanwatan. Their earlier sub-agents appear as government chiefs, sometimes ruling a village of re-settled slaves bought from the Chinese⁸¹.

We do know, however, that the discharged ballast stones from Konda (in the estuary of the Kaibus) were carried far inland into the Mejprat country. Lined up in a row they adorned many a market place, testifying to the influence of the major Konda, even at Isiterob and Keramsi on the way between Atok and Seni.

The Mejprat used to say that these stones were brought by In, the male wind form of the dema. The stone canoe of Baw had arrived to the Uon society⁸², brought by the same wind. Thus the Mejprat expressed the recognition of the fact that one of the prerequisites of this trade was the regularly changing monsoon wind. Blowing from the west in November—April, its arrival on the coasts of western New Guinea quickened the pace of trade and exchange in anticipation of foreign traders, Moluccan warlords or their Biak agents. With the east monsoon the traders usually left the waters of western New Guinea. Although it started blowing in the middle of April, it developed full strength only in July or August, when according to Wallace the Macassar prahus of

⁸⁰ Ibid. 628, 631.

⁸¹ Idem 1905, 264.

⁸² Elmberg 1966a, 166.

the 19th century set out on their return voyages⁸³. Even 17th century sources mention the Javanese as returning from Ceram (and New Guinea) to load in Banda during September⁸⁴.

Categories of Cloth

Imported articles played a large role both in the daily work of the Mejprat and in their ceremonial life. Metal objects such as the women's taro knives, the men's adzes and axes, and the ceremonial or working knives of parang type were regarded as elements of the Mejprat culture. They were classified as *po sa*, "coastal things, shore things". The term for iron, *sawia*, appears to denote "coast men carry". The semi-circular pieces of what appears to be southern Chinese bronze drums¹ were classified as *frä*, "magic stones".

Also imported were seashells (as tweezers), glass beads and shell rings (from the *Conus millepunctata*), which latter were named *sarak*, the same term as was used in the Biak language for armlets of silver². In the western part of the area there were observed some Chinese plates termed *fra m'pa* i.e. "foreign stones". The most important article of import was however cloth.

The nine classes of cloth reckoned with in the lacustrine part contained a number of names that associate to cloth classes outside the Mejprat area. Po Bajm, the most superior class, comprised patola patterned³ cloth of two sub-classes, characterised among other things by their thickness. Thin textiles were termed Torá or Torári in the western part, but (Pajm) Woké in the rest of the lacustrine part; the coarser type was called (Pajm) Siwiach. Then followed Mon, Chafach, Oán Safe, Sarim, Oán Kek, Sérach, Topa and finally the least valuable but apparently most frequently occurring, Pokek.

Similarities of name between cloth categories among the Mejprat and other folk in the Bird's Head may give some indication of the import routes. So far as I can see, Oosterzee is the only writer who has tried (in 1904) to describe coarser ikat cloths of cotton material. He mentions no names of cloths, but reported from the Mansibaber and the Manikion near the Anggi lakes an

⁸³ Wallace 1869, II:159.

⁸⁴ Verhaal 1871, 532.

¹ Elmberg 1959, 79, 80.

² Kern (1885, 261) comparing the Biak term with the Javanese and Dajak *salaka*, "silver", thought it possible that it derived from Skr *çalāka*, "small wand".

³ In the literature the opinion is often voiced that Patola cloths are named after a snake with a similar rhomboid pattern on its back. It is of course the other way round. The snake, as well as the plant *dawn patola* (*Macodes petola*) are obviously named after the cloth or its pattern, since the word, like the cloth, is of Indian origin. In Banda Neira of the Moluccas, a shark was similarly named *Eo serasa bintang-bintang* after *Serasah*, a reserve coloured, painted cloth from Masulipatam, also called "Chits" or "Sits" by the Dutch and "Chintz" by the English. (Rouffaer & Juinboll 1899—1914, 422)

extensive use of old woven fabrics, "chintz" and blue cotton cloth⁴. This seems to correspond to the current division in Malay into *kain timor* (=fairly coarse ikat cloth of traditional Indonesian make), *kain patola* (resist dyed patola imitation on fine cotton cloth is technically called chintz⁵), and *kain toko*, i.e. "shop cloth", i.e. industrially made cloth. He describes the woven fabrics as coarse, with a dark-blue base and dull patterns in red, yellow and brown. The batik cloths so appreciated by Europeans and the Indonesian upper classes he found to be lacking, on the other hand. Oosterzee considered the woven fabrics to stem from Timor or the lesser Sunda islands.

Crockett, a woman anthropologist who lived among the Madik in the north-western part of the peninsula shortly before World War II, reported the use of "beautifully woven and often embroidered strips of cloth" called in Madik *mle*⁶. These were allegedly imported from Ternate and Tidore. She mentions two kinds, termed Bukik and Toba, which correspond to the Mejprat forms Pokek and Topa.

Similar forms of name are found in the survey made by Feuilletau de Bruyn of different sorts of cloth from the same area. De Bruyn listed nine sorts: 1. Mlissie, (the second name is omitted in the article), 3. Bu, 4. Wan ("of inferior material"), 5. Toba, 6. Tokapet, 7. Bokit Kusukus, 8. Bokiek, 9. Burusies⁷. We see here the form Wan, which has been observed, apart from among the Mejprat, at Kokas.

In 1953, Radja Sekar near Kokas told how, before the war, the people of Kokas used to exchange cloth from Gesir for young "slaves". The slaves were caught in the Mantion area, along the Kamundan river and around the lakes of Ajtinjo and Amaru, thus also in the present Mejprat area. He mentioned three classes of cloth: Pata, Uán and Bahím. The latter term reoccurred also among the Kaibus speaking people⁸ and among the Mejprat of Atok, Jiu and Seni.

From the village of Teminabuan there is a list of the local terms for 21 sorts of cloth, covering 110 cloths mainly collected, it appears, in the adjacent Mejprat area⁹ between the middle of 1954 and the middle of 1955. Below are

⁴ Oosterzee 1904, 1015.

⁵ Depicted e.g. in Bühler 1959 (plate 5); Rouffaer & Juinboll 1899—1914, 422; Hadaway 1917, I.

⁶ Crockett 1947, 84.

⁷ Feuilletau de Bruyn 1947, 2. The data do not appear overly reliable. Some names can be understood as Karon Duri or Mejprat forms (Hille 1906, 475). Nr. 6 "Tokapet" is said to be the same as No. 5 Toba, but smaller; "smaller" in Mejprat=*kapet*. No. 3 Bu-possibly=*Mp. po*, "cloth"; No. 9 Bu-ru-sies possibly=*Mp po rosís*, "cloth for milk", a common individual name for a cloth of the Pokek class.

⁸ According to the terminology of Galis (1956b, 144); Cowan (1953, 49) apparently calls the same group *Mogetémin*.

⁹ In 1956 the collection and the list were in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, where I was given the opportunity to study them and take photographs. The collection appears to have been made on the initiative of the last D.O. of Ajamaru, Mr. Massink.

quoted only the Teminabuan terms of interest in relation to Mejprat cloth categories: 1. Bahim (Pachen Mp), 3. Kafak (Chafach Mp), 11. Mon (Mon Mp), 12. Saljin (Sarim Mp), 13. Serak (Serách Mp), 17. Tomba (Topa Mp), 21. Torari (Torári Mp). It should be noted that the Mejprat term Pachen was observed only in Atok, Jiu and Seni, and Tora or Torari in the western Prat part.

Assuming that the Teminabuan terms are correct, 4 of the 9 common classes of cloth in the lacustrine part should thus have counterparts in Kaibus terms, 4 (including Oan Safe and Oan Kek) should have counterparts in Madik or Karon terms at least in "northern" terms. Only one term, Po Pajn, is in most of the lacustrine part specific to the area. The term Topa seems to have counterparts in both the Kaibus area (Tomba) and the Madik-Karon (Toba).

People in the Mejprat villages of Atok, Jiu and Seni reckoned in 1957 with the classes Tiwótun (thin, patola patterned), Pachen, Topa, Pokek and Sarim. The four latter were called Oan if they were broad enough to reach from the fingertips up to the bracelet on the upper arm, but both the class name Oan Safe and the type of woven fabric included in this term in the lacustrine part were unknown. Together with Irus, lengths of blue cloth¹⁰ and Siáris or Tjaras, lengths of striped, white cloth, it was customary to obtain cloth—in return for slaves—from the Makbon area, which had connections with Sausapor on the north-west coast¹¹.

People in the villages of Seja, Renis, Mosun and Kemurkek also spoke of their connections with "Sansepor" (= Sausapor) via Aibi, a place halfway there. The cloth classes were called Woké (thin, patola patterned), Mon, Topa and Pokek, plus Irus and Siaras, which latter occurred in very long sizes. It was mentioned at the same time that when people from the Karon area went down to Ajtinjo (in the southern Mejprat area) with damar resin they were accustomed to bring back with them a kind of ikat cloth called Oan Sitach, which they exchanged for slaves.

In the eastern part, informants from the villages of Umupas, Kawf and Framesa referred to the areas of Mantion, Manikion and Asmawn as places where cloth was plentiful. Kané, the thin, patola patterned cloth, was obtainable in Asmawn, i.e. in the districts immediately east of the river Kamundan, in exchange for fattened pigs. From Mantion, which was considered to lie in the direction of Steenkool, and from Manikion, which was considered to lie further north, there had been obtained the following classes: Mon, Oan

¹⁰ The kind obviously called in the Numfor language *kruben* or *tjelópen*. The last term possibly derives from the Javanese *tjelup*, "to dunk" and coincides with the special Djakarta form *tjelópen* (= *di tjelup*) "what has been dunked (in the colour bath)".

¹¹ Makbon is a coastal village on the map. What is meant here may be the Madik area (according to Galis' terminology).

Safe, Pokek, Karu, Saman, Saworon and Topa. Oan Kek, on the other hand, had been obtained via middlemen from Ajtinjo. Slaves, birds of paradise and massoi were named as goods of exchange, but Pokek and Oan Kek were usually acquired only in return for "slave children" (*ku awé*). Only a single group in Framesa, namely the Asim, had connections with Patipi people who came up the river Kamundan to Fuok and specially brought cloths of the Saman and Topa types.

In the lacustrine part finally, four inroads for cloth were mentioned. People from Rumbati (near Kokas) and Konda used to come up to Susito, a place near the western end of the lake, bringing especially cloth of the Chafach, Serach an Pokek types—Pokek was acquired as in other parts, in return for slave children. Lacustrine ropes in the villages of Arne, Tupun and Siti state that in Wapan one could encounter cloth from Sausapor and from Manukwari, especially Woké, Mon and Oan Safe. Fights sometimes broke out when the Marä people sided with the coastal traders or their middlemen, and the lacustrine people, who had not brought enough slave children, tried—sometimes successfully—to take the cloths they wanted. In the western Prat part, the village of Seni was considered to be the gateway to the cloth from Sausapor. Sarim, Topa and Oan Kek were mostly considered to have found their way into the lacustrine part from Ajtinjo.

What we know of the names for classes of cloth thus confirms the Mejprat statements that cloth for the lacustrine part came from more than one quarter. In the north, Sausapor and Manukwari (previously Doreh) were known as the starting-points for a certain trade in cloth, as were Steenkool and to some extent Kokas, Patipi and Rumbati in the east, Ajtinjo in the south, and Konda in the west. Through these gateways various trade interests thus penetrated into the central parts of the Bird's Head and could influence its societies with their goods and political ideas, and with their demands for counter-benefits, such as slaves.

Po

A Mejprat counted cloth as *po*, which seemed to signify something achieved with a certain labour, which was of limited durability, and which was perishable or difficult to catch, i.e. things that could not be taken for granted.

Only from the context was it clear if a Mejprat by *po* meant "cloth", "bark-cloth", "taro", or if the phrase *nape po* meant "have you fish?", "have you cloth?", "have you salt?", "have you bark-cloth?", "have you taro?", etc. etc. Stones, wood, leaves, water or earth, on the other hand were not reckoned as *po*. Also, one did not for instance eat *matá*, "leaves (from a tree)", but *po matá* "plucked leaves"; and the general phrase "to eat taro" was admittedly

napat po awiak or *napat awiak*, but "he is eating taro" was *japat po awiak*, i.e. "he is eating harvested taro".

The lacustrine cloth classes were explained by reference to the pattern or colours of the cloths. It was observed that certain classes were given on specific occasions, but it has not been possible to assign a distinct function to each class. In many cases it was possible to identify woven fabrics used by the Mejprat as belonging to a certain, usually Indonesian pattern province or localised type of pattern. There is no question here of any technical analysis of the fabric. The pattern provinces are named by the traditional main area of manufacture, but apparently they have not been adequately studied or delimited¹².

The Mejprat's conception of the patterns illustrates and explains an aspect of the social and ceremonial interaction in which exchanges of these cloths occurred. The individual name of a cloth as explained by an owner or ex-owner represented to a certain degree a model of behaviour, because the name was stated to refer to an actual event. A number of cases were observed, as well as reported, when a name was altered to fit the experience of a concrete situation.

Po Bajm, "the reserved cloth"

"The reserved cloth" contained the subclasses Pajm-woké and Pajm-siwiach (figs. 12, 13, 14) *Pajm woké* may be translated as "reserved for all the fruits (=her productiveness)". Such cloths, usually only one or two, were an important part of the bride-takers' marriage exchange. In a number of districts in the western Prat part, where it was termed *torá* or *torári*, it was given "for her head", while in other districts in the lacustrine part it was given "for her breasts".

The patterns of *Atu sa*, *Sois* and *Arúr* were explained as follows. *Atu sa* denoted "the hill of the opening (=mons veneris or the vulva)", *Sois* "the old road (=vagina)", and *Arúr* "this meeting place (=the womb of the dema)". These terms referred at the same time of the social or concrete characteristics of the region, and what could be called stages of sexual congress.

No translation has been found for *Pajm siwiach*. The term occurred only in the western Prat part and south of the lake. It appeared to be connected with male initiation, although possibly not in all forms. The following patterns were

¹² At the Ethnographical Museum of Basel. Professor Bühler showed me a jacket acquired in Formosa (No 15553) made from a cloth of typical "Ceram" appearance, and a sarong-like cloth from the same locality giving the impression of a typical "Timor" cloth. Nooteboom has pointed out (1940, 8) that through government stimulation a hundred years ago typical Sawu motives were woven into Sumbanese female sarongs. Classification by pattern type alone may thus be seriously misleading.

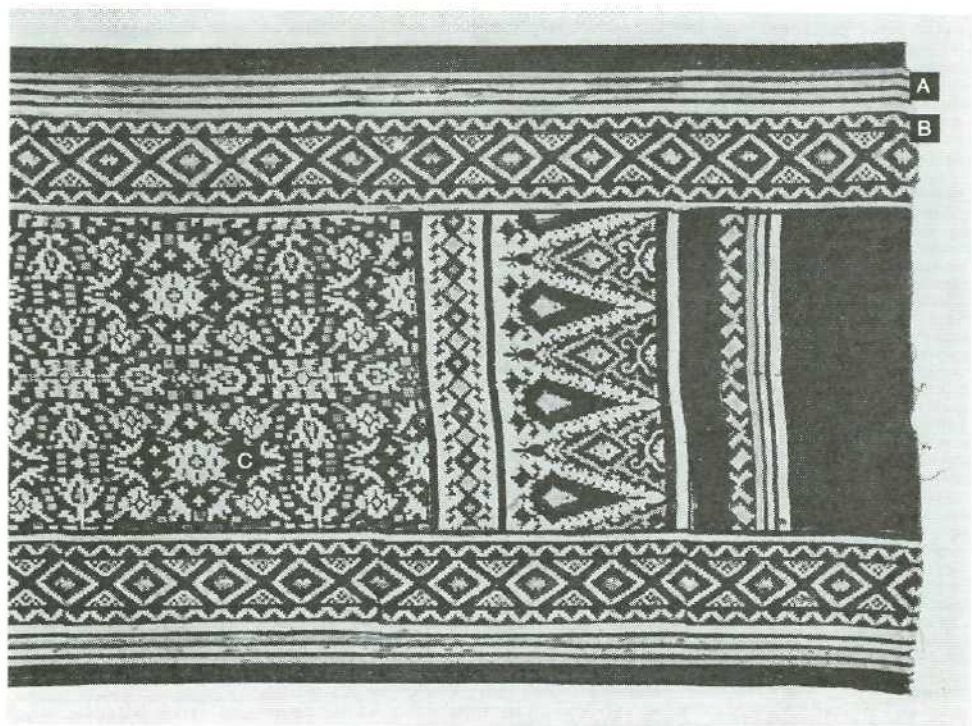


Fig. 12. Patola patterned Tora cloth from the western Prat part, made of thin cotton material. Probably machine printed and made to appear block printed. a="The old road", b="The hill of the opening", c="The meeting place". Mainly red colour with light blue and yellow spots.

pointed out: *Räk-ot*, "the spittle (or smegma) appearing"; *Miom tochri*, "elevating the well spear (= penis)"; *Cha wor*, "activating the tunnel (= vagina)". Neither Woké nor Siwiach, finally, were mentioned by individual names.

Pum Isiri maintained in 1957 that Po Pajm should only be "opened" at Neche Mamos feasts. These cloths were then held up so that the dema should recognise them, with the words: "Look, we still have your cloth! Be not wrath with us, help us to get four-footed animals and taro!" If the cloths should disappear, the owner would become an outcast, animals would not appear for him, taro would not grow, and he could not make exchanges.

Such statements were later made in almost identical words both to the north and east, not usually just of Po Pajm, but of any superior cloth which was counted for different reasons as "a sacred heirloom" (*pesátoch*). I pointed out to Pum that Chawer Sarosa at his feast in 1953 had not to my knowledge displayed any Po Pajm. Pum thought that something had happened to Chawer's Po Pajm and that this was probably the cause of the administration having more or less moved out from Ajamaru, and Chawer's position having dete-



Fig. 13. Patola patterned Pajm Woké cloth, village of Siti. Half silk. Probably machine printed and made to give the impression of block printing. Colours: red, purple and yellow. a="The old road", b="The hill of the opening", c="The meeting place".

riorated. Pum on the other hand, had displayed his cloth, his status had improved. No one knew how Chawer would end up.

The term *Torá* or *Torári* was used with the same denotation in the adjacent Sawiet area, as well as in Teminabuan on the coast. In the western Prat part, the term seems to be a loan-word—like so many terms connected with popot activities and newer forms of initiation¹³. In the north-western part of the Mejprat area, this type of patola patterned cloth was termed *Tiwótun*, in the eastern part *Kané*, and in most of the lacustrine part (Pajm) *Woké*. There thus seems to be a strong possibility that *Torá* is a form of the Biak *p a t o r a*=patola, and that both the name and the cloths concerned had been introduced by the Biak manibob and axe-men in just this part of the area.

The terms "patola" and "patola patterned" must be seen in the light of discussion on the occurrence of the originally north-west Indian patola textiles in Indonesia, and their influence there. First, however, let us establish what *Torá* denoted in the western Prat part.

Torá or *Torári* were thin cloths of silk, of mixed cotton and silk, or of very

¹³ Elmberg 1966a, 93—94, 117—118, 122—124.

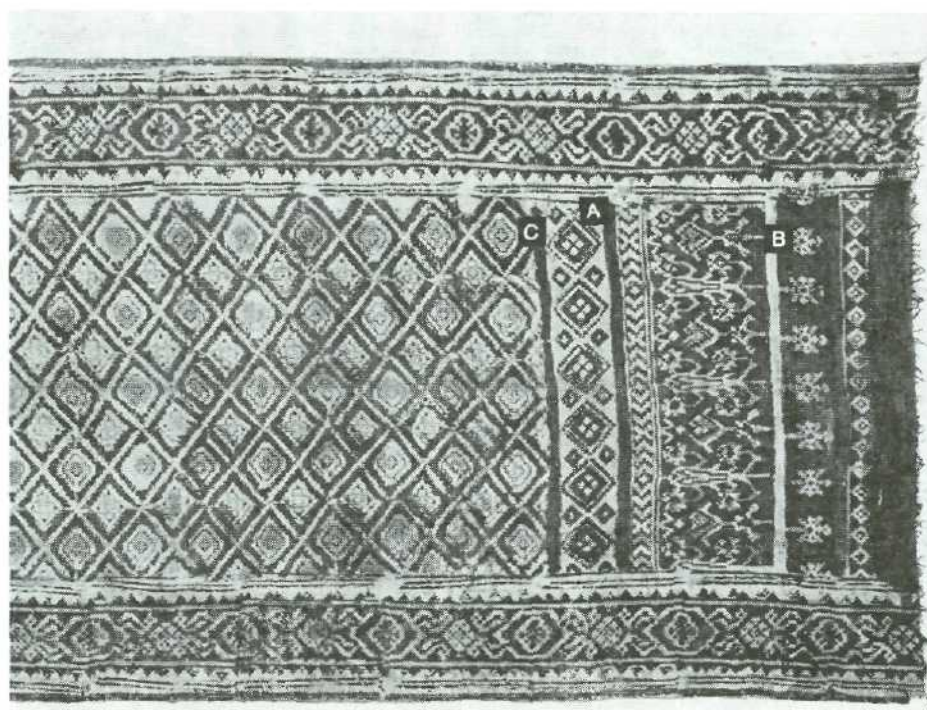


Fig. 14. Patola patterned Pajm Siwiach cloth, village of Semu. Block printed on coarse cotton home-spun. Colours: red, black and yellow. a="The spittle appearing", b="Elevating the well-spear", c="Activating the tunnel".

thin cotton. I saw two pieces which appeared to be double ikat at a nightly dance in Prus, but the owners would not let me examine the cloth, and the young girls wearing them as headdresses disappeared. Other items observed appeared to be factory made and their patterns printed, some of them block printed (fig. 12). The Siwiach cloths, which belong to the same main class, were always of rather coarse cotton. Some cloths were probably made on a hand loom and block printed (fig. 14), although others appeared to be factory made and machine printed (fig. 15).

The observed patterns were of the lozenge type (see photos) with a central field framed by longitudinal stripes, and—usually—some differently patterned fields or ledgers along the narrow ends. They appeared to coincide with what Bühler terms patola patterns of the "second type"¹⁴ among those influencing Indonesian patterns.

Since also patola-influenced textiles of North Celebes type have now been observed in the Mejprat area, and since we can see, in my opinion, a decided

¹⁴ Bühler 1959, 11.

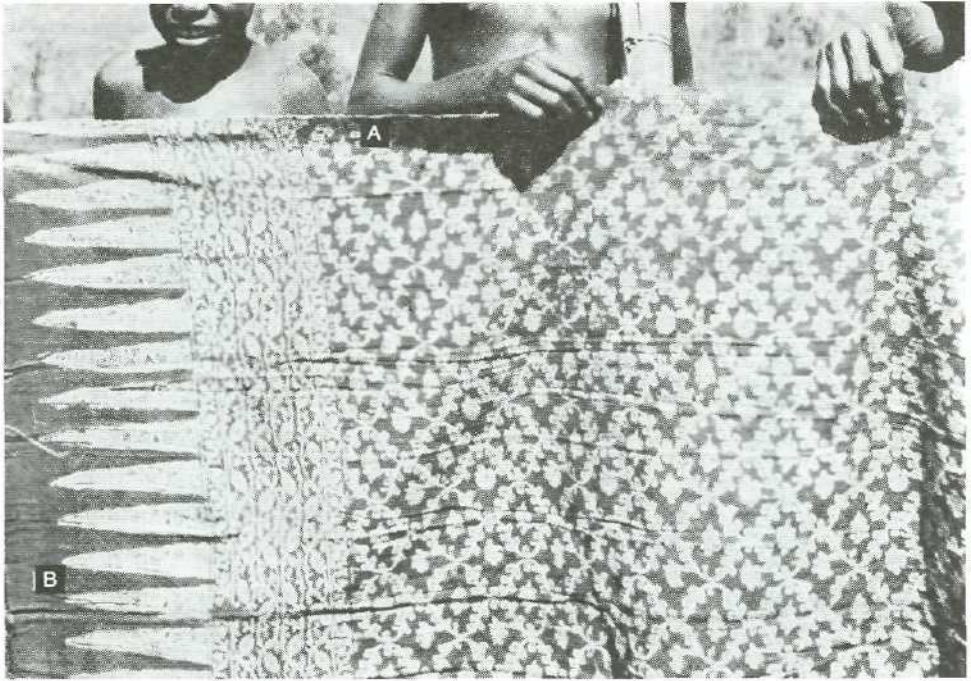


Fig. 15. Pajm Siwiach cloth, Sefachoch village. Red, patola imitation pattern on coarse, light yellow-brown cotton material. Machine print. a="The spittle appearing", b="Elevating the well spear".

patola influence also in certain bark-cloth patterns that were said previously to have played an important role in the area, there is reason to dwell for a moment on the discussion concerning the use and importance of the term patola in Indonesia.

This discussion has been hampered by a natural lack of clarity in the cloth terms and descriptions taken from the early accounts of trading, by a lack of pictures, and more recently perhaps also by what seems to be a change in many Europeans' attitude to the textiles. This latter, of course, did not apply to the small group of textile experts, but to the nonspecialist writers among official, missionaries and travellers.

Wihle, for instance, the extensive description of the cloths in demand in early 17th century Indonesia that was written in Dutch¹⁵ in—probably—1603 used above all the terms "cleeden", i.e. "cloths", and "lijnwater", i.e. "skirts, fine cloths for female dress" there is later mentioned also e.g. "kain"—an Indonesian term denoting "cloth", and "lappen", a Dutch term for "pieces of material (large or small), torn-off pieces, coverings, rags". It is difficult to decide whether or not there lay anything pejorative in the use of a term for

¹⁵ Rouffaer & Juinboll 1899—1914, Appendix III. Houtman 1915, I:215.

feminine dress in respect of these cloths, since the common usage in Indonesia was to wind a cloth around the body like a European skirt. The term "lijnwarden" came more and more into disuse, and by the 1920s and 1930s it was used only by a few older writers¹⁶. In 1948 and 1949, I heard on repeated occasions the term *kain* used pejoratively in Dutch, both in Celebes and in the Moluccas and Western New Guinea. It then connoted with "native dress" and often appeared to imply the bearer's backwardness and lack of appreciation of western standards. A still stronger expression of denunciation seemed then to be the term "lappen", which often had the pejorative ring of "rags". I mention this because "lappen" seems sometimes to carry this implication in the later literature¹⁷.

So, for example, authors have reported from Ceram on "de fiese lappen"¹⁸, "dirty rags", and on the "madapolam of inferior quality" which were used as *harta*, i.e. religiously sanctioned objects of value for exchanges and the payment of fines, or as *pusaka*, i.e. hereditary objects regarded as stemming from the earliest ancestors or the *dema*.

In general, the "patola cloths" are ranked more highly, perhaps because the most esteemed were used at Indonesian princely courts and were of whole or half-silk, but even the expression "een lap zijde" can occur as denoting what appears to be a patola cloth¹⁹.

While the prototype of the highly esteemed patola comes from Gujerat in India, and is a wedding sari of double ikat silk, "pa-tu-la cotton cloth" is mentioned even in an early Chinese source²⁰. The modern literature contains sparse but unambiguous indications that patola has in different centuries been "counterfeited", imitated or reproduced with other techniques and materials²¹. Gulati considers²² that patola in the 16th century was possibly "a general denomination for cotton and silk stuffs provided with some particular kind of design" in the eastern world of commerce. Only in Gujarat would the name

¹⁶ E.g. Adriani and Kruijt.

¹⁷ Bruijn 1933, 91. Kruijt (1933, 172) in his extensive article on the Celebes "lapjes geld" (lit. money-rags) mentions that, in the middle and eastern parts, a high value is set on cloth which Europeans consider worthless. He later writes (176) that "cotton rags of no value" are used when paying fines.

¹⁸ de Vries 1927; Sachse, F.J.P. *Het eiland Seran en zijn bewoners*, Leiden. 1907, 103.

¹⁹ Hille 1906, 457.

²⁰ Rockhill (1912 dates his information 1349. Pelliot (1921, 140) has criticised his work of transliteration and identification, but this instance has been checked with Mathew's Chinese-English dictionary (American edition 1956).

²¹ Corsen (—Opkomst 272) writes of counterfeit patola, made and traded by the Chinese in the beginning of the 17th century. Parkinsson (1937, 76) states that both the French and the English manufactured cotton cloth "in imitation of native goods" during the 17th and 18th centuries. Graafland (1898, 46, 135) opines that in the 1890s "kain patola" were also fabricated in Manila. The Gorontalo cotton cloth *Lipa-lipa palitoto* was also called "kain patola". From the Central Celebes Noyhuis (1925, 133) mentions patola patterned cloth in block print and so called "kain Toronkong" which latter were factory made in Holland.

²² Gulati 1951, 2, 3, 4.

then seem to have been used exclusively of silk textiles with double ikat.

Bühler, who has examined statements concerning the patola influence on Indonesian textile motives, confirmed what had been said and demonstrated strong influences from Indian patola on certain late Indonesian woven fabrics, both regarding the general design and certain details of pattern²³. He considers, however, that the term patola is "quite rare"²⁴ in Indonesia, and has been used only in Lombok, Minahassa and Ambon. This seems hardly to be the case. According to the literature of the past century, the term has been observed on repeated occasions in eastern Indonesia.

The term kain Patola is reported by Marin from Buru²⁵, and by Schmidt from Saparua²⁶. Kain patola is reported by Neverman from Banda²⁷, Sarong Patola from Ceram²⁸, petole from Leti^{29a}, patola ratu by Adams from Sumba^{29b} and on Biak there occurs patora which Kern traces from Skr patola³⁰ and denoted cotton stuffs. In Kokas, patta³¹ is used of patola-patterned cloths of both silk and cotton.

Since the term patola or kain patola was clearly used in the Minahassa area³² for what Bühler views as cotton ikat cloths with imitated patola designs³³ parallel with what seemed to be more genuine local terms, such as lipa-lipa pilitota³⁴ and kaiwu³⁵, it is obviously a Ternate expression or a general Moluccan term, since North Celebes has long been dependent on this kingdom. Since the east Indonesian terms quoted do not distinguish between cotton patola and silk patola, one can assume that the term patola in eastern Indonesia covers: 1) Indian made ikat cloths; 2) wax-resist or (block) printed imitations of 1), made in Asia or Europe; and 3) Indonesian made ikat cloth of cotton material. These three types were also present in the Mejprat area, but only those of category 1) and—if thin and silk-like—of 2) were termed torá or torá-ri, i.e. probably "patola" or "patola from the source (of all things)".

²³ Bühler, 1959.

²⁴ Ibid. 6.

²⁵ Martin 1894, 286.

²⁶ Schmidt 1843, 584.

²⁷ Neverman 1935, 82.

²⁸ Jensen 1939, 17; de Vries 1927, 153.

^{29a} Riedel 1886, 382. Possibly also sarong patola on Wetar (ibid 437).

^{29b} Adams 1966, 10, 11.

³⁰ Kern 1885, 219.

³¹ Historically this term has apparently included patola cloths. In the beginning of the 17th century, "pattas" are described as "half silk, half cotton" (Opkomst III.134) and they are said to come from Patana, i.e. from Northwest India. However, cloths coming from Malliapur near Nagapatam were also included in the term "patta".

³² Rouffer & Juinboll 1899—1914, 382.

³³ Bühler 1959, 18.

³⁴ Rouffaer & Juinboll 1899—1914, 11.

³⁵ Palm 1961, 64.

2. Mon

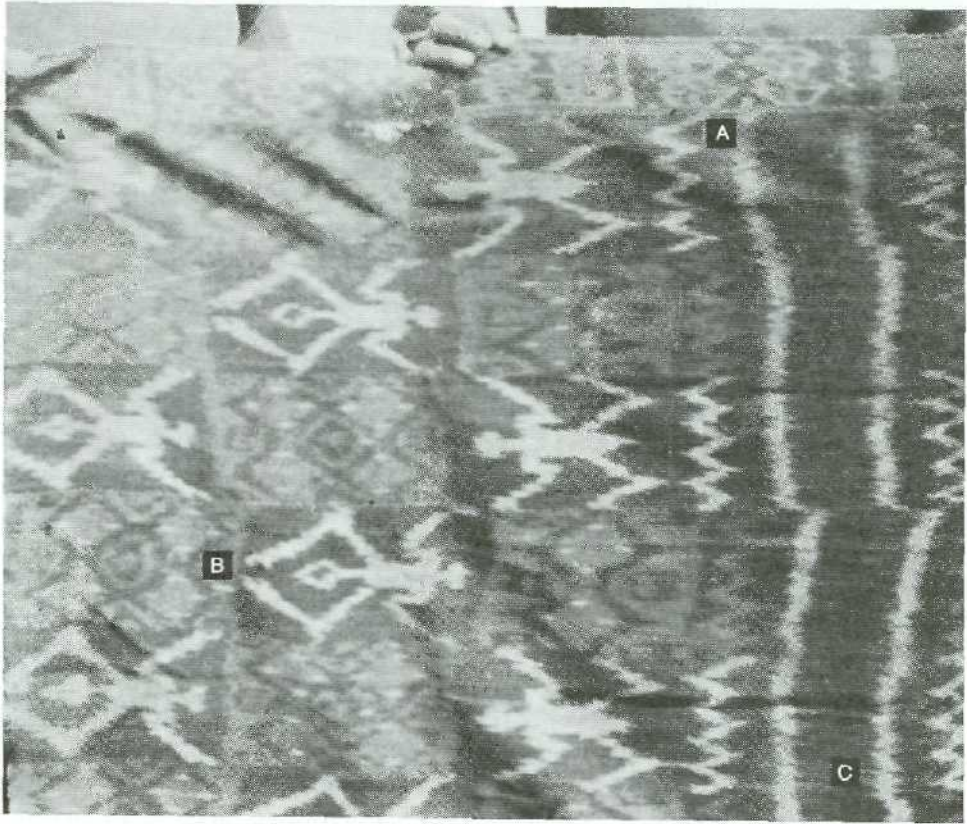


Fig. 16. Mon Siat ikat cloth, Sefachoch village. Provenance: Minahassa, Celebes; Kain Bentenan. Compare human figures with those appearing on Fig. 1 plate III, 1668/1. Katalog des Ethnographischen Reichsmuseums, Band XIX, Leiden 1927. Colours: red, indigo and white. a="Stalagmites", b="The system of tunnels", c="The old vaginal road".

The precise meaning of *mon* is uncertain. All the evidence, however, points in the direction of "female, magic knowledge and power", the activity of which is to preserve, arrange or influence in or towards an harmonic configuration resulting in productiveness.

Pum and Safom Isir linked its meaning with the common phrase "women nurse the taro" (*fenjá semón awiak*). By this was meant the entire procedure of scraping away the earth from a newly plucked tuber, scraping away small roots and baking it in the ashes; then, with repeated blows of the fire tongs, ascertaining that it was thoroughly baked, and trimming it once again with the taro-knife, cutting away burned areas on the peel—in other words, making it fit for human consumption. The expression was observed only of women, who alone were considered capable of performing the job properly.

The concept of *mon* was also used as a counterpart to those situations in which men showed themselves to know only the approximate "plot" of a myth. The narration was then broken off, and it was desired at once to consult with a woman: *fenjá no mon*, people said. This was something more than "correctly" (*kaket*), and meant "women preserve the true order between the elements of the narration". Precisely this order (i.e. an harmonic division between "warm" and "cold" elements) was to lead up to and explain the genesis of the first people.

Finally, *Mon* was the name of three plants. "The shelter of *Mon*" (*Mon aká*), was the name of a pitcher plant, the "gastric" juices of which were said to be a remedy against the poisonous bark (*po tau*) that women used to commit suicide. In this respect, *Mon* was credited with the power of restoring the disturbed harmony or balance between the hot and cold energies of the victim.

A modest white flower by the name of "Sun-*Mon*" (*Mon ajú*), was put in your armlet if you had a long way to go and were afraid that you would not reach there before sunset. It was a general saying—the truth of which many claimed to have experienced—that it kept the sun in the sky until one reached one's goal. Only when the flower was removed could the sun go down. This would seem to imply that the Sun-*Mon* possessed some form of matching energy.

Macodes petola, the orchid whose leaves are considered in Java to be the pieces of a goddess' clothing³⁶ and which are called in the Moluccas "patola leaves" (*daun patola*), was also called *Mon* by the *Mejprat*. On Ceram, where Rumphius³⁷ observed in the 17th century that *daun patola* was obviously cultivated for reasons of fertility, the myths say that the first coconut was laid in a patola cloth to sprout³⁸. A similar fertility-promoting connection between the fabric *Mon* and this plant exists with the *Mejprat*, who call the plant *Mon faj an ku nim*. It was considered to endow women (*faj*) with the ability to generate (*an*) children (*ku*) for a long time (*nim*). This fertility-promoting or powerful harmonising element seems to be reflected in the individual names that have been recorded for cloths in the surely not excessively numerous *Mon*class:

³⁶ Riehl 1958.

³⁷ Rumphius 1741, IV 93.

³⁸ Still in 1937, when a child was born, a coco-nut was taken down in a patola cloth, and the child, to make it grow quickly, was washed in its water (Jensen 1939, 17). In Macassar, Rantepao and Paloppo of Celebes the son of a radja was called "anak patola", because, it was said (1948), a patola had been used as his swaddling cloth.

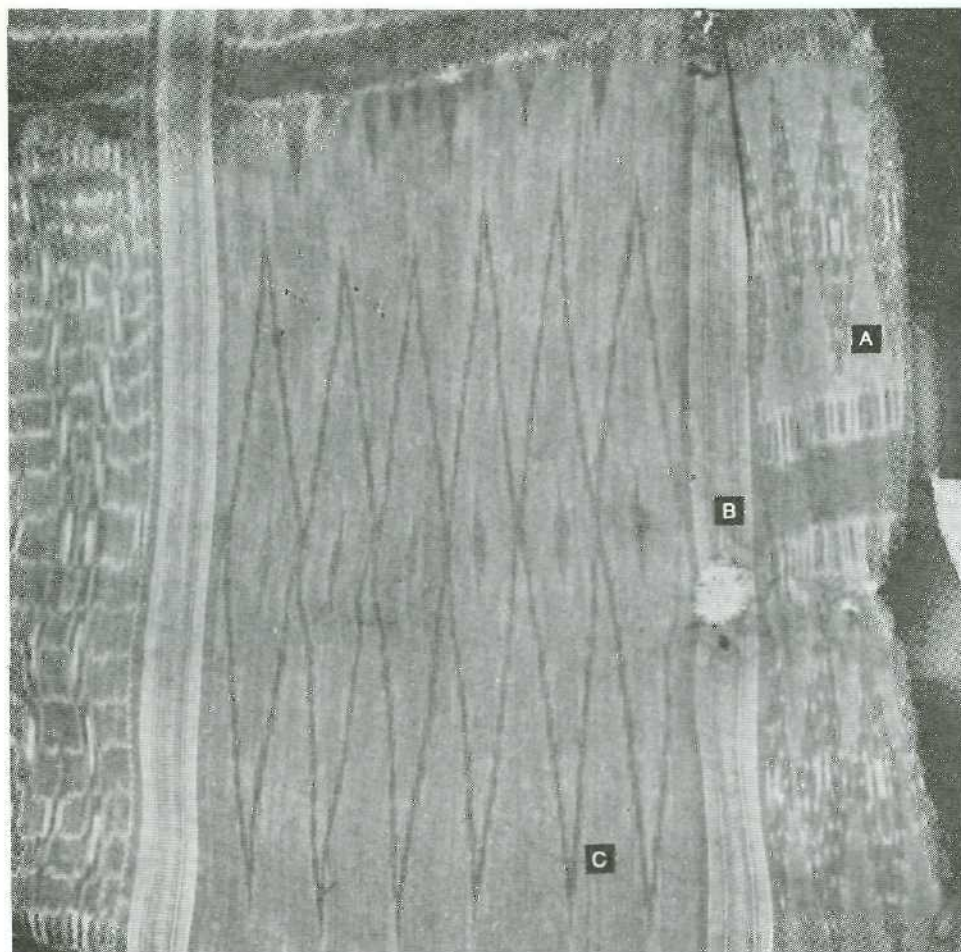


Fig. 17. *Mon Ako* ikat cloth, Mefchatiam village. Provenance: Minahassa, Celebes; Kain Bentenan. Colours: red, indigo and white. Picture showing only the right half of the cloth. a="Stalagmites", b="The old vaginal road", c="The sun vagina".

<i>Mon ais</i>	"the road (=vagina)"
<i>Mon ako</i>	"the vagina"
<i>Mon cha ras</i>	"animated pounding (=coitus)"
<i>Mon cha werék</i>	"surpassing activity"
<i>Mon charen nafan</i>	"closing the posterior"
<i>Mon charen kama</i>	"red fruit of the posterior (=excited female organ)"
<i>Mon fat ian</i>	"catching the hot energy (=coital intensity)"
<i>Mon ku semā</i>	"male child"
<i>Mon maja</i>	"overflowing with water (=semen)"
<i>Mon majt</i>	"putting on fire"

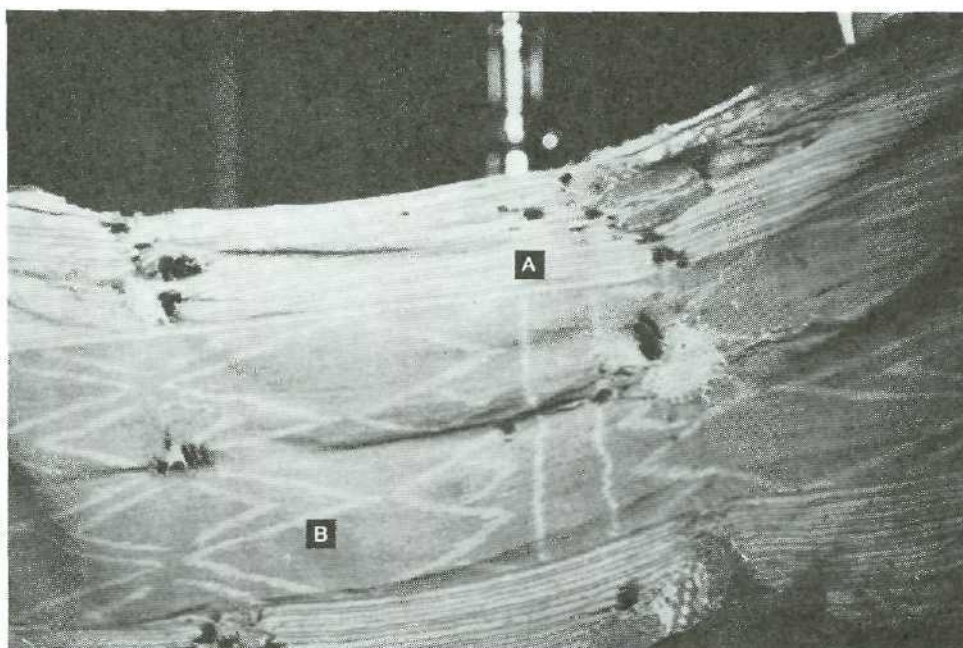


Fig. 18. Mon Aju Charen, ikat cloth, Mefchatiam village. Provenance: Minahassa, Celebes. Colours: Red, indigo and white. a="The old vaginal road", b="The sun vagina".

<i>Mon marir an</i>	"makes hot energy flaring"
<i>Mon re tafuf</i>	"achieve fructification"
<i>Mon rin tuóch</i>	"I promise the produce of the well (child?)"
<i>Mon sam taw</i>	"chasing away the poison"
<i>Mon sar ku pe</i>	"(the stomach) having increased, a child is born"
<i>Mon si-á</i>	"the bone needle is near (penis)"
<i>Mon si af</i>	"sago of the bone needle (semen)"
<i>Mon su wejm</i>	"body (=penis) of the first couple"

Ceremonial experts have classified fabrics as Mon by reference to what seemed to be a balanced relationship between e.g. blue and red fields of colour (Mon Siaf, fig. 16) or between pattern forms (Ako, fig. 17) above all *Fra kot*, "stalagmites", and *Kepum* (=?), which were both also called *Mon*. In both cases, the result was a zigzag line that can be seen as pointed figures passing each other and perfectly dovetailing in each other. The crosslike figures of Mon Siaf were termed *Wor n'su* "The system of tunnels". The long, broad stripes were termed "The old road" and required to be at least four on a Mon cloth. The lozenges with a double contour (fig. 18) outlined *Ajú charen*, "The posterior of the sun (i.e. =the sun vagina)".

The Mon fabrics photographed have been classified as belonging to the

famous class of northern Celebes kain Bentenan³⁹, i.e. strongly influenced by patola patterns⁴⁰. It seems remarkable that these kain Bentenan could be preserved so long in New Guinea, since even by 1880 there was no-one still manufacturing them in northern Celebes⁴¹.

In the marriage exchange, a Mon cloth was expected from the bride-takers "for her belly".

3. Chafach

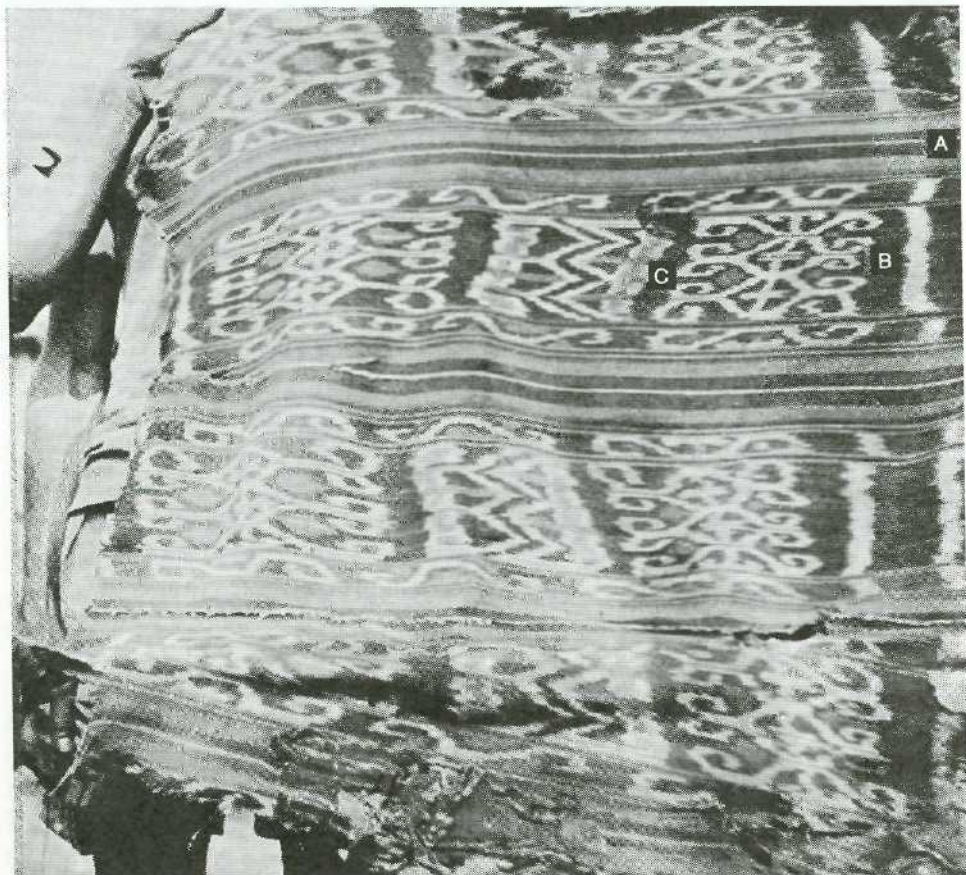


Fig. 19. Alta Quolo of the Chafach class, Elis village. Provenance: Minahassa, Celebes. Colours of the ikat cloth: red, two shades of indigo, white. a="The old vaginal road", b="The womb of the dema", c="The male snake in the vagina".

³⁹I am greatly indebted to Mr. J. Langewis, Castricum, Holland, for classifying these and other difficult items after my photos.

⁴⁰ Palm 1961, 64; Bühler 1959, 12.

⁴¹ Bühler 1959, Palm *ibid*.

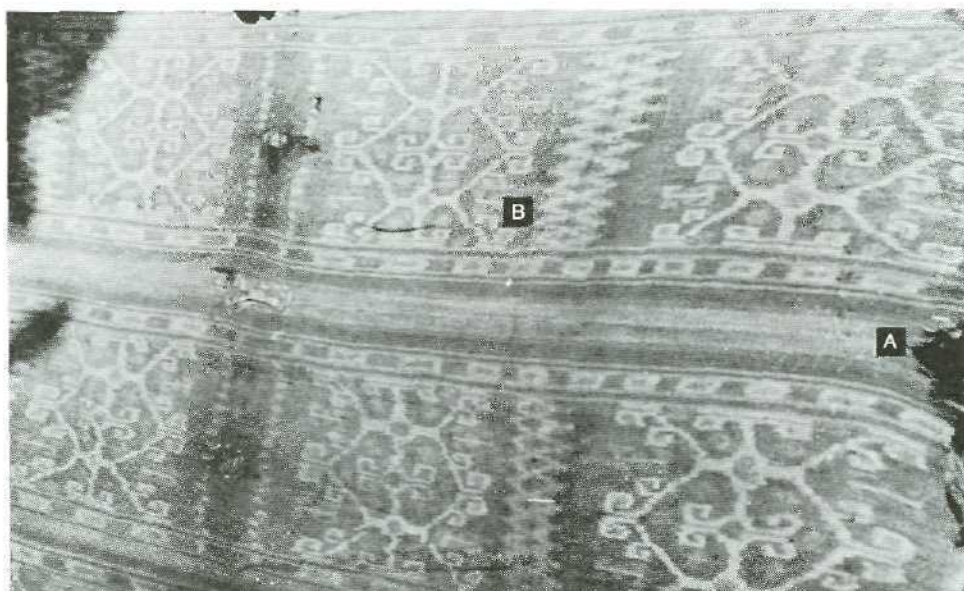


Fig. 20. Recha Mofle of the Chafach class, Seruan village. Pattern type of Kisar. Colours of the ikat cloth: red, two shades of indigo, white a="The old vaginal road", b="The system of tunnels".

If this term is analysed as a Mejprat expression, namely as *cha-fach* it denotes "cold (or activating) spittle", which can be a paraphrase for semen. Only three examples have been observed, one in each of the villages Seruan, Elis and Prus, the last-named being situated in the border-land between the Sawiet and the Mejprat areas. On seeing them my lacustrine helpers at once identified them as Chafach, which was later confirmed by Chawer Sarosa and Pum Isir when I showed them colour pictures of the cloths.

On Alta quolo (fig. 19), the cloth that in the village of Elis was said to have been brought by the legendary Baw or Bawq⁴², the Mejprat distinguished between three patterns, namely "The old road", *Cha rur*, "The meeting place of the ghosts" (i.e. the vagina of the dema), and *Apán pir ro charen masoch*, "The male snake in the vagina". The first name was applied to the broad longitudinal stripes, the second to the complicated figures probably derived from the eight-pointed starlike flower of the Indian patola, and the third to the zig-zag pattern inbetween. This cloth has been identified as a *kain Benta n a n*.

The Seruan cloth was called Rechá moflé (fig. 20) and the Prus item Parmúsa (fig. 21). The Mejprat distinguish here between only two patterns, namely "The old road" and "The system of tunnels". As on the preceding cloth, the conspicuous pattern was associated with the eight-pointed star or flower, which

⁴² Elmberg 1966a, 166.

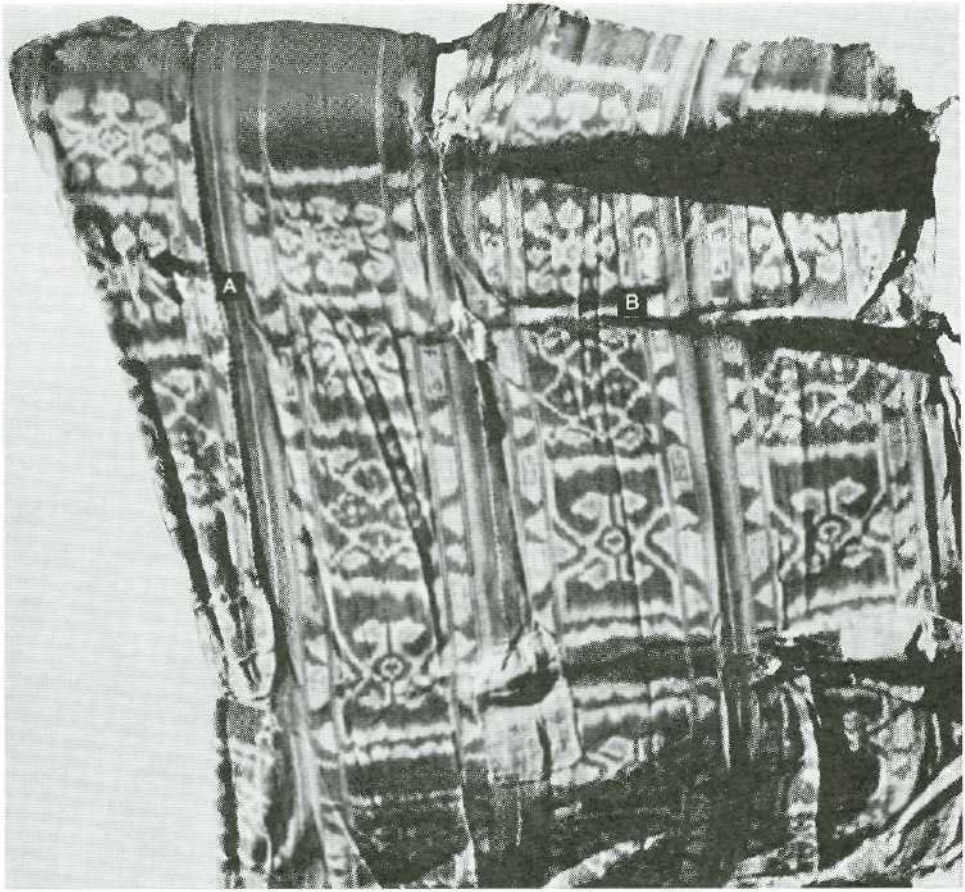


Fig. 21. Par Musa of the Chafach class, Prus village. Provenance: Pattern type of the Kisar island. a="The old vaginal road", b="The system of tunnels".

is well-known from the *tjinde* type of patola patterns⁴³. It was understood by the Mejprat as a picture of the regional organisation, with the spirit holes of the eight main ropes. These two ikat cloths have been identified as of the Kisar pattern type. Palm has pointed out that Jasper found Kisar patterns resembling those of *k a i n B e n t e a n* to the point of confusion⁴⁴.

