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IKHTISAR


Dalam makalah ini dipelajari kegunaan upacara-upacara keagamaan dan ilmu gaib dalam kehidupan orang Bauzi. Setiap bentuk ilmu gaib dan upacara yang dipelajari dalam makalah ini merupakan sesuatu yang sangat penting dalam pikiran dan kehidupan sehari-hari orang Bauzi. Karena tidak ada orang Bauzi yang dikhususkan untuk melakukan upacara keagamaan atau sihir, maka semua orang laki-laki, selain berkewajiban untuk memenuhi kebutuhan hidup keluarganya, juga berkewajiban untuk mengetahui cara menyembuhkan orang sakit, memberkati keluarga, dan mengutuki musuhnya untuk melindungi mereka yang berada di bawah perlindungan mereka.

Yang dipelajari dalam makalah ini adalah: upacara inisiasi ke dalam alam kedewasaan; ilmu sihir; penemuan sebab penyakit dan sebab kesulitan serta peramalan dengan memakai kekuatan gaib; ilmu sihir untuk menghentikan kekuatan ilmu sihir orang lain; inisiasi ke dalam pengetahuan tentang beberapa upacara keagamaan tertentu (koba); penyembuhan; dan upacara-upacara penyuburan.

rahasia (naodi). Pengetahuan tentang suling-suling tersebut membedakan kaum pria dari kaum wanita yang tidak diperkenankan untuk melihat suling-suling ini.

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0. INTRODUCTION

I would like to set forth in this paper the uses of ritual and magic as it exists in the Bauzi culture. This is a preliminary study and the data is based on texts collected from Bauzi people in their own language as well as observations of both actual instances and re-enactments of these rituals and magical practices.

The Bauzi people number around 1500 and their borders extend generally from the Mamberamo River westward, and as far south as the Lakes Plains region of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. They are a hunting and gathering society with patrilineal descent and patrilocal residency.

The areas I will cover are: initiation into adulthood; sorcery; divination; counter sorcery; initiation into a specific class of rituals, koba; healing practices; and fertility rites.

1. INITIATION INTO ADULTHOOD

Initiation of a young teenage male (approximately 11 - 13 years of age) into manhood may best be described as "learning about the secret flutes". (see Chenoweth, 1979 : 60 ) In whatever ritual takes place in the ceremonial house (kelie), reference is made to the fact that by performing these acts, the teenager will "know Naodi". Naodi is the Bauzi term for secret flutes or rather the flutes used in initiation. These flutes are made of bamboo, varying in length from approximately a foot (30 cm) to about 3½ feet (1.1 meters) and also varying in diameter. The smaller flutes produce light, high-pitched rapid tones, and those of greater diameter and length produce more resonant sounds. On the surface at least, the major function of the secret flutes seems to be to threaten women and children if they deviate from normal behavior within Bauzi culture. One man related that if his wife were to call him bad names, he would threaten her with "calling Naodi" and then would proceed to have two of his friends come secretly and play the flutes near his house while he and another friend held his wife and cut her arms with bamboo and even forced and arrow tip down her throat. The women are told that Naodi is a giant cassowary and after hearing the birdlike sounds that Naodi produces and accounts of other women who have been "attacked" by Naodi, they are petrified with fright when they hear this kind of threat from their husbands.

According to legend, the flutes were originally discovered by a woman, but her husband outwitted her and kept the knowledge of the flutes to himself. The legend goes like this:
Ahea went to hunt for tree kangaroo (Kiis). Belohe, (his wife), went to get firewood. Having gone for firewood, (she) took the wood, tied it up into bundles and stacked them up. Afterwards, she was waiting in what used to be a garden, when she heard the sound of Naodí coming from a clump of bamboo. The sound was coming from the notched end of the bamboo where the wind was striking it. It was making a soft sound. So she went there, took hold of it, shook it, and when she touched it, the bamboo fell to the ground. After it fell on the ground, (she) picked it up and blew into it as if blowing into a fire and stopped when there was no result. Then she called into it. Then she talked into it. Then she whistled (ingressively) into it. After these things, she attempted to blow into it as though blowing into a fire and she got results. (She) made the Naodí sound. Then she opened her hands and threw it down. After doing this, she stood thinking about it until she again picked up four pieces, and having tied them up and taking them with her, she leaned them against a tree trunk. Meanwhile, Ahea (her husband), had gone hunting and had killed nothing. Everything just ran away from him. So he returned empty-handed. When he got back, he looked and saw that his wife was sitting there crying. Because she was crying, he asked, "Why are you crying?" She replied, "For no reason. I'm afraid that you will kill me." Then he said, "Tell me what has happened." Then she said, "Come look at what I have done." So she went, picked up the bamboo, untied it, and then she played them. After she played them, he said, "You just go to the end of the path that leads up to the men's house and stay there. Then we (the men) will do things, kill pigs, and perform ceremonies, and afterwards bring pig fat to you to eat. We will do it like this." Therefore, his wife made a house and stayed there. Then the men killed pigs, performed the rituals, and brought the fatty skin part to her to eat. When they were doing this, the woman died. After she died, the men hid this incident (from other women). They hid it and have passed it down to this present generation. That one died. Then another one died. Then afterwards, each one told it to the generation following his and today it has been told to us and we have learned about it. This is the way we have hidden it from the women.

That describes the flutes on a surface level, but there are other indications that the flutes are used with deeper meaning, perhaps in the area of fertility. On one occasion, the author was traveling downriver with a small group of Bauzi, and two of the teenage boys were playing the flutes. After they finished playing, they smashed the flutes on the side of the canoe and threw them away. When we asked why they had done this, they said that they played them so that the birds would not eat the fruit off the trees so that when they went to eat the fruit later, there would still be some. In another instance, when a man was asked what would happen if flute playing was discontinued, he said that "Nom aida bas" would be angry. Nom aida bas is described by one helper as a group of beings who live under the water, and who look just like the Bauzi. However, we who are living are unable to see their physical bodies, but they come out of the water at night in the form of fireflies, whistling and swarming around a guilty person's house. After seeing the flutes, the person will become sick and die. So, it seems that there are deeper reasons why the secret flutes are played, other than just to keep the women in line. The ritual of playing the flutes will need further investigation.

The flutes themselves are always played in pairs of the same style of flute. As the players blow them, the rhythm follows a special dance in which the players stomp their feet and sway their bodies as though to resemble a cassowary. There are five different types and they can be played at one time but must be grouped in pairs. Learning how to play the flutes is an intricate part of the initiation process and seems to have significance in enhancing the transition into manhood. There is one case of a Bauzi man who is still living who does not know how to play the
flutes. This wasn't a problem to the people, since the flutes were played by the other men when he was initiated. So in some instances the emphasis is placed on the actual playing of the flutes at the time an initiation is taking place rather than on the initiates themselves playing them. At the present time I am not sure how this factor ties in with the laws of initiates which will be discussed later in this paper.

The ritual of initiation involves other activities besides the playing of the flutes. The process is initiated by the adult males who build the ceremonial house called kelle. When the house is completed, they tell the women to pound sago for the occasion. When the sago is piled up on a wooden rack, the men bring the secret flutes into the house and place them on the floor. All this initial preparation is kept hidden from the boys (initiates). After these preparations are completed, the men suddenly grab hold of two of the teens who are to be initiated. The unexpectedness of this maneuver and apparently the fear that already exists in the minds of the boys concerning who or what Naodi is, seems to cause the boys to be extremely frightened. It seems to be important to maintain this level of fear and so the men carry each boy on their shoulders with a hand over their eyes to prevent their seeing where they are going or who/what is taking them. The boys' impression that Naodi is a giant cassowary is reinforced as they are jabbed at with sharp objects which they believe to be the claws of the bird. As the boys are brought to the ceremonial house, the people begin to chant (ae) while hitting each other with broad flat paddles. This is the only occasion in which women are allowed to hit males. The women then proceed to the edge of the house but are not allowed any further and so return to their own houses. The boys are then brought into the ceremonial house and the initiation procedures begin.

The first thing that the boys see is two men dancing and playing the flutes. The men then begin a series of questions and answers concerning what the boys think they are seeing. When asked what the "long thing" is, the boys answer "bamboo" and the men hit the boys over the head with the bamboo and water that was stored in the bamboo for this occasion pours out over the boys. The bamboo filled with water for this purpose is a different piece than that used as the flute. It seems to be significant at this stage for the boys to be given the backbone of the ceremonial pig to eat along with some sago, which has been "ritually sanctioned" (gikide) in advance.

There appears to be no definite time period allotted to initiation activities, but the process does take many, many days and it seems to follow a number of stages. It is during this time that the boys actually learn to play the flutes, conduct homosexual acts, and don the paraphernalia that signifies an initiated teenager. This paraphernalia consists of an intricately braided wristband made from palm fibers, a bundle of special leaves inserted through the back of the waistband so as to resemble tail feathers, special leaves inserted into the armbands, and a cassowary headdress worn so as to appear as a visor. Once the initiation is completed, the small tailfeather bundle is replaced by a much larger one.

Throughout these activities, food that is eaten and tobacco which is smoked must be ritually sanctioned ("blessed") in advance (see page 10). Pork, sago, cassowary and tobacco are the important elements that are incorporated into this ceremony.

The activities seem to be carried out repeatedly and are geared to learning how to play the flutes. "Having done all this over and over again, we learn about the flutes." Another indication that the flutes themselves are the main essence of knowledge is the statement: "After this is done, the Kkkp flutes playing ends with 'Uuuuuuu' and the sound goes away. The Bihi ceremony ends with 'Uuuuuuu' and the sound leaves. Then the flutes are left there." The Bauzi word for sound is the same word as "language", and Kkkp and Bihi are the names of two types of flutes.

There is one more aspect of the initiation ritual that is important and that is the participants. The teens are initiated in pairs and the two boys must be born of different fathers so that they can become sacred partners.
9. Don't stand close to a fire to stay warm because you will get very cold when you go into the water to bathe or swim.

10. Don't sit on anything raised or above the ground. Only sit directly on the ground, otherwise, the tahaba tree won't produce fruit.

11. Don't eat these foods: bozi, fuma, vama, zilá, fetba (all fish types). If you eat them, and then try to blow the flutes, your saliva will clog the flutes.

12. Don't eat jungle chicken (gogaha) eggs or the Koe bird or you will get abscesses.

13. Don't say any woman's name because the men will think that you want to have sexual relations with her and you are not yet allowed (to be married).

14. Don't cut the tail leaves you will wear after initiation too short, because then the flute music won't go very far, and the women won't be able to hear it and be afraid.

15. Sleep in the water for a full day with only your head on the bank so that your lips will not become weak.

16. Wash in the water so that the flute music will become loud.

17. Never throw the flutes away because if you do:
   a. the women will eat the pigs all by themselves and the men won't get any.
   b. men won't be able to find wives.
   c. all the other men will be angry with you.
   d. you won't be allowed to eat any of the food prepared in the initiation house.
   e. the other men will just tantalize you with the sago sacrifice.

