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Back of wooden bowl from Asmat, Southern Coast
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IKHTISAR

Makalah ini menyajikan pengertian-pengertian tentang sistem kepercayaan orang-orang Kemtuiq dan menjelaskan bagaimana sistem kepercayaan ini membangkitkan serta memperlahankan kelangsungan hidup anggapan-anggapan dasar yang merupakan inti gerakan 'cargo' di daerah Kemtuiq. Dalam tulisan ini dibicarakan juga tentang peranan mite dalam sistem kepercayaan tersebut disertai dengan beberapa contoh dan penjelasannya dalam rangka ulasan peranan tersebut. Menurut van der Wilden, jika kita mengerti mite-mite ini maka kita juga dapat mengerti mengapa orang-orang Kemtuiq begitu tertarik terhadap anggapan-anggapan dasar pemikiran 'cargo' ini.

Menurut kepercayaan orang-orang Kemtuiq pada suatu waktu di masa lampau para nenek moyang mereka mengetahui tentang rahasia hidup, yaitu bagaimana mereka memperoleh hidup yang kekal dan kekayaan material, tetapi rahasia tersebut sekarang telah hilang. Dengan demikian pertanyaan yang penting bagi orang-orang Kemtuiq adalah: "Mengapa kita tidak mengetahui rahasia hidup sebagaimana yang diketahui oleh para nenek moyang kita yang telah meninggal?"

Dalam tulisan ini van der Wilden menjelaskan bagaimana orang-orang Kemtuiq berusaha menjawab pertanyaan mereka sendiri atau bagaimana mereka berusaha mencari keselamatan. Pertanyaan ini dijawab mereka dengan mengambil unsur-unsur tertentu baik dari kepercayaan Kristen maupun dari kepercayaan 'cargo'.
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 A GROUP DECISION TOWARDS CHRISTIANITY

In 1925 a Dutch missionary named Bijkerk arrived in the Nimboran area of what is now called Irian Jaya. About the same time a Dutch government post was established in the area to rule the adjacent Kemtuik and Glesi people. By ten years later, the entire population had accepted Christianity. Kabel (1953:164) writes that the decision to accept Christianity was a group decision.

One of the overt actions that symbolized this turning to Christianity was the burning of the cult houses. This may have been precipitated by the pressures that were brought to bear by the government and the mission (Land 1970:228).
There were, however, certain elements in Christianity that seemed to be accepted with open arms by the people living in the Nimboran plain. Two of these welcome ideas were the resurrection from the dead, and Christ as Messiah (Land 1970: 229). The Nimboran, Kentuik, and Glesi people seemed happy with their new faith.

Later, however, in 1953 the missionary Kabel wrote that the people were dissatisfied with the 'status quo' of Christianity: they wanted not only eternal life, but also material goods. A deeper investigation into the situation reveals that although the people gave up many external traditions to embrace Christianity there were certain elements of their former religious ideas that they were not prepared to give up. In fact, the people purposely set aside certain individuals and certain clans, so that important magical secrets would not be lost. But the symbols of faith, expressed by them as a group, had disappeared. Van Baal (1952:11) writes about the effects for the culture as a whole:

In the old days religious and social life was concentrated almost entirely around the festivities connected with the eram (clan leader). It is true that wedding feasts and the ceremonial attached to payment of the bride price, plays something of the same role, but on a much smaller scale. The grandest event was undoubtedly the kabi, or feast, on the occasion of the eram's installation...

The eram-kabi is at the centre of the people's mystical beliefs. This is apparent from the old myths, according to which all existence is traced back to the first legendary kabi, where the first erams made their appearance. Although one can understand that the Mission objected to these feasts - not only to their pagan character, but their whole purpose, and particularly the nature of the dancing - it cannot be denied that to forbid these celebrations was to throw out the baby with the bathwater. By means of an extensive network of mutual obligations, the festivals played an important part in making Nimboran a firmly united community. The many personal relationships involved were an integral part of the people's social life and they miss them!

Apparently the Christian faith did not fulfill the expectations of the Nimboran people anymore. Functionally, because they were not able to celebrate their eram-kabi festival anymore, the people lost some of their major mystical means of stimulating their wealth, in its traditional forms. While their own magical ways to accumulate wealth were taken away, they nevertheless had to cope with the phenomena of sources of tremendous wealth, displayed by the American army, after its landings in Jayapura harbour (Hollandia). That wealth suddenly disappeared at the end of the War in 1946. According to Van Baal, this "hunger for visible riches has led to the so-called 'cargo cult'".

1.2 THE PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER

The so-called 'cargo cults', as they are occurring throughout Melanesia, are expressed by the Kentuik (Nimboran, Glesi) people in the form of kuasep (spirit)-movements. These kuasep-movements have previously been described by Schneider, Kabel, and Kouwenhoven.

Through this paper it is my intention to extend their insights and demonstrate the link between the Kentuik belief system and cargo thinking. An analysis of several basic myths will assist in comprehending the belief system and the 'disappearing' and 'returning' themes, which give hope to the Kentuik people.

1.3 MELANESEAN MILLENNIAL MOVEMENTS

The kuasep movements need to be studied in the light of the many 'cargo cults' or 'millennial movements', that have occurred in Melanesia. Steinbauer (1971, table) notes 186 cases of cargo cults, which is undoubtedly a very conservative number.

There seems to lie in the minds of the Melanesian people a deep underlying assumption that drives them to search for the ways and means of changing the status quo. Cargo cults are the mechanism they use. Of course, one can mention several factors (outward and inward) that have played roles
in those cults, but the central question is: what brings all the factors together to trigger a cult?

Steinbauer (1971:168) discusses the element of 'hope' as being the dynamo of life. He is convinced that cargo cults are filled with hope or expectations. Hope is an eschatological word, belonging in time, but yet it points beyond time. We can only live according to our hope.

But what keeps the hope in operation? I would like to state the following hypothesis: cargo movements find their primary motivation within the culture as reflected in myths. It is precisely the expectation element that causes the people to dream about millennium and in some cases to start actual movements to enter the millennium here and now. The new western phenomena (abundance of manufactured goods) fitted so well into their thinking, that they started to reinterpret old existing mythical motives in the light of new happenings. Reinterpretation happened only in later stages of cargo thinking when, according to some people, the white man only revealed his inability to offer a rational solution. In order to comprehend that 'contact-situation' they had to return to their myths and to their ancestors, not only as a way out of the present day problems, but to sustain a 'hope' for the future.

1.4 GENERAL COMMENTS

a) Field of research. Research for this paper has been done in the Kemtuk/Kemtuk area, on the eastern part of the Nimboran plain, which extends from Lake Sentani twenty miles to the west. Administratively, the area is divided into two districts, i.e. Kemtuk/Glesi (pop. around 5,000) and Nimboran (pop. around 10,000). Most previous research has been carried out in the Nimboran area (Anceaux, Van Baal, Kouwenhoven). The village of Meren, where we have been living over the past seven years, is located in the foothills on the south side of the plain, between the rivers Nimbu (Nebu) and Grime (see map on page 47).

b) Terminology. Throughout this paper, the use of the term 'cargo cult' implies 'millennium movements'. It will, however, prove helpful to make a distinction between cargo cults and cargo thinking, the former being occasional behavioral manifestations of the latter. In only a few incidents cargo thinking has actually developed into cargo cults. But the underlying basic assumption has been there all the time. The title of the paper is an expression regularly used by the Kemtuk people to describe their search for 'salvation' (Strelan 1977). It is an expression of the idea that their ancestors will help them find the 'salvation' they are searching for.

c) Why are many cargo cults hard to understand? Cargo cults are socio-religious phenomena, which are only indirectly dependent on the influence of cultural elements from outside the culture. Steinbauer noted 100 different criteria that can be used to study the movements. However, many writings about the cults 'mistake the spectacular aspects for the essential and fail to give proper attention to the cultural background' (Kamma, 1972:213). Or in linguistic terms: there are many 'etic' descriptions, but only a restricted number of 'emic' analyses of such movements. It is necessary to comprehend the people's epistemological convictions in order to understand the reason and purpose of the individual movements.

2. ROLE OF MYTHS IN KEMTUK CULTURE

2.1 MYTH AS A KEY FOR UNDERSTANDING CULTURE

If hope is the generating power of life, as Steinbauer suggested, one would expect that the oral tradition in primal societies would reflect that hope. In many societies these oral traditions are shaped into myths, which are always changing in conjunction with the culture of a community as it moves through time (Kamma 1975:1). Myths we define with Van Baal (1971) as "religious truth in story form". So, the myths always form an updated source of information for those outside a particular culture.

This is, especially for the Kemtuk area, of great
importance. As stated before, the Kemtuik society—forced through circumstances—has been an area of rapid change:

Politically, the Kemtuik people have experienced considerable colonial rule. They have experienced many different governments in only one lifetime. However, the good old days, when the people were free, have not been forgotten. 'Freedom' must be understood in the sense of 'millennial' freedom. At the end of World War II they had expected to receive 'real freedom' from the Americans, later from the Dutch, and when these expectations were not fulfilled, they finally pinned their hopes on Sukarno. However, the Millennium they had hoped for has not arrived, and, disillusioned, they are turning back to their old ways of finding solutions to their questions, through contact with ancestors. The result is cargo thinking.

Kinship-ties still strongly order the social relationships. Marriage rules are strictly followed, and in some cases the father of the groom still chooses the bride. Marriage festivals have become increasingly rare, but this may be due to the fact that the church does not appreciate their rituals.

Economically, the culture is changing rapidly from a group-oriented society to a more individually based peasant situation. People are increasingly involved in trading, taking their products to the market in Jayapura. However, subsistence is still the major economic means of livelihood, and the cattle projects, initiated by the Joint Development Fund (J.D.F.), for instance, are still considered to be a group project. The clan is responsible, not the individual who signed the contract.

Ideologically, the situation is very confused. On the outside there is the church, which proposes a formalistic approach that has never been understood by the people. About 20% of the people go to church regularly, the rest stay at home. But the question is: what is the deep structure of their ideological system? The questions that are asked by the Kemtuik people to outsiders often suggest a merger of some of the new ideas into their old belief system. They are interacting with Christianity, they are trying to explain the new faith in the light of the old belief system.

It is therefore important to know the old belief system. But how to do so, if many of the important overt rituals have been taken away? The key to the answer is: the myths! They lay out the basic ideas of the people regarding their total life: the relationship to the environment and its resources (economic system); the relationship to the spirits, high god and demons (religious system). And since myths are changing as the culture changes, they can give us an up-to-date picture of their conceptions. Berndt (1965:85) writes:

_We might expect to find here not just values which are significant in the course of everyday living, but also particular emphases which could provide an abstract statement about society and culture. These are difficult to identify unless measured against the actual situation. To consider them alone without some basis for their selection would invite distortion._

This is what needs to be done in the Kemtuik situation. The mythology in a tradition-oriented society (such as the Kemtuik people) forms a system of belief. The actual situation offers us a series of Kuasep-movements, from 1925 till 1981. It is necessary therefore, to study the myths and their influences on the culture and especially how they affect the Kuasep-movements. Myths are not only reflections of the past, but they also have an operating value.

When we are trying to study the Kemtuik ideological system from this perspective, then there is a justified hope that we may succeed. Although some researchers in former days were afraid that many of the myths might disappear, this seems not to have been the case. On the contrary: people like to tell them, and they often refer to them—for instance, when they are discussing Christianity.

2.2 DIFFERENT MYTHS, DIFFERENT FUNCTIONS

The Kemtuik people have a wide range of myths, legends and folktales. They classify these stories into three categories: 1) ku nebut 'earth-talk'. This is the 'holy' history. 2) mam nebut 'long ago-talk'. Illustrative material
around the ku nebut. 3) nebut senang 'eternal-talk'. These are the stories that support rules of custom.

