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The maps and diagrams in this issue were drawn by R.D. Kitton.
THE ASMAT PEOPLE OF THE CASUARINE COAST

A. van der Wouw m.sc.

ICHTISAR:

Orang2 Asmat yang berjumah kurang lebih 40.000 penduduk itu kira2 9.000 darinya berdiam disepanjang pantai Casuarine.

Artikel ini memakat penbahasan2 khusus tentang pola2 pokok kehidupan orang2 Asmat dideraah ini yang mempunyai kebiasaan2 yang berbeda dari orang2 Asmat lainnya dibagian utara. Orang2 Asmat yang berdiam dipantai Casuarine tidak semersif seperti mereka yang berada disebelah utara, walaupun demikian seringkali terjadi juga peperangan antara mereka. Pengayaan kepala yang sering terjadi dideraah Asmat tidak memainkan peranan yang penting dalam kehidupan mereka yang berada dideraah pantai ini. Dalam hubungan2 lain tidak tampak perbedaan2 pokok pada kebiasaan2 mereka yang tinggal dideraah pantai Casuarine dengan mereka yang berdiam disebelah utara.

Penyelenggaraan perkawinan pada dasarnya adalah sama, berlipulip dengan ukiran2 kayunya, walaupun pada ukiran2 ini ada sotif2 yang lebih di-tonjolkan dideraah pantai misalnya penonjol diletakkan pada perawakan2 yang diukirkan. Beberapa jenis ukiran yang terdapat dideraah pantai ini tidak terdapat ataupun terbuka dideraah-deraah lain di Asmat.

Tiga upacara penting yang hanya terdapat pada daerah pantai Casuarine dan tidak pada daerah2 lain yang terletak disebelah utara adalah: Jamb-pambi, Tesor-ju dan Piespios.

Dalam hal pengurusan orang mati, dulu orang2 pantai Casuarine hanya membiarakan mayat diatas panggung dimuka rumah dimana kematian itu terjadi. Mayat dibiarakan tinggal busuk, kemudian tulangunya dikumpul dan dimusnahkan kedalam rumah. Sekarang pada umumnya mayat2 disumburkan.

Salah satu aspek untuk mengintensifkan hubungan kekeluargaan mereka antar satu kampong dengan kampong lainnya ataupun antar satu bagian dengan bagian lainnya dalam kampong yang sama ialah hubungan koiwaannya. Salah satu cara ialah penangkutan anak dari satu kampong oleh kampong lainnya sebagai ganti rugi bagi mereka yang telah terbunuh dalam peperangan. Dengan menempuh cara ini mereka dapat menghubbungkan kembali peraduan dan ikatan persaudara-anya yang retak akibat terjadinya perang dalam antara kampong yang bersangkutannya. Salah satu pengertian lain bagi masyarakat "pawoe", suatu upacara yang menyampaikan hal pemukeran pemberian2 untuk memulihkan kenikmatan setelah terjadi suatu masa peperangan.

Hal yang sangat menarik dalam upacara2 ini adalah "toor-ju", dimana para pesuda diangkat sebagai anak angkat oleh orang2 tua dari kampong lain seperti mereka itu seolah-olah masih kanak2. Upacara ini merupakan simbol dari "kelahiran kanak". Satu hal lagi yang menyampaikan hubungan keluargaan mereka ialah "Papises", suatu cara pengurusan sah persiana yang terjadi antar dua peongan. Akhirnya yang amat penting dalam kehidupan mereka ialah persiaga-nya yang dikenal sebagai "Arok". Disini sesoorang untuk menyatakan perasaan simpatinya kepada sesoorang lain yang ditimpah kemalangan berpantang nakan
beberapa jenis makanan untuk menyatakan keprihatinannya itu.

**Introduction**

Of a total of about 10,000 Amat people, almost 9,000 live on the Casuarina coast. In this paper the principal concern is to describe the main facets of the culture of these people and in particular to draw attention to some of the cultural features which distinguish the Amat of the Casuarina coast from other Amat people.

In 1950, after Father G. Zegwaard M.C. made his first patrols into the Amat area from Mimika, in 1951 Fr. Verschueren and Noumese attempted to reach the Casuarina coast. In those days the stretch of coast bore the name Pasir Putih (white sand) because of the white stretch of shoreline that one could see from ships plying between Hesauke and Agita. On this occasion the two missionaries only managed to reach the Krukul River. The following year they tried again and succeeded in reaching the mouth of the Cook. But because of the heavy seas and the fact that they had only small river canoes, their attempt to proceed further along the coast failed.

In 1956, Fr. van Kessel and Fr. Lemertzen also visited the Casuarina coast but this time they made the attempt from Arar, where van Kessel had his headquarters. On this expedition they first entered the Faiet River which hitherto had not appeared on any map. On their way south from the Faiet they passed by the Krukul and entered the Cook River. From the head of the Cook Fr. Lemertzen returned home to Arar; van Kessel continued the journey and was able to find a way to the head of the Krukul River. By following the river he reached the sea and was able to return to Arar. In October, 1958 a government post was established at Piripamoa. Fr. van Kessel made his headquarters at Basien on the Faiet River, and a few years later built a house at Piripamoa.

**Villages and Inhabitants**

Although the district of Piripamoa encloses some villages of other tribes here we only give a list of the Amat villages and the number of inhabitants in 1961 and in 1972. In comparing the two figures it is noteworthy that population increase only occurred in the two villages where medical help was available, namely, Piripamoa where until 1970 a protestant mission doctor was stationed and Basien where a catholic priest continues to work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Inhabitants 1961</th>
<th>Inhabitants 1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piripamoa</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arikst</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basien</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanase</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seme</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malamere</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malagi</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinagog</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinagat</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malari</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semoi</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajwai</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basien</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maneu</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pirineta</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawoes</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagair</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tareo</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utinap</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 8,670

**Language**

In his grammar of the Amat language Fr. Drebbe M.C. named the different dialects of the Amat language according to the way in which the word 'man' is pronounced.

**Note**

*) This figure may be incorrect because in early years the people were very shy and a population count was difficult to carry out.

**) Some people from this village moved to other villages because of a shortage of sago.
was pronounced. In those days Fr. Drabe had no interpreters available from the Casuarina coast and he was unable to designate this dialect. However, according to the way these people pronounced the word ‘man’, the dialect should be called Kawainag dialect. This is distinct from the Kaemak dialect used on the Wildeman River, the Kaenakap dialect found on the Soreq, Sor, and Ataj Rivers, the Kaenok dialect upstream from Pumaq and Umar, and the Kaenak dialect found in almost all the villages downstream from the rivers, including Otjanep. Hereunder we give a number of corresponding words from the five dialects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kavenak</th>
<th>Keenok</th>
<th>Keenokap</th>
<th>Kaenak</th>
<th>Kawainag</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td>Juraq</td>
<td>Juro</td>
<td>sirao</td>
<td>taoroe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short</td>
<td>jipin</td>
<td>koro</td>
<td>sirip</td>
<td>falcup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hard</td>
<td>fak</td>
<td>feak</td>
<td>fak</td>
<td>feak</td>
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<tr>
<td>soft</td>
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<td>kmiri</td>
<td>kmiri</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>arke</td>
<td>arke</td>
<td>arke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nothing</td>
<td>opok</td>
<td>opok</td>
<td>opok</td>
<td>opok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>jajumk</td>
<td>jajumk</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>jajumk</td>
<td>jajumk</td>
<td>jajumk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
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<td>abaminjop</td>
<td>abaminjop</td>
<td>abaminjop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>abominap</td>
<td>abominap</td>
<td>abominap</td>
<td>abominap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far away</td>
<td>ndzomopok</td>
<td>ndzomopok</td>
<td>ndzomopok</td>
<td>ndzomopok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet</td>
<td>fenes</td>
<td>fenes</td>
<td>fenes</td>
<td>fenes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sour</td>
<td>simik</td>
<td>simik</td>
<td>simik</td>
<td>simik</td>
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<tr>
<td>dry</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right (true)</td>
<td>ndak</td>
<td>ndak</td>
<td>ndak</td>
<td>ndak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>jom</td>
<td>jie</td>
<td>jio</td>
<td>jio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>pir</td>
<td>pir</td>
<td>pir</td>
<td>pir</td>
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<tr>
<td>thunder</td>
<td>wir</td>
<td>wur</td>
<td>wur</td>
<td>wur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lightning</td>
<td>abem</td>
<td>abem</td>
<td>abem</td>
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<tr>
<td>wind</td>
<td>fo</td>
<td>fom</td>
<td>fom</td>
<td>fom</td>
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<tr>
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<td>abhi</td>
<td>abhi</td>
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<td>ji</td>
<td>ji</td>
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<td>bird of</td>
<td>kokojo</td>
<td>ferfo</td>
<td>ferfo</td>
<td>ferfo</td>
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<tr>
<td>paradise</td>
<td></td>
<td>kokojo</td>
<td>kokoro</td>
<td>kokoro</td>
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<tr>
<td>bush hen</td>
<td>oon</td>
<td>onam</td>
<td>onam</td>
<td>onam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>aner</td>
<td>aner</td>
<td>aner</td>
<td>aner</td>
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<tr>
<td>crown</td>
<td>jur</td>
<td>jir</td>
<td>jir</td>
<td>jir</td>
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<tr>
<td>pigeon</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>su</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pi</td>
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<td>joa</td>
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<td>joa</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Headhunting and Fighting Practices on the Casuarina Coast

Reports written in 1951 and 1952 when the first contacts were made with the villages on the Casuarina coast reveal that the people were more timid and afraid than aggressive. The main difficulties experienced by the explorers was caused through the insatiable hunger of the villagers for iron. There were pratically no lengths to which they would not go to obtain an iron axe or knife. According to the notes left by van Kessel who opened the area (a compendium of these notes can be found in Nieuw Guinea Studien, Jaargang 5, Nr 4, October 1961) headhunting occurred on the Casuarina coast but not as frequently as in the upper part of the Amat (see Fr. Zegwaard’s article "Headhunting Practices of the Amat", American Anthropologist, December 1959).

This is borne out by the fact that from the time of the earliest contact, in the houses only a few skulls were seen lacking the lower jaw and having a hole in the temple—the distinctive sign that the skull belonged to a murdered person. Houses in fact were cluttered with skulls but these were of relatives who had died (see, Disposal of the Corpse).

However, if headhunting in the sense that most of the men of a village would go out to attack and kill people from another village was only sporadic, other forms of warfare were common. People who passed by a village were likely to be killed and killings in fights between villages or between parts of one village occurred quite frequently. Sometimes the fights could go on for months particularly when on one side more people had been killed than on the other. It may sound amusing but frequently having fought until their arms were tired from pulling the bows and throwing spears as well as the weight of carrying shields, both sides would agree that they would temporarily stop the fighting. They would settle on another day to start all over again. Between 1962 and 1967 fighting within and between villages accounted for 32 deaths. Many more were wounded.

Marriage

In the matter of arranging marriages and the means by which a bride may be obtained, there seem to be no differences between the people of the Casuarina coast and those of the northern part of the Amat.

Most marriages are arranged. In some cases the partners are decided upon many years before the actual marriage takes place. During this period gifts of food are occasionally made between the families of the boy and girl concerned. Couples sometimes elope and there are also cases of bride capture. Both these instances are likely to lead to fighting.