(balu). From then on, each will call the other balu as a term of direct address. The boy will call the man whom he observes playing the flutes his duha, and the man who plays the flutes will in turn call the boy his basile. The boys who become partners are never allowed to treat each other badly or call each other names.

Besides the actual activities of this ritual, there are also some "laws of initiation" which must be adhered to; otherwise, the initiate will not learn to play the flutes. The following are some of these laws:

1. Don't stand near a woman's house. Stand only at the initiation house when you talk so that your voice doesn't carry to the women's ears.

2. Don't talk to a woman or you won't come into the knowledge of Naodi.

3. Don't display your underarm to a woman. Cover it with your hand if you reach for anything because if the woman sees that you have no hair, she won't let you become initiated.

4. Don't sit face to face with a woman so that you show your forehead, because the men will think she will want to take you as a husband. The men will club you because you have 'koba'. (Koba is the term given to rituals which will be discussed later. The significance of this particular statement lies in the fact that a male must be initiated before taking a wife and before being trained in koba.)

5. Don't be seen by a woman without your headfeathers headband on. Bathe early in the morning (before anyone else is up).

6. Don't smile and show your teeth to a woman because when you blow the flutes, the music won't travel very far.

7. Don't eat hot food. Eat it only after it cools off.

8. Don't blow on a fire because you will waste the breath needed to blow the flutes.
The gikide or sanctioning ritual which is used in
the initiation process, is called a butem Iodam bak (a
giving shout/call). If this isn't done, if the
sacrifice isn't given to Naodi, it is taboo for the boys
to return to the women's houses. In the end, the food
is eaten between the men and boys with most of the food
given to the boys to make them grow big and strong. The
special blessing is addressed directly to Naodi. An
example of a pig gikide is as follows:

Naodi, doho feagam bu to....(Naodi, here is a very
large whole male pig)
Naodi, doho manam misia to....(Naodi, here is a large
pig for rememberance.)

The following is an example of a cassowary blessing:

Naodi, bihi deke bu to.....(Naodi, here is a whole
bag of cassowary.)
Naodi, mea zie to.....(Naodi, here is a large pile of
sago.)

Before flutes were used in the initiation ceremony,
everything was given to a large bullfrog called Naodi.
The frog (Ahaamai) was placed in the center of the
ceremonial house on the floor and all the other activi-
ties were carried out around it. Since the bullfrog
also has a loud croak, the women were as afraid of it
as they are the sound of the flute. When the frog was
used, it also was addressed as Naodi.

2. SORCERY

Sorcery is a predominant factor in Bauzi life. There
are two common ways in which vengeance may be taken out on
an enemy. The first of these is called ohugiet ote or
"killing with hair". For this reason, the most closely
guarded part of the body is the hair. If one has his hair
trimmed, he is very particular to collect every strand that
is visible and burn it in the fire himself. It is also
important in whose house one chooses to sleep because the
most frequent means by which hair is obtained for this
purpose, is by cutting someone's hair while he is asleep.

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Other things once closely associated with a person's
body may also be used in the sorcery procedure. These
include: fingernails, the imprint of one's foot as it is
found in the sand or dirt, and scraps of food from the
individual's meal. Because of the possibility of an enemy
retrieving footprints after a raid, it is of extreme
importance to leave the area by stepping only on rocks.
The following excerpt from a Bauzi text illustrates this:

"....We fled and crossed over Aliva River. Having
gone across Aliva River, we fled by stepping so that
we left no footprints."

Once the things intimately associated with the victim have
been gathered, they are placed in a section of bamboo along
with water, and then are boiled over the fire. The piece
of bamboo and its contents are then placed in an upright
position at the base of a tree. When the bamboo falls apart,
the victim will die.

Another form of sorcery is the bewitched arrow (maem
fo). The following text details how this is done:

"I am going to tell the story of how we make
bewitched arrows. We Seova people, Mu people, Sumuta
people all do it this way. When we want to make a
bewitched arrow, we go catch a death adder. One man
cuts down a short forked branch and while he holds
down the head, another man holds the tail end with
tongs. He splits it open with a piece of bamboo and
takes the blood and white fascies and packs them into
the mouth of an arrow shaft and keeps it. Later when
he sees some young stems of the Mutaha tree, he gathers
them and stuffs them into the mouth of the arrow shaft.
Then he gathers young leaves of the bamboo plant and
stuffs them in. Having packed them into the mouth of
the arrow shaft, he picks up the arrow tip and inserts
the tail end into the mouth of the shaft. Leaving it
inserted, he picks up the arrow and secretly draws it
back at a person at a later time. Having secretly
drawn it back on someone, he takes the arrow to the
base of a tree and leaves it there. When we do this,
the victim will die...."
We tell about what happened earlier. This is what happened to Itahi. We Num people left from here. We gathered up bush knives (for the bride price) and took them. The Seova people had said, "Come and take a widow from us (as a bride)." Therefore, Itahi acquired enough bush knives and went to purchase Bikelobe. When he went, (the Seova people caught her and gave her to him. Some of the men were happy with the transaction. Those who got part of the bride price were all right. But the ones who did not get part of it were upset - their hearts were really crooked (angry). They took up a bewitched arrow and secretly drew it back at Itahi. We didn't know that they had done this. The men and Itahi brought his wife back and he lived with her here for a while, then went back across the mountain to Ohobogoi to get sago and he died there in the sago grove. Therefore, we are really afraid of this kind of sorcery."

Whenever anyone dies, except for those who are very old (having white hair) or very young (a newborn baby), then the death is more often than not attributed to sorcery. A young boy fell from a cliff and landed on a large rock damaging his hip severely and he died a few weeks later. When questioned about why he died, the people immediately responded that someone had performed sorcery on him which caused him to fall from the cliff which in turn led to his death.

There is also a milder form of sorcery which prevents a man from being successful in hunting, and can cause women to be barren. If this type of sorcery is utilized, a special "whisper talk" or "curse" is spoken against the person, or someone can simply claim that he is teide (left out of a transaction). For instance, if a dog is given to a man in an exchange, but someone else has had his eye on the dog for himself, and the one who was bypassed admits that he is teide, then the man who accepted the dog in the transaction will be afraid to keep the dog, since it has been cursed and he will not be able to hunt well with it.

3. DIVINATION
(Discovering Causes and Predicting Outcomes)

If a dog is taken on a hunt but is unsuccessful in killing animals, the dog is described as having been "made bad" (i.e. defiled). In this instance it is imperative to discover the cause of this defilement. There could be various and sundry reasons and so the dog's owner makes inquiries of the bow spirit. He stoops down into a squatting position and suspends his bow by the string from the little fingers and proceeds to ask the bow a series of questions. As he asks the questions he gently swings the bow in time to the rhythm of the chant. If the bow suddenly swings up and hits his forearm, he considers it a positive response to his question. In the following text, the dog has been defiled because a pig was killed in a place where a person had been killed earlier and his blood poured out onto the ground. Blood (including menstrual blood) is often a cause for defilement. The following text illustrates questioning the bow:

"I will speak about my dog becoming bad and performing black magic and killing pigs. One man kills another man and goes hunting at the place where a victim's blood was spilled, and kills a pig and eats it. Because the dog becomes bad, I tell the story of taking my bow (and swinging it). One way is by seizing the bow and chanting, Why did the dog become bad? Did a man and his wife sleep together and make the dog bad? Why did the dog become bad? Did I kill a pig on the same ground that a man was killed earlier? Is this the reason? Why did..... become bad?.....". When I speak the truth, the bow jumps onto my forearm. For sure, the bow dances. When it does this, I think of the place (in my chant) where it started shaking and I know what the cause is. It is true that the dog is defiled by blood. The bow swings up and over and hits my forearm. When it did this, I knew what made the dog go bad. The next day I was able to kill a pig."

When a person is sick, there are methods used which indicate whether or not that person will die. If the divination predicts imminent death, the family begins to
immediately chant the death wail, and the one who is sick begins to exhibit more advanced symptoms of his illness. Spiders and crabs are most often used in this form of divination (see Hutebi and Valo Koba). A person who has been bitten by a death adder (Acanthophis Antarticus) will usually go to great lengths to kill the snake and bring it back to the village with him. The snake is then boiled and placed in a body of water, either a river or a lake. If it floats, the victim will live. However, if it sinks, the victim is expected to die.

4. COUNTER SORCERY

Although there is no way to counteract sorcery in the Bauzi culture, whenever sorcery is suspected, there are two things that can be done to discover the person responsible. First of all, as the person begins to become delirious toward the end of his illness, those who are caring for him begin to question him as to who it was that caused his death. They believe that the spirit of the person who is ill is fully aware of who made this attack, and whoever the victim mentions at this point is doomed to be killed whether or not he has had any part in it. A second method of discovery takes place at the actual burial. When the body is interred, red and white clays are rubbed copiously over the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet. It is believed that, since the spirit of the person knows who killed him, it will go out of the grave searching for the culprit in revenge and in doing so, will leave its handprints on the trees and its footprints on the ground as it gropes its way through the jungle. Then the members of the victim's family will be able to follow these prints and carry out revenge.

5. KOBA

There is another major division of ritual and magic which the Bauzi practice, called koba. These ceremonies are performed for various reasons and can be basically grouped as follows:

1) general education to the power of koba; 2) healing practices; and 3) those practices which insure a good yield of gatherable food and productive hunts. The first category is difficult to pin down since inquiries as to the specific reason that this koba is performed leads to the answer "so that those who do not know about koba will become knowledgeable". This is different in the minds of the Bauzi than those koba ceremonies that fall into the other two categories. There is also a distinction made between adult males who have been initiated to a specific koba ritual who are called titei and those who are as yet uninitiated to that ritual who are called keba. It is possible for a very old man to be titei for some rituals, and still keba in others. To facilitate reading of the next sections, I will refer to titei as "man/men", and to keba as "initiates", keeping in mind the definition of each given above. Some of the chants are in a language other than the Bauzi language and so where a translation is possible, I have included it. Even when Bauzi is used, however, there are phrases used to complete the rhyme and rhythm that have no specific meaning. Those rituals dealt with in this paper are those performed by adult males. However, there are koba rituals which women can carry out as well. I intend to investigate these in a later paper.

5.1 GENERAL EDUCATION

5.1.1 Aalila

This ritual is carried out away from the main village so that the women and children and anyone else who is not yet trained in this ritual will not see it. It is performed by two men who wear the braided waistband (ikibi) extending from the hips to the armpits, a headdress (demso) with long stranded type leaves (kakuman) inserted in the peak. Although there are only two major participants, both the men and the initiates join in the ceremony with a jumping action with arms raised and a throaty grunting "Aa, aa, aa..." (Besi dae) so as to imitate a pig grunt. The hands are held raised over the head because
they believe that if the hands are held downward, a pig will come and bite them when they go hunting. Whenever future reference is made to the hands being raised, or the dance, the same reason holds true.

