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THE MUSIC OF THE ISIRAWA
Hiroko Oguri

IKHTISAR

Orang-orang Isirawa yang bertempat tinggal di pantai utara Irian Jaya senang sekali pada musik. Mereka bernyanyi pada kesempatan-kesempatan yang istimewa tetapi juga dalam keadaan biasa sewaktu mereka bekerja, berjalan, dan beristirahat.

Adanya berbagai macam bentuk musik dalam kebudayaan Isirawa dapat dilihat dari mitos-mitos dan penjelasan-penjelasan mitologinya.


Alat-alat musik yang digunakan adalah kecap Yahudi, gendang, kulit kerang, seruling bambu, dan gendang-gendang yang ada belahannya. 'Seruling suci', yang juga ditemukan di daerah-daerah lain di Irian Jaya dan yang merupakan sesuatu yang tabu bagi wanita-wanita, juga ditemukan pada suku Isirawa.

Musik vokal untuk nyanyian-nyanyian suku Isirawa biasanya diperoleh melalui jin atau hantu yang mengajar nyanyian-nyanyian kepada orang-orang laki-laki dalam mimpanya. Secara ideal, gadis-gadis saja yang diperbolehkan untuk mengarang lagu-lagu jenis karam tetapi dalam kenyataannya semua orang mengarang jenis nyanyian tersebut.
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1. GENERAL ASPECTS OF THE ISIRAWA VOCAL MUSIC

Indigenous Isirawa music is anemotonic pentatonic using a five tone scale without half steps. Thus the lowest tone of the scale (this is the note with which each song usually ends) is designated as I, and the highest tone of the scale I'. Each note between them is designated II, III, IV, V in order from the lowest going up the scale. In a scale, the intervals can be shown as follows:

   | I  | II  | III | IV  | V  | I' |
---|----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|
-  | -   | Min 3rd | Maj 2 | Min 3rd | Maj 2 | Min 3rd |
| II | -   | Maj 2 | -   | Min 3rd | -   | -   |
| III| -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   |
| IV | -   | -   | -   | -   | Maj 2 | -   |
| V  | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | I'   |

If one decides the key note is 'E', the scale is as follows:

   | I  | II  | III | IV  | V  | I' |
---|----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|
-  | -   | Min 3rd | Maj 2 | Min 3rd | Maj 2 | Min 3rd |
| II | -   | Maj 2 | -   | Min 3rd | -   | -   |
| III| -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   |
| IV | -   | -   | -   | -   | Maj 2 | -   |
| V  | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | I'   |

There can be more than one tone per syllable and the usual tendency is to descend the scale, which is a common feature of music in New Guinea. Jaap Kunst refers to it as 'tiled' music. (Kunst, 7)

Isirawa music is polyphonic with one group of people singing the song in harmony with another group. The songs themselves are short but are repeated at least three times with specific variation of the melody. Then other verses are added, using the same tune and then without stopping the singers will change to another song with a different melody. It is very common for them to sing hours at a time or even all night long. When they want to change songs and to those of a different melody, the song leader sings "Siin"2, then switches into a new melody. Each type of song has song leaders who are the experts in that particular type. Some song leaders are experts in more than one type. The song leader starts a song saying the words of the entire verse in

0. INTRODUCTION

Isirawa1 people love music. They sing not only for special occasions but also in their everyday life as they are working, walking, and resting. In this paper I present Isirawa music according to the people's innate feelings about it. Each category of music and their attitude toward it is discussed.

One interesting aspect of Isirawa music is that there is a mythological basis for most of the musical categories. In some cases a myth explains the origin of a musical form or an instrument. In other cases they simply provide a mythological explanation for the existence or use of the musical form or instrument.
monotone, then he starts singing with the melody and as soon as others catch the melody, they join him.

Formerly songs were sung only inside the village except on special occasions. This was due to the fact that if they sang as they walked down the paths into the jungle for food, birds would fly away and enemies might be alerted to their presence. Now as people travel back and forth from the coastal village to their inland villages, they may sing casual songs.

At night adults teach songs to children. They demonstrate how to sing a particular song and once the children have memorized it, they teach the next one. Sometimes this goes on all through the night until dawn.

The songs incorporate much of Isirawa culture and history. The meaning of the songs is couched in a great deal of implied information and veiled in idioms and figures of speech. The same tune may sometimes be used to sing about happy themes as well as sing about sad themes.

2. SERIOUS MUSIC

The Isirawa classify music according to its use, origin, or quality which dates back to traditional ceremonies and feasts. Thus wiwiye, kona and fatiya are considered isirawa sri 'real songs' and have more prestige than karame 'casual songs'.

2.1 Wiwiye

Wiwiye is named for the feast held when the Isirawa finish building an amari 'men's house'. Both the feast and this style of music are known by this name.

The Isirawa no longer build men's houses, for they were forbidden by the Dutch government officers. For them no men's house means no wiwiye, for these two elements are closely related to each other.

However, older people remember singing wiwiye in the men's house when they were still teenagers. According to the story of an older man, when they finished building the men's house, they had a big feast. When night came, everybody--men, women, and children--started dancing in the men's house. In the left hand men took a bow and extra arrows and held them upright touching the floor, in the right hand they held an arrow. The women and children did not hold bows and arrows but they all danced in position in one place all through the night until dawn, singing this wiwiye. The next morning they sent messengers to other villages inviting them to join the feast. In the morning when they finished wiwiye, men played the sacred flutes, then they sang kona (see parts 2 and 3 of this section). One Amsira man, recalling the last wiwiye, said that Arno (who died in 1977) started singing wiwiye as the song leader, Tereka (who died in 1978) joined him, then all others joined in.

The following story is told by the Isirawa regarding the origin of wiwiye:

Acawe, an Airmati man who lived long ago in the village of Kekrawa, went to the jungle to hunt birds. He built a small hut in an asaava tree (which was the usual way to hunt birds), because many birds come around that type of tree. He also built a jungle house near the tree to sleep in. In his dream Cave and many birds were singing wiwiye. Cave was a tree spirit who had a younger sister named Viviyeso. When Acawe got up in the morning, birds were singing the same songs in the asaava tree around his hut. The next night while he slept, Viviyeso came to get water and discovered him. She told her sister Cave about him and they took him to their house. Their father, who was also a tree spirit, welcomed him. Then the sisters took him to an asaava tree which was a men's house for birds, and taught him how to sing wiwiye and to dance. The next morning he went back to his village, Kekrawa. Later on he went back to the same jungle house and slept there. Again Viviyeso met him and took him to the men's house of the birds. Men (who are birds in the daytime) were dancing. Acawe joined them. They sang and danced till dawn. Then they played the flutes outside the men's house. Then the sisters took him away in order to teach him how to build the men's house. They also started preparing for a feast. The evening of that day they finished building the men's house, they went into the
men's house and danced, singing wiwiye until dawn with
the bird-people. Then they played the sacred flutes.
The two sisters became his wives. Then Acawe went back
to his village with Viviyeso. They taught the people
in Kekrawa how to make the men's house. They prepared
for a feast as they were building it. When the men's
house was done, the feast started. Acawe started
singing wiwiye, then Viviyeso joined him. People
learned the song and joined them. The next night they
did the same thing. Then they sent messengers to the
nearby villages, who introduced the men's house and
wiwiye to them. Because of this, people all over the
world know how to make men's houses and sing and dance
wiwiye. A long time ago the Airmati people taught the
ancestors of the Isirawa these things.

The following are wiwiye songs which Acawe's wife sang
about her husband. These, like all wiwiye songs, are in the
Airmati language:

Naevome riise, coaya Pirinawara coaya
(A) what (A) bark (A) puddle name-of-a-mountain (A)puddle
riise, kowoiri vo me-riise.
(A) bark (A) cassowary object-marker (A) bark
'What is (Acawe's dog) barking at? He is barking at a
cassowary in a little pond in Pirinawara mountain.'

Wratavaatianeta savutaanii, mayataavirisaanii
(A) came-up (A) vine-which-tied (A) arrived
-a-pillar
savutaanii taakembawa arna
(A) vine-which-tied-a-pillar (A) man's-house (A)?
-was-broken
'I came up (into the house), now I am dancing holding a
vine which is tying a pillar, I arrived, now I am dancing
holding a vine which is tying a pillar, oh, the men's
house is falling down.'

Iniesaane kwante nuvekaau maveka munevukawa
(A) ear-hears hear (A) bird (A)
(A) make name-of-a-mountain (A) make
-virivaana
-noise
-virivaana.

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'I hear people talking. No, birds are making the
sound in the mountain of Airi.'

Today wiwiye songs are only sung by older people while
working or resting, or as a lullaby. Recently I heard that
old people are now teaching traditional songs including
wiwiye to children at night around the fire, so perhaps
wiwiye will remain a part of the rich musical repertoire of
the Isirawa.

2.2 Kona and Sacred Flutes

Asiina 'the sacred flute' and kona are considered the
oldest types of Isirawa music. Before the new type of men's
house and wiwiye were introduced to them, they had played
these types of music in their earlier type of men's house
called plyaofo. These were usually used together in the
same feast or ceremony.

2.2.1 Kona

Both this style of music as well as the accompanying
dance are called kona. According to the Isirawa, long ago
a water spirit (nasora) sang kona to one of the ancestors.
The Airmati have their own kona which was also sung by a
water spirit and that music is different from the Isirawa
kona.

For the Isirawa, kona used to be sung in the men's
house as part of the initiation ceremony. On that occasion,
adult men passed a young male initiate, lying in horizontal
position, from hand to hand singing 'take my son, take my
son,' etc. This part of the initiation ceremony lasted
six nights. The initiation ceremony is no longer performed,
having been forbidden along with singing the kona and
playing the sacred flutes by Dutch government officers.
Therefore young people do not know kona, but older people
still sing it.