On the day of the wedding the bridegroom goes first to the house of the girl. He sits down close to the girl while her uncles and aunts adorn her with necklaces. A cuscus skin with feathers is placed on her forehead; arm bands are worn and usually a cassowary bone knife is thrust into one of these. The upper part of the body and the face are painted white and red. After this the girl will be given her first ajor—the dress of a married woman made from the fibres of sago leaves tied to a woven band.

After these preparations the girl is borne to the house of the boy on the shoulders of an uncle. The bridegroom who is led by the hand follows behind. The girl, sitting on the shoulders of her uncle usually carries an axe. Her family brings arrows, spears, dogs’ teeth, axes of iron as well as stone, birds feathers, cuscus skins and so on. After having arrived at the boy’s house, the couple is seated on a mat close to the fire place. Sitting side by side, the knee of the girl is placed on the knee of the boy. One of the relatives of the girl stands behind her and whispers the name of her partner into her ears; this name the girl has to repeat. The same procedure is then followed with the boy. Still standing behind them this relative places one hand on the girl’s back and the other on that of the boy. Pushing them a little (seri baevela) he says: “Amo jum, jo jum anapesse baevel” (May both of you stay together all monsoons and all days).

The boy’s family then accept all the items brought by the family of the girl, but unlike the people of the northern part of the Amat, these gifts have to be replaced. The boy’s family together with the newly married couple go to look for sago. In the evening they bring the sago together with gifts
to replace those that have been given to the family of the girl.

Exact replacement of the gifts is adhered to very strictly. Should it happen that the family of the girl gave something and no one among the boy’s family possessed this particular item, it will be returned with an apology.

**Carvings**

As in the case of other areas of the Amat, along the Casuarina coast one can associate styles in carving with particular villages and, in the case of the better carvings, with a particular artist.

It is virtually impossible to state any clear features which differentiate the carvings of the Casuarina coast from those of other areas of the Amat. With regard to Casuarina statues however it can be said that the faces are much more expressive and less stylized. It is also typical of the area that the teeth are large and everted and the tongue always protrudes between the teeth. Also, along the coast there are carvings that are not found in the other areas of the Amat. Hereunder the name of the village is given and the more typical carvings described.

**Otanepe (people from Agats call this village Otanepe)**

**Bowls**

Some of the carvers of this village make very beautiful bowls decorated on the back and with a human head on top. This type of bowl is also found at Omadesep and Basin but most of the bowls from the Basin are originally from Otanepe. Over the last few years I have seen some items made by a carver from Basin.

**Pillows**

The human skull of a relative is still the most common pillow. At Otanepe people also use oval shaped pieces of wood 30 to 40 cm long. Most of these are decorated, sometimes with very small and delicately carved figures all around the surface.

**Crocodiles**

This is item that has recently appeared at Otanepe. Originally these crocodile were made only at Semendoro and Tarew. The crocodiles made at Otanepe are not very expressive. Generally they are made from light wood.

**Basin**

Although there are seven good carvers in this village who make fine perang heads, shields and spears, no specific carvings are associated with this village.

**Nanu**

The same applies to these two villages.

**Browes**

In this village people used to make bowls also but they were different from the bowls of Otanepe. Bowls from Browes were not painted; the motifs were also different being smaller and well executed. Sad to say, the only two good carvers have died and nobody else of the village ever learnt how to carve.

**Semendoro**

The big crocodiles and buntis (mythological snakes) made from heavy iron-wood were originally carved in this village.

A feast was associated with the making of these carvings. When a carving was completed it was removed from the feast house and shown to the village people. For some years there has been no interest in carving these crocodiles and snakes. This may be because there is no market for them because of their size and weight.

**Tarew**

In the 1960's carvings of crocodiles and buntis were also made in this village. In recent years the carvers in this large village have begun to make all kinds of new carvings involving new compositions. Some of these carvings are very attractive although as traditional ethnographic items they are of no value.

1 Otanepe is the only village where numbers of young people are interested in learning to carve. This may be because no other sources of income exist.
Care of the Corpse

Unlike other areas of the Amat, along the Casuarina coast the corpse is placed on a platform in front of the house, within half an hour of death. The only exception to this was in the case of little babies and also women who died in childbirth. The corpse of such a woman was removed from the village because her spirit is dangerous and greatly feared.

Needless to say, villages where deaths had occurred were permeated with a horrible smell. The corpse was lightly wrapped in a mat and left to rot on the platform. The family must have the head of the deceased. A small feast was arranged for the day when the head could be removed from the body. That night the ‘Mebir wui niido’ would be sung, the song of the death’s-head.

To speed up the process of decomposition, the maggots would be moved from one part of the corpse to another. When the flesh had rotted away, the bones would be collected and the platform taken apart. The bones as well as the sticks which formed the platform were carried to the forest. That night a small sago feast would be given and people sang the ‘Jame, eheog, ndibo’ — the song of the bones and the ‘Jame’. This term refers to the soft wood used for the platform building.

Nowadays one rarely sees platforms any more. As soon as a catechist has been stationed in the village, the people are urged to bury the dead. It is still common, however, to dig up the corpse after a few weeks to remove the skull. If the skull is not taken into the house the spirit of the deceased will become angry and take revenge by ‘taking away’ another person.

In an adult dies suddenly, in the middle of the first night when the corpse was exposed on the platform a large group of men would gather around the platform with spears and arrows in their hands. They would arrange themselves around the platform and wait in silence. The reason of this gathering was to discover the cause of death. ‘Jame tao-emoses’. One of the relatives would begin by asking ‘I, why did you die? What happened to you?’ It is believed that when the correct reason for death is given the body will ‘move’. The relative would mention all kinds of possible causes of death.

"Did the sorceress woman from Otanp—shapen kill you?" "Were you beaten by your husband?" "Did you eat forbidden food ......... fish, crab etc.,"

At a certain question when the corpse "moved" the men standing around the platform would raise their spears and arrows and strike them against each other across the top of the platform. At the same time they would shout "aaassaaah! eeeeeeh! aaassssssss!" because the cause of death was now known.

Throughout this procedure the people in the house of death remain inside waiting in silence and in some apprehension to learn the cause of death. After the corpse has been removed and the cause of death known one of the close relatives will go to the riverside and inform the entire village what they have learned. His voice resounds over the river and can be understood easily by everyone in the houses. After the information has been given, from all the houses a great shout will arise. Everyone can then sleep in peace.

Feasts

Because the purpose of this article is to show the main differences between the Amat of the north and the Amat of the Casuarina coast, in this section we will not discuss the feasts that are common to both areas, such as the mask feast (jipal) the ‘Miso’ feast, the feast of the sago grub (‘japao or ‘ndino’), the feast of the new shields (‘jame’) and many other smaller feasts.

According to the notes left by Fr. G. Zagarid, almost all the Amat feasts and rituals are adapted from kawara rituals of the Mimika, which in turn seem to be very close to the rituals of the nafaripi (island people). As for the Casuarina coast, the older people say they took their feasts over from the northern Amat. As a matter of fact, the servant the writer employed from 1962 – 1965 who came from Bera (close to Agata) initiated some feasts that up until then had been customary in this area. One of these was the ‘Mis’ feast, which elsewhere was the prelude to a headhunting raid. On the Casuarina coast the feast has no association with headhunting, which was unknown. So far as is known there are only three feasts celebrated on the Casuarina coast that are not known to the Amat of the north. These are:

2. Tasur-pu : see under Intensification of Relationships.

3. Piesepies : a feast that is not known in the Faist and Kromkal River areas but only in the environs of Pirinapoen.

The men spend the nights in the feast house and also much of the day.
The sago grubs, when they are mature enough, come out of the tree and begin
to crawl on top of the bodies of the men. This indicates that the grubs are
likely to be ready in the trees of the sago grounds. If this is the case the
men may fish for two days and then bring in more sago. There is much discussion
about the quantity of food to be collected. As well as fish, sea and land
grabs are caught and taken to the feast house. The nippers of some of
the crabs are inserted into the holes in the palms of the sago. People explain
that they do this because the sago grubs have jaws and can bite.

When everything has been prepared, that evening and all night until
daybreak there is singing and dancing. People then go to the sago palms to
collect the grubs and also to decorate their bodies with ornaments and paint.
Only the old men and women remain behind as well as a few middle aged men who
continue drumming in the feast house. At about 7 o'clock in the afternoon
everyone returns. From the houses the men bring bagapis (small digging stick;
the larger sized stick is called on) to the feast house. The large sago tree
is carried to the middle of the building and each man begins to rip off the
bark of the tree (towa) and then to tear apart the inside (to-fas), all
the time shouting "huh! huh! huh! huh!". As soon as the first grubs appear they
push each aside to get hold of them. When all the grubs are collected a final
"huh!" resounds throughout the building. The grubs grown in the feast house
will be eaten by the men who lived in the house. Those from the sago grounds
will be divided among the women and the older men.

Everybody begins to bake the grubs. Some are mixed with sago; others are
eaten without sago. Grubs are literally everywhere and all night the people
eat and sing the piraat-sg, until daylight. When the sun rises everybody
enters the feast house from one side; first the women and children, then the
men. They then walk through the building and come out the other side. After
having danced for a time on the ground, all of them go to the river to wash
off the remains of the grubs. They then get into their canoes. The women fish
with their nets on the sides of the river and the men paddle ashore to various
places to collect crabs and nipafruits and they also catch fish. When enough food has been gathered everyone retires to his own house to eat and rest. This marks the end of the feast.

2. Tasör - 43

This feast is discussed in the section on intensification of relationships.

3. Piesapies

This is the only feast for women. It is not known on the Faiset River. The feast lasts but a short time and is perhaps better considered as one of the smaller feasts mentioned below. During the daytime the women run up and down the village waving their hands in front and thrusting their stomachs and buttocks back and forth. Sometimes this behaviour is kept up, on and off, for several days. When the writer first saw this feast at Pimdampon, the men had to collect all the food for the women; but in some other villages in later years this is no longer the case.

Smaller feasts

There are a number of smaller feasts. For example, amae pambah - sago feast; to-pambah - sago grub feast; wi pambah - feast of the heart of the sago; jùi-pambah - feast of the large size sago grubs.

For all these feasts there is usually only adi ato sei (singing without drumming) during the night before the particular kind of food is collected. Sometimes there is also intermittent singing the next day while others are gathering the food. Nowadays, during the second night there may be drumming and dancing and singing perhaps to make up for the lack of bigger feasts which are now held only sporadically. All these smaller feasts are not peculiar to the Casuarina coast; they are common throughout the whole Amat area.

Intensification of relationships

In the life of the Amat people there are a number of occasions when relationships between different villages, or relationships between families and persons within the village are renewed, strengthened or intensified. A number of these occasions are mentioned below; in some cases they also occur in the northern part of the Amat.

1. Sei(43)

One of the most important ways to restore good relationships between villages is through the adoption of a child. When one village gives a child to another it is accepted as compensation for people killed in a fight between the two villages. For example, the villagers of Jab Tasör had killed two older brothers of a man called Jipa of Basiem village. The family of the individuals who had killed the two brothers arranged for a boy to be given to Jipa. The child was taken to Basiem. After having arrived there the people went ashore to where Jipa and his family were standing in a row. The people from Tasör then arranged themselves in another row opposite the people of Basiem. The child was passed to Jipa who fondled it and then each of the Basiem people in turn fondled the child. After that gifts were handed over such as spears, arrows and ornaments. The child was taken to the home of his new parents. There he would be given a new name.