In the literature there has been some discussion concerning whether distinction can be made between different types of myths. Some try to make the distinction between stories that deal with the supernatural, and those that do not (see Saliba 1973:3). However, this seems not to be workable on the island of New Guinea, since people here ordinarily do not distinguish between natural and supernatural. Van Baal (1966:206) states that 'both are expressions of the people's experience of something supernatural', and so such distinctions are not applicable.

However, since the Kemtuiq people do make a cognitive differentiation (as do several other cultures on New Guinea), it is important to find out why they make a difference. The lead that Widengren (1969:174) gives us may prove to be of some help. His opinion is that myth is anchored into the cult, while legend is not associated with cult anymore. The myth is a story about the deeds of the gods, made visible in a holy action, and the legend is a localized and individualized story. Only the myth is really well characterised as a substantiation of ritual.

Widengren's observations are of a general character, but they do help to understand why some of the differences occur. In Kemtuiq culture, however, the myths were not just split up, because the people lost the meaning of those myths. There is more to it. The myths have different functions. I will describe now somewhat in more detail what these functions are:

1) ku nebut 'earth talk'. The meaning of the term is somewhat obscure. Ku means 'time, down, ground'. But the basic component of meaning in ku nebut seems to be 'earth', since the stories involved are all dealing with the origin of the earth and its people. Ku nebut is connected with a strong taboo (ku dumat=taboo). People are very reluctant to tell this kind of information. The people that know stories of this type are called 'people with light'. They are usually the very old men. When people more or less by accident start to tell these stories, they whisper. Women should not hear them. As one informant told me: it is like father Jacob did when he was dying; only then did he pass on the necessary information. I felt it was necessary to check out whether or not the women really did not know about them, but it seems that these myths have genuinely been kept secret from the women. This is very unusual in these days when all kinds of taboo are disregarded. This shows a strong emotional religious involvement. Kokwenhoven (1956:21), who did research in the neighbouring culturally related Nimboran group 25 years ago, reported almost the same features of these myths as we have recorded now in the Kemtuiq area. He wrote:

   Therefore the father would keep some of the most
   essential facts to himself, hoping to reveal them no
   sooner than at his death-bed.

These 'most essential facts' are the ku nebut in the Kemtuiq area. According to Widengren's guidelines, ku nebut is not localized, not individualized, and expresses what the god(s) have done. The people refer to this kind of myth as 'history'.

2) mam nebut. These stories, on the other hand, are more individualized and localized. The contrast with ku nebut is 'wide ranged, well known' vs. 'specific and secret'. Mam nebut means 'long-ago-talk'. It may be true that the real meaning of this kind of story is lost, and that they therefore should be called 'legends', but the fact is that in many cases, there is a strong awareness of a historical background. A good example of such a story is the story about Woy Idam (the Sun-God), which is actually a story around the basic creation myth (ku nebut). But this myth also shows localized features. For example, according to the whole district, this story happened in Merem, but in different parts of the area, certain parts are added to the story and given local meaning. One local addition says the son of the high God (also called Woy Idam) has two wives. One of them, Meki, stays behind on earth and gives birth to a son, who becomes the clan leader of the Wai Simon tribe. But the people of the village Merem do not know about this addition.

The mam nebut (stories from long ago) are usually lengthy stories. In these stories all kind of motifs and existential problems are worked out. They consist of origin texts of clans, stories about culture-heroes, and 'funny' stories, that usually deal with a demon who tries to deceive
the people, but is discovered and driven out of the community. Many culture heroes have the title 'idam' (iram, eram). Nowadays that is the title for the clan leader.

Mam nebub stories, as such, are not secret. However, it is interesting to note that the backbone (the moral) of such a story sometimes contains material that really belongs to the sacred ku nebub (see above). Therefore people are sometimes confused as to what actually belongs to the ku- and mam-nebub. But it is very probable that confusion is due to the fact that people do realize the historical aspects. On the other side, it really shows what mam nebub is: actualized, localized religious truth. It is the 'sermon around the text'.

3) nebub senang 'eternal talk'. These are words with eternal value. When people use this term, they refer to the truth (rules of custom) laid down in the myths, and carried out in their daily practices, and in their rituals. Those rituals must be done according to the rules. The big festivals in the past were not just feasts during which a new leader was appointed and a lot of food was eaten, they were especially reminders to the people of how things were done in the early days. Those festivals showed the basics of life. It is interesting to see that people refer to the Bible as nebub senang. It is perhaps thought to be parallel to the rules of custom.

2.3 STRUCTURE OF MYTHS

In order to find out what role the Kemtuik myths have in the Kemtuik belief system, we have to find out the structure of those myths. This can basically be done in two ways: by comparing the same myth as told in several villages, we can ascertain the central component. In this method, the form of the myth is central. It especially has historical value, since it teaches us about specific additions and renderings that explain local customs. But on the other side, that method can be misleading. By cutting myths into 'historical parts', we probably destroy the whole plot. We will lose the specific meaning that that particular addition may have for the local people involved. It may be their way of saying: that is why this story is important!

In discourse analysis nowadays 'theme' is an important issue. But the concept 'theme' is being defined differently by different authors. I therefore will use the terminology used by Shaw (1972:129) in which the following concepts are used to describe the structure of myths:

1) Theme: is concern, and the underlying interest of the people, which are evident in the story. They give us a view of the people's cultural values and attitudes.

2) Moral: is the 'super-theme', the over-all thrust of the story. (Not all the themes necessarily contribute to the moral!)

3) Motif: is an actual manifestation of underlying interests of the people.

4) Plot: is an arrangement of motifs in a particular way, that leads the hearer to see the moral.

Myths tend to have a complex structure. They are 'pictures', but they are updated all the time. The result is that one can expect several themes in a myth which hardly contribute to the moral, but still have important cultural implications. For that reason it is very helpful to have the differentiation between cultural themes, and a story moral. Both need to be analyzed.

3. DISCUSSION OF SOME KEMTUUK MYTHS

3.0 INTRODUCTION

As we stated before, in Kemtuik culture people differentiate myths into 1) ku nebub, the sacred truth, 2) mam nebub, individualized, localized stories, and 3) nebub senang, the compilation of custom-rules. From each of the types I will give some samples. First the story will be given, followed by a discussion, indicating the moral and the underlying themes.
3.1 **KI IDAM CREATES THE EARTH AND DISAPPEARS**

3.11 Story

Long ago there were no people. Only Ki Idam existed. The earth was not even created yet. Then he made the earth out of water. But before he created the earth, a long time ago, he actually existed alone. And then Ki Idam created the earth, and all the things on the earth.

One day, he cut his finger. After having collected the blood, he made a child, whom he named Blong Idam (light-leader). As they were living together, Ki Idam said to his son, "Blong Idam, you are blood of my blood, and flesh of my flesh, therefore I am going to talk to you. Child, my powerful name I am going to give to you. I have made the whole earth, and all the trees, and the animals, and also the people too. You are my flesh and blood. I have made everything! You are the one who must stay in the open. I will stay there inside (hide inside). Whatever happens, the people should not seek for me. You represent me! (Or: you are me). Whenever the people want to do something, let them do it in your name. I give all my power to you. In order to have darkness, I command and let it get dark. And in order to have light again, I command: "Let it get light".

This is what Ki Idam said to his son, Blong Idam. After having given this advice to his son, Ki Idam disappeared. If any of us want to do something, he must do it in his name.

This talk is ku nebub (earth talk = real talk), it is finished here.

3.12 Discussion

There are **5 motifs** in his story that build up to the moral.

1) **Ki Idam** existed before the creation of the earth.

2) Ki Idam then created the earth, and all of life upon it.

3) Ki Idam created his own son and gave all authority to him.

4) Ki Idam wanted to hide himself, and not to be bothered by people.

5) All people are dependent on **Ki Idam**, whatever they do.

Moral: people are dependent on the high-god, and especially on his mediator Blong Idam. (Note: it is common in many Kemtuik discourses to find the moral in the last paragraph.)

Some of the more important cultural themes in this story are:

1) Creation out of water. Actually, one of the informants gave the name of that water: bu magen (noisy water). Others indicated that Ki Idam himself was generated from that water.

2) Name-giving indicates power. It is like the power that goes from the Idam (the clan leader) to his son. Many old people wait a long time before they actually tell the name of the high-god (Ki Idam) to their children. To know that name is their power.

3) There is hope for the people. After the darkness comes light. The name of the intermediator is Light-Leader (Blong Idam). That is a promise in itself.

Some general comments concerning this creation story:

1) The name ki refers to 'green, life' (ki in Nimboran means woman). See also 3.2, where the world is created by an old woman.

2) In other reports, there is a connection between the creation and a creator-snake. (Galis 1954:27). This snake was called yap ba nen temung (yap ba = in the house; nen = penis, temung = part). Yap ba is also another word for 'heaven', which is located in the ground. The penis part of the name is a symbol of creative power.
Elmberg (1949) reported that the heavenly place in the
ground was called semen. And the first clan leader was
called wym semenki (sun-heaven-woman). (That person in
our story was called Blong Idam, and in other mam nebut
stories is called Woy Idam (sun-leader.).) There are
certainly some connections between those myths, but as a
whole the picture is not clear enough to draw any conclusion
as to what story is the basic one.

3.2 KU NEBUT: AN OLD WOMAN CREATES THE EARTH AND DISAPPEARS

3.21 Story

The world was made by an old woman. That woman lives
where the sun rises. She rests upon leguet kuasi
(certain kind of magic leaves). Whatever goods exist,
they are in her. She is the real door to all of those
things.

3.22 Discussion

The motifs are all laid out clearly in the story. The
moral is that she knows the secret to the good things of
life (such as flowers (!), knowledge, drums etc.).

Almost this same kind of information appears in a mam
nebut, called kimania (3.4).

3.3 MAM NEBUT: WOY IDAM

3.31 Story

In the old days, there was a man called Woy Idam
(woy = sun). Once upon a time, Woy Idam was sitting
while making a bow and arrow. While he was working,
he accidentally cut his finger with the knife that he
used for making his arrow. He cut his finger so badly,
that he had to take a little bowl to catch the stream
of blood. After this, he kept the bowl of blood in the
corner of the house. Later on Woy Idam left the house
again and continued to work on his arrows. While he
was working, the blood in the bowl turned into a boy-
child. The boy started to cry, and Woy Idam wondered
what it was. Then he knew: "Ah, there is a child crying!
But whose child?" Then he stood up, went into the house
and found the child. But he did not tell his wife Banu
Debui (Banu=moon; Debui=fem.), that he found the child.
He was able to do this, because they were living in
separate houses. When Banu Debui had prepared the food,
she called Woy Idam for dinner, but he acted as though
he was sick, and shouted that his food should be brought
to him. His wife brought the food, but he said: "Don't
come up here, please put the food in front of the door.
I will take the food by myself."

Day after day this went on. The child grew up
until he was around 5 - 7 years old. Then his father
took him hunting. His father gave him a little bow
and arrow, and they went for a hunt in the
neighbourhood of the house. They killed all kinds
of animals and took them home. And then the little Woy
Idam asked his father: "Can you eat this?" (Before
that time his father had fed him with milk only). And
his father pointed out to him what kind of meat he
could eat, and what he could not eat. That happened
day after day until the son became a strong fellow.
By that time he received a real bow and arrow from his
father. And every day he used to go out hunting.

One day he saw a huge tree (beringin), whose fruit
usually are eaten by pigeons. There were many birds
in that tree. On the next day he went back and built
a small hut to use while he hunted the birds. First he
went together with his father and they caught many
birds. When they took them home, they did not tell
Banu Debui about the birds. They roasted them and ate
them together. The next day Woy Idam Jr., went alone
to the tree and tried to shoot more birds, but he did
not succeed. Instead, his arrow ended up in the
garden of Banu Debui, in a banana tree.