The Mejprat names of Chafach cloths appear only infrequently in reports of exchanges that took place probably in the 1920s and 1930s. Names such as *Arná* and *Perím frā* proved impossible to translate, while *Tachsí* is the name of a dracaena plant used in agricultural magic. *Wor majn* signifies "hurled down in the tunnel" and *Safach* is the imported shell armlet (*Conus*). Chafach

⁴³ Bühler 1959, plate 2.

⁴⁴ Palm *ibid.*

too was used in the marriage exchange, at least in the southern portions of the lacustrine part, and it is believed in the other districts that the majority of such cloths have landed up there and gradually been removed from circulation, being regarded as "sacred heirlooms" (*pesátotch*). Chawer Sarosa was so surprised and pleased when he saw his first Chafach shortly before the war that it was called *Jarach*, "he radiated (satisfaction)" after him.

Oan safe

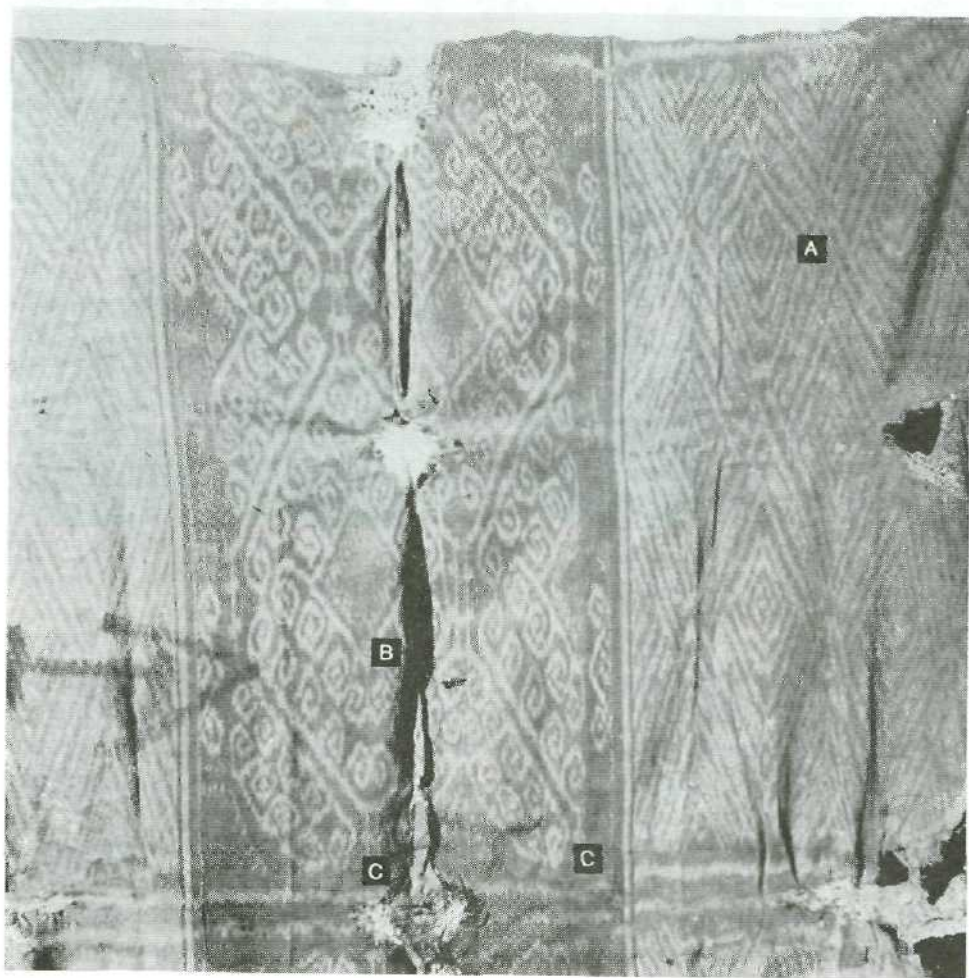


Fig. 22. Charen Nafan of the Oan Safe class, Framesá village. Provenance: Pattern type of the Timor island. Colours of the ikat cloth: red and two shades of indigo. a="The warm tunnel", b="The mouth of the posterior", c="The male snake".



Fig. 23. Cho Wor of the Oan Safe class, Mefchatiam village. Pattern type: Timor. Colours of the ikat cloth: Two shades indigo, white. a="The warm tunnel", b="Introducing the penis".

In the northern and eastern parts, *oan* denoted "liver and this was widely known also in the lacustrine part, where *naw* was mostly used for "liver". To people in the western Prat part *Oán Safe* connoted a "dark Oan". Blue an sepia black colours seemed to be the characteristics of this type of cloth.

The liver was regarded as the finest part of any game, and it was given by a man to MB or to his bride-givers. These in their turn shared it with a number of other men—the liver was considered to hot for women—since a liver could not be consumed by one person alone, and a breach of this rule would mean death. In the lacustrine part, there was a tendency to call all cloths Oan if they were not Po Pajm, and were sufficiently large, i.e. had four Sois or stretched from the fingertips to the bracelet on the upper arm, or fulfilled some other criterion of size. This linguistic usage thus meant distinguishing between "reserved cloths" and those that were to be used by many. Even an Oan that was sufficiently large and had demonstrably completed many cycles during its history could in the western Prat part be removed from circulation, and preserved in the bag for sacred heirlooms. Then it was often given an individual name such as *Chopás*, "Free from work, (staying at home)".

The meander pattern was called *Charen mamós* and *Ru tuka*, the latter name denoting "bird's beak" and the former being translated as "the posterior of the dema bird". The dema bird was usually conceived as a bush hen (*Megapodius*) or bush turkey (*Talegalla*, M 10, M 23), but sometimes also as a "morning bird" (M 1), as a bat or flying fox (M 52), a pair of horn-bills (M 47), or a fish eagle (M 49). Only in the western Prat part did the cassowary occur as a dema bird (M 6).

Informants from various parts of the Mejprat area who gave this interpretation stated that the patterns could be observed on the dema bird. Myths mentioned birds (M 6, M 46) being transformed to cloth, and that a certain cloth "is" snakeskin (M 13), fish scales (M 7) and a wild boar's hide (M 7). Conversely, it is told of human beings that they have become a cassowary (M 6), or a bat⁴⁵ by donning a decorated bark-cloth. Similar features occur in certain Sifa and Mafif stories. When Sifa dons bark-cloth, he becomes a wild boar, and on another occasion a cassowary. The decorated bark-cloth, like cotton or silk cloth, is in other words an aspect or a form of the dema, the signs of which spell out the basic principles of the (local) cosmos and of men's harmonic incorporation into it.

Cho wor, *Charen masoch*, *Apán pir*, *Jerát* and *Meró charís* were further patterns described by my informants. The pattern of an isolated lozenge could be interpreted as *Cho wor*, "the warm tunnel", alternatively *Charen masoch*, "the vaginal mouth of the posterior" while *Perát*, (fig. 23) which could be understood as *pe-rat*, "the (regional) row of spirit holes", *per-at*, "introducing the food (=penis)", applied to various combinations of squares or lozenges. *Apán pir*, "the male snake" mostly appeared inside "The mouth of the posterior" (fig 22), and was used of the zig-zag pattern, which had also been termed *Meró charís*, "warming up the dema road (=the partitional spirit hole or the human vagina)". The square *Perát* pattern, finally, has been called *Atu cho*, "The hill of exertion", by some informants and *Atu sa*, "The hill by the outlet", by others. *Atu cho* also connoted "Hill of the high moiety" and *Atu sa* "Hill of the low moiety".

The class name *Oán Safe* was often used instead of the individual name. Only a few individual names were recorded, and those that could be interpreted show a remarkable agreement with the subject matter of the observed patterns.

<i>Oán Safe atáf</i>	"iron wood tree (= west of the Woj-bird)"
<i>Oán Safe cho wor</i>	"the warm tunnel (vagina)"
<i>Oán Safe meká</i>	"her soft parts"
<i>Oán Safe ra</i>	"the man"

⁴⁵ The Tuwit of Mefchatiam told a tale (?) of a girl who seduced her elder sister's husband and when discovered and chased into the forest lifted up her own bark cloth as wings and transformed herself into a flying fox. Crying "I attack my mother, I attack my sister", she returned in the night to eat their bananas.

<i>Oán Safe ra fetáw</i>	"the man is her Fejt-tree (= penis)"
<i>Oán Safe ra porú</i>	"the man with the bird cloth"
<i>Oán Safe samán oán</i>	"the dogs barked at the cloth (when they found it)"
<i>Oán Safe waj</i>	"the boar's tusk" (from the Mos dema)

Oan Safe, too, was included in the marriage exchange, and a number of informants have suggested that they were given "for her arms", while others suggested that this did not matter so much as long as one or two Oan Safe were included.

No special function in exchanges was observed in the case of Oan Safe. The photographed cloths of this class have been classified as of the Timor type.

Sarim

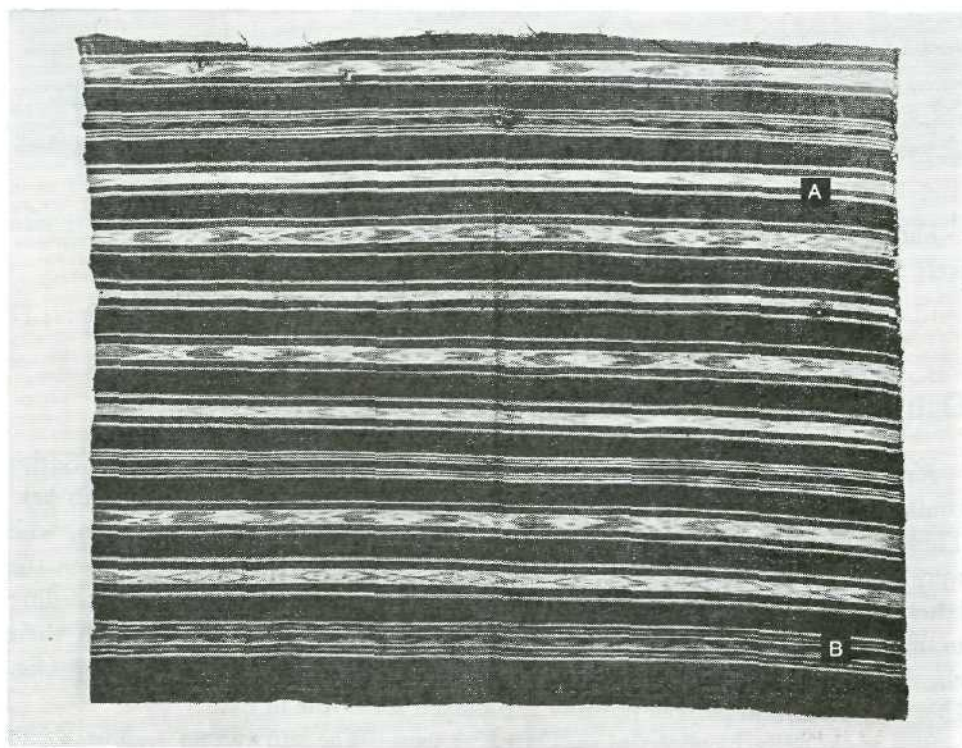


Fig. 24. Toch Tat of the Sarim class, Sefachoch village. Pattern type: Ceram. Colours of the ikat cloth: Wine red, blue and white. a="The old vaginal road", b="The old snake". Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm.

The term *sa-rim*, "from the coastal source", applied to a group of fabrics that appeared less uniform than those so far discussed, a feature that reoccurs in the majority of the following classes. The patterns could usually be classified as of Ceram type, with numerous parallel, relatively narrow stripes, a small number of which have a lozenge pattern in ikat technique. The colours were usually brown, wine-red and blue. All the cloths had an embroidery pattern (fig. 24). These were often called *Cha rur*, "Meeting place of the ghosts"; the broadest stripes were regarded as "The old road", and a relatively open zig-zag line as *Apan so*, "the old snake (= penis)". There were also a number of Roti patterns with small stripes.

The individual names included the following:

<i>Sarim ajuo charén</i>	"vagina of the sun"
<i>Sarim cha mus</i>	"putting on fire"
<i>Sarim fakét pach awiéet</i>	"cleaving the passage with the pandanus fruit (= penis)"
<i>Sarim fo</i>	"the (derris root) poison"
<i>Sarim in chacha</i>	"the wind tore it"
<i>Sarim kuruk</i>	?
<i>Sarim sower</i>	"sniffing up more"
<i>Sarim toch tat</i>	"feeding the penis"

Sarim were used in all sorts of exchanges, and large Sarim of Oan size were highly thought of in the western Prat.

Oan kek

Kek denotes both "red" and "child". It was suggested that certain Sarim containing a great deal of red had been cut into smaller parts called Oan kek. These were obtained in exchange for captured slaves, preferably children, who were given ceremoniously by a mother-in-law to her daughter-in-law, when the latter was observably pregnant, in order that she should grow further. According to my informants, the size and colour thus played a decisive role in their classification as Oan Kek. Since certain large Oan Kek were observed (fig. 25), the colour and pattern possibly also played some role in reality.

The main patterns observed on Oan Kek were "The sun vagina", "The warm tunnel" and "The old road", but also *Cha rur*, "meeting place of the ghosts" occurred. The individual names were observed to be preceded by the class name only as an exception.



Fig. 25. Sukek of the Oan Kek class, Arne village. Pattern type: Sanggir and Talaud. Colours of the ikat cloth: Red, black and white. a="The sun vagina", b="The old vaginal road", c="The meeting place of the ghosts".

<i>Aju charen</i>	"the sun vagina"
<i>Ikor</i>	"the patch"
<i>In ase</i>	"the great wind"
<i>Oan meru</i>	"the severed Oan (Safe)"
<i>Sarim korkor</i>	"the repatched Sarim"
<i>Su kek</i>	"the red body (or: the body of the child)"
<i>To n'kek</i>	"I fetch the infant"
<i>T'sis</i>	"I give milk"

Serach

This class usually comprised smaller pieces of fabric with fairly broad stripes, the white ikat pattern being pronounced. These patterns (fig. 26) were called *Serach*, "grating, lattice work". It is uncertain to what this referred. Only two forms of lattice work were observed, a grating, that was used to

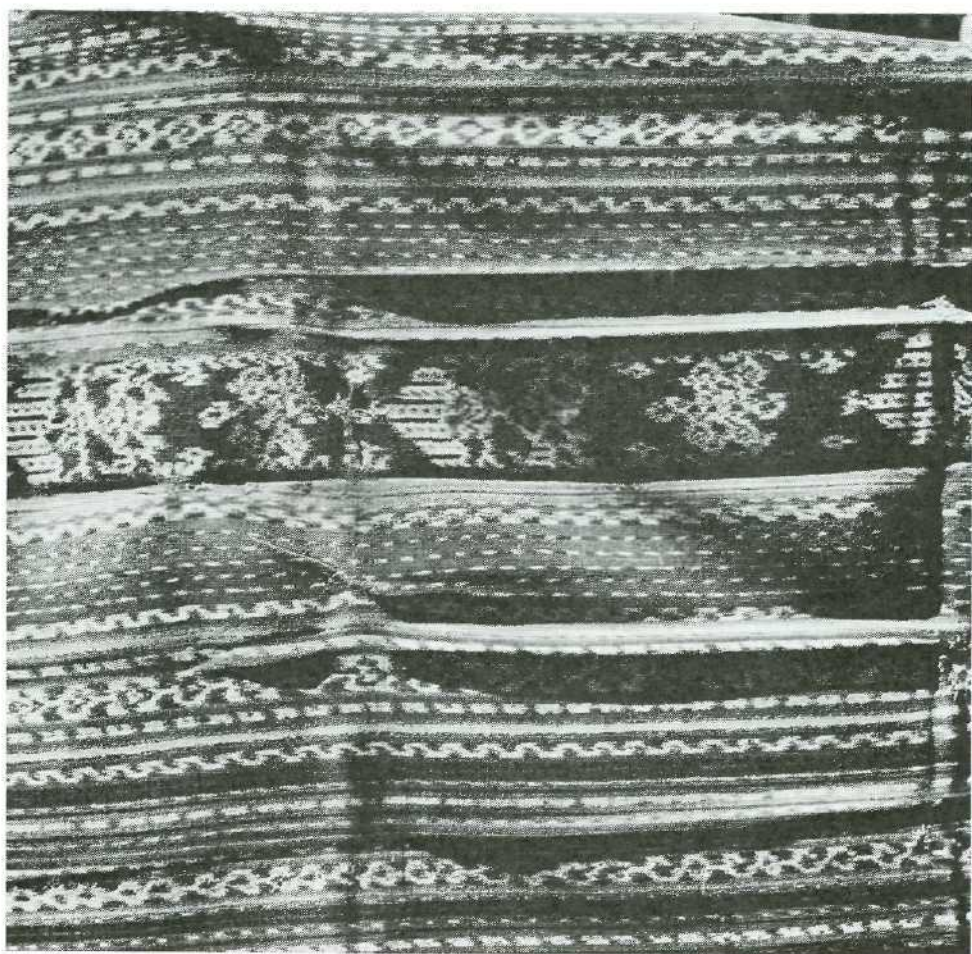


Fig. 26. Frā M'po of the Serach class, Mefchatiam village. Pattern type: Timor. Colours of the ikat cloth: red, indigo and white.

sleep on in ground houses like the Sepiach and the actual floor in a pole house.

Serach cloths often gave the impression of being relatively newly made. The colours did not seem to have bleached. A number of fabrics had a certain stiffness when they were folded, as if they had not yet been handled for any length of time.

The one photograph at our disposal shows Serach Frā M'po in 1957, in the hands of Pum Isir. *Frā m'po* denotes "the magic stone is held". Other names observed were *S. atir*, "the admission", *S. maper*, "something is incorporated (the child)", *S. Jaws*, "he is urinating", and *S. aku*, "the increase".

Serach cloth usually answered for a considerable proportion of that included in the Fejách-Sipách exchange⁴⁶, together with the two following classes.

Topa

The Topa class occurred frequently, but here too no light could be thrown on the meaning of its name to the Mejprat. Admittedly the name can be analysed into *to-pa*, "rattan of the opposite (area, world?)" or "new and opposite", but no Mejprat in fact suggested these translations. Opinion has been divided on the distinguishing characteristics of this class. It contained

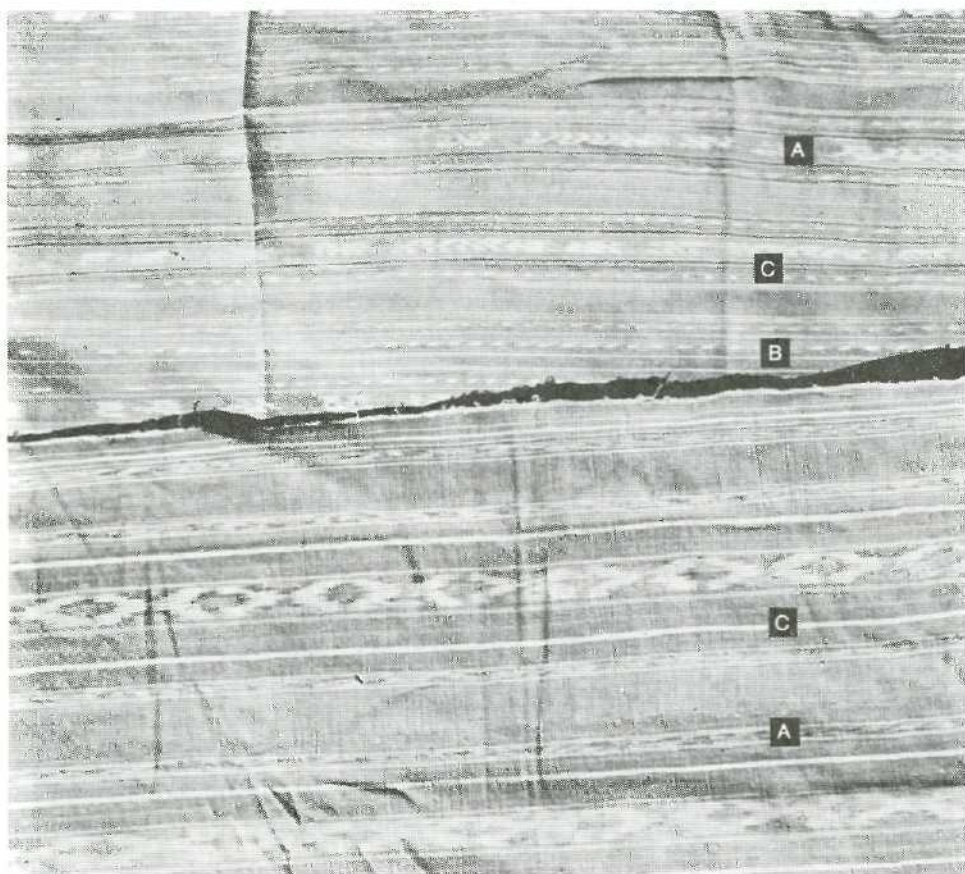


Fig. 27. Topa Furfur of the Topa class (above) and Pokek Wach of the Pokek class (below). Pattern types: Timor (Topa Furfur) and Ceram (Pokek Wach). Colours of the and white. a="The male snake", b="Dissolving the food", c="The old vaginal road". Colour of the Topa ikat cloth: red, indigo, grey, green and yellow; of the Pokek: brown, indigo.

⁴⁶ Elmberg 1966a, 83.

pattern types from Tanimbar, Roti, Sawu, Timor and Ceram, and at one period of the investigation it seemed as if rust-red and brown shades distinguished a Topa from the similar, but bright-red striped Pokek. Old experts, however, maintained that it was the pairs of intermittent lines that assigned cloths to the Topa class. Younger persons made mistakes in classifying unknown Topa or Pokek types. The ceremonial expert Pum Isir, finally, considered that the occurrence of numerous, narrow and different-coloured stripes beside each other distinguished a Topa from other classes. The ikat patterns in the stripes he interpreted as *Apat* or *Apan pir*, "the male snake (= penis)". *Apát* can be understood in two ways, whether as *a-pát* "the broad road (= vagina)", or as *ap-at*, "dissolving the food (= penis)"—an ambiguity that Pum enjoyed immensely. The dissolution of the food—penis (by the vaginal heat)—implied the ejaculation of semen, and this, according to Pum, explained the intermittent lines.

The individual names appeared to have been taken from all fields: *Topa afit*, "for the bite", *T. akek* "for a child", *T. asis* "for the milk", *T. kama*, "the red fruit (sexual excitation)", *T. nif*, "from the Nif village", *T. merir*, "flash of lightening", *T. ru poch*, "white bird", *T. sepiách* "the Sepiach house", *T. senít uwiak*, "compares with a canoe (i.e. is longer than...)", *T. wapan* "from the Wapan area".

Topa cloth was included in all the major items of exchange, but was not regarded as specially designed for other than the Fejách-Sipách exchanges, where the potlatch element was pronounced, and where the number obviously played a greater role than the quality of the cloth (record of successful returns; patterns). Printed, factory made cloth was considered a substitute for the Topa.

Pokek

Po-kek, "a red cloth" or a "a cloth for a child" was often said to have comprised the payment for slave children. The colours in this class were often dark. Like Topa, Pokek was a class of striped patterns (fig. 27), but the stripes seemed darker, often grey, blue, black and brown, with contrasting stripes of red or wine-red. Some cloths of the Ceram type, in blue, brown and white, were otherwise entirely lacking this red pattern. Here again, no method of classification was reported, although some people pointed to the occasional ikat pattern stripes called "The old road". Others have denied that this was a real Sois. *Rumá*, "the foot of the bird"⁴⁷ has also been understood as "The male snake".

⁴⁷ The bird is the Megapodius, and its foot digging into the ground or kicking up a huge mound of plants and twigs to make a place for its eggs, was likened to a penis thrusting into the female dema. The Mejprat sometimes differentiated between the red-legged bush hen and the black-legged, but called both by the same name Ru Sif

Pokek appeared to be used in the same way as Topa, and the individual names were just as varied: *Pokek charen tepir*, "man the vagina", *P. charók*, "the exit from the Krä house", *P. kama*, "the red fruit", *P. män*, "the beautiful", *P. maták sawia*, "strong as iron", *P. ro fos*, "taken at a surprise attack", *P. senák*, "the death feast", *P. t'sis m'paw*, "I nourish the forbidden(?)".

Apart from Ceram, Pokek cloth was observed with pattern types from Timur, Tanimbar, Sawu and Flores. Factory made cloth often substituted the Pokek.

Summing up, we can note that the names of the patterns, which are in most cases ambiguous, related primarily to three spheres of subjects:

1) the regional organisation (e.g. "Hill of the low moiety", "Hill of the high moiety", "High tunnel" and "System of tunnels", all of which designated or were understood as actual caves, hills and subterranean passages),

2) Sexual relations (e.g. The male snake, The mouth of the posterior, Introducing the food), and

3) a coital model of cosmic relations (e.g. The sun-vagina, The old road, The dema road, The meeting place of the ghosts, Warming up the dema road).

Since there is a close agreement between the local cosmos and the regional organisation, all three spheres can be considered in essential aspects to cover each other. *Wor*, for instance, connotes a cavity in the ground, the vagina of the dema (through which the souls and the ghosts pass), and the sex of a woman. A coital model was found to be contained in the terminology of exchange, which type of social interaction was considered as a matching of hot and cold energies, and was expected to result in prosperity and happiness.

The translated individual names in the most highly rated classes, i.e. Mon, Chafach, Oan Safe and Sarim, bore witness to the effects of the cloth's force or energy on sexual relations, or in some cases of a more unwanted kind, such as the ignition of the house where the cloth was kept. Allusions to the identity between the cloth and a dema form (bird, snake, boar) occur, as do allusions to concrete phenomena in the regional organisation. Names of the type "The wind tore it", "The dogs barked", and "He radiated satisfaction" are few. They are more numerous in the inferior classes, where instead the sexual allusions seem fewer.

Mejprat patterns

Many names of the patterns distinguished by the Mejprat on the imported cloths denoted also patterns that the women embroidered on dark bark-cloth, on pandanus rain hoods, or on "wallets" for initiates. Patterns of the same name were painted also on light bark-cloth and on plaited bags.

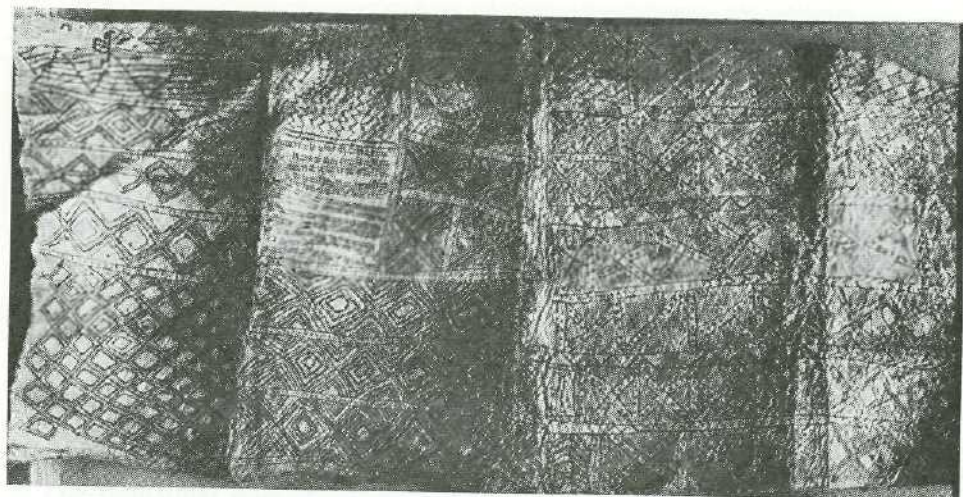


Fig. 28. Bark cloth in the collections of the Rijksmuseum, Leiden. Above: from the Karon people (2972.2); below: from Ambirbaken (28990.1).

Attention has already been drawn to a sort of functional identity between, on the one hand, certain cloths and dema forms, and, on the other, between bark-cloth and certain dema forms. The Mejprat mentioned from the very

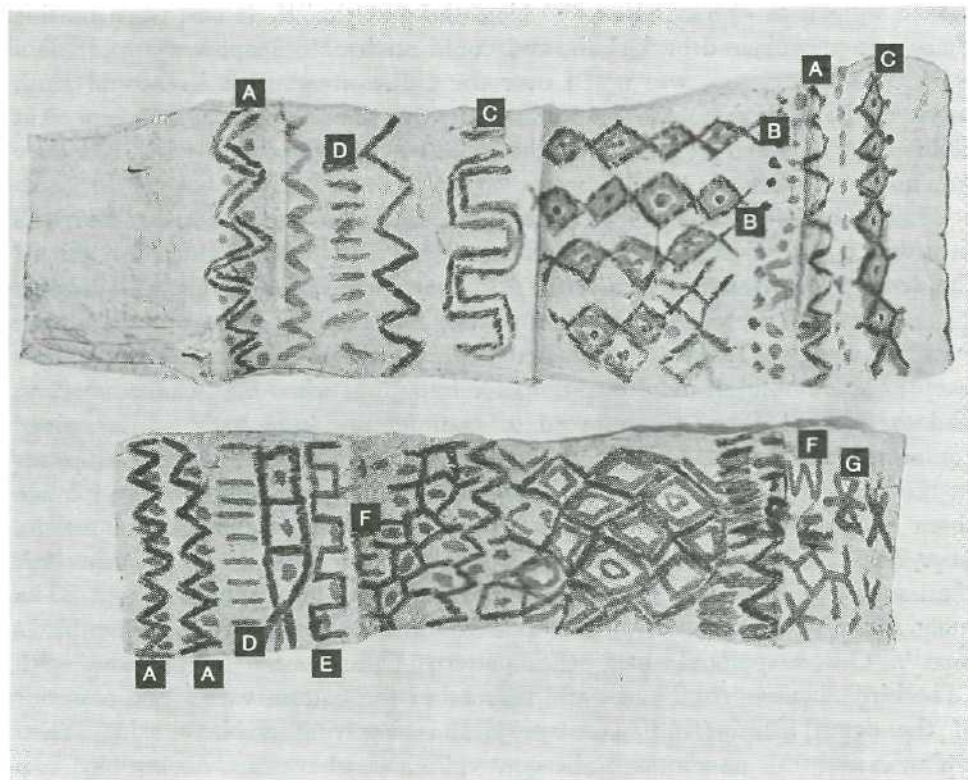


Fig. 29. Pieces of bark cloth manufactured in 1953 for a male initiation near Umupas. a="The male snake", b="The tunnels", c="Posterior of the dema bird", d="Digging stick", e="Beak of the dema bird", f="Leg of the dema bird", g="Hill of the opening". Collection Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm (54.31.9 & 10).

beginning that they (had?) used particularly fine and decorated, light bark-cloth in a similar way to the imported cloth. This sort was called *futiöch mase* or *marin*, "great bark-cloth" or "strange bark-cloth"; it had been imported from Marä, where, however, the finest sort was reported to have come from the Wapan area in the north. The term for this painted bark-cloth was *chas meri*, and informants have spontaneously identified colour positives of painted bark-cloths from "Karon" and "Ambirbaken" as this article of trade. In the lacustrine and northern parts, *chas* signified a bundle of the finest gnemon-bast, which in certain areas of Marä was used as the basic unit in exchanges. *Chas meri* denotes "gnemon-bast far away from here". The term was used in the lacustrine part as the name of certain highly-estimated Mon cloths, one of which belonged to Merit-woju Kampuskato.

A particularly large and broad piece of bark-cloth was used at certain feasts

by the women as *charen najan*, "to close the posterior"⁴⁸. It was worn outside the black embroidered bark-cloth, and could on female neophytes appear as a skirt. This name, too, was noted over the entire area as an individual cloth name in the Mon and Oan Safe classes. In the villages of Prus and Seni, ikat cloths were observed to be used in the same way in connection with secondary funeral ceremonies.

Finally, a saying was repeated in Kawf, Umupas and Framesa "Pokek is my foreign bark-cloth; my penis swells and rises in height from the cloth of the dema-tree" (*Pokek futióch tarin, to put petām po katu*). This may possibly be a part of some ceremonial text of the type used in Mefchatiam at the Sachafra feast in 1953⁴⁹. At the time of my visit in that year, the Umupas people were employed in preparations for initiation, when bark-cloth, however, had to be used. They were forced to manufacture *futióch* themselves, since contacts with Wapan had deteriorated after the murder of two Europeans in the area. They gave the patterns by name, and stated that they had made them as they remembered the patterns to have been on the Wapan articles (fig. 29). They themselves considered their work to have been something less than successful. As clear from the legend to the picture, they repeated "The male snake", "The tunnel", "The posterior of the dema bird", "The bird's beak". On a painted bag, the pattern lines started uppermost with "The bird's beak" (*Ru Tuka*), and finished at the bottom with "The posterior of the dema bird" (*Charen Mamos*), thus implying a bird's skin. When embroidering on pandanus wallets was limited above and below by two patterns, the names applied referred to a dema bird, e.g. *Ru Tuka* and *Wejach* ("The white cockatoo"), *Ru Tuka* and *Chos Charen* ("The posterior of the heron"), *Ru Tuka* and *Ru Ma* ("The bird's leg").

The embroidered part of the dark bark-cloth used by the women was called *amón*, which can be translated as "the harmony" or "the balance". An attempt to achieve this balance had been made by e.g. setting white fields against red, repeating alternate white and red embroidered meanders, and repeating a white pattern once again in red.

Pattern names included both "The bird's leg", "The bird's beak" and "The posterior of the heron", but not "The meeting place", "The hot tunnel" or "The system of tunnels". "The male snake" too was missing, but seemed to have its counterpart in an ambiguous sense of *Aso*, "The digging stick"; "The old road" was lacking, but instead there was *Apát*, "The cleared track", and *Is sáfo*, "The secret road". Also included were *Komo merán*, "set fire to the wood", *Meró charís*, "heating up the dema road", and furthest down was often *Atu sa*, "the hill of the opening".

The figures show how this set of names was applied to embroidered

⁴⁸ Elmberg 1966a, 27, fig. 4, 9 and 22.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 145.

patterns from widely separate parts of the area. Despite of certain local and individual difference in the formation and placing of the patterns, the same names, appeared to be used on each Amon.

The individual names and pattern names for the cloths reflected the view that some power, "hot" or "cold", was associated with them. In certain cases this power was so hot that the owner or his children became sick. The latter case was considered to have occurred when Tach Isir's son Uonsepiach fell ill and died, at the same time as his house caught fire and the roof burned down. Tach at once got rid of a Sarim that his brother Safom took over, and which he called Sarim majt, "the consuming"^{51b}. The torn rags of cloth hanging from a feeding-table for the ghost of a newly dead person, were said to be *an serä*, "empty of hot energy". Since the cloth had usually belonged to the dead man himself, it seemed as if it no longer was capable of protecting its owner.

It has previously been mentioned that also bark-cloth was considered to possess a certain power, which was capable, for instance, of healing sores. Bark-cloth, however, was not manufactured at indiscriminate times but above all at major feasts such as initiation and burial, and then in larger quantities than to suffice for immediate requirements. When the festively dressed women returned from the Fu cave to the Mefchatiam feast site in 1953⁵⁰ they bore the new bark-cloth both as a part of their dress and as folded pieces in their bags. On such occasions⁵¹, the men bringing home the magically charged stones had traditionally donned bark-cloth leaving the spirit water. There are indications that the charging of the cloth with energy was part of the result of the Neche Mamos ceremony.

On 16th October 1957 a Neche Mamos feast took place in Ajwasi, west of the village of Kawf. There is given here only a summary outline of certain important details of the feast, in six points.

(1) There had long been a severe drought. In Ajwasi many were ill, and nine people had recently died. It was decided to make a Neche Mamos for Chari Tānaw, whose widow and children were suffering from severe diarrhoea. Since his son was not yet fully initiated, his nephew Waj-Safo Tānaw (who had recently lost a little daughter) substituted as a leader (or one of the leaders) of the feast.

(2) Charis cleaned skull and bones were moved at twilight from a three-sided platform to a Fu cave near remote Ora N'tis. His ghost or some part of his life energy was thought to appear next morning as a Krok bird.

Returning to the feast site near Ajwasi, Waj-Safo and his male helpers were

⁵⁰ Ibid. 39, 40.

⁵¹ Ibid. 36.

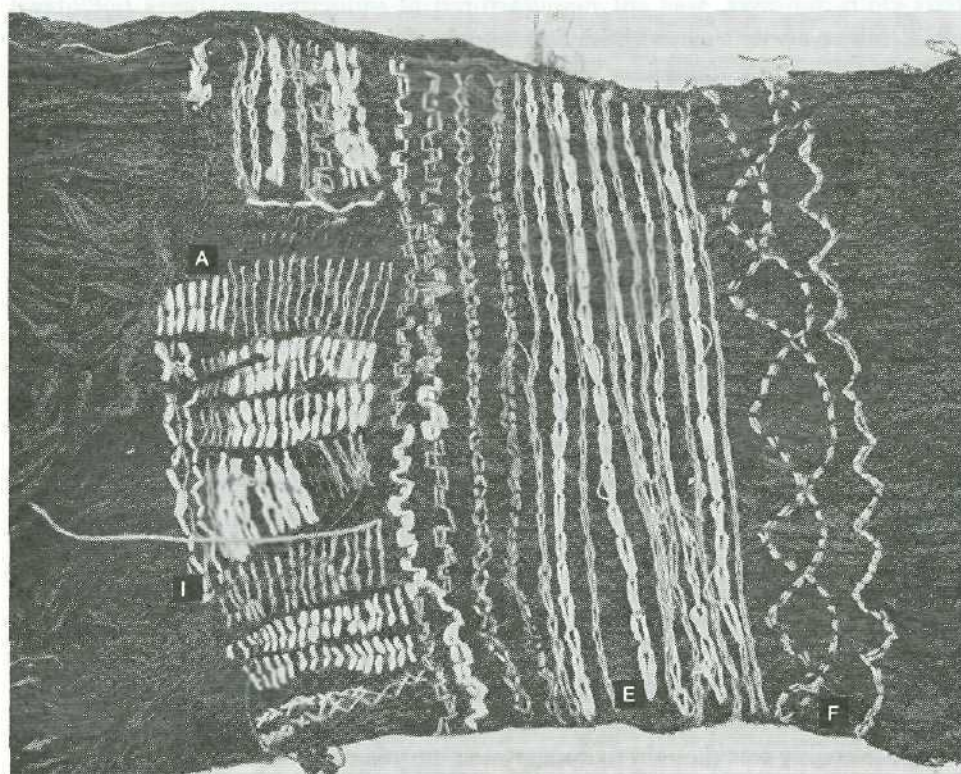
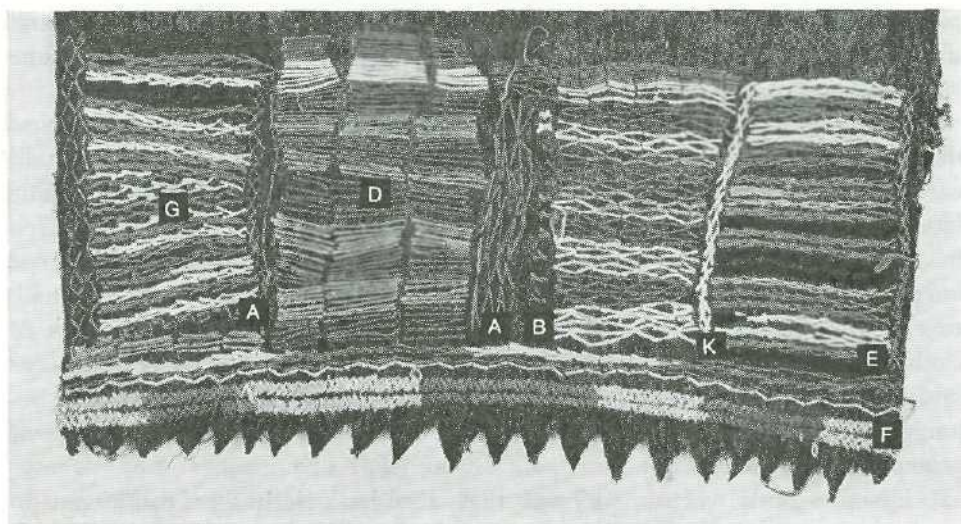
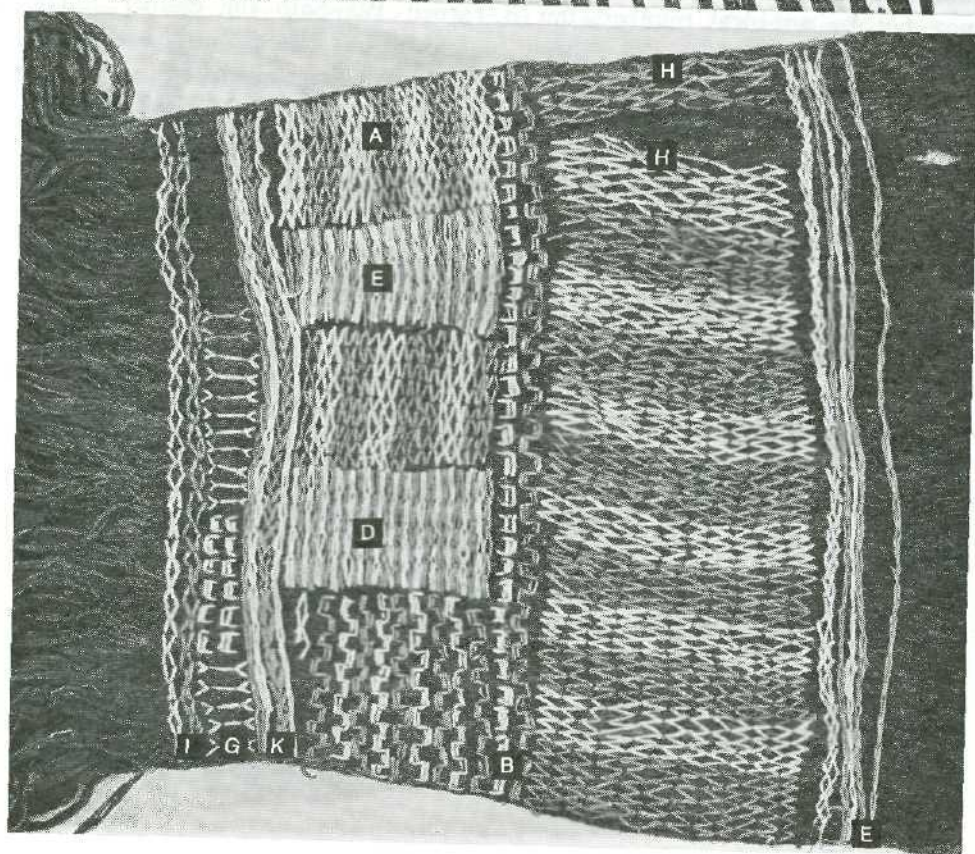
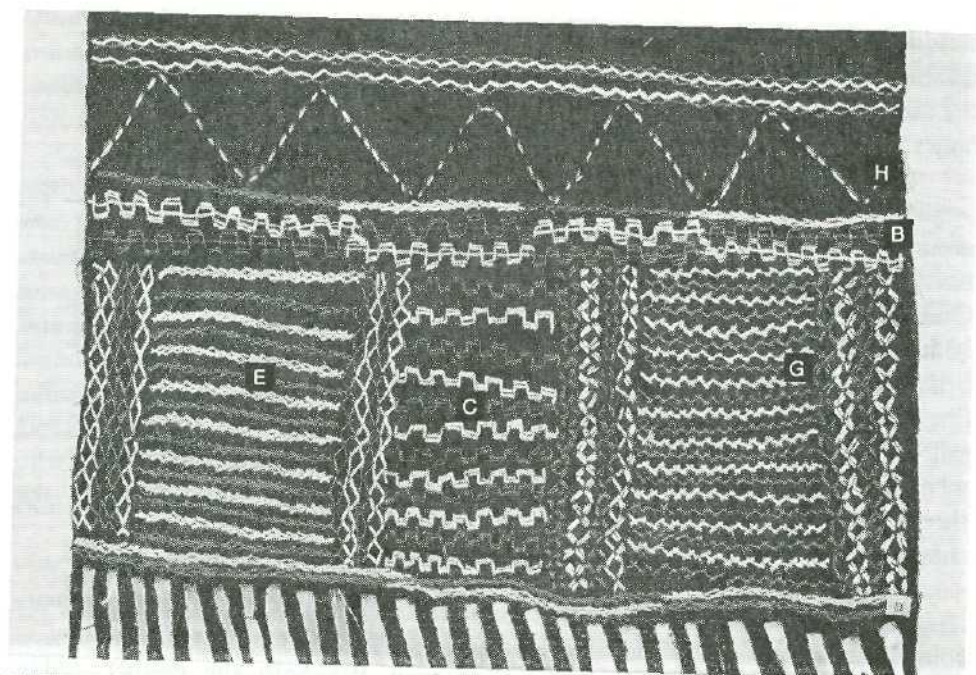


Fig. 30. Embroideries on bark-cloth from the Mefchatiam, Siti, Sejá and Fouk villages. a="The Leg of the dema bird", b="Beak of the dema bird", c="Posterior of the heron", d="Digging stick", e="Cleared track", f="Secret road", g="The picked wood raises the fire", h="Heating up the dema road", i="Hill of the opening", k="The canoe in a narrow passage".



considered heavily charged with *cha* "cold energy", and so were offered warm, roasted taros on long sticks. They themselves brought a roasted opossum, the skull of which had been buried by a Remó tree in the vicinity, and whose bones were afterwards collected and buried in the same place.

(3) In the eastern part of the feast site, four posts were knocked into the ground. Between these and two trees there were strung up four lines of gnetum bast (each about 5 m. long). At each post stood a man from fam Tānaw. One of them was Waj-Safo. The women opened the parcels of cloth, a long white piece of cloth was extended to him, and he held it up, shook it and began a chant. After a few phrases, he threw the cloth up towards the tautened line behind him. The cloths that were sufficiently rigid he managed to make sail several metres through the air, others were thrown up by his assistants who stood nearer the line. By each line there stood such a chanter, who threw the pieces of cloth onto the line, and shook them rhythmically to the chant. All this took place in complete darkness.

(4) The chanting lasted for over an hour. Fires were then lit, food consumed, and the cloths ordered and counted: 160 all together. This may or may not be an ideal number, but it earned Waj-Safo the epithet: "The long line" (*Sená-mio*).

We slept until just after 5 in the morning, when the women took down the cloths from the lines. Some men came running and shouted "Krok, set free (the animals), Krok, I bring you up here!" Everyone hurriedly got up and ran from the feast site in towards the village. When the sun had risen, we stopped running.

(5) Access to the feast site was forbidden for four days. The dema was there (or both dema forms) to eat the food offered, rejoice in the length of the four lines that was meant to show what amount of cloth had been hanging there, and to bring home the ghost of Chari Tānaw. Before the last war, people had let the cloth and bark-cloth hang there during these four days. Waj-safo then disclosed that the receivers of the dead man's Neche-mamos cloth (his MBD and her people) were not even informed of the feast and had not been present. They would receive the Neche-mamos cloths, which in Ajwasi were 6 to 8 pieces, on a later occasion. Exchange elements, such as potlatch elements, were lacking, and yet this was considered to be the traditional form by all the lacustrine informants questioned.

(6) Various women had given Waj-Safo 44 cloths which he threw up on the line. This was far more than should be given. It seems reasonable to assume that the cloth was considered to be filled by the energy or power of

the dema that was called up in the chant. The cloths were now to be used primarily at *serár ajn*, a drum dance, to celebrate the appearance of the male and female neophytes. The initiation, in its turn, was in the lacustrine part the first phase in the feast cycle, but here it was the second.

To charge the cloths with new dema energy could make them more desirable than previously for those who were to take part in the exchanges, and who now lived in a situation of drought, food shortage and disease. This, in my opinion, is shown also by the text of the chant, in which the dema is appostrophised as *Taróräk*, "The Generatrix who suddenly appeared"⁵². Finally, the lines used for hanging up the cloth were afterwards considered to be especially powerful and were at once employed in various traps and hunting devices for catching birds⁵³.

Aspects of Mejprat exchange

Many kinds of transactions¹ were observed among the lacustrine Mejprat: sharing (*sajm*), the giving of presents (*ne*)² and indemnities (*chuwiat*) as well as inheritance (*sajm*) and exchange (*n'tocho*). The Mejprat, however, traditionally perceived *ne* and *chuwiat* as part of *n'tocho*, the exchange procedure. For example a man who borrowed cloth outside his *mapuf* supplied the lender with fish, palm wine or taro³ during the period of the loan. When a boy admitted having had sexual intercourse with a girl without the consent of her parents, relatives paid a fine of cloth and later received a small gift of taro and vegetables. Also, these transactions took place at feasts or at places for exchange situated close to a Fajt tree (*titá*). As will be shown later, the Mejprat were trying by these exchanges to achieve *seká*, a fertile matching or balance of energies as perceived in certain cosmic categories.

⁵² Appendix.

⁵³ Also on Ceram the patterns of the patola cloths were identified with patterns of snake skins (Jensen 1939, 372). A mythical hero, whose body was just a ball of hide or skin, turned out long lines of this material for two days, strung them up between two houses and hung up a great number of (patola) sarongs which he had also turned out of the skin on his back (ibid. 377, 378). The long lines for the sarongs of the marriage exchange are thus made of the same material as the cloth, which is apparently a parallel to the Mejprat string and bark cloth. In Nias the silk (patola) swaddling cloths for young noblemen are hung to dry on a line especially kept for this purpose. It is called *tawere* and the term serves as a synonym for "nobleman" (Suzuki 1959, 35).

¹ The term is used in an economic sense as employed by e.g. Oliver (1955, 226). It signifies the handling of scarce goods or resources.

² No special term for "to borrow" or "to lend" was observed: *ne*, "to give", was used. *Netách*, ordinary cooperation, was expected and enjoyed between *mapuf* members. In cases where a great effort was involved to obtain something, this was expressed by *no choch*, "fetch with difficulty".

³ Such gifts were termed *po worar*.

This does not mean that economic ends were foreign to the Mejprat, still less non-existent, simply that our information about them is as yet inadequate. The problem of the symbolic value of transactions leading to the accumulation of wealth among the Papua-Melanesian people has been treated in many different ways. At times, this connection seems to have been completely denied⁴. Firth, on the other hand, has drawn the conclusion that in the Western Pacific "some basic values of native social systems will continue to be preserved and used"⁵. As an example, he cites how even today, in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, economic ends are given a symbolic value: "Despite the wide-spread use of money, there is still adherence to the symbolic, equivalents, such as pigs, or armshells or strings of shell disks, to act as 'native money' and give some kinds of transactions the proper authenticity"⁶.

Starting from some important local terms for Mejprat transactions, an attempt will be made to map the underlying concepts included in their ceremonial exchange.

It was alleged in all parts of the Mejprat area that people fell ill and died an early death because traditional exchanges had not been made. For the same reason, grubs and wild pigs ruined the crops growing in the swiddens, the fish hid from the fishermen in the vegetation of the lake bed and the animals of the bush failed to 'show themselves' to hunters. This state of "crudity, rule-less behaviour" (*muoch*), must be put in order by the *watum* procedure to achieve "satisfaction" (*serák*). *Tu serák amu*, "Tu is satisfied with us", was said at the completion of an exchange, or a phase of an exchange⁷. In the village of Prus, a piece of cloth called *sanjem* was held up after the last exchange in the burial feast of the life cycle; the *dema* was called upon and the host said: "Come and see! Now be satisfied! Do not in future make us ill, do not make us suffer accidents, do not let in the pig—we have made sufficient exchanges!"

⁴ Oliver (1955, 69, 73) says that the Siuai of the Solomons harboured two kinds of spiritual energies: the soul (*u r a*) and the vitality (*r u m a*). He categorically denies that the vitality—he does not mention the "soul"—has any relation to the acquisition of "wealth and renown", i.e. to success in life. It is uncertain whether Oliver's model of explanation is his own or a mechanical model of the Siuai when he states: "Men gain wealth and renown because of what they do over and beyond subsistence activity, not because of this vitality". Pospisil (1963, 388, 401) stated that a typical profit-motivated Kapauko leads an exciting life, closely resembling that of the Western businessman. Misadventures were regarded as predetermined (389) by a dual diety and "there is nothing one can do to avoid catastrophes", as e.g. sterility, accidental death, ravages of war, theft or embezzlement. This appears contradicted by the fact (*idem* 1958, 21) that a certain payment of fines for having killed an enemy was considered to stop the blood of the killed man from physically hurting ("choking") members of the killer's family. The question arises if Pospisil has understood correctly the relation between "shadow" and "soul", "head" and "blood" and the nature of "the power" connected with these categories.

⁵ Firth 1964, 204—205.

⁶ *Ibid.* l.c.

⁷ Compare Elmberg 1966a, 87, 89.

A sign that *watum* had been observed and that people had discharged their obligations properly was considered to be that the adults were strong and healthy, that many children were born, and that large taro tubers grew in the swiddens, where sugar cane and spinach also thrived. Only when the *dema* was satisfied would the fishermen make big catches and the hunters get their prey. Our attention will, therefore, be devoted primarily to some of the conditions and categories of ceremonial exchange.

The forms of Mejprat ceremonial exchange described have been connected with the popot feast cycle or some specific initiation⁸; the most important feasts in the traditional life-cycle have also been mentioned⁹.