Kona uses a mixture of the Isirawa and Airmati languages.
Some of these songs follow:
Kuava saraa wawie maa tumonaii, aware spirit's-name (A)? my-wife when leave I
at that time
momoii suei, momoii maa naiol to-some-place go to-some-place at-that-time walk
Arawati purisa maanawa camamaere.
name-of-a-river (A) bird (A)? (A)?
"I will leave my wife in the care of Kuava and I will
go to Aruwati."
Kowasera Aori paa kaavowa paa kaavowa
snake-type name-of-a-mountain (A)? (A)?
kowasere kowasere kowasere Ciri4.
-snake-type snake-type snake-type name-of
vaa kaavowa kowasere.
-a-river of (A)? snake-type.
"A snake in the Ciri river sang this song."
Caace kuana ava caace caace caace kuana (A)? (A)? (A)?
Vatirise Vatirise Vatirise ivamaanawa taauwe
name-of-a-place (A)? (A)?
koraca Vatirise. (A)?
"Men are collecting stones at Vatirise."
Ni vore mawase ufa cram navaara ni there build rat-type nest (A) crocodile (A)? there
vare vore vore vore vore build there build there build rat-type
ufa cram navaara ni vore.
est (A) crocodile (A)? there build
"Rats made their nest on the head of a crocodile."

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Woroee po werii, woroa miriia keina my-son now take my-son young-man (old Isirawa)?
(vocative)
miriia woroe po werii, woroe po werii,
young-man (vocative) now take
woroee po werii, woroa miriia keina
my-son young-man (vocative) (old Isirawa)?
miriia woroe po werii.
young-man (vocative) now take
"Take my son, take my son."

Kona was also sung in ceremonies or feasts other than
initiation, and acted as a "song of transition"--the
recognition of an event. For instance, when a baby was old
enough to be taken outside of the house (tiira tanatinava),
when a coconut tree bore its first fruit (aipaa faafraasuna)
and when a men's house was complete. On these occasions
they sang kona with the same dance as that which accompanies
wiwiye.

Formally kona was always sung before or after the
playing of the sacred flutes and therefore, ceremonially, no
women nor uninitiated boys could sing it. But informally,
anybody, including women, could sing it. Just as with
other kinds of songs, they sing it while they are working,
resting or as a lullaby.

2.2.2 Sacred Flutes

The sacred flutes are called asiina. The Isirawa ca-
tegorize flutes according to their length: 1) asiinaya (about
1.7 meters long), 2) tiikiire (about 1.3 meters long) and
3) faafraatsya (1 meter or less). These flutes are made
from a section of bamboo with a rectangular notch cut in the
open end of the flute. The ones which I saw were about 3 cm.
in diameter and the tone varied with the length. The people
can easily identify the flute type when listening to tape
recordings. One Isirawa felt that the asiinaya type had the
most pleasing sound and if a widow listened to it she might
cry because it would remind her of her dead husband.
As in many other places in New Guinea, the flutes can be made and played only by initiated men. Women cannot even see them. They believe that if a woman saw the flutes, strong wind, heavy rain, lightning and thunder would come up and a branch of a tree or a coconut would come down directly on her and she would be killed. Another possibility might be that a crack in the earth would open up and she would be swallowed up. If a woman blew the flutes she would most certainly die. Isirawa claim that they do not believe this anymore, but women are still scared of the flutes. When a man brought a flute to show us, some women screamed and ran away. Also when a young woman in Amsira died recently, her cousin attributed her death to the possibility of her having seen a flute and eaten a catfish. He said if a woman saw a flute and ate a catfish, she would certainly die.

The Isirawa tell the following story about the origin of the flute.

In Kumaasii village there was a lot of the uta variety of bamboo. Asapate (a type of insect) made a hole in a bamboo. When the wind blew, it made a nice sound. When a kangaroo heard the sound he tried to find out from whence it was coming. Finally, he found the bamboo. He put the bamboo up to his ear but there was no sound. Then he put it up to his eyes but there was no sound. Then he put it up to his mouth and blew it. When he heard the sound, he was afraid and ran away. Later he came back to the bamboo and did the same thing. Finally, after the third time he started blowing. It had a good sound. Then the kangaroo taught people how to play the sacred flute.

Kona songs and the playing of flutes are closely associated. During the initiation, after singing kona all through the night, the flutes were played the following morning. The same was done in the feast held when finishing the building of the men's house and in the feast for the baby when it first came out of the house. They played the sacred flutes, then sang and danced kona all through the night. In the morning they took the sacred flutes out of the men's house and played them outside. Whenever they played the sacred flutes they used the following order:

first all the men played asiinaya, then switched to tiikiiire, then to faafrataya, and then they repeated the same cycle.

There was a feast, no longer practiced, which was especially attached to the sacred flutes, called aifa faafrasuma 'opening a coconut'. When coconut trees started to bear fruit, the first coconut which fell to the ground would be called 'the one which belongs to the sacred flutes'. When that coconut started to sprout, they started to prepare for the feast. Sometimes the preparations took two months. Everybody went to the jungle in order to get pigs and other food with the men in one group and the women and children in another group. In the jungle on their way home, the men made two flutes and played them, as they walked on the path. When they arrived in their village, the men went to the men's house and the women went to the women's house. The men then cut the coconut and gave it to the dogs. Following that, anybody could eat the fruit of the coconut tree. Then they put down the flutes which they brought from the jungle and replaced them with the sacred flutes and blew them in the usual order: asiinaya, tiikiiire, faafrataya and so on. The next morning they started playing again. They played them before eating, and before sleeping. On this day people from neighboring villages gathered. At night men sang kona and danced in the men's house, women danced fatiya outside the men's house until dawn. In the morning men played the flutes again and others became quiet. At noon they took the flutes outside the men's house, placing those who played tiikiiire together in one place, those who played asiinaya in one place, and those who played faafrataya in another place. Then they played all together. Afterwards they built a fire and burned the two flutes which they had brought back from the jungle. About four o'clock in the afternoon they finished playing the flutes and the feast was over.

On each occasion after using the flutes there was a kind of cleansing ceremony for the flutes. The form had some similarity to the flute feasts in the Tor area which Oosterwal (1961:231) mentions but the meaning was quite different. They hunted a pig to use for the ceremony. The one who caught the pig was called asiinupre 'husband of the flute'. Then they rubbed the flutes with the meat and fat of
the pig. They put the meat in the center of the flutes and displayed the flutes radially and then burned up the meat in the fire. The purpose of the ceremony was to cleanse or purify the flutes.

In former times the Isirawa made sacrifices to the sacred flutes using crocodiles, pigs, birds, or cassowaries. However, there seem to be no beliefs about keeping the universe in order, such as Oosterwald reports for the Tor area. They have no custom of blowing them for planting or hunting. Today, the only reason the Isirawa give for playing the flute are 1) it is their custom, 2) the kangaroo taught them, or 3) they like the sound of the flutes. The flutes are an important part of Isirawa ceremony and their use often accompanies the celebration of the natural progression of life at points of transition.

2.3 Fatiya

Fatiya designates a drum which is used in dancing and also designates the dance itself. Sometimes it is used for certain songs (came, ceome, varawiri, and paaooravi) which are sung in the dance. Karama (see Casual Music, part 1) is also sung in the dance but it has less prestige and is excluded when the Isirawa refer to fatiya.

The origin story of fatiya features a female Amazon whose name was Came.

Came had a breadfruit tree which produced very good fruit. When Muru stole the fruit from her tree, Came killed him. She cooked his body and danced fatiya. She made sago pudding and danced fatiya. She ate the breadfruit and danced fatiya. Two birds (purume and vararame) blew faai (short bamboo flutes) to accompany her dance. Paure, Muru's mother's brother's child, came in order to revenge Muru. When her followers the bees tried to kill him, she stopped them. She let all of her followers, the bees and birds, fly away and she danced alone. Paure and other Kwerba people shot her. She shook off the arrows and continued dancing. All through the night until dawn they kept shooting at her but she just kept shaking off the arrows and kept dancing and singing. At last she let them cut off her head. When they cut it off, the head was still singing. They cut off her arms, they also sang, so did her legs and jaw. The Kasnoweja tribe took the head. The Tor tribes took the arms and legs. The Kwerba tribe took the lower jaw. (In another version the Kwerba took the head and the rest was divided up among the rest of the tribes.) Each part of her kept on singing as they carried away the parts. Kwerba (i.e. Airmati) taught her songs and dance to the Isirawa ancestors.

Isirawa think the best quality fatiya songs are songs which are called came, which they believe this woman sang. All are in the Airmati language, but even children know the meaning of the songs. The lyrics of some of the songs are as follows:

Came taami taca maava woman's-name (A) breadfruit (A) leaf (A) who?

kollakotere, Came taami taca Muru (A) who-cut (A) breadfruit (A) leaf man's-name

vaana kotre, (A) one-who (A) cut

"Who cut the leaves of Came's (my) breadfruit tree? Muru cut the leaves of Came's breadfruit tree."

E Muru Muru Muru vaka neil Muru ve man's name (A)? (A)? (A)?
taami tine totrinie. (A) breadfruit (A) tree (A) cut

"I cut Muru at the breadfruit tree."

Putonia Putonia Sraaairavi putonia kone (A)? (A)? Woman's-name (A)? (A) eat

kone Came naanisa kone. (A) eat Woman's-name (A) food (A) eat
"Sroaarivi (Came's daughter's name) is my pork, Came's pork. I ate her."

Kayeraavona Pawiran Kayeraavona
(A) come-along-vine man's-name (A) come-along-vine
wrakwarise wrakwarise Kweraava
(A)? (A)? name-of-a-group-of-people
coaka ve warii.
(A) head object-maker see

"Pawira is coming along a vine. Look! the skulls of Kweraava (Airmati) people."

Though drums are the primary instrument of fatiya, bows and arrows as well as conch shells or short bamboo flutes are also used. The latter are both referred to as faaie and are blown in a rhythm of "short, short, short, short......long". Men, women or children can play faaie while dancing fatiya. The men who are not dancing with the drums carry bow and arrows in the left hand and hit them with an arrow which is in the right hand to make clacking sounds. Ideally, only men can do this but in dances in Amsira we saw girls carrying bows and arrows. The drums are usually made from wood from the trunk of a soft tree. They are hollowed out with fire and a piece of rubber or reptile skin is stretched across the top.