First, a special tree trunk (Aalila) is obtained and brought to the place where the ritual is performed. Red clay mixed with the blood of a pig is smeared over the entire surface of the debarked pole which must stand 40 or 50 feet tall according to the description given the author. A single cassowary feather is tied about one-third of the way down the pole, and then four leg bones of the cassowary which, when sharpened, are used for puncturing holes, are stuck into the ground around this Aalila pole. (see Figure 1).

When this is accomplished, a pot containing water that has been dyed red with leaves is placed a distance of about 15 to 20 feet away from the pole. At this point, two activities occur simultaneously. The first is played out by the two men mentioned earlier who begin at opposite sides of the Aalila pole in a semisquatting position, each holding an upper jawbone of a wild pig that has tusks, and begin to attack the four cassowary bones at the base of the pole digging at them with each attack until they come loose. They go back and forth from the starting point to the pole with each attack.

While the two men are doing this, the initiates come in turn and drink the water that is in the container. Afterward, they join the other men who are observers in the special stomping and grunting dance with hands raised. When the ritual is completed, all the men and initiates dance to the ceremonial house.

Although the people questioned refer to this ritual only as an instructive type of koba, the use of the cassowary feather and bones and pig blood may indicate that this ritual is also used to ensure successful hunting.

5.1.2 KoliKoba

KoliKoba is performed at a place where the Fuano tree stands beside a deep pool of water. The initiates are brought there by the men and two men holding pig jaws in the fashion described earlier attack the ground at the base of a very long Tamteha vine which produces an edible root. The purpose is to dig up the vine with the roots intact. When this is done, the men splash muddy water onto the initiates with leaves until their bodies are completely covered. Then all the initiates hold on to the vine and grunting in imitation of pigs, they dance holding the vine to the ceremonial house and dance around the house with it. Afterward, the vine is brought into the house and is threaded up under the roofing but over the roof support poles up to the peak. Once in place, the vine looks like any other of the support poles. The next time the men go pig hunting, they remove the vine from the roof and the leaves that were used in the mud splashing and burn them along with the pig jawbones used in the ritual. If all these are not burned, the initiates will be bitten by a pig.

5.1.3 Aafatebi

After a pig hunt, the men go to a special house and sleep overnight. For this ritual, they wear only a vine around the waist with a single leaf for a loin covering. The initiates are kept apart in another area about ¼ of a mile away and are not present for the first part of the ritual.

The men take two poles (Koai ut) that are kept secret from the women and skin the bark from them. They then take arrows and point them at the men who caught the pigs or cassowaries and chant:

fatebi geli, yo...

When the chant (fuaKalaeda) is finished, they cut lots of vines and reden the vine skins with a mixture of betel nut and lime powder (tui) from roasted crushed snail shells. Two men sit cross-legged on the ground and put the red
mixture in a leaf (*dei et*). A *Taha* stem reddened with the mixture is thrust in and out of another hollow stem. All the other men chant while the two men who are performing the ritual look stoically at the leaf being thrust in and out.

After this is done, one man returns to where the initiates are and has them all close their eyes. While their eyes are closed, he takes an arrow in his hand and while walking gently around among the initiates, points his arrow over the heads of the initiates and repeats the same chant as above. During this entire ritual the initiates are naked. When the man is finished pointing his arrow over them, the initiates dance naked to the ceremonial house with their hands over their eyes and grunting in imitation of the sound of pigs. As each initiate arrives at the ceremonial house, their initiate partner (*halu*) holds his hands over the initiate's eyes and the men once again chant with the arrows. The initiates hold their arms tucked up close to their bodies. The initiates are then instructed to observe the two men performing the ritual with the mixture and the stem.

Once the initiates have seen what is going on, all the bows are placed side by side so that they are standing on their backs with the bowstrings upward. Each man and initiate is passed through the bows bodily while the other men smear the mixture on their penises until they are completely red. When that is completed, all the men come naked to where the women are gathered. The men and initiates must hold their hands behind their heads; the penises are held in a raised position by means of a vine; the men look only at the ground. The women are allowed to look at them. After the women see them, the men all return to the ceremonial house where they eat pork and bathe in the nearby river.

Throughout this ritual (approximately one week) the men must practice sexual abstinence. After the time is finished, they may return to the village houses. If a man secretly has relations with his wife during the ritual, he will shrivel up and die.

### 5.1.4 Kobasai

Although the Kobasai plant may be used to perform sorcery on an enemy, in this instance, it is used to demonstrate to the initiates the power of koba. The particular pig that is killed for this ritual has to have a lot of fat. Once the pig is brought to the small house where this ceremony will take place (not a *kelie*), the men dry-roast the pig on a rack. Then they take a large stem of the Kobasai plant (which has an elephant ear type leaf but is not taro), and scrape the skin off. The remaining fleshy part of the stem and the bile from the pig are mixed with dry sago and cooked in a fire. The baked sago cake is then placed under a section of Sanu Bolo tree bark.

At this point, the men begin to strike the bark of the tree with a length of vine while chanting:

- *Sabo laki, ugo ugo ugo*
- *Bale kulio, ugo ugo*
- *Kobasai laki, ugo ugo*

The initiates are brought with their eyes covered to the area, and they are allowed to view the bark being struck. Then the initiates are fed the sago cake. Eating this makes them violently ill so that they vomit, their lips swell, and they are unable to eat. The men begin striking the bark again. The initiates are told that if they don't swallow the sago cake, they will never be able to make anyone well with koba.

The men all practice sexual abstinence for three pig killings following this ritual. If they do have relations, then the woman's loincloth will become shredded and she will get sick and die. If the men do not wait the time out and return and play with their children, their skin will rub
against the child and then the child will become wasted and die. The pigs that are killed during this abstinence are offered to Naodi and before the men return to their houses, they must bathe thoroughly.

5.2 HEALING PRACTICES

5.2.1 Valo Koba

If a person becomes ill, a man is summoned and he begins the ritual to determine whether or not the person will live by cutting off a lock of the patient's hair. However, it is very important for him not to touch the hair with his own hands, otherwise, he too will become ill with the same sickness.

So, holding the lock of hair in a pair of small wooden tweezers, he carries the hair to a land crab hole which is at the base of a Uau plant. At this point in the account there appears to be some room for variation. In one instance, the small tweezers holding the hair is stuck into the ground so that the hair is within reach of the hole (see Figure 2). When the hair is in place, the man chants:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{si, si, valovoi (Hold on, hold on, crab)} \\
\text{(name of person) galehebak oho otehe? (Did you make sick?)} \\
\text{oho (name of person) otehemo obuta zagusu le.} \\
\text{(Because you made him sick, Then hold on to The hair.)} \\
\text{Valovoi oihite, valovoi oihite - (Crab oihite, Crab oihite)} \\
\text{(name of person) galehebak neadu le. (Make 's sickness well again).}
\end{align*}
\]

In another instance, the crab is held in the man's hand with the hair in close proximity while the chant is spoken. In either case, if the crab grabs the hair, the person will get better. If it doesn't, and a maggot is seen coming from the top of the crab, it indicates the person will die, and nothing further is done to effect his healing. If it has grabbed hold of the hair, however, then the crab and the clay from around the hole are brought back to the house where the patient lay. The tweezers and hair are also brought back to be burned in a special fire that is newly built. Water is mixed with the clay which is smeared across the chest and over the shoulders of the patient.

One account stated that a circle of clay was painted around the legs just below the knees and above the ankles. Then the man holds the crab in his hand and passes it over the patient's body. If it is a woman who is ill, the crab is held in such a way as to prevent her from seeing what the object is, as it is taboo for any woman to know about it. After this procedure, the crab is taken into the jungle and thrown away. Then a large fire is built and the patient holds each of his limbs in turn over the fire. He then lies down beside the fire so that the clay will bake to a white color by morning and he recovers from his illness. The hair that was used in the ritual is burned in the same fire.

5.2.2 Hugi

This healing ritual could be another variation of the category Divination. However, when a Bauzi discusses it, he usually groups it together with Valo Koba and Hutebi. Therefore, I have left it in this section.

If a man wishes to find out whether the patient will live or die, he goes into the jungle in search of a large land crab. When he finds one, he observes the response of the crab to his intrusion. If the crab recedes back into its hole, the patient will live. However, if it appears to be aggressive and charges toward the man, the patient will die. The man recites a chant such as the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hugi, om koai ehete? (Crab, is this your corpse?)} \\
\text{Ana modi gohatehela? (Why are you wandering around?)}
\end{align*}
\]
5.2.3 Hutebi

When someone is ill, a spider is caught and placed on top of the patient's hair to walk around. If it walks around for a while and then goes off the person, then the person will live. As the spider is walking around on the head, the man says:

Huti, oho oteheo? Datelu mode, dambusao modo? Oho oteheo?

Spider, did you strike this person? Did a child do it? Did an adult male do it? Did you do it?

If the spider dies, then it is believed that the spider (Hutebi) caused the illness and the person will die.

5.2.4 Belai

Whenever a person has hurt a body part such as a thigh, arm or leg, the following ritual can be performed. I was told that it is the language that is spoken during the ritual that actually causes the healing to take place. Whoever takes on the part of the shaman, strips the bark from a stick of the ichi tree and sharpens it. After making marks on the stick and smearing clay on the stick and over his own face, he takes the stick to a tree where birds sleep and clears the ground around the base of the tree. He then stands the stick up at the base of the tree and chants:

Belai due......
Belai due......
Belai due......
Disai togo, Dasa togo......

When the chant is completed, he brings the stick back to the injured person and paints a circle around the limb above and below the injury and then rubs the stick all over that spot. This procedure was reported to have been borrowed by the Bauzi people from the neighbouring language group called the Aliki.

5.2.5 Itebi

This ritual is done when a person's stomach swells. A man must go to the jungle and pull up a young Itebi vine and bring it to his patient. He then speaks 'whisper talk' (aha dae) over the vine a little way away from the ill person so that the patient cannot overhear. Then the shaman passes the vine around the patient's stomach and down the length of his body and legs and then from the head down each arm. He then takes the roots and rubs the entire stomach with them as the last step to effect the cure. There was one report that there is also a potion that is sometimes used. In that case, a drink is made from the juice of an Aafatebi leaf and given to the patient.