As can be seen from these descriptions, exchanges traditionally took place between *mapuf* groups, the members of which were referred primarily to mutual co-operation and sharing for their life-cycle exchanges. Their affinals also played a large role, while a small, but sometimes important role was played by their "trade friends".

Apart from strengthening the solidarity within the group and stimulating the polarity between groups by the presence of a potlatch element¹⁰, these exchanges provided for a redistribution of collected and harvested produce, and thus also a certain storage of perishable resources. It has also been observed that the ceremonial contact with the regional *dema* is regarded as revitalising.

The character of the exchange transaction as both an economic game and a ceremonial matching of complementary opposites is strongly suggested in the data from the popot feast cycle. The popot exchange, i.e. a series of exchanges in the western Prat part, planned and dominated by a popot for more or less dependent followers, is regarded here as an acculturated form of exchange¹¹. It directed interest to a greater extent than the traditional form to "owning much cloth" (*nepe po makin*), i.e. to becoming rich¹². This popot ideal seems to be replacing the more traditional ethics of exchange, as reflected by such terms as *neru po makin*, "to circulate much cloth", and *neku poku wer*, "to make enough feasts"¹³. The latter were repeatedly heard in the northern and eastern parts.

When planning a feast, western Prat men of the host group talked of the event in terms of cloth to be given or received. The counter performance in taro, fish, meat and palmwine was hardly ever mentioned. The women, however, who "owned" and cared for the cloth and whose consent was necessary for the transactions suggested by the men, did include the taro and the fish in their deliberations.

⁸ Elmberg 1966a.

⁹ Idem 1955, 62—86.

¹⁰ Idem 1966a, 83.

¹¹ Ibid. 73.

¹² Compare also the slowness of the popot (ibid. 78) with the traditional eagerness to achieve as many exchanges as possible (ibid. 91).

During ceremonies the taro was displayed outside feast houses as in traditional contexts and scrutinised by the guests, who critically discussed its looks and the merits of the different types. Popot were heard charging a person who had borrowed cloth but not returned it, that he had not been supplying fish and other products during the period of the lease.

Many men, not only the popot, seemed preoccupied by the thought of cloth. The men appeared to function as brokers and mediators¹⁴, while the women retained the right of ownership and ultimate decision. Popot had often a somewhat inflated idea of personal ownership and liked to talk about "my cloth", "my feast", and "my men" (i.e. dependents). "Their" cloths were kept in the houses of their wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, MBD and ZD, who guarded them (*n'kemót*). This meant that these women agreed or disagreed to the suggestions of the popot "owners", as they did to those of other men¹⁵. They refused or consented to the popots' request to let me photograph the cloths. They told us when to finish—and the popot did not argue.

Traditionally the men did not own cloth. If they had acquired a cloth they gave it to one of the above-mentioned women and had a right to participate in decisions as to its future use.

Although there was reason enough inside the nuclear family and the consanguineal family for adjustment to each other's needs, a division of interests manifested itself. Women wanted primarily to use cloth as *po charát*, i.e. in the exchanges of the life cycle, but the lacustrine men busied themselves arranging *po fejáak* feasts, where they had a chance to acquire cloth. The western Prat popot, on the other hand, preferred short-term loans of cloth to dependents as the way to gain influence in matters of cloth and labour for the swiddens¹⁶.

One of the causes of this conflict of male and female interests appears to have developed strongly only after the pacification of the coasts and the foundation there of government villages, i.e. around the beginning of this century. These measures certainly made the import of cloth considerably easier and the stock of cloth in the interior areas probably swelled. It is conceivable that before that time only a limited number of quality ikat cloths were available to every group and mostly as one or more sacred heirlooms. The women who fabricated the bark cloth and handled the bone needle (*si*) with dexterity, also transported and mended them.

It was also suggested by many informants that earlier on some of the cloths exchanged were bark cloths, namely the lot nowadays termed *tetā* and consisting of smaller pieces and factory-made cloth. When such cloths returned to their first donors they were buried in caves or in the ground, as—later—were also

¹⁴ Ibid. 70.

¹⁵ Ibid. 81.

¹⁶ Ibid. 78.

the cotton cloths¹⁷. Especially the thin blue cloth and the striped white cloth must have rotted quickly.

As long as this kept the supply low it was probably easy for the men to be satisfied with their ceremonial importance, the thrill of the transactions, and the reputation of being a capable person (*machá*)¹⁸. But when ikat cloths became more numerous and were saved in well ventilated and warmed houses like the Sacha-fra pile house¹⁹, hoarding started and the number of cloths that were demanded in exchanges rose. Now men apparently wanted something more out of the transactions: access to the pile of cloths.

Still in 1957 the difficulties were many. A young man started his attempts when he took part in an initiation as an "elder sibling"²⁰.

A number of two to four young men who had passed their first initiation and were of the same partitional status (guest rope or host rope) combined to help in building the house of initiation under the leadership of a mother's brother. The latter also engaged a medicine expert. Before building the house, a swidden was started, cleared by the "elder siblings", bespelled and medicated by experts. Female members of the respective consanguineal families planted taro stalks there against promises of cloth and help in future gardening works.

When the ceremonials were well under way, the hosts received cloth, mast and other articles of exchange from the guests for the taro from this swidden and for game brought in by the "elder siblings", who also learnt hunting magic and parctical tricks from the expert. This cloth went to the women and the experts. Ever at the first feast, however, the so-called *feják-sipák* exchanges were started. A number of cloths had been borrowed by the hosts and were kept for some time in the house of initiation. The "elder siblings" were lent cloth by female members of their consanguineal families, two of the young men together borrowing one cloth. The lot was lent to interested guests as *po feják*. This was a kind of challenge which the guests would answer four days later with the *sipák* lot²¹. During this time—four days was a traditional figure, nowadays ten days was a common ideal figure—each guests lent out the cloth or used it in some other exchange ceremony so as to be able to return a larger and more valuable piece plus an extra cloth calle *amot*. Since

¹⁷ Leur (1955:388) quotes this method from Ambon of the 1620s and Dissel (1907, 996) observed the same in New Guinea to the south of the MacCluer Golf.

¹⁸ Elmberg 1955, 78.

¹⁹ Chawer Sarosa was still boasting about his Popot feasts having brought the cloth out of the ground near Totor trees and from the caves into properly warmed houses, and having stopped them from being damaged by humidity and eaten by vermin. In the eastern part of the area (Kawf, Ajwasi and Framesa villages) many informants in 1957 insisted that caves were considered an adequate storing place for cloth, but that burying cloth in the earth had been abandoned as it proved detrimental to the material.

²⁰ Elmberg 1966a, e.g. 104, 110.

²¹ Ibid. 83.

this term can be understood as “for what has been taken away”, a part of the “hot” energy contained in the cloth appeared to be assimilated or used up.

After having kept the lot in the house for some time the hosts repeated the procedure and the ideal was to continue making a series of four such distributions after each feast of the life cycle. Ideally the size of the cloths should increase and the number of received extra cloths (*amot*) grew, but in practice it seemed difficult to achieve more than two Feják—sipák exchanges.

Finally the “elder siblings” managed to return their original loan plus ideally two extra cloths (*amot*) that were the ambition of every young Mejrpat to turn in, showing himself generous and clever member of the adult society. Usually no cloth was left to himself, but if he had proven himself to be an efficient and reliable person, he could borrow more and bigger cloths. A man who failed had to work it off or make convincing promises for the future.

If a total of three Feják feasts were given (the highest number I witnessed), one original cloth had multiplied to four. Three were returned and the fourth, “owned” by the two young men, was handed to the woman who had lent them the first cloth. All the same they felt they would have a say in its use. They now looked for further Feják exchanges, hoping that the woman was not going to be tempted to use “their” one cloth in exchanges of the life cycle.

The women certainly had a legitimate interest in increasing the supply of cloth that they controlled, but they had to avoid being short of negotiable cloth in face of the regular demand for the life cycle feasts as well as of an unexpected emergency. If a shortage developed they were forced to touch the jealously guarded heirloom cloths mythically connecting each rope with the regional dema (e.g. in M 8, M 10, M 13). Some of them were honoured by this term because they had returned to the same owner twenty times (some say ten times) and thus completed as many circuits, among the exchange partners.

An ideal situation seemed established when one reliable and efficient man secured very good relations with the greatest possible number of woman and was clever enough to complete his Feják feasts in quick succession.

According to one lacustrine expert some 50 years of age²² this could be done through a good system of male and female informants who reported needs of cloth and localized momentarily unused supplies. Everyone tried to do this, but to be successful you needed also a good memory and a feeling for little signs of affluence or distress.

This expert was the only Mejrpat who would give detailed accounts of completed exchanges—comparative figures are unfortunately lacking. He enumerated 24 exchanges over eight feast cycles in which the remembered names of his delivered cloths numbered 178.

²² Pum Isir.

Each exchange lot consisted of one to four large (and named) ikat cloths of the superior Mon and Oan-safe classes (termed *oán*), while the rest (termed *tetä*) were of the inferior classes. Since 20, 30 and even 80 items were said to have been included in each lot, the total amount was 648 items. This sum may contain an exaggeration of about 100 cloths. The inferior cloths comprised not only ikat cloths, but also Indonesian sarongs and lengths of factory-made cloth of various colours. Bark-cloth, which in the northern part was used also during the Pacific war, was counted among the latter kind.

Like several other lacustrine men, this expert, who did not try to hide the fact that these exchanges were achieved in cooperation with his wife, and with women of his consanguineal family, was proud of having completed the amount of exchanges traditionally required to have a tree planted after one's death. The popot, on the other hand, completed fewer feasts but boasted of the amount of cloth they kept idle indoors. These cloths were also termed "heirlooms". They were not, however, mythically connected with the rope of the popot or his fam, but had either belonged to other rope units as heirlooms or been declared *pas*, "free from obligations, staying at home", after a number of returns (some say four) that by traditionalist views would have been insufficient. The popot used to brag of these possessions, especially in front of former owners, who then became utterly ashamed. It was held that if the heirlooms were lost, the *dema* turned against them and their luck was gone: nothing would grow on the swiddens, the dogs died and no children were born, and they did not dare to go near the sacred caves (*fu*). Finally they would have to move away. It may indeed have given the popot of immigrant stock a sense of triumph to have captured such a concrete charter of domiciliary rights from e.g. an old host rope.

"Raw" and "good"

Reciprocity seemed to be taken for granted between all parties to the exchange, also in the case of the institution of "presents". *Mä sej*, denoting "empty by itself", was first said to denote that something was given or done without any thought of anything in return. Such was the case when Wefo Kampu-wefa repeatedly sent me taro which she declared to be "presents", because she was so pleased with the cloth which she had previously obtained in exchange from me²³. When I desired to give her a sarong as "response" (*n'tan*), for the taro presents, she declined to accept it.

The informant Semer Sarosa explained in embarrassment that a Mejprat would be annoyed at such conduct as mine. It was *muoch* "raw, bad" to offer something in exchange for presents, at least straight away. Only "much later"

²³ Elmberg 1966, 70.

might it be appropriate to remember the gift. Presents of this kind could, thus, function as stored-up reserves for the future.

Repeated explanations of this kind made this form of generosity appear as characteristic of a certain type of actions. At the same times as they constituted a stored asset, their purpose seemed to be to maintain social intercourse on a warm and friendly level. They could take the form of small everyday presents or services, which were not it seemed, counted with any great accuracy, but which all the same created favourable conditions for future enterprise on a larger scale, particularly among relatives and affinals. If they were kept in a good mood, they might make more generous contributions than otherwise at the exchange feasts. In actual fact, the mood was a vital component of every exchange feast.

It was emphasized that it was not known in advance which guests or contributors would appear at a feast, and that this constituted an important element of surprise²⁴. This can be understood in such a way that the helpers and guests expressed by their very presence their social approval of the giver of the feast or of the group providing the feast, and by similar measure their absence would indicate social disapproval. A feast which was not a success was called *m'paw*, "dangerous, forbidden" or *poku n'taku* "a feast which does not get going". A feast was not considered to be a success if too few guests came to it, or if the exchanges were too few. Illnesses and misfortunes would be suffered by the group providing the feast and the feast itself must be held again. It was therefore, understandable that means of persuasion were applied so that the feast would appear to be a success. One of the traditional means of persuasion was to give presents to a partner; another was when I gave a small contribution (*po worar*) to a group almost ready with the preparation of a feast, so that started the feast. The result being that a certain beneficiary there received a large item of exchange, which for the sake of appearances must later be contributed to my own impending feast. Finally, there was *po tekif* "magic means of persuasion", which was said to soften up person's carefulness or meanness, to make him warm and generous, and also directly to attract cloth.

In the use of both presents and "small contributions" there was an element of delayed action, which appeared to be a basic aspect of Mejprat reciprocity, in accordance with the maxim that important things should be handled slowly (*nenó rere*). To remember a long time afterwards was *mof*, "good", whereas my clumsy immediate recognition of Wefo's taro was considered *muoch* "raw, bad". Only with "outsiders, strangers" (*ra sefa*), i.e. people outside one's own regional context were occasional exchange dealings performed that were raw and which were called *masim*, connotating "change, barter".

²⁴ Ibid. 25. Word was passed along, however. The term *n'chorit* was used when "waring" *mapuf* members that a feast was to take place.

In the lacustrine part the first five steps in the traditional exchange cycle²⁵ were carried out without immediate counter-performances. Each item counted in itself. The sixth stage, which was called *pu muoch* "warming the raw, copulating", or possibly *m'pu muoch*, "the crude is warmed, copulation in progress", was followed by an immediate gift of roasted taro in return²⁶. The name was regarded as indicating that the critical period was now over, confidence had been created and established between the groups and the final "starting capital" of cloth (*rurá se* or *rurá ati*) could be presented to the new family by the bride-givers.

The connection between earlier small gifts and a later counter presentation was noted at a feast through the particular behaviour of those present. An unexpectedly generous giver was heard to say for instance when making the presentation, "I received some eggs an long time ago". Those standing around pouted their lips, raised their chins with a grimace and said straight out into the air: *Mof*, "this is good".

In sexual puns and songs *muoch* connoted "cold, male, penis"; the opposite concept was *foch* or *tafóch* "fire". The latter connoted "warmth, friendship, friend, bride-giver". The usual phrase for roasting taro was *ne-pú awiak*, which literally means "put taro into the hot ashes", i.e. to make it safe for consumption. The phrase *ne-pú muoch* connoted "push down, warm up that which is raw" and this was used throughout the entire area, with the exception of the western Prat part, as meaning "the exchanges of bride-takers" but it also connoted "warming up the penis", which, as previously described, was the Mejprat conception of having coitus. An almost congruent term is *n'tocho*, "the back and forth movement generating energy", which at the same time had a wide general use and included both ceremonial exchange and any kind of planned economic activity. Similarly the term *n'teká* derived from *neká*, intertwine, interact", referred to "the sequence of performance and counter-performance" and was used as a circumlocution for "sexual intercourse" in the ambiguous songs of the Samu-chaj house²⁷. Only a term used in the western Prat appeared to be used exclusively for the marriage exchange: *simia* or *semia*. Ambilingual informants connected this term with the Sawiet *simian*, "to marry (m.s.)".

The presence in these three terms of a Mejprat coital model seems to be supported by the term *serák*, which indicated both sexual satisfaction and

²⁵ See table on page 186.

²⁶ Before hearing this explanation I conjectured that the first five posts were considered "raw" as no immediate counter gift was given. The 6th, *pu muoch*, might then connote "to stop the raw" as a counter gift was given and still retain the ambiguity "to warm the raw", "to copulate" and even "to exchange properly, after a coital model". I now believe there was a popot tendency to regard extreme long gaps between exchanges as "good". Traditionally, my explanation may have been more correct.

²⁷ Elmberg 1955, 70—71.

satisfaction with the results of an exchange, as well as by *neku poku* (to augment the increase), which was the term used for "arranging an exchange feast". The latter term includes the phoneme *ku* signifying "increase, child".

The Importance of the Fajt tree

The Mejprat made ceremonial exchanges at a tree spirit home or built a feast house near it. The tree was obviously considered to have some essential relation to what was transacted. In the context of exchange the meeting place was termed *titá* and the tree *faj-at* or *fajt*²⁸ translated as "the venerable woman's offering (place)". In the lacustrine part this tree was ideally a gnemon tree. The heads of slain enemies and the skulls or jaws, pelvises and tails of sacrificed animals were hung up there.

The western Prat term for exchanges at the Fajt tree was *on* (seldom *tióch*), while *mesím* (w. Prat: *on masim*) was an act of exchange taking place somewhere else.

Throughout the entire area the traditional exchange transaction was called by a name alluding to the bast of the gnemon tree or to products made of bast:

<i>tióch</i>	exchange transaction, exchange meeting	} Asmawn and Somara (eastern part)
<i>futióch</i>	snare and bark-cloth, gnemon bast	
<i>sená</i>	exchange transaction, exchange meeting	} Marä (northern part)
<i>sená</i>	snare and gnemon bast	
<i>on</i>	exchange transaction, exchange meeting	} western Part
<i>fon</i>	snare and gnemon bast	
<i>tióch</i>	exchange transaction, exchange meeting	} rest of lacustrine part
<i>futióch</i>	gnemon bast and bark-cloth	

The gnemon tree, traditionally, provided for certain fundamental needs of the Mejprat, who continued to make considerable use of its products. In the pre-European era, this tree provided them with clothing material and it still supplies the material used for the bags which are their everyday means of transporting goods; its leaves and fruit were much appreciated as fresh food and snares made of the bast were their most cherished hunting tool. The umbilical cord of a newborn child was tied only with a string made of this bast, and the body-cord of every man, woman and child contained a core of two fine threads of such material.

²⁸ Also *Fej-it* or *Fejt*.

The wild growing gnemon tree was called by many names depending on the context. As *sajuoch*, "out of one womb", a young tree was felled, barked and chopped to pieces at the inception of a feast cycle, and later burnt in different fires on the first swidden²⁹. It made the ground yield many kinds of vegetables and animals, according to the Mejprat. This can be interpreted as the dismembering of the dema which accounted mythically for the creation of important plants and animals (M 1). The term *warur* was translated as "our constant return", i.e. the tree to which we always return; it was used at initiation ceremonies when bast was gathered for the inner threads of the body-cord. *Karus* "the tree of release" was the term the tree was regarded as potential material for a drum (releasing the heat of the neophytes) and for a wooden hammer or beater (releasing e.g. the flow of palm wine and the lengths of bark-cloth from the bast).

The form *arus* indicated "what releases" or produces the leaves, fruit and bark cloth to be circulated in exchange.

In the western Prat the gnemon tree was called the "reinforcement, recovery" (*remó*) for example, when its leaves were used in walls of shelters or in houses serving as Krä—houses for a mother with a newborn infant, also gnemon trunks were used to make the cage for a pig to be sacrificed. The last case apparently alluded to the belief that the slaughtered pig, if properly treated, was resuscitated in the underworld³⁰. In the Kawf district it was called both *sajuch* and *piách* which in the lacustrine part indicated the Pandanus palm.

The trees which were tended in other parts as *fajat* or *fajt* were the fig tree³¹, the Nemo tree, the iron-wood tree and the Pandanus palm. These trees like the gnemon tree were regarded as *ara ni* "the trees of the Conjoiner (Tu)" i.e. dema trees³². The terms for the banyan tree were *akiar* (lacustrine, *jichin* or *jin* (western), *kawia* (nothern) and *tekie* or *remó* (eastern part). The bast of the banyan tree was generally called *kit*, which was also a generic term for all kinds of bark-cloth; the reddish-brown and black bark cloth still worn by Mejprat women was made from this bast.

That the fig tree too was belived to "send out" bark-cloth was expressed in a formula used when a shelter was built while waiting for exchange partners. One or more posts were taken from the fig tree, the inmates wore fig leaves and *katum* ornamental braids, attached to their armlets³³. This braid was made of basts from the aerial roots of the fig tree, which were regarded as "returning" to the earth. The name *aki-ar* of the tree proper was understood

²⁹ Elmberg 1966a, 13

³⁰ Ibid. 59.

³¹ *Ficus retusa* was the most common species, but *Ficus benjamina* also occurred. Only the former grows aerial roots

³² Among them were reckoned also the croton, cordylene and dracaena plant, which were sometimes grown at the place called Fejt.

³³ Elmberg 1966a, 62, 133.

to mean "that which splits apart (to return)", referring to the aerial roots. The extremities of these were regarded as "feet" touching the ground, and this idea is contained in the northern term *kawia* denoting "to grip with the foot". The eastern term *tekíe* appears to be a parallel form to *akíar*, and signifies "I split up (to return)".

In the shelter some strips of fig bast were torn apart, some fine aerial roots were crushed and all was placed together on the fire, while the following traditional formula was spoken into the smoke: *Tekíff akíar, piu po oán, akíar menín—menín!* i.e. "Softening magic, splitting to return! You people must deliver cloths of Oan-size! Banyan tree (or: Pieces splitting to return) bewitch them!"

The use of material from the fig tree was explained by saying that the bast and aerial roots would call back the cloth to the tree, because the tree had "sent it out". The same was said to happen when a fig tree died; the cloth returned by itself to the tree, as the tree had sent it out in the first place³⁴.

The Mejprat set great store by various species of *Pandanus*, above all, a species that had a long, red fruit and which was called *in* or *jin*, as the provider of leaves for a different purpose, or *naw* (lacustrine and northern parts) and *awiet* (eastern part) as the bearer of fruit. This palm provided material for all roof-coverings, for rain hoods and for sleeping mats (*am*), while the fruit contributed to Mejprat households their most fatty and desirable vegetable food over and above their everyday taro diet³⁵. Certain myths attributed the origin of man to the *Pandanus* palm³⁶. The *Pandanus* mat, which is used also as protection against the rain and as a carrying bag can be said to follow the human cycle from the cradle to the grave. The woman in labour sits on it, the afterbirth is buried in such a mat, the infant is carried on the mother's back during her daily work, and on such a mat the Mejprat sleeps both as a child and as an adult. New, embroidered sleeping mats marked the most important phases of the initiation³⁷. The newly married husband received from his wife an extra large, embroidered mat which was used to cover them during coitus. A dead man was wrapped in his *Pandanus* mat when he was carried away.

In ceremonies the leaves were used as cigarette paper³⁸ and its red fruit

³⁴ Fajt trees could be abandoned (possibly killed) if a group moved away, in which case a branch or shoot was taken along. A number of Fajt-trees were cut down, allegedly at the order of government agents. In 1952 a banyan tree was felled between Seni and Mosun. A Piach-chaj shelter was erected, songs were sung and cats cradles made during one month prior to the felling of the tree.

³⁵ Schmitz 1962, 126.

³⁶ E.g. the Safuf, the Semuniak, and the Wafom.

³⁷ Elmberg 1966a, 106, 113, 114, 118.

³⁸ Idem 1955, 14.

was used as an offering in critical situations to stimulate the female energy in the cosmos (*an*).

The use of the same terms for different trees in different parts of the area suggests that they were understood to have the same or similar functions³⁹. Thus, the fig tree and the gnemon tree were both called *sajuoch* and *remó*, the fig and the Pandanus palm were both called *in* and *jín*, and both the gnemon and Pandanus were *piách*.

Insufficient is known of *atáf*, the ironwood tree, with its dead, still upright, hollow trunk or of the unidentified Nemo tree, the fragrant leaves of which seemed to contribute to different states of trance, to explain their function as Fajt trees. A possible explanation, however, is suggested by the fact that *namo*, "to depart" or *nemó*, "to make the soul depart" could be a generic term for various leaves with a more or less pronounced aromatic fragrance or drug-like effect. Since the Namo tree has been described as having downy leaves, which give off a fragrance when rubbed between the fingers, and are eaten as a vegetable when young and tender, and since it is also described as yielding a bast, which gives a light-coloured bark cloth, and fruit, which wild pigs and opossum like, it seems natural to guess at the white mulberry tree *Brousseria*—even of other, more strongly fragrant leaves must have been used together with them to bring about trances. When Sifwa is killed by Mafif⁴⁰, he is reborn between the bark and the stem of a Nemo tree, i.e. he is the bast that is replaced by the cotton cloths which Mafif sends out among people.

Gnemon, fig, Pandanus palm and possibly the mulberry tree thus provide food for both men and the more important animals. They were associated in various ways with Tu, the regional dema. They provided bast and bark cloth which was expected to "return". The entire banyan tree was evidently regarded as returning to the earth by means of aerial roots, and completing a kind of circuit which paralleled the circulation of the cloth. The Pandanus palm, too, has supporting roots, which go out from high up on the stem and run at an angle down to the ground, thus presenting a similar picture. The palm provides material for the sleeping mat, which follows a man from station to station in his life cycle and finally returns with the dead man to the death scaffold, which is called *ara naw*, connoting the Pandanus⁴¹. The importance of the circulating aspect of Mejprat exchange is emphasized by the fact that the terms for concrete transactions are associated with these trees, and that the terms for these trees which could be called *ara ni*, "the trees of the Conjoiner", appear to be interchangeable.

³⁹ This seems comparable to the Mejprat use of a single term for what the Westerner views as different diseases. After his conception of the one cause of e.g. an appendicitis, a malaria fever and an ordinary headache, he called them *cha-rä*, "empty of cold".

⁴⁰ Elmberg 1955, 47.

⁴¹ *Naw* or *na* also connotes "limb; sibling of same sex".

Cycles of exchange

In the lacustrine part the life-cycle traditionally included 20 occasions of exchange, usually termed *poku*, "feasts", at which the role of the host, *majr*, was played alternately by the bride-givers (*fa*) and the bride-takers (*ra*) (table on p. 186—189). In the western Prat, the bride-givers were also called *temā-na*, "my mother and her crowd". Lacustrine data usually give the name of the cloth-gift, the place of exchange and the nature of the counter-presentation. In the western Prat even the informants who were engaged in the popot type of exchange mentioned the name of the cloth-gift more often than the house where the presentation was made. The following table shows the traditional way of enumerating the lacustrine exchanges in the life-cycle. The designation "1,2 cloths" means that one or two cloths of the Oan size is a frequently quoted amount, while the number of smaller items (*tetä*), which constitute the bulk of the cloths, differed from exchange to exchange and cannot therefore be indicated. The optimum interval of time between two exchanges, associated e.g. with a marriage was put at 4—6 months, i.e. the period from the burning-over of a swidden to the gathering of the crop. This, however, should be regarded only as the shortest possible interval.

The traditional arrangement of feasts into cycles was grouped around the male and female initiations. The female initiation began the cycle and was started by a representative of "the regional ground owners", who on the site of the intended swidden chopped down a Sajuoch tree. The expressed intention "to activate the soil" (*mechá tapám.*) *Nechá* also connoted "to cool" and as the bodies of the growing girls harboured an increasing amount of an "hot energy", it had to be balanced or "cooled".

A part of the female initiation ended with the making of new bark-cloth, and with a dance by female transvestites representing Tu, the regional dema. The dance seemed to connect the site of the feast with the entrances to the subterranean abode of the dema. For male dead, a white cloth was now given to the "owners of the ground" so that their ghosts would be able to enter the underworld.

In the partition to which the FZS of the initiated females belonged, the male initiation had by now started in the *charit* tree house⁴³. This was said to temper the ravagings of wild boars in the taro fields and to stop rainstorms, all of which was regarded as reflections of much "cold energy" in the bodies of the young boys. In the outside world, this gave the male dema form (*Mos*) free rein, and his name was synonymous with "flood, downpour, storm".

Finally male and female neophytes from opposite moieties were brought together in a series of feasts, at which, in the western Prat the big marriage

⁴³ Cf. Elmberg 1966a, 28.

exchanges (stages 7 and 8) were concluded, or at which certain funeral dues were paid (stages 17—20). These feasts concluded with the consumption of a large animal, such as an opossum, wallaby, cassowary or pig. The bride-takers gave as large items of cloth as they could for this meat⁴⁴. Earlier, these feasts had taken place at a rocking platform for dancing but now took place at the Taro or Mos dance houses or Piach Chaj⁴⁵. As already stated, “uniting” feasts may represent an aspect of Mejprat socio-cultural totality⁴⁶. They reflect a cosmic dichotomy of complementary oppositions expressed in the actions of the bride-givers and bride-takers of the two moities, namely between male (cold) and female (warm) energy, and perhaps above all between the elements of incipient, fertile life (the new life-cycle) and death (the end of the life cycle).

When bride-takers in the Prat part exchanged cloth for the meat of the sacrificial animal (stage 8b), this can probably be regarded as a confirmation that they, too, were participants in the regional cyclical relationship between the tree-dema who dies and sends out cloth, vegetable foodstuffs and living creatures, and the animal from whose cranium a new dema-tree will grow⁴⁷. This is why bride-takers pointed with pride to the bones of sacrificial animals hanging on the dema-tree: the feast cycle which began with the felling of a dema-tree Sajuch, was demonstrably fulfilled when the jaw bone (seldom: the cranium) of the sacrificial animals was united with the tree⁴⁸. Similarly, in the eastern parts, where the life-cycle contained only four feasts, a pig was slaughtered and given at the funeral to the consanguineal family of the dead, for which eight cloths were received in return. The cranium of the pig was buried by the Fajt tree, but the jaw-bone was hung upon the branches of the tree. Here the cranium of the sacrificial animal seemed to confirm more immediately the incorporation of the dead man into the regional cycle of life. (Fig. 31).

The five “house feasts” in the popot cycle included most of the different stages of the traditional life-cycle. At the first house, which was concerned with female initiation, stages 13 b and 14 b took place; at the second house the funeral feasts (stage 18); at the third house the marriage feasts, the sacrifice of pigs and certain concluding feasts (stages 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16 and 19); at the fourth and fifth houses there took place the male initiation feasts

⁴⁴ Ibid. 112.

⁴⁵ Elmberg 1955.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 69, 74, 75.

⁴⁷ Elmberg 1966a, 96—97.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 59—60.

⁴⁹ Parts of the backbone (*kopor*) also occurred. In the northern and eastern parts this was termed *atá*, connoting “iron wood tree”, which—according to some myths—was the origin of man and the higher animals. In the popot feast cycle the skull of the slaughtered pig was first taken to the main post (*koch*) of the feast house and finally to the Fajt tree. The term *Koch* connotes “the underworld”. Cf. Elmberg 1966a, 95.

Marriage:
N'losu

Giver	Name of gift	Contents	Ceremonial place	Notes
(1)	bride-takers <i>ra</i>	<i>poju ro tení</i> or <i>poju serú</i> "the first bag supply" or "the supply of the kangaroo"	1,2 cloths <i>titá</i> , meetingplace	
(2)	bride-givers <i>fa</i>	<i>kepenáf</i> "necessary stalks"	taro, taro stalks, meat, eggs <i>titá</i> , meetingplace	to groom's mother
(3a)	<i>ra</i>	<i>pajn kepenáf</i> , "reserved for necessary stalks"	knives, necklaces, cloth (e.g. Pajn Woké), palmwine 2,3 cloths <i>titá</i> , meetingplace	bride's parents distribute this among contributors to <i>kepenáf</i>
(3b)	<i>ra</i>	<i>nesós poju</i>	<i>titá</i> , meetingplace	if <i>fa</i> not yet satisfied; after this, marriage can be consumated
(4)	<i>fa</i>	<i>pojat</i> , "the greens"	greens, sugarcane, taro <i>titá</i> , meetingplace	
(5)	<i>fa</i>	<i>rará m'paw</i> , "forbidden collection"	cloth <i>titá</i> , meetingplace	cloth given to the bride not to be used before (7) is given
(6)	<i>ra</i>	<i>pu muoch</i> , "to warm the raw, copulate"	4,5 cloths <i>titá</i> , meetingplace	to stimulate the giving of (7); instant gift of taro by <i>fa</i>

(7)	<i>fa</i>	<i>rurá se</i> , “the entire collection” or <i>rurá ati</i> , “collection of the principal”	c:a 20 cloths	<i>tilá</i> , meetingplace	bride distributes among <i>ra</i> , receives vegetables. <i>Ra</i> circulates cloth to achieve (8).
(8a)	<i>ra</i>	<i>po ju se</i> , “the whole bag supply”	cloth	<i>tilá</i> , meetingplace	to the bride to be “kept for her children”; she returns fine taro.
Birth:	(8b) <i>fa</i>	<i>mak</i> , “the beginning”	pig or opossum		<i>ra</i> give <i>posané maf</i> , cloth to <i>fa</i> for killing pig
<i>mape ku</i>	(9) <i>ra</i>	<i>po meké</i> , “child cloth”	one cloth ⁴ cloths	<i>tilá</i> , meetingplace	from HM to wife when latter pregnant.
(10)	<i>ra</i>	<i>rus trā</i> , “tearing the armlets (of the bride)”			only when this is given does child in womb grow quickly
Birth:	(11) <i>fa</i>	<i>charon'pit</i> , “cooling navel”	2—4 cloths	Krä-house	when the navel string falls off wife gives to HM, HZ receives vegetables
(12)	<i>ra</i>	<i>po fan</i> , “for bride-givers' result”	cloth	Krä-house	each donor suggests a name and receives food brought by <i>fa</i>
Initiation <i>n'per</i> <i>safu</i> (of male ego)	(13a) <i>ra</i> <i>mapuf</i> (ego's Z, F, FZ, FZS)	<i>ochdt</i> , “heart feast”	cloth and palmwine	Charit Mio (or corre- sponding) house	to <i>fa mapuf</i> (ego's B, M, MB, MBD) who helped make a garden and a house and now return vegetables

Giver	Name of gift	Contents	Ceremonial place	Notes
(14a) <i>ra mapuf</i> (ego's Z, F, FZ, FZS)	<i>po atár</i> , "cloth for the erection"	cloth and palmwine	Charit Mio (or corresponding house)	to <i>fa mapuf</i> who initiated and fed ego
(13b) (of male ego) <i>fa mapuf</i> (ego's B, M, MB, MBD)	<i>ochát</i> , "heart feast"	cloth	Fini Mikä-house	to <i>ra mapuf</i> who helped make the house and garden. <i>Ram.</i> returns food.
(14b) <i>ra mapuf</i>	<i>mes om</i> , "rain of blood"	cloth	Fini Mikä-house	to <i>fa mapuf</i> for protection against disease <i>fa</i> paid leaders
(15) <i>ra</i> and <i>fa mapuf</i> of the boys	<i>ochát</i> , "heart feast"	cloth	Taro, Mos (houses)	to <i>ra + fa mapuf</i> (of girls) that built house & brought vegetables to guests
(16) <i>ra</i> and <i>fa mapuf</i> of the boys	<i>po piát</i> , "for the provisions"	cloth	Taro, Mos (houses)	to girl's <i>ra</i> & <i>fa mapuf</i> that supplied vegetables during the dancing.
Funeral: <i>nachaj it</i> (male ego)	(17a) <i>po fejtát</i> or <i>senách</i> Primary <i>mapuf</i> of ego's son	cloth	<i>titú</i>	when body on scaffold to MBD adn ZCh who return taro and vegetables
(18a) Primary <i>mapuf</i> of ego's son	<i>poku jon</i> , "string-game feast" or <i>ochát</i>	cloth, armlets	<i>titú</i> , <i>titú</i> , Taro or Piach Chaj-house	to ego's secondary <i>mapuf</i> building house, bringing taro and vegetables

only when (8b) was not(19a) performed.	Primary <i>mapuf</i> of ego's son	<i>tiú safá, fun</i> or <i>neche maniós</i>	cloth palmwine	<i>titá,</i> Taro or Piach Chaj-house	to ego's MBD and ZCh who return taro and vege- tables when bones cleaned and disposed
(20a)	Primary <i>mapuf</i> of ego's son	<i>fané mak,</i> "pig of the beginning"	pig	<i>titá,</i> Taro or Piach Chaj-house	to ego's two <i>mapuf</i> who give <i>po fané maf</i> , a gene- rous amount of cloth.
Funeral (female ego)	(17b) Primary <i>mapuf</i> of ego's daughter	<i>po fejlát</i> and <i>po senách</i>	cloth	<i>titá,</i> Taro or Piach Chaj-house	after <i>unes</i> , when body on scaffold to ego's FZS & BD who distribute some food
(18b)	Primary <i>mapuf</i> of ego's daughter	<i>poku fon</i>	cloth, armlets	<i>titá,</i> or Piach Chaj	to ego's secondary <i>mapuf</i> building house and bring- ing vegetables
(19b)	Primary <i>mapuf</i> of ego's daughter	<i>fun,</i> "cave deposit"	cloth	<i>titá,</i> or Piach Chaj	to ego's FZS & BD who bring the food
(20b)	Primary <i>mapuf</i> of ego's daughter	<i>kak m'pun</i>	opossum, taro	<i>titá,</i> or Piach Chaj	to ego's two <i>mapuf</i> who give <i>po maf</i> or <i>po m'pun</i> , cloth for the food.

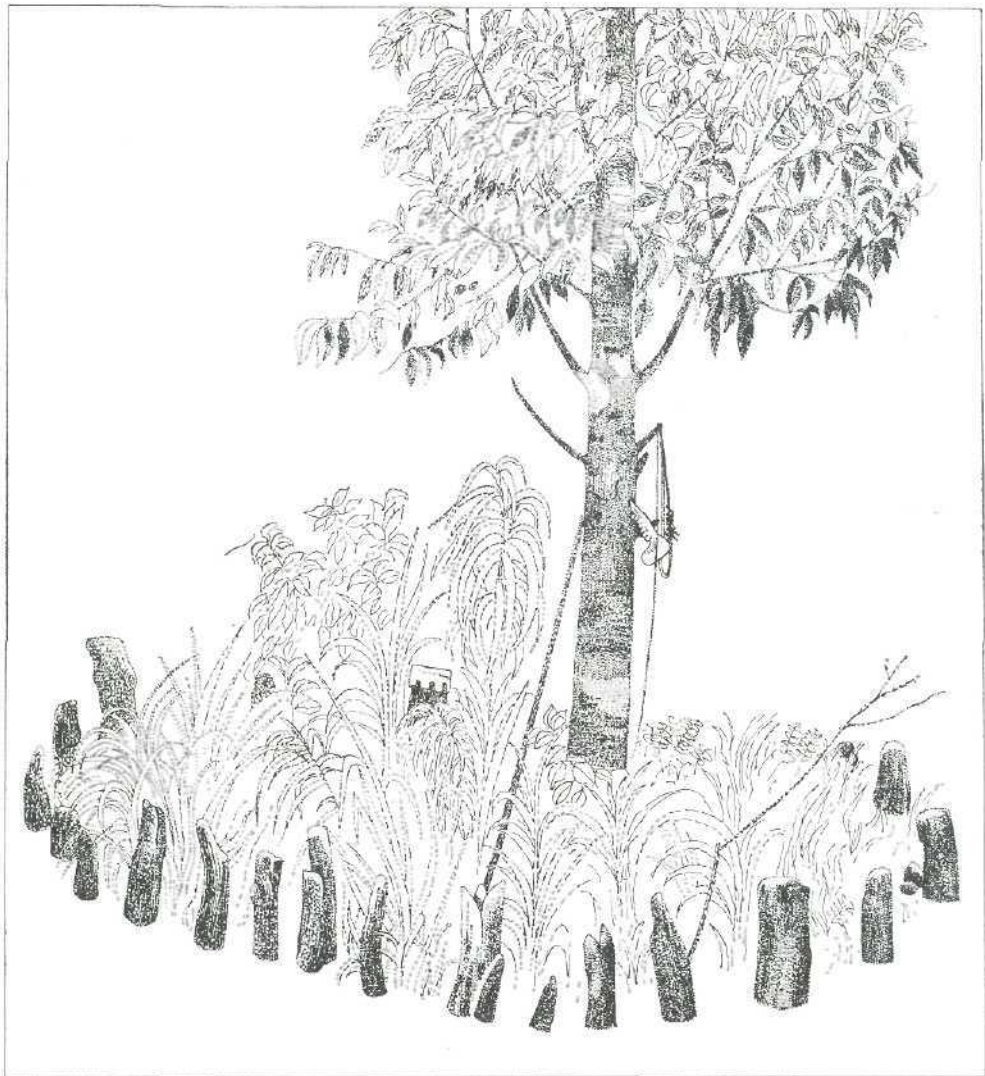


Fig. 31. The Fajt tree at Tuwer, surrounded by stalagmites in a boat-like order. The lower jaw of a slaughtered pig is fastened to it.

(stages 13a and 14a). The exchanges involved with births were made at various Ren feasts.

The bride-takers in both Sepiach and Piach-chaj houses unfolded and gave to the cross-cousin of the deceased a special cloth called Pajm Siwiak known in the northwest as Sanjem and exhorted the dema: "Come and see! Be satisfied! We have made sufficient exchanges and have now achieved *seká*

balance". Probably this stage corresponds to the traditional eating of opossum or other game at the funeral of a woman (stage 20b).

In the north-western villages of Prus, Jiu, Atok and Seni, a dead man's bridegiver fetched the cleaned skull and thigh bones and put them up in a Fajt tree. They then invited the bride-takers to vegetables and game, and it was emphasized that no items of exchange or remuneration were received for this. Here as in certain northern or eastern parts, the cranium of the animal consumed was buried at a Totor or Fajt tree⁴⁹. In most other parts the bones and the skull of a dead man (the jawbone excepted) were taken to the Fu cave (the entrance to the underworld), while the popot custom was to keep the skull on a shelf affixed to the front of a house; it was kept there for a considerable time and then left at the site of the Sachafra feast⁵⁰.

These details indicate that in the case of relatively isolated western Mej-prat groups, the dead man's skull was placed in the Fajt tree, that the flesh of the game was consumed without anything in return, and that the cranium of the sacrificial animal was buried. In areas that had been more directly influenced by traders and immigrants coming via the western Woramgé and Kaibus rivers (particularly the Teminabuan-Framu route) or via the eastern Kamunda river (Fuok-Framesa), domesticated pigs played a greater economic role; the pig sacrificed for the deceased had to be exchanged for cloth and the skull of the dead man had to be placed at one of the entrances of the tunnel system. The popot finally left the skull of the deceased at the last feast site.

In both the latter cases, the intention seemed to be to demonstrate that the "incorporation" of a dead man or of a living had taken place by the sacrifice of a pig; this took place at the funeral or in the latter (popot) case even during the lifetime of a man, after he had concluded his marriage exchange.

This *ati* ("uniting, incorporation") thus, emerges as one of the most important ritual purposes of the traditional festive cycle. The morpheme *ati* conveys also "happiness, playfulness, humour" and this atmosphere was a characteristic of the festive phases associated with the "incorporation"—at the dancing platform or the drum dance⁵¹, in songs, games and transvestite pranks

⁴⁹ E.g. at the Neche-mamos feast near Ajwasi (p. 00).

⁵⁰ Elmberg 1966a, 15. Skulls on a shelf were still seen in 1950, as on the photo taken by the naturalist S. Bergman (1950, 160—161. Government agents were supposed to have discouraged this custom and skulls were then often placed in the Fu cave until the Sachafra feast. This is what Chawer had done (Elmberg 1966a, 14).

⁵¹a *Serar ajn* occurred mostly in the northern and eastern parts.

⁵¹b Kruijt (1938, IV 46, 248 note 1) gives similar instances of the "cooling" influence of a patola and the "too hot" influence of the *mbesa metoela* among the Toradja of Celebes.

in Piach-chaj, Taro, Mos and Sepiach-house⁵². According to the Mejprat, this incorporation or state of happiness meant that the "warm" and "cold" categories of energy were "matched (*seká*), which created "strength" (*maták*) and "good luck" (*masif*). By this was meant particularly freedom from illness the retaining of sexual potency and fertility, large crops and a good supply of game, fish and birds' eggs⁵³. That these energies really were involved in the exchanges will be clarified in the following section.

Categories of exchange

In the recorded list of the life-cycle feasts there can be distinguished also the contrasting nature of the articles exchanged; thus palm wine, meat and cloth and other imported goods, such as knives and necklaces were exchanged for various vegetables. The latter were referred to as "hill products" (*po cho*) and the former as "shore products" (*po sa*), and the contrasting relationship was considered to have polarity. Such concepts existed also as regards the actual production of these items, for example the palmwine. If a palm wine tree failed, the owner of the tree took some small game to one or more of his bride-givers who were then called "the beater people" (*chapat ra*). This designation had to do with the fact that the production of bark-cloth involved the use of wooden beaters and that it was considered a "hill product". "The beater" suggested both the production of bark-cloth and knowledge of how to "beat" a palm tree with a wooden beater in order to make the sap flow (*po sa*) when so approached, the bride-givers offered advice or some medicine in exchange.

This reflects the concept that the exchange of opposite products keeps growth and production in motion and that one must arrange the important elements of existence in purposeful series. The traditional exchanges of the festive cycle can be regarded as the most socially important series.

Actually each feast contained one primary stage (*poku*) from the life-cycle exchanges, and one or more other stages. The popot of the western Prat were concerned to differentiate the latter as *on masim* which they translated as "market"⁵⁴ and regarded as of little value if it did not take the form of a Feják-Sipách procedure. Most of the non-popot informants used the term *on* for all exchanges transactions, and they then made a distinction between

⁵² Elmberg (1955, 42, 69—71; 1966a, 56) recorded instances of institutional mirth. Transvestites occur in Elmberg 1955, 51, 52; idem 1966a, 25, 26, 63, 117, 121, 125—6 and some instances of institutional games are mentioned on p. 96.

⁵³ Cf. Elmberg 1966a, 10—12 and Appendix to this book.

⁵⁴ E.g. *ibid.* 85, 89. The popot, however, was observed to use *on* for any kind of exchange transaction, which implies that local speech habits were too strong for traditional immigrant categories.

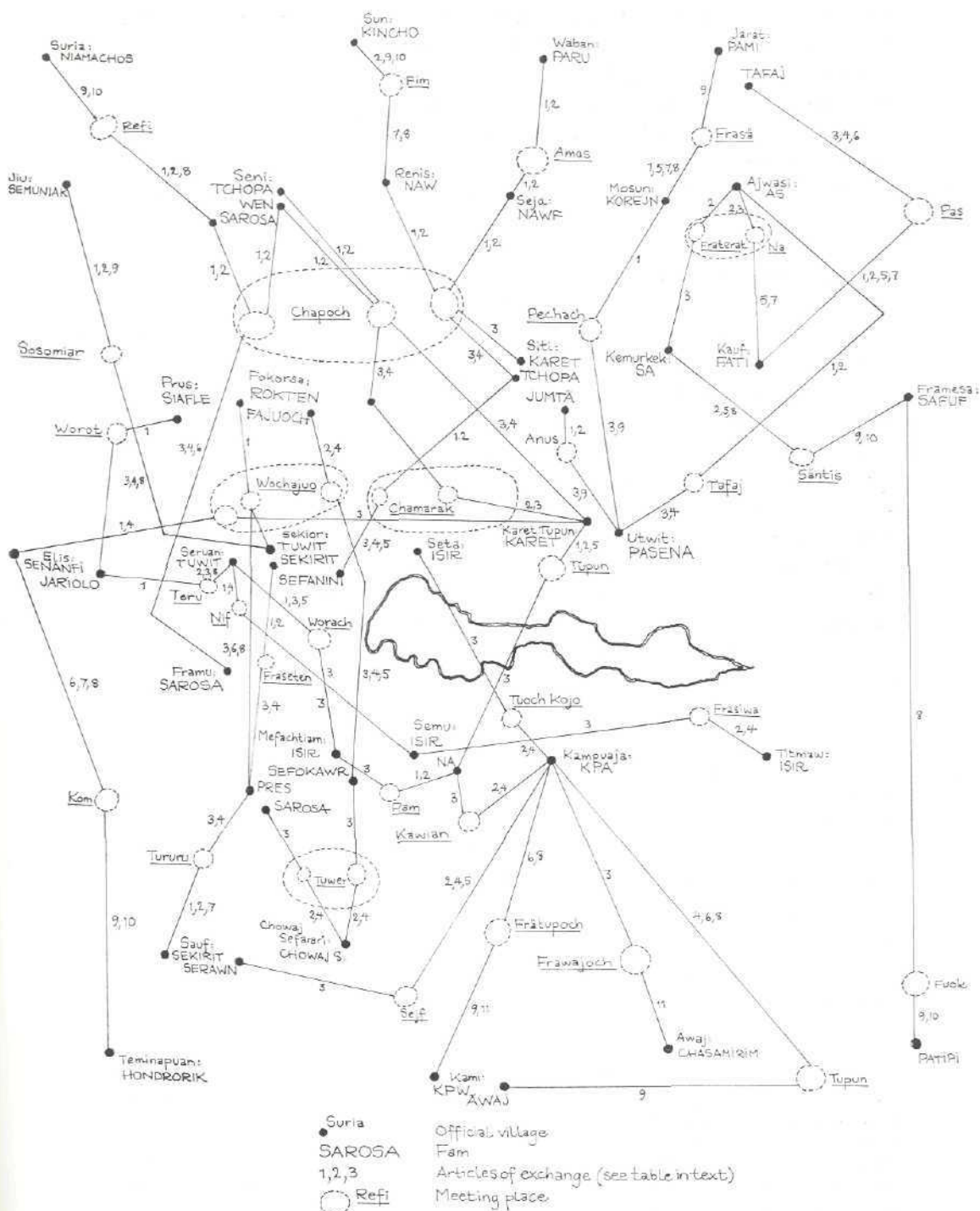


Fig. 32. Ideogram of some traditional exchange activities near the lakes.

on *poju* "exchange for things which have been saved up in the bag" for the life-cycle feasts, and on *masim* which at first it was tempting to translate as "barter, trade exchange". *Nasim* was used for "to alter, to change colour", as well as for "to exchange similar things"; *nasim anja* connoted "sibling exchange". It was *nasim* when exchanging European articles for Mejprat objects, or when fishermen sold or exchanged their fish with the strangers at Ajamaru, and also when the Mejprat themselves bought goods in their co-operative shop, or sold copal resin to the government. Haggling and heated discussions were observed both in exchanges in the life-cycle and with *on masim*, and on both types of occasion one could speak of "hill products" and "shore products". A survey of *nesim* relationships shows that they usually comprised extra-regional exchanges, or in some cases exchanges previously considered to be extra-regional (see fig. 32)⁵⁵. The articles exchanged were traditionally of the following types:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Futióch</i> , | bast, or bast products such as bark-cloth, string and bags from gnetum, fig or morus trees. |
| 2. <i>Tiú</i> , | palmwine. |
| 3. <i>Pomarú</i> | fish (also <i>atá</i> , crayfish). |
| 4. <i>Awiak</i> , | taro (also sweet potatoes and manioc). |
| 5. <i>Po pat</i> , | greens (spinach, beans, corn, gnetum levaeas, bamboo, etc.). |
| 6. <i>Ara taw</i> , | poisonous bark of lianas; also <i>po fo</i> , Derris root, and <i>po mun</i> , nutmeg, copal resin, and a wood used for colouring ⁵⁶ . |
| 7. <i>Ru, ru mawf</i> , | feathered game (also birds of paradise), eggs (mainly Megapodius eggs). |
| 8. <i>Ku awe</i> , | "slave children" ⁵⁷ . |
| 9. <i>Po</i> , | cloth. |
| 10. <i>Apu, tefó, pam</i> , | knives, adzes, axes. |
| 11. <i>Po af</i> , | sago. |

Of these, groups 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 8 were usually considered as hill products, while 3, 4, 9, 10 and 11 were considered shore products. This relationship

⁵⁵ Allegedly, the Sarosa of Mefchatiam used earlier to exchange with the Sefarari of the southernmost Chowaj place (see map). When the latter had become the Chowaj-Sefarari, they began to intermarry. The Isir of Semu were exchanging with the Isir of Titmaw because prior to the official registration the latter represented a Chasamirin rope.

⁵⁶ Dutch "Geelhout", and Malay *tali kuning*.

⁵⁷ In 1957, curiously enough, "slaves" were still enumerated as items of exchange. In the beginning of the 1950s a few abductions of children were actually reported.

contained also what maybe called a subjective polarity^{58a}, since both categories contain both *po fa*, "female things, things produced or acquired by women" and *po cha* or *po ra*, "male things, things produced or acquired by men"^{58b}. The latter category, which can be designated (—), included fish, palmwine, stone objects, metal objects, glass beads and the majority of adornments while cloth, bark-cloth, taro and greens were of the former category (+).

The frequently occurring combination fish (—) and taro (+) in exchange for bark-cloth (+) and palmwine (—) probably reflects and ideally balanced exchange. At the same time, fish and palmwine, which were exchanged for taro and cloth, provide only an apparent deviation from this ideal, since certain fish, such as riverine sheat fish, were classified as *an*, "fatty, hot" and fished predominantly by women, which put this fish in the same category as *po fa* (+). Certain species of taro were classified in a similar manner as *po cha*, and it is possible that in the latter example fish (+) and palmwine (—) were exchanged for cloth (+) and taro (—)⁵⁹.

In the northern and eastern parts, such extra-regional exchanges were reckoned among the twenty that would entitle the dead man to a tree near the tree spirit home. They took place at meeting-places (*titá*), situated by partitional or regional borders usually adjoining a tree spirit home, or (in the lacustrine part) at feasts.

Attempts to observe extra-regional exchange failed, in spite of the many meeting-places in the area, in spite of the length of time I spent moving around there, and in spite of my promise (in 1957) of two sarongs to the person who took me to such a trade meeting. Once, in the village of Karet Tupun, everything had been prepared for extra-regional exchange with people from the village of Jarat. When I unexpectedly arrived on the day when the guests were to arrive, they preferred to remain half a day's journey from the village. Nothing could persuade them to continue until I left the village,

^{58a} Dumont (1957, 164) uses this term of dichotomies among the Pramalai of South India. The situation among the Mejprat can be similarly expressed. It seemed essential that the two parties should be agreed on the categories of exchange forming a dichotomy but not on any absolute value or "charge" of the categories.