At that time Banu Debui was in her garden at work.
Then she realized that an arrow had come down into
the banana tree. She went over to the banana tree, took
the arrow out and hid it under a palm leaf.
called lilin. While Banu Debui was waiting for the owner of the arrow to come and look for it, she suddenly saw a bright light. It was Woy Idam, whose body gave light like a lamp. Then Banu Debui hid herself in a banana tree, and waited for the boy to come by. Then she caught him and asked, "Whose child are you?" Then he answered, "I am Woy Idam's child." "Hey, if you are his son, whose wife am I? I am the wife of Woy Idam!" And the Banu Debui asked, "Hey, if that is the case, what do you call me?" Then the boy said "I shall call you my mother!" But Banu Debui answered, "If I were your mother, why is it Woy Idam, my husband, did not send you to me, so that I could take care of you? Please tell the truth, and then I will let you go again." Then the boy started to cry and said, "I will call you my grandmother!" But Banu Debui said, "No, I am not your grandmother!" Finally the boy said, "You are my lover". Then Banu Debui said: "Yes", and she freed the boy. And then they had sexual intercourse with each other.

Afterwards, Banu Debui said, "Your arrow is hidden under the lilin vegetables", and the boy took his arrow. Then she said, "Go with me to fetch water." But the river had dried up, and then they began to look for shrimp. After just a short time, they had caught a lot of shrimp. Then she said, "Hey, get in this stone hole here, there are many shrimp over here!" Then the boy went into the hole and started to throw all the shrimps out that he could find. When the boy was far back in the hole, the woman suddenly closed the hole with a big stone. Then she broke the dam in the river, so the hole became full of water. Then Banu Debui went home. Meanwhile the boy stayed 40 days in the hole.

That afternoon, Woy Idam began looking for his child, but he did not see him. He went through the whole jungle, but he did not find him. And Banu Debui did not tell him a thing!

One day two girls, the two daughters of Demutim Imon Idam went to look for shrimp as well. Their names were Meki and Mesam. Suddenly they saw many old shrimp skins and they asked themselves why that was. So they blocked the river with a dam, and the water dried up. Then they tried to search the stone hole, and by accident the older sister, Meki, touched the body of Woy Idam Jr. She became scared and asked her sister, "I touched something, what is it?" First they thought it was something else, but then they realized that they had touched a human being. Then they pulled the body outside. The body was completely covered by dirt. They began to wonder who it was. And then they said, "Maybe it is Woy Idam's son, for whom they have been searching recently."

Later on they put him on a kind of stretcher and put him over a fire so that the dirt of his body would burn off. Now they could clearly see it was the body of a young man. Then they held a piece of food before his face, and let him smell it. Then he started to vomit. While Woy Idam was in the hole, he had eaten all kinds of things: snakes, even his own finger nails and toenails. All these things he vomited up now. Then he asked for water to clean his mouth and some food to eat. After he had eaten sago, he began telling the two sisters, "I am the son of Woy Idam. While I was looking for shrimp in the river, Banu Debui closed the hole with that big stone." Then he asked, "Who are you?" They answered, "We are the daughters of the leader Imon Idam."

Then they decided to live together in the jungle and built a house. They fell in love with each other and they lived like husband and wives in the jungle. Woy Idam saw that there were many pigs, but his bow and arrows were of no use; they were just too weak. The pigs could not be killed. Then Woy Idam told his two wives to ask their father for good arrows. They went home, got good bows and arrows and came back to the jungle. Their father and mother did not know anything about it, because they were working in the garden. Since he had received so many good bows and arrows, Woy Idam ordered that half of the pig meat should be given to his wives' parents in the village. Again the two sisters went to the village and again their father and mother were not at home. They put the meat in a big pot and began to boil it. Afterward they put the meat in a big plate and began to eat it.
some sago back to the jungle.

When the parents came home, they looked in vain for the sago, and opened up the storage place for meat and found it all filled up with pig meat. They thought: certainly, this has been done by our daughters. The next day they left their youngest son in the house to watch for whoever brought the food. That day Woy Idam and his two wives visited the village, and the village was full of sunlight. The child hid himself, because he was so afraid of the bright light of Woy Idam. But then they went into the house and discovered him. They gave him pork to eat and said to him, "Don't be afraid." Then the child said, "My father says that you have to stay here." Woy Idam said, "You have already seen me. But please don't tell your father and mother." Finally they ate sago porridge together and Woy Idam left again for the jungle.

Later that afternoon, the father and mother came home from the garden, and their youngest child said to them, "I have seen the husband of my sisters. He did not look like normal people, but like the sunshine. Actually the real sun is less powerful in comparison with his light." On the third day Woy Idam's wives came back to the village bringing pork. When their father saw them, he said, "Don't leave my son in the jungle. If he gets in trouble then you are responsible. Bring him back to the village!" Then Woy Idam's wives went back to the jungle and reported what their father had said. But Woy Idam said: "My father-in-law has to put on a feast. If he does that I will go back to the village. Imon Idam agreed, and because he was the clan leader, he organized the feast. The news of the approaching feast was spread around and also reached the neighbouring village called Merem. So all the people went out to hunt pigs.

While they were out hunting, they saw a lot of pigs, which had just been killed. The villagers thought they had been killed by Woy Idam. And his father-in-law knew that. They brought many pigs to the village and started to prepare for the feast. At that time the father of Woy Idam was still looking for him. And Woy Idam did not tell him about the feast either. After they started to have the feast, Woy Idam arrived. Up until then, the villagers had thought that the feast was for their leader. The people had come from many villages to Merem. Woy Idam arrived with three birds: one on his head, one in his left hand and one in his right hand. And then he sang and danced. The people were scared and said to each other, "We thought this feast was for the clan leader, why is Woy Idam then dressed with three yellow birds?"

Then the father of Woy Idam heard about the feast and that his son was there. And then he became angry, because they had not told him he was there. He thought, "I have sought him everywhere, in the inland areas, on the coast, but I could not find him. And now he is there in Merem feasting!" So he got very angry. Then he quickly began to eat betelnut. He chewed it and then spit it out to the east and to the west. Then the big water came out of the earth and sky. And all over the earth it was very dark. The day had become night. And then it began to rain. Rain fell for forty days. The earth was soaked by water and heavy rain. Almost all creation died.

When Woy Idam saw that the earth was soaked by water, he said to his father, "My father, I am your true son! Why do you punish me so severely? Please issue a command to stop this punishment." His father answered, "I searched for you all over the jungle, where did you stay?" Then they went to the grove of a betelnut tree, and the son lived with his father forever in the holy place there.

According to another source the story ended somewhat differently:

When Woy Idam saw the water coming, he and his two wives, Mekl and Mesam, climbed up in a tree. Although the whole village of Merem disappeared under the water, they stayed alive up in the tree. All the people, food,
and animals were taken away by the flood. When Woy Idam saw that all the people had died, he started to sing, "Living water! beautiful water!" When the father of Woy Idam heard his son singing like that, he started to sing, "Yali, yali, yali-a, yali-a, yali-a! (call of pity). And also like this, "Duo nali, duo nali, duo nali!" (boy of my heart). When Woy Idam heard his father singing like that, he said, "I recommend that the judgement you are giving to me he stopped now! We are of the same blood!"

Then the flood stopped. But all the people were dead, except the three of them. (End of the story)

3.32 Discussion

This is a very basic story for the whole Kemtuiik/Glesi/Nimboran area. However, there are many differences. For example, in the neighbourhood of the village of Sermai (Nimboran), people include quite a bit of detail about the bowl in which the blood of Woy Idam was collected. It is called bu helai. According to Kabel (1953:152), the people of the Wai Simon clan have a bowl that has the same measurements as the original one. It was reported that girls and young women were not allowed to see the bowl in order not to lose their fertility. For the boys, watching that bowl was part of the initiation ritual.

The Woy Idam story is built up by three major motifs:

a) The battle between the Sun and Moon. Woy Idam gives birth to a son, but does not tell his wife about it. She becomes jealous and tries to kill the son.

b) Rebirth of Woy Idam, after contact with the (good) representatives of humanity, symbolized by the two girls, Meki and Mesam. In adjacent areas one can find that same theme: two girls trying to save the culture hero, and eventually marrying him (Elmberg 1949).

c) The entry of Woy Idam among the people, and the consequent wrath of the Sun. Under this heading we can find several different themes:

c1) The flood: the Sun is angry with the people. They did not tell him where his son was while he was looking for him. Therefore he drowned all the people. To have rain during the big feast of inauguration of the clan leader is considered to be a bad sign.

c2) Polygamy is sin: the Sun enters the feast and accuses his son of having two wives. The clans of Wai Dem and Wai Simon are said not to be allowed to have two wives (Kabel 1953:153).

c3) The origin of the Sun: the Father Sun shoots his son in his one eye, and therefore there is only one sun. (According to the story told in Sermai Atas, Nimboran).

3.4 KIMANIA: THE STORY ABOUT THE DIVISION OF MANKIND (black vs. white).

3.41 Story

Once there were two girls who were sisters, who were going to visit a friend. They left in the afternoon going in the direction of Mount Cyclops. When they arrived in the east, they heard the beating of a drum and dancing. They thought, "Hey, what kind of dance are those people dancing?" And then they decided to dress like men. They took bows and arrows, and hung a string bag over their shoulders, with pinang and sirihi in it (ingredients for making betelnut). Then they arrived at their friend's house. The friend thought, "Hey, these are two men." They both laid the bows and arrows on the ground and hung the string bag on a peg in the house. And then they greeted the man. And they started to chew betelnut. The man thought first that they were men too. But then one of the girls dropped her stone to shave her skin, and it fell through a hole in the floor. The man called his son to go down and fetch the stone. Then the son, being under the house, looked up and discovered that those two "men" were really two women! Then he
told his father. The father said, "It does not matter, tonight I will find out." When it got dark, he sent his son to his younger brother (Kimanja) asking if he had a place for one guest to sleep. The older one could then sleep with the older brother, and the younger one could sleep with the younger brother. But Kimania said, "They have come to your place, why can't they sleep with you?" (thinking they were men). When it got dark, the bows and arrows were laid in the proper place. When the younger brother refused, the older one said, "OK, they can sleep with me." When it got dark, he lit the fire, and they slept with him. During the night he had intercourse with both of them. Early in the morning they got up and then the man ordered, "Take your bow and arrow and try to shoot!" But they tried in vain. Their shoulders were too weak. (It was clear: they were women.) Then he took them both as his wives. When his younger brother heard what happened, he said, "Brother, give me the younger one and you take the older one." But his older brother said, "I have already offered you, but you refused. And now you want to marry the younger one?? No!"

The next day the older brother left with his two wives for the jungle and shot one pig and one cassowary, and then came home again. The younger brother waited and waited, but in vain, because the older brother did not want to listen to him. Then he said: "OK, why don't you take them?" And then the younger brother stood up to leave the place. All the good people from east to west (i.e., the whole world) came together, the people with the white glowing skin and the people with the dark skin. And then the younger brothers chose all the good things (flowers, drums, etc.) and they left the women to the older brothers. (Good things: klo wagi suey go). Then the younger brothers got ready to leave. They started dancing and drumming. When the older brother came back from the jungle with his dog, he saw that all the younger ones had gathered together with all the good stuff. As he was coming, he could hear the people singing. When he realized that his younger brother Kimania wanted to leave, they divided some leaves (lekuet kuasi iti = official sign of division), and Kimania carried the old woman on his shoulders and then they all went away. When they were almost out of sight, the following song was sung by the older brother: "O Kimania, etc, etc, o - o - o - o - o - o - o - o!