When dancing, an even number of men (the maximum is six) dance jumping back and forth holding and beating the drums and singing fatiya. They decorate themselves with grass, birds' feathers, dog's teeth necklaces, etc. Women and girls also decorate themselves with leaves, sometimes very long branches of leaves or palm fronds, and step back and forth (about three steps forward and three steps backward) singing fatiya 'fatiya song' or karame songs. At the end of each section they sing kiyane which is "oooooo" sung on the same note for as long as the dancers have breath. Sometimes older people act as singers. It is common for the men dancers to sing one song and women a different song, which can even be two types of music, such as karame and came, but together the songs seem to harmonize. Other dancers also "play" bows and arrows as well as the conch shell trumpet. A long blast on the conch shell is also a signal for the end of a section of the dance. All of the procedures used in fatiya are said to have been originated by Came.

The first year we were in Amsira (1973-74) we had several opportunities to see fatiya. Then there was a period when fatiya was not performed. Recently, however, fatiya has become very popular. They say they dance because Came taught them or just because they enjoy it. They say Came taught them that when they had killed an enemy, they should dance fatiya. Usually fatiya is done only at night, but on such an occasion, dancing continued day and night until all enemy bodies were consumed. Formerly, they also danced for 1) weddings, 2) a person's last rites (a feast held after the flesh had decayed and fallen off the bones), 3) initiations, 4) a baby's first time out of the house ceremony, and 5) any other occasion which they felt called for a feast.

Since young men are no longer initiated and traditional wedding ceremony is no longer practiced, the fatiya is no longer performed on these occasions. The burial practice has also changed, therefore the dance formerly held for last rites is now held soon after the burial. A fatiya is still held for the celebration marking a baby's first time out of the house as well as for 1) the construction of a public building, 2) New Year's Day, 3) a special feast held in order for a man to introduce his songs, and approximately 50 other special occasions. Once young people danced even for celebrating having caught a crocodile. The fatiya usually goes together with a feast and lasts until all the food is gone.

According to older Isirawa people, ceome, waraviri and pasooraviri are classified as 'real' fatiya songs. It is believed they originated from the spirits for whom they are named. All of them are songs which certain people recently received from these spirits in their dreams. Usually songs which have this kind of origin are classified as karame. But these songs are considered by the Isirawa
as being higher quality music. Therefore they put them in the category of fatiya.

Of those bearing the name ceome, some believe that a man who still lives in Kasanoweja had a dream in which Ceome\(^6\) sang. But they do not know who Ceome is nor any story about her. Some say Ceome is Came's ghost, others believe these songs were sung by Aneyii (a female tree spirit) in the man's dream. This group of songs is also in the Airmati language, but everybody knows their meanings as much as they do the came variety. They say that came and ceome are quite similar in music. The lyrics of some ceome are as follows:

E Ceome kaaka araava koacamiire "Cunte woman's-name (A) bone (A) say (A) like-this (A)to-me maake maake cunte siwaari maake." (A) sprout (A) sprout (A) to-me (A) plant-type (A) sprout

"Ceome's bone said, "Bring me a sprout of siwaari plant."

Evlinaari tiria waaraavaavo neta Awariira (A) ocean (A) sound (A)? (A)? name-of-a tiria sometavra vivre.
-place (A) sound (A) plant-type (A) move

"I am listening to the sound of the waves from Awariira, some tavra plant might be moving (back and forth just like the waves)."

Saraama isiwe Saraama saoe wriimaananacoe name-of-a-place (A) land village (A)? vaanacoe ona rumana vanacoe. (A)? (A) rain (A) like (A)?

"The Saraama village is progressing like rain (progressing very quickly)".

Waraviri is another group of fatiya songs which came from tree spirits who are expert singers. Many waraviri songs are classified as karame, but certain ones which people feel are higher quality music, they classify as fatiya. Some of the waraviri are also known as kapori for Kapori (a Martewar man who died recently) received the songs in his dream. Kapori had a feast and fatiya in order to introduce the songs to neighboring villagers. Waraviri are in the Isirawa language. The following songs are examples of waraviri. (Metaphorical meaning is in parentheses.)

Waraima manii efowaRC porimaa name-of-a-tree-spirit this he when-begin poekrapoli, toaviile pesa asiinafii. arrive bird-type sing

"When the Waraima spirit arrived (at the place where he meets people), the toaviile bird started singing."

Peve kaakaimi, efowara ni, "E cecero pe him sing he said I only-like-that poekrausaana, lave pii ritine paii, toaviile arrive long-time happen not bird-type porim asiinafii."

when-begin sing

"He sang about him (toaviile bird), he said, "I always arrive not long before the toaviile birds start singing."

Wasiimoaie fiito ne temitsii, ta-my-friend hunger subject-marker kill many-tava-ve takjie waaawi o me nuarii.

sago-type owner heart with think

"My friend is very hungry. He is thinking about the place which has many tava saho trees."

Sao mave na-rarifiana pini ojara osa ofaii village this say darkness hard with wae isiveca vo poara tisiri.

for-me earth-spirit object-marker now command
"The people who in this village say, it is very dark here (but I do not feel like that), tell the earth spirit for me (so that he can catch the darkness to make night last a long time, so that we have a long time to sing and dance)."

E Avoraa pu maace, afo manii maa
I name-of-a-river water for I who-ever when
srila, pu-pueii piima ripoff.
make-alliance up come-up

"I am the water of the Avoraa river (I am generous), whoever makes an alliance with me, water comes up (I will give him good things generously)."

Paaooravii means something which belongs to paaora who are water spirits. They think Macani (who lived two generations ago) received them from the paaora in his dream. These are also in the Isirawa language and some of them have a metaphorical meaning which is given in parenthesis.

Avaviarava aenei waaitana, wave inane being-unsteady I down fell-down for-me who raua.
feel-sorry

"I almost fell down off of a log. If I fell down who will feel sorry for me?"

Maro mane moru, ofoae inana raimo, like-this someone ask for-you who gave
afo pe savrunu.
say-name

"If some one (your father) will ask you, who gave it for your sake (for showing the desire to marry you) say my name."

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Wonia wawapiina sise nae sumo, foere poe
my tree-type flower already bloomed bird-type
piiniell.
call

"My wawapiina tree bloomed (A girl has reached puberty). The tree is calling a bird. (She has one more boy friend)."

Waa simiti noase asava rowe sumo,
my mother's-home-village there tree-type like bore-
refiav va ne-rauma.
fruit swamp come

"In my mother's home village, they bore lots of fruit like asava trees. (A girl reached puberty and boys are flocking around her). They came from the swamp area."

3. CASUAL MUSIC

These types are not considered to have the same high status as those in the previous section.

3.1 Karame.

Any karame can be sung in a fatiya dance, but these are distinguished from fatiya songs by their origins and the quality of the music. Usually the Isirawa language is used but sometimes some Indonesian words are interjected. The Isirawa recognize three kinds of karame:

1) songs which a person receives in his dreams from spirits

2) songs which a person's ghost sings in somebody else's dream

3) songs which are made up by somebody

It is very common for people to receive songs in dreams and they feel all are from some spirit. It is not considered out of the ordinary, but rather desirable to have such dreams. This also applies to the second category,
i.e. songs of the ghost of a dead person. Sometimes if one does not know a certain person has died, the ghost appears in his/her dream taking the dead person's image. Ghosts can only sing two songs in any one dream. As soon as the ghost finishes singing, he/she leaves quickly. Although the Isirawa consider this to be good and are not fearful of it, some do not want to tell the content of the dream. One girl told me about a song that had been taught in a dream by the ghost of a mother who died leaving little children. The content of the song revealed her concern for the children. Two other songs which I was able to collect had the following lyrics:

Pome tiitoesuenc, waa sao mapesurie tiana
turn-round my village animal-type nose

posuene.

hit

"When I turned round, mapesuri animals of my village were hit on their noses (the people of my village were crying)."

Takii viri tapriritapi, Aikii viri tapriritapi,
father skin took mother skin took

Seinava vao cocoravaii, E waa gantie
tree-type at hung my substitute

Ite peso, e waa gantie liorame peso.
girl's-name be my substitute boy's-name be

"I took father's skin, I took mother's skin, I am hanging them at a seinava tree. You have my substitute Ita (sister of the deceased). You have my substitute Iiorama (brother name of the deceased)."

When the Isirawa dream a song, they believe it is always from some supernatural being. The spirit will sing the dreamer's thoughts, another person's thoughts, or his own (the spirit's) thoughts. The following is an example of one dream song with three verses which was associated with an event which had already taken place:

Waa sao tnaaina sona araviva ve
my house mountain from conch-shell-trumpet object-marker

the, araviva ve thei.

hear conch-shell-trumpet object-marker hear

"I am hearing the conch shell trumpets from my house which is in the mountain."

Mave na-towiisi, aro towiisa, aro towiisa, him teach in-vain taught in-vain taught

"They taught him and taught him but it did not work (Adults taught a boy how to dance but he never learned)."

Ita-weaveuna fa e warewa niiane, e warewa niiane, Oh! I what-for came I what-for came

awanita manif afo moe toesruo.
black-cloud this me here stopped

"Oh, what did I come for, the black cloud stopped me (people are going to kill me)."

In another dream song a spirit is singing the thoughts of a boy's anono (mother's younger sister from whom a nephew can ask anything):

Ciri kore oroa poricaa wariinaii,
name-of-a-river cannibal son begin see

poricaa wariinaii.
begin see

"They saw a cannibal's boy in the Ciri river (They saw a strong boy)."

Afo aniva moifaii afo arawe saaune, afo me fire here me today burned me

arawe saaune.
today burned

"Today he burned me with fire (he asked me for all sorts of food which I was cooking)."
Another example of this kind of song is a spirit singing a song about a girl who is fighting with another girl.

Afo karame ofe ware pisa piaunai, ware pisa me song-type with how can despise how can piaunai, Pini wawarafrie mii waa rari naro, despise night dawn you my like question-marker mii waa rari naro? you my like questions-marker

"How can you despise me concerning Karame song.
I can sing all the night till dawn, are you like me?"

There is a type of karame which is called kaampu. These are songs of ridicule. Thus people may use song to make fun of somebody's skin disease, or somebody's past experience of a broken heart, etc. Sometimes people make pseudo dream songs. Once a man said that he got songs in his dream which ridiculed another man. When the man who was the object of the ridicule heard the songs, he was very angry. Also, other people were saying that he did not really get the songs in his dream but he made them up. They called the songs kaampu.