^{58b} Jaeger Gerlings (1952, 75—105) points out that "male" and "female" gifts occur frequently among Indonesian peoples like the Batak, the Toradja, and the peoples of Sanggir, Talaud and Tanimbar, as well as among the kula-practising Trobrianders. Held (1951, 74—77) observes that the same conditions prevail along the north coast of New Guinea from the Bismarck archipelago to the Radja Empat islands. He also mentions the character of the exchange goods as "male" and "female", and generally states the existence of "trade-friends" as well as a coast—inland trade. Harding, investigating conditions around the Huon peninsula, (1967, 109, 110, 166 ff.), does not dwell on the male or female character of the goods, but substantiates the importance of trade friends and the coast—inland trade.

⁵⁹ Malinowski (1922, 356) writes: "When two of the opposite valuables meet in the Kula and are exchanged it is said that these two are married". If the term "married" also implies cohabitation, it would parallel the Mejprat case. The exchange of male and female goods is called *n'tocho*, "rub. cohabitate" in Mejprat.

a couple of days later. Observers were clearly not wanted, possibly because the exchange atmosphere was too sensitive and unstable, and was therefore expected to be excessively disturbed by an alien presence. To have such exchange contacts was traditionally considered *watum*. The parties acted both individually and occasionally as *mapuf* groups. Men called other *tafóch* while the women used the word *tará* to each other, both of which were translated by the Malay *s o b a t d a g a n g* ("trade friend"). Such a bond of friendships was usually spoken of as a personal tie between two individuals (e.g. between Pum Isir and Kamsier Sarosa), who tried to give each other only the best of everything. Sometimes, however, it was mentioned as if it held between two *fam* ("between the Isir of Ffechatiam and the Sarosa Seni") or local groups ("the Kotjuwer meets the Shore in Fuok")⁶⁰. Marriage was not considered to occur, neither was it observed, between the contracting groups.

It was observed that daughters rather than sons felt a sense of solidarity with their father's *tafóch* commitments. This, possibly, was a reflection of *mapuf* solidarity.

The ideal was to exploit every opportunity of acquiring trade friends. Contract workers gathering in Ajamaru to start the journey to the coast were exhorted by their relatives at leave-taking to acquire trade friends by the coast. Men and women working on swiddens everywhere in the Mejprat area called out to damar-carrying strangers, and to myself and my followers, to be their trade friends. *Tafóch atio . . .* ("My own trade friend . . .") their cry began, followed by general or more specific offers. The strangers sometimes replied courteously without stopping, sometimes they stopped and inquired as to the details. This could be simply a form of conversation, as much as a seriously intended negotiation, since one could never know, after all, what the information obtained might lead to. It was always fitting and interesting to speak of exchange.

Clearly, a person with a good situs position had a greater chance of establishing contact than e.g. second and third sons. In 1957, my follower Safom Isir (who was his father's third child and second son) made ambitious plans during our visit to the village of Jiu to establish trade friendship there, and obtain palmwine against a promise of cloth. In spite of numerous grave talks, he left the village without result. My other follower, Kasom Karet, was of about the same age, but the oldest child in his sibling group. He exploited our stay in the village of Kawf to enter an agreement with Waj-safuoch Tānaw to the effect that the latter should give him a number of yellow birds of paradise for the bush knife Kasom gave him when we left the village. "*Mān tióch-e!*" they both shouted as they parted. "Soon we will make an exchange meeting!" Neither Safom nor Kasom had previously visited these villages, and neither of them had relatives there.

⁶⁰ *Sa*, "the Shore", denoted also traders from Kokas or Patipi of the Onin peninsula.

In the case of such highly-prized extra-regional goods as cloth, tools, and adornments, the transaction preferably took the form of delayed exchange. These goods, then called *po tim* ("forerunners"), were given in advance and immediately put to use to acquire *n'tan* (the "answer, counter-performance").

Terminologically, the system of extra-regional trade friends can perhaps be regarded as an extension of the intra-regional categories of bride-giver and bride-taker. *Tafóch* ("my fire") connoted with female categories like "heat, bride-giver", and was observed as a term of address to affinals through wife in the northern part. *Tara*, also used for FZS (w.s.) and signifying "person belonging to me", did not, however, connote marital but *mapuf* relations. The freedom to choose a trade friend who belonged to another region, who had another exchange rhythm and was thus unhindered by the economic and other considerations prevailing in one's own regional sphere, is perhaps better explained as an extension of the individual freedom to sever oneself from a *mapuf* group and join another in order to achieve satisfactory exchanges. Successful extra-regional exchanges would seem to have been an asset in regional exchanges, and capable of offsetting an initially low status position inside the *mapuf*. Scattered pieces of information, however, indicate that such success could also lead to the fission and fusion process resulting in membership of a new *mapuf*.

Initiative and domination

Western Prat data concerning some significant phases of exchange leadership were presented earlier in connection with descriptions of the popot feast cycle⁶¹. The ideal was to be a pace-maker and to be appreciated for being "good" rather than "raw", and being rich and generous rather than poor and miserly, these ideals could be perceived as contradictions. For a pace-maker to become rich, a certain amount of rawness has sometime been considered necessary by people who were second or third sons, or who had not experienced any great successes in the cloth game⁶². They blamed their own lack of rawness for the insufficient results of their initiatives.

Exchange leaders never admitted being raw. Typically, the popot Chawer Sarosa of Mefchatiam opined that he needed to "cool" his generosity before being reduced to a pauper at an occasion when people called him stingy⁶³. The redundant declarations from feast leaders in the lake area that they were generous (*nepó po wer*) pacemakers (*n'tim*) appeared to correspond to common Mejprat ideals of initiative and proper social behaviour. Certain data

⁶¹ Elmberg 1966a, 72—85.

⁶² E.g. *ibid.* 76.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 29.

indicate pace-setting to be part of a fairly delicate mechanism achieving a balance between the leader (or leaders) and the rest of a group⁶⁴.

Natim, "to go first, to take initiative" was held up as an ideal to the young Mejprat. When leaving a swidden the mothers loaded light burdens onto the small children (especially S and BD) with the words: "Hurry up and go first: that will make us follow quickly" (*serót tim, amu seró m'pet!*). The same admonition was heard when a group of people were leaving a settlement, then it was seldom directed to anyone in particular, but meant simply: "If only somebody starts we shall be on our way".

Often a MB used to phrase "Go first and arrange things, I follow after" (*natim menó, tio tepét*), when he sent ZS on some errand. When I asked how a feast was planned, the common answer was: "One person just looks after his own business, and then the others follow". A man from the southern village of Kampuskato quoted the saying: "The dema snake's head slides away first and the tail follow after" (*penájj mana nelón matim, n'sawiach n'Koro*)⁶⁵.

A relationship of interdependence was stressed between the concepts "go first" and "follow after", like that between the head and the tail of a snake.

The necessity was emphasized of taking the initiative but once it was taken the support of the group or the correlative person was promised. This pattern appeared formalised in a certain speech behaviour called "to speak in unanimity" (*nawe tuf*). This was preferred in important situations, e.g. when telling a myth of origin, performing a ritual chant or assuming responsibility for people about to leave the region on a difficult assignment. One person started speaking a few sentences. This was the man or woman "owning" the myth, acting the ritual or shouldering the responsibility. Then he (or she) made a pause, and men and women began prompting him in short phrases which he repeated, and this procedure was kept up right through the performance.

A similar procedure was applied in discussions held at the regional meeting places (*titá*). As long as I did not understand what was being said I was taken along to a few of them. Informants gave me the gist of what was being said. When a major garden work was to be started or other important phases of the exchange planning needed support, people met there and sat talking

⁶⁴ Aa (1880, 244) relates that on the slopes of Mount Arfak a Papuan called himself Djudjau (chief in eastern part of Indonesia) because he set an example to his fellow men in cutting and carrying massoi bark to the coast.—Many actions and sayings among the Mejprat promised immediate response to initiative, e.g. "Out into the rain and it will stop!"; or, during a dry spell: 'Start spreading the ashes (on a swidden), and the rain will fall!'

⁶⁵ This snake form of the regional dema was considered to be able to stand up on its tail and to have one head in each end (*ular dua kepala*). It was supposed to live in the ground and to take a bath in rain torrents. Its radiant colours were then reflected in the sky as the rainbow. This radiant form corresponds to *Xenopeltis unicolor* and the two-headed to *Cylindrophis rufus*.

and listening for whole afternoons. It often started with a certain amount of joke-cracking and the exchange of gossip, and by and by different subjects were brought up which to an outsider appeared to be of an unbusinesslike range. Everyone spoke of what was on his mind, whether or not it had anything to do with the impending work. Informants explained that if not enough people considered the same problem, well then they were not yet "warmed through" (*samer*) i.e. the question was brought up too early. More meetings were needed.

On these occasions speakers were interrupted by questions or by listeners who filled in words, and sometimes they were listened to with what appeared to be an indifferent silence. At other times two or more speakers talked simultaneously to different parts of the audience. The popot Chawer Sarosa was observed to work himself into fits of rage when the audience reacted with silence to his complaints that they had not given him the support they had promised. Other speakers behaved with more dignity and were appreciated for it.

When a number of meetings had taken place that apparently did not lead anywhere, but just accumulated information on accidents, strayed piglets, visiting copal parties from distant villages, ripe nanka fruits, a ravaged garden fence, expectations of cloth and the need of rattan for new fish traps, or such information as was contained in the manner of speech a certain person employed, or the subjects he did not want to enter upon—then this information on what was going on in the neighbourhoods had all the same made people aware of the present situation.

Some who had been able to organize the information of many previous meetings into a workable system of interchanged services, studded with a few gifts of cloth which he had to throw in, would now suggest that e.g. the necessary swidden work would bring the impending feast nearer and satisfy the *dema* who would bring back balance into life and quicken the circulation of cloth: if the Naw people joined the swiddenwork and they could bring down rattan from their hills, then they would receive some cloth now and some fish later on when the traps were worked, which would come in handy for their funeral etc.

This someone would be a ceremonial expert or a popot. He (or she) had to state his suggestions in such terms that a majority of those present felt that they could easily realise what chain of actions would both benefit themselves and serve the group. This they suggested in a concise form of ceremonial language and promptings, which the leader repeated, adjusting them by various additions to his own plans.

This then, was the ideal picture, and I have seen at least one such meeting changing characters; first the aimless talking, then the speaker suggesting certain measures, interrupted by questions and bids or promises differing

from the primary suggestion, then the audience becoming more tense and (it seemed) more coordinated, and the speaker beginning to take up and use their phrases as promptings, shaping the plan for the enterprise. They had then reached the required form of unanimity. The initiative of the leader was formally answered by the full participation of those concerned.

This slow procedure created an impression of conditions similar to those observed by Read among the Gahuku-Gama in the eastern part of New Guinea: important decisions were reached after discussions, on the basis of a consensus⁶⁶.

He observed no formal leaders of the tribe, clan or sub-clan⁶⁷, but instead what he calls "orators of an autonomous personality". They had the opportunity to make proposals which seemed to be accepted by one and all. These orator-leaders are described as being fully aware of the contradiction involved in what Read considers to be the two important values of the Gahuku-Gama, namely, equivalence and strength⁶⁸.

The deliberations among the Mejprat admittedly show certain similarities (drawn-out and seemingly aimless discussions, absence of formal leaders), but seem none the less to contain also different elements. While strength—considered to be the result of good relations with the dema—and initiative were held up as important qualities, it was seemingly inter-dependence that was expressed by the process of reaching unanimity. This is reflected in the phrase *nam tuf*, "to be in agreement". The term was repeated to neophytes at the traditional initiation: "Speak rightly and you will live in amity" *nawe tu, nam tuf*. *Tuf*, connected with *nuf*, "of both kinds, including all", connoted "the unity of a polarity, unity in a manifold", which traditionally emphasized mutual adaption and interdependence. The role of the pace-makers can be expected to be one of harmonisation and that of *primus inter pares*. The emphasized change from pace-maker to a prompted person probably is a parallel to the reversal of the roles of "host" and "guest".

Those who traditionally harmonised or co-ordinated the exchange activities can be regarded as informal leaders, though they do not cater to any clearly defined group⁶⁹. Terms were noted, however, which seem to suggest both traditional roles and innovations.

Ati, *ra mase* and *ra kiét* were indicated as traditional terms used everywhere while *raro popot*, *pir tajt*, and *ra seriém* were innovations. The term *ati*, "principal, unifier", used of both men and women, seemed to reflect the duty of the informal leader.

Ra mase, "a representative for the entirety (*se*), a great person", can

⁶⁶ Read 1959, 428.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 426.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 428.

⁶⁹ Pal 1958, 334.

formally refer to both a man and a woman, as the term contains an m-form (3rd person singular feminine or participial form).

Ra kiét was used in the northern and eastern parts. *Kiét* or *kit* denoted "protecting, watchful". It was used also of bark-cloth as an article of use, and as clothing, as opposed to (*fu*) *tióch*, etc., "bark-cloth for exchange". "Protecting", "watchful" implied a positive energy or force. A piece of bark-cloth was simply placed over a wound in order that it should heal, or under the fire place so that the fire should not go out. *Ra kiét* may have connoted "a person mighty through bark-cloth" or "a protecting or watchful person".

The men and women of whom these terms were used were observed to be "experts of medicines" *n'tu po m'paw*⁷⁰. Their activities as *ra potekif*, *ra pofit*, *mechár*, *fenjá mapi*, and the like, have been noted earlier in connection with different forms of initiation⁷¹ and in the popot feast cycle. They represented here the categories of "life" and "death" in various rites of passage, and they were believed to be able to induce generosity in their fellow men, inflict them with illness, or render them insusceptible to the influence of other experts. This was brought about by manipulations with "cold" and "warm" substances and spells. They were inspired during spells of dizziness or "visited" in their sleep by different dema forms, ghosts or spirits, who talked through their mouths, whistled or sang. Their secret knowledge of the regional dema, its forms of manifestation, its ways of action and its *watum* rules seemed to be regarded as the very core of ceremonial leadership.

Traditionally these experts seem to have been factual leaders and planners of exchange activities. The ceremonial expert Pum Isir, for example, was widely employed and appreciated, though he was of an "immigrant" group in the partition where he lived. The western Prat popot were anxious to have him attending their popot feasts (though he belonged to neither the Toch-mi nor the Uon society), allegedly because of his well-known successes as an expert. He received his "promised fee" (*mach*), for assistance. Wefó Kampuwefa assisted even outside her language area: in the Sawiet-speaking village of Seruan, where houses of female initiation were introduced from the Prat area.

Certain terms had a more local use, and some informants inside the locality did not use them, but explained them as innovations. In the area of the eastern part bordering the River Kamundan, also another term was used for a male leader of the exchange. In the villages of Framesa, Umupas and Fuok some people spoke of *tepó ritie*, also called *metách seriém*, "aggressive dog" according to one of his characteristics. This type of leader was described as follows: "He marries many women, he procures much cloth. He has got an aggressive dog and a circular boar's tusk (as adornment). He is skilful in

⁷⁰ See section on Manipulation of energies.

⁷¹ Elmberg 1966a, 98, 104, 113, 117, 124, 130, 131, 138.

tapping palm wine and arranging feasts on all days". *Safo* was the usual term for "aggressive", but *seriém*, "strange", suggested extra-regional offensiveness. It was considered that such leaders commonly had extra-regional contacts further down the river, and that they themselves could be feared as male witches (*ra sā*)⁷².

Pir tajt, "the male centipede", was a term for an exchange leader used by members of the Toch-mi society in the southern part of the lake area. The huge centipedes coming out of the ground were feared and killed on sight because of their utterly painful bites. The term connoted an expressive threat.

Ra popot or *raro popot*, "the cloth-grabbers, the popot leaders" of the western Prat believed themselves to be descendants of *ra seriém*, "strangers" immigrants⁷³. The name *Sacha-fra* for one of the houses in the popot feast cycle contains the Sawiet term for the technique of the male, foreign sorcerer (*ra sā*) so feared by the Mejprat⁷⁴. This can be understood as a threat or boast by Sawiet-speaking immigrants. Also the Sarosa popot considered the tusk of a wild boar as the badge of a true popot.

The latter's possible uncertainty when faced with the social feminacentrism of the area has surely contributed to the concept of *kapés fané*, "the female witch", which differs significantly from the types of witches observed in the vicinity. It was recorded solely in the western Prat part.

The Mejprat witch was recognized only by the Sarosa popot leaders. She was regarded as possessed by a "ghost" (*kapés*), which lived on "human shadows" (*naúwian*). The latter could be seen in dreams as a wild boar and the woman could be revealed through divination by means of a tusk of a boar or by giving birth to a stillborn child. However, she was also characterized as being openly anti-social: she did not share her taro, cloth or land in the way her husband or other affinal men regarded as appropriate⁷⁵.

In neighbouring parts of the Sawiet area no traces were found of a "pig-spirit" witch, but instead of *lajt*, Sw, (the Wehali village) or *mejkalit*, Sw, (the Elis village), which was identified with the ghost of a woman who had died in childbirth (*pontianak* In). In her hatred of the living she was thought to consume their "shadows", even the "shadow" intended for a child about to be born, which thus became stillborn. Further up towards the north-western part of Mejprat territory, the term *cha fit*, "what is cold and fretting", was recorded in the village of Prus; this appeared to be the ghost of an unburied

⁷² Ibid. 93, 94.

⁷³ Three of the seven men who were mentioned in Mefchatiam as popot did not use the term of themselves (ibid. 73, 74). Six of them, however, had a myth which related them to "immigrants". The seventh, N'firok Pres of the original ground owners, was given the name *Popot telaga* (=Popot of the lake) by the earlier D.O.

⁷⁴ Elmberg 1966a, 93, 94.

⁷⁵ Idem 1955, 40, 41, 66; idem 1966a, 10, 11, 13, 86, 87.

dead person, who had either been murdered or met some other unnatural death. No pontianak conception was observed in the Mejprat area.

In the western Prat, *kapes fané*, the dangerous, local land-owning woman can probably be regarded as a sort of inversion of the traditional Mejprat conception of dangerous, non-regional men. The picture of her seems to contain also certain elements of both extra-Mejprat pontianak conceptions and traditional Mejprat conceptions of Tu, the female regional dema, who punished people through her polar opposite in the form of a wild boar. It seems indicated that the *kapes fané* concept was formed by immigrants as a means of asserting a more dominating type of male leadership than the traditional. An informal leader could traditionally be either man or woman. In many cases, e.g. at initiations⁷⁶, both male and female leaders functioned simultaneously and the element of harmonization and balance seems to have been significant for the traditional leadership.

The role of the popot leader seems to be an innovation. He can be regarded as an immigrated trade agent, who assumes the role of the regional bride-giver and the host. He aims at discarding the traditional idea of interchanging polar roles and of feminacentricity.

This appears possible in the situation where greater quantities of cloth became available in the Mejprat area partly as a result of the foundation of governmental villages on the coast and of new methods for storing the cloth in pile-houses. These measures are likely to have led to the heightened male interest in cloth exchange⁷⁷ which is expressed in the Fejak—sipak process. The activities of the trade agents turning popot could link up with this process for a start.

When the popot, however, renounced the traditional categories and expressed the relationship in viricentric "father-child" terms, they are primarily a parallel to the terms that middlemen in the coastal areas were observed to use in their relations with their trade partners, subjects or whatever they called them. The authority-craving and dominating attitude of the popot and the agents, and later of the officials, was lacking in the relationship between Mejprat trade friends.

The traders, agents, or the officials of remote sultanates who annually collected "taxes"⁷⁸ on the coasts of western New Guinea, made active attempts to establish a permanent authority. The Biakers on the northern coasts of the Bird's Head Peninsula left behind them "trade friends" (*manibob*), who maintained contact with the inland population and who, by and by, were appointed agents with different titles by the Sultan of Tidore⁷⁹.

The myths give traces leading also to the tracts of Biak, namely to the

⁷⁶ Ibid. 130, 131.

⁷⁷ See section on Aspects of Mejprat exchange.

⁷⁸ Dissel 1904. 790; idem 1907, 992—94, 1002.

island of Serui, from which the ancestors of the Sefokawr are said to have come (M 30). The Sarosa groups, which had spread over the lacustrine part, were considered to have originated from the island of Salawati in the Radja Ampat group where Biak colonies were important⁸⁰. If, as reported, the Sefaniwi near Seni actually represented a group from Sausapor on the northern coast is unconfirmed, but it is not improbable. They were mentioned as the intermediaries for cloth, axes, pearlstiched frontlets and the like, as well as for shell armlets called *sarak*, which is obviously a loan-word from the Biak language⁸¹. The Sefaniwi were among the foremost buyers of slaves, which implies good connections with the coastal trade.

Popot behaviour in the western Prat was characterised by a certain eagerness to expand their activities outside their home region and to strengthen their connections by means of more than one marriage⁸². The traditional Mejprat trade friends were forbidden to intermarry. Maser Na with his eight wives was perhaps the most pronounced example of the popot tactics. The two wives of the popot Chawer Sarosa, came from two opposite parts of the lacustrine section: Komakoma and Kampuwefa. As already mentioned, Chawer saw a large number of regions united into a kind of super-region and compared himself to a typical coastal agent, the Major of Konda. The popot was also regarded as belonging to one of the non-traditional initiating societies Uon and Toch-mi, both of which had maintained a connection with the medicine men and axe-men of the coastal villages⁸³.

These data point mainly in the same direction: the innovated leader roles were apparently developed under the influence of coastal traders from both neighbouring and remote areas, the officials of sultans or their European successors (as well as agents or sub-agents or both these categories); and in an environment characterized by feminacentricity informal leadership, alternating roles of host and guest, balanced interactions of the pace-maker and his equals, extra-regional trade friendship and a willingness to incorporate new phenomena in traditional categories⁸⁴. This latter mechanism has probably been decisive for the assimilation of both immigrants and cloth, and thus also for the establishment of popot leaders.

⁸⁰ Clercq 1893, 165; Dumont d'Urville 1839, 192, 193; Kamma 1948, 540.

⁸¹ Kamma 1948, 540.

⁸² Kern 1885, 261.

⁸³ As a result of the Uon initiation the popot "learnt to cohabit with more than one wife" (Elmberg 1966a, 121).

⁸⁴ Ibid. 117, 130, 139.

⁸⁵ Held regards this feature as significant for a majority of Papuan societies "The Paupans take over without much hesitation different elements of culture from each other which they let go without much regret after a short time." (1951, 10). Harding, in a lecture in Stockholm (1965), spoke of the "lack of ethnocentrism" characterising the Papuan societies near the Vitiaz Strait, where he studied the Sio and the Siassi traders (1967).

Summing up it can be said that exchanged transactions between consanguineal family groups were observed to result in a strengthening of both intra-group solidarity and inter-group polarity, as well as a certain storage of perishable resources. It was commonly stated that people previously thought less of owning many cloths than of holding many feasts. General terms for "exchange" usually contained concepts relating to "rubbing backwards and forwards", "series of transactions" and "producing warm energy". A certain degree of delayed action was considered "culturally good" (*mof*), while undesirable modes of action were branded as "raw" (*muoch*). The purpose of ceremonial exchange was stated to be the attainment of a state of (cosmic) satisfaction and general well-being within the region. A coital model is reflected in the conceptions connected with this.

The more particular terms for "exchange" alluded to the *gnemon* tree and its bast products. This and certain other trees, known as the *dema* trees, were tended at the meeting places for ceremonial exchange. A number of terms for these trees were interchangeable, and all of the trees except one yielded vital foodstuffs and basic material that was important for the *Mejprat* way of life. Intimately connected with the *dema* trees was the concept that the exchanges promoted the circulation of some products from the trees, which were expected to return to the place of their origin.

The twenty life-cycle feasts were celebrated within the framework of a feast cycle; traditionally this began with the female initiation, after which the male initiation was started. Then followed (secondary) funeral feasts, through which male ghosts were admitted to the sub-terranean abode of the *dema*. When initiation had been concluded, the male and female neophytes of opposite moieties were united at a series of feasts. There the marriage exchanges took place, and certain funeral dues, which had not previously been exchanged, were handed over. At the sacrifice of an animal, which traditionally took place, it was probably confirmed that the deceased was a participant in the cycle relationship between the tree *dema* and all created things within the region. This phase reoccurred at an earlier stage in the *popot* feast cycle as an action by which the uxori-locally married man (and his bride-taking group?) was ensured the same "incorporation" while still alive.

The polar nature of the goods exchanged was evidenced by the division into hill products and shore products. Apart from the life-cycle exchanges, this division appeared also in exchanges with certain extra-regional parties, made at the ceremonial meeting place (*titá*). This was marked out by one or more *dema* trees and was situated near a spirit home. In the northern and eastern parts, extra-regional exchanges were reckoned into the ideal number of twenty feasts which were needed in order for a tree to be planted at the spirit home for a man after this death.

The terms used of extra-regional trading contacts were translated as "trade

friends". Despite the fact that the term used between male trading friends seemed to indicate a certain "guest relationship" the term used between women, and the traditional function of trade friendship, indicate that it should probably be understood as a form of extended *mapuf* behaviour.

Leadership at the traditional exchanges was observed to be informal. The ideal conduct, i.e. to be strong, (more properly "strengthened"), and to take initiative, was imprinted at an early stage and seemed to include an underlying correlative: the pace-maker and the others in the group were interdependent in the same way as the head and tail of the dema snake. This picture probably expresses also the ideal of role-alternation since the dema snake was believed to have a head at each end. Traditionally each and everyone was responsible for his exchanges, and the traditional leader role was one of *primus inter pares*. Strength, initiative and interdependence should act together to create a "unity" which can be considered as a balanced arrangement of polar factors.

The traditional terms for leader, implying "principal, unifier", "representative for the whole" and "the protecting, watchful person", were used of both men and women who were regarded to be skilled in medicines. The mainstay of their leading position is indicated as being their knowledge of the regional dema. Formally in accordance with its *watum* rules and by revealed counsel they manipulated "cold" and "warm" substances and cast spells to achieve a cosmic satisfaction.

In contrast to this there were terms along the fringes of the area for male leaders connoting respectively "the aggressive dog", "the male centipede", and "the cloth-grabber". In the eastern-most parts, characteristics of this type of leader were that he had many wives, owned much cloth, had strong extra-regional male. In the western Prat the characteristics of this type of leader were that he had many wives, owned much cloth and had descended from strangers; moreover, he was over-nice and over-aggressive, and lived in fear of female witches. A circular tusk of a wild boar was regarded as the badge of a leader in both areas.

The role of the viricentric and dominant popot leader seems to be an innovation, a sort of trade agent who had moved into the territory, and rejected the ideal of the alternative roles of "host" and "guest". He accepts only the superior role of host and bride-giver, and describes himself as a "father". This was noted to be in accordance with the tradition among Indonesian traders and officials on the coasts of New Guinea. The mythical origin of a number of Mejprat fam is in the coastal regions.

Part III.

Balance and circulation in cosmological thought

Cosmology

In the Mejprat conception of the world as it was reflected in recorded behaviour, myths and certain *dema* terms, a recurring theme was a cyclic arrangement of events or relations and a balance between two different categories of phenomena. These were fundamental elements of the world order. Balance was of primary importance in the relation between the categories of *cha* and *an*, a relation which is, especially well documented in respect of the human beings, important animals and plants. This circuit received as it were impetus from a cycle of spiritual forms connected with the Tu *dema*.

The Mejprat world was perceived as a fairly flat, irregular mass of land surrounded by water. In this water were situated a number of "islands" (*sato*), named Pukis, Makassar, Pufor (= Biak), Salawati and Kokas. Further out the water ended, and the sun passed up and down along the sides. At night, when the sun was not shining in this upper world, it had gone to the land below, where the *dema* lived and the ghosts of the dead went. The spirit homes were regarded as entrances to this subterranean land. The upside-down reflection of trees and stones in the water was regarded as a glimpse of the underworld.

It was not deemed safe for a Mejprat to stay too long near a spirit home because, it was explained, the shadow felt the neighbourhood of the other world and could easily slip down and like it better down there. In this case, the Mejprat would sicken and die. Informants of the village of Framesa stated that, as we see it, the land below is upside down; but, as they see it from below, we are upside down. The earth is a kind of a flat object hovering horizontally and surrounded by a wind *ien* or *in*, through which the sun and the moon travel in a wide circuit.

As can be judged from the myths, forests, gardens and animals were very much the same on both sides. On one side lived human beings, on the other the *dema* and the revitalized ghosts, ordinarily in animal form. Channels of communications were the spirit homes, and visits from both sides were possible.

In the western Prat area a snake, reflected in daytime as the rainbow and seen in the night as the Milky Way (*apán poch*), held the earths and its encircling water in place. The stars (*sekén*), were regarded as further away and the term *marák* was used for their situation. This term denoted "outer surface,

skin, hide, bark, egg shell". When, on one occasion, the opened shell of a bush hen's egg was held against the light, the pores on the inside were clearly visible as light spots. Informants spontaneously likened this to the stars¹. This would indicate notions of the cosmos as an egg and make *tapam*, the earth (+), similar to *fajaf*, the yolk (+), and *in*, the wind (—), similar to *mauf aj*, the white (—) of the egg.

Only one myth (M 52) gives a similar indication. This tells of a flying fox living in a huge, closed cave, which is now half-filled with water (=shell + white) quite near the village of Susumuk. Its excrement fell into the water and finally emerged as an island, which slowly became large and is now called the earth. Women used in reality such excrement as a means of supplying *an*, "hot energy" (+) to heaps of mould in their gardens. In the myth, a "hot" element was thus swimming in the water (—) inside the hard shell of the cave.

The cosmic egg is a notion well known from many South-east Asian and Oceanic myths, and it seems of interest to record it among the Mejprat, where the bush turkey and the bush hen were important forms of the world creating *dema*. It is worth noticing, though, that the Mejprat used the same term (*mauf*) for the egg a bird, lizard, or reptile, the stone of a fruit and the seed of a plant. This seems to imply a denotation in the way of "fertile *dema* matter", present also in the seeds and fruit stones of the plants in certain myths².

1) *Cha* and *an*

As previously mentioned, *cha* was connected with concepts of cold, death, ghosts, action and maleness. This can be demonstrated linguistically in a number of Mejprat expressions.

To be "hot and tired" after a long walk or after strenuous work on a swidden was to be *cha serā*, "empty of cold". The heat then presenting itself in the body was a manifestation of the other element, *an*, associating to warmth, life, (relative) passivity, the power of growth, and femininity.

Fra denoted "stone", but *cha fra* in the western Prat was a stone containing the cold energy part i.e. shadow (*naūwian*) of a person. *Nechá* signified "to cool" or "to activate" something. To feel cold was *nechá nam* "to make the vital warmth cold". The wind blowing in connection with the northwest

¹ As these informants could not recognize a phallic figure on an ikat cloth as a man, it seemed hardly possible that they were extemporising a likeness between the pores and the stars

² *Awf*, "red sago", seemed linguistically and functionally of the same category, as it was used in offerings in the same way as the fruit and seed of the pandanus palm.

monsoon caused endless colds and was called *Tu techa pek*, "Master that makes the shoulders cold".

At football matches in Ajamaru the expression *ma-chá pora*³, "activate the ball=kick the ball" was a common exclamation. A person initiated in the Tochmi or Uon society, or having finished a European school, was termed *machá ropó*, "activated by (many) things" which was translated as *panda i*, "wise". The skill of a clever hunter, *cha rof*, implied that "the activating energy is following (him)".

This activating force manifested itself also in the phosphorescent light on decomposing corpses, rotting trees or in sparks from a comb going through a head of hair at night, and it was then called *cha ferir*. *Cha rif* and *cha nemó* indicated the "cooling perfumes" (etheric oils) in the bark and leaves of the Rif (massoi) and Nemó trees. Massoi was applied to persons running a fever and Nemó leaves balanced the fatigue (= "heat") of prolonged dancing. This force travelled "like a wind" (*sefós*), and especially massoi was used as a male love-charm working from a distance.

Things and objects perceived as "cool" or "humid" were called *cha* e.g. salt, palm marrow and various tubers. North of the lakes dead relatives were collectively mentioned as *wo cha*, "the cold ones". The male life force materialized in *cha put*, "the swelling of the penis" or *cha n'to*, the erection of the penis". *Cha* can also connote "penis".

The colours yellow, black and white were directly associated with the concept of *cha* while red and dark green or blue associated with *an*. When men addressed themselves to the ghosts or the dema form connected with death or handled skulls or other skeletal part, they therefore painted red patterns on themselves to counterbalance the excessive *cha*, "cold force". When initiates were brought into contact with *an*, "the hot, vegetative forces", they had white patterns applied to them afterwards in order not to hurt themselves or others by their excessive "heat".

While a man's tattoo was indicated as *cha jo-ú*, "cold force he is fetching more", a woman's was *m'chari an*, "stimulating the warm life force". *An*, the warm life force, was present for instance in *kat an*, "dry, vegetative force", which was the term for the heaps of vegetable mould prepared for very special plant on a swidden. The most common of these plants, the *keladi johar* in Malay, had the name of *awiak an pun*, "taro (with) a vegetative fore (of) the hidden dema". The same force was thought to be given an impetus by applying body cords, *po kār an*, "the product attaching the warm life force" to female children being initiated. The dema was the agent and the cords were brought to its cave and spells were pronounced over them. It was also said: *Taku ni an worá*, "the dema makes the vegetative force of a swidden".

³ Indonesian *bola*.

According to Mejprat views there were three main sources of *an* in the world: the sun, the female vagina and a subterranean *dema* sometimes identified with the earth. The vagina when sexually excited was called *ajú*, "the sun", while the excited penis was *ko*, "fire wood" or *tes*, "dry rattan". *Man*, "her vaginal heat" brought out *aj*, "the water" (= semen). Similarly when *an* from the sun penetrated the human body, "male" water (= sweat) also left it.

The same categories of vagina—rattan—rain were perceived to operate on the presumption that there was a high amount of *an* in the earth at ceremonies for procuring rain in times of drought. Mejprat men then gathered at a *Fu* cave, thrust with a dry length of rattan and afterwards expected the rain to fall.

The bronze tympana⁴, regarded as remains of the regional *dema*'s primeval form also contained *an*. They were observed to be kept quite near running water. During hot spells they were put into the water *nechá an*, "to cool the heat". In the northern parts these objects were classed as *Si-an*, "collector of warmth", which was also a generic name for the common wild duck. The Mejprat observed the duck to "collect" the warm mud (= *an*) along the lake shores.

If before a feast hunters were not successful and game appeared sparse, a *Sian* and a male consort were approached. Near Kauf at the Frako (= "stone penis") place, the male consort had a stone perceived as *tará*, "permanent erection", while the female *dema* had a hollow tree called *ara sajú-och p'paw*, the sacred tree of one womb⁵. His name was *Ajúoch-merár*, "he has up-and-down-ed (= had coitus) in the sun" and except for his stone penis he was invisible. Some red paste of pandanus fruit mixed with roasted and mashed taro was brought to the stone, and left on a leaf of the Kan ("fire") tree. The bronze piece brought out of the hollow tree, was completely smeared with the paste and left out in the sun. This would ensure plenty of *an*, lead to cosmic coitus and thus produce plenty of game.

The above data show the male cold and the female heat to be complementary concepts of polarity. Any object was classed as either *cha* or *an* according to some main property, even if it seemed to contain something of both elements. Stones were perceived as fundamentally cold, hard and male. However, rounded stones—either big like the Tress mountain (= a "breast") or small stones carried from the coast and put along a market place to engender "plenty of things"—were considered pre-dominantly, as were *frä*, red stones, used to attract fish (cold and active) or to procure plenty of strong palmwine (cold and giving a "spirited" feeling).

⁴ Elmberg 1959, p. 79 and Fig. 1, 2. The alloy showed a Dong Son composition largely corresponding to Heger's type IV (1897).

⁵ In this connection the bronze piece was called *saju-och sian*, thus also "of one womb". If this was their reciprocal relation or their relation with the informants is not clear.

Among the organs and parts of the human body considered non-active, warm, round soft or fat were the brain (*nan*), the female breast (*sis*), the liver (*oan*, or *naw*), and the scrotum (*kon*). The vagina (*nako*), was also characterized as *ju* an invard bag, and object classed as feminine. Among those considered essentially active, hard, elongated or cold were the heart, (*nekár*), the larynx (*chamón*), the tongue (*mej* or *kerä cha*), the penis (*natoch*) and the clitoris (*kopot*).

Such relations of the human body were reflected in the treatment of disease. Against e.g. headache—from the “too hot brain”—blood-letting was applied at the eyebrows. Against pains around the “male” heart a treatment with leaves of the “hot” and “female” giant nettle (*afá*), applied to the left part of the chest. *Chaf okó*, “the stomach firing” i.e. excessive heat in the stomach, resulted in “molten” faeces (diarrhoea) and the treatment included rubbing with grated massoi bark and consumption of leaves from the native mint—both of which were “cooling” and “male”.

Atá, the left part of the body, was regarded as “male” and *ati*, the right part, as “female”⁶. *Ati* also meant “superior, leader”, and it was observed that the right side of a house (when facing the entrance from inside) was reserved for the wife of the family. *Oan*, the liver of a killed animal, was regarded as situated on the right side and therefore belonged to *fa*, “the bridegivers”, or to the MB. Feminacentrisety appears to be the culturally natural outcome of this orientation of values, associating *an*, *o-an*, and *fa* with *ati* “the superior, leader, finest”.

Related to these terms were the terms *tä* for east—south and *aw jaw* or *jow* for west—north. *Tä* connoted with “upper, high” and *jaw* with “nether, low”⁷. This order associated also to the relative status of bride-giver and bride-taker. When at the beginning of her marriage a woman lived with her husband’s family, the phrase was: *ra jaw fenjá* “the man brings down the woman” while the phrase *fenjá memän ra*, “the woman causes the man to be elevated”, signified that the woman brought her husband to her own land. “Elevated” and “upper, high” were thus in this context of the same “female” category, and “low” was “male”. Again, this makes east—south “female” and west—north “male”.

Each term however, holds an inherent bi-polarity. This polarity may be established in any unit, any category. In the dichotomy of east—west it splits for instance “west” into one “hot, female” aspect and one (main) “cold,

⁶ The female expert gave her sucking child only her right breast, which allegedly developed a right “female” and a left (reduced) “male” breast. Cf. Elmberg 1966a, fig. 20. Also in Ceram and Kei a differentiation is made between the right half (human) and the left (spiritual?) of the human body (Jensen 1948, 211).

⁷ Elmberg 1966a, 134—137.

male" aspect. Actually, what a foreign observer may regard as a "split", seems to be conceived more positively by the Mejprat as a complementation.

The following complementary relations were indicated (fig. 00):

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>tä</i> connotes | a) east—south, upper, beginning, rising sun, heat, female, birth (newborn child left Krä house through opening facing east), red |
| | b) above, the air, cool wind, flying birds (flock of), male blue or green |
| (<i>j</i>) <i>aw</i>
or
<i>jow</i> | a) west—north, lower, death, cold, male, yellow |
| | b) below, underworld, abode of dema who is hot, female, white, black. |

The Mejprat arranged their observation of physical phenomena in such categories when pointing out that death aspect of the west (sunset, entrance to the underworld) also had a hot, female birth aspect, because the new moon rises there as does the female evening star Komean.

To sum up, it can be concluded that *cha*, the cold, active, male energy, and *an*, the warm, (slowly) growing, feminine energy, represented a fundamental aspect of polarity in the Mejprat world. This polarity seemed to pervade conditions of the human body, of the social relations and of the social organisation, as well as the geographical categories and those of the rest of the animate and inanimate objects in creation: stones, plants and animals. The process of joining or matching these energies was mostly perceived as developing after a coital model, resulting in increased productivity and the wellbeing of the entire Mejprat cosmos.

Manipulation of energies

While adult persons were expected to know to handle most of their own conditions and relationships in respect of *cha* and *an*, experts were called upon when conditions were seriously upset. The experts were called *jokóm* in the Toch-mi society, *ra pofit* and *ra pam* in the Uon, and otherwise *ra potekif* or *jok wen fenjá mapi* and *fenjá mafif*⁸. They all used special devices called *po m'paw* containing "hot" or "cold" energy to sway the play of forces. The term can conveniently be translated as "medicines" although it probably denotes

⁸ Elmberg 1966⁴, 103, 130, 131. *Ra po tekif*. "a man knowing what leads to a bargain" *Jok-wen* denoted "introducing the furred" (the dema?) or the fur (the pubic hair?).

something "forbidden, dangerous, heavily charged". It sometimes connoted "taboo" or "taboo-ed".

Such medicines were of two kinds, names and concrete things⁹. They were usually used together. A Mejprat name was a characterisation of certain important relations or propensities in its bearer. The knowledge of the secret names of the dema put some of its power at the disposal of the expert and such a name was used in spells to influence a process: to stop the rain or make it fall, to smite people with diseases or to cure them. This was believed to be effected through the dominant content of "hot" or "cold" energy connected with the dema's function in each case. Names of ordinary ghosts (before their final death dues were exchanged) and of homeless and aggressive ghosts (*chafit*) (which were not properly united with the regional dema), could be similarly used. The names of *Tuhan Allah* (God) and *Tuhan Mesus* (Jesus) were also used by Christianised experts of the Mefchatiam area in spells applied for the speedy recovery of factory-made cloth that was lent out by the popot. *Po fit*, "ginger", was chewed to add power in the enunciation of the formula.

The objects employed as medicines by the experts were peculiar in form, smell or colour. Rounded stones¹⁰ were regarded as *cha fra mawf* "cold stone eggs". Small stone rings were considered to be "stone vaginas", emitting warmth and therefore attractive to cloth that had been away a long time from its owners, thereby loosing its "warm" properties. Such rings were called *repat*, signifying "attraction to return", or *tum* "from the Tu-dema".

Any objects having the colours of red and yellow, were employed by the experts to achieve respectively a hot or a cold influence. Even the "cold" yellow afternoon light sometimes filling the saturated air above the lakes made experts look up: the colour was generally associated with "death" and this made people watch out for any signs of a surprise attack or for someone "planting something powerful", (*nesä safo*), near the houses or walks.

Anything preferably having a red appearance, a "hot" taste or smell, or being connected with actions or ideas of this category was planted in this way. Various leaves, feathers, bird's claws, sharp stones, rodent teeth, python urine and pieces of bark cloth were demonstrated as "powerful things" (*po safo*), usually obtained from or bespelled by experts. Such objects were expected to cause excessive heat in the body, of a person whose name was mentioned in the accompanying spell.

Counteractions were also the work of specialists. At feasts when a great number of people were assembled, a conspicuous fence of maniok stems shielded

⁹ Elmberg 1955, 48.

¹⁰ According to Mejprat traditions, rounded stones were carried for into the hills from the coastal villages of Konda and Teminabuan. In 1907 the heaps of ballast stones landed by the monsoon traders in Konda were considerable, according to Hilc (1907, 629).

the part of the feast site where guests generally entered. Over the entrance in the fence was placed a cross-bar, treated and bespelled by an expert to reverse any harmful influence from medicines carried under it, by making it hit the bearer instead.

Cross-bars were placed across the paths leading to a feast site, and in a high continuous circle or square around a Krä house. Glass beads and other "cold" things like opossum teeth, Nemo leaves, and massoi bark were supposed to ward off the harmful influence better if applied by an expert.

If, in spite of counter-measures, a person was smitten by a serious disease, an expert tried different techniques of divination (*maue*) to ascertain who was responsible. The expert could also chew ginger, stretch out beside the patient and let his own "shadow" go out to search the spirit homes for the shadow of the patient. A shadow that was snatched away could be hidden under a stone, in a hollow tree near the spirit home, or in the underworld. If a dissatisfied ghost was the agent, its demands had first to be met, then the captured shadow could be recovered. If some human antagonist was found to be the perpetrator, resort was made to counter-medicines and some round-about way of negotiation. The fear of planted medicine seemed often to have been caused by a knowledge of one's own failure to comply with the rules for cooperation, especially between in-laws, or by having forced through a hard deal. In such cases the experts sometimes acted as mediators, and they were rewarded for their mediation and medicines with garden products, bark-cloth or ordinary cloth.

The Rapám of the Uon society and the Jokom of the Toch-mi (both male, reportedly possessed secret techniques for achieving the "rebirth" after the symbolical death of the initiates which gave them their adulthood¹¹. They were thought to cause those undergoing initiation to meet the male, hairy watchman Suse-mur or Oron, who introduced them through the Charen-masoch house ("vaginal orifice"), along the So-is or Is-sera. "old road", Road of all men"), to Ku-an ("Increase of hot life energy"), the subterranean dwelling of the female Komean or Suse-chor. This journey was described as going through the vagina of the regional dema into her uterine parts, from which the neophytes returned as newborn children (*tená*).

The male Ra-potekif, and the female Fenjá-mapi and Fenjá-mafif, were concerned with the traditional feasts indicated as an earlier form of initiation than those of the Uon and Tochmi societies. The male experts stated that they were especially concerned to make people feel *macháf mof*, "in good spirits, generous, cooperative" and susceptible to *n'kif*, "bargaining, reasoning". They used special plants, recommended the regional dema, such as *Coleus* species (*fujá*), small fern (*panách*), ginger or massoi (*chajáw*) gnemon bast (*futióch*) and a liana termed *charios*.

¹¹ Elmberg 1966a, 115.

Fenjá mapi, "the old woman" or "mother—woman" and *fenjá mafif*, "woman of preparations" were the female experts. They were habitually associated with anything growing. Their spell (*sus*), were considered necessary for taro cultivation, child birth, initiation and the building of ceremonial houses, but few data were available on their functions.

Associated with their activities however, was *mon*, connoting "medicine; female expert knowledge" of a different potency and seemingly in a more "pure" form than things *m'paw*. Male experts were at no time indicated as possessing *mon*, or habitually handling it. When the proper order between the elements of a myth had to be ascertained, or the proper roasting of taro or handling of poisonous bark, this term reappeared: *fenjá no mon*, "women know the proper process".

Mon included both "cold" and "hot" medicines. *Ju mon*, "bag-medicines (=the dema's vaginal medicines?)"¹² denoted the set of red, "hot" and white, "cold" body-bands plaited of cane or rush and used ceremonially for magic protection by those under initiation or by female feasts participands. *Aru mon*, was a medicine giving the "purely dark" colour to bark-cloth by a process of several stages. *Aká mon*, "shelter of pure medicine", signified a pitcher plant (*Nepentes*), assumed always to contain a supply of the hot and cold medicines employed by female experts. *Mon-ko* denoted a wooden slit gong or, in the western border land near Sawiet, a brass gong. These were said to "sound for a long time" if struck once, thus giving a long series of sounds.

An analysis of the term *cha mon* for "larynx" seems to show the highly valued element of a series or a process contained in *mon*. A characteristic feature of all spiritual agents was the sound-producing faculty. A ghost was often identified with *majn*, the voice of a dead person, the thing "that lasts for ever". A number of places were called *Fra-majn* or *Tu-majn*, and there a dema could be heard. Actually it was definitely more common to "hear" anything spiritual than to "see" it. The Mejprat observed the larynx to be important for speech and even measured maturity and responsibility in terms of the size of the throat: *napi serow*, "you are grown up of throat", signified that a young person was counted on as reliable and capable of judgement. "The throat" was the seat of calculating and deliberating processes, in contradistinction to the emotional center of the nose. For instance *n'komo neff*, "(to have) an angry nose" signified to "be angry". It seems significant that a "wise" or "dependable" person was designated as *safe serów*, "wise of throat", and that the larynx, the centre of the Mejprat concept for "maturity" and "responsibility", was termed *cha mon*, connoting not only purity but also a balanced order of "spirited" energies. It seems to be a parallel to the expression *at mon* "the pure (dema) feed"¹³, indicating the two supreme kinds

¹² Ibidem 120.

of food enjoyed by the dema of the myths M4. This food was expected to induce the eternal life of the dema into a human being. The ultimate source of this food was the dema itself.

The activities of the experts were thus observed to fall into the main categories of "hot" and "cold". Feminacentricity was seemingly expressed in the predominant female use of "pure medicine", considered capable also of a vast cosmic influence, but the result of which could be enjoyed by everybody. It is no wonder, then, that the experts took an important and leading part in the preparations for the feasts where "female" bride-givers and "male" bride-takers exchanged.

3) The upper cycle

The balance necessary for both human life and the entire cosmic order was not static but fluctuating. In nature, draughts, floods, thunderstorms and earthquakes continually testified to this. In human life disease, sudden death, and frequent failures of crops, hunting enterprises, cloth dealings and marriages, demonstrated similarly unbalanced and therefore disastrous outflows of energy.

As shown in the previous section, the desire and techniques for counter-acting such failures and disasters were regarded as present. When regularly employed they achieved *n'seká*, "a matching, balance". Balance was an ideal implied in the presence of "hot" and "cold" energies. A balance was assumed in the physical system of a healthy person or in his exchange relations, but it was a dynamic balance. It contained activating tensions between uneven charges of "heat" and "cold" which stimulated the course of events as demonstrated e.g. in the cases of delayed exchange.

It has also been demonstrated that ideally the number of common relatives regarded as connecting a man and his wife were alternatively male and female. The informant explaining this used a simile from the cultivation of taro, a process which was regarded as a series of matching "hot" and "cold" elements, resulting in the production of taro tubers. Such a series obviously ended in the consumption of the tuber and the re-starting of another series or cycle of similar events, with man planting the tarostalk again.

Similar cycles were formed not only as previously demonstrated in the genealogical and social aspects, but also by elements or phases in certain important myths expressing the origin of the traditional order.

Attention will be drawn first to some myths in which an animal is trans-

⁴ Jensen (1939, 78, 80) records that in Ceramese myths human flesh is considered to be the food of the spirits. In this respect, one Ceramese myth (no. 27) shows many points of agreement with the Mejprat M 4.

formed into different things; secondly to the transformation of a tree or its fruits; and finally to the cyclic transformations tree—animal—tree, here called “upper cycle” in contradistinction to the “lower” cycle, which was connected primarily with forms of spiritual energy and with the underground.

Two myths from the western and southern Prat area mention the transformation of a cassowary. In the Pres-Sia myth (M 27), a female cassowary eats some puff-ball mushrooms on which a man had urinated. Because of that she got a human child. Later she was killed and her feathers, bones etc. were placed in various parts of a ceremonial house. Her feathers were then transformed to cloth, her feet to bush knives, her bones to four people, her meat to “more people”, her liver to Chinese plates and her beak to a necklace, according to the later commentaries of the informants.

Important elements are ordered in two series leading to the creation of a human being and to the fundamentals of the social order. The first appears cumulative:

- A) puff-ball mushroom + male urine + cassowary = human being (*ra*)
- B) the cassowary being killed and giving rise to what seem to be four “root” persons + “more people” + all the essential valuables = social organization, connubium and exchange.

These objects of value are all imported goods, which corresponds to the status of “partitional guests, bride-takers” that is expressly indicated for the Pres-Sia by this myth.

The second myth, that of the Chowaj-Sefarari (M 7), contains several series, among them one starting with the killing of a cassowary. Its flesh was put in the four corners of a ceremonial house, its liver on the floor and the feathers under the roof. From one of its thigh-bones it reappeared as a dema woman, while the meat was transformed to “people” (obviously four = the four root people, and the feathers changed to cloth. This appears equivalent to the B) series. The cassowary, however, was a transformed woman who had been living in a tree, and who in turn was descended from a cassowary. This establishes a kind of short transformation series:

- C) cassowary—tree-woman—cassowary

In this part of the area cassowaries were considered a female form of the dema. This type of series was repeated when the son of the dema was transformed into an Arit bird, then to a man, and finally to a dema being. His sister directs the events of the latter C) series as well as those of the B) series, finally cohabitates with him and makes him join her in her dema world; this can be termed the D) series.

In a similar kind of transformation, a tree or its fruit plays an important part. The Naw-Chara myth (M 23) tells how, during a heat wave, a man's perspiration impregnating the ground brought forth a pandanus palm. Its long, red fruit was transformed into a (dema) woman, when put into his rain hood (of pandanus leaves). She instructed him in cohabitation, gave him four wives (=four root women) + further nubile women who attracted men from other places. This is the D) series, explaining how marriages and exchanges were established. The cumulative series contains warm (+) and cold (—) elements:

E) man (—) + heat (+) + sweat (—) + ground (+) = pandanus palm.
It continues: fruit (—) + pandanus hood (+) = woman.

The man's own pedigree shows the characteristic series

F) bush hen's heap (+) — stones (—) — dog (+) — man (—).

The Safuf myth (M 32) contains the latter part of the E) series although the result is a boy, not a woman. The E) and F) series appear mixed in further myths. In the myth of the Wafom (M 53), a woman with the name of Awiet (= pandanus fruit) had the following pedigree:

G) stone — crayfish — woman — pandanus fruit.

The Semuniak myth (M 38) offers a different version of the above mixed series:

H) dog — wallaby — pandanus fruit — stone — ashes — water — mango fruit — human beings.

The last part may also be written: ashes (+) — water (—) = mango tree; and the series: mango tree (+) — mango fruit (—) — human beings (in a left group and a right group may be termed the I) series.

This seems part of a transformation series that is present in a number of myths. So for instance in the Charu-m'pres myth (M 6), where the fruits of a banana plant are transformed to human beings in a series very much like the H) series:

dog — wallaby — stone — ashes — water — banana plant — bananas — human beings.

It also contains the I) series: ashes (+) + water (—) = banana plant; banana plant (+) — banana fruit (—) — human beings (two groups, each holding 5, since the name Tāmaj of the banana plant denotes "2 × 5").

These series seem to reflect three main themes: One is that a balanced juxtaposition of hot and cold elements has led to the creation of man (A, E, F, G) A second theme deals with a series of transformations from animal or plant forms to human beings. It also results in the creation of the constituents of the social order, namely the divisions of the root or host people (B, H, I), as well as the valuables to be exchanged. The third is the notion of a transformation circuit (C, D). A combination of the second and the third theme appears to be expressed in the Ajnot myth (M 1): the Tu dema died or was killed. Different parts of its body became living things, plants and valuables. The living things lived on the fruits from the trees and when they died, new trees grew up from their skulls. This actually creates a cycle:

K) tree (+)—fruit (—)—living thing (+)—skull (—)—tree (+).

