

Apwitihi: Studies in Papua New Guinea Musics

Don Niles, Editor

1. *Forms and Styles of Traditional Banoni Music*, Regis N. Stella (1990)
2. *The Song to the Flying Fox: The Public and Esoteric Knowledge of the Important Men of Kandingei about Totemic Songs, Names and Knotted Cords (Middle Sepik, Papua New Guinea)*, Jürg Wassmann. Translated by Dennis Q. Stephenson (1991)
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4. *Mission and Music: Jabêm Traditional Music and the Development of Lutheran Hymnody*, Heinrich Zahn. Translated by Philip W. Holzknecht (1996)
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Planned:

The Value of Indigenous Music in the Life and Ministry of the Church with Particular Reference to the United Church in the Duke of York Islands, Andrew Midian

Songs of the Empty Place: The Memorial Poetry of the Foi of the Southern Highlands Province, James F. Weiner

Apwitihi [apwətəʔərə] is an ensemble consisting of three sets of raft panpipes and three single end-blown pipes, played by the Angaataha people of Morobe Province. The ensemble is played in accompaniment to *isaasarihire* songs. The origin of the ensemble and songs is told by Nuseso of Otete:

The *apwitihi* ensemble originated in a hunting ground called Popiraatatihi. The *wausaho* or *kirunkwa* possum made the first set of instruments. He made an enclosure with a gate and cleared a dancing ground called Woyapihanti. Then he called all the animals together in order to show them how to play the instruments. The *wausaho* passed out instruments to various animals and tried to teach them. The cassowary and dog tried but were unable to play. The *ntetiho* pipe was learned by a lizard; the *sanaati* panpipes by a pig; the *otaananati* panpipes by a bird-of-paradise; the *pupuho* pipe by the *mwisaati* quail; the *akirihiri* panpipes were kept by the *wausaho* himself and another animal played the *sumsiho* pipe. While these animals played, the *nkone* fantail sang:

I am a parrot, flying over the tops of wild pandanus trees and above rivers
I sing and my voice echoes

While hunting, a man saw the animals performing. He stole the knowledge from them and taught other men to play. Now this music is performed whenever a group of young men is moving to the next stage of initiation.

Songs of Spirits:

An Ethnography of Sounds in a Papua New Guinea Society

Yoichi Yamada

Translated by Jun'ichi Ohno



Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies

1997

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To Albert Ayler:

*What I have heard in my dream
might have been your "voices"*

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Editor's Introduction

UNDERSTANDING THE INTERRELATIONS between spirits and humans is fundamental to comprehending traditional music and dance in many parts of Papua New Guinea. Nevertheless, detailed descriptions of these relationships are scarce. The present book reveals some of the complexity of these interactions among the Waxeï people of East Sepik Province and their impact on aural phenomena.

The aural dimension is of key importance here as this is an essential, tangible aspect of these spirits for humans. Sounds produced by men on instruments or through the singing of men and women are *for* and *of* the spirits concerned, but also in many ways *are* those spirits. In some ways, then, humans become spirits. As examined in detail here by Yamada, Waxeï spirits manifest themselves aurally in three main ways. Spirits of the dead possess individuals and bamboos, replying to questions with yes/no responses and identifying groups through slit-drum signals. Humans produce the songs of some supernatural spirits, however, with their voices (for the male spirits Guxaj and Agriq) or with flutes (for the female spirits Sagais, Igofnemis, and Songus).

Performance vividly portrays this relation of humans with spirits and ancestors, but also illustrates their relation with the environment and history. Spirits are brought to the village from watery abodes, their voices made to resound by men playing instruments or men and women singing, hence they become like spirits. The performance aurally re-enacts myths, often concerning journeys or creative acts, displaying the esoteric knowledge of the performers (inaccessible to non-initiates), proclaiming associations with the past. All of these elements are found in other areas across the Mamose Region, but with different emphases, some of which will be suggested below. In many parts of this region, the Tok Pisin term *tambaran* is often used for such important supernatural spirits, especially when associated with male cult activities, but, as among the Waxeï, the word *masalai* may also be preferred. The use of esoteric instruments

always necessitates special ceremonies to allow initiates to learn such usage and the rights to performance.

Throughout many parts of East Sepik Province, particularly in the centre and east, side-blown flutes, played in pairs or larger ensembles, are important instruments associated with spirits (see Niles 1992: 51–54 for a brief discussion with distributional maps). The Iatmul (or Iatmoi) are particularly inviting for comparison with the Waxeï because of the wealth of material available on their music-making (e.g., Spearritt 1979; Spearritt & Wassmann 1996; Wassmann 1991; Yamada 1981, 1983). Yet, while there are similarities on a basic level, there are striking differences as well. In contrast to the simple texts or vocables of the Waxeï, Iatmul texts are very elaborate, supplying a catalogue of totemic names. Intricate Waxeï vocal polyphony is absent; instead an alternation between solo voice and group occurs. In a performance of a Iatmul *sagi* song cycle, the publicly-recited texts are but small excerpts of clan-specific esoteric myths concerning the migration of the clan founder in primal times to the region now inhabited, hence giving rights to the present generation over land, as well as to represent their ancestors. While Waxeï performances also have a mythic basis which is only fully understood by those knowledgeable in the secret details, the ordering of the named tunes/events is more fluid and, perhaps, less concerned with reinforcing land claims. A wide variety of instruments is found among the Iatmul. While they may form part of a *sagi* performance, their playing remains generally independent of the solo/chorus singing and percussion. Among the Waxeï, such combinations are absent. Iatmul flutes are generally played in pairs and it is only in Aibom village, probably under the influence of the neighbouring Chambri, that larger flute ensembles are found. While the Waxeï also use long, paired flutes in the song of Songus, much larger ensembles of shorter flutes combine in the songs of Sagais and Igofnemis.

Detailed ethnomusicological descriptions of other parts of the East Sepik have not yet been produced, yet other ethnographic writings also reveal intriguing similarities and contrasts. The related Yimar, speaking the Alamlak language (Haberland & Seyfarth 1974), have two flute ensembles of paired flutes, and others of three and five instruments. In the five flute ensemble, some instruments can be duplicated. Here also, flutes are the voices of spirits, who normally reside on mountains, in rivers or trees, who come into the flutes through playing. The Ilahita have a wide variety of esoteric instruments, but the most important ensembles are those of voice-modifiers or end-blown bamboo trumpets (see, especially,

Tuzin 1976, 1980, 1984). Nevertheless, the Nggwal *tambaran* also resides with other clan beings and spirits of the dead in clan water shrines, to which the instruments are brought. Here, Tuzin emphasises the importance of the audible creation of the spirit's voice and the resultant temporary equivalence of men and spirits through performance:

In most of its guises the awesome might of the Tambaran is generally perceived to be a potentiality: either it is a passive spiritual force which can be called upon by magical entreaty; or, if it should exercise itself spontaneously, though the effects may be observable the precise nature of the causal movement remains an impenetrable mystery. By contrast, the *active* aspect of Tambaran power, to the extent it can be known, is conceived by men to reside in its voice. Like Yahweh of the ancient Hebrews, the Tambaran *speaks* creation; *speaks* destruction; *speaks* existence itself. And yet, paradoxically, despite its omniscience the Tambaran cannot speak unaided. Secret sound-making devices such as bullroarers and flutes are not mere imitations of its voice, they *are* its voice, the concrete instrument of Tambaran power. This is why operating these devices in a ritual setting is a supremely sacred act. It is a moment when the power of the Tambaran is made manifest (created, in fact) through the agency of men, who, by the same token, become godlike by virtue of the power they momentarily command. Indeed, in the Voice of the Tambaran, men and their spirits (both those dwelling within them and those dwelling outside in the form of supernatural beings) are rendered indivisible.... (Tuzin 1980:56–57; emphases in original)

Similarly, dancers are transformed into beings akin to *tambaran*.

Among the West Sepik Gnao, songs for the building of a new men's house last from night until dawn, comprising c. 150 verses, each with a nameable subject. Although consisting primarily of archaic words, texts can usually be interpreted. Such songs describe a journey with geographical direction and location, moving between the village to distant places and back again, and the correct order of verses is of great importance. The performance is also structured by the progress of the night. Spirits are brought to the village at the beginning of the performance with small flutes and, indeed, the performance of the major rites of the great-spirit is called *lyirag balyi'it* 'they sing-dance the spirit' (Lewis 1975, 1980). Long song cycles, detailing the histories of clans, also appear among the Kwoma (Bowden 1983:15, 71) and Manambu (Newton 1971:68–71), and there are many instances of the relation between sound-producing instruments and water-dwelling spirits (see, e.g., Newton 1971).

Another extremely important contribution of this book is the insight it gives into indigenous Papua New Guinea music theory, a subject touched

on by a number of authors, but explored in greatest depth by Feld for the Kaluli of Southern Highlands Province (e.g., Feld 1990). While the Kaluli and the Waxeï differ musically in many striking ways, particularly in the Kaluli absence of esoteric instruments and very different ways of structuring musical sounds, there are intriguing correlations in some aspects of music theory. Kaluli music theory terminology draws heavily upon aspects of waterfalls to describe melodic contour. The Waxeï utilise analogies with the water in the river, its meanders and flow. The origin of Kaluli song can be traced to birdsong, becoming weeping, wept-song, and finally forming the basis of song. Waxeï weeping progresses to wept-words, and then wept-song, but does not appear to be associated with songs derived from spirits. There are also interesting comparisons to be made in descriptions of song form. Kaluli employ terms relating to a tree ('trunk', 'branch') and waterfalls to describe song form. Waxeï compare song to a tree with many branches (tunes). Tree imagery is also important in other groups, such as the Gnau, where the parts of a song are contrasted as 'base' and 'crown' (Lewis 1980:63), and the Eastern Highlands Usarufa, where the largest group of songs is *yaa-ánama* 'tree leaves', consisting of words ('base') and vocables ('leaves') (Chenoweth 1979:90). And, of course, the importance of birds in many aspects of music and dance pervades many groups. Yet we need to know much more to learn whether occurrences over such a wide area are indeed common analogies in Papua New Guinea or merely fortuitous.

During our long acquaintance, Yoichi and I have frequently spoke of the necessity of making his writings, and those of other Japanese researchers, accessible to the people of Papua New Guinea. While this book continues the tradition of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies in making available English translations of important works on music, previous translations have been made from German and French, and the present translation from Japanese presented new challenges. Within Papua New Guinea, aside from war stories, modern Japan is well-known for its generous contributions to major construction projects (such as hospitals, roads, schools, and airports), the donation of electronic equipment, and the teaching of the Japanese language. Additionally, a number of Papua New Guineans have gone to Japan on familiarisation tours to learn about the country, its people, and rich culture. Consequently the relation between Japan and Papua New Guinea may appear to be one-sided—Japan always helping Papua New Guinea. Yet Papua New Guinea has also helped Japan in numerous cultural and intellectual areas, but this

assistance is not nearly so well-known. Many Japanese have undertaken research in Papua New Guinea in a variety of disciplines. However, this intellectual side of Japanese involvement here generally remains unknown because the results of this research have frequently only been published in Japanese and, hence, remain inaccessible to the vast majority of Papua New Guineans. Therefore, we feel very strongly that this is a landmark publication, both for Papua New Guinea cultural studies and for Papua New Guinea–Japan relations. It is an excellent example of what Papua New Guinea has taught Japan.

Yamada's original Ph.D. dissertation (1989) was revised for publication in 1991. The translation presented here contains the full contents of the 1991 publication with numerous additions from the dissertation: e.g., the Waxeï and Tok Pisin texts in chapter 1 (added to highlight the interesting interplay between these two languages); appendixes 2–4; additional musical examples, etc. New to this publication are some charts, notes, spelling corrections, appendix 5, glossary, and index. Consequently, we feel the present version transcends the previous one.

At the end of 1995, Yoichi again visited Papua New Guinea. This was a valuable occasion to attempt the resolution of the many questions arising from the original translation. Using Tok Pisin, our preferred language of communication, we were able to clarify most things. Thanks to the wonders of email, we have been able to remain in constant contact over major and minor issues of the final editing. I very much appreciate the speed and clarity with which he responded to my queries, his patience while waiting for everything to come together, and his belief in having this book published in Papua New Guinea and available to people here. I hope that Yoichi will be pleased with the results and that the English used here does justice to his presentation.

Special thanks go to Anna Mathias for her bravery in tackling the many, complicated changes to the manuscript of the original translation. I also appreciate Steve Feld's comments on the book during preparation and Nobuaki Matsui's assistance in taming the *kanji* for the bibliography. I am also very pleased that we are able to include a compact disc of musical examples with this book. Although it was previously released in Japan (Yamada 1992), it had limited distribution elsewhere. Its inclusion here greatly enhances the value of this publication for readers.

The printing of this book would have been impossible without the support of the Frank Magne Memorial Fund. Frank and Yoichi met in 1990 at Austin and talked together about the Papua New Guinea music

scene. Both also participated in the 1993 New Guinea Ethnomusicology Conference held in Port Moresby (see Reigle 1995) where Yoichi presented some of the results of the research elaborated here. I think Frank would have been very interested to read this book.

All editing, layout, scanning, and indexing has again been accomplished in the Music Department with wonderful software and hardware: *Word*, *ClarisWorks*, *PageMaker*, *FreeHand*, *Finale*, *Ofoto*, and *Photoshop* on a Macintosh IICI, Power Macintosh 7200/90, Hewlett Packard ScanJet 4c, and LaserWriter 4/600 PS printer.

DON NILES

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Acknowledgments

ONE DAY IN March 1989, six months after my departure from Meska, I received a letter from Simbi saying that a large vein of gold was discovered by an Australian mining company on the Upper Korosameri River and that almost all of the Waxeï men were mobilised for the construction of the campsite, mining, and transportation. In the village, it was likely that only women and children remained. Simbi, too, came back to Meska after a long time, after finishing three months of mining work.

In the Tok Pisin text were delicately mingled a still remaining excitement: delight in that it became possible to get a cash income from the gold mine, on the one hand, and bewilderment at their ancestral land being devastated, on the other. In my heart too, after my reading the letter, expectations that their life be made rich materially (however little it may really be) were mingled with feelings that, thereby, they themselves would change. I was in a complicated mood.

A year later, another letter came from Simbi. According to it, dissatisfactions had arisen among the Waxeï against the work at the gold mine regarding remuneration and their treatment. Already many men had quit and left the mine. Also, it was likely that they have been unable to agree on terms concerning the rent on the gold mine's land even now and no payment had been made so far. In those circumstances, a timber company came along to propose logging on the Upper Weisas River. As it is their forte to cut down trees and carry them, the men rushed to the new work.

Yet that work also will probably not last long. At the time when they sold timber while they were still in Watakataui, and also at the time when they helped the New Tribes Mission in making an airstrip at Bisorio, the Waxeï always received a small amount of cash which was never proportional to the extent to which they offered labour; in return, they have continued to lose the forests inherited from their ancestors, lose the birds

and beasts dependent upon the forests as their dwelling place, and anger the spirits dwelling in the forests.

Retaliation of such spirits comes about quickly. According to Simbi, it is likely that men would die suddenly at the campground of the gold mine, encounter an accident while cutting down timber, or die of illness in the village, appearing in a series: Manifo, who was still young and taught me many ancestral myths of the Wesayom clan; Doui, who was the master of the house next to my own and often gave me fish; Wolindumo, who took me to a hut deep in the forest of the Weisas River on several occasions; and Lakman, an excellent wood carver—all died.

Grudges of the spirits, whose dwelling places were devastated, are great. And yet, have the Waxeï no choice but to repeat vain attempts in seeking a cash income, while being frightened at the attacks of spirits which have wandered out? They may have a painful feeling, but I also feel sad because I, in faraway Japan, can do nothing but picture myself in their situations. I can never forget the tenderness of men who, going together into the forest, taught me how to hear the calls of birds, or gathering in my house every night, told me the tales of spirits and ancestors.

The completion of this book is primarily due to the Waxeï people who patiently kept company with me (with an insensitive ear and poor understanding) and exhibited amazing sensibility and knowledge concerning songs, spirits, and myths. I am especially indebted, to: Iman, a great intellectual; Mofo, a possessor of keen auditory competence and susceptibility; Wisofi, my teacher of the Waxeï language; Wau, proud of his high, penetrating voice; Agu, who kindly taught me whatever I asked about; Bungo, Yambongei, and Gedobi, who were my good friends of my own generation; Gonuta, who treated me as his son; and Simbi and his wife Anas, who attentively took care of me in daily life. I would like to pay them my utmost respect and express my heartfelt thanks. Although I feel uncertain about the extent to which this awkward work of mine can delineate their way of life, mentality, and way of thinking, I hope that they might appreciate my efforts to some degree.

This book was completed by making minor corrections, deletions, and changes in the composition to my doctoral dissertation, submitted to Osaka University in 1989. I would like to express deep thanks to Prof. Ko Tanimura, chief supervisor, and Prof. Masakazu Yamazaki and Prof. Osamu Yamaguchi, my supervisors, who took trouble in the examination of this dissertation.

Since the days I was a student at the Department of Aesthetics, Osaka University, I have owed Prof. Tanimura a great deal. The words, "First of all, you had better go down to the very end," he kindly told me when I was about to leave for Papua New Guinea for the first time in 1979, and he has continued to support me until now. Although it may be difficult to say that this book fully responds to his instructions, I expect that he would at least recognise my attitude in frontally-tackling the sounds of the Waxeï.

This book is also the result of fieldwork in Papua New Guinea which was conducted from 1986 to 1987 and in 1988, financially supported by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture. I would like to give my heartfelt thanks to Prof. Shuji Yoshida (National Museum of Ethnology), research representative, who kindly allowed me to join in the research team, and Prof. Hisafumi Saito (Chukyo University), Prof. Keichi Kumagai (Ochanomizu Women's University), Prof. Yukio Toyoda (Rikkyo University), Prof. Toru Kamimura (Kobe Kango College), and Prof. Ippei Kawasaki (Okazaki International College), members of the team. I feel that, being supported by their warm encouragement and understanding, I could continue my research work in a very difficult field, the Sepik.

Also, I would like to express my gratitude to the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies (formerly, Cultural Studies Division, National Research Institute) and the East Sepik Provincial Government for facility in various ways they kindly afforded me when selecting a research field and acquiring research permission. In particular, Don Niles, researcher at the Music Department of the Institute, a longtime friend and also a leading person in research on Papua New Guinea music, gave me precise advice with strong friendship and extensive knowledge. I would be pleased if my study would contribute, if only a little, to the development of Papua New Guinea musicology he wishes.

In putting together a large amount of materials obtained in the field into the form of a doctoral dissertation, I was given advice and extensive cooperation from many persons. First, on the occasion of presentations made at the joint meeting at the National Museum of Ethnology, "Studies on the Traditional Societies in Papua New Guinea" (representative, Prof. Yoshida), I received a variety of instructive comments from the joint researchers. Also, when I put a part of these materials into a previous paper, I had Prof. Yoshida and Prof. Akira Deguchi (Shimane University) read the draft, and was given precious advice on details. Furthermore, I was helped in the faintly complicated work of transcription by Kozue

Kuwano and Noriko Matsumoto, who were at the time students at the Department of Music, Shimane University. I would like to praise them for their courage that, while being frightened at the voices of a spirit which sometimes came resounding from the headphones, they did not give up the work. And, it was Prof. Takashi Shimeda (Shimane University) who, at the final stage, helped me in overall computer processing and chart making. To these persons, I would like to offer special thanks.

Also, I would like to give my heartfelt thanks to Shun'ichi Shiba (Institute of Urban Design) who kindly introduced my doctoral dissertation, thus completed, to Shunjusha publishers. In those days, I stayed as a visiting scholar at the Department of Anthropology, University of Texas at Austin, and I clearly remember even now the delight I felt in Austin where the sun scorched above 40°C, when I received a telephone call from Mr Shiba.

Finally, I would like to extend cordial thanks to Tetsuta Washio, editor of Shunjusha, who, by scrupulously reading through my dissertation, took the trouble to revise the overall composition, and shared in the delight of the completion of this book. I believe that the description of the Waxeï's spirit of the dead, which appeared suddenly on his display, was a message of congratulations from the spirits.

I would like to dedicate this book to the spirit of the late Albert Ayler, jazz saxophonist, who exerted great influence upon my own sound consciousness and perception, and sometimes makes the sound of a saxophone even now.

YOICHI YAMADA
JULY 1991
MATSUE, JAPAN

Acknowledgments for the English translation

The English translation from the original Japanese book was conducted with the financial support of a Grant-in-Aid for Publication of Scientific Research Results as part of a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture (Grant No. 62003). The translation was done by Jun'ichi Ohno and revised by Ralph Yourtee. I am very grateful to them for giving me a chance to introduce my work to the people of Papua New Guinea and other countries, and for their hard work in completing a difficult task.

I am happy to be able to include the compact disc with the English edition, which, I believe, will bring a better understanding of the Waxeï's sonic world described in this book. This was realised by courtesy of the Japan Victor Corporation (JVC), to whom I would like to express my gratitude.

My thanks also go to Don Niles and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies for their efforts and support in publishing this English edition. In particular, I would like to thank Don: this book could not have exceeded the original Japanese dissertation and book in its quality without his detailed reading and creative ideas.

I am very pleased, and think it significant, that this English edition is published and circulated in Papua New Guinea. It will make my work far more accessible to the Waxeï people, who have the Japanese book in hand, but can only enjoy looking at the photos.

YOICHI YAMADA
MAY 1997
HIROSHIMA, JAPAN

Preface

THIS BOOK IS an ethnographic study of sound communications made on the stage of the Waxeï society of Papua New Guinea. Sounds echo throughout the living space of the Waxeï as a system of symbols which are socially organised and signified. They express people's feelings, reveal their way of perception and cognition, and mirror their actual life. Through analysis of the Waxeï people's sound communications by utterance, talk, weeping, singing, and bamboo flute playing, this book examines how sounds produce socially significant expressions.¹

* * *

In July 1986 I stepped into Waxeï society for the first time. As a member of a study team attempting to conduct anthropological research at the northern fringe area of the central highlands of Papua New Guinea, I decided to make intensive independent research on one of the tributaries flowing into the Sepik River from the Highlands.²

On two previous occasions—for several months each in 1979 and 1980—I conducted research on music, myth, and social organisation in the Iatmoi (Iatmul) society in the Middle Sepik River. From the information obtained at that time, I knew that, over the East Sepik Hills where the

1. The ethnography of sounds makes a self-evident premise that sounds exist as part of culture and social life. However, as correctly pointed out by Seeger (1987:xiii-xiv), it cannot be simply assumed that there is a pre-existing and logically prior socio-cultural matrix in which sounds exist. Rather, the social relations and cultural concepts are expressed and interpreted through sounds. What I have focussed on are such processes of expression and interpretation through sounds.

2. Field research at this time was carried out with a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture in 1986-87 (International Scientific Research "Cultural-Anthropological Studies on Societies in the Highlands-Fringe Area of Papua New Guinea"; Project Number 61041088; research representative, Prof. Shuji Yoshida of the National Museum of Ethnology).

Waxei live, there exists an ensemble of short bamboo flutes and songs to the accompaniment of a slit-drum. However, I was without any clue as to how those sounds are actually organised, and how they resound. Moreover, since there was a very scarce stock of ethnological or linguistic research materials on the Sepik Hills, I had no idea as to what type of society exists there, and what kind of life people lead.

When I had to concretely select a location for research, I consulted Don Niles, researcher at the Music Department of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies in Port Moresby, the capital of Papua New Guinea. At that time, he let me listen to tapes recorded at villages on the East Sepik Hills in 1985 by David Fanshawe, a British composer. While listening to the ten-odd tapes one after another, the Waxei's singing voices came out resounding. Their voices were so powerful as to overwhelm those of any other groups, and their songs showed a polyphonic structure in the exquisite resounding of voices between each other. These were different in nature from sounds I had so far heard in any other area of the Sepik. An interest in the Waxei's music swelled rapidly within me so that, without any hesitation, I made up my mind to leave for the Korosameri River along which they were said to live.

Through the processes of explanations about the intent of my visit, negotiations for staying, and entreaties after having been refused, which are always present when one walks into an unknown land as a stranger, I was somehow permitted to settle in Meska, a Waxei village. No anthropological research on the Waxei had been conducted at that time and, therefore, there existed no ethnographic records or linguistic data to which I could refer. Thinking that understanding their language, in any case, was the first consideration, I decided to conduct linguistic research in preference to research on sounds. Actually, however, singing or bamboo flute playing was not performed so easily, however much one may wish to research into sounds.

In addition to their own language,³ the Waxei also daily use Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin) as a lingua franca, a language prevalent mainly in

3. Waxei is a non-Austronesian language, belonging to the Bahinemo Family of the Sepik Hill Stock. Although some linguists call it "Watakataui", based on the name of a place where the Waxei once lived (Dye et al. 1969; Laycock 1981), "Waxei" is more appropriate as either the group name or language name.

Although grammatical explanations are omitted, I should point out that distinctions of number and gender are made for nouns. In the singular, a male noun ends

continued on page xxxi

the northern and central parts of Papua New Guinea.⁴ Since I could speak Tok Pisin fluently, I first asked them to narrate a number of ancestral myths in the Waxei language. I recorded them and received explanations about them via Tok Pisin. In this way, I continued to study the phonemic system, syntax, and vocabulary of the Waxei language intensively.

In the meantime, a baby died early in September. People screamed, narrated while shedding tears, and then all the villagers gathered together and began to sing a wept-song. All of these voices sank deeply into my heart. Singing continued until midnight and I continued to listen. Then suddenly, a man stood up, started running, and began to cry something. I was told by the men around me that, by possessing him, the spirit of a dead person narrates. To me, it was a shocking experience, and also an event which served as an opportunity for me to begin thinking about the problem of what spirits mean to the Waxei. Since that time, side by side with hearing their ancestral myths, I gave my energies to collecting various tales related to spirits. Gradually I came to understand that their myths and cognition of spirits are closely related to each other at deeper levels.

After that, my long-cherished desire to listen to singing and bamboo flute playing was fulfilled several times. Each time was more exquisite and resounded more powerfully than expected. As I went into the world of

continued from page xxx

with -q or -j, and a female noun ends with -s; the dual is expressed by -f and three or more by -m.

The orthography of the Waxei language used in this book, as shown below, is phonemic. In the case of some speakers, the vowel /a/ may become semi-narrow [ə], and /o/ may become semi-broad [ɔ], but these are not so distinctive that they must be especially distinguished. Rather, what requires special attention in the pronunciation of Waxei are the three uvulars written as q, j, x.

vowels:	i = [i], e = [e], a = [a], o = [o], u = [u] (lengthening is expressed by :)
plosives:	p = [p], b = [b], t = [t], d = [d], k = [k], g = [g], q = [q] (voiceless uvular), j = [g] (voiced uvular), gw = [gʷ] (labialisation), kw = [kʷ] (labialisation)
fricatives:	f = [f], s = [s] or [ʃ], x = [x] or [χ] (uvular)
nasals:	m = [m], n = [n], ny = [ɲ]
trills:	r = [r]
laterals:	l = [l]
semivowels:	w = [w], y = [y]

4. Tok Pisin is a lingua franca also known as New Guinea Pidgin. The Waxei have acquired it through work at plantations or through trade and contact with other groups. Competence differs according to age and sex, with the competence of the old and women being comparatively inferior.

sounds, I came to realise that the attitude with which people express and perceive sounds is deeply rooted in their system of myths and recognition of spirits. I also began to vaguely see that a sound experience is equated with an experience of communication with spirits. Moreover, I have come to think that this unusual phenomenon—possession by a spirit—which I encountered several times, may be grasped from such a point of view. Thus, the problems I had tackled, such as ancestral myths, spirit cognition, and spirit possession, began to form a faint image on the horizon of sound communication.

I left Meska in February 1987 and was engaged in analyses of Waxeï myths, spirit cognition, and sound phenomena in Japan, far away from Meska across the sea. In the course of time, I came to feel certain that the social significance of Waxeï sounds must lie in that unique communication process interwoven by people and spirits. In 1988, when I had an opportunity for research in Waxeï society from July to October, I focused on that problem. I discussed myths and spirits with people time and again, and gradually deepened my inquiry, while sharing sound experiences with them.⁵ In this way, I eventually reached an interpretation that the Waxeï perceive the talk of spirits in the structure of sounds, and the cognition of spirits is realised through those sounds. This understanding is consistently and densely projected in this book, developed around Waxeï sounds and spirits.

5. This second research was carried out with a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture in 1988–89 (International Scientific Research “Cultural-Anthropological Studies on the Sepik Hills in Papua New Guinea”; Project Number 63041138; research representative, Prof. Shuji Yoshida of the National Museum of Ethnology). I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to those concerned who made these two research trips and stays with the Waxeï possible.



Plate A: Performance of Sagais' bamboo flutes

“... what is ... surprising is that the spirit's talk can be actually perceived ... as a quite unusual 'spirit's voice'.... If we continue to concentrate our consciousness upon the spirit's talk and listen to it attentively, its voice floats away from the structure of the song and comes into hearing as if roving.... It is precisely Sagais' 'breath' which indicates her long-awaited emergence.” (p. 215)



Plate B: The meandering Korosameri River



Plate C: A man proceeding in a waterway in the forest



Plate D: Men's body ornaments



Plates E-F: People singing the song of Guxaj



INTRODUCTION

The Waxei People

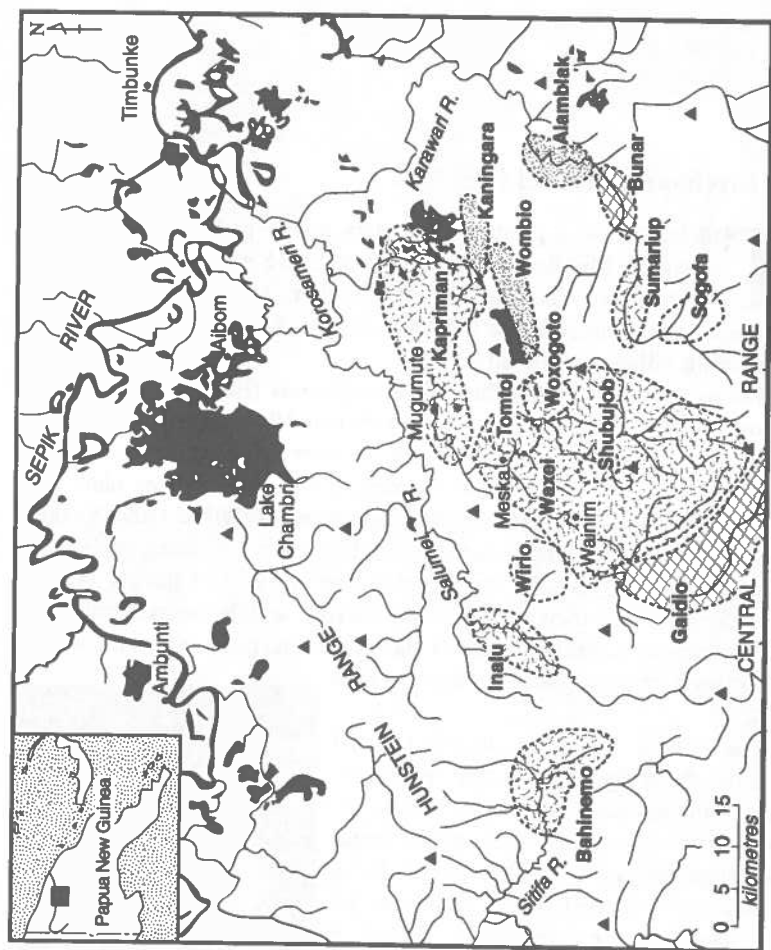
A. Environment and life

THE WAXEI ARE a group of sedentary hunter-gatherers who dwell along the Middle Korosameri River, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea. The total population is about 300 of which about 240 people live in a village called Meska (see plates 1-2), the remainder live in Wainim village, a little up the river.

Taking its source from the central highlands (Enga Province), the Korosameri River passes the East Sepik Hills and flows into the Sepik (see map 1). With repeated sharp meanders, the river makes headway through the thick tropical rain forest, as if creeping and winding (see plate B). Surrounding it is a primeval forest of palms and evergreen trees. As one stands still on the riverside, a variety of bird sounds reaches one's ears from beyond the visually impenetrable trees. Leaves of thickly grown trees clearly throw their shadows over the river and the noisy droning of cicadas echoes there. The river has many inlets and goes on flowing while admitting numerous small waterways (see plate C).

The Waxei's dwelling place is situated just on the fringe area of the Highlands. Meska and its vicinity are about 40 m above sea level. However, just to the east lie mountain ranges about 180-400 m above sea level, gently stretching up to over 2,000 m up the Korosameri River to the south. The entire neighbourhood of these mountain ranges is the main living place of the Waxei; it is the land where they have traditionally pursued hunting and gathering. They formerly lived





Map 1: Ethno-linguistic groups in the Sepik Hills area. Based on Yamada (1987b:192, fig. 1) and Laycock (1981), with some alterations.

on the basins of the Mombogotus and Weisas Rivers, which run through the ravines of these mountains, and moved from place to place. In 1976 their migration to Meska, formerly a mere campground for logging operations, was accomplished. Wainim is a village newly opened two years later (see map 2).

Meska is situated near the mouth of the Weisas River, which flows into the Korosameri. Along the meandering of the river, about thirty stilt houses stand in a row (see plate 1). In this area, the river is about eighty metres in width. However, since the riverbed is as shallow as two to three metres, the river soon swells when it rains up the river, so that the village is often flooded. The flooding period alternates irregularly with the subsiding period at intervals of from several weeks to several months. Thus, there is no clear distinction between rainy and dry seasons, while such clear distinctions are often the case in a tropical monsoon climate.

Living in Meska, the sounds of water enter one's ears from the Korosameri flowing nearby, incessantly and delicately varying in echo. These sounds also serve as indicators for village life and people estimate an increase or decrease of river level from minor changes in the sound of water. On the opposite side of the river and behind the village, dense forests extend boundlessly, from which the sounds of leaves swayed by



Plate 1: Houses of Meska standing in a row along the Korosameri River



Plate 2: At Meska

the tropical warm wind and the miscellaneous chirps of birds, insects, and animals come into hearing, sometimes overlapping one another, sometimes echoing at long intervals. The village is a place open to the tropical rain forest, and the forest and village are acoustically continuous.

The daily sonic life of the Waxeï people begins with the noisy chirpings of hundreds of birds from dozens of species which fly in flocks from the lower reaches to the upper reaches of the river around dawn. One feels as if engulfed in an intense shower of sounds when one hears the calls intermingling with each other, even in one flock, and various types of calls furthermore intermingle between flocks. Everyone is awakened by this; adults and children go out in the morning twilight, stand still on the riverside, and stare at the current of water.

Then, as the morning haze clears away and it grows light, people's activities begin. Paddling a small canoe, women go to set a basket for catching fish in a brook. The sound of water gently tapping the canoe head and the sound of the paddle regularly stroking the surface of water come into hearing. Meanwhile, men set about finishing the canoe being made at the riverside or enter the forest to cut down trees for opening a small garden. Mixed with the voices of exchanged morning greetings and voices

calling to each other, there echo the tapping sound of an iron axe shaving the canoe, the high-pitched sound of the root of a tree being struck, and the sound of a tree falling down through branches and leaves.

The sun gradually gets fiercer, scorching the skin. The shrill call of a parakeet or the deep call of a hornbill sometimes crosses overhead. From some distant place towards which that call trailed off, someone is calling. Many of the villagers have already gone into the forest for gathering sago or hunting pigs. Children remaining in the village begin dabbling in water, their laughter and the sound of the clouds of spray being splashed up echo through the forest.

And then comes the incessantly hot and lazy afternoon. The incessant droning of cicadas induces dozing. Women put their babies to sleep in the house, while men take a nap on the benches of the men's assembly hut. Calls of wild pigeons occasionally come in undertones from the depths of the forest. Even dogs and hens, which are usually noisy, are tired and they neither bark nor cluck. A strange sensation as if all time has stopped. Only the incessant current of the river conveys movement.

Suddenly in the evening, with a loud peal of thunder, it starts raining heavily. The thunder rolls so loudly that one feels as if it might tear the atmosphere and shake the ground. Large drops of rain whip the roof made

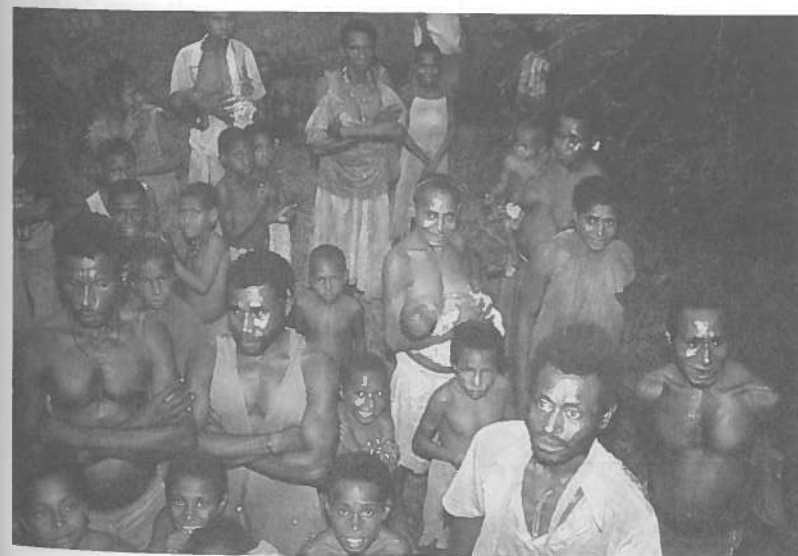


Plate 3: The Waxeï people

of braided sago palm fronds. Men, animals, and birds—all must patiently wait for the rain to pass over while resting against the eaves or trees. The densely falling rain shields the space and everything is engulfed by the sound of rain.

When it stops raining, a lively clamour returns to the village. From the forest, the chirps of many birds calling to each other and the wild croaking of frogs come echoing. The canoes of people who went hunting return one after another, and men speak loudly to each other, boasting of the results of hunting. Women go down to the ground under the floor, chop wood, and prepare the evening meal. The smoke emitted from baked sago goes up from the roofs of houses and, unnoticed, the sky ahead turns leaden.

Then night. With a rather noisy heterophony interwoven by the key sounds of insects, the uncanny calls of a frogmouth or pheasant coucal sometimes resound, and the howls of a dog go beyond the forest. Sitting around the fire in their respective houses, people are enjoying chatting. Voices of a married couple quarrelling about something and the voices of a mother scolding her child also reach one's ears. The sky is thick with stars, as if the rain, which fell a little while ago, had not been an actuality. As the insect chirps gradually become faint, people go to sleep and enter into their dreams. An eventful day of Waxei sounds ends in this way.



Plate 4: Loosening the sago palm pith



Plate 5: Taking out starch by washing in water

The Waxei's staple food is sago starch extracted from wild sago palms which grow abundantly along the river. First, a man chops down a palm tree with an axe close at the base, splits the trunk in two lengthwise, pounds the pith inside, and then loosens it with a slender rod (see plate 4). A woman then makes a trough by using a sheet of palm bark. In this she washes the pith with water and gathers it into a basin placed at the tip of the trough (see plate 5). Starch is stored after hardening in brick-sized lumps. When cooking, the sago starch is shaved and baked on the earthen frying pan like a pancake, or put into hot water boiled by red-hot stones, stirred up, and made like a dumpling to eat (see plate 6).

In the nearby rivers, creeks, waterways, and ponds, live twenty-odd species of fish, including catfish, eels, tilapia, tortoises, crayfish, river shrimp, and crocodiles. These are caught by a gill net, scoop net, fish trap basket, hook, fish spear, harpoon, etc. Particularly interesting is enclosure fishing performed cooperatively by scores of people. Damming up the shallows of the river, fish poison (i.e., constituents contained in the root of a specific tree which paralyse the fish) is let to flow from the upper reaches, and all the members surround the stunned fish and catch them with their hands. By this method, surprisingly many fish are caught so that everyone gets very excited and enjoys fishing while joyfully whooping. Large fish



Plate 6: Baking the sago starch

are directly boiled in an earthenware pot to eat or preserved by drying in the smoke of a fireplace. A crocodile or tortoise is cut into irregular lumps (see plate 7) and boiled to eat. Small fish or river shrimp are often wrapped in banana leaves together with sago starch and steamed between piled pieces of red-hot stones.

Moreover, forests and mountains around the river contain a treasure of wild pigs, cassowaries, marsupials (e.g., cuscus, wallabies, tree kangaroos, and bandicoots), and other wild animals (e.g., field mice, flying foxes, lizards, snakes, and birds). Every animal killed or shot dead by a spear, bow and arrow, or bushknife is eaten. Among others, wild pigs hunted with dogs, are an important animal, indispensable for exchange or barter within or outside the group. Edible birds, pleasing to peoples' tastes, are large species such as crowned pigeons, imperial pigeons, hornbills, and parrots. These animals are usually grilled or boiled for eating. However, people prefer steaming in banana leaves with heated stones in the case of certain types of meat, such as pig fat.

In addition to the hunting and gathering of these wild animals and plants, edible plants, such as taro, pandanus, breadfruit, cassava, coconuts, and bananas, are scantily cultivated in the gardens opened along the river. However, since the river often tends to swell, destroying the

gardens, a stable supply of cultivated plants is not often secured. In the village, some pigs are raised and scores of hens are reared. However, these are only consumed as emergency food in cases where no game could be hunted or as food for rituals.

Since hunting and gathering as a behaviour for food acquisition constitute the pivot of life for the Waxei, their routine centres around it. The basis of the routine is collection of sago starch. Generally, once or twice a week, they go to the forest in a family (*yonu toganu uyagum* 'children, woman, and man'). When solely intending to collect sago starch, they may be able to return to the village within the day, if they leave early in the morning. However, they also often hunt or fish, and they must stay in the forest for at least three or four days. On such occasions, family members lodge in a hut of simple make-up which every family has in the forest. For the village as a whole, nearly half the families are always absent. In the subsiding period when the river recedes and game can be easily obtained, the number of people remaining in the village decreases dramatically.

As for sago starch collection, each member has his or her own duties to perform: cutting down the trunk and smashing out the inside pith is allotted to men, loosening the pith with a rod allotted to both men and women, and washing the pith in water and extracting the starch allotted to women. This is hard labour for both men and women, and it is as much as they can do to process a piece of sago palm in a day. As for work on the river, except for crocodile hunting which is assigned to men alone, the labour load is almost evenly allotted to men and women. For example, stretching a gill net or using a harpoon or fish spear is allot-



Plate 7: Dissecting a crocodile

ted to men, scooping up the fish with a scoop net or using a doubly-set trap basket allotted to women, and using a hook or doing enclosure fishing allotted to men and/or women.

On the other hand, hunting is only undertaken by men. When hunting a wild pig, cassowary, or any other big animal, four to five men form a team and go with about ten dogs. When they reach the depths of the forest, they let the dogs loose. The hungry dogs, usually underfed, dash when they sensitively smell game. Then, surrounding it, they bay at it loudly to prevent it escaping. Taking up a bow and arrow or couching a spear, men arrive a bit later and gradually narrow the encirclement. Coming within range, they shoot arrows and throw spears all at once to kill the game.

But, it is rather rare that everything goes as well as described. On some occasions, even after walking in the forest for many days, they may not even encounter one animal. Hunting is never an efficient business. Moreover, in a jungle which cannot be seen through, obstructed by standing trees or vines, they often fail to hit with a spear or arrow, or are hurt by branches, thorns, pieces of broken stone, etc. In not a few cases, they are counterattacked by a fierce wild pig or cassowary when cornered. Yet, for all that, it is needless to say that a man who, being intimidated, fails to kill only one pig, cannot be treated as a full-fledged member of society.

For the Waxei, the important means of transportation is a canoe made by hollowing out a log. Either for travelling for hunting and gathering, fishing, or to work in gardens, they paddle the canoe up the Korosameri or Weisas Rivers, and, after tying the canoe to the riverside near their bush hut, they go into the forest. The river continues in sharp meanders to the upper reaches, and the water current is rapid. When going upstream, it takes about thirty minutes for a man to advance only one kilometre.

Standing on the stern, a man places one of his feet on the edge; a woman, while sitting down in the centre, skilfully works the paddle right and left, in turn, thus advancing the canoe along the bank to avoid a strong current. Due to the meanders of the river, the sun successively changes in position: at one time in front of the canoe, behind it at another. So, an unaccustomed person such as myself, soon loses a sense of direction. However, since the Waxei are well acquainted with the riverside scenery, especially with the types of trees growing along the river, the positions of small waterways and inlets, and also the shapes of the river meanders and the forms of nearby mountains, they never fail to know where they are.

Each family usually owns two to three small canoes to be used for everyday movement. These canoes are about four to six metres long and

forty centimetres wide. By using a tree he cuts and brings down from the mountain himself, a man usually makes each such canoe in the village, in his spare time during food procurement. There are also families having larger canoes which exceed ten metres in length. These canoes are made cooperatively by men in the mountains. A large canoe is often used when all family members go into the forest for a long period. When villagers, teaming together, go for extensive hunting or enclosure fishing, one sees many large canoes being paddled upstream in a row.

B. Organisation of society

The basic unit of Waxei society is the patrilineal clan. The concept "clan" refers to a group whose members share consciousness that they come from a certain common ancestor. In the Waxei language, it is called *ima sangim* ('groups of human being'). Even when one traces a paternal lineage from the being thought to be the clan progenitor (named *fafugaj*, the same word as used for paternal great-grandfather), it does not lead to people living now. Conversely, when one traces a lineage back from the present, it discontinues part-way and does not reach the progenitor.¹

Some clans have multiple progenitors. In such a case, the clan is interpreted as having a number of subclans.² Although not all subclans still exist, the members point out that the present members of different subclans derive from mutually different progenitors, while they recognise definitely that they belong to the same *ima sangim*. At present, ten clans exist in Waxei society, each having its own name. Each clan is composed of one to seven families. One family lives in an independent house and, as a whole, families belonging to the same clan live close to each other.

Although the progenitor of each clan is basically recognised as a human being, the progenitor's birth is explained as deriving from various birds, animals, fish, insects, etc., or it is conceived of as a transcendental being which can incarnate itself at will as a bird or animal. Recognition about

1. In the case of the clan named Nunguwase, although there are differences depending on the memory of members, a genealogy descending from the progenitor can be traced for fourteen generations at most, while the genealogy back from the present can be traced for only five generations, but these do not link up. Also, it often occurs that the ordering of some names on the genealogy differs between individuals.

2. Only two clans, Baishumei and Fogosei, have subclans, each consisting of three unnamed subclans.

each progenitor is retained in memory in the form of a myth. The ancestral myth of one clan is not kept secret from the members of other clans.

Each clan also symbolically owns specific animals, plants, or natural objects, which are connected with the progenitor's origin or deed in some sense or other. When calling a clan's name, the name of a representative clan symbol is often used instead of the specific name. As for clan symbols, there are two types: one type is such that a food taboo is imposed on the members of each clan belonging to this type, while for the other type, no such food taboo is imposed. However, neither edible birds nor mammals are treated as taboo foods.

A slit-drum³ signal assigned to each clan—used, for example, to call back clan members who are out in the nearby forest or to inform that a certain member has died—is composed of a rhythmic pattern extracted from the calls of birds, the flapping sound of a flying fox, or the caudal movements of eels among the clan symbols (see figure 3).

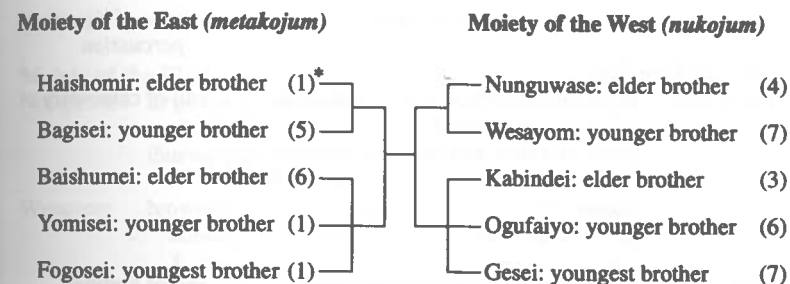
As for relations between clans, a sort of brotherhood organisation, called *kusaim*, exists. This is related to the traditional manner of land ownership of each clan. Two or three clans holding adjacent pieces of land are called "elder brother", "younger brother", and "youngest brother" (in the case of



Plate 8: A slit-drum

3. An idiophone consisting of a log which has been gouged out to make the inside hollow, with a long slit remaining (see plate 8). The Waxei instrument is about 50–70 cm in diameter, 150–180 cm in length. It is placed horizontally on the ground and the side of the slit is jolted by a wooden stick.

Figure 1: Relationships between clans



* Figures in parentheses represent the number of families in 1988.

three clans). The ten clans are united into four *kusaim*. Socially, this relationship bears a particularly important role. When setting about large-scale hunting and fishing, house building, the making of large canoes, etc., members of clans in *kusaim* relations always cooperate with each other. In recent years, it has sometimes become customary for them to make a joint investment in the purchase of a canoe's outboard motor.

As a larger-scale aggregate of clans, there is also a moiety organisation. All clans belong to either the eastern moiety (*metakojum*) or the western moiety (*nukojum*). This division is determined by the direction from which the progenitor of each clan came to the present Waxei land, i.e. whether it approximately came from an eastern or western direction. Even today, clans belonging to the *metakojum* share the eastern half of the 'men's house'⁴ (*uyagu gumonus*) and use a fireplace on the eastern side, while those belonging to the *nukojum* use the western half and western fireplace. These moieties are potentially in opposing relations, so that, when any big problem occurs between clans, those clans belonging to the same moiety try to cope with it by banding together.

4. A special building which is a meeting place for adult men, a place where a ritual or music is performed, a spirit house where spiritual beings govern, and also a depository of bamboo flutes and wood carvings related to spirits. Women and children are forbidden to enter. After the move to Meska, an independent men's house has not yet been built, and a deserted private house is used instead.

Figure 2: Clan symbols and sources of signal percussion*

clan name	clan symbol and food taboo	source of signal percussion
Moiety of the East		
Haishomir	northern cassowary: <i>ugush</i> (<i>Casuarius unappendiculatus</i>) palm cockatoo: <i>taikojos</i> (<i>Probosciger aterrimus</i>) =taboo food <i>tageya</i> tree gnetum: <i>ujeimus</i>	call of cassowary
Bagisei	Blyth's hornbill: <i>bagiq</i> (<i>Rhyticeros plicatus</i>) =taboo food large river shrimp: <i>ujufaj</i> breadfruit: <i>sonumus</i>	call of hornbill
Baishumei	purple-tailed imperial pigeon: <i>mombukij</i> (<i>Ducula rufigaster</i>) little red lorikeet: <i>kajunaj</i> (<i>Charmosyna pulchella</i>) =taboo food little pied cormorant: <i>kakujaj</i> (<i>Phalacrocorax melanoleucos</i>) crocodile: <i>mojujuq</i> tortoise: <i>bakus</i> eel: <i>saiboj</i> catfish: <i>botij</i> grey mullet: <i>baishobuq</i> <i>yabujamus</i> tree	calls of imperial pigeon and lorikeet
Yomisei	rising sun: <i>yaxa gangwaiq</i> spotted cuscus: <i>bojufij</i> (<i>Spilocuscus maculatus</i>) litte pied cormorant: <i>kakujaj</i> eel: <i>saiboj</i>	movement of eel's tail
Fogosei	pig: <i>fogoq</i> Victoria crowned pigeon: <i>duwis</i> (<i>Goura victoria</i>)	call of crowned pigeon

* For the identification of birds, I referred to Lindgren (1975a), Beehler (1978), Coates (1982), and Beehler, et al. (1986). For the identification of marsupials, I referred to Lindgren (1975b) and Mackay (1986). The species and English names used here follow Beehler, et al. (1986) for birds, and Flannery (1990) for marsupials.

Figure 2—continued

clan name	clan symbol and food taboo	source of signal percussion
Moiety of the West		
Nunguwase	large flying fox: <i>kobis</i> <i>nunguwasnas</i> tree <i>ibumuq</i> palm	wing-flapping sound of flying fox
Wesayom	brown goshawk / grey goshawk: <i>dobikugesi</i> (<i>Accipiter fasciatus</i> / <i>A. novaehollandiae</i>) =taboo food spot-winged monarch: <i>gujombuq</i> (<i>Monarcha guttula</i>) =taboo food <i>nojus</i> tree <i>mainbuq</i> tree <i>ibumuq</i> tree <i>yujujas</i> palm <i>dajueq</i> palm <i>nomis</i> grass	call of goshawk
Kabindei	New Guinea harpy-eagle: <i>dobibugoq</i> (<i>Harpyopsis novaeguineae</i>) brown dorcopsis: <i>kojweij</i> (<i>Dorcopsis veterum</i>) =taboo food common cuscus: <i>wabuq</i> (<i>Phalanger orientalis</i>) <i>najiseis</i> tree	call of harpy-eagle
Ogufaiyo	sulphur-crested cockatoo: <i>gaisi</i> (<i>Cacatua galerita</i>) =taboo food	call of cockatoo
Gesei	rainbow lorikeet: <i>yagaq</i> (<i>Trichoglossus haematodus</i>) =taboo food black-capped lory: <i>wis</i> (<i>Lorius lory</i>) =taboo food sago grub: <i>geinam</i> sago palm: <i>nakuj</i> <i>dajujoiq</i> palm pandanus: <i>bakujas</i> <i>najumais</i> tree	call of rainbow lorikeet

An outline of clans is mentioned above. Names, number of families, *kusaim* relations, and moiety membership are summarised in figure 1. Clan symbols, the presence or absence of food taboos, and the sources of slit-drum signals are summarised in figure 2.

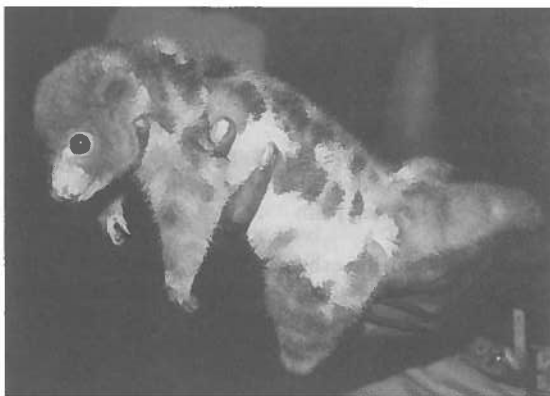


Plate 9: A cuscus

A clan is also the unit of exogamy. Looked at from a male ego, the marriage rule dictates that his wife is selected from his grandmother's clan. Thus, naturally, a member of a clan different from ego's clan becomes the match. Broadly speaking, there are two ways of selection. One is from the paternal grandmother's line, and the other is from the maternal grandmother's line. In both cases, a match is selected from among daughters or granddaughters of the male's grandmother's brothers.

On the occasion of marriage, no special ritual is performed. The male's father gives away brideprice to the female's father, and when it is accepted, the marriage is concluded. Items presented as brideprice include cash (about K 100 to K 300), iron axes, knives, pans, clothes, etc. which are secured by the male's father or the male himself by working away from home or selling a canoe to a nearby group.⁵ There are no detailed rules on quantity; the female's father judges whether it is sufficient or not. There are cases in which the female's father was dissatisfied with the brideprice and thrust it back. At that time, the male's father must store up additional items or request the female's father to accept a promise that the additional brideprice be regarded as a debt to be settled later. After the marriage, the wife dwells in the husband's house. However, if there are outstanding items of brideprice remaining to be paid on the husband's side, the

5. It is said that before modern currency was circulated, shell money and earthenware obtained through trade with neighbouring groups was used for brideprice.

husband is not allowed to live with his wife until this debt is paid off. Conversely, if only the husband has enough funds, he can marry a second or the third wife. Approximately 30% of Waxei males married at present have two wives; about 5% of them have three wives.

Adoption is also performed extensively—nearly 40% of currently married couples have adopted. There is almost no difference in the frequency between males and females being adopted. The adoption of a child is arranged before the child is weaned. The child transfers to the adoptive father's clan and the adoptive father gives the child a name selected from the corpus of ancestors' names peculiar to each clan. Kinship terms are also used, based on the adoptive family's kinship.

In almost all cases, the reason for adopting a child is that the adoptive family doesn't have its own child. In any case, a child is needed—a male for the clan's survival and inheritance of properties, a female for helping in domestic chores or the acquisition of future brideprice. When adopting a child, the adoptive family must give a return to the clan of the child's biological father. However, it is rare to make a deal by directly paying cash or valuable property. In many cases, the deal is settled by the adoptive family giving back its own child born later, or by giving back a child born in the generation following that of the adopted child's. There are no special relations between the clan which gives a child and the clan which adopts the child, and there are no regulations due to *kusaim* or moiety relations.

Although the Waxei have some coherence as a single linguistic group at present, they were formed by many small groups which had originally been widely dispersed, but gradually gathered together. Each of the small groups corresponds to *ima sangim* or clan.

The history of clans is retained in people's memories through a large number of myths. Here, a myth refers to a story explaining the origin of every being, thing, or phenomenon, such as human beings, animals, or plants. A myth is called *muna:suxo bujom* ('narrative of roots') or *gwatinya bujom* ('narrative of beginnings'). The Waxei broadly classify myths into *nukeijuxo bujom* ('narrative of ancestors') and *bujo susuxaj* ('narrative of various things'). *Nukeijuxo bujom* is also called *ima sangi bujom* ('narrative of clan') in which is explained the original state of each clan's progenitor or his relations with an animal or plant as the clan symbol. In *bujo susuxaj*, the origin of something other than human beings—such as a spiritual being, natural object, animal, plant, or musical instrument—is narrated.

A clan is, so to say, the basis upon which people's "life" rests, and their recognition of the clan's origin serves as a reminder which guarantees people's identity. As such, the clan myth not only depicts the past world, but also mirrors what people actually are at present. When people talk about a clan's history, it means they are also talking about themselves, the people who belong to their clan, and the society made up of such clans.

According to clan myths, the progenitors of the ten clans which now exist, came to the Mombugotus River (a tributary of the Korosameri) generally from the east and west, and settled in the land called Bobugutos in the lower reaches of the river. Bobugutos is an important place which became the point where a group, the Waxei, was formed, and the ten clans gradually came there together over a long time. The Waxei have roughly similar views regarding the sequence of events.

The one who came first was Odifo, the progenitor of Nunguwase clan. By incarnating himself into a flying fox, he flew all the way from the Upper Sepik River. Then, the progenitors of Fogosei clan, having feet in the shape of pig's feet, came there, had Odifo change their feet into men's feet, and began to live together in the "men's house" built by Odifo. At that time, Odifo, who came from the west, lived in the western part of the men's house; the Fogosei, who came from the east, used the eastern part. This is thought to be the prototype of the present moiety organisation.

Those who subsequently gathered one after another at Bobugutos were: the progenitors of Ogufaiyo clan who escaped from an assault by the snake and lizard spirits; black-skinned men of Bagisei clan who are descended from a hornbill-man; progenitors of Baishumei clan who metamorphosed into a lorikeet or grey mullet, or was transformed from a cormorant; ancestors of Haishomir clan who were born from a cassowary and repeated incestuous marriages; progenitors of Yomisei clan who came out of an underground rock in the mountain; Gesei clan men descended from two male ancestors who incarnated from a sago grub; Kabindei clan men descended from an eagle-man progenitor who repeatedly killed men; and descendants of Wesayom clan issued between males who were born from the blood of a goshawk-man and females incarnated from the spirit dwelling in swamp. As a consequence, a group called Waxei, consisting of ten clans, was formed⁶ (see the appendix 1 for details of clan myths).

According to my tentative estimate made by tracing back the lineages of Kabindei and Wesayom, that period is approximately near the end of

6. The history of Waxei migration and ethnic group formation is discussed in detail in Yamada (1987b).

the nineteenth century. Since that time, the ten clans have frequently begun to repeat migration to the Mombugotus, Weisas, and Korosameri Rivers generally in one united body. Additionally, since contacts or pressure from the outside have increased, many changes have also taken place in Waxei society. In the following passages, these processes shall be tracked simply (for the names of places to which the Waxei migrated, see map 2).

Early in this century, the two groups called Sumariup⁷ and Wombio,⁸ uniting with each other, came to attack intensely and repeatedly the Waxei living in Bobugutos. This became the cause of the first migration. Their aim is said to have been to take away a magnificent slit-drum from the Waxei who had made it. A series of attacks in waves continued for several months. Although having managed to protect their slit-drum against the attacks, the Waxei suffered badly and abandoned Bobugutos to escape another attack. They then went up the Mombugotus River and opened a new hamlet called Nungumaji to which all of them migrated.

As it was situated along the foot of steep mountains, the Sumariup did not make an inroad into Nungumaji. However, due to these conditions of location, it also became extremely difficult for the Waxei to provide themselves with food, transport, or wood for houses and canoe making. Thus, a few years later, they left Nungumaji and moved to the lower reaches. They were then presented with land called Babatos from the Shubujob,⁹ who at that time lived near the junction of the Mombugotus and Weisas Rivers; and began to live there.

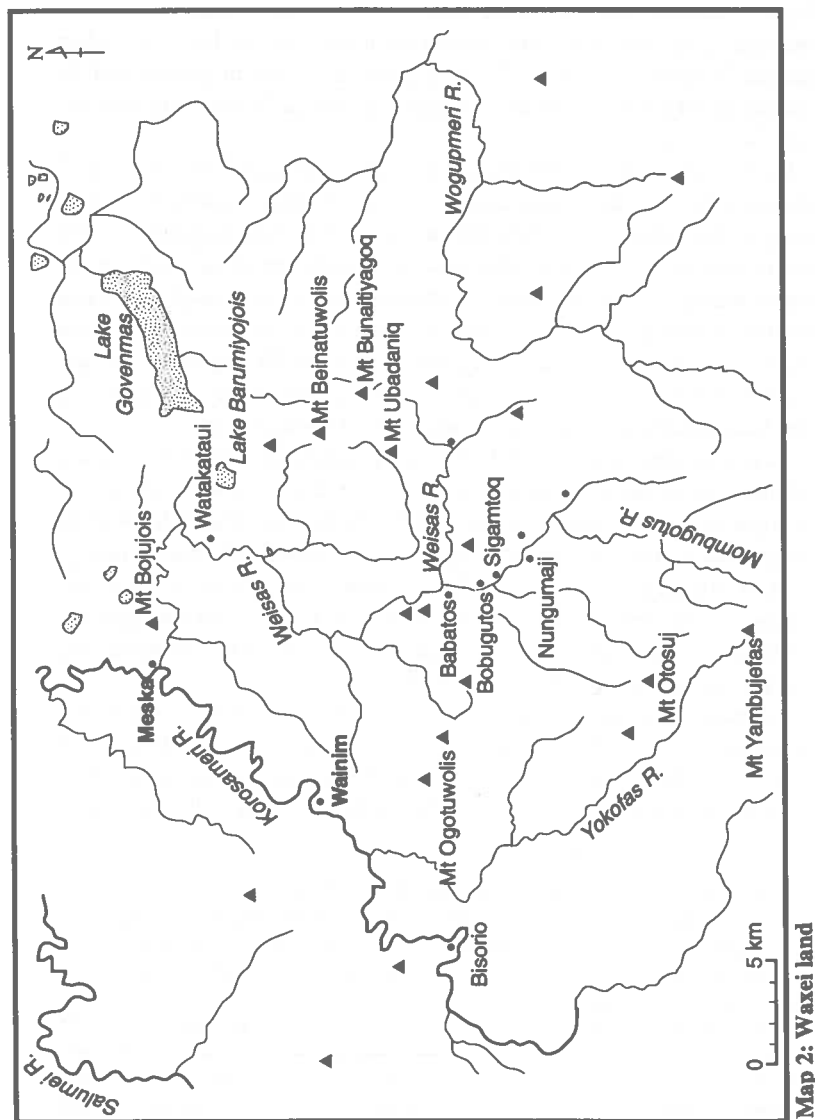
Babatos is located on flat land, and both the food situation and convenience for daily transportation were favourable. Although the Waxei lived there peacefully for a while, they began to be assaulted by a powerful group from the western side called the Inalu.¹⁰ It is precisely

7. A group living along the Wogupmeri River which flows on the east side of Waxei land. Their language has closest relations with the Waxei language.