2. Pauwo

Another way to restore peace between two villages, or between two parts of one village is called a pauwo. There had been fighting between Basiem and Otanep and one man from Otanep had been killed. A delegation from Otanep went to Basiem and after the people from Basiem had assembled, the men from Otanep thrust an ordinary arrow and a arrow used for pig hunting into the ground. They then asked the people of Basiem, "Is there anybody who will take these?" If nobody took the arrows, it is accepted as a sign that there will be no peace at that time. But in this case two men from Basiem, Wisk and Isip, pulled the arrows from the ground and hung them around their necks with a piece of rope. When this happened everyone gave a great shout.
The people from Otanep returned to the village and informed the father and mother of the slain man that they were to go to Basien. The two men from Basien who had taken up the arrows were to accompany them as wana ipit.

After the parents of the murdered Otanep man had arrived at Basien, some of their hair was shaved off. It was mixed with sago and eaten by the people of Basien. There was also drumming Magas and kurukkuas (drumming because of the shaved hair). All kinds of materials were then collected to be given to the Otanep people: stone axes, steel axes, spears, arrows, dog's teeth, etc.

The next morning a new aigor (dress of sago fibres) was given to the older sister of the murdered man. When the people of Otanep returned home, the two wana ipit and their close relatives accompanied them. There, some of their hair would be shaved off and eaten by the Otanep people.

3. Arok

Arok is an expression of sympathy for some individual who has suffered misfortune. Below are a number of examples of arok which show the range of situations in which arok may be expressed.

Arok, who was eating sago grubs dropped some of the through the floor and the fell to the ground. He went down to retrieve them but hit his head against a piece of wood. Another man by the name of Otor saw what happened and then on abstained from eating sago grubs. After some time Arok was told of what Otor was doing. Arok then collected some food and took it to Otor's house. He placed some of the food into Otor's mouth and after this Otor was able to eat sago grubs again.

When the stern or bow piece of a canoe breaks off (or when something else happens to a canoe) people usually wait as if a person is sick or has died. Someone will usually take the broken piece into his house and after some time will return it together with a gift of food to the canoe owner. Later on the canoe owner is expected to give food in return.

When somebody drinks coconut milk, or coconut flesh, or sago grubs, fish or pork and then chokes, another person will abstain from eating the food that caused the choking. This is referred to as jamu-arak (arak of coconuts) or to - arak (arak of sago grubs) or samu-arak (arak of fish) or wo-arak (arak of pork). After some time the person who choked on the particular food will pay the individual who fasted with a gift of this food. Later on this gift of food is usually reciprocated.

When a woman's older brother or sister dies it is customary for her to throw away her skirt which is made from the fibre of sago palms, as a sign of grief. Sometimes a man will retrieve the skirt and take it home. After some weeks he will take a gift of food to the woman together with the skirt. Later the woman is expected to repay him with foods also.

When a canoe capsizes at sea and the fish caught are lost, an observer of sympathy may abstain from eating fish. Eventually the owner in the canoe will hear of this and bring a gift of food to the sympathiser who will then begin to eat fish once again.

When a man goes fishing with his wife in a canoe it sometimes happens that in retrieving the spear after having thrust at a fish the shaft will accidentally hit his wife's leg. Out of sympathy the husband will refrain from eating the particular type of fish he was trying to spear. The wife will tell her family who will bring a gift of food to the man. After this he will again eat that type of fish.

This list of arok possibilities could be extended but it should be apparent that arok is an important aspect of behaviour in the life of these people.

4. Tusur - ju (ritual of rebirth for adopted children)

Although Fr. Zevenbergen mentions this feast in his notes on Northern Armat, it does not appear to be as common as on the Casuarina coast. It is particularly common at Otanep, the Peist River and the Kronkel River, including Jab Tambar and San Tambar. The tusur-ju is a ritual in which adult men and women are adopted by other families. It occurs between families of different villages.
and also between different clans of the one village. This ritual adoption has two phases - breast suckling and rebirth.

(a) Breast - Suckling

The head of a family will ask an adult man or woman whether he or she will agree to become his adopted son or daughter. If the ritual is to be held there are usually two or three couples to be adopted. These persons will be close relatives such as cousins but not brothers or sisters. When the adoption is agreed upon the new "children" will visit the home of their parents. There they will eat together and the "children" will suckle the breast of the mother. At this time the child will be given a new name (ao-Juas). A man will be given a soto-amon (small bow) and a woman a stick that has been used to remove food from the fire.

(b) Rebirth

In preparation for the second phase of the ritual, the families of the new parents fell sago palms and leave them to rot. An sago feast is held when the sago grubs appear.

The day before the ritual the families of the new parents prepare fibres revealed from young sago leaves. The next day these fibres are connected to the hair of the "children" so that they hang down the back reaching knee height. Some of the fibres are tied to the skin of a cucusus which is worn on the forehead. The "children" are also decorated with a variety of ornaments including feathers and their bodies are painted.

Within one of the family houses which is sufficiently large (in former days a feast house was generally used) two fences are made from coconut leaves (juleon tan buri). Within this enclosure the births will take place because "childbearing" is supposed to be secret.

Between the two fences some twenty men lie on their stomachs. The new "mothers" together with close female relatives stand in a line astride the men.

The mothers-to-be wear skirts of sago fibres. The newly born "babies" crawl underneath the legs of the women and over the backs of the men. As they do so the women groan in a most realistic manner as if delivering a child. When the "baby" of the mother "crawls" beneath her she removes her outer skirt and places it over the head of the "baby".

At the end of the row some older women who play the role of midwives (tie shapar tapas) are seated amidst piles of sago leaves. They take their role - playing seriously and will exclaim, for example, "Here he (or she) comes!" Take a good hold of the head!}" When a "baby" reaches one of the midwives she will faddle it and cover it with sago leaves and exclaim "What a fine grandchild!" or some such remark. When the mother delivers her child a midwife will tie a piece of rope around her waist to counteract the birth pains.

Around the waist of each "baby" a stone axe is tied and attached to the axe is a length of fibre. As the children are born they are covered with sago leaves. The length of fibre is then cut and the stone axe (which represents the after-birth) is taken away. One of the men will shout, "The umbilical cords have been cut! Let us take the children in our arms!" Shouting "Muh! Muh! Muh!" the men carry the newly born "babies" up and down the house. The man in charge of the proceedings goes to the entrance of the house and shouts the news that three (or whatever the number) fine babies have been born.

This news is greeted with a great shout by the villagers.

The newly born "babies" then give small quantities of sago grubs to everyone in the delivery house; the rest of the food that had been collected is divided up at a later time. A male "baby" will play with his little bow and try to shoot an arrow over the river; a female "baby" will play with her food stick. The "babies" for a time will play with the other children; they also call to their new mother. The parents then take some sago and rub it on the heads of the new "children" and the "children" are given a new name (tawon Juas).
Y. Papua

Van Kessel describes papua as "strictly-regulated adultery between two friends, hence always two permanent partners, who interchange their wives for one night and only on exceptional occasions. The special occasions are the result of interference by the spirits in their daily lives. The parties are in a very vulnerable state and this can only be rectified by committing an abnormal deed. To normalise their cosmic arrangement, they willfully disrupt their own social order to mislead the spirits".

The writer has nothing to add to this except to note that in his explanation for papua Fr. Zegwaard essentially agrees with Van Kessel. How prevalent the practice of papua is today the writer is unable to say.

This article does not presume to describe all the differences which distinguish the Asmat of the Casuarina coast from other Asmat people. The longer one lives among these people the more one appreciates that they have their own distinctive way of thinking and of viewing the world. If the work of a missionary is to be effective he must be a sympathetic student of the culture of those whom he seeks to help.

Paskalis Kajiman

SOME NOTES ABOUT THE NYU PEOPLE IN JAYAPURA

INTRODUCTION

At the present time there are believed to be approximately 285 Nuyu people living in Jayapura. Of this number 57 are students (thirteen of whom are female) and 71 have employment with private firms or government departments. A few Nuyu people are market gardeners in the Abeura area and a number of others are unemployed or have only intermittent employment.

In this article, following a brief note on the history of contact with the Nuyu people some comments are offered on the adaptation of the Nuyu to urban life in Jayapura.

History of Contact with the Nuyu

The first contact the Nuyu had with the outside was in May, 1912, when some members of a Dutch mapping expedition arrived from Meravee on the S.S. Zwaluw. Two years later, Bird of Paradise hunters began to make regular visits to Nuyu villages; it was these hunters who were mainly responsible for introducing steel tools. The first government post was opened in 1919 in the
village of Assike on the Kao River; it was not until 1940 that Mindiptana became the administrative centre for the Tanahmerah district.

Most of the mission work among the Muyu has been carried out by Catholic missionaries. Missionaries made visits to Muyu villages throughout the 1920's. The first mission post was established in Ninati in 1933 (the post was shifted to Mindiptana in 1940) at which time schools were opened in a number of villages. Keisse teachers were placed in charge of these schools but because of the war it was not possible to recruit more Keisse teachers and it was necessary to train teachers locally as soon as possible. By 1944, 26 Muyu teachers were teaching in mission schools.

Communication within the district was greatly aided when in 1956 the Kanka road was completed linking Mindiptana and Woropko. In 1958 the road was extended to Ninati. In 1961 the airstrip at Wusek was completed thus linking the area by air to other centres of the province. There are now regular flights to Mindiptana by Merpati airlines.

In recent years there has also been an expansion in educational facilities in the Muyu region. There is a secondary school (SMP), a home economics school (SKEP), a vocational training centre (ST) and a teacher training centre (SOP). However, employment opportunities are few and it is this factor that has induced such large numbers of Muyu to move elsewhere. Other than the 295 Muyu now living in Jayapura, Muyu people have moved to Sorong, Biak and Manokwari but their numbers in these centres are unknown. It is estimated that at the present time there are 2,500 Muyu in Merauke. It is probable that few of them have regular employment.

The Muyu Community in Jayapura

The Muyu living in Jayapura come from a number of villages and although more than half their number live in the Abeura area (students in dormitories account for many of these) the Muyu do not form a community in any geographical sense. However, they all identify themselves as Muyu and enjoy a sense of community. Any Muyu person in Jayapura can describe where the other Muyu are living, which of them are married and to whom they are married, who is considered well off, or poor, and so on. This sense of community is reinforced by occasional feasts when all the Muyu will gather together and on the occasion of a death when all will gather to take part in the funeral and to express their sympathy.

Notwithstanding these occasional demonstrations of communal solidarity attempts to organize the Muyu in Jayapura along formal lines have not met with much success. An attempt to establish a co-operative store that would operate for the benefit of the Muyu members failed for lack of support. Similarly, an attempt to establish a friendly society that was to dispense aid to needy Muyu families failed despite much initial enthusiasm. For a time there was no difficulty collecting the Rp.200 monthly fee each family was to contribute but then suspicions arose about the honesty of those who were responsible for the funds. Members failed to pay their contributions and the society ceased to exist.

In their individual dealings with one another reciprocity is expected. To fail to reciprocate a gift or help is to invite criticism. Likewise, to deny help when it is requested also brings criticism and Muyu who have good employment with the government or private firms are often accused of being indifferent towards their Muyu ties. It is probable, however, that among all the Muyu who have made their permanent home in Jayapura there is a trend towards individualism. In part, this is a consequence of the economic demands of urban living but it is also a consequence of the many marriages which have occurred with non-Muyu. Such marriages do not reinforce existing Muyu kin ties but serve to weaken Muyu solidarity.