There are three more instances of similar cycles, one in the myth of the Sacharim (M 29) and two in Siwa tales. The myth referred to a man hunting with a dog and starting an opossum, who fled up in a Remo tree. There it changed into the proper five parts. When the man did so, four women appeared out of its legs and a Remo tree obviously grow out of its buried skull. Since it was commonly believed that the opossum preferred the fruit of the Remo tree and to take up its quarters in such trees, this makes for a balanced cycle.

This myth said quite clearly that the opossum, if properly buried, will be brought back to the dema who can then send it out again to be caught. This idea fits perfectly with the observed behaviour at the Ajwasi feast (Appendix 2). It appears that every important death—a sacrifice, a kill or an ordinary—death—was celebrated by bringing a relevant skull to a Totor (i.e. dema-) tree, the tree sometimes being represented by the central post of a Sepiach feast house¹⁴. The many pig's skulls, cassowary pelvises and beaks of birds of prey observed at Totor trees then indicate that one cycle of life forms was completed and anew one was started. What could be more in agreement with *watum*, "the rules of our dema", and a justifiable cause of personal and partitional pride?

The Ajnot and Sacharim myths therefore appear to contain not merely accidental resemblances, but instead to contain fairly complete expressions for cyclic ideas that are frequently reflected by ceremonial actions. That this was actually so seems corroborated by the facetious use of this theme in the Siwa stories.

Such stories did not belong to any one group and were observed only along the western, northern and eastern fringes of the lacustrine port. In the lacustrine centre, Sif-aj was the Megapodius (or Maleo) dema and definitely not amusing. These stories were told by a few story tellers amidst loud guffawing as "jokes" (*po mesách*). I hold them to be facetious variations of traditionally

¹⁴ Cf. Elmberg 1966a, 95

important Mejprat characteristics, fabricated principally by immigrants or their descendants.

In one story Siwa danced with a twig of Nemó leaves in his hair until, exhausted, he fell dead to the ground. The twig started growing into a tree, its roots almost completely covering the insensible Siwa. Fruits from the tree fell on the ground and animals came to eat them. The bush hen picked at Siwa's penis thinking it was a fruit. The awaking Siwa turned the tree over and became free again.

In the second tale¹⁵ Siwa was killed in a pig pit, which was afterwards filled with earth. A Nemó tree grew out of the earth with Siwa inside the bark. A flock of pigs was attracted by the fruits falling down. Scrubbing their snouts against the tree, they tickled Siwa so that he began laughing and the bark split and let him free.

In both these tales Siwa is identified with an animal: in the first he danced himself to death as the bush hen was supposed to do; he was also resuscitated by a bush hen after being overgrown by a Nemó tree. In the second story he was killed like a pig in a pig trap, carried out of this grave by a Nemó tree and brought back to life by a pig. In both cases fun is poked at the cyclic theme of transformation in rather a Gargantuan fashion: Siwa danced a whole year till the dance house collapsed about him, the tree grew on top of him when he lay dead on the ground and it toppled over when he was awakening, pecked on his penis by the bird. The audience also laughed appreciatingly at Siwa being tickled back into life by the pigs. A familiarity with the main theme was everywhere here taken for granted, as no explanations were needed.

Siwa is thus identified with a bush hen or a pig, and his dying gives rise to a tree, the fruit of which attracts same species of animal as eventually also bring him back to life.

Since every modern fam was supposed to have a tree and an animal as a "totem" (*wach*), and since every person who had led a proper life, at his death had a tree planted at *totor*, and since skulls of humans (traditionally) and animals were brought to such trees as a sign of a completed cycle, the notion of a cyclic relation between certain forms of existence as expressed in the above myths seems a universal Mejprat category.

The reason why all the myths do not show the same pattern may be partly that very few of the myths were recorded in optimal form and partly the process of cultural change. In this process, totems often seemed confused¹⁶, thematic series from parental ropes were mixed and emphases were shifted

¹⁵ Idem 1955. 46, 47.

¹⁶ E.g. in the Karet myth (M 15) the group actually functions as a Sarosa fam or rope because the mothers of the most active adults were of the Sarosa, but the government policy of introducing patrilineality is accepted to the extent of adding also a new Karet dimension to the myth, which can be utilised for marriage and exchange purposes. Simultaneously it gives a proper sanction to the name of the group.

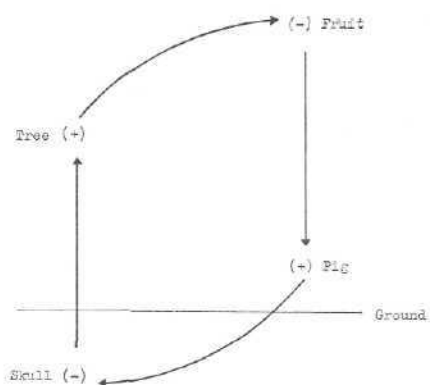


Fig. 33. Transformations in the upper cycle.

e.g. to account for something new in the actual situation of the group.

In the lacustrine area where Popot feasts were being substituted for the traditional feasts, a shift of emphases can also be observed from a traditional tree to be used as *totor* to the use of the more spectacular and fast growing croton and dracaena species. This may be both a result of changing views on "the original tree" and a re-interpreted acceptance of the immigrant use of these plants.

To resume, it can be pointed out that cyclic concepts were demonstrated in a number of myths and tales. Series of alternating "hot" and "cold" elements were perceived to produce "the first being" of a group and the foundations of the traditional, social and economic order. Finally, cycles combine human life with animals and plants in a characteristic way. These themes occurred also in the Siwa tales in a satirical form, and were recorded from peripheral parts of the area. Acculturation processes as well as incomplete forms of some recorded myths seem to account for themes showing little or no association with this cycle. However, a plant and an animal totem were everywhere connected to each fam group, indicating a conceptual connection with a cosmic cycle.

The lower cycle and the dema

The Mejprat took for granted that the regional dema was responsible for the appearance of alike human beings, animals and things in a certain region.

In the lacustrine part, the ceremonies and rites previously described as accompanying the feasts of the life cycle were enacted near the spirit homes. Regional dema forms were called up, invited to take part and escorted to the feast site; they were fed and asked quickly to collect cloth. They were also considered to be prevented from leaving the feast site by thorny bushes set across the paths. A great many dema terms were quoted when these rites were explained and discussed. Three main aspects appear in the terms known:

A) When the dema was perceived as female she was complemented by a male form often regarded as her son or husband. When she resided in a cave, he resided in the water; when she was represented by a tree, he possessed animal form, building his nest or having his den in this tree.

B) When the dema was perceived as "the Union" or "the All One", it was represented by transvestites, a black and white bird, or a pair of animals consisting of one "male" and one "female" species.

C) As a mother dema or a "warm" dema, she sent out the shadow soul and received it back as a "cold" ghost that was re-vitalised.

The terms used can mostly be perceived as pairs of complementary opposites, and semantic analysis also corroborates their polar functions.

A) <i>Tu</i> .	"true real; the Mistress" (+)	opposite: <i>In</i> ,	"the Dear One"; monsoon. (trade-)wind (—)
<i>Ra-tu</i>	"the Tu-being" (+)	opposite: <i>Mos</i>	1) "moving, changing" (—) (the Messenger)
<i>Fos</i> .	"hot storm, typhoon" (+)	opposite:	2) "flood, great rain fall" (punishing role) (—)
<i>Fa-</i>	element of tree terms, ="hot, female" (+)	opposite: <i>Kar</i> ,	"vigilant animal" (—)

Tu was everything that was real and concrete. *Tu tiáro* denoted "the regional dema" and appeared to have the connotation "the region as a form of the dema". Experts in different parts concurred in the opinion that trees, stones, flowers and fish as well as snakes, quadrupeds and birds were (identical with) *Tu* and that the different terms for *Tu* were "just names". *Tu* also implied "master" and served as a term for any agent or tool that really mastered something, as for instance *tu susur*, "a master of flute-playing", or *tu awf*, the fork used for eating sago porridge: "what masters the sago".

Holes, cavities and tunnels in the ground were pointed out as vaginal ducts through which *Tu*, the Mistress, was asked to bring forth the live beings. The ground was thought to function as the body of the dema. This female

dema ground had a male complement in In, the wind. It was expressly said to be sent out through the ground or from her *ako*, "cave, vaginal duct", thus being born by her. Consequently, a filial element too is present in this male complement. As a south-east monsoon, however, it was sent out (*mepís*) and as a north-western it was going home (*eman*), much as a messenger bringing back items important to the social and ceremonial life of the Mejprat.

The ceremonies performed at the Fu an Serajn caves also aimed at making the rain and the wind reappear (*nerú*), at the proper time. Similarly, in Teminabuan on the coast, corn cobs were thrown into certain caves or shafts to make the wind bring the traders from Kokas. What the wind brought—stones, cloth, knives and china-ware—was regarded by the Mejprat as coming from Tu in the world below. It was traditionally stored in or near her cave spirit homes, or simply buried in the ground, from which the cloth finally disappeared, eaten by worms and cockroaches, when it was believed to have returned to the dema.

If this Tu—wind relation seems to have a region—outer world aspect, the Ratu—Mos relation was of an exclusively regional nature. When Ratu and Mos appeared in the myths, Ratu was an old or young woman, sometimes transformed from an animal and connected with the genesis of human beings and with pro-creation¹⁷. Mos was a male being, mostly a black man or a boar, fundamentally associated with water, death, darkness and violence¹⁸. Mos had also a variety of "watery" and "wavy, moving, alive" connotations, seemingly opposed to the lethal aspect. The pattern of carved rings of the bark-cloth beater was called Mos; *mos manse* was a "heavy downpour of rain", *neróch mos*, "to make (through magic) a heavy rainfall" and *mos mauŋ*, denoted certain egg shaped stones buried in a swidden to bring about sufficient rain for the crops. *Mos* also connoted "fish hook", waves, snot, sago-porridge" and a certain type of dance house with a "wavering" rattan floor used in the northern and eastern parts. Mos was the term for the dema fish leading the ordinary fish into the traps of the fishermen¹⁹.

The attribute *ma-mós* which may be rendered "waterlike, alive", was used in northern terms for "our (two?) dema" (*cha mamós*); also of a pair of animals thought to be re-appearing dema forms, e.g. *ru mamós*, which was one of the common terms for the huge hornbill birds. Here it implied an eternal form of energy and vitality²⁰. The ceremony during which the death dues were handed over after a funeral in western Prat was called *neche mamós*

¹⁷ E.g. in M 1 (Ajnot), M 3 (Asem), M 15 (Karet), M 29 (Sacharim) M 46 (Tchopa)

¹⁸ E.g. in M 2 (Arné), M 8 (Fati), M 6 (Charumpres), M 38 (Semuniak), M 43 (Sifre)

¹⁹ Elmberg 1955, 60, idem 1966a, 21–22, the fish Mos being fed with palmwine

²⁰ Hornbills were believed to rejuvenate each other in turn, one immuring the other in the cavity of a tree. After some time a young bird left the cavity. This obviously is a Mejprat interpretation of the hornbill's nesting habits. Christian Mejprat translated "the living God" as *Tuhan Mamós*

which may be rendered "to examine what belongs to Mos", but also "to revisit the (eternally) alive dema". Traditionally cloth was then left for a number of days on the deserted feast site and was thought to be charged by the "hot" energy of the dema. Was this attribute then felt to connect with *mam*, "warm", and should it be understood as *mam-mos*, "the warm and moving dema"?

People regarding themselves to be of (recent) immigrant origin talked more often than others of an ever aggressive Mos, causing them to vomit, to suffer from diarrhoea, rheumatism and colds, or to fall from trees. Every gnat, fly or bug that bit or stung was called Mos, as were centipedes, scorpions and snakes when inflicting pain or death.

Though the Watum, rules, i.e. the traditional order, were expressly upheld by Ratu, she sent Mos, who lived in the water or in a stone, to punish a trespasser through insect bites, gastric disorders, colds, and swellings or through a pig ravaging on the swiddens, through a snake-bite or a flood. The great rains attributed to Mos were considered to be accompanied by foods and strong winds, and seem to be a counterpart to the conditions brought by the arrival of the north-west monsoon.

In the case of a continuous rain and ensuing foold (*mos*), feasts were prepared, and spells were recited at spirit homes, where offerings of "hot" food and tobacco were made. The phrase *mos mekák* was repeated: "stop the rain!". Members of the Uon society boasted that they know the secret of how to stop Mos.

When a typhoon (*fos*) suddenly struck a village, people ran out in the pouring rain holding up fluttering ikat cloths and blowing the conch trumpets. Men and women strutted about holding bush knives, and between the roaring peals of thunder they shouted that they would immediately transfer some overdue cloth. It was explained that Ratu would recognize them as her people by seeing the proper cloths, which were considered to be gifts from her.

The existence of *om* a "female" rain, falling softly (Malay: *h u d j a n k u t o - k u t o*), should be mentioned. This was probably perceived as an aspect of Tu. The term for such rainfall, *om majs* coincides with the Sawiet phrase for "she is descending", thus clearly denoting the agent as a female. The term was observed in this phrase only and indicates a possible polarity between "soft rain" (+) and "heavy rain" (—).

The fundamental relation between the female tree form of the dema its animal form was also the content of even pair of totems, and an element in "upper cycle". It was stated that as a mother held her child and cared for it, so a tree held and cared for the opossum, the pig and the bird²¹. A tree

²¹ Even fish came out of a tree in the Charum-pres myth (M 6)

gave shelter in its "hole, vaginal duct" (*ako*), to the animal regarded as her child or husband, as she cared for it and supplied it with (vegetable) food.

The ceremonial language contained paraphrasing class terms for dema trees. Of six known terms, five contained the morpheme *fa*, "female, hot": *ara-fa*, *fa-n'ka*, *ko-fa*, *fa-ket*, *fa-rir*. While the tree and a certain animal, (*kar*) together formed the totem, the name of the tree could also denote in addition the animal and the underground world. In Framesa the Wafom used *farir* both for the pandanus palm and the crayfish, as well as for the under world, translating it "the female force striking out".

In other cases the names (or terms) Naw, Kawia, Krok, Awiet, and Koch were used for the same threefold purpose. Naw, for instance, was noted for pandus palm and a the bush turkey, Kawia for the banyan tree and the bush hen, and Krok for the black and white morning bird and the casuarina tree. The name of Koch, however, covered the widest range. It signified: 1) a tree of a dema, specially selected and tended to become the main posts in ceremonial houses; 2) red earth (ochre) used by men for ceremonial paint; 3) white earth eaten by pregnant women when "feeling tired"; 4) the wild boar; 5) the domesticated pig slaughtered at popot feasts; 6) the subterranean world as perceived in the western Prat part.

This term for the subterranean world thus covered the complementary forms of female tree and male animal, and of white "cold" earth and red "hot" earth. The Koch entre post of the Sepiach house was in the western Prat part erected with the assistance of an old woman belonging to the regional ground owners. She made it "hot" with red dracaema leaves. Offerings of palmwine, food, and tobacco were continuously presented to it, the most important cloths were hung on it and blood from the slaughtered pig was smeared on it in the last stage of the feast. The pig's head was then kept there until it was time to prepare it for the Totor tree, where it was finally hung.

In the Prat part, the term *fa-rir*, which was applied by the popot also to the central post, was connected with *me-rir*, corresponding to "lightning". This phenomenon was described as an act of Raut "striking out forcefully" to kill someone who had broken the *watum* rules. The invariable phrase for this was:

<i>ajuóch</i>	<i>merír</i>	<i>maj</i>	<i>ati-ät</i>
cloud, thunder	strikes out	hits	dema-food

The last uninflected form appeared also in connection with anthropophagy, which was termed *napo-ati-ät*, "to eat the dema food". To spear somebody" was similarly rendered as *naj sejä ati-ät*, "to hit the dema food with a spear", whether the corpse was used for food or not. The phrase was explained to mean that unless the dema had withdrawn the victim's shadow, he could not be killed. *Ne-ti-ät* indicated "to be lost in an accident". "Accidents" were

punishments inflicted by the dema. In the Asim myth (M 4), *atiāt* was a concept coupled with that of the man-eating dema in the form of Ames, the "female" red opossum. The "spear-killed" were told to join her. She and a boar were also said to be "of one Koch tree".

When therefore the Farir posts or the posts or Koch wood were smeared with blood, and the head of the pig was brought there, a parallel is suggested to the ceremonial consumption of human flesh brought to a spirit home tree²². In what little is known about this, two things seem certain: the flesh was ceremoniously consumed near the tree, and the skull was placed in its branches.

The term *faj-at*, "the venerable woman's offering place", seems clearly to be related to these ideas. The contracted form *fajt* (*fej*) was at first taken to denote specifically the gnemon tree. However, as already demonstrated these terms indicated a number of different tree species connected with dema forms, as well as the weeded and tended places around them.

At the dema tree, whether at the Fajt place or in a house post of Koch wood, the union between the dema and its creation thus established an essential if transient one-ness of things conducive to new cycles of created forms. The parallel to the taro cycle seems obvious: also the consumption of the tuber pointed to a new planting of the stalk. The consumers of this pure food (*at mon*) probably regarded themselves as more fortunate than the Kapesmān of the Asim myth. By mistake, he got the meat from a decomposing body instead of the "red water" and "fish meat" which the Ames dema was bringing to save him from death. If this myth is seen as an apology for anthropophagy, it can be inferred that the dema's food made men dema-like, i.e. healthy, strong and procreative. This was also the professed goal of the popot feasts and the alleged result of the traditional feast cycle when properly conducted.

The tree planted for a dead person at the Fajt place²³ when his funeral feasts were concluded may be regarded as expressing his union with the regional dema. In the northern and eastern parts, "the tree of the conjoiner" (*ara ni*), was also a term for a spirit home tree and the place around it where exchanges were made. In the lake area another term for the tree was used, as in the phrase *nekóm ati ara*, "to make an exchange at the union tree". "The union" (*ati*) is an aspect of the regional dema that will be discussed later on.

Finally it should be mentioned that the body cord (*pokār*) applied for the first time during the initiation, was made of grass cords, covering two strings of gnemon or ficus bast taken from a dema tree. Bark as well as the human or animal skin, was termed *marák*. The bark-cloth came from the "skin" of the dema (tree) and, in the myths, the skin of dema snakes and the feathers of dema birds were transformed into ikat cloth. In each case the cloth came from a form of the dema. Its "skin" lay around the body of

²² Elmberg 1955, p. 52.

²³ Elmberg 1966a, 141.

each individual and traditionally passed in a beneficial circuit through the region, drawing a protective circle around the cooperating individuals and groups.

B) <i>Su-se,</i>		<i>Suse-chor</i>	= Tu (♀)
"the entire unit"	=	<i>Suse-mur</i>	= Mos (♂)
<i>Se-sa,</i>		<i>Seca Suwi</i>	= white opossum (♂)
"the all one"	= {	<i>Sesa Ames</i>	= red opossum (♀)
<i>Ti</i> or <i>A-ti,</i>	"planter, principal" ²⁴ ; the union"	{ = male transvestites	
		{ = female transvestites	

In the western Prat part, *Suse-mur* and *Suse-chor* were mentioned as taking part in the ceremonies of initiation. *Suse-mur* was sometimes described as half man and half frog, with his lower part human, black and hairy. He performed at the Uon initiation in the House of the Vaginal Orifice, and the descriptions suggest a masked actor. At other times he was thought of as half man and half swine, with a boar's snout, guarding the entrance to the underworld. Traditionally he put pig's dung in the mouth of those who tried to pass without being properly initiated and struck out their teeth with an axe²⁵. This latter feature seems to have been borrowed from the feared image of an axe man or manibob.

Suse-chor or sometimes only *Chor* or *Char*, was known to show herself in the house of female initiation. She taught the girls how to bear children and what medicines to use for garden and love magic and for a successful pregnancy. It was impossible to discern whether the advice was simply given in her name or whether some experts acted her part. Some experts, however, described her as half woman, half opossum. In the northern part she was identified with the owl (*kakdj*), which was believed to be half bird, half opossum. In the eastern part, her favourite form was the Charok birds, a term translated as *char-ok*, "the apparition of Char". What singled these birds out was the fact that they were bi-coloured, e.g. the hornbills (black and white), the birds of paradise (yellow and "red"), the morning birds²⁶ (black and white) and various waders (shades of black and white).

Their voices were interpreted as announcing the birth of children, or foreboding imminent death; as indications when to start a feast and when to finish it. Their signals directed the lost wanderer to the right path, and they revealed where a hunted animal was hiding.

In the lacustrine part the name of this dema form was *Woj*. Either as *Woj* or as the half human *Suse-chor*, the dema appeared to lure little children

²⁴ Mcjprat forms lack the sexual (male), connotation of the English equivalent.

²⁵ Elmsberg 1955, 66.

²⁶ Malay: *burung tawar* or *burung siang*.

to enter the tunnel orifices and then to offer them her food. Only if they refused it were they supposed to find their way home again; if they accepted they were later found in a demented state, chewing wood and holding on to small stones, believed to be precious presents.

The last function has a parallel in the Moluccan belief in the benevolent and dema-like Nene Luhu, who none the less used to play similar tricks on the Ambonese, and also in the Javanese belief in *gendruwo*²⁷. The latter kind of spirits, represented by one female mask and one male, appear also as the protectors of a village in performances where a barong ogre is driven out of the village.

The name *Suse*, "the entire unit" is closely related in its semantic content to *Sesa*, "the all one". The name *Sesa* was applied to all marsupials that were ceremonially consumed. These were accounted as "red, female" or "white, male", depending not only on their actual colour but also on the ceremonial context. Such marsupials were cut up in four parts+the head; the bones were burned and the head buried as in the Sacharim myth. This arrangement was considered to cause the animal to return to the underworld to be re-born.

In the lacustrine part it was not uncommon to hear that only the immigrants from the coast and specially the Uon-people knew how to breed pigs for a ceremonial slaughter. No myth mentioned the pig as a sacrificial animal, and only one told of a hunter getting a pig, but then only by a fatal mistake of the dog (M 43). The Mejprat were not keen hunters and rather avoided wild pigs. The only known pig-trap was a dug-out hole with a pointed pole in the middle made close to the fence of a swidden, with the object of warding off ravaging pigs.

Motherless piglets found in the bush, however, were fed and cuddled. They were termed *tum* "(gift) from the Tu dema".

North of the lakes, pig's skulls were rare at the spirit homes, while in the western Prat part they were more numerous. In 1957, in the village of Sauf three pig skulls were attached to the tree spirit home, while at the tree in Tuwer there was only one.

When a domesticated pig was slaughtered in the western Prat, it was cut up in eight parts+the head. Just as the four parts of the opossum corresponded to the four partitions and the four host ropes of a region, the eight parts of the pig probably alluded to the eighth main host ropes and guest ropes. Not even the Arne, however, whose myth (M 2) suggested the existence of five partitions mentioned a different number of parts to be distributed at a pig slaughter. The common feast fare was still opossum, wallaby or tree kangaroo, and the ideal of a pig slaughter was only realised in the western Prat part at one of the marriage feasts. The customary distribution of meat from the sacrificial animal suggested the mythical explanation of the origin of human

²⁷ C. Geertz 1960, 18.

beings and the regional social organisation, and of the traditional heirlooms still functioning in the Mejprat society.

Suse, "the entire body", and Sesa, "the all one" were the dema terms comprising the polar male and female forms, which were conceived as a totality. Everything was ultimately a form of the dema: earth and wind, plants and stones, men and animals, bark-cloth and imported cloth, Chinese plater and bronzes. This holistic view of the polar categories was perhaps reflected most concretely in the Mechar experts (also called Mafif) and the transvestites²⁸.

Mechar women were active at the female initiation and deliveries. They embodied the fusion of male and female in visible form by letting only their right breast develop into a "female" breast and checking the development of their left breast, which was classed as "male". This was done by avoiding suckling with both breasts, which would make them "too hot" and upset the desired balance. The term *mechar*, denoting "acting like a dema, using a dema's name", relates to the category of Suse-choi or Char. There was no corresponding male form or function.

Female transvestites appeared in different forms on ceremonial occasions but mostly as supervisors and masters of ceremonies. They carried heirloom parangs, spears and bows, and they wore precious ikat cloths, bark-cloths or a vivid array of ribbons and lengths of factory-made cloth. They were careful to arrange their woven chest bands in a big loop across the right hand side of the body (female) and in a small loop across the left hand side (male). Others covered their left breast with a cloth, but left their right breast uncovered. They moved with great solemnity and pride, brandishing their weapons and inviting the guests to take their proper positions from which to start the ceremonies. The terms *ati* and *po tu tiaro* were used for these transvestites. *Ati* was translated "the principal" and denotes "the union"; *nati* ("to unite, plant") appears to be derived from this form, as does *nati-ach* ("to plant the frog = copulate"). The second term connoted "things of the regional dema".

Transvestite men did not act this way and were termed *po sach*, "things to make you laugh", especially by women. So far as is known they took part only in such rather drastic pranks and performances as were recorded in the public part of the male Toch-mi initiation. First the male transvestites appeared, with halves of papayas or lemons tied to their chests, waving leafy branches. They swarmed out of the house of initiation and were met by female transvestites carrying male bags, spears and huge maniok roots, the latter stimulating penises. Two and two, the actors staged a mock coitus, the female actor keeping an ironical commentary on her "male" performance ("This is the way they go at it, so your vagina gets all split up and bloody"). The female actors grabbed torches and let the flames lick the abdomen of their partners, while the male

²⁸ Elmberg 1955, 50—52; idem 1966a, 25—28, Figs. 4, 5; 63—65, 102—104.

actors mimicked a shy but willing woman. The audience guffawed and applauded.

At the Samu-chaj games between male and female neophytes, the spear women²⁹ took part from the beginning as supervisors. In Taro dance houses, transvestite women inaugurated the house by dancing the *semar* dance alone. Much later during the feasts, male transvestites played their pranks and sang bawdy songs³⁰, after which they disappeared or dismasked.

When appearing alone, the female transvestites dressed in valuables garments and filled responsible functions, but when they met the masquerading male transvestites, they were likewise dressed up for a masquerade and transvestitism was made fun of. The performance at the Toch-mi feast, was terminated by the resolute women chasing the male actors off the scene and the latter were rather brusquely stopped from re-entering a second time.

Since it is hardly conceivable that in Mejprat society as we know it the male transvestites should once have filled functions that were now obsolete, while the functions of the women remained significant or had grown into something important, the male performances appear secondary. They probably express immigrant reactions to certain aspects of Mejprat culture, put in a comical form³¹. The stories about the "brothers" Siwa and Mafif to another aspect of the same tendency, namely to treat traditional values in a jesting and disrespectful manner while getting acquainted with them. The point of these stories³² was to poke fun at, for instance, the belief in a regional tunnel system or in the cycle of life forms connected with the dema tree, or in the cloth valuables as the skin or plumage of a dema being. In these stories—told only along the outskirts of the Mejprat area, not in the lacustrine part—such features were used to create a comical effect, e.g. when Siwa in a coma state rested inside a dema tree, he was tickled back to life by a hoard of satisfied pigs which were attracted by the wind-fall from the tree. Experts of the lacustrine part disliked these stories.

Both the half animal, half human shapes of the dema, and the transvestites, clearly expressed ideas of a balanced merger and a total form of the elements of Mejprat existence. As the union of polar phenomena, Ati appeared as the Master of Ceremonies in the feast cycle or as the sovereign of the regional tunnel system. In this form the female element was preponderant (femina-centricity).

Already a more entertaining male and female transvestitism had begun

²⁹ Idem 1966a, Fig 19.

³⁰ Ibid. 110, 117.

³¹ Cf Riedel 1886, 265. Banton (1961, 123) argues that trying out a new behaviour in jest is a way of getting the feel of it. Gluckman (1961, 75) quotes the African Kalela dance as an example of a mocking performance aiming at the incorporation of a new behaviour.

³² Elmberg 1955, 45.

to show itself inside the framework of acculturated forms of initiation³³. This joking element runs parallel to fictional variations on important themes in the traditional culture. However, the continuum of feast cycles ceremoniously expressing the holistic aspect of Mejprat culture was still characterised as *m'po ati*, "to hold on to Ati", i.e. the traditional dema of the merging opposites (At the same time the Mejprat had slowly begun to assimilate new ways of life, the Government—Mission ways. In 1953 a Christmas play about the Nativity was enacted by Mejprat converts in the village of Mefchatiam. Among the audience there was some talk about *ati Merjam*, i.e. the Mary dema.

3)

<i>Tu-an</i> , "Mistress of warm energy"	emitting	<i>uwian</i> ,	"cold energy"
<i>Tu-fi</i> , "Mistress of the hot origin"		<i>naúwian</i> or <i>nawian</i> ,	"the shadow (soul)"
<i>Fi-ni</i> , "Hot origin conjoiner"	receiving	<i>nawian</i> ,	"re-tracted shadow"
<i>Cha-ni</i> , "Ghost conjoiner"		<i>kapes</i> ,	"the ghost"
<i>Tu-ni</i> , "Master conjoiner"	the beginning and the end of all beings		
<i>Api</i> , "The Mother"			

At birth feasts and funerals the terms *Tu-an*, *Tu-fi* (or *Ru-fi*) and a number of composites containing *-ni*, "conjoiner", were used for the dema. "The Mistress of warm energy" and "the Mistress (Bird) of the hot origin" were especially mentioned when long-expected feasts were at last completed and the good results anticipated: good health, plenty of food and more babies. Phrases like "Mistress of warm energy make the swiddens fruitful!" (*Tuan ni an wordá*) were repeated by the experts when dropping morsels of food on the ground in front of the main post in the feast house. Such terms conveyed an assertion: we know that she is sending out the warm energy and that she is the origin of the babies. Now that we have fulfilled the Watum prescriptions, she will surely help us.

In the lacustrine part, the big Sepiach ground house of the traditional and the popot feast cycles was expressly connected with the Sif bird, i.e. the bush turkey³⁴. This bird, also termed *Kawia* when characterised as "The Prehensile Foot", was identified with the Mistress of the hot origin because the interior of its huge mound (*sif*) of plant material was "hot". Out of this focus of fertile heat came the chickens, at once (or almost) ready to run, fly, eat and take perfect care of themselves. Since the eggs are a coveted form of food in

³³ Idem 1966a, 128—132.

³⁴ Idem 1955, fig. 7; idem 1966a, 49. It is true that the difference between the bush hen (Maleo) and the bush turkey (Megapodius) was not consistently maintained. Both were often termed *Kawia* or *Sif*.

Indonesia and New Guinea, many peoples have watched the mounds and wondered at this spectacular form of terrestrial delivery. The concept of the bush hen (Maleo) or the bush turkey (Megapodius) as a world-creating dema is met with in similar form in East Flores³⁵, while in East Lombok sacred cloths appear to be named after metal images³⁶ of these birds. Such images, one made of gold and one of bronze, are still kept in a temple near Lake Batur in Bali inside a number of sacred cloths. There the princely title Tjakordo Agung denotes "the big bird foot", a parallel to the Mejprat term Kawia for the bush turkey. In Java the Susuhunan of Solo keeps three golden images of the bush hen among his sacred heirlooms (*p u s a k a*). Also the Wemale of Ceram used the term for the bush hen as a title of honour connected with a female dema⁷³, and the Papuan Waropèn people used their term for this bird (*sera* to distinguish the highest status in society^{38a}).

The Isir of the Semu village stated (M 10) that the Sif bird, i.e. the Megapodius, was the first being who in those parts started to shape things as they are today and instituted the feasts. The unexpected sensitiveness among the lacustrine Mejprat to the irreverent stories, about Siwa or Sif-ej (= Sif's couple) that were told in the western part, and in the northern and eastern parts, suggest that the Sif bird had until recently been of considerable importance around the lakes. Conspicuous rocks, hills and caves were there named after Sif but no explanations were forthcoming.

Still, Tu-fi or Ru-fi was mentioned at feasts connected with birth, and at name feasts the red eggs of the bush turkey were especially brought by the bride-givers. When children died soon after birth offerings of palm wine were pored on the ground for Fi-ni, "the hot origin conjoiner". The dema was explained to have taken back the cold energy (*uwian* or *naúwian*) of the child. An adult who died was mostly said to have joined Cha-ni, "the ghost conjoiner" or Api, "the Mother".

The dema's function of sending out the soul and receiving the ghost back created an underworld cycle or "lower cycle" of spiritual forms. These forms have been explained in somewhat contradictory or incoherent terms, although they remain in essence important for the balance of the vegetative energy inherent in the "upper cycle".

The soul-sending dema was supposed to dwell in the All Increase Cave (*Seku*), which was an alternative term for the Fu cave. The souls came out of the vaginal ducts in the ground, i.e. appeared through the spirit homes. Two terms for this soul or energy were used.

³⁵ Vroklage 1940, 234

³⁶ Goris 1936, 237, 238

⁷³ Jensen 1948 73, 174—177

^{38a} Held 1947, 284, *idem* 1947/48 169

<i>uwian</i> ,	an uninflected form denoting "before; scooping water; the cold shadow energy"
<i>naiuwian</i> or <i>nawian</i>	denoting "shadow, hair, beard, cold (soul) energy, picture (including that in a mirror)"

If the difference was that *uwian* came through a water spirit home or from a female, water-dwelling dema, while *nawian* implied a cave-dwelling dema, no Mejprat was able to explain it in so many words. Their translation in these contexts was invariably "shadow" (*s o m b a r*).

The shadow was supposed to climb out of a cave on the roots or lianas hanging down its walls, and it could not move unhindered, by means of levitation. Noises were sometimes heard from the inside of the tree spirit home, where shadows were awaiting the moment to join a child in its mother's body. These shadows were invisible to ordinary human eyes, but the experts could see them. They were small, complete beings who even possessed blood, as pointed out by the Asim-Sori myth (M 4) ^{38b}.

Exactly how the shadow travelled was not described, but it had something to do with the "bird" called Sesam and Arit, which in the northern and lacustrine parts was supposed to live in the right knee-joint of every human being.

While the shadow was classed as "cold", this bird was described as "hot" or "warm". It supposedly flew into the mother's body some months before delivery and took its place under the knee-cap of the child. It was then called *se-sá-m*, "from the All One", i.e. from the dema of initiation. Later on the term was *arit* or *arit mamós*, "the removal of the live element", when it was leaving the decomposing body on the scaffold. This "bird" was variously described as a king-fisher, a swallow or a bat possessing yellow, black or blue colours. In the eastern part it was called Reros, "rising again", and believed to live in the heart. This bird endowed the body with the power of growth (*an*) and no Mejprat could live without it.

After its release, its voice gave warnings in the forest of impending rain overturning trees or approaching strangers. Its nest was built of one leaf from every tree and one hair or feather from every kind of being in the region. It was capable of imitating the voices of all other animals. To find its nest meant good luck (*nasif*) and implied that your wishes were granted by the regional dema. The Arit bird thus developed into a holistic expression for Tu, stressing at the same time the warm and feminine aspect of the dema (feminocentricity).

This entry of the cold and warm spiritual elements was necessary to develop

^{38b} The notion of a bloodless "spirit" or "soul" is not to be taken for granted. In 1948 I observed on Banda Neira in the Moluccas that *swangi*, "a wisard, soul eating spirit", was thought to appear also as a dry leaf, blowing with the wind. If cut with a knife, blood would flow from it.

the blood clot (*po mes*), resulting from the earlier mixture of the male "water" (—) into the female "blood" (+). They could be obstructed through magical means by the bride takers, especially by the sister of the husband, who was fined if the child died.

Soon after a corpse was placed on the scaffold, the shadow was thought to descend on the ladder affixed by the relatives. The latter also blocked the path back to the living by throwing some stones or placing thorny bushes at a distance. From now on the shadow had become *kapes*, a ghost. In the western Prat part the ghost first lived near a spirit home as a small bird (honey eater) or a butterfly. In the other parts it was considered to dwell in the tree spirit home.

When an expert was heard snoring or talking in his or her sleep, such a ghost was considered be paying a call. Preferably a member of his consanguineal family, or an expert, put questions to the ghost concerning sick people, lost objects or any sudden death, and listened to the "answers". The ghost was explained to enter the sleeper through his mouth: "he puts his hands along the hands of the sleeper, his legs along his legs and his body along the backbone and he whistles". Cases were reported when such a visiting ghost (*po cha jak*) had brought back some poison or bespelled material and put it into the closed hand of the sleeper. In some animal form it visited *potát*, the three-legged platform for sacrificial food until the skull and certain large bones were cleaned. It then took up its quarters inside the skull, which rested on a new three-legged platform until the funeral ceremonies united the ghost to the dema and the skull and the bones were deposited at or in a cave spirit home.

It returned through the "The old vaginal road" to "The meeting place of ghosts" (=the womb of the dema) and was united with the dema. From her were born animals termed *kapes mam*, "live and warm ghosts" (—+). They were not, however, identified as the ghosts of particular dead individuals, they had no individual names by which to be called but seemed to be a kind of energies in a state of vital balance. They were described as non-aggressive, friendly and easily killed. They were the animals the Mejprat asked the dema to "turn loose" in times of scarcity. "The ghosts joined to the hot energy" (*kapes ni an*) were described in the same terms as were employed for the dema forms: they cared for and watched over (*saku*) the people and their swiddens, they warned them (*kuk*) of dangers, and revealed (*tesó*) where hunted animals were hiding. Essentially they represented functions of the dema.

In the western Prat part the immigrant Sarosa and Moju people introduced as a dema form the Sacha-fra snake spirit contained in "stone eggs" and traditionally regarded as the tool of male witches (*ra sa*) of extra-Mejprat origin (M 21). This snake spirit may be related to beliefs among the Sawiet people, of which very little is known. Members of the Uon society also stated: "When

my father died his shadow became a stone egg", *cha fra mawf*). At the same time they conducted the traditional Mejprat ceremonies to join his ghost to the dema, and they related how the Arit bird had left his knee joint on the scaffold. They still kept the stone egg and buried it in the swidden to attract water. In other parts of the area, this stone egg was regarded as a gift from Mos, the male dema form, and the stone (*Mos mawf*) was used for the same agricultural purpose.

If a ghost was not properly joined to the dema it became *cha fit*, "cold and fretting", i.e. aggressive and dangerous. When an enemy skull was hung in the branches of the spirit tree its ghost was supposed to stay sleeping inside the skull. You woke it with the cry: *Nasen pucho*, "Wake up, hidden one!" and sent it to obscure the minds of your enemies, snatch away their shadows etc. When the skull decayed the ghost could wreak diseases and misfortunes on the unwary Mejprat. This danger could be averted by giving fines to the relatives of the victim, who then called home the ghost, or by employing an expert to catch and bury the ghost under a stone or in a hollow tree.

In the eastern and northern parts, *wo cha*, "our cold ones", denoted the dead relatives, but individual life and names were expressly denied: they had become *api*, "the (regional) mother dema".

A few instances are known, where at the same an individual ghosts seemed active. One was the fairly uncommon case when a ghost "felt uncomfortable" in the skull³⁹ deposited at the cave spirit home. It then appeared in the dreams of a relative as an animal inflicting pain through a bite or a sting, or behaving aggressively.

The ghost was then termed *mos* and thus identified as the male (death) aspect of the regional dema.

In the second instance a number of names were recited when an as yet unweaned child was having prolonged fits of crying. There were the names of persons recently deceased. When the child finally stopped crying, the ghost of the last-mentioned person was regarded as having squeezed it, usually in an animal shape⁴⁰. Such a ghost was termed *taku* among the Part. As this name was allegedly kept for a short time before the official name feast of the child, a separate and individual ghost seemed to be operating. In the Prat part, the occurrence of such a ghostname was uncommon. One small girl in Fuok and one small boy in Framesa were said to have been given such temporary names. The girl was called *Is-charén* "the vaginal road" and the boy *Mos-mawt*, "Mos rises". Both names associated only to the male and female aspect of the regional dema, and not to individual ghosts.

The "lower cycle" of spiritual forms was evinced in all parts of the area.

³⁹ Elmberg 1955, 84, 85.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 63.

In the northern and eastern parts there was much less concern and ceremonial elaboration for the ghost than in the western Prat part, where influences from the Sawiet immigrants probably stimulated the development of differentiated beliefs. In the eastern village of Fuok members of one fam even stated that they just shoved the corps into the River Kamundan and after that the ghost never bothered them. *Taku* or *n'taku*, "what collects; the collection", the western Prat term for the dema forms, may for some immigrant groups have carried the connotation "the collection of ancestors". Though it does not appear to have been common, a few such groups—the Sefakawr and the Sefarari were mentioned—had earlier preserved the skull for a considerable time on a shelf outside actual house where the relatives were living⁴¹. They allegedly used the ghost housed in the skull in the same way as an enemy ghost at a Totor tree was used: they sent it to do messages, asked favours from it and fed it now and then on taro and tobacco.

The traditional lacustrine cycle of spiritual forms, however, was generated by the female dema who received them back and revitalised them. She was then referred to as *Tuni*, "Master conjoiner", and *Api*, "The mother". A lacustrine expert used the secret terms *Si-ri-m'pa* "The one source of the moities" and *Gha-po-aka*, "The rebirth shelter of the ghosts"⁴², implying her role as the beginning and the end of this cycle.

The three known historical bronze pieces were significantly called *Po-ri*, "The thing of the Source", *Tuni*, "Master conjoiner" and *Po-so-api*, "The hard, old thing of the Mother"⁴³. In the western Prat part this last term was also used for the old Chinese plates (*fingin amaq*, Sw). Both the plates and the bronze pieces were stated to be parts of an early form of the dema, who presumably was split up to create the present world. Both categories were used in the same way in times of a food scarcity. These were the most jealously guarded objects of the Meiprat and they were kept in caves and hollow trees (fig. 34) likende to the vagina or the womb of the dema. Men and women actually avoided going near them, except for the explicit purpose of conducting a ceremony. They were clearly regarded as the most potent and venerable forms of the dema.

In contradistinction to the "upper cycle", where the participant forms developed through death into new life in a series of a-sexual transformations, the "lower cycle" was explained to be started by the sexual union between the mother dema and a male, invisible dema form termed *po ro ni*, "the thing of the conjoiner". In the secret jargon of a lacustrine expert, he was characterised as "Her pet" (*M'san-san*), "Brings the arriving ghosts to the Conjoiner" (*Joch-mo-ni*) i.e. as a complement to the female dema. He appeared

⁴¹ See photo in Bergman 1950, 160–61.

⁴² Elmberg 1966a, 89.

⁴³ Idem 1959, 79, 80, and Figs. 1 and 2.



Fig. 34. The bronze tympanon Posonapi was kept in a hollow iron-wood tree at the Kareách water.

visibly as a penislike stone termed "Stony erection" (*tar afrá*). Although he was indispensable his adjunctive and complementary character appears from the terms and stresses once again the conceptual feminacentricity of the dema.

Important events in the individual life cycle were conducted on a sexual "birth from a tree womb" model. The stages of the shadow's way from dema to child appeared to be paralleled by the treatment of each newborn child who stayed to be fortified in the Krä house, a name explained as "the hollow

tree" (*Ka-rä*). This house was covered by leaves called "the underworld heat" (*Charok-an*), and the child was finally taken out of the house through a broken-up hole in the wall. The hole was referred to by those participating in the ceremony as "the underworld" (*Charok*).

A parallel procedure took place in the myth of the Se-sa (M 40), where the first human being stepped out from the other world when a hole was made in the dema tree. In myth M 4 a similar situation appears as an alternative, since the unborn shadows of children were referred to as "sheath fish" (*n'karen*), which may be a pun on *n'ka-rä-n*, "the contents of the hollow tree".

In the same myth, the tree of storage was termed "Her smooth opening"⁴⁴, which associates to the houses of initiation in the western Prat part. As so often in other cultures, also Mejprat initiation was enacted as death and rebirth. Charen-masoch, "the vaginal opening", was the house of the Uon neophytes. Iserá, "the road of all human beings", was the corresponding house of the Toch-mi society⁴⁵, having the same red leaves for walls and roofs, and the same form (*aká*) as the Krä house of the western Prat area. These names are closely related to the important patterns termed. The vaginal road (*Ischaren*) and The old vaginal road (*So-is*), which were sewn on ceremonial bark cloths and proudly pointed out on ikat cloths to demonstrate their value.

Finally, a human corpse was put on *ara naw*, "the Naw tree"⁴⁶, i.e. the funeral scaffold, the term Naw connoting the dema tree as well as the underworld and the all embracing dema. From this tree—and "tree" was a unique term for a scaffold—the constituent parts of the corpse were absorbed and transmitted; they were transported as it were back into the dema. Even the final transformation appeared in terms of a passage back to her tree womb.

To resume the main points of this Mejprat cosmology, the Mejprat believed their world to be a flat, irregular mass of land swimming in the water, and ultimately surrounded by the wind thorough which the sun and the moon travel. Certain data indicate a conception of the earth and the wind as elements of a cosmic egg; and eggs, fruit stones and seeds in the Mejprat myths of origin are in the same category of "fertile dema matter". On the opposite side of the earth is the underworld where the dema lives, and where the ghosts of the dead go. The spirit homes are passages between the two worlds.

In this world two forces are considered to be in polar opposition: the cold element (*cha*), connoting with death, masculinity and action⁴⁷ and the warm or hot element (*an*) connoting with life, femininity and the slow power of growth. A dynamic balance between these elements keeps the world going, as

⁴⁴ This expression also occurred in the Neche-mamos chant of Chawer Sarosa (idem 1966a, 149, 150).

⁴⁵ Ibid. 118, 119, 63—65

⁴⁶ Idem 1955, 78.

was demonstrated in the principles for treating diseases of the human body or the experts' manipulations to influence the conditions of exchange. Relations such as the right and left side of a body, a river or a house were dominated by the same polarity, as were also the directions of sunrise and sunset, up and down.

The feminacentricity was evident also in the concept of *mon*, connoting a female knowledge of a proper order or process, containing the polar elements. This concept was of supreme importance, and appeared to express the principle for the eternal life of the dema itself.

Myths of origin demonstrated how the arrangement of polar elements in a certain series or cycle led to the creation of man, important animals and plants, and to the prerequisites for the traditional socio-cultural order. These themes occurred also in a jesting form in the tales of Siwa and Mafif, and every fam or rope had a conceptual connection with this cosmic cycle through its plant and animal totem.

Three main aspects of the dema are apparent in the data. As a female dema she was complemented in the first aspects by a male dema form. Such pairs were the Regional Ground and the Monsoon Wind (—), Ratu and Mos. In the latter pair Ratu was the upholder of the Watum rules, Mos was her messenger and avenger. The term "dema food" for a speared enemy or a person accidentally killed was explained by the belief that the Ratu retracted (and consumed?) the "shadow" of the tress passer who then became defenseless. If speared, parts of his body were consumed in the shade of the dema tree and his skull was placed among its branches. This has a parallel in the feast ritual connected with the Sepiach house, where the main post was called by a term connoting the female tree dema, its vigilant animal (*kar*) and the underworld. The skull of the slaughtered pig was brought to this post and some of the blood was smeared onto it. In both cases a union was established between the dema and its creation, conducive to new cycles of created forms. The "skin" of the tree dema i.e. its bast, passed protectively around the body of each individual in the form of the bodycord, not unlike the larger circuit of dema "skin" (i.e. cloth and bark cloth) which drew its protective circle around the cooperating individuals and groups.

In the second aspect the dema appeared to be connected with holistic ideas, and was termed "the entire Unit", "the all One", and "the Union". Half woman and half opossum she took some part in the initiation of girls, and her male counterpart has been described as half man and half frog, or half naked and half hairy. Some bicoloured birds were thought to be forms of the dema in this function. Similarly, the white and the red opossum demonstrated a male—female polarity within a oneness of form. As the union of polar phenomena Ati ("the Union") appeared as the Master of Ceremonies and the sovereign of the regional tunnel system. One of her concrete forms was the

female Mechar expert, another the female transvestites. The latter appeared in precious attire, wearing heirloom parangs and weapons, and filling responsible functions when appearing alone. When they appeared together with male transvestites, both parties were staging a form of entertainment and the attire was that of a masquerade. The mood then resembled that of the Siwa and Mafif tales: traditional values were treated jestingly and disrespectfully. The continuum of feast cycles ritually expressing the holistic aspect of Mejprat culture was still characterised as "holding on to Ati", i.e. the dema of the polar opposites. When elements of a new way of life were learnt, they were incorporated into the traditional categories and the mother of Christ was termed "the Mary dema".

The third aspect shows the dema as "the Conjoiner". This term relates to the underworld dema's female role of sending out the souls and receiving back the ghosts. This constitutes the "lower cycle" of spiritual forms, which animates forms of the "upper cycle". A newborn child was considered to be joined by a "cold" shadow and a "warm" Sesam bird, which was usually located under the knee-cap of the right knee. When the shadow left a dying person it became a ghost (sometimes seen as a small honey-eater or a butterfly) that ultimately returned to the vaginal interior of the dema. From there it was born in an animal form termed a "live and warm ghost", characterised as non-aggressive and easily killed. Such animals were also described in the same terms as used for the dema itself: they watched over people, they warned them of dangers, and revealed animals to be hunted or caught in the forrest. The released bird, at the time of death, became another expression for the total nature of the underworld dema, imitating all birds and having a nest made of material from all other creatures.

The immigrants of the western Prat part believed that out of a dead person fell a "spirit egg" containing his cold shadow energy, which occasionally showed itself as a snake. They nonetheless made the same rituals to send the ghost down to the underworld dema. In the northern and eastern parts there was less concern and ceremonial elaboration for the ghost than in the western Prat. In the latter part a few immigrant groups used the term *n'taku* for both the dema forms and the dead ancestors, and they may have had conceptions of a "collection of the dead ancestors". Earlier, a few groups there kept handy the skulls of dead relatives to utilise the ghosts believed to live inside them for various kinds of sorcery.

Traditionally, the dema sending out shadows and receiving the ghosts back was thought of essentially as a mother dema, and she had a male counterpart.

He was termed "the Thing of the Conjoiner's", "Her pet" and the like, and although the lower cycle was explained as being started by the sexual union between the mother dema and this male dema form, his adjunctive and complementary role appears from these terms and stresses once again the con-

ceptual feminacentricity of the dema. This emerges also from the fact that the most jealously guarded objects of the Mejprat, namely the old pieces of bronze, represented the mother dema, while her consort was either invisible or appeared in the form of a penis-like stone. Their cosmic coitus brought the rains and stimulated the fecundity of everything in creation.

The dema tree has been described as the womb of the mother dema and as the storage place of unborn children. A newborn child was after some times given a second birth from its "Hollow tree" house to ensure its health and prosperity. The neophytes of the Uon and the Toch-mi societies had to dwell in similarly built houses termed "Her vaginal opening" and "the Road of all human beings", appellations associating to the patterns that proclaimed the value of an ikat cloth or an embroidered bark cloth: "the Vaginal road" and "the Old vaginal road". "The Naw tree", the term for the funeral scaffold, connoted dema trees, animal consort and the underworld and suggested a passage back, as it were, into the tree-womb of the dema. In contradistinction to the a-sexual transformations of the upper cycle, a sexual model gave impetus to the lower cycle of the dema and to the rituals of the life cycle which were modelled on it.

Part IV. Summary

This study of balance and circulation as significant aspects of Mejprat socio-culture started with an inquiry into the principles of social organisation. Kinship terms collected in the different parts of the Mejprat area showed the existence of four different terminologies. They are labelled here the western, the northern, the eastern and the lacustrine terminology according to their position in relation to the central lakes.

The lacustrine terminology, based on 19 genealogies offered the following result in analysis. The typical cousin terminology (m.s.) did not fall in with any of the types suggested by Murdock because of the extended mother-term for MBD in 13 out of 19 cases. In the remaining 6 cases terminology was of the Iroquois type. Informants differentiated between "correct" and "informal" terms and an informal tendency towards the Hawaiian type was apparent. Terminological agreements and differences made it of the bifurcate merging type.

According to Murdock, this bifurcation, and the tendency to extend the application of primary terms, should be consistent with uxorilocal residence and a trend towards bilocal residence. Indications of symmetrical alliance are overridden, and a change to an asymmetrical marriage system is suggested. This result runs parallel to the information stating that sibling exchange was no longer tolerated except as an exception in the face of extreme poverty.

A semantic analysis was attempted on the terminology for the circle of close kin (*mapuf*), and gave the following results. Lacustrine terms expressed status and/or situs. Usually a term considered "correct" reflected status, while the informal term for the same person suggested situs. In the correct terms a tendency was recorded to express status without regard for traditional situs, which implied change.

Mejprat classification reflected category oppositions (close—distant, superior—inferior) and appeared to be applied on a feminacentric principle inside all sibling pairs except ego's own and viricentric in one term, M—S (w.s.). Terms for children reflected the relations of a rope descent order. A change was indicated in the terms for M, in the uncertainty of FZ terms (m.s.), in the extension of situs terms to FZ (m.s.) and in the use of traditional status terms for Ch to express status.

The application of category oppositions stressed the importance of the sibling pair (B—Z) and the married couple as units of reference reflected in ensuing triadic relations (e.g. M \rightarrow S) (\leftrightarrow D). CC terms reflected the *mapuf* group (male ego, M, MB and MBD) and *mapuf* relations implied a descent order

of the rope type. The sibling bond (B—Z) constituted a concatenation of two ropes and terms between siblings of different sex indicated units of the moiety order.

Northern and eastern terms for W—H seemed compatible only with sibling exchange. The lacustrine terms indicated inferior male status and/or situs, implying assymetrical exchange.

From the terms for the B—Z pair and those of the northern, eastern and western W—H copule, an implied bipolarity of the fundamental units may be concluded, and the importance of a balance between the complementary opposites.

The rules for expected behaviour between relatives confirmed the structure of the consanguineal family (*mapuf*) beside that of the nuclear family, of a rope descent unit, of a possible moiety division, and of bipolarity as well as feminacentricity in the fundamental categories of opposition.