8. A group living on the south coast of Lake Govenmas, to the north of the Wogupmeri River. In Laycock (1981), they are called Alamlak. Wombio is the Waxei name for this dialect.

9. A friendly group with which the Waxei married for a long time (see map 1). At this time, the population of the Shubujob was said to have been less than ten. Afterwards, through being incorporated into the Waxei, they began to live together. Although their paternal lines became extinct, one maternal line still exists among the Waxei.

10. A group living along the Salumei River, running to the west of and parallel to the Korosameri River. In Laycock (1981), they are called Bahinemo.



Map 2: Waxei land

transmitted by word of mouth that, due to repeated attacks, at least five persons, including grandmothers and uncles of elders living now, were killed, and two women were taken away. Meanwhile, they also began to be vulnerable to repeated smaller attacks by the Wombio and Sumariup. Hence, the Waxei abandoned Babatos, again went up the Mombugotus River, and opened a new village called Sigamtoq to which they migrated.

It is said that although Sigamtoq was not a land as blessed as Babatos, there was no difficulty in obtaining food. All of the present Waxei elders were born in Sigamtoq. When they were boys, a missionary is said to have come to Sigamtoq from Timbunke (a town on the main course of the Sepik River where the missionary base of the Catholic Church is situated). This was probably the first contact of the Waxei with a white man, and is presumed to be an incident which probably took place in the latter half of the 1930s. Soon after that, an employment agent also came in, seeking to secure plantation workers. Around 1940, nine men went to work at Bulolo mine in Morobe Province. Thus, the Waxei suddenly began to come into contact with the outside world.

At about the time New Guinea was dragged into World War II, an unidentified disease began to spread in Sigamtoq, and many people died. All of them reportedly saw their skin exfoliate from their whole bodies so that their flesh was exposed and their hair fell off. They then died, complaining of severe aches in their livers. Terrified at the strongly contagious nature of the disease, the Waxei decided to abandon Sigamtoq and flee as far away from there as possible. Going down the Mombugotus River, they then went down the Weisas River, and opened a new village on Watakataui Hill where they had long built several forest huts. At the time, Japanese soldiers took refuge at Lake Govenmas (Wombio land on the east side of Watakataui) and several Waxei witnessed their presence.

In 1947, a patrol officer of the colonial government stationed in Angoram (a town along the Lower Sepik River) visited Watakataui for the first time and left a report on his impressions about the people and the contents of his conversations with them (Gilbert 1947). This made the existence of the Waxei known to the outside world.¹¹ Then, in the latter half of the 1950s, a timber buyer came from Angoram and a camp for collecting timber was installed near the junction of the Weisas and

11. It seems to be on the basis of this patrol report that the group name and language name of Waxei began to be recorded as "Watakataui" in official documents and maps.

Korosameri Rivers (in the vicinity of present-day Meska). Furthermore, a patrol officer stationed in Amboin (a village on the Middle Karawari River where a district branch office was newly opened) eagerly recommended that the Waxei move from Watakataui to live along the Korosameri River. The reason was that Watakataui, being so far away from the branch office, was problematic for administrative purposes. Hence, the Waxei decided to purchase the present land of Meska from the Kapriman¹² in Mugumute by paying five females and one pig, and thereby migrate there.

From the latter half of the 1960s, migration to Meska gradually started in units of several families. However, since Watakataui was conveniently situated for securing food, they were reluctant to leave. Finally, in 1976, their migration to Meska was concluded. In the meantime, in 1969–71 two men went to work on a plantation in Buka (North Solomons Province), and four men went to work in Rabaul (East New Britain Province) in 1973–75. Thus, opportunities for the Waxei to experience the outside world increased gradually.

In 1978, a Christian group called the New Tribes Mission (henceforth, NTM) entered the Korosameri River area, seeking to expand its missionary base. They considered the fact that, being a remote place, the control of the Catholic Church in Timbunke had not yet extended much there. First, the NTM employed several young Waxei men as a language informant, motorboat driver, and general servant, and settled in a small village they made in Wainim. Then, they gradually extended the scope of inducement so that about ten families (centring around the younger generation) eventually moved to Wainim. Side by side with this, the NTM gratuitously rented from the Waxei a piece of land called Bisorio on the Upper Korosameri River, and began the construction of an airstrip. In 1981 when construction was completed, several families were newly dispatched and they began to conduct linguistic surveys of the Gaidio,¹³ Waxei, and Kapriman, translation of the Bible, and biblical education. As of 1988, three NTM families were stationed in Bisorio and one family in

Wainim. They are engaged in missionary activities, but keep a certain distance from the people.¹⁴

Thus, the history of the Waxei can be reconstructed as a process of repeated migrations. From the days of the progenitors until today, they have incessantly repeated wanderings and movements, and have continued to rove about and drift away from place to place. In a certain sense, this historically-developed state of being mirrors their present-day life and way of living itself. At present, they do not know where to wander. Movement is a necessity for them, their state of life. Death, too, occurs in such an uncertain situation. Death is a social incident which further shakes the instability of life. The "sway" of life and the emotions evoked by death shall be considered in the next chapter.

12. A linguistic group belonging to the Bahinemo family, to which the Waxei also belong. Mugumute is located downstream of Meska. Being close both linguistically and geographically, they are in close relations with the Waxei.

13. A non-sedentary hunter-gatherer group living sporadically between mountains on the Upper Korosameri River. They speak a dialect of the Enga language of the Highlands and retain friendly relations with the Waxei.

14. In 1981, four NTM families were stationed in Bisorio: two in Wainim and two in Mugumute. Gradually, however, various frictions with people have increased. Failing to obtain cooperation from the people, the NTM is beginning to show some signs of withdrawal. The two families in Mugumute were expelled by the Kapriman in 1987. There are constant troubles between people along the Korosameri River and the NTM over problems such as rent on Bisorio airstrip and the supply of materials. Incidentally, the NTM caused various troubles with the inhabitants on the May River, up the Sepik, which have developed into a lawsuit. These circumstances are reported in detail by Yoshida (1987).

CHAPTER ONE

Death and Possession

DEATH DOES NOT simply mean the loss of a person, and people, when confronted with death, do not merely feel sad in their hearts. Death gives rise to sounds. People cry, talk, and sing, while weeping. These utterances and singing which involve weeping, are messages of sorrow directed from each individual towards a dead person, and, by being expressed collectively, they constitute a socially signified stage of sound expression.

In the case of the Waxei, when a man dies, in addition to such expressions of sorrow through sound, there occurs an incident in which the spirit of the dead possesses a man or a bamboo and produces words or sounds. People listen to this talk of the possessing spirit, put a question to it, and engage in dialogue with it. Although this phenomenon may be appear to be very peculiar, what should be taken up here as a problem is neither whether the spirit possession is actually taking place nor what mechanism is involved, but rather the manner of sound communication developed by people and the spirit through the mediation of possession, and the social significance of such communication.

All of the main themes of sound communication to be treated in this book are contained in the phenomena caused by death. That is, there appear various modes of sound intermingled with each other, such as weeping and crying "voices", "words" uttered while weeping, wept-"songs", "talk" of possessing spirits, and "sounds" made through a bamboo. Naturally, these reflect a complicated social background, so, in the various phases of sound, one can glimpse many important aspects, such as Waxei symbolism, the man-



ner in which the Waxei conceive of the spirits, social relations, and ethos. In this chapter, therefore, as groundwork for the main subject that follows, I would like to describe as faithfully as possible the various phases of sound communication which occurred at two deaths—context and background in which weeping, wept-words, and wept-songs took place, and words and modes of sound which occurred in the process of dialogues people had with the spirits—and thereby concretely depict a cross-section of Waxei life and a manifestation of their social feelings.

A. From death to wept-songs

On 21 November 1986, Badaqoe, an old man who lived in Wainim, died of illness. He was sickly by nature and seemed to have often been ill in bed. It is said that, about a week before his death, when he went as far as Gwargaisi along the Mombugotus River to meet Kesagai (his wife's father; see plate 10), and returned home, his condition took a sudden turn for the worse. So, he came down to Meska where an aid post exists, and five days later, he breathed his last at Meska. It was about 4:00 P.M. At that time, I was listening in my house to a story of an evil spirit from an elder, Iman. There, the voices of weeping and crying women suddenly came rushing in. Since I had known that Badaqoe was in a critical condition, I soon realised that he died. Interrupting my work, I hastily set a tape recorder at a corner of my house. I could not get near for recording, since I was once reproached when a child died. So, after letting the tape run, I hurriedly left for the house of Badaqoe's adopted son, where Badaqoe had died, about 50 m away from my own house.



Plate 10: Kesagai, died in 1992

There, outside the house, many women—Badaqoe's wife, daughters, mother, sisters, and nieces—were crying with tears.¹ This is 'weeping' called *noju*; the feeling of sorrow, which cannot be possibly expressed in words, is uttered simply as a weeping voice. While squatting down on the ground near the house or going round and round about, everyone lifted up their voices independently. The intervallic movement of each voice is small, mostly descending by a minor third and then being sustained.

Then, words are put to the weeping, and 'wept-words' called *noju bujom* are uttered. Wept-words are a message to a dead person and a questioning within a certain context. Therefore, calling the name of the dead person, addressing them with a kinship term, or shouting an interjection while weeping, is not regarded as wept-words, and is called *noju mumujanje* 'quasi weeping'. In the case of wept-words, the organisation of voices becomes somewhat complicated; in addition to the descending minor third which is primarily heard, the ascending minor third, and descending and ascending perfect fourths and major seconds begin to sound.

What first came to my ears were the wept-words of Sungolinda, one of Badaqoe's daughters:

Dad, we'll have no more time to go to Wainim together ... You know, dad, both of us did go there yesterday ... [*abei, mba neiyajasunuj Wainim ... abeyai, xaf andinujiya ofei.*]

The daughter, mentioning Wainim where they lived together, grieves over the fact that the life they had previously known will no longer return. Although it is not to Wainim but Gwargaisi to which they actually "did go there", that fact is concealed. In spite of illness, Badaqoe took trouble to go to Gwargaisi to meet his father-in-law, Kesagai. Because Badaqoe's son-in-law was serving the NTM as a houseboy and could obtain the NTM's permission to use its motorboat, Kesagai asked Badaqoe to take him back to Wainim. That this event triggered his death is evident to everybody and, just because of this, in consideration for Kesagai, the daughter eschewed a straightforward reference to it. Although *xaf* 'yesterday' is also incorrect, priority is given to assonance with the negative *mba* 'no' among the beginning wept-words. A couplet of this sort which involves such assonance is the most basic technique in the composition of wept-words, and in her subsequent expressions, it assumes a more definite style:

1. See track 1 on the accompanying compact disc.

Tomorrow, you are going to sleep with the ancestors ... Tomorrow, where shall I go and what shall I do? ... [*xaf neiyajune nukeijte xaiya ... xaf deituja neiyaja igiyoda.*]

Sungolinda's wept-words continue:

Dad, I'll be starved for food ... Please go and get fish for me tomorrow ... [*abe, xauwiyaje abaja ... agam kunudajuni xaf.*]

Although she is already married and has children, she is appealing here by acting as if she were still a child. Begging for food is not a deed permitted with everyone; it is permitted only with parents or relatives who are regarded as being equal to parents, i.e., maternal uncles or paternal aunts. By begging for food, she recognises that she is entirely under their protection, while stressing her special relationship with them. However, even when she begs by saying "get fish for me", it is a wish which cannot be realised after all. An appeal like this which is utterly unrealisable, characterises the manner in which sorrow is expressed. Further, the expression "starved for food" conveys not merely its literal meaning, but also serves as a metaphor which indicates that she has lost her parent. Food is, so to say, a parental attribute, so that by saying that there is no food, the loss of the parent who should bring it is implied.

Then, when Sungolinda weeps by saying "You are leaving alone," Badaqoe's kinsmen began to cut down his betel palm. Reacting to that loud sound, she instantly utters while weeping: "That betel palm (of my dad), that's down the river." All wept-words are expressed improvisationally, and this expression is a good example of this.

When a person dies, that person's properties or the things used by them in the village, are destroyed. Items destroyed include the house where a person died, betel palms, and coconut palms owned by the dead person, trees as their clan symbol, and canoes they used. Which of these objects are designated for destruction is decided by the bereaved family members or relatives, but the house and canoe, among others, are destroyed without exception. Although one reason is that it is emotionally difficult to see these things, as they are intensely filled with reminiscences, at the bottom of the bereaved's heart there lies a feeling that they wish to prevent the dead, who is thought to become a spirit and return to their clan's mountain, from canoeing down the river again and inhabiting the same house.

Then, Sungolinda's wept-words become vehement, inquiring into where lies the responsibility for Badaqoe's death:

Mum, it's because you didn't care for him well. Oh, dad! ... [*yainya, mba owone wadeyasuni, a: abeyo:.*]

While cutting down the tree, Kesagai, Badaqoe's father-in-law, responds to this, shouting in a rather mocking way:

Cry, cry, cry, cry more! You also cannot live for so long! [*wanojuwom, wanojuwom, wanojuwom, wanojuwom mafe! mba ofeqe yaxam tojoidajasiyom!*]

Furthermore, Wisofi, Kesagai's son, strongly blames the women:

You have no right to weep! You haven't taken care of him well enough! [*anda nojuwom! mba owoni wadesiyom!*]

The women do nothing but weep.

Here, Kesagai utters strange words:

It's over now! This guy, who often used to be listening to that betel palm, is going out (of the village). How are you going to get it back? [*mba! muxafe yofuj kwatekuj, indijiya funaqani. dajima aiyaqoiyom?*]

The fact was that Badaqoe was the only man among the Waxei who could perform therapeutic magic using betelnut. The procedure is as follows: while chewing a betelnut, he recites a special spell and ejects deep red saliva onto the palm or coconut shell; he then rubs that saliva on the forehead, in front of the ear, collarbone, Adam's apple, both sides of the breast, navel, and knees of the sick person. This magic has been transmitted among only a few men and is said to have originated with a spiritual being called Guxaj (see chapter 3 for details) who is thought to be the master of the men's house and has been kept secret from women. Therefore, although Kesagai might have gotten excited to such an extent that he let his tongue slip in spite of himself, he exercises care to prevent himself from referring to the magic itself, by simply mentioning 'betel palm tree' (*yufuj*), without using a more specific expression such as 'betelnut of the men's house' (*gumonu yofujaj*) or 'betelnut spell' (*yofuja windioqom*). Behind the somewhat strange words "listening to that betel palm" is concealed the meaning that "he was reciting a spell of Guxaj by using a betelnut."

Women's weeping continues. Men also began to join in. Weeping or wept-words are not an expression of sorrow peculiar to women. Men, likewise, weep bitterly and utter wept-words. The weeping of women is high-pitched; that of men, low-pitched. The weeping voices are repeated in alternation and sometimes overlap each other. Calling Badaqoe by name, they weep just after crying "Dad!" or "Uncle!"

Before long, the sound of the slit-drum came echoing loudly. It was a signal made to inform those who are now out in the distant forest or people

living in Wainim that a person had died. First, a signal called *taisojofa*² was struck, followed by a signal called *gangaiq* meaning 'death'.³

Who died cannot be known from these two types of signal alone. Therefore, a clan signal for identifying the dead person is then played: first, a signal of the dead person's father's clan, then a signal of the dead person's mother's clan. When the dead person has been adopted, clan signals of their adoptive father and adoptive mother are played. Since there are currently ten clans in Waxeï society, and one's clan is the same as that of one's father, while one's clan differs from that of one's mother, there are ninety (10 × 9) types of clan signals in possible permutation. Although siblings have the same permutation of signals, it is possible to specify the person almost to an individual level by circumstantial features. These combinations of signals are used not only when specifying the dead, but also when calling someone in the forest or village.⁴

Badaqoe had been adopted; his adoptive father's clan is Nunguwase, while his adoptive mother's clan is Fogosei. So, a signal based on the flapping sound of the flying fox (representing Nunguwase clan) was struck first, followed by the call of the crowned pigeon (representing Fogosei clan). Thereafter, *gangaiq*, signifying death, was struck again. In this way, the first round of announcements concerning Badaqoe's death ends. The four types of signal patterns mentioned above are listed in figure 3, together with the other clans' signal patterns.

From among the women who had only continued to weep for a while, the wept-words of Yukoba, daughter of Badaqoe's elder sister, came out:

Uncle, where have you gone? [*mamei, deti ofeini?*]

2. This word is used in a phrase such as: *aniya* ('I') *okwate* ('heard') *taisojofajom* ('they had a dead person').

3. In addition to these two types of signal patterns informing of something, there are the following: a signal telling of a return to the village (a person who went to the forest or town strikes a slit-drum at a village on the way); a signal informing of the arrival of the government's patrol officer (the patrol officer comes once or twice a year from Amboin Patrol Station, along the Karawari River, and attempts to resolve troubles or witnesses the election of headman); a signal telling the start of a Christian service (the service is performed every Sunday morning at the house of a former headman; preaching is done by a young probationary catechist who received biblical education for two to three weeks at Timbunke); a signal informing of the start of treatment at the village aid post (generally opened weekday mornings).

4. As signals for summoning people, there are two other types: a signal calling everyone in the forest and a signal calling everyone in the village.

Figure 3: Slit-drum signal patterns

A. Notice of death (|—| = 1 sec.)

1. *taisojofa*

||: :|| (×9)

2. *gangaiq*

||: :|| (×8)

B. Clan signals (|—| = 1 sec.)

1. Nunguwase (flying fox)

||: :|| (×6)

2. Fogosei (crowned pigeon)

||: :|| (×8)

3. Ogufaiyo (sulphur-crested cockatoo)

||: :|| (×7)

4. Bagisei (hornbill)

||: :|| (×7)

5a. Baishumei (imperial pigeon)

||: :|| (×4)

5b. Baishumei (little red lorikeet)*

||: :|| (×4)

6. Haishomir (cassowary)

||: :|| (×4)

7. Yomisei (eel)

||: :|| (×8)

8. Gesei (rainbow lorikeet)

||: :|| (×6)

9. Kabindei (harpy-eagle)

||: :|| (×7)

10. Wesayom (goshawk)

||: :|| (×5)

* In the past, Baishumei used slit-drum signals derived both from the imperial pigeon and the little red lorikeet. However, because of the similarity between the latter signal and that for Gesei clan, Baishumei's signal from the little red lorikeet is no longer used.

While breaking down the house wall of cut pieces of sago palm leafstalk placed side by side, Wisofi then begins to shout:

Not him, but you! To what place have you gone by now? Shut your mouth! Don't weep! Listen to what I say! [*bujof deti neiyajeyom? wabuseidajayom! anda nojuwom! waukateyom!*]

Everybody knows that while Badaqoe was alive, women did not take care of him properly. Not only his wife and sisters, but also his nieces are obliged to look after him. Wisofi is openly blaming them for the death because they failed to fulfil such social responsibilities. The women begin to respond bit by bit to Wisofi's words. Tabei, Badaqoe's younger sister, weeps:

You once took me with you ... Are you going to leave while feeling hungry? [*kaxaiyadaje neya ... xauwi yogoq ajaneni?*]

Once, when Tabei fell ill, Badaqoe took her with him to the NTM in Wainim, since she could not be cured with the doses of medicine administered at Meska. In her first words, she recalls that time with gratitude. When translated literally, the subsequent words read "Are you going to walk off with a hungry feeling?", and the expression "walk off with a hungry feeling" is arranged to correspond rhetorically to the expression "took me with you". What is more important is the expression "a hungry feeling". Here, Tabei tacitly admits that, because of their negligence in feeding him properly, Badaqoe was always hungry, and therefore grew weaker until he died. Weeping, she expresses the contrast that, while Badaqoe kindly took her with him to Wainim, she could not do anything for him.

Again, the slit-drum is struck—only the signal for death this time. Both men and women weep by uttering "Dad" in chorus and call Badaqoe by name. Presently, a man named Mofo begins to talk at length. They are not wept-words:

I did this. You know, I did smoke tilapia and cassowary meat. I made sure. Damn! The cassowary meat and tilapia have gone without my knowing it! Who's stolen them? I said this: Did the dogs steal them? Damn! It would be absolutely impossible to find out. An evil spirit must have taken them. [*an iti ofoya. makaome, ujubame, iti ofoya, xajata. ofnojoya. ishi! ome ujubame, makaome, bidiyo. dajeya afane? aniya ofshouwa. yujomiya afane? ishi! mba dajeya fashou? swoni yabosgasya afanei?*]

What was meant by these words could only be understood later when I asked the speaker himself. The meaning is as follows: From the end of October, Mofo had been in the mountains together with other men to make a large canoe for his wife's elder brother. After about three weeks of work, he tried to return to the village by himself. When he stayed overnight on his way, he smoked the tilapia and cassowary which he had caught, placing them on a rack above the fireplace in his forest hut. Then, when he returned after going out to relieve himself, part of the meat was gone. The other men were still working at an upper part of the mountain, and did not stay nearby. The dogs were also taken with them. At that time, he could not guess at all why the meat disappeared. On the following day, Mofo returned to Meska, and Badaqoe died two days later. When Mofo saw Badaqoe in his critical condition, he understood: that meat which was gone had been eaten by a spirit which had wandered out of the body of Badaqoe (who was almost starving to death) to stave off hunger. Being so convinced, he uttered the foregoing words.

The Waxei generally think that a living person does not have a spirit or a soul. Only when man ceases to breathe, that breath=life changes itself into a spirit. However, a person in his critical condition, that is, a person who is hovering between life and death, is an exception. He is half alive and half dead, and thought to be coming and going across the domains of life and death. Therefore, there is a spirit in him. That spirit is thought to be an evil being harbouring regret and resentment at life or living persons. Mofo thought it to be Badaqoe's evil spirit that stole the meat: directly because he interpreted that Badaqoe would have a grudge against women, while indirectly, he also had an intention to reproach the women who had let him die while hungry.

Then, while weeping, Yukoba begins to refute Mofo's words in a roundabout way. The sound of the small slit-drum installed on the outskirts of the village echoes in the distance:

Uncle, I'll throw away the palm bark now ... [*mamei, yubus tuteiyaja ...*]

The bark of a palm branch is often used to wrap up food or food is placed on it. Behind the words "throw away", it is implied that "although I often served my uncle with food placed on palm bark, it has become unnecessary, since he has died."

The wept-words of women continue. Sungolinda screams:

Dad, what has ruined you? [*abe, dajeya ofojuni?*]

These words straightforwardly inquiring about the cause of death are very important. Death due to illness is not regarded to be the cause. The question of what caused that illness is taken up as a problem. That women did not take care of him properly, can also not be a cause. It is merely one of the attendant circumstances. Among the Waxei, it is generally thought that a person is killed by a spirit. The spirit pierces a person's belly with a spear, shoots an arrow at a person's breast, or does harm to a person in some other way, so that they fall ill or are wounded and die. So, Sungolinda's words constitute an inquiry into which spirit has killed Badaqoe. The answer is to be given by the spirit of a dead person which will possess a man at midnight.

The weeping of the women continues. Sometimes it is joined by men so that it assumes aspects of wept-song—a clearer melody and voice-part organisation. The slit-drum telling of the death is struck intermittently. Sabenunguwas, Badaqoe's wife, weeps while saying:

I'll no longer see you tomorrow ... You often used to walk to the doktaboi's house ... You yourself will presently come in again ... Tomorrow will be the last we see of you, after which you go out forever ... [xaf mba wonidajasune ... doktaboixuju unujma yaxayaxa teitojoikun ... uxas duba indiniya ogwanugwane ... xafi iye dubas funaje qaneiyajune.]

"Doktaboi" is a Tok Pisin word referring to a local medical orderly who lives in Meska. Badaqoe, who was sickly, often went to him to take medicine. As it gets dark, his dead body will be carried into the doktaboi's house where all of villagers will gather to weep and sing throughout the night. The saying "come in again" refers to this. Then, early in the morning, the dead body will be buried by men in the forest on the outskirts of the village, and his figure which has "go(ne) out" cannot be seen any longer.

Amidst the weeping, wept-words and wept-songs mingle with each other and the sound of the slit-drum reverberates again.⁵ Then, the wept-words of Sabenunguwas come to the surface:

Father, father ... it is not that you were just waiting for food while sitting ... [abe:, abe: ... on mba ijiyokutaikun abaja.]

5. Here, in addition to percussion in the standard order, the clan signals of Badaqoe's own father and mother—the harpy-eagle signal of Kabindei clan and the flying fox signal of Nunguase clan—are also inserted. Thereby the identification of a person becomes more definite, but this structure is exceptional.

This reference of Sabenunguwas (Badaqoe's wife) to him as "father" is not an idiomatic expression as, for instance, in Japanese where a child's reference to "father" is in an extended way by mother. Among the Waxei, as their child grows up, husband and wife begin to regard each other as a being like a mother or father. However, as long as both of them are alive, they do not actually put such an expression into words. In this case too, Sabenunguwas spoke to Badaqoe as "father" for the first time because he had died. This manner of speaking is obviously an expression of affection and gratitude, which then is taken over in the final words showing an apology. The expression "it is not that you were just waiting for food while sitting" means that, since all of them, including her, did not provide him with food, he had to seek food without help while abusing his weak body. In the Waxei language, which has no usage for directly expressing an apology, these may be said to be fairly clear apologetic words.

It has imperceptibly become dark and the weeping voices have gradually become low and sporadic. It is decided that the dead body of Badaqoe be moved to the doktaboi's house, the largest in the village. A coffin is made of wood, and carried into the house by kinsmen and male friends. Before long, villagers gather in twos and threes, and sit around the coffin placed in the centre of the house. Past 8:00 P.M., a wept-song begins.

A "wept-song" (*noju faitam*) is sung by a lead singer and those accompanying in chorus. The lead singer can be a young or old man or a woman. In this case, it is one of Badaqoe's daughters, still a primary school girl, who begins wept-songs this evening. Immediately after the lead singer utters a word to start a song, men and women separate into two parts and sing in parallel octaves. Their voice organisation is an extension of the sound organisation of wept-words, where the descending and ascending perfect fifth and minor sixth are used, in addition to the descending and ascending minor third, perfect fourth, and major second.

The opening words of the lead singer are almost the only songtext that can be heard in a tune, and all subsequent choruses are performed in vocables. A tune is composed of a repetition of a certain sentence; an end of each sentence is indicated by a long sustained tone or the quick repetition of two tones called *songoqaj*.⁶

The songtext uttered by the lead singer is called *bittagas*, which is directly used as a name identifying that tune. Certain tunes are sung in

6. There is a sole tune without *songoqaj*, but, in that case too, a musical sentence can be extracted by way of the breathing points or the position of the central tone.

vocables by the lead singer from the very beginning. Such a tune is called a 'tune without a name' (*mba bittagaitus*), and is sung intermittently between those 'tunes with a name' (*bittagaitus*).

Differing from weeping or wept-words, all of which are expressed individually and improvisationally, most wept-songs are generally tunes sung in the past which have gradually become a fixed repertory within the group. Although the time at which a tune was composed varies widely from the non-identifiable remote past to very recent years, agreement is generally shown on each tune. There is a case in which the specific name of the composer can be mentioned. In other cases, a wept-song made in the past is sung by replacing its songtext with the name of a newly-deceased person, etc., but it does not occur that such a name subsequently takes the place of the original songtext. If both an unknown melody and songtext are produced, however, it is possible that they become part of the fixed repertory as new wept-songs,⁷ and this point may be said to be one of the differences between wept-songs and other types of traditional group singing.

In a repertory of *bittagas*, that is, the songtexts of wept-songs, an overwhelmingly large number of kinship terms are included. This may be said to be only natural in view of the context in which a wept-song is composed—being sung by a person who lost a relative, calling to the deceased. As in ordinary conversation, one is prohibited or hesitates to directly utter the name of someone in kinship. In wept-song too, a kinship term is often used instead of calling the name of the deceased.

For example, there are tunes in which a daughter or son calls to the deceased as 'dad' (*abe* or *abeyo*), and she/he calls to the deceased as 'mum' (*yakas*, *yakaiya*, or *yaiyo*). Or, there is a tune entitled *yakaiya abeya* ('mum, dad')⁸ which was sung by a daughter who had previously lost her father in childhood and, when she later lost her mother, she called to both of them. In Waxei terminology, father is *abej*, and mother is *yakas* or *yaisi* (see figure 4a and appendix 4). Those songtexts resulting from phonemic changes of these terms are sung with different melodies and they constitute separate wept-songs.

Wept-songs also include such songs which, although being very limited in number, have derived from neighbouring groups. In such cases,

7. Nevertheless, this is only a potential possibility and new tunes are never frequently made. Among the forty-odd tunes I recorded, there is only one such tune.

8. See track 5 on the accompanying compact disc.

languages used by the originating groups or Tok Pisin are used, as they were composed. For example, there is a tune entitled *ai* 'dad' in the Kapriman language, a tune entitled *amaiya* 'mum' in the Alamlak language, and one entitled *tambu tambu*⁹ which was brought in from the Sumariup and refers to an 'in-law' in Tok Pisin.

Wept-songs consisting of other kinship terminology include tunes in which the deceased is referred to as: 'uncle' (*yajiq* = father's elder brother; *nundeij* = father's younger brother; *mamuq* = mother's brother); 'aunt' (*teituwos* = father's younger sister; *yakakujes* = mother's younger sister); 'grandmother' (*imos* = father's mother); 'cousin' (*gaxuq* = mother's brother's son); and 'grandchild' (*babaiya* = daughter's child). All of them directly express a kin relationship between the deceased and the composer of a wept-song.

Similar to kinship terminology, words denoting special social relations with the deceased are often used as in songtexts. For instance, a sense of solidarity or friendship occurs among those who undergo an initiation together, and they mutually address each other as *sujoij*. A tune entitled *sujoij sujoij* is tearfully sung by a man who lost such a relation. *Kusaiyo xafe* 'still my friend, tomorrow' is said to have been composed on the occasion of the death of a clan member in a *kusaim* relationship and the melody entitled *nainumaj* was sung when a man in a *nainumam* relationship¹⁰ died.

Of course, not all of these tunes can be connected to one dead person, nor is it the case that only those songs directly related to the deceased are sung. During this evening, too, several tunes calling "mum", which are not directly linked to Badaqoe, were sung, but they were not sung by mistake. Wept-songs are optionally selected from among the existing repertory. Priority is given to singing in succession as many wept-songs as are known and thereby creating a particular atmosphere or sonic space that may enclose death, as it were, rather than being overly concerned with precisely how the words agree with the situation.

As for wept-songs containing words other than kinship terminology, it is necessary to explain something of the background against which each tune came into being, and about what the songtexts indicate. The follow-

9. See track 4 on the accompanying compact disc.

10. This refers to a so-called classificatory sibling, including members of the same generation belonging to the same clan or clans in *kusaim* relation, or members whose mothers belong to the same clan. When the mates are men, they refer to each other as *nainumaj*; when they are women, they say *nainumas* or *waxugas*.

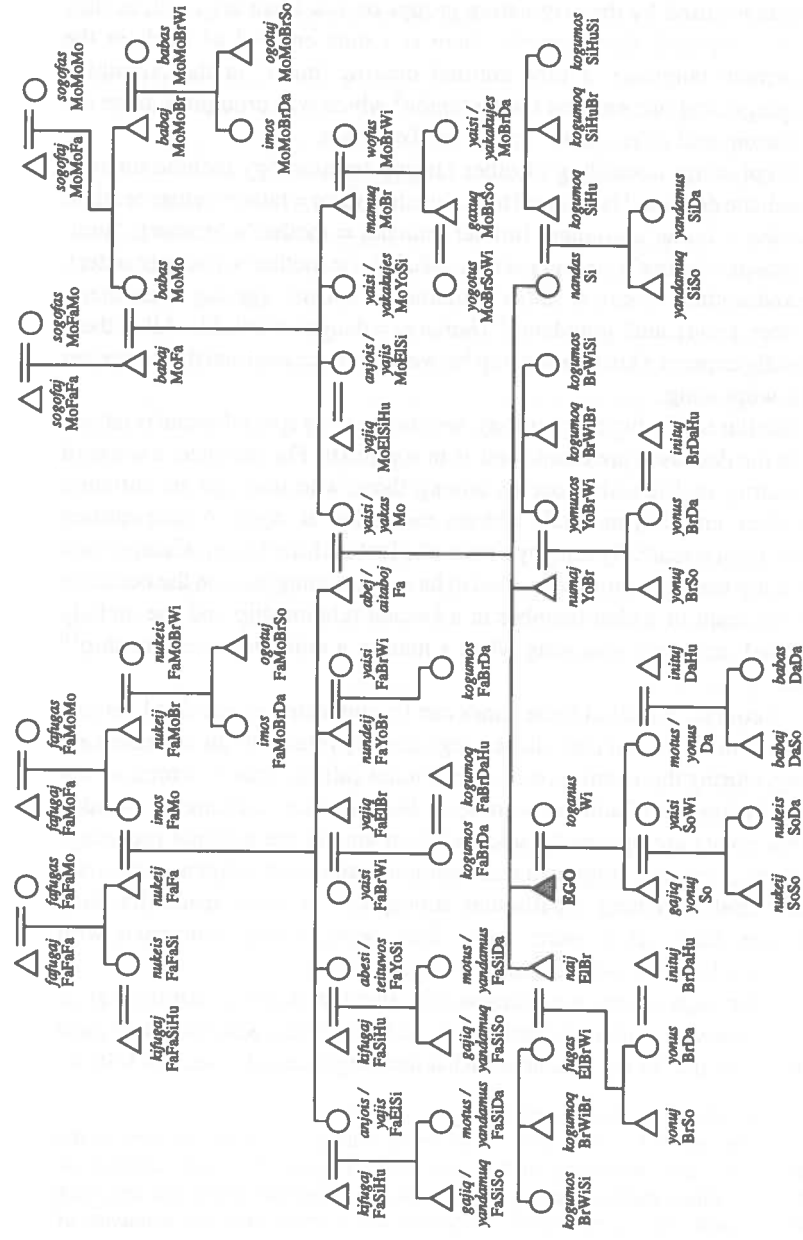


Figure 4a: Kinship terminology. Note also: *nukeim* = generic term for father's relatives; *miyojom* = generic term for mother's relatives.

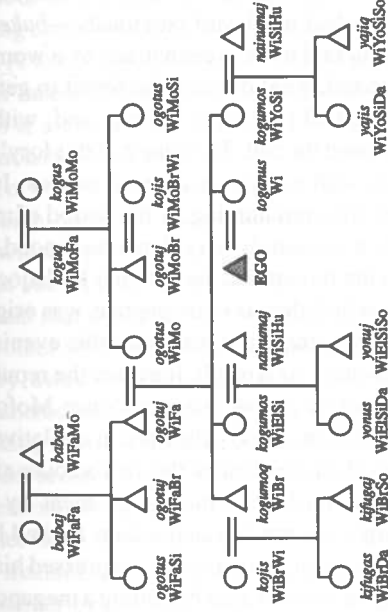


Figure 4b: Kinship terminology, wife's relatives. Note also: *bunotus* = generic term for relatives by marriage.

ing explanations show how the Waxei presently interpret and sing wept-songs which were composed in the past and have been transmitted to date. At the same time, they also bring into relief the kinds of images the Waxei have about death.

Once, a woman, who reared a pig named Bukeojoi, died of illness. Wandering through the forest, the woman's spirit sang a song while calling the pig by name, with the feeling that she was sorry for being unable to take care of it any longer. That wept-song only reached the ears of her husband who had just returned from hunting. Having a bad premonition, the husband hastily came back to the village and found that his wife had died and her body was already cold. He tearfully sang to the corpse that song which he had just heard previously—*bukeojoi*.

A tune called *wisro*¹¹ is said to have been made by a woman who, just after the loss of her husband, went out into the forest to get sago starch, heard a western black-capped lory (*wis*) calling, and, with the sorrow induced in her mind, imitated the call. The nature of this lory's call is often explained in connection with sorrow or a sense of loss. In fact, when Badaqoe died, his friend went out hunting, as the period of mourning had expired, and returned in a seemingly very depressed mood, saying that, hearing a *wis* calling in the mountains, he recalled Badaqoe.

A tune called *muxais*, which denotes a megapode, was originally a tune without a name (*mba bittagaitus*), but was sung this evening by Mofo, improvisationally with words. As a result, it gained the reputation that, it might henceforth take root as a new *bittagas*. Since Mofo is a son of Badaqoe's female elder cousin (*inituj*), they are in a relatively close kin relationship. Once, when Mofo went out of the men's house after finishing an initiation, he was presented with megapode meat by Badaqoe, a nephew (*ogotuj*) of Mofo's maternal grandmother. He had been prohibited from eating such meat during initiation. He expressed his gratitude at that time and his memory of the deceased by calling a megapode by name.

Along with the names of animals and birds, names of places—mountains in particular—are often sung in wept-songs. In *otosuj*, a mountain belonging to Ogufaiyo clan is called by name. About a generation ago, the wife of an Ogufaiyo man died in a forest hut on a mountain adjoining Mt Otosuj. The next morning, when the man was returning after he had buried the body at the top of the mountain, a haze was seen hanging over the opposite Mt Otosuj. It is said that, just when he saw the haze, a strong

11. See track 3 on the accompanying compact disc.

sorrow was revived in his heart so that he sang this tune. Apart from haze, rain is another inducer of sorrow in connection with a mountain. In a tune called *wirimari*,¹² denoting a mountain northwest of Meska, it is sung that "rain is coming to Wirimari" and the images of the darkness of rain clouds and chilly rain are superposed on the sorrow of death. This tune derives from the Kapriman in Mugumute and, as such, the Kapriman language is used. It is said that when one stands at Mugumute, one can clearly see that rain is approaching Mt Wirimari from the east.

The feeling of sorrow is also expressed by the whitish colour of ash. A tune of this type is *fukweij* (*fukaj* 'ash' + *ukweij* 'hip') meaning a 'hip with ash'. The colour of ash adhering to the hips of a man who cries bitterly while tumbling about on the floor, is said to strongly arouse sorrow and a sense of loss. A woman who has lost a relative usually rubs ashes or white earth over her face and body until the period of mourning expires, while a man makes it a custom to apply the same colour to his body with a stronger, demonstrative action.

The origin of some tunes is thought to be such that the spirit of a person soon after death appeared in somebody's dream, and sang weeping. *Bukeojoi*, in which a pig of the same name is called (referred to above), is an example of such a tune. There is also a tune entitled *waqombu* 'carry away'. It is said that this was sung in a wailing manner by the spirit of a dead elder brother who appeared in his drowsy younger brother's dream, asking "Carry away my body quickly to the grave", when all those concerned gathered and were singing wept-songs at midnight. The younger brother, awaking from his sleep, immediately sang that tune, and went out to bury his elder brother's corpse before dawn. This occurrence took place about two generations ago.

On the other hand, there are tunes in which the spirit of the dead sang in a contrary manner. It is interpreted that *sausauwi* 'not yet' was sung in a weeping manner by the spirit of a dead husband who appeared in his wife's dream, with the meaning "Please weep a little longer for me, not yet carrying away my body to the grave." Furthermore, a tune entitled *fainuj* 'let's go together' came out in a woman's dream about ten years ago. That old woman, still alive, explained to me the background of the music as follows. First, her younger brother's son died in his infancy and, a week later, her younger sister died. During the night of the day the younger sister died, she fell asleep in spite of herself as she was tired from weeping and singing with the others who had gathered together. The spirit of her

12. See track 2 on the accompanying compact disc.

younger brother's son and that of her younger sister appeared together, and they sang this tune in chorus. Both of them belong to the same clan as that of the old woman, and the mountain where the spirits of the dead are thought to go is also the same. However, since the boy was so small that he could not go there by himself, the spirit of the dead boy still stayed within the village. Now that his aunt became the departed spirit, he could go with her to the dwelling place of spirits, being led by her. So, he was relieved. This, the old woman reads, is a message from the spirits. We can discern certain special relations between the Waxei's perception of sounds and their cognition of spirits in the manner in which a song is formed—a manner common to these types of wept-songs in which the spirit of the dead appears in someone's dream, talks to them, and shows them a song. Later, this problem shall be examined in detail.

Among wept-songs there is one which enables us to get a glimpse of people's ideas about what the spirit of the dead is like. One such example is a tune called *fukwaje* 'go up while lifting'. Once a man was taking a nap under a *kubaimus* tree in the forest. At just about that time, the man's younger brother died in the village. In his dream the spirit of a paternal uncle, who had previously died, appeared and wept as he sang this song. The spirit of the dead uncle is thought to have requested the man to lead his younger brother up to the top of the *kubaimus* tree where he stays, lest the spirit of the newly-deceased younger brother lose his way in the forest. Because the Waxei do not have the habit of burial in trees, the interpretation of this wept-song is a product of an image they have about the spirit of the dead. The spirit of the dead uncle, who came from the mountains to receive his nephew, settled in the *kubaimus* tree and identified himself with a supernatural spirit so that the spirit's voice just resounded in the man's dream as an echo. When the spirit is aurally sensed, it is often expressed as a sound like the rustling of leaves coming into hearing.

At first, wept-songs are sung in succession, but then, gradually, they are sung after longer intervals. When one wept-song is over, weeping voices resound intermittently, and weeping eventually changes into wept-words.

Kifoni, elder brother of Badaqoe, getting hoarse, screams sorrowfully:

You have passed away, leaving me alone ... Badaqoe, who will provide this nephew with food? ... Who will listen to the flycatcher calling on Ajujanus hill? ... Badaqoe, where are you going? ... I'll go to bury you, tomorrow ... [*an duba woni xutaniya ... Badaqoe, yandamu andij dajeya xouwaqei asxujim? ... gujombuq bujou jeiyojoidaje Ajujanusma, dajeya kwatedaje? ... Badaqoe, deti neiyajune? ... xaf qatnakutadaje joni.*]

Kifoni's wept-words change into shrill wailing. People also begin weeping as if joining in chorus. Gradually the weeping is united into a wept-song.

When the tune calling "mum, dad" is over, Sungolinda's wept-words are uttered. These are words which resulted from her having been touched by the words of the wept-song:

Here and there in the forest, rain is drizzling on your footprints ... Mum, dad, where should I go at all? [*beiyabeiya onuju ujaomma sakaj tuwojoixaneja ... yakaiya abeya, deti deti neiyaja?*]

After a couple 'tunes without a name' continue, Sabenunguwas, Badaqoe's wife, weeps:

Here, we have lived together happily ... But we cannot do various things any more ... [*aiti nujeya wade oftogonuj ... omeya aisojofim mba ofosunuj ...*]

Immediately after this, Oute, his niece, shouts:

You were survived by small children ... You are leaving small children behind, you know ... [*mba bugos wonuxutasune ... mba bugom wonuxutasune neini.*]

There is no end to the wept-words. In the intervals between, wept-songs and grievous cries are repeated pathetically, and the weeping and wept-words mingle with each other. In contrast to the fragmentary and abstract songtexts placed on wept-songs, wept-words denote a direct and concrete appeal to the deceased. An image of death evoked by the wept-songs is given a clear outline by the wept-words. The sequence of wept-songs is to provide a "ground", so to say, against the effusion of individuals' wept-words. It is a collective expression made around death, spirit, and social sorrow—a sonic expression of the sorrow people have accumulated. However, both wept-songs and wept-words are to be interrupted by the forthcoming words of the spirit. The wept-songs only serve as an overture, leading to the talk of the spirit.

B. Possession

1. TALK OF A POSSESSED SPIRIT

Now, as time goes past midnight, the interval between the wept-songs becomes longer and longer, and the weeping and wept-words tend to be broken. People begin chatting in whispers here and there, but occasionally become utterly silent in a strange way. Almost all of the children who have

gathered there have already fallen asleep. Even some of the adults are beginning to doze. Pointing to one such person, somebody whispers: "Is it that guy?" Somebody's voice saying "No, not yet" is also heard. Some are sound asleep. After a long interval, a wept-song is resumed and soon ends. Only the chirping of insects resounds, as if surrounding the quietude of people. The weeping of women who have cried their voices hoarse, emerges faintly, gasping. And then quiet again.

It is on such an occasion that a man who was sleeping suddenly stands up and begins running.¹³ The man jumps to the centre of the house, while stamping his feet violently on the floor. Those around him hastily dodge in a flurry of motion. The man repeatedly goes and returns along an aisle just secured in the midst, with loud footsteps. An old woman cries:

Hey, I get it! I got it by hearing (the sound of footsteps). No more please, as I've heard the sound made as you walk. [*yauwo:, sauitafunum. kwate sauitafunum. wade, kwate teitojonum.*]

The sound of footsteps, however, gains in intensity. The old woman cries again:

You've all made the matter open! [*bej oxotayom xombojoxuna!*]

The old woman's words turn into weeping:

Where shall I go? ... I can do nothing more than stay here ... [*deti neiyaja? ... aiti tojodaja.*]

It is thought that a spirit enters the dream of a sleeping person and has a hold on that person.¹⁴ The man who suddenly stood up at this time, is already possessed by a spirit. It is a spirit of the deceased Badaque himself, although this will only gradually become known. All of those present hear the sound of the man's footsteps as a sound being made by the spirit. The being to which the old woman said "I get it!" is not the man himself, but the spirit manipulating his body. A spirit, having possessed a man, first

13. Track 6 on the accompanying compact disc begins here.

14. Although a spirit does not always possess a man, in all three cases I observed, they were men in their thirties or forties. In most cases, a possessed man has no kinship with the dead. At present, among the Waxei, four specific men are reputed to be often possessed. All of them are men who have not gone to work away from home, that is, people who do not know the outside world. It is absolutely prohibited to inform a man who has come out of possession that a spirit had possessed him. Therefore, here too, I will not mention the name of the possessed man.

makes a loud sound while walking—an obvious sign of the spirit showing off its own emergence in the general context, too. In particular, this sound of footsteps, which comes into hearing following the death of a person, weeping, and wept-songs, is understood in connection with a transcendental spirit called Guxaj.

Guxaj is a mythical being said to have founded men's initiation, an evil and powerful supernatural spirit which is also the ruler of the men's house, as will be discussed in detail in chapter 3. A number of matters related to Guxaj—in particular, the manner in which scars are given to novices at initiation and the method of therapeutic magic—have long been kept secret among men alone. It is only within the past decade that such things have begun to be revealed also to women. The old woman's words "You've all made the matter open" indicate these circumstances.

Guxaj is also a symbolic being of death and a transcendental spirit which controls all the spirits of the dead. Fundamentally, the spirit of Badaque now possessing the man is also moved by this Guxaj. Or, it may be said, that every spirit of the dead can incorporate with Guxaj or can be identified with Guxaj through its control. In the following description, I would like to explore the unique social relations being interwoven by spirits and human beings around death, while reproducing as faithful as possible the talk of a spirit of the dead which has possessed the body of a man and the words uttered by people reacting to this talk.¹⁵

The sound of the spirit's footsteps ceases. The man who has been possessed stands still with his back against the wall. Then, after a while, he suddenly begins running again with loud footsteps. The emergence of the spirit is strongly indicated by the sound.

Spirit: You, women, staying there! A *tageya* stump! A *tageya* stump! A *tageya* stump. [*ande toganeyom! tageya subes! tageya subes! tageya subes!*]

Man: No, no, no more. [*bes, bes, besiko.*]

Man: It doesn't matter if he talks. Don't you think so? [*besiko fabujoja.*]

Man: You may let yourself talk, as the other women have not listened, anyway. [*besiko fabujoja, omom mba okwatesujom.*]

15. The descriptions that follow reproduce as faithfully as possible what happened the night Badaque died (21 November 1986), being based on the tape-recorded materials. The utterances of spirits and people are translated almost word for word. The text here is slightly abridged; for the full text, refer to Yamada (1989).

Spirit: Sure, sure, sure, sure ... you, women, staying there. Look! The men (saying so, he claps his hands) ... have already seen, seen, already, already, already ... what, on earth, you say, should be a taboo? Don't you have eyes? Have you become blind? [*mba, mba, mba, mba ... ande toganeyom, wawoniyom, imajomiya ... bej ofnojojom, bej ofnojojom, bej, bej, bej, bej ... bai tambu long wanem? yu no gat ai bilong yu? ai bilong yu i pinis?*]¹⁶

Taking in his hands two pieces of firewood from the corner fireplace, the possessed man begins striking the house beam. It is a slit-drum rhythm said to have been brought about by Guxaj in mythical days.

Spirit: Guxaj appears and ... three bamboo pipes ... [*Guxajuya gwatinyayam, xumbuji kunei bogonim*]

Independently crying "ho!", "hoy!", "oh!", the men try to conceal the words of the spirit because these are words they do not wish to be heard by women. The women also stir.

Man: You, young boys there. Have you heard what was said now? [*ande dameyakeyom, kwate baj ojomwo?*]

Man: Sit down on the floor, my boys. What are you scared of? [*aidanijma wajiyoyom, daje onda tufujayom?*]

The possessed man walks up and down.

Spirit: It's Guxaj. It's the way the *nomis* grass seed wanders. Hoy! The *nomis* grass seed does exist. Have you ever seen it, my fellows? [*Guxaj, nomi yukwajuxo teitojo fotus. o:i, indij nomi yukwaj, ofnojoiyomwo?*]

Man: I've seen it. [*ofnojojom.*]

Spirit: All right, you've seen it, sure. [*wade, ofnojojom.*]

Guxaj as the transcendental spirit dwells in various types of trees and grass, as well. *Tageya* trees and *nomis* grass are among such dwelling places for the spirit. It is said that, when Guxaj wanders about, the sound of the swaying of leaves, grass, or seeds comes into hearing.

Spirit: Guxaj is sharpening his teeth, in this way, you know. [*Guxajuya bim xonuko, une.*]

Getting his face close to his hand being held up before his mouth, the possessed man moves his face from side to side like a teeth-sharpening

action, while uttering the sound "gieh!". This means that Guxaj is sharpening his teeth in preparation for killing someone. It also means a retaliation of the spirit of the dead which is under Guxaj's control. Everybody stirs.

Spirit: They've taken young sago leaves. They got it by spearing a small lizard to death. [*ujajam omeijom. kwambi tada omeijom.*]

Both men and women cry "ho!", "oh!", "wow!", separately, because it has been abruptly made apparent that Badaqoe was killed by someone. Both "young sago leaves" and "a small lizard" refer to Badaqoe. At this point of time, the possessing spirit is not yet identified. The spirit says to a woman:

Spirit: Now, it's your turn to cut off young sago leaves at the foot (of the mountain). [*ujajam bokudajene gwaje.*]

Woman: The women don't know. It's something only the men know. [*toganum mba sauitafeyasujom, uyagujomiya duba sauitafejom.*]

Spirit: Such a thing is the worst of all—so they think. Such a thing! But, doing such a thing would be of no great importance, though they may say so. After all, you are also bound to go out for gathering. You, my fellows, do you think that I dare do it openly? [*itiojoi maje dukomeya, iti ofshujom, itiojoi majes. itiojoi majesuya damam ousa. sasa dimiya ofejo axafojodaja. an omeya ojotajei fotusma xombujoxuna?*]

"Such a thing" refers to retaliatory murder. A human being, when alive, naturally avoids murder. This, however, is not the case with a spirit of the dead. All spirits are evil beings which can do people harm. At death, a human being becomes a spirit and "go(es) out for gathering" "young leaves of sago"—i.e., it is expected that the spirit kill someone against whom it bears a grudge. Thus, this spirit also suggests that it intends to retaliate against the relatives of the spirit which killed Badaqoe. But, it also says that human beings are not able to know how it does so.

Spirit: I myself went upstream—just to meet my father, you know, because my father was in such a situation. But actually they made me go—those fellows who are roaming over the upper course. They are my in-laws. Those fellows attacked me from both sides and spared me. So, it was all over for me. [*andiniya ojo xouwi, taishojeya imaneiya teya. taishojeya muj, ojomeya an nei, ojomeya xouwo xoto. muxafe ajo bunotusuya jeisinayasuna. na mi pinis.*]

By this series of words, it becomes evident that Badaqoe's own spirit is possessing now. Badaqoe went to the Upper Mombugotus River to meet Kesagai, his wife's father, and died soon after returning home. The kinship

16. Underlined text is in Tok Pisin. As there are restrictions on calling the names of certain relations, Tok Pisin kinship terms (e.g., *tambu* 'in-law', *kandere* 'relation on mother's side', *tumbuna* 'ancestor') or Christian names (e.g., Felix for Wisofi, Tobias for Gedobi, Peter for Myangai) are frequently used.

term referring to one's wife's father is *ogotuj*, but he is also called *abej* or *aitaj*, as is the case for one's own father. Here, however, Badaqoe's spirit does not use such expressions in the Waxei language, but instead uses *taishoj*, which refers to father in the Inalu language. According to their explanation, when the spirit uses any words other than those in the Waxei language, it is often the case that they have indirect implications. At this time too, I was taught that Badaqoe used such a word because he harbours an ill feeling against Kesagai.

What the spirit is talking about here is decisively important. That is, a revelation is made that the spirits of the dead who are related to Badaqoe by marriage have killed him. Badaqoe's spirit appeared to reveal the cause of his death to everybody. To the Waxei, the cause of death is never disease or an accident, but lies in why that person was attacked by which type of spirit. In this case, a revelation was given by the dead man himself that the direct cause of his death lay in the fact that the spirits of the dead gathering on and around the Mombugotus lured him to come towards them and injured him. It is explained that, although it might have been by chance that he went to meet Kesagai, such chance was set in motion by the spirits of the dead. To be sure, we find that it is no easy matter to rationally or analytically understand why a person takes a certain action and what serves as the real motivation for it, but the explanation that it is due to inducement by spirits is rather persuasive from a certain viewpoint. However, deeper reasons, such as why the spirits of the dead in-laws injured Badaqoe and what sort of grudge they have against him, are not yet revealed.

Spirit: None of you have any consideration for me. Even a spirit like me can do anything. Because I'm not a human being. In this way ... That's all. [*yupela i no tingim mi. itiojoi keyajisuya xaide itiojoi majum. i no man tru ... iti, andis toxo.*]

The man being possessed by the spirit takes the pieces of firewood again and begins striking the beam. The awful power of the transcendental murderous spirit, Guxaj, is suggested by the sound. Although it is the spirits of the dead that actually commit murder, all spirits which cause death are fundamentally manipulated by Guxaj. A newly-appeared spirit like Badaqoe's, which does not yet initiate an action, is specifically called *keyajis*.

Spirit: All right. Go out, kids. [*orait. yonujomuya, funajeyom.*]

Everybody stirs. The spirit says to a man:

Spirit: Ah! Headman! Headman! Are all of you taking what I say seriously? [*a:! kaunsil! kaunsil! ajo bujofqaj oyojokateyomwo?*]

Woman: Yes, yes. I'm taking it seriously, of course. [*fayu, fayujom. foyogatejom.*]

Spirit: They do nothing but go out. They go to the stand made with many crosspieces. Can you see it? Sunas! Sungolinda! (He calls his two daughters by name.) [*itiojom fanaijom tojo. mataite bajujaiseikujma neiyajujom, onojoyom? Sunas! Sungolinda!*]¹⁷

The "stand made with many crosspieces" refers to a stand upon which the dead body is laid out. In former days, the corpse was placed on the stand prepared on the outskirts of the village. From the body which was reduced to a mere skeleton after one or two weeks, the skull, bones of both arms and legs, and Adam's apple were extracted and then suspended in a netbag under the floor of the dead's kinsman's house. That "they go" to this stand as a symbol of death, obviously means a declaration that someone be subjected to a retaliatory murder.

Spirit: It's a thing that reflects a *tageya* stump. That thing those fellows install at Wainim. It's a wood carving, you know, a wood carving. Are you listening? It's a wood carving. You've no consideration for me. Sagais! The murderer named Saigume, who was my father-in-law, had concealed it. He handed a netbag to me. [*tageya subes, osujo piksas. muj ojotajom Wainim. kaving ya. kaving. yupela harim. em i kaving. yu no tingim mi. Sagais! ajo ogotuj Saigume nayojojeya qfakatumfa nukeija ijomsa. anuma omofa yukwaj gwaxutata.*]

A *tageya* tree is a dwelling place for Guxaj and thus symbolises the existence of Guxaj as a spirit. Although there surely exists a wood carving made from a *tageya* tree in the shape of Guxaj, here, the word meaning "a wood carving" is used metaphorically. What it really refers to is the spell of Guxaj which has been transmitted by Badaqoe, and the word "spell" is expressed, in turn, by "netbag". A netbag is something into which a thing is put, and being reversed metonymically, it is used as a word which indicates something to put in. A netbag is, so to say, something that encloses a word or talk—it is Guxaj's spell that is enclosed in it.

Meanwhile, Saigume, Badaqoe's father-in-law (father of Badaqoe's deceased, former wife), once killed an Inalu man in battle, and is called the "murderer" with honourable implications. Practical implications are that

17. Track 6 on the accompanying compact disc concludes here.

he is a brave or strong man who defeated an enemy. The spirit's talk explicates that Saigume taught Guxaj's secret spell to Badaqoe. Then, "Sagais", which was shouted midway in his talk, is the name of a spirit symbolically regarded to be Guxaj's wife, and a supernatural spirit which is said to have brought bamboo flutes to the Waxei.

Woman: It's not an open affair, is it? [*mba xombujoxuna ojoyasusa?*]

Spirit: Yes, it has become open. [*mba, xombujoxuna ojosa.*]

Man: Yeah, it is held openly. [*iya, xombujoxuna akatejomsko.*]

Spirit: It's all of you. It's you who have exposed it. So, you say that it's not concealed at all. All right, all of you, make a house-to-house visit to explain it. Say to them that the men have concealed that. I'll explain this way. I'll reclaim a garden tomorrow morning or evening. It may be at dawn. It's all over with you. Do you intend to stay even so? A handle of a stone axe! It's Guxaj's handle! It means those fellows—the Baishumei members. That spirit of Guxaj, that Miyojomafuj, was there on the upper course. That *tageya* stump, that *nomis* seed, you know. [*em. yupela ya. yupela i tok pinis ya. dimi ofshou mba nukeja fajeyasa. oke. omeya bajisujayom unuunu, iti waxoxunajaneyom. omeya ofshou uyagujomiya afanukeja indis. bajma, xaf monjojudaja gatoinus kobujma o gofnusma o. monjoju nosjeiyaja. yu no inap i stap. yu i stap yet? xoyojis! Guxa xoyojis! ojom omshou. Baishumeijomma. muxafe Guxa yabosgaz, muxafuj Miyojomaxuj aiti xouwo otojomwo. tageya subes, nomi yukwaj.*]

To "reclaim a garden" one must cut down trees and pull up their roots. Here, it means to throw down to the ground a human being, who takes root in the earth, and wipe them out by pulling up their roots from the earth; that is, to kill somebody and finish off the grudge. A stone axe is a tool for cutting down a tree and also a weapon which can kill a man. Moreover, here, the clan of the spirit of the dead which killed Badaqoe is also definitely mentioned. The spirit of a certain deceased member of Baishumei clan ambushed Badaqoe on the Upper Mombugotus, and killed him. Miyojomafuj is a proper name given by the Baishumei to Guxaj. It is understood that the spirit of the dead which killed Badaqoe also committed murder under Guxaj's control. Thus, it is manifested that one of the objects to "reclaim a garden", that is, of retaliation, would be a member of the Baishumei.

Woman: You, over there, don't keep on watching while standing around. [*muj anda tojoi wosbeqaxotayom.*]

Spirit: I mean ... Wo:y! Hah! (Saying so, it strongly stamps on the floor.) [*bajo ...*]

Man: You, my brother-in-law, only a little in the last place ... [*tambu. wujojoi koboqainuj ...*]

Spirit: You know, your elder sister, Sabenunguwas, is not a human female, though she may appear to be. She's not a human female. As you may know, both of us often used to joke with each other. Your father had concealed it and gave it away to me. Am I behaving all right? My father-in-law talked to me, trying to trick me. What on earth shall I eat up? I'm just doing it like this. In this way, I appear before the real human beings. Guxaj's *nomis* seed would surely rise up tomorrow! Saitunas, female ancestor, will also rise up tomorrow. I'm acquainted with medicine. I do know. I've not told everything yet. I'll talk to you properly when the time for going out comes. [*onujo waxujas Sabenunguwas, itiojos, mba imas. mba imas. yu save. mitupela i save tokpilaj. onujo abejuya awakatumfa nukeja ijomsa, anuma ojeya ojofte Guxaixokuta. an faijiya? taishojeya muj obujo nuxaxujeya. andajeya dajeya afajunojeya? dinimiya ofshou fajiyosa iti ijiyo baj. dinimiya ofshou ima mafujomma iti fajiyosa. Guxa nomi yukwaj xaf gwatinyadakuja! nukeis Saitunas xaf gwatinyadajusa. marasin mi save. mi save. an mba afabujosuya futo. ane neibajma xofunadajeyom.*]

The man who called "my brother-in-law" to the spirit, is a classificatory sibling (*nainumaj*) of Sabenunguwas, Badaqoe's wife, and a son of Saigume who taught Badaqoe about Guxaj's spell. Under the guise of joking, Badaqoe's spirit is speaking ill of his wife, Sabenunguwas, and father-in-law, Kesagai. That the "*nomis* seed" would "rise up" is a declaration that he himself will become a murderous spirit. "Saitunas, female ancestor" is a female spirit dwelling in the Saitunas River, a tributary of the Mombugotus, and it is also expressed that, under her support, Badaqoe's spirit will rise up. Once hurting somebody, that human being cannot be cured, however much "medicine" may be used. This is because the death of a human being is brought about by an assault of a spirit which fundamentally differs from illness or injury. Judging from the utterance "not told everything yet", there seem to be many others who are to be retaliated against. That will also be brought to light by the end of the possession.

Soon after this, the possessed man makes the sound like sharpening teeth again. So, the women cry out "woh!"

Spirit: Shut up! Otherwise I'll hurt you. Be sure! This guy, oh, you're my in-law, aren't you? I'm ready to go down, to the ground below, you know. I can talk about nothing more. No way! No clan can get (Guxaj's spell) any longer. If you wish to get it, search for me. It's the clan that gets it. There was no such clan in the past. No such clan, you know. You all should get it back. And, who is to catch that tail? My tail has broken. When I was alive, none of you tried to get it, did you? You have no power to obtain and cherish it. No, not at all.

Now, my fellow clan members, I can see you. You, the heart, are you listening? [yupela klia nau! yupela pen nau. yupela pen nau. dispela. bunotus bilong mi ya. em i ken i go daun. i go long graun. i no inap mekim wanem tok moa. nogat. husat famili i no inap kisim. yupela kisim. bai yupela painim mi. famili kisim. yu painim bipo i no gat famili i stap. famili i no i stap. yupela kisim bek. na husat bai holim tel bilong en? em ya. mi. tel i bruk pinis. tel i bruk pinis. taim mi stap yet. yupela i no kisim. yupela i no gat strong long kisim na holim em gut. nogat ya. nau. yupela. grup pisin. mi painim yupela. bamiyukwaj, yu harim?]