5.3 FERTILITY RITES

5.3.1 Koakoba - Breadfruit Fertility Ritual

This ritual is performed once or twice a year to ensure a good yield of breadfruit and so that the women will be able to pick the fruit by means of the bamboo hook called a simso (see Figure 3). First of all, the men of a particular village decide it is time to perform the koakoba ritual, and so begin making a ceremonial house. This ceremonial house is round with a very high peak, perhaps 25 to 30 feet high, with a sago palm leaf roof sloping all the way to the ground. This is significant so as to be able to understand how the simso is able to be brought into the ceremonial house. The house also has a high platform built near the peak where the secret flutes are played and where food is brought to be offered to Naodi.
While the ceremonial house is under construction, a runner is sent to neighbouring Bauzi villages and language groups who are allies by intermarriage, to inform the men there of the impending ritual, inviting them to attend. Once the ceremonial house is completed, the men of the host village go pig hunting and gather as many pigs as possible before the prearranged date. A few men have been left behind in the village proper with the women and children and some are left at the ceremonial house to keep the fire burning. If this fire goes out, the dogs would be unable to hunt pigs and it is essential to have pigs for this important event. Following is the chant used to aid in keeping the fire going:

Busbaoa, vua suleho....
Eba vuaabo guzibudavale....

Pigs are gathered together and brought back to the ceremonial house on the same day that the men from other areas come. As the men are bringing the pigs back to the ceremonial house, they send a signal by hitting the wing of a large tree trunk which informs the men who stayed with the women and children that they should come and meet them on the trail to eat some of the pig fat before they arrive at the ceremonial house. These same men then return to the village proper ahead of the pig hunters and tell all the women and children that they must lie down and close their eyes. The women believe that Naodi is coming. At this point, the pigs are carried through the village to the ceremonial house. When everyone is at the ceremonial house with the pigs, they begin dancing (kugul) and continue through the night. The women are not allowed to observe any of this activity but are within hearing distance. The pigs are brought into the ceremonial house and stored there to be given to Naodi at a later time.

Then, to ensure the fruit production, they perform the following ritual upon the trunk of the breadfruit tree. It is carried out by two men dressed in a very high braided waistband extending under the axilla, and a wound vine headdress which comes to a point on top. The headdress is decorated with special long leaves. A special bamboo hook (simso) is made with a pole that has a pig foot tied on so as to make a hook on the end. Using a frog-like position, the two men hop toward the breadfruit tree and scratch at the surface of the bark trying to strip the bark from the tree so that the sap will run. They attack and retreat repeatedly while chanting a breathy grunt with each hop. All the other men and initiates stand around in a circle observing and chanting along with the two men. The observers hold their hands aloft. As they chant, they stay in one spot jumping up and down on both feet. This phase of the Koakob ritual continues all night.

The next morning, the women prepare the feast which consists of: sago pudding, bananas, taro, manioc (tuneli), sweet potato and eggs of the jungle hen (Gogah). It is interesting to note that although this ritual is performed for the fertility of breadfruit, it is not one of the elements of the feast. While the women are busy in this activity, the men go downstream a little way and look for a stalk of bamboo and proceed to clear the ground around it in a circle approximately 30 feet across, and then return to the ceremonial house and tell the others that it is ready. The men who cleared the land are given a pig to eat and then they say, "Bring the initiates to the bamboo place", and everyone dances on the way there.

In the next phase the bamboo pole that the women use to hook the breadfruit from the trees is blessed. After the men arrive at the bamboo plant, two other men dressed similarly to the two previously described begin to attack the base of the bamboo stalk, digging at the roots with the upper jawbone and tusks of a pig. They use the same hopping step and grunting and the two men who attacked the breadfruit trunk with the hook join them in digging up the roots so that now there are four dancers. If the plant is not felled, the women will no longer be able to obtain the fruit by means of the bamboo hook. When the roots are dug up and the plant falls over, the roots are chopped off with a bush knife and left on the ground. Then the initiates hold the bamboo horizontally with the pole resting in the palms of
their upturned hands, take it down to the riverbank and dance with it upstream to the ceremonial house. Upon arrival, they proceed to dance with it around the house several times and bring it into the ceremonial house by threading it up under the roofing so as to make it appear like another roof support. It is left there until it rots.

All the men and initiates then return to where the feast has been prepared and gather the cold food and distribute it among all the different groups of men represented. Some of the food has been given to the women earlier and they are no longer present. Some of the food is then taken to the ceremonial house and given to Naodi. Each kind of food is presented, along with the appropriate chant (see section 1. 'Initiation'). Since Naodi is a generic term for all the secret flutes, each of the flutes receives one of these gifts of food as the flutes are played. The food is carried up to the high platform and left there. Once the playing of the flutes is finished, the men eat the food which was distributed earlier at the feast.

In the evening, two dancers decorate their headdress with specially prepared long sticks wound with bright parrot feathers and stand off to one side out of sight, One of these is a man from the host village and the other from a guest area. As it becomes dark, the men and older male teenagers stick individual bird feathers into their hair and begin to dance while the women call out "ee... ee... ee" as they too dance. Then the two dancers dance into sight and the other dancing ceases. Next the dancers split up; one stays there dancing with one group of people, while the other goes to the ceremonial house to dance with another group of people there. The dancing continues until early morning when everyone goes to sleep. After sleeping, two men climb up onto the platform inside the ceremonial house and begin to play the flutes and the women who are near the house run away. Pig and sago are cooked there in the open and eaten and the dancing resumes.

The following day everyone returns to his respective home and then the people eat breastfruit and the koakoba ritual is completed.

5.3.2 Tekoba - Fish Fertility Ritual

This ritual is performed when no fish are seen in the rivers. It takes place after a secret pig hunt. All the men and initiates come to the ceremonial house and chant imitating a pig grunt. Then the initiates are instructed to stand a short distance away from the dance area. Two men dressed in waistband, headdress and bird feathers on their heads each stand on opposite sides of the dance circle holding an arrow shaft and dance across the circle to the opposite side. This goes on for the entire night and in the morning, all the men and initiates go down to the riverbank for the next phase. Here, two men hold arrow shafts (koasila) in their hands swishing the water while chanting:

"te koasilā ee....
te koasilā ee....
te koas ila ee...
koas ila...."

When the chant is completed, two other men take pig legs and attack the gravel so as to dig a shallow pit while chanting:

"Heia le... (Crocodiles come into being)
Kovasa le..."(Fish type come into being)

until the pit (oboe) is completed. Then everyone dances around the ceremonial house and the pig legs and the arrow shafts are kept up in the roof of the house.

5.3.3 Fo Fae - Marine Animal Fertility Ritual

This particular ritual is used to increase the supply of fish and crocodiles in the rivers. Some of the men go
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hunting for pig and it seems that in this ritual, it is important to have killed a number of pigs. When the pigs are brought to the ceremonial house, they are tied up in the rafters in string bags. Then all the men and initiates dance to the ceremonial house. When they arrive there, each man carries his bow and arrows cradled in the forearms with head bowed, and the bows are placed on the ground side by side and the initiates are passed through the bowstrings of the entire row. After the last man is passed through, the bows and arrows are tied up and placed up in the house rafters. The men are not allowed to touch them again until the entire ritual is completed, otherwise, they will be bitten by a pig. The men then chant (fuekai ledamam) the following:

Ie fole fale yo....
Yo, (name of man) lo...
Ie vuell yo.....
Yo yesi yo lo.....
Ie fole fale yo (fo fae)

The chant continues until evening, each man's name who shot a pig for the occasion being inserted into the blank in the chant. If someone's name is omitted, he will be bitten when he is out hunting.

As evening approaches, a fern tree (Koba soabo/ Fizuzu) is cut down and the leaves removed. The trunk is then carved into the head of a crocodile at one end and small white rocks are inserted for nostrils and eyes and a chalk-like white clay is used to make designs on the top of the head.

This crocodile replica is then carried into the ceremonial house by two men and left on the ground just inside the opening (door). Two other men who hid in the ceremonial house beforehand, stoop down just inside the door each holding a crocodile head and jaw. They are positioned in a head-to-tail fashion and hold the nose of the foremost skeleton so that it is just visible from the outside. The initiates who are outside are unaware of this activity. Soon after, another man who is outside with the initiates approaches the opening and strikes the house with an arrow and asks the crocodile:

Om ake azi le? (Where are you staying?)
Om (name of river) azi lo? (Do you live in the River?)

With each question, the men inside respond with a grunt only. After this is repeated for a number of times and the initiates are convinced that it is the crocodile that is answering them, the two men come out of the ceremonial house so that the initiates can see them and know who was actually making the grunting sounds. Then these two men bring the crocodile likeness out of the ceremonial house and dance around the house with it in their arms. Still carrying it, they then dance down to the river and hide the crocodile in a tight cave under the water to prevent it from floating away when the river rises and from being found by the women.

All the men then return to the ceremonial house and eat the pigs that were caught beforehand. Then two men dress up in birdfeather headaddresses and everyone dances until morning.

5.3.4 Doho Digehi Dom Koba

This is perhaps one of the first koba rituals that an initiate is instructed in, since the ability to shoot a pig with bow and arrow is essential to his well being. At the same time, it is his introduction to the Pumit flute and the bullroarer (Hohu). Prior to this, he has had his initiation described in the first part of this paper. To perform this ritual, the men secretly go hunting and kill a pig and bring it back to the ceremonial house. The next day they gather together the blood from the pig, the tassel from a blossoming breadfruit bloom, and special leaves and mix them together into a potion which the initiates have to drink with their eyes closed. The following day, they are introduced to the
flute and the bullroarer. While these are being played, for the first time, the initiate must keep his eyes closed and the men poke him in much the same way as in his first initiation.

6. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would like to mention that each of the forms of ritual and magic dealt with in this paper are very much an integral part of Bauzi thinking and practice. Even in areas where they claim to have changed their ways, I observed that whenever a ritual was being recounted, those who were uninitiated to that particular ritual were compelled to leave the area, lest a pig bite them when they next travelled through the jungle. Because there are no religious specialists, there is a heavy responsibility on the part of the adult male to not only provide subsistence for his family, but to know the prescribed methods of effecting cures, blessings, and curses to protect those within his domain. I have attempted to review all the rituals and magic made available to me at this time which assist the Bauzi man in his duty to secure these ends.
References:

IAU KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Janet Bateman

IKHTISAR


Secara tradisional suku Iau hidup dalam kelompok-kelompok klen patrilokal, tetapi mereka tidak memiliki perasaan hubungan kekerabatan lineal yang kuat yang mengikat pribadi orang yang satu dengan yang lainnya. Pengetian mereka tentang hubungan kekerabatan itu dihubungkan dengan pertalian melalui pria dan wanita.


Dasar bagi semua hubungan kekerabatan Iau, yaitu filial dan afinal, adalah pembagian benda-benda dan jasa-jasa. Secara tradisional dituntut sikap menjauhi afinity. Dalam beberapa tahun terakhir ini sikap tersebut dianggap bagaikan hal yang tidak sesuai lagi dengan nilai-nilai kekristenan yang baru.

Biasanya suku Iau menikah dengan orang yang berjauhan hubungan darah. Pertukaran saudara-saudara perempuan adalah cara yang berlaku dalam perkawinan, tetapi cara-cara lain pun dapat diterima. Pertukaran mas kavin tidak berlaku pada suku ini. Sekalipun tampaknya tidak terdapat larangan-larangan bagi klen-klen

untuk saling menikah, ternyata terdapat kecenderungan bagi anggota-anggota dari satu klen untuk hanya menikah dengan anggota-anggota dari satu atau dua klen tertentu saja. Perkawinan saudara laki-laki ke dalam keluarga yang sama merupakan cita-cita dan harapan mereka.