Also the residential organisation stressed the consanguineal family ties, and a male was observed to be connected with the tracts of this M, then of his MBW and later of his W and MBD. The bulk of residential customs are feminacentric and a rope descent order may be discerned in the orientation of female ego—F—M. A notion of circulation is indicated by the prolonged stay on different swiddens of important relatives to help prepare their feasts.

The traditional rope order of descent was expressed by the term *tarof*. It was translated "I follow my father" (w.s.) or "I follow my mother" (m.s.). Although the patronymic and patrilineal fam unit was the official unit, the accession to land still followed the rope order (m.—w.—m.—w. etc.)

Important kinship groups were formed by the couple, the nuclear family and the consanguineal family. The couple is characterised by a polar relation: the woman knows the ground, the man knows how to make the rain fall. The outcome of their interaction in marriage was taro and progeny. There are also indications that the role of the woman contained "maternal" elements and that the man regarded some of his duties towards her as primarily "filial". Also B—Z pairs in the myths have been mentioned as "couples". In reality they were observed as being referred to by sibling teknonymy and the importance of the B—Z bond was emphasized, especially in certain proceedings of a jural character.

In the lacustrine part the term for the nuclear family was employed also for small groups of a temporary character. As long as the children were small the nuclear family was a residential and producing group defined as living from the taro produced by one woman. Traditionally the spirit world approached a husband through his wife in matters of ceremonial exchange. Wives also prompted their husbands in the calling up of ghosts and dema to a feast. In matters of agriculture her spelsl and her contact with the dema were thought to be the more important. She had control over the group's staple food

and chief objects of value. The husband acted as a negotiator or a contactman with the out-group world. However, the non-relational form of the term for nuclear family testified to the independence of the group in its responsibility for the immediate care and support of its young members.

The term *mapuf* for "consanguineal family" connoted a "complete miniature", although of what is not certain. It comprised the four main roles of B, Z, BD and ZS. This represented two ropes, two generations and a young and an old representative (or group) of each sex, i.e. a collection of polar relations apparently calculated to balance each other well. Each person belonged during his lifetime to two *mapuf*: one primary together with M, MB and MBD, and one secondary with his own D, Z and ZS. When it functioned as a "male" *mapuf* or bride-taking group in exchanges, it contributed cloth and received vegetables, and as a "female" *mapuf* (bride-giving) it contributed vegetables and received cloth. A boy from the age of 5, 6 years of age spent long periods with his MB, who also initiated him and later found him cloth for his exchanges. Similarly a girl was initiated by her FZ after having lived with her for long periods. Traditionally, a *Mejprat* had his staunchest and most friendly helpers inside the *mapuf*. In contradistinction to the nuclear family with its strained or unfriendly relations between F—S and M—D, the consanguineal family was held up as an ideal: always at hand, friendly and helpful. Actually fission and fusion occurred in many instances, but the readjustments were made in the terms of the primary consanguineal family: terms like MB and MBD were used to denote non-related partners of an exchange enterprise (m.s.) but not the terms for F or Z. The B—Z but the readjustments were made in the terms of the primary consanguineal family. In reality a brother uses a term denoting "our" children for ZS and a sister uses the same term for BD. M has some sort of power over her son's faculty of reproduction and M—S "marriages" occurred in the myths. The principle of feminacentricity apparently makes mythical F—D marriages impossible, in spite of the very warm F—D relations of reality.

By administrative and educational coercion, the *Mejprat* were being taught to live in terms of patrilineal f a m. They also used this term for any traditional group or unit, and for "bride-takers" and "bride-givers". The traditional terms denoted bride-takers as "(fire-)wood" and bride-givers as "fire" and the latter were considered superior to the bride-takers. Two marriage systems are indicated in the *Mejprat* data: one symmetrical four-unit system (*Nesim*) and one asymmetrical five-unit system of the *Aluridja* type (*Popot*). In the western *Prat* the ideal marriage was contracted between a man and his MBWBD or someone of the same marriage class. The chain of relatives between the two was accounted as every second man, every second woman, and as demonstrating the principle of "mixture" or "matching" hot (male) and cold (male) elements to achieve a balanced union. The ropes of a certain B—Z pair were

supposed to meet in the second descending generation (four unit system) or in the third descending generation (five unit system).

The ongoing fission and fusion reflected a certain casualness as to genealogical descent, which appears to be explained by the existence of geographically defined groups of the marriage class order. A survey of dualistic societies in Indonesia shows some of them to be situated on a river or a water course, and to categorise into right and left bank as well as into source area and outlet area. A similar structure appears in the Mejprat data on the (home) region, an endogamous unit of four or five marriage classes. This region was supposedly created by the Tu dema who had given the rules (*watum*) for living in it. When the statuses or the designations for the different partitions (and classes) were discussed, three models were used. The first differentiated mainly between female source area (with a superior right bank) and male outlet area, and the second placed one female ancestor of the present ground owners in each of the four partitions (No. 1: source area, right bank; No. 2: source area, left bank; No. 3: outlet area, left bank; No. 4: outlet area, right bank), and differentiated between the section on the water (host people) and the section up in the bush (guest people). The third model was of a non-riverine type in which the partitions were kept together by a system of partly real, partly imaginary tunnels. In one observed case the number of partitions had grown to five, with the fifth situated in the middle. The popot marriage system matched people of opposite (polar) partitions and sections, which was considered traditionally to ensure prosperity and happiness. The existence of so-called "return marriages" suggested a further differentiation into subsections, probably as an insurance against the inherent risk of an asymmetrical marriage system.

The partitional rope unit was defined by its spirit home, name and totem. Bodies of water, caves, trees and stones were considered to be places of contact with the regional dema: mostly a cave or a body of water for "female" ropes, and a stone for "male" ropes. Offerings were put there, requests made. In some cases the dema was thought to be present in the tree or stone and at other times a cave or a hollow tree represented "her vaginal road" while the stone "was" the penis of her consort. It appeared that the tree spirit home was approached in matters concerning the entire region or partition (e.g. a general drought, surprise attacks and anthropophagy), while a Mejprat addressed himself to the water spirit home or the stone with more individual problems (e.g. to get back a certain cloth or to find a remedy when only his swidden did not grow well). Male and female elements meet and are integrated at the spirit tree, albeit with a feminacetric emphasis. Certain spirit home terms connote the unity of a brother rope and a sister rope (descendants of one B—Z pair) stressing a dichotomy of the "high" source—"low" outlet type. Such terms could also express the intrapartitional polarity of the host—guest

relation. In the western Prat, the concurrence in one place of the three types of spirit homes contained both a complementary opposition (stone—hole) and a form of integration (the tree). To the last-mentioned, the term "the tree of the conjoiner" was applied. Such integrated spirit homes were probably needed when secondary host- or guest groups were present and like all tree spirit homes they were linked with certain supreme actions like ordeals and anthropophagy.

Traditionally the name of a rope was the name of the ground where its first ancestor appeared. If a man or a group moved to a new region, they took the name of the rope which gave them land and included them into its marriage class. They also established a new spirit home and made significant changes in their myth of origin, which served as a record of important regional inter-relations such as marriage class adherence and host and guest statuses.

Only a few immigrant groups appeared to hold non-Mejprat names and a few Mejprat groups had names that were composed of the name of a brother rope and the name of a sister rope.

The data on the totem remain incomplete. Allegedly the pair of a totem plant and a totem animal which belonged to each Mejprat were expected to play a part in the myth of origin, but in a number of cases this was not so. The plant totem was occasionally stated to be a man's maternal totem and the animal his paternal totem. Some totems were food taboo for most of a person's adult life while others were forbidden only up to the end of initiation. The plant and the animal were also understood to be forms of the regional dema which could communicate various kinds of information. In many cases the relation totem plant—totem animal expressed again the complementary opposition between the male and female organisation of the categories.

The ground and the rope names, and the partitional rope totems, demonstrate an array of polarities expressed as e.g. brother—sister, host—guest, plant—animal, female—male dema forms, mother—son (lover), sister—brother. These polarities comprise no integrated system, but must be seen as separate pairs, in which the polarity, in comparisons, can appear contradictory, subjective and incomplete.

The Mejprat marriage can be regarded as an aspect of an all-embracing system of intra-regional exchange, in which goods and services (including sexual services and childbearing) are exchanged. Cloth was an important item among the goods exchanged. For many centuries articles of trade were brought to the coasts of western New Guinea with the rhythm of the monsoons. The large pieces of bronze which were found among the Mejprat some time ago show a metallurgic composition, that suggests an origin in the mainland Dong Son area as long ago as about 1,800 years. The cloth still used in 1957 included patola-patterned silk cloth of a type manufactured in the Gujarat province of north-western India and some items of the famous kain Bantenan

(cotton weft ikat) from northern Celebes. The latter appears to have been fabricated not later than in the 1880's. The rest of the cloth showed mostly well-known patterns of various Indonesian weaving centres; e.g. Timor, Sumba, Sumbawa, Roti, Tanimbar and Seram, but there were also lengths of factory-made cloth and Indonesian sarongs of various origin. It appears that the term *patola* and the *patola* patterns were quite popular in the eastern parts of Indonesia where, in the 19th century, the term probably connoted 1) Indian-made ikat cloths, 2) wax-resist or (block-) printed imitations of the former; 3) Indonesian-made ikat cloth of cotton material. The three types were found among the Mejprat and in one part of the area those of type 1) and (if thin) of type 2) were termed *torá*, probably derived from the Biak form *p a t o r a*.

The Mejprat counted cloth and bark-cloth in the category of *po*, which connoted something difficult to acquire, or something not be taken for granted. They ordered their cloths in 9 named classes, and each cloth was given an individual name, often containing some sexual allusion. Also the separate patterns perceived by the Mejprat were named and related primarily to three spheres of subjects; 1) details of the regional organisation; 2) sexual relations; 3) a coital model of cosmic relations. There is a close agreement between the local cosmos and the regional organisation. The terminology of exchange between the regional units contained a coital model. This type of social interaction was expected to result in prosperity and happiness. The individual names of the clothes reflected the belief that the energy contained in the cloth was beneficial to sexual relations and the care of children, although some could set fire to a house.

Similar names were found for the painted or embroidered patterns of bark cloth, pandanus wallets and rain hoods. To achieve balance in these patterns, a white pattern was often repeated in red. The top and the bottom patterns of these articles referred to the head and the legs of a bird. In the myths, the skins and hides of certain animals (e.g. birds, pigs and bats) were equated to bark cloth and to especially precious cloth. Since these animals were perceived as *dema* forms the patterns form a language of symbols setting forth what relations between the elements of the local cosmos were conducive to the Watum life. In the northern and eastern parts of the area, the first feast in a cycle was intended to charge the cloth with the energy or force of the *dema*. Apparently all accessible cloth—far more than what was needed for the immediate exchange—was ritually hung onto lines, which were afterwards considered to be eminently suitable for snaring animals.

The character of the exchange transaction as both an economic game and a ceremonial matching of complementary opposites was strongly suggested in the data from the popot feast cycle. In this book, above all the ceremonial aspects have come to the fore.

A conflict of interests between men and women apparently followed the swelling of the stock of cloth in the area which probably developed in the wake of the governmental pacification of the coasts in the early 20th century. Traditionally the men were content to act as negotiators and co-owners of certain cloths. But when ikat cloths became more numerous and were kept in well ventilated houses where they did not rot and disappear (as they had done when kept in the ground or in humid caves), the men possibly wanted to have real access to the pile of cloths. There was one ceremonial process called the Fejak-sipak in which young men tried to attain ownership of cloth, but the result was usually meagre, and the few cloths were handed over to the woman who had initially lent them "capital" for the start. The popot tried to accomplish as many short term loans as possible with their dependents, making a profit from the so called "rent" (*amot*). They also boasted of the number of cloth they kept idle indoors, while the traditional way was to boast of the number of cloths one had circulated and the number of feasts one had made. Still, the cloth of the popot was kept in the houses of their wives, mothers, sister, daughters and mother's brother's daughters and these women agreed or disagreed with the suggestions of the popot "owners", as they did with those of other men.

The twenty exchanges of the life cycle were transacted in terms of "the back and forth movement generating energy (copulation)" and for the concrete transaction a term was employed alluding to the gnemon tree or its bast. This tree was of a great economic importance for the Mejprat, and like the pandanus palm and the banyan tree it functioned as a spirit home and a tree form of the dema at "the venerable woman's feeding place". The trees provided for instance the bark-cloth and the rain hood which followed the Mejprat through his whole life, and which as given to him new and fresh in all important phases of his life. These trees were in various ways connected with ideas of circulation: they were thought of as sending out the cloth and receiving it back at the exchange feast which traditionally took place in their shadow. Transactions which were not properly conducted were branded as "raw". A "good" transaction was accomplished as, among other things, a form of delayed exchange. Most exchange transactions contained four phases: first one party gave cloth and received a gift of food, later on the other party returned the amount of cloth+one or two extra presents (*amot*) and received some food. When a young dema tree was chopped up the traditional feast cycle started, with female and male initiation. It ended with the reappearance of the neophytes and the final disposal of the dead, whose skulls were united to a dema tree. In the Prat part the skull was more often of a sacrificed animal, whose meat was exchanged against cloth supplied by a dead man's bride-taking group. There the pig's skull testified to the incorporation of the dead man into the regional cycle of dema-created forms. The term for "union, incorporation"

also connoted "joy, happiness, jocularity". This mood, which was institutionally expressed at the Piach-chaj, Taro and Mos houses, was considered to be the result of the matching of "hot" and "cold" elements effected by the exchanges.

Palm wine, meat and cloth, together with various imported articles of exchange, were accounted as "male" or "shore products", while vegetables and other products from plants were termed "female" or "hill products". This differentiation was upheld in both extraregional and intraregional exchanges. The former were sometimes made with a so-called "trade friend" who was addressed as "bride-giver" (m.s.) or "person belonging to me" (w.s.). These terms can be considered as belonging inside the category of the consanguineal family terms and as an extension of the individual freedom to move between mapuf groups.

In these exchange relations the ideal was emphasized of the alternating roles of the same group, now as bride-takers and now as bride-givers. The eldest brother and the eldest sister appeared sometimes to assume a certain leadership among their siblings of the same sex. But mostly leadership was informal and of the *primus inter pares* type. Various forms of group activities were stimulated by the initiative of one person (man or woman) termed "the unifier" and "the watchful person". In discussions, invocations and the telling of myths, as well as in the public shouldering of responsibility for a difficult enterprise, such a person became the mouth piece (he was prompted) for the members of the group. Initiative and interdependence created a balanced order. Around the outer edges of the area a different type of leader appeared, indicated by terms such as "the aggressive dog", "the cloth-grabber" and "the stinging centipede". This type was characterised by polygyny, by the amount of "idle" cloths not taking part in exchanges and by a descent from "immigrants" who had used the boar's tusk as an important means of divination. The popot ("cloth-grabber") appears to be an innovation, accepting only the role of the superior bride-giver and aspiring to be called "father" which seems to be in accord with the tradition among the agents and tax collectors of the coastal areas.

In the world as the Mejprat knew it two forces were believed to be in polar opposition: the warm or hot element (*an*), connoting with life, femininity and the slow power of growth, and the cold (*cha*) connoting with death, masculinity and action. A dynamic balance between these elements keeps the world going, as demonstrated in the principles for treating diseases of the human body. Relations such as the right and left side of body, a river or a house were dominated by the same polarity, as were also the directions of sunrise and sunset, up and down. The concept of *mon* reflected feminocentricity as it connoted a "female" knowledge of a proper order or process containing the

polar elements. This concept was of supreme importance as it appeared to express the principle of the eternal life of the dema itself.

Myths of origin demonstrated how the arrangement of polar elements in certain cycles or series led to the creation of man and to the traditional socio-cultural order. The data present three main aspects of the dema which are corroborated in Mejprat behaviour and myths. As a female dema of the Regional Ground she was complemented by the Monsoon Wind and as the primeval Ratu by Mos. Ratu was the upholder of the watum rules and Mos her messenger and avenger. A trespasser had his "shadow" retracted by Ratu (who consumed it?) and became defenseless to accidents or enemies. As a victim to either he was termed "the dema-food". Dead of old age or killed, everyone became united with the dema of the underworld who created new cycles of life forms. Also the "skin" of the tree dema, i.e. its bast, passed protectively around the body of each Mejprat as a body cord similar to the larger circuit of dema skins (cloth and bark cloth), which drew its protective circle around the cooperating individuals and groups.

Half woman and half opossum she appeared in her second aspect as "the entire unit", "the all one" and "the union". Her male counterpart was described as half human and half frog, half naked and half hairy. As the union of polar phenomena, Ati ("the union") appeared as the Master of Ceremonies and the Sovereign of the regional tunnel system. One of her concrete forms was the female Mechar expert (her left side "male") and the female transvestites. Such transvestites, in precious attire and holding sacred heirloom weapons, filled responsible functions when appearing alone. Together with male transvestites they also staged a form of masquerade and entertainment. The continuum of feast cycles ritually expressing the holistic aspect of Mejprat socio-culture was still characterised as "holding on to Ati", i.e. the dema of the polar opposites.

In the third aspect the dema appeared as "the Conjoiner" sending out the souls and receiving the ghosts in a kind of "lower cycle" of spiritual forms, which animates the forms of "the upper cycle". A newborn Mejprat was considered to be joined by a cold shadow and a warm Sesam bird who usually took up its quarters under the right knee-cap. When the shadow returned as a ghost to the vaginal interior of the dema, this bird was released and became an expression for the total nature of the underworld dema, imitating all birds and having a nest made up of hairs and feathers from all creatures of the region. Ghosts were reborn in animal forms described as non-aggressive and easily killed, watching over people, warning them of dangers and revealing themselves or other animals to the hunters. These were also the very terms used for the dema itself.

In the eastern and western parts slightly different concepts were found: in the west some immigrant groups may have had ideas about a collection of

dead ancestors in the underground, but in spite of the belief that the cold energy of a person appeared as a rounded stone (egg), they made the same traditional Mejprat rituals to send down the ghost to the dema or to invite her up to fetch the ghost. In the north and the east there was less concern and ritual ceremony for the ghost than in the western Prat.

The dema sending out shadows and receiving the ghosts was a mother dema and her male counterpart was termed "the thing of the conjoiner's", "the pet" and the like, whereby his adjunctive and complementary role stresses again the conceptual feminacentricity of the dema. She was represented also by the most jealously guarded objects, namely the old pieces of bronze, while her consort was visible in the form of a penis-like stone. Their cosmic coitus brought the rains and stimulated the fecundity of everything in ceration, and caused the re-vitalised ghosts to be set free in the shape of animals.

It was perhaps significant that the bronzes were observed to be kept in dema trees and that these trees have been described as the womb of the mother dema and as the storage place of unborn children. Newborn children were given a second birth from the house called "the hollow tree" and the neophytes of the Uon and Toch-mi societies stayed in similarly built houses named "her vaginal opening" and "the old road". Also the funeral scaffold, "the Naw tree", connoted the dema tree, its animal consort and the underworld, and suggested a passage back, as it were, into the tree womb of the dema. In such ways the sexual model of this lower dema cycle where the male and the female, the cold and the hot were joined in a dynamic balance gave life and meaning to the upper cycle and to the Mejprat rituals of the human life cycle which were considered to be modelled on it.

The principles of balance and circulation in Mejprat cosmology obviously belonged in the traditional frame of reference. New articles of trade and new roles and attitudes which reached the Mejprat society have certainly influenced this frame, although they were probably first perceived in the familiar categories: cotton cloth was used in much the same way as the bark cloth, and the coastal agent or axe man was expected to become a trade friend. Readily accepted immigrants evidently introduced a number of stable feast houses, where also the swelling stock of cotton cloth could be preserved instead of disappearing into the ground. If the dissatisfied men were not simultaneously given extended rights to utilise the cloths, it might appear attractive to join a new society of initiation which promised support against the traditional female guardians of the heirlooms, or to borrow cloth against a promise to work for a popot and become one of his dependents. In any case the principle of balance was upset. Even if the popot had different ideals and could appeal to strange dema and preferred a permanent superior attitude to the Mejprat ideal of alternating superiority and inferiority; even if he advocated the patrilineity that was finally endorsed also by the newly

arrived agents of the Dutch government, the popot feast cycle was given the cyclic form of a descent to the underworld and a return to the upper world; the houses on the feast sites were placed so as to balance the "hot" houses against the "cold" ones, and red paint was applied to those who went near the spirit homes to feed palm wine to the fish-shaped Mos. In 1953 it was still to the regional dema that a popot addressed his request for increased manliness, for prosperity, for help against his recalcitrant dependents and—in a quiet moment—that his wife should be satisfied with his doings.

Appendix

Myths

The following myths were told in response to questions about the first human beings. With the exception of M 18 and M 24 they were told by more than one narrator: one person started and soon others began putting their words into his mouth. He faithfully repeated what was being said until the whole story was finished. Therefore the name is stated only of the fam to which the myth belonged.

M 1. The Ajnot of the Framesá village

Long ago a Ratu died and its eye-lashes became gnats, the veins became leeches, the head became a wild boar and the lower jaw an opossum. When the swine and the opossum died, Remó-trees grew up from their skulls. Now swine and opossums live on the fruit of the Remó-tree. Other parts of the dema's body became different animals and human beings, and it is for that reason we live on them. The backbone became an ironwood tree. The leaves of the Remó tree are used for Krä-houses (for new-born children and their mothers) to make the child grow strong and big.

M 2. The Arné in the village of Arné

A man went by the name of Chtrumpres. One day he arrived at a river with his boy. The child climbed a tree while the father put his fish trap on the ground and went to fetch grass (to construct catching arms). The water dema Mos rose up in human form, wearing a liana-fruit as a necklace and a white shell-ring in its nose. Mos went to the trap, saw the child and asked: "Who are you? Where is your father?" — "He is fetching grass." — "In five days you must make a Sepiach Sif-feast", said Mos.

When the father returned, the child told him of the black person who had emerged from the water with a fruit as a necklace and with a nose-ring, and who had now gone back under the water. The father caught a lot of fish, which were carried home to the Sif-house and smoked.

The feast took place five days later. Mos emerged again from the water and joined the feasting people. It entered the house where old people were sitting

drinking palm-wine. The child peeped through the doorway and cried out: "There it is again!" Mos wrathfully flung down the fruit, which was shattered. Water at once flowed from it and drowned everybody. It became dark.

A Kak (opossum) woman had recently given birth to a child in a Krä-house high up on the mountain Täfajat. She heard the water rising. She took her child and climbed up on a drying shelf for wood. The water rose in the house until dirt from the drying wood fell into the water and Mos got it in its eye. Mos turned about and the water sank. Among all the people she alone, with the child and a dog, was saved; but she had nowhere to go until it had become light and the water sank. The dog went into the darkness of the hollow tree and nosed his way along a path until he came to a deserted swidden. In the evening the dog came back, and the woman saw that charcoal and ashes from the swidden had stuck to its coat and she wondered if it could have wandered to ground that was not swampy.

When it began to grow light she took a long rope and tied it round one of the dog's legs. She let the dog go on ahead, following after until the dog had piloted them to the swidden. The three of them stayed there until the child had grown big. There were no other people, so he had coitus with his mother. She gave birth to five girls and five boys who married each other. The woman divided up the children, who had been given names after the old groups that had existed in the feast house. At the birth the bird Krok was sitting in a casuarina-tree and said: "Krok Periét, Krok Peúf, Krok Charumprés". The woman heard what it said, and the first child to come out was given the name Charumprés and went to Sekior. Peúf went to Arné. Periét went to Sit (place of the Semunia). Peúf married, begetting a son Chejasé, who married Sapan Murafer and begot two sons, Chasián and Arnéji. Chasián married Oio Karea, begetting the sons Majuoch, N'Take-Unerui and the daughters Sefano, Chaja and Sasej. Arneji's sons were Wara, Jochomes and Tioch, whose wife Chofo was from the Tchopa. Chasián had two wives. The second, Chabu Tchopa, bore a son, Kamsafo, who married Chara Sekerit. Chara bore the sons Unerit Serar, Chojsesmana, Waref and a daughter, Manat Mares.

M 3. The Asem in the village of Framesá

Some women were making ash-sprinklers of bamboo for the work on the swidden. They heard a sound from the hollow of a bamboo cane, and when they split it, a boy sprang out. He bore the name Mokosa ("wood fetched from the coast"), and he immediately danced away to the river Kamundan and made a dance house at the tributary Ajfam. He married a Mafam woman at the river source Ratu-mes.

His son Chawesa ("cold force from the coast") later erected a dance house

at Tambej when it was time to seek a wife for his son Wajsos. The woman Waref from Tepir region (near Ajnot) came to that place and married Wajsos.

Her son was named Rantära. When he grew up he married a girl from the Kapis region with the name Chauoch Asem. Their son was given the name after Fra Sasém at the waterfall near the village of Framesá. Asém folk are found in Ajata, Ajkerr and Ajnot.

M 4. The Asim-Sori of the Ratumes place

At the Ratu-mes place a red opossum climbed a jambo tree in the light from the full moon to eat the fruits. A hunter saw it and climbed up in pursuit. He found its hole and arrived in a cavity where Puo-mafam ("The hidden one of the Fam river") lived. Puo-mafam did not see well. It asked: "Are you a dead man's ghost? If so, climb the Kasir tree. If you died accidentally, climb the shelter of the red croton bush. If you drank poison, climb up in the shed of the poisonous liana. If you were killed by spear, climb the shed of the dema food which belongs to the blood-red opossum. If you were bitten by a Popuoch snake, climb the shed for the snake-bitten. If you are a true human being, go up in the tree af Ratu and remain there".

Kapes-män ("Ghost from above") went up and they lived as a couple. Fanéwaw ("Her boar") of the same Koch-tree got angry and put out pointed bambo sticks in the ground. He gave ("order to kill") b o r t o the crowned pigeon, the king-fisher, the white cockatoo, the hornbill, the cassowary and the tree kangaroo: "Les us kill the pet, he is a ghost from above!"

But Puo-mafam kept him well hidden from his enemies, who had to return empty-handed. "I tell you, Kapes-män is the man of Puo-mafam who is Tu!"

The fire had gone out. Kapes-män went away to the place where the fire-flies live to get fire. He took some in his bag and went back home. Puo-mafam said: "Fetch some fishes for me! I have wrapped them up and hidden them in an old tree. They are my sheat-fishes". Kapes-män went away to look for them but found only children ready to be born when he opened the leaves. He became terrified and did not want to eat them, but Puo-mafam said: "They are my fishes." — "No, they are real human beings", said Kapes-män, and went off to look for something else to eat. Puo-mafam put fire to the wood by just blowing on it, fried its fishes and began eating. Blood was dripping from the corners of its mouth. It sent out Suwi, the white male opossum, for more. Kapes-män hit him on the head when he came to the tree, took him into the cavity and fried him over a fire. He started eating and ate his bones completely clean. In the evening he went back home.

The following day it sent out Kapes-män to work on the swidden. It said: "If you see the white opossum I sent out yesterday, bring him home, even if he is dead". Kapes-män brought home all his bones and the skull. "Bring leaves of the giant nettle", said Puo-mafam. It tied them to his backbone and skull, chewed medical leaves and rubbed the spit all over the bones. Then Suwi became alive.

Kapes-män went about wondering if his banana plant up in the other world was perhaps having ripe fruits. They were of the kind Api-pajf and grew on his swidden. They used to be so delicious that he kept thinking of them all the time. Puo-mafam said: "You keep thinking of the bananas Api-pajf ("mother's share"), don't you? Yes, they are nearly ripe now. Bring them to me! If you make an exchange with me at the jambo tree when the moon is full, I'll give you something you need to stay alive".

Kapes-män promised to bring the bananas to the place of exchange and Puo-mafam said: "Close your eyes!" and just blew on him. When he opened his eyes again he stood on his own swidden below the banana plant. The fruits were almost ripe. The sun was shining brightly, but below it had been night when he left. He did not remember that things below are always opposite. Thus he brought the bananas when the moon was full. Near the jambo tree there was only a decomposing body. He left the bananas with it, thinking that it was Puo-mafam, drank of the dripping humidity and chewed some mites, thinking the stuff was water and edible larvae that it had brought from below. So he also died and hence all men died. Puo-mafam had not arrived yet as the sun below was high. When it finally came, it could not recognise Kapes-män and waited until it became hungry. It then consumed the red water and the fish-meat it had brought for him. These things are clean and therefore Puo-mafam always remains.

M 5. The Chamák in the village of Chamak

The ancestors emerged from a tree. There was a buzzing sound about them, so people heard that they were sitting inside (the tree). This was at Sefi, where now the Saworo is. This is the origin of all coastal peoples.

M 6. Charumprés in the village of Mefchádjam

Charumprés was hunting in the woods with his dog and started up a small ground kangaroo (wallaby), who was hiding under a large stone. The dog began to bark and started digging in the ground, but the man dragged him from the spot and carried him away. The dog returned four times, and the man finally

got angry. He cut a stick from the tree called Kaf and commenced to dig round the stone. The man dug down to the wallaby, which emerged from the hole in a cloud of ashes and escaped again. Water spurted out of the hole and the man took the dog and ran to Suswachom. He heard how the Mos dema followed the water like a gale and broke down the trees. He ran on to Rusäme where they lived (above Framu) in a shelter from the wind together with Mojusa (an ancestor of the Moju folk) and looked after a swidden belonging to a house of initiation. Charumpres and the dog afterwards wen back and found a big lake. They saw the trees that had been blown over. At the windfall from a Wajf-tree he saw crayfish and fish in abundance. He tried them to see if they were edible, gave the dog fried fish and left him behind. In the evening he returned and found the dog in good health, so he too began to eat of the fish. The dog and Charumpres stayed there for a long time. He then went back to Rusäme, climbed up on the fence and looked for bananas on the Tämaj tree. These, however, had ripened and fallen down and become human beings. Now he heard a voice saying: "Do not look up, look down!" (*nesot fä aku amot nesot fä ati*; this is Teminabuan language), Charumpres came from Sefokawr and Sauf. Charumpres and Mojusá afterwards returned to the lake and cleared a new swidden. Charumpres wanted to go out on the lake, so he took his rain-cloak and made a canoe. When he stepped into it, it broke, so he fetched bark and made another; but this also cracked. He then cut down a tree and hollowed it out, but did not make the stem of the canoe and it sank. He saw Rusian, a duck, that was getting the waves on its neck. He caught a young one as a model and carved a duck's head on his canoe. He now tried out the canoe and it proved good.

M 7. The Chowaj-Sefarári

Tumena, (or Mena Rāwa) was an old woman married to a hunter. She was once sitting in a tree-house making a net-bag. Her son was named Uon Nojoch an he lived together with his mother. The father had twenty dogs and had a house for himself and his daughter on the mountain Mená. The son was hungry and asked for food. The mother had not taught the child to look for food, so he did not grow up. The mother was descended from cassowaries and the son called cassowaries his mother's family. On the other hand, she told the child that the father ate raw meat that the dogs procured for him. But the father heard her and said: "I am ashamed! Come all my dogs! I shall kill you and myself and my wife. The children shall survive!"

He took his bow and shot an arrow into the wood. It struck the breast of the boy!" He then sharpened bamboo poles and stuck them in the ground below the house. There were twenty of them. Then he looked towards the house where

his wife was sitting, nitting her bag. He said: "Now I feel ashamed again! "He called out to Tach Mos, his unmarried daughter: "Look after Uon, my son!" He looked at the pointed poles and threw down the dogs one after the other and they howled themselves to death. Finally he jumped down himself.

The son, hearing the shrieks, went up to his father's house to see what was going on, and cried: "Mother, come and see!" The mother recoiled at the sight. She took bark cloth and fixed it to her behind. She went down the ladder and became Kakuru, a cassowary, wandering in the woods and looking for fruit. Uon said: "Then I, too, will become a bird." He took a smaller piece of bark cloth and became an Arit bird. Tach Mos looked for it for a long time, but it was too small.

Much later she saw the beautiful bird, caught it and took its skin. Then it wept and became a human being again and grew up. He built a house for himself on the mountain Mená, where his mother had lived, and whence Siwa and Mafif made a ladder and went up to the sky. When Uon was fully grown, he built a dance house (Taro) and complained to Tach Mos that he had no-one to dance with. She said: "Take this spear and spear a cassowary!" He took the spear and found the cassowary in the woods and killed it. He put the meat in all the four corners of the house, the liver on the floor and the feathers under the roof. He made a drinking vessel from Point-wood and drank palm-wine until he became light-headed. He then took one of the cassowary's thigh-bones, put it in a bamboo-cane with water and placed it on the fire.

When the water was boiling a whistling sound was heard from the cane. He said: "If you are a human being, then jump up!" The bone then sprang up and sat on his thigh. He took it in his arms and the bone grew and became a woman, who said: "Do not call me your child, call me your mother!"

Tach Mos told him to chop down the bamboo pole that was stuck in the ground before the house as preparation for the feast. Then the flesh of the cassowary became human beings and its feathers beautiful cloths. A part of the feast site was in the woods. Tach Mos went there and had coitus with Uon, and this was taboo, but she lured him. Afterwards she got dema food (human flesh) from the dema. She called to Uon to come and gave him some too. The dema said: "Now you two are also dema". They then became stars like Komeran and rose up to the heavens. But the others were left behind and removed to Chowaj.

M 8. The Fati in the village of Kauf

A woman was born from the earth and emerged from the mountain cave at Sajuoch Sian. She was named after the place of her birth. A man named Pur Fajt came along. He had come out of a Fejt-tree growing at Fati near

Fejtase in Atjinj. The man and the woman met and got married. They had two sons, Waj Seroch and Kaw Fati. When Pur Fajt had made a clearing for a swidden, he waited for his wife to come and clean up. She did not come, but remained near her cave. He got angry, and when later he saw her at a feast, he flung his spear at her. The spear missed her but struck a man from the village of Umopas, who died.

His son, named Waw Fati, was given as a penalty. In the village of Umopas Kaw Fati married five wives, became a great man and had many children. Pur Fajt returned to Ajtinjo. Waj Seroch remained in Kauf, married and had two children, one boy and one girl.

When the children were some ten years old, they were looking for crayfish where Mos lived in the river Ajwasi. Mos let them get many crayfish. They were fishing with snares, with taro as bait, and suddenly Mos thrust its skin as an Oan-fabric into the noose. The children became giddy when they saw the fish-cloth. Terrified, they rushed home and showed the cloth to their parents. Then they went to sleep until the following morning.

The mother told the children to stay at home, but nevertheless they went down to the river. Mos grew and took one of the children, which since belongs to Mos, while the other went home and told what had happened. The mother slept till the morning but then went to the Fejt-tree, pulled up the tree and betook herself, furious, to the Fan mountain. When she turned round she could see from there the tall Totor-trees in Kauf. She became still angrier on seeing the place where her child had disappeared and continued to the place Waj Seroch, whence she no longer saw Kauf.

Waj Seroch is situated near the present Fejtase. Here the tree was planted and still remains. Fejtase is precisely the name of the tree that she planted.

She brought with her the child and an oan cloth named Ifan. She made a swidden near Waj Seroch. But an other oan pursued her, got through the fence as a wild pig and was caught in a snare. This was Mos which was so angry that it tore itself out of the snare and only its tusks got stuck and were left behind. She tried to catch the whole of it but thus only got a strip which she called M'Pat, "her tusk". The family lived there. The child got married and later made Samu Uwon. In the evening, Tu went there with its fabrics till the house was filled. The young man took a little tube of palm-wine with him as well as a wooden vessel and bamboo tumblers; but the guests were able to drink the whole night, right up until the warbling of the morning bird. Not until then was the wine finished.

M 9. The Ikrer of the Ajnot village

The Ikrer folk come from the women's spring (*fenja ri*). Near it many women

lived in a big underground dance house, called Po-sif. The girls and their mother danced every day, but there were no men. A man who had lost his way in the woods while hunting an opossum, heard the sound of singing. He followed it until he came down to the house. He joined in the dancing. Afterwards he had coitus with some of the girls, but they all wanted to have him. They took him captive and thrust thorns from the wild sago-palm in his hands and feet so that he should not escape. They gave him food in the house and used him sometimes. Afu ("the flying fox"), a very old woman, guarded him. One day she said: "If you have coitus with me, I will take away the thorns so you can escape!" — "Willingly!" said the man. No sooner said than done. The old woman was satisfied and removed the thorns as she had promised. "Now I am going home!" said the man. "Well, it makes no difference to me", said the old woman, "I got what I wanted."

When the women returned home from the swidden, their first question concerned the man. Where was he? "I went to sleep and he got away", said the old woman. "Ah", replied the women, "you had coitus of course, and then you let him go." They beat her with firebrands and she got furious and took a firebrand and went down to the bottom of a spring. There she gave birth to a man-child. When he had grown big he at once had coitus with his mother and she gave birth to another man-child, who was fully grown immediately after birth, and began to look for the girls to be revenged upon them.

First he climbed a tree, then he went up on a high mountain. Finally, they caught sight of the girls. The mother entered their swidden first, and the boys followed with spear and bow. The girls caught sight of the mother and wanted to fall upon her. The boys now rushed up with their weapons to kill the girls, who then cried out: "*Tamu-e* (MB), *tara-e*, (FZS)!"

The men then checked themselves and two of the girls were allowed to marry them. — These women are said to have made the first Indonesian fabrics. The Kotjuwer and Ikrer folk gave slave children in exchange to acquire such cloth.

M 10. The Isir in the village of Semu

Sifaj came into the world at Atsaworo. There stands a white, high stone, that followed him when he danced. Ru-Sif, nowadays called Siwej, emerged through a hole in the ground from a house of the bush-hen. The bird made a dance place at Fansekit and invited the Charok-Sir birds to come and dance. The Charok-Sir birds afterwards made a house like that of Sif and danced at a dance place. They then became human beings and settled at the Isir Rakak-place. Here, later, came Sinserách, settled near the Fejt trees, erected a dance house at Atsaworo and blew a conch-trumpet. The man Fu Jumamä

who lived on the other side the Fejt trees heard the sound and approached cautiously. When he suddenly beheld Sinserách standing with an axe in his hand he thought it was a ghost and looked at him through a boar's tusk. Convinced that Sinserách was a human being, Fuf followed him to the dance house, later arranged an exchange meeting with him and married his daughter. Kotis, a son of Sinserách's, married a Pumamä girl and settled in Jubiach. Ratu procured fabrics at Atsaworo for the Isir folk. The finest fabric is called Tumewaj and comes from Sif.

M 11. The Isir in the village of Mefchájam

Awr Isir begot a son Tapan who begot a son Mon. Then came Fuf Jumamä, who was married to a girl from the Frasif—Frasir family, and begot a son Sirére.

The Frasif folk made a Sepiach-Pach house in order to give *rurá*. Fuf was to go there and leave again. The following day, when the others went home, Fuf remained with his wife and son Sirére. Sirére was playing with a Frasif child and they threw spears at a rolling ring and counted points with sticks. The Frasif child got most and threw his sticks towards Sirére, saying: "Mine are most!" Sirére threw a stone at his temple so he died.

The father of the Frasif child went to Fuf and demanded compensation. He took Sirére. The Frasif man was afraid that Sirére would return to his father and sold him as a slave to Semetu, where a man, Frä Semetu, received him and took care of him until he married the girl Kaser Kufias. With her he had two daughters, Kambu Mawe and Betäk Sawo, and a son, Serar Kenú. Sirére became a rich man, but people gave him poison and bewitched him so that he got drowned. This happened off Semetu. He is considered to belong to the Isir.

M 12. The Juntä in the village of Siti

Tumená was fishing with a string and a worm in Aman, the river-source. Wejmoroáw, the Triton shell, lived in that water. The Triton shell took the bait and Tumená drew up the catch. Inside the shell a child was sleeping and a little boy crept forth. Tumená nursed the child and lived in the Juntä region which she owned. The boy, also called Wejmoroáw, grew up and married Chasin, who gave birth to a son Chewochopa, and a daughter, Tärochowaj. Chewochopa married Poch-mapi of the Juntä folk, and her brother Poposej married Tärochowaj.

M 13. The Kanepu in Kampu-aja

Long ago fire was not known. Fish were torn open and dried in the sun. Below the mountain Ferätám-ma—where the dema of the Kane-pu people lived — people of the Frasif were asking the dema of the mountain for fire: *man majú* (“the warm life force of her vagina-bag”). During many moons they asked before they got it. Finally the dema let it out. A man had a dry pinang branch that took on fire and later they gave it back up to the mountain people. This means: A woman from the mountain married a Frasif man, the sister of whom brought back exchange cloth. But she already knew the fire. *Raro mo ratu man, niku mof* (“men, catching the warm life force of a dema, make children very well”).

Once a man called Mani-arsekú from the Kan-m’pu-uiach place made a swidden near Frasif, where he lived with his wife, Moch-rakak Isir. Sitting on her swidden she was bitten by a centipede (in her genital parts). She said: “Oh, rub me here, it’s burning like fire, where the centipede bit me!” He rubbed her till the blood began to flow and she got a vagina. It flowed into a mould she had made for a giant taro. The following day the man came back, heard someone crying and saw a child in the mould. Was it a ghost or a human being? He got out his boar tusk and made mawe. Then he saw it was a true child. His woman could not get a child the ordinary way. He called his woman, made a new house and the woman fetched *Dracaena* leaves from Arsekum to warm her breasts. Her milk flowed immediately and she nursed the baby. The dema showed itself to her in her dreams and told her that it would come into the house in the shape of a Popuoch snake and sleep in her bag. The child was the dema’s child.

When she awoke, she told her husband. They found the snake in her taro bag and it had also left a cloth, Apan Popuoch Safo, in the bag. The snake was fed and cared for till it died, because it was the Tu-á, i. e. the leader of the “rope” of the child and left many cloths. The finest is Apan Popuoch Safo that is now with the Sira group. All names with “Kan-m’pu-uwiach” are after that child.

M 14. The Kanebu in the village of Kambuskato

Wastapam or Wasririn was the name of a man of the Kanebu family. He was married to Poch-Rakak Isir but she got no children. They had made a swidden. In the middle of the day he was standing in the rain and pushing down some magic stones with his hands when a centipede bit him. His hand swelled and he squeezed the bite until blood flowed into the heap of mould his wife had made with a rake. When the blood stopped flowing the man went home to his

wife and slept. A day later they were sitting in the field-hut and it was raining. A little boy dug his way out of the heap. The pair heard him weeping and found him after a short search. They immediately made an oracle with a boar's tusk to see whether he was a ghost or a human being. The woman took up the child and the man took *Dracaena* leaves and warmed the woman's breast with them —and milk came at once. The leaves had grown at Arsekum, the spirit home of the Isir.

In the evening, when they had gone to sleep, the fabric Apan Popuoch Safo ("the magic pattern /?/ snake") crept into the house and placed itself in the woman's bag. It showed itself in a dream to Poch Rakak and said: "The child's name is to be Awr. My Oan cloth is in your carrying bag. Beside it is the snake". When they awoke she remembered the dream, took a stick and poked about in the bag, which was heavy with cloth and with Apan Popuoch, the snake. The snake finally went out of the house and the child grew up on the mother's milk. The Isir are descended from this Awr.

M 15. The Karet in Karet-tupun

Formerly women had no sexual organs. Coitus was practised in the mouth or the ear, and the child in the mother's body rose up towards these vents but could not come out. A woman could not give birth. She had to be split open. She was first placed on a pyre of wood and then roasted to death, after which she was split open and the child was taken out. The same was the case also on the island of Tomáse. Here lived a young man named Karet N'Bejun. His woman was pregnant and he sought fish day and night in the little river Mesun. One day he found a jambo-fruit in the river. Where, he thought, does this come from? I must find the tree. The whole night he looked for more fruit and slept long in the morning. He awoke with the thought that he must really find out where the tree grew. He took his canoe and paddled upstream. The jambo-fruits came sailing in pairs. At the source of the river stood a great jambo-tree and he climbed it. He filled two bags and descended and emptied them. The next time he climbed to the top of the tree and found a girl, Chor, sitting there. In fear he began to climb down, but she cried: "I am not a ghost, I am Ratu". She smelt like an opossum. Together they climbed down to the ground and she was beautiful and had many bead necklaces. She was an opossum, that could transform herself to a human being and retain her opossum-vagina.

The girl Chor wanted them to have coitus and the man prepared to use her mouth. But Chor refused. He asked: "Why don't you want to?" — "Certainly I want", she said, "but it must be here!" And she showed him her vagina and told him what to do. Afterwards she asked: "Whatever do you do

when you are to give birth to children, if you have coitus in the mouth?" He told her, and she asked if he had a sister who was pregnant. When she heard that this was the case she said: "Come, let us paddle home to your place!"

When they arrived at Tomáse he begged her to stay in the canoe, and he would send persons to show her the way to his house. When he got home he gave his younger brother orders to fetch her. When the man reached the landing place he saw no human being there, only a firefly, and he returned alone. Karet asked where he had the girl and he replied that she had disappeared, and that he had seen only two bags of jambo. She was a dema. He sent his sister, and she, too, came home without Chor. Nor had she seen anything but a firefly. Now he went himself, and saw the girl in the canoe where he had left her. He said: "Yes, my woman is pregnant." Chor entered the house and chewed ginger and blew on his sister's head, ears, eyes, nose, mouth and throat and all the way downwards, so that the child in the mother's body was forced to go downwards and a vagina was opened. Through this the child came forth and cried: "*Atu sa!*" When the child had said this it was possible to sever the navel-string with a bamboo knife. Thus it happens to this day. But women are descended from this Chor, and this is why smell of opossum still remains in their vagina.

M 16. The Karet-Tubun in the village of Mefchatiam

At Isimä stood a tree, near Jokwer. Inside it were buzzing bees. When they came out they became human beings. The spirit home is Watir Karet in the village of Mefchadjam. The route of the humans is Konda, Woramgé, Kalebra and Fokorsa. The Karet-Sawo live in Konda. In Jiu there is a Karet-group calling themselves Täró and having a spirit home in Uwiak-Täró.

M 17. The Kosámach in the village of Kawf

The man Chajfä came out of a bamboo, and the woman Kwaian emerged from a cave that is the source of the river Kosámach, not far from the village of Kauf. This was her territory and there is the spirit home now. They had a son and a daughter, but their names are only remembered by the Ajwasi people with whom they used to marry.

M 18. The Kotju in the village of Kotjuwer

A woman emerged from a cave at the Cho-Katim hill. She was called

Chosu as she married a Frasuwi man from the lower part of the river, where the stone and spirit home are.

M 19. The Kotju in the village of Siti

Uon Säu was a man at Kotjuata. Täkof Munja was his wife. Her name is that of a territory that still exist higher up in the hills. He came into existence up on a mountain in the light. She emerged from a cave. His sister Suwia was married to Achach Munja, who came to Siwa's field-hut and brought with him a opossum they had caught. Siwa told them to save the head, but they ate up everything, saving only the teeth. Uon Säu built a pig-sty, Samu Fané. He said: "Come, now let us kill the pig!" Achach then came with the heirloom fabric Tapam Poch. We do the same to this day. When the fabrics come we slaughter the pig.

M 21. The Moju in the village of Semu

Tifiak Moju came out of the egg of the snake Apan Penejf to the west of the Safokawr village at a place called Moju. But the spirit home was called Tutani, and from there Tifiak went to Sauf, Sermut, Sacharim, Fos-Ra, Tuwér, Pon Siéfer, and there he placed a snake's egg in the water, so that when children are to enter Uon they must be shown at the water. He then passed to Tebu, Sor-rä, Kana Charäch and up the slopes Tejn Tit, whence he saw the lake and stayed at Muswerin. A Pres girl named Rafus who had lived in Tuwer passed by, made a fire at Sakenomoch, a stone, and roasted taro for him. Then they had coitus and they built a house in the empty land and he began to look for fish. Suse Mur is the dema's name and it lives in the stone, guards the field and the fishing ground. The Moju also share soil with the Susim and have Apit Facha, a kind of banana plant, as their tree.

People who had committed a crime, who had killed someone or who would not pay their debts fled hither and got a place among the Moju. Tejach Moju and Charach Moju were two such newcomers, but when they made Samu Uon, the Karet and the Na folk came and slew both. — The most valued cloth of the Moju's was Capan Poch, but at Fejt Serun a hole was made in the ground, the cloth was stuffed into it and the ground closed and it has never been possible to find it again. This was done to placate Taku.

M 22. The Na in the village of Semu

A woman emerged from the Umuru cave near the village of Setá. She was

named Na. The mountain Atír lies at the other end, and here grew an Isi-tree. The tree was hollow and fell down, and a litte boy came out. He married the girl Na. Since then the Na folk have ousted the Pres folk on the island of Kamiaj.

M 23. The Naw-Chará in the village of Sejá

At first there was only the brushwood heap of a bush-hen down in the earth at the place called Tapampósif. From this were born stones, the stones gave birth to a dog and the dog to a human being, the man Wekát ("primeval drought"). During a terrible drought the man came to Sejá. While sleeping his sweat fell on the ground. Next morning a pandanus palm had grown up. It bore one fruit and he picked it and hid it while he went looking for more. When he came back he found a sleeping woman called Naw instead of the fruit. He learned to have coitus with her. She also showed him where the pandanus fruit grew. After this she made four women come out of the fruits in exchange for coitus with him. Men also exchanged tobacco and opossum for some fruits, and some stayed in Sejá and settled down there. It was scorching hot, the leaves fell from the trees. Everybody was starving and Wekát became a rich man with four wives. His descendants are the Naw folk.

The Chara folk came from the mountain Mená, where Tumená had made them. Tumená is like Mafif. People had made a swidden there. When a woman took vegetables from this swidden to the water one evening, she opened her bag and found that someone had eaten up the leaves and left only the stalks. Grubs were the culprits, but they were sent by the Tu dema. She became scared. She extinguished the fires on the swidden and all the people withdrew to Titmaw and Kambuaja. A boy had forgotten his axe and went back. Fire was still glowing in a stump, so he remained. After a time he met his maternal uncle with two women and stayed with him. A wild pig was ambling along a path and the boy followed it. He had made a trap with a pointed bamboo stake, and the pig fell into the pit and died. He cut it up and ate it together with the man and the women. They became thirsty and one of the women was sent for water. His maternal uncle told the boy to go after her and have coitus with her. When she got back she asked the man: "Why did you send the boy after me?" — "You are to be his." — The place was Jumami at Setá. The tree Fejtapi is still to be found there. It is called after her.

M 24. The Naw-Chará in the village of Renis

The Chará folk came from the Jokwer tract, where there is a place called Chará. A man was sent to get bamboo for people who were making a swidden.

The bamboo slipped and struck the man with a sharp edge so that he died. A woman saw the whole thing and called out: "He is dead!" She fetched water and put out all the fires on the swidden. Everybody then moved. When they arrived at Karet Tubun a man had forgotten his dog and ran back to the swidden, saying to the others: "You go on ahead, and I'll follow after." They reached Reins and saw a Na woman making a swidden there, and after some persuasion they planted their taro stalks in her field.

The man who had forgotten his dog on the old swidden found the branch of a breadfruit-tree that was still glowing. He called his dog, made a fire and cooked food. He remained at the swidden and married a Chowaj-Chafach girl.

M 25. The Pres in the village of Mefchatiam

The first human being in Pres was the woman Weref (spider), who emerged from a cave at Roáraräch in the hills, and later settled at Erá at the lake-side. Karet Naj, a man, later emerged from her cave, and he married Peroch-Mef, a Karet woman, who had a child, Uen Nerur, who married the girl Peroch-Jata Pres. The Sarosa folk arrived afterwards and married with the Pres. Chara-Charu Sarosa had two sons, Chara-Charu and Sachorotoni.

M 26. The Pres-Katit in the village of Mefchatiam

In the Klamono tract a woman had given birth to a child. She lived in the lying-in house, Krä. A Pres-Katit man violated her and escaped thence in a large canoe of Taul-wood together with some friends of the Mambuwaro folk that are since regarded as belonging to the Pres-Katit. They arrived at Siaf Sia at Konda but slept in Teminabuan in the evening. Here they heard the sago-leaves rustling and some stayed on, while others were sent up in the mountains to cultivate derris root, pandanus and tobacco. But in the vicinity of Elis the Tersaw fam received the Pres-Katit folk and initiated them in Poruwon. The Mambuwaro had come to Konda when the Pres Katit had on one occasion felled sago-trees as a lure and placed themselves behind a screen to wait for wild pigs. In the night the Press-Katit caught sight of the Mambuwaro folk cautiously creeping up and stealing sago. They were about to retire when they noticed that they were observed. The Mambuwaro gave fine-chopped Fasa-leaves to the Pres-Katit (as a sort of tobacco). "Come home with us!" said the Pres-Katit, sharing out tobacco which the strangers began to smoke. The Mambuwaro fell down as if dead, but water was poured over them and they came to. Afterwards they bought sago and began to return regularly.

The Mambuwaro came from Sarui Island. They bought sago for the tusks of wild pig and big bush-knives.

M 27. The Presia in the village of Blus

Amak Sahen is the place of origin of the Presia. In primeval times a man urinated on mushrooms not far from there, and Sahen, a cassowary, happened to pass and ate up the mushrooms. She became pregnant and gave birth to a child, a daughter. A man made a snare near the banyan tree where the cassowary used to eat fruits and hid himself behind it. The girl appeared followed by the cassowary. He caught the child, but the cassowary became angry, kicked and shrieked and almost killed him "Don't be angry!" said the man, I shall look after the girl and you can come with us." The cassowary accompanied them and lived under the house, and the child grew up. She gave taro and fruits to her mother. The man took the girl and had coitus with her. But the cassowary said: "Stop that! You must exchange first!" A Porfré house was then erected for the collection of cloth. Here the wedding was to be celebrated when all was ready. The man went off and tried in vain to procure valuables. When he came back empty-handed the cassowary said: "Kill me, put my feathers in a bag, my bones in the four corners of the house, the meat up under the roof and the liver on the floor!" The man did so and then went looking for fish in the river. He searched for three days, got many fish and returned. At a great distance he heard a loud noise. He found the whole house full of people and valuables and everything was ready for the feast. — "How does this come about?" he wondered. His mother-in-law's voice said: "This is your wife's kin that has come to life to fetch your valuables." The cassowary had also become china plates, bush-knives, cloth and beads. She instructed him how to distribute the things. Then he had many children and a swidden was cleared, but many dogs came and excreted there. The man and his wife thereupon grew angry and said: "We shall leave this place!" So they went to Teminabuan, Kondjil and Skendi. In Teminabuan there was afterwards a first division between costal and mountain people.