The spirit's rapid words become mixed up with Tok Pisin and are considerably confused, probably because of anger. People do nothing but listen silently. In short, Badaqoe is blaming the men by saying that, now that he has died, it is no longer possible to get back Guxaj's spell, so, why didn't they try to obtain it while he was alive? That the "tail has broken" means that a clue to obtaining the spell was lost. This, after all, refers to his own death. The last call, "you, the heart",¹⁸ is addressed to a man named Yabura of Bagisei clan. Once, Badaqoe gave away the heart of a pig to Yabura as a free gift, and there is a custom that two persons having such a give-and-take relationship call each other by the name of the gift, like, e.g., "the heart".

Spirit: You are also a member of the group. That (= Guxaj) is also your ancestor, you know. Megatuwa (Yabura's wife), you have no consideration for me, do you? Dugei (Yabura's second wife), you, too. Don't you? You, my two children, are not thinking of me anyway. You two, do you want to go get it? How many ancestors do you wish to get? [yu grup. em i tumbuna bilong yu. Megatuwa, yu no tingim mi. Dugei, yu no tingim mi. save? tupela pikinini i no tingim mi. tupela i laik i go kisim? haumaspele tumbuna bai em i kisim?]

Because Guxaj is a being which takes control of a person's life and death, it is sometimes included in the category of ancestors in a broad sense. Since both Megatuwa and Dugei belong to Kabindei clan, to which Badaqoe also belongs, and they belong to the generation of Badaqoe's children, they are called "children". The inquiry if the two "wish to get" their "ancestors", asks if they wish to obtain Guxaj's spell. Behind that inquiry, of course, lies an implication that it is impossible.

18. The word *bamiyukwaj*, denoting the heart, is a compound of *bami*, onomatopoeia for heartbeat, and *yukwaj*, denoting a nut, having the original meaning of a 'nut sounding "bam" '.

Spirit: That (= Guxaj's spell) is bound to become extinct. It's over! It will end up together with the small men's house made by my father-in-law. Whatever you may say, that's my own. But, you never thought of it in the past, did you? That fellow alone is going and coming, going and coming. You have already made the matter open. I don't have any longer, because I'm gone. [samting i mas pinis tasol. pinis! pinis tasol wantaim liklik hap haus boi. papa bilong mi ya i bin wokim. maski yu tok. em i samting bilong mi. tasol bipo yu no tingim. em wanpela man tasol. i go i kam. i go i kam. nau yupela putim ples klia pinis. mi no gat moa. mi go pinis.]

Losing Guxaj's spell amounts to losing a line of tradition. The small men's house built by Kesagai in Gwargaisi will eventually be demolished, since there is no one who properly manages it. At present, only Kesagai occasionally goes to see its condition. Badaqoe is deploring that such traditional customs and things are being lost one by one. The spirit's talk which has continued torrentially up till now, breaks a little. The tension of those around who have listened intensely seems to have lessened and they begin to stir.

Spirit: Hah! Oh, don't! It's exactly tomorrow, you know. I say this for sure. I'll reclaim a new garden. Wombogai, something will happen to you tomorrow. You must not stay. Wombogai, you cannot remain behind. I don't know what happens to you, if you stay. This is the first time. You've seen my first breath. [ha! mba! xaf tojo! aifoti yajusa. munjoji yogis. Wombogai, tumora yu kisim samting. yu no ken i stap. Wombogai, yu no inap i stap. yu i stap. mi no save. nau nambawan taim. yu lukim nambawan win bilong mi.]

Wombogai is the doktaboi. Badaqoe came down to Meska to seek medical care from him, but he could not be cured of his disease by Wombogai's medicine. Getting angry, therefore, Badaqoe is threatening that he would do him harm tomorrow. Wombogai is a man who attended Badaqoe at his death, so he is regarded to have contacted Badaqoe's "breath", that is, the emergence of his spirit. For the spirit, therefore, he is an easily approachable target.

Spirit: Dorcopsis, my ancestors! You, boneless fellows! Tomorrow, you'll find bent bones. Where shall I throw them? Into this house? Or, into that house? Wah! Ai! Ai! All of you had faithfully protected (Guxaj's spell) in the olden days. [nukeij kojweij! mba subeitut! xaf wondajayom subekiyum. deti teiguxakutata? detijojo unujma? o detijojo unujma? wa: ai! ai! bipo yupela lukautim gut.]

A dorcopsis (*kojweij*; a marsupial) is a symbol of Badaqoe's true father's clan, Kabindei. Here, he is rebuking them by saying that, because

Kabindei's ancestors who should protect him were "boneless", he was murdered. So, he is in such a fury as to say that he would retaliate by himself, without depending upon them. And he warns that a murdered man will become "bent bones" and die of exposure.

Girl: Don't do such a thing, please. [iti anda iyei.]

Spirit: That small brat, don't speak so knowingly. It's utterly impossible for brats like you to confine my thoughts. You can't look after anything at all. Hey, my fellow, *nainumaj*, you too are a snotty boy as yet. Tomorrow, I'll take possession of that Woxogoto land from you. Where do you go? Go where? Where do you hide yourself? I'll stay on. [andei motei neiniya, iti anda bujou. yupela dispela ol pikinini i no inap pasim tingting bilong mi. yupela i no save lukautim gut. yu nainumaj bilong mi. yu mangi tasol. muxafe onujo Woxogoto graunagos xaf aifotiyajusa. i go we? i go we? yu hait we? mi i stap.]

Reacting to the girl's words, Badaque's spirit inveighs even against his *nainumaj* (classificatory sibling) who belongs to Kabindei clan, by saying that, since he could not protect Badaque after all, he is just like a powerless child. The man who was so decried came from the Woxogoto¹⁹ and was incorporated into the Waxei in his grandfather's generation. That it would "take possession of that Woxogoto land" shows that the spirit is threatening almost indiscriminately, that it would even retaliate against that man.

Spirit: All right, now listen to another talk. [orait, omom bujom wokwateyom.]

Woman: That's enough. [besiko.]

Man: Stop your ears, all of you. [wombajakam witasbiyom.]

Woman: I'll go out. [an neiya.]

Man: That's good enough. [inap olsem.]

Spirit: The guys like you are not true men. [itiojoyom mba uyageyom.]

Woman: The moon is bright, you know. [yagujeya xana.]

Spirit: I'm not a human being like all of you. Ah!, I'm not a man. [itiojo mba imaj igo. a:, mba imaj.]

Woman: Have you ever thought of your grandchild whose hair is not yet grown? [baba bokwaj yu save tingim tu?]

Spirit: Then how on earth would you go to join together the tail of the snake they've cut off? It's as if you have cut off the tail. How would you go to join such a tail? Impossible. All of the tail, head, and body have been disjointed. [iti ofshou nouj indiofujo xomajom, otodiniya sunadaje igo? om bej indiofuj bukeko. maxum xate otodiniya sunadaje indiofuj? mba. indiofuje, togo, bogonise, sedyosedyo ogofasko.]

19. A small group which once lived to the west of Watakataui and later merged into the Waxei (see map 1).

Man: You can still keep it secret, can't you? [nukeja fikatenumwo?]

Spirit: It can be kept secret—you dare say so? It can't be any longer. The matter was made open. Impossible, impossible, impossible. I'd go out and expose everything. Then, they would die mad. They, foolish women, would go mad. Though women would say that they would truly understand and master it. That's very well as I'm just a youngster. [igo iti yeko, maxum xato, oshouni, nukeja fajiyo xato? mbano. xombuxoxuna fajiyo. mba, mba, mba. muj faiya funakukuta aisakoxota wadejom. dotu fanaiya, meimosma nuxuiyajujom. iti shouwajujom, ojomuya toganu dukom ojom meimojom. ojom xofna, ojom aibosja aimaimajina. dotu wade. mi yangpela man.]

Woman: You, brother-in-law, look. What on earth is this fellow saying? [aniya ofshou, wowoni fuja, anduj dama tofim oja?]

Spirit: Are you asking who saw me? No, no, it's the work of the *nomis* seed. The *nomis* seed. The *nomis* seed has done it. The *nomis* seed, you know. When I went (to Gwargaisi), the *nomis* seed was on the watch for me and shot me with a bow and arrow. Then, that guy, my in-law, with a duller axe in his hands, cut me here so badly. [oni oshu wam, amaxojeya ofnoxojeya? n:, n:, nomi yukwajuya ofojeya. nomi yukwajuya. nomi yukwajuya ofojeya. nomi yukwajuya ofojeya. ojeja bej ofofunajei wonukate yanejeja, bej aneya teitojo okojufa. kotosko ajo bunotusuya xobiya banjoqaj aisiko, aiti buko tojona.]

So says the possessed man while pointing to his abdomen. This is a vivid description that the spirit of Badaque's in-law shot an arrow first and then cut his abdomen with a stone axe. It is understood that, because the spirit wounded his abdomen in that way, Badaque died, being affected by an internal disease due to the wound. This is thought to be a typical method of assault when a spirit wounds or kills a human being.

Spirit: That guy did kill me, after an ambush, you know. That I stayed with that white man in Wainim and came after listening to the story of a man who hardened the land of white men—"You must reflect on that", says my in-law. Uhn! (Uttering so, the possessed man makes a gesture of swinging down an axe) ... With a dull axe ... that *nomis* seed ... [oni ofom aniya. iye dubas oniya owontekmam. oni ofojom Wainim, Wainim, muxafe mastaxute ofoni tojoi, mastajuxo bubuja ainij bujom ofoni kwate, igi dini yayu, on anda mba osketayanesune, sakisa ofosa, bunotusuya. n! xofiya banjoqaj ... doti nomi yukwajuya ...]

The "white man" refers to an NTM missionary in Wainim, while a "man who hardened the land" refers to Christ. Although Badaque was never an earnest Christian, opportunities for listening to Bible stories increase when living in Wainim. This, it is pointed out, was reproached by the murderous spirit. Here, all those present seem to have roughly got the idea

of whose spirit of the dead killed Badaqoe. While mentioning a name in a low voice, they begin to talk about various things:

Spirit: My fellows, you've correctly heard what I said now, haven't you? I've come here to say this. [*anajo bujom ofoyom ai. muxa bujom ofeyiom storiya.*]

Man: I know, sure. [*sko igo.*]

Spirit: You, the guy over there, I've told this to you. You, my fellow, you've heard correctly, haven't you? I'll come back again to see you. That small sago palm of their own in the Mombugotus River ... All is over. I may go now. As I've talked quite a while. Hey! That I had a tail matters little. Because I don't have it any longer. Who on earth will come to catch me? Who'll come to fetch it again? That's expecting too much. The tail has been cut off. That fellow has cut it himself. It's that guy himself who has cut the tail. I'll say flatly to you. You, the heart, you cannot do anything to me. Don't worry any more. Now, I'll go underground. Do you go for (the tail)? I don't know you. You are a stranger. Do all of you really intend to go for (the tail)? No good. All is over. You are bound to carry about a thing having no tail. You are doomed to walk having only the head and trunk. Now, I'll go with that slender tail. Your elders have cut off the tail. Uhn! No good, my fellows, you can't take it back any longer. My father-in-law alone will go to the upper course and return to the lower course. You must not do anything. Wait at those upper reaches. You, Bagisei, look at my sway. You, the heart, that guy, where is my in-law? Hey, you, don't you want to look at me? The *nomis* seed, that guy's first arrow was shot at me. How can they destroy me? It's impossible. [*muxa bujom ostoni ofojoni jeko. em osma, sakisa ofejoniya? yadaja wonda. muxafe Mombugotusxo nakuwenej jonda ... pinis. muxafe yu go. bej disiya xofunaxanemesiyom. hei! an indofete an ojoyafasko besi. indofudaja ojoyafa. amaxoneya imeiyaxuneya? amaxoneya imeiyaxuneya igo? mba xato. indofuj bej obujoteja. bej tousiya atamabukoteje. tousiya indofu buko, indofu buko ijiyosa. diyaneya xofuna majinanyom. bamiyukwaj, shouwaxune ofofaya. inap. iti fajujaxunesa. oniya imeiyajafa? mi no save long yu. mi no save long yu. igo omeya imeiyaja os? mba. igo bidiyojoi. indofudajas xateitojoidajeyom. togo bojuo dubas akateitojoidajeyom. muxafe aniya bujof diyaniya ajanei muxafe indiofe bogonis. omojo bugojomte iti omojom indiofuj bukotekuwa. n., mba, ishuwajeyom igo afamiyum. taishojeya duba fai xoiteitojoi, xaiteitojoi. shouwaxune ofofaya. oui de aiti xouwo. Bajiseisojofum, wondajayom anajo neifojus. bamiyukwaj. em ya. tambu bilong mi i stap we? yu no laik lukim mi? bikos nomi yukwaj, nambawan spia bilong em i kam. ol i no inap bagarapim mi.*]

Man: Are you leaving now? [*nau yu go o?*]

Spirit: I mean the *nomis* seed, you know. [*nomi yukwaj tasol.*]

Man: We have no grudge against you. [*mipela i no gat wari wantaim yu.*]

Spirit: We are Kabindei. Yes, that Kabindei. I'm also Kabindei. My fellows, as you may also know, I myself am Kabindei by origin. But, those guys discarded me. [*mipela Kabindei ya. em ol Kabindei. mi tu Kabindei. em nau yupela painim dispela na mi yet. mi i stap na mi Kabindei ya. tasol em i tromoi mi ya.*]

The spirit's talk has become rather confused. Although the spirit calls to various men and spirits, and its talk gets entangled with diverse topics, the main contents are a repetition of what has been said before.

Spirit: That fish, beside the slit-drum, that fish did bite them to death.

Beside the slit-drum, you know. Boys were taken into (the men's house) and they went out then. That boy also came not knowing anything. The *nomis* seed saw that boy. Ah! When he stood up, that guy thrust a spear into the abdomen. Do you understand? [*ande ajaj nojuisma, ande ajaj dijiya axouna. nojuisma nojuisma. dijomuya xabubo xoboxane. em i kam tasol. nomi yukwaj lukim em ya. a! indi uyaguq kirap ya givim fanedajisma xotaitajos. dita?*]

"Fish" refers to Guxaj himself. According to a myth, Guxaj, who came from the river in a crocodile-like figure, taught men how to perform initiation which involves the scarification of the back, how to strike the slit-drum, as well as about Guxaj's song, etc., but was expelled as he bit and killed two boys. While disclosing the secret episode that Guxaj killed boys, the spirit here superimposes talk that it was speared by a spirit of the dead which is under Guxaj's control. Women, however, seem to be unwilling to hear such an abhorrent episode and try to intercept the spirit's words by shouting "Wah!".

Woman: Men are doomed to die as flowers fall. [*nuxoi dobenadajeyom.*]

Spirit: Exactly. That guy himself descended (from the mountain) and, fixing an arrow to the bow, shot it. Do you understand? [*sko, tojeya tojo tofunakuma, dijiya omo xonunjaisko. n., dita?*]

For some time, the growling of dogs has been continuing outside the house. An old woman talks to herself:

Woman: Are those dogs eating something? [*damam ajom andi yum?*]

Spirit: Old dogs they are. They'll sleep on the opposite bank. And hunting a louse.... [*ya, yuj kokujai bogos. dijiyo bobujo jeko xai. igo yonunaqi....*]

"Old dogs" is an expression upon which the spirit's own state is superimposed. It may be read that the "opposite bank" suggests the so-called "other world", while "hunting a louse" suggests a retaliatory murder.

Spirit: Hey, who's sleeping there, I'm saying that I'll kill. I do shoot. Don't sleep. All of you are to die after all. It's inevitable. I'll eat you up. I'll come this way and give human beings a hard time. My fellow, go somewhere and remain there. I want a word with those fellows. A word I want, you know. Work, all of you. Work hard. Oh, don't! Don't remain that way. It's true. This Tiyaandumo (another name of Badaqoe) will take out the *nomis* seed from the netbag in the near future. Uhn? [*ima gumone xaikun, an iti oshuwa tojo. an andiya tojo. mba. oniya wone tutokmam. di yogoite ojofafute. uya futo. itu wai yai, imante otojoi, itu wai muxafe majum. bobujo oneya teitojoyum. ane fajom ima bujom, ima bujom fajom. dotu waxoinjuna. xoinjuna baj. mba, iti one. tru. dispela Tiyaandumo, i no longtaim, nomi yukwajuxo xojiq yukwadajuxa. n?*]

Here, it remains unknown, after all, to whom Badaqoe is talking. The phrase "take out the *nomis* seed from the netbag" means to commit retaliatory murder with the help of Guxaj as the source of murder.

Spirit: This is all I have to say. I'll return now. I'm not a man of that sort who likes to talk tediously. It's my *kogumoa*! That guy was keeping a watch over me, making me sick a long while ago. That guy has tormented me by giving me an illness. Here and there I'll brandish a bushknife. As a first step, I'll cut down weeds at Meska. [*em tasol liklik toktok bilong mi. mi laik go bek nau. an mba itiojoi imaneya bujou jeiyojodajas ima bujom igo. tuwajo kogumoa ya! wono xojeya, bej xoto ojowamajeya sik axos. ojeya gwaxutaxutafute sik axos ojowamejeya. aniya omeim, ajo sajifus mba dubafa teiyajasuya. bai mi katim gaden long Meska pastaim.*]

Kogumoa is a word that specifically denotes one's sister's husband, or wife's brother, among relatives by marriage. Badaqoe's weak constitution was likely to have attributed to the spirit of his deceased in-laws. The expression "brandish a bushknife" also suggests a retaliation.

Man: Stop it! [*besiko!*]

Spirit: Oh! Listen. How many children? Would be enough. If you stand in my way, I'll also stand in your way. This uncle, too, didn't take care of me. You over there, tomorrow, two betelnuts of this guy ... [*o:! yu harim haumaspela pikinini? inap ya. yu sikarapim mi. mi sikarapim yu. dispela kandere bilong mi tu. em i no larim mi tu. muxafe andiyom, muxafujoxo koti yofujaj xaf ...*]

This "uncle" refers to Badaqoe's mother's elder brother (Nunguwase clan), the man who shouted "Stop it!". Among the Waxei, taking care of one's sister's children is regarded to be a social duty, but Badaqoe feels that the uncle inadequately took care of him. Therefore, he is suggesting

that he intends to kill "two betelnuts", that is, two of that uncle's children (Badaqoe's cousins).

Man: Don't! Give it up! [*mba, besiko!*]

Spirit: Tomorrow, it's of no use, tomorrow, you know. You, over there, you didn't take care of me when I was weak, did you? Tomorrow, no, leave me. The uncle is not thinking of me. [*xaf, mba, xaf. muxafe touniya ojotume mba ima tifyaj. xaf, nogat, maski. kandere i no tingim mi.*]

Man: That kid is not in his place, you know. It lives in my place. Anyhow I'm taking care of that kid. [*mba ojojo afaxosma otojoyasuja igo. tuwanaxo afaxosma otojoja. muxafe kobokainum dajima xotuwaja.*]

One of the children of the uncle Badaqoe is reproaching went out of Nunguwase and was adopted by the Kabindei man who spoke just now.

Spirit: It's while sleeping. Tomorrow, those guys are going to fall into the throat of a man named Yojoshuj. [*ima xaishuma. xaf Yojoshujuxo ima yogoqma ojomuya qaxuneiyajafute.*]

Yojoshuj is another name for Guxaj. To keep it secret from women, another name is used, and moreover it is pretended to be a "man". Actually, there is an implication that the spirit itself, being under Guxaj's control, is willing to swallow up and kill the cousin who is asleep.

Spirit: Women, listen well. [*togane, wokwateyom.*]

But, the women are unwilling to listen. Independently shouting "woh!", they try to disturb the spirit's utterance.

Spirit: Woh! Hah! Hah! As you may know, I'm foul-mouthed. Would be even worse in the men's house (makes a loud sound of footsteps). [*wo:! ha! ha! yupela i save. maus nogut bilong mi. long haus boi. mi save. hat olsem.*]

Woman: How many nights have I kept on sitting up till dawn! I've kept doing so. But, he did not recover. I even tried *mujajis*. But to no avail. [*ofeqe nigim oijo yaxutatejeya, igo ifa yaxutatejeya. itajan xutaya. mba, mba. mujajis owa. mba.*]

These are the words of Badaqoe's wife. Countering the suggestion that she inadequately took care of him, she asserts that she often attended to Badaqoe all through the night, and even tried therapeutic magic by using the strong-smelling bark of the *mujajis* tree. This *mujajis* spell is a common practice, even known among women, and is said to be effective only with a mild illness.

Man: I also even tried to take over your talk. I tried time and again. But, it was to no avail. [*muxafe tuwoniya ajane bujofgaj one. traim. traim. traim. traim. mba.*]

Kifoni, elder brother of Badaqoe, reveals that he tried to learn Guxaj's spell from Badaqoe.

Spirit: I've already secured a lot of spears. This is a nice meeting place. My fellows, you have a good house. Every time you gather here, you are singing a song all the time, aren't you? It's your intention to continue to do so hereafter, isn't it? What a luxury it is to have built such a house like this! [*planti spia ya. mi kisim. gutpela haus bung. gutpela haus bung bilong yupela. dispela haus singsing bilong yupela. bai i stap oltaim oltaim. dispela haus singsing bilong yupela bai i stap i stap i stap.*]

Man: I intend to demolish this big house. It will cease to exist any longer. [*ande unu bugoq akateyaja. mba ijiyodajasuja.*]

The "meeting place" refers to the house of the doktaboi (Wombogai) in which people have now gathered. Since his house is the largest in Meska, many villagers gather there and sing a wept-song every time a person dies. As Badaqoe's spirit suddenly began to talk meaningfully about the house, Iman, Wombogai's real father, had a horrid sensation and replied that he would demolish the house.

Spirit: Who will sleep (in this house)? Wombogai will go out, won't he? I'm not joking, you see? If Wombogai says that he would like to remain, I'll make his children ill. I myself will continue to make them ill. If he thinks it unbearable, all that he can do is to go out. But, I won't kill; I'll only make them ill. In any case, I'd like to kick that guy out. He must not stay. [*ofujeya xaiyajei? Wombogai bai i go? sapos Wombogai i stap. bai mi givim sik long ol pikinini. mi yet bai givim sik i go i go. bai em i les long mi. na em i go. na em i go. tasol mi no ken bagarapim. bai mi givim sik tasol. mi gat tingting bilong rausim em. i no ken i stap.*]

Man: I see. [*yatoxo.*]

Man: That's right. [*sko igo.*]

Spirit: Another man comes along from another place and gives medicine. Giving medicine is allowable, but then, I'll also come along. Oh! [*narapela man long narapela ples i kam. givim marasin. em i givim marasin. tasol mi kam yet. o:!*]

Badaqoe's grudge against the doktaboi is deep-seated. Although also due to his failure to cure Badaqoe, one can read from the words uttered here something like distrust of the very medicine itself and of white missionaries who have brought medicine with them. Because the spirit is saying that the doktaboi is a being who "must not stay", pressure will be

exerted similarly on a replacement doktaboi, even after Wombogai leaves Meska.

Man: Then, what should I say? [*an igo otobujowaja?*]

Spirit: Guys ... Do you still continue singing that song? Still intend to do so? Bajei, Odifo, Wombogai, you, my younger brothers. I, too, was brought up by my father. Yet, I've no mind to protect you, younger brother. Oh! *nainumaj!* I want a word with you too. It's what everybody says. Listen. Oh, *nainumaj!* Look, I didn't do that female ancestor thing for you, but for the other guys. I could have done it. Things were better in the old days. (Ever since) the story of the man who hardened the land (appeared) ... [*yupela ... bai yupela i gat wankain singsing mo? bai yupela i mekim? yupela ol liklik, Bajei, Odifo, Wombogai. em. nambawan han bilong papa mi kisim. mi no ken tingim ol liklik lain bilong mi. o:!* *nainumaj!* *sampela wari toktok bilong yu. ol man i save toktok long yu. yu save harim long mi. o:!* *nainumaj!* *wone, nunukeisuxo aisojofim mba ofosuya ai igo, omjomma xota. mi inap. bipo dispela i orait. bubuja ainijuxo bujom ...*]

Man: It will become possible in time, by obtaining knowledge. [*iyedajejom, sauitafejom.*]

Badaqoe says that it is to no avail to grieve by singing a wept-song. The three men called by name are real children of Iman, Badaqoe's father-in-law, and Badaqoe's "younger brothers". The "father", therefore, refers to Iman. *Nainumaj* means the Kabindei man who was referred to earlier and "that female ancestor thing" euphemistically suggests Guxaj's spell. A *tageya* stump, Guxaj's symbolic dwelling place, is a feminine noun, and it is replaced by the expression "female ancestor".

Spirit: Tomorrow, all of you, erect pillars and apply rafters. [*xaf wagaxoutouwom, xoujonaiyom.*]

At this time, there was not a good men's house, so an old private house was used as a men's house. The people who migrated from Watakataui could not afford to build one and there was also obstructive pressure from the NTM. Here, Badaqoe is ordering them to build a new men's house. People accept it as a command filled with anger at the loss of Guxaj's spell and the destruction of tradition by the NTM.

Man: We, the elderly, anyway, have such a precarious life that death may come tomorrow. [*num itajafete kokujaunum xaf neiyajanum.*]

Spirit: Yes, it's inevitable. All of you are so doomed. [*dotu mbai. omeya oshuwas.*]

Man: I know. [*yau.*]

Spirit: Since those guys threw that story of the man who hardened the heaven and earth at us, everything has gone out of order. Those which we've had from olden times are not very strong. But, what they have are strong. We haven't told our various tales to those Catholic mission guys but kept them secret, because they've labelled various tales, our tales in Papua New Guinea, as rubbish. [*undiyase fainajom, xofuna tuteijom ande omtogo ainix uxu bujom. numujo beko fum mba strongneikum. muxafe andijomiya strongei. dama dama bujofqaj ande Popi mishonujomiya afa nukejamjom. dama dama bujofqaj, Papua Niugini numujo bujofqaj, ojomeya iti omshujom, nambatu godus.*]

Man: Right, they've said so. [*yau, ojomu ya iti omshujom.*]

Spirit: Yet, it's not that they have exposed everything. All of you, plant the pith of the sago palm. [*ande mba undiyase xabosugateijom. andiyomu ya ojatametusanam.*]

Man: I also think so. It's good if we do a little; let's work. [*aniya oshuwom. om waxunjenai yabujeyom.*]

Badaque's criticism about the mission continues. Since the days before World War II, the Catholic Church, having its missionary base along the Sepik River, has gradually tried to contact the Waxeï. Although they denied "our various tales", that is, the traditional belief system as represented by spells and myths, they could not exert such an influence as to destroy the tradition. However, the Protestant NTM has assumed a definitely suppressive attitude towards spirit belief and the practice of magic in particular, so that people's repulsion to NTM is gaining in intensity. "Plant the pith of sago palm" is taken as implying advice that, by carefully protecting the tradition which is thus being oppressed from the outside, they must not let it become extinct, and some of those present began to support the spirit's talk.

Spirit: Listen carefully, you see, carefully. I'll tell you another story. Listen well. It's a story of those guys, those real ones. Woh! Hah! Hah! Hah! Kumbojujojois and Yajojois. The female ancestors in Saitunas! Your mothers! My fellow, you know the mother, don't you? Even when you become a man, you were still clinging to the mother's bones, even when you enter (the men's house), you see. When the mother dies, you are also finished. If there are eyes on your mother ... she would surely wish to see this Meska ... your ancestors hide themselves. They, I'll ... they do exist ... [*koto kwatedajeyom, koto kwatedajeyom. omom bujom dotu iyedajasko. koto kwatedaje. muxafe osujo bujofqaj, mafuj. wo: ha! ha! ha! Kumbojujojo Yajojoi. nukeis Saitunas! wasauitafe nuxo maindas. yu save mama bilong yu? yu kamap man. em. yu holim long bun bilong mama bilong yu. yu kam insait. mama bilong yu pinis. ating bai yu pinis wantaim. sapos ai bilong mama bilong yu i stap ... mama bilong yu*]

traim lukim Meska ples ... onu jo nukeis nukeja fajiyosa. em. mi ... em i stap ...]

Both Kumbojujojois and Yajojois are names of female spirits dwelling in the Saitunas River. Both spirits are thought to incarnate themselves into various species of fish, and it is said that, when any of these names are mentioned while fishing, a poor catch results. The Saitunas River has traditionally been the land of Ogufaiyo clan. Here, therefore, by talking to the Ogufaiyo man, the spirit causes him to intensely recall those female spirits. The "mother", as referred to here, is also an expression denoting female spirits. Here, without using the Waxeï language, Tok Pisin and the Kaprïman language are used. By citing the names of those well-known supernatural spirits, Badaque tries to tenaciously implant the fear of retaliation.

The spirit's talk breaks here. The possessed man unsteadily goes towards a corner and throws himself down on the floor. Badaque's spirit has gone out. Lying on his back, with one of his knees bent, the man remains in a coma, his mouth open a little. His muscles stiffen and occasionally convulse. Seemingly showing no interest in such a man, people begin to talk about other matters, such as the burial on the following morning.

"How are you going to pay charges for a canoe and petrol to carry the corpse up to the graveyard on the upper course?" cries Kesagai loudly to Amandus, Badaque's daughter and also Kesagai's wife. Amandus hesitates to answer, but nobody comes to her rescue. Lakman, an elder, says jokingly, "If so, you can bury him within the village and lay earth on him." A woman warns, "The spirit is sure to come tomorrow." "You, men, go to your doom, with only the land remaining, you see." The woman is seriously afraid of a retaliation of the spirit of the dead. "Don't say so, please," soothes the elder.

Presently, people turn to giving their memories of Badaque: "Shouldering a pig, he used to climb the ridge of Watakataui while falling on his knees." Since Badaque had weak legs, when carrying a heavy cargo, for instance, he used to walk while kneeling down to the ground. "That was pitiful, surely." "But, it's inevitable, because it's also the work of the spirit," the men mutter.

The elder abruptly begins to talk about the mission: "The Catholic Church's white people have not said that." This is a different view, in contrast to the criticism of missions spoken by Badaque's spirit. "Though those New Tribes fellows do so." Since the Waxeï's place is distant from

the missionary base, the Catholic Church is actually less influential and has not assumed a suppressive attitude. This elder, too, is generally friendly to the Catholic Church. However, he assumes a different attitude toward the NTM which settled in an area near the Waxei. "Compared to Catholic white people, the New Tribes are no good. Though young guys are teaching them words. Dumbujoe in my clan is no exception. That guy is keeping close company with the New Tribes, not turning his face towards our customs at all." While chewing a betelnut, the men listen to the elder's talk. The children go to sleep again.

After a while, Badaqoe's wife begins weeping in a low voice—a voice descending a minor third, trailed by a sustained tone. Alone she ardently calls Badaqoe by name. Then, gradually, the other women also begin to cry with tears in their voices and presently the men also cry in chorus. Thus, a wept-song is resumed. About an hour or so later, the man, who has been in the coma, sits up abruptly. While waving his hands and shaking his feet frequently, he strikes his palm against the floor. All those present look unconcerned, as if nothing had happened, because it is strictly prohibited to talk about the spirit's talk in front of him. The wept-song continues while taking long intervals.

After five o'clock in the morning, a megapode, the first singing bird, begins to call. With this as a signal, people stop singing a wept-song. In the grey of the morning, five to six men carry the coffin out of the house, place it on a canoe, and go to the graveyard, situated a little inward from the mouth of the Weisas River. Those remaining separately return to their respective houses and the funeral vigil ends.

Among the Waxei, it is usual that when a person dies, a spirit of the dead possesses someone and delivers an oracle about the murderous spirits. And the possession by a spirit of the dead, in most cases, occurs against the wept-songs being sung throughout the night. Or, it may be said that wept-songs are sung in order to induce the appearance of a spirit of the dead. People gather and continue to sing songs of sorrow. A wept-song is also likened to a "fire" burning in the dark. Eventually, one by one, those who are tired from weeping and tired from singing enter into a dream. This very state of dreaming, into which people are induced through darkness, weeping, and song, is an optimum situation for communicating with a spirit. And, by the spirit's emergence, a "fire" is "stamped out" temporarily.

After all, Badaqoe's spirit did not concretely mention the name of a person who drove him to death. However, expressions forming the basis

for conjecture are seen here and there. For example, "attacked ... from both sides" by "my in-laws", "Baishumei members", "was there on the upper course", "Miyojomafuj", "tageya stump", "nomis seed", "kogumog" which refers to one's sister's husband or wife's brother, etc. To the Waxei, these fragmentary words alone are enough to identify the murderous spirit. Any incident which became the cause for incurring a grudge is wholly linked to the dead through their kinship relation and most people have an approximate common knowledge concerning such incidents in the past which are related to the dead. On the following day, when I asked several persons for confirmation, it was found that, in Badaqoe's case, halfway through the spirit's talk, agreeing views about the murderous spirit had been obtained. Interpretations are presented in figure 5.

Firstly, I was told that people recognised one of the murderers when the clan name Baishumei was clearly mentioned. Badaqoe had a younger sister named Amangifa. After getting married to Yoenao belonging to the Baishumei, she repeatedly committed adultery with Rawai of Fogosei clan. Naturally, she was little concerned with taking care of her husband. Yoenao, having even been in want of daily food, soon died of illness at an early age. Later, when Amangifa and Rawai died of a venereal disease, there was no revelation that the spirit of Yoenao murdered the two. Yoenao's grudge was directed to Badaqoe, the real elder brother of Amangifa. This is thought to be one of the causes of the current death. This interpretation was verified also from the fact that the spirit later used the term *kogumog*, which refers to one's sister's husband or wife's brother. Yoenao is Badaqoe's younger sister's husband, his *kogumog*.

Furthermore, Badaqoe's spirit stressed again and again that *bunotus* (in-law) is the murderous spirit. This term is a collective noun and since the spirit clearly told in an earlier part of the talk that its in-laws "attacked me from both sides and speared me", people thought that, besides Yoenao, there is still the more murderous spirit of Badaqoe's in-law. Thus the name Wombonapon came to the fore. Once, there was an incident that when his uncle, Bonsai, was trying to steal taro and bananas from the garden of Ugushui, Badaqoe's father, he was caught and speared to death by Ugushui. Bonsai's grudge against the murder was taken over by his nephew, Wombonapon, who took revenge this time on Badaqoe, Ugushui's son. Badaqoe's wife is Wombonapon's mother's child, the result of her remarriage, and is considered Wombonapon's younger sister. That is, to Badaqoe, Wombonapon is also his in-law (wife's brother).

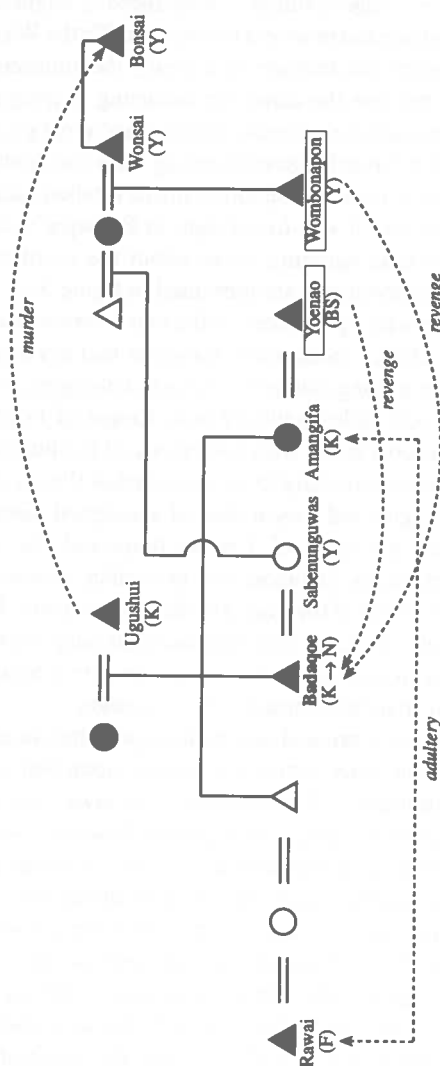


Figure 5: Interrelations of grudges surrounding Badaqoe. \triangle denotes male, \circ denotes female; \bullet and \bullet denote the dead. Letters attached to each person's name represent an abbreviation of their clan name (e.g., BS = Baishumei, BG = Bagisei, etc.) and \rightarrow shows a change of clan due to adoption. Note that the position of siblings does not correspond to the order in which they were born. These remarks also apply to the other figures showing the interrelations of grudges.

A spirit which possesses a human being talks almost one-sidedly, and often puzzles people by telling lies or talking ambiguously. Sometimes, a spirit, getting excited with intense anger, even pounces on those around it with a spear or stick in hand. At such times, people do not trust the spirit's talk, saying that it is 'confused like a dog or pig' (*sakisa yuj, sakisa fogoq meimoja*). When the spirit's talk gets confused, people feel at a lost as to its interpretation. What is important is how people, receiving the spirit's talk, are convinced of it. The oracle as to which sort of spirit committed murder and the presumption about grudge relations inquiring why it committed murder, must be clearly linked to each other. From my observational knowledge, it seems that, in this case of Badaqoe's spirit, it spoke relatively clearly and mildly, and it was easy for people to identify the murderous spirit and presume the reason. It is rare, however, and the spirit's emergence seldom ceases with the possession of a human being alone. When people are not convinced of the talk of the spirit which possesses a man, they proceed to setting another stage, so to say. By preparing a bamboo, they induce possession of it by a spirit.

2. POSSESSION OF A BAMBOO

On 6 September 1986, a male baby (about three months old) named Momboui died. According to my observation, it appears that the baby made his bronchitis worse and, with the throat being choked with nasal mucous, it suffocated to death. About a week before his death, the baby stayed in the mountains along the Lower Weisas River, taken along by the parents who went to help their friend's canoe making. It is said that, one morning the mother took the baby with her to get sago starch. When they returned to their bush hut in the afternoon, the baby suddenly fell ill. Together with their baby on the canoe, the parents hastily returned to the village. However, in spite of their care, the baby breathed his last in the evening two days later.

As in the case of Badaqoe, the weeping of the parents and relatives begins soon and at night people gather so that wept-songs are sung. Then, at about two o'clock at night, the spirit of the baby's maternal grandfather's younger brother (died 1982) possesses a man and begins talking to reveal a spirit which killed the baby. However, the talk of the spirit of the dead at this time is conspicuously confused. Just after it tells that a spirit of the dead of Ogufaiyo clan was killed, it says that that this a lie, and mentions the name of a Gesei clan man, but then soon denies it. Or, it bawls out that the death was due to the baby's paternal grandfather or, by

disclosing the history of murders committed by another spirit of the dead quite unrelated to the baby, it also sets the relatives of those murdered on to revenge. Furthermore, by citing the name of a supernatural spirit dwelling in a riverside rock, the spirit also tells that, because the baby's mother stamped that rock, the spirit got angry and ate the baby. Later, it is to be known that part of what the spirit talked about at this time is true, but the atmosphere of the place was such that all those present were very perplexed at which words they should trust. To make matters worse, the evil-doings of this possessing spirit when alive are well-known (what can be said for sure is that he committed adultery with at least three married women) and also, because of this, all those present could not believe what this spirit said.

Therefore, in the evening of the next day, they cut a few pieces of bamboo about three metres long and, after gouging out the nodes, bring them into the house where the baby lived. Here and there, the floor and walls of the house have gaps, made haphazardly by the parents with sticks. Then, they insert a bamboo into a hole near the centre of the stilted floor and stand it against the rim of the hole, while a fragment of an old canoe (c. 30 cm wide and 150 cm long) is placed on the ground and enclosed with a fence of sago palm leaves.

At about eight in the evening when the sun has set and it is completely dark all around, the villagers come together. The men squash together on the house's floor, while other women sit surrounding the house. In the centre of the house, both the baby's mother's elder brother and mother's elder sister's husband sit while lightly grasping the bamboo with both hands. An elder scolds away noisy young men, and children are driven far away. Silence continues in the darkness. Even after about thirty minutes, no motion of the bamboo is seen.

Presently, men, who have grown tired of waiting, begin to grumble:²⁰

Man: Don't flash a torch. Use fire. [*tos anda akateyom. yoxos.*]

Man: Light a match. [*masis iyane.*]

Man: My ancestor, please come yourself and give a talk specifically about the child. Now, we can't make out what it's all about.

[*tumbuna, tuniya yai ima bujom bujomajina. sakisa meimonum.*]

20. The descriptions that follow reproduce about two-thirds of the dialogue of people with spirits, made for about an hour the evening Momboui died. Although the utterances were translated almost word for word, some parts which are extremely confused are omitted for reasons of space. For the complete text, see Yamada (1989).

However, there is no response. Again silence. After a while, another man calls:

Man: Talk properly, please. I've various things to inquire about. [*wabujo wade, dotu xofunaidajun.*]

Man: Damn, I feel frightened of staying here in the centre. [*tarangu. mi pret long namel.*]

Man: I'm also scared of the bamboo. [*mi pret long mambu ya.*]

Man: Do talk, please, by using this (= bamboo). [*oshuwa ima bujom andij.*]

All those present wait with bated breath, but the bamboo still remains motionless. The dead baby's father says forcefully:

Father: Please talk to us human beings. We've gotten so tired of waiting. [*imajomte wabujo ima bujom. num teitojo mafunum.*]²¹

The bamboo, as if responding to these words, begins to clatter while going and coming back along the floor's opening.

Man: That guy, being scared, is shrinking. [*man i slek nau ya.*]

Just when the bamboo begins to move, one of the two men holding the bamboo, releases his hold out of dread. The man remaining (elder brother of the baby's mother) also shrinks back and is tempted to release his hold on the bamboo. The bamboo has gradually gathered strength. Promptly the elder says:

Man: My fellows, blow on the fire. [*yoxom uyafujoteyum.*]

Man: (Strike,) slowly. [*isi.*]

When the spirit's anger is intense, the bamboo may leap up so that those around may get hurt. So, by blowing on the fire and brightening the room, they try to soothe down the spirit's power, but the bamboo's motion does not lessen. No sooner does it stop for an instant than it begins to regularly strike hard against the canoe fragment placed on the ground.

Man: My fellows, ask a question. [*wanajashouniyom.*]

The bamboo resumes a horizontal movement in the floor's gap and sometimes almost leaps out.

Man: Wait! Hah! [*oui! ha!*]

Man: Who has come? [*amajujeya afayu?*]

Man: My fellow, who on earth are you? [*onu, amajujeya afayu?*]

21. Track 7 on the accompanying compact disc begins here.

Man: The hard bark of the (flooring) palm has broken. [*nanguniya afanei.*]

While alternately repeating the level motion along the floor's opening and vertical percussion against the canoe on the ground, the bamboo begins to beat clan signals. First, Wesayom's signal is given, followed by Ogufaiyo's. Both are too short and are hard to catch, but indicate the possessing spirit's own father's clan and mother's clan, respectively (see figure 3 for the slit-drum signal patterns of each clan).

Man: Don't keep hiding yourself. Show yourself. [*i no i stap hait. i stap ples klia.*]

Man: My fellow, who has come? [*onu, amajujeja afayu?*]

The men hastily try to identify the possessing spirit, but it remains unclear. When confirmed later, it seems to have been the spirit of Fogoqai, the dead baby's grandfather (mother's father).

Man: It's Kokojiyufas. [*Kokojiyufas.*]

A bamboo for inducing a spirit's possession is a long bamboo called an 'evil bamboo stick' (*swoni kumaj*). A "bamboo stick" refers to a sturdy bamboo, cut off for use as a spear for hunting pigs or fish. It is said, however, that once possessed by a spirit, this word must not be used. It is thought that if a spirit notices itself being caused to possess a bamboo stick, rather than a more acceptable human body, the spirit gets angry and goes out. Here, therefore, by calling the spirit Kokojiyufas, a personification (the proper name of the bamboo which was cut off), this man tries to calm down the spirit. But this is not very effective and the bamboo's percussion remains disturbed:

Man: Oh! My ancestor, move slowly! [*o! tumbuna, sobujofe!*]

Man: The fire is too close. That fellow may kick it away. It's better for another man to hold that (bamboo). [*yoxos xaitobi mafe ojosa. emi save kik ya. andij omojeja ai.*]

Man: Should all of us stand up? [*oftoqoinum?*]

Man: No, keep sitting. [*mba, ofejonum.*]

Man: My fellow, ask whatever talk you like. [*dama bujom wanajashouni.*]

Father: You, over there, please tell me the name of the person who shot my child to death. [*dimaj, waxutanajatu noju ufam oje yukuj.*]

The bamboo begins to strike Ogufaiyo clan's signal. The last stroke is percussed particularly hard, as if showing anger:

Father: I see. [*you.*]

Man: That guy is angry. [*nambojuja.*]

The percussion then changes to Wesayom clan's signal:

Man: You mean that woman who fell into the river? [*saka gwajunes?*]

Father: No, it's Sumondoui. Wait, wait, do wait. [*Sumondoui tojo. oui, oui, oui.*]

Man: What's that guy saying? [*man ya tok wanem?*]

Man: The throat is thinking, you know. [*yogoquya skeyo.*]

Father: Did this guy commit murder? [*muxa dubajeya ofo?*]

Responding to the father's inquiry, the bamboo strongly strikes the canoe on the ground once, making a sound "gon!" Such a sound is said to show an affirmative reply, 'yes'. "The throat is thinking" means the spirit's thought. Incidentally, the concept *yogoq* which refers to 'throat' also involves such meanings as the spirit's 'life' or 'inside'.

Father: You don't mean anyone else, do you? [*omo mba?*]

To this inquiry, this time the bamboo goes and comes back twice along the floor's opening and makes a clattering sound "kata-kata". This conveys a negative, 'no', while "kata" means 'yes'.

Man: Was it done by a member of the same village? Is there any other? [*yofunai tobis? i gat man i stap?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [*yes.*]

Man: Did those guys murder conspiratorially? [*ol i putim wantaim?*]

Bamboo: Kata! [*yes.*]

Man: Now, you are free to talk, as we are listening attentively. I mean those guys who conspired with that fellow, you see. [*nau yupela i ken tok. mipela i ken harim gut. muxafujte poromaniyukum.*]

"That fellow" refers to Sumondoui who was mentioned earlier by name. At this point of time, however, it has not yet been definitively concluded that he is a criminal. Being called by the man, the bamboo begins to strike Gesei clan's signal. It is likely to be the signal of an accomplice:

Man: Strike more, please. [*faeja.*]

Man: I can't grasp it well. [*nogat.*]

Father: Is it the signal of yagaq (rainbow lorikeet, Gesei clan's symbol)? [*yaga noju?*]

Bamboo: Kon! [*yes.*]

Man: You're telling a lie, aren't you? [*muj najamojoyum?*]

Bamboo: Kon-kon! [*no.*]

Man: It's yagaq, isn't it? [*yagaq?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [*yes.*]

Man: Done by them ... [*dijomi nainte.*]

The bamboo begins to continuously strike the canoe on the ground regularly:

Man: Ask about the mother's line. [*miyojis wanajashouniyom.*]

Man: Strike about the mother's side. [*miyojisma waxutaiuni.*]

Gesei, indicated by *yagaq*'s signal, is the clan of the father of a person who appears to be a murderer and, in the next occurrence, the mother's clan is requested. The spirit's percussion, as in the case of a man's slit-drum signal percussion, is performed in the order of father's clan signal, then mother's clan signal. The bamboo immediately begins to strike Ogufaiyo's clan signal.

Man: Oh, I see. [*e:m tasol.*]

Man: It's Yafosube. [*Yafosube tasol.*]

From the combination that the father is Gesei and mother is Ogufaiyo, people specify a man named Yafosube. The bamboo begins very strong continuous strokes on the canoe on the ground. When the name of the murderous spirit is conveyed to people, the spirit often expresses intense anger in this way. Furthermore, the bamboo leaps up so violently that it almost jumps out of the floor's gap. The men around desperately jump at it and hold it down.

Man: Another one. Hand over another one. [*omuj, omuj fainaja.*]

Man: How strong it (= the spirit's power) is! [*nambi nambi.*]

The bamboo resumes a continuous striking again.

Man: Where have you placed (it)? [*deti ojetayum?*]

Man: It stands up there outside. [*dufuja yujo afakajoxotanum.*]

Man: It must be there in the corner. [*em i mas i stap long kona.*]

When the spirit goes on with strong continuous percussion, the bamboo's tip cracks, making it difficult to hear sounds. It must then be quickly replaced by another bamboo. Here, without using the word "bamboo" so as to prevent exciting the spirit, people begin to prepare a new bamboo. The bamboo begins to continuously strike the floor's opening.

Father: Talk about my child, please. [*ima bujom wabujoxaneyom.*]²²

This time, it continuously strikes the canoe on the ground.

Father: Do you mean that Andajamais, you see, who that guy had intercourse with? [*andi Andajamaisuya ofo, omo muxa bugosateya?*]

22. Track 7 on the accompanying compact disc concludes here.

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

Man: Are you talking about Tibis? [*ating, Tibisuxo bujosa?*]

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

Man: Did that man from before murder the baby? [*muxa lapunnujeya ofoyanda andi ojuq, sufuji ojuq?*]

Bamboo: Kata! [yes.]

Man: That is, do you mean revenge? [*sakisa bekim?*]

Bamboo: Kata! [yes.]

Yafosube is a man who committed adultery with a married woman named Tibis (also known as Andajamais), got a venereal disease, and died unmarried. Tibis is the dead baby's mother's elder sister and she also died of a venereal disease before long. It is known that, this time, Yafosube, having a grudge against Tibis, retaliated against the baby, her nephew (see figure 6). Thus, in many cases in which a spirit possesses a bamboo, reasons for retaliation are concretely inquired into.

Father: How deplorable! Aren't all of you ashamed? Where do you think I am? On the side of Gesei, you know. You have no intention of hanging your head in shame before me. [*igo anda, mba iyandayasuyom? deti otojoya? sait Geseima otojoya. yupela i no sem long mi ya.*]

Bamboo: Kata! [yes.]

Burning with indignation, the baby's father vents his anger against Yafosube and others concerned. Like himself, Yafosube belongs to Gesei clan. Yet, due to such shameless deeds as adultery, he led himself to

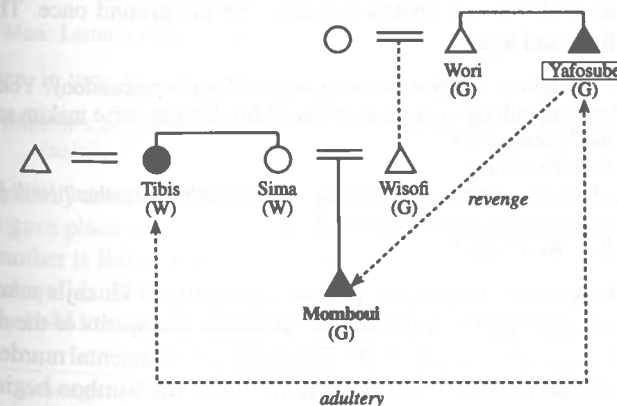


Figure 6: Interrelations of grudges surrounding Momboui (1). A dotted line linking parents and a child represents an adoption.

murdering a child of the same clan. Thus, the father is crying shame on them. The bamboo commences continuous percussion:

Man: Is this all? [*muxa bujo dubasa?*]

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

Man: There may be more to talk. [*omo bujom ojomuya ijiyodajas.*]

Man: I also think there is something more, below, you see. My fellows, you must know that Wisofi is on the side of Gesei. Why have you done this for all that? [*i gat sampela samting. ating. i stap aninit. yupela i save Felix em i stap long sait Gesei. danda iti ofoyum?*]

The man talks to Yafosube and other murderous spirits:

Father: Neither the name of my dog nor the name of my pig, I have not inherited from any side (but from Gesei). Yet to be treated so badly. How can it be? [*anajo yufam, fogofam, mba detijo kosma aneyasuya. mekim olsem. em i rong tru ya.*]

Man: These fellows may be telling a lie. [*sabujom andum.*]

It is thought that several spirits of the dead have gathered around the bamboo, particularly under the floor. One of them possesses the bamboo and performs percussion; when it is over, another spirit enters in turn. Therefore, although the possessing spirit is always alone, this spirit and those concealed under the floor are collectively referred to in the plural, e.g., "these fellows". The bamboo performs continuous percussion again:

Man: These fellows must still have more to say about the child. [*ima bujo mafum ojom andujomma.*]

The percussion pattern of the bamboo changes. After striking the floor's opening several times, it strikes the canoe on the ground once. This is repeated time and again.

Man: My fellow, are you imitating that (= Guxaj's percussion)? You have something to say, haven't you? [*iindi piksa oniya makim em o? ima bujom dim?*]

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

Man: Did those spirits under Guxaj's control gather together? [*indi hap afaiyogosuya afainubasa tiya?*]

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

When translated literally, the phrase "spirits under Guxaj's control" means 'those who partly obtained life'. It means that spirits of the dead, into whom vital power was given by Guxaj as the fundamental murderous spirit, murdered the baby conspiratorially. Then, the bamboo begins to strike Ogufaiyo clan's signal:

Father: I mean that clan. The clan of the source, you see. That of those guys, I mean. Has that guy come along together with that owned by them? [*wanpela sait em i toktok. nambawan sait. samting bilong ol ya. em i kam wantaim samting bilong ol yet?*]

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

The baby's father, as he presumed earlier, thinks that Ogufaiyo's Sumondoui is one of the criminals. Ogufaiyo is the only clan owning a wood carving in the shape of Guxaj. This wood carving is a symbolic dwelling place for Guxaj and, being installed in the men's house, it is said to have power of control there. Thus, Sumondoui, having been invigorated by Guxaj (his wood carving) of his own clan, came along together with it to murder the baby.

Man: In that way the battle continues. That fellow (= Guxaj) forces a battle. [*iti ijiyodajeya paiti. muxafujeya paiti.*]

The bamboo continuously strikes the floor opening and stops percussion before long. Silence for a while.

Man: My fellows, put one question after another. [*yupela. kolim askim askim i go yet.*]

Then, suddenly, violent percussion begins:

Man: Please talk precisely. Don't get angry. [*bujo majina ima bujos. ishuwaxune fabikhet tafeya.*]

The bamboo begins to strike Wesayom clan's signal. The men get confused and stir.

Man: Listen to the percussion. [*harim garamut.*]

Then, in turn, Baishumei's clan signal is indicated:

Man: It's a signal of *mombukij* (= imperial pigeon). [*mak bilong isojojiq.*²³]

It is likely that during the short silence a little while ago, the possessing spirit gave place to another. As a dead person whose father is Wesayom and mother is Baishumei, the dead baby's grandfather's paternal cousin, Bajindoqoi, is mentioned. The bamboo leaps up violently and the men hastily hold it down:

23. Although some Waxei men say *isojojiq* is the rufescent imperial pigeon (*Ducula chalconota*), others say *isojojiq* is another name for *mombukij* (purple-tailed imperial pigeon; *Ducula rufigaster*). The latter interpretation is also supported by identification of Baishumei clan through the slit-drum signal.

Man: Do it more slowly! [*sobujof futo!*]

Man: My fellows, don't be scared! [*anda tufujayom.*]

The bamboo goes on with loud continuous percussion and jumps up again:

Man: My elder brother, why are you so angry? [*nanaiq, nambouj biyotne?*]

A man who is Bajindoqoi's *nainumaj* (classificatory sibling)—mothers of both belong to the Baishumei clan—calls. Not responding, the bamboo goes on with continuous percussion:

Man: Dad, although you seem to be very angry, you don't have any consideration for those babies, do you? [*oni bikhetafene, andi shubujeojum ojomda mba sketayasune?*]

This is said by Bajindoqoi's son. He is apprehensive that, should Bajindoqoi, getting so angry, retaliate against the murderous spirits' line, his children would then be revenged in turn. The bamboo leaps up again and strikes continuously:

Man: Enough, ai! [*besiko, ai!*]

Man: Oh! You, old man, be slow. Calm down and talk precisely, please.

Talk about whatever you like for the time being. [*o:, babayo, sobujofe. sobujofe wabujo majina. on bajisuja bujom bujokun tojo.*]

Man: For what reason did Sumondoui dare finish off his cousin's child? [*Sumondouiya ima bujoute ofoja gaxeimuquxo aisojofij rausim miyoja?*]

The baby's father is Sumondoui's mother's elder brother's son. Because the bamboo cannot speak the reason in words, there is no direct response to this inquiry. The question must always be put in the form of asking yes or no:

Man: Tell us about the child after thinking well. [*ima bujom sketaya bujoni.*]

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

The bamboo begins to show Wesayom clan's signal and then Bagisei clan's signal:

Man: It's *bajiq* (= hornbill which signifies Bagisei clan). [*bajiq.*]

Man: You mean Sogumo's case? [*Sojumo'suxo bujosa?*]

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

The bamboo continuously strikes the canoe hard:

Man: Calm down, please. So did Sumondoui get angry? [*isi isi pastaim. olsem na Sumondoui i belhat?*]

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

Man: So that fellow killed the child, didn't he? [*olsem na em i bagarapim liklik mangi ya?*]

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

Father: It's not that we human beings are confused, we understand well. My fellow, don't make us confused. That issue has long been known to us. [*imatum mba meimonum, sauitafunum ah. om mba meimonum. stori holim pinis na i stap.*]

Still the bamboo goes on with continuous percussion.

Man: You mean to say that she is to blame, don't you? You are kind enough to inform me correctly, aren't you? [*osiya poudajas, iti oshuwa. mba sauitafudajasnum?*]

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

Man: That girl exhibited an aversion, that girl, didn't she? [*mangiyomusuya bikhetafe, muxa andusa?*]

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

Father: Wait, don't make me confused. [*mba, oui, paulim yubaj.*]

Man: That girl, you know, who is attending school, not the one in the bush. [*muxa skulaiyojosma otojosa, mba bidioma otojosa.*]

The series of questions and answers are related to the cause due to which Sumondoui cherished a grudge (see figure 7). About a year ago, Sumondoui's younger brother wished to have a girl 13 or 14 years of age named Sogumo's for his son's wife and he proposed to her. However, still attending primary school, she declined by saying that she was not old enough. So, Sumondoui's spirit got angry and revenged himself upon the

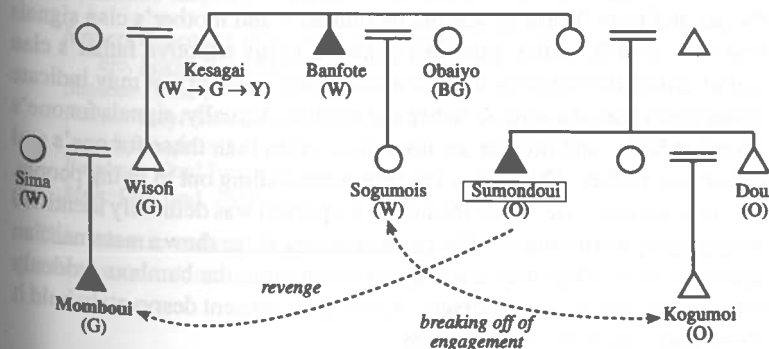


Figure 7: Interrelations of grudges surrounding Momboui (2)

baby, a son of Sogumois' uncle (father's elder brother). The signals of Wesayom and Bagisei struck by the bamboo denote the clans of this Sogumois' father and mother.

Man: Your talk is over with this one? [*muxa bedi bujo dubasa?*]

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

Man: Have you nothing more? [*omo ima bujom mbateya?*]

Bamboo: Kon-kon! [no.]

Man: What this guy (= possessing spirit) says is random. Not telling the facts. [*em i tok paul nabaut ya. em i no tok stret.*]

Man: Concealing, concealing something. [*karamapim. em i karamapim tok.*]

Father: Imagine yourself in our place. Your reply is not good. Shall we end now? [*omeya wasketayom numda. bekim. em i no gutpela. maski long dispela taim?*]

Bamboo: Kon! [yes.]

Here, there is a little pause. In the meantime, the possessing spirit again seems to have given place to another. The bamboo begins to strike a new signal:

Man: Ah! Who is this guy? [*a: wanem dispela man ya?*]

Father: Duwis (= crowned pigeon signifies the Fogosei clan)? [*duwis?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

The bamboo continues to strike Fogosei's signal:

Father: Ah! Sima's father has come. [*a: Simasuxo aitamujeya afayu.*]

Bamboo: Gon-gon-gon-gon! [emphatic yes.]

The bamboo's continuous loud percussion like this expresses an emphatic affirmation. The newly-possessing spirit is Fogoqai, father of Sima (the baby's mother). After his first appearance, he now appears for the second time. While it was his real father's and mother's clan signals that were struck earlier, this then changed to his adoptive father's clan signal. Since the signal is for announcing one's identity, it may indicate either one's real or adoptive father and mother. Actually, signals for one's adoptive father and mother are used more often than those for one's real father and mother. This is also the case when calling out to living people. As in the current case, when the name of a person was definitely identified simply by a paternal signal, it became unnecessary to show a maternal clan signal as well. After loud continuous percussion, the bamboo suddenly leaps up and begins to go berserk. All of those present desperately hold it down and return it to where it was:

Father: More slowly, slowly, you see, old man, hoy! [*sobujofe sobujofe tumbuna oi!*]

Man: Don't get excited! [*yupela i no ken hat.*]

Father: Calm down, calm down! [*sobujofe sobujofe futo!*]

Man: What a mess we're in! Many spirits will come in and destroy the house in the end. It'll have to be repaired tomorrow. [*mba waduj. planti pasendia i kam insait. ol i brukim haus. tumora bai yupela wok ya.*]

Now the bamboo begins to go and come very violently along the floor's opening:

Father: Old man, more slowly! Please talk calmly. I would like to listen carefully. [*tumbuna, sobujofe! ima bujom wabujo majina. an faukwate majinaya futo.*]

Man: My fellow, are you angry? [*bikhetafune?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: Because those guys killed Sima's child, so you're angry. [*Simasuxo gajiq ojomuya ofoyanda, sakisa bikhetafune.*]

Father: Did those guys also intend to finish her (Sima) off? [*osma itijom ofoyanda?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: Therefore you are angry? [*sakisa bikhetafune?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: I see, that's enough. [*yo bidiyo.*]

The bamboo's continuous percussion goes on:

Father: More slowly! You are so angry because you are telling real facts, aren't you? [*sobujo futo! yu bekim tru. olsem na yu hat olgeta. dispela save?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

The bamboo leaps up and repeats continuous percussion:

Father: Repeating revenge is the worst of all. It's not good. [*dokwo²⁴ ojo. bekim bek pasin. em i no gutpela ya.*]

Bamboo: Kon-kon! [no.]

Father: Hey! Do you intend to revenge by shooting to death? [*ei! bekim idajune futo?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: Oh! Dad, oh! [*o:, abej, o:wa!*]

This man is calling Fogoqai "dad" because Fogoqai is this man's maternal uncle. A maternal uncle is regarded to be equal to one's father as

24. Dokwo is in the Kapriman language.

a nephew's protector, and the same kinship term is used. The bamboo repeats continuous percussion again and again:

Man: Dad, more slowly. You see, your child, I'm sitting over here.

[*sobujofe, abej. inu gajiya, andiyaniya ijiyotakoi.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

The bamboo performs continuous percussion:

Father: Are you feeling sad about the child's death? [*sori olsem pikinini i bagarap?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: Dad, it's not that you alone are sad. [*abe, mba oni duba yufus.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: All of us. [*yumi olgeta.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

The bamboo violently strikes the floor's gap continuously:

Father: You are not thinking of your grandchildren's children, are you?