Because the younger brother was taking the powerful flowers and the old woman, he said to his older brother, "Cheerio, I am going." Because you did not want to give me the younger sister as my wife, I am going. Shall we ever meet each other again?

I have left the black coconut (out of which people drink) and the living wood (kuasim walli)." (That wood can be used to retain life, like snakes do). "The leaves (lekuet kuasi) in his hand and then he and the old woman climbed on top of them and rested. Then he said, "After a long time I will come back."

Then also the old woman said something about the time the people are dead, like this: si ma ma! She is the one who carries the souls (dabul lap) of the people. All the goods come from that old woman. That is the real theme of this whole story. Then the younger one said to the older one, "Your soul will come into me." (I will not forget you?) And then the younger one began to beat his drum like this: O kimania, kimania, mania, etc. (kt or wali = green, life) Walli mania, mania, mania, mania etc. (mania = forever) (call unto creator)

O Kaley yewia, yewia, yewia, yewia etc. (Kaley is the name of a song, yewia = end)

0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0, wi wa wi wa wa wa wa etc.

This is the end of the Kimania story.
3.42 Discussion

The old woman is a clear element of this ku nebut, where she is the creator. Although the end of the story is somewhat obscure, it is clear that the old woman has something to do with the dead.

The Kimania story has three different major motifs (after comparison with other sources).

a) The reason to go to the east: In the east, according to Kamma (1975:16), are the life-giving powers which give the sun opportunity to arise out of the embrace of the night and the underworld. The west on the other side is the location of the gate to the underworld. This also coincides with the Kimania story in which the younger brothers leave to the west. They are the bright shining ones, they have the good things of life. And via the old woman they know about the underworld.

Kabel mentions the name of the older brother, Dupun. Kimania and Dupun are living on Mount Cyclops, called Du’un (Kentik: Dun). When they hear the noise of drumming, they look and see that the people from the village Ilumene have the drums. They steal the drums. As they take them away, the old woman sees them and warns the men. But the men are not able to recover the drums, and therefore they send U and Ibalu disguised as men to trick them into getting the drums back.

b) Discovery of the two women, and their marriage. This element is recognized in all sources.

c) The separations between the older brothers and sisters, and the younger ones. The younger ones take the best things of life with them. They go to the west. Some informants equate them with the white people. At the end of the story there is a reference about coming back.

3.5 THE GREAT DISTRIBUTION AT YANSU

3.51 Story

All the people on earth arrived long ago from Megui, and brought nothing with them. All they had

was the light of life. All the headmen gathered together at Yansu (the main Glesi village on top of the mountain range south of the Nimboran plain). The people that had come from Megui did not know any sin. Then the leader of Yansu organised a big feast. And Yansu Imon Idam called the leaders together, "Let's gather together here." Yansu Imon Idam promised, "I am going to talk to you, and then you are all going to spread out from Yansu."

All the people from all the countries came together in Yansu. That included both white skinned people and black skinned people. All those leaders came there. When they arrived they all were anxious to hear what Imon Idam had to say to them.

When the feast was almost finished, the son of Imon Idam came down out of the house on the open area with money and the Bible in his hand. And Imon Idam himself also came down with the traditional axes and necklaces (ngoy and wada). Meat and food were prepared for the people, and then Imon Idam said, "Don't go yet. After I finish speaking you can go!" And then he divided the pieces of meat and food. This had to be taken home and had to be eaten by the village people there. Having done that, they would recognize the one who brought that food as their leader. The people of Nimboran carried walanana (a kind of vegetable).

When everything was divided among all the other leaders, the son of Imon Idam came with the Bible in one hand, and money in the other hand. He came down into the open area where the people were sitting. When Imon Idam saw this, he shouted to his son, "What are you taking down?" And the son said, "Here, my money and the Bible!" "My things are going to be given to the leaders!" the father said. But then his son said, "No, father, your stuff is not good! It is heavy (stone axes vs. money)." So the father and the son became angry with each other, and then the father said, "Put your stuff in the ground, and let us see if the ground will receive it." Then his son took his things, and threw them on the ground, but the ground did not want to receive them. It was done in vain. And then Imon Idam took his things
and threw them on the ground, and the ground received them! Then the son said to the father, "Father, leave your stuff here." And the father said, "And you, go away with your money. Give it to the birds (kawoy-kuem)." And they gave this money the name iguot go.

While the father and the son were doing this, the rest of the people were waiting. At the end of the day, the son said, "O.K., father, hand your goods out to the people." And then the father handed his goods out to the people. But the son said, "I am going to disappear, father! Till we meet again, when we have died. After I have left you, I will not come back again for anything." That is what he said, and then he disappeared.

And that is why we are doing things, as we are doing them. That event took place long ago, in the beginning (ku blung go). We all came from the no longer existing village Megui (close to Genyem). We did not have any material goods. But in Yansu we were given the goods and our minds were opened. The basis on which we operate is according to what Imon Idam divided amongst us. From that time on we have known the right way to handle things. If Imon Idam had listened to his son, we would have known that as well.

3.52 Discussion

In this myth an explanation is given for why people know the don (power) of the traditional wealth goods (i.e. stone axes and necklaces), but not of money. Although one would say that it could not be an old myth, since the Bible and money are mentioned, that is probably not the case. Twenty-five years ago this myth already existed, according to Elmberg (1949), but at that time the myth stated that not only the basic goods (axes, necklaces, pigs, sago, etc.) but also all kinds of knowledge (both good and bad, e.g. adultery and sorcery) were distributed from that place. But he mentions nothing about money or the Bible. Are these later elements? Anyway, for the people, Yansu is the cultural centre. It may be that long ago, the people arriving from the inland entered the valley at Yansu, and spread out from there, all the way to the coast.

3.6 NEBUT SENANG: ABOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF WEALTH

3.6.1 Story

Here is what our ancestors did if they wanted to take sago from the sago tree, in order to use it to catch a wild pig. First they had to sing a traditional song. They left their village and went to the spot where they wanted to cut the sago tree. While cutting the tree, and later on when it had fallen down, the people climbed on the tree, and sang their song, from the beginning to the end. Then they started to cut down another tree to fence the area off. (The people try to get the wild pig into the fenced area by the offering of sago). While they were doing all this, they continued to sing. Finally they cut the sago tree open and then they left for their village. When they were about half way home, they met the ancestors because they had called them earlier (probably during their special songs).

(Then the informant continues to explain the story:)

Formerly, the people were accustomed to this kind of thing. They were able to meet with their ancestors. When we were still children, our fathers told us that this was what our ancestors did. Then they sang the song for us, and we listened. In fact, it was true, that if our fathers and mothers had died, we could meet them, if we only sang that special song. When they sang, we heard the words they were singing. One of them was Yansu (name of the Glesi village). Others were the names of spirits, and also negi yansu (meaning unknown). When they sang, a lot of good things happened: many pigs would be caught. The pigs that were shot were to be eaten in silence. The children were told not to cry. When they cried, the blessings would not come to the family, because on that occasion people wanted to meet with their ancestors, and to have contact with them.
But then the people forbade the ancestors to come again. And now we children are trying to find that road again. Why could our ancestors meet with their fathers and we can not?

3.62 Discussion

This is not a myth itself. It is 'eternal-talk', talk about how ancestors did things. It shows how myths come into existence. It also shows that people are trying to find answers to their existential problems. In this particular case they came to me, because I as a Westerner apparently still maintained contact with my ancestors. The proof of it was all the material goods I had at my disposal. The people were convinced that I had contact with my ancestors early in the morning.

3.7 MAM NEBUT: HOW THE LIVING WATER WAS NOT GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE BUT TO THE ANIMALS

3.71 Story

A certain man named Waso Dem belonged to the village Bling (the village next to Yansu in Glesi area). One day he became sick and died. The message that Waso Dem had died went out to all his family. Then after all his family had come and mourned, they buried him. And then they returned to their homes.

Long ago it was the custom that when a man had died, his wife stayed in the house without leaving for two or three months. After Waso Dem died, his wife also stayed in the house. Then one day Waso Dem arose from the dead. While he was still beside the grave, his child saw him. "Father, yes, father, has come back again!!!" Waso Dem, having taken the living water (wali bu), had arrived. Then the child went back to the village and said to her mother, "Mother, father has come back from the dead." Then Waso Dem's wife said, "Father? Whose father? Has your father arisen?" Then she said in disbelief, "Where is the sick body?

Because he died, I stayed all that time in the house, and now he has come back?"

Then Waso Dem arrived, but because he was afraid, he did not take the living water with him. He did not give it to his wife and his children. Instead, he gave it to the centipede, snake, shrimp and iguana. And then Waso Dem said: "I thought it was a good idea that when we become old people, our skin would become young again, but now I will go ahead, and when you have all died like me, you will meet me. I will go ahead to that place, to make it ready."

Waso Dem left us only the coconut to drink from and the living wood (kuasim wali). (These are a kind of magical tool to cause life). But to the animals he gave the living water, and he took some with him!

Since Waso Dem has pointed to death, we people have to die. If only Waso's wife had responded in a good way, then probably Waso would have given the living water to his wife's family. Then we would not have to die now, our skin would just change. The centipede, snake etc., because they came to him and drank the living water, therefore they can change their skin. But long ago people did not die. The first real one to die was Waso. And Waso came back to life again from the grave. Today the grave of Waso is still in the village of Bling. This grave is locked and closed.

This is the promise that Waso left behind: "Woman, you have chased me away, therefore you have to stay in the darkness, but after a long time you (pl.) will stay with me, and eat with me. You (pl.) will not be left alone, and you will not die anymore."

3.72 Discussion

The motifs are the following:

a) Waso Dem dies.

b) He is buried.
c) His wife continues to stay in the house to mourn.
d) Waso Dem drinks the living water and returns.
e) His wife does not want to believe it and becomes angry.
f) Waso Dem becomes ashamed and gives the living water to the snakes, etc. instead.
g) He takes the rest of the living water with him.
h) He gives a promise for the future: then you will not die anymore.

The moral of the story is: through the stupidity of a woman the people have missed the secret of eternal life.

An interesting aspect is that the story teller gives his up-to-date comments on the story. E.g. Waso Dem was the first man to die. The text itself does not seem to support that. This thinking reflects the idea that a kind of paradise had existed, in which people did not die.

For the Kemtuik people it is an existential fact that snakes, centipedes, etc. do not die. This story explains why that happened.

An important theme, which in itself does not contribute to the main moral, is the promise to the people: one day you will not die anymore, we will eat together and stay together.

4. THE 'DISAPPEARING' AND 'RETURNING' THEMES AS A BASIS FOR CARGO THINKING

4.1 THE PROBLEM

An important question for the Kemtuik people is: why don't we know the secret of life? As a matter of fact the main moral of their most basic myth is: people are dependent on the High God and especially on his mediator, his Blong Idam. Blong Idam received all the power from his father. So it did not matter that the High God himself took some rest in the darkness. His son knew everything. The people could rely on him.

But...although people realize that they received the life-power as babies in the womb of their mothers, they also die! And although the people were told that they only had to pray to Blong Idam for abundancy, that phenomenon has hardly ever taken place. Why do they not know the secret of life, like their dead ancestors?

4.2 TRADITIONAL SOLUTIONS

People tried to find mythical solutions: maybe something happened to Blong Idam. So, in the mam nebut, "Woy Idam" solutions are offered:
a) The people have sinned by not making known to the Sun-God that his son (called Woy Idam here, but basically the same as Blong Idam) had been found in the village of Merem. So the people of Merem say that because of that the people died in the flood.
b) Others say, "No, it was not because of the people, it was because Banu Debui, the moon-wife of the Sun, tried to kill the self-born child of the Sun. Therefore the Sun took his son with him to a better place."