M 28. The Sa in the village of Kawf

A man emerged from the tree Sa, below Kemurkek. His name was Supuk Tupejr. He stabbed Tupejr with his peg (= penis?). A woman later came from the Sarosa, who are called the Sa (by us in Kawf). Sarosa women are now called *temä* (mother). Supuk had a daughter, An Wawn, who married Sowar Moch

and was clever at making bark cloth. She had a son, Chapósej, and a daughter, Kainmotuf. From them derive all the Sa living here. Kit and Moch are their spirit homes.

M 29. The Sacharím in Sauf

One night a man was hunting opossum with his dog. He carried a torch and was near the Rarách place. Below a tree where an opossum was sitting, the dog kept barking till the early morning. Then the opossum changed into a woman. He said: Are you a ghost? — No. — A human being? — No, I'm Ratu. Follow me and I'll give you something. —

She opened a passage down through the tree and went down before him. There was her country. She walked while he was sleeping, he walked while she slept. — Here is a corn swidden, she said. Corn kernels are fruits of the Remó tree, the necklace of Siwa and my food. I eat them and they are similar to my teeth. When you are back, hide them in the earth. Open your bark cloth, and I'll show you how to use your digging stick. Then they had coitus. He also learned which medicines to use. She said: If you eat an opossum, put all the bones in a heap and give them back to me. Save the teeth and bury the head.

The man returned. An opossum jumped from the tree when the morning birds started warbling. The dog caught it when it took ground. The man opened it, took out the entrails and ate it. When he had put the bones in a heap a warm rain fell from the clouds with a whistling sound. Out of every big leg-bone a woman came forth. The man still had his corn-teeth. The women still smell of opossum. A Remó tree grows to-day in the place where he put the skull.

M 30. The Safakáwr (Fekorsá) in the village of Mefchatiam

One night Marík and Serefré, two men, were seeking opossum near Chafioro. They came to a mango-tree, Shajfi, and heard the Woj-bird wrable. They stayed to listen. Then they heard a sound like bees in the tree. They applied their ears to the trunk and heard that it was human beings arranging a wedding exchange. Serefé held the dog and Mark held a Kej- axe. He began to chop, but there was only bark left and he struck the head of one of the persons inside so the blood began to flow. The bark loosened and the human beings came out. Saréfi came first with a bleeding head. Last of all came a being with two heads, but this was thrust in again. Saréfi became Marik's errand-boy. Sawunuk, on the other hand, went (in stages) to the Rokten folk in Blus and

cleared a swidden which is now called Fekór. The Tehid folk (from the coast) sought them in Sauf and heard that they were in Fekór. They said. "Aha, have they become *safakawr*?" ("complete slaves of the females"). Since then they have been called Safakawr. This is the same as when the Safresa were assimilated among the Fan folk and were called Fan a little above Sauf. But afterwards they began with Toch-mi (the association) and were driven away to the Seri-Fan place which is now also called Fan. But the Fan Mountain is actually situated near Sauf.

M 31. The Safráfo in the village of Elis

A Sa-Remowk man went to the river Rafo and lay down to sleep there. Tagu appeared to him in a dream and told the man to remain and call himself Safraro. He did so.

M 32. The Safuf in the village of Framesa

A man from Tächach went to the swidden to fetch taro. On his way he knocked over a pandanus-palm and a fruit fell down. He put the fruit in his rain-cloak, concealed it and went on. In the rain-cloak the fruit became a human child that lay there crying. When the man came back with some taroä he took the cloak and the child with him. It was a boy who grew up and became big. This happened at Tächach. The boy married and had several children. One son went to Framesa and married a girl called Kiamach Safuf. They lived at the Framesa Mountain. The boy considered himself to belong to the Safuf folk. They had only one daughter, no son. When she grew up the girl married Sekupawia Asim, who came and stayed with her family.

M 33. The Sarósa in the village of Metchatiam

Saruwat-China came from Seket and the island of Sarawati. In the direction of Sorong he had procured cloth. He came up towards Sauf and stayed with his trade friend, Tisfa. Together they went to Tuwér opposite Komakoma. Here he pulled up his Fejt-tree, Fejtachina. Apan Nejf, the "snout-snake", thereupon called out from its nest in the earth underneath it: "Wait for me!" The snake was his Taku, and China thought of moving. China waited at Semu, but although he clearly heard the voice of the snake he could see no people. The snake then lifted itself up and stood on its tail and called out again. China waited at the brook Erut until late in the day, but saw no

people coming. He proceeded to Watir-Karet and hid himself there. Here he saw a snake balancing on its tail and calling: "Wait for me!" When he then arose the snake was taken by surprise and hid itself again.

Woräj Pres and Atar Pres lived here then. China made a wind screen and put down 20 bags for cloth there. The snake came in the evening and crept into every bag until they were filled. The snake ordered China to summon all the people in the tract by blowing the conch-trumpet and to distribute the cloth. Woräj and Atar were two *kusemä* or "coolies" who owned the soil. A dog had barked beneath a tree where an opossum sat until she became a woman and the tract thereabout was given the name Rarák. The other pieces of ground were called Sāramä, Sāramu and Sächoma. Woräj and her people now caught an opossum and ate the liver, but China got the other parts of the opossum and gave Mon Safe, Sarim, Topra, Pokek and Chafak at the hearth feast.

M 34. The Sarósa in the village of Framu

The Sarosa Charit Porot made a tree house. The morning rain made it rotten and all the persons living there tumbled down. The Sarosa Ropat then went to Sorong; others went to Sauf, to Jewanpolo, to Pres-Katit, to Elis; and here a young boy concealed his snare and lime. He went back looking for them, but was afterwards unable to find the others. At Sekirit nead Wochaju he found his maternal uncle, who had three women there. They were engaged in cultivating a swidden. The boy went thither, and when the women went to the spring to fetch water in bamboo canes his uncle told him to take one of the women. The uncle's name was Wokeräch M'Pres, and he said to the youngest woman: "If a boy comes, don't shriek!" The boy, whose name was Tepaw, took the youngest one by the hand and said: "Come, let's have coitus!" The woman was shy, but they did so. Her name was Sam. Afterwards she went to Wokeräch and was angry and said: "A boy came and had coitus with me." He said: "It doesn't matter, for he is to be your husband." Tebaw and Sam went to Fejt Sawiak at Fekorsá and cleared swiddens there. A son born to them was called Kasumoch Seruwan.

Formerly, only rattan platforms (*serar säk*), were made for dancing. Such a one was made by Kasumoch Seruwan at Framu. A girl from Tifuom, Murosin by name, took her drum when she heard of Kasumoch, who was dancing alone apart from the others, and went there in a canoe. She saw him wearing a bird of paradise in his hair, a boar's tusk in his nose, and shell rings. He was dancing without interruption. Her father Timufat told Kasumoch that his daughter wanted to marry. Timufat went home and returned with the canoe full of taro and fish. Everybody from Framu returned to the

girl and her mother the following day to fetch her. The boy was fair and the girl was fair, and she had a belt of ring worm round her belly (marks of a skin disease) that showed her to be of Taku's people. But when they went back to Famu, Kasumoch's mother was sulky. But Murosin said: "Move over, I am going to roast taro!" Kasumoch and Murosin then removed to Fekorsá. Their son was named Cherach-Sifat and married Paket-Sio Kamiaj.

M 35. The Sefa-Fatum in the village Kotjuás

In the village of Kotjuás there is a well, Pami. A man passed and heard a child weeping there. When he looked about for it, it dived down into the water. The same thing was repeated for several days. Finally he made a noose with his snare-line, and when the girl-child emerged he pulled the line and got up the child. He carried it up in a house built in a tree. In the evening a snake (*apan-pir*) appeared and climbed up into the house. The man barricaded the opening. When the snake thrust its head in he struck it and the blood ran out into the river. It is red to this day. The child was the snake's daughter. Her name was Pami.

M 36. The Sekirít in the village of Ajtinjo

At a place near the disemboguement of Lake Ajtinjo there lived a Sekirit man who did not know how to make bark cloth. A cane of palm-wine was standing in a corner of his house and he began to drink. The palm-wine tube was small, but Ratu made the wine strong, so that he was able to serve himself until the early morning. He then fell over and slept. Ratu began to carry Mon-fabrics into the house. It then stacked Paim Siwiach in great quantities. Ratu revealed itself to him in a dream and said: "Now Mon and Paim Siwiach are staked in your house. Here you must make Sachafra-houses and here you must always give Mamos-presents. He awoke at sunrise, saw the fabrics and did as Ratu had bidden him. Thus the pieces of the snake's cloth began to circulate.

M 37. The Sekirít in the village of Sekior

A man was named Sekirit after the place where he lived, near Komakoma. At that time implements were made of bamboo for cutting grass and for the clearing of swiddens. Now, on one occasion Sekirit was sleeping in his swidden hut and he dreamed that he got a whetstone from Ratu. He was

also told that there was an implement at Seru Majer, but this was not yet sharp. When he awoke he went out and looked around, finding at last a stone which he split in such a way that he got two axes and a whetstone. He began to sharpen them and then made handles of wood and rattan to affix to the axes. This took him two days. He was now able to fell trees on a new swidden. He made a big clearing with the axes and summoned his people. The swidden was situated at Jase. Three days later they began to burn the brush on it and people were astonished that he had been able to clear this big space by himself. Stone axes were not commonly known.

Afterwards he went out to look for opossum. He met and followed a dog called Kamos until he came to Tafu, a man who was standing by a river. Tafu had neither mouth nor hole in his rear. Tafu's dog caught only opossum. He had made three large racks where their meat was set to dry. Here he went and attended to his meat without saying a word, for he had no voice. He heard the river rushing out from a well and thought this signified that his sister (in the well) was hungry. He gave his sister all the meat he got, for he had no voice and therefore no thoughts, only ears, eyes and a tail. Sekirit stayed with him and ate meat.

A third man, Titmaw, from the place Titmaw on the coast, was going up the same river looking for fish at that time. He had brought a fabric, Sitá M'paw. He saw also that Tafu had very small swiddens because he had no axe. He said to Sekirit: "I know that you have one thing. I myself have another. Sekirit answered: "Let's see!" He opened his net bag and took out his fabric. — "I want to exchange this for something you have." Sekirit replied: "Wait, I shall go home and fetch something."

He went back to Jase and asked: "Where are my stone axes?" Then he found them and said to the people: "You may eat, don't wait for me. I am going to Tafu." He did so and traded an axe for Titmaw's fabric. Then he went home to Jase again.

Titmaw stayed with Tafu but thought it was hard not to be able to speak with him. When Tafu was one day sitting under his little Aka-roof with his tail hanging down behind, Titmaw put a wooden pole under the tail and struck with the stone axe. Tafu sprang up and opened his mouth in a mighty yell of pain that lasted for a day and a night. Now he also had a hole in his rear. At once he began to eat of all his tasty meat and was pleased and content. Titmaw married his sister who came out of the river when she heard her brother yelling.

M 38. The Semuniák in the village of Seni

The source of the river Seni is named Semuniak. A little way off, at what is now the deepest part of the river, an extensive swidden was once cleared,

and a man went out hunting with his dog. The dog started barking near the source. It started up a wallaby and dug for it until it became tired and its master carried it off. But the dog remembered the place and returned, and soon the man heard it barking while it dug. It got out a pandanus fruit and worried this, and afterwards a stone. Finally, there came ashes and water. Semuniak hastily took the dog away, and the water followed him to the (present) mooring place for boats. Here he was caught up by Mos, the water dema, who made a stab with a bamboo spear. The man jumped aside. The water dema made a way through the swidden and the people were drowned. The hunter was still swallowed by the water. They came to Tu Harit. Here he made a tree-house in a mango-tree, and climbed up, but the water flowed round about until both tree and house fell with a splash. There is now a waterfall. He jumped out and ran to Awk and was turned to stone. There Frasu still stands, a stone resembling a man and a dog. The fallen mangoes turned into human beings when the water left. Some went to live on the left side, others on the right side of the river.

M 39. The Sesa folk: The Sifre in Prus

At Sarfi, Sifre and Rokten emerged from the mango-tree. Rokten went first to Blus to look for Feqej-trees (to make torches for the hunt), taking Tesin-leaves to show the way (they are white on the back) for Sifre. Rokten arrived first and Sifre followed after. Uduok remained in Kalebra. Sifre settled at the old site of Prus. Rokten stayed in Mintaket. Rokten gave Sifre a woman in marriage.

M 40. The Sesa in Teminabuan

The Sesa folk and their relatives emerged from a mango-tree called Käfi. This was outside Sasenek. In the night a man came with his dog and heard voices in the tree. He opened the tree with an axe. Inside, Sarombó was sitting uppermost, and the axe grazed his head so that he became bald. His descendants have been so ever since, though they are now surely extinct or have been assimilated in other families. The man who opened the tree named the people inside, after which he let them out. These were only names of persons, not names of plots of ground. No. 1 was Saréfi, 2 Sesa, 3 Safresá, 4 Sapru, 5 Safré, 6 Sagesólo, 7 Sarósa, 8 Sawúnuk, Sarambów.

After these came a being with two heads, and there were other monsters down there; but the man closed up the tree again and thrust down the two-

headed one. The men came out with a white ring. The bird Urep (= Wer, mp) came down out of the tree at the same time. It is a totem and the people swear oaths by it.

M 41. The Sesa in the village of Elis

One night Marik went out hunting with his dog and heard Sarefi and Sarompo quarrelling inside a mango-tree. He took an axe and cut a hole. From this hole emerged first Wampam Fresá, second Ment, third Erek, Sarombo as number four, Sesa as number five, and last of all Sarefi. The axe had grazed Sarefi's head, and after this he was bald. Sefárami is a place beyond Sedrofójo for the mango-tree.

The Jarioro-Sese went to Hochri. Some stayed in Sefárami beyond Sasfi near Seribaw, the others went to Hochri near Sasenek and afterwards to Terminabuan and to Fesi (the Elis region). Jarióro and Sarmok then lived in Elis. A Pawk woman was living in Chautfasa, and here she received Jarióro and both went to Wunuk. They began to throw a big fern into Sawunuk, and then there was a boundary between Juwit and Jarióro. Here too, a trading centre grew up.

M 42. The Sesa in Jarióro

A man of the Qehek folk from Wehali went to Elis and returned with a Jari-spear in his hand (many Jari-trees grow in Elis). He was met by friends, who said: "Whence do you come?" He answered: "Jarióro!" (=from the place of the Jari-trees), and since that time the Sesa folk living in Elis are called Jarióro.

M 43. The Sifre in the village of Prus

A woman belonging to the Sifre folk had cleared a swidden at Japre and placed her rain-cloak inside the hollow of an ironwood-tree while she planted taro. A child cried for a long time down the tree and the mother (sic!) finally came back. She searched in vain for a long time, when suddenly she found a child in her rain-cloak. The boy at once became full grown and was named Rākesmur Sien. One day he was hunting opossum with his dog, but the dog started up a big wild pig, and the pig bit the dog. The boy heard the dog's dying howls, but when he came up he found the pig, too, lying dead. The spear of Tajr had killed it.

Tajr is the same as Mos that lives in the spirit home. The boy became afraid of Tajr, who said: "Come and take your pig!" Räksemur said: "Go and fetch rattan for me!" Tajr took the pig in his hand and said that it was surely not heavy. The boy made a fire and cut up the pig, fetched Fejt-bark and smoked large portions. Tajr sent him to get palm wine at Terworosar. There he saw many people, and he became afraid and returned empty-handed. Tajr took a knife and invisibly climbed the tree and took some palm wine. The people below heard the wine flowing and wondered what it could be but saw no-one leaving the tree. He then went back to the pig and the two drank until they became intoxicated.

Tajr said: "Return to your house — your father will soon follow, and then we can always be together." But the boy wanted to wait for him. Tajr climbed a Nibong-tree and it immediately became so dark that the boy went to sleep, and he went on sleeping until it got light. Tajr then descended from the tree, woke the boy up and said: "Why did you not do as I told you? Now you slept in the woods and I didn't find the way to the house."

When the boy got home and told of his experience, his mother said: "Oh, you have met Kafit (unburied ghost eating people's shadows)". The mother took red earth and drew figures on his chest in order to lead him into the house of initiation, and she tied a string round his head. He came out of the house and took the dog with him into the woods. Tajr came and saw him in full ceremonial attire with feathers and spear, and he became afraid. Sepanat-Saw was a girl whom his mother fetched to give to him in marriage. She immediately gave birth to a white child.

M 44. The Susim in the village of Semetu

In Fekawr near Kratok (Kladuk?) on the coast is the place of origin. Here the man Su emerged from the egg of the "snout-snake". His people later lived at the lakes, when Tātoroch Sarowati (Salawati?), a relative of the Sarosa, came from Seket and married a Sim-woman and was considered as belonging to her family. She descended from Sim, Su's sister, who lived in the hills, "Su-sim" is the new name we have got from the Government.

M 45. The Tchompa in the village of Arné

Sara Tchompa, a man, lived alone in Sefakit near Adok and did not know fire. He made himself a little wind screen and caught opossum, pigs and snakes and ate them raw. He had a beard and a strong growth of hair over his whole body. He prized and wrenched at stumps looking for tree grubs. The man

Safe from the Atäro folk in the north heard this, followed the sound and went to him. — “What are you doing and who are you?” asked Safe. “Human being or spirit?” — He held the boar’s tusk oracle before Sara but it did not budge. This proved that Sara was a human being. He dropped the tusk and seized the human being. Safe had an iron axe and he quickly chopped out many grubs and put them on the ground. — “How do you do it?” asked Sara. — “Oh, that is so simple!” — “But were do you live and where do you sleep?” — “Nearby. Let’s go and sleep!” said Safe, andt they did so. Safe saw Sara’s scraps of raw food from opossum and threw them away. He made a fireplace, took stone and tinder and made a fire. The smoke began to billow and Sara was violently sick. Safe took bark and burned off Sara’s hair, after which they lay down to sleep until morning. In the morning a fruit Soruwan, was placed in the fire and it became soft when it was roasted. Safe said to Sara: “Guard the food while I fetch my sister.” Sara stayed there and when Safe came back with the woman they ate together. But first he sent his woman to the water to wash the fruits. He sent Sara after her and said that they should have coitus. This they did, and she came back first and told what had happened. Safe said that it did not matter and that she should marry him. Sara came and got her as his wife. Mantú was her place and soil. They had a son, Oan-Pechu, and a daughter, Chapu.

M 46. The Tchopa in the village of Siti

Sara Tchopa built a house on a high mountain named Mantú. Below was a cave. Aser was the name of five trees which were planted there and whose leaves are placed under a fire-place. From there Sara was able to speak with Safe N’täro over a great distance through a tunnel. Sara made Sachafra feasts there too.

Pres, a woman of the N’täro folk (now in Jarat), came forth to Sara from her cave and bore him a daughter, Chapu, and a son, Uonpechu. The latter married Chajna of the Arné folk (father unknown). There were two mountains where Sachafra-pach feasts were also made. Ratu came forth at Mantú when Sara made Sachafra, and only there does it give counsel. Formerly, it became angry if *watum* was not wollowed.

M 47. The Tisfa from the village of Wehali

Tisfa was a man from a place with the same name near Wehali. He went out to catch birds with lime from the breadfruit-tree. When the Woj-bird had warbled just before sunrise he cut a notch in the breadfruit-tree and got lime. He climbed to the top of another tree and placed lime and snare close to

berries that the birds liked. He fixed the lime with fire from a fire-stick. After a time two horn-bill birds came flying with a whirring of wings that sounded like: firit-farat. They stuck to the lime and he pulled the noose taut and took them with his hands. At the same moment they turned into two fabrics. He became afraid and climbed down. On the ground he fell asleep. In his dream two dema came to him and said: "It was we who were the birds, and it as we who turned ourselves into fabrics. Their names are Firit and Farat. Take them home now and show them to all the people, and then you must look after them well, in this way the people will be strong and healthy." He awoke and went home. He prepared for a great feast, and when the people came he unfolded the farbrics and showed them. "These make us strong and have great value", he said. "The feast is given so that people shall see that I am a rich man."

M 48. The Tisfa in the tract between Wehali and Serum

Mesajer Tisfa was the first in the Seruan tract who could make a wicker-work fish-trap. He went from Seruan to Kräna, his trade friend in Sedrofojo, to pay a debt. In Seruan they knew only the method of using resin which was placed in the water, but the fish did not alway stick. Kräna drew up a trap full of fish and crayfish. Tisfa crept unnoticed after Kräna and saw him take up the conical trap full of fish. Tisfa offered Kräna cloth for the trap, but he did not want to have this. He offered him slave children, but this he did not want either. He offered Kräna a knife from Kalebrá, but this, too, was refused. When he had finally lived with Kräna for ten years he got the trap in any case. He went to Tariteniwat, stayed there and lowered the trap into the river. But he had not go any lid for the opening, so no fish stayed in the trap. He returned and asked what this could be due to. "How, actually do you manage?" said Mesajer. Then his friend Kräna made a lid of rattan and a fresh attempt was made, this time with better success. Afterwards Mesajer went to his tree-house and here he made new lids, and the chips were carried by the wind to his elder brother, who followed them and found the house and its content of cloth and smoked fish and crayfish. He also met his brother, whom he had not seen for ten years. They now made two armlets, two rain-cloaks and two net bags and promised to have an exchange meeting in five days so as to be able to pay the marriage exchanges at home. When all was ready they carried the fish to Serun with their tackle and ornaments.

M 49. The Titmaw in the village of Jupiak

A woman in Jupiak was named Mechajtitmaw. She was sleeping at night; a dema brought her up in the hills to Tu Awiach, the dema's place where

taro was growing. She awoke in the morning, remembered the dream, went to the place and saw taro that the Tu dema was cultivating. She pulled up four or five, made them clean and carried them to the house. Here she began to roast three of them. When they were ready she cleaned them again but wondered if they were poisonous. She tried one, at all events, in the middle of the day, and all went well; she took another, waited, and took one more. Then she went to sleep and awoke in the morning. At Jupiak she prepared a field and fetched taro-stalks and water there. When the swidden became old she fetched more stalks and extended it. She took some stalks and tubers in two bags and carried them to Suiám. There they became too heavy, so she cleared a swidden and showed the people how to cultivate taro. She proceeded to Fan, near Suiam, where the burden became too heavy for her again, and she instructed the people and taught them the art of cultivation. Later she went to Tächach, gave the villagers some stalks and carried the rest further. Arrived at Asmurúf, she gave some stalks and went on to Isir, summoned the people gave them to eat and gave them stalks, and the people began to clear swiddens. She reached Kampuaja and taught the people how to cultivate and they asked for taro stalks. She carried the rest on to Isirkáwian, where she gave what she had left, and people came from all quarters, learned the art of cultivation and were given to eat.

M 50. The Titmaw in the village of Titmaw

The first person of the Titmaw came from Warisar on the coast. He crept forth from the body of the Benéjǵ-snake. Via the places Säf and Ikuf a group of the Titmaw came to Itas near the village of Kambuaja in the Mejprat area, where they sought asylum. Some moved to Setá. A sea-eagle was breeding in an iron-wood-tree, and it possessed a fabric of the Sarim type. A swidden was being cleared and a woman set down her child near the tree. The bird took the child to its nest and placed it upon the fabric. For three days they searched for the child in vain, though they sometimes heard it crying. When the morning-bird was heard on the third day the bird carried down the child, which was wrapped in the cloth. It was the dema who in the shape of a bird, was helping the Titmaw folk. — The Benéjǵ-snake and the Sapá-worm are dema forms that now help people.

M 51. The Tuwit in the village of Elis

In Fakfak lived a man. He slept and had his penis in a hole in the rock. In the course of time eight boys with bows and arrows arose in the cavity.

His wife told him to wake up, for the boys were shooting at his penis. He rose, took a box as big as a house and stuffed the boys into this. He carried it down to the shore and thrust it out to sea. It stranded at Kenúni near Kokas, where lived a man of the Tuwit folk by the name of Kara. The strand folk heard sounds from the box, because the children inside had heard laughter from a house. The box was hauled up on the shore and the first child, Sarlis (whose descendants now live in Seribáw), was taken out, then the others, and all were placed in a row. — "Who is the biggest?" — Well, it was Sarlis. Kara went home to his eight girls and said: "You, mother, and the girls must prepare sago, for I shall carry it down to the sea." He went down to the shore again and a big tree was felled and a canoe made. He then went home again and demanded eight portions of sago-porridge and fish as well as meat. The girls carried it down. Each boy got porridge, fish and meat, and the girls and boys ate together. They were stying in a house, and Kara blinked at his wife and said: "Let us go to another place and leave them alone." In the night the young people had coitus.

But afterwards the boys went over in the canoe to the village of Inanwatan and had coitus with eight young girls there. The Inanwatan people grew angry, but the boys killed most of them in the fight that started. Afterwards they went in the boat, taking with them newly harvested sago-pith and sago-plants and stepped ashore at Nja Semór. Pursued by the Inanwatan folk, who followed the sago-pith they had dropped, they were overtaken. The fight was resumed with the girls' father as leader. Many of the Inanwatan folk were killed. Then they paddled on to Menár at Seribaw. The Inanwatan folk were at their heels and began to fight again, but lost once more and gave up. The eight Tuwit boys remained there.

Later, Flasihene Tuwit in Teminabuan was married to a Sarosa woman who did not get any children. He moved up into the mountains, came to Sefachoch near Seruan and began planting derris-root (which yields fish-poison). The women of the mountains sewed rain-cloaks and went down to Bajoro and made trade exchanges. Flasihene followed them. He had a younger brother in Seribaw who came with his youngest child to Bajoro. Flasihene said: "I get your youngest son!" He took him home to Sefachóch and initiated him into the Uon society, giving him the name Charachánsa. When the boy came out of the Uon house, Flasihene sought out two girls as wives for him. He himself had no children, so the boy became his son and finally made his funeral exchanges.

M 52. The Tānaw in the village of Susumúk

A bat lived in the Fu-cave, on the bottom of which was a well. Her excrements accumulated (until they emerged from the water) and became earth.

First she gave birth to the daughter Sachaf and the son Satoch. They got married and had two daughters, Sitamásej and Worämawe, and two sons. The four children married each other. Later the children passed the bat's cave and blocked it up. It flew after them and bit them in the arms and legs. The ones who got the most bites became fair-complexioned and the others darker. If misfortunes now overtake the people they go to the cave and clean it out.

M 53. The Wafom in the village of Framesá

There was a stone by the river Ajnot. The stone gave birth to a white crayfish and the crayfish to a woman, Awiet ("pandanus fruit"). She was a woman who was able to turn herself into a white crayfish. She lived in the water at Framesá, where the man Kajtomápot from a tree with the same name put out his trap. One night he saw how she opened her vagina and a big white fish swam out. He stopped up the hole with white bark-cloth, pandanus-leaves and dracaena-leaves, and she then became a woman who bore him two fair-skinned children. They married and were called Wafom.

M 54. The Wafom in the village of Kotjuwér

Between Susumuk and Kotjuwer there is a mountain and a cave filled with water, Sekó Futut. A bat-woman stepped out of it. Fra Suwi is a big bright stone that stands in the water far away down the river and it gave birth to Suwi, a white opossum. Suwi and the woman had a son, Wafom or Wafum. Some of his people went to Änaw, others remained near the cave from which they had come out. (*wafum* = "our people from the Fu-cave".)

M 55. The Wen in the village of Sení

The man Tchopa had two women. He went into the woods to hunt with his dog. In a hollow tree on the mountain Wen he found a furred human being who had a fire inside. Tchopa saw fire and smoke rising from the tree. He called and the man came forth. They laid down to sleep and made a new fire. The following day Tchopa gave the man the name Wen after the mountain where he lived. He himself took the name Tächopa. After this they divided the River Sení. Tächopa got the western (left) side and Wen the eastern (right) side. The following day Tächopa also fetched his women and gave one of them to Wen. Wen had the two sons Awit and Towak and the daughters Machajt and Menofi, who married one another.

Appendix 2

A variation of the myth of the *Asim* in the village of Framesá (the Somará dialect).

Ames jawt tăn senie jaroeh. Forók amach Pu-o
Red opossum climbs bor jambo, the moon bright. Arriving at cavity of "Hidden One

Mafam Pu-o Mafam tumuk: nio kapes-ā? Kapes nawt
of fam river". "The Hidden One of Fam" asking: You ghost-empty? Ghosts climb

semú kasir. Nio musioch nawt semú serā mekeh. Nio
take shelter in Sir-tree. You fallen down, climb shelter Croton-species red. You

fo-ta nawt semú fo-ta. Nio atiāt ames mekeh.
poison-drinking, climb shelter poison-drink. You spear-killed, (of) opossum red.

A-nio nawt pe-púoch semú pe-púoch. Nio raj tu, nawt semú
For you climb snake-bite, shelter for snake-bite. You man true, climb shelter of

tu-o. Jawt semú a Tu-o. Paj mechúw.
Master-venerable. He climbs shelter for Master-venerable. As a couple they stay.

Fané waw sa-n'koch jami susur jepiāt puoch: puoch
Pig her own of one tree thrust down bamboo-points, instigates enmity: rousing

waw puoch chape. puoch reros. pouch awiet
crowned pigeon rousing opossum, rousing king-fisher, rousing white cockatoo,

puoch wamoch puoch kakru puoch atiéf: mami makit, ajt
rousing hornbill, rousing cassowary, rousing tree kangaroo; they stab her ward, he is

Kapes-mān. Jeno kurajt wa. Jaro puoch mao
ghost from above. He hides his child very well. He keeps apart enemies, they return

mā. Paj mechúw: Kapes-mān tio tawe raj
empty. As a couple they stay: Ghost from above, I tell (he is) the man (of)

Tu-o. Pu-o Mafam Tafóch nesās jamo jawiat
Master-venerable. The Hidden One of Fam's fire goes out, he goes off fetches

kan semú pun. pun tasu takan. Juo jā jama
fire (of) shelter fire-flies, fire-flies my eyes on fire = He bags, returns, comes
= swarming.

jitie namach. Jawiat ku mes-mes nawe setóch matá.
stays together in cavity. He fetches children blood-red bread-fruit wrapped in leaves.

Jesā m'soch-ser kemóch. Jepiés: namo no
He puts in her opening smooth his (tree) old. He sends off: Go away, take

n'karén teséj. Ajt jamo saso jeche ku mes-mes
(the) Sembilan-fishes I hide. He goes away looking, sees children blood-red,

jū	jama	jawe:	ku	mes-mes	ramu	tu.	Kapes	mān
returns,	comes,	tells:	Children	blood-red	our people	real.	Ghost	from above
jamo	jow	jama	jekó	tafóch.	Jakus	japo	mes	
goes away,	takes down,	comes,	puts wood	to the fire.	He fires,	eats,	blood	
mesiár	jasoch.	Jepiés	suwi	Kapes	mān			
dripping away	from his mouth.	He sends out	withe opossum.	Ghost	from above			
jamo	jechóch.	terúk	ako	jakus	japo,	japo	marák:	
goes away	hits (him),	going into	the hollow,	fries,	eats,	eats	finished:	
metí	jamo	amach.	Jepiés	jamo	jekách	po.	Apuk	
in the evening	goes away	home.	He sends out,	goes away,	works	taro.	Lizard	
Kepóch:	Pu-o	Mafam	fenjá	rajt.	Kapes	Mān	jepóch	
White,	Hidden One	of Fam's	woman	his own.	Ghost	from above	makes still.	
jeri	jepát	sow.	Pu-o	Mafam	Kapes	Mān	tumuk:	fenjá
takes power,	bites	once.	Hidden One	of Fam	Ghost	from above	asking:	Woman
ro	kemúr	kach	marak-a?	Kapes	Mān	jemān	fenjá	
who	weeding	swidden	not present here?	Ghost	from above	takes up	woman	
Apuk	Kepóch.	Jo	afá.	Make	mamoun	tafek	chawt	jaso
Lizard	White.	He takes	nettle.	They tie	to her neck	spit out	medicin	he rubs
mamoun,	mamós.	Jechís	apít	api-pajf	mekerók,	kapes		
her neck,	she alive.	He kept remembering	banana	"woman's share"	at Kerok,	ghosts		
manu.	Pu-o	Mafam	tumu:	arín	nio namo	nechís		
suckers.	Hidden One	of Fam	asking:	Origin-land	you go away,	you keep remembering		
apít-é?	Kapes	Mān	not-á	kapuk	ferók	apít	manu.	Paj
banana?	Ghost	from above,	pull out	tree-plug,	arriving	banana	suckers.	We two
mí	sená	senie	teriri.	Kapes	Mān	jama	seká	jeche
make exchange	moon	becme all strong.	Ghost	from above	comes	towards,	he sees	
afā	jo	so-sejt,	jo	apo	Tuoch.	jo	kemā	
nothing	fetches	"old-alone"poison,	fetches	mites	from Tu,	fetches	bark-poison,	
jo	afán	jo	sā-túoch	Bawia	amu	necháj.	Pu-o	
fetches	eatable larvae,	fetches	rip-up medicin.	Therefore	we	die.	Hidden One	
Mafam	sefót	ferá	sefót	aj	jechúw	jaj.		
of Fam	securing	stones,	securing	water,	remains	filled with vitality.		

Neché-mamós chant performed by (the prompted) Waj-Safo Tānaw on October 10, 1957 near Ajwasi. Text and Paraphrase.

Kapes temān — Krok temān!

Ghosts I bring home, the Krok bird I bring home!

Ku merús-ā — Krok nerús-ā

The children will be free (from diseases), Krok, let loose (the game)!

Charí — *charú*
tajú — *temän*
cha — *temón*
Taróräk
setá
komor — *om*
Jach — *atáj*
jach — *matát*
Nama
cha — *in*
Am — *tät*
wor — *is*
Sefú — *wor-ä*
sus-ä
mesé — *serów*
Afu — *ton*
Miá — *su-in*

Maj — *atá*
Ka — *merás*
asi — *an*
chi — *m'su wen*
cho — *rof*
su-o — *sawo (=sawe-o)*
Wor-ä — *i'sajuoch*
Majuoch — *temän*
uto
ko merás — *wa*
Meróf — *chawé*
Wor-ä — *sa*
cha — *sa*
Orá metís — *po kajt*
Taróräk
Man — *su-o*
makut — *macháj*
maku — *mof*
m'put — *mesie matiu*

Ara — *tot aw*
makut — *ujú*
Charicháwk
Taróräk — *teró-u*
Pofit — *seko chaj*
poch — *etáj*
jechu — *tiét*
Maku — *män scrár*
Sefú — *wor-ä!*

Chari (dead FB), begin return
 I give what is due to bring you here:
 Your skull I cleansed.
 "The first wife, she who suddenly appeared"
 Squeeze vigorously
 your hair-tuft to let it rain.
 Go on and see his bones
 go on and see the food given!
 Come here
 together with the Wind (dema),
 Protecting Bat (dema)
 of the tunnel road!
 (You of) the Fu-cave, come forth through the tunnel!
 The feminine spells whispered
 she takes to her heart (lit. "throat")
 The flying fox is agitated
 She makes the (new) rope for the wind-bodies (to
 climb)
 She sends forth (the leader of) the crayfish.
 The tree for pounding (=penis),
 make it swell of heat,
 make inflammable resin in her hairy parts
 make friction-heat ensue
 and (make) the long body (penis) a torch ablaze.
 Come out of the tunnel, I am of the One womb.
 Having given my dues, I bring you up
 (to) the soft female nest,
 (to) the pounding tree in excitement.
 She will follow, I beg her (or: Give me issue, I beg)
 Come out of the tunnel, at the orifice,
 spirit of the opening.
 The swiddens are bad, the taro is scorched
 "(Oh) first wife she who suddenly appeared!"
 (May) her sharp heat go into the long body
 (because) my little daughter died,
 the little one so sweet:
 she leached together with her father (handled his
 penis?)
 The funeral scaffold caught her,
 my daughter the sun.
 and Charichawk (FB who had recently died).
 "(Oh) first wife, she who suddenly appeared."
 Ginger is placed in the cave of the dead,
 (cleaned) white are his bones,
 he stays four days.
 The young people (neophytes) will dance tomorrow.
 (You of) the Fu cave, come forth through the tunnel!

¹ Two phrases were usually chanted in quick succession then followed a pause for prompting.

Appendix 3

Rates of exchange

Data from recent transactions in various villages, recorded in 1957.

Framu, Jokwer, Kampuaj, Semu villages:	2 taros or
1 bark package of fish (fresh, c:a 20)	1 small bundle of think gnemon bast or 1 small bundle of gnemon leaves or 1 small piece of white bark cloth
Semu, Mefchatiam and Arne villages:	1 skein of thin strips of gnemon bast, or
2 packages of fish (smoked or fresh)	$\frac{1}{2}$ piece of a big white bark cloth (Arne), or 1 piece of a big white bark cloth (Semu), or 2 parcels of gnemon leaves (steamed)
8 packages of fish	1 bunch of <i>será</i> stems (fish poison) or a small ikat cloth
20 packages of fish	1 printed sarong
30 packages of fish	3 "fathoms" of red cotton clot (\pm 6 m.)
Mefchatiam village:	1 large white bark cloth, or
4—5 packages of fish	1 large parcel of gnemon leaves (steamed), or 1 bundle of <i>fo</i> branches (fish poison)
1 bamboo of palm wine	1 box of tinned fish or 6 packages of fish
2 bamboos of palm wine	1 printed sarong
4 or 5 bamboos of palm wine	1 big ikat cloth
Kawf village:	
3 skeins of gnemon bast	1 box of tinned fish
20 skeins of gnemon bast	1 printed sarong or a small ikat cloth
10 pieces of white bark cloth	1 small ikat cloth
20 pieces of same	1 big ikat cloth Pokek or Topa type
Framesa village:	
1 fullgrown pig	8 ikat cloths

Rates of exchange for captured children (prewar); from Seni to Suria in Makbon:

1 child; length: well above the knee	1 big ikat cloth (Topa, Pokek)
1 child; length: to the navel	2, 3 big ikat cloths (Topa, Pokek)
1 child; length: to end lower of the chestbone	3, 4 big ikat cloths (Topa, Pokek)
From Arne to Seja:	
1 child; length: half the thigh	2 big ikat cloths
1 child; length: lower end of chestbone:	3 big ikat cloths
1 child; length: shoulders	4 big ikat cloths

Vocabulary

a	a certain; in to, of, for; liana, slender stem, "rope" (descent unit)	amúr	darkness
-a	nearness; what?	an	fat, fertile; hot, female force; marrow
ach	frog	ana	fence, something inter- twined
achá	corpse, (N.)	ané	a pool (E.)
achóf	sago-pith (N.)	ani	cord
achré	to sit down (N.)	anja	each other
afá	giant nettle; mango	ano	bitter, sharp, female
afan	tree-grub	anu	you (plural)
afi	leaf of sago-palm	aót	spittle
afo	precise, at once	apách	edible fungus
afä	not yet	apán	snake
air	dove	apát	cleared path or place
aj	yes; a couple, two; water, river	api	the mother dema
aj mómo	most distant (of two), outermost	apit	banana
ajn	drum	apu	bush-knife
ajó	where?	apuk	lizard
ajt	he, him	apúo	fog
aju	sun	ara	tree; cudgel; a little (out of diverse kinds.)
ajuóch	cloud	aran	nuclear family; small work-group; only
(also ajóch)		arin	far away, place outside speaker's own region
aká	wind-screen, consisting of sloping roof; house on a swidden	arír	main post supporting the roof of a feast house
mon aká	pitcher-plant (Nepenthes)	arit	certain kingfisher; bird, form of energy
aké	not wanting to (E.)	arnú	post in a feast house
akén	long and narrow canoe (E.)	aro	anything at all, a little
akiar	banyan-tree, various Ficus species	aru mon	black pigment
akin	tinder (of banana-leaves or sugar-palm)	arur	"the meeting place" (a pattern on textiles, bark cloth and on pandanus products)
ako	hole, opening, cave	arus	a tree (Gnetum gnemon); its edible leaves
akoch	crocodile, turtle	as	humidity, sap
aku(n)	something growing, still small: "feast"	asám	sugar-cane
akum	honey-bee	ase	big, what makes big;
akär	bark-cloth for women	aser	drying rack above fire- place
am	rain-hood	asi	collection
amách	floor grating of pole house, indoors; house (N.)	asia	ring of rolled lianas, (target for spear-throwers)
amot	gift, present, "interest"	aso	digging stick
ampar	scaffolding; grating (to sleep on)		
amu	we. us		

at (also it , ät)	food, carrion	chafot	wooden fork supporting house
atá	crayfish, tail (?); down the river; left side	chafra	spirit-stone, magic stone
atáf	iron-wood; backbone	chaj	corpse; funeral feast
ate	spear; blow-pipe arrow (Framesá)	chajách	different; cough; ghost that enters sleeping people and talks through them
ati	planter, founder, chief; superior	chajáv	ginger
atíj	species of kangaroo	chaji	whence?
atiät	body killed by spear, ("dema food")	(also chaju)	
atin	ear-ring, pendant	cham	ache
ato	what attracts	chamá	skull (N.)
aton	cloud of breath	chamít	snake dema
atrof	reckon descent; follow one's mother (man speaking) (E.)	chamoch	warm ashes
		chaniách	snore
atu	hill where the Tu-dema lives; fire-tongs; fork for eating sago	chapach sow	six
		chapach ejok	seven
áu	down in the earth, under	chapach tuf	eight
aw	she, her, it	chapach tiét	nine
awájt	mango-fruit	chapan	bead, necklace
awáw	blackened	chapat	swingle
awé	who?; slave	chapek	dance (N.)
awf (also af)	sago flour; sometimes used also for sago porridge, semen (connected with) two taro (Marä: awk)	chapis	cut to pieces
awi		chapit chari	feast at which the navel of a new-born infant is anointed with massoi-juice
awiak	pandanus-fruit; large fruit; white coocato	chapu	spirit in shape of animal (that warns with cry)
awiét (also awit)	pandanus-fruit; large fruit; white coocato	chapä	opposum (N.)
awiét tach	pandanus leaf	char	dema; pandanus-palm
awm	(bone-) dagger, sharp awl	chará	pound, crush
awo	which?	chará watä	butterfly
awt	steep hill or mountain	charát	exchange gift presented on occasion of decease; pay fines
cha	male, cold force; active, cooling; taro-stalks; ghost; right, ordinary (w. Prat)	charé	sit
safom cha	blue ("cold green")	chareá	wait
cha chapák	tern (bird)	charé m'pet	(lit. "to sit after the shadow") = shaman seeking the sick person's shadow (western Prat)
cha joch	bush carrying raspberry-like fruit	urwian	
cha m'pa	gong	charén	tail, buttocks, vagina; bottom
cha nána	skull	charén atách	the hams
chach	help	chari	pinch, stimulate; bark, bark-cloth; massoi-bark and -juice
cha ferír	tree with phosphorescent light (prob. fungi)	charios	a creeper (given to pregnant women as medicine)
		charir	scratch (oneself)

charis	the vaginal interior, regional tunnel	cho fuok	bird of prey (yellow-brown, large)
charit	house built in a tree	chom	ghost returning to Tu
charóf	skilful	chor	= Suse-chor ; a dema
charok	hole, made in wall of Krā- house through which the child is taken out; bi-coloured dema bird (N.)	chos	species of crane (grey-brown on top, white belly; smaller)
charópit	navel	cho wor	"the warm tunnel"; certain pattern
charówes	evening star (western Prat)	chowej	steep
charowo	tired	chu	sojourn; dwell, possess
charä nefit	be ashamed, bashful	chuwá	stay on; whisper
chas	bundle (particularly of bast or bark-cloth)	(also chuw)	
chasá	coastal people; the language in Kokas	chuwiaik	navel feast, birth feast;
chat	notice, know; tattooing	chuwiat	a birth-gift
chatám	mould for planting	chä	secret knowledge
chatam ara	cultivated plant (<i>Saccarum</i> edule)	e (also je)	and
chatä	lice	-e	exhortation to act
chaüm	dagger of cassowary bone	ej (also aj)	a "pair", together
chaw	bush with heart-shaped leaves, violet underneath (grown in swiddens for magic protection)	ejók	two
		(also ewók)	
chawe	will	fa	grass, turf; "bride-giver"; hindrance, difficulty
chawe m'poch	lazy, slow	fais	stuff into, block
chawérék	bamboo mug for palm-	faj	woman (with honorific meaning); mother, wife
(also chawerák)	wine	faj awf	yolk of egg
chawés	certain bird, associated with stars	fakan	grindstone (small)
che	sudden; surprise	faket	to split (wood); torch; wood for making spears
cheréch	thick	famu, na famu	thigh
cheróch	hole, gap	fan	birth-gift
cherók	repay, return	fané	pig
chi	agathis resin ("copal");	kapes fané	soul-devouring witch (w Prat area)
chian	copal torch	fanés	heavy
china	kind of sweet potato; species of bamboo	fapu	"hidden poison" causing disease
cho	obstacle; vigorous; mount- ainous country; area of river's source; superior, high, right (side); bride- giver	fapuk	grass used to close fish- traps
choch	breathe heavily; large species of crane (grey- brown)	far	behind, very ancient
chocho	valley	farat	hornbill bird
		fari	far away; staying behind
		farir	crayfish (<i>Framesa</i>); tended tree, used for ceremonial house building; dema, the underworld
		faris	without end, still

farók	bird-shaped scoop (for palm-wine)	fiji	in or by what way, how, whence
fat	open up, make a clearing, fell trees	finfién	thin
fatej (also fatem)	a tree (in which edible beetle-grubs flourish)	finí	regional dema
faws	edible beetle-grubs (N.)	finí mikär	house for initiation of women
fefif	cicada	fiok	sneeze
feják	"warm", initial gift of an exchange; claim	fior	a plant (Coleus) (N.)
feján	outr bark-cloth (of attire)	fit	biting, burning (of taste and smell)
fejn	eager, unmarried young woman	fitó	"hot" magic, to use "hot" magic
fejt (fejít), also fajt (faját)	a dema tree (often Gnetum gnemon)	fo	here, now; will; derris-root (plant-poison for catching fish), poison; greens
fen	perfect	foch (also fok)	spreading heat
fenák	draw a bow	fokó	angry
feni	use black wax in the hair (then one sees spirits)	fon	thread of gnemon-bast, string, snare
fenie, (fenié)	woman	fos	wind; assault; shudder (subst.)
fenín fejn	careless	foť	catch
fenít	standard of comparison, myth	foťá	poison
fenjá	woman	fra	stone, gravel
fenóm	to plane with bush-knife	frä	sacred object (hard)
ferír	dissolve	fu	sacred cave
ferók	out (N. & E.)	fujá	Coléus nettle for fertility magic
senie ferók	full moon	fum am	fill rain-hood (am) with taro
ferú	fly (of bird); blow out, spit out	fun	secondary funeral (bones deposited in a cave)
ferúk		futióch	bark-cloth from bast of gnemon-tree (also sewn on bags or used as carry- ing strap)
po ferúk	blow-pipe for hunting	fä	not, or
ferúr		-i	beside
cha ferúr	"red spirit" active at Uon-initiation	i	ant's egg; fish roe
ferús	spit out as offering	iaf	serious wound
nepo ferús	spit out a little food as sacrifice	ifat	north (N.)
fesá	crocodile tooth	ifó	to-day, now
fetách		ik (also siäk)	the hen of the bird of paradise
fetách ewok	two halves	ikör	a patch (on cloth)
fejťát	sacrificial table to ghost of recently deceased person	ia (also ien)	male form of dema, wind from the under-world; monsoon wind
fetiách	the day after to-morrow	ipon	salt ash of leaves
fi	scent (in hunting), pungent smell; cause		
fiáf	yellow		
fiam	riverine sheath fish, (Malay ikan sembilan)		

ir (also jir)	trace, mark left	kake	composite fruit, bunch of
is	path; yesterday		jambos, fruit from rasp-
is rois	day before yesterday		berry cane
isách	line, stroke	kaket	right, true
iserá	cave	kama	red fruit
isi	with, together with	kan	fire
isia	hunt with dog	kana	to them
isiór	blow-pipe (Framesá)	kanak	tjempedak-tree
isó	distance, long way		(variety of nanka)
itá	dry	kanam	cooled
itú	sharp	kané	patola-patterned cloth (N.)
iwiak	spider (edible)	kanés	comb, elaborately carved
		kanif	bush with strong-smelling
			leaves
jak (see nak)	open	kanit	croak
jam (also tiám)	untouched woods (on	kapán	eel
	plain ground)	kapéjr	certain area, lot
jaroch	light, free from clouds	kapejr sow	commonality of status
jaw, jow	lower, nether, western or	kapék	dance (N.)
	northern	kapes	ghost
je	again, further	kapum	scar-tattooing
jew		kar	heart (ceremonial
ji	thither, whither		language)
jin (also jihin)	banyan-tree (N.)	karát	tinder-box
jir	imprint	karef	arrow
jojo	always (E.)	karok	bi-coloured bird, dema
jokom	} expert at initiation		form
jowen		karów	kind of ground-kangaroo
(also jokwén)		karú	stroke (person or object)
ju	string bag, bag; opossum-		so that force is transmitted
	pouch; vagina; woman;	karus	gnemon wood or tree
	belt	kas	sucking
juoch	grub colony; (unorganiz-	kasér	
	ed?) group, batch	taíf fra kasér	large grindstone; fertility-
			promoting stone
ka	plant, tree; against, to (L.)	kasir	a tree with needle-like
	towards, approximately		leaves (Casuarina?)
kach	heap of leaves on swidden;	kat	dry (e.g. of leaves)
	clear for cultivation	katán	"circumcise", sever
kain	pandanus-leaf	katar	carry something on pole
kaják	pit, pitfall covered with		(Malay: pikul); "springy
	branches		tree"; resilient pole under
kajér	bad		dancehouse; erection (of
po kajér	placenta		penis)
(also kejér)		katum	tassel or braid of bast;
kají (also kajé)	why		armlet
kajs	thigh	kaw	to her; certain plant
kajt	to him	kawék	smaller, little
kak	opossum (collective); pig	kawia	bush turkey (Megapodius),
kakáj	owl		bush hen (Maleo)

ara kawia	fig tree (N)	kes	sound, word
kawian	flesh	kesók	will
kawiak	certain tree	kespó	speak of something
kawiat	grasp with the foot	ki	small part, small fruit
kawor	slave	kiá	
kaws	mouse, rat	katán po	sever body-cord of deceased person
ke	fruit; result; or; sometimes = ka , to	kiá	narrate (trans.?)
kajiók	eat berries	kiés	have fever
kejn		kijám	little boy
po kejn	plaited band below the knee	kiné	little girl
kejr	poor, bad	kinjá	attaching, engaging
ru kejr	cassowary	kir (kär)	yellow flower of bush;
kejt	cover, stop, hug, choke; finally	kir-kir	(girls apply to brow and cheeks to attract attention)
kek	red; little child; certain poison	kit	bast, bark-cloth; protection
kemik	swollen form	ko	wood adapted by shape or quality for human use
kemúk	use leaves, sponge with hot leaves	koch	magic means; certain tree; the underworld
kemúr	use the hand as a rake	kofa	wood for the bow, pinang wood
kená	sacred story, tradition (Seni)	kokók	domesticated hen
kenár	separate	komik	
kení aj	swim	ara komik	(tobacco-)pipe
kenít	guiding principle (expressed in myths)	komo	hot, excited, angry
kení(o)	to thee	komór	
kenó	antidote for "red poison"	na komór	tuft of hair on the crown of the head
kenó po	name of an armband in three colours	komuk	whip penis with warm leaves; bachelor
makek		kon	scrotum
kenú	angry, aggressive	kopór	trunk (of body)
kenená	beside, near but higher up	nechré	
kepaj	crab, sea-weed	kopór	squat (verb)
kepé	consequence, advantage for; be forced; emphasizes words immediately following	kor	patch, darn; mesh, fishing net, landing net
kepék	shoulder	koro	follow (after)
kepenáf	ceremonial gift of taro stalks	korók	nose-flute (N.)
kepét	a little	koru	swing (subst.)
kepór	back of body	kosi	container; gourd, bottle
kepúm	small zig-zag lines (a pattern)	kowe	fern-tree (with sparse, straight leaves)
ker	hanging (intrans.), hovering	krek (karek)	carry something hanging on a pole
kerás	beaten, hammered out	krem (kerém)	
kerít	a small part torn off	natem krem	finger
		krikri	constantly
		krok (charók)	a bird