[*nu babajuxo ojujonda mba sketayasune igo?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Father: Do you mean that it does not matter so much? [*iti oshouni samting nating?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Fogoqai seems to be burning with revenge. However, one retaliation gives rise to another new retaliation. If Fogoqai takes revenge on Ogufaiyo's line, they, in turn, will counterattack in the generation of the dead baby's children:

Man: If you attack somebody then, you'll be finished off, you see. [*oni iyedajafute, iyedajun.*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: Do you mean to say that those fellows cannot retaliate? [*ol i no ken bekim bek?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: Who do you say is controlling me? Those fellows (= spirits of the dead)? Are those fellows, are they themselves controlling me? [*an ofujeya bosim? ojomuya? muxafujomiya bosim oqejomiya?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton-ton-ton! [emphatic yes.]

Man: Are you saying that I'm just like a dried *xafus* (a kind of small fish)? [*xafu dajis?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Father: Is that sweat an indication that your mother is sad? [*dispela tuhat, onujo mama gofi?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Sweat wetting the man supporting the bamboo is thought to be tears being shed by the possessing spirit or other spirits of the dead.

Man: Will she also come (to take revenge)? [*iyafus o?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: (The children's line) has not yet become extinct. That girl is alive.

There still is a small grandchild, you know. [*mba bidiyo. muxafe ojoyas. i gat liklik tumbuna i stap.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: So, calm down. [*isi pastaim.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Don't get angry so much. [*yu no belhat tumas.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Father: Are there any others who have acted badly? [*omjomite ini daunimiyojom?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: I would like to hear that person's signal. [*omujoju noju ufam faukwatenum.*]

After a short silence, the bamboo begins to perform continuous percussion which presently changes to Kabindei clan's signal percussion:

Father: My fellows, listen. [*wokwateyom.*]

Man: All right, I've grasped the father's line. Next, I would like to hear the mother's line. [*aitamekosma bej okwatenum, igo mangiyomkosma faukwatenum.*]

The bamboo begins to strike Nunguwase clan's signal:

Man: It's a flying fox (Nunguwase clan's symbol). [*kobis.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Father: I see. But, why are you so angry at that man? [*em tasol. bilong wanem yu belhat tru long dispela man?*]

The bamboo suddenly goes berserk.

Man: My fellow, who are you actually? Are you Shujujoi? [*on amaje ufate mafun? Shujujoi?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: Wisofi (baby's father) is in your own belly. Gumojiyojois (Shujujoi's younger sister) bore him, you see. [*ofujoju fanusma ojiyomja Wisofi. Gumojiyojois o?*]

Father: It's (your) father's line that did finish off, isn't it? [*em i lain bilong papa ya.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: That's why you've come to me (to take revenge), isn't it? [*olsem yupela kam long mi?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: Very good. I'll go down myself (to the world of spirits of the dead) and burn you to death. We'll fight. [no gat tok. mi go daun. yupela paia ya. mipela pait.]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: It's the asshole that appeared under the floor! [ijisiya funaje gwaji!]

Bamboo: Gon-gon! [no.]

Man: We've already buried the baby. We (Kabindei) are at an end. To hell with you! [muxa gajiq gwajuneyajas. mipela pinis. yupela pekpek ya!]

From the series of talk above, it is known that the possessing spirit has given place to another. The new spirit is a spirit of the dead of Kabindei clan named Shujujoi. He is one of the ringleaders who murdered the baby. It is not rare, it is said, that a murderous spirit itself possesses the bamboo. That the "father's line" "finish(ed) off" suggests Shujujoi's father, Mungia, and Mungia's two younger brothers, Ugushui and Yubujoi (all are the dead of Kabindei) (see figure 8). The baby's father is a child of Shujujoi's younger sister, so, for Shujujoi (maternal uncle) to protect him (as a nephew) is a socially-imposed, important duty. The expression "is in your own belly" refers to this. Nevertheless the baby was murdered, so the father is red-hot with anger. Meanwhile, the Kabindei man who often utters is afraid that they, in turn, will be retaliated against. "Asshole" and "to hell with you" are among the words of greatest insult.

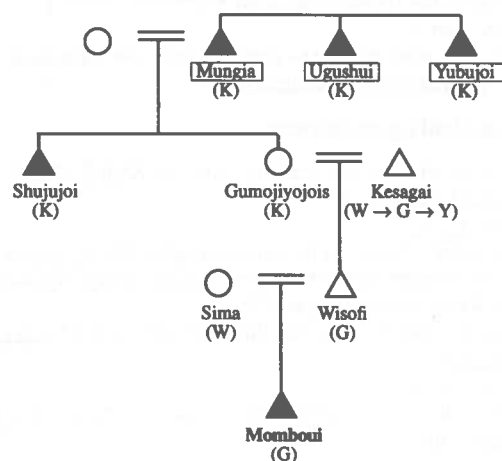


Figure 8: Interrelations of grudges surrounding Momboui (3)

Father: My fellows, have you got angry with them? With those two things they've gone and done? So did you direct your anger towards that baby? [muxaf ojonda belhate olgetayom? dispela samting ol i mekim pinis. olsem na yupela belhat olgeta long dispela mangi ya?]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

"Those two things" refer, in fact, to two affairs in which his real father (baby's grandfather) was involved. He surely has something to recall about the cause of the child's death. The details are to be brought to light later.

Man: My fellows, you came to my house yesterday, didn't you? You also came and knocked at a post of my house, didn't you? [xaf afayuwom? dini ofo yai, anajo unujma paitim miyoq?]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

This Kabindei man mentions inquiries that took place a little earlier. When Kabindei spirits of the dead came along to kill the baby, they announced their emergence to the Kabindei man by knocking at the post. He says that he surely heard that sound:

Man: Shujujoi, is that your doing? [Shujujoineya?]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Did you stand up a stick against (it)? [muja afakajom miyoq?]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Against my house? [anajo unujma?]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

The spirits of the dead came to the world of human beings by paddling a canoe and stood the paddle up against his house post. It was this sound that he heard.

Man: Why did you get angry at what your nephew cherished? [onujo gajiquxo aisojofim ojonda, ima bujomte oj belhat miyoq?]

Father: The other spirits struck those signals, two clans, didn't they?

From the slit-drum signals, the two clans were revealed, weren't they? They wrongly paid back the child. My fellows, do you intend to take revenge upon those two clans? [muxa ande noju ufam, omojom owam tupela sait ya? tupela famili wantaim i bin paitim nem bilong garamut ya? muxa saitajusa belhatim em. yupela bekim tupela sait wantaim em?]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: You really intend to take revenge, don't you? [yupela i bekim tru a?]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Being informed that his maternal uncle's line also sided with the child's murder, the father is shocked. Moreover, since he also knows the reasons which may deserve such cruel treatment, the situation is really more than he can bear. Such being the case, he just hopes his uncle's line, as maternal relatives, will take revenge upon the other two clans (Ogufaiyo and Gesei), already mentioned:

Man: Listen, we don't think it desirable. [*harim. mipela ting i no amamas.*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: No, keep quiet! [*mba, kadeiyom!*]

Man: We also have many children. [*mipela i gat planti pikinini tu ya.*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: Shut your mouths! [*yupela pasim maus!*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: I have no one. (In Kabindei) I'm alone. I'm a root of the eagle (Kabindei clan's symbol). Really the eagle's root is only one, myself. Treating me cruelly—who on earth do you think you are? I've no one, you know. [*an mba imajomte. otojoikawa. dobi muna:s. an duba mafeya otojai dobi muna:s. on amajuniya aijonujondajuniya?*]

At about this point, the bamboo begins to strike Ogufaiyo clan's signal. However, the men, not aware of it, continue to speak:

Man: You passed away, leaving this guy (= Kabindei man). [*oniya owonexutamune muxafuj.*]

Father: What a beast! Mother's line wants to ruin me. [*no gat tok. mama i laik bagarapim mi.*]

Man: Those persons who are in your own belly, you mustn't hurt such dear ones. [*tuwonajo fanusma ijiyokun, aisojofim mba bagarapim ijiyokun.*]

Man: Real men have passed away and only shadows are hovering about. [*ima mafum naisko, xokunufas teitojai.*]

Father: It's the slit-drum's signal! [*noju ufam!*]

The baby's father takes note of the signal at last:

Man: Have you struck Ogufaiyo's signal? [*bej omi yukujoju noju ufam?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

The bamboo's percussion presently shifts to Wesayom clan's signal:

Father: It's the mother's side, isn't it? [*mama?*]

Man: Is it *dobikugesi* (brown goshawk, Wesayom clan symbol)? [*dobikuja?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Including this guy, a total of three groups finished off that baby, didn't they? [*indim muxafe, tripela grup ya nukawonume ande sufuji ojuq?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Here, the clans of the spirits of the dead which murdered the baby are organised as "three groups": Ogufaiyo (Sumondoui), Gesei (Yafosube), and Kabindei (Shujujoi, et al.). The bamboo violently performs continuous percussion:

Man: Don't become so red-hot with anger. We are frightened, you see. [*ishuwajeyom fabelhat mafenum hate. num tufujanum igo.*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: No, if you murder, then (your line) will be finished off. That's all that happens. [*mba, oniya iyedajafute, iyedajas.*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: If you (your line) are finished off, you would kill again, wouldn't you? [*oni iyedajas dotu guxaiyajune muxa tofis?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

The bamboo repeats continuous percussion.

Man: Do you intend to repeat what was done by our fathers and grandfathers (retaliation and counter-retaliation in endless succession) in the past? [*biposofofis aitajomiya nukeijomiya ofo tofis dotu guxaneyum tofis?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: Oh! The worst of all! [*o:! nogut!*]

Man: A tree cut down by you when you came along is to be shouldered by me, you know. [*omiya diyomuwo yai miyoq oju, an xaishofita.*]

Murder is also likened to cutting trees. A tree, after being cut down, becomes a burden on Kabindei clan and the surviving members must shoulder it. That is, when a spirit of the dead commits murder, those who are alive must accordingly pay for it in the end. The bamboo's continuous percussion changes in pattern and a man who sensitively notices it inquires:

Father: Hey, you! Are you someone else again? [*yu narapela man gen. a?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: The same guy who came earlier? [*wankain man ya?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: Keep talking. [*ima bujom wabujoxane.*]

Father: Are you the same ancestor? [*tumbuna dubaj?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: Are you dad? [*abej?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

The nephew of Fogoqai, who possessed the bamboo earlier, asks. Thus, it is known that Fogoqai's spirit has returned to the bamboo again.

Man: Now, talk about the child. Regarding the case, strike clearly. So that we can grasp it well, you see. [*oniya oshou ima bujom bujo uxas. dotu muxa ima bujom dotu waxutamajinayom. dotu fakliaxanenum.*]

Man: Dad, strike clearly, please. [*abeyo, wade xutasakuni.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Why did that big-bellied man kill Wisofi's child? [*tujubo bugoitujuya ima bujomte abagarapim miyoja Wisofijujo gajiq?*]

The "big-bellied man" (*tujubo bugoituj*) (meaning a 'man with large intestines') refers to Shujujoi of Kabindei clan. Not replying to the man's question, the bamboo begins to strike the Yomisei clan's signal. It indicates Kesagai, the real father of Wisofi:

Man: Father (Kesagai) did wrong, didn't he? [*em i rong bilong papa tasol ya?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: So, they got their revenge on the child (Wisofi), didn't they? [*olsem na pikinini i kisim nogut?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: The father didn't settle the matter with the child, did he? [*papa i no save stori pastaim. givim pikinini?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: You mean those fellows. I see. Dad, your confession is highly appreciated. [*andi imajomte. andi abej, wade xofunane tujo.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: It was because that fellow (Kesagai) married the mother's line, the enemy's side, that those guys (= spirits of the dead of Kabindei clan) ruined that child, wasn't it? [*indi muxafuj ojom ofom bagarapimiyomsko, igo tojujo birua kosma ofeja?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: Well, do you mean to say that it's because that guy is on Yomisei's side? [*iti ofshou, Yomisei kosma otojoja?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Isn't it because he followed Yandajujois' (Kesagai's real mother's) path? [*Yandajujoisuxo yagatuj xoitija?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: Is it because that girl (the third wife of Kesagai) was brought up (by Yomisei's woman)? [*om oshuwam, motus xotujus?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: So, did they get revenge on Wisofi? [*Felixma ofoja?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

A wife is chosen from the maternal grandmother's or paternal grandmother's line. Each way is expressed as following the "mother's path" or "father's path", respectively. Since a wife's clan, irrespective of whether she is on the maternal grandmother's or paternal grandmother's side, is a partner to whom the husband's side must offer a bride price, it is said to be the "enemy's side". Kesagai has three wives. His first wife (Wisofi's mother, the baby's grandmother) is his mother's (Yandajujois's) mother's elder brother's daughter (younger sister of Shujujoi). His second wife is his adoptive mother's mother's niece. Both of these are legitimate cases complying with matrimonial rules and, as Fogoqai's spirit replied, these marriages do not constitute reasons for the baby's murder. One of the reasons Kesagai incurred anger lies in the manner in which he married his third wife. Although Kesagai himself was born in Wesayom clan, he was given to Gesei clan soon after his birth. After his adoptive father's death, he was furthermore incorporated into Yomisei clan. His third wife is a girl of Kabindei clan named Amandus; after her real mother's death, she was adopted by her father's younger brother. The adoptive mother is Kesagai's own daughter, belonging to Yomisei clan. Thus, this means that Kesagai married his own granddaughter. This is a practice which should be strictly avoided. So, Kabindei's spirits of the dead, getting angry with this marriage, took revenge upon the baby, Kesagai's grandchild (see figure 9).

Father: Those fellows, getting angry, banded together, I see. Then, that (Kesagai's) case has been settled, hasn't it? [*dispela ol lain i belhai na sindaun bung. na stretim dispela samting i orait o?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Now that the revenge has been done, can matters be settled if those three groups and we gather and chew betelnut together? [*sapos. dispela hevi nau kamap. dispela tripela grup na mipela i bung wantaim na kaikai buai. dispela bai kamap orait o?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

This is said by a man of Wesayom, a clan to which the baby's mother and Bajindoqoi who possessed the bamboo earlier also belong. The "three groups" (Ogufaiyo, Gesei, Kabindei) satisfied their respective grudges by murdering the baby. In turn, however, a new grudge has occurred on the baby's side and it must be resolved. It is evident that, if kept unresolved, spirits of the dead on the baby's side will again take revenge upon any members of the three groups. In a case like this, therefore, an amicable settlement, so to say, is attempted by the three groups by providing the baby's parents' side with food and a small amount of money. The statement "chew betelnut together" refers to this peacemaking. Because

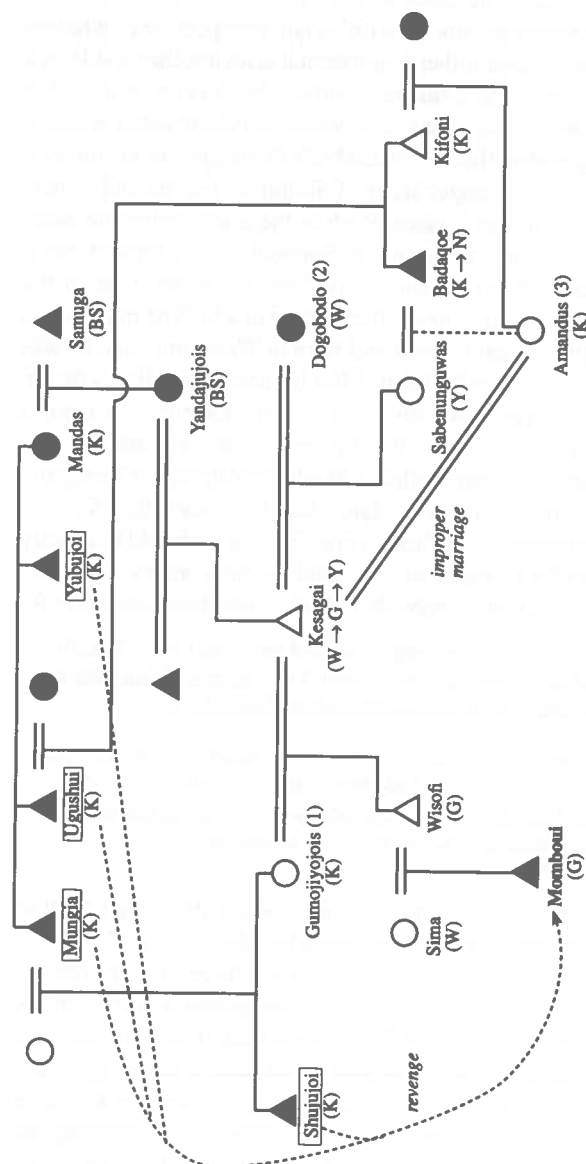


Figure 9: Interrelations of grudges surrounding Momboui (4). Numbers are attached to the names of Kesagai's wives, indicating the order of their marriage.

the murdered side had obvious causes of grudges being incurred, the food and money offered are usually small in quantity and value: e.g., a pig²⁵ and a rooster, plus K 3–4. In the current case, since the murderous spirits include a spirit of the dead of Gesei, the baby's father's clan, the Gesei members who are its relatives are to be on the side which provides food and money.

Man: Speak more loudly. I'm talking about important things. [*mba iti oni yogo bugoqe abujo. aniya abujo bujofqaj.*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: The matters can be settled (if we do so), can't they? [*wade?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

The peacemaking must be done as quickly as possible, before another new retaliation occurs. It was, however, five months later, in February 1987 that the amicable settlement for the current case was actually made.

Father: Is it you who placed a cordyline leaf there upstream? [*oniya xotatekitane mambukunus aiti xouwo?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: For what reason did you place it? Yesterday, I saw that guy trembling. [*otojoi mambunus ojoyayom? xaf aniya ofo yai wonu fojotuj.*]

The morning the baby died, a cordyline leaf with only one knot was placed on the upstream side of Wisofi's house. This is something like a letter left behind by someone who found the one to be visited absent. It is a means the Waxeï often use. However, since Wisofi had stayed in the house all the while, such a message was unnecessary. So, feeling suspicious, he trembled. The bamboo, which was performing continuous percussion without replying to the man's inquiry, suddenly strikes hard once:

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: Do you mean that you would not take revenge? [*ol i no bekim?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: Old man, don't tell a lie, please. [*mba sabuni, tumbuna, iti andai.*]

Man: After all, all of you will get revenge on each other, won't you? [*dimiyo naxanei naxaiyoxa bujom tojo?*]

25. The pig here is not a wild pig, but a domestic one. As the pig has been reared by humans, its blood is thought to be clean. On the other hand, a wild pig is abominated as its blood is polluted from eating wild sago palms and sago grubs. For the restoration of dirtied human relations, a reared pig's clean blood is required.

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Ah! None of that! [*a: giaman ya!*]

Man: To that baby, Wisofi is the source of its life, you know? Where did those coccyx guys come from, and where are they now? I'll find out. [*imajuxo oju koboqainuj Wisofi kamapim yugoq, em i stret? na dispela kujiskijom deti ojom ayajumamjomuya ojiyojujom? anu wondaja, anu otojoya.*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: Who is going to watch over the land you once stayed in? It's me. [*omi oftokeya beiyaj obu je lukautim? mi i stap.*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton-ton-ton! [emphatic yes.]

Man: I'm under a bad-eyed pig you left behind. [*toniya wonuxutame nuka dukuj fogoquxo mofiyojoiqma otojoya.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

A Kabindei man speaks to Fogoqai's spirit. Fogoqai is his maternal uncle and in a position akin to his father. Meanwhile, a "bad-eyed pig" refers to a Fogoqai's son and also the Kabindei man's maternal cousin. He is approached this way because Fogoqai's clan symbol is a pig. Also, among cousins, there is a kind of high-low relationship; in this case, the Kabindei man is positioned lower than Fogoqai's son and called by the term nephew.

Man: Where did those fellows, those shitting, big-hipped fellows murder (the child)? Where were they hiding, where did they come from, and, where, getting angry, did they finish off? [*ima muxafum, ijin mujo bugoitum, deti ofojom? deti oxotajuma, igo deti ojeyakom, na ol i belhat na bagarapim?*]

The Kabindei man inquires, but there is no reply.

Man: Don't those (Kabindei) fellows feel ashamed in front of me? [*ol i no sem long mi?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: Did those fellows kill the child for such a reason? [*indi bujofqai ojiyo ijiyofute dijom omo muxa gajinuj, dijom omo igo?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Father: Because my father (Kesagai) did such a thing, that kid (baby) has passed away ... Ah! What a bloody mess! [*papa i bin mekim dispela kain save na samting, em i go pinis ... a: mba wade ya!*]

Man: For such a reason, did those fellows, those Kabindei guys, really get angry? [*itijojoi bujosa belhat mafejom, muxafe ande, muxafe Kabindei?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Fah! (spits in an utterly disgusted way.)

Father: My fellows (spirits of the dead), you must first look at me well. I do know how to settle the matters. I knew well, but you did not leave things to me. Now, though you are hastily going to revenge it, it's never a good thing to do. [*yupela i mas lukluk long mi pastaim. mi gat save long wanem stretim i go olsem wanem. na yu no ken mekim mi. mi gat save. na yupela i hariap olsem. em i no gutpela tumas, yupela hariap olsem.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: Perhaps there's something else you'll recall? It's an affair with Bisorio's side. Because in that, too, my father is involved. [*nogut yupela i kisim belhevi bilong yupela wantaim tupela wantaim? narapela sait Bisorio. na narapela i stap wantaim papa ya.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: Does Mugeinda's case still remain as a source of ill feeling? [*Mugeindasxo bujosa sakisa bikhet tafe ainumbayom?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: So, you've also come along to me. [*olsem na yupela kam long mi.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: My father (Kesagai) is to blame. [*lapun yet i paulim nabaut.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: Ah...!

Wisofi mutters in a helpless way and directs his anger toward his father, Kesagai, who is absent (he married Amandus in July this year and has stayed in Gwargaisi ever since).

Father: Ah, my old man, shall we fight on the open ground out there? [*yu papa, tunumiya nyaxunadaje dufuja gwaji?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: I can sympathise with you. [*em i tru ya.*]

Man: You mean that it's firstly because that guy married that woman, don't you? [*iti ofshuwomwo omus afaneja tojeya?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Then, is it because he married another daughter off to the upper course, thus mystifying those around him? [*igo omus danda iti ofoja paulim iti xouwo salimuyo?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: So, with this issue they got angry, didn't they? [*igo muxa bujosasko ojomsko belhatesko?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Kesagai (grandfather of the baby) had another reason for a grudge being incurred against him (see figure 10). He was looking after a girl named Mugeinda, whom he married off to a Gaidio man living in Bisorio, without consulting Kabindei, Mugeinda's real father's clan. Moreover, he monopolised the bride price from the Gaidio side (a pig and K 30 which were

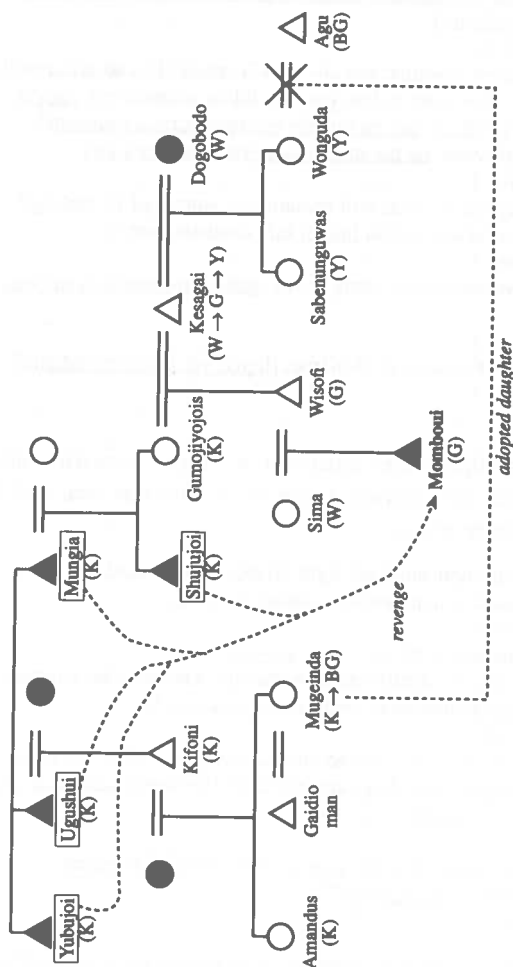


Figure 10: Interrelations of grudges surrounding Momboui (5)

provisionally paid out of the promised twenty pigs and K 200 in cash). Mugeinda is an adoptive daughter of Kesagai's daughter, Wonguda, and this daughter, having been divorced, returned to Kesagai taking Mugeinda with her. Thus, Kabindei on Mugeinda's real father's side is privileged to receive the bride price. Spirits of the dead, who are Mugeinda's grandfather and his brothers and nephews, got angry with this monopoly of the bride price, and took revenge not on Kesagai himself, but on his defenceless grandchild.

Father: If I settle up my father's misconduct, would things change for the better? Although later, you know. [*sapos mi stretim dispela man. dispela bai stret o? bihain.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Father: Aren't you telling a lie? [*nogut yupela giamanim mi?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: I once admonished that elder (Kesagai). Then, that old guy said, "Ah! To hell with that!" [*ima takoj aniya abujowa. iti ofshuja, "a! em i rabis tru."*]

Man: These guys—is that all, really? [*bedi mafum tojo?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Wait, is there any more? [*oui, ojoyabuje?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

The bamboo remains silent for a while, but suddenly very loud continuous percussion begins. Again the possessing spirit seems to have given place to another. Wesayom clan's signal is struck:

Father: I see. Then, what about the mother? [*yo:, mama?*]

In turn, Ogufaiyo clan's signal is struck.

Father: Gedobi's father, you mean? [*papa bilong Tobias a?*]

Man: No, another man. [*nogat. narapela. narapela.*]

Man: Isn't it the elder brother? [*bugojeya teya?*]

Not replying, the bamboo begins to perform continuous percussion very loudly and presently strikes Wesayom's signal again:

Father: Oh, I see, that guy! Call that guy. [*yau, wade, uta muxaneyum muxafum.*]

Man: (My) maternal uncle? [*mamuq?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: You mean that person who was buried in Ofunokubi ridge, don't you? [*Ofunokubi obujokuj?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

From these questions and answers the newly-possessing spirit is known to be Diyaqqa, Fogoqai's elder brother. He is the baby's mother's paternal uncle. The bamboo goes on with strong continuous percussion:

Man: Calm down! [*sobujofe futo!*]

Man: Must surely be getting mad. [*ating belhat mafuja.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: You've come, getting angry about the same thing, haven't you? [*yupela i kam long wankain belhat yet?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: Getting angry with those fellows, you have the same grudge, haven't you? [*yupela i belhevi tu. olsem na yupela i gat wankain belhat tasol?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Leaping up suddenly, the bamboo goes berserk. Although the men desperately try to hold it down, the bamboo's resistance is strong. At last, the bamboo is broken so that it is quickly replaced by another bamboo which had been prepared. Soon, continuous percussion is resumed:

Father: My fellows, getting angry, you've come down there under this floor, haven't you? [*muxafe hap aiyojosusa belhate xununjaneyom?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: Do you really wish to take revenge? [*yupela i laik bekim tru?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: Right now? [*nau yet?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: Oh, what a bloody mess! Aren't you thinking of your children, those who are still small kids? [*o:, sori tru. igo omojo yonujonda, ojom ojoyam ojuete, mba sketayasuyom?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Father: Not thinking? Really? Do avoid fighting. Stop. I've had enough of all that. After all, you'll find yourself in a tight corner. [*mba? tru? anda iyeyom, besiko. num abusujanum. gesketa yasketanum.*]

Without replying, the bamboo performs continuous percussion. Presently, the percussion changes to Ogufaiyo clan's signal:

Father: Right, well, I've got it. [*you, em i stret. mi save nau.*]

Man: You mean *gaisi* (sulphur-crested cockatoo, Ogufaiyo clan's symbol)? [*dubujis²⁶ o?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

The signal changes to that of Wesayom clan:

26. *Dubujis* is another name for *gaisi*.

Man: *Dobikugesi* (brown goshawk, Wesayom clan's symbol) you mean? [*dobikuja?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Are you that guy who drowned to death in the river? [*me saka gwaxuneij oniya?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

By this it becomes clear that the possessing spirit gave place to another again. Now, it is the spirit of Sumondoui, one of the criminals who murdered the baby (see figure 7). He is a man who drowned to death in the 1960s. According to the oracle at that time, he was retaliated against by a Wombio spirit of the dead and drowned to death, because of the divorce of a Waxei girl from a Wombio man on Lake Govenmas. He was a lineal nephew of the headman at that time who forcibly took the Waxei girl back to Meska.

Man: Is it the same affair as that talked about earlier? [*em i wankain stori yet?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Father: There is no other (murderous spirit), is there? [*i no gat narapela man moa?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Three lines? [*tripela lain?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Father: That is, in addition to your Ogufaiyo? [*iti otojo muxafe Ogufaiyome?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Father: Geŋei? [*Gesei?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Father: And my mother's line, Kabindei, you mean? [*orait, anajo miyojos Kabindeime?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: My fellow, your way of thinking is just like that of *wingufuj*, not of a human being. [*om wingufujujo sketas owom, mba imayom.*]

Wingufuj is a supernatural spirit which is thought to dwell in a rocky cave in the mountain, a being which is held in awe as eating an animal or human being, bones and all. Here, it is not meant that there is a direct connection between the murderous spirit and *wingufuj*, but it is mentioned by name merely as a manifestation of fear or aversion towards the supernatural spirits as a whole. The bamboo, which was performing continuous percussion, ceases to move.

Man: This guy has stopped. [*anduj tesxoj.*]

Man: It's feeling ashamed. [*anduj iyandoj.*]

Man: It does not wish (to talk) with us. [*fodujoj numte.*]

The bamboo's percussion does not resume soon. The men chat with each other over various topics. Presently, the bamboo bearer is changed by another, but percussion still does not resume. So, the new bearer is replaced by the former one. Just then, strong continuous percussion occurs:

Father: Do slowly, ai! A new guy has come. A newcomer? [*sobujofe, ai! yojijujeya afayu. yojij?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: The same guy as the one who appeared a little while ago? [*muxa bekofuj dubaj?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: The same mother's uncle? [*mamei duba?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Diyaqoqa, who appeared some time ago, has returned to the bamboo again:

Father: Are you ashamed in front of us? [*numte iyandoyomteya?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Those guys destroyed what you cherished, didn't they? [*muxa aisojofim abagarapimiyojom fojoune?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: So, feeling ashamed, you didn't speak, did you? [*sakisa iyandoune ojomte bujou mbaja?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: Do you mean that, if you take revenge and murder (those guys), you can talk with your brother's daughter's husband (= Wisofi) even now? [*oniya bekim iyedajafa, dotu bujou uxa initujte.*]

They regard the bamboo's strong continuous percussion as a manifestation of the spirit's intense anger and the bamboo's silence as a sign of the spirit being ashamed. From the spirits' point of view, they are ashamed that, due to their lack of power, they could not protect their dear relative, so, if they take revenge upon the murderous spirits' line even just now, they can talk with the baby's father without losing face. Not replying to the inquiry, the spirit commences percussion of *gangaiq*, meaning death. This means a manifestation of retaliation.

Man: Don't tell a lie. [*mba sabukanine.*]

Gangaiq continues:

Man: The percussion of death, you mean? [*gangaiq owom?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: Myangai's daughter was almost going to be drowned, as you know, and I would like to ask about it. [*Peterjuxo motus fagwaxunesa, muxa bujom najashouninum.*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Father: That girl is unrelated, isn't she? [*muxafe hapaiyogo dubasuya, dotu wade ijiyofe ofshou?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

This morning (i.e., the day following the baby's death), the young daughter of a Gesei man named Myangai almost drowned in the river, but was rescued as her mother soon noticed. Wisofi wonders if this incident was attempted by Diyaqoqa and others wishing to retaliate against Gesei.

Father: Many guys, having an eye (to the baby), dashed along, didn't they? [*tojiyatojoim ofnojiyanda, oli kam stret tasol?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: Many flocked together? [*planti man i bung?*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: I see ... so, getting angry, my fellows, you are going to give tit for tat ... they are surely the worst of all. [*em i orait ... belhat na yupela bekim tru ... dispela lain oli nogut tru.*]

Man: Terrible! That's abhorrent to me. [*mi pret. mi no laikim.*]

Father: I'm also afraid. [*mi tu mi pret tru ya.*]

The bamboo begins to beat the pulse regularly at a slow tempo. It represents a sound made when canoeing, when the paddle hits the surface of the water:

Father: There! They come while paddling (the sound comes into hearing). Did those guys come while paddling (a canoe)? [*em. oli pul i kam nau. oxoyajum?*]

Bamboo: Kata! [yes.]

Father: And came along to this place? [*aiti ojeajom?*]

Bamboo: Kata! [yes.]

Man: Came along following this guy Wisofi? [*muxa Felix xoitujunajom?*]

Bamboo: Kata! [yes.]

Man: Tagged along? [*xoiya xoitijom?*]

Bamboo: Kata! [yes.]

The murderous spirits, while tagging behind the Wisofi family which was going home after helping the canoe making, came along to Meska while paddling a canoe. Incidentally, spirits possessing the bamboo are also thought to come by canoe. The canoe's fragment placed under the floor is a symbolic device for invoking the possessing spirits.

Father: But you left them alone. You should have disturbed them. Were you in some other place? [*omeya mba ofsusiyom. watejafonusiyom. bobujo oftojoyom?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Father: I see. Then, it may be better for you to tell us in this way.

There's nothing one can do about the murder (of the baby), but it's all right (as you would give tit for tat). [*ya:, tojo. iti ofshujom, wade tojo, ojomuya bej.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Father: So you were watching in silence, with such an air as to say that, as you'll take revenge in any case, do it if they can. By the way, do you really mean to give tit for tat? [*sakisa owontekmayom ojom, wade, induwom, omojo imam wayum tojo. bai yupela bekim tru?*]

Not replying, the bamboo begins to perform feeble continuous percussion:

Man: You know, this guy seems to be going. [*dijeya neiyaxuja.*]

Man: Are you going to leave? [*neiyom?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Hearing this, the men tell the young men sitting around the bamboo to withdraw because they must not obstruct the bamboo being possessed by the spirit from descending below the floor:

Father: This guy will go. [*muxa anduj i go.*]

But, the bamboo shows no changes in motion.

Father: Well, he only talked nonsense. [*muxa ambushu afabujounum.*]

Man: Please talk after thinking well. [*oniya sketayas wabujo tojo.*]

Father: Did *sagaiq*, which was hiding itself, also take (the child's) life that way? [*sagaiquya iti aibaj nukeja ofoja?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Sagaiq is a generic term for supernatural spirits which are thought to dwell on or in the riverbed or riverside rocks. The spirits (i.e., spirits of Diyaqoqa and Fogoqai's younger brother) which possessed human beings in the previous night, told that this *sagaiq* also conspired with the murderous spirits. However, since the possessing spirits' talk was confused, people were not convinced of it. In this way, therefore, they tried to derive exact confirmation from the bamboo-possessing spirits. According to what was said by the spirits which possessed human beings on the previous day, this *sagaiq* is a spirit called Shunojmafujaj which dwells in a rock on Shunojutus River (a tributary of the Weisas). Since the mother, taking her with the baby, went for sago starch, lost her way, and passed across this rock to which access is prohibited, she incurred the spirit's

anger so that the weak baby was attacked. People interpret that the reason the baby suddenly fell ill in the forest was due to this spirit's attack, and Shunojmafujaj summoned the said three groups of spirits of the dead, causing them to follow by canoeing, and the spirits of the dead dealt the final blow at Meska.

Man: Then, do you, maternal fellows, know the way along which you take (the baby) with you? [*andi muxa miyojis i save yajatujma afanei?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

A spirit of the dead is believed to go to the world of spirits through a route which exists somewhere under the ground. However, since a spirit of a baby, for example, cannot find the way out by itself, it is necessary for someone to guide it to the world of spirits. Since the world of spirits is thought to exist in a mountain (the specific mountain differs from clan to clan), it is usual to think that, as such a guide, a spirit of the dead of the same clan, that is, a spirit of a paternal relative is suitable. Hence, apprehension was aroused as to whether the spirits of maternal relatives (Wesayom clan) including Diyaqoqa knew the way leading to the world of spirits of Gesei clan to which the baby belongs:

Man: Since those guys did not finish off (the baby) without reason, do give up (retaliation). [*mba ambushu ofoshujom, inap olsem.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Now that we've thus heard the definite replies, we are sad enough. [*dinum ofefa okwate klia tok bek. mipela i kisim krai pinis.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Don't get so angry any more. [*yupela i no belhat tumas a?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: You are kind enough to think of us too, aren't you? [*tingim mipela tu?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: We won't become extinct. Those with large eyes will remain, you know. [*num mba bidiyo mafunum. dim nukabugoitum.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

When a person dies, their children are said to inherit the dead parent's "eyes". That "those with large eyes will remain" refers to the fact that, even when people die, many descendants remain.

Man: Thinking of those children, don't commit a rash act. [*tingim ol na isi liklik.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Still, are you going to take revenge? [*omiya iyedajafute ijyodajusa?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

The spirit's attitude is not definite. Feeling vexed, an elder begins to make a long speech towards the spirits staying under the floor:

Man: Well, my fellows, please listen. You, elders of old days, took me with you up (to the upper floor of the men's house to perform initiation) while singing and dancing at Babatos (a village along the Mombogotus River where the Waxei once lived). [*oke. yupela i ken pasim maus. ol bikman bilong bipo, an omiya oguxai xutamemiya Babatosma.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: (All of my fellows, who received initiation together with me at that time, have died, and) I'm the only one left. [*mi wangepela.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: My fathers sang and danced, you know. [*anajo aitajomiya oguxamejomuya.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: These guys (such as Wisofi who is here now) are just like babies to me. [*andum anajo xoboqainum.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: Oh, thank you. Well, if we settle matters between the groups, the clans, would we who are considered (your) children and those in (my) children's generation who are here now, would all of us be all right some day? I would like to learn from you. You see, the big names *metakojum* and *nukojum* (as moieties). However, *metakojum* and *nukojum* are now separate from each other. [*tenkyu. orait. na grup. grupaiyos num xujeinjunakus, num yonunumesko, andi yonujomiya otojoiyajomiya kotokoto wade ijyofuteya? olsem mi askim yu yet. orait, metakojum, orait, nukojum, bik nukojum. metakojum, nem nukojum. orait, metakojum sedyo, nukojum sedyo.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: If we secure a large place, gather together there, and settle those doings which had been committed by our parents in the old days, or those committed by our elder brothers or grandfathers, would the situation change for the better? [*nume shoufushou wokim bikpela wok, nume shoufus niteikouteinum, muxa aitajomiya ofo tofim bipo bipo. o numojo naijomiya ofom o. o numojo nuketijomiya ofom o, indi bujofqaj numeya stretimiyofos, wade ijyofukotoyo?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: What? [*n?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: If we hold a big party and sit apart from each other, you see. [*nume shoufushou bikpela patiaiyosma saunsaun ijiyo ntebukute.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Also with money. [*moni wantaim.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: If we do so, would anything (bad) cease to take place in our children's generation? [*dotu kamapaiyos igo mba kamapufusa ojomma?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: Well, and you are murdering each other owing to various things you yourselves committed in the past, aren't you? [*orait. na omojo kainkain pasiniyos bipo omeya ojomam bujofqaj, dotu kilimiyofum.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: And some of them are falling upon us in your children's generation. [*igo muxafe yonunumuya yaxakate muxa hapaiyos.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Why don't you reply clearly? [*mba yogo bugoite nainteyom?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Do you mean to say that the situation will go on as it is now? [*iti oshuwom, iti fajiyokaisa?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: The *nukojum* stand up and sit by the *metakojum*'s table (on which meals are placed), and the *metakojum* also stand up and sit by the *nukojum*. And if we settle various accounts of poison (murder by sorcery) and accounts of those who died due to internal troubles done by both *nukojum* and *metakojum* fellows in the old days, would the situation change for the better? [*nukojumuya gwatinya metakojuxo isibojma ijiyo, igo metakojum gwatinya nukojumma ijiyo. indi nukojumuya metakojumuya omom bipo bipo, ojom omom, sobi susuxajuxo bujofqaj, yofunai tobisuxo bujofqaj, numeya stretimiyos, wade ijyofuteya?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: What? [*e?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: Why don't you strike definitely? Are you lacking power? [*mba yogo bugoite owom? mba nambiyasuyom?*]

Bamboo: Ton-ton! [no.]

Man: Are you talking of real facts? [*xofuna mafeyom?*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: We'll hold a big gathering at our own native land (referring here to Gwargaisi). [*mba kajane wokaiyos iyedajasnum numojo as graunaiyosma.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: At that time, you, my fellows, are to become the sponsors. All of you gathering there, you see. [*em. yupela bai papa. olgeta man bai bung.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: You are to settle this account for our sake, I mean. [*sakisa oshunum, muxa bujofqaj fastretimiyom numeya.*]

Bamboo: Gon! [yes.]

Man: That will bring the matter to an end. [*dotu ijiyo majinadajusko.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Matters like this would cease to occur any more. [*igo koto mba kamapdajasusa inda hapaiyojos.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

Man: Thus, everything would be settled. [*dotu fakilim olgeta.*]

Bamboo: Ton! [yes.]

The elder wished to make a recommendation for peacemaking between the clans involved this time, that is, between Gesei and Wesayom on the baby's side, and Ogufaiyo, Gesei, and Kabindei on the murderous spirits' side. Although the baby's death was directly caused by the complicated, interlaced grudge relations among these four clans, if one traces back the grudge relations further back, one reaches the extensive network of grudges in which all Waxei clans would be involved. A person having a grudge against someone at the same time incurs a grudge from another. That the elder cited the issue of *nukojum* and *metakojum* is because, behind such a network of grudges, the deep-seated opposition between the moieties is also involved as a remote cause. The words of the elder also include an intention to liquidate this endless cycle of grudge and revenge by taking advantage of the current incident. However, as long as human beings live in society, it is also evident that this is an utterly unrealisable goal.

The bamboo commences feeble continuous percussion and presently slips down below the floor. The men immediately bring that bamboo to the riverside, cut it into many pieces, and throw it into the river. It is said that the spirits of the dead, which have gathered under the floor, disperse in all directions and return to the world of spirits.

Man: That's all. They got mad with what I said. [*em tasol. ol i harim dispela toktok na bikhet.*]

Man: They are also not fond of stories explaining the circumstances from the old days. [*ol i no laik pasin bilong bipo.*]

Man: Hasten to kindle (a torch). [*bej wayom ai tutei.*]

Man: That's it. Nothing more. [*em tasol. no gat moa.*]

Man: Finished. [*bidiyo, em i pinis nau.*]

CHAPTER TWO

The World of Spirits

A. Classification of spirits

IT IS THE Waxei's way of perception, cognition, and classification of various spiritual beings that underlies the processes of weeping, wept-words, wept-songs, and dialogues with the possessing spirit examined in the preceding chapter, and supports their expression and reception. Their knowledge about spirits is so systematised that it may even be called an "ethno-classification of spirits", and therein one can easily notice the deep interest people have in spirits and their importance in people's life. So far, I have described fragments of these matters here and there when referring to wept-songs and dialogues with the possessing spirit. Here, by positioning them in a wider system of cognition and the classification of spirits, I would like to secure a footing for seeking for the Waxei's idea system concerning sorrow, fear, grudge, wandering, and sway which underlie various topics such as death, spirits, nature, the other world, human beings, and sounds.

The generic term the Waxei use for spiritual beings is *yabosgag*. All spirits are beings which are potentially malevolent and can always do human beings harm, so they are also called *swoni yabosgag* ('evil spirit') or simply *swonuj/swonus* ('the wicked'), as the case may be. Spirits which are not in action, that is, not attempting to contact or attack human beings, are specifically called *keyaji yabosgag* ('quiet spirit'), but they are also evil spirits.

The Waxei classify *yabosgag* into three types: *nuxui yabosgag* ('spirit of the dead'),



sokwi yabosg ('spirit of sorcery'), and *beiya yabosg* ('supernatural spirit'). *Nuxui* refers to the state of a human being or animal being dead; *sokwi* to so-called sorcery; *beiyam* is a generic term for forests, mountains, and rivers, i.e., places other than the human hamlets.

A spirit of the dead primarily refers to a spirit of a dead human being, which, in this case, is specifically called *ima yabosg* ('spirit of human being'). Additionally, since every dead person has the distinction of sex, and the dead are also dead ancestors, they are sometimes subclassified as *nuxuikujujo/nuxuikusujo yabosg* ('spirit of dead male/female') or *nukeijuxo/nukeisuxo yabosg* ('spirit of male/female ancestor'). All spirits of dead human beings dwell in their specific world of spirits which is said to exist underneath the mountains. Sometimes they appear in the world of human beings to glimpse human life, to kill and wound human beings, or to directly engage in dialogue with people by possessing a human being or bamboo. As described in chapter 1, it is only the spirits of dead human beings that are capable of communication with living humans, such as through replying to inquiries from people with an utterance or percussive sound. Spirits of the dead also have connections with supernatural spirits and, being controlled by any of them, they may murder a human being or, by identifying themselves with any of the supernatural spirits, may even reside together with them in the dwelling place of supernatural spirits.

It is also thought that all animals, when they die, become a spirit and dwell in the world of animal spirits underneath the mountains or the riverbed, or dwell together in the world of human spirits. These spirits are generally grouped as *tojo yabosg* ('spirit of animal'; the original meaning of which is 'spirit of various things', other than human beings), and include subclassified spirits such as *amaju yabosg* ('spirit of four-footed animals'), *igofu yabosg* ('spirit of birds'), *aga yabosg* ('spirit of fish'), etc.

Spirits of sorcery are thought to be made to appear by human beings (= sorcerers) who know a special spell, transform themselves into a flying fox or centipede, and attack human beings. The spirit made to appear by a man's sorcery is *sokwij*; that by a woman's sorcery, *sokwis*. They are also described as being a sort of supernatural spirit which dwells in a certain tree's fruit or nut. However, in the sense that their emergence and behaviour are controlled by the human will, they are classified into a type distinctly different from other supernatural spirits. Being somewhere

between human beings and supernatural spirits, so to say, they are unique beings which serve as agents of humans.

Finally, supernatural spirits are broadly divided into six categories according to where they dwell, and given different names and characters respectively. The dwelling places of spirits are rocks on the bottom of or by rivers or lakes, riverside trees and grass, rock caves, and big trees in the mountains, ponds, and marshes, or big trees along rivers, inlets, etc. People endow such nature itself with a specific spiritual character and "spiritualise" nature, the result of which is a supernatural spirit.¹ The distinction of male and female is clearly made for every spirit, wherever it dwells. It is also thought that each spirit, by incarnating itself into a human figure at will, can behave just like a human being. In this way of "personifying" supernatural spirits, one can recognise the intrinsic continuity the Waxei feel about the relationship between nature, spirits, and human beings.

The basic classification of spirits by the Waxei, outlined above, is summarised as in figure 11 (some of the subclass names of the spirits of dead animals and supernatural spirits are omitted; each such omission is indicated by a dashed line).

Characters of these spirits are often explained based on experiences people encountered or perceived, mythical episodes, and various narratives or tales. In the following paragraphs, I will explore the Waxei's way of spirit cognition, while citing such talk about personal experiences and narrative episodes as the occasion demands.

1. SPIRITS OF THE DEAD

The Waxei recognise that both human beings and animals are beings which equally consist of the 'body' (*tabogas*), 'life' (*yogoq*) and 'breath' (*gofshuqaj*). A life is owned not only by living beings, but also by the dead and spiritual beings, and such "beings having a life" are generically termed *kaisi yogoq*. The "life of a human being", among them, is

1. In order to eliminate the Western scientific connotations of this word, that is, a way of looking at nature as opposed to culture, or a contrast of the supernatural as a religious domain with nature as an object of science, the term "transcendental spirit" might be appropriate (see Comstock 1972). However, since it is not necessarily the case that only supernatural spirits have transcendental power against human beings both substantially and functionally, I would like to adopt here the term "supernatural spirit" in order also to distinguish more clearly the three kinds of spirits in Waxei classification.

Figure 11: Waxei classification of spirits

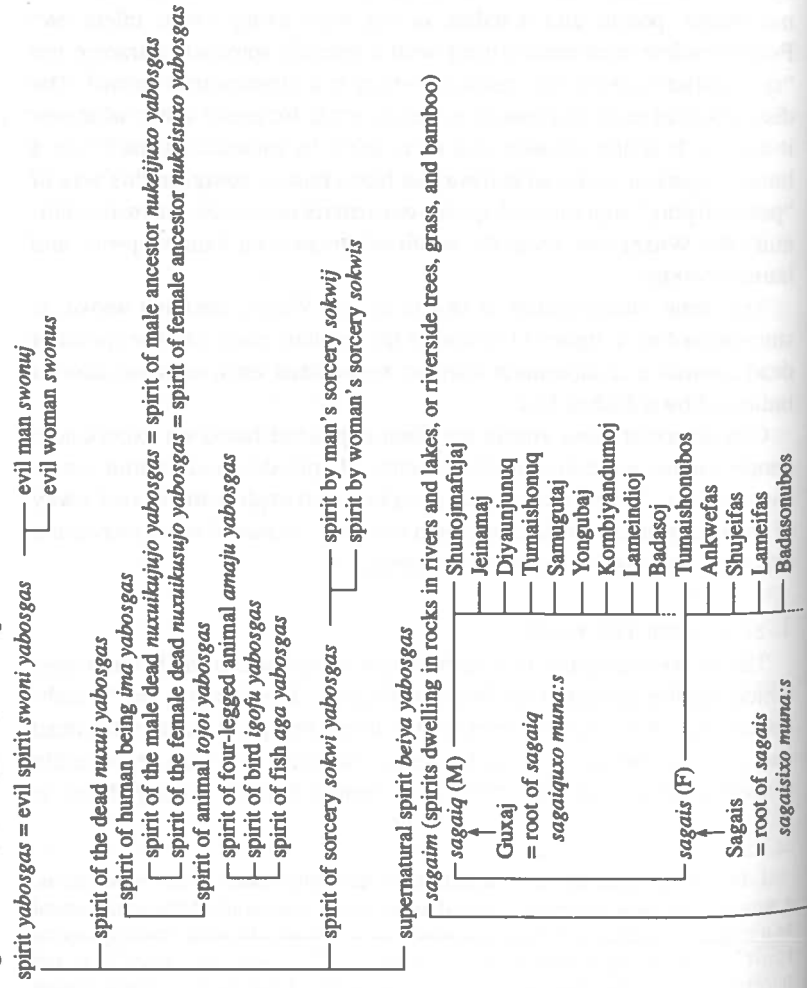
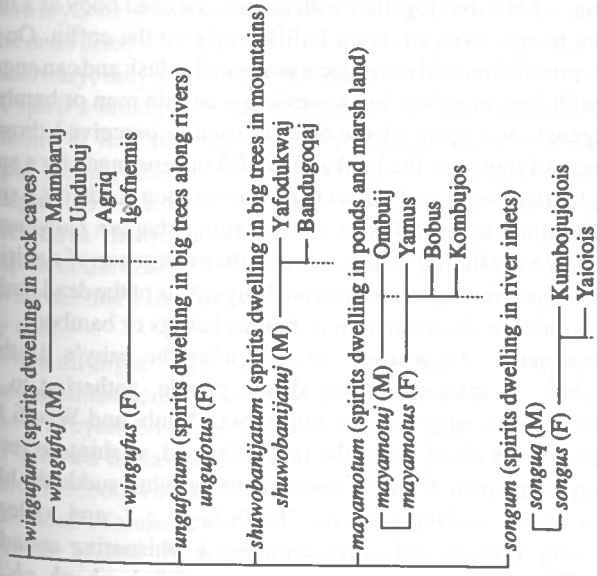


Figure 12—continued



specifically called *ima yogoq*, and is thought to exist in man's "throat" (the original meaning of *yogoq*). That is, that one 'breathes' (*gofshuj*) through the throat is an obvious sign showing that a man has life and is in an active state, thus indicating that life and breath are almost identical. The body, on the other hand, is regarded as a mere container with a life and breath inside, so that a thing from which both life and breath have been lost is an object being recognised as the 'corpse' (*tabogas*).

A man's death is determined by the cessation of breathing. At the moment of death, breath goes out of the body through the mouth and floats in the air, becoming a new living being, that is, a 'life of the spirit' (*yabosga yoguq*). It is a spirit of the dead. As long as the corpse lies in the dead's house, a spirit of the dead remains in that house. Weeping and wept-words uttered by people around the house are messages directly addressed to this spirit of the dead. Presently, when darkness comes, the corpse is brought into a large house and wept-songs are begun when the spirit of the dead finally departs and begins to wander within the village. It is only in the darkness that every spirit of the dead acts. Therefore, when wept-songs are being sung, what exists together with people is a dead body as a mere object, so that people even sit down indifferently on the coffin. On the other hand, a spirit of the dead also appears only in the dusk and can engage in dialogue with human beings by possessing a certain man or bamboo.

The emergence of a spirit of the dead is usually perceived through sounds. Typical of these are the loud sound of footsteps made by a spirit possessing a human being and the sound of percussion made by a spirit possessing a bamboo as described in the preceding chapter. However, it is not necessarily only during possession that the emergence of a spirit of the dead is perceived, nor are the sounds made by spirits of the dead limited to those made through the mediation of human beings or bamboo.

An old man named Myao died ten days after the baby's death in September 1986. At midnight when all the people, gathering in the doktaboi's house were singing wept-songs, both Simbi and Wisofi had tired of singing and walked along the riverside road, wishing to return home. As they came near Simbi's house, a strong wind suddenly blew from Myao's house, making a sound "*bu-fu-fu-fu ...*", and violently shook the nearby flowers and grass, arousing a whispering sound of leaves. When Wisofi screamed loudly, a low sound "*nh, nh, nh, nh ...*" came near. This is clearly known as a cassowary's call, together with a sound "*puf, puf, puf ...*", made when a cassowary runs on the ground. These sounds then disappeared on the riverside. To the two men, this was

soon identified as an emergence of Myao's spirit. Frightened, the two, while crying loudly, ran into the house where the others were singing and told them what had happened. About two hours later, Myao's spirit possessed a man.

'Wind' (*wifojqaj*) is often explained as an intense emergence of the 'breath of a spirit' (*yabosga gofshuqaj*). A spirit of the dead is a being into which a human being's breath turned and, as such, a breath is audibly perceived as a 'low sound' (*yogoq*) and called by the same term as 'life'. When a low whistling sound echoes in the darkness, people sense the breath of a spirit and openly manifest fear. The whispering sound of leaves blown by the wind is also a characteristic sound indicating the emergence of a spirit. The swaying or rustling sounds of leaves, grasses, or flowers echo eerily while becoming loud at one time, soft at another, as if some unknown being were slowly breathing deeply. Furthermore, the call of a cassowary and the sound made when it runs on the ground, as heard by Simbi and Wisofi, are interpreted as sounds made by a spirit of the dead which has incarnated itself into a cassowary, though being invisible. A cassowary's ferocious nature is held in awe, and it is believed that a spirit of the dead filled with anger or holding a grudge, by incarnating itself into a cassowary, may even attack human beings.

A spirit's breath is a manifestation of its life and may be said to be symbolic of its existence. Through the perception of a spirit's breath, people actually do feel that the spirit has a life and is surely alive. For example, the possession of a body or bamboo by a spirit of the dead is expressed as 'the spirit has breathed upon' (*swonujuya ogofshuj*)—that is, the spirit of the dead has entered into a human being or bamboo as breath. This means that a living entity of the spirit of the dead has certainly come very near.

When all-night wept-songs and revelations by the spirit which possessed a human being are over, the corpse is put into the coffin and buried in the graveyard on the outskirts of the village. On that occasion, a small hole is bored in the head portion of the coffin, into which is inserted a slender bamboo with its nodes gouged out. One end of the bamboo is put on the dead's forehead and the other end is set so that it stands out a little above the ground. From three or four days after burial, a person who belongs to the same clan as the dead goes to the graveyard every morning, puts his nose close to this bamboo pipe, and smells to see if the corpse has putrefied. Owing to the tropical rain forest climate and abundant subterranean bacteria, physical putrefaction proceeds very quickly. When the

smell indicates that the dead flesh has begun to decompose, a day for the cessation of the mourning period is set and announced. Usually, it is set at a week to ten days after the death. In the meantime, the spirit of the dead is said to remain within the village.

During the period of mourning, it is prohibited to make loud noises in the village. Building a house, making a canoe, singing a song, discussing loudly, making a great fuss—all of these are tabooed. During this period, the dead's family members and close relatives are not even permitted to bathe in water. They continue wearing clothes they put on the day the person died, and women, in particular, keep their face, hands, and feet bedaubed with ashes and/or white earth.² The soiled clothes, ashes, and white earth all visually symbolise sorrow.

On the eve of the day the mourning period expires, all the villagers gather in the evening amidst noisy excitement, all night long. It is customary that a song sung at this time is either *singel wo* ('single war') or *dabol wo* ('double war'), both Tok Pisin terms. Both genres are widely propagated in the northern coastal area of Papua New Guinea and were brought to the Waxeï by those who went to work at a copra plantation in Madang in the 1950s.³ As far as Waxeï rituals and festivals are concerned, it is usual that, not consisting merely of singing and performance, they also involve the serving of meals by the sponsors. The cessation of mourning is no exception. From the side of the dead's family and clan, meals centring around wild pigs, canned fish, and rice are offered to the dead's specific relatives by blood (sisters' children and father's sisters' children) and relatives by marriage (daughters' husbands, brothers' daughters' husbands, sisters' husbands, wife's brothers and sisters, father's sisters' husbands, and wife's brothers' children), while, contrariwise, the relatives' side gives cash corresponding to the amount of meals to the sponsor's side in return.

2. When the dead is a married man, only his wife puts on a special grass skirt called *munu shuwis*, made of cordyline leaves.

3. The meanings of both *singel wo* and *dabol wo* are unknown (but do not indicate World War I and World War II, respectively). In each of these two genres are contained dozens of short tunes entitled, for example, "an airplane lifting the wheels", "men joking to each other", "cold wind blowing from the sea", "the rising sun and your skin, the rising sun and my liver", and "the dawn is early".

When all-night singing is over, the dead's family and relatives soon bathe in water, wash away ashes and earth, and change into clean clothes.⁴ With this, the mourning period expires, taboos on sound are also lifted, and people return to an ordinary life. The spirit of the dead is said to leave the village during the din and bustle at night, and makes its way towards the world of spirits in the mountains, the native place of its own clan.

The Waxeï's cognition of the world of spirits is formed through a tale which is widely known among them. It consists of the personal experiences of an old woman who once strayed off into the world of spirits and then returned again to the human world. It is an incident which happened in the distant days when the Waxeï still lived in Bobugutos.

The old woman, whose parents and husband are already gone, made a meagre living together with her son who alone survived. Growing weak, it was already beyond her power to go for sago starch, but she could still manage to catch fish. One afternoon, she went with a scoop net to a pond behind Mt Baishojodaniq, to the east of Bobugutos. Getting on a small canoe tied to the bank, she scooped up the surface of the water along the bank and caught small fish time and again. Presently, as it was getting dark, she landed on the bank and, after putting the fish into a netbag, she began to walk along a mountain path. For the old woman, however, it was too far from the house. As she walked on while resting at frequent intervals, darkness settled down in the mountains, so that the old woman went totally astray. Feeling at a loss, she sat down at the root of a tree, and dozed off from fatigue. After sleeping for some time, still in the dark, she woke up with the call of a pheasant coucal (*kushuq*; *Centropus phasianius*) and then began to walk again while relying on that call. As if being guided by that bird, she stepped into a path along which the spirits of the dead pass. The path led to the world of spirits underneath the mountain.

In the 'village of spirits' (*yabosgaxuxo omtogoq*) many stilt houses stood in a row. These were the houses of spirits of the dead. The roofs thatched with sago leaves, the walls of sago leafstalks, the floors of juxtaposed sheets of hard palm bark, etc.—all these were the same as those making up a human being's house. The old woman also thought at first that she strayed off into a village of strangers, somewhere unknown to her. When she was still in the dark, a man's voice from inside a house reached her ears: "Who are you?" In front of the frightened old woman, her eldest son, who had died a rather long time ago, made his appearance: "Are you mum? Have you also died, mum?" Startled, the old woman explained what had happened with tears in

4. At this time, the dead man's wife only washes out the mud, continuing to wear the grass skirt of cordyline leaves for a month or two while repairing them. After that, she then changes into another grass skirt made of young sago leaves. Several months later, when it is broken, she changes into the waistcloth or skirt she usually wears. With that, her mourning finally ceases.

her eyes. Inviting his mother into his house, her son began to explain that the place where they were, is a 'village in the ground' (*boboja omtogoq*): "As mum is a human being, you must not come here yet. Besides, this is our village, of Bagisei clan. The village where mum is bound to go lies in another place, you see. As it'll be light soon, I'll see you off when night comes again." The son's figure looked exactly the same in appearance as when he died. The body, however, was a new container his spirit had obtained in the world of spirits—a special one that was completely unscathed, flawless, and would not age.

Many feather coats (*tujaj*; original meaning is 'skin') of pheasant coucal were suspended in the house. These are worn by spirits of the dead when they wander out into the human world. Spirits of the dead which incarnate themselves into birds, fly to the outer world at night out of a big hole located at the border between the world of spirits and the human world and then return to the world of spirits again before dawn. The pheasant coucal, whose call the old woman heard in the mountain, was one such bird on its way home to the world of spirits. This gateway (called *yajatu fauis* 'mouth of path') is closed in the daytime so that it is never noticed by human beings. It is only in the dark, it is said, that spirits of the dead are active and the hole opens by itself when night falls.

In the world of spirits, there also existed pigs, cassowaries, cuscuses, wallabies, field mice, etc. which exist in the human world, with the same appearances. All of them were spirits of dead animals which were killed and eaten by human beings.⁵ When night comes, they also go out into the human world to look for food and wander about in the forests. Although they are sometimes noticed by human beings, they are never caught by them. Even when a human being perceives a figure in the forests at night, shoots an arrow, and feels that the arrow is sure to have hit its mark, it may escape without any trace of blood. This is because it is not an animal which really exists but an animal which has become a spirit.

Presently, night fell again on the world of spirits. The son, wearing a pheasant coucal feather coat, took his mother along to the 'mouth of path'. "Mum, do remember please that, if you hear a *kushuq* calling "*kwiin ... kwiin ...*" in the grey before dawn, it's an indication that we, the spirits of the dead, are going back to the world of spirits. Assuming the shape of a bird, we watch over how human beings are doing. If someone does wrong, we can even kill that fellow. If you are living in peace and quiet, all that we do is merely catch earthworms or small fish and then return again to the world of spirits." Saying so, the son took wing and, walking along after his call, the old woman was able to come back safely to her village. In this way, knowledge about the afterworld and spirits of the dead began to be brought to the human world.

5. Animals which have died without regard to human beings are believed to dwell in their own spirit worlds, that is, four-footed animals and birds live under mountains, while fish live in the village of spirits of the dead existing under the riverbed.

Today, whenever one asks about the location of the world of spirits, the names of specific mountains, which differ distinctively from clan to clan, are cited. All these are mountains situated near the Mombugotus and Weisas Rivers, which are connected with the progenitors of the respective clans (see map 4). Spirits of the dead are thought to live underneath those mountains and are also called 'people in the ground' (*bobojasojofum*). In the case of each adopted person too, their spirit returns to their real father's clan's mountain. A mountain from which each 'clan's root' (*ima sangi munas*) derives, that is, the clan's mountain, is the land of the beginning of a human being and, at the same time, the place to which the human being eventually returns.