Originally karame was a kind of singing done by the young (unmarried) people and was composed by girls. Often girls compose songs while pounding sago, or whenever some inspiration comes. They can sing about something they saw, about some recent event, or anything they think about. Some consist of repetition of a simple theme, such as:

Maafi warenii? Maafi kakana. Maafi warenii? Maafi this what this little-child this what this kakana.
little-child

"What is this? This is a little child. What is this? This is a little child."

Some are apparently sago songs.

While she was pounding the sago, several people passed the composer of the song and she sang about them. Another experience was:

Ririe ni raraupoi, waa kampone poe sound-of-airplane over-there make-sound my village now cerifita, tantane vo poe kerusa.
pass grass-type object-marker now be-afraid

"The sound of an airplane is over there, it is passing over my village. It was afraid of tantane grass (so it could not land)."

There are also many karame songs in which a girl sings about her boyfriend, or her feelings about him. Such as:

Nasuamo, nasunamo cafaasa followed followed belongings-which-are-used-for sorcery
vo nasunamo, Waaimae vase nasunamo.
object-marker followed name-of-a-river at followed

"He want after my belongings (which are used for sorcery). He went after them along the Waim river."

In this song a sorcerer stole some of the girl's belongings (i.e. clothes, hair, nail clippings, leftover food, etc.) to use them against her. In order to get the things back and to rescue her, her boyfriend went to the Waim river.
A woman made up a song recently as follows:

Rampu birue mae kamra, ama pinie sa
light blue already went-out friend night soon
warafiri.
become-dawn

"The blue light went out, friends, dawn will come very soon."

The blue light is the electricity in Sarmi, a city which people can see from the village. The electricity goes off at midnight. She sang about it and reminded friends that is was almost time to go to the market. This song is very popular in the village now and everybody sings it. Also a headman of one village came to visit and when I asked him to sing songs, he made up a karame song on the spot. It was about my friends who had visited me and had just gone back home.

They make karame just for fun or to meet their emotional needs but sometimes they make karame songs for fatiya. When a new karame is composed, the composer sings it to someone else, then that person introduces the song to the public. Sometimes they compose the melody too, but often they use a melody which already exists. When a new song appears others add other new songs to it. Then they sing this series of songs in succession as if they were one song. Usually new songs are introduced to other villagers through fatiya.

One function of karame is as popular contemporary music. These are sung by everybody for a while and sometimes they are popular for as long as three months. If other songs come into vogue, a given song might disappear within a month of its first introduction. They say karame is like a season. When the season comes everybody sings, but once it has gone nobody sings them anymore and they are completely forgotten.

Enone is a karame which was sung for a very long period of time. Enone was a leader of the Yapo clan. The songs which he composed are also called enone. When he died, his songs also started dying out. An old man who died in
1978 was the last person who still knew enone. Now nobody knows the songs but everyone still remembers that once there were enone songs. Some enone which the man sang follow:

Waa sao warara Raaiso warara, wiina my village tree name-of-a-mountain tree head va wakntine, af tiifa roriife eee af object-marker bend my rib like my tiifa roriife, rib like

"The tree which is in my village on the Raaiso mountain is bent like my back."

Nani Mavone rara maa niitonii, saaimera dog man's-name path walk palm-tree-type me mave weriini, eee mave weriini this him take him take

"The dog Mavone, is just walking the path (A young man named Mavone is going after a woman who has a husband). Saaimera tree is taking him (The woman is taking him, so he will die soon)."

Aifo na rau, simrii topa virau, bird-type over-there call tree-type stamp complain saka ririri, aaaa saka ririri, sound sound sound sound

"The Aifo bird is calling over there. He is complaining to a stump of a simrii tree. He is making the ririri sound."

Soerle waa canoafa weso sasunapoi ana snake-type my game vine type fall down hand a furline, kakaama furline with lift-up fruit type with lift up

"The snake which I have killed fell down on a weso vine. I lifted it up with my hand, I lifted it up even with a piece of fruit of the kakaama tree. (The snake is very light)."

E waa soerle naise ruusaautane taatora ve, I my snake-type there chase not-know if viaana mamava mau, taatora ve, kuawa mamava beam this look not-know if tree-type this mau look

"I chased a snake there. If you did not see it, look at the beam, look at that kuawa tree. (It was as big as that)."

3.2 Jew's Harp

The Jew's harp is called caawa in Isirawa. This is a common instrument throughout the island of New Guinea and is made from the plentiful bamboo. For the Isirawa, only men are manufacturers of the instrument so if a woman wants one, her brother or husband makes it for her.

Anybody, men, women and children may play the instrument. When they go to the jungle to get food or when traveling or visiting people, they carry one so that any place and any time they feel they want to play it, they may do so. It is a form of self-entertainment.

They often play bird calls which they call by the name of the birds, for instance, vovo, saweri, amaanaua, etc. They also imitate the sound of the sacred flute and call it asilna 'sacred flute'. Also they have caawa sri 'real Jew's harp' and this means not imitating anything, just playing.

There are several different stories about how the Jew's harp came to be. According to one story, it was Marace (the creator) who introduced the Jew's harp to the people.
Before anybody was on the earth, Marace sharpened a piece of bamboo and made a Jew's harp. He made a hole in it. His wife Kukuriye twined a vine and made a string. He put it through the hole and played it. After there were many people on the earth, he brought it to the people and told them how to play it.

Another story says that its inventor was a man who had no mouth, only a small hole where his mouth should be. He had two wives and sometime after he invented the Jew's harp, they chewed off flesh from around the hole until he had a normal mouth.

4. MAGICAL CHANT

In Isirawa there is a word, ememruwona, which refers to the state of a spirit coming to a person and sitting on his shoulder. When this happens a person sings a great deal, in fact, he might sing continuously. He might sing either came or karam. However, according to Isirawa belief, it is not the person who is singing, but the spirit who sings through him. This is a desirable state since the people believe the spirit helps them catch pigs (Erickson, 48).

They also have a certain group of songs which they call niisara which used to be sung to ensure success in hunting wild pigs. Niisara are tree spirits which live in a kind of tree called niisara (Indonesian: kayu susu). A niisara spirit taught a song of this type to Piniyasa two generations ago to enable him to be successful in pig-hunting. Piniyasa introduced the song to the clans in the Acaawari alliance. People in the village of Amsira (who are of the former Acaawari alliance) said they have their own niisara songs while the village of Martewar (of the Aramawase alliance) might have their own niisara songs, but the people of Amsira do not know them. There are at least ten old people who still know these songs.

In order to ensure success in hunting pigs, they would start singing the niisara in the evening (6 or 7 p.m.) in their houses. Men, women and children sang until dawn and the next morning they left to hunt. They bit a piece of a branch from the nanena tree and spit it out in order to find a pig. On their way home after shooting a pig they sang niisara again. When they arrived home and butchered the pig, they put the pig head on the floor and sang niisara. Sometimes from four to ten or more persons sang niisara all night long. In the morning the ones who had sung all night would get sago pudding. The singing of niisara was restricted to this occasion.

The niisara is basically in the Airmati language but also includes words from the Isirawa language. The lyrics of some of the songs are as follows:

Naviniare ikauwaa tiika naviniare arumo nema (A)? (A)? (A)? (A)? (A)?
naviniare. (A)?

"He bites a nanena branch and spits it. He spits it on the upper stream of the Kwiine river."

Matari vo vrua, po maatauma, vawariarave arrow object-marker take now make swirl vawariarave kro sira vawariarave. swirl foot print place swirl

"Take the arrows, make arrows, places of foot prints are swirling (You will find a pig today)."

Kuanisia kuanisia, kuanisia, vena kuanisia ena (A)? (A)? (A)?
kuaraave kuanisia. (A)?

"Rain water stays in a pocket of a tree trunk. Birds come and drink it."
5. LAMENT

When a person is nearly dead or if he has died, the Isirawa sing or wail a lament which they call u cacariina which literally means 'crying a cry'.

When a person is very sick, there are many people, usually relatives and friends around him, both inside and outside the house. Once a man was very sick and he was expecting to die. Not only the people who were around him, but he himself, sang a lament:

Omaririnawe sue faro? E wasiimoaii-viivo
when go question (future) I my-friend -plural
ma mariimane. E wasiimoaii-viivo
-marker negative-marker see I my-friend -plural

omaro pe tumariine varo?
-marker how leave question

"When shall I die? I shall not see my friends anymore. How can I leave my friends."

There was also a young woman who was very sick and it was quite obvious to everybody that she was dying. Friends and relatives, most of whom were women, visited her one after another singing a lament expressing their concern about her approaching death. When she died, the following lament was sung:

Wasimoiinaa, e ofiivo ptiie wasi
my-friend (vocative) I you again see

faro? Iavaa pail e ofiivo ma
question (future) long-time not I you negative

-marker see

"Friends, shall I be able to see you again? Very soon I shall not see you anymore."

Sometimes people sing the lament walking around the dead one's house swinging a machete expressing their grief or anger. For parents or spouses u cacariina may be sung up to several months or a year after the death of the loved ones, whenever they are brought to mind.

While singing the lament they actually shed tears, but when they finish they do not show their feelings anymore. It would seem that the shedding of tears is part of the form of the lament and does not usually come as a result of emotional upset.

6. SIGNALLING

Sending messages to people out of sight but within hearing distance is one specialized use of music. There are two ways of doing this 1) through the use of musical instruments, and 2) through a special form of vocal music, known as weta.

1) Musical Instruments.

Faai (see Sect. 2.3.), refers both to the conch shell trumpet and the bamboo flute. The signalling rhythm is "long, short, short, long, short, short, long" which is different from that used in fatiya. The Isirawa say that about two generations ago the Ambonese brought them a slit drum (which is quite common in New Guinea). The slit drum is called tortora and its usage in signalling is the same as faai.

An important function of these instruments is to signal that people outside the village should come back. For instance, men tell women who are pounding sago to come back to the village or a messenger gathers the villagers who are out in the jungle so he can pass on the message.

2) Weta.

Weta is used to give a short verbal message to a person who is in the distance, unseen but within earshot. For instance "Waaaaaaaa, come here, come here."
that?" "I brought a message of death." Only one note is used in weta.