Muyu Marriages in Jayapura

Most of the Muyu who come to Jayapura are single men. If they obtain permanent work they generally look for wives in Jayapura. From a study of 38
Muyu households in Jayapura it was found that twelve men had married Muyu girls, eleven had married girls from Biak and six had married girls from Java. The remaining nine marriages were with girls from Marind, Sarmi, Enggros, Sentani, Inawatan, Sorong and the Baliau Valley.

Those married to Muyu women were already married before coming to Jayapura. Since 1971 more Muyu girls have been arriving in Jayapura as students and in the future it should be easier for Muyu men in Jayapura to find wives among their own people. The Muyu men in Jayapura expressed a preference for marrying Muyu women. It should be noted, however, that there are also five cases of Muyu girls now living in Jayapura who married men from other areas. Three of these cases were marriages to soldiers who were posted temporarily to Mindiptana; the other two cases were marriages in Jayapura. One girl married a man from Kaimana and the other a man from Moni.

In every case of marriage when both parties are Muyu the marriage occurs in the church. In Jayapura marriages where the girl is from another area the marriage does not, as a rule, take place in the church and the adat followed is that of the girl's people. In the case of a marriage to a Sentani girl, for instance, bride price is paid in a series of payments with the birth of each successive child. In the case of a marriage to an Enggros girl, not only is bride price involved but the husband must also make payments to his wife's family any time there is a death among their close kin.

In the case of the Muyu women who have married outsiders the bride price payment has been in money. The sums have been in the vicinity of Rp.160,000.—. Among the Muyu themselves bride price has been as high as Rp.300,000.—; the amount of payment supposedly has now been fixed at Rp.50,000.—.

A number of the Muyu people in Jayapura express concern at these marriages to non-Muyu. There is also some concern at the number of Muyu men who have become excessive drinkers and whose families, as a consequence,
EXPEDITION FROM KIWI TO THE AREA
OF THE AIPKI PEOPLE

Robert L. Wight
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ARTICLE

The purpose of the trip was to meet the unknown Aipki people in the lowlands and to do a rough medical survey of the area between Kiwi and the lowlands. Rev. Jack Hook of the Unvangelized Fields Mission had sent a pastor into that area the previous year and it was reported that the Aipki people would be happy for the missionary to come and visit them and to bring trade goods. All manner of stories were rife amongst the Kiwi people as to the nature of the culture of these “unknown” people, and this created an added sense of adventure and curiosity. It was also my desire to obtain very simple observations of an anthropological nature, although it should be clearly understood that none of us is trained in this field.

Three Europeans, three Dani medical workers and some fifteen Kiwi carriers took part in the expedition. The three Europeans were the Rev. Hook, David Willis and myself. Rev. Hook who organised the expedition came to Kiwi in 1971. The mission station at Kiwi, at an altitude of 4,900’, was opened in 1961. David Willis is an Australian portrait artist from Mt. Hagen, P.N.G. Willis mainly took photographs for later portraits and also sketched the large family house of the Aipki. The three Danis are from the Australian Baptist Mission hospital at Pit River. These men handled nearly all the medical work encountered on the trip as well as taking their own notes on language and culture. The Kiwi men acted as carriers, guides and informants.

ROUTE FOLLOWED

We left Kiwi in the morning of February 8, 1973 and arrived at Deepala Hikin late in the afternoon. The second night was spent at Bopos which we reached at mid-day. We had intended to go on to Wivina but a man from that village en route to Kiwi informed us that the village chief had died and suggested that we stay at Bopos. After an early start on February 10, at mid-morning we reached Wivina, the last village before crossing the 6000’ (?) pass into the lowlands. The trail down to the Ok Jakol was along a ridge—a spur off the main range. There was difficulty finding a crossing over the Ok Jakol and it was already dark when the party found shelter for the night in two garden huts.

On February 11, after two hours walk, we arrived at some rapids at a spot known as Kakadobali (“no man’s land”) by the Kiwi. A family who lived in a hut at this site spoke the Ngulam language of the Kiwi group. The following day, after a two hour walk along the river bank we met our first group of Aipki—several young men. We then commenced the climb to the east to cross the 3000’ (?) pass into the lowlands. From near the top of the pass we were able to look down on the Sepik River. Near this point another group of Aipki was encountered. This was a hunting party which had killed a pig and this was shared among the carriers. From the top of the pass there was a steep slippery descent almost due north; we then followed small streams heading northeast until we arrived at the huge family house known as Bonghibi where we stayed two nights. On February 15 we began the return journey and arrived back at Kiwi February 18.
Environment

The altitude at Kiwi was 4,900' and about 6,000' at the pass just north of Wiwina. At the junction with Ok Jakol the altitude was 2,000' dropping further to Ndomlaip. Over the pass the altitude was 3,500(?) and at the lowland swamps about 500'. The foliage from Kiwi to the high pass was uniform, with typical rain forest consistent with the average 5,000' altitude. There were numerous gardens throughout this area in which were sweet potato, corn, marrow and small banana. Wild raspberries were also noted. Between Deepala and Wiwina the terrain was quite difficult with steep drops and with an average of three small rivers between each village.

The section between the top of the pass and the river was similar with only two gardens noted and these both close together and at the 5,000' mark. There were two huts per garden. The trail to the river was through rain forest but this was almost devoid of undergrowth, being on the ridge, and was perhaps the easiest section of the trip. Once we crossed the pass at 6,000' we noticed the warmer air from the lowlands. Along the river the terrain was a mixture of forest and jungle with breadfruit, large birds, crocodile footprints, fish and snakes. There were only two gardens noted along the east side of the Ok Jakol, both at the sites where we camped. These were also potato gardens, with bananas and marrows. Again there were two or three huts at the top of each garden, but with a river hut at the bottom and a little upstream from the gardens. The same language was noted throughout this area; this was as far as the Ngalam speaking people had penetrated.

Along the trail over the range between the Ok Jakol and the Sepik we noticed several wild pig lairs, and at one spot evidence of a recently lit fire which had been started using the vine and fire-stick method. The lowlands were hot tropical swamps with small streams and many stagnant muddy branches. The undergrowth was lush and there were breadfruit and papayas. We saw only four small gardens, one surrounding each of the three family houses, and one in between two of these. Betel nut was prevalent and
vigorously chewed with lime by all Aipki men. Sago was the staple diet and no potato gardens existed. The house in which we stayed on February 14 was close to the river which separated these houses from the Sepik. This was swift-flowing and we believe that no bridge existed across it and that no canoes were used by these people. They seemed to be geographically isolated between the mountain range east of the Ok Jakol and the river between that range and the Sepik, but could well extend to the north, which in fact is what we were told.

This was confirmed by David Willis who had flown from Kiwi over the area we had walked and had followed the border to the coast. There is a river on the flat lands between the mountains and the Sepik. The Sepik at that part is very wide with many sand banks; there is much swamp between that river and the Sepik and it is probable that the people we saw live on the outskirts of the swamp which would explain why they had no contact with the river traffic. Willis saw only one large house and a small one on a north-south river, north or where the two rivers join the Sepik. Thereafter there were no houses until opposite Green River, where there were villages and large gardens.

**Group Differentiation**

Basically, there are only the two groups, the Kiwi related peoples and the Aipki. The Kiwi group could be further divided into two—the main highland group south of the Northern Range, and the small group who live north of this range in relation to the Ok Jakol. The Ngalam language is the language of the Kiwi related people which, in turn, is related to the Ok family of languages. From Kiwi one and a half days to the west the language changes to the Ketarahan language, in the Okkap area, while to the south is the Oksibil group which speak the same Ngalam language with minor differences.

The Aipki are distinctive in their cress, their houses (particularly the giant family house) and probably in their language. Their physical appearance is also distinctive with strong family traits, and their dancing and singing are quite different from the Kiwi group. Their subsistence activities also differ in that sago is the basic foodstuff and gardening seems to be very rudimentary. The "in-between" group on the Ok Jakol are basically Ngalam people but because of their different environment there are certain distinctions, e.g., shooting fish with bow and arrow, catching smaller fish with nets, hunting wild pig, living in larger houses with open sides for ventilation, plus hunting the occasional crocodile. Their gardens are the same as the highland group. I should say at this stage that tobacco was present in all areas.

**Contact with Outside Groups**

In August 1972, some Kiwi pastors were sent to explore the lowland area. They followed "the big river" down and returned with a highly colourful account of people who lived in huge houses 20' to 50' above the ground. The people gained entry to these by means of a rope of vine and when danger threatened they would cut the rope and let it fall. The men were said to wear long hair to the waist which they tied up in a turban when they travelled. The pastors also told of wild pigs "as plentiful as potatoes are in Kiwi," and of fish in the water "as big as pigs" and there were stories of animals that drag men into the water and then devour them.

At N'dalaiap the people claimed that there are rare visitors to the Aipki area but that no Aipki people have ever entered the highlands. At N'dalaiap we met a Kiwi man who some years ago went to the lowlands and married a girl from the Aipki people. He lives somewhere near to the range east of the Ok Jakol. When we questioned the Aipki through this man who is bilingual we were told that the big family house was built several generations ago when their forefathers migrated across the Sepik from the east. They migrated because of sickness. We asked about contact with the river traffic on the Sepik, but they claimed that although their forefathers used canoes
they did not and could not. They had no contact with Sepik traffic but did possess trade items which had worked their way in from Green River, presumably via the route to the north. Thus they were a very isolated group with hardly any outside contact at all. The bilingual informant claimed that there were eleven other family houses and listed the names of what we assume are eleven other rivers. However, these other houses are probably like the smaller garden houses and not the large family house described in a later section. Only one other such house was sighted by Willis on the flight mentioned previously.

No crocodile hunters had ever been seen in the area, and, in fact, the Aipki had never heard of them. The Kepala Distrik from Kiwi had entered the fringes area to the south but had not reached the main family house. Thus, they had had no contact with the government. They had seen and heard planes. The trade items we saw which had come from Green River area were: several steel axes, blades, one hunting knife, a cooking pot (although I never saw it—one of the carriers claimed that he did), red and white waist beads for the men and some trade beads on the women. We did not see any stone axes and it is possible that they are no longer in use. The Aipki had never seen clothes before, except for those of their number who had Kiwi pastors last year.

Physical Appearance of the Aipki

The Aipki were well nourished with heights from five feet to five feet nine inches. Generally they are taller than Ngalum highlanders; their legs are longer and more sinewy. A number of the people had strong facial similarities with prominent cheek bones, large eyes, large nose and gave the appearance of belonging to the same family group.

Their hair is cropped closely at the front and worn longer at the back, sometimes in a fur. The Ok Jakol group also arranged their hair in this style. No body decorations were noted amongst the Aipki but several of the men had small holes in the nose similar to those of the Kiwi group.

Neither scarification nor painting were observed, whereas amongst the Kiwi group it is common and a part of many rituals.