krom (karom)	bamboo, spoon	maif	wing
krompi	bambo cither	mai sená	snare (Sejá)
krä (kerä)	spray (from bush, tree); house where mother and child stay after the birth	maja	fluid; (to) run (of water)
kräk	arm-pit, hollow; heart (w. Prat)	majn	certain stones of origin
krät	morsel of food (used as poison against former owner)	majr (also majér)	root, main part; origin; host; land-owner
ku	addition. sprout; small; child	majs	
ku ano	female child	om majs	it is raining
ku atio	daughter (man speaking), son (woman speaking)	majum	the dew
ku awe	slave	mak	morning, morning rain
ku kek	small child (not yet initiated)	maká	eye-lid
ku mes	small baby	maké	fruit
ku semä	male child, male person	makéj	finer, indemnity (W)
kum	bee	makéjr	bad
kupe	father's sister's son (woman speaking)	makin	many
kur	keep sharp lock-out	makit	little; protégé
kur safa	round shell ornament with hole in middle; "warns against attack"	make	vagina
kus	burning	makor	notch; notched ladder; system of meshes, net, catcher
kuwät	exchange (Framesá)	maku	small
kä	hollow	makär	meagre, thin
kär	attaching	mam	living, warm
m'fä	not yet	mamos	stirring, alive; belonging to Mos (male dema form)
m'pawä	"all right" (we'll leave it at that)	mamuk	end of a bow, staff etc.
m'pejf	a part	man	sharp (of tool)
sa m'pejf	initiation house in the Toch-mi society	mana	source; fruit (when grown from a planted seed)
m'pet	after, afterwards	cf. nana	head
m'pit	navel	manét	slippery, uncertain
m'pun	cassowary (as dema form)	mankit	wrist-protection of wood
m'ruku	thunder rumbles	manis	old
ma	not; and, to, until, along, at; she, woman	manja	friends and affinals; mutuality (Framesá)
mach (also mak)	beginning, morning; opening present, something promised	mano	bitter, sour, uncatable
macháf	pregnant	manse	enormous
macháj	dead	mos manse	pelting rain
maf	trunk (of body); slaughter	manu	banana shoot
		manä	peripheral part of region
		mao (maw)	butt; hindleg; aft (of canoe)
		mapan	foot, sole
		maom	along the outer edge
		mapi	experienced, adult
		mapo	piece
		mapof	short, little, narrow
		mapos	rotten
		mapu	outermost; top

mapuf	consanguineal family; small but complete (form or group)	mawe	oracle
mapuoch	wild, raw, unpolished, hostile	mawf	egg, seed, stone (of a fruit)
mará	stem	mawia	
ara mará	tree-trunk	si mawia	shoot of sugar-palm
marák	absent; finished, ready; bark, skin, shell	mawian	hair (of head, also body- hair); shadow
marim	tail-fin	mawn	razed to the ground
marit on	inter-regional exchange- meeting	mawr	
maru	lake	na mawr	calf (of leg)
masá	opening; towards the river's mouth; coastal	mecháf	pregnant; stomach; entrails; mood
mase(j)	big, thick, broad	mechán	tree and its fruit; supply- ing red colour (Bixa orellana?)
masej	angry (E)	mechár	expert woman
masi	collection, bundle; trace	mechúr	suffering
masik	side (of object)	mefí	here close by, this, near
masim	colour	mefó	hence
masis	breast, something swollen	mekúk	sweet potato
fenjá masis	the woman bears children	mej	breath, voice, language
masis maku	nipple	mejís	someone's way; wake (after canoe)
masoch	aperture; (human) mouth (E)	mejn	fern-tree; speech
masom	name; wooded region	meká	flexible; in order to
masu	innermost, inside; sweet taste	mekák	end; finished; entirely
na masu	calf (of leg)	mekát	dry
masúsar	pointed bamboo concealed	mekék	red; a poison
(also m'susur)	on swidden to injure thieves	mekó	soft parts
matá	blade, leaf	mekóm	exchange meeting (Sauf)
(also metá)		mekär	firmly tied
min matá	paddle-blade	memin	brow ornament of mother- of-pearl
mataj	bone (in the body)	memów	dumb
maták	strong, hard; strength	mená	regional group, the mem- bers of which intermarry
matem	spadix of the sugar-palm	menán-och	stop
fr. natem	hand	menáti	stern of canoe
matiach	coitus	mené	where?
matíáf	yellow bird-of-paradise, (cock; hen = siék)	menín	enchanted, changed
matíoch	wall	menís	rotten, bad
mató	broad, wide; thorax; door-opening	menít	standard of comparison, myth of origin
matók		menjám	(thunder) dies away
po matók	red cloth (in end of blow- pipe arrow)	menó	there
matót	filled	menúk	a rake
mawat	very, much, most	(also mepúk)	
		meó	over there
		mer	warming up, making friends
		merán	trace of something

merár	lower jaw	micháta	with legs apart
merí	far away, in the distance	mijá	(coming) out of
(also meriá)		mik	swelling
merír	lighting	miki	additional wife
merúf	a rake (N.)	mikit	a drop
merä	free from prohibitions	mikär	made attaching, charming
merän	light, fair	fini mikär	initiation of girls
merät	loose	min	a paddle; paddling
mes	blood	misó	half-way
charen mes	} menstruation	mo	grasshopper
mako mes		moch	dirty
mesák	young	mof	good, beautiful
mesán	adopted child	mofä	creep
ku mesán		moji	whither?
meséj	only, exclusively; much	moju	where?
meséjt	alone	mokon	feeding a fire
mesi	brow-band with shells; faeces	momo	outermost, in the highest degree; early
mesó	floating	mon	(female) knowledge, energy; purity
mesóf	long poles (used in con- struction of houses)	mos	water dema; waves; fish- hook; pelting rain
mesú	pleasant, beautiful (of taste, feelings)	moti	threads round the head over the brow against headache
mesúf	round (object)	mu	hidden
metá	left hand	muf	all, everybody
metách	dog	osso muf	15 (Framesá)
metáf	mud	muk	staff, cudgel, support; penis
metär	big rain-hood	mun	
metáw	below	po mun	articles of trade; copal resin; colouring wood; nutmeg
metiách	right up to, all the way to	muoch	raw, crude, hostile
metís	what comes afterwards, late; lately imported goods	mur	darkness
metít	narrow, confined	mus	fire, conflagration
metó	there, thither; dwelling for a short time	musióch	ruined; injured by accident
metóch	polished	mä	elevated, mountain- dweller, bride-giver
metów	under	män	later on, to-morrow; beautiful, good
metúk	deaf	mänoch	"all good wishes"
metúm	motherless piglet (found in the bush)	mäntióch	(words of) farewell "future trade meeting"
metús		n'cha	"feel"
am metús	embroidered "pocket- book" of pandanus-leaves for men	n'chapo	whistle
metäk	windfall (fruit)	n'chari	embroider patterns
mi	long, high, tall		
miách	low-lying meadowland, heath-like landscape (near lake with certain kind of grass; the name also refers to the grass)		

n'charir	it itches	n'paw	forbidden, dangerous
n'charó	hear (Kauf)	n'peák	throw forwards
n'cheró	make dry	n'pejt	half-grown
n'cherók	compensate	n'peku	get children
n'cho mun	pull up (e.g. taro)	n'per	initiate
n'chorít	invite to watch, invite	n'perí	increase
n'fa	hamper, do harm, obstruct	n'perúr	form a group
n'fajir	(the initiates appear before	n'peúf	part
N'fajir Uon	the Uon-house)	n'pi	insect laying eggs, fish spawning
n'faki	become numb	n'pin	dull, used up, blunt
ta m'faki	my leg "goes to sleep"	n'pit	break
n'fanes	becoming heavy	m'pit	navel, navel-string
n'farfar	distant male or female ancestor	n'poch	white
(n') faris	not yet	n'pum	polish up, tidy
n'fejn	marry	n'ririn	creep up on, stalk
n'ferók	force one's way out (E.)	n'safa	slaughter a pig, "sacrifice"
n'ferú	fling away	n'sajm	cut off, distribute, share
n'fow (faw)	thrust something on someone; give generously	n'saj(é)r	give someone his share
n'kajt	dried up, (of leaves, branches)	n'saka	meet attack, chase away evil influences; take care of, defend, protect
n'karem	sheath-fish (E.)	n'saku	marry (Karon; of the man)
n'karu	rub (magically)	n'sapan	shy
n'kek	reddden	n'sasi	be coming on, grow
n'kemik	swelling	n'seká	meet, match
na n'kemik	calf (of leg)	n'sekó	remove faeces from slaughtered animal
n'kemót	lead someone, observe, look after	n'scmós	smell (verb)
n'kerít	soften	n'sen	awake, arise
n'kesóch	will (verb)	n'senim	a man's relatives by marriage
n'ki	make small, split	n'setä	open completely; manufacture (by magic?)
n'kif	bargain, moderate	n'si	collect
n'kom	decoration	n'siaf	look after
n'komo	angry	n'sifas	repay
n'komo nenéjf	with an angry nose = angrily	n'sióf	steal
n'komók	germinate, grow	n'so	
n'kopót	clitoris	ara n'so	cleft stick
n'krek (n'karek)	carry something tied to a pole	n'susu	push, nudge
n'kuk	cry like a bird	n'ta	wife (L.), marriage partner (N.)
n'kuwiat	item of exchange	n'tach	dog
n'min	paddle (verb)	n'tafuf	flower
n'pa	opposite, strange	n'take	exchange
m'pa	of opposite moiety	n'takin	bamboo bow
n'pajer	allotment (soil)	n'tam	carry on one's arm
n'pam	(way?) from	n'tamách	consecrate hunting dog
n'pat	blaze (of the sun)		

n'tan	lay out (fabric etc. in connection with exchange); respond	nacha (also nechá)	fill; activate
n'tapo	rot	nacháj	die
n'tará		nacháf	intestines
n'tará po ju	put down the cloth at first marriage exchange	nacharé	sit
n'tarof	reckon rope descent	nachám	ache
n'tawe	fish with bait tied to line	nache	look, ask for, observe.
n'tawók	enter a ground house	nacheni	estimate
n'tefá po	catch fish by building enclosures of turf around fish-trap	naf	not see (E.) taro-stem; trunk (of body), belly
n'teká	exchange on request	nafa	rub, quarrel, disagree
n'tekách	slit open; knife-blade; splitting; split pole (to lift cage from bottom of lake)	nafam	shut off, cver
n'tekíf	treat sick person with spells and massage	nafamu	thigh(-bone)
n'temán	skilful spear-thrower	nafas	rub vigorously, exchange (N)
n'temi	something parcelled out	nafif	prepare (in advance)
n'temó	cross-cousin	nafif charit	make walls to charit-house
n'tené	bring something away to	nafit	bite; taste strong, sting
n'tenós	suck leaf-package containing salt	nafo	wave, move something to and fro
n'tepók	cease	nafoch	bride-giver, friend
n'teró	continuously, without a break, further	nafon	spider's thread
n'terót	prow of canoe; forward	nafos	breath
n'terú	reassemble, meet again	naim	fling away; spread out on a fire
n'terúk	go into	nait (also najt)	consume, eat, burn
n'tetis	to be a descendant	naj (also nai)	strike, beat, throw; kind, get, succed; voice (Scni): breathe (Framesa)
n'tis	situated behind, placed afterwards	naja	plait the hair
n'to	tense oneself, hold back, check oneself	naji	knock off ash; knock
n'tocho	grinding or rubbing activity	najir	trace, mark
n'tom	vomit	najn	spread ash over swidden
n'topát	jump	najo	embrace (verb and subst.)
n'topo	"witness"	najok	to ask nicely
n'tu	reckon correctly	najú	exchange cloth between bride-giver and bride-taker
n'tuoch	promise	nak	open an animal (to prepare, cook it); open
n'wa	be afraid, careful	naka	bend down (and seek), look for; procure food; go towards each other; eyelid
n'wek	very small, smallest	nakach	tear to pieces
n'werék	pass	nakák	carry
na	limb, leg, arm; sibling of same sex;	nakar	heart
-na	close relatives and friends	nake	lash, bind; give what is due (e.g. fines)

nakit	something needing protection; tame young pig; brow	nape	have, get; bear a child
nako	female genital organ; not want to	napek	carry on one's back (e.g. children)
nakon	scrotum	naper	introduce; be initiated, make participant in; dispute
naku	addition; manufacture, make; make a feast	napet	little wound, sore
naku po	collect cloth	napi	grow; grow older; mother
nakus	treat with fire, roast	napia	father
nakär	tie up, hang	napo	eat meat; consume; digest; seek refuge
nam	certain kind of bark; thing emitting good smell or warmth	napof	rot
nama	come near, go near to	napot	loosen completely
name	knit, embroider (N.)	napu	swell
namej	draw	napu aj	flood
nami	get stuck in something; stab (with knife or spear), hit	napuk	stop up; stuff in; catch
namo	go, come away from	napum	plant (verb)
namot	give a present	napus	get wet
namu	maternal uncle; nape of neck; follow river down	nar	rainbow
namuk	pole, handle	nara	sister-in-law's husband (man speaking), brother-in-law's wife (woman speaking)
namut	hide oneself	narak	skin, the outermost; be absent
namä	follow river towards its source	narán	shine, shimmer
namän	say good-bye	nare	carry on back
nan	be alive, vital, sharp, warm	naren	celebrate Ren-feast
nana	head	nari	listen; remember, recollect
nanam	wrap up in bark	narif	show, point out
nanejf	nose	narin	to be strange
nanes	bundle	naro	rub
nanif	upper lip	narü	give back; give in exchange
nanim	to be joined to	narä(j)	child
nanis	wrap up	nas	pull up a landing net with catch; take to oneself
nanjia	stupid	nasa	opening, mouth, door
nano	sibling of opposite sex; grandchildren	nasach	to be unjust
nao, naw	return the same way; further, hind (e.g. leg), stern of canoe	nasak	smile
naoän	to own an Oan-cloth	nasan	touch with nose, "kiss"; show affection
nap	consuming	nasé	to be thick
napách	collect	nasen	get up, begin to be active
ko napách	rake (for swidden work) (N.)	naser	rub until smooth
napan	foot	nasí	swell, increase, impress (on a person), bring together, rake (verb)
napat	chew, eat vegetables	nasía	heart (E.)
		nasif	be lucky

nasim	exchange, alter colour	nawej	bread-fruit
nasin	side (of the body)	nawcn	hairy
nasis	be swollen, feed, produce; breast, nipple	nawer	add finishing touches to
naso	work with digging stick; seek; plant taro	nawi	fall
nasóch	mouth (E.)	nawia	weep
nasom	call, give name; carry on shoulder; hunting grounds, forest	nawm	woman's term for certain female kin
nasu	eye; face; body	nawn	protrude; project
nasuf	middle	naws	urine; urinate; flow
nat	feed	nawt	go up, climb
natá	ache; swear (?) (E)	ne	emit, deliver, give; be adequate (for task); put
nata	drink	nechách	split; break (intr); tear to pieces
natach		necháf	pregnant
krä natach	buttocks	nechám	be hot, sick; have a pain
natak	to be strong, healthy, bold, hard	nechapách	crush; split; plus (with numerals)
natan	lay against; answer	nechár	use a dema's name, act like a dema
natat	grandparent	fenjá mechár	female expert of initiation and pregnancy
natej	distribute the bones of deceased person	necharé	
natem	arm, hand	(also nechré)	sit
nateni	cheek	nechás	be terribly ill; fatal illness
nati	be glad; unite, plant; principal, term of kinship	nacháwt	carry on shoulder
natia	father	neche	see again; inspect; get back (something)
natiat	kill with spear; perish	necherék	store, save (up)
(also natiät)		nechis	remember something painful
natim	go before, first	nechóch	exert oneself; run; "work", move energetically;
natir	open (verb)		wriggle; flee; strike heavily; slaughter
natiach	copulate, marry	nechój	defy the rules
natien	certain affines	nechók	choke; emit death-rattle
nato	attract, draw up	nechúw	stay, sojourn, dwell, be (at, in place); continue, keep (doing)
natoch	penis		
natos	feed, take care of	nef	sore, wound
natu	swear by	nefá	hindrance; argument; dispute; fight (verb)
natä	float, swim (of persons)	nefáj	to court a girl
naúon	long intensely for, wish (w. Prat)	nefájn	wife; get a wife; in the north a form of address between spouses
naúwian	hair, beard; shadow, ghost	nefák ok	blow one's nose
(also nawian)		nefák aót	spit (verb)
naw (also naü)	liver (W. Prat); sense; certain trees and bushes (e.g. pandanus-palm and -fruit)		
nawa	forbid; frighten		
nawe	tell (person to do), give order		

nefát	split, chop wood; open; empty	nekó	use fire-wood, make fire
nefáw	stuff in; hide; save	nekom	inaugurate; decorate; draw pictures. "write"
neféjs	strew	nekór	chop off
nefén	manufacture as expert	nekrák	reserve, save; carry something tied to a pole
nefenáj	myth, tale (?) (N.)	nekú	increase, make feast; exchange goods
nefi	blow (verb)	nekúk	attract, call; entice
nefiá	swallow (verb)	nekúwian	flesh, meat
nefit	catch fire	nekär	attach, bind, hang up; be mad
nefós	shudder, break out in cold sweat	nemách	promise (verb and subst.)
nefót	catch	nemacháf	remove entrails (e.g. from game)
nefum	put in rain-hood adapted as bag	nemará	ear
nefús	dip; dive	(also nimará)	
nefä	be unable; lack, miss; be ill	nemát	see
nejf	nose	neméj	talk (verb)
nejí	float; hew	nemí	count up, bind together; call up
nejów	drag down; prevail upon	nemón	know secrets, the proper order of things
(also nejáw)	wife to move to her husband	nemó	tree whose leaves have strong smell
nejú	certain exchange	(also namó)	(associated with Siwa)
nejúm	be moistened by the dew; issue forth from a cave or a vagina	nemó	depart; term for certain cousins
neká	bend, bow; weave belt; mix, match	nemú	hide
neká	fish (verb); soak	nemúk	poke with stick or cudgel, strike, whip
nekách	collect; clear swidden; cultivate	nemuóch	sweat (verb)
nekák	finish	nemúr	pluck something out (e.g. hairs on chin)
nekájt	close, stop up; keep on doing something until finished	nemút	hide oneself
nekár	heart	nemä	mother; elevate
nekás	lick; taste (verb)	(also namä)	
nekás-nekàs	rub noses	nemän	have coitus (Framesá); to subject something to an elevating action
neké	tie (a knot); set (fruit), yield fruit	nemän-o	bring back soul that has been carried off to the underworld
nekéjr	bad, poor	nawian	
nekék	be a child	nen	give what is due, replace
nekés	say	nenách	turn, be facing
nekí	split up	nenák	shoot with bow
nekíf	haggle, moderate, cast softening spell upon	nenám	use bark (of Tenam sort), wrap up in bark
nekír	long for	nenán	become (e.g. a father); remain (of state)
nekít	drip; share out in small portions; wear bark-cloth; be protected; protégé		

nenár	go apart; jaw	nerós	stand erect, still; stand for, be responsible
nenín	bewitch	nerú	fling; go out and return; rebound
nenís	rot, become old and delapidated	nerún	collect
nenít	lay alongside, compare, measure, vie with; try; win	nerúoch	harvest, what one has previously sown
nenó	get; "have"; begin; do, arrange	nerúr	loosen and fall
nenót	believe, consider; remember, reflect	nerús	release
nenúk	cross-piece	nerút	return to point of departure on a circular course
nenä	at the further end		
nepách	open in special way; dig, poke about in from	nerä	free; bachelor; unfasten, sever, harvest
nepám	tooth; bite	neräch	suddenly appear
nepát	be taboo	nerät	be loose; come loose
nepáw	embrace, cling to	nesá	opening (= <i>nasa</i>); disappear, run away; be surprised
nepáwt	throw forward	nesách	laugh, smile
nepéák	enter; stamp	nesák	be young; not ready; false
nepér	cry (of bird)	nesám	flee, run; put to flight
nepérér	advance due; give a loan of cloth	nesán	sniff at, scent; nuzzle
nepiát	order, send; hew into little pieces; a splinter	nesé	lay; make
nepís	grasp, hold; arrange; fence in	neséj	hide away
nepó	feed	neséjt	be alone; solitude
nepóit	take everything; finish	nesén	put, place, lay; awaken
nepót	shut (up), stuff in the ashes, enclose	nesí	add; collect; remember; promise; pound; make something fall
nepú	all too warm, hot	nesía	be member of company, in the company of, go and live with a woman, marry
nepä	certain people	nesie	make or use a heap of brushwood or heap of branches
nerá	chin	nesíf	exchange
nerár	hammer (verb)	nesím	side (e.g. of body); make triangular scaffold
nerás	touch (verb)	nesín	
nerát	return, foregather	nesío	
neré	increase; recuperate; listen for, enquire, listen to	nesío metách	litter from manufacture of bark-cloth
nerí	lift out	nesióch	act as a group, sing together
neriét	(also <i>nerít</i>)	nesióf	steal
nerif	show	nesír	feel light, be giddy, intoxicated
nerín	stranger (from outside the partition)	nesís	go on all fours
nerít	lift out; point		
neró	dwarf (Jiu, Atok)		
neróch	go down		
neróf	follow		
nerók	awake; start (with fright), recoil		

nesit	bend; press on, flow over, project outside	netú	summon; call; pour out palm wine
nesó	float; move stealthily	netúf	make clicking sound with uvula; admire, consent
nesók	select	netúk	to be deaf
nesóm	walk in the woods; play	netúr	make love passionately
nesór	women's dance	netút	knock, bang repeatedly
nesós	increase	netä	open; hollow out
nesów	together in one place or in the same way	netäk	go down, fall down, strike down
nesú	body; sink (verb)	newäch	totem animal
nesún	purr like a cat	newáj	act with precaution, carefully
nesúr	break off; break a stick	newát	catching fish in a trap (N.)
nesút	hiccough	newáw	lay down in the ashes, roast in the ashes
nesä	put away; poison; enchant	newi	do something (e.g. sing) in couples
nesät	splash	newós	build fence
netá	leaf	ni	weave, entice, bind; create, produce; conjoiner, dema
netách	commission (verb); cooperation (outside mapuf)	niách	wait
netáj	bone, skeleton	nián	make fertile
netäk	strengthen oneself; make oneself bold	nif	lip
netám	carry on one's arm	nikás	talk
netár	carry on a pole;	nim	to the end (?)
metár	something extra fine	nimekéjt	cover
netát	feed pups	ni-mená	knee
netáw	remember	nin	change
netáwf	crown of head	niná	enchanted
netäch	fish with the hands; land (verb) (of birds, aeroplanes)	ninio	shriek hysterically
netéjs	glitter?; swing?	nio	thou, thine
netém	hand (E.)	niom	hoist up
netí	bind; carry; own; obtain	nisía	look after, manage; keep as domestic animal
netiát	attack and kill (lit. "stab for food")	nisók	make tasty; heal; pay fines
netie	break	nit	planet or large star
netím	take initiative, begin	nitej	bury
netín	sew fast, embroider, make a symbol	nitji	break
netír	hunt	nium	distribute; give for nothing (in solemn speech; otherwise num is used)
netís	behind; veins	niwerék	pass
netút	crowd (verb)	nja (also njo)	young, little, immature
netó	check oneself; assemble in one spot; attract	no	reach, attain, get, fetch; begin; germinate; get an erection; transform oneself or someone into; up and do something; gossip; have; own
netóch	scrape repeatedly		
netóf	wear ceremonial attire		
netón	crawl (of snake)		
netós	offer food		

noá	free from a spear and take	-och	perfect tense-suffix,
nochát	make fire-place feast		indicates end, completed
nocho	collect; transfer force	tio takuoch	I have made
	from; grind, rub		(manufactured)
nochóch	borrow; persuade person	ochát	fire-place
	to grant loan	ofó	here
nojoch	receive	okó	hot, angry (E.)
nok	visit; (movement) into;	om	rain
	unite	on	meeting for exchange
noko	press (on)	onkrām	(northern term used in
nokom	initiate boys		counting)
norat	cry? (of bird)	onkrāmsaw	eleven
noro	seek; follow	onkrāmejok	twelve
norut	taboo (Framesà)	onkrāmtuf	thirteen
norä	open (verb), uncover	onkrāmtiet	fourteen
not	drink through suction	ono	that over there in the
	pipe, suck		distance
now	share out, give, when	op	typhoon (believed to be a
	inferior gives to superior		snake-form of the Tu
nowak	bend down; soften (intr)		dema)
nower	pass below, go past	or (also wor)	nose flute, tunnel
nu	give compensation, give in	orá	swidden, field
	exchange for something;	orón	male dema form, evening
	conceal		star
nuá(j)	hide oneself	os	bone spoon of shoulder-
nuf	all, of both sexes		blade (opossum)
num	share out, allocate; sow	osokrām	(northern term used in
	(also nuwum) (e.g. maize)		counting)
nun	present	osokrāmsaw	sixteen
nuoch	wait	osokrāmejók	seventeen
nur	be impossible to	osokrāmtuf	eighteen
	distinguish clearly or	osokrāmtiét	nineteen
	identify, indistinct	osomúf	fifteen (N)
nuri(o)	be annoyed	osur	crocodile
nus	ignite; arson fire	(also wosur)	
	faeces	ot	spit (subst)
nut	rise high	oto	that
nuwjach	warm leaves (verb)	owájt	nanka fruit or large jambo
nuwian	draw up (water)		
nuwof	wait	pach	smooth, even; gourd
	be empty; remove	paj	vessel (of leaf-sheaths) for
näro	ventral fin		mixing sago porridge
			(Framesá); a couple
		pajm	reserved
-o	extension behind;	pajm woké	patola-patterned cloth
	emphasizing suffix	pajr	"lesser root"; partitional
oàn	liver; certain class of		status
	fabrics	pakin	few in number
och	species of duck	pakit	daughter (man speaking)
	(small, grey-brown)	pam	axe, adze

pana	such	pesán	method of divination with bamboo that is chopped in two
paren	a dance		
parit	steps to house	pesátoch	sacred heirloom
paro	a small part, remainder; partition, partitional group	peserák	be on the floor, remain indoors
parók	part of swidden planted by one family	pesí	count names
pas (cf. topas)	free of liabilities	pesík	small fish
pasi	something composite	pesók	slippery
ru pasi	crown of feathers worn by Uon members	pesú	corpse
pat	crevice	pet	after, afterwards
po pat	spinach-like leaf, hibiscus (= <i>sa jur ged i</i>)	petá	betel-nut; everybody; mussel-shells in pairs (to pull out chin hairs with)
pawe	what ?(interrog.)	petár	large rain-hood (for initiates or man just married)
pawf	sunrise(?)	petú	blow down
pawia	why?	peták	fall down, be born
pawt	embrace; have coitus	peúf	portion, part, collection of
pe(-)	affix emphasizing separation; have, own; strand, thread	pewé	lean (verb)
peák	steer (boat), direct forwards	piá	married man, a father; (w.P)
pechájt	be like a dead	(also pi)	
pechóch	work as usual	piák	thorny
pefót	catch a small thing	piás	fog (very thick)
peják	throw away	piát	cloths distributed to stimulate exchange
pejók	together, both	píjik	gnemon-bast
pejr	a part	pikepák	just anyhow
peká	fold (over)	pikják	hither and thither
pekú (cf. <i>n'peku</i>)	"get children" (the corridor in the Taro dance-house)	pín	blunt (of tool), inactive; married man (w.s.)
pekär	destroy; thin and emaciated	piné	father (E.)
penéjf	provided with large nose	pir	adult man, virile
pernáp	boil something in a bamboo-tube with water	pis	fragment of bone
perít	force out, pound	pió	attract
peró	give out; bury	pítji	break (to pieces)
peróch	stay behind; unchangeable	pítú	paddle (verb)
perón	thick species of bamboo used for fetching water)	po	thing attainable only with some effort; relation; food
peróri	leak	poch	still, lazy; ash; fish-trap with enclosure of earth and turf; a certain snake
perú	scaffold	pochajók	ghost that enters living persons and manifests itself by whistling
perúr	group formed occasionally for a special purpose		
pes	rod, narrow pole	pochaná	embers
pes-pes	wing-quill of cassowary (generally worn in septum of nose)	pofit	ginger; dangerous spell
		pofurúk	blow-pipe
		poit	feed; fod-stuffs
		poj	cat's cradles (Kotjuwer)

poju	item of exchange at marriage; lot	purak	two bamboo halves used to spread ash
pok	man's bag of rushes	put	increase; leech
pokéja	ornamental band worn below the knee		
pokejt	sago (N.)	ra (also raj , N. & E.)	human being; person, pepole, man
poku	feast; festal gathering of guests	rajn	"male orifice" of a tunnel, "male cave"
pokär	body-cord	rajt	his own
pomáfit	gnat	ramu	tree with long leaves (used in making traps); our, us
pomáru	fish	rana	their(s)
popot	"cloth grabber", ceremonial leader (w. Prat)	rapu	morning
porín	spin	rat	wooden vessel like mortar (for pandanus fruit); impression; mark or trace of touch
poritie	ceremonial leader (E.)	rataw	kind of bark (used as fish-poison)
por	dragon-fly	re	so that; in order to; again; back; left (behind)
posáfom	grass, weed for making thread	refó	here, hither; this
poséj	otherwise, different; formerly	rekuo	pile (up); make bridge or foot-bridge
posepi	necklace	remách	triangular stand on three legs (on which skulls are placed)
poserä	cassowary	remó	huge dema tree; provides food (leaves and fruit for "both pigs and opossum")
posetén	maize	aká remó	house for mother and newborn child whose walls of remó-leaves are supposed to make the child "fat"
pot	loosening	ren	exchange feast (w. Prat)
potát	sacrificial table; feeding place for ghosts	samu ren	house feast of the popot feast cycle
potós	"fence" of saplings laid down to separate field-allotments; feed	renáw	funeral scaffolding
powi	song for two	rené	still, yet; to the side
prat (also perát)	a series of tracks; a row of hills, a chain; women's red girdle; chest-band	renó	there
pref	jew's harp	repun	edible bamboo creeper (Malay: Sajur Bulu)
pren (also perén)	feast of exchange (N.)	rere	slowly; quietly; gently
perén uwiak	boat-feast	rero	sew, patch
pres	black species of duck	rerós	certain bird (regarded as a spirit inside the knee-joint)
pu	immersed, sunk; something enclosed, hidden	res	rough; watery
puf	small, complete group; consanguineal family		
pupéjr	horse-fly that stings (believed to be a dema form)		
pum	scrape		
pun	dema form; (fire-fly, cassowary, hornbill)		
puoch	crude (especially in behavior); certain snake		
pur	bee-wasp		

resuwín	feast when the swidden yields fruit	räch, räk	suddenly appear
retéjt (also retét)	there	räkot	manifestation of sticky fluid (on copal tree etc.)
retó	that, there	räpoch	semicircular grass dam for catching fish
retä	return up	räpot	magic stone with a hole
ri	sticky sap, glue, weil; strength; far away	räwa	uninhabited land, dense jungle
riaj	recently		
riéf	certain bark containing aromatic oil; Malay: <i>Massoi</i> ;	sa	opening, mouth, shore, coast; conch; ten (E.)
cha riéf or rif	<i>Kulit lawang</i>	sach	certain tree whose burnt branches quickly put forth new leaves; the leaves cover the walls in <i>Sa-m'pejf</i> ; embers; lie (untruth)
rién	cord tied round textiles	sachafra	house of the <i>popot</i> feast cycle
rin	outlandish	safa	stomach; slit up stomach; cut up (carass)
ririk	shake; hop	safach	shell-ring
ririn	move like cassowary = dance shudderingly	safe	dark
rit	torn loose	safo	wise, sensible; with magic force; dispute; bold; dare, be able
ritós		safom	grass; woods; blue, green from
po ritós	ceremonial gift of food-stuffs	sajam	sort; something delimited from one "vaginal cave" (partional spirit home);
riwaj	recently	sajer	mother's brother's daughter
ro	by; which; to, on; some-one	sajuoch	dorsal fin
roko	fire-wood	sak	start game; hunt (with beaters)
rortís	youngest sibling	saká	star
roti	my own (concerning object in sing.)	sakén	adjoin (of allotments, swiddens etc.) (<i>Framesá</i>)
rotó	new	sakochó	take care, charge of; support; watch over
roú	the other	saku	bark (of dogs)
rowi	present, gift	saman	initiation-house in the <i>Toch-mi</i> society
rowo	tired	sampejf	dry; ready (of food); roast taro; cook food
rowt	wind-screen	samer	house, completely covered
ru	bird	samu	certain fruit from liana
ruf	(sago) grove, coppice	san	containing maize-like seeds; pet.
rufan	certain feast-house	saná	initiate (subst.)
ruian	?		
charit ruian	square guard-house on poles, without bark walls		
rukäjr	cassowary		
rurá	lot of collected cloth		
rus	releasing		
rusträ	exchange with the bride-givers on occasion of wife's pregnancy		
rusupú	head-dress of feathers (w. <i>Prat</i>)		
ruw	"dead tired"; trouble, big misfortune, suffering		

sanet			
sani			
saníni			
sankít			
sapá(t)			
sapak			
saper			
sapos			
sapur			
sapā			
sar			
(cf. saró)			
sarak			
sarer			
sarim			
saró			
saruk			
sas			
sasas			
sasis			
metá sasis			
saso			
sasu			
sati			
sato			
satoch			
satúoch			
satum			
saw, sow, sa			
sawar			
sawé			
sawia			
sawiak			
saworó			
(also saweró)			
saws			
se			
se			
(also seá)			
sechá			
sechájt			
sechát			
sechéch			
sef			
sefá			
sefiok			
(also sifóch)			
sefó			
sefót			
sej			
sejt			
seká			
sekách			
sekák			
sekás			
seke			
sekén			
(also sakén)			
seki			
(pe-) seki samu			
sekiách			
sekir			
sekis			
sekú			
sekúf			
sekúm			
sekúr			
sekär			
semá			
semám			
semaná			
semár			
semár taro			
semát			
fra semát			
semi			
semia			
semier KräM			
semít			
semó			
semók			
semón			

semós	snot, sago porridge	serím	coming from outside, stranger, guest
semur	indistinct(?)	serín	widower, widow (Sejá)
semä	of male sex; man	serní	forget
senä	gnetum bast; string, snare; exchange meeting (Marä)	seró	wrap up in leaves
senách (also senák)	funeral feast	seróch	compensate
sené(j)	thin (Framesá); snare	seróf	follow
senék	fortification of tree-trunks	serój	disobedient, nasty
senie	moon	seróji	skilful, sly (w. Prat)
seník	sand	serók	certain zig-zag pattern on drum
senim	relatives through marriage (m.s.)	serót	quickly (L.)
senóch	gone off; arrive at; show oneself, be visible	serów (also seráu)	throat; sense; voice
sentáni	medicine man	serú	kangaroo; stone used as nose-peg
sepách po sepách	(= what one has dug up) certain collection of cloth (at feast)	serú safe	wallaby
sepát	snare with springy stick (L.)	serä	fall away and be missing, empty
sepä	spear	cha serä	hungry
sepí	stab; kill; through	sesa	opossum; marsupial
sepíách	long house	sesám	bird believed to reside in the human knee
sepír	pig-louse, parasite	sesó	seek (while) swimming
sepít	thirsty	setátem	ten (E. & N.)
sepó	weed	setén	fat
sepóch	entirely unwilling	setiách	kind of fish (E.; Malay: <i>ikan kaskado</i>)
sepós	leaf	setík	sago-palm (Framesá)
sepú	cover	setíni	woman without a brother
será	everybody (w. Prat)	setót	be completely filled, change
serä	rushes; bag of rushes; poison (plant)	setúoch	home region (N. & E.)
serách	house floor of rattan lattice work; grating; loose lattice	setä	soon, in a little while
serách wiách	bag of woven rushes	si	collecting, together; back: sewing needle of bat's bone
serájn	guest house	sia (also sea)	together with
serák	satisfied	siaf	look after; keep tame
serár	dance (to which one sings jocular songs with erotic content)	sián ru sián	wild duck
serchówiak	rattan bag with two compartments (used by women) (N. & E.)	siáto pach siáto	dance-ground fenced in with poles
seré (serä?)	sore, wound, croton plant	siemá	marry (of men)
sería	prevent; bind fast (Framesá)	sierá	marry (of woman)
seriém	aggressive, wild, angry, strange; stranger (E.)	sif	heap of twigs or branches; bird's nest, pig's lair
		sifa	back; nevertheless
		sifas	answer

sik	spiny; thorn	sā	empty; water
sika	cat	ra sā	male witch
sikar	small knife	ta	crocheted string-bag
sim	changing, transforming	tach (also tak)	help; cooperation;
sima	attempting		dracaena-bush
sina	something having "sides", something delimited like "groove" and "lane"	tachán	a fruit (when chewed making saliva red to colour bark-cloth)
sioch	collection of something; fish; lie, fancy, tell lies; a song	taf	marsh
sir	giddy, sleepy; angry; walk lightly, move noiselessly	tafas	"fiancée" (to whom one has begun to give presents) (Framesa)
sisar	entrance high up in cor- ridor wall in Taro, the dance-house	tafat	honeycomb; bee-hive; bird's nest
sit (also isít)	narrow seat in front of house, "veranda"; protud- ing	tafóch	fire; bride-giver; sexual pleasure; friend
siwia(n)	await; delay (intrans.)	tafoch mená	ignis fatuus
siäk (also ru ik)	hen of the yellow bird of paradise	tafuf	flower; unripe fruit
so	long time	taíf	grindstone (large)
soch	tasty	taít	centipede (N.)
sois	(certain pattern) "the old road"	taj	(of) bone
soko	digging stick (E.)	tak	open
som	allusion; name; name- giving land	takit	mussel (Arné)
son	coconut and its shell	taku	(w. Prat:) regional dema, ghost
soruwán	certain fruit (eaten when roasted)	tan	brain
sosur	nose-flute (Ajtinjo)	tani	perhaps
sow	one, once	tapá	bundle of sticks showing claims on a person for cloth
sowar	sniff, smell	tapám	ground
su	one, one place; body; eye	tapo	kind of fish
suára	yam	tar	male erection
suáti	sweet potato	taro	dance-house with resilient floor
suf	middle, inside; round	tarof	"rope" descent reconing
sum	body-cord	tasíoch	large bark-cloth
supuk	nose-peg	tat	feed, food
sur	stick	tati	every day
sus	spell used by women; system (of tunnels)	taw	memory, knowledge;
susu	near(er)	tawf	skull, crown of head
susur	bamboo caltrop	(also tawof)	
suwi	white opossum (considered male)	tawr	bamboo bow (weapon)
suwin	certain tree; return	taws	kind of opossum (keeps its hole closed with leaves when sleeping)
(also suwejn)	borrowed fabrics	techáf macháf	intestines
		techák (tächák?)	hand over cloth ceremoni- ally

techám	be sick with longing	terách	house (with opening along ridge to let out smoke)
tefájn (also teféjn)	spouse, wife	teráik	ventilate; sniff
tefia	new house (built after marriage)	tere	suddenly
tefó	must; will (verb); heirloom knife	terót	ejaculation
tefä	crocodile tooth (Kawf)	terú	meet again, go along
tejn	black bark-cloth (made in Sení)	terúk	(go) into
tejt	centipede	terúm	meet as planned
pir tejt	leader of dance-house (w. Prat)	tes	dry rattan
tejt kepej	scorpion	teséjt	solitude
tekerém	fin (of fish)	tesia	together with
tekí	a tree	tesóm	go into the woods
tekíf	put a softening spell upon; treat with magic and massage	tesú	sink
tekóf	elbow	tetafók	fire (ceremonious form)
natem tekóf		tetepú	bamboo tinder-box (with flint and tinder)
tekri	point of spear	teti	skeleton
tekúr	shield; protection	tetis	descendants
na n'tekúr	knee-cap	tetä	eastern
tem (täm?)	open; hand	ti	union, joint boundary; wall; a day and a night
temá	soon, presently	ti sej	at dusk
temách	what someone has promised to give or do	tiám	jungle
temáj (tämaj?)	ten (N.)	tiáro	home region
temán	skilful spear-thrower	tiet	four (4)
temóch	totem animal	tíf, tiéf	kangaroo
temsaw (tämsaw?)	five	tim	acting first, preceeding
temän	espouse, marry (a woman) (E.)	tima	marsupial of squirrel size
tená	new; afterwards; then	tin	earring;
tenám	kind of bark (in which to keep meat)	tin maká	sleepy (E.)
tení	cheek	timi	the first time; at first
na tení		tio	I; me
tenó	indoors, inside	tióch	exchange meeting; meeting place (Kawf)
tepir	man (verb); thrust in	tiok	catch birds with snare
tepís		tipu	further; more; at once; afterwards; ever since
ara tepís	sticks used as basis for floor-weave	tis	old; afterwards; behind
tepó	require; necessary	tit	shore, bank (also = tiét)
tepóch	stillness; immobility	titá	4 days ago; meeting place for exchange
tepúr	oracle (with certain leaves)	titíá	when?
		titji	earlier, formerly(?)
		tiu	attract (especially dema or ghost); palm-wine
		tiwej	previously, recently
		tje	and; together with
		to	new, other; impatient; long time; rattan, rope

toch	penis; eddy	umes	relatives of a deceased
toch-mi	secret society		woman who make (sham)
tocho	(lit. "long penis")		attack on her husband and
tocho po	rub, grind, polish	uon	children
tomará	exchange		long (for); name of secret
topas	ear	upach	society
topä	free of obligations	upi	edible bamboo creeper
toro	in a while; shortly; soon	us	poison (plant)
tosu	dance-house; spear (E.)	ut	shell
totor	wait, be patient	uto	springy stick
towá	tree spirit home		species of grass (used for
	white bean (of horse-bean		the 8 outer strands of the
	type)		body-cord); also the white
trä	plaited bracelet		plume of a yellow bird-
tu	true, able; expert, master,	uwia	or-paradise
	dema	uwian	before
tu awf	eating utensil (two sticks		before; form of cold
	tied together) for sago		energy, shadow; draw
tuf	three, all		water
tuju (also tuji)	where?	uwiak	canoe
tuka	fire-tongs		
tum	"(gift) from the Tu dema";		
	piglet found in the bush;	wa	anxious; angry; take care
	stone with a hole		of, look after; frighten;
tuók	wrinkle one's forehead		body of water (which is
ni n'tuók			taboo); possessive prefix
tur	blinded by passion		indicating the plural of the
turar	ramble		things owned and the own-
tut	with strong effects		ers
tuwök	palm-wine (N.)	wach	tabooed thing, totem
tä	up, above, in the air; east,	wachúm	a gift from the partitional
	south; top (of object)		hosts
täkóf	notched end of pole or	waf	decorated bamboo recept-
	bow		acle, jewel-box for women
ara tákóf	forked poles upon which	wafu	flying fox
	floor of house rests	waj	boar's tusk; oracle; care-
tän	jambo-fruits		fully, with care, cland-
täpe	misfortune		estinely
tät	bat; swallow	wajf	thorny bush
tätä	carry in; come in with	wajir (wajer)	origin; direction of origin
täto	up there		(whence the ancestors
tätät	tremble		came)
täwi	prongs of sago-fork	wajt	his own
potách täwi	plaiting on fork handle	wak	certain item of exchange
		wamoch	hornbill (bird)
		wamu	our
-u (uw)	under; (left) behind, over;	wana	their(s)
	further; or; both — and	wanu	your(s)
uiar	crocodile (N.)	wari	string of beads (attached
um	bone dagger		to body-cord)

waruk		wo	possessive affix indicating plural of something owned, singular of the owner
waruk na	cross one's legs	wochá	ghost (N.)
waruk natem	fold one's arms	wof	patience
warur	gnemon tree; meeting place	woj	dawn bird (dema form)
wasén	"they have awakened" = will of the wisp	wojá	bird's nest in ironwood tree
wasi	smoke, smolder	wojarát	"bird track" (a pattern)
wasis	tree, the leaves of which are used on wounds	wor	tunnel; nose-flute
wasik	clear away lianas	worá (also orá)	swidden
watá	conical fish trap	worách	oracle with bamboo poles; certain stone that "gives birth to new stones"
watár	brass ring; also plaited spear-ring for games (Kotjuwer)	worár	
watir	water course (that disappears into the earth)	poworár	small gift or present
watum	rules and customs (roughly = ada t)	woreách	totem animal (N.)
watä		worés	remove bark from pole
chara watä	butterfly; ghost (N.)	worop	red and yellow snake (known to stand on its tail, boring it into the ground; Malay: ular dua kepala), Cylindrophis(?)
waw	her own	wosá	the coastal peoples
wawa	always, immutable	wosur	crocodile
wawn	thrust forward strongly	woti	my, mine
we	single; old; formerly	wow	roast (in hot ashes)
wefó	just here; only here		
wej	a pair; couple of lovers	-ä	empty
wej moroaw	the first beings (one female and one male)	äk (also ik)	hen of the yellow bird of paradise
wejáçh	white cockatoo	äm	tunnel (ceremonial language) (terminated 1.6.1967)
wejó	quickly (Kauf)		
wek	glass bead (smallest size)		
wen	fluff, hairy		
wer	copiously, abundantly, generously, all too much; small parrot		
weref	spider		
werék	along		
werí	for a time; a while		
wes keke	a bird		
wesén	certain poison		
wetáw	"popot cap"		
wetó	there on the spot; there; that (there)		
-wi	activity or property of two persons; poss. dualis		
wiá	go together; move		
wifi (also wefi)	in a little while, soon		
wir	wave (hand etc.); soon		

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On Page 158, line 27 ought to be: were sold to the coastal traders and their agents. They

CORRIGENDA

page	8	line	15	Arqueologia	45	line	7	leisure ²⁶
		line	18	Bestuurs-	47	line	3	“(issuing)
10	line	8	Oan			line	4	+ “away
	line	10	Oan			line	6	“thigh”
15	line	17	plosives is	48	line	12	relations which	
16	line	6	southernmost		line	19	F’s term for D and M’s	
	line	26	deal				for S connoted	
	line	31	and	49	line	9	the same sex	
19	note	1	(1920)	50	line	2	status	
20	line	2	part) Catholic	52	line	10	shows	
	line	27	opportunity	53	line	15	will be	
	note	4	p. 80.	54	line	10	his sister’s	
22	note	14	Ajamaru District	56	line	30	Siblings	
23	line	4	supposed	58	line	11	(Husband)	
	line	16	apparently				fish with fish-trap at grass	
24	line	14	number				dams from canoe in lakes	
	line	31	A number	59	line	1	actually	
28	line	10	cooperative		line	12	negotiate	
36	line	4	or friend	60	line	12	directly	
	line	31	senim		line	5	perceived	
	line	33	nation	62	line	1	modernized	
37	line	16	border as		line	28	Kanepu-wefa	
	line	19	be speaking	63	line	6	by an expression	
41	line	12	D = BD	68	line	3	bride-givers and bride-	
	line	25	FZH / MB				takers	
				70	line	12	= a little	

page 71	line 18	(<i>paio</i>) of	136	line 1	the 19th
73	line 1	15:—, some	138	line 3	(<i>Serách Mp</i>),
77	line 32	cooperative		line 29	with them
79	note 70	Mundugumur	140	line 22	(= her productiveness)"
83	line 17	far off		line 28	(= <i>mons veneris</i>
84	line 14	all this		line 29	"the meeting
88	line 6	the grandchildren		line 30	to the social
93	line 3	Swellengrebel:		note 12	the last line: type alone
	line 24	as I found			may thus be
	note 25	(1724—26)	141	line 4	Isir
95	note 36	and Sifaj	142	line 1	his status
96	line 19	Chawer	144	line 10	officials.
	line 27	ghosts		line 11	While
	line 32	Sā-ramú	145	line 28	Gujerat
98	line 15	<i>mana</i>	146	line 10	Martin
	line 27	Malay	148	line 29	(<i>nim</i>)
104	line 1	(fig. 11 A).		line 32	Mon class:
	line 6	fig. 11 B,	148	note 38,	the last words:
106	line 5	(fig. 11 B).			swaddling cloth.
107	line 33	(<i>schwiak</i>)	151	note 4:	Palm ibid.
114	line 18	<i>atu sa — atu cho</i>	153	line 1	<i>tjinde</i>
115	line 28	spirit		line 5	<i>kain Bente nan</i>
	line 35	too far	156	line 14	Siwa and Mafif stories.
	line 41	structural			When Siwa
118	line 29	the Wen		line 36	(= nest of the Woj-bird)
	line 30	seem to	158	line 27	were sold to the coastal
	line 31	existence			traders and their agents.
119	line 23	newcomer			They
	line 33	reckoning	159	line 12	were called
120	line 13	creatures	167	line 35	Chari's
121	line 29	which the Sarosa	168	line 1	Fuok villages.
122	line 26	as to the person's	171	note 52	Appendix 2.
	line 38	emphasized	172	note 4,	line 4: renown
	line 39	which			line 7: profit-motivated
123	line 6	oppositions expressed in a	174	line 7	as brokers
		certain code ⁵⁷ .		line 25	and labour
	line 19	bush hen (<i>Maleo</i>)		line 36	earlier some of
	note 57	Lévi-Strauss, C.: <i>Le totemisme aujourd'hui</i> . Paris. 1962. p. 127.	175	line 20	cloth, bast
125	line 9	had to offer		line 23	practical
	note 4	VI, 316.		line 24	Even at
	line 15	kept down ⁸ . In		line 33	called
127	line 7	middle	176	line 11	himself a generous
131	line 24	Dorey		line 15	I witnessed
	note 46	Adatrechtbundels	178	line 4	time as
133	line 15	il est		line 19	too few guests
134	line 3	Sawiet area		line 30	a person's
	line 7	its alleged		note 24	"warning"
			179	line 13	a long time
				line 19	to make

page 180 line 21	<i>scná</i>	208 line 6	<i>marwof aj</i>
181 line 2	tree was	209 line 17	as "cool"
line 10	term when the tree	line 25	parts,
line 26	(lacustrine).	line 34	plants on
182 line 8	<i>Tekif akiaf</i> ,	line 35	vegetative force
line 28	carried in it on the	210 line 4	<i>tes</i>
	mother's back	line 22	<i>sajú-och m'paw</i>
note 34	cat's cradles	line 29	thus
183 line 7	<i>piách</i>	line 36	pre-dominantly feminine
line 15	when rubbed	as	
line 19	even if other	211 line 2	round
184 line 9	more often	line 4	<i>ju</i> , an inward bag, an
line 22	The expressed intention	object	
	was	line 13	treatment
line 29	subterranean	line 21	Feminacentricity
line 34	and to stop	line 24	<i>aw, jaw</i> ,
187 line opposite (9): Birth <i>mapv ku</i>		212 line 3	were indicated:
after (13a), 2nd column: <i>ochát</i>		line 15	that the death
"hearth feast"		line 28	know how to handle
188 (13b), 2nd column: <i>ochát</i> , "hearth		213 line 25	to achieve
feast"		line 38	manioc stems
(15), 2nd column: <i>ochát</i> , "hearth		214 line 29	Isera ("Old road,
feast"		line 30	("Increase of
(17a), 5th column: and ZCh		line 39	recommended by the
191 line 19	Kamundan	215 line 13	"bag-medicines"
note 49	(p. 167).	line 16	female feast participants
194 line 10	both	note 13	(see p. 216)
195 line 8	an ideally	216 line 2	The ultimate
196 line 5	called each other	line 14	earthquakes
line 7	friendship	line 33	cycles
line 11	Isir of Mefchatiam	217 line 26	root people)
line 17	every opportunity	218 line 25	right group) may be
197 line 32	They blamed	219 line 16	into the Tu dema who
198 line 6	<i>amu serót</i>	taught the man to cut up	
line 15	follows	an opossum into the	
line 16	<i>n'koro</i> ⁶⁵ .	line 24	an ordinary death — was
199 line 20	rattan	line 28	and a new
line 25	Some one who	line 37	lacustrine part
201 line 3	northern	line 39	loud guffawing
line 20	mouths	220 line 24	everywhere taken for
202 line 36	recorded	line 26	attracts the same
204 line 19	Majoor	222 line 19	Mistress
205 line 1	exchange	223 line 7	Fu and Serajn
line 29	cyclic	line 27	hook, wawes,
206 line 26	strong extra-regional	224 line 16	by floods
	connections and was an	line 19	ensuing flood
	extra-	line 22	they knew
207 line 9	which is especially	line 37	the dema and its
line 35	the earth and	line 38	every pair

page 225	line 12	and the bush	line 22	trespasser who then
	line 22	centre post		became
	line 31	of Ratu	line 26	underworld
	line 37	"Tu spear	line 28	In both
	line 38	<i>naj sepi</i>	240 line 34	a few groups
226	line 5	posts of Koch	241 line 7	some time
	line 11	The contracted form	243 line 6	a symmetrical
	line 28	expressing this union	line 8	couple
227	line 7	<i>Sesa Suwi</i>	244 line 41	hot (female)
	line 21	She taught	245 line 9	four or five
	line 23	to discern	line 25	against the inherent risk
	line 25	part she was	246 line 5	host or guest
228	line 15	parts + the	line 41	Gujerat
	line 40	marriage	247 line 1	The latter appear to
229	line 8	trans-	line 4	Ceram
	line 14	would make them	line 14	not to be
	line 37	manioc roots, the latter	line 18	of subjects:
		simulating	line 23	the cloths
230	line 2	-lauded.	248 line 27	which was
	line 8	in valuable	line 37	started with
	line 19	Maif show	249 line 36	of growth
	line 26	comical effect	250 line 2	principle
232	line 13	(s e r a)	line 12	the underworld
	line 14	village	line 13	its bast,
233	line 10	unhindered by means of	253 line 18	Charumpres
	line 30	impending rain,	255 line 20	He gave p o r ("order to
	line 37	and warm spiritual		kill") to
234	line 3	bride-takers	257 line 9	went back
	line 13	considered to be	258 line 34	Komean
	line 21	the skull	259 line 17	the children
235	line 1	(<i>cha fra mawf</i>).	line 29	and was caught
	line 11	<i>Nasen puoch</i> ,	261 line 9	Mefchatiam
	line 14	arrested	267 line 6	Renis and
	line 15	employing	line 30	the Pres-Katit
	line 16	hollow tree.	269 line 17	in a heap
	line 17	and northern	270 line 32	person.
	line 20	all the	272 line 4	to Framu
	line 28	They were	line 24	quantities. — — — and
	line 31	the Prat		said: — Now
236	line 5	corpse into	line 25	stacked in
	line 11	outside the actual	line 26	— He awoke
	line 22	Po-son-api	274 line 10	still followed
	line 29	likened	276 line 17	When the boy
238	line 8	"sheat fish"	278 line 17	always stick.
	line 18	termed The vaginal road	280 line 32	younger brother
	line 29	through which	282 line 3	dialect).
239	line 17	aspect by	line 5	climbs for
	line 18	Regional Ground (+) and	line 17	thrusts down
		the Monsoon Wind (—)	283 line 26	become all strong
			309 line 22	<i>tiét, tit, tjit</i>

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