7. CONCLUSION

The existence and relevance of the many forms of Isirawa music are supported through myths or mythological explanations.

Music is used in ceremonies and social gatherings, as magical chants, love songs, signals, death laments, and simple entertainment. Some forms of music are considered to have higher status than others. High status music is viewed as "real music". One indication of the importance of music is that special feasts can be called just to introduce new songs. Specific songs of the karama type are sung only for limited periods and then are replaced by new songs, much as the "top ten" in popular radio music.

Musical instruments used are the Jew's harp, drums, conch shell trumpet, bamboo flute, and the slit drum. The 'sacred flute' which is also found in other areas of Irian Jaya with the accompanying feature of being taboo for women is also used by the Isirawa.

A common origin for Isirawa vocal music is through a spirit or ghost who teaches songs to men in dreams. Ideally, unmarried girls are the only ones allowed to compose songs of the karama variety but in reality everyone does.

Notes:

1. Isirawa is the name of a group of about 2,000 people, speaking a non-Austronesian language, located on the north coast of Irian Jaya both east and west of the town of Sarim. Information for this paper was gathered through intermittent periods of living in the village of Amsira from October 1975 through November 1981. I wish to acknowledge the help of many friends in Amsira who shared their thoughts and their music with me. I also want to thank Marilyn

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Gregerson for all of her help, especially in correcting my English. I also appreciated the help of Graham James of SIL Papua New Guinea who read parts of this paper and made helpful comments.

2. 'Sri' of paaooravii is in the water spirit's language, therefore people do not know its meaning.

3. (A) denotes words of song are in Airmati (Kwerba) language. (I) denotes words of song are in Isirawa language.

4. 'Ciri' is the Isirawa name for the Mamberamo River.

5. Kwerba is the name of the language group of which Airmati is a subgroup.

6. Ceome might be Djeeom described by Oosterwal (1963:4) as the "goddess of the afterworld".

References:


RETENTION AND INNOVATION IN SARMIC LANGUAGE:
REFLEXES OF POC *γm.

James T. Collins

IKHTISAR

Dalam makalah ini oleh penulis diberikan bukti yang kuat yang menunjang pendapat Grace bahwa bahasa-bahasa Sarmi merupakan anak kelompok tersendiri dalam cabang Oceania dari rumpun bahasa Austronesia. Dengan memakai data dari bahasa-bahasa Sobei, Wakde, Masimasi, Anus, Bonggo dan Tarpia, si penulis membuktikan dengan jelas bahwa bahasa-bahasa tersebut semuanya memiliki inovasi POC *γm menjadi m ditambah dengan pembulatan bunyi vokal yang mengikuti bunyi m tersebut. Eksporasi dari bentuk turunan ini juga memberi jawaban atas satu masalah yang lain, yaitu pemisahan *a menjadi a dan e yang kelihatannya seakan-akan merupakan perobahan bunyi yang sporadis atau tak bersyarat yang ditemukan menjadi bukti bahwa ada proses historis yang terjadi di mana *a berrobah menjadi e, hanya jika *a berfungsi sebagai prefiks.

In his 1971 article on the languages of the Sarmi coast, Grace clearly delineated the status of these languages within the Oceanic branch of Austronesian, but he noted certain discrepancies in the reflexes of POC vowels in those languages. Recently Ross (1977), in a passing reference to these languages, claimed that certain unexpected changes in vowel rounding were conditioned by POC *γm. He cited no examples. In this brief paper, it will be demonstrated that the POC consonant sequence *γm was retained in the language immediately ancestral to the Sarmic languages, Proto-Sarmic; subsequent changes occurred along the lines that Ross hinted at. At the same time an unexpected reflex of *a will also be explained. The data upon which this analysis is based is drawn from Grace (1971), R. Sterner (1975) and J. Sterner (1975) as well as Grace's unpublished fieldnotes and wordlists collected some twenty-five years ago in Irian.1

The total corpus of some six hundred twenty words contains six possible reflexes of POC *γm. They are cited here.
POC Sobei Wakde Masimasi Anus Bonggo Tarpia Gloss
1. *(ŋ)mata meta mata -mata- sharp
2. *ṯamata tetmo tamu- timot tumuat tamu? person
3. *(ŋ)mata mato matu mato mot snake
4. *(ŋ)monak mano mono manua manu fat
5. *nḏapma rama- dimo- forehead
6. *(ŋ)m̱aq dimo- house

Using *(ŋ)mata (3) as an example, the phonological changes involved are rather transparent. First, *(ŋ)m (perhaps via an intermediate form *(ŋ)mw) caused rounding of the following vowel; that is *(ŋ)mata>*mwata>*mata. Second, in Sobei, Wakde, Masimasi, and the vowel switch took place which shifted the rounded vowel to word final position; so *(ŋ)mata became *mata for example in Sobei and Masimasi, and, presumably, in Wakde. In Anus no such interchange took place but a later deletion of word final vowel occurred. This accounts for the so-called irregular reflex of *a and it further demonstrates that *(ŋ)m with rounding of the following vowel is the distinct reflex of POC *(ŋ)m in (3).

By implication (4), (5) and (6) are also explained. Thus, we can observe that the phenomenon of vocalic interchange seems to be an innovation which distinguishes Sobei, Wakde, and Masimasi from Anus, Bonggo and Tarpia. This innovation justifies a tentative bifurcation in the Proto-Sarmic family tree. That is

Proto-Sarmic

SOB-WAK-MAS ANU-BON-TAR

This is only one parameter and much more research is required to test this tentative dendrogram. Furthermore, vowel diphthongization distinguishes Bonggo from other Sarmic languages, as Grace (1971) pointed out. Consequently, while the [uɑ̃] form of Bonggo is expected, it may prove another basis for classification. Note that in Bonggo (4) a fairly common process of lenition of the first vowel took place through apparent destressing. There are still some unexplained vowel reflexes in Bonggo (5) and Sobei (6) but in Anus (4) we can assume assimilation.

A further task remains: explaining *(ŋ)mata. In Sobei and Wakde vocalic interchange has taken place, as would be expected in this group of languages. A later change resulted in the deletion of the penultimate vowel in trisyllables; thus the expected transposed was eliminated. As is demonstrated later in this paper, this penultimate vowel syncope is regular in Sobei. In Anus, Bonggo and Tarpia, neither vocalic interchange nor penultimate vowel deletion took place. In these languages the final vowel was lost. Again, both Sobei and Anus display an unexplained vowel in the first syllable.

Finally we turn to the reflex of *(ŋ)mata 'sharp'. First, note that, unlike (2)-(6), *(ŋ)mata is a verbal; in fact, traced to PAN the reflex must be *ma-tajam. The initial syllable *ma- has a grammatical function; it marks the stative verb. Apparently, this function was retained in the Sarmic languages. Indeed, the proposed POC reflex with *(ŋ)m is rather curious; it assumes an innovation in only one *ma- form. Perhaps this reconstruction should be reexamined. At any rate, the Sarmic languages do not reflect *(ŋ)m in this word because *ma- retains its morphemic function.

But what about the unexpected high vowel in Sobei (1) meta? As noted above, the morphemic function of *ma- as a stative verb marker was retained in Sobei; apparently this prefix was marked with a phonological change: *ma-*me-. This innovation is unique to Sobei among the Sarmic coast languages but it does not occur in only one word or in just one affix. Note:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POC</th>
<th>Sobei</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.  *mata</td>
<td>meta</td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. *mapine</td>
<td>mfen</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. *matolu</td>
<td>me?di</td>
<td>sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. *mapana</td>
<td>mefa</td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. *mapa</td>
<td>maf</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the entries (7)-(10) we observe that without exception occurrences of *ma- are marked by the sound change *ma- > me-. It should be noted in passing that we also have confirmation of the contention stated earlier that penultimate vowels were deleted in trisyllabic words at some stage in the history of Sobei (as in (2), (8), (9) and (10)). In (9) a consonant cluster *td has undergone dissimilation to *d, although admittedly there are no further examples in the corpus.

Further confirmation of the raising of vowels in prefixes (*a>) comes from partially reduplicated forms. Note:

POC  |  Sobei  |  Gloss
---|---|---
12. *paqoru  |  fefou  |  new
13. *nusa  |  nenso  |  island
14. *mala  |  menda  |  bark(cloth)

In (12) by rules formulated by Grace (1971) *a>∅ and *R>∅. The first consonant was reduplicated with vowel insertion (∅)a/C1 C2 where C1 is the result of reduplication. Presumably the order of changes was:

i. *R>∅  *paqoru> *paqou
ii. REDUPLICATION  *paqou> *papaqou
iii. VOCAL SHIFT  *papaqou> *papaoqau
iv. VOWEL SYNCOPE  *papaoqau> *papaoq
v. *q>∅  *paqou> *papou
vi. VOWEL RAISING  *papou> *pepou
vii. *p>f  *pepou> *fefou

The forms cited in (13) and (14) can also be derived with the sequence of changes suggested above. Some details in the ordering of changes may be rearranged, but it is important that VOWEL SYNCOPE (that is, the deletion of penultimate vowels) follow the VOWEL SHIFT (that is, the interchange of vowels). Item (13) confirms this and (14) adds a new complication. Here we must assume vocalic interchange of o and a; in this case the earlier form was aGo while in the other cited cases the earlier form was OCQ. Evidently vocalic change in Sobei had a larger scope and was rather more complicated than initially indicated.

A further proof of the claim that *a>e in prefixes is demonstrated in forms with the resultative (stative) prefix *pa-; that is *pa>ef in

15. POC *yaqo  'plant with yellow rods' feyone 'yellow';
16. menu (SOD)  'charcoal' (Stinner) femeno 'black'.

The evidence submitted in (7)-(16) provides firm support for the innovative sound change: *a>e / [C PREFIX] with one exception: mafo (11). Why haven't a become e? At the risk of presenting an ad hoc solution for this single item, I propose that a very specific phonetic change is evidenced here and this change may slightly modify the order of sound changes suggested above. The exception in this entry is not only a but also the final a. Where did it come from? We might assume that at an earlier stage a sound change took place which rounded the vowel in disyllabic words when that vowel occurred between two labials: *mapa> *mopa. But in that case we must order (i.) VOWEL RAISING immediately after (ii.) REDUPLICATION; thus *ma> *mopa> *mopa. Then the regular sound changes outlined above took place. VOWEL SHIFT interchanged o and a: *mopa> *mop0 and finally *p>e, thus removing the conditioning factor for the change of *e to o. Hence, ma- of the first syllable is not an unexplained exception to the predicted me. That expected me- occurred at an earlier stage; then that *e which had become o was shifted to the rear.