There was a total absence of infective skin disease amongst the Aipki group, as far as I could ascertain, unlike the Kiwi group and the Ok Jakol group where yaws was abundant, and secondary skin infections were common. No medical help was called for among the Aipki group whereas well over 100 people were treated en route to and from that area. Yaws was by far the greatest affliction but other conditions treated amongst the Ngalum group were pneumonia, malaria, conjunctivitis, bronchitis, lacerations, plus individual cases of congenital hygroma, hepatosplenomegaly, marasmus, and I think a case of Kwashiorkor.

Clothing and Ornaments

The penis gourd was the most distinctive item of clothing among the Aipki. They have no apparent support other than their own good fit. Roughly spherical in shape, the vertical axis is greater than the horizontal. Women wore grass skirts. These skirts are of longer and finer material than the skirts of the highlanders. Some of the men wore a woven hair covering with pomatum skin or something similar attached at the top. Others wore nothing attached to their hair. Some men wore arm bands on the left upper arm and others wore bands on their wrists. The men had string bags.

One young girl wore a smooth round shell with a centre hole. The shell was suspended around her neck by a string. An elderly woman wore strings of beads around her neck. The beads were probably from Green River. The same woman had a perforation of the nasal septum in which was a white silver either of limestone or bone. One man had a string of red and white trade beads around his hipe, and these had definitely come from Green River.

In passing, it is interesting to compare the bows and arrows of the Aipki and the Ngalum speaking people. The Aipki bows are about 6 feet 6 inches to 7 feet in length, whereas the Kiwi bows are 5 feet or less. A cross-
section of the Aipki bow would be circular, whereas that of the Kiwi bow
would be flat on the external surface and curved on the internal surface.
Neither group had carvings on the bows, but they both did on the arrows.
Aipki arrows average 5 feet 6 inches in length, and Kiwi arrows 4 feet 6 inches
in length. The three- or four-pronged bird arrows of the Agalum people were
not seen among the Aipki.

The Aipki Family House

When we entered the Aipki large family house we were informed by
our bilingual Kiwi interpreter that we should occupy the side of the house
marked A–B in the accompanying sketch. We endeavoured to stay as much as
possible in this section of the house but were allowed to take photos of any
section and of any persons we wished.

The two men who were in the house stayed exclusively in the area
marked "family area" and it was here that the activities of the Aipki
appeared to be centred. During the first night some of the Aipki men slept
near us, in the area marked "fireplace," where they chewed betel nut and
smoked. They also prepared sago at that spot. But for any other time during
the day they appeared to favour the "family" area for conversation and re-
 laxation.

Hanging from low rafters associated with the fireplace structures
were numerous string bags similar in design to the Deni wam. These mostly
 contained pandanus leaf containers for carrying sago and water. We noticed
 that bananas and papayas were also carried in these string bags. Several
 nets similar to one seen at Domalaip were noticed and were presumably for
catching small fish and shrimp. At Domalaip we were informed that they shoot
 fish with four-pronged bird arrows but also use the net for small fish and
 shrimp.

The house itself is not unlike a circus tent with one "top." The
most intricate work was the roof, and perhaps the most interesting aspect of
the house was the several lines of skulls along the western side of the roof. There were many casematory skulls as well as the skulls of other birds, the skulls of some pigs and a few crocodile skulls. These were arranged in rows along the side A-B. In the house between this main house and the house where we spent our last night amongst the Aikipi, we saw a human skull which the Aikipi claimed was of one of their ancestors. At "C" beneath that edge of the house a strong odour was noticed; apparently a body was buried there.

The house was surrounded by a clearing on all sides with jungle behind side A-B and with the two branches of the river sweeping around sides A-D and B-C to rejoin some distance in front of side C-D. Gardens were located between the house and the river. The gardens were not fenced.

The other two houses seen were of rectangular base, and had an inverted V roof, as distinct from the main house which was of square base and pyramidal roof. Fireplaces were similar in all houses.

Dancing and Singing among the Aikipi

We spent two nights at the big family house. Shortly before 10.00 p.m. on the first evening the Aikipi commenced to sing and dance. I had been told that they might do this, but as nothing had got underway by 8.00 p.m., I had gone to bed to be awakened later by some of the most enchanting and haunting singing that I have ever heard. The singing continued until 11.00 p.m., when it began to rain. The people asked us if we were "satisfied" and had seen and heard sufficient. We assured them that we had. At all times the Aikipi were keen to oblige to our requests.

The singing was carried out on the bank of the river opposite the C-D side of the house. Their voices were not clear, most likely due to the effect of betel nut and lime upon the throat, tongue and teeth but their singing was far superior to the Kiwi chants I had heard on another occasion. On this particular night, they performed in the clothes which our carriers had already exchanged with the Aikipi men, but the following day they danced on request in their traditional attire, namely the spherical gourds, arm bands, bows and arrows, and head-gear.

The area used for dancing was about 15 yards in length on the river bank, and whilst singing they would either trot or walk back and forth over that area. They moved as a group two or three wide and three or four deep, but there was no definite pattern of grouping. They kept in step with the rhythm of their song fairly well except for one old man who could barely keep up with the others. All the men, including two lads of about 10 to 12 years took part. They used their bows and arrows both for display and to provide the only source of musical background other than their voices. They did this by holding one arrow, such as a pig or bird arrow in one hand, and clicking the lower end of it against the bow and arrows held in the other hand. We discovered that the Aikipi did have jew's harps similar to the Dani's linga but they are much larger.

It became obvious that theirs is a song cycle and that the individual songs, numbering about half a dozen were repeated usually in the same sequence. The following day they used only two or three, and repeated those. There appeared to be one song leader who would introduce each song but from time to time a different man would take over the lead. There were pauses between the different songs and sometimes within the same song and it appeared that on those occasions they were wondering whether to continue with the same song or another, until someone went ahead with a lead. All manner of intervals were used, in both major and minor keys. The commonest intervals were the dominant seventh, perfect fifth, major third and second. In some cases the rhythm was very fine, with syncopated beats and the main word coming in at irregular intervals.

Clearly, in the space of such a short time only minimal data could be gathered on these people. It was arranged that the bilingual informant would later return to Kiwi so that more could be learned from him about the Aikipi people. Unfortunately, to date he has failed to appear. Though few in
number and very scattered, the Aipki exhibit a number of features which would make a study of their culture of particular interest. It is hoped that at some future stage it may be possible to add substantially to the little data we have now been able to provide on the Aipki.

DANCES OF THE ARSO PEOPLE

P.W. Rembouts O.F.M.

TARIAN2

Tarian2 adat didasah Arso memainkan peranan yang penting dalam kehidupan orang2 Arso. Beberapa jenis tarian merupakan ekspresi dari perasaan kesenangannya baik meliputi perasaan kesedaran, maupun untuk melukiskan keadaan2 pada masa silam, juga tarian didasah ini merupakan hiburan yang sangat baik bagi orang2 Arso.

Dances play a very important part in the lives of the people from the Arso area. Normally lazy and slow at work, yet they come to life when they dance. While on trek the bearers hum the dance melodies and as one approaches their villages one can already hear their dance songs from a distance. Though the mission has been there for ten years, yet some villages still persist in their old ways.

There are several reasons why the Arso people dance. Of great significance are the dances that re-enact historical events. It is said that when Narrows and his friend Kunibuan were saved from the great flood he charged them to commemorate this event each year. There is a man in Arso by the name of Saban who is very diligent in performing this duty. He is said to be descended from Towjatuwa and his son Narrows.

There are other dances that are performed to accelerate the coming of puberty for girls who are keen to marry. Others ensure that the children will grow up well and prosperous. There are also dances to ward off sickness.

However, not every dance is historically, religiously or socially significant. The Arso people dance for entertainment and relaxation for they have a great feeling for rhythm. Their dance melodies sound very beautiful in the forest where the canopy of the various trees provide ideal acoustics.

At the time I was working in the Arso area the people were forbidden to hold their traditional dance feasts. These feasts which were of three to four months' duration were sorely missed by the people who longed to hold them.
The Secret of the Dance

Saban, in great confidence, told me the following which even many of the families in Arso do not know.

The dance is an expression not only of their religious ideas but also the pleasure in dancing for its own sake. If one wishes to categorize the dances, one could do so in the following way:

a) Dances connected with their beliefs in the creation and intervention of Kwebo during the time of the violations perpetrated by the people of Sawja-Tami.

b) Dances that depict what people were doing when surprised by the flood.

c) Dances that imitate the behaviour of fish (movement) and of birds (hopping and sound).

d) Dances which serve to teach the people something about the daily life (catching frogs, the distribution of good gifts, etc.)

e) Dances which serve to deter people from wrongdoings (for example, the tagovor where one dances with a skull on one's back).

Preparations

Every village takes a pride in carrying out their duties as their ancestors charged. A dance feast demands an enormous amount of preparation. In the first place, there must be a good dance house, the jas-tia. This is usually located at a short distance from the village. The place is taboo to women.

The head of the village, the kepala kampong, determines when the dance period will begin. This period may be of three to five months' duration. He has to ensure that there is sufficient to eat, not only for his own people but also, and especially, for the guests. Weeks ahead of time they are already busy beating sago. Before the war they used a sago beater with two small stone axes. This has now been replaced by a piece of sharp iron. The sago which has been beaten and washed is kept in a large pit, about a metre and a half deep. The bottom and sides are covered with a type of leaf which does not decompose quickly and keeps the sago moist. The sago itself changes colour and becomes greyish but remains edible. Beating sago is women's work. The men see to the meat supply: pigs, cassowaries, cuscus, etc. The meat is smoked and put on sticks up in the leafy roof coverings.

Location

The dance house which is more or less elliptically shaped is situated not far from the village. Inside it is dark. A low opening is the only entrance. Round about hang the dance decorations from years back. In former times, in a small separate chamber in the Arso dance house there hung the rain medicine as described in the account of the Deluge. In other villages a large scaffold is built in the middle. In Sawja-Tami this resembles a church tower with an aisle on either side. Here is where the holy flutes are kept. All other precious requisites for the dance are stored in the dance house. These the women are not allowed to see when there is no dancing.

The area around the dance house is reserved for the dancing. A large enclosure is built alongside the house with two openings on either side through which the performing dancers might enter.

Decorations and Makeup

Ornaments are classed as precious which are used year after year, and less precious which are made afresh each year. After the dancing, the precious ornaments are stored in the dance house and guarded faithfully by the older men of the village as well as the bachelors who sleep there regularly. Not all these objects, however, are used in every dance. Different dances have different requirements.

1. The most precious requisites

a) The inka-lar. Literally, this means cassowary feathers. This is from the fact that the frame is completely decked with cassowary feathers.
It is about 1.60 m high. The frame consists of two cane rings, of which the lower one rests on the shoulders and the higher one comes to the temples. The two rings are joined by four pieces of cane, which are lashed together at the top forming a point. The cane is completely covered with cassowary feathers. At the very top a bird of paradise is the preferred decoration. To break the somewhat black effect of the cassowary feathers, here and there are placed the white feathers of the cockatoo and the orange fruit of another plant about the size of a small mandarin.