Hubungan keluarga yang jauh dari klen-klen yang lain serta dialek-dialek yang lain dianggap penting karena merupakan sekutu dalam struktur sosial Iau. Dalam persekutuan ini dibina hal-hal seperti rasa keramah-tamahan, saluran komunikasi antara kelompok-kelompok yang ada dan sarana untuk menciptakan permaianan antara kelompok-kelompok dalam waktu perang.

1.0 Iau Social Groups
2.0 Kinship Terms
3.0 Affinal Kinship Terms
4.0 Kinship Behavior
5.0 Affinal Behavior
6.0 Usage of Affinal Kinship Terms
7.0 Adoption
8.0 Iau Marriage
9.0 Allies
10.0 Summary

1.0 IAU SOCIAL GROUPS

The Iau people of Irian Jaya do not generally have names for social groups, but do recognize levels of social cohesion within their world, and have ways of speaking of membership in or exclusion form any given group.
Iau conceptions of 'us' versus 'them' begin with speakers in the Turu language family (McAllister, 1979) as 'us' and all other language groups as 'them'. The Iau feel a sense of oneness with other members of this language family on the basis of language and cultural similarity. In that sense the people of this language family are from 'the same piece' (hi 'bisu')--a concept that surfaces frequently in discussing Iau social relationships.

The word hi 'piece of' is used in a wide range of contexts to designate membership in a class. It is used to refer to a 'piece of' (broken) pot, a 'piece of' lumber (such as a board), or a 'piece of' peanut (shell). In the context of social groups, it can designate, for example, membership in a filially related family at one level or another.

Membership in a group is distinguished from exclusion from a group by the phrases hi 'bisu' 'of the same piece' as opposed to hi a 'of another piece', as in the English phrase 'cut from the same piece of cloth'. In the realm of kinship, an Iau might speak of his mother's brother as her full brother by saying, "my mother's brother (who is) of the same piece." The phrase serves generally for any group which is in focus, such as people of the same language. Children of different parents, on the other hand, or perhaps of a different family, or of a different language, can be distinguished as individuals who are 'of another piece' (hi a).

Within the Turu language family, the Iau are aware of a difference between speakers of the Dou language, on the one hand, and speakers of Iau, Foi and Turu, on the other. Within the remembered past, Dou-speaking people have never been a close part of the Iau world. There has been no social contact, not even in war. In this sense, the Dou are 'of a different piece' from the Iau.

The Iau sense of oneness with speakers of Foi and Turu, however, is illustrated by the comment, "We are the same. We really speak the same language. It's just that our words for things (referring to vocabulary differences) are different." This sense of being different is reflected in social relations as well. The Iau fought with the Turu and Foi, and stole their women.

Iau speakers divide themselves into six or more localized clans (Figure 1) named for areas of the river they traditionally have inhabited.

Figure 1. The Iau Clans and Villages
Each clan is made up of several extended family groups consisting of a man, his wives, and children, and perhaps including up to three generations. The extended family groups of any particular clan claim to be descended from a common (unnamed) ancestor, but are unable to trace actual genealogical relationships. Iau clans did not traditionally go to war with one another. They exchanged wives peacefully and were allies against other groups.

Residence is predominantly patrilocal and brothers inherit their father’s house and rights to the land upon which it is built. Food trees such as sago, breadfruit, and pandanus are inherited by both males and females from either parent.

While clans are almost exclusively patrilocal, there is no strong sense of a lineal principle that binds individuals to one another. Kinship is based as easily through females as through males. Since a clan gives and receives wives from each of many different clans, it in fact contracts marriages with kinsmen who may be related either through males or females.

The Iau world of social relations is divided in various ways along sexual lines. A male is referred to as a kaf ho hi 'bow-having-piece', a female as a kaf ae hi 'bow-not-having-piece'. These phrases can be used to refer to a group related through males or through females, or to the male or female membership of a particular group.

The following excerpt from an Iau conversation is typical:

"How many bow-having grandparents of the same piece do you have?"

"I have three bow-having grandparents of the same piece, and four bow-not-having grandparents. They are named... (the speaker names his lineal grandfather and each of his brothers and sisters)."

Between 1968 and 1973, airstrips were built in the Western Lakes Plains area by several mission groups and Dani Christian evangelists from the highlands of Irian Jaya were placed at these sites. At this time, the peoples of the area began to congregate in villages at the places where the evangelists and airstrips were located. The names of these villages and the clans (if known) are listed in Figure 2. Figure 3 shows the location of these villages along the Van Daalen and Rouffaer Rivers, and Figure 1 shows the traditional areas of the five Iau clans which have made the village of Fau their community center as well as the area claimed by an unknown number of Iau clans who make their center at Bakusi.

**Figure 2. Distribution of the Turu Language Family**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Dialects</th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Clans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barere</td>
<td>Towari</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tekebo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzaro</td>
<td>Tai</td>
<td>Dote</td>
<td>Sabanti</td>
</tr>
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<td>Tafi</td>
<td>Tefio</td>
<td>Foita</td>
<td>Bvita</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Saita</td>
<td>Fabusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iau</td>
<td>Bakusi</td>
<td>Turu</td>
<td>unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Verei</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Iratoi</td>
<td>clans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dofau</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hobaresi</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tauda/Tora</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Korodesi</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Poitau</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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2.0 KINSHIP TERMS

In this paper, Iau kinship terms are defined by a generative approach which maps the primary and extended ranges of reference of each term over a field of genealogical relationships. The method is that proposed by Merrifield (1977) in which he presents four underlying principles useful to the analysis of kinship systems. They are: Filiation—the relation of parent (P) to child (C); Priority—the notion of temporal priority of alter to ego, elder (e) or younger (y); Affinity—the relation to a spouse (S); and Sex—the sex of alter, ego, or linking kinsman, male (m) or female (f). Using these four principles and associated symbols, primary referential meanings can be defined by a 'PC string' for each kinship term. For example, the 'PC string' ePCm symbolizes elder parent's male child—elder brother.

The extended range of a kinship term is generated from its primary range by the application of extension rules. Two extension rules are needed to generate the extended ranges of Iau kinship terms. The generational extension rule (G) extends reference collaterally to other kinsmen of the same generation. Successive applications of Rule G to a primary range of reference take the form of successive additions of PC to another PC-string. This may be illustrated as follows:

![Figure 4. Range of fvy 'woman's brother'](image)

Figure 3. Villages of the Turu language family

The Iau are hunters and gatherers. Sago is their staple food supplemented by wild pig, fish from the river system along which they live, sago grubs, marsupials, rodents, some insects, pandanus, breadfruit, some wild starchy roots, bananas, sweet potato, papaya, and pineapple. Chickens have also been introduced.

Each Iau family usually has two houses. One is located in the village of Fau or Takusi. The other is located within the land area controlled by the clan to which the family belongs. There are 63 houses in the village of Fau, each one containing a nuclear or extended family of a man, his wives, their small children, and unmarried girls. Bachelors live in men's houses.
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Figure 4 shows the generational extension of the term fvy 'woman's brother' in Iau. The primary referential definition of the term is fPCm female ego's parents male child. In its extended range (Rule G), it is any male kinsman of her generation, namely, fPPCCm, fPPPPCCm, and so forth. This full range of fvy is expressed as fPCm (G).

The second extension rule required for Iau is Merrifield's Extension Rule 1, which defines unlimited bidirectional extension, both lineal and collateral. This rule applies to the Iau grandkinsman terms. The ranges of 'e' 'grandparent' are thus characterizable as PP(1) -- ego's parent's parent, irrespective of sex, or any other lineal or collateral kinsman of two or more generations distance from ego. Rule 1 successively adds Ps or Cs without limit to a primary PC-string with the limitation that for a primary string of an ascending generation, such as PP, no more Cs be added than Ps. The converse is the case for kintypes of descending generation, such as CC, where the number of added Ps may not exceed the number of added Cs. The extension of the grandfather term by rule 1 is represented graphically in Figure 5, along with the range of its reciprocal, 'bí' 'grandchild', which is CC(1).

Figure 5. Ranges of 'e and 'bí

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2.1 FILIAL KINSHIP TERMS

Iau filial kinship terms of reference are listed in Figure 6. They constitute 6 reciprocal sets.

Figure 6. Iau Filial Kinship Terms of Reference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'e</td>
<td>PP(1)</td>
<td>grandparent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bí</td>
<td>CC(1)</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aa</td>
<td>MP(G)</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'ty</td>
<td>FPF(G)</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soe</td>
<td>FPM(G)</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'só</td>
<td>C(G)</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boi</td>
<td>cPC(G)</td>
<td>elder sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>yPC(G)</td>
<td>younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'au'i</td>
<td>mPCf(G)</td>
<td>man's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fvy</td>
<td>fPCm(G)</td>
<td>woman's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'i</td>
<td>xPC(G)</td>
<td>cousin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.11 Grandkinsmen. Two grandkinsmen terms in Iau form a reciprocal set: 'e 'grandparent' and 'bí' 'grandchild'. 'e refers to all kinsmen more than one ascending generation from ego. The primary range of reference is parent's parent. As discussed above, it extends bidirectionally (Rule 1) to include all lineal and collateral kinsmen of two or more ascending generations from ego. In ego's parent's parent's generation, this includes ego's parent's
parent's siblings as well as his (or her) cross and parallel cousins of either sex.

The term 'bi' refers to all kinsmen more than one descending generation from ego. Its primary range of reference is child's child. It extends both collaterally and lineally (Rule 1) to the grandchildren of ego's siblings and cousins, and to their descendents, extending in unlimited fashion both vertically and horizontally.

2.12 Parent and Child Terms. Parent and child terms in Iau form another reciprocal set. There are three terms for kinsmen of the parental generation in Iau: 'aa 'father', 'a ty 'mother', and soe 'uncle'. These three terms define the bifurcate categories 'agnatic' (through male parent) and 'cognatic' (through female parent). For the purpose of generative definitions, M designates agnatic filiation, and $F$ cognatic.

In this way, MP(G) designates the agnatic parent (father) as the primary referent of 'aa, and includes any of his same-generation kinsmen, male or female, as an extended referent.

The corresponding cognatic kinsmen are distinguished by sex. 'a ty 'mother' is defined as FPΓ(G), having the female parent as its primary range of reference. It extends to all of mother's same-generation, female kinsmen, both siblings and cousins (Rule G). The term soe 'uncle' is defined as FMΓ(G), denoting the male cognatic 'parent'; namely, the mother's brother. It extends to all of mother's same generation male kinsmen (Rule G).