Within SOB there is a clear argument for recognizing the sequence of historical events. These events have been outlined above. The innovations of Sobei fit into the interfiting pattern of historical processes in the Sarmic languages, all of which point to the retention of a distinct reflex of POC *gm in this group, that is, m with vowel rounding in the following segment. The exploration of this reflex has also indicated the solution to what was previously considered an unconditioned split of *a.8 Certainly some of the details of the solutions proposed
here should be reconsidered as more material becomes available.

The tentative conclusions suggested here are based on a limited corpus which, in fact, is a compilation of work done by three linguists. Furthermore, a generation separates Grace's and the Sterner's work. Nonetheless, it is clear that, as in other OC languages, the Sarmic languages maintain a distinct reflex of *nym. Moreover certain superficial irregularities in the vowel correspondences have been shown to be the regular results of other phonetic and morphological processes. This short note serves to remind us that further research and analysis are needed to assess the position of Sarmic languages within the Oceanic subgroup.

Notes.

1. I am very grateful for the encouragement Prof. Grace gave me when I worked under him in the summer of 1977. He graciously lent me the valuable (and colorful) notebooks which contain his fieldnotes and wordlists. I only regret that I have been unable to devote more time to these important materials.

2. Wakte seems to have raised the rounded vowel even further.

3. At first glance this final vowel deletion change seems sporadic but it is not unlikely that the occurrence of final o in mono (4) simply indicates that final *-k was lost in Anus after the change deleting final vowels had taken place; that is, final *-k was in place and thus blocked the loss of o at the time that final vowels were deleted.

4. My notes on Anus indicate that in most cases it is the second vowel which commands assimilation, so it may be a greater problem than it first appears. Even if my notes are correct, however, one might assume that the effect of a labial consonant followed by o might be 'stronger' than the control of the second vowel.

5. As noted below the precise order of some of the changes enumerated here may be subject to alteration. In particular the change of *p to f may have occurred earlier in the history of these languages, but as it appears in the analysis offered here it probably followed the REDUPLICATION rule.

6. With respect to Note 5, it should be observed that forms (15) and (16) suggest that the affixation of the resultative stative marker is a very late synchronic change which must be ordered after the VOWEL SYNCOPE change.

7. Unfortunately no other such specialized environment is found in the corpus. However, the entry 'boat' (*waka) is wofo. In this case, we have a vowel between a labial and a back consonant, an environment acoustically similar to the interlabial environment of *mapa, in that the vowel appears between two [grave] segments. This indicates that the change of V to [O] in 11 may belong to a more general type of assimilation which is related to acoustical gravity.

8. Others, including Grace in some tentative remarks (1971), would claim that the conditioning factor involved here is either the trisyllabic nature of the words themselves or the sequence of double consonants which are created after certain sound changes. It is difficult to choose between the proposal offered here and the double consonant argument. In a double consonant argument, though, we would have to posit a different proto-form for the Sobei reflex in (11). If we assumed that SŌMETA came from a trisyllable, like *matasa, for example, then by penultimate vowel deletion and a constraint on the sequence ts, we could explain the modern reflex. If we don't accept this treatment, then we must consider meta an exception to an explanation that relies on earlier consonant clusters for changing vowel height. At this point no clear decision can be made about the 'correct' answer to the otherwise irregular reflex of *a.
Bibliography.


"MY ELDERS MY HELPERS"
MAIRASI KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Nancy Peckham

IKHTISAR

Sekitar dua sampai tiga ribu orang Mairasi berdiam di antara Teluk Arguni, Teluk Triton, dan Teluk Wandamen yang terletak di bagian sempit daerah "Leher Burung" di bagian Barat Irian Jaya. Secara tradisional mereka merupakan penduduk pedalaman daerah ini. Tetapi selama umat puluh tahun belakangan ini mereka telah berpindah ke daerah pantai. Mereka mencari nasi mereka dengan berkebun, berburu, menangkap ikan, dan mengumpulkan hasil hutan.


Dari studi hubungan kekerabatan Mairasi ini, jelaslah bahwa sanak keluarga yang lebih tua, khususnya mereka yang berasal dari keturunan orang tua memegang peranan penting dalam kehidupan ego, yaitu ayah, ibu, dan generasi sebayanya mereka, tetapi orang lebih tua dan masih hidup, dan juga saudara-saudara yang masih muda juga penting. Karena pentingnya saudara-laki-laki ibu dalam kelompok-kelompok etnis lainnya di Irian Jaya, maka peranannya diteliti secara terperinci, tetapi tampaknya ia hanya dianggap sebagai salah seorang anggota biasa saja dari kelompok yang lebih besar ini. Perkawinan merupakan suatu peristiwa yang menyatakan keragaman peran-peran yang ada dalam kelompok kekerabatan ini.
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0. INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the meaning of kinship in the life of the Mairasi people. It focuses upon the meanings of the kinship terms, and the roles associated with some of the kinship relations through a study of Mairasi marriage customs.

Some 2000 to 3000 Mairasi people live to the east of Kaimana in over 26 villages on the coast and interior in the District (Kabupaten) of Fakfak, Irian Jaya. The karst topography of the area takes the form of steep mountains (up to 4,285 feet above sea level) or of lower ridges that rise immediately out of the ocean. Small, cliffy islands and hidden white sand coves are scattered along the coast. Water quickly seeps into the limestone soil, leaving one major river and numerous springs. Gardens are similarly scattered according to availability of water and arable soil. Staples are taro, sweet potato, sago, coconut, and manioc. Papaya, mango, jackfruit, lemon, eggplant, various leafy vegetables, maize, and several legumes provide a varied diet in Lobo, situated on the coast near the mouth of the Lengguru River. Nutmeg, coconut, and recently, cloves are raised also for trade. People from interior villages gather masoy bark and bimbi (damar) pitch for trade with merchants from the city of Kaimana, 32 miles away. Fishing of various kinds provides food and items for exchange.

1. MAIRASI KINSHIP TERMS

The Mairasi kinship system is a combination of Hawaiian and Iroquois systems. It is Hawaiian in the sense that terms extend bilaterally in all generations without distinguishing lineal and collateral kinsmen, and in that no distinction is made between cross and parallel kinsmen, as indicated by Murdock (Pouwer 1966), except in the first ascending generation, where parallel and cross kinsmen are distinguished in a bifurcate merging pattern as is characteristic of the Iroquois system.

1.1 Consanguineal Kinship Terms

Mairasi consanguineal kinship terms are presented in figures 1 and 2. Consanguineal terms distinguish three generations of familial kin and four generations of grandkinsmen, marking bifurcation and sex of kinsman in the first ascending generation and relative age in ego's generation.

Grandkinsman Terms. There are four self-reciprocal (Rule R) grandkinsman terms which denote a senior grandkinsman and his respective junior grandkinsman of the second to fourth generations from ego, respectively. Avo, for example, refers to both grandparent and grandchild. Neither age nor sex is distinguished by these terms. Each of these terms extends to all collateral kinsmen of their respective generations (by generation extension rule G) and to corresponding affinal (by affinal extension rule S), namely, to the spouses of grandkinsmen and to the grandkinsmen of spouse.

The term for great-great-grandkinsman (fasu'u) is also a general term meaning ancestor.

The grandkinsman term for the second ascending generation (avo) has a correlate tutu with the same meaning. It appears to have been borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia cucu 'grandchild', and is perhaps even more
commonly used than avo, at least for kinsmen of the second descending generation.

Familial Terms. Five terms form a reciprocal set to designate kinsmen of the parent and child generations. These terms will be referred to as familial terms.

Four familial terms classify kinsmen of the first ascending generation above ego: nani 'father', ina 'mother', mem 'uncle', and fofo 'aunt'. The four terms distinguish sex, two applying to females and two to males.

They further distinguish bifurcate categories, two terms referring to parallel kinsmen, and two to cross kinsmen. Parallel and cross are defined as in Seneca (Lounsbury 1964), by the relative sex of kinsmen of the first ascending generation above ego. Within the genealogical chain that links ego to alter, if the sex of the two kinsmen of the first ascending generation is the same, they are parallel kinsmen; if their sex is different, they are cross kinsmen. The sex of kinsmen of other generations is irrelevant.

All four terms extend beyond their primary ranges of reference to all collateral kinsmen of the parent generation (by generation extension rule G). In the case of a collateral kinsman referred to by these terms, a distinction can be made, for clarification, by adding nauwer 'big' after the term to indicate that the kinsman is senior to the parent through whom he is linked to ego, or by adding nauwer 'small' to indicate that he is junior to that parent. Seniority is ultimately defined in the genealogical chain that links ego to alter by the relative age of the first two siblings who descended from ego and alter's nearest common ancestor. A father's cousin is thus called nauwer 'older' even though he is younger than father, as long as ego's parent so referred to alter's parent within the chain, and so forth for each ascending generation until actual siblings are reached. Figure 5 illustrates such a situation where Samuel is called 'older father' (nani nauwer) by Frida, even though he is younger than her father, Beni.

The term nau 'real' is added to nani 'father' or ina 'mother' to designate ego's biological parent (nani nau 'real father') and navara 'to rear someone' is added to designate a step parent (nani navara 'stepfather').

The four parental terms also apply to spouses of kinsmen of the parent generation by affinal extension rule -S, with the specification that S be inserted before the final symbol m or f which designates the sex of the kinsman in question. Thus, the term for father (nani) extends from =Pm to =PSm 'mother's husband', and correspondingly from =PPCm 'father's brother' to =PPCSm 'mother's sister's husband'. The terms cannot be extended to spouse's kinsman of the same generation, in contrast to the grandkinsman terms.