According to one tale, a spirit of the dead visited the human world in the dead of night by wearing a feather coat, incarnating itself into a pheasant coucal. In actual village life, this bird's call often comes into hearing in the morning and evening. Although it may sound differently, such as "*kwiin ... kwiin ...*", "*kuu ... kuu ...*", "*hoo ... hoo ...*", and "*trrrrr ...*", all of these calls are characterised by descending movement in a low and deep voice. However, a call heard while it is still light is taken, not as that of a spirit of the dead, but as that of a real bird. When that call, mixed with that of a frogmouth or megapode, sometimes comes into hearing at midnight or before dawn, people sense the arrival of a spirit of the dead.

However, it is not a pheasant coucal alone that is thought to be a bird into which a spirit of the dead incarnates. As in the case of the previously-mentioned experiences of Simbi and Wisofi, a cassowary is one bird which is often identified with spirits of the dead, together with the often-cited Victoria crowned pigeon (*duwis*), Blyth's hornbill (*bajiq* or *bagiq*), red-necked rail (*obej*; *Rallina tricolor*), and trumpet manucode (*kouq*; *Manucodia keraudrenii*). A pheasant coucal, among others, may be positioned as a symbol of the transfer and transition of a spirit of the dead which comes and goes between the world of spirits and the human world, but the general characters which spirits have, such as incarnation or transfer at will and sudden appearance and disappearance, naturally hold true for spirits of the dead which transform themselves into any other bird.

In such modes of incarnation into birds, it is important that a number of common features are seen. For example, any such bird) has a call which lies in an extraordinarily low range, compared to many other birds, and resembles the sound of a man's heavy breathing, coughing, trembling voice, or groan. Thus, to the last, the emergence of a spirit is audibly perceived as a "sound like a low, long breath." Also, for every bird, its

strong relations with a spirit of the dead are pointed out only when it appears at night when it seldom shows itself. On several occasions, when I was talking with men at night, the men lapsed casually into silence. This was because, having sensed the call of a bird which usually ought not to be heard, they were frightened of the emergence of a spirit in the dark. Furthermore, it is also important that the feathers of these birds have deep colours such as black, purple, and dark brown. A spirit is often said to appear like a 'shadow' (*xojofas*) and it often occurs, for example, that witnessing something like a shadow at dusk which is first visible, then invisible among a clump of trees, somebody utters a cry that a spirit is there. The 'shadow of a spirit' (*yabosga xojofas*), different from the shadow of a human being or object, is not a projection of something onto the plane, nor does it have a point of origin. It appears abruptly, moves gently, and quickly disappears. The external aspects of birds into which spirits of the dead incarnate themselves are such that they tend to visually arouse associations with such shadows and therefore images of spirits.

There is also a tendency that, when contact with a spirit of the dead is intentional or more direct, the spirit of the dead is especially personified and continuity with human beings is emphasised. This tendency is seen in such considerations that, when inducing a spirit of the dead to possess a bamboo, a canoe's fragment is placed under the floor to make it easier for the spirit to come aboard or, in such a way of thinking, that a murderous spirit, aboard a canoe, follows behind a human being and attacks. This sort of canoe is called a 'vehicle of a spirit' (*yabosgasuxo aisojofim*) and is obviously regarded to be a means for the transfer and transition of a spirit. It is a vehicle suitable for a spirit of the dead, which, for the present, flies out of the world of spirits in the figure of a pheasant coucal, to come near humans, and either possesses, wounds, or kills a human being.

A spirit of the dead is a being into which *yogoq*, man's 'throat' and also life, has transmuted and the essence of a human being's *yogoq* remains unchanged either during their lifetime or even after their death. The concept *yogoq* is also often used synonymously with "thinking" or "thought" so that a spirit of the dead is taken as retaining the same way of thinking as that of the dead in their lifetime.⁶ To the Waxei, therefore, living and dead persons are intrinsically continuous and cannot be simplistically divided. Both living and dead persons harbour a grudge

6. Another word which also denotes "thinking" or "thought" is *sketa*. While *sketa* refers rather to a trivial or casual idea, *yogoq* has connotations such as belief and memory.

against others for similar reasons and attempt to retaliate. Substantially, however, it is spirits alone which can actualise retaliation. When a living person commits murder, he or she is said to have temporarily 'become a spirit' (*bej sakisa otojoja/otojosa yabosgas*); only a spirit has such 'power' (*yabosgas*) to murder a human being and, from the point of view of Waxei wording and semantics, spirit and power are exactly synonymous.⁷ Moreover, this power, spirit's life, is deathless and imperishable, and human beings are bound to be incessantly threatened with the menace of that power. However, that such ethical regulation as seen at the end of the old woman's tale has no force in actuality, is straightforwardly apparent in the words exchanged with the possessing spirits examined in chapter 1. Man's evil-doing, the succession of grudges, retaliations, deaths, occurrence of new grudges, other retaliations, and then other deaths again—such a cycle eternally continues to recur between the living and spirits of the dead.

2. SPIRITS OF SORCERY

A spirit of sorcery, *sokwis* (a shortened form of *sokwi yabosgas*), is a kind of supernatural spirit which is artificially made to appear, sent to someone being targeted to kill that person or make them ill. They are also generically termed *sokwim* (plural). There is no specific term which refers to a human being who makes *sokwis* appear and the expression 'one who uses a spirit' (*yabosgaste xoinjunafum*) is used, if anything. He or she, instead of "becoming a spirit" themselves, accomplishes retaliation by "using a spirit". It is reported that this sorcery was originated by a man of Gesei clan who lived on Mt Ogotuwolis in the days when the ten Waxei clans had not yet gathered at Bobugutos:

A Gesei man repeatedly committed adultery with another Gesei man's wife. In due course, the woman began to say that, parting from her husband, she wished to be with him. Inflamed with rage, her husband struck his wife's head with a stone axe, killing her. The man swore revenge against the woman's husband and went into the depths of Mt Oshiyojoteis adjoining to the west. There, *sujois* trees were growing in large numbers. The man took a nut of that tree and, after uttering words of deep sorrow and intense anger onto the nut, buried it under the nearby ground. The words, directed to a spirit dwelling in the nut, were meant as a prayer or for revenge, cursing the man who killed the woman.

Presently, when night came, *sokwis* emerged from the underground nut. *Sokwis* assumed the figure of a small black bat called *owas*. The bat, at full

7. While mental power, as it were, is *yabosgas*, bodily power is *goduq*.

speed, flew over to the house of the targeted man, jumped into it, and tore open the man's belly with its sharp teeth. The man died. The bat soon flew back to Mt Oshiyojoteis, hung by its legs down from a branch of a *sujois* tree, and transformed itself into a leaf. The man's revenge was thus accomplished.

The words the man uttered onto the nut, being taken as a 'spell of *sujois*' (*sujo windioqom*), were handed down to his sons and then to his grandsons. When there was someone they hated so much that they wished to kill them, they went over to Mt Oshiyojoteis, uttered the spell onto a *sujois* nut, and dispatched *sokwis* as an agent of murder. Therefore, in the village of Gesei on Mt Ogotuwolis, many came to a mysterious end, but the villagers were quite powerless. Presently, Gesei also began to migrate to Bobugutos, and this sorcery came to be imparted among the Waxei secretly.

Even today, *sokwis* is still believed to dwell in a *sujois* tree. It is said that *sokwis*, being made to appear from a nut buried under the ground, incarnates itself not only into a small bat, but also into a small deep-black, poisonous centipede called *inis*. The bat bites the belly and tears out the liver, while the centipede stings the liver and injects poison. Then, the bat or centipede, after fulfilling its duties, returns again to the *sujois* tree and turns into a leaf. From a nut to a bat, centipede, and then a leaf—this is the flow of transformation. Whenever people find such small bats or poisonous centipedes in or outside their houses, they react hysterically, immediately beat it to death, and then burn and throw it into the river. They are deeply afraid that, if left alone, they may be attacked by it.

It sometimes occurs that *sokwis*, assuming the figure of a human being, even steps into a house in the village. A person turns their face towards the entrance of their house as they sense the presence of someone. Quite an unfamiliar human being is standing there, but as they approach the stranger, the figure suddenly disappears in silence—such stories of personal experiences often came to my ears. Such a human being is without exception a somewhat dirty-looking old man and, in some cases, both sides of his chest shine crimson with the colour of blood. Incarnation into a human being is usually said to be attributable to the supernatural spirit, but it is *sokwis* alone that dares to come very close to a human being's house and even tries to intrude therein. On any such occasion, feeling that they are in danger of their lives, people confine themselves indoors and never wish to stay alone.

In order to control *sokwis*, knowledge of the spell of *sujois* is necessary. Since *sujois* trees grow only on Mt Oshiyojoteis, one must go there if one

wishes to use this sorcery. It remains unclear as to whether or not there is still someone among the Waxei who retains the spell of *sujois* even now and uses it—no one admits that they do so themselves or that such a person is even known to others. Moreover, even when someone dies and it is known by the revelation of a possessing spirit that death is attributable to the work of *sokwis*, it never occurs that even the name of a person who called down the spell is brought to light. Although, for about the last ten years, there seems to have been no cases of murder by sorcery, there are at least persons who remember that when they still stayed in Watakataui, an oracle telling of the use of sorcery was made on several occasions. Opinions vary: while there are people who believe that there are no longer persons who know the spell, there are also people who assert that there still remain those who know it. However, the usual reaction is such that even those who deny sorcery pounce upon and madly knock a small bat or centipede to death whenever they catch sight of it. The fear of *sokwis* is, at least potentially, still rampant even now.

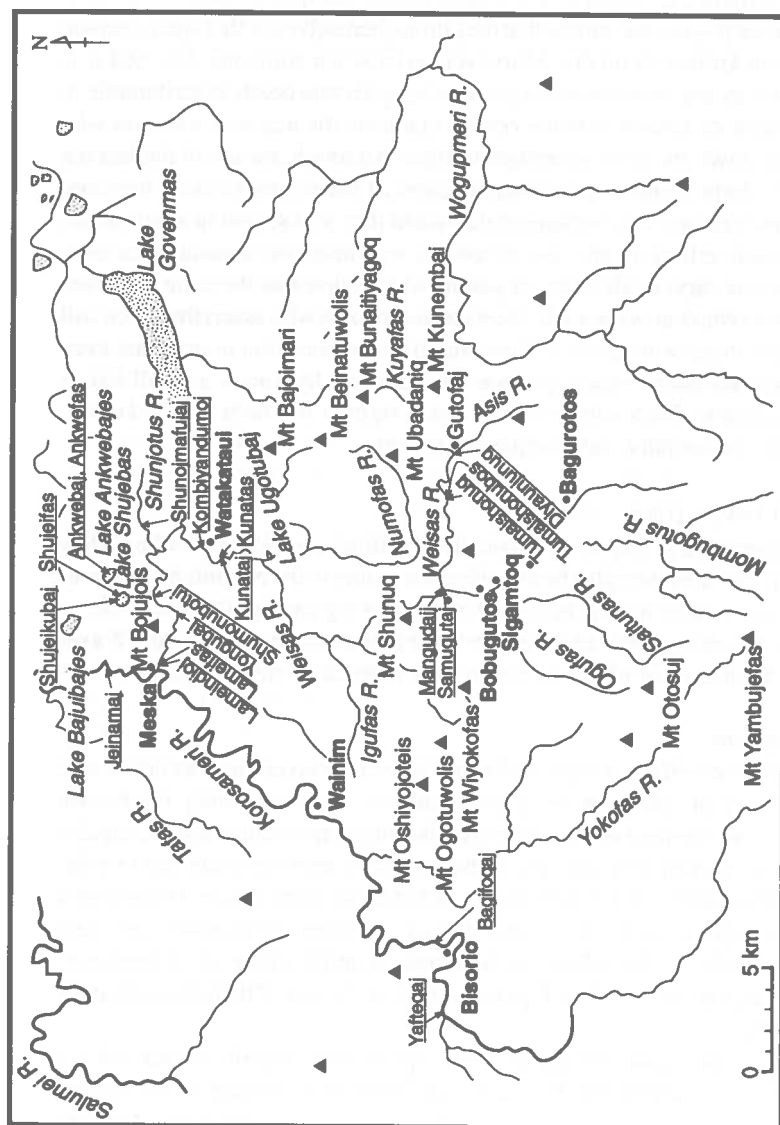
3. SUPERNATURAL SPIRITS

Supernatural spirits are basically classified according to where they dwell, but they may also be classified according to the magnitude of power they exert upon human beings. In the following passages, I would like to show the character of each spirit by their power as conceived by the Waxei (for the names of places related to supernatural spirits, see map 3).

a. *Sagaim*

Spirits dwelling in rocks on the bed of rivers or lakes, in rocks on the side of rivers or lakes, or in trees, bamboos, or grass along rivers, are generically termed *sagaim* (plural). Like other supernatural spirits, *sagaim* are also personified and clearly distinguished between male and female, so that a male spirit is called *sagaiq* and a female spirit *sagais*. These spirits are thought to be the most powerful of all supernatural spirits and exist abundantly, so that whenever supernatural spirits come up in conversation, *sagaim* are cited first, placing them at the top of their classificatory system.

For both *sagaiq* and *sagais*, many spirits have specific names and are included as subclasses. They are also classified according to where they dwell and, if one proceeds to check on the map the dwelling places of *sagaim* the Waxei often mention, one realises that *sagaim* lie hidden all



Map 3: Dwelling places of main supernatural spirits. The names of *sagaim* are underlined and their approximate dwelling places are shown.

over their living space—e.g., in the Weisas and Korosameri Rivers, their daily traffic routes, as well as nearby lakes where they go fishing.

For example, the spirit called Shunojmafujaj, who appeared in chapter 1 in communication with the spirit possessing the bamboo (the spirit which is said to have attacked Wisofi's baby), is also a kind of *sagaiq*. Shunojmafujaj dwells in a large rock which stretches from the bank down to the bed of the Shunojutus River, a tributary of the Weisas. Since around the river lie extensive primeval forests of sago palms and trees suitable for canoe-making, people frequently go up and down the river. So, as in the case when the baby was attacked, it is not possible to know when people may encounter the spirit and be assaulted by it.

How the Waxei perceive *sagaim* and what sort of contact they have had with them are handed down in the form of various stories of personal experiences and narratives. *Sagaim* appear in various ways; the recent eyewitness accounts I have heard include one report that a *sagaiq* named Jeinamaj appeared on the riverbank in the figure of a man.

Early in August 1988, a man named Bungo was about to return to Meska alone by canoeing up the Korosameri from the place where he has his garden, far downstream from the village. The sun had already set and rain, which continued to fall from the evening, had been increasing in intensity. When he was just about to reach a point from which Meska was about three turns of the meandering river ahead, he noticed a figure on the left bank. It surely looked like the naked figure of man who, taking a dog with him and bearing a pig which seemed to be game on his shoulder, was walking towards the upper reaches. Thinking that this would be someone from his village, Bungo approached the man from along the opposite bank of the river, wishing to take him on the canoe. Then the man looked at him. The man's eyes were grotesquely large and glared red like fire. The instant Bungo held his breath, the man uttered a low, sharp, whistle-like sound and jumped into the river together with the dog. As he quickly approached, numerous bubbles floated on the surface and presently the mud of the river bottom curled up over the surface. "Jeinamaj!" Frantically paddling the canoe, Bungo came back to Meska. Rather than being surprised at his encounter with Jeinamaj, everyone wondered how he could have returned safely.

The place where Bungo witnessed Jeinamaj just forms an inlet and *sagaiq* is said dwell in a rock at the bottom. When people pass by with a canoe, they make a habit to avoid the inlet and pass along the opposite

bank. They never dare get near the spots or trees where supernatural spirits are thought to dwell, not only in the case of *sagaiq*.

In Bungo's experience, several typical aspects concerning the emergence of supernatural spirits can be observed. First, the situation is in the evening dusk or the dark of the night. In Bungo's case, since it was also raining, visual recognition was even more uncertain. Second, when supernatural spirits assume the shape of a human being, they are always naked. Their dark brown skin easily dissolves into the darkness, and is also perceived almost like a "shadow". Or, conversely, a hazy shadow (swarms of insects, for instance) may also look like a human body. Third, spirits often utter a sound like low whistling or the whizzing of the wind. The wind is a spirit's breathing and the emergence of a sound like low breathing is sensed as the emergence of a spirit's life. Fourth, part of the body is perceived as the colour red, like fire. In the case of *sagaiq*, it is the eyes which are red. Sometimes, it is said, the red eyes isolate from the body and float like a fireball. Lastly, they have a hunting dog as an agent. This dog, called *yabosga yuj* ('spirit-dog'), is also an alter ego of each supernatural spirit and it is thought that, being controlled by the sound of low whistling uttered by its partner spirit, it can bite a human being or pig to death.

It is not that *sagaim* always appear in a human form. Among the somewhat older experiences of encounters, there is a tale that *sagaim* attacked people while remaining invisible. This is an incident from the days when the present elders were still children, presumably in the 1930s. In those days, the Waxei lived in Sigamtoq, a village along the Mombugotus River. On one occasion, in order to make a large canoe, they went in large numbers over to Mt Beinatuwolis on the uppermost reaches (Kuyafas River) of the Weisas. About two months later, the canoe was completed and, riding separately on many small canoes, they tried to return home while pulling it down to Sigamtoq. Wishing to take a rest, when they approached a spot named Gutofaj where the Kuyafas River joins the Asis River, a man on the bow of the leading canoe tried to push the paddle into the shallows of the river and draw his canoe near the bank. Since the current was swift, the canoe would not change in direction without throwing his strength considerably into the paddle. The paddle hit hard against a rock which lay at the bottom of the water, so that the rock broke. However, they landed unmindfully and, after resting for a while, began to canoe down the river. When they went down a little, the leading canoe suddenly leapt up into the air. The water spouted furiously, even up to the

height of coconut palms. The canoe was battered against the surface of the water and the bodies of those aboard scattered. The succeeding canoes also capsized one after another. The new canoe was squeezed from both sides and those inside were pressed to death. Many corpses, their fragments, and guts floated on the surface of the river. Presently, while making a gurgling sound, they sank under the water as if being dragged in. Only the three canoes at the rear narrowly escaped danger. They hastily paddled back to Sigamtoq.

This disaster is thought to be attributable to the act of a *sagaiq* named Diyaunjunuq which got angry because the rock, its dwelling place, was broken. Although it had been known since earlier days that there was a *sagaiq* near Gutofaj, the men carelessly happened to approach that spot and, in addition, though by chance, broke the rock by pushing the paddle onto it. Thus, the emergence of a supernatural spirit is also caused by contact due to the carelessness of human beings. In such a case, the emergence of a spirit is often invisible and the spirit's counterattack is very strong, often leading to the death of human beings. This is similarly true for Wisofi's baby. It is also said that, at this time, Diyaunjunuq struck his own slit-drum under the water, summoned *sagaim* dwelling nearby (such as, Tumaishonuq, Tumaishonubos, and Samugutaj) and, banding together, assaulted people. Dragging the corpses into the water, they ate them up. Although invisible, the existence of supernatural spirits is again personified.

b. *Wingufum*

Wingufum (plural) is a generic term for supernatural spirits which are thought to dwell in rock caves in the mountains; in the singular, a male spirit is called *wingufuj*, a female spirit *wingufus*. In most mountains there is a rock cave somewhere and it is believed that there are surely *wingufum* in each such cave.

A cave is an uncanny place in itself. It is a blocked space surrounded with rocks and stones, the hardest substances known to the Waxei, and, in the darkness swarm abhorrent animals such as bats and centipedes. People dare not step into caves, nor do they even attempt to get near. This is, however, primarily because they fear the existence of *wingufum* which are said to dwell inside, rather than because they feel that the very cave itself is an uncanny place.

Among *wingufum* omnipresent in numerous rock caves, there are several *wingufum* whose specific names, characters, deeds, etc. are

reported in the form of myth. In the following passages, I would like to present the images people have about *wingufum* by citing, as examples, a spirit named Mambaruj who, after wandering through the mountains along the Weisas and Mombugotus Rivers, came to stay in a mountain on the upper reaches, and Undubuj, who is said to dwell in a rock cave on Mt Ogotuwolis.

Mambaruj is a male spirit said to have been born in a rock cave on Mt Bajoimari to the east of the Middle Weisas River. It is said that after incarnating himself into a human being, he began to wander, clearing the way by biting bark and spitting it out with his saliva. Crossing the Weisas, he came to the foot of Mt Wiyokofas. Then, from above the mountain, the sound of a tree being cut down came into hearing. Focussing on that sound, he climbed and saw a man splitting wood with a stone axe. Noticing Mambaruj's figure, the astonished man ran into his house and came out with a bow and arrow at the ready. "I'm not a suspicious man. So, let me rest for a little while." Cleverly saying so, Mambaruj persuaded the man to accept him so that he entered a nearby work hut and sat inside.

Outside the hut there was a wooden stand, upon which lay the corpse of the man's friend who had died two days ago. All over there hung a putrid smell, and human fats dripped from the corpse. Mambaruj went to the man's house and requested that, being hungry, he be served baked sago and a shell spoon. The man's wife gave them reluctantly. Getting near the corpse, Mambaruj began to catch the dripping fats with the shell spoon, slurpingly lick them, and gnaw the baked sago. He continued to do this. Seeing this, the man and his wife, who were watching his behaviour, were terrified. Mambaruj took a long time to eat the baked sago and demanded more. It was only natural that the two, utterly frightened, could not refuse him. Receiving sago, Mambaruj went off bearing the corpse on his shoulder.

Going over Mt Wiyokofas, Mambaruj proceeded to the south. On the way, he licked the fats as a substitute for water and ate the sago time and time again. When he came to the Ogufas River flowing into the Mombugotus, the testicles dropped off the corpse and turned into large stones. On the Middle Ogufas, it is said, these two stones still lie side by side in the middle of the river with water running around them. Going over many mountains, Mambaruj advanced further southward. Putrefaction of the corpse continued and the flesh became tender and good for eating. Mambaruj continued to walk while gnawing on the flesh and threw away the bones around him. The bones thrown into the forests presently became cuscuses; those thrown into the rivers turned into tortoises. The hair and body hair fell off naturally and became cassowaries. The guts thrown away uneaten turned into snakes.

Then Mambaruj came to the foot of Mt Yambujefas, which lies in the uppermost reaches of the Mombugotus River. He found a huge rock there and began to bore the rock with a sharpened hard stone. When a wide space was secured inside, he suspended the man's skull, which he had not thrown away. Many bats then came out of the skull. Mambaruj made up his mind to

use this rock cave as his lifelong dwelling place and began to kill human beings who approached for food, thus making this a habit thereafter. It has been handed down by word of mouth that this spirit still dwells there today.

Undubuj is a male spirit said to have been born in a rock cave halfway up Mt Ogotuwolis to the west of Bobugutos, at the same time when the mountain came into being. In human shape, he lived in the cave together with many dogs (spirit-dogs). Taking the dogs with him, he constantly went out to catch pigs, cassowaries, and wallabies. With a stone axe he cut off the joints of all the game he caught, steamed them with heated stones, and swallowed them bone and all, one after the other. Although he assumed a human shape, Undubuj had neither a urethra nor an anus, so that he could neither urinate nor defecate. Therefore, Undubuj's belly was swollen grotesquely big.

In those days, people of Gesei clan lived on Mt Shunuq whose ridge is continuous with Mt Ogotuwolis. One day, when a man went up to a garden near the summit to plant tobacco, he found a large column of smoke rising from Mt Ogotuwolis. It came from Undubuj who was steaming cassowary meat with heated stones. Puzzled that there should be anyone residing on Mt Ogotuwolis, the man returned to the village and went around inquiring if there was anyone who had gone hunting. However, there was no one. Feeling uneasy, the men decided to go scouting the next day.

Early next morning, the men, each having a spear, bow, and arrow in hand, went out to Mt Ogotuwolis and found the footprints of a human being, dog, and cassowary halfway up the mountain. There were also traces of fighting all around. As they followed the human footprints, they presently reached the entrance of a huge rock cave. When the men were observing the state of things, one of Undubuj's dogs came back from the forest to the rock cave. Explaining that dwelling inside is a man named Undubuj, the dog led them inside, saying that it would let them meet him. Deep in the cave, Undubuj was lying stretched out. His belly was so swollen that it nearly reached the ceiling and his hands and feet were stretched as if thrusting against the walls on both sides. When Undubuj was awoken by the dog, the men approached him with a proposal that he should go with them to the village in Mt Shunuq and live there together. Undubuj agreed and all of them went in a line towards Mt Shunuq.

On their way, a dog came to talk to a man who was walking at the rear of the party. The dog reported things such as that Undubuj eats pigs and cassowaries bones and all, but cannot defecate as he has no anus, and that he hands out to them only such small sorts of game as cuscus and bandicoot. Presently, the party arrived at the village and Undubuj and his dogs were given a house. The man, who was informed by the dog, summoned the other men and talked with them secretly, saying he would like to make a hole in Undubuj's bottom. At night, they made many sharp-pointed stakes of hard, young trees and drove four of them into the ground so that they formed the four corners of an oblong. They also prepared sturdy bines of rattan.

In the grey of the next morning, the men called Undubuj out and told him to lie on his back among the four stakes. Not disobeying, Undubuj lay down. Immediately, the men bound his hands and feet to the stakes with bines of

rattan and one of them, with all his strength, thrust a sharp rod into Undubuj's bottom. Feeling pain, Undubuj uttered a loud groan. However, his bottom was hard like stone. Although he thrust repeatedly, the rod broke before making a hole. Many of them took turns thrusting, but all were in vain. Only one rod then remained. Feeling that his would be the last, an elder gave a final thrust with all his might and a hole was finally made. At the same time, an immense amount of faeces spouted out of the hole. The bones of pigs, cassowaries, and wallabies, including their skulls, ribs, and thighbones, all sprang out in their original form. Undubuj's belly utterly hollowed. When the men cut the vines, Undubuj, taking his dogs with him, scampered away from the village, going back to the rock cave on Mt Ogotuwolis.

With this incident as a start, it is thought, Undubuj began to harbour a grudge against human beings, and eat, not only large animals, but also human beings who approach the rock cave. Therefore, people never dare go near it. They are afraid that, when noticed by the spirit, they will be eaten up bone and all, just as pigs are. It is also said that Undubuj has ceased to assume the shape of a human being any longer. However, there are many who hear his cry—a voice “wii ... aah” which sounds like a low groan—from a distance. The voice, which is expressed figuratively as ‘as if standing the pain’ (*sakisa taneni xaxutuja*), reminds people of this mythical incident and is heard as a message of retaliation from the spirit which is no longer visible.

c. *Ungufotum*

Along a river running through a mountain, large trees called *kubaimus* grow sporadically. These trees secrete white sap from their big trunks and feature small leaves thickly growing on many twigs stretching into the sky. *Ungufotum* (plural; *ungufotus*, singular) is a generic term for female spirits which are thought to dwell in *kubaimus* trees. When the Waxei talk about this spirit, what is often cited is the following mythical episode:

In Bagurotos, which existed on the Middle Mombugotos, there once lived a Baishumei clan group. One man was named Wagunumaji. One day, he went out pig hunting, but could not find any game. As it had gotten dark, he was about to turn back trudgingly to the riverside path to his village. Just as he passed a *kubaimus* tree, a woman came out of the tree, seized him, and forcibly pulled him into the tree. It was an *ungufotus*. By biting the bark of the *kubaimus* tree, the *ungufotus* spit with saliva at the lower part of the trunk and made a hole, through which she could go in and out.

The inside of the tree formed a wide space. Inside were many *ungufotum*, from young to old. Presently, they bedaubed red and black earth all over their bodies and, while calling the man by name “Wagunumaji, Wagunumaji, eeh ... yoo ...,” they began to sing a song. While the singing went on, the woman

who had taken him inside, seized his penis, pulled him towards herself, and forcibly had sexual intercourse. After this, another woman then made advances. In this way, the women violated the man one after another. The orgy continued all through the night, and the man was totally weakened and exhausted. Before dawn, the women, taking the man with them, went to the nearby river and washed his muddy, soiled body clean.

In the meantime, the village people knew from the singing voices being heard all night long that something bad had happened to Wagunumaji. Equipping themselves with spears and shields, the men made headway along the riverside path in the direction from which voices came into hearing. When they came near the *kubaimus* tree, they saw many women bathing in water. On the riverside, Wagunumaji was laid out, dog-tired. The men all threw spears simultaneously. However, the instant they thought they would hit their target, the women disappeared quickly, causing the spears to shoot the air in vain. Presently, the *ungufotum* went entirely out of sight. Carrying Wagunumaji on their shoulders, the men returned to the village, but, in spite of the care they had taken, he breathed his last two days later.

Ungufotum are spirits which, with such a myth as cited above as background, came to be held in awe, particularly by men. A *kubaimus* tree is used neither for building materials, nor for canoe making. Although this is partly due to practical reasons such as that it is too soft, and that, since it has so many twigs, it is inconvenient to use, it is particularly because its white sap is abhorred—it is likened to the ooze of the sperm of the men who were sucked up by the *ungufotum*. Additionally, although during the daytime, nocturnal cuscuses and bandicoots are often said to hide themselves under the cover of the many leaves of this tree, men hesitate to approach it even in broad daylight. It is also said that, while the decision on the migration to Meska in the 1960s naturally depended on it being easier of access than Watakataui, it greatly depended on the fact that no *kubaimus* trees grew in the vicinity of Meska. Even today, a forest hut is never made near a *kubaimus* tree.

d. *Shuwobanijatum*

Shuwobanijatum (plural; *shuwobanijatuj*, singular) is a generic term for male spirits which are said to dwell in large trees growing in the forests or mountains. In sharp contrast to *ungufotum*, these spirits are mainly held in awe by women. The following myth describes their characteristics:

In the days when the ancestors of Ogufaiyo clan lived on Mt Otosuj, a young woman went searching for the edible nuts of the *yafodumuq* tree. When she was looking up from under the tree, a nut dropped down. Instantly, it turned into the shape of a human baby and stuck to one of the woman's breasts. The baby clamped its teeth upon the nipple so strongly that it could not be pulled

off, however hard she tried. The woman hurriedly returned to the village, and showed it to her parents. The father killed one of the pigs they had cared for and, after roasting its fat over a fire, rubbed it around his daughter's nipple and the baby's mouth. He intended to pull the baby off by lubricating it with the fat, but this failed. Presently, the baby began to drink the blood flowing from the nipple. The breast kept shrivelling and the baby sucked the blood dry in no time. Then it leapt to the other breast. While biting the breast, it expelled deep-red bloody urine and faeces in drops. The father quickly pulled the baby with full force, but it still would not come off. Unable to bear the pain, the woman did nothing but sob. The father fetched two knives made of cassowary thighbones and thrust them in from both sides of the baby's mouth in order to break it open. However, the baby easily bit the knives to pieces. The parents grew weary of thinking what to do. Before long, they thought of a plan. The two fetched a sago grub, wrapped it with palm leaves, and began to steam it with heated stones. They made a bone knife and also secretly prepared a stone axe. It had already become dark.

When the sago grub was steamed, it was brought near the baby's mouth. The baby, being drawn to the nice smell, opened its mouth and tried to eat it. Just at that moment, the parents seized the baby, pulled it away from the breast, and placed it on the ground. The parents frantically stabbed the baby with the bone knife and stone axe. Blood spurted out profusely from the baby's body. The parents buried the bloody body under the ground. However, the baby was not dead. At midnight, the spirit, which came out of the body underground, incarnated itself into a small bat called *idej*, flew over to the *yafodumuq* tree, and, by fastening its teeth upon a branch, hung down from it, just as it had fastened its teeth on the woman's nipple. Since the spirit in the form of the human baby had stuck to the woman's breast for a long time, the bat's nose was totally flattened. In that same posture, the bat presently transformed itself into a nut of the *yafodumuq* tree. This is the spirit named Yafodukwaj which is said to dwell in a *yafodumuq* tree.

It is also thought that Yafodukwaj has a younger brother spirit named Bandugoqaj. This spirit dwells in a big tree of another species called *igaijuq*, and his character can be glimpsed, for example, in the story of the personal experiences of a Gesei clan woman who lived on Mt Shunuq along the Weisas River:

One evening, the Gesei woman bore a baby girl in a delivery hut in the forest. Soon her mother cut the umbilical cord, buried it under the ground, and washed the daughter and baby with water. On the following day, in order to give a feast in celebration of her first childbirth, all the villagers went out to the mountains and rivers to get food, only the woman and baby remained in the delivery hut. At that time, Bandugoqaj appeared out of an *igaijuq* tree on Mt Shunuq and, by incarnating himself into a human being, he came into the village. When Bandugoqaj shouted "*haai! haai!*" in a low, loud voice, the woman, thinking that someone might have returned, replied "*waai! waai!*" from the forest. Nearing the delivery hut, Bandugoqaj peeped in. His face

with a flattened nose was quite unfamiliar to the woman. When she fearfully handed her baby to him, just as she was told to do, Bandugoqaj placed it on his large palm and stared at it. He asked if there was faeces from the baby. The woman handed him the faeces wrapped in breadfruit leaves and placed it in a corner of the hut. After eating the faeces and the leaves with gusto, he ran at full speed while holding the baby on his hand. He returned to the *igaijuq* tree and stepped into it with the baby.

The villagers came back towards evening. Told by the woman that her baby had been taken away, the men set out in search of it. After searching everywhere until midnight, they could still not get any clue as to its whereabouts. Exhausted, all of them fell asleep. The baby's cry came into hearing from up the mountain with the singing voices of many people. It was the 'song of man hunting'⁸ (*ima tegate windioqom*) of the spirits, singing, "Bandugoqaj, you've kidnapped a baby" (*Bandujoqaj, onu xunakutane yonuxombos*). The men began to get up and, each with a stone axe in hand, made their way in the direction of the voices.

The singing voices and the baby's cry were heard coming from the inside of an *igaijuq* tree. The men surrounded the tree and began to cut it at the root with their stone axes. When the tree was cut down, many bats flew out, towards the back side of the mountain. The men cut the fallen tree into different parts. It was hollow inside the trunk, but they could not catch sight of the baby. Exhausted, the men sat down on the ground. Then, the singing voices and the cry came into hearing again from the direction in which the bats flew away. Managing to drag their weary feet, they proceeded in the direction of the voices which came from inside of another *igaijuq* tree. When the men cut down that tree, a large flock of bats flew away again and this time hung down from the branches of a nearby *igaijuq* tree. They stared at the men cutting into the trunk to find the baby. The bones of the baby were found in an upper part of the hollow. Because the tree which served as their dwelling place was cut down, the spirits got angry and had eaten the baby. The mother, who came together with the other villagers, screamed loudly. As if drowning out that voice, the bats flew away, while their wings flapped and resounded in a low pitch.

Thus, *shuwobanijatun* is held in awe by women in particular even now as a spirit which attacks a woman or kidnaps a baby. According to an account given by Anas, Simbi's wife, an incident also took place some ten years ago in which a baby was murdered by a *shuwobanijatun*. In a mountain near Watakataui, a woman was engaged in garden work. She put her baby in her netbag and hung it on the branch of a nearby tree. When she returned home in the evening, the baby began to cry frantically in a low voice like that of a grown-up, quickly became limp, and died in the middle

8. Although man hunting (*ima tegate*) frequently results in a death, sometimes it does not.

of night. Presumably, it was a *yafodumuq* tree that she hung her netbag on. In respect to this incident, people say that a *shuwobanijatuj* stealthily replaced the human baby with a 'spirit-baby' (*yabosga yonuxombos*). Apparently, a human baby and a spirit-baby cannot be physically distinguished from each other. However, the difference can be noted because of the latter's low, weird cry.

e. *Mayamotum*

Mayamotum (plural) are spirits said to have been originally born in the ground under Mt Beinatuwolis (located at the Upper Weisas) and, passing through the underground waterway, have come to dwell in the water of scattered lakes, ponds, and marshes. In the singular, a male spirit is called *mayamotuj*, a female spirit *mayamotus*.

Among them, there were sister spirits named Yamus and Bobus. Yamus dwelled in a marshland along the Middle Wogupmeri River, while Bobus dwelled in a wetland on the Upper Weisas. One time, Bobus went to meet her elder sister, Yamus, passing through the underground waterway. Yamus lived in a marsh surrounded with dense grassland. At dusk, the rustling of water grass and the sound of water came into hearing from afar. These sounds were made by the snakes (one of the shapes assumed by *mayamotuj*) Yamus lived with, as they returned with game they had caught, such as cuscuses and bandicoots. One of the snakes coiled round Bobus and sniffed about. Biting their game to pieces, the snakes then gave this to Bobus.

Before dawn Bobus met a man sharpening a spear in a marsh on her way home from the place where her elder sister lived. He was a *mayamotuj* named Ombuij. Bobus decided to live together with him in that marshland. Presently, when one boy and one girl were born from them, they sent these children into the Lower Weisas. These children settled at Lake Shujebas on the east side of Meska and, through brother and sister marriage, also had one boy and one girl. These two children were sent to Lake Ankwebajes, just east of Lake Shujebas where, likewise, they had one boy and one girl. These children migrated to Lake Bajuibajes to the north of Meska, and one boy and one girl were born to them. These children began to dwell in a wetland along the Tafas River flowing into the Korosameri from the west (see map 3).

In the meantime, another boy and girl were subsequently born to Bobus and Ombuij. They sent these two into a marshland in the basin of the Numofas River, which stretches eastward from the Middle Weisas. A boy and girl born from the two migrated to Lake Ugotubaj to the south of Watakataui, and their two children were sent into a wetland of the Igufas River flowing on the opposite side of the Weisas. These also had two children who went over to a marshland of the Yokofas River, further to the southwest of the Igufas River. The boy and girl born there went away from the Yokofas to the Korosameri, headed toward its upper reaches, and began to live in a lake near Bisorio. In this way, *mayamotum* came to dwell in almost all the

lakes and marshes around the Weisas, Korosameri, and Mombugotus Rivers, along which the Waxei live. These spirits which derived from Bobus and Ombuij are called 'descendants of *mayamotum*' (*mayamotukokwam*).

As may be gathered from this myth, *mayamotum* are largely personified. In particular, aspects such as having children through brother and sister marriage and the dispersion of descendants, are reminiscent of episodes seen in human ancestral myths (e.g., refer to the ancestral myth of Haishomir clan in appendix 1). Also, the female ancestors of Wesayom clan are even thought to have originally been *mayamotum* dwelling in a marshland on the upper reaches of the Weisas and, it is said that, refusing to intercourse with men, they conceived only girls by letting their genitals open and catch the wind (refer likewise to appendix 1). Yet, it still remains true that *mayamotum* are evil supernatural spirits in both nature and acts, and it is reported in many tales that, by contacting human beings, they did them harm. Among others, there is a well-known tale that the descendants of *mayamotum* sent into Lake Shujebas to the east of Meska attacked human beings:

Once a group called Tomtoj lived on Mt Bojujoi, near Lake Shujebas, although they are now extinct.⁹ A married couple once came to a forest hut along the Lower Weisas, together with their mother. The man went hunting with a dog and the mother went to the river to catch fish. The woman had a large swelling on the thigh of her right leg and could not walk, so she stayed alone in the hut. There, two women approached in canoes—they were *mayamotum* coming from Lake Shujebas. Seeing the woman's swelling, the two told her that they would treat it and brought the woman outside; then, spreading the bark of a palm trunk, they let the woman lie down on it and placed a tub made of the skin of a palm leafstalk beside her thigh. When one of them made a cut in the swelling with a broken piece of stone, blood flowed profusely into the tub. *Mayamotus* then sliced it off completely. When the woman screamed loudly due to the intense pain, the other held a hand over her mouth. One then proceeded with cutting off not only the swelling but also the flesh of the leg. Blood spouted out unceasingly and the woman fainted. Then she breathed her last. These *mayamotum* cut the woman's corpse into pieces, like one would cut a pig, and put pieces of flesh with bones and guts into their netbags. They made a fire, burned the head alone, ate the facial flesh, brain, and eyeballs, and hung the skull on the eaves of the hut with rattan. Then, one of them took out a cordyline leaf from inside her netbag and, after making a knot, inserted the leaf into the skull from one of the earholes.

9. Tomtoj is a dialect group of the Woxogoto (a group which lived to the west of Watakataui) who were incorporated into the Waxei, and is said to have had a strong socio-cultural affinity with the Waxei (see map 1). This tale was brought to the Waxei by way of the Woxogoto.

It was a sign revealing their identity as murderers. Putting the netbags on the canoe, the two went back to the lake while loudly crying "wii ... aah!".

Hearing that voice, the old mother who was catching fish, thought that the woman was calling. She hastily returned to the hut to find the skull hung on the eaves. It did not take long to notice that it was the woman's skull. She took it down, put it in the hut, and screamed, loudly calling the woman by name. Then the man returned from hunting. Hearing that his wife had been murdered, the man also cried bitterly. When his tears subsided, he reproached the mother for not having gone with his wife on the canoe. However, it was too late now. The two went back to the village on the mountain, bringing the skull with them.

Seeing the cordyline leaf, the men soon realised that it was a leaf growing in Lake Shujebas and that the *mayamotum* dwelling there had murdered the woman. It was decided that the woman's elder brother go scouting first. Into the ears of the elder brother, who was approaching the lake in the dark, came a singing voice rumbling low from within the lake. It was a "song of man hunting", sung by *mayamotum* celebrating that they obtained human flesh. Turning back soon to the village, the elder brother reported to the villagers. The men began to prepare for fighting by sharpening their spears and bringing out their shields.

Early next morning, the men armed themselves and made their way towards the lake. The elder brother, who was at the head, found a woman pounding sago pith by the lake. It must have been a *mayamotum*. Approaching stealthily, the elder brother threw himself upon her in one breath and tried to spear her. The spear was sure to hit its mark, but the woman's body disappeared in an instant. At the same time, a strong wind blew from the lake. This was because the *mayamotum*, who saw the assault, breathed together at once from inside the water. The breath developed into a gust and attacked the men, while echoing a low sound. Becoming unable to even open their eyes, the men began to be gradually pushed backward. Utterly failing to contend with it, they could do nothing but run away. However, the wind tenaciously chased the fleeing men. When they managed to run back to the village, an elder who had stayed back brought out a curcuma root and, bit it, and spat at the wind again and again. Then the wind at last subsided. Since that time, people have been afraid of even getting near Lake Shujebas.

This tale, which was transmitted from the Tomtoj, is taken as an account with a very strong persuasive and regulatory power, even to the Waxei who currently live in Meska, just on the west side of Lake Shujebas. However, the Waxei interpret that the murdered woman became a target of the spirits because she was left alone and that, if only several human beings stay together as a group, *mayamotum* have no such power to kill them. Therefore, among the Waxei, there are some who say that, although they avoid as much as possible going alone to Lake Shujebas to catch fish, it is safe if they go in a group. This tale relating the nature of *mayamotum*

also reveals the Waxei's own nature that they fearfully abhor being placed in an isolated situation or working alone.

f. Songum

Spirits dwelling in the water of inlets of big rivers are generically termed *songum* (plural). Among them, a male spirit is called *songuq*, a female spirit *songus*; they are thought to be an elder brother and his sister.¹⁰ Both Kumbojujois and Yajojois, which were called by name by the spirit of the dead which possessed a man in chapter 1, are *songus* dwelling in an inlet of the Saitunas River (a tributary of the Mombugotus). Both are said to frequently turn themselves into fish, particularly the grey mullet and large catfish, which show themselves on the surface of water in the night. They are held in awe as beings into which these female spirits incarnated themselves.

In an inlet a little upstream of Bobugutos, Songuq made his appearance for the first time:

When a woman was washing out sago starch there, a nondescript monster came up to the surface and began to eat the waste fibre of the sago the woman had thrown away. The face of that slim-bodied monster looked like that of a human being and the lower half of its body looked like the tail of a crocodile. The frightened woman hurried back to the village and called to fetch the men. However, the monster has already disappeared. The men asked the woman to keep on washing sago, then went into the forest and got bines of rattan. Then, while hiding in the grass, they watched what would happen. The monster presently came up again. At once, four men jumped into the river with rattan and, just when they coiled the bines around the monster's body, the men on the bank pulled desperately. The monster's resistance was strong and the men were almost dragged into the river again and over again, but they managed to pull it onto the bank. The monster, landing on the ground, stopped moving as if it were dead.

The men, utterly exhausted, had no further energy to bring the monster to the village halfway up the mountain. Thinking out a plan, they went into the forest and brought back a sago grub. Making a long string from the gnetum fibre,¹¹ they tied the sago grub to the tip and placed it under the nose of the monster. Drawn by the smell, just when the monster opened its eyes and tried to bite the grub, the men gently pulled the string. The monster crawled, chasing after the grub. The men pulled the string again and the monster again

10. Although "Songuq" originally referred to a male spirit and "Songus" to his sister, these terms are now used generically to refer to spirits living in water inlets.

11. A woody plant (*Gnetum gnemon*) with edible leaves, called *tulip* in Tok Pisin. Its trunk fibre is used as a material for grass skirts or netbags.

moved towards the grub. By repeating this, the men let the monster move by itself and successfully lure it into the village.

The monster which was led into the men's house, stopped moving, becoming like a stone. The men tied it securely to a post, encircled it with a wooden cage, and returned home to sleep. That night the monster appeared in the dream of an elder. The monster told him that he was a spirit named Songuq, dwelling in an inlet, and would no longer do human beings harm, if only they would make a wood carving in his form out of a *nojus* tree, which grows on the riverside, and treasure it. When the elder woke up early the next morning and went to the men's house, the monster had disappeared. However, the men, thinking that it must have managed to escape in some way or other, did not heed whatever the elder talked about from his dream.

After a while, when another woman was washing out sago in a different inlet, the monster appeared again. This time, the monster pounced upon the woman, even without eating the sago waste, and dragged her into the river. Despite all her resistance, she drowned and was immediately swept away by the river. At that time, a man who happened to be shaping a canoe downstream, noticed the corpse moving, bobbing above and below the surface of the river, and pulled it out. The villagers thought that the woman had slipped down into the river by mistake and had drowned. After a night, the corpse was placed, as usual, on a stand made on the outskirts of the village. Presently, the corpse began to putrefy and the fats dripped from both sides down to the ground and gathered. Soon after, a sago palm grew from the fats which had dripped on the mountaintop side, while a bamboo grew from the fats gathered below. Both were of a species never seen before; the sago was named *baisujis*, the bamboo *kamdajos*.

One night, Songuq appeared again in the dream of the woman's husband. Explaining that he had killed the woman himself because the men did not make a wooden carving, he ordered that they should make it soon and sprinkle blood on it; they should also make bamboo flutes with the bamboo which grew from the fats and blow into them. The men, having heard what was told in the dream, this time obeyed the words of Songuq. First, they went to the riverside, cut the trunk of a *nojus* tree and brought it back. In the men's house, they began to make a wood carving while anxiously trying to remember the monster's form. They also cut *kamdajos* bamboo, brought it back, and, by gouging out the nodes and making holes for blowing, they prepared two long bamboo flutes. When they completed a wood carving by working through the night, they went to the forest and brought back a branch of a *kobitas* tree, a palm leafstalk, and curcuma root. When the husband of the dead woman thrust a slender bamboo chip into his penis. After rotating it inside, he pulled it out and blood spouted out. He collected the blood in a tub of palm bark and soaked *kobitas* leaves in it. Then, after biting the curcuma root, he spat at the leaves, chanted a spell,¹² and patted all over the wood carving with the bloodstained leaves again and again. Beside it, two

12. This spell is called the 'spell of *waiduj*' (*waiduj windioqom*), deriving from the name of the curcuma.



Plate 11: A wood carving of *songuq*

men blew into the bamboo flutes. A low sound came out of the bamboo flutes and the wood carving began to sway by itself. Songus entered the bamboo flutes and sang, while Songuq, who dwelt in the wood carving, danced in accompaniment to his younger sister. Towards dawn, when the men had tired of blowing, they stood the bamboo flutes against the wall. The wood carving also proceeded to them, leaned similarly against the wall, and stopped moving. Since that time, the wood carving has never moved again.



Plate 12: Playing Songus' bamboo flutes

The wooden statue of Songuq consists of a long profile with a pointed jaw, straight stretching backbone, bent hands and feet projecting from the backbone, with the liver held between the hands and feet, and a long tail extending from the backbone (see plate 11). The method for making it is still handed down among Waxei men. After making it frequently, they have it placed in the men's house or their own houses. At present, two sets of long bamboo flutes—two making one set—called Songus (190–220 cm in length and c. 5 cm in diameter) are kept in the men's house. Many men think that, as long as they retain this wood carving and the bamboo flutes, Songuq and Songus will not harm human beings, and they can safely engage in washing sago and bathing in water inlets.

Today, however, the sprinkling of penis blood is seldom practiced when making a wood carving. Also, since there are now only two men who know how to play Songus' bamboo flutes (plate 12), opportunities for actual performance have become extremely few. So, in December 1985, when a woman drowned to death due to a recurrence of her epileptic fits, some of the elders are said to have thought that this was the act of *songus*. Retaining the wood carving and bamboo flutes merely for the sake of form is, in fact, of no value. In any wood carving, Songuq dwells only by men

sprinkling blood over it, while Songus is invoked into any bamboo flute and is induced by men blowing into it. Songus and Songuq, thus, are really appeased by such approaches from human beings. The men are beginning to think seriously again about the meanings of the myths.

B. Cognition of spirits and the world

The main points of the Waxei's cognition of spirits, which have been detailed above, may be summarised as follows.

First, spirits of the dead dwell in the worlds of spirits under mountains, specified according to clans. At night they wear a feather coat of pheasant coucal and come flying into the world of human beings. Turning into various birds or canoeing about in human form, they wander around the human world at night and return again to their respective worlds of spirits before dawn. When a person dies while maintaining a strong grudge against someone or when new trouble occurs with any of its encumbrances, the spirit of this dead person or a spirit noticing such trouble may appear for revenge and wound or kill a human being. It is also spirits of the dead that, responding to arrangements or requests made by human beings, emerge through possession of a human being or bamboo and talk to human beings or respond to questions from human beings. Through such dialogues with human beings, a spirit of the dead reveals which spirit committed murder and makes known the reasons and circumstances of the murder.

However, even when the cause of a person's death is made clear in that way, it does not follow that fundamental changes immediately occur in people's lives. However much human beings who have lost relatives by murder may grieve, get angry, or be prompted to retaliate, human beings are not endowed with such power as to enable them to commit murder so easily. Instead, a person's grudge is satisfied by the spirits of the dead. While confusing human beings by laying their disgraceful affairs bare, they also undertake responsibilities for death, so to say, so that human beings do not continue to murder each other. That is, spirits of the dead, by killing and wounding human beings themselves, protect human beings in a paradoxical way.

Spirits of sorcery are special spirits in the sense that they are basically a kind of supernatural spirit, yet their emergence is controlled by a human being who knows a special spell. According to an origin myth, they inhabit a large tree on the mountain, come into being from the tree's nut, turn into bats, and attack human beings. Thus, it is recognised that, in some aspects,

they resemble in nature one of the supernatural spirits, *shuwobanijatu*. However, the Waxei principally classify spirits according to their dwelling places. The trees in which both of them dwell are recognised as being distinctly different from each other, and the bats, into which they transform, are also different in colour and shape. Therefore, it does not occur that both are put into the same category or identified with each other.

Furthermore, although it is a human being having a certain grudge against another that presents an opportunity for a spirit of sorcery to appear, its motive itself lies primarily in revenge resulting from human relations. In this regard, a spirit of sorcery is taken as a spirit having, like a spirit of the dead, a power for sanctioning human beings. However, being different from a spirit of the dead which moves voluntarily, a spirit of sorcery is made to move as a human being's agent and similarly assumes the role of satisfying a grudge. Thus, spirits of sorcery may be regarded as unique beings which have their position midway between spirits of the dead and supernatural spirits, combining the natures of both.

Lastly, supernatural spirits refer to evil forces which dwell here and there in the ecological environment in which the Waxei live and appear from time to time, frightening people and thus exerting strong control or influence over their ways of thinking and sensitivity. In rivers, lakes, and marshes as places for catching fish, in rivers as passages for daily movement, in inlets as places for bathing, mooring canoes or washing sago, and in mountains and forests as places for hunting and gathering animals and plants—supernatural spirits dwell in a great many spots of such living environments. Even by roughly identifying the dwelling places of spirits as shown in the myths and tales of personal experiences on a map, it is well known how densely the places for living are surrounded by spirits.

Such being the case, as long as human beings go on living, they cannot avoid contact with spirits or being attacked by them. People are obliged to get along while assuming this fear as a premise or while always being afraid of the sudden attack of any lurking spirit. In this point lies the social significance of the Waxei's detailed classification of supernatural spirits, transmitting many myths delineating their characters and also handing down various tales of personal encounters from generation to generation.

Although the various spirits shown in the Waxei's classification of spirits differ in their nature, it is possible to extract several common features in their way of spirit cognition and particularly on the perceptual level of how they sense spirits. What serve as their keywords are

concepts such as: 'life' (*yogoq*); 'thinking' (*yogoq*); 'shadow', 'breath', 'wind', 'low sound' (*yogoq*); and 'power' (*yabosg*). A spirit is also a being having a 'life', harbours evil 'thinking', and therefore attacks or even murders a human being. The emergence of a spirit is perceived visually as a 'shadow' wavering in the dark, tangibly as a gentle 'wind' or breeze caused by a spirit's 'breath', and audibly as a 'low sound' like a sigh or deep breath. Through such a 'shadow', 'breath', and 'low sound', people sense a spirit's 'life', that is, its 'power'.

This cognition of people about how various spirits exist and their imagination about how spirits exist in such ways, are the factors determining the Waxei's actual life. Irrespective of whether one may regard the tales woven around the spirits as those which reflect similar incidents which took place in the human world, such as the processes through which a group, the Waxei, was formed and the battles with other groups—or one may regard them as manifestations of social feelings assigned to the categorised nature—it is an undeniable fact that these are the product of the people's sensitivity and cultural imagination. And, by such sensitivity and imagination, spirit cognition becomes an actuality in full measure.

From a general survey of mythical episodes and personal experiences telling how spirits emerge, one may observe a tendency that not only the spirits of the dead but also the spirits of sorcery and supernatural spirits are basically personified. It may be said to be the consciousness of personification as expressed in concrete deeds by spirits or ways in which they contact human beings, in the spheres beyond the general character with which spirits are endowed—they can incarnate themselves at will also as a human being. In particular, the fact that supernatural spirits, which may be regarded as beings resulting from the "spiritualisation" of nature, are furthermore personified, is suggestive of a certain continuity between nature, spirits, and human beings, or a unity of nature and human beings which is mediated by spirits. To the Waxei, mere things of nature do not exist.

If we extend this point, an important aspect stands out: similarities between myths about spirits ("narratives of various things") and myths about human ancestors ("narratives of ancestors"). Although the Waxei distinguish outwardly between the two, they are essentially continuous to each other with the same core.

For example, in many of the histories of the progenitors of the ten Waxei clans, common patterns can be observed, such as uncertain ways in which they came into being, movement to remote places, dispersion, meetings

with strangers, and settlement. These are, in other words, also the transcendental existence, roving, wandering, encounters with human beings, and settled dwelling in specific places, which can almost be identified with the very existential patterns of spirits (for the ancestral myths of the ten clans, see appendix 1 in which all of them are described).

In the case of Nunguwase, one of the central Waxei clans, the progenitor or founder, Odifo, originally lived as a catfish in the river. One time, he jumped out of the river and, taking off his catfish skin, transformed himself into a flying fox. Flying over to Mombugotus River, he took off his flying fox skin and turned into a human shape. Even after that, when going for food, he took the shape of a flying fox and flew about, and, soon after landing on his feet, he resumed a human shape again. Such modes of transformation and metamorphosis at will, and transition and wandering may be said to be the very ways in which spirits exist.

In the case of the ancestors of other clans too, merely by roughly surveying the myths, similar natures can be instantly recognised. The progenitor of Fogosei clan, for example, had feet in the shape of a pig's and ate sago starch and sago grubs (see plate 13) untidily like a pig. However, by crossing a bridge made of the soft bark of a tree, the pig feet came off and he turned into a perfect human figure. A woman, one of the ancestors of Ogufaiyo clan, who was always eating the young pith of a sago petiole, was transformed into a sulphur-crested cockatoo the moment she put the yellowish sprout of the sago pith on her head and flew away. Among the ancestors of Baishumei clan, there were persons who assumed various patterns of transformation, such as one who, by putting on or taking off a coat of parakeet feathers, transformed himself into a bird or human being, one who was transformed from a cormorant into a human being, and also one who, conversely, metamorphosed into a grey mullet from a human being. In the case of Haishomir clan, its progenitor is said to have been born from a cassowary's egg and the cassowary also could assume the shape of a human being. The pro-



Plate 13: Sago grubs

genitors of Gesei clan were transformed from sago grubs, while the progenitor of Kabindei clan is said to have transformed himself into an eagle and attacked his enemy. And, it was from a goshawk that the progenitor of Wesayom clan was born and there were also ancestors who metamorphosed themselves into flycatchers or palms.

Among ancestral myths, similarities to or relationships with specific spirits can also be pointed out. For example, the village of fish-men under a riverbed into which one of Baishumei clan's progenitors strayed, indeed reminds us of the village of the spirits of dead fish and the village of spirits of dead human beings, the existence of which the Waxei still believe in today. The tale of a woman appearing in Fogosei clan's myth who was transformed into a crowned pigeon as retribution for having helped murder after being enticed by a bat, may be regarded as a reversal of the relation in which a human being, by controlling a bat (= spirit of sorcery), makes it commit murder.

The progenitors of Yomisei clan, said to have emerged from inside an underground rock, vividly remind us of a relationship with *wingufum* which dwell in a mountain rock cave. The progenitors of Bagisei clan (= hornbill-man), who dwelt in a big tree on the mountain, strongly reminds us of a relation with *shuwobanijatum*. The men who were born from the blood of the progenitors of Wesayom clan also suggest a relationship with *songum*, both of which came to life with human blood. In the case of Wesayom's female ancestors, who are said to have resisted men on every occasion, it is clearly recognised that they had originally been *mayamotum* dwelling in marshes. Furthermore, incidentally, those spirits of snakes and lizards which attacked the ancestors of Ogufaiyo clan's ancestors, thus compelling them to migrate, may be clearly taken as a type of supernatural spirit, although they are not given names or classified, while the dogs which dug the progenitors of Yomisei clan out of a rock and the dogs which lived with Wesayom clan's female ancestors (= *mayamotum*), may be taken as spirit-dogs.

In short, progenitors appearing in the myths cannot substantially be distinguished from spiritual beings. Or, in other words, it may also properly be said that mythical beings are spiritual beings at the same time. A spirit is a "shadow" and "power". The figures of ancient ancestors as they appear in people's eyes are beings exactly like "shadows", and their very "power" as spirits bears an ontological value as the source of existence of people who are living now. And, conversely, as long as spirits

are sensed as a vivid emergence in reality, mythical beings also appear as real beings.

A person dies, and, after becoming a spirit of the dead, living in the world of spirits, he/she continues to maintain ties with the human world in the form of retaliatory murder and possession. At this time, however, the dead have already turned into "ancestors" immediately after death. That is, the acts and thoughts of the spirits of the dead in which human beings stand in awe and also abhor, are already contained in the category of "ancestors"; what is recognised as the "power" of spirits of the dead is, in fact, synonymous with the "power" of the ancestors. In this sense, living human beings, human beings who have just died, spirits of the dead which already exist, ancestors as an aggregate of the dead, and progenitors who are positioned at their root, are substantially continuous. In a word, a human being who has just died is not epistemologically different in positioning at all from the progenitors who died in long-gone days. Therefore, whenever people face someone's death, they immediately go beyond the way of taking it to be an incident within the framework of time and can easily leap into the world where live their progenitors=mythical beings, the very source of their own existence.

If one accepts this context, one also notices that there is nothing separating the way supernatural spirits should exist from the way the progenitors should exist. Apparently, in the static classification, supernatural spirits are differentiated from spirits of the dead as beings having different dwelling places and different characters. However, as has already been seen, in respect to the manner in which they are sensed—they appear as a "shadow" while making a "low sound" of "breath"—and their substance as the "power" they exert upon human beings, they, beyond a superficial classification, basically do not differ at all from spirits of the dead in that they bring about a paradoxical reality of "life". The great threat which the "power" of supernatural spirits deals to human beings, at the same time gives human beings a tenacity to "life". Supernatural spirits, therefore, are not the mere product of people's awe towards nature, but are the "power" which, while corresponding to categorised nature, wander beyond that category, and it is exactly common in existential ways with mythical beings.

Accordingly, it may be said that the ontological foundations and models of spirits lie in myths, while, on the other hand, mythical beings appear in the real world as spirits. And this existential mode—a spiritual being as a mythical being and a mythical being as a spiritual being—means that the

very myths which the Waxei call the "narratives of beginnings" are functioning as a model of the actual world. The existence of spirits is guaranteed by the myths, and every time a spirit is sensed, a myth revives. The world is formed on this very dialectic relationship. The nature of myths that they offer people the basis for cognition of the world and behavioural models (Honko 1984:49) is, needless to say, supported by people's keen sensitivity and imagination, and it is the same people's identical sensitivity and imagination that create images of progenitors as the root of life and also make images of spirits as the source of death.

C. Guxaj and Sagais

Among the diverse variety of spirits recognised by the Waxei, *sagaim*, supernatural spirits said to dwell in riverside rocks or trees and plants along rivers, have a particularly important meaning to the Waxei. This is not only because the power of *sagaim* is especially strong and they are the spirits the Waxei fear most, but also because in *sagaim* a being which may be called a "spirit of spirits" is included—Guxaj.

According to the Waxei classification of spirits, Guxaj is basically thought to be a form of the male spirit *sagaiq* and is said to inhabit various trees and grasses growing on the riverside—the *tageya* tree and *nomis* grass, in particular. Guxaj also wanders here and there, in and around the Mombugotus and Weisas Rivers, and incarnates himself at will into various animals. He controls every *sagaiq* concerning the manner in which a *sagaiq* emerges and kills or wounds human beings. It may be said that every *sagaiq* is Guxaj's alter ego controlled by Guxaj.

Therefore, the name Guxaj, being more generalised, is often used synonymously with the generic term *sagaiq*. Or, it sometimes occurs that Guxaj is expressed as the 'root of *sagaiq*' (*sagaiquxo muna:s*). Guxaj's origin and character are explained in detail in the Waxei's "narratives of roots" and, due to his primordality and outstanding transcendence delineated in such myths, Guxaj is positioned at the root of *sagaiq*.

Behind people's cognition of *sagaiq*, Guxaj's "shadow" always follows as an original image. In the following tale concerning *sagaiq*, for example, Guxaj's figure is clearly superimposed. It happened in the days when the Waxei still stayed in Bobugutos:

A *sagaiq* dwelling far away in the Blackwater River chewed a curcuma root and spat around at the water. Then, that "breath" left the body and, moving on along the surface of the river, he came to the junction of the Korosameri and Salumei Rivers, when he returned again to the original body. Feeling that

one was not enough, he chewed another curcuma and spat, and the breath reached somewhere near Meska. Then, when he chewed another and spat, the breath entered the Weisas River and, moving on and on, came to the Mombugotus River. *Sagaiq* incarnated himself into a crocodile and began to pursue the course along which this breath passed. When *sagaiq* came near Bobugutos, he found boys bathing in water and immediately pulled out all of his teeth. Fixing his eyes on a boy, he slowly approached underwater. Opening his mouth wide, he suddenly jumped at the boy, swallowed him, and went down the river. The other boys made a great uproar as their friend was attacked by a crocodile and the villagers searched around in full force, but the crocodile completely vanished from sight. However, the boy was not killed. Taken away to the Blackwater River while still alive in the crocodile's belly, the boy successfully got out of the mouth of the crocodile when, with its mouth wide open, it napped on its back on the riverbank and sought refuge with the Kapriman living nearby. Ingratiating himself with them by teaching people how to make and cook with a fire, he is said to have begun to live there and stayed there until the end of his life.