The Jetty group has yet another head decoration. This is made of the fibres found in the sheath of the coconut leaf. It is a strong brown cloth which is also used for washing sago. Its length is around 40 to 50 cm. Around the temples there is a circle of cane which is covered with clumps of cassowary feathers.

b) The ebora. This is a net made from genomon rope. This rope is made from the fibres obtained from the underside of the bark of the genomon tree. The women roll the fibres over their thighs until they obtain a strong, sturdy rope. The ebora is worn over the head under the inkii-tar. The purpose is to hide the dancer’s face from the women.

c) The nor-tar. Translated literally this means bird feathers. It is a four-sided framework made from a soft wood. It is adorned with the heads of hornbills or the skulls of small pigs, according to the nature of the dance. In one particular dance, the teapor, a human skull is worn in the framework. The number of hornbill heads varies from four to five. On top of the framework are a variety of small sticks, to which are fastened bird feathers. The nor-tar rests on the back.

d) The kari. This is a decoration around the loins. It is a cord of pig bones. In a very primitive manner the hollow bones of the pig’s feet are sawn into rings under water with the aid of a piece of bamboo. Apart from its decorative value, it also has a musical function.

When the penis gourd swivels against it, it gives off a jingling rattle.

a) The sata or penis sheath. This is a hard covering of a gourd-like fruit. The shape of the fruit varies enormously depending on the variety. Some are oval and others oblong. The fruit is not used exclusively to cover the genitals. They are also used to store water and the lime for betelnut. The colour is mostly light yellow, but after long use they become a handsome dark brown. Often, with endless patience, attractive designs are burnt in. For this heated coconut shells are used. During the dance, the penis gourd activates the kari.

f) The kob. This is a type of shell, imported by the bird hunters. It is white and is usually the size of a large hen’s egg.

g) The heng. This is a leg band of genomon rope worn above the calf. It is decorated with dangling fringes or coral beads or the seeds of the sa, a certain type of reed with bluish seeds which are used in Holland for rosary beads (coix lacrima-jobi).

h) The siwia. This is an armband similar to the heng but to this are also bound pig’s teeth.

i) The ndikng. This is a very big net bag.

j) Bows and arrows. These are generally very beautifully decorated.

k) The sacred flutes. There are long and short flutes. The short ones are called the jinisir and the long ones are known as the jinaase. Further, there is also an intermediate type. With these one can produce three tones. Mostly it is the older men of the village who blow the flutes at a dance feast. The medium size flutes are called the jinir. The jinisir has the highest pitch, then comes the jino and finally the jinaase which gives a really low tone: 60, 60, 60.

2. The less precious requirements

a) The young leaves of various types of palm which are still white for lack of chlorophyll. These are teased and wound round the upper part of the body. This is the kog.
b) Various types of multi-coloured leaves and fruits used purely for decorative purposes.
c) Bird of Paradise feathers.
d) Red cloth, a recent innovation.

**Introduction to the Dance**

It has always been one of the wishes of the jelongowai that the dance feast be opened by the deceased. In the late afternoon when the sun is already at a slant, the spirits of the dead are called to the dance. Not only the dead of their own village but those of other villages are also called. Thus, in Arso, the dead from the village of Jety are also invited to the dance. For those who understand the past Arso-Jety relationship this is very significant. Formerly, there was a running battle between the Arso and Jety people. Many fell victim to this fight. Therefore it is not out of friendship that the dead of Jety are invited to participate in the dance but out of fear of the enemy spirits who must be humoured.

The **jima**. In response to the call of the people, the **jima** (the soul of the dead) come from all around. They are not all equally finely adorned; there is a certain gradation. The main figures are adorned with the following: *inkvi-tak*, *kon*, *kon*, *kung* and *auwia*. In contrast to the other dancers, the **jima** are always painted the same. There is a choice of three colours: red, white and black. Painting is done over the entire body which is uncovered: from the *kon* to the feet, from the *auwia* to the finger tips.

The participants in the **jima** dance who are themselves also the deceased do not wear the *inkvi-tak*. Among them there are two types: the *gebechitkawai* and the *karamoemo*. The *gebechitkawai* have an arrow in one hand and a beautifully decorated bow in the other. The *karamoemo* have only an arrow in their hands. The arrow is held in both hands at temple height.

When the **jima** come out of the forest, the women are already present at the dancing place. Those women whose husbands have died in the preceding year usually remain at home, wailing as loudly as possible. These women often get the blame, for instance, if it rains at such a moment. The people blame them for the bad weather and may even give them a good beating for this. When the **jima** dance is almost over, the women have to go back to their houses. The dancers wash and then return to the dance house. Were a woman to see a **jima** wailing, it would cost her her life.

A.

**The jaccasier.** As soon as the **jima** dancers return, those that have to play the **jaccasier** (dance father) leave the dance and go a short distance into the forest. The **jaccasier** are the forefathers of the different families who were personally instructed by Narrowra to establish themselves in this or that village and to start a family (in the story of the Deluge). Later, various other people arrived. Each family in this way has its own **jaccasier**, some even have an appreciable number of them.

The order in which the groups return is as follows:

a) the **jaccasier**

b) the jelongowai and their companions

c) the *kibat* and their companions

Once darkness falls, one can hear the piping of the **jimir**, the *juru* and the **jima** in the village. This is the sign that the dance fathers have left their *duar* tree. (The *duar* tree is the resting place of the deceased.) Close to the village, they put on their appropriate ornamentation. Around their waist they wind bark so that they are not wounded by the sharp leaves of the *sago* which they split and also wind around their waists, four or five in number. This is the *nej*. Further, around the neck, they wear the *kon*, a decoration of *nibung* palm which hangs down as far as the waist. Around their arms they have all kinds of shells (white and brown), pig bones and other objects whose noise resembles the jingling of bells. The women have to be well able to hear them dancing.
The women and children are told that the jarenai spend the whole dance period in the dance house. Each family has a certain number of jarenai. The first is the one sent out by Narrowra to find a particular family. Since then others have been added. Some are actual people, others the product of a dream. Various families therefore are required to prepare food for their respective jarenai.

B. The jejongreai. Later in the evening, the men begin to sound the flutes from the dance house. This is an invitation to the jejongreai to come and participate in the dance feast. The jejongreai answer the call by beating the winged root of a special tree with a piece of wood. This is a sign that the jejongreai are going to leave their abode on the Sankria mountain for the duration of the dance and that they wish to settle in the dance house. They wear only noise-making ornaments: the karl, the canta, the bong, the awija, as well as the koh. In their hands they hold a torch.

The jejongreai arrive with their companions, the asoffai, the jengra, the ekinin, and the kosmomu. They enter the village singing. Each dance has its own set melody. The jejongreai song is as follows:

\[\begin{array}{cccccccc}
2 & 1 & 2 & 1 & 2 & 1 & 2 & 1 \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

They dance for a moment and then go into the dance house.

C. The kibai. Shortly after the arrival of the jejongreai, come the kibai with their retinue, the jejongreai. Their decorations are the same as those of the jejongreai, but their melody is:

\[\begin{array}{cccccccc}
7 & 6 & 5; & 7 & 6 & 5; & 7 & 6 & 5; \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

wà ê î wà ê î wà ê î etc. for the kibai

and,

\[\begin{array}{cccccccc}
5 & 6 & 5; & 7 & 6 & 5; & 5 & 6 & 5; & 7 & 6 & 5; \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

l ê î wà ê î l ê î wà ê î etc. for the jejongreai

After they have danced, they too disappear into the dance house.

The Climax of the Dance

The dance of the jejongreai. Between one and four in the morning, the people begin to get each other ready for the dance feast. Paint is applied to the body. The jejongreai, the kibai and the jengrai have diamond-shaped figures, the ekinin have snake-like stripes on the body and the kosmomu have triangles on the back, stomach and legs and spiral-shaped figures on the buttocks. The colours used for the body decoration are white, from a type of soil found at Bagia and the Sekanto; black, from charcoal; red from baked drift wood from the Nami.

Those who are being painted stand. Just before the painting of the jejongreai is finished, the candidate who is to be the jejongreai begins to shudder and shake. This is a sign that the real jejongreai has entered into him. That is to say, he is possessed by the jejongreai. The "keeper of the tradition" (adai) then whispers in his ear the name of the true jejongreai, Narrowra and Kunobwau. It is strictly forbidden for him to make this name known to the uninitiated. The latter are not anxious to know the name either as it has been impressed upon them that the moment they unthinkingly hear the name, they will die.

Not everyone is considered eligible for the jejongreai dance. Only those that excel in bravery, those who have distinguished themselves in hunting pigs and cassowaries qualify. As proof, the skulls and lower jaws of the pigs are strung up on sticks near the dance house. The asoffai are not required to produce as large a number of pigs as the jejongreai. The asoffai bear the names of Mifiru and Nukunu.

Before daybreak, the dancers appear from the dance house and assemble in the dance area, the jarenai. Between the dance area and the dance house there is a screen of sago leaves. The women are not allowed to appear this early at the dance area. An exception, however, is made for the very old women who have made themselves useful during their lives by raising
pigs. They now have the honour of seeing the jejonqraui and their companions dancing without the ambora. The rest of the women occupy a special place in the village. When the time comes for the other women and children to enter the dance area, all the dancers cover their faces with the ambora. No one must be allowed to recognise the dancers.

On this first day of the dance feast, as was already mentioned, two groups, the jejonqraui with the sofrai, jenqraui, akining and kombre, and the kibai with the jejonqraui are the ones that dance. Following is a diagram of the dance house, the dance area and the composition of the dancers:

```
Ja-Tia
(The dance area)
D →
C →
B →
A →
FF FFGGGG

Jagellius
(The dance area)
A
B
C
E

A - the jejonqraui: Norrowra and Kunebuan
B - the sofrai: Nifirm and Mukunu
C - the jenqraui
D - the kombre
E - the akining
F - the jejonqraui
G - the kibai

The arrow shows the direction in which the dancers move.
```

The Different Groups

The jejonqraui. This group includes the sofrai and the jenqraui. They are very elaborately decorated. They dance very slowly and move their inwi-tar from left to right. The movements are in complete harmony with the sound of the flutes. Their song is as described above. The sofrai are the two sons of Norrowra, Nifirm and Mukunu. Nifirm, the oldest son, was changed into the burchu galag, the morning bird.

The akining. The ornaments worn by these dancers are similar to those of the jejonqraui. The dance of the akining does not depict historical events; it is merely the product of a dream. However, this is not to say that it is unreal. Dreams, according to the people, are an excursion by the soul. In the case of the akining, the one who had the dream is the present head of the village of Wambes. In his dream he saw four people coming from the Mountain Jakaraba. In the stream they saw a small fish, the akining, swimming. Inspired by the movements of the fish, they began to dance. An Arco man saw this dance in Wambes and found it so attractive that he brought it over to Arco. Because it depicts the movements of the fish, this dance is fast. Their decoration consists of white snakes.

The kembre. This group consists of four people. They do not carry the inwi-tar. These are the kapalas pendak (short heads). There is a distinction between the kombre Wambes and the kembre Arco.

The kibai. This dance is a variation of the jejonqraui. The people of the village of Kibai dance the jejonqraui in their own way. This, in turn, has been taken over by the Arco people. Their song is as described above.

The jejonqraui. The same applies as for the kibai. The only difference is that they walk one behind the other. Mostly they stay in the same spot. Their song is as described above.

After sunrise, once the women have arrived, they are also permitted to take part in the dancing. Each group of dancers has a group of female dancers opposite. Their decoration is not as elaborate as that of the men, but is just as colourful. They decorate themselves with red flowers, yellow leaves and red material. Over their sarong they wear the traditional peli, the loincloth for women. Their heads are shaved except for a line of hair
running along the middle of the head from front to back. They have large rings in their noses. The dancing continues the whole day. Towards evening, the women are the first to leave the dance area and only then do the jegongreni also depart.