The term tato 'child' is the reciprocal of nani, ina, mem, and fofo. It denotes ego's offspring of either sex, and extends collaterally (by rule G) to any kinsman of the child generation. It also extends to stepchildren (by the affinal extension rule S)---that is, to SC 'spouse's child', and to any collateral kinsman of spouse of the child generation, such as the child of spouse's cousin (SPPCCC). It does not extend to a child's spouse or to the spouse of any other first descending generation kinsman. Nor are sex, age, or bifurcate distinctions made for kinsmen of this generation.

Sibling Terms. Two sibling kinship terms (a'a 'elder sibling' and josiri 'younger sibling') distinguish the relative seniority of ego and his sibling. These terms extend collaterally (by rule G) to any kinsman of ego's generation, but do not extend to any affinal kinsman.

In ego's generation, seniority is based on age relative to ego only if alter is ego's actual sibling. When classifying a more distant collateral kinsman, seniority is calculated from the relative age of the two nearest lineal ancestors of ego and alter who were true siblings---that is, who shared at least one parent.
An illustration of this, from the Mairasi village of lobo, is presented in Figure 3. In the figure, the symbols plus (+) and minus (-) indicate the relative age of generation peers in each generation. In this example, Wator, Pilipus, Semuel, and Sandi are each classified as elder sibling (‘a’a) in relation to his kinsman of the same generation, even though in the case of Semuel and Sandi they are actually younger than their generation peer. This is because the eldest sibling in the genealogical chain, Wator, is ancestor to Semuel and Sandi.

Sex distinctions can be made in reference to kinsmen of ego's generation by the use of words which are not primarily kin terms. The term evei 'female' is often used by a man to refer to his sister; and, reciprocally, the term ovo 'males' is frequently used by a woman to refer to her brother. As in the case of sibling terms, these terms also extend to collateral kinsmen.

Another term, egwegor 'our siblings', is used to refer collectively to siblings and extended collateral kinsmen of ego's generation. Cross and parallel distinctions are not made for kinsmen of this generation.

1.2 Affinal Kinship Terms

Mairasi affinal kinship terms are presented in Figures 4 and 5. They distinguish sex in a variety of ways: sex of ego, sex of alter, and sex of junior kinsman. There are two groups of affinals as defined by generation, and one set of spouse terms. All affinal terms are self-reciprocal, that is, they are used reciprocally by both ego and alter, with the exception of the two spouse terms.

Familial Affinal Terms. Two terms classify spouse's kinsmen of parent and child generations: embisi 'man's parent-in-law' is used reciprocally (rule R) between a man and his wife's parent of either sex; masara 'woman's parent-in-law' is used between a woman and her husband's parent of either sex. Both terms extend to collateral kinsmen of spouse of the parent generation and to the spouse of a collateral kinsman of the child generation (rule G).

They further extend to persons who have married a kinsman of spouse of the parent generation, and (reciprocally) to the spouse of a kinsman of the child generation of one's spouse (Rule -S), so that, for example, a spouse's uncle's wife (SPCCSFPC) and the corresponding husband's nephew's spouse (FSPPCSF) are also included in the range of reference of these terms. Unlike the corresponding consanguineal terms, these terms refer to both cross and parallel kinsmen.

Sibling-in-law Terms. Four terms classify affinal kinsmen of the same generation as ego or his spouse, and extend to all kinsmen of these generations (Rule G).

The term nevu may denote any kinsman a wife refers to by one of the two sibling terms (a'a or josiiri) or, reciprocally (Rule R), to the husband of any such kinsman of ego of either sex. According to one man, the term can be extended (by affinal extension rule -Sm) to a man's wife's sister's husband (MSPCSC), that is, to his co-brother-in-law. Other people say that the term cannot be extended to this kinsman.

A woman may use the term somu 'woman's brother-in-law' to denote any man her husband refers to by a sibling term, and, reciprocally, a man may use it to refer to the wife of any such 'brother'. One man has said that it extends (by affinal extension rule -S) to co-sibling-in-law of the opposite sex (FSPPCSC and reciprocally to MPPPCSC); while others say that the term cannot be extended in this way.

A woman may use the term ne'eri 'woman's sister-in-law' to denote any woman her husband refers to by a sibling term or reciprocally, to denote the wife of any man to whom she herself refers by a sibling term. It cannot be extended by affinal extension to co-sister-in-law. Rather, the self-reciprocal term maru 'co-sister-in-law' fulfills this function, being used between women who are married to men who refer to one another by sibling terms.
Figure 6 graphically portrays the relationships between sibling-in-law terms. The left side of the figure denotes siblings-in-law (SPC and PCS), and the right side denotes co-siblings-in-law (SPCS). The notations a and b indicate that ego and alter are of the opposite sex.

Spouse Terms. The terms of reference for spouse are oem 'husband' and inavu 'wife'. Owar 'co-wife' is used between two or more women married to the same man. A man who has more than one wife also has separate terms of reference for each wife. His first wife is called inavu navorer 'big wife', his second wife inavu avur aev 'middle wife', and his third wife (or second wife, if he only has two) inavu inggiti 'last wife' or inavu nai 'little wife'.

2. MAIRASI MARRIAGE

Several events hold special importance to an individual as he passes from one stage of life to the next. Marriage is one such event which reveals his relationship to senior kinsmen—his father, mother, and their generation peers, but living grandkinsmen, and even ego's own siblings are also important—as well as forging his relationship with a new group of people, his affinal kinsmen.

2.1 Arranging a Marriage.

Choosing a wife. The Mairasi have no named clans, but patrilineal tendencies have been noted. Rights to land are passed from father to son. The father's family name is given to children, unless a child is illegitimate, in which case he is given his mother's family name. A woman keeps her father's family name even after marriage. Residence tends to be patrilocality, and the origin of many family names can be traced to certain villages.

Ideal marriage patterns also indicate a tendency toward patrilineality. When asked whom a man may marry,

a man of about thirty years of age from the coastal village of Lobo answered that people of the same family name cannot marry. Explaining further, he said that a man cannot marry a woman of his own family name or that of his mother, because members of the same generation with those names are considered siblings.

A fifty-year-old man, from an inland village, gave another story. He said that a man can marry the daughter of an aunt or uncle, parallel or cross. It does not matter that the couple would be of the same family name. The only restriction is that a man not marry his actual sibling, "because they are from one father and mother." His reason for this lack of restriction on marriage choice in the interior was that there are not enough people from which to choose a spouse.

Other ideals include selection of a marriage partner from the same village so that the family work force is not depleted. A partner should also be from the same language group and of the same religion, namely Christian or Muslim. Exceptions to all of these ideals have been observed.

The direct exchange of sisters by brothers of different family names does occur, but is not common. Only one instance has been observed by us.

A young man's parents and other senior kinsmen help him choose a wife, although a man is allowed to express his preferences. Consent of the couple is sought, and they are not forced to get married against their will.

In one case, a man had married a woman of another family name. His sister was then expected to marry the woman's brother, but she refused because she was interested in marrying a man from another language group. A few months later, however, she consented to her family's original plan and the 'exchange' was completed.

In another case, a man's marriage was arranged while he was absent from the village for a few months. His mother chose his wife, who consented. When the man returned, he, too, gave his consent.
Elopement also occurs, and the people are recognized as married afterward. In one known case, a young man and woman could not marry in the usual way, probably because of parental disapproval. So they eloped to another village by boat. Their relatives went looking for them by canoe and brought them back, at which time they were declared married. There was no apparent imitation of wrong-doing against the couple, but the payment of bride wealth was delayed.

Bride wealth. A man's parents and other close senior kinsmen negotiate with the bride's father concerning the transfer of bride wealth, and share in assembling the downpayment. Other members of the bride's family must also be in agreement with the result of this negotiation. One man said that if his sister's child were spoken for, she could not get married until he is advised of it.

In September, 1981, a wedding was being arranged in the village of Lobo. Before marriage plans could proceed, the father of the prospective groom had to go to the nearby town Kaimana to ask consent of his father-in-law, who is from another language group. The actual wedding could not take place until the groom's mother's brother, maternal grandmother, and father's older brother's daughter had arrived by boat from Kaimana.

Bride wealth is contributed by numerous friends and relatives of the groom from different villages. At the wedding of Beni Waryengsi to Yosina Soafa on August 23, 1979, in the village of Lobo, the mother's father's brother's oldest son (classificatory mother's brother) of the groom met guests at the door of the groom's parents' home. He greeted guests and took care of the bride wealth as it was brought to the house. In this case, the bride wealth included twelve dozen china dishes from Kaimana; a large, old ceramic plate; a large, old ceramic bowl; a dozen batik cloths; a large gold earring and silver bracelet that were said to be old from Kaimana; a tobacco pouch full of Indonesian Rupiah of known quantity; and an old brass cannon which is approximately 50 inches long, octagonal, and with an inside diameter of approximately one inch.

It is not known how many of these cannons, reputedly from Portuguese ships, are extant in the area. The cannon is known by other language groups in the Kaimana area to be an important part of bride wealth in Lobo. The contribution of bride wealth by such a large group of people does not indebted the groom in any specific way other than that he is expected, in turn, to share in the bride wealth obligations of his relatives. The exception is that, if he receives a cannon, he is obligated to find another one for one of the donor's male descendants when he gets married.

Bride wealth is received by the bride's father who takes a part for himself and distributes the rest among the bride's friends and relatives. One person receives a china dish, another an earring or bracelet, and so on. If a cannon is included, the father of the bride may keep it until a son or grandson has need of it; or he can sell it. The recipients of bride wealth do not have the right to ask for their share; it is given to them.

Bride wealth can range widely in value, except in the case of sister exchange, when the two portions must be exactly the same. When bride wealth includes a cannon, prestige is ascribed to the marriage.

2.2 The Wedding Ceremony.

The entire community is involved in preparations for a wedding. Women of the community gather at the bride's parents' house early in the day to cook food for the feast which will be held there that night. The walls of the veranda are often decorated with palm fronds and batik cloths. Close senior kinsmen of the bride help with the cost of the feast, including the cost of rice, sugar, and kerosene for lanterns. Musicians can often be heard practicing together during the day.

One or two women friends help the bride get ready. A floor-length dress is made or borrowed, and her hair is elaborately fixed in the room of her parents' house which she and the groom will share for a few nights. A bed is
At the groom's parents' house the bride wealth is accumulated, and the contributors are served tea and fried bananas or taro. By late evening, the bride wealth is ready, and friends and relatives have gathered and are waiting.