So, according to the people, their mediator has disappeared, but is he going to come back? Once I was asked if it was true that I had seen Jesus Christ, like all the other Western people. If the question is understood in the light that Jesus Christ is equated with the disappeared Blong Idam, than the question is very much to the point: Blong Idam had come into contact with the Western people; he had given them the 'power' behind material goods, and the secret of life. So they had seen Jesus Christ.

If we compare this with the facts mentioned in Ch.1.1, that the people in the early years of Christianity had welcomed the new faith, and especially the ideas about resurrection from the dead (secret of eternal life) and Christ as Messiah (Blong Idam coming to the people to bring the 'millennium'), then it becomes clear why the people turned en masse to Christianity.

But from analyzing the myths it also becomes clear that this pattern of thinking existed before Christianity
entered the area. Christianity merely fitted into that pattern of thinking.

This also becomes clear when we consider the themes, as we have discussed them in Ch.3.43, about Kimania: the younger brothers leave to the west, they know about contact with the underworld, and they take the best things of life with them. But there is the promise: "after a long time I will come back."

In the story about the great distribution at Yansu, we learn that all the wealth was distributed at Yansu, the village on top of the Glesi hills. It is from there that all the people in the Nimboran plain, and some people on the coast as well, have spread out. Again, this story shows the dichotomy between the father (Imon Idam) and his son about the question as to what goods really have 'power'. The traditional goods are 'received' by the earth, but not the new items: money and the Bible. The son disappeared also to the west with those secrets. And now the people are wondering: 'If...we only had listened to that son, then we would know the 'power' of money as well.'

In the story about the 'living water', we learn again that reasons are being sought for the fact that people do not know the secret of eternal life. It is expressed that originally the people knew, but that through the 'stupidity' of a woman the people had to die first, in order to get eternal life. But the message that Waso Dem reveals to the people at the end of the story points out the hope element in Kemtuiik culture very clearly: "after a long time you will stay and eat together with me. You will not be left alone, and you will not die anymore."

In 1953 Kabel (163) wrote in his article about 'the lost treasure' (de verdwenen schat). There he discusses some Nimboran myths and comes to the conclusion that their culture heroes, Wali Kleng and Daung also disappeared under the ground with the treasure. And also Wali Kleng made the promise: "after many years I will meet you again." Kabel also refers to the west as being the entry of the dead. So, the secret has to come from the west, i.e. the underground.

In traditional Kemtuiik society, contact with the underground (the spirits) has always been very important, and is still important. An experience with the Kuasep (spirit-helper) was the way to find out from the ancestors how to succeed in warfare, how pigs can be found, etc.

5. THE ROAD OF THE KUASEP

5.1 THE KEMTUIK BELIEF SYSTEM

Myths have proved to be excellent tools to give an abstract statement about Kemtuiik society and culture. But, in fact, they are religious tools. By telling and retelling these stories, the hope stays alive! The Kuasep movements are indeed cults in Widengren's sense (1969:174): 'the myths are anchored in the cult'. During the last fifty years, several observers have been able to give more or less detailed reports on Kuasep movements in the Kemtuiik/Glesi/Nimboran area of Irian Jaya. But this does not say that those movements are not autochthonous in their character. There may be good grounds to state that since the arrival of outsiders with foreign manufactured goods, this thinking has been stimulated.

But in order to understand these movements it is important to see the clear link with the Kemtuiik belief system. Van Baal (1971:vii) states that through religion man will

overcome the inner solitude which is the inescapable result of his inability to solve the existential problems ensuing from the fact that he is subject, opposed to, and separate from his universe, as well as a part of that same universe and functioning in it.

The Kuasep movements, anchored in the myths, have been an indispensable tool in overcoming those existential problems. I would therefore like to suggest that the deep inner solitude of the Kemtuiik man leads him in a search for identity (salvation) in the total cosmological community. He wants to know who he is, and how he relates to others in the same cosmos. That is the basic motivation of the Kemtuiik religion.
In order to understand this, it is necessary to understand several important Kemtuik religious concepts first:

1) The concept of the High God

The Kemtuik people believe in a Creator God, who sustains all life on earth. His name is Ki-Idam (ki is derived from kiki 'green', idam or iram is the original leader). The name is not to be used in daily life, but rather Wall Aya (Living Father) is used instead. Everything on earth is related to Him in theory. He is High God. The people's religious needs, however, are filled in another way.

2) The concept of body and spirit

A Kemtuik man considers himself to consist of an outer and inner person, called sayssuk and dabullap. These are common everyday words. The dabullap ('heart-shadow') is able to depart from the body in dreams and right before death; he may be even seen by other people, and after death he departs to 'another place'.

Man as a whole is made up of three elements: waglo (spirit), wine (image) and pegif (attitude, sense, responsibility). These concepts are filled with religious awe and are not used in daily life. Waglo is the unifying, life-giving element in every creature and thing (trees, rocks, animals and people). People have expressed this as a gift from the Creator-Father to mankind. It is like a white piece of paper that can become dirty during life. People who do not take proper care of this gift (e.g. by committing sins) will not be received in the Creator's place, but sent back. Wine is found only in reproducing creatures, and pegif only in human beings. Wine and pegif will be transmitted to the children.

3) The concept of the 'Saviour'

The Saviour concept is expressed by the phrase Blong Dem. This literally means 'Light-Man' or 'Man of Glory'. Every man or woman possesses this Blong Dem. It is then called 'Your Blong Dem', or, after the entrance of Christianity, 'your Jesus'. If somebody is born, he is born with this blong (light). When the person grows up, the glory/light increases too, until the adult stage.

This blong cannot be seen, but it can be perceived. It is there! The Man of Glory (Blong Dem) can also be referred to as 'friend' (andug). The Kemtuik people think that their strength lies within this friend. If we want to have something, we should tell our friend (Blong Dem). Blong Dem then will give insight into a particular problem. But also if a person wants to have a good hunt, or wants to do good business, his Blong Dem will direct his thinking. The Blong of the parents will not go far away after their death. In fact, it will come back to the children. It will then be added to their already existing blong. An often used sentence by the people when a person is successful is: 'his parents have helped him'. Consider the following thoughts of a Kemtuik man about this:

People ask gifts from their parents. They will pray to them, and then they will give them those things. They function like a shelter for us. We are like a house (i.e. our body). When our parents die, they will come and live in us (with us in the 'house'). Indeed, because they know, they tell us.

When a grandparent dies, he also has blong. His blong especially shows great love towards us. Therefore, when we are in danger, he can help us. When, for example, there is a wild boar or a snake, he then will take good care of us and the danger will disappear. Therefore, if we Kemtuik people go far away, people will say, "go, your grandfather will take care of you." In his great love he will give gifts to his grandchildren. When people go, they will pray, "Grandfather, I will go now, please, give me blessings."

Consider also the following report about the growth of Blong Dem and his similarities and differences with us:

When we are born, he is also born. If we grow up, he grows up. We get teeth; however, he does not. He is like a baby, his teeth don't come up. The meaning of this is: Blong Dem does not do bad things, or cause trouble. But we, on the other hand, cause all the bad. We say bad things to each other and we perform bad things. Because Blong Dem has no teeth, he can only drink milk. The meaning of this is: his
food consists of demu nebut (customs), semle, and wambi (dances and songs). By our performing those things, he really gets happy. If we do that, then we will be able to meet our 'friend'. And then he will talk to us. This is done in order to become happy. (The informant added: this is done to receive 'keselamat', which is the Indonesian equivalent for 'salvation'.) He also mentioned that our 'friend' is considered 'our Juruselamat', which is the Indonesian term for 'saviour'. Whoever meets his 'friend' will find success. It is then that he has become good, he has become Blong Dem himself.

This latter description underlines exactly what the term 'search for identity' tries to describe. It is in this 'meeting of his friend' that a person finds salvation. If the people will live a proper life, according to the customs, this 'friend' will stay happy, and so will the owner. When people don't live as they ought to, this 'light' will get weaker and weaker, and the 'owner' will find himself doing or experiencing all kinds of bad things, like committing adultery and falling sick. So the 'light' gets dimmer or brighter according to the behaviour of the owner.

The following also shows how important dreams are in this relationship with Blong Dem:

We think that when the people sleep, his body only lies on the bed, but his inner being (dabuilap) may not necessarily be there. Whatever we see in a dream, those are the deeds or thoughts done by our inner being. That is what you see. If you want to meet with your Blong Dem, then that is possible in your dreams. Then your inner being (dabuilap) will meet with your 'light person' (Blong Dem). We will be able to see Blong Dem as a friend. If we want to receive the power from our father, mother, and grand-parents, we do that in our sleep as well.

Therefore, if somebody during his sleep sees something, then he really believes it. People indeed think it is real. And they stick to it strongly. They don't quickly tell about it, but if they do so, they do it in a whisper. It is like a secret for them, which they hold in their heart.

From these interviews, it is clear that Blong Dem is a kind of intermediary between man and Wali Aya (The High God), and that the immediate ancestors play an important helping role as well. Thus, for the Kemtuk man, it is important to live in right relationship with the other creatures on earth, as well as with the ancestors, and ultimately, with the Creator-Father (Wali Aya). The search for identity in the Kemtuk belief system can be pictured by a number of layered boxes, indicating different areas of life, with which an individual wants to have relationships.

![Diagram](image-url)

The individual relates in the first place to his family and clan which includes deceased ancestors. These relationships are characterized by all kinds of obligations,
described elsewhere (box 1). In the second place there are the relationships towards the rest of mankind, characterized by interchange through business and marriage (box 2). In the third place he relates to other creatures, plants, trees, rocks, etc., and the demons that dwell in these places (box 3).

5.2 KEMTUUK SEARCH FOR SALVATION THROUGH KUASEP MOVEMENTS

As we have indicated before, the Kuasep movements are an important exponent in the search for identity. What will it be like when the Kemtuuk man has found this identity? What will he feel and experience? The leading term in this connection is ta mes itak (hand-fut.-free). Freely translated this means: 'freedom'; it is the result of having full identity. Other keywords that occur are: 'plenty', 'happiness', 'eternal life', and 'power'. During that time they will also experience free communication with their ancestors. In order to speed up this process the people will perform their Kuasep-motivated practices. In other terms, it is a search for salvation (Strelan 1977).

5.3 THE KUASEP MEETINGS

Kuasep is a personal power deriving from ancestors, snakes, or spirits. It is also described as tebok go sedue (man that helps). It is an invisible power that has the same effect on people as electrical current. Seeking the help of the Kuasep is preferably done by a group of people, at least by two men, or by a man and his wife. The reason is that if a person calls for a meeting with a dabUILap (soul of ancestor) out of wrong motives (sin), he may die, and his dabUILap may leave. The other person attending can prevent this, and call the person back to life. When people meet, they come together at a secret place. In fact, only older people (mostly men) attend. They are described as kunala cy (with knowledge). They

They will sit together on poles of bamboo, but will not touch the ground. Then they will call the names of their ancestors. When a person gets involved with a tabok go sedue (Kuasep helping man), he will experience the 'current' (as mentioned above), but he may also change his speech. Nenot go nebut iwot go, kuasep lo way so mea pen (having changed his speech, the Kuasep will speak).

This 'changing of speech' can take the form of an admonition towards the people, a song, or--as people say--they may start to speak in English, Dutch or Japanese etc. Then the Kuasep will speak to the medium, and give him/her advice. The thinking of the medium becomes influenced (kunalas mo lek 'drawn away'). The information can be of all kinds. But the people are especially interested when a medium declares that he/she received a message concerning 'cargo' that needs to be picked up and divided.

There is a clear relationship with the underground--meetings at a grave to see one's ancestors, holes in the ground into which ancestors have disappeared, or from which messages can be collected. The ancestors are considered to have all wealth and the secret of retaining life.