Other Dances

There are other dances besides those already described above that are performed during the dance period. These include the following.

JENTO. This dance is performed by two people. Once upon a time, during a heavy downpour, two children took shelter under the overhanging bank of the Tami. The bank caved in and the children were buried under the sand and suffocated. The two people in the dance portray the grieving parents. Very lamentingly they sing:

wa ã wa ã wa ã wa ã wa ã

2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1

This is followed by

a) the bechbe (two people)
b) the pokka (two people)
c) the jibre (five people)

The bechbe depicts a niliki, a type of lizard. There is no song accompaniment to this dance.

The pokka depicts a bird with an onomatopoeic name. The dancers hop like the bird and sing

7 6 7 6 7 6 7 6

je i je i je i je i

The jibre was inspired by a dream. It depicts a bird.

5 6 5 5 6 5 5 6 5

i wa je i wa je i wa je

Sko. A man from a Sko village on the coast was out hunting with his dog. Others heard him calling his dog. This inspired the dance.

Decoration: complete

Song:

5 5 5 5 6 6

a a a e i wa e i e i wa e i

There are also the following dances related to the Sko dance.

a) Lingkuvata - an imitation of a small bird, seen by day and dreamed about at night.

Movement: very smooth, in goose formation

Song:

7 6 7 6 7 6 7 6

wa e wa e wa e wa e

b) Tokusuile - also an imitation of a small bird.

Decoration: complete

Movement: very fast, in goose step

Song:

7 6 7 6 7 6 7 6

ei ei ei ei ei ei

c) Hakonon - imitation of a sea bird, a strand bird.

Decoration: complete, with use of red, white and black paint (the colour of the bird).

Movement: running hard in a row, attempting to trip the slower dancers.

Song:

ha a a a a a a a

d) Turuken: imitating a large fish.

Decoration: complete

Movement: the dancers remain in the same spot and jump about.

Song: none.

e) Gufiwek - imitation of a seagull.

Decoration: complete as far as the inkwi-tar.
JEVENAR.
Origin: a man and three women were busy gathering sago. The women were washing the sago. They see the bird, kejaka, circling around.

The circling movement is depicted in this dance.

Decoration: for the man, the decoration is complete, including bow and arrow.

For the three men dressed as the women, they are painted red all over.

They have breasts made from papeya and wear the nej.

Movement: they all walk in a circle.

NIISIIN
Origin: a whole family were catching frogs. In the end the woman falls sick and lies in the sun to die.

Movement: many people run in a mass over the dance area. There is only one adult male and one adult female in the group. The rest represent children.

The name of the woman is Jabesau. She feigns illness and lies shaking in the sun.

This sequence is followed by:

a) Gwumombo - a dream.

b) Hijieli - imitation of a small black bird which abounds on the banks of the Tami among the wild sugar cane.

Decoration: complete, with arrow, painted completely black.

Song: e i e i e i e i e i very deep at the back of the throat.

NONE.
Again this depicts a historical event. It is connected with the story of the creation according to the version from the Jety village. As it is told, the deluge occurred as a result of the killing of one of Ngumi's pigs.

Ngumi was the first woman made by Kwebo. The name of the pig was Hikubuk, from the sow Naaro. The man who shot the piglet was Woto who was the friend of Boffin, the son of Ngumi. This dance describes what certain persons were doing when caught by the rains.

Decoration: as for the kibi.

Movement: While Woto is cutting up a pig, five others distribute the leaf gotai, a large stinging nettle, and sago worms.

Song: 7 5 6 5 7 5 6 5 wa e i wa e i wa e i

Fellowing shows what various people were doing the day of the deluge.

a) Woto - who killed Ngumi's pig and who was also the friend of Boffins.

Decoration: complete, as far as the inkvi-war. In the mortar are pig skulls, painted red.

b) Kento - an obscene dance.

c) Gureki - an obscene dance.

Decoration: the kon and nej.

d) Fekuruk - imitation of the morning bird, furung glang.

Song: 1 3 5 1 3 5 1 3 5 o wo o wo o wo o wo we

e) Serafoi - tobacco collecting for the men in the dance house.

f) Waruwa - two persons, one big, one small go through an opening, one after the other continuously. This confuses the woman who see first the big man dancing and then the small and vice versa.

TENOR.
This is a dance where the dancer has a skull on his back. This originated from Jety and its purpose is to frighten the women from adultery. In Jety it once happened at a dance feast that a woman tried to persuade her brother-in-law to have intercourse with her. The husband became suspicious and cut off her head. He threw the bloody head over his back and danced with it over the field.

The last day of dancing is again for the dance fathers, the inkve-war who, after a last farewell dance, take leave of the women and return to their abodes. The nej and kon are unrolled and hung up on the outside of the dance house.
The last day is also devoted to the _jasonekai_ who dance in their sago outfits. A few hours before sunset, they wave farewell to the village and its inhabitants. The women give them a farewell meal of _pororoi_ (sago porridge). Now the women have to return indoors. The dancers return to the dance house. The _kot_ of the _jasonekai_ is unrolled and hung up outside the dance house. The same is done with that of the _sofrai_. These can never be used again. The next morning, all set out early on a pig hunt. The pigs shot are divided among the inhabitants of the village. Only then can life return to normal.

**IGITISAR:**
Cengkeh, mungkin industri pertama yang dieksport dari daerah tropis, mengapa dapat berhasil dikembangkan disatu-dua Negara saja dimana dis secara rahasia diperkenalkan? Kapan dan bagaimana cengkeh mencapai Negara-negara Eropah barat dari Timur Jauh?

Menurut para ahli Patologi, produksi cengkeh di Zanzibar, yang ada-lah terbesar dari produksi sedunia, akan semburu bila tidak didadakan pengawas-an terhadap penyakit disana, disamping segi-segi ekonomi dan politik mendo-rong dikembangkannya industri ini dimana saja.

Cengkeh dalam perdagangan ialah bunga tertutup dari pohon _Eugenia aromatica_, satu anggota burukuran sedang dari keluarga Myrtaceae. Cengkeh berasal dari kepulauan Maluku, dimana aromanya yang begitu tajam telah dikenal oleh penduduk setempat jauh sebelum sejarah ditulis. Pohonnya telah dipelihara sejak sebelum abad pertama dan pernah dieksport dalam periode Han (220-206) ke China. Menurut catatan, cengkeh digunakan di Cina untuk mengatasi kekekanan bernafras dari orang-orang, yang menurut Koi Lung, hendak menunjukan kesetiaan mereka pada Baja yang bijaksana itu. Cengkeh dieksport karena faktor-faktor masakan, pengobatan dan keagamaan, karena hasil sepohon saja mungkin 6 liter cengkeh kering - telah dapat mengharumkan nafas dari sejauh besar petugas Baja. Telah dikenal lebih dari 2,000 tahun, cengkeh pula dapat ditangkap sebagai hasil perkebunan pertama yang dieksport.

Cengkeh sekarang digunakan juga sebagai zink yang difesimali.

Minyak digunakan untuk berbagai tujuan, termasuk mikroskopi, meraka atasi dari vanili buatan. Dengan dicampur dengan teh baku, cengkeh digunakan dalam per-unahan rokok, dimana sebagian terbesar produksi dunia dihasilkan Indonesia.

The clove of commerce is the dried unopened flower-bud of the tree
_Puicaena aromatica_, a medium-sized member of the family Myrtaceae. It is
indigenous to the Moluccas, and its strong aromatic properties must have been
known to the earliest human inhabitants of these islands long before recorded
history began. The tree was apparently brought into cultivation at a very
early date, for it was exported to China during the Han period (220-206 B.C.).
According to records, it was used by the Chinese courtiers to combat halitosis
and thus to avoid, in the words of the insatiable Kai Lung, the giving of
offence to the broad-minded and sagacious Emperor. As there were plantations
at that time, the export trade must have been based also on culinary,
medicinal, or religious uses, for the product of a single tree, perhaps six
litres of dried cloves, would have sufficed for a breath sweetening of a
very large number of courtiers. Thus the antiquity of the industry is known
to be over 2,000 years, and it very probably existed long before that.
Consequently, a very good case could be made for its being the first cultivat-
ed export crop.

Modern uses for the clove, apart from culinary purposes, and the
small amounts used in medicine and dentistry, include the production of clove
oil by distillation. This oil, used for various purposes including microsco-
py, is the main source of artificial vanilla, the eugenol being converted
into vanillin by comparatively simple chemical processes. The main use of
cloves now-a-days, however, is in admixture with tobacco for cigarette
manufacture, and the bulk of the world’s production is used in Indonesia for
this purpose.

Pepper came to the West before the Christian era, but the first
record of what was probably cloves was by Pliny in 77, and we know that 100
years later, they were being bought and sold in Alexandria (Tidmore 1949;
Btunam and Roberts 1971). During all this time and for centuries later, no
European, in all probability, ever saw a country where cloves were grown or
a clove tree. It was not until the time of the circum-navigators that actual
contact was made. Vasco da Gama reached Calicut, a district in India, in
1497, and soon after the clove trade became centred in Lisbon, where it was
highly profitable. The first description of the clove tree and its
cultivation was published in 1506 by one Ludovic di Vathema, and this was
supplemented by a description given by one of Magellan's men.

The clove trade remained a monopoly, or a near monopoly, of the
Portuguese for about a century. The rapidly expanding Dutch empire then came
into the picture, and by 1605, they had captured the Portuguese fort at
Amboina. They then set about preserving the monopoly they had acquired,
using methods which would certainly have provoked comment in the U.N. today.
Merchants of other nationalities were captured, imprisoned, tortured, and
sometimes killed (Barlow 1703). Such methods could not, of course, completely
stop trading in spices over the vast distances involved in countries where the
Dutch administrators were almost certainly few; and where, in all probability,
there was every temptation for clandestine and lucrative trading. The Dutch
met this situation by enacting that cloves were to be grown on the island of
Amboina only; that all clove trees elsewhere were to be destroyed; and that
clove cultivation outside the permitted areas was to be visited by the
severest penalties. These regulations were strictly enforced and were
apparently successful, for the clove trade remained a Dutch monopoly during
17th and 18th centuries.

This valuable monopoly was coveted by other nations, while the rough
handling of their nationals provoked resentment. The French sent an
expedition to the less populated part of the Moluccas in 1770. They came
away, chased by the Dutch, with seeds and seedlings, and from these, most of
the French possessions in the Indian Ocean were supplied: the Mascarene
Islands, the Seychelles and Madagascar. Clove cultivation was also tried in
the West Indies. In none of these islands, however, did a viable industry
develop. The English must have obtained clove seed at about the same time
for they were brought to Penang by the East India Company, and a clove
industry still flourishes there.

The largest producer of cloves is, however, Zanzibar to which the
plant was introduced in about 1800. The local tradition has it that one
Harameli bin Saleh was banished by the Sultan of Zanzibar for the crime of
murder, but was pardoned when he smuggled some clove seed into the country
from Mauritius. There seems to be no ecological reason why a viable industry
should have developed in Zanzibar rather than in the other islands to which
the clove had been introduced, and the reason why the industry became
established is undoubtedly attributable to two of the sultans. The first,
Salim bin Sultan planted the first clove trees near Zanzibar town, and from
these established some 4,000 trees in one of the plantations. By 1835, they
were doing well, and he then determined to establish the industry on a wider
basis. He achieved this by the simple and effective means of ordering the
confiscation of the property of all those who did not develop clove
plantations. Accordingly, large areas were planted up, and the industry
expanded, flourished, and produced vast profits.