The term 'so 'child' is reciprocal to the three parent terms. It is defined as C(G), having ego's child as its primary referent. It extends collaterally to all kinsmen of the first descending generation (Rule G); namely, to the children of siblings and cousins.

'so is a term of reference. When ego is addressing his child he differentiates between male and female. 'af is used in addressing a female child and is defined as Cf(G) 'daughter'. f$V$ is used to address a male child and is defined as Cm(G) 'son'. The age of the child addressed is indicated by using one of two suffixes -si and -te to indicate that the child is a toddler or younger. The f of 'af is dropped before these suffixes, as in 'asi 'baby daughter'.

2.13 Siblings. The remaining three reciprocal sets are used between ego and his same-generation kinsmen.

2.13.1 Relative Age Terms. The terms boi 'elder sibling' and y 'younger sibling' are defined as oPC(G) and yPC(G), respectively. Their primary referents include any sibling of either sex who shares at least one parent with ego. They extend to any kinsman of ego's generation, parallel or cross-cousin, of either sex (Rule G).

A basic component of this reciprocal set is temporal priority. The relative seniority of alter and ego is indicated by using boi to designate a sibling born before ego, and by using y to designate a sibling born after ego. In their extended senses, however, it is not the temporal order of birth of ego and alter that is indicated by boi and y, but rather the order of birth of the original set of siblings in the genealogical chain that links ego to alter.
The vertical dimension of Figure 7 represents real
time and shows the actual order of birth. The dotted
lines which separate genealogical generations reveal
temporal skewing between generations.

Within the genealogy of Figure 7, there are two true
sibling pairs: C and D, and E and F. The vertical
dimension of real time, or real order of birth, determines
how such siblings refer to one another. D is 'elder
sibling' to C; F is elder sibling to E. The term boi
'elder sibling' is used by C and E for D and F, respec-
tively; and ë 'younger sibling' is used as its recip-
rocal.

Even beyond these true sibling pairs, however, Figure 7
has been arranged so that the horizontal axis from left to
right represents sibling term usage such that, within any
one genealogical generation, the 'sibling' ranked as younger
(ë) is located to the left of any 'sibling' ranked as elder
(boi).

In the first (highest) generation, B is boi to A. In
the second F is boi to E, E is boi to D, and D is boi to C--
this in spite of the fact that E is younger even than D's son
H. This rests on B being boi to A.

In the third generation, J is boi to I because of F
being boi to E. I is boi to H because (ultimately) B is
boi to A. H is boi to G because D is boi to C.

Finally, M is boi to L because B is boi to A. L is
boi to K because D is boi to C. In this last case, K could
be considered boi to L through K's mother I who is boi to H;
but K is more closely linked to L through his father G than
through his mother I. Since H is boi to G, L is boi to K.

2.13.2 Relative Sex Terms. A second reciprocal set of
terms is used between siblings of the opposite sex. 'au'i
(or 'a'i) is a man's term for his sister, and fvi is a
woman's term for her brother. These terms focus on the
sexual polarity of two individuals (ignoring relative age, but otherwise range over the same kintypes as boî and ḷ. A man may refer to any female kinsman who is boî or ḷ as 'au'î 'man's sister'. Any such woman may use fvy 'woman's brother'. These latter terms are only used in reference. The terms boî and ḷ are used in direct address. 'au'î is defined as mpCf(G); fvy is defined as fpCm(G).

2.13.3 Cousin Terms. The term a'i 'cousin' is self-reciprocal. It denotes a mother's brother's child or a father's sister's child, and is defined as xPC(G). In this definition, 'x' stands for the bifurcate category 'cross' which, in Iau, is of the Seneca type (Lounsbury 1964) in that the relative sex of the linking kinsmen of the parent generation is diagnostic.

Thus, in Figure 8, A and B are cross-cousins, but C and D are not. A'i extends bilaterally (Rule G) to any cross-kinsman of ego's generation; that is, to any kinsman linked to ego by a genealogical chain which includes opposite-sex parents of ego and alter, respectively.

An Iau may participate in a special clay rubbing ceremony with one of his cross-cousins as a part of establishing a special exchange relationship. After such a ceremony, the exchange partners discontinue the use of a'i 'cousin', and refer to one another as 'vî.

Since other sibling terms do not distinguish bifurcate categories, Iau 'cousins' are a subset of 'siblings'.

3.0 AFFINAL KINSHIP TERMS

Only a few terms classify a relatively small number of individuals as affinal kinsmen. Iau affinal kinship terms of reference are presented in Figure 9.

Figure 9. Iau Affinal Terms of Reference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'be</td>
<td>MSFp(G1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fu</td>
<td>FSFp(G1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dv</td>
<td>CFs(G1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa'e</td>
<td>mSPCm(R,G1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tê</td>
<td>Sm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sî</td>
<td>Sf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

wife's agnatic parent  
wife's cognatic parent  
daughter's husband  
man's brother-in-law  
husband  
wife

3.1 PARENT- AND CHILD-IN-LAW

Three affinal terms define a reciprocal set used by a husband and his siblings, on the one hand, and the parents and siblings of the parents of a wife, on the other hand, as indicated graphically in Figure 10.
3.2 MAN'S BROTHER-IN-LAW.

The term sa'e 'man's brother-in-law' denotes a wife's brother or (reciprocally by Rule R) a man's sister's husband. It extends to the male child of any person referred to as 'be or fu (wife's parents) and, reciprocally, to any male those same 'parents' refer to as dv 'daughter's husband'.

3.3 SPOUSE

The terms used for husband and wife in Iau are 'tē 'man' and 'sī 'woman'. They are used only for an actual spouse.

3.4 OTHER AFFINALS

All other affinal kinsmen are referred to either by a descriptive phrase, or by the consanguineal term used prior to the marriage in question. If a woman called her husband's father grandparent ('e) before she was married, then she continues to call him that after her marriage.

When a marriage takes place between two close consanguineal relatives such as father's brother and brother's daughter, then the man does not use the affinal terms for his wife's parents and siblings. Affinal terms are incompatible with close consanguineal relationships.

4.0 KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

The basis for all kinship relationships is sharing and exchange. Extended relationships represent a potentially large group of people with whom ego is in a giving and receiving relationship, but many of these relationships are dormant. An Iau comment on such a relationship is, 'He is my (classificatory) father but he never gives me anything. So I don't give him anything or
help him. We don't really call each other by kin terms when we speak to one another." In other words, ego feels no responsibility toward him. A dormant relationship is made meaningful by beginning to share and exchange. In the Iau concept of relationships, if a person refuses to help you, never shares anything with you, or does not respond to your requests, he does not care about you. Sharing is equal to caring.

The Iau ideological view of their kin relationships—both consanguineal and affinal—is a network of loving, sympathetic, supportive relationships expressed by sharing goods and services viewed against a dark background of lives governed by fear of sorcery from those outside the ties of these close kin bonds. Just as kinsmen are sharers in good things, outsiders are sharers in bad things. As the Iau put it, "If my brother has died and I am in mourning for him, then I feel better if I make someone else mourn along with me." And so he raids an enemy village so that other men will also be in mourning for their brothers.

4.1 GRANDKINSMAN RELATIONSHIPS

The grandparent-grandchild relationship is considered a highly affectionate one. Grandparents dote on their grandchildren and evidence this by giving generously to their grandchildren and sharing whatever they have with them.

4.2 PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

A child's parents provide their children with food, care, shelter, and education in skills and social behavior. A parent's siblings may help in this, but actual parents have the ongoing responsibility.

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Father is mildly authoritarian. He reproves his children and keeps siblings from fighting with one another. Parents do not often force their children to do anything against their will, however, although they may try to persuade them through verbal expressions of anger. As a courtesy, an Iau father is consulted by his older sons before they provide help to another relative on any major project such as planting, canoe building, or house building. He himself can expect help from his children for a similar project when needed. He advises and helps his sons on such matters as the cutting up and distribution of meat from wild pigs they have killed so that each relative gets his rightful share. He should also be consulted by his sons in the choosing of a marriage partner, and controls the marriages of his daughters.

Children are expected to look after their parents in their old age. A good son provides his father with plenty of wild pork, so that he will be strong and not grow old quickly and die.

Parent's siblings freely share what they have with their sibling's child, and may even temporarily care for him. In turn, they may request help from him in house building, canoe building, and planting. Along with father and brothers, they seek to avenge his death or punish his widow if she should marry too soon after he dies. A mother's brother may take responsibility for him should he be orphaned and have no elder sibling to care for him.

4.3 THE ELDER-YOUNGER SIBLING RELATIONSHIP

The role of an elder sibling, especially elder brother, overlaps that of father. An elder brother is responsible for a younger one in the event of their father's death. He administers the food, trees, gardens, house, and land left by the father to his children. If a man behaves in socially
unacceptable ways (such as by committing incest), his siblings share his shame, so an elder brother monitors and reproves the bad behavior of his siblings. He also acts as their advisor.

As in the other kin relationships, the relationship between siblings is characterized by the free giving and sharing of goods. An Iau aphorism states that "you should not eat your food alone; you should share it." Brothers help one another in major activities such as house building, canoe making, planting and garden preparation. They fight together and avenge one another's deaths.

The sibling bond is equally as strong among full-, half-, and step-siblings who have grown up in the same house. The desire to 'follow one's brother' and marry women from the same family is an expression of the closeness of the sibling bond.

4.4 BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIPS

The relationship between brother and sister is very close. A story is told of a man who killed someone and had to flee to the jungle. He came to a place where wild pig and fish were so plentiful that the rafters of the house he built were soon full of smoked meat. As time went by, he wanted to return home; but not knowing whether it was safe, he went back and hid in the jungle near the house until his sister came out for vine to tie up some fish. By holding the end of the vine she was after, he let her know that he was there and asked her to find out if it was safe for him to return. She went home and, sitting down in a corner of the house, began to cry. Her husband tried to find out what was wrong, but got no response until he asked if she had seen her brother. He then approached the murdered man's family and ascertained that it was safe for the brother to return.

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In the Iau conception of death, a dead person must cross a wide, raging river to get to the house where the dead live. When a man reaches the edge of the river, if he has a sister who preceded him in death, she will hear him calling and cross over to get him in a canoe.

A brother helps his sister before and after she is married in such tasks as sago gathering. If her husband needs the brother's help, she will speak to the brother for him. A brother often helps his sister through the difficult first days of her marriage. Since a woman marries at about eight years of age, it is likely that she will have a young brother. If the girl is afraid of her husband, who is older, her father will ask the brother to sleep with her and her husband until she falls asleep and then to slip away. He also accompanies her and her new husband during the day until she gets used to him.

4.5 THE COUSIN RELATIONSHIP

The cross-cousin relationship is good, with mutual giving and receiving--similar to those of the other kin relationships. Like affines, however, cross-cousins are not allowed to say each other's names even in reference. This is not true of other filial relationships and is evidence of some restraint.