Another important feature concerning Kuasep is that the Kuasep leader needs to have pure conduct. When there is any sin, the cargo may not arrive, or it will disappear again.

The basic motivation for all their actions is the longing for the millennium, during which life will be eternal, food will be abundant, people will be set free (ta mea itak).

5.4 HISTORY OF THE KUASEP MOVEMENTS

1) This way of thinking was apparently very much alive when the first European settlers arrived in Genyem, the main village of Nimboran (1925).
Kamma (1972:283) reports:

In the village of Genjem the people expected a long period of complete darkness which was to be followed by the coming of the 'white man'. On his arrival the earth would split open and the Nimboran plain would be flooded. (Kali Klang, the Nimboran equivalent for Woy Idam, is coming back. Are the people again being afraid of being punished by a big flood like in the Woy Idam stories, and are they at the same time expecting to bring them wealth?). For this reason the villagers asked for kerosene, stocked food and built huts on hill tops. They expected treasures (valuables) to come up out of the underworld. It was here too, that the missionaries were thought to receive their money through a crack in the earth which had appeared after an earthquake and which, strangely enough, passed precisely underneath missionary J. Bijkerk's house.

2) The next movement was in 1935 in the Glesi area. The missionary G. Schneider reports that in those early years of mission contact, the neighbouring Glesi people thought that people could get rich by contact with the missionaries. And the missionaries in turn had contact with the underground:

The two whites got hungry along the way. Because their carrier was not with them at the time, they (Schneider and his companion) sat down and prayed. A table came out of the ground, complete with a tablecloth and various dishes of food. When the two had almost finished, their carrier appeared. In order not to betray the secret of the Europeans, he was given the rest of the food and made to promise not to reveal anything (of what had transpired). Then the table and all that was on it disappeared into the ground again.

Even more interesting is what Schneider reports concerning the so-called 'Damo-movement'. A man named Damo started to live outside the community and built himself a small house and dug a hole in the ground, the idea being that into this hole all kinds of goods would arrive from another world. Those who wanted to have a share of those goods could gain entrance to that group by paying some money and drinking some of the 'Damo-water'. This was very expensive! Schneider's description of the meetings held by those people is interesting:

The gatherings took place at night. Both the spirits and the dead were called by name. The names of God and Jesus were also used. It didn't take long before some began to shake and to scream and to speak in strange languages. In the end Damo proclaimed that desired goods were indeed in the cavern, but that nothing could be removed as long as members of the group remained angry or had not sufficiently paid their dues.

This description is the first one of what later would be called Kuasep-movements. Although Damo's was burned down by the authorities, he kept his following. Only when he got a serious wound on his leg which proved him 'vulnerable', did the movement peter out.

People also thought that cleaning out of graves, recommended by Schneider as a gesture of piety, would bring about the resurrection of the dead.

3) The following movements which we are aware of are the so-called 'kasiep-movements' (Kentiuk: Kuasep) (Kouwenhoven 1956). At first these movements seem only to have occurred at wide intervals, but in later years, especially after the War, mention was made of them more often. According to Kouwenhoven (1956:75) in traditional Nimboran culture, kasiep was denoted as a state of trance which was induced for the events of hunting or war parties. Elmsberg (1947) describes it as war magic. People are able to see where the enemy is, and how many persons would be killed. Kouwenhoven writes:

After the intermediary had had his first vision he would - secretly - start telling others about it, people who were to help him with the preparations. Usually more contact followed with Kasiep, mostly after the intermediary had brought himself into a state of trance. Gradually more people would join
him, and his first followers, and a general movement would start to grow. More secret sessions were held, usually at night and in odd places, preferably on the burial sites of the village, but at times also elsewhere. The people gathered to dance and sing, several of them forcing themselves into a state of trance. They would then start talking in many 'languages' ending up completely exhausted. At one of these sessions the release of all the greatly desired goods - even whole factories - and the coming of eternal leisure for all were expected to take place.

Some of the bigger movements (1952) were begun by Yohanes Gali of Imeno village (Nimboran), and later in 1954 by a nias man of the village of Ilib. Both of the movements involved magical transformation of stones into money, switches, and clothing, or a little money into an abundance of money.

Many of these movements must have happened, but the people tried to keep them secret from the police.

4) The following report is recorded by myself:

In the Kemuik area, during the Dutch regime, a Kuasep movement took place. Following the tradition a man, Ble Meto, had dug the grave of his father with special wood and consequently received the Kuasep of the dabul Lap (soul of his father). He was instructed through the Kuasep to enter the Yamsonglua hole (near the village Merem) to pick up a big book. In this book was written: 'all the souls of the dead people will come together with material goods (taut).'

When the people saw that book, they all began to perform the 'road of the Kuasep' (Kuasep go tap). That is: gathering together, being overcome by outside powers, starting to change normal talk into abnormal talk (nebut iwot). When the Dutch government learned of the movement, they ordered the police to arrest the people that had come together to perform the kuasep-road. They were all taken to the district town of Genjem. There the book was taken by the head of the local district. When the people had received their punishment, they all came back again.

5) In 1976 I was able to observe a Kuasep-movement myself in the village of Merem. A man from Yanim village had an encounter with a Kuasep. The Kuasep told him, "If you want to find the road to the money and goods (ulong), then you have to live peacefully with your wife. In that way you will get to know the road to material goods (duoy go tap, taut go tap)". Then in order to show him the way the Kuasep arrived with a light, like a ball, and then the 'helping man' (sedue tebok) said, "The first thing you have to do is to collect money. After the money is collected, the people who contributed have to build a storehouse. Then, when the storehouse is finished, the people involved have to go to Jayapura, the capital, and buy goods. Having done this, then the light-giving ball will be taken into the building, too. When the ball arrives, it should be moved quietly, as the people are not allowed to see it. And then the small amount of goods in the storehouse will multiply along with the money." There was one stipulation though: the ones that had collected the money were not allowed to buy the goods from that storehouse.

Then the Kuasep continued, "Since you sought the road to money and cargo, you will see a woman. She will bring with her all those goods. When you have seen that woman, then you people will be free (ta banom sago mea itak)."

The informant who was supplying this information added, "This is why he is building the store. The people think it is really nice that the Kuasep helps us this way! But I am not so sure: is this really coming from the Wall Kuasep (Living Spirit = Holy Spirit)?"

It had happened that a few days before we were due for home leave, early in the morning, right behind our house, people started to build a storehouse. At first they told misleading stories to us, but, alarmed by the unusual activity, we asked a friend privately, who then told the above story. But the whole movement stopped as soon as we left.

Although stories like these look like ordinary stories of ordinary people who want to build stores, etc., these stories actually fit in very well with the cargo thinking that has been in the whole area for a long time.
They involve contact with the ancestors in combination with a Kuasep occurrence, then the expectation of the multiplication of goods, and finally the meeting with the woman, after which the millennium would take place.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Living in an area where cargo cults/millennial movements are occurring regularly, one is struck by the strong social motivations those movements have. Usually whole groups are involved, and as long as people have faith in their cult leader, they are willing to work hard to meet the requirements (e.g., building storehouses), or paying money. And some of these movements (or rather a series of movements) last a long time. Consider, for example, the Blak/Numfur movements as studied by Kamma (1972) from 1855 - 1967 ...over a hundred years! Lawrence (1967) describes five distinct waves of cargo beliefs that swept over the southern Madang district from 1871 until 1950. And reports from that area indicate that the cargo thinking is still alive. The movements in the Kentuik/Nimboran area of Irian Jaya have been occurring regularly since 1925 and earlier than that there are no records. This shows that millennial movements are based on strong underlying motivations.

Neverman concludes his article about 'Cargo-Cults' as follows (1968:113): 'Der "Cargo-Kult" ist heute kein Kult mehr, sondern hat sich in politische oder soziale Bewegungen verwandelt." From the present case study, it seems clear that this statement should be called into question. There may indeed be a certain development towards political and social movements, but the Kentuik Kuasep movements also make clear that different kinds of cults are possible, all showing, however, the same pattern. But certainly, the Kuasep movements are cults, anchored in the Kentuik myths.

Finally, we have tried to show that the Kuasep movements have a definite link with the Kentuik belief system. Being a secret cult, and adopting Christian influence (Christian songs, callings on the name of Jesus during the Kuasep meetings, etc.), it was harder for the church and the government to suppress these movements. In fact, it is only lately that researchers began to see and understand some of the deeper motivations behind the cargo cults.
Kouwenhoven, W.J.H.

Land, C.Op't

Lawrence, P. / Meggith, M.J.

Neverman, H. / Worms, E.A. / Petri, H.

Saliba, J.A.

Shaw, R.D.

Steinbauer, F.

Strelan, J.G.

Widengren, G.

Wilden, van der J.
IKHTISAR

Tulisan ini menyajikan beberapa perubahan yang telah terjadi di antara kelompok Bahasa Berik sejak G. Oosterwaal menulis disertasinya yang komprehensif tentang kebudayaan kelompok tersebut yang berjudul People of the Tor. Dalam disertasi tersebut Bahasa Berik merupakan kelompok yang terbesar. Perubahan-perubahan ini meliputi aspek-aspek demografi, tempat tinggal, kemakmuran ekonomi yang makin merosot, perkembangan fasilitas pendidikan dan kesehatan, ilmu shirah yang makin berkurang dan kelompok muda yang makin merosot nilai-nilai kehidupannya.

Bagian kekerabatan merupakan penambahan terhadap deskripsi kekerabatan yang secara umum cukup teliti oleh Oosterwaal dalam hubungannya dengan daerah Tor. Yang ditambahkan adalah beberapa istilah yang belum dipakai oleh Oosterwaal dalam penyelidikannya dalam tahun 1961. Istimewa istilah ini, yang didasarkan atas analisa formal Merrifield, dalam kertas ini dipakai untuk menggambarkan hubungan-hubungan kekerabatan yang ada dalam masyarakat Berik.

Walaupun dalam 20 tahun terakhir ini terjadi perubah-
han-perubahan pada kelompok Berik ini, tetapi sistem keluarga yang mungkin merupakan sistem yang paling menen-
tang perubahan, masih terus menjamin keselamatan, keamana-
persahabatan, kerukunan, dan kestabilan orang Berik.
structure of societies in the western interior of Sarmi, "the composition of the land-owning territorial units is continually changing as a result of fission and merging." This has clearly been the case along the Tor in these past twenty years. Whereas Oosterwal presents the distribution of groups along the Tor in 1961 to have been as indicated in Map 1, the present situation is as shown in Map 2.

There are presently only the Kweston group with three villages, the Berik group with ten villages, the Mander with one village, and the Seger with one village. Increasing communication has resulted in greater cooperation between villages living in the area Oosterwal called Berik (the villages of Kondirjan, Dangken, Tenwer, and Somarante²), and including the areas he called Safron, Beau, Waf, Daranto, and Bora-Bora (the villages of Jerim, Sansiat, Winemase, Burawater, Bore, and Tabfereh, respectively).

While we are forced to recognize a measure of distinctiveness between these last five groups and the group Oosterwal called Berik, it is important to note that all six groups refer to themselves and their language as Berik and that this division into sub-groupings is of a different order of magnitude from that which separates them all from the Kweston, the Mander and Seger. These latter do not consider themselves or their languages Berik. In a 1968 linguistic survey of the area, my wife and I utilized a modified 200-word Swadesh list and found Kweston to share 49% cognates with Berik, Mander 44%, and Seger only 8%.

Three other Tor groups mentioned by Oosterwal have moved away to the coast in recent years--the Dabe, the Itik, and the Borto.