Magical acts of the spirit, propagation of "breath", incarnation into the crocodile, emergence on the riverbank, attacking the boy delineated in this tale—all these aspects can be thought to be figurative or indirect expressions of the figure of Guxaj as a mythical being. According to a myth which is described in detail in the next chapter, Guxaj, assuming a form like a crocodile, appeared in the human world from a river, brought an initiation in which boys get scarred on the back and are thereby endowed with power as full-fledged men, taught a "song" and slit-drum percussion which remind men of him, left a wood carving in his form, and also handed down powerful therapeutic magic. The account in the tale of *sagaiq*, that the crocodile appeared in the river and swallowed the boy after pulling its teeth lest it hurt the boy, is obviously thought to be the negative or reversed image of the mythic motif that Guxaj hurt the boys by using his big teeth, while *sagaiq*'s magical acts using curcuma are also suggestive of the existence of Guxaj's spell using betelnut—a secret spell handed down only to men.

Guxaj's images permeate among people against the background of these tales and myths. For example, when someone is attacked by a crocodile, the Waxeï usually think it attributable to *sagaiq* dwelling in the river and accordingly name Guxaj. Behind this we can recognise clear connections in image with the crocodile-like figure into which Guxaj incarnated himself in the myth. Also, for the slit-drum percussion which Guxaj is said to have taught, it should be recalled that either a spirit possessing a human being or a spirit possessing a bamboo, by imitating that percussion, emphasises the image of death each time, thereby striking

deep fear into people. Incidentally, the episode in which the *sagaiq* named Diyaunjunuq attacked the men on the canoe and summoned the other *sagaim* by loudly striking the slit-drum, is obviously modelled after this slit-drum percussion of Guxaj as the base.

In the myth, Guxaj bit two boys to death and, as a result, was driven out of the human world. This very murder typically illustrates the evilness of Guxaj as a supernatural spirit and may also be said to be an incident which became the starting point for Guxaj's reign over human beings as, so to say, a symbolic being of death. In the preceding chapter, for instance, there was a revelation by a possessing spirit that spirits of the dead lured Badaqoe to the Mombugotus River and speared him to death in the belly. People were convinced of this account while being frightened, because it was clearly superimposed by the scenery the myth shows, that Guxaj lured the boys into the men's house and stabbed two of them to death with his big teeth. Although human beings could defeat Guxaj once and expel him in the myth, for fear of Guxaj's retaliation, they were thereafter doomed to be frightened of his power forever.

Also, as told by a spirit which possessed a human being in chapter 1, the supernatural spirit Guxaj is equipped with a mighty power that even controls all the spirits of the dead and induces an atrocious murder. In a dialogue with a possessing spirit, Guxaj was also called *afaiyogos*, which means a 'spirit (*yabosgas*) having gained (*afai*) a life (*yogoq*) of spirits of the dead', that is, Guxaj takes in the power of spirits of the dead as a life.

Spirits of the dead, so to say, are supervisors of the human world and also the embodiment of grudges and retaliations rumbling about in human society, but their evil nature as murderers is thought to be totally attributed to Guxaj. For example, what people understood about the baby's death through dialogues with the spirits possessing the bamboo, was that the spirits of the dead invigorated by Guxaj murdered the baby conspiratorially. That it, spirits of the dead which, appearing for retaliation, attempt to kill human beings, are fundamentally controlled by Guxaj, and such power that can murder human beings is derived from the transcendental power of Guxaj. In this sense, Guxaj is also called the 'root of spirits of the dead' (*nuxui yabosgasuxo muna:s*).

Just as Guxaj is thought to be the "root" of the male spirit *sagaiq*, so, for the female spirit *sagais*, there is a similar being as the "root". It is a spirit called the 'root of *sagais*' (*sagaisixo muna:s*) or 'true *sagais*' (*sagai mafus*), and is also regarded symbolically as Guxaj's wife. What serves as a source of cognition of this spirit, which will be examined in detail in

chapter 4, is a myth that she originally came from the distant Karawari River, incarnated herself into a human female, and gave away bamboo flutes to the Waxei women:

This spirit as the 'root of *sagais*' (which has no specific name and is also called *Sagais*) dwelt in a tributary of the Karawari River and its alter ego dwelt in a bamboo called *taibamus*, growing on the nearby riverside. This spirit, which came to the land of the Waxei, generated *taibamus* there, made many short bamboo flutes by cutting the bamboo to pieces, and gave them away to women. When the women blew into them, *Sagais* entered the bamboo flutes and began to sing. When the performance was over, she went back again to the river. *Sagais*, which is thought to dwell here and there in the river at present, is said to be the alter ego of this "true *sagais*".

Later, the bamboo flutes were to be handed to men, who also keep on, likewise, blowing into them, summoning *Sagais*, and listening to her "talk" today. The spirit *Sagais* makes a gentle appearance only on this occasion and does not hurt people. However, her nature is evil, at least potentially, and nobody knows when her attacking force is directed towards human beings. As a reflection of awe of the supernatural spirit *Sagais*, the bamboo flute performance serves as a unique means for peacefully communicating with the spirit and appeasing her.

Thus, among the diverse variety of supernatural spirits, *Guxaj*, as the "root of *sagaiq*", and the female spirit, as the "true *sagais*" which possesses the bamboo flutes, are particularly important. *Guxaj*, by controlling not only all *sagaiq* but also even the spirits of the dead, turns them to murder. The power of the spirits of the dead is also the power *Guxaj* endowed. Meanwhile, the true *sagais* is the root of all *sagais* which exist now, and their symbolic being. She is also said to be *Guxaj*'s wife. It may be said that, together with *Guxaj*, both are situated as the basis of people's spirit cognition and social feelings in awe of spirits. Therefore, in chapter 3, I will discuss the social meanings *Guxaj* holds through the analysis of his mythical "song" in particular. In chapter 4, I will examine the "talk" the true *sagais* gives by possessing bamboo flutes, centring around the ways in which people sense the spirit and the modes in which people perceive the sounds she makes.

CHAPTER THREE

The "Song" of *Guxaj*

A. The myth of *Guxaj*¹

A WOMAN NAMED *Woqaibofas*, living on Mt *Ubadaniq*,² once caught *Guxaj* with a scoop net and took him back with her. *Woqaibofas* is my ancestor.³

One evening, the woman said to her husband, "Since the sago starch is finished, I'll go cut a sago palm tomorrow. I'll cut a sago palm, pound sago, and return by nightfall."

When night was about to fall, the woman finished pounding sago and, upon returning to the village with a netbag (of sago starch), said to her husband, "I'll go to catch fish tomorrow with a scoop net. I'll make baked sago in the morning."

Early next morning, putting a small netbag (with baked sago for herself inside) and a large netbag (for the fish caught) in the scoop net, the woman went down (*Ubadaniq*) mountain. In an inlet of a stream, (flowing into the *Weisas* River), she tried in vain to catch small fish called *munaij*. The woman

1. This is a condensed translation of one version of the 'myth of *Guxaj*' (*Guxajuxo bujo susuxaj*), narrated in the Waxei language. The original Waxei text appears in full in appendix 2. In the translation, I have tried to reproduce the intrinsic style of speech as faithfully as possible, as well as providing a basic, literal translation. For parts where meanings are hard to grasp, I have put supplementary explanations in parentheses. For place names, refer to maps 2 and 3.

2. Located on the north side of the Upper *Weisas* River. It is said to be the birthplace of *Wesayom* clan.

3. An elder named *Iman*, belonging to *Nunguwase* clan, narrated this myth; *Woqaibofas* also belongs to *Nunguwase*. It is said that, born in *Bobugutos*, she married a man of *Wesayom* clan of Mt *Ubadaniq*, a clan with which there had been marriage relations for a long time.



walked towards the upper reaches and there too scooped up water with the scoop net, but without success. Again, she went on and on toward the upper reaches and, in an inlet there, scooped up water.

Guxaj! Guxaj has come into (the scoop net). When the woman scooped up the net, he was there on the bottom. Guxaj had crept into the lower part of the scoop net. The woman thought, "Is it an *ojuq* [a large-mouthed fish] that was caught? Or a *munaij*?" The woman held (the scoop net) over her head. "No, it's not! But what, I wonder, is this?" The woman stared at it attentively. "I've never seen a thing like this in this river. What on earth has come into (the scoop net)?" As she thought about this and that, she was seized with fear and stood up.

Holding (the scoop net with Guxaj) in her arms, the woman went up the road (leading to the village). Then, Guxaj uttered a sound, "*libu, libu, libu...*" "Wow! What? What is this? He makes a sound! It may be better to throw him away. But, it's no good." While twisting the scoop net time and again (so that Guxaj would not escape), the woman went up to her house.

The husband (of the woman) was sitting (in the men's house). The woman shouted (from the outside): "Hey you, come here please! Come out and look at what I've caught." The man came out alone and asked, "What on earth did you catch?" And then said, "Even I don't know what it is. No one has seen this sort of thing. Should never be." "I also think so. I too have never seen it before, and this must be true for everyone else." "By the way, have you just caught it?" The woman explained, "I tried to catch fish, but quite in vain. Then, in the inlet (on the upper reaches), (Guxaj was) caught (instead). Presently, he began to utter '*libu, libu, libu...*' by himself, you see." The man said, "Enough, I understand." (Just then) Guxaj uttered "*wah!*". (Astonished, the man said to the woman,) "Move aside! I'll take him in my hands and look at him." The man took (Guxaj) in his hands and brought him up to the upper floor of the men's house.

Guxaj said, "You, my fellows, bring up all the slit-drums from below. I'll strike for you now. Listen well." Getting on (the slit-drums placed side by side), Guxaj began to strike them while rocking his body, (using his hands, feet, and tail), "*Bom, bom, bom...*" "My fellows, are you listening closely?" "Yes, we are listening," all the men replied.

"I've decided to stay on in the men's house forever. You, over there, do you have a boy in your house?" The men replied, "All of us have." "All right, take those boys with you in the evening. Be sure to place canoes cut in two (in the men's house). Then, sing the song I'll teach you now. Fetch all the children, while singing." Towards evening, the men cut canoes and placed them (in the men's house). Carrying many, they counted them. Looking at the fragments brought into the men's house, Guxaj said, "All right, good." The men, having brought in all the canoes, went out of the fence of the men's house one after the other, while singing. They walked to fetch the children.

Before long the men came back to a small mound beside the men's house. Coming back, they brought the boys (to the canoes placed in the men's

house). By letting them lie down on *wojinom*,⁴ they covered the body of each boy with red earth. (Each) boy laid down on the breast of two *wojinof*. Then, Guxaj came down from the upper floor and bit the boys, cutting them (on the back). Thus cut, the boys went to the upper floor of the men's house and slept on the floor. They continued to sleep till morning and then rested while sitting (in the men's house).

Next morning, (the boys) went to bathe in the river. When they went, they rubbed their cuts again and again. Then, the cuts left by Guxaj's bite turned into scars. After rubbing the cuts made by Guxaj time and again, the boys came back. They returned to the men's house after finishing rubbing, sat down, and rested.

(After about a week) when the boys were about to finish (their rest in the men's house), (Guxaj) said that they should be covered with red earth. After covering themselves with red earth, the boys showed themselves before the women. The women got angry. They got angry, saying that the boys, entering the men's house, came out scarred.

The boys went deep into the forest, drained off water (by damming the river), and caught fish. Then, they steamed sago with heated stones and, after steaming the fish they had also (caught) with heated stones, they drank water. While resting in the men's house, they did not drink water. Then, they ate sago pith, sago grubs, and fish. In the men's house, they did not partake of water, fish, pig, or sago grubs. They steamed (sago and fish) with heated stones and, after eating, showed themselves again before the women. The women, after taking a careful look at (each boy's body), said, "All right." The *wojinom* then gave small netbags (to the boys). After they gave small netbags with tobacco leaves and betelnuts inside, they walked to the men's house.

The men and the (scarred) boys entered (the men's house) and chatted. Then, Guxaj said, "You, my fellows, go to fetch boys again." The men, (taking other boys out of the women's house) again, took them to the men's house. The fathers and boys (who were brought along) began to sing while rocking their bodies. While dancing, they went out (of the men's house). The fathers danced around the men's house and the boys danced (with the mothers) around the women's house. The boys, who were thus singing and dancing in great amusement, went towards the small mound again.

Guxaj again bit the boys who lay down (on the canoes in the men's house). Guxaj bit one of them to death. This was Bofiyoga's child. The men cried, "Killed! Bofiyoga's child! Don't let the mother see. Never, no!" The men buried (the boy's corpse) under the ground of the men's house. They waited (until the corpse was reduced only to bones). Guxaj kept on striking (the slit-drums). The men did nothing but wait.

(Presently) a man called and the *wojinof* (of the dead boy) entered (the men's house). The body (of the boy) had rotted and only bones remained. The *wojinof* took out the skull from inside a hole in the ground and placed it on

4. *Wojinoj* (singular; *wojinof*, dual; *wojinom*, three or more) refers to a friend of a boy's father. He is a man not in kinship with the boy or father. The boy and the man call each other *wojinof*. Two *wojinof* take care of one boy.

the upper floor (of the men's house). The men, after painting red earth (over the skull), sat (around) and said, "Finely finished. This is enough." Then, Guxaj said, "Good. Then, go to fetch boys again. Go now."

The men went and fetched (other boys) three times. And three times they let the boys enter (the men's house). When the boys entered (within the fence), (Guxaj) cut the boys three times and killed a boy again. This was the second time (that he killed). Guxaj stabbed (too strongly with his big teeth) and threw away (the corpse) as it was. The men buried (the corpse) again in the hole.

Guxaj kept on striking the slit-drums. A man said, "What the hell's going on! That's enough!" It was the (dead boy's) father. "That chap, Guxaj, killed." The father said tearfully, "That fellow Guxaj, does he know whose child he killed?" The father soon came back with a spear and thrust it at Guxaj. Guxaj rose up (from the slit-drums).

"Don't (let him go)!" Soon, those around the men's house also rose up and began to throw spears at Guxaj. Guxaj fled to the ground floor (with sago leaves hanging all around). The men, standing by a gateway (on the ground floor), threw spears. When Guxaj ran outside from another gateway, the men also ran after him. The spears (thrust into his body) were (half-)broken and Guxaj ran about as he tried to escape. Then, when Guxaj entered inside from another gateway, the men threw more spears from a different gateway. Unable to endure, Guxaj came out. Spears were thrown one after another, and broke (whenever they hit).

Guxaj left the men's house, went out of Ubadaniq, and down (the mountain). Guxaj walked down the ridge of Ubadaniq and presently came to an inlet of a small river, where he dived into water. Remaining under water, he advanced rapidly and reached the Weisas River. From there, he went down the Weisas, and here at Meska, he appeared outside from the mouth of the Weisas. Guxaj appeared outside and proceeded to Inalu (along the Salumei River), and from Inalu towards the Upper Sepik River. From there, he made further headway and reached Bongos,⁵ where he turned into a stone—Aikumaj. That stone is named Aikumaj.⁶

B. Initiation and "sway"

As previously described, Guxaj is a fundamental being of the supernatural spirit *sagaiq* and a mythical being which is thought to have brought men's initiation to the Waxei. Initiation continues today, last being performed in 1981 and 1987. The novices are unmarried men, about fifteen to twenty-five years old, and the chief object of the ritual is that they

5. A place which actually exists to the northwest of Ambunti, a town along the Upper Sepik River. A tributary of the Sepik leads to it.

6. Aikumaj is another name for Guxaj. While the name Guxaj is widely known among women, the name Aikumaj is strictly kept secret from them.

are isolated in the "men's house" for about a week and two lines are cut in their backs along the shoulder blades.

The procedure for initiation as now practiced almost comply with the method depicted in Guxaj's myth. First, a song is sung to the accompaniment of slit-drums, before the initiates (*skoim*) enter the fenced-in men's house. It is the 'song of Guxaj' (*Guxa windioqom*). The contents of the song suggest the context of Guxaj's myth. In the evening at dusk, men gather around a small mound (which consists of piled earth, about two metres in diameter and eighty centimetres in height) near the men's house, and women and boys gather around a private house (called the "women's house") a short distance away. They begin to sing in chorus.

When the song is over two to three hours later, the initiates are gathered at the small mound and from there led in a body into the lower part of the men's house. Then, on a fragment of canoe placed on the ground, two *wojinof* (friends of the initiate's father) lie on their backs. On top of them, an initiate lies face down and red earth is painted over his whole body. That is, two *wojinof* support one initiate's body. Either the initiate's father's *kogumoq* (sister's husband) or *kifugaj* (father's sister's husband) inflicts the cuts and, with a keenly sharpened stone, he cuts just like tracing a gentle circular arc symmetrically along the right and left shoulder blades (see plate 14). It is a reproduction of the teeth cuts inflicted by Guxaj in the myth.

All through the night and next day, the initiates rest in the men's house. Before dawn of the following day, they go bathe in a river. The *wojinom*, after washing out the red earth, rub the wound with cordyline leaves and wash again and again, applying sap for healing, squeezed from curcuma leaves, into the wound. When it is over, the initiates return again to the men's house and rest. They are served food cooked by their mothers via their fathers, but the foods they are allowed to eat are restricted. All through their stay in the men's house, they are allowed to take only baked sago, gnetum leaves, and hot water. Next morning, they go again



Plate 14: Initiation scars

to bathe in the river and the scab, which is about to form, is scrubbed off. When this is repeated for five or six days, the wound eventually becomes a scar and is permanent.

Usually, in the morning about a week later, the initiates come back from bathing and finely cover their entire bodies with red earth, wear skirts made of sago and cordyline leaves, apply a laced crescent shell ornament around their necks, and decorate their hair and bracelets by inserting the white feathers of sulphur-crested cockatoos. Leaving the men's house, they show their bodies to their mothers, with the bite of Guxaj standing out in relief. At this point of time, food taboos are lifted, and water, sago pith, sago grubs, small fish, pig, cassowary, cuscus, wallaby, etc. are served in turn day after day. Smoking tobacco and chewing betelnut are also publicly permitted for the first time.⁷

What is characteristic of Waxei initiation is that a man is encouraged to be scarified as many times as possible. A man who finished his first initiation as a boy can be scarified again at an initiation to be held several years later, as long as he remains unmarried. At that time, beneath the scars which already exist along the shoulder blades, two slightly shorter circular arcs are symmetrically cut again on the right and left sides. Should the same man be cut a third time, he is scarified further down. On each such occasion, the same food taboos are imposed.

Every time an initiate receives initiation, his parents must treat the initiate's *yandamuq* (father's sister's son), *kifugaj* (father's sister's husband), *kogumoq* (sister's husband), and *inituj* (elder brother's daughter's husband) with suitable meals—the attendant burden is heavy. It is not possible to get scarred without bearing this burden. Despite this, however, many married Waxei men have two or three sets of scars on their back. This point seems to be important in considering the significance of initiation for the Waxei, that is, the meaning of ritually reproducing Guxaj's bite.

There are many examples which show that an initiation is composed of a symbolic motif of "death and rebirth" involving blood-letting (e.g., see Eliade 1958). These are fundamentally based on the idea that an initiate represents his symbolic "death" by letting part of the blood inherited from his mother run out of his body through a surgical operation, etc., and he is thereafter "reborn" as a self living in the men's world, which is

7. While these foods are tabooed only during the initiation period, four kinds—crocodile, tortoise, eel, and lizard—are long-term taboo foods which may not be eaten from the time when one is born until around the time one begets a child.

something like a secret society isolated from women. Initiation of the Iatmoi (Iatmul) living along the main course of the Sepik River may be regarded to be a typical example of this (Yamada 1986:146-48).

In the case of the Iatmoi, the body of an initiate is extensively cut, from the breast to the shoulder, back, hip, and thigh, so that blood profusely flows out and cicatrised scars, resembling the skin of a crocodile, are formed. With the initiate's blood being received by the body of his maternal uncle, the uncle is regarded to have quasi-delivered him so that, henceforth, in place of the initiate's mother, the uncle acts as his guardian in the men's world. Compared with this, in the Waxei's case, the scar is formed by only two fine lines and the amount of blood which flows is not so large that it can be likened to childbirth. Also, two *wojinof* supporting the body of an initiate are regarded not as performing a quasi delivery by receiving his blood but as serving as mere helpers. In Waxei initiation, the motif of "death and rebirth" seems to be fairly diluted when compared to the Iatmoi.

However, it may be said that the Waxei initiate is also experiencing "death and rebirth" in implications different from that of the Iatmoi. His death is not meant to be a symbolic killing of the self who has lived in the women's world, by discarding the blood inherited from the mother. Rather it is meant to be a quasi experience of death which is almost equivalent to mythical death, by experiencing for himself the role of the boy who was killed by Guxaj in the myth. Rather than being reborn into the men's world as a new self, he can begin to continue living based on the self-awareness that he is a powerful man, by discovering himself who does not die despite being bitten by Guxaj, and thereby possessing himself of power which he could not have before—the power of standing up to Guxaj.

In the context of the myth and also in its actual positioning, Guxaj is a symbol of death and source of power. The origin of that death lies in the death of boys as delineated in the myth and, by that mythical power, Guxaj, as a "root", has come to reign over *sagaiq* and spirits of the dead. Waxei initiation, through the ritual representation of such encounters with Guxaj, is aimed to overcome the fear of mythical death and symbolically take in Guxaj's transcendental power. Therefore, it is not converged on a single emergence of the motif of "death and rebirth". Men believe that, by repeating initiation as a ritual rebirth of myth time and again, they can increase their own power on each such occasion.

Needless to say, the meaning of initiation for women differs from that of men.⁸ In Guxaj's myth and also in the manner in which an initiation is put into practice, relations of men as opposed to women, and men's consciousness of trying to exclude women are clearly noticed. In the myth, Guxaj was first discovered by a woman, but, ever since it was transferred to men, it has been kept secret and women have been kept away from the heart of initiation. In actual initiation, the exclusion of women is furthermore stressed and care is devoted to visual concealment, in particular, so that the men's house, in which the cuts are inflicted, is fenced in and the bathing of initiates is performed stealthily, before women wake up when it is still dark. Furthermore, Guxaj's myth itself, which, so to say, is the text of the ritual, is also kept secret from women and, as far as Aikumaj—Guxaj's secret name—is concerned, men hesitate even to utter it.

However, this stratagem of concealment, as would often be the case, may also be said to fall within the confines of social norms or ideals. A secret tends to leak out between husband and wife,⁹ and the very procedure of the ritual is far from being perfect in respect to the maintenance of secrecy. And yet women are bound to keep on pretending ignorance even if they may know everything, under the threat of men that, if they know any secret, they would be doomed to die and also according to the agreement on social sanctions. Thus, as far as the secret of Guxaj is concerned, it may even be regarded that opposition between men and women is superficial, and, fundamentally, they are rather in some kind of cooperative relation—i.e., it may also be thought that, by playing the respective contradictory roles as unseen actors and unseeing spectators while deceiving each other, they are making up a social drama called initiation.

Another important aspect derived from Guxaj's myth is the concept of "sway". The word *guxaj*, stemming from the proper noun indicating a mythical being, is also used broadly as noun (*guxaj*) and verb stem (*guxa-*) which express dynamic ideas such as 'waver', 'rove', and 'wander', which lie at the base of a spirit's images.¹⁰ This is exactly why Guxaj is

8. A menarche ritual and female initiation, as found among the neighbouring Kapriman, do not exist among the Waxei.

9. Although her name cannot be cited, a woman once definitely told me that her husband had taught her the outline of the myth and the method of cutting.

10. For "rove" (to slowly change position or the way of being) and "wander" (to go on moving aimlessly) the expressions *kaxunei* and *xoto*, respectively, are sometimes used. Ethnosemantically, however, both are included in *guxaj* 'sway' as a broader concept.

recognised as a fundamental spirit and also well illustrates that a spirit as a shadow is thought to be a vague figure, continuing to roam and change without staying at one point.

The word *guxaj* is also used for expressing: a 'flow' of water and 'movement' of waves in the river, the dwelling place for spirits; the 'rustle' and 'shake' of many small leaves; and the 'squirming' of numerous bats swarming in a rock cave. In the case of a spirit, not only its own existential state, but also even its dwelling place is described by this common word involving dynamic images. Furthermore, the word is used to indicate 'to dance' while 'swaying' the body and 'stamping' the ground. Scenes of men singing and dancing in the myth are often depicted by the verbal form of *guxaj*, while, in actual performance too, people dance in one spot, while swaying their body sideways and stamping hard on the floor or ground, or sing while slowly moving anticlockwise. Also the expression *nunguxa-*, as derived from this usage, indicates 'to strike (a slit-drum) while swaying the body' or 'to make a sound by stamping on the floor or ground'. The original images of this expression lie in the scene in the myth in which Guxaj, getting on several slit-drums, strikes them by using his hands, feet, and tail, as well as his motions at the time when he taught Guxaj's song to men.

Furthermore, *xaguxa-* is a verb stem indicating 'to dance amusingly' or 'to leap in a lively way', and *faguxa* is an adjective expressing a 'happy' state—both derive from the word *guxaj* and are based on images associated with Guxaj. That is, although Guxaj himself is a symbol of death, the initiation for receiving Guxaj's bite is a blissful experience directed towards the acquisition of power, and dancing and singing while swaying the body in celebration of it is precisely a happy pleasure.

To summarise, for the Waxei, "Guxaj" has multi-layered, multi-dimensional aspects, such as the sacred mythical being, founder of the social institution, symbol of death, root of transcendental power, spirit swaying and wandering like the flow of water and movement of waves, and source of the meanings of song and dance. In a word, it is none other than the being situated as the very basis of Waxei society and culture. And it may be quite suggestive that this Guxaj came from the "river". To the Waxei, culture or the life of a human being essentially consists of such a vague, swaying, and roving nature, like the flow of water. Hereafter, I intend to make this clear through the consideration of "song". A "song" is a typical cultural phenomenon in which the Waxei sense sway or roving, and through which they also embody these things.

C. Background of the song

The song which, in the myth, Guxaj is said to have taught the men, forms the source of musical repertory which is generically termed the 'song of Guxaj' (*Guxa windioqom*). As it has been introduced not only to boys undergoing initiation, but also to women and children, it has come to take root as a form of choral singing for all members. However, as a whole its inner meanings remain concealed from women and children. Although women can join in the chorus without the secret knowledge about Guxaj's myth and scarification, only those who have been initiated and realised the secret of Guxaj's power as symbolised by the scars on the back, can draw near the heart of the song. Nevertheless, the high-pitched singing voices of the women, in particular, constitute an indispensable element for the realisation of the song of Guxaj.

Today, the song of Guxaj is sung either on the occasion of an initiation or at a feast held celebrating a newly-constructed house, the making of a large canoe (see plate 15), or the acquisition of canoe motor. In any of these cases, the sponsor (parents of an initiate or owner of a house, canoe, or canoe motor) is obliged to serve their own relatives with meals, while the relatives are obliged to present cash in return. In addition to the huge burdens incurred by both sides, since it is every five or six years that



Plate 15: Canoe making

initiation is held, it is in a cycle of from five to ten years that a new house is constructed or a large canoe is made by one family, and the acquisition of a motor is such that one may be acquired or not every ten years in the village as a whole—the song of Guxaj is not sung for everyday occasions.

Nevertheless, I fortunately could attend a performance of singing on two occasions: in October 1986, when the construction of my own house was completed, and in August 1988, when my friend, Simbi, made a large canoe. Furthermore, an account of the initiation performed in April 1987 was given to me in detail by Gonuta, father of an initiate, and Iman, an elder. Although these three performances of the song of Guxaj differ from each other in context, the manner of singing, the tunes sung, and, in particular, the meaning each song represents are common to all of them. In the following passages, I would briefly like to look back upon the circumstances in which the song of Guxaj was sung, centring around the performance in August 1988.

Simbi's canoe was ploddingly completed in the course of a year by his three *yandamuq* (sister's son) in the mountain along the Weisas River. Simbi had not requested it, but the three voluntarily began to make it, and the canoe was their present to Simbi, their maternal uncle. Such a gift of a thing or the offer of labour from *yandamuq* to *mamuq* (mother's brother) is often made in return for patronage or the guardianship of *mamuq* towards *yandamuq* which he is socially obliged to undertake.¹¹

Due to the heavy rain which lasted until mid-July, the river had swelled and, by taking advantage of this, the canoe was pulled along from the mountain to the village. Firstly the canoe is hardened; that is, the surface was singed by burning sago palm leaves piled up inside and outside the canoe, rubbing ashes and soot inside, and thereby making it more waterproof and durable (see plate 16). In this work a total of sixteen men took part, consisting of Simbi's *yandamuq*, *kogumoq* (sister's husband), *kifugaj* (father's sister's husband), and *inituj* (daughter's husband), his wife, Anas, and also his father, Gonuta.

When the hardening is finished, foods prepared by Simbi's group are placed in the canoe. Upon confirming the amount, the *yandamuq* and *kogumoq* leave beside the foods, one after another, paper money pierced

11. Remember that, among the spirits of the dead which killed the baby, *mamuq* (mother's elder brother) of the baby's father, Wisofi, was included. Because a *mamuq*, who should have primarily protected him, killed his baby, Wisofi's shock became even much greater.



Plate 16: Burning and hardening the canoe

verted into K 10, thus totaling K 145. That is, to the foods prepared by the sponsors' side, the relatives' side returns cash, etc., so that the value of the amount returned approximately corresponds to that of the food.¹⁴

Such exchange is always accompanied by an occasion when singing or bamboo flute playing is performed, but it sometimes occurs that both sides cannot be balanced after all. In such a case, the side which offered less becomes indebted to the other side and such indebtedness must be

12. The location of the missionary base of the Catholic Church, a town along the Middle Sepik River; foods and daily goods are frequently brought there from Wewak, the provincial capital.

13. The number of persons who did the canoe hardening work was sixteen, while the number who contributed cash was twenty-five. This difference is because of the fact that participation in the work is not necessarily made obligatory. Moreover, it may not be expected that one who did not offer labour pays extra money.

14. It is said that before currency came into use, pearl shells, green snail shells, cowry shells, and purple mussels were used, having been obtained through trade.

by a betel palm twig, bundles of betelnuts, clothes, and a pan (see plate 17). The foods released at this time were 67 kg of rice and 112 cans of tinned mackerel bought from Timbunke,¹² two wild pigs (a large boar and a small sow) caught in the mountains, and also three fowls and thirty-two coconuts owned by Simbi and Gonuta, corresponding to about K 150 when converted into currency. To this, cash presented by a total of twenty-five *yandamuq*¹³ amounted to K 135 in total, while four pieces of second-hand clothes, a pan, and two bundles of betelnut were con-

resolved as soon as possible by paying off the balance. It is thought that, if it is left unresolved indefinitely, a misfortune will befall some of relatives on one's side, that is, spirits of the dead on the other side will one day surely come to revenge.

When the exchange of food and money is over, the canoe is launched and, after waiting until darkness comes, the song of Guxaj begins at last. People wearing various ornaments, generically called *naidiyojum*, gather near the men's house. While women's decoration is such that, at best, they put on a skirt (*shuwis*), made by

dyeing the fibre of a young sago palm sprout with red earth and paint red and white earth on their bodies, the men's decorations are more splendid and elaborate. First, they wrap cuscus fur around their heads. Into the fur are inserted the white feathers of a sulphur-crested cockatoo, red parakeet feathers, and yellowish-white feathers of a bird-of-paradise with red cordyline leaves wound around them. On the neck is put a netbag decorated with black and white hornbill feathers and red parakeet feathers. It is hung down the back. Hanging down the breast is a large piece of pearl shell and a snail shell necklace decorated with wild pigeon feathers. On the upper arms and knees are worn ring ornaments woven with rattan and small cowries sewn on. Into these are inserted uniquely perfumed *kejaj* leaves. For the men's skirt, the internal fibre of gnetum hangs down a loincloth made of flying fox skin and, around the waist, slender *xawajis*

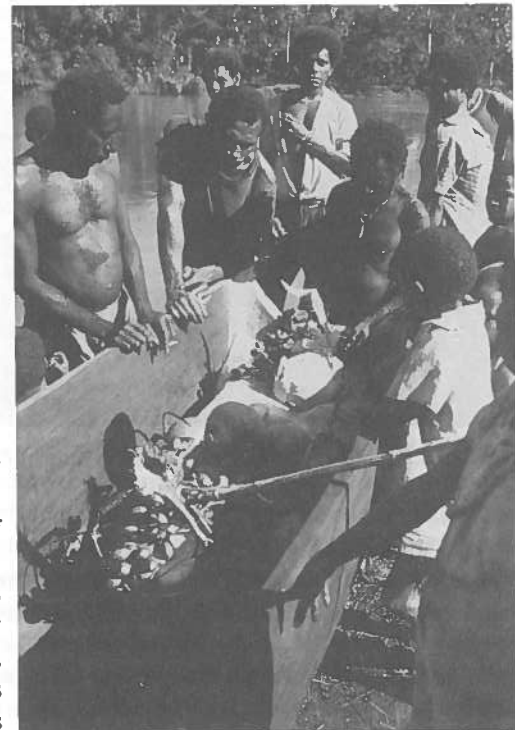


Plate 17: A variety of goods placed in the canoe for return



Plate 18: Dancing in circles and singing the song of Guxaj

and *yujajas* leaves are applied. All over the body, from the face to the feet, red and black earth are painted (see plate D).

Men surround the small mound in a circle and slowly begin moving anticlockwise (see plates E–F & 18). While dangling both hands down and swaying the body slightly from side to side, they solidly stamp on the ground, step by step, and raise their voices. The women, surrounding the men in a larger circle or standing a little away from them, step in light hops. On that occasion, as they exaggerate the swaying of their hips from side to side, the skirts swing, making a sound “*za! za!*” (see plate 22).

A slit-drum (c. 170 cm in length, c. 50 cm in height), placed on the ground floor of the men’s house, is used as an accompaniment to the song.¹⁵ An elder, sitting beside it, jolts the side at about the middle of the slit with a wooden stick. When the song is started, percussion begins belatedly by about a phrase, and, basically, after being continuously struck as a pulse, it changes to a fast continuous percussion towards the end of the song. The pulse corresponds to the song’s tempo and dance steps. In recent years, in addition to the slit-drum, a gourd lime-container¹⁶ has begun to be used as a sound-producing instrument for accompanying the

15. In cases when the number of participants is small or it rains, a song is sometimes sung in a private house. On such occasions, a hand drum (with an hourglass-shaped body and one of its ends covered with lizard skin and struck by the hand) is used instead of a slit-drum.

16. Lime is licked when chewing betelnut or a betel pepper (vine of a pepper family) is dipped into it.

song. Several men, each holding a gourd under their arms, vigorously move a metal stick inserted into the gourd up and down with one hand, in time with the stamping action. In the mouth of the gourd a metal nut is set, which, by being scraped by the stick, makes a squeaking sound.

The song of Guxaj is composed of about thirty tunes, sung intermittently, one after another. Although the time required for one tune is only about one or two minutes, since the same tune is sung continuously over and over again or repeated after a certain interval, singing continues for a considerably long time. For initiation, it continues for at least two to three hours, while in other cases it usually starts at about seven o’clock in the evening and goes on until about five o’clock in the morning.

D. Structure of voices

As the song of Guxaj is different from wept-songs, each tune is always given a “title” called *bittagas* (plural, *bittagam*). *Bittagas* is a unique musical concept, being clearly distinguished from *ufas* (name of a person or thing). It is a composite concept denoting the “songtext” of each tune, the “first sentence” where the songtext is sung, or a “mythical image” being associated the songtext.

Each tune is begun by someone starting off. This ‘person starting the song’ (*windioqo gwatinyakuj*) alone utters words which are the only songtext heard in one tune and, at the same time, the *bittagas* which, as the title of the tune, is used either to distinguish or identify the tune. The chorus of men and women, which immediately follows from the lead singer’s presentation of the songtext, sing entirely in a free combination of vocalisations such as, “*wiil-yoo-oo*”, “*aa-a-aa*”, “*wo-u-woo*”, or “*woo-wii-yoo*”.

A tune is composed of the repetition of short phrases. Each sentence consists of almost the same melodic pattern and, in one tune, is repeated about ten times. Although there is no word denoting this sentence, the part forming the end of one sentence is specifically called *songoqaj*. *Songoqaj* can usually be clearly perceived as a long sustained tone after two to four tones which ascend and descend rapidly. Since the end of one tune always falls at the end of a sentence, it is necessary to pay attention to the *songoqaj*, particularly when following the progression of each tune.

The number of times a sentence is sung repeatedly before ending a tune is not strictly determined beforehand. Although, generally speaking, all the singers empirically grasp the desirable number of repetitions (i.e., the length of each tune), when a song is not well made up (expressed as

windioqo dukos 'bad song'), it may be ended early; on the other hand, when it proceeds well (evaluated as *windioqo wades* 'good song'), it may be sung continuously for a considerably longer time. On each occasion, the player of the slit-drum is the one who gives a signal for ending the tune. When a *songoqaj* at which he wishes to end the tune approaches, he changes the pulse percussion to quick continuous percussion a little before or during that *songoqaj*. The singers, having sensitively caught the change, end the tune without repeating the subsequent chorus. This is said to reflect scenes in the myth where Guxaj, striking the slit-drums, controlled the men's song, indicating that its percussion sound is endowed with a special symbolic power.

The voice-part organisation of the song of Guxaj is composed of two voice-parts for women and two voice-parts for men, totaling four voice-parts. To express the voice register, a dichotomy between 'high voice' (*yabangu buseis*) and 'low voice' (*busei yogoq*) is often used and this is applied relatively to each of the men's and women's voices. That is, it is evaluated that two women's voices consist of a "high voice" and a "low voice", while two men's voices also consist of a "high voice" and a "low voice". Although it is rare that the Waxeï compare the registers of these four voices on the same scale, it may be said that the women's "high voice" usually lies in a register higher than that of the men's "high voice",¹⁷ while a "low voice" of old women stretches over registers of both men's "high voice" and "low voice".

What corresponds to 'voice-part' or 'melody' in the Waxeï language is the concept *fyugofqaj*. Its original meaning refers to any 'sound', but, deriving from the fact that all sounds are recognised as having a specific movement, it is frequently used as a concept referring to the 'motion of a voice' or 'linear movement of sound' which constitutes a song.

Although in actual singing, it is sometimes observed that the women's "low voice" takes charge of an independent melody, in many cases, it assimilates with a melody sung by men. Therefore, as far as the song of Guxaj is concerned, it is right to regard the three voice-part organisation of women's "high voice", men's "high voice" and men's "low voice" as the basic texture, and to regard this basic texture joined by women's "low voice" as the developed texture. Various tunes of Guxaj are made up by those three or four voice-parts being organised polyphonically. In the

17. If one were compelled to compare them, it may be possible to distinguish them by calling the women's high voice as 'really high voice' (*yabangu mafe buseis*) and the men's high voice as 'somewhat high voice' (*ini yabangu buseis*).

following passages, I will attempt a typology of the various patterns of voice-part combinations by citing representative and explicit tunes as examples, while taking account of the voice-parts which take charge of *songoqaj*.¹⁸

First, the most basic pattern is that the men's "high voice" and "low voice" progress alternately in alternation, with the women's "high voice" going over them. Women's voices move an octave higher than the men's "low voice", almost in parallel motion and, when it overlaps the men's "high voice", it becomes a unison (see music example 1). In this pattern, the men's two voice-parts form the main melody and are called a 'big melody' (*bugo fyugofqaj*). The women's voice-part gets decoratively entwined with the main melody as a 'small melody' (*kujei fyugofqaj*). In

Music example 1: *Nowj*. In all of the music examples, the first sentence in which the songtext (*bittagas*) is sung is omitted, and only the repeated sentence with vocalisation is shown. All pitches are actual tones. The first staff represents the women's voice-part, the second staff the men's voice-part, and the third staff the accompaniment pattern of the slit-drum. In each of the women's and men's parts, upward stems denote a "high voice" and downward stems a "low voice". An example of vocalisation is included between the first and second staves. To the left of the staves, an approximate time (in seconds) required for one sentence to be sung is shown; to the right, the typical repetition frequency.

18. If there is no reference to the contrary, the women's "low voice" proceeds in unison with the men's "low voice". In examining voice-part organisation, to distinguish the men's voice and women's voice of the same pitch only makes matters more complicated, so it is omitted in the following analysis.

the Waxei language, there is also the expression, 'decorative melody' (*naidio fyugofqaj*), which denotes the subordinate melody or secondary melody in the same sense. Furthermore, as in the portions marked with ⊗ in music example 1, a texture in which the women's and men's voice-parts collide against each other in contrary motion (i.e., two voice-parts move in opposite directions), illustrates a basic feature of the melodic organisation of a song. Also, irrespective of whether a tune is started by the men's "high voice" or "low voice", *songoqaj* is constantly taken charge of by the men's "high voice". Generally, it is often the case that such tunes with this basic pattern are sung at the beginning of the song performance.

As the song goes on, a developed texture appears in which the men's "high voice" and "low voice" move in alternate motion, while partially overlapping each other. This is the second pattern (see music example 2). In this pattern too, what forms the main melody are the men's two voice-parts. The women's voice-part moves in parallel motion an octave higher than the men's lower part. Again, *songoqaj* is taken charge of by the men's "high voice". At spots where the men's two voices overlap, not only in the case of different pitches (marked with ⊗ in music example 2) but also even in the case of the same pitch (marked with * in music example 2), the two different voice-parts collide with each other as tonal lines, while harmonising with each other as a sonority. This is especially apparent to the people who are actually singing—a matter which is often pointed out when learning the song or being helped in the analysis of song. They also grasp each of the men's two voice-parts as two "small melodies" which somehow exist independently and regard that the overlapping of the two voice-parts means, in short, that the movements of the voices which are

Music example 2: *Keiyaj*

Music example 2: *Keiyaj*

independent as two lines 'collide' (*nutofunafa*), either by 'getting near' (*xaitobi*), 'converging or fusing' (*nunumba*), or 'intersecting' (*nuxuta gwaxuta*).

The third pattern is such that the second pattern, being joined by an independent progression of the women's "low voice", has developed into a four voice-part texture. In such a representative example as shown in music example 3, a portion where the men's two voice-parts overlap (marked with ⊗) does not form a mere unison but a chain of contrary motions. Also, the women's upper part goes in parallel motion an octave higher than men's lower part and this also collides with the men's upper part in contrary motion at the place marked with *. Moreover, the women's lower part also maintains independence in both rhythm and motion (marked with *) and, consequently, a delicate texture of voices is developed between this part and the other three parts, with contrary and oblique motion (i.e., against a voice-part which remains at the same pitch, another voice part ascends and descends so that it collides or leaves the former voice-part) being combined. Furthermore, in this tune, the men's "low voice" takes charge of *songoqaj*.

Music example 3: *Taxxoj*

Music example 3: *Taxxoj*

The fourth pattern is distinguished from the other patterns in that, although also being based on the second pattern, the degree of independence of each voice-part is greater and *songoqaj* is sung in multiple voice-parts (see music examples 4–7). The characteristics of the tune shown in music example 4 are such that the women's "high voice" and the men's "low voice" take charge of *songoqaj*, and those two voices, which usually

move in parallel octaves, do not always do so here. In this tune, contrary and oblique motion can be observed at several places, producing complicated swelling and colliding effects in the stream of the song. At the portions marked with ⊕, the women's "high voice" and the men's "low voice" move in contrary motion and, at the same time, both move in oblique motion against the men's "high voice", thus showing a delicate entwinement. Although the portion marked with * is *songoqaj*, which should serve as a definite sign of the closing of a sentence, they show a certain unstable sonority, with the women's "high voice" and men's "low voice" moving in contrary motion.

Music example 4: *Kejaj o majij o*

Such entwinement of the three voice-parts comes to assume an even more delicate and complicated form as shown in music example 5. First, the men's two voice-parts move in such a manner that, with the progression of the "low voice" as a base, the "high voice" moves while occasionally overlapping the former, but there is no unison movement between the two. Rather, the two delicately collide against and sway with each other, assuming a fine contrary motion (marked with +) or oblique motion (marked with *) at several places. Meanwhile, concerning the women's voice, although it overlaps the men's voices at several spots, it also shows a delicate collision by occasionally moving in contrary motion against either of the men's voices (marked with ⊕). In this tune, furthermore, *songoqaj* is taken charge of by all three voice-parts and each of them sings a mutually different melodic pattern consisting of a complicated combination of contrary motions. That is to say, as a whole, the three voice-parts, by mutually changing the motion, melodic pattern, and rhythmic pattern, cause fine collisions and small swells here and there.

Music example 5: *Yujuja shuwij*

In music example 6, collisions of voices in contrary motion conspicuously appear on a larger scale. In this tune of three voice-parts, in the majority of sentences, the men's two voice-parts definitely move in contrary motion (marked with ⊗). Meanwhile, the women's voice, by moving in parallel octaves with the men's "low voice" at almost all portions, moves in contrary motion against the men's "high voice" and, at the *songoqaj*, it then moves in contrary motion against the men's "low voice". Also, between these contrary motions, the women's voice and the men's "high voice" intersect, showing a small collision (marked with +). This tune is particularly loved by people as a tune which is 'quick in tempo' (*xanongwai*) and 'vibrant' (*xaguxa*). The source of that vibrance is a stream of dotted rhythms covering the tune and the collision of voices due to the continuation of such extensive contrary motion.

Music example 6: *Deida xomaji*

In music example 7, the men's two voice-parts, although going on while almost overlapping each other, do not sing the same melody and, as a whole, retain movements which are mutually independent of each other. Meanwhile, the women's voice makes a complicated but clear self-expression—it divides itself into two parts in the first half of the sentence and these two parts then go in contrary motion against each other, while, at the same time, alternately going in contrary motion against either of the men's voices (marked with ⊗). In the latter half, it sings a melody different from any of the men's voice-parts, by moving in contrary motion against the men's "low voice" (marked with *), while repeating subtle approaches to and moves away from the men's "high voice" (marked with +). Furthermore, although it is the women's voice and men's "low voice" that take charge of *songoqaj*, here too, the two assume different melodic and

rhythmic patterns. That is, in this tune, all three voice-parts may be said to maintain a considerably high degree of independence and this is because the women's voice, which usually progresses more or less subordinately to the men's voices, persists here almost totally in non-parallel movements.

Music example 7: *Wis o daxujas o*

In the case of the tunes shown in music examples 6 and 7, it is no longer said that only the men's two voice-parts make up a "big melody". Instead, each of the three voice-parts, including the women's part, is called a "small melody", and the whole in which all three are intricately intertwined while maintaining individuality, forms a "big melody". Here one can see the most complicated aspect of the voice-part organisation of the song of Guxaj and, actually, it is at about midnight when all the singers have become accustomed to singing that such tunes are sung.

The purpose of this typology of the song of Guxaj, which has been established above, lies in analytically grasping the modes of various tunes and, at the same time, gaining an overall picture of the song—not in inferring the taxonomy of Waxei songs, which is not expressed in a

definite manner. What is important here is that the song of Guxaj is understood by the Waxei as a process in which different voices go on while colliding or parting and, actually, their voices are organised in this way.

In summarising this analysis, it may be said that the basics of the song lie in that *yabangu* as a "high voice" and *yogoq* as a "low voice" progress while repeating alternation and overlapping, and, in this process, the two, while approaching or parting, continue producing a "collision" or "sway" of voices through contrary or oblique motion. Either the men's two voices or the men's and women's voices are acceptable as the "high voice" and "low voice". In any case, the song of Guxaj is produced by these two different types of voices—"high voice" and "low voice"—as they collide and then part, interweave and then sway about.

E. Meanings of the song

An aspect inseparable from the structure of voices of the song of Guxaj, which has been surveyed above, is the problem of the meanings of the song charged into the organisation of the voices. As a clue to an inquiry into this problem, it becomes indispensable to closely examine the full list of the *bittagam* of the song of Guxaj. As mentioned earlier, a *bittagas* is a song's "title" and also a "songtext" sung at the first sentence of each tune. Most *bittagam* are composed of the name of an animal, plant, thing, or place. These are thought to be terms which exist 'outside the song' (*windioqo bidio*) and function, so to say, as a "denotative meaning" of the song. Against this, there is a way of thinking 'inside the song' (*windioqo yogoq*). As can be derived from the fact that this concept is expressed with the word *yogoq*, the "inside" is the "life" of the song and indicates its "inner meaning". It is nothing but the context of the myth of Guxaj which is associatively triggered by the clearly-expressed songtext (*bittagas*). Just like the myth, although it may be superficial, it is kept secret from women—the "inner meaning" is elaborately concealed. The Waxei often point this out with the words 'the root of a song is in the myth' (*windioqo muna:s indis bujo susuxajma*). Thus, the *bittagas*, going beyond the indicative function as a mere name, is a key which metaphorically points to the "inside", that is, the mythical world, and a core which evokes vivid mythical images coloured with the motif of death.

Tunes which were sung on celebration of the completion of canoe making, numbered twenty-six in total. This number of tunes is nearly twice as large as in the case of the performance on another occasion (celebrating the completion of my house). This was because all those

present could go on singing for a long time without feeling hungry, as the sponsor of the song (the owner of the canoe) prepared enough food at this time. As a result of comparing these twenty-six tunes with those sung on the other occasions and collating them with those obtained from several men of whom I requested to name the *bittagam*, it appears that the repertory of the song of Guxaj reaches about thirty tunes in total. Although, there probably remain a few additional tunes, all the main tunes many people have in common may be said to have virtually come out at this time.

There is no definite rule as to the order in which these tunes are sung. However, according to the typology of songs presented earlier, a flow which, beginning with tunes belonging to the first pattern, proceeds toward tunes of the fourth pattern, that is, a flow from tunes of a relatively simple structure towards more complicated tunes, can be roughly observed. Yet, as it is often the case that the same tune is repeated several times at different time intervals, this tendency cannot be said to be totally regular. Here, the aim is to show that the *bittagam* of the song of Guxaj correspond to the contents of Guxaj's myth. Therefore, after rearranging the tunes according to the context of the myth, I would like to examine both the denotative meaning which lies "outside" the song and the inner meaning which is hidden "inside" the song.

1. MASA YOJIS

Masa yojis directly indicates a pointed stick (*yojis*) made of a branch of the *masas* tree. It is a tool used even today to loosen the pith when extracting sago starch (see plate 4). It is explained that the melody and rhythm of this tune express the movement of the wooden stick. However, it is not the case that, when the stick is called by name in the actual song and its movement described by voices, people recall a familiar daily scene. Instead, they say this tune points to the opening of Guxaj's myth when Woqaibofas went out to beat sago—the introductory part, suggesting a peaceful life before the appearance of Guxaj. When examined in detail, the work of beating sago is one thing and the work of loosening sago pith is another. Beating sago consists of smashing the inside pith of a sago palm with a stone axe and thereafter ensues the loosening work using a *masa yojis*. While beating sago is fairly hard work, the work of loosening is comparatively easy in terms of both time and labour. That is, the *masa yojis* is not a tool so important as to represent the collection of sago starch;

rather, just because it is so, it is suitable for vaguely suggesting the incident at the opening of the myth.

2. *TASXOIJ* (music example 3)¹⁹

Tasxoi refers to a slender trap basket for catching fish. It features a double structure: into a large conical basket (called "mother basket"), a slightly shorter "child basket" is built. It is set so that, when fish come in from the wide mouth of the child basket, pass through a small mouth, and go into the mother basket, they can no longer move forward or backward. This tune is said to express the pattern of the water sound made by the fish caught this way, the sound made when they run against the basket, or the movement of the basket as it rocks. However, in the interpretation as given by men, what is associatively recalled by the word *tasxoi* is rather the scoop net by which Woqaibofas caught Guxaj. The meaning the sounds signify is also understood not as a sound made by the fish or the movement of the basket, but as the sound made by Guxaj at the bottom of the scoop net or as his floundering figure.

3. *NOUJ* (music example 1)²⁰

Nouj is a generic term for snakes and it is an explanation given ostensibly that this tune delineates the movement of a snake's tail. However, the inner referent is Guxaj's own figure. Although it is said that Guxaj, resembling the shape of a crocodile, could change his body size at will, it is too direct to express this as a crocodile. Furthermore, a crocodile is an animal into which *sagai* is thought to often transform himself and, as such, it tends to arouse an association with such spiritual beings. In order to suggest Guxaj's figure, a snake is appropriate—although having a characteristic long tail as a common feature and being alike in general appearance, it is essentially quite different in nature. Moreover, it is worthy of note that, in explaining this tune, the tail is particularly stressed. The tail is a major part used when Guxaj strikes the slit-drums and the movement of the tail and the pattern of the percussion are closely related to each other. This makes itself felt in the organisation of voices as well. It is often stated that the very distinctive pulsating rhythm being produced by the basic pattern—the alternation of two male voice-parts—is like a

"root", that is, a prototype in which Guxaj's percussion with his tail is expressed.

4. *KEJAJ O MAJII O* (music example 4)

Kejaj is the name of a certain tree; *majij* is another name for the same tree. Also, *o* is a vowel inserted as an interjection when the songtext is sung at the beginning of the tune and is used directly in the title of the tune. Thus, although the *bittagas* indicates the name of a tree, what this tune actually connotes are the leaves of a tree which emit a unique sweet scent. Even today these leaves are often inserted into armlets and anklets as body ornaments while singing. They are said to have been originally brought by Guxaj to win the men's favour. In another version of Guxaj's myth, it is noted that Guxaj says: "The scent of *kejaj* makes you feel good" (*kejajuxo mosxajuya xundujiyom*) and gives the leaves to men, although this does not appear in the myth presented above. Pulling the men with the sweet scent of leaves, it taught them a pleasure of singing.

5. *YUJUJA SHUWIQ* (music example 5)²¹

Yujuja shuwiq denotes a special men's skirt (*shuwiq*), accented with long *yujujas* leaves, which is worn for singing. Although a skirt is directly referred to, emphasis of the meaning rather lies on the *yujujas* leaves. These leaves are often inserted into the back of the skirt, arching over it. When men sway their bodies while singing, the leaves also swing about and roll sideways. This swaying action is said to imitate the sway of Guxaj's own body—swaying as the essence of spirits. This sway is expressed most distinctly in the movement of *yujujas* leaves, so that the leaves symbolise Guxaj's sway. The tune itself is also explained as a representation of the movement of these leaves and the mode in which, with "high voice" and "low voice" intervolving each other, the collision and blending of voices occur alternately. This is surely appropriate as an expression of rolling or swaying.

6. *JIXOXUMOI MATIJ*

Directly, *jijoxumoi matij* denotes a stick (*matij*) made of a branch of a hard tree called *jijoxumo*. Even today, one often happens to notice some persons (old men, in particular) who, holding this stick with both hands and standing it on the ground, lean on it and sing while rocking their upper

19. See track 11 on the accompanying compact disc.

20. See track 8 on the accompanying compact disc.

21. See track 15 on the accompanying compact disc.

body sideways. However, the hidden referent differs from this explanation. *Jijoxmois* is a very sturdy tree and is often used for a house's diagonal beam (also called *matij*). The state of two pieces of this tree being crossed is superimposed on the posture of two *wojinof* supporting an initiate at the time of initiation. That is, what is associatively recalled by this word is a scene in which the *wojinof*, who are full-fledged adults, lie down side by side and wait for an immature initiate.

7. BABUJU MATIJ (music example 8)

Babujus is also a sturdy tree. *Babuju matij* denotes a stick or diagonal beam made of this tree. Although the inner meaning of the word is approximately the same as that of *jijoxumoi matij* (no. 6), since the melodic structure of the tune and the manner in which the word is sung differ, the situation being recalled becomes more concrete. That is, while in the case of no. 6 it was sung by merely inserting vowels as "*jijoxumoi matij wo matij woo*", this tune is sung in a transformed way as "*babuju matij woo wamatij woo*". *Wamatij* is an imperative verb meaning 'reinforce with diagonal beams' and this is interpreted as pointing to the scene in which Guxaj orders the two *wojinof*, "Lie down and support the initiate." Such tunes which differ in melody but represent a similar mythical scene, are specifically called *gekuxutais*. Hazzarding a translation of *gekuxutais*, it may be said to be different tunes consisting of the same material, sung at certain intervals on the occasion of actual singing. In this way, a mythical scene occurs repeatedly, but with a different aspect on each such occurrence.

The musical score for 'Babuju matij' is presented in three staves. The top staff is for 'women' and the middle staff is for 'men'. The bottom staff is for 'slit-drum'. The women's part has two lines of lyrics: 'wai: ya: o o: a a a:' and 'wi: yo o: o wi: yo o: a a a:'. The men's part has a single line of lyrics: 'wi: yo o: o wi: yo o: a a a:'. The slit-drum part consists of a series of rhythmic marks (vertical lines with flags) and some notes. The score is marked with a '20'' bracket on the left and a '(x3)' on the right.

Music example 8: *Babuju matij*

8. GUJEIBAS

Gujeibas directly refers to the young fruit of the betel pepper. The tune is said to delineate the continuance of the striking sounds "*buf, buf*" which are made when, climbing a tree, one takes fruits from betel pepper vines and throws them down to the ground one after another. However, it is needless to say that this is an ostensible explanation. Betel pepper fruits, in the inner meaning, are linked to the image of boys who were brought to the men's house for initiation. Young betel pepper fruits are suitable for being eaten by human beings, while immature boys are suitable for being eaten by Guxaj. What this tune really depicts is the sway of the boys' feelings filled with anxiety and tension, not knowing what may happen to them, and, more vividly, the throbbing of their hearts.

9. MASA YOJIS

As already explained for no. 1, *masa jojis* denotes a sharp-pointed stick made of a branch of the *masas* tree. Although it has the same title as no. 1, it differs in melodic structure and a tune of this sort is also called *gekuxutais* (different tune with the same title). As it has a different melody, what is associatively recalled also changes in content. Here, behind the denotative meaning of a pointed wooden stick, lurks the image of Guxaj's sharp teeth which cut the boys on the back. The melody also vividly evokes the movement of his teeth as they go on cutting, one after another.

10. SUXUIYUJ

Suxuiyuj denotes a large, deep-red flower of the *suxuij* tree. When singing, women, in particular, use this flower as a head decoration. Therefore, this songtext may seemingly be taken as admiration of this floral decoration. However, men say that the inside of the word is different. What is hidden inside the flower's red colour is an image of blood flowing out due to Guxaj's cutting.

11. KAUYAS

Kauyas is a word in the Sumariup language denoting a 'wound'. In the Waxei language, a wound is *xunus*. Because this word is in the Sumariup language, a deceptive explanation is given to the women about its meaning, that it denotes a wound in the sole made when one steps on a sago palm thorn. The melody is also explained to express a man wounded in the sole limping along. For the men, however, it is not difficult to associate the word with the very wound itself inflicted on the boys' backs. Although this

tune, naturally, is said to have been created by Guxaj himself, I once asked if Guxaj also knew the Sumariup language. I was laughed at by everyone present. Just as spirits of the dead, which possess human beings, use Tok Pisin and the Inalu language at will, it is quite easy for the spirit as a transcendental power to have a good command of languages.

12. KEIYAJ (music example 2)

Keiyaj generally denotes a ladder for going up and down a private house on stilts, but the true meaning which is evoked, is a ladder for going to the upper floor of the men's house. Since this is usually called by another name (*ungwataj*), the word *keiyaj* becomes a figurative term for concealment. This tune corresponds to the context of the myth in which the boys, bitten and cut by Guxaj, go to the upper floor of the men's house and rest.

13. KUJAS

Kujas is the brown-collared brush-turkey (*Talegalla jobiensis*) dwelling at the foot of mountains. This bird is known as the first bird that calls before dawn. The name itself is an onomatopoeic expression of its call, and this tune is said to delineate the antiphonal singing of male and female brush-turkeys calling to each other. But the mythical scene being recalled here by this bird is the bathing of the boys. Before dawn, when women have not yet arisen, they stealthily go bathe in river. The call of a brush-turkey serves as a signal for the boys to get up.

14. KOBU KUJA (music example 9)²²

Kobu refers to 'morning', and *kuja* to *kujas*, that is, the brush-turkey, so that, overall, *kobu kuja* means a 'brush-turkey calling in the morning'. Although this tune differs in melodic structure from *kujas* (no. 13), it is equivalent in the scene and meaning being recalled, thus becoming its *gekuxutais* (different tune composed of the same material).

22. See track 9 on the accompanying compact disc.

Music example 9: *Kobu kuja*

15. YAJUQ TINIQ (music example 10)

Yajuq denotes a curcuma, a perennial plant of the ginger family; *tiniq* is an alternate name. Its large leaves are often used to wrap sago, fish, or animal meat for steaming with heated stones. This tune is also explained to depict those leaves swaying in the wind. The inner meaning, however, is not suggestive of such a daily scene, but again related to the situation shown in the myth. It is a scene in which, when the boys went to bathe, the *wojinoj* crumples the leaves of the *yajuq* well, squeezes the sap, and rubs it into a boy's wound. *Yajuq* is a kind of medicinal herb. It is thought that, because of its sap, the drying and healing of the wound are accelerated.

Music example 10: *Yajuq tiniq*

16. *BAFTIFAS*

Baftifas denotes a whip made by tearing a piece of thick rattan. Although not described concretely in the myth, whipping of the boys by elders is a custom which is practiced even in today's initiation. Their wounds now healed, on the day before the boys go out of the men's house and show themselves dressed up before women, elders chase the boys and try to thrash their bodies with a rattan whip. Since their wounds have only just healed after much effort, the boys are averse to letting their wounds be thrashed. So, they dodge in earnest from place to place in the men's house. This may be regarded as a ritual reproduction of the scene in the myth in which Guxaj ran about trying to escape and men chased after him, rather than being the final ordeal the boys must undergo. The boys who have been scarified have obtained Guxaj's power and, being partly identified with Guxaj, charge themselves with his role. Since a *baftifas* is also often used as a children's toy, such an inner meaning cannot be known simply by mentioning the name.

17. *KUJASUYA DAGOJI* (music example 11)²³

Kujas refers to the brush-turkey mentioned earlier; *dagoji* is a bird's fluttering action. A brush-turkey often beats both wings together above its body, thus making a noisy sound, "puf, puf", according to Waxei onomatopoeic expression. This tune is explained as an imitation of that sound's pattern. However, men's imagination, going beyond such a matter-of-fact perception, extends to the whipping of the boys as shown

Music example 11: *Kujasuya dagoji*

23. See track 10 on the accompanying compact disc.

in no. 16. That is, from the brush-turkey's noisy fluttering sound, the sound of rattan being beaten and the voices of all those present are associatively evoked. This tune and no. 16 are again in *gekuxutais* relation (different tune dealing with similar material).