The bride's relatives, often with musicians, come with lanterns to the groom's parents' house to escort the groom and his relatives and to carry the bride wealth to the bride's parents' house where many people have already gathered. The procession is a noisy, happy occasion, with singing, hooting, dancing, and waving of branches.

The groom and the bride wealth are taken inside the house to the bride. Then the bride and groom are brought out to the veranda together to sit by a small table. Some of the family members and guests sit on the veranda by long tables; other guests sit, stand, or dance in the yard outside, accompanied by musicians who also dance, sing, and play drums and gongs (Peckham 1981).

At some weddings, a representative from the local Indonesian Protestant Church may pray and give a short sermon. Tea, coffee, fried banana, taro and sweet potato, and sometimes cake is served to the guests, in turns. The bride and groom feed each other food and drink before the other guests eat. A complete meal of rice and meat may be served to everyone as well.

A representative of the groom's family may publicly give advice to the young couple. At Beni Maryengsi's wedding, the 'mother's brother' who had greeted guests at the groom's house gave a speech in Malay about the necessity of Beni being faithful to his wife. He repeated several times that "a wife is not like a shirt which can be discarded when a person is tired of wearing it." He summarized his advice in Mairasi, and closed in Malay. This advice can be given by someone other than the mother's brother. In one case, it was the bride's guardian who gave the groom advice, because the groom's mother's brother was living near his gardens, several hours away by canoe. Guests may stay until dawn, singing and dancing in the yard. Others say good-bye to the bride and groom and to their families, shaking hands, after the feast and speeches are finished.

Every few years, the pastor of the Indonesian Protestant Church in Kaimana makes trips to the churches in the Mairasi villages, at which time he performs marriages. Participants may include any couples who have not yet been married within the church, and who desire it. Some couples make trips into Kaimana to have this ceremony performed. The couples are given a Biblical exhortation about marriage, promise to be faithful to each other, and are declared united.

2.3 Residence after Marriage.

Residence is patrilocal. After the wedding, a new couple is expected to spend four nights at the home of the bride's parents. On the fifth day, they move to the groom's parents' home, where they are given a room of the house. This move takes the form of a procession of friends and relatives who accompany the couple to their new home. At the groom's parents' home, the guests are served tea and fried banana or sweet potato. The couple are expected to live there until they have a home of their own. If the groom's parents' home is overcrowded, or if the bride's parents need the help of their daughter and son-in-law, exceptions to this pattern can be made.

The household is usually composed of the nuclear family: husband, wife and children. A newly married couple may also be found there, or elderly parents. Others in need may also be included, such as a mother's brother, sister's son, or a younger unmarried sibling.

Before a woman is married, she is under the authority of her parents and other close senior kinsmen. Once she has married, however, she is under the authority of her husband's kinsmen. This is because of the transfer of bride wealth. A man, on the other hand, remains under the authority of members of his family even after he has married.
2.4 The Ideal Husband-Wife Relationship.

When asked what a good husband-wife relationship is, a forty-year-old Mairasi man gave the following account:

"A husband and wife relate to each other like this: Their relationship is good if they live together well, walk (or go by canoe) together, and work together in the garden. Either the wife cooks the husband some food and gives it to him to eat, or they both eat together. If there are children they all eat together. They talk nicely. They play and laugh well. That is the way with a good husband-wife relationship. If the husbands get money, they let their wives store it away. If the members of the family need to buy anything, they can use it to go shopping.

If a husband-wife relationship is bad, they don't live together well. Each stays to himself. The husband acts independently and the wife acts independently, going wherever they want. There are some that fight unpredictably. If some days may be good, then that's pretty good. In some other couples, the husband goes out alone to make a garden. The wife also goes out alone to make a garden. The wife depends on her own strength. Likewise, the husband depends on his own strength. The same holds true for earning money. Also regarding eating, things are not done right. Some couples may be this way without fighting, but others do fight.

That is all there is to say about husband-wife relationships."

An example of a bad relationship was pointed out in which the man makes a garden alone while his wife and a female relative go to plant together. The husband and wife do not walk around together, and even at night the man might not come home until late.

In another case the husband would go to his own garden alone, and would keep the money he made for himself, not giving any to his wife. His wife would go out alone to make her own garden. She would clear out smaller plants, and her brothers would fell the trees for her, since her husband would not help. It later became known that the man was often alone with another woman and slept with her.

There have been a number of recent cases of unfaithfulness by a husband or wife in Lobo. At first, although the incidents appeared to be well-known, nothing was done. Then, some months later, when fighting occurred among relatives of the spouses involved, the cases were brought before a council of village leaders.

In one case of unfaithfulness, both the man and the woman were questioned concerning their activities and relationship. Since this was their third offense, the next step would have been to take the case to Kaimana to be judged by the civil authorities, where the probable outcome would have been divorce. But the offended spouses decided not to go through with the divorce, and so the case did not go there. Locally, the man who committed adultery with the wife was removed from office as church elder, since this was his third offense. He was also forced to pay a fine to the offended husband's siblings. But they refused it, which is often the case, because they "were ashamed of" the woman, their sister-in-law. So the fine went to one of her mother's brothers, because he "had pity on" her. Part of the fine also goes to the government. In most cases, the offending woman also has to pay a fine, but in this case she did not.

In addition, since the divorce were not carried out, the man and woman involved took an oath that they would not be unfaithful to their spouses again. If they break their oath they will die from bleeding.

Unfaithfulness of husband or wife places a strain on relationships between their two families, and can lead to divorce. In the above case, the offending wife agreed to be faithful to her husband, but was afraid that his family would not accept her. Her father, on the other hand, threatened to make her move out of his house, where she and her husband and child had been staying, if her unfaithfulness led to divorce.

The security of a woman's children is threatened if her husband is unfaithful to her. The husband-wife
relationship is supposed to be stable enough to provide for the needs of the children; but in those cases where it does not, the children can rely on their other close senior kinsmen. Children can expect food and assistance without obligation to reciprocate immediately. In the above case, where the man would not help his wife with garden work, the woman and children were adequately provided for by her brothers. Although her actual brothers were living in cities away from Lobo, her father's brothers' sons (mother's brothers to her children) assisted her. The extended nature of Mairasi kinship ensures that there are many in this relationship.

In addition, if a man dies or is unavailable to care for his children, they may live with their mother's brother or other close kinsmen.

3. SUMMARY

The Mairasi kinship system is a combination of Hawaiian and Iroquois systems. Only in the first ascending generation are parallel and cross kinsmen distinguished. In other generations terms extend bilaterally in all directions without distinguishing cross and parallel kinsmen. An additional feature is that in all generations the consanguineal and affinal kinship terms extend to all collateral kinsmen.

It is evident from a study of Mairasi kinship, that senior kinsmen, primarily those of the parent generation, play an important role in ego's life; that is, father, mother, and their generation peers, but living grandkinsmen, and even ego's own siblings are also important. Because of the importance of the mother's brother in other Irian Jaya societies, his role was examined in some detail; but he appears to be considered just another member of this larger group. Marriage is an event which reveals the various roles of this group of kinsmen.

Notes:

1. Information for this paper was gathered through intermittent stays in the village of Lobo between January, 1979, and September, 1981. It was written during a six week workshop held from November 11 to December 16, 1981, conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics working in cooperation with Cenderawasih University. I wish to thank my friends Adrian Oruw, Beni Waryengsi, and Donisius Sanamuara, Mairasi speakers from the village of Lobo, for their willing help. I also wish to acknowledge the help of Dr. Bill Merrifield and Ken Collier for their valuable suggestions and comments while drafting this paper.

References:


Figure 1. Mairasi Consanguineal Kinship Terms of Reference

Grand Kinsman terms:
1. eveve  PPPPP (R,G,S) great-great-great grandkinsman
2. fasu'u  PPPPP (R,G,S) great-great-grandkinsman
3. erway   PPP (R,G,S) great-grandkinsman
4. avo     PP  (R,G,S) grandkinsman

Familial terms:
5. nani   =Pm (G, -S) father
6. ina    =Pf (G, -S) mother
7. mem    xPm (G, -S) uncle
8. fovo   xPf (G, -S) aunt
9. tato   C  (G, -S) child

Sibling terms:
10. a'a    ePC (G) elder sibling
11. josiri yPC (G) younger sibling

Figure 2. Mairasi Consanguineal Kinship Terms of Reference

Grandkinsmen terms:
1. eveve  PPPPP (R,G,S) great-great-great grandkinsman
2. fasu'u  PPPPP (R,G,S) great-great-grandkinsman
3. erway   PPP (R,G,S) great-grandkinsman
4. avo     PP  (R,G,S) grandkinsman

Familial terms:
5. nani   =Pm (G, -S) father
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9. tato   C  (G, -S) child

Sibling terms:
10. a'a    ePC (G) elder sibling
11. josiri yPC (G) younger sibling

Figure 3. Mairasi Affinal Kinship Terms of Reference.

Familial terms:
1. embisi  mSP (R,G,-S) man's parent-in-law
2. masara  fSP (R,G,-S) woman's parent-in-law

Sibling terms:
3. nevu    mSPC (R,G,-Sm) man's sibling-in-law
4. somu    fSPCm (R,G,-S) woman's brother-in-law
5. ne'eici  fSPCf (R,G) woman's sister-in-law
6. maru    fSPCSf(G) co-sister-in-law

Spouse terms:
7. oem     Sm  husband
8. inauo   Sf  wife
9. owar    fISSf co-wife
Figure 3. Relative Age of 'Siblings' and Collateral 'Parents'.

Figure 4. Mairasi Affinal Kinship Terms of Reference.

Familial terms:
1. embisi  mSP  (R,G,-S) man's parent-in-law
2. masara  fSP  (R,G,-S) woman's parent-in-law

Sibling-in-law terms:
3. nevu     mSPC (R,G,-Sm) man's sibling-in-law
4. somu     fSPCm (R,G,-S) woman's brother-in-law
5. ne'er'i  fSPCf (R,G) woman's sister-in-law
6. maru     fSPCSf (G) co-sister-in-law

Spouse terms:
7. oem      Sm  husband
8. inavu    Sf  wife
9. owar     fSSf co-wife