A cousin relationship is friendly, and the cousin term is used between unrelated individuals who establish friendly, voluntary associations. Along with other kinsmen, cousins are spoken of as 'following' one another. The Dani evangelist at Pau, after learning to speak Iau, chose the cousin term to express the relationship between Jesus and his disciples.

The term 'vi' is reserved for cross-cousins who establish a special giving relationship through a ceremony that involves rubbing red clay all over one another. This takes place in the context of a larger ceremony called 'disi' which
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is for the purpose of getting power to work sorcery on a group's enemies. The relationship can be established between two male cross-cousins, two females, or between a male and female. The giving relationship between 'vi is different from that between other kinsmen in that it is characterized by lavish giving. When a man gives pork to his 'vi, he gives the entire pig. When a woman gives sago to her 'vi, she gives in great quantities.

5.0 AFFINAL BEHAVIOR

Until ten years ago, affinal relationships were characterized by varying degrees of avoidance. Affines were not allowed to mention each other's names even in reference.

The strictest avoidance behavior was displayed between ego, his siblings and his wife's siblings and their parents ('be, fu and dv). The Iau described this relationship as being 'afraid to look at one another' and 'ashamed'. There was no direct communication or contact between them; all communication was through a mediator--usually wife and daughter. Avoidance was most extreme between fu 'wife's mother' and dv 'daughter's husband'. If they were in one another's presence for any reason, they had to keep their backs to one another. A woman was not even allowed to look at her son-in-law's corpse. She had to sit in the house with her back to it.

The Iau describe the relationship between wife's father and daughter's husband as being 'a little good'. Although they could not communicate directly, they did not have to turn their backs to one another when sitting in the house together.

Constraint was less between ego and affines of his own generation. His wife's 'sisters' were called by descriptive terms, 'wife's older' or 'younger sister', or 'brother-in-law's sister'. A man's relationship with sa'e 'wife's brother' allowed communication and was described as a warm relationship. This relationship remains unchanged up to the present time, but requests for a man's help by his wife's brother are usually made through the wife. A man's relationship with his wife's sister showed a little more constraint in that he never communicated with her directly, but used her child or his wife as an intermediary. For example, if he wanted to call her for the same reason, he said to her child, "Sakedia, you and your mother come here!"

Responsibilities between affines were similar to those between consanguineal kin. A man was responsible for helping his wife's father with house building, food planting, sago collection, paddling or poling his canoe, and care in case of illness. He was also responsible for supplying him with gifts of wild pork. The responsibilities between brothers-in-law were similar. A man helped his wife's brother with house building, food planting, and canoe making. He was also active in avenging the death of his wife's brother.

The Iau say about the husband-wife relationship that a wife 'follows' her husband. 'Following' involves accompanying him to the garden to get sago, breadfruit, or other produce, and literally walking at least six or more feet behind him. A wife cooks food for her husband and shares a house with him.

The husband and wife relationship is viewed as potentially close and affectionate. There are several stories obtained in getting data on family trees that tell about childhood sweethearts finally marrying after overcoming obstacles. In the past, a wife was also viewed as potentially dangerous to her husband if she had been taken against her will or if she was interested in another man. She could use sorcery against her husband.

Refractory wives were punished in a variety of ways. A new wife who refused to go with her husband would be made to eat human or animal excrement. Another common punishment was to be beaten with flexible sapling branches or to be given surface wounds with a small knife. A wife caught in adultery could be shot in the leg with an arrow. A man
punished his wife so her spirit would become pliant and willing. Wives were punished for fighting with one another, for complaining to their husband when he favored another wife, for not preparing food for their husband, for running away, or for committing adultery.²

6.0 USAGE OF AFFINAL KINSHIP TERMS

Since the introduction of Christianity, all affinal terms except sa'e 'man's brother-in-law' have been discontinued, on the grounds that old behavior patterns between affines are incompatible with Christianity. According to the people, this is how the taboo against contact with in-laws was finally broken.

They had been told by the Dani evangelist that their practice of avoiding in-laws was not in accord with Biblical teaching. They should be happy with one another and have free and open communication. They agreed and exorated one another to stop avoiding in-laws, but evidently everyone found it difficult to make the first move. The young men who were the church leaders were the first to break the taboos by shaking hands and speaking to their in-laws. They encouraged others to follow suit, but many still were unable to bring themselves to do it. Finally they decided to have a mass meeting at which they all shook hands and spoke to one another. According to them, they have not followed the practice of avoiding in-laws since that time.

The evangelists told them to call their wife's parents 'mother' and 'father', and their daughter's husband 'son'. In actual practice, however, most people now call their wife's parents or daughter's husband by the consanguinal term that designates their filial relationship with them.

7.0 ADOPTION

Adoption of children is common in Iau society. The most common reason for adopting is grief over the death of one's own child. A woman will see another child that reminds her of her dead child, and will ask the child's mother if she can adopt her child to replace the one who has died. There is no formal ceremony accompanying adoption, but there is often an exchange of food and goods for the child.

If the child is older when adopted, the adoption is only partial. The child goes back and forth between the two houses. As an adult, he may choose to live with either family. If a baby is adopted, the adoption is usually more complete, since the child knows only his adopted parents in the role of parent and becomes a member of his adopted family's group.

A family which adopts a child is almost always related to the child's original family, but in any case, the adopted child forms a bridge between these two families reflected in the use of kinship terms. An adopted child refers to members of his adopted family as true filial kinsmen. He is considered one of them. His adopted siblings in turn call all of his original kinsmen by the same filial terms that he does.

8.0 IAU MARRIAGE

8.1 THE IAU CONCEPTION OF THEIR OWN MARRIAGE SYSTEM

An Iau says he can marry anyone he wants. A man chooses the bride he wants on the basis of personal attraction; a father chooses a husband for his daughter on the basis of a young man's willingness to work rather than for considerations of alliance or other regulations.

There is, however, an ideal place to look for a spouse. They say it is good for men to exchange sisters; it is good for a man to marry his brother-in-law's sister, or a sister of his brother's wife.
It is acceptable to marry a kinsman as long as no one remembers the common ancestor between them. One should not marry a sibling (including step or adopted siblings), or the child of a parent's sibling, although several such marriages are known. The Iau say such marriages are bad, that the people involved are like dogs. The couple is scolded, ridiculed, and sent off to live by themselves in isolation for a while. But public memory is short. Once the community has had sufficient opportunity to display its disapproval, the couple is allowed to return.

A man is ready for marriage when he has a beard, and has established himself as a good hunter. One older man passed on three bits of advice given to him by his father about getting married. He was told, "You must not be too anxious to get a wife. Be sure that you do not ask for a woman someone else wants, or your rival may get some of your hair to work sorcery on you so that you will die. You should wait to get married until you have killed many pigs and built many canoes. If you do not, you will never be a good pig hunter and you will not build many canoes because your back will hurt." Men with several children are considered to be getting old and often have back problems.

In the past, a girl was married while still small, apparently about seven or eight years of age. It was important for a girl to be married before puberty lest she have sexual intercourse with other men before marriage. As a result of outside influences, Iau girls are now getting married after puberty, some as late as fifteen or sixteen years of age.

There are two types of marriage. One type is referred to as exchanging women; the other is called 'taking one sidedly' or 'taking without giving one in return'. Exchange is the preferred form of marriage, as long as there are women that can be exchanged. A man who has no sister to exchange is likely to be refused if he asks for a girl whose brother is counting on using her in exchange for a wife for himself. As an Iau explained it, "A man's sisters are like money." A request received by a clan for a woman generates a discussion about which of the men is ready for a wife and what woman could be obtained in return for the woman to be given.

In an exchange marriage, a man can exchange anyone he calls sister ('lau'), or his sister's daughter (so). There is no exchange of bride wealth, but a man is expected to provide pork for his father-in-law, care for him when he is sick, and also to work for him.

Non-exchange marriages are also frequent. They can be initiated either by a man's request to marry a particular girl, or by a father offering his daughter to a good prospective son-in-law. Successful pig hunters and good laborers are preferred as sons-in-law.

The Iau regard non-exchange marriages as a very acceptable form of marriage. There is no exchange of bride wealth, but the prospective bridegroom is expected to demonstrate his willingness as a laborer by poling canoe and helping with planting, and his prowess as a hunter by giving liberal gifts of pork to his father-in-law 'to soften his heart'. A man does not give his daughter to someone who has done nothing for him.

8.2 ACTUAL IAU MARRIAGE PATTERNS

Most Iau marriages take place between individuals who consider one another kinsmen. Out of 80 marriages which took place in four generations of two extended families, 23 were between a kinsman called 'mother's brother' (soe) and his 'child' ('so), 21 were between a kinsman called 'father' ('aa) and his 'child' ('so), 3 were between a kinsman called 'mother' ('a'ty) and 'child' ('so), and 25 were between a kinsman called 'elder sibling' (boi) and 'younger sibling' (y). In the majority of these marriages, the actual genealogical relationship is not readily traceable; but four cases of marriage between a 'mother's brother' and his 'sister's daughter, in which the actual relationships are
known, are represented in Figure 11.

Figure 11. Four Cases of Traceable 'mother's brother' Marriages

The significant fact in all these cases is that a man marries either the sister or the daughter of his 'ally' (tý dvā) (see below).
Figure 12 shows the actual patterns of marriage exchange between Fau clan members, based on data from all current marriages in Fau. Clans seem to concentrate their marriages with one or two other clans. 'Saïta has extensive marriage connections with F'bu and 'Bvi. Foïta has extensive connections with 'Saïta and Foïta, and 'Bu has most of its marriage connections with the neighboring village of F'bu.

Sisters frequently share the same husband. Out of 90 marriages surveyed in two Iau genealogies, there were 8 sets of two sisters and one set of three sisters (all full or half-sisters) who were married simultaneously to the same husband. There were also three mother-daughter pairs who were married to the same husband at the same time, but these all involved the second or third marriage for the mothers.

Figure 13 shows the source of women for each clan. The number of women received from other Fau clans and the number of women given in return is balanced. The number of women marrying within the clan has no effect on the balance of women exchanged. Women captured, and women given by Barere provide an extra 'free' source of women. The women received from Barere were given to men in Fau after they spent some time in Barere. The eight captured women were from Taiyai or Barere.

Figure 12 also shows reciprocity in the exchange of women among Iau clans. Clans do not give and receive the same number of women. For example, Figure 13 shows that while 'Saïta received 10 women, it gave 16 women. Although several clans such as 'Saïta and F'bu have exact reciprocity, others are unbalanced.

The stated Iau preference for sister exchange, the actual patterns of exchange between partners, and patterns of preferred exchange between certain clans all point to a system of bilateral sister exchange which operates exogamously to the clan. Endogamous marriage with more distant kin among clan members also exists. In spite of
the prohibition against marriage between kinsmen known to have descended from a common grandparent, 10% of the marriages surveyed were between such kinsmen.