18. *XAFUS WATU MUNAIJWATU*

Xafus and *munaij* are both small fish, different in species, but similar in size (about seven to eight centimetres); *watu* is an imperative verb meaning 'broil'. Hence, what is meant is 'broil small fish', an expression often used daily. As for interpretation of this *bittagas*, some say that it is indicative of the description at the beginning of the myth that, when Guxaj was caught in the scoop net, *xafus* and *munaij* also came into the net together. However, an opinion held by the majority is that the *bittagas* indicates that the food taboo on the boys, who have come out of the men's house, has been lifted. Both *xafus* and *munaij* are taboo foods during initiation, so by mentioning them by name, termination of the initiation itself is suggested. As for taboo foods, in addition to the view that they constitute an ordeal imposed on initiates, it is also thought that, if they ate fish, animals, or plants, the healing of the cuts would slow down.

19. *XUMOXOJ*

Xumoxoj is the name of a fish which can be eaten bones and all. It is much smaller than either *xafus* or *munaij*, and its bones are very fine. What the melody delineates is said to be the sound of water made by a lot of these fish being caught in the trap basket. However, what men sense from this tune is an image of the boys killed in the myth. Small fragile fish are a metaphor for boys who, being unable to cope with Guxaj, were bitten to death without resistance. The boys died with their bones being broken by Guxaj, like *xumoxoj* whose bones can be easily bit and torn.

20. *BOKWA YADIJ* (music example 12)²⁴

Bokwas is white earth, hardened like a stone and, by shaving it and dissolving it in water, women paint it over their faces, hands, and feet during the period of mourning. It is also used to colour a shield or a wooden carving. *Yadij* is a huge earthworm dwelling in the ground whose length reaches approximately one metre. *Yadij* often dwells beneath the *bokwas* exposed at the earth's surface. This tune is said to express the wriggling

24. See track 13 on the accompanying compact disc.

musical score for 'Bokwa yadij' featuring women's voices, men's voices, and slit-drum accompaniment. The women's part has lyrics: o: i: o i o i: o wuo: uwa: o: io: wa ia:.

Music example 12: *Bokwa yadij*

of earthworms which appears when turning up a stone. At the inner level, however, both the white stone and the slender earthworms are linked to the image of the corpses of boys who were killed by Guxaj and buried in the ground. That is, the stone's white colour reminds people of the corpses which were reduced to skeletons, and earthworms dwelling in the ground remind them of the bodies which became slender bones under the ground.²⁵

21. YUBUYUKWA MADIQ

Yubuyukwaj denotes a nut of the *yubuq* palm; *madiq* is the state in which the nuts or leaves of a tree heaped on the ground are about to putrefy. The melodic structure of this tune is said to depict a succession of sounds made by the nuts of the *yubuq* palm as they naturally drop successively and strike against the ground. Although this nut, like betelnut, can be chewed, men grasp this as a metaphor for the skull of the boys who were bitten to death by Guxaj. Because of the image of putrefaction associated with the word *madiq*, it overlaps with the scene shown in the myth where the flesh of the boys continues to putrefy.

25. Incidentally, the reason why women make the white colouring during the period of mourning, is supposed to be that, by externally showing the white colour of bones which are inside the body and usually invisible, they try to present an image of death connected to the bones. They themselves become, so to speak, the temporary dead and express grief.

22. WADAS

Wadas refers to a cuscus which is black all over and dwells in high mountains. This species does not live in the areas where the Waxei dwell, and to women who do not go hunting, it is a quite unknown animal. However, to men who have actually caught sight of it deep in the mountains or heard about it, the black fur has a special meaning. It reminds them of the colour of the black cinders they or their ancestors once painted over their entire bodies when they fought with other groups. That is, the figure of *wadas* is identified with the figure of themselves or their ancestors fighting with enemies. That association expands further and makes the figure of the men who fought with Guxaj (who had killed the boys), float before their eyes.

23. DEIDA XOMAJI (music example 6)²⁶

Deidas denotes a large shield for fighting (c. 150–180 cm in length, 50–60 cm in width); *xomaji* is an action—firmly holding a handle at the back of the shield by inserting an arm into it. *Xomaji* is a compound consisting of *xo* 'to give (the shield an arm)' and *maji* 'to hold'. This tune, which is typically felt to be vibrant, is said to delineate the manner in which men, firmly holding the shield, intimidate enemies while jumping lightly or rocking the body. It is taken by women as a tune which calls to mind a fight in days gone by and praises the men's bravery. But, what is evoked for men, who always refer to the myth and seek the source of meaning of *bittagas* in the myth, is a scene in which the ancestors, bravely enough, challenged Guxaj to a fight, and Guxaj, being driven away, runs about trying to escape either by going out of, or entering, the ground floor of the men's house. The shield symbolises this fight with Guxaj. To men, the vibrant feeling of this tune is brought forth from images of Guxaj's dizzy movements and the movements of the men who desperately chase him. The reason why this tune particularly has popularity is that behind the tune lies a certain humorous atmosphere of such knockabout fuss and a tale of bravery telling that, by fighting with Guxaj, they succeeded in expelling him.

26. See track 14 on the accompanying compact disc.

24. KOMBUXOMAJIQ (music example 13)²⁷

Kombuxomajiq is the name of a mountain on the north side of the Wogupmeri River (a tributary of the Karawari, flowing southeast to the Weisas). It is also well known to women that Guxaj is a kind of supernatural spirit *sagaiq*, having especially strong power. They believe that he originally came to the land of the Waxei from the Karawari River and they are taught that Mt Kombuxomajiq is Guxaj's birthplace. Although that knowledge is correct, men also have concealment through reversal in this tune. That is, Mt Kombuxomajiq is located in the direction opposite to the Salumei and Sepik Rivers, towards which Guxaj is said to have escaped in the myth. So, by mentioning this famous place name connected with Guxaj, the true route of flight and the context of the myth are concealed.

Music example 13: *Kombuxomajiq*

27. See track 16 on the accompanying compact disc.

25. NUKEJA WABUQ

Nukeja is a verb meaning 'to keep on hiding'; *wabuq* refers to the common cuscus (*Phalanger orientalis*). This tune is explained as depicting how a cuscus, after fleeing onto a tree or into grass when being chased by a man or dog, shakes the leaves or grass around it. However, the inner meaning metaphorically represents the figure of Guxaj who is said to have made his escape far away to Bongos and turned himself into a stone. As imagined by men, that stone is hiding in the river like a cuscus hiding itself in the grass. It is thought that it assumes a slender shape like a crocodile or is blackish in appearance. It is not that Guxaj died, but keeps on living eternally with his stone as one of his dwelling places, and the image of the cuscus which hid itself, is overlapped with the image of Guxaj as an elusive shadow which appears in unexpected places at unexpected moments, being mediated by the image of the stone in the river.

26. WIS O DAXUJAS O (music example 7)²⁸

Wis refers to a western black-capped lory; *daxujas* denotes a tree having leaves similar to those of a pawpaw (often growing along the river or by the lake and marsh; its soft fruits are a favourite of *wis*); *o* is a vowel sung as an interjection. This tune is said to express the antiphonal calling of two *wis* perched on a *daxujas* tree. *Wis* is a kind of bird into which Guxaj is said to often incarnate. From the pattern of the antiphonal calling of the two birds resounding, overlapping each other, people auditorily sense the emergence of Guxaj. This tune, rather than corresponding to the mythical scene, functions to strengthen mental images about Guxaj by being inserted here and there in the sequence of tunes which mirrors the context of the myth which has so far been described.

There exist many other tunes of this type, that is, tunes which auditorily remind people of Guxaj. For example, tunes which directly use the names of birds as *bittagas*: spot-winged monarch (*gujombuq*; *Monarcha guttula*); trumpet manucode (*kouq*; *Manucodia keraudrenii*); lesser bird of paradise (*koj*; *Paradisaea minor*); rufous babbler (*kowoq*; *Pomatostomus isidorei*); and spangled drongo (*matasix*; *Dicrurus hottentottus*). Any of them, through the auditory presentation of Guxaj's image by imitation of the antiphonal calling of two birds, is sung occasionally at an interval between tunes which metaphorically indicate the myth.

28. See track 12 on the accompanying compact disc.

As reviewed above, although the song of Guxaj corresponds almost entirely to the myth within the "inside", the relationships are elaborately camouflaged. What links the meanings represented by *bittagam* with inner, mythical meanings, are variegated techniques of rhetoric based on similarity, adjacency, inclusion, exaggeration, and substitution in the visual, auditory, and olfactory spheres. But, to those who have no knowledge concerning the myth, such rhetoric is quite incomprehensible.²⁹ In each tune, it is usual that a *bittagas* is manifested as a songtext only once during the opening; the *bittagas* merely retains suggestiveness as a keyword, so to say, being far from explanation or a description of something. Moreover, such a strategy of concealment is made even more elaborate by the intentional manipulation that each song not be sung just as per the context of myth.

It actually remains unknown to what extent such a strategy by the men is effective. To women, Guxaj's myth is like something put in Pandora's box and, at least publicly, they are not permitted to lift the lid. This also applied to me and it was not permitted for me to hint at the existence of myth or ask women a question by presupposing it. Furthermore, it was difficult to draw out frank answers when men were also present. Even when I could talk with women alone, it was unsuccessful because they restrain each other. Still more, it is highly objectionable to isolate a woman and hear what she says.

In these circumstances, I once had the opportunity to let two women separately listen to about ten tunes of the tape-recorded song of Guxaj in the presence of their husbands. I could then ask them what each tune represents and how they think about it. From my conjecture from their responses at that time, I had the impression that women are generally ignorant of *bittagam* and seem to accept the respective tune titles and songtexts in accordance with their denotative meanings. However, it was clearly pointed out by both women that the tunes imitating the antiphonal calling of birds and those singing various place names are related to Guxaj as a supernatural spirit. That is, it is certain that the song of Guxaj is understood by them as a delineation of the spirit as an object of awe in varied ways.

29. A strategy employed in singing based on a myth, which is aimed to conceal the overall picture of the myth by fragmenting and omitting its motifs, is also taken by the Iatmoi living along the Middle Sepik. For the Iatmoi, all mythical motifs are condensed as a system of names and, by further fragmenting or omitting those names, the confidentiality of the myth itself can be retained from women and children (see Stanek 1990:270-71 and Yamada 1987a:28-29).

In the case of men, on the other hand, whomever I asked would concretely point out the relations between the song and the myth, although explanations in varying degrees of knowledge were apparent. The song is always interpreted from the point of view of the myth and, on that occasion, the *bittagas* functions as the key which gives a means for interpretation. What links the song as a sound with the myth as a meaning, is their sensibility and imagination. In other words, a *bittagas* may be regarded to be something like a "core" to invoke men's mythical imagination so that vivid mythical images may be brought about. It is a fragmentary concept, metaphorically corresponding to an incident or scene shown in the myth, scattered here and there in the stream of the song as a tune title or songtext. By tying such mythical concepts one by one with a thread of imagination, the context of Guxaj's myth, lying at the root of Waxe culture, rises to the surface.

To men who are familiar with the myth, the *bittagam* are a source of meanings which bring to mind a series of mythical motifs—Guxaj's "power", "death" that power brought about, and "fight" which countered the power. It was because men tried to socio-symbolically take in Guxaj's "power" that they institutionalised the ritual of death brought by Guxaj as initiation. The reason why they wish to sing the song of Guxaj on various occasions is that they think that every time they sing, the "power" revives, and is caused to emerge in sounds. Precisely because, by exclusively possessing such "power", men intend to maintain their social predominance, they try to conceal from women the meanings of the myth, ritual, and song. Men, even if it might be a mere guise, always wish to be strong.

Guxaj is a sacred mythical being and, at the same time, a spiritual being which intimidates people even now. Guxaj's "power" shown in the myth is synonymous with "power" as *yabosg* ('spirit'). Therefore, to seek the "power" of Guxaj as a mythical being through initiation or song, and to stand in awe of the "power" of Guxaj as a spirit, are just the reverse of each other, being based on continuous consciousness.³⁰

This "power" is expressed dynamically in the song. Here, what is referred to by the word "dynamically" are the effects of "collision", "sway", and "meandering" brought forth by the entwining of "high

30. This will essentially be the same for men and women. In the case of women, however, the situation may be regarded merely such that the aspiration for Guxaj's "power" through songs is, so to speak, sealed in parentheses and the attitude of being in awe of the "power" of Guxaj as a spirit is socially emphasised.

voice" and "low voice" (such as is extracted from the analysis of the voice-part organisation of the song) and also the "movement" of various things and the "overlapping" of continuous sounds as a denotative meaning of each tune (such as is shown in the explanation of various *bittagam*). That is, the modes which have so far been described as a dynamic state of the song, have been such as an existential state of Guxaj as a mythical=spiritual being—the state of his "power" in particular—as expressed by the movement patterns of people's voices. Guxaj's transcendency is reflected in the complicated manners in which those voices are organised. The organisation of song, if human beings wish to reproduce it, always requires multiple persons to gather and build up elaborate cooperative relations through the alternation and overlapping of "high voice" and "low voice". But for Guxaj, it is realised by the "individual", and precisely this is thought to be the manifestation of Guxaj's polysemous and transcendental "power".

The song of Guxaj was created by the mythical being having such "power" and as such, it can be said to be already given by the myth. People try to transmit and practice the song disclosed in the mythical world exactly in that original form, together with the myth itself as a tale and ritual deeds, and, as such, they do not increase the repertory by composing new songs. Regarding this, the Waxei say definitely: "It is Guxaj that created the *bittagam* of the song and we are only imitating Guxaj's voice" (*Guxajuya bej afaigwatinya windioqoi bittagam, igo numeya sakisatojo aifoteyanei muxa Guxajuxo buseis*). In short, what human beings do is imitate variegated voices—that is, the polysemous power of Guxaj enclosed in the song and myth as "collision" and "sway" through the sharing of "high voice" and "low voice". The song expressed in this way vividly depicts what the being Guxaj should be, and how people grasp his nature and existential state. Therefore, the song is not a mere reproduction of the mythical world, but people's active aspiration for power and, at the same time, a manifestation of fear. It should be regarded as one in which the people's consciousness about this mythical=spiritual being is conspicuously reflected.

CHAPTER FOUR

The "Talk" of Sagais

A. The myth of Sagais¹

ONE NIGHT, IN Ubadaniq, a woman² was sleeping. While asleep, a spirit, Sagais, appeared and said:

"Tomorrow morning, come to the mouth of the mountain stream. Let's talk together. I have a talk only for women. I've come to talk with you. Be sure not to talk to men. Because it's talk only for us women. Sagais is my name. I've come from Bunaitiyagoq³ along the ridges. That is my dwelling place. My spirit dwells in a bamboo and I, Sagais, as a woman, dwell in the river. You see, tomorrow. Be sure to come, as I'll be waiting."

The woman heard (Sagais' words in the dream) and woke up after sleeping till morning. Getting up, the woman walked to the mouth of the mountain stream above (the mountain), and mumbled standing (there), "What sound?" While walking on, the woman looked around. "Wow! A woman I've never seen is coming along. Who on earth is she?" she mumbled with an anxious look. There appeared the woman who emerged in the dream.

The woman (whose shape Sagais assumes) came down to the river mouth and said, "You've nothing to fear. You know, I, Sagais, have come. Come over here." The woman (of Ubadaniq) loitered (restlessly), but presently both of them sat down. Sagais said, "Are men nearby?" The woman replied, "No, I've left them in the village." "Well, are there bamboos in your place?" The woman replied, "Yes, there are bamboos." Seeing (a bamboo growing in the nearby forest),

1. This myth is a condensed, word-for-word translation of the 'myth of Sagais' (*Sagaisixo bujo susuxaj*) narrated by a man in the Waxei language. For the original Waxei text, see appendix 3; for place names, see maps 2 and 3.

2. Said to be a Wesayom woman.

3. A mountain on the uppermost reaches of the Weisas River, located to the northeast of Mt Ubadaniq.



Sagais said, "Ah! Not this bamboo. In my place, a bamboo which is very long (between the nodes) can soon be found. Not one as short as this." The woman said, "In my place this is all (there is). There is no other bamboo."

Sagais said, "Ah! No good (with this bamboo). All right? Do look well." The instant Sagais said this, a long bamboo began to grow. It was a very tall bamboo. Sagais said, "You saw, didn't you? In my place, this bamboo called *taibamus* is growing and my spirit dwells there. You, go pull it up and bring it here." The woman brought that bamboo (just as ordered).

Sagais cut the bamboo. While cutting a man-pipe and woman-pipe in turn, Sagais said, "As I make these five man-pipes and five woman-pipes, you are to blow (into the bamboo pipes). If you do so, a talk in a (man's) low voice and a woman's small talk, that is, a talk in a high voice will come about. It is man(-pipe) that is (to make a) low and loud (sound) and a woman(-pipe) that is (to make a) high (sound), you see." Then, (Sagais) said by taking the head(-pipe) in her hands. "This is Sagais' head, my head. Sagais herself, you know. Now, you, try to cut the edge(-pipe). You make a song better (by adding the edge-pipe). Now, do cut." The woman, after cutting (the edge-pipe), blew (into it).

Sagais said, "All right," and received the edge-pipe. "Be sure to cut correctly (as I am teaching now). I can't stay here any longer. (But) my spirit will come back to Sagais' bamboo pipes and enter them. Then talk is sure to come about. You are to blow deeply into the man-pipes and also deeply into the woman-pipes. You, go down (to the village) and explain to women. Tell them that I, Sagais, talked this way. I'll shortly return to Bunaitiyagoq. (But) my spirit will come back. Never tell men all that I said. Sagais belongs not to men, but to us women. Go now. You see. Do call out by saying let's blow these bamboo pipes. Upon calling women and girls together, you see. They are to dance (while blowing) Sagais. Never bring boys with you, as they may talk to (their) fathers. (If they know it,) men will imagine the true Sagais in the form of a human female as this or that."

The woman walked back to the village. (The other) women stayed in their own houses. The woman made house-to-house visits calling out, "All of you, gather please! I have to talk with you." She said (to the women who gathered), "I've just met a woman at the upper river-mouth. She is Sagais. You've never seen bamboo pipes like these, have you? We, women, are to get them. Men must not. Only the women are to have (the bamboo pipes of) Sagais. Doing so, Sagais will come to this village." The women said in accord, "All right. When evening comes, let's go to meet that woman named Sagais."

The woman conveyed exactly what she was taught by Sagais (to the women who gathered on the mountain), "First, we shall play Sagais' first song, the true beginning. Sagais' beginning is *tageya tuwas*. That song is (like this): '*Tageya tuwaswo tuwa:swo, tageya tuwaswo tuwa:swo, tuwaswo tuwaswo tuwa:swo, ... pu-pu-pu-pu*.' The head(-pipe) makes a sound '*pu-pu-pu-pu*.' This is the starting song of Sagais." The woman of Ubadaniq thus taught the starting song. The woman said, "Now, let's start the song." When she started the song of Sagais first, the other women soon followed. While

stamping, all of them danced and played (by holding) Sagais. On the first night, (the women) kept on dancing and playing until dawn. They also kept dancing on the night of the second day and the night of the third day.

During the third performance, men were talking together at the men's house, "We feel very, very hungry, (close) to death. We've nothing to eat, even the baked sago is finished. Where on earth did the women go?" "I hear they went to meet a woman named Sagais." At that time, women who passed by said, "Yes. They've gone to meet that Sagais. Sagais has come to the upper reaches." Another woman said, "But, as to what they're doing, I don't know at all." The other women also said, "Though we don't know whether the woman called Sagais is a true human being, all of them have gone to meet that Sagais anyway." Then, the men said, "OK, OK, that's enough. As we are dying of hunger, we'd like to ask (for food)". The women replied, "All right. Anyway, those of us with boys can't go meet Sagais. Only those of us with girls have gone. So, fathers of girls are hungry." The men said, "Exactly. Damn!"

The men talked together, "How should we treat the women?" An elder said, "All right, we'll go to fight. We must find out what on earth the women are doing. Some unknown fellow must be saying nice things." The men decided to go (fight). The men who were sitting in the men's house, raised a cry, "Now, put on ornaments! Wearing head decorations of cassowary feathers, and rubbing charcoal all over our bodies, we should defeat the women! By defeating the women, we can find out who on earth that fellow is! If that fellow is a nice girl, we'll take her away." The men went to a place (by the wall) where ornaments are hung, and neatly straightened the cassowary feathers and hornbill tail feathers. After burning charcoal, they then cooled it down.

They told a man, "Hey, you should go. Go and make absolutely sure. Don't make your way through places which can be observed. Walk while hiding yourself behind the trees, and watch well. You see? Are you OK?" The man said, "Don't worry. My fellows, just sit in the men's house and wait until I come back."

The man walked while hiding himself behind tree trunks, "Oh!" The women were dancing (the song of) Sagais, while holding many bamboo pipes. "Gee, these women! While we were wondering where they had gone, they've been doing this. Ah! While we were starving to death and looking about, these women cheated us and came to such a place to dance." The man, after stealing a glance at them, returned to the men's house and said, "Your wives were absorbed in dancing on and on and on, while blowing the bamboo pipes. While holding the bamboo pipes in both hands this way, you see. Those women looked extremely happy. While stamping the ground strongly, they danced very, very joyfully. There, a little way down (the summit), lies an open space, you know? Having neatly cleared up that place, they were dancing there."

Some men said, "Well, now I know. So, I'll go (fight)!" The men roused themselves to action. Standing up, they put on head ornaments of cassowary feathers, took spears, and made their way. When they drew near (the

women), the men divided into two groups. They intended to attack the dancing women from both sides. They surrounded the women between one (group) from a lower part (of the mountain) and the other from an upper part. An elder said, "When I give a signal, jump out all together." The men stood up (at the elder's signal), "Wah! Wah! Wah! Wah!" ... "What on earth are you doing?" ... "We are starving to death." ... "You've been dancing at such a place." ... "Wah!"

A fight erupted with the women. The women fought by placing Sagais' bamboo pipes on the ground. The fight went on and on for a long time. When the men invaded, the women drove them away. Though they drove them away time and again, it was endless. Finally, the men took Sagais' bundle (of bamboo pipes). After taking (it), they handed (it) to those coming from behind, and shouted, "Take them with you and run away!" Those coming from behind began to run soon (after receiving the bamboo pipes) and made for (the village) at full speed. While making their way through the forests, they continued to fight (with the women who still came to chase them) and struggled along to the village. Even in the village, the fight continued. However, the men at last brought Sagais' bundle into the men's house. The men who entered, placed (the bamboo pipes on the upper floor). The women, feeling sad (about having been deprived of the bamboo pipes), went back to their houses.

"We have been deprived of our nice things. The men have taken (them) away by fighting on and on that way." The middle-aged woman (who had met Sagais) said, "Well, let it be. They've taken (them) away well. It's admirable that they got Sagais' bundle and quickly took (it) into (the men's house)." The men sat still (in the men's house). Being scared (of revenge), they could not go back to the women's houses soon. They were thinking this way: "The women may still fight with us because we have deprived them of what they had, of these bamboo pipes."

In the afternoon, the men at last went back to their houses. Then, the women said together, "You've nothing to fear, because you've obtained what we kept secret. You've got Sagais. You've taken (her) away so successfully. There's no point now in getting angry with you. You've obtained that nice thing by fighting with us. We'll not fight any more. So, you see. Keep Sagais in your men's house."

The men gathered together and sat in the men's house. In the evening, the middle-aged woman (who had met Sagais) came along and said, "Hey, you! Listen while staying there. Sagais' (bamboo pipes) have come up to your men's house. Taking it with you, go to a faraway forest, and begin (blowing) there. Deep in the forest, you see. When you have walked up there, begin first with the song named *tageya tuwas*. Doing so, Sagais will appear and begin to talk. (She) really does appear. If you've sensed (Sagais), enter the men's house while blowing *tageya tuwas*. Then, (Sagais) ends (the talk) for a while. With this *tageya tuwas*, you are to get the true song. Listen well to what I say. It's the true song."

(The woman continued,) "In the morning, go pig hunting, taking dogs with you. In the men's house, eat the meat of pigs, cassowaries, cuscus, and

wallabies you've hunted. You need not worry about us, as we don't want (it). We'll cook food and you men, those who are in the men's house are to eat it. Though you've taken away what we've kept secret, we'll no longer touch that affair. We're not angry now."

(The woman said also to the other women,) "Well, you see, you are to serve the men food. Steam the pig meat with heated stones, also steam the wallaby and cuscus meat, and give it to the men. Place foods for Sagais on two sheets of palm bark. The *yandamuq*⁴ is to eat Sagais' food (placed on one of the sheets). The steamed foods placed on the other sheet of palm bark are so that those who help (the performance) will eat them separately (from the *yandamuq*). We'll also go to dance Sagais together. Though we dance together (with the men), it is only the men who eat. Only the *yandamuq* and men who help (the performance) are allowed to eat foods which are offered to Sagais. We only dance together with Sagais. Night and day, and also the next night and day, we do nothing but go on dancing without eating anything."

(The woman said again to the men,) "I've some words for you. This tale is one Sagais gave me before. Presently a spirit, Sagais, will come to your men's house. And Sagais will talk. You'll also surely feel that Sagais' bamboo pipes are talking. That the man-pipes are talking, woman-pipes are talking, head(-pipe) is talking, edge(-pipe) is talking. This is the way Sagais talks. All you have to do is blow deeply. Sagais herself does talk, you see. Now, get those bamboo pipes. Sagais will not appear before us any longer. From now on, Sagais will come up to the men's house. We'll not want to see her. You also should try to hide. Keep Sagais secret."

B. In the dream—Spirit, bamboo, man, and woman

Sagais, as delineated in this myth, is the fundamental being of the female spirit *sagais*, who is thought to dwell in scattered riverbed rocks or riverside bamboos. In this sense, she is also called the "root of *sagais*" or the "true *sagais*". As shown in the myth, this spirit as the root of *sagais* is said to have originally come from the direction of the Karawari River and came to dwell in the stream running through Mt Bunaitiyoq on the upper reaches of Ubadaniq. Sagais, as when she appeared before the Ubadaniq woman, can incarnate herself into a human female. Her alter ego dwells in bamboos called *taibamus*, also growing near the river. Moreover, she is equipped not only with those features common to supernatural spirits, but also with powers that make her appear in dreams, control a woman at will, instantly bring forth a bamboo, and produce sounds. Such variegated abilities are guaranteed by the myth and are the source of strong power of

4. A kinship term indicating sister's son or father's sister's son, also called *gajiq* or *yandamu gajiq*.

the true *sagais* that is ranked equally with Guxaj. These abilities also constitute the reason why Sagais' bamboo flutes are socially valued. Here, by extracting such aspects that will become the premise for an examination of the 'song of Sagais' (*Sagai windioqom*), I would like to give a brief explanation.

What is firstly important is that Sagais, by appearing in the woman's "dream", made a revelation, so to say and, with it as a clue, the woman contacted Sagais. Sagais, while emphasising time and again that it is a secret to be withheld from men, ordered the woman to come up to the stream in the mountain, announced her name, told her dwelling place, and disclosed her identity as a spirit. The woman, in obedience with Sagais' words, that is, to the spirit's talk, went out early next morning, just as ordered, towards the stream up the mountain. This behaviour of the woman, which may be said to have been manipulated by the spirit, is never a mystery beyond comprehension for the Waxeï. For example, as revealed in the interpretation of words uttered by a spirit possessing a human being ("Badaqoe went to meet Kesagai by being lured by spirits of the dead") shown in chapter 1, the Waxeï often express a way of thinking that human behaviour is controlled by spirits at the most fundamental level. For spirits—a spirit having a strong grudge or a spirit like Sagais having strong power, in particular—it is quite easy to manipulate human beings at will.

On such an occasion, a spirit often appears in a dream and gives instructions. Or, it may be said that many of the words they sense in the dream are taken as what a spirit utters. According to the Waxeï's explanation, a spirit appearing in one's dream talks to one in an outwardly human form. However, the figure is obscure, and whether it is truly a human being or not cannot be clearly distinguished. Although a dream itself is also expressed as being a state like a "shadow" of something, it is essentially impossible to clearly distinguish a spirit which exists as a shadow from a dream as a field for a spirit to emerge. Therefore, the emergence of a spirit is auditorily sensed more vividly, and a spirit is taken to be personified through words. For the Waxeï, the source of words perceived in the dream—words which would never allow them to know where they have come out from, however much they may think about it—is thus ascribed to the spirits.

The Waxeï use the concept "dream" in a considerably broad sense. For instance, not only is a dream something one has during sleep at night or when dozing in the daytime—common to our concept—but also: a state in which, though consciously awake, various thoughts go through one's

mind as when one happens to become absent-minded; a state in which a certain melody suddenly comes to mind when, for instance, walking along the road; or even a state of unique sensitivity which we would probably call a fancy or flash—all these are expressed as dreams. To refer to any of these dreams, the word *siyoxus* is used; a 'dream one has in a sleeping state' is called *xaisiyoxus*, adding the prefix *xai*, 'sleep'.

Although a dream occurs in various ways, to the Waxeï, every dream is basically controlled by a spirit. Or, sometimes, it is even stated that a spirit brings forth a dream. A dream is a very suitable field for a spirit to communicate with a human being—when a human being is in a dreaming state, of whatever kind, their consciousness or thought is wandering somewhere and, to the spirit eternally roving about the world, it is a basically affinitive phase. Meanwhile, the manner in which a human being takes a dream can only be passive. The dream the woman had in the opening of the myth is called *xaisiyoxus*. That is, where Sagais entered and talked, the woman was in a complete state of sleep. It is said that, in the case of *xaisiyoxus*, the spirit's power of control works especially strongly. For the spirit, it is easier to cause dreaming in a sleeping person, that is, it is easier to control their consciousness. The woman, therefore, merely sensed the spirit's words passively and obediently followed the spirit's instructions. This is a typical example of the way the spirit attempts to hold dominion over a human being through a dream.

As described in chapter 1, it is when a spirit of the dead possesses a human being that such control by a spirit is most apparent. A spirit of the dead always enters the dream of someone who has fallen asleep. And, by using that person's body and mouth, it makes a loud sound, makes a revelation, and converses with people. All the while, the possessed human being is under the complete dominance of the spirit, and both their subjective consciousness and memory remain lost. It is the continuous state of an abnormal dream, so to say, and a form of the most extreme dominance by the spirit where even contact with the spirit is not perceived. The spirit, going beyond the realm of a human being's dream, talks directly to others. A human being in an abnormal dream does not interchange with the spirit by themselves, but, by becoming the spirit's medium, is manipulated at will. It may also be said that the reason people never inform the human being who awoke from their dream that a spirit has possessed them, is not that they intend to dramatise the phenomenon of possession as a sort of social fiction, but, rather, that they fear and abhor from the bottom of their hearts that a human being just like themselves,

having been dominated by the spirit in front of their eyes, fell into the state of an abnormal dream and identified with the spirit.

A more gentle mode of talk of the possessing spirit is found in Sagais' talk in the dream. There, the spirit, possessing the sleeping woman's dream, talks only to the woman with words. What lies as an extension further from the spirit's talk in the dream, is the "talk" which is said to have been made by Sagais while entering the bamboo flutes. There, Sagais, possessing the bamboo flutes rather than women, talks to them, not with words, but with the sounds of bamboo flutes. However, in that case too, it is thought that the women were in a certain state of a dreaming, a state of quasi dreaming, so to say, as *siyoxus*. In the myth, the women were absorbed in playing bamboo flutes, laying aside their household duties and care of children. It is expressed that they 'danced on and on and on' (*oguxamo, oguxamo, oguxamo*), while stamping strongly on the ground 'with an extremely happy look' (*faguxajom mba*).⁵ It is obviously a disengagement from everyday life, a state of enraptured self-forgetfulness, as induced by Sagais. They were, just as in the dream, charmed by the talk uttered by Sagais.

Another important topic extracted from Sagais' myth is the opposition between men and women. Sagais let only the women play the bamboo flutes in secret, thoroughly excluding men and male children. The men, till the last, did not come in direct contact with Sagais. The women, refusing to look after the men, were absorbed in playing bamboo flutes, which eventually led to the outbreak of a violent fight between the men and women—an incident which does not occur in Guxaj's myth. Ever since the bamboo flutes fell into men's hands, the women withdrew with good grace, taught the men about how to play the bamboo flutes and what to eat, and advised that Sagais' bamboo flutes be made secret and concealed.

This opposition between men and women surrounding Sagais' bamboo flutes seemingly differs from the aspect of the song of Guxaj. The song of Guxaj, together with the method for initiation and the manner of imposing food taboos, etc., was taught only to the men from the beginning. Although it is a woman who originally caught Guxaj, ever since it was transferred to men without any resistance, women began to be kept away from the core of Guxaj's secret. Although the song of Guxaj was also soon introduced to women, and both men and women were to sing it, the true meanings of

5. Attention should be paid to the fact that both *faguxa-* and *oguxa-* are words stemming from the state of *guxaj* as 'sway', which is a fundamental Waxei mode of expression.

the song remain concealed from women. That is, throughout Guxaj's myth, women are all along given only supporting roles or serve as spectators, not permitted to view.

However, if we think of opponents against whom men really set themselves, it is known that both Guxaj's myth and Sagais' myth exhibit, in fact, the same aspect. That is, in both cases, what lies behind the apparently manifest mythical opposition between men and women, are antagonistic relations between human beings and spirits. It is clear that it was Guxaj, not the women, whom the men fought in Guxaj's myth. Similarly, although the opponents the men confronted in Sagais' myth are seemingly women, they are women who had fallen under Sagais' control in a dream and who themselves are beings something like half-spirits. These women, who took mysterious action and turned into truly non-descript beings—women of Wesayom clan based on Mt Ubadaniq—are thought to have originally been *mayamotum*, supernatural spirits dwelling in marshland (see chapter 2) who, at this time, being dominated by Sagais, turned from the human figure back into evil spirits as they originally were, and were made to dance, becoming, so to say, Sagais' puppet.

According to the ancestral myth of Wesayom clan, up to Ubadaniq where there were never any women from the beginning, many women are said to have come at one time from the direction of the Upper Weisas River. They were women into whom the marshland *mayamotum* spirits incarnated and, rejecting intercourse with men, they descended to the valley, set their legs wide apart, and became pregnant by exposing their genitals to the wind. However, those born were only girls. The men, getting angry, did not give food to them. Then, the women also left Ubadaniq. The men, catching many wild dogs, released them to search for the women. The dogs found the women on a mountain whose ridge is continuous from Ubadaniq and raped them. Presently, when babies were born, those in the shape of a dog were raised, while those in human shape were killed and eaten by the dogs. Ubadaniq men came and a battle broke out. Following a violent fight, the men exterminated the dogs and took the women back to Ubadaniq. After making them wash their genitals well, as they had been made dirty by the dogs, they had intercourse. This time, the women did not reject it.

In this way, the women became human and began to give birth to boys too. However, the women to whom Sagais gave bamboo flutes, that is, the women having only girls, were, in that sense, such women as evil spirits who were not yet completely transmuted into human beings. These

women are called *sagai mayamotum*, in the sense of 'mayamotum dominated by Sagais' or 'female spirit coexisting with Sagais'. It follows, therefore, that the men confronted those women as *mayamotum* and further behind this lies a confrontation with the powerful supernatural spirit, Sagais, which can manipulate *mayamotum*.

Iman, an elder, once kindly disclosed that the reason why men have concealed and kept the bamboo flutes out of women's sight since they took them away is that they are afraid women might turn back again into *mayamotum* as evil spirits, by being dominated by Sagais through their touching the bamboo flutes. Against this, he believes that they, having Guxaj's power, can in turn control Sagais, by invoking Sagais, listening to her talk, offering food, and appeasing the spirit. That is, it is claimed that they blow bamboo flutes, not as a result of being dominated and controlled by Sagais as in the case of the women in the myth, but in order to positively summon Sagais and thereby obtain the "true song".

This way of thinking is obviously based on the consciousness that, by taking exclusive possession of Sagais' power through the "song", they intend to secure a social advantage over women. As the middle-aged woman said towards the end of the myth, in the "true song" Sagais' talk is sure to emerge, and listening to that talk is synonymous with taking in Sagais' power. In that sense, singing the song of Guxaj and blowing Sagais' bamboo flutes may be regarded to be behaviour resting on essentially common ground.

Nevertheless, the point in which the song of Guxaj differs decisively from the song of Sagais, is that, for the latter, special tools—bamboo flutes—are required. According to Waxeï terminology, bamboo flutes are called 'bamboo pipes' (*kunu bogonim*), that is, 'pipes' (*bogonim*) cut out of 'bamboo' (*kunu*) with a 'mouth' (*buseis*) for breathing into. The bamboo pipe itself is an indispensable device for drawing out sounds and talk as Sagais' power and, it may be said, in the following sense, to be a thing symbolising Sagais as a spiritual being.

First, the bamboo Sagais gave to the women in the myth is not thought to be a naturally generated bamboo, but a special one Sagais produced in order for her to enter it. This *taibamus* bamboo is said to have originally grown only in the vicinity of the Upper Weisas River (near Mt Ubadaniq and Mt Bunaitiyagoq) and was later transplanted to Watakataui, and further, part of it was planted inside Meska. Since this bamboo not only has a long internodal distance, but is also thin and with weak walls, it has

no other uses than for bamboo flutes. It is, so to speak, a mythical bamboo Sagais brought forth to dominate and control women.

Moreover, the bamboo which Sagais can possess and talk through is not one growing on the ground, but only a bamboo pipe which was cut out and hollowed. A bamboo whose inside is segmentally closed by nodes is exclusively a container which serves as a spirit's dwelling place—it does not make a sound by itself. As far as the sound of bamboo is concerned, what is perceived as a sound uttered by a spirit is only a whispering sound of leaves caused by the breath of the spirit dwelling there as it becomes wind and this is taken as a sign showing that the spirit has spontaneously emerged. It is only through a bamboo pipe which has been cut and whose nodes have been gouged out that an artificially invited spirit can utter a sound. Therefore, when referring to a bamboo flute, that is, a bamboo pipe for a spirit to enter and engage in meaningful talk, the Waxeï never use the word "bamboo" even suggestively.

Originally, this form of bamboo pipe is a device for metamorphosis and possession which, for the Waxeï, may even be said to be traditional. For example, in a myth well known among the Waxeï, a boy of Wesayom clan, feeling so sad at not having been given his share of fish from his elder sister, metamorphosed into a spot-winged flycatcher. It was a short, hollow bamboo pipe that the boy passed through when he metamorphosed (cf. appendix 1). The boy's skin, while it passed through the bamboo pipe, went on changing into a bird's feathers. Moreover, a tool used today to invite possession by spirits of the dead and coax signal percussion out of it, is also a hollow bamboo pipe whose nodes have been gouged out. It is up to three meters long, but, not simply called a bamboo—it is given other names such as 'evil bamboo stick' or 'evil pipe' (*swoni bogonis*) (cf. chapter 1). Spirits of the dead, which gather under the floor, enter this bamboo pipe one after another and, by percussing a signal instead of uttering a word, suggest a murderous spirit and engage in dialogue with people.

Thus, bamboo flutes as bamboo pipes, while involving double or triple symbolic processes, are regarded as spiritual devices for letting Sagais' power dwell inside so that it emerges as a sound and performs talk. Bamboo flutes also devices symbolising social privilege, in the sense that only those who own them can enjoy Sagais' power and "true song". Actually, however, this social privilege is retained in only a very shaky manner. Because, although it is made legitimate by the myth of Sagais that the ownership of bamboo flutes passed into men's hands through a battle, the very myth itself may be regarded to be merely an outcome of

interpretation convenient to men. It is not that the bamboo flutes which the men actually own have any intrinsic value in themselves; they remain mere 'things' (*aisojofim*), unless a spirit possesses them—its power is then expressed through them as talk. Thus, it may be said that, for men, just because of this, it is necessary to conceal the bamboo flutes, keep even the myth itself secret, and thereby cover up the uncertainty the very existence of bamboo flutes involves.⁶

Thus, the "song" of Sagais expressed through Sagais' bamboo flutes is interpreted as a "talk" of Sagais against the background of mythical and symbolic relationships interwoven by the spirit, dream, and bamboo. While retaining general features of the sonic aspect called "song" by the Waxei, it is signified as a unique communication mode consisting of "talk" from a spirit. In the following passages, by describing the context in which the song of Sagais occurs, the mode and structure of the song, and mythical implications of the song, I would like to search into the deep strata of socio-cultural implications the song of Sagais has, while giving special heed to the problems peculiar to Sagais, such as the possession of bamboo flutes by a spirit, the relationship between playing bamboo flutes and having a dream, and the sound of bamboo flutes occurring as a spirit's "talk".

C. Background of performance

At present, there are a total of six sets of Sagais' bamboo flutes owned by the Waxei. All of them were made by different men within the last ten years, and each set has been wrapped in leafstalk palm bark (Tok Pisin, *pangal*) and kept secret in the attic of the men's house.⁷ It is regarded that,

6. Concerning paired bamboo flutes being kept secret from women in Papua New Guinea, Gourlay (1975) discusses social functions and meanings by comparing many ethnographies. Finch, who analysed the myths of bamboo flutes handed down in various societies of the Papua New Guinea Highlands, has pointed out that although men's cultural predominance is symbolised by bamboo flutes, their symbolic structure is intrinsically unstable. Since men "are unable to escape their dependence on women, [they] cannot feel secure in their dominance" (Finch 1985:212).

7. In 1990, when the old men's house was destroyed, all the sets of bamboo flutes were exposed to the women. Because of this event, photographs of the flutes appear in this book. However, in 1993 and 1995, when I witnessed a performance of bamboo flutes, the men still enclosed themselves behind a blind where the flutes were played and tried to conceal them visually, although it appeared to be only a formal disguise.

although the ownership of bamboo flutes is basically held by the respective individuals who made them, they, at the same time, belong to the respective clans of the men who made them. The clans to which the owners of the six sets of bamboo flutes belong are: Nunguwase, Ogufaiyo, Baishumei, Haishomir, Gesei, and Wesayom. So, when someone from the other four clans wishes to use bamboo flutes, he must either borrow the flutes of a kin clan of his own (a clan in a *kusaim* relationship) or make a new set himself.

Sagais' bamboo flutes are nowadays played mainly on the following occasions: when a new set of flutes has been made; when a private house or men's house has been newly constructed; and when an owner of flutes feels inclined to play at his will. In any such case, as in the case of the song of Guxaj, the sponsor's side (an owner of the flutes or house, or, in the case of a men's house, a clan which offered sponsorship to enhance its social prestige) is obliged to serve meals to specific relatives (not only *yandamuq* but also *inituj*, *kifugaj*, and *kogumoq*) and friends who voluntarily join the performance, while the relatives' side is obliged to pay cash (not so much in value per head), corresponding to the amount of distributed meals, to the flute owner in return. The performance is made in turn by all those concerned, including the sponsor. Also, when a man uses flutes other than his own, irrespective of whether he uses his clan's flutes or borrows his kin clan's flutes, he must pay part of the cash returned from his relatives to the flute owner as a rental fee.

It is true that, since duties for exchanging meals and cash involved in bamboo flute performance are a heavy burden especially on the sponsor's side, opportunities for performance are considerably restricted. The meanings of this exchange may be thought to be for preventing the secret of flutes from being exposed or for making even more sacred Sagais' power, which is sought through the performance, by socially controlling indiscreet flute performance. Basically, however, the reason seems to lie in the fact that, as stated clearly in the myth, these meals are thought to be "meals offered to Sagais". That is, since for the sponsor's side, the primary purpose of sponsoring the performance is to touch Sagais' power and take it in, it is only natural that meals prepared be offered to appease Sagais. In that case, for the sake of formality, relatives helping the performance receive allotted meals, in place of Sagais, and consume them. It is necessary for them to show in the form of buying meals by paying with the equivalent cash that those meals are not ones truly presented to them.

Thus, the equivalent exchange made by human beings is structured as equality under the spirit.

Bamboo flutes can be made by anyone at any time, if he is a married man with a scar on his back. However, since he must necessarily announce them at the time of completion by preparing meals, they are made infrequently. For all that, as becoming a flute owner leads to the acquisition of social prestige, every man tries to make bamboo flutes and become the sponsor of a performance by some means or other. By making flutes, one's own financial ability and leadership for preparing meals are displayed and, more importantly, one can offer all his fellows an opportunity to receive Sagais' talk.

When making bamboo flutes, it is always the case that a man makes a complete set individually. This reflects a way of thinking that bamboo flutes were originally brought forth by the "root of sagais", a spirit as an "individual". A man goes into the forest and finds *taibamus* bamboo which is as straight and long as possible. As shown in the myth, it is better that one set consisting of about ten flutes be cut out of a single bamboo. This is because bamboo flutes intrinsically derived from one bamboo as Sagais' dwelling place and, it may also be said that, the multiplicity of bamboo flutes is suggestive of the polysemous nature of Sagais as a spirit.



Plate 19: Inspecting the bamboo pipes

The man who finds a bamboo, first cuts it down beneath the node near the root. Then, with the lengths of his arm and fingers as a scale of measurement, he cuts out pipes of four different lengths. Each pipe is treated so that it has a node left at one end, while the other nodes are totally gouged out. On the side near the remaining node, a hole for blowing, about 2.5 cm in diameter, is made. The way of cutting which kind of pipe of a specific length comes from which part of the bamboo follows the procedure shown in the myth and, the respective names are also assigned, just as they were by Sagais. That is, from the root, in order: one 'head-pipe' (*togo kunu bogoniq*), which is the longest (c. 90 cm), is cut out first; then four to five 'man-pipes' (*uyagu kunu bogonim*) (c. 74 cm) and four to five 'woman-pipes' (*toganu kunu bogonim*) (c. 62 cm) are cut out in alternation; finally, one 'edge-pipe' (*jemxaidai kunu bogoniq*), which is the shortest (c. 50 cm), is cut out from the upper part.⁸

In the process of making bamboo flutes, it is never attempted to trial blow them by putting the lips onto the hole and breathing out strongly. It is partly because the lengths of the bamboo flutes which determine the pitch of each pipe are correct, as they are carefully checked at the stage when they are first cut, but, more importantly, it is because it is thought, as in the myth, that a human being cannot singly produce the sound of bamboo flutes. Therefore, the only method for the maker to ascertain the correct length is by blowing lightly, keeping the lips five to six centimetres away from the hole, and listening to the feeble sound emerging. This sound is expressed as *asusa* in the sense that it is not a "sound of bamboo pipe" but a soft, weak sound being produced through a bamboo as a natural object.

During my stay at Meska, there were two opportunities for Sagais' bamboo flutes to be played. One was in November 1986, when I requested my friend, Simbi, to make a new set of flutes. Another was in January 1987, when Wombogai, the doktaboi, voluntarily sponsored the flute playing. In Simbi's case, I bore all the expenses incurred for food procurement and, with him as a nominal owner, I got his relatives and friends to help in the performance. The set of bamboo flutes completed then were named *xofxainda*, after *xofxais*, another name for the palm

8. The lengths of the bamboo flutes shown here are only examples and do not represent standard lengths of all sets. In the case of the longest set: the head-pipe is c. 120 cm; man-pipes c. 100 cm; woman-pipes c. 80 cm; and edge-pipe c. 60 cm.

cockatoo,⁹ the symbol of his clan (Haishomir). The lengths of the flutes cited earlier represent those of this *xofxainda*. As Simbi had stood as a candidate for the election of headman¹⁰ scheduled at the end of November and the sponsorship of bamboo flute playing was a golden opportunity for attracting the villagers' support, he gave willing cooperation. Probably because of this effect, he successfully became the headman.

In Wombogai's case, on the other hand, it is supposed that what urged him to use the bamboo flutes were the words of grudge uttered by the possessing spirit of Badaqoe, shown in chapter 1. It is likely that, being reproached severely by the dead Badaqoe's spirit, he was considerably shocked. Meanwhile, from among the villagers too, discontents, such as that he sometimes neglects his duties and the medicine he gives does not have effect, began to come to the surface. To obviate such ill feelings, he prepared meals by himself, brought out the bamboo flutes named *kuntuwas* (meaning a 'bamboo leaf'), and sponsored a festival. It may also be said that, in order to protect his own social prestige, he tried to conciliate the people by relying on Sagais' power.

In the case of both Simbi and Wombogai, though the sets of bamboo flutes used and the details of performance were different, the manner of bamboo flute playing was almost identical. In the following passages, by integrating both cases, I would like to proceed to examine the context in which the song of Sagais occurs.

At about eight o'clock at night, darkness falls all around, and the performance of bamboo flutes begins. In the evening, men take out a set of flutes concealed in the attic of the men's house (see plate 20) and carefully wash them with water. This is done, on one hand, to remove cobwebs and dust inside the bamboo flutes, but, on the other hand, the primary reason for doing so is to make it easier to invoke Sagais, a river spirit, by moistening the flutes in entirety with water. Also, the men

9. The word *xofxais* is only used by Haishomir clan for this bird; other clans use *taikojos*.

10. The headman is called the local councillor of the Korosameri-Salumei administrative district and one person is elected among the five villages: Meska, Wainim, Bisorio (a Gaidio village), Mugumute (a Kapriman village), and Tamban (an Inalu [Bahinemo] village). The election is held in Meska, as it has the largest population. Since people of other villages do not take the trouble to come along for the election, it becomes almost nothing but the election of a headman within Meska.



Plate 20: The men's house where bamboo flutes were played

carefully stop up the gaps in the walls of the upper floor of the men's house with sago palm leafstalks so that the inside cannot be seen from the outside. If there is time and labour to spare, the men's house is sometimes surrounded with a fence interwoven with sago leaves. Then, about ten men go into the forest, each stealthily holding a flute, and wait for the arrival of real quiet and darkness with bated breath. At this time, each of them must not blow into the flute at his discretion. The other men gather on the upper floor of the men's house, sitting still and chatting in whispers.

Presently, the men in the forest stand up and hold the bamboo flutes for playing. The moment all of them give a signal with their eyes to each other, they all begin to blow strongly into the flutes. This is the opening of *tageya tuwas*¹¹ ('leaf of the *tageya* tree') which Sagais is said to have taught the woman in the myth. While playing this tune, they start stamping their feet strongly in time to its metric rhythm and soon begin walking towards the men's house. The men, who had entered the upper floor of the men's house under the cover of night, keep on blowing while strongly stamping on the floor. After a while, a man makes the striking sound of footsteps, at which

11. See track 17 on the accompanying compact disc.

signal only the low sound "pu-pu-pu-pu ..." of the head-pipe keeps on blowing and the first performance of *tageya tuwas* concludes.

After a short interval, the men begin blowing into the flutes again. Again, the tune is *tageya tuwas*. This tune is thought to be a message for invoking Sagais and inducing her to possess the bamboo pipes. When catching the message sent by the men, Sagais comes along to Meska from a river and enters the bamboo pipes. This river is said to be located in the land of the clan to which the bamboo flutes being used belong. However, the men say that it is extremely difficult to summon Sagais. Even after the second performance, they still look rigid: "No! She doesn't come yet" (*mba, osuya mba afayususa*); "Soon she'll come" (*uxas yadaxusa*); "It's good that she catches *tageya tuwas*" (*osuya tageya tuwas fisa, wade*); "We can only wait" (*num bedyumuya ngwatunum*). The men mutter such expressions to themselves.¹²

While taking short rests, they persevere in repeating *tageya tuwas* over and over. According to what the men say, when Sagais emerges, a faint "breeze" can be felt. This is Sagais' "breath", which goes into the bamboo pipes and makes a "low sound". Then, when the fifth playing is complete, a man begins to make a soft sound like a whistle, roughly revealing a melodic movement and rhythmic pattern to the others. It is not a clear whistling sound, but a feeble, very breathy sound. This is a sign which indicates that he has perceived the appearance of Sagais before anyone else and, while conveying it to the other players, he is urging them to proceed to the next tune.

Then, the men start blowing into the pipes, though in a different order and combination from *tageya tuwas*. A tune produced thus is *yogoq*.¹³ In this *bittagas* which means 'life' or 'low sound', the appearance of Sagais is certainly recognised. Or, *yogoq* may be said to be a tune in which Sagais appeals to people with her own emergence. The men, by knowing that *yogoq* occurred correctly, confirm that "Sagais' life has certainly appeared" (*sagisuxo yogoquya bej gwatinya*), "her breath has entered the bamboo pipes" (*osuxo gofshuqaj xujeinei kunu bogonisma*), and "has

12. As in this case, when Sagais does not readily emerge, the men sometimes tune the bamboo flutes. What is meant here by tuning, however, is merely slightly cutting off the edge of the bamboo flutes or blowing hole—they never dare change the main body length. Besides, tuning is limited to the time when the flutes are blown altogether for the first time. Once the possession of the bamboo flutes by Sagais is perceived, the bamboo flutes are never altered.

13. See track 18 on the accompanying compact disc.

begun to sing as a low breathing sound" (*igo osuxo gofshu yogoquya windioqo gwatinya*).

Once Sagais' appearance and possession have been expressed in this way through *yogoq*, all that follows is merely to let Sagais keep on with "talk", one after another. The sounds generated from the bamboo flutes are sounds Sagais herself utters, and the blowing of bamboo flutes on the part of the men merely serves as a trigger for the realisation of such transcendental sounds. Concerning this, the men make an explicit comment: "We are only blowing into the bamboo pipes; it is Sagais who is singing" (*num bedyumuya gofshuj kunu bogonisma, igo Sagaisiya windioqosa*). Therefore, it is not the men who decide which *bittagas* should be played next. *Bittagas* as a content of the spirit's "talk" is something which the spirit herself 'shows' (*naxatusa*) and 'gives' (*afaxousa*) to human beings—something that just 'emerges' (*gwatinya*) as such.

It is said that Sagais enters into someone's 'thinking' (*sketa*) and secretly teaches him the next *bittagas* to play. In many cases, it is one of the players, but sometimes one of the men sitting around. When a tune ends, the men take rest while smoking tobacco or chewing betelnut, but, at that time, they turn their consciousness to receiving a message from Sagais. When silence continues for a long time without Sagais' suggestion occurring in anyone's thoughts, an elder often irritatingly says to someone: "Think well of the *bittagas* Sagais shows" (*wasketayom wade bittagas Sagaisiya naxatusa*).

In time, the *bittagas* is sure to occur in someone's thoughts. The men express the state at this time as "feeling like having heard the sounds of a song" (*iti ojoya okwate windioqo fyugoxqaj*). That is, a *bittagas* does not emerge as words, but is auditorily perceived as a pattern of sound constituting the song, however vague it may be. A man who sensitively received this sign shown by Sagais, conveys that pattern to all other players with a feeble, breathy sound like a whistle. Since the "sound of the song" is only given by Sagais, this breathy sound can also not be a substantial sound. Just as when blowing into the bamboo pipe, he shows by 'blowing' (*gofshuj*) only an outline of the ascending and descending movement of the sound and rhythmic pattern perceived and, thereby, informs the other men about which pipes and in which order they should blow.

Such a manner of sound perception as realised by a spirit which, by entering into someone's thinking, foreshadows the pattern of sound to come, does not represent a cognitive method peculiar to the Waxei. It

points to that state which we also know from experience—a state in which a certain melody comes into our minds, or the state in which we suddenly find ourselves humming a song unconsciously. If we reflect on it, we find that we do not know where the melody came from. The Waxeï, however, very clearly interpret that a spirit called Sagais, upon entering into a human being's thoughts, is teaching it. At that time, they say, that the man is in *siyoxus*, that is, in the state of dreaming, in the broadest sense. In that state, a man is consciously awake, but that consciousness is exclusively open to the spirit. It may also be said that, through all the processes in which performance continues, the spirit keeps on drawing people's consciousness to herself and creating a special state of mind. The surrounding darkness, night as a time inducing sleep, closed space of the men's house, stimulation by tobacco and betelnut—all these also serve as background factors helping to sustain this quasi dreaming of the men.

The men keep on blowing into the bamboo pipes after the model, so to say, of each *bittagas* which thus has occurred in their minds—*bittagam* which Sagais has shown. Then, the men's breath fuses with Sagais' breath, emerging as substantial sounds. These are the sounds Sagais utters. The sounds are structured and expressed as "song" or as "talk". Just as was the case with women in the myth, Sagais goes on showing her song as talk towards the men who were led into a state of dreaming. When a talk is brought to an end, Sagais tells the end by entering into the thoughts of one of the players. When the man who sensed the sign, stamps on the floor only once but strikingly hard, the other players, catching it as a signal to finish, stop blowing.

In this way, the men are absorbed in continuing to blow into the bamboo pipes, while occasionally changing players. While forming a circle and stamping hard (*xaguxa*) on the floor in time to the tempo of a tune, they slowly move anticlockwise (see plates A & 21). Although it is explained that the stamping sound reproduces in an exaggerated way the sound Sagais made when she appeared before the woman at the opening of the myth, it is, at the same time, an expression of the joy (*faguxa*) of the men who can sense the emergence of Sagais and enjoy her talk. As the stamping sound becomes stronger, those around who are listening also cheer, elevating the atmosphere there. The appearance of the men becomes much brighter than at the time when they were repeating *tageya tuwas* again and again, and they begin to emanate even an ecstatic air.

In the case of bamboo flute playing, men usually do not decorate their bodies at all, wearing just ordinary clothes. Body ornaments are very



Plate 21: Performance of Sagais' bamboo flutes

much a product of men's consciousness of the gazes of women. Hence, this differs from the case in which the song of Guxaj is sung: as bamboo flutes are blown in a closed, secret space, ornaments may be said to be useless. Also, no other sound-producing or musical instruments are used. As a result, what resounds through the men's house are only the sounds of bamboo flutes, footsteps, and the men's shouts and cheers, which are sometimes mixed in.

Two hours or so after the start of playing, women also come to gather around the men's house. Dressed in grass skirts, they stand where they like, and, without taking steps, simply move their hips broadly from side to side in time with the tempo of the tune. Their grass skirts also sway, making rustling sounds (see plate 22). Without making any sounds, the women listen to the sounds of the bamboo flutes while silently shaking their hips. Even if they do not know the myth of Sagais, they are well aware that the sounds coming sonorously from the men's house are Sagais' voices. Although they are socially prohibited to come near the myth and the secret of the bamboo flutes, it is a common experience with the men that they rock their bodies in time to Sagais' voice while being enraptured with the sounds uttered by the spirit. Therefore, the situation in which



Plate 22: Sway of women's grass skirts while dancing for the song of Sagais

Sagais' talks are expressed through the bamboo flutes must be grasped as an occasion of socially common experiences.

The bamboo flute performance thus continues all through the night. The time when it is finally put to an end, actually depends on the number of meals served on that occasion. The players take a meal by having rests in turn and, if the number is small, they cannot keep on blowing for a long time. It would be ideal if the sponsor could prepare more than two rounds of meals and, in that case, the performance can continue until around seven o'clock in the evening of the next day. However, if the number of meals is small, it ends before dawn of the next morning. In any case, if they cease to blow into the bamboo flutes, Sagais returns to the river again, but since the spirit can move only in the dark, it is, after all, before dawn or after it gets dark in the evening that the performance ends.

Just as Sagais was invoked by artificial appeal, it is also the men who put an end to Sagais' talk. When it is judged that the ending time is approaching, the men who have received a meal (i.e., players) collect cash as a return, wrap it in a cloth, and hang it on the end of the head-pipe with a string. As the meals are such that they are primarily dedicated to Sagais, the cash presented in return by those who formally received them, must also be offered to Sagais as a matter of form. The men thus begin to play

the last tune named *sigaxus* 'cicada'. This tune has a melodic structure similar to that of *tageya tuwas*, the first tune, and that short pattern is slowly repeated again and again. Although not shown explicitly in the myth, it is said that, together with *tageya tuwas*, Sagais taught *sigaxus* to the middle-aged woman. Only the start and end of bamboo flute playing can be thus controlled by human beings by following the pattern previously taught by Sagais.

At about the time when *sigaxus* has been repeated five or six times, an elder takes a sago palm leafstalk with him and comes near the men who are playing. The moment he strongly strikes the floor with the leafstalk, the players, all together, put the bamboo flutes on the floor and let them slide towards the exit of the men's house on the riverside. Sagais' talk is brought to a close by the striking sound of the leafstalk and, being led by the movement of bamboo flutes, Sagais goes back to the river which is her original dwelling place. With this, the bamboo pipes finish their role as spiritual devices and return again to being mere "things", as they were originally. The men wrap them together in a sheet of palm bark and put them back into the attic. Then, the men, and also the women who have been dancing outside through it all, return to their own houses.

D. Structure of sounds

As already described, the structure of the sounds Sagais generates through the bamboo pipes, is also regarded as "song". Therefore, these sounds are endowed with all the structural characteristics of Waxei song, that is, the independent unit of tune, *bittagas* as a tune title, repetition of a musical sentence articulated by *songoqaj*, voice-part organisation consisting of "high sound" and "low sound", and the manifestation of "sway" due to their intervolution. Here, by presupposing such general aspects, I would like to specifically extract and examine the unique modes of Sagais' song.

The sounds which constitute Sagais' song are produced by four kinds of bamboo flutes differing in length. As shown in the myth, since a bamboo pipe must be blown into 'strongly' (*maitate*), what comes out of a bamboo flute is basically one tone, i.e., the second harmonic of an open tube. Therefore, different from a song by human voices, the tonal organisation of Sagais' song is almost constant with four tones. In the case of the set of bamboo flutes, *xofxainda*, for example, they are E (edge-pipe), D \flat (woman-pipes), B \flat (man-pipes), and G \flat (head-pipe), from high to low, in turn (all

are actual pitches).¹⁴ Among those four tones, the two tones of the edge-pipe and woman-pipes are regarded as "high sound" (*yabangu*) and the other two tones of the man-pipes and head-pipe as "low sound" (*yogoq*), thus demonstrating that, in the case of song by bamboo flutes as well, two (high and low) ranges or voice-parts form the basic components of the song.

Among them, the "high sound" of woman-pipes and "the low sound" of man-pipes are given particularly important meaning as tones which make up the "frame" of Sagais' song or the "shape of branches" of song as a tree (both are called *subem*). The "frame" must be sturdy and, therefore, four to five pieces of each woman-pipe and man-pipe are used to produce a 'big sound' (*bugo fyugofqaj*) of sufficient density. The structure of each song is based on the alternating motion (*nunugonunugofa*) and simultaneous motion (*dabusnefa*) of these man-pipes and woman-pipes.

On the other hand, one edge-pipe and one head-pipe play a different role. The term *jemxaidai*, which is translated here as 'edge', originally refers to a 'state different from others' or a 'state departing from others';¹⁵ indeed, the high sound of the edge-pipe is clearly audible, sharply rising over the mass of sounds and, in the melodic structure too, it is assigned a role of articulating and accentuating the movements of the other tones. What was suggested by Sagais in the myth that the edge-pipe 'makes a song better' (*windioqom aimainai*), points to these functions of the edge-pipe. Meanwhile, the head-pipe cut out from the base of a bamboo is identified with the head of Sagais, being signified as something supporting the being of Sagais who dwells in a bamboo, and this is clearly observed in the function of its sound. That is, the lowest sound of the head-pipe is thought to be the true *yogoq* (= 'low sound') and, by its continuous sounding, real "life" is given to the melodic structure or Sagais' lively power shows itself. Just as the head-pipe itself sustains the existence of Sagais, the sound of the head-pipe functions as a fundamental tone

14. Since the lengths of the bamboo flutes are determined relatively, the actual tones differ from set to set. In either case, however, the intervallic relations remain basically fixed. The only exception is the edge-pipe, as it is sometimes cut at another ratio of length and, in such a case, the pitch also changes. For example, the actual tones of the set called *kuntuwas* are D \flat (edge-pipe), A \flat (woman-pipes), F (man-pipes), and D \flat (head-pipe), an octave lower than the edge-pipe.