The Dabe left their village of Ujjan, near Kondirjan on the Tor, and went to their sago acreages of Abent in 1955. A few years later, they moved to the coastal villages of Dabe and Keder. Occasionally, the Dabe return to the middle Tor villages to visit their distant relatives, but they have not, since 1958, established interior villages.
The Itik were living with the Bonerif in Oberfareh when, in about 1960, they began to help Dutch forestry officers open up the damar-rich area of Bodem, moving several families to the collecting area. (Damar, or copal, is a resin of the Agathis tree used in making varnish and lacquer products.) There, they worked together with several other Tor groups, including the Berik and the Borto. The latter had migrated to the area in search of employment. At Bodem the people worked hard to collect damar until the Dutch left the province in 1967 and the operation all but stopped. Being left without employment, the Itik returned to the coast, together with the Borto, and settled in Ansudo and Betaf. Two young Itik men settled in the Berik village of Dangken. With the closing down of the damar operation, Oostertwal's prediction that the coastal town of Sarmi would be "one of the biggest, perhaps even the biggest export harbour in Netherlands New Guinea" (1961:94) did not come to pass. Economic development of the Tor area ended for the time being, but the people had seen that they could work and live together in peace.

The Bonerif and Guammer people were small Berik-speaking sub-groups. Rather than face complete extinction, they have joined the more populous sub-group Oostertwal called 'Berik'. These mergers took place as follows:

In the late 1950's, a number of Bonerif were residing in Oberfareh on the Bu, working at Bodem. After there ceased to be work at Bodem, they returned to their previous village of Bondraf, a few kilometers inland from Tenwer. The size of the group had already been reduced through skirmishes with the more powerful Mander. With shortages of women, a few Bonerif men married Berik women from Tenwer, their offspring being bilingual in Bonerif and Berik. As older men and women died, the government officer in Somantine encouraged the few remaining residents of Bondraf to move their families to the Berik village of Tenwer where some of the wives had originated. As of 1981, there is only one unmarried, twenty-year-old man of Bonerif parentage, Yakob Maria. All other Bonerif men have taken Berik wives and are raising their children as

Berik. One Bondraf family head was actually a Berik man from Dangken who had been reared among the Bonerif.

The Guammer situation is similar. With decreasing numbers, the Guammer joined the Berik-speaking Darantos in Bwetim. They later abandoned that village and constructed the present village of Bore on the Timwah river. The last true Guammer with Guammer father and mother died in 1978. Oostertwal's prediction (1961:25) that this would happen has come true.

This sort of assimilation into the Berik group is not a new phenomenon. I discovered in 1975 that the same thing had happened one generation ago, when members of the nearby extinct Sientaw group from the Washkay River and the Koretu group from a middle Tor tributary left their own villages and settled with the Berik in Tenwer.

In summary, the Berik group (politically, socially, and linguistically) include the people living in and around the village of Kondirjan in the north, and all the villages along the middle and upper Tor to the southernmost village of Tabfare. Contrasting with Oostertwal's description (1961:17), the Berik include all the people living in the Berik territory as outlined by him, as well as those of Safron, Beau, Waf, Daranto, and Bora-Bora territories. This interpretation is based on the use of the term Berik by the people themselves, as well as their patterns of marriage, warfare, and residence. The Berik usually marry within this Berik group and in the past seldom waged war within the group. In 1968, which marked the most recent inter-group raid, the Mander attacked the Berik in the Beau area forcing all the Berik north of the conjunction of the Bu and the Tor to the coast for a period of about 12 months. When the Mander withdrew, the Berik returned and repaired their villages.

The integrity of Berik sub-groups, nevertheless, is substantiated by recent events. In 1977 and 1978, Berik people from three areas migrated to the new government post at Somantine (Map 3). Four families moved from Tenwer to the Tenwer-side of Somantine, creating a Tenwer
complex just northeast of the airstrip. In similar fashion, a couple of families from the Safron area moved to Somanente and established a complex northeast of the airstrip. Finally, because of a disagreement within a village in the Beau area, half the families moved to Somanente and established residences southeast of the airstrip. Even though these three groups have moved from traditional areas to the government post, the new residents at Somanente retain their earlier arrangement relative to one another.

The migration from Tenwer to Somanente can be accounted for without affecting 'fixed' boundaries of the sort implied by Oosterwal, but the movements of the Safron and Beau sub-groups cannot. These latter did not cross 'fixed' boundaries when moving to Somanente. They continue to be Berik and exploit Berik territory. Non-Berik groups which remain in the area, such as the Mander and Segar, have made no attempt to move across the boundary into Berik territory and establish any type of residence at Somanente although the government would welcome such a move. Territories abandoned by groups which have emigrated to the coast have been appropriated and are currently exploited by the Berik people.

2. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

"Life in the Tor district is for the greater part governed by kinship. For the individual, kinship stands for: safety, security, friendship, intimacy, and certainty" (Oosterwal 1961:147). This section supplements Oosterwal's generally accurate description of kinship relations in the Tor area, narrowing the description particularly to the Berik people with whom we have been living since 1973.

2.1 CONSANGUINEAL TERMINOLOGY

Figure 1 sets out Berik consanguineal kinship terms of reference.

Grandkinsmen. There are two grandkinsmen terms, one to designate kinsmen three generations distant from ego, one to designate those of two generations distance.

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The great-grandkinsman term (asalasala) is used self-reciprocally (Rule R) between a parent's parent's parent and child's child's child, irrespective of sex. It also extends bilaterally to all collateral kinsmen of three generations distance from ego (Rule G), to the spouse of any such senior grandkinsmen (Rule -S) and, reciprocally, to the corresponding great-grandchildren of spouse. There is no term for a specific individual who is more than three generations distant from ego, but asalasala is used collectively to indicate ego's distant ancestors.

The grandkinsman term (abwai) is used self-reciprocally (Rule R) between a parent's parent and child's child, irrespective of sex. It also extends bilaterally to all collateral kinsmen of two generations distance from ego (Rule G). Further, it extends (by Rule -S) to the spouse of any such grandkinsman of the second ascending generation and, reciprocally, to the corresponding 'grandchildren' of spouse. Thus, Figure 2 represents a sample of kinsmen who fall within the range of reference of abwai.

Familial kinsmen. Five terms interact in a complex way to classify kinsmen of parent and child generations. For lack of a better term, I will refer to this set as familial kinsmen.

Two familial terms, uwa 'father' and maame 'uncle', classify all male kinsmen of the parent generation. The biological father is the primary referent of the term uwa. It extends to all other (parallel) male kinsmen of father's generation (Rule G) as well as to the husbands of the corresponding parallel female kinsmen (Rule -S). The father term may also be extended to the true father of a spouse.

The male cross-kinsman of mother's generation is not classified as a father, but is referred to by the term maame 'uncle'. This includes mother's brother and extends to all of mother's male kinsmen of her generation (Rule G).

The mother term (yie) denotes ego's female parent, and extends collaterally to all other female kinsmen of the first ascending generation (Rule G) as well as to the wives of the corresponding male kinsmen (Rule -S). Yie is, thus,
the female counterpart of any kinsmen referred to as either father uwa or uncle maame. The mother term may also be extended to the mother of a spouse.

The child term (tane) is the reciprocal of the three terms for father, uncle, and mother. In its primary sense it denotes ego's child. It extends bilaterally (Rule G) to any kinsman of the first descending generation and, affinally (Rule S-), to first descending generation kinsmen of spouse.

The terms gitowai or yafentogwai may be postposed to tane to designate male or female children, respectively, when they are small; but these terms are never used apart from tane or to refer to adult children, as might be implied from Oosterwal's presentation. (Note also what is probably an inadvertent error in his appendix 5.1 (p. 278) where he lists a woman's older sister's daughter (number 32) as mother (iye) where he undoubtedly meant child (tane).)

The term tane can have an even wider range of reference to people in general. Thus, it is not necessary for Oosterwal (1961:18) to refer to the people from the Safron area as Safrontani, since Safron is entirely adequate and more in use today. Safrontani would be redundant.

In spite of the fact that tane is fully reciprocal with the three 'parent' terms, including maame 'uncle', there is an additional term nemeltene 'man's sister's child' which designates a man's cross-kinsmen of the first descending generation. I do not find maame 'uncle' to be self-reciprocal referring both to mother's brother and a man's sister's child, as reported by Oosterwal (1961:152). Rather, nemeltene is used for the latter, the child of a man's sister, and is extended to female kinsmen of his generation (Rule G), and to the corresponding kinsmen of his wife (Rule S-).

There is one further familial term which overlaps the ranges of reference of the father, mother, and child terms, but not that of uncle and its reciprocal (nemeltene). This term, niye 'elder parent/younger child', is used alternatively for any collateral kinsman older than father or mother to whom the father or mother term is extended (by Rule G) and, reciprocally, to the child of any younger kinsman of ego's generation except those which may be referred to as nemeltene 'man's sister's child'.

Since the father term refers only to parallel while the mother and child terms range over both parallel and cross-kinsmen, the range of niye is asymmetric or skewed. This may be formally characterized in at least two ways.

On the one hand, the disjunctive categories \( ePm(R, G, -S) \) and \( ePf(R, G, -S) \) can simply be listed. Alternatively, the skewed pattern of reference can be emphasized by characterizing a skewing rule which has the effect of cognitively removing an 'elder mother's brother' from the class of 'elder parents'. I will characterize such a BERIK ELDER PARENT SKewing RULE as follows:
\[
\text{exPm}(R) \rightarrow \text{yxPm}(R).
\]
It may be read: Let mother's elder brother be considered equivalent to mother's younger brother and, reciprocally (Rule R), let a man's younger sister's child be considered equivalent to his elder sister's child. With this rule in place, the range of reference of niye may be presented conjunctively as \( eP(R, G, -S) \), the inappropriate subset \( \text{exPm}(R, G, -S) \) being removed by the rule. These two characterizations of the range niye are formally equivalent, but the latter is more elegant. It could perhaps even be argued that such an elder parent skewing rule directly states an important structural principle of Berik kinship relations, namely, that of all kinsmen of the parent generation, relative age is of no importance in respect to the mother's brother.

Oosterwal includes data that might also have a bearing on the validity of this proposed skewing rule. Although he makes no direct comment on it as far as I can tell, he states in listing kinship term ranges of reference (1961: Appendix 5.1) that the child of a mother's brother was classified as a younger sibling. In the discussion of sibling terms below, I will comment on how my findings differ from his; but at this point suffice it to say that he found the child of a parent's sibling to be ranked as
'elder' or 'younger' on the basis of the relative age of that parent to ego's parent. His statement that a mother's brother's child is invariably a 'younger sibling' is entirely consistent with the rule exPm \(\rightarrow\) yxPm which, in effect, reduces all 'mother's brothers' to 'mother's younger brothers'. As indicated, my data differ at this point; but his finding may well represent the same phenomenon addressed here.

It is interesting to note the influence that the Indonesian language has had on Berik kinship terminology. Indonesian has a kinship term for father's younger sibling (bapak adik). Berik, however, which has no such term, may on occasion translate the Indonesian term bapak tua into Berik as 'uwu alyana' 'father's older sibling', or bapak adik as 'uwu osna' 'father's younger sibling'. These terms are not in general use. They may be elicited, however, and show the impact of the national language on Berik.

Siblings. Two terms, aiyə 'elder sibling' and osa 'younger sibling', classify all kinsmen of ego's generation on the basis of age relative to ego, without reference to sex or bifurcate categories.

As indicated above, eMZ, eFB, and eFB may be distinguished from yMZ, yFB, and yFB by use of niye in place of a parental term. Oosterwal found the child of such an elder sibling of parent to be classified invariably as an elder sibling of ego regardless of whether the child in question was actually older or younger than ego. The relative age of ego's parent and his siblings was the diagnostic factor. In the case of mother's brother, however, no relative age distinction was made terminologically. He indicates, rather, that the child of a mother's brother was classified as a younger sibling, apparently without regard to age, while the child of a father's sister was correspondingly always classified as an elder sibling.