All went well until 1872 when a hurricane, rare in East Africa, struck
Zanzibar and destroyed almost all the clove plantations with only a few
pockets of trees escaping. This, in spite of the clove tree being firmly
rooted and with extremely tough wood; it is difficult to uproot even with
modern tree-pulling equipment.

The son of Salim bin Sultan, Bargash bin Said, was then reigning and
was as energetic and despotic as was his father. He ordered immediate re-
planting, and it was soon done. In Zanzibar, and more particularly in Pemba,
vast acreages of the land were clothed in dense clove forest.

The clove tree is beautiful, 40' in height, its foliage is dense and
evergreen, with dark shiny schleroplyllous leaves, contrasting with the
stricking and beautiful pink colour of the juvenile foliage. The shade in a
mature plantation is dense enough to inhibit most ground vegetation, and the
contrast between the uncultivated bush of the coastal tropics and the cool
darkness of a stand of these magnificent trees is very great. The roads of
the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba are avenues of clove trees.

Around 1895, a change took place. The tree began to die by a cause
unknown and described as sudden death. Nutman and Roberts (1953) have
published an account of the various attempts which were made between 1895 and
the end of the second world war, not only to investigate the disease, but to
initiate investigation into it. The people had come to venerate the clove tree, and when research was carried out, to obtain permission to fell a tree for scientific study was difficult and often impossible, and even the removal of part of a tree for pathological examination was often resisted, and always presented.

Sporadic deaths of mature trees had been taking place for decades, and these were undoubtedly caused by sudden death. Investigation and control of the disease was stolidly resisted, and the island of Zanzibar became one vast disease complex. After many difficulties and long studies, it was determined that the dieback was caused by two species of fungi. The finer ramifications of the root system are destroyed, and the ultimate cause of death of the tree is lack of water. Young trees planted as replacements succumbed after about eight years. Very young trees are immune to infection. Dieback probably causes greater loss of crop than sudden death.

Control of sudden-death in Zanzibar as far as the present stand of trees is concerned would seem to present an insoluble problem. It would seem that the only chance of re-establishing the industry is by extensive replanting, under conditions in which the chances of replants becoming infected is at a minimum. This could only be achieved by the extensive removal of sources of inoculum over considerable areas, followed by a fallow period before replanting. Plans were implemented in 1953, but since then, it is not known what activity has taken place, and there is no information on the results of many trials being carried out at that time.

The consumption of cloves in Indonesia is probably in the region of 30,000 tons per annum. In 1971, 32,094 tons were imported. Production in 1971 from 86,000 ha was 14,070 tons. In 1971, 30 tons were exported.

Clove seed has been imported into Irian Jaya, and nurseries have been established at agricultural stations in Jayapura, Biak, Manokwari and Sorong. Seedlings are being distributed to farmers, and if these produce well, there is reason to suppose that, in years to come, this Province will contribute substantially to Indonesia's clove requirements.

to 800 kgs by trees reaching maturity in 20 years. Considerable casual labour is required seasonally for harvesting.
Resignation of the Director of the Institute for Anthropology

The Director of the Institute, Drs. Anwar Iskandar, has resigned in order to take up a position in Jakarta with the Department of Higher Education. Drs. Iskandar who was also the Secretary of the University had spent almost ten years in Irian Jaya and was largely responsible for the development of the Institute and for founding the University Museum.

Drs. Iskandar’s duties have been assumed by Drs. Samuel Patty who is now Acting Director of the Institute.

Rockefeller 3rd Fund Grant

The Rockefeller 3rd Fund, New York, has granted the sum of US$3,500 to assist in the costs of the Asmat research now being undertaken by the Institute for Anthropology. In acknowledging this grant the Rector of the University and the Acting Director and staff of the Institute wish to express their appreciation for this generous assistance.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Linguistic Research on Bahasa Indonesia in Jayapura

Istilah:


An essential function of language is communication. Linguistic communication implies an exchange of human experiences, ideas and understanding all of which is necessary for mediating social interaction. It follows then that the use, or rather the appropriate use of a common language is a prerequisite to successful communication.

In Indonesia the question of which common language was to be used was resolved by the leaders of the youth independence movements in 1928, seventeen years before the proclamation of independence. As a matter of fact, Indonesian, or Bahasa Indonesia (BI) has now become more than the political rallying point it was in 1928. Explicitly stated in article 36 of the Indonesian constitution, BI has been the language of the nation since 1945.

With regard to West Irian, although the question is not limited to this province alone, it seems appropriate to ask whether BI has successfully
functioned as the common medium of communication. This question is crucial, at least in the view of one writer who states: "Of the various social and technical problems which beset the new and developing nations in particular, a sizeable number turn out to be directly related to language in some way" (Stewart, 1968: 531).

Despite the lack of quantitative verification, research that has been carried out on the language indicates that notwithstanding its constitutional status, BI has yet to achieve appropriate success as the sole common medium of communication for the development of modern Indonesia. The lamentations of teachers as to the poor level of BI of their students, who in turn also complain of the inadequate BI of their teachers, is no longer a secret—an indication that something is amiss with BI. A few years ago an Indonesian professor even expressed his dismay that one would have difficulties in using BI for scientific purposes. Serious conferences and seminars on BI have always brought to the fore the frank admission that BI is in dire need of straightening out. There have also been resolutions on the part of authorities on the language to make efforts to develop BI and enforce its standardization.

Another important factor which has a bearing on this matter is the existence of so many autotonomous languages in Indonesia. Literature on this matter is enormous and still growing (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1965; Uhlbeck, 1967: 847-898). Much research has been carried out on these languages although the sheer volume of research that needs to be undertaken is beyond the capacity of domestic scholars. With regard to West Irian, research needs are pressing in that however resistant many of the societies may be to external development programmes, the "blessings" of progress are likely to bring solution, so to speak, linguistically and otherwise to indigenous life at an ever-quickening pace. Since education is pivotal to progress, the relevance of research on local languages to determine the possible use of the vernacular in education is obvious. It is also evident that in West Irian the idea of making use of the vernacular in education has serious advocates (Ellenberger, 1971: 28-32).

However, the success of a development programme, especially when one considers the conditions that obtain in Indonesia, must depend upon the setting of priorities. With regard to linguistic research in West Irian priorities also need to be decided upon—at least from the viewpoint of the government's purse. It is argued that linguistic research which has bearing on the dissemination of BI should be given first priority. To the best of the writer's knowledge, this kind of consideration has not yet been a part of the overall development programme of West Irian since 1962. It should also be added that there has been no research by Indonesians on the local languages of West Irian at all. Presumably the multiplicity of languages that need to be studied, the costs involved and the lack of qualified personnel have been responsible for this neglect.

Now, with the establishment of the National Centre for Language Development, an institution directly responsible to the Minister of Education and Culture, linguistic research on the problems inhibiting communication in BI in West Irian deserves serious encouragement. One research project now in progress on a modest scale is of importance for a number of reasons. First of all, it does not seem invalid to suggest as a basic hypothesis that the use of BI is a fundamental prerequisite to an over-all programme to develop West Irian to a position where it is more or less equated with the relatively more developed parts of Indonesia. Conversely, it can also be proposed as a hypothesis that a low degree of communication by means of BI is likely to hamper development programmes in the area. This is certainly not begging the question in that a low degree of communication in BI may also be observed in Central Java. But because Central Java is linguistically homogeneous, it is always possible to resort to the local language and thus maintain a high degree of communication without BI.

Many areas in West Irian could qualify as locations for research on the use of BI but for the preliminary stages Jayapura is particularly suitable. As Labov has pointed out, linguistic data may be used as indicators of change that is in process in a society (Labov, 1966). Jayapura, which to a certain extent reflects the achievement of the development programmes of the Indonesian Government, is expected to abound with these indicators. The fact that
Jayapura is highly heterogeneous linguistically, especially now that it is in the process of rapid urbanisation, and the place to which many immigrants are being attracted, allows us to test another hypothesis, namely, that Jayapura is likely to require more use of BI than the more homogeneous areas. The changes taking place in the outlook of the population through their exposure to modernisation must be reflected in some way in the emerging variety of BI—in itself this is a rich ground for dialect study.

Following the above the problems to be researched may be stated. If it is true that programmes of development in West Irian will be facilitated by effective communication by means of BI between the government and the people, then we need to discover what factors aid or hinder the communication process. The discovery of factors determining the use of the non-use of BI is clearly of significance. Rubin's method of discovering the social variables which influence the use of language may be applied with appropriate modifications (Rubin 1968:512-530).

Another problem to be researched is the level of communication. Even though BI has been used in this area as a medium of communication for a considerable time (formerly it was known in the area as Malay) the question is whether there is a high or low degree of communication. This calls for a comparative study, or at least the devising of some means of measurement. One method which is now being followed is to measure the speech performance (in the common sense as well as in that of Chomsky, 1965) by means of test-like questionnaires and interviews. Another possibility is the quantitative measures proposed by Greenberg (1956:104-115). Greenberg's last measure, i.e., to find H, or the index of communication, is expected to reveal the communication level in Jayapura, which presumably will be different from that in other places. The meaning of H is simply the probability that if two members of the population are chosen at random, they will have at least one language in common (Greenberg, 1956:112). It is possible through research to find out whether the H is high or low in Jayapura.

The relevance of the research to current disciplinary concerns is clear. The need for developing a sociolinguistic theory within the framework of interdisciplinary studies in linguistics, as idealised by DeCamp (1970:157-173), is expected to be partly met by the research. At least some of the findings are expected to enrich the repertoire of data.

The relevance of the research to the implementation of development programmes in West Irian is also clear. From what is learned about the level of BI among the local population and the effectiveness of the present educational programme in the language, proposals can be made as to how communication in BI can best be facilitated.

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Emerging Forms of Leadership among the Asmat

This is the focus of the second phase of an on-going study in the Asmat being conducted by members of the Institute for Anthropology. Research, which is expected to continue until June is centred in the villages of Sawa - Br, on the Pomataj River. The study is one of culture change in general but in particular it is hoped to be able to discover some pattern in the forms of leadership that are emerging as a consequence of the cessation of warfare, the presence of the government and the influence of the Christian missions.

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Professor of Anthropology,
University of Cenderawasih

Schooling in the Asmat, Irian Jaya

A two months survey to study the effectiveness of the school system in the Asmat is being undertaken as a part of the Institute's research project in that area. The survey will be completed early in March. It is hoped to discover the particular difficulties facing schools in the region and whether or not
the present form of schooling and the curriculum followed is meeting local
needs. In the report to be submitted on the survey recommendations will be made
as to how schooling might be brought more in line with the peculiar develop-
ment needs of the Asmat region.

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COMPLETED RESEARCH:

A Socioeconomic Survey of the Asmat Region of Irian Java

This survey was carried out from mid-October until mid-December, 1973, by members of the Institute for Anthropology. Those who took part in the survey were Drs. Samuel Patty, Johaj Manniben, Arnold Ap and Dr. Walker. Miss. Joanne Rompas accompanied the team as typist but contributed much data as well. The research was funded by the Irian Jaya Joint Development Foundation.

PUBLICATIONS:

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Manuscripts:

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