Bilateral sister exchange operates on an immediate exchange rather than as delayed reciprocity. The Iau do not seem to be concerned about discrepancies in the numbers of women given and received over time. In all matters of exchange, the Iau do not emphasize the exact value of items exchanged so much as the value of the giving-receiving relationship itself. The essence of an exchange relationship is the free giving of whatever one's partner requests.

8.3 Marriage Procedures

8.31 Choosing a Spouse. Traditionally, choice has been the man's prerogative among the Iau. As a result of Christian Dani influence in recent years, the Iau now say that they should allow a girl to choose her own husband. They say that a girl who is allowed to choose her own husband will be a good and faithful wife, one who truly 'follows' her husband. If she is forced into an unwanted marriage, she will be unfaithful.

8.32 Getting Consent. A woman's father has the ultimate right to decide whom his daughter marries. The procedure differs between exchange and non-exchange marriages. In an exchange marriage, the exchange is discussed by the two men desiring to exchange women. Ideally, they should each also ask for their fathers' consent. The transaction, however, seems to be an agreement between the two men exchanging wives rather than between their fathers. In a non-exchange marriage, a man approaches his father about his choice of a bride. If the man's father approves, he goes to the girl's father and asks for her. In a non-exchange marriage, the chances are great that the girl's father will initially refuse on the basis that his prospective son-in-law has never done anything for him or given him anything. He may also refuse on the basis that she is needed for an exchange, to get a wife for her brother.

A man has several ways of influencing the girl's father to give consent. He can work hard for his prospective father-in-law, and give him lots of pork to prove his value as a son-in-law, or he can choose a more antagonistic approach. He can threaten the girl's entire family with sorcery. In a text about a rejected suitor, the girl's father is persuaded by one of his brothers to give his daughter to the suitor. His brother says to him, "Go ahead and give him the girl. If you don't, we are all going to die from sorcery."

Another aggressive approach is open confrontation with the girl's father in the traditional way of facing one another with drawn bows and verbally abusing and threatening one another until hostility has been vented sufficiently and an agreement can be reached.

Another way of forcing the girl's father to give consent is to have sexual intercourse with her in the forest and then confront her father with the fact. For the Iau, this is a powerful argument that the two should marry.

8.33 Getting Married. Traditional marriages are private affairs between the girl's father and his prospective son-in-law. A marriage is rarely publicly announced ahead of time. The usual procedure is for the girl's father to inform her that he wants her to marry a particular man. He then calls the son-in-law to the house and the two begin sleeping together in her father's house. Everyone knows they have been married by the fact that they are sleeping together. They joke with one another, and the woman begins to follow her husband. After several months, when
the wife is used to her new husband, the man may return to his father's house with his wife; but he continues to make frequent visits to his father-in-law's house. Some men spend a majority of time living in the same house with their father-in-law.

A reluctant bride is dealt with by inviting the son-in-law to live with the family for a while so that the girl can get used to him gradually before they are actually married; by using trickery at night while the girl is asleep (the bridegroom, with the aid of her parents, comes and lies down next to her); or by using physical coercion such as beating.

Since the coming of Christianity, there have been a few church weddings. The church weddings involve the singing of hymns, a short sermon on marriage and how husbands and wives should treat each other, and a short ceremony in which the bride and groom give money to the church, stand and join hands, and are pronounced married. The service is closed with a short prayer and those attending shake hands with the couple. The attitudes of the man and woman towards one another during the service are ones of extreme embarrassment.

8.34 Marriages of Widows. In spite of the feeling among the Iau that a widow should not remarry if she really cared for her husband, most Paul widows have remarried. Only the old women remain single. There are penalties for marrying a widow. Her dead husband's brothers, father's and mother's brothers take vengeance on her new husband for taking their relative's wife by burning his house and destroying his food, trees and gardens.

9.0 ALLIES

Classificatory siblings of different clans or different villages have special obligations toward each other, including the exchange of food, goods, women, and protection from sorcery or an enemy. Such a sibling (from a different clan or village such as Taiyai, Baderi, or Turumo) is called ty dva which, for want of a better term, I will translate as 'ally'. Although an individual's relationship with most of his 'allies' is latent, since he seldom sees them, it provides a resource network for him when he has special need, especially when outside the confines of his own household, clan, or village.

An ally relationship may also be established with an outsider, and is passed from parent to child, so that a parent's ty dva is considered a parent (and referred to by the appropriate parent term) and his or her children are considered siblings and, thus, 'allies' as well.

Raiding between communities ceased some ten years ago; but before that, a man's ally was frequently a member of a potentially hostile group. A major function of the relationship was, thus, to provide a means of communication and exchange between two such groups through the individual relationships. Allies had free access to one another's villages. Another name for ally was ty be or 'a person's pathway'. A high degree of loyalty is expected. An individual protected his ally from sorcery or death at the hands of his kinsmen. If a man and his relatives were raiding the place where his ally lived, he would see to it that the ally was protected--sometimes putting his arms around him and holding him while others were killed. A man's allies were invited to the 'disi ceremony, a means for obtaining power to work sorcery on one's enemies. A part of the ceremony included extending protection against sorcery to one's allies. If a man's wife was unhappy with him and he suspected her of working sorcery against him, he would take some of his wife's hair to his ally's village. The ally would keep it for him as insurance to be used for revenge sorcery against his wife if he should die.
When a raid was planned against an enemy village, a man's close kinsmen might try to persuade him to allow his ally to be killed. If he refused, they usually let the matter drop. Sometimes they would plan a raid secretly without telling him. Upon their return, they would tell him they had killed his ally. He would then express displeasure in the traditional way of drawing his bow and aiming at them for hours, telling them in strong language how angry he was at what they had done, continuing until his anger had subsided.

Free access to an ally's village could be beneficial or detrimental. A man could use this privilege to spy for his group, to ascertain how watchful they were or when a good time for an attack would be. A man who entered a village where he had no ally, on the other hand, could be killed on sight; or a man's ally could play the traitor by inviting him to the village on some pretext, and then killing him or allowing others to kill him.

In time of war, the ally relationship could also serve as the vehicle for establishing peace. A man who had an ally in a village with whom his group was at war could go to that village and persuade them to make peace with his group. If he succeeded, the men of the two villages would meet in neutral territory between the two villages. The peace-making ceremony consisted of the two factions facing one another with drawn bows and threatening gestures for a time, verbally expressing their anger against one another. Those whose relatives had been killed in earlier hostilities were restrained by their kinsmen lest they lose control and shoot someone, thereby initiating a battle. The man acting as mediator—the one who had gone to his ally's village—stood between the opposing groups. After a period of at least several hours, when their anger had died down, the two groups would agree to a cessation of hostilities; and as a token of good will, they exchanged sago and other items such as bows and arrows. The exchanges were not between groups as a whole, but between individuals, and included the cutting and exchanging of each other's hair as an open act of trust, since hair was a primary element used in sorcery. Individuals who exchanged hair in this way then called one another 'tai 'hair'. The relationship thus established was a very loyal one—similar to the ally relationship. Anyone eager to raid a particular village at a later date had to reckon with the anger of his own kinsmen whose 'hair' relations might be killed. Sometimes a 'hair' relation could break down; and although a man would not kill his own 'hair' men would exchange and kill each other's 'hair'.

10.0 SUMMARY

The Iau traditionally reside in patrilocal clan groups, but they lack a strong sense of a lineal principle binding individuals to one another. The Iau sense of kinship is based through both males and females.

Iau filial and affinal kinship terms have been defined in terms of four underlying principles of kinship: filiation, priority, affinity and sex. Both primary referential ranges and rules for extension from these primary referential ranges have been defined.

The basis for all Iau kinship relationships, both filial and affinal, is the sharing of goods and services. Traditionally required avoidance behavior between affines has been discontinued in recent years as incompatible with new Christian values.

The Iau marry distant kinsmen. Exchange of sisters is the preferred form of marriage but non exchange marriages are also very acceptable. The Iau marriage pattern is immediate rather than delayed exchange. There is no exchange of bride wealth. Although there are no restrictions on which clans may inter-marry, the Iau tend to concentrate their marriages with one or two other clans. Brothers marrying into the same family is an Iau ideal.
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Distant kin of other clans and other dialects are important as allies in Iau social structure. They provide hospitality, avenues for communication between groups, and means for making peace between groups in times of war.

Notes:

1. The Iau people number approximately 400 and live in the Western Lakes Plains area of Irian Jaya along the Van Daalen River in the villages of Fauí and Bakusi. These villages are located west of the airstrip called Wedi or Weri.

One year of initial fieldwork in the study of the Iau language and culture was begun in June 1978 by Dianne Cooper and Margaret Manning as part of a joint project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Cenderawasih of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. Study was resumed in April 1980 by Cooper and Bateman. This paper is based on research done by the author in Fauí during eighteen months of study of Iau language and culture. Actual time spent in Fauí was 10 months.

Special recognition is due to five Iau men who helped in the collection of the data on which this paper was based. One of them, Ae 'biisi, was chosen especially by the people of Fauí to help because they felt he knew more than anyone else about their kinship system and also their exact genealogical relationships. Beabi, Tibitius, Sakadia, and Daas are younger men who have faithfully served as language informants for the entire period spent in Fauí.

As analysed by Cooper (1979), Iau is a tonal Papuan language with 8 vowels and 7 consonants. In this paper, \( \gamma \) is used to symbolize /L/ and \( \gamma \) to symbolize /\( \gamma \)/. Iau has been analysed as having phonemic stress, symbolized as ('), and three tone patterns, level (unmarked), rising (') and falling (\( \gamma \)).

Recent and more extensive surveys and fieldwork done by SIL in the Western Lakes Plains area of Irian Jaya have resulted in the reclassification of the language called the Turu Family Level Isolate into the Turu Language Family consisting of the Dou language spoken at the villages of Korodesi, Doufou, Hobarezi, Tauda/Tora, Iratoi, and Poitau, and another language represented by three dialects, Iau spoken at Fauí and Bakusi, Foi spoken at Taiyai and Barere, and Turu spoken at Turumo and Yereri (Bateman 1981, McAllister 1979).

This study is based on the study of the kinship and social organization of the five Iau clans living at Fauí. The names and total number of clans at Bakusi; the other Iau speaking village, are not known. Information of Foi and Dou clan names was taken from McAllister's (1979) survey report. The names of clans living at the other villages is not known.

2. Only one incident of a wife being punished by her husband has been observed during the time spent in Fauí. The woman was beaten by her husband for an incident of adultery that had taken place several years before. He remembered it and became angry again.

3. This discussion of Iau marriage is based on two sets of marriage data. One set was taken from the genealogies of two men, one of the Fa busy clan and the other of the Saita clan. There are 90 marriages recorded in these two genealogies. The men, their descendents, and their spouses number about 250 individuals, only some of whom are still living. These two men called one another brother. The other set of marriage data is based on a recent census of the village of Fauí and includes 85 current marriages.
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