My findings differ in two respects. First, cousins are classified as to relative age in respect to ego directly and not through the linking kinsman of the parental generation. This is clearly atypical of many other kinship systems in Irian Jaya, but is nevertheless the situation at Tenwer and Somanente for at least the men with whom I researched the question. Second, although a mother's brother is not classified terminologically as to relative age, his child is, in the same manner as any other of ego's 'siblings'.

2.2 AFFINAL KINSMEN

Berik affinal terms of reference are set forth in Figure 3. Two special situations complicate what is otherwise a straightforward classification of affinals by four self-reciprocal terms.

First, there are three terms used between the parents of spouse and the spouse of child, ginau 'daughter/parent-in-law', ebo 'son/parent-in-law', and muna 'man's mother-in-law'.

The primary range of ginau is without special problems. It is used by a woman for either parent of her husband and, reciprocally, by a man or woman for a son's wife. It extends collaterally (Rule G) to any first ascending generation kinsman of a woman's husband and to the wife of a son of any kinsmen of ego's generation, irrespective of sex of ego or of his same-generation kinsman.

The primary range of ebo corresponds only in part to that of ginau. It is used by a man for the male parent only of his wife; a special non-reciprocal term, muna 'man's mother-in-law' is used by him for his wife's mother. The reciprocals of these two dyads, however, are both covered by ginau, namely, either parent of a woman refers to a daughter's husband by ginau. Both muna and ebo extend collaterally from these primary ranges in the same manner as ginau (Rule G).

The primary ranges of child/parent-in-law terms are illustrated in Figure 4.

Second, there are two terms for affinals of ego or spouse's generation, musa 'same-sex sibling-in-law' and nusa (alternating freely with suina) 'opposite-sex sibling-in-law'.
The term musa denotes the opposite-sex sibling of spouse or, reciprocally (Rule R), the spouse of opposite-sex siblings, as illustrated in Figure 5. It extends collaterally (Rule G) to any opposite-sex kinsman of spouse's generation (e.g. mSPPCCm) or to the spouse of any opposite-sex kinsman of ego's generation (e.g. fPPCCSf).

The terms nausa and suina are synonymous. They denote the same-sex younger sibling of spouse or, reciprocally (Rule R), the spouse of ego's same-sex elder sibling, as illustrated in Figure 6. They also extend collaterally (Rule G) to any same-sex younger kinsman of spouse's generation (e.g. ymSPCCCf) or to the spouse of any same-sex elder kinsman of ego's generation (e.g. epPPCCSf).

The affinal terms introduced above encompass all affinals of the first ascending and descending generation, as well as ego's and spouse's generations with the exception of one group, namely, the same-sex elder sibling of spouse, the spouse of ego's same-sex elder sibling, and their corresponding generation peers of greater collateral distance (which correspond to the application of collateral extension Rule G to these primary ranges). Such kinsmen are classified as kinsmen of adjacent generations rather than of ego's or spouse's generation, and are referred to by child/parent-in-law terms. I will refer to this as the BERIK AFFINAL SKewing RULE which may be characterized as follows: eaSPCh(R) → aSPb(R). It may be read: "Let a spouse's elder same-sex sibling be considered equivalent to spouse's same-sex parent and, reciprocally (Rule R), let a younger same-sex sibling's spouse be considered equivalent to same-sex child's spouse."

The application of this rule results in the application of the parent/child-in-law terms ginau, ebo, and muna to siblings-in-law, as illustrated in Figure 7.

Further, regarding affinal relationships, strict adherence to certain avoidance relationships has been relaxed over the recent two decades. As Oosterwal notes, a man is not allowed to address his muna 'mother-in-law', nor can he ever be alone with her (1961:163). But Oosterwal's observation that it is strictly forbidden for him to eat sago mash prepared by her (1961:163) is no longer enforced. If a mother makes sago pudding and shares some of it with her married daughter's family, all members of the family can eat it, including the husband. In addition, if a man brings home green vegetables from his garden and gives them to his wife, his wife in turn may decide to give a portion to her mother, even though the vegetables originated with her mother's son-in-law. After group gatherings or public meetings in the village, however, where everyone shakes hands with one another, ego still avoids shaking hands with his muna.

On a similar point, Oosterwal's statement that the Bonerif man, Sitasir, solved an avoidance-related housing problem by marrying his wife's mother is not quite accurate. Sitasir did not break the avoidance relationship taboo by marrying his mother-in-law (1961:163), though he did break another Berik taboo. In fact he married Saws first and later married her daughter, which according to kinship terminology he called tane 'child'. Marrying his child caused a great uproar among the woman's relatives, and only after Sitasir was severely beaten and rendered helpless, was he forgiven, and then allowed to marry his wife's child, Tawam.

3. FURTHER COMMENTS ON OOSTERWAL

3.1 SORCERY

Oosterwal's general statement that "everyone feels constantly threatened by sorcery" (1961:147) needs to be revised since it is too broad a statement to adequately describe the Berik people at present. In fact, a fear of sorcery when not among relatives has been greatly diminished in the twenty years since Oosterwal's observations. There are many reasons for this:

1) the Bodem project. The experience of the Tor people living together and working cooperatively to collect the damar at Bodem proved that people could live peacefully in close proximity with others who were not their close relatives. The days were filled with work in collecting the damar, and the nights were filled with
storytelling and rest. There was little time for sorcery preparations and little desire to get involved in that since all realized that good health was needed by all to make money.

2) Construction of Somanente airstrip. Another successful project in cooperative living was the construction of the Tor airstrip at Somanente. About 75 adult males from the various villages in the Berik group, 5 from the Mander group, and a few from the Kweston group worked for six months to clear and level the 400 meters of land needed for an airstrip. The airstrip reaches from one edge of the Tor in the south to the other edge of the Tor as it swings around the Some Peninsula (Map 3). The Tor residents realized the importance of an airstrip in facilitating greater development of the area. In 1976 a government elementary school was constructed and supplied with teachers, a medical clinic and officer's housing were constructed, and a Government office was built. Critically ill persons were able to be flown out of the area for health needs. The prestige of having a functioning airstrip in the Tor area was also a highly motivating factor for the people of the Tor to complete their project.

3) Greater travel and communication. With the establishment of a government post at Somanente, together with expanding educational and medical facilities, there has been greater travel to and from Somanente from all the Tor villages. Often it is necessary for travellers to stay overnight in a foreign area, but residents of the area are accommodating. Should such residents ever need to travel in another's area, they, too, can be assured of accommodations.

3.2 THE BACHELOR'S GROUP

Included in the changes that have occurred in the Tor area within the last twenty years, is the disintegration of the bachelor's group as a socially cohesive unit. It is plain to see in each of the Tor villages, that whereas formerly there was a bachelor's house used exclusively by the five or six bachelors found in each village, presently there is no such building in any of the Tor villages. As Oosterwal predicted (1961:210), many of the bachelors have left the area for employment opportunities elsewhere. In fact, a couple of unmarried men from each of the Tor villages is presently working in Sarmi, or another of the cities of Irian Jaya, e.g. Jayapura and Sorong. In some cases, these Berik men have been able to find wives in the localities of their employment.

There are many inter-related reasons for the disintegration of the bachelor's group. As Oosterwal noted, as soon as the boys are initiated, they are no longer allowed to sleep with their kinsmen in the village, but they have to pass the night in a separate house (1961:207). Since there has been a discontinuation of the initiation ceremonies since 1974, there has not been the necessity for a mature adolescent male to leave his parents' household. Thus the present tendency for Berik men who are not married is to live with their nuclear family. In time, they will either get married or ultimately move away from the area in search of employment. In no case, is there a bachelor's group functioning as was documented 20 years ago. At present there is no more than one older man of marriageable age in any Tor village that has not yet married at least once. If one's wife dies, on the other hand, it is difficult to secure another.

Regarding the bachelor's group as having responsibility for village feasts (1961:209), presently it is more the responsibility of several of the adult men of the village to hunt wild boar and make all the other necessary preparations for the feast. In addition, Oosterwal stated that the blowing of the flutes, so important to the existence of the group, was done principally by the bachelors (1961:210). At present there is no more blowing of the flutes, thus further reducing the importance of the once functioning bachelor's group.

4. COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

An inventory of 16 households of the village of Tenwer, a typical and centrally located Berik village, reveals the following types of families as defined
(or as noted or suggested) by Murdock (1960:3,4).

There are eleven independent monogamous or nuclear families which represent the most common type of Berik family. There is one polygamous family which links the children of two female spouses to one common father. There is at least one such polygamous family in each of the ten Tor Berik villages. The remaining four families are stem families. That is, they link the family of procreation of married siblings to their common family of orientation.

It is significant to note that single persons who have no parent or spouse attachments are distributed within households evenly throughout the community. Six of the 16 households of Tenwer have one non-family member living with them. In four cases, the individual has been adopted right into the family system, yet still remains different enough so that an outside researcher is able to identify them. The other two cases involve physically handicapped adults (one adult male unable to walk and the other a blind female) who are cared for by their relatives.

5. CONCLUSION

Despite the many changes that have occurred in the Tor area in the last twenty years, changes in demography, changes in residency, slackening of a prospering economy, growth of educational and health facilities, less involvement in sorcery, and disintegration of the bachelor's group, still the family system, perhaps most resistant to change, continues to provide safety, security, friendship, intimacy, and certainty (stability) as noted formerly in this paper. The Berik are prepared to meet the growing challenges that come their way from the world about them with which they have greater interaction.
Map 2. Present Language Groups in Tor area

Map 3. Airstrip at Somanente and arrangements of new complexes
### Figure 1. Berik Consanguineal Kinship Terms of Reference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship Term</th>
<th>Kintype</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great grandkinsman:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asalasala</td>
<td>PPP(R,G,-S)</td>
<td>great-grandkinsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandkinsman:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abwai</td>
<td>PP(R,G,-S)</td>
<td>grandkinsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familial kinsmen:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uwa</td>
<td>=Pm(G,-S), SPm</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maame</td>
<td>xPm(G,-S)</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iye</td>
<td>Pf(G,-S), SPf</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tane</td>
<td>C(G,S-)</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemeltene</td>
<td>xmC(G,S-)</td>
<td>man's sister's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niye</td>
<td>eP(R,G,-S)*</td>
<td>elder parent/younger child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiya</td>
<td>ePC(G)</td>
<td>elder sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oso</td>
<td>yPC(G)</td>
<td>younger sibling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*exPm(R) → yxPm(R)
72 / Irian

Figure 3. Berik Affinal and Spouse Terms of Reference

1. ginau fSP(R,G) daughter/parent-in-law
2. ebo mSP(R,G)* son/parent-in-law
3. muna mSPf(G) man's mother-in-law
4. musa aSPCa(R,G) same-sex sibling-in-law
5. nausa/suina yaSPCb(R,G) opposite-sex sibling-in-law
6. anggwa Sm husband
7. wi Sf wife

*except mSPf(G) -- see muna.

Figure 4. Primary ranges of child/parent-in-law terms.

Figure 5. Primary range of musa 'same-sex sibling-in-law'.

Figure 6. Primary ranges of nausa/suina 'opposite-sex sibling-in-law'.

Figure 7. Results of the BERIK AFFINAL SKewing RULE

Notes

1 All Berik words spelled in this paper are based on a phonological analysis of the Berik language by Westrum, Peter and Susan (1975) published in the Irian Bulletin, Institute for Anthropology, Vol. IV, No. 1, Cenderawasih University, Abepura, Irian Jaya.

2 I would like to express grateful appreciation to Dr. William Merrifield for his help and encouragement in the writing of this paper.

3 Somanente is the preferred spelling since the village is located on the 'peninsula' (Berik:mente) where the Some stream meets the Tor.
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