15. This word is also used to denote a way of canoeing different from others, such as advancing obliquely alone or stopping on the way so that one falls out of the line of canoes.

supporting Sagais' song. Thus, the composition of bamboo pipes which was organised by Sagais in the myth, is reflected in the sound structure, thereby producing melodies.

The structures of Sagais' songs can be broadly divided into two types, according to whether the tonal motion of man-pipes and woman-pipes is alternating or overlapping. *Tageya tuwas*, shown in music example 14, is a typical example of alternating motion. In this tune, the sound of the edge-pipe overlaps the sound of the woman-pipes, thereby articulating the alternating motion and, at the same time, generating accents. Meanwhile, the sound of the head-pipe also progresses simultaneously with the sound of the edge-pipe, thus intensifying the accents in a low tonal range.



Music example 14: *Tageya tuwas*. All of the music examples show a sentence ending with *songoqaj*. All pitches are actual tones. On the upper staff are the tones of the edge-pipe (upward stems) and woman-pipes (downward stems); on the lower staff are the tones of the man-pipes (upward stems) and head-pipe (downward stems). To the left of the staves, an approximate time (in seconds) required for one sentence to be played is shown; at the end, the typical repetition frequency is shown.

In music example 15 too, *yogoq* basically assumes the same pattern as that of *tageya tuwas*, but what is characteristic of this tune is that the head-pipe also resounds a fundamental tone an octave below. It is nothing but the "low sound" the tune title suggests and precisely reveals the emergence of Sagais' "life" distinctly.

Music example 15: *Yogoq*

Furthermore, a more complicated form of such an alternating pattern is seen in the tune *tojoius* 'dead tortoise', shown in music example 16.¹⁶ Here, the man-pipes and woman-pipes alternate almost by one tone, while the edge-pipe and head-pipe either overlap the woman-pipes or enter between the progressions of the man-pipes and woman-pipes.

Music example 16: *Tojoius*

Meanwhile, a basic example in which the man-pipes and woman-pipes progress in an overlapping pattern, is shown in the tune *yadij* 'big earthworm', in music example 17.¹⁷ The first half of this tune, in particular, takes such a form that, with the simultaneously sounding tones of the woman-pipes and man-pipes as the basic axis, the sounds of the

16. See track 19 on the accompanying compact disc.

17. See track 23 on the accompanying compact disc.

edge-pipe and head-pipe enter between them, thus representing a typical progression of the overlapping pattern.

Music example 17: *Yadij*

After all, all the tunes of Sagais' song are reduced to a form in either of such alternating and overlapping patterns, or to a form in which both are mixed in a tune. Differences in tune types are distinguished by differences in combination and the order in which bamboo pipes are blown into, and also by delicate differences in the rhythmic patterns which thereby result.

Furthermore, the men say that in Sagais' song too, there is 'sway' (*guxaj*). Just as in the case of *Guxaj*'s song, it is caused by the mutual relationship in the progression of "high sound" and "low sound", but, in the case of bamboo flutes, the mutual relationship refers to the way a "small melody" (produced by two tones of the edge-pipe and woman-pipes as "high sound") and another "small melody" (produced by two tones of the man-pipes and head-pipe as "low sound") are combined.

In the case of music examples 14 and 15, for instance, two tones as "high sound" are played together to a considerable extent and, against the stable movement of that high melody, the melody of two tones as "low sound" repeats a small oblique motion. Meanwhile, in a developed pattern such as music example 16, both high and low melodies proceed in fine oblique motion and contrary motion, thereby producing many delicate swells. Furthermore, in music example 17, two small melodies, high and low, both generated by the alternating motion of two tones, progress in contrary

motion to each other like reflected images, so that the swell due to the approach and departure of the two melodies occurs. Thus, it is understood that, varying in mode depending on the structural pattern of each tune, the phenomenon of "sway" as pointed out in Sagais' song is also produced by the intervolvement of "high sound" and "low sound".

Lastly, the most important aspect of structure of Sagais' song is that it is perceived and understood not only as a structure of sound, but also as a structure of "talk". "Talk" is an English equivalent for *bujofqaj*, an abstract concept which may be defined as an 'utterance with a comprehensible conceptual content which can be replaced by words'. *Bujofqaj* is used by being clearly distinguished from its cognate *bujom*, which means 'words' in a broad sense. So it is expressed in such a way that, although Sagais' song has no *bujom*, it does have *bujofqaj*. This means that Sagais does not utter words themselves, but utters significant concepts by weaving them into the sound structure. Human beings perceive them, extract a conceptual content from them, and, upon interpreting them linguistically, understand them as *bittagam*. Commenting on this process, the Waxei say that they can 'sense' (*osketame*) the *bittagas*, because the sounds Sagais generates enter into their 'thinking' (*sketa*). This is why they are, they say, in a state of a quasi dream, when they listen to Sagais' talk.

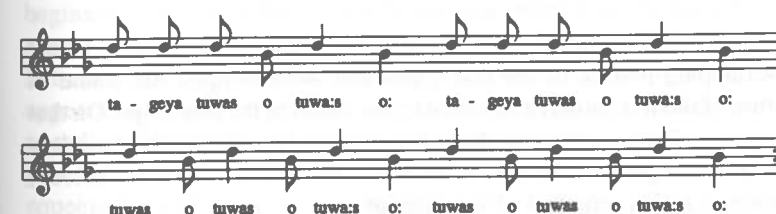
The structure of this "talk" is articulated at various levels. One of them is the level of musical tune categorised as a *bittagas*. A series of the spirit's talks is formed as a chain of *bittagam* which individually reveal a conceptual content. Also, within the inside of each *bittagas*, the talk is articulated as a repetition of a musical sentence ending with *songoqaj*. In the case of a song by bamboo flutes, the duration of sound at *songoqaj* is shorter than that of a song by human voices, and that is said to be the characteristic of the spirit's talk. Since the spirit's talk is a direct manifestation of the spirit's power, it is 'vibrant' (*xaguxa*) and 'quick in tempo' (*xanongwai*). In each musical sentence, the talk is finely articulated by the sound of the edge-pipe, in particular. That aspect seems to indicate the end of a word or expresses a linguistic accent and, with the sharp sound of the edge-pipe being added, the talk is made better, that is, 'becomes clear' (*aimainai*).

That Sagais' song is recognised as "talk", can be confirmed not only from such abstract points of view, but also from the performance practice that, from time to time, men actually sing by putting words in time to the patterns of the bamboo pipe sounds being produced. To the sounds of

bamboo flutes which go on all through the night, one or two of the men begin to sing in a quiet voice, fragmentarily at the outset. Then, as they get excited, they occasionally begin to sing a long phrase in chorus in large numbers. The words added at that time are *bittagas* as the songtext and they indicate the conceptual content of the talk given by the spirit and interpreted by the men.

What the men sing to Sagais' talk is a single melody extracted from the structure of the talk. Although the method for extraction varies according to the type of structure, it is generally chosen from among the sounds of man-pipes, woman-pipes, and head-pipe in the following manner.

First, in the case of a tune like *tageya tuwas* in which the alternating motion of man-pipes and woman-pipes is dominant and the head-pipe also overlaps either of them, a melody interwoven by man-pipes and woman-pipes is chosen. Music example 18 shows the single melody sung and the added words.



Music example 18: Melody and songtext for *tageya tuwas*

In the case of *yogoq*, too, though the method for extraction is similar to that for *tageya tuwas*, the "low sound" of the head-pipe may be specifically chosen and sung as a single melody together with the sound of the man-pipes. That is, either a combination of the woman-pipes and man-pipes or a combination of the head-pipe and man-pipes is chosen. Music example 19 shows both melodies and added words.



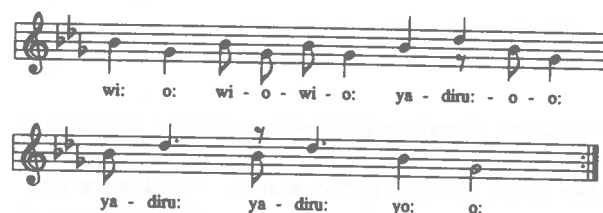
Music example 19: Two kinds of melody and songtext for *yogoq*

Next, as in the case of a tune like *tojoijus* in which the man-pipes and woman-pipes alternate frequently, the sounds of the man-pipes and woman-pipes are linked, to which the sound of the head-pipe is furthermore joined. However, since the melody produced thereby is such that the movement of sounds is frequent, it is rare that the words of the *bittagas* are applied as they are, or sung across a long phrase. Music example 20 shows its melody and an example of vocalisation.



Music example 20: Melody and songtext for *tojoijus*

Furthermore, as in the case of a tune like *yadij* which is based on the overlapping motion of the man-pipes and woman-pipes, the sound of either of them is chosen and linked to the sound of the head-pipe. On that occasion, the lower tone of the man-pipes is often chosen, because it is closer to the pitch of the head-pipe. Music example 21 shows its melody, *bittagas*, and an example of vocalisation.



Music example 21: Melody and songtext for *yadij*

Singing a melody thus extracted from Sagais' talk is not regarded to be a "song", because it is a single melody. It is obvious, however, that its "root" lies in the spirit's "song", so it is included in the category of something 'similar to the song' (*fotufote windioqom*).

The Waxei's explanation that Sagais possesses the bamboo pipes and utters her "talk", is neither a result of their abstraction nor a product of their

imagination. This is shown very concretely in the manner in which men extract a certain melody from the sounds of bamboo pipes, give it words, and sing. Yet, what is more important and surprising is that the spirit's talk can be actually perceived by the Waxei and also by us as a quite unusual 'spirit's voice' (*yabosgá buseis*).

The spirit's voice resembles a human voice well, but its feeble tone quality, sounding as if it is being squeezed, is obviously different from the human voice or the sounds of bamboo flutes (four different second harmonics) which constitute the talk. If we continue to concentrate our consciousness upon the spirit's talk and listen to it attentively, its voice floats away from the structure of the song and comes into hearing as if roving. The simpler the tune is in structure, the more clearly it can be perceived.

In the case of *tageya tuwas*, for instance, the spirit's voice resounds as if tracing the melody interwoven by the woman-pipes and man-pipes, while resonating low behind it. Besides, it can be heard, not at the beginning, but eventually toward the last stage when this tune has already been repeated again and again. It is precisely Sagais' "breath" which indicates her long-awaited emergence. In *yogoq* in which the spirit's appearance is said to be clearly revealed, the spirit's voice comes out sounding more distinctly. Having sensed the spirit's appearance, the men joyfully sing in chorus, while a voice which can be heard as a feeble, squeezed sound—a sound differing in quality from the men's voice or from the bamboo flutes' sounds constituting the melody—is heard as "we: we: wo:". Or it can also be heard as "yogora yogora yo:" (a phonological change of *yogoq*), just like singing the *bittagas* as it is. It is nothing but the singing voice of the spirit.¹⁸

Although the degree of difficulty in perceiving the spirit's voice may differ according to the song's structure and the surrounding situation, the spirit's voice is such that it should come into hearing at all times, as long as the spirit, entering the bamboo pipes, is talking. The men sing to this voice of the spirit. By actually perceiving the spirit's voice and singing in chorus in time with it, they get even more excited and a collective state of dreaming is retained.

According to acoustics, the sound they feel as the spirit's voice could probably be analysed as a resonating sound resulting from the complicated intervolvement of various fundamental tones and harmonics of the bamboo

18. This single melody expressed by the "spirit's voice" is evaluated as "quasi song", just as in the case of the melody sung in chorus by men.

flutes, and also the breathy sounds and noises which inevitably leak in. The lengths of the bamboo pipes of one kind are not precisely the same and, therefore, they have fundamental tones differing slightly from each other, and also differing in the constituents of the harmonics. Since it is necessary to blow strongly into the bamboo pipes, the breathy sound which results is not negligible. Moreover, since the pipe ends are often finely cracked, it is inevitable that noises occur. When a variety of such sounds mix with each other, a peculiar sonority consisting of complex waveforms is generated. In fact, the spirit's voice comes out distinctly, floating from the man-pipes and woman-pipes, which consist of multiple pieces.

Irrespective of whether this phenomenon is accidental or produced intentionally, what is important is that, just because the Waxei people can actually hear the spirit's voice, they can sense the vivid emergence of the spirit's power in her talk. In this sense, the sounds and melodies rising over from the talk may be said to be symbolic of the spirit's power. The single melodies the men sing would also be the manifestation of their consciousness, trying to take the spirit's power into themselves by imitating those symbolic melodies. The men's voices, sounding as if identifying with the spirit's voice, are precisely expressions of their rapture at having touched the spirit's power.

E. Meanings of the talk

What Sagais talks is understood as *bittagas*. That is, the *bittagas* represents the conceptual contents people have extracted from the spirit's talks. Although the number of *bittagam* shown in the performance during a night varies, there were around twenty-five tunes in my experience on two occasions. As far as Sagais' song is concerned, being different from Guxaj's song, it is seldom that the same tune appears repeatedly at time intervals. It depends on the difference as to whether determination of a tune is made by a human being or by a spirit. However, just as in the case of Guxaj's song, a new tune cannot be produced arbitrarily by a human being. Sagais' song, too, is such that it is entirely given by the spirit and myth.

I have so far recorded thirty-six tunes about which their *bittagam* has been explained to me. However much I enquired whether they know any other tunes besides these, I only received perplexed looks. Since the *bittagas* is such that it comes into being together with a substantial sonic structure of Sagais' talk, it is extremely difficult to merely call it to mind. In surveying the meanings of *bittagam*, nonetheless, these thirty-six tunes

are sufficient. They can be broadly divided into two categories: those which are suggestive of the context of Sagais' myth (twenty-two tunes) and those which relate to the existence of Sagais as a spirit (fourteen tunes). In both cases, the *bittagas* assumes symbolism through the strategy of concealment, so that behind the literal interpretation (denotative meanings) shown outwardly, an interpretation in light of myth and spirit cognition (mythical or spiritual meanings) is also made.

In the following passages, while roughly classifying the thirty-six *bittagam*, I would like to briefly show both meanings of each tune. The first tune *tageya tuwas*, the second tune *yogoq*, and the last tune *sigaxus*, appear in this order. The other tunes do not occur in any special order in actual performance. The order presented here, therefore, does not necessarily coincide with the order in which they actually occur.

In the first place, the *bittagas* reminding men of the context of the myth may be arranged according to the main mythical topics as follows.

Sagais is said to have come to Ubadaniq from the direction of the Karawari River and a *bittagas* entitled *kombuxomajiq* refers to the name of a mountain she passed at that time. This mountain is also thought to be the land where Guxaj appeared, and a fundamental relationship between Guxaj as *sagaiq* and Sagais is alluded to. Also, *daniq* meaning a 'mountain ridge' indirectly refers to Mt Bunaitiyagoq on the Upper Weisas River where Sagais came to dwell. It is located away from Ubadaniq along the ridge. Furthermore, what is denoted by *nofa nofa* meaning a tree named *nofaj*, is again Mt Bunaitiyagoq. This tree is said to grow in large numbers especially on Mt Bunaitiyagoq, so, by the name of a tree, a specific land is called to mind. A tune drawing a similar association is *dajai tuwas* 'a leaf of *dajaiq*'. A *dajaiq* palm only grows in Ubadaniq, so, by calling its leaf, Ubadaniq, which served as a stage of the myth, is recalled.

In the next place, there is a *bittagas* called *kundai tuwas* ('a leaf of *kundaij*') which suggests the bamboo brought forth by Sagais. A *kundaij* palm is a very tall tree and its shape is said to be very similar to that of *taibamus* bamboo. *Yadij*, which denotes a slender earthworm about one metre in length, is also related to this bamboo. In particular, the manner in which this huge earthworm squirms, is likened to the movement of the bamboo which, in the myth, came out instantly. Furthermore, a tune which alludes to the pipes cut out of the bamboo is *nouj fas*. *Nouj* is a generic term for snakes and *fas* denotes fragments, so, the action, cutting a snake to pieces when eating it, is likened to the method for making bamboo pipes. A tune named *kukux* reminds men of the completed bamboo pipes

themselves. It denotes a wooden stick used to smash the sago palm pith, its length and thickness being just comparable to those of a bamboo pipe.

Only for *tageya tuwas*, which Sagais is said to have taught the woman, is its inner meaning already explicitly shown in the myth. That is, it signifies a starting song for invoking Sagais. Meanwhile, a tune suggesting the same mythical meaning as this is *baiden tuwas*¹⁹ ('a leaf of *baiden liana*'). A leaf of this liana resembles a leaf of *tageya* in form, and both tunes will also resemble each other in melodic structure, depicting the sway of leaves. The emergence of Sagais is actually shown as a sound in *yogoq* which means a low sound or life, and a tune called *swonus*, meaning an evil female spirit, is also interpreted as Sagais, who has appeared, talking about herself, as if showing off her power. Furthermore, *sketaya* 'I think' expresses a state in which Sagais herself is talking a *bittagas* while thinking about this and that, and also shows a situation in which that talk goes into human thinking, thus bringing the song into existence.

In the myth, the women are described as having gathered at a small open space up the mountain and blown the bamboo pipes. It is *igofu miyoq*, meaning a 'tree (*miyoq*) where many birds (*igofum*) flock', that symbolically represents that place. Here, the sonic aspect of many birds, which have gathered, twittering cheerfully, is connected to the scene that various tunes are produced from many bamboo pipes. The state of women, absorbed in dance while blowing into the bamboo pipes, is shown by many *bittagam*.

First, in *kojweis geituna*²⁰ 'a dorcopsis skips' the vibrant movement of the women is expressed by likening them to wallabies. Also, from *ujas* which denotes the 'sole of a foot', the scene that they dance while stamping strongly on the ground is particularly evoked. Furthermore, *shuwis*, which refers to the grass skirts the women put on at that time, is vividly suggestive of the state in which their grass skirts rock from side to side, as their bodies move. A tune entitled *yangus*, the name of a grasshopper, shows the buzzing sound of a grasshopper, recalling by association the sound made by grass skirts as they rustle against each other. It is said that *yangus* has a liking for eating the young sprouts of a sago palm, while the women's skirts are also made of the fibre of these young sprouts. So, in this respect too, the buzzing sound of the grasshop-

19. See track 22 on the accompanying compact disc.

20. See track 20 on the accompanying compact disc. *Kojweis* is the wife of *kojweij*, the brown dorcopsis (*Dorcopsis veterum*).

per is connected to the sound of the skirts. *Kejaj majij*²¹ and *yujuja tuwas* ('a leaf of *yujujas*') indicate the leaf ornaments inserted in those skirts. Both tunes are interpreted as depicting the sway of the good-smelling *kejaj* leaves (whose other name is *majij*) and leaves of the *yujujas* palm in time to the dancing. As for *kejaj majij*, in particular, *guxa* as a fundamental expression of "sway" is put as a songtext, and sung: "*kejaj sways, majij sways*" (*kejajuya guxa guxa, majijuya guxa guxa*).

In contrast to the women who were happily absorbed in dancing, the men went so hungry that they felt increasingly discontented. A tune named *nakus* 'baked sago' is representative of foods for which the men longed, and therein is symbolically contained their hunger and anger. Thus, the men sent a man to reconnoitre. It is said that *kojweis tubuja* 'dorcopsis in fear' depicts the state of the man as he peeps with fear into the women's wild feast and, especially, the agitation of his heart. The men then made up their mind to fight; a *bittagas* suggestive of that attack is *owas*, meaning a small bat. *Owas* is an animal into which a spirit of sorcery is thought to incarnate when assaulting a human being and, by the sound pattern of its flapping wings, the attacking power of the men having a strong grudge is vividly called to mind.

Next, the *bittagam* which are interpreted as representing the way Sagais exists as a spirit, may roughly be grouped as follows.

First, as tunes which strongly remind men of the river where Sagais dwells and the state of Sagais herself who appears there, *munaij*, *dubaxai*, *owaseis*, and *sigaxus* may be cited. *Munaij* is a small fish which, like Sagais, is ubiquitous here and there in the river, and their swimming in a large shoal is sometimes identified with the emergence of Sagais as a shadow. For *dubaxai*, which indicates the action of washing out sago starch on the riverside, it is said that by the pattern of the water sound the tune represents, images of water flowing in the river of waves when Sagais appears are aroused. Furthermore, *owaseis* refers to a water strider insect, and the manner in which it slides or skips over the water suggests the figure of Sagais who wanders over the river. *Sigaxus* refers to a cicada which is often singing on a tree along the river. Its singing voice resonates against the surface of the river and echoes through the trees, much like Sagais' voice being heard through the bamboo pipes. Being led by this tune, Sagais goes back to the river, her own dwelling place, where the singing voices of cicadas resound through.

21. See track 21 on the accompanying compact disc.

It is also said that, like Guxaj, Sagais turns into various birds and makes her singing voices sound. These singing voices are always perceived as a pattern of the antiphonal singing of two birds. When the name of a bird is mentioned as a *bittagas* of Sagais' song, people call to mind the appearance of Sagais who incarnated herself into that bird. Tunes categorised as such are: *nungutokwam* (another name for *mumundas*; Papuan frogmouth, *Podargus papuensis*); *gujombuq* (spot-winged monarch); *wis* (western black-capped lory); *kouq* (trumpet manucode); and *maxoq* (coronated fruit-dove).

Cited lastly are tunes in which the nature of Sagais as a supernatural spirit having a power strong enough to kill or wound a human being is brought into relief through the talk of Sagais herself. Among these, a tune very direct in content is *yakas swonus afa* 'an evil female spirit has eaten my mother'. This *bittagas* is thought to represent the deep grief of a child whose mother was killed by Sagais. Men sing this tune by adding the child's wept-words. Here, by showing the child's weeping, Sagais is talking as if making a display of her power. *Naku tujas*, which refers to the bone and skin of a pig's foreleg, is also a tune in which Sagais' power is openly expressed. Needless to say, both the bone and skin are not those of a pig, but figuratively depict the corpse of a human being who, having been killed by Sagais, floats on the river. Such connections are also found in *tojoijus* which means a dead tortoise. It is explained that, in this tune, the movement of a tortoise going to die while fluttering its hands and feet is expressed, and it is connected to the vivid image of a human being who died while writhing in desperate agony. Further, in a tune entitled *figas* which refers to a small grasshopper dwelling in grassland, the murder of human beings is indirectly suggested. This grasshopper is used as bait to catch fish and, from the image of the fish taking the bait in the water, a scene in which Sagais dwelling in the river attacks a human being is evoked. A similar and more concrete example is a tune named *kaffi bomuq*. *Kaffi* refers to the little black cormorant (*Phalacrocorax sulcirostris*) and *bomuq* is a shortened form of *bombugojqaj*, indicating a 'wave'. What the men perceive from this tune is the movement of waves caused by a cormorant when it dives into the water to catch fish, which also concretely reminds them of a scene in which Sagais pulls a human being into the water and kills them.

In this way, Sagais talks the myth and also talks about herself. The *bittagas* is a result of men's interpretation of Sagais' talk and it constitutes the core of their mythical=spiritual images. Sagais' talk, in this sense, may

be said to be a product of their cultural imagination, but it is obvious that it exists upon the total recognition of the transcendental power of a spirit=mythical being and the social sentiment in awe of it. Exactly because such cognition and feeling really exist socially, people can regard the sounds coming out of the bamboo pipes as substantial voices of the spirit and read the concepts concerning the spiritual world from the sound structure as the song. Thus, the explanation that Sagais possesses the bamboo pipes by entering them and thereby talks to human beings, is brought out precisely from their social reality.

CHAPTER FIVE

Songs and Spirits

A. The theory of song

THE WORD "SONG" which has thus far been used, is an English equivalent for *windioqom*¹ in the Waxeï language. This is thought to be the most fundamental and important concept among various concepts which constitute the musical cognition of the Waxeï, and is applied not only to singing by human voices, but also to the playing of the bamboo flutes, etc.

At present, among the Waxeï, three kinds of group singing and three kinds of bamboo flute playing are handed down as traditional "songs". What is meant here by "traditional" is that those songs correspond to the Waxeï's own cognition and classification systems of spirits, and also have definite connections with the Waxeï's own myths.

One kind of group singing is the "song of Guxaj". As already described in chapter 3, it is thought to have been brought forth by Guxaj, a fundamental being of the supernatural spirit *sagaiq*, and handed down to human beings. The inside meaning of the songtexts are devised so as to suggest mythical motifs, such as the secret of initiation brought by Guxaj, the image of a boy's death, and the battle of human beings with the spirit, and, by complicated involution of

1. Although this is a form basically denoting a number more than three, it is often used when indicating each song genre with implications that many tunes are contained therein. When it is intended to especially stress the meaning 'one kind of song', *windioqos* in the singular is used. There also is a collective noun, *windioqo*, which is used to abstractly denote the song in general.



"high voice" and "low voice", the variegated power of awful Guxaj is expressed.

Another kind of group singing is the 'song of *ima tegate*' (*ima tegate windioqom*). When translated literally, it means the 'song of man hunting', a song which is thought to have its origin in Dobibugoq, the founder of Kabindei clan, in particular. It is said that Dobibugoq was a dauntless warrior. Turning into a huge harpy-eagle, he attacked an enemy from above the sky and ate every foe he caught. Each time he succeeded in man hunting, to celebrate victory, he seems to have sung his own name and the names of places where he killed an enemy. This is the prototype of the song of *ima tegate*. In the repertory of this song, tunes which are said to have been sung by the supernatural spirits *shuwobanijatum* and *mayamotum* celebrating the manslaughter, are also incorporated (cf. chapter 2).

The third kind of group singing is the 'song of Agriq' (*Agri windioqom*), which is said to have been originated by Agriq, a sort of supernatural spirit (*wingufuj*), dwelling in a rock cave in the mountain. Agriq seems to have had very attractive voices. A myth relates that, by manipulating his voices at will, he sang a song and thereby lured women living nearby into the rock cave one after another, killed, and ate them. That the Waxeï sing this song may be regarded to be a manifestation of their ambivalent consciousness—on the one hand, just as in the case of Guxaj, they abhor the existence of the spirit Agriq from the depths of their hearts, but on the other hand, they also aspire to its great power.

By excluding the limitation "traditional", three other kinds of song can be additionally cited as Waxeï group singing: the Tok Pisin song for finishing mourning; the song called *lefen* in the Sumariup language; and wept-song. The song for finishing mourning was brought back from Madang by those who went to work at a copra plantation in the 1950s, while *lefen* was brought from Sumariup in the 1960s. In both of them, languages other than the Waxeï language are used as they were learned and, although they are occasionally called "song" derivatively, they have no connection with any spirit or myth, and are obviously positioned differently from traditional singing. Wept-song is also definitely demarcated from traditional songs, although they are sung in the Waxeï language and connections with spirits can be noticed. These quasi songs, so to say, shall be described below in detail.

Next, the three kinds of traditional bamboo flute playing refer to the 'song of Sagais', 'song of Igofnemis' (*Igofnemis windioqom*) and 'song of Songus' (*Songus windioqom*).

The "song of Sagais", as discussed in chapter 4, is performed by an ensemble of about ten bamboo flutes, and is regarded as being generated by the "root" of the *sagais* supernatural spirit dwelling in riverbed rocks or riverside bamboos by possessing the bamboo flutes. Men simply blow into the bamboo flutes—it is the spirit Sagais that expresses a substantial sound, a sound as the spirit's power. As its background lies the myth that Sagais once appeared in a woman's dream and gave away the secret bamboo flutes only to women. A battle then broke out between women infatuated with the playing and men who were left hungry, and the bamboo flutes at last passed into the men's hands. As in the case of Guxaj's song, the true meanings of Sagais' song are concealed from the women, but the men can read the context of the myth and the nature of the spirit itself from Sagais' talk.

The "song of Igofnemis" is also performed by an ensemble of about ten short bamboo flutes (c. 40–85 cm in length), but differs from Sagais' song in the way in which the bamboo flutes are organised, the structure of sounds, and the mythical implications lying behind the song. Igofnemis is thought to be the wife of the supernatural spirit Agriq and belongs, in the Waxeï classification of spirits, to *wingufus*. In sharp contrast to Sagais, who comes along the river, the spirit Igofnemis is invoked from a rock cave in the mountain and, by entering the bamboo pipes, produces this song.

The "song of Songus" is performed as a duet by two long bamboo flutes (c. 190–220 cm in length; see plate 12). The supernatural spirit Songus, which is said to dwell in the river's inlet, generates this song by possessing the bamboo flutes. Songus has a spirit of the same kind, Songuq, which is thought to be her elder brother. According to the explanation in the myth, Songuq entered into a blood-stained statue made by a human being at his request (see plate 11). When the men blew into the long bamboo flutes and Songus, coming from the river, began to make a characteristic low sound, Songuq began to dance together with the wood carving, to the accompaniment of his younger sister (cf. chapter 2). What the men hear from the sounds of the bamboo flutes are such mythical backgrounds and the vivid images of Songus and Songuq.

Commenting on these songs, the Waxeï express that they are something like a 'tree' (*miyoq*) grown from a different 'roots' (*muna:s*). This "root" refers to a spirit or origin myth to which each of the six types of song is

connected,² indicating that the myth as a spirit's tale is clearly recognised as the one that lies at the very basis of each song. They also say that the 'ground' (*bubuxaj*) where the songs have their "root" is the same. That is, the cognition of spirits and the system of myths are something like such ground, and the respective songs are linked to each other on that ground.

Each "tree" has many 'branches' (*yokotas*). This concept of "branch" is used as an expression indicating the dozens of tunes contained in the "song = tree". A *bittagas* as a tune title is an indicator, as it were, for distinguishing and identifying each such branch. Also, the base of a branch is called *nambases*, and branches which come from the same base are *gekuxutais*, that is, different tunes which deal with similar mythical materials, but differ in melody and/or title. These morphological aspects of a song are collectively put together under the concept *subem* (whose original meaning is '(human) skeleton'), meaning the form of a tree or shape of branches as a whole.

On the other hand, the Waxeï explain actual "singing" (the verb stem is *windioqo-*), that is, the singing by human voices or blowing into bamboo flutes, by likening it to the act of moving along the meandering river by canoe. The precise pivotal point of this comparison is the concept of *songoqaj*. The original meaning of *songoqaj* which denotes a point at which a tune is articulated, is the elbow of a human arm and, being derived from it, the term is also used to point to the bend of a meandering river. In Waxeï understanding, moving along the river while passing many *songoqaj* (= bends) and singing a song or blowing into bamboo pipes while repeatedly passing through *songoqaj* (= the end of a musical sentence) are very similar acts. Just as the *songoqaj* of the river serves as an important index when measuring the distance up to the destination, the *songoqaj* of the song is also an important point marking the repetition of a sentence or the close of a tune. Just as the *songoqaj* of the river is a spot at which the canoe must be skilfully steered amidst the complicated flow of water so as to change the direction in which it moves, the *songoqaj* of the song is also a point at which, by clearly showing a unique tonal pattern (rapid ascending/descending motion + long sustained tone), the shift to a new sentence or the close of a tune, must be prepared for.

The phrase that *songoqaj* 'appears' (*gwatinya*) and, by 'accurately holding' (*aimainai*) it, one 'moves on' (*ane*), is an expression used

similarly when travelling by canoe along the river and singing a song. Additionally, one often hears imperative expressions, such as "Be careful of *songoqaj*" (*songoqaj wasketa wade*) and "Hold *songoqaj* accurately" (*songoqaj weaimainai*). For example, when moving along the river at night or when the swollen river is running rapidly, when the song 'has broken up' (*teidobina*) as the voices of the singers have failed to engage each other in their entwinement, or when Sagais does not appear however often *tageya tuwas* may be repeated—these expressions distinctly indicate that *songoqaj* is a precise pivotal point for the realisation of safe traffic and good song.

Each song tune, when looked at from the viewpoint of form, is composed of a repetition of almost the same sentence and, located at the end of each sentence, is *songoqaj*. This way of grasping a "repetition" is also recognised by the Waxeï and expressed by a mimetic word, *yukoyuko*. However, they do not regard a sentence which is repeated as truly the 'same thing' (*dubas*). Or, they also say that what is the same is the 'outside' (*bidio*) of the sounds, but the 'inside' (*yogoq*) differs in detail. At least in their consciousness, the contents of sounds being repeated cease to be uniform when passing through *songoqaj*.

To explain this, an analogy with canoeing along the river is used again. Every time the canoe reaches *songoqaj* as a protrudent point, it is steered in a new direction. Thereafter the canoe "is to move on in scenes different from the preceding ones, though being along the same stream of the same river" (*nakaisuya iti duba otojosa, igo dojoquya ane omiomi tojofotusma*).

This was an explanation which was initially rather hard for me to understand. I felt that, while moving on rivers in the Sepik, what changes is only the position of the sun and mountains and, however far I might go, the endless monotonous scenery of the tropical rain forest would continue. However, as I went up and down the river many times with them on canoes, I inquired about the names of riverside trees and small waterways, etc., and their explanation gradually became satisfactory. In short, to those who are well acquainted with every riverside scene—e.g., the kinds of trees, locations of waterways and inlets, places where birds dwell, places to catch fish, the spirits' dwelling places to be avoided, and the owners of the respective lots of land—none of the spots along the course of the river is identical to any other spot. That is, the river is essentially non-homogeneous. It may rather be said that *songoqaj*, by articulating the non-uniform scenery along the river, gives a sort of order to Waxeï perception.

2. Recall that the origin myth is called the "narrative of roots" in the Waxeï language.

In this sense, *songoqaj* which is easy to perceive in song is likened to the acute-angled meandering of a river, while *songoqaj* which is hard to perceive is likened to gentle meandering. There is *songoqaj* in every tune of every song. It is easy to perceive it when the tempo of the tune is relatively slow and the rapid ascending/descending motions and long sustained tone are shown distinctly. However, it is difficult even for the Waxei to sense *songoqaj* when, for example, the tempo is quick and the tone is not sustained long enough. The former corresponds to a state in which, in the river where sharp meanders continue, the water does not run fast and, at the point of *songoqaj*, a complicated current results; the latter corresponds to a state that, in the river which meanders gently, the water runs fast and, even at the point of *songoqaj*, major changes are not seen in the current. Both *xanongwai*, denoting that the tempo of a song is quick, and *sobugofe*, denoting that the tempo is slow, are derived from the description of the stream of a river.

A song is discussed analogically with the stream of a river, not only concerning such aspects of articulation as *songoqaj*; the structure of an articulated song as a whole and the organisation of sounds which makes up a song, are also explained by the metaphor of water flow. For example, in the section where the structure of a song was analysed, I described that there are a "big melody" and a "small melody" in a song. In other words, they indicate the double structural levels a song has. A "big melody" refers to an overall melody of a song produced by multiple voice-parts as they interweave while alternating and overlapping. A "small melody" refers to each voice-part melody which constitutes the overall melody. According to the Waxei, the "big melody" is something like the flow of water in a river as a whole, while the "small melody" is likened to the flow of water which differs from place to place in a river. Between the middle of the river and near the banks, or between near the surface and the bottom of the river, aspects of the flow of water subtly differ and the stream of a river as a whole is formed by these different flows as they variedly entwine and collide with each other.

An extension of this analogy is the wording in the dimension of sound organisation, that is, the metaphorical expressions applied to the forms of various voice-part progressions of a song. Such expressions are often heard when, together with men, I listened over and over again to recorded songs on tape, and are similarly used both in the case of the singing by voices and the blowing of bamboo flutes.

First, an aspect in which multiple voice-parts progress in unison is called *nunumba*. The original meaning of this word refers to 'gather' or 'fuse', stemming from the basic aspect of a river stream or water flow. A river is formed by being joined by many waterways and goes on flowing with waters which originally come from different places—waters which subtly differ in colour due to differences in the particles of melted-in soil—while fusing together. Therefore, the simultaneous progression of voice-parts of a song is taken not as 'one thing' (*dubas*) from the start, but essentially as a result of the fusion of heterogeneous things.

Next, parallel motion in which multiple voice-parts progress while keeping a certain interval (an octave, in particular) is expressed as *koskos*. *Kos* originally denotes a riverbank. By its reduplication it expresses a state that the banks of a river continue in parallel or a state of water flowing parallel with the banks. Through its metaphorical transfer, a mode of two voice-parts progressing in parallel octaves is indicated.

The word denoting contrary motion in which two voice-parts move in opposite directions is *sedyosedyo*. Although this word is also used to denote a state in which people get separated from each other or the road forks in different directions, what is often cited when explaining the meaning of this word is the state of water which splits once into two and then joins again, due to an islet in the river or a piece of driftwood stuck in the riverbed jutting out of the surface of the water. In the case of an islet, the state of being separated lasts long, corresponding to a relatively large contrary motion. However, in the case of driftwood, the water soon joins again but, at such places where pieces of driftwood jut up in a row, as often seen on the upper reaches or shallows of a river, the water, having joined again, then repeats this separation and gathering again and again in succession. It is to this aspect of flow that a continuous form of small contrary motions, which is often seen in song, is likened.

Furthermore, the expression *xanexota* is applied to the so-called oblique motion in which, against or from one voice-part which remains at the same pitch, the other voice-part collides or separates. This is a compound word composed of *xane* 'to jump' and *xota* 'to remain'—indicating a state in which here and there along a river, small waterways flow into the main stream and then flow out in various directions. The relations between this constant main stream and the waterways which run against it and then part correspond to oblique motion featuring the duration of one tone against which the other tone moves differently.

As already stated in the section covering the analysis of the structure of the song, by the complicated combination of these varied forms of progression, "sway" and "swell"—dynamic aspects which determine the nature of the song—are brought forth. For the dynamic state of the song, the Waxeï apply the concept of "wave" as expressed by the mimetic word *bombugojqaj*. Their statement, "a song is something like the waves caused by the river water as it collides" (*windioqom iti ojojom sakisa nakaisuxo bombugojqaj, oj gwatinya iti sakajuya bombugoj*), clearly shows that a song is perceived as swaying, just like waves. Just as the waves of a river are caused by the incessant collisions (*bombujoj*) of different water flows, the sway and swell of a song are brought forth by different kinds of sound as they repeatedly collide with or repel each other.

In this way, the structure of the song is explained by the metaphor of the structure of a river stream.³ Just as a river already exists there, a song exists in people's consciousness as provided by the myth. Or it may be said that the song has been brought from the river. The river, similar to the transcendental spirit Guxaj which is said to dwell there, is situated at the root of Waxeï culture. The act of singing, which is likened to canoeing along the river, corresponds to tracing the state of the river, which is already there, so to say, by means of sounds. Thus, singing is also to metaphorically experience the river stream.

B. Song and talk

1. THE PRINCIPLE OF SONG

Just as a river is composed of the collision and fusion of varied water flows, in making up the structure of a song, collision and entwining of multiple sounds are indispensable factors. As has already been mentioned, in the case of a song, these multiple sounds are reduced to two kinds, "high sound" and "low sound"—or 'high-voiced melody' (*yabangu busei fyugofqaj*) and 'low-voiced melody' (*busei yogo fyugofqaj*). That is, when

3. Feld (1981) reports that, in the cognition of song of the Kaluli people, living in Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, metaphors of water flow, especially those aspects of waterfalls, are used systematically. In the case of the Kaluli, metaphors of water are applied mainly to the melodic contours of song; for example, the state that a melody sustains a pitch, then descends, and sustains a level movement again, are likened to the states of water flowing over the ledge of a waterfall, water flowing down as a waterfall, and water whirling in a level waterpool, respectively.

"sway" or "swell" is produced by the alternation and overlapping of two heterogeneous sounds—"high sound" and "low sound"—or by their approach, collision, fusion, and separation, it is recognised as "song".

Such a point of view, being incorporated in the perception and evaluation of various sound phenomena, forms the basis of Waxeï musical conception. In the following passages, I will broadly classify the sound phenomena surrounding the Waxeï into: a) sounds of nature and sounds uttered by animals; b) sound expressions using the human body or human voices; and c) sounds of musical instruments. By discussing how the concept of "song" is applied to each of them, I would like to locate the principle of "song" on the horizon of sounds at large.

a. Sounds of nature and animal sounds

Among the sounds of nature which have their own names, seven kinds have been extracted thus far, all of which are onomatopoeic expressions. First, the sound of the wind is *wifoj*, in particular, the wind sound which is heard like a low groaning is strongly connected with the emergence of a spirit. *Asusa* is used for continuous and small, feeble sounds, such as the sound of drizzling rain, slowly flowing river water, and the rustling sound of wind-blown leaves. In sharp contrast, *bagusof* represents explosive and strong, loud sounds, such as the rolling sound of thunder. The sound of branches colliding with each other in the wind is expressed as *xai*; the sound of a branch broken by a strong wind as *tetunate*; the sound of trees and grasses burning as *ibambaji*; and the sound of bamboos burning as *ibiyu*. Unspecified sounds of nature other than these are simply called 'sound' (*fyugofqaj*) or collectively called *bogonata*, as a "noise" whose source is not clear.

These sound phenomena from nature are never recognised as "song", neither when any of them sound singly, nor even when some of them come into hearing simultaneously overlapping. Each of these sounds of nature is recognised as a separate sound pattern. Also, that the continuous river water sound itself is not thought to be "song", indicates that the metaphor of river stream and waves used in the explanation of "song" is not by way of auditory transfer.

Among the sounds uttered by animals, those which are named include *asiyaxuti*, representing the sound of a mouse running about in the house or the sound of a cuscus or wallaby running through the grassland, and *tata* which represents the humming sound of a grasshopper or beetle. What is intricately classified in particular are the calls of dogs and birds. In the case

of dogs, *axaju* as growling, *owoju* as howling, *sofuxa* as barking at game, etc. are distinguished. Almost all of the names of birds, of which I estimate nearly a hundred species to exist in Waxe forests, are based on onomatopoeic expressions of their calls. This means that almost as many bird calls as species are distinguished and named. Included in them are oracle birds which, if their calls are heard, are taken as informing about a specific incident, birds whose calls are interpreted as specific Waxe words, and birds which are thought to speak the Waxe language at will.

Those famous as oracle birds include: *matasiar* (spangled drongo), informing that it will rain soon; *tasusaj* (hook-billed kingfisher, *Melidora macrorrhina*), telling that there will be a visitor; *beinatuks* (unidentified), informing that pandanus fruits have ripened; *fogous* (unidentified), informing that a pig was caught in a trap; and *obej* (red-necked rail, *Rallina tricolor*). Included amongst those birds whose calls are interpreted as human language are: *matasiar*, which sometimes calls "It's over, it's over" (*bidiyo*, *bidiyo*); and *kowakiyoq* (another name of *kowoq*, rufous babbler), whose call is heard as "Now, I'll go to see the face" (*toq*, *tokwai tumoj*). The one species which is said to have a good command of the Waxe language is *nunguwawis* (spotted jewel-babbler, *Ptilorhoa leucosticta*), which makes a variety of expressions, such as "Yamada will come soon" (*Yamada uxas yadajuja*) and "There is a pig nearby" (*fogoq xaitobi otojuja*).

For all of these animal calls, an animal is said to be 'chatting' (*abujo*). Although this expression is also used for human speaking, the basic meaning here is no deeper than "uttering". Usually, even when a variety of animals bark at each other or exchange calls, they are still not regarded as "singing". In the case of specific birds, however, only when two call antiphonally are their calls expressed as "singing". Birds included in this specific category are: *wis* (black-capped lory), *gujombuq* (spot-winged monarch), *koj* (lesser bird of paradise), *kouq* (trumpet manucode), *kowoq* (rufous babbler), and *matasiar* (spangled drongo)—which were discussed in the section on the song of Guxaj. Other birds also included in this category which appear in the other songs are: *maxoq* (coronated fruit-dove, *Ptilinopus coronulatus*), *siyogoiq* (ornate fruit-dove, *Ptilinopus ornatus*), *yagaq* (rainbow lorikeet), *mumundas* (Papuan frogmouth), and *kushuq* (pheasant coucal).

The Waxe often say that, because a pair of male and female birds call to each other, their calls become a "song", but what they really sense inside are the variegated voices of spirits. A supernatural spirit or a spirit of the

dead sometimes transforms into either of these birds and, when this occurs, the call of the bird is heard slightly differently from that usually heard. This is why the calls of those birds are taken in various songs which reflect the myths or the existence of spirits.

b. Human sounds

Sounds using the organs of the human body, especially the lips, mouth, and throat, are expressed onomatopoeically in widely varied ways. Among them, the following main sounds may be cited: whistling is called *xojowofe*; clicking *tuko*; slurping made when eating *tamtage*; vomiting *kuswaje*; spitting *tufo*; sighing *gofshu*; hard-breathing *yoxoxujuna*; uvular fricative or plosive peculiar to the Waxe language *xujuna*; snoring *xunjuju*; sleeper's breathing *xosmase*; groaning when bearing up against pain *gujufa*; yawning *afsuna*, sneezing *aksuna*; coughing *ota*; clearing the throat *mukujina*; belching *gumoguna*; and hiccupping *mutu*.

As for sounds made by other organs: a light sniffing is named *xosmase*; strong sniffing *gushumaje*; nose blowing *sungumumu*; finger clicking *tabaskotu*; cracking of a finger or neck joints *toguna*; sound made by tapping fingers on something stiff *kokonata*; churning of an empty stomach *ibubugo*; and farting *fusugu*. All these sounds are such that the state of a sound being perceived is onomatopoeically expressed as it is and, like the sounds of nature, they do not assume any aspect of "song", nor are they called "song".

A human voice is called *buseis* (the original meaning of which is 'mouth'), which is applied not only to human voices, but also to the buzzing sounds of insects, the calls of animals including birds, and the sounds of bamboo flutes. Incidentally, whistling is not a "voice". A human call or cry is specifically called *najashou*, while an utterance or talk is expressed as *bujofqaj*. The latter is a concept derived from *bujom*, which means words or language in general. When such a voice or talk has been specifically structured in a specific context, "song" occurs.

Basically, "weeping", examined in chapter 1, is not "song". However, when the weeping of several persons happens to intermingle and is continued with, for example, women's "high voice" and men's "low voice" entwining, they become something akin to "song". In contrast to this, a "wept-word" is an essentially independent expression of message, so, even when multiple voices overlap, they are not regarded to be "song". What is difficult to interpret is "wept-song", concerning which even the Waxe are divided in opinion. That is, while there are those who say that,

because a wept-song obviously consists of two voices, "high voice" and "low voice", it may be called a "song" (called *noju windioqom*), there are others who assert that while this is true, it nevertheless differs from the song of Guxaj or the song of bamboo flutes and therefore it has a special terminology, *noju faitam*.⁴ The latter opinion is based on the fact that many of the wept-songs are without *bittagam* and the two voices almost progress 'in parallel' (*koskos*). There are also some who point out that in a wept-song 'there is no root' (*mba indis nuna:s*).

As I proceeded in examining such differences in opinion, it dawned on me that the Waxei think of "songs" by distinguishing between 'true song' (*windioqo mafum*) and 'quasi song' (*windioqo mumujanjum*). After all, even when a "wept-song" (and an overlap of multiple "weepings" mentioned earlier) may be called "song", it is essentially "quasi song", and no better than one "akin to true song" (*fotufote windioqo mafujomte*). That is, although it satisfies the basic requirement for "song"—sounding of two voices, woman's "high voice" and man's "low voice"—the essential "sway" as a "wave" cannot be much felt, as its two voice-part organisation almost consists of parallel motion at the octave. Also, the indication that in wept-song "there is no root", highlights the fact that, although a wept-song is closely related to a spirit of the dead, it does not have a myth as a source of meaning. In other words, a wept-song was not created by a myth and, precisely because of this, it is a tune without a *bittagas* or new tunes can be made.

These have something in common with the Tok Pisin song for finishing mourning and the song called *lefen* brought from the Sumariup. Although both are sung in two voice-parts, they are not regarded to be "true song". The former is thought to have originally had a single melody, to which the Waxei added a "small melody" in parallel octaves. The latter structurally resembles the song of Guxaj and even involves a "sway" due to the collision and separation of voices. However, as they are songs of foreign origin, the background of their existence and mythical meaning remain quite unknown and there are even such tunes in which the meaning of the words is not clear. That is, these were not given by myth or spirit, but by

4. *Faitam* is a special word used only for wept-songs; its etymology remains uncertain.

human beings living in other regions and therefore are not considered "true song".⁵

It is also evident that various types of spells are called "song" because in the formation of such a "song", fundamental beings such as myths and spirits are essential. Guxaj's spell using a betelnut which was handed down to Badaqoe, the spell of *mujajis* to treat a disease (which women also know), the spell of *sujois* to invoke a spirit of sorcery, and the spell of *waiduj* to invite the supernatural spirit *songuq* to a wood carving—all of these are utterances or talk made by a human being by using one kind of voice. These can hardly be "true song" with respect to voice organisation, and they also differ from "quasi song" such as wept-song. Spells are called "song" just because there are relations with myths and spirits behind them. According to the Waxei, such wording is a "way of saying which has been pulled along" (*iti yoxojai ojoja bujofqaj*), that is, an obviously borrowed expression, dragging, precisely, only the "song's root".

Another important aspect for "song" to be formed is its nature as a collaborative work consisting in the sounding of multiple voices by multiple human beings who have gathered together. For the Waxei, a special solo musical repertory (such as work songs or lullabies) does not exist. While working in the garden or walking in the forest, one may occasionally hum a melody, but it merely 'follows' (*aifoteyanei-*) a song's "small melody", so that it is regarded to be neither "true song" nor "quasi song". Also, tunes by Mariko Takahashi, a popular Japanese singer I used to listen to in the village, were not regarded as "song", probably because only a solo voice was heard from the small speakers. "Song" can never be produced alone.

From the examination made above, it becomes known that, among human sound phenomena, only the three kinds of group singing designated earlier as "traditional"—song of Guxaj, song of *ima tegate*, and song of Agriq—are recognised as "true song". What are common to them are collaboration, "high voice" and "low voice", *bittagas* and *songoqaj*, sound structure in which a "sway" as a "wave" occurs, myth as a source

5. Similar evaluation was also given to various kinds of music I listened to on tapes I brought into the village. Among them, however, there were some tunes like those of Hi-Fi Set, a Japanese chorus group, which gained considerable popularity among Waxei men. The exquisite entwining of voices of a woman and two men was highly evaluated as something very much akin to "true song", going beyond the level of mere curiosity in other novel music.

of meaning, image of a spirit's "power", and so on. When it has been equipped with all of these factors, a sound phenomenon becomes true "song".

c. Sounds of musical instruments

Lastly, I would briefly like to show which of the sounds of musical instruments are thought to be "song". There are six kinds of Waxei musical instruments: slit-drums (small type, *nojuq*; large type, *nojus*); single-headed hourglass drum (*wajuq*); bamboo jew's harp (*taimbagos*); Sagais' bamboo flutes (*Sagai kunu bogonim*); Igofnemis' bamboo flutes (*Igofnemis kunu bogonim*); and Songus' bamboo flutes (*Songus kunu bogonif*).

First, the percussive sounds of the slit-drum are broadly divided into signal percussion sounds, given when calling a clan member or sending a certain sign, and sounds used to accompany a song. Of these, signal percussion sounds are referred to as either *uta*, in the sense of 'calling', or as *najashou*, being identified with a call or cry.⁶ Although many of them are in imitation of bird calls, wing-flapping sound patterns, and the movement pattern of a fishtail which originate in ancestral myths (cf. figure 3), since all of them are composed of one kind of percussive sound,⁷ they are not regarded as "song". Sounds accompanying song, however, are specifically called *ujismais* and distinguished from signal percussion sounds. Their sound pattern, a combination of pulsative ticks and continuous percussion, serves as an indicator of a song's progression, and it is explained that this expresses a sound pattern of waves which hit against the canoe moving along the river. That is, although that pattern is grasped by being associated with a "song", they do not call the percussive sounds themselves "song".

An instrument used indoors to accompany song is a single-headed hourglass drum. Lizard skin is stretched on the percussed face. From the fact that its sound is also called *ujismais*, it becomes known that it assumes the same meaning and role as that of a slit-drum. The Waxei say that there is not much difference in use between them. However, a myth

6. A signal pattern itself is called *noju ufam* in the sense of 'names by a slit-drum' or *yogo ufam* in the sense of 'names of life'. *Yogo* is the same as *yogoq* and, in this way of naming, it is manifested distinctly that birds and fish as clan symbols constitute the source of the signal patterns and are certainly thought to be the roots of each clan's life.

7. When striking a slit-drum, the Waxei do not vary the pitch by changing the percussive point along the slit, as is done by the Iatmoi.

connected with the single-headed drum does not exist and it does not seem to be given an important position as a musical instrument. It is thought that it arrived among the Waxei relatively recently (probably on the trade route with the Kapriman).

A jew's harp is of such a type that, while pulling a string put on the base of a vibratory valve, the valve is struck by the hand. The vibration sounds of the valve are amplified inside the mouth while adjusting the position of tongue, shape of mouth, intensity of breath, and so on. Sound generated by the Waxei using the jew's harp is one kind—either "high sound" or "low sound"—and a style of performance in which a melody is played with a high harmonic while constantly sounding a low fundamental tone, is not adopted (even when both tones happen to sound, a player consciously tries to produce only one of them). Whichever of the two it may be, the continuous, small sound is called *asusa*. What is played by the jew's harp are imitations of either bird calls or a specific song (*lefen*). In the former case, the point of performance lies, as in the case of the slit-drum's signal percussion, not in the changes of pitch, but in the rhythmic pattern of a bird call. In the latter case, while reproducing the alternating pattern of the high voice-part melody and the low voice-part melody of the song, pitch changes are given as much as possible. "True song", such as the song of Guxaj, cannot be imitated and even in *lefen*, which is said to be the only song capable of being imitated, tunes which can be imitated are limited. These are tunes which are distinct in voice-part alternation, have less tonal movement, and have no *songoqaj*. Concerning such performances on the jew's harp, only the latter case is sometimes included in the category of "quasi song". Nevertheless, since its original song is already nothing but quasi song, this categorisation does not have much importance.

The remaining three kinds of bamboo flute ensemble are all regarded as "true song". Each of the sets of Sagais and Igofnemis is composed of about ten bamboo flutes which, being cut to four different lengths, constitute two groups of pipes which produce a "high sound" and "low sound". In the case of Igofnemis, for example, the two sounds of the 'child-pipe' (*gagi kunu bogoniq*; c. 85 cm long) and the woman-pipes (c. 62 cm) are categorised as "high sound", while the two sounds of the man-pipes (c. 75 cm) and the 'through-pipe' (*wayuwa kunu bogoniq*; c. 85 cm) are categorised as "low sound". Songus is composed of two long bamboo flutes (the longer one, c. 220 cm, is called the man-pipe; the shorter one,

c. 190 cm, the woman-pipe), which satisfies the minimum requirement for producing a "low sound" and "high sound", respectively.⁸

Although these three kinds of bamboo flute ensemble differ from each other in sound structure, *bittagas* and *songoqaj*, mythical background, and associated spirit, all three are equipped with the requirements for "song", such as the collaboration of performance, occurrence of "sway" by entwinement of "high sound" and "low sound", and the spirit's "power" sensed behind them. In the case of bamboo flute ensembles, however, it is recognised that the sounds from the bamboo pipes are generated by a spirit possessing them and, when the Waxeï comment on those sounds, an aspect of the "spirit's talk" is stressed in particular. As already explained, Sagais' "song" is also Sagais' "talk", and thus the "talk" may be said to be a very important phase for interpreting Waxeï sounds and spirits. So, in the next section, I would like to examine how the concept of "talk" is applied to various sound phenomena.

2. THE PRINCIPLE OF TALK

Here, I would like to show how "talk", as a unique mode of sound, is recognised in the Waxeï sound perception and cognitive system. To reiterate, 'talk' is an English equivalent for *bujofqaj* and implies the 'structure of voice or sound with a certain conceptual content which can be replaced by words' (*bujom*). "Talk" is different from a mere series of words, and there exist sound phenomena which, though being devoid of words, can be recognised as "talk".

To understand the way the concept of "talk" is applied, it is necessary to examine it in comparison with words and also to review "talk" from its relation with "song"—Sagais' "talk" appears as a "song", for instance, and the fundamental meaning of Waxeï sound expression is sought in the very state in which "song" and "talk" are integrated in this way.

First, it is thought that in the sound phenomena of nature there are neither words nor "talk"—there is only a 'sound pattern' (*fyugofqaj*). In contrast to this, it is thought that, in all the 'voice' (*buseis*) of birds, animals, and insects, there exists words in a broad sense. That is, an animal's utterance, irrespective of whether or not a human being can understand its meaning, is taken as a state that an animal is 'speaking'

8. As in the ensemble of flutes for the song of Sagais, there are usually four or five man-pipes, four or five woman-pipes, and a single through-pipe and single child-pipe for Igofnemis' flutes. In contrast, however, only one man-pipe and one woman-pipe are ever used for the song of Songus.

(*abujo*) something. When, from such a call, a human being can draw out a certain conceptual content, the existence of "talk" is recognised. Included in this category are the calls of birds which are interpreted as the Waxeï language, the calls of birds which are recognised to speak the Waxeï language at will, and the antiphonal calls of two specific birds. From the former two a concept in the Waxeï language is directly heard, while from the antiphonal singing of two birds, a "talk" of spirits which have incarnated into the birds is sensed. Here, attention should be turned to the fact that, in the call of a so-called oracle bird, "talk" is not recognised. From the utterance of the call of an oracle bird, the occurrence of a specific incident is revealed. It is taken not as talking but as merely emitting a word or signal as a tonal sign, just like calling a person by name or the signal percussion of a slit-drum.

Next, all human body sounds are neither words nor "talk". A whistling sound used, for example, when a man goes hunting and calls his dogs to him, is also a mere sign of sound, and is not regarded as a signal comparable to a word. Sounds such as "*isi!*", uttered when one feels a pain and "*ai!*", expressing an exclamation, are not included in the category of words. For a voice calling "*hoy!*" to someone or calling a person by name, while one utters a word, one is not talking. "Weeping" expressed when a person is dead is also similar to this and its voice pattern, having unique movement, is identified with the expression of words. Furthermore, although a broadcast in Japanese or English heard from my radio is recognised to be a series of words, since their meanings are incomprehensible, they are not regarded as "talk"—it is merely speaking like an animal's voice. Yet, it was pointed out to me, there will be *bujofqaj*. It is their own utterances that are both words and "talk". In these, a 'soliloquy' (*towani abujo*) and "wept-words" are included. Similarly, both words and "talk" also exist in the structure of a voice which is regarded as "song", whether it be quasi or genuine. Therefore, various spells, wept-songs, and all types of group singing fall under this category.

Among the sounds of musical instruments, there is neither words nor "talk" in the sound patterns of the slit-drum and hourglass drum which accompany song. Although they are an indicator controlling the progression of song, a word or concept is not drawn out of them. On the other hand, the signal percussion of the slit-drum is identified with words. However, it is also a sort of tonal sign and, like the call of an oracle bird, is not regarded as talking something.

In contrast to this, when the sound of a jew's harp imitates a specific song or bird call, it is expressed that there are no words, but it is making "talk". When imitating a song, since, in the original song, there is a *bittagas* as a conceptual content of "talk", it is possible to recognise that *bittagas* from the sound pattern of the jew's harp and, therefore, "talk" is recognised in it. What is particularly interesting is the case in which a bird call is imitated. Even when there is no "talk" in the original call, it is said that "talk" occurs in the sound of the jew's harp which reproduces it. This is due to the unique nature of the jew's harp's sound, that is, the tone quality which consists in the sounding of the fundamental tone resonating with various harmonics. It is often said that the jew's harp's sound very much resembles the sound of the bamboo flute. In fact, both are sounds produced by being amplified by men as they breathe out. In the resonating sound of the jew's harp, one can catch a tone quality very similar to what comes into hearing from Sagais' bamboo flutes. That is, what is meant by reference to this close resemblance is that the jew's harp's sound is sensed as sounding much like a spirit's voice occurring from the bamboo flutes and, therefore, it is regarded as quasi—"spirit's talk".

It is expressed that in the songs of the three types of bamboo flutes (Sagais, Igofnemis, and Songus) there are no words, but there is "talk". This "talk" refers to the utterances given by a spirit such as Sagais by charging the sound structure with 'thinking' and 'knowledge' (*ima bujom sketakuj*). Human beings 'interpret' (*sketa wade*) that sound pattern and understand the spirit's "thinking". The content being understood in this way is *bittagas* as the meaning of "talk", and it is nothing but the image of power symbolising the myth and spirit itself.

From this examination, it becomes clear that not all sound phenomena which are thought to be "talk" are necessarily regarded to be "song". But, conversely, in all "song", there is "talk". That is, "song", such as traditional group singing and bamboo flute performances, is, at the same time, also "talk". In other words, "song" is "talk" in which voices and sounds are organised in a specific manner—always as an entwinement of "high sound" and "low sound".

However, it may be pointed out that the "talk" of Sagais' song differs from the "talk" of Guxaj's song in the mode of sound expression. In fact, Sagais' "talk" is made by the spirit herself, while Guxaj's "talk" is expressed by human beings. Yet, as described in chapter 3, through Guxaj's song, people faithfully imitate the variegated voices of Guxaj as shown in the myth and try to reproduce the mythical talk made by Guxaj

as a spirit. That is, they are making "talk" in place of the spirit, and those who are singing may be regarded as identifying themselves with the spirit by incorporating the spirit's power into themselves. What makes this possible is the myth which guarantees the spirit's identity and power. In that sense, the source of Guxaj's "talk" made by human beings essentially lies in the spirit itself as a mythical being. The difference in the expressive mode between Sagais' "talk" and Guxaj's "talk" is, after all, merely a difference in a spirit's phase—whether the spirit's voice comes out expressly or lies behind people's voices.

Thus, the act of sound expression recognised as "true song" involves "spirit's talk", whether manifestly or latently, and is fundamentally understood by being connected with the spirit. Singing is a sound-producing act for letting a "spirit's talk" emerge and, also, at the same time, a perceptual act sensing the "spirit's talk" and listening to it. The spirit exists in the very keen senses of the people and it acquires a reality primarily through sound. When people's singing voices or the sounds of bamboo pipes resound as a spirit's voice, "true song" comes out.

C. Towards the social semantics of sounds—Conclusion

What I have tried to depict in this book is an aspect of "sway" and "rove" which are endless, like the stream of a river, and which underlie Waxei mental life. "Sway" expressed as *guxaj* appears most explicitly in the mode of sound, "song" as a "spirit's talk", and in the dimension of its expression and perception. However, just as music is always a reflection of human feeling and cognition, so Waxei songs are mutually closely entwined within the dimension of social feeling and social cognition concerning death, possession, life, spirit, and myth. In this sense, the aspect of sway may also be said to constitute a social code underlying Waxei culture. Ethnographic descriptions which have been made thus far were aimed at analysing quite an indefinite sway which lies at the root of culture, against the background of mutual relationships between those various dimensions. Here, lastly, after rearranging the respective chapters and making clear their mutual relationships, I would like to decipher, in conclusion, the problem of the social meanings of sound expressions—the subject of this book—according to the code of *guxaj*.

Concerning the Waxei environment and life as shown in the introduction, it is not appropriate to make such a division as outside nature and inside culture. Rather, people's lives are with the environment and both are connected by their sensibility with which they read the existence of

spirits here and there in the mountains and rivers. To them, the landscape woven by nature, such as trees, rocks, inlets, and water flows, directly constitutes a cognitive map of spirits. In their daily life, every time they canoe up and down the river or go into the mountains for hunting and gathering, they feel the shadow and breath of spirits, and are frightened of them. To the Waxei, living in the natural environment is the same as living in the spiritual environment.

The living environment is also a source from which the Waxei constantly perceive sounds and extract the explanatory principle of "song". The formation of "song" is explained by the metaphor of the shapes of trees growing abundantly all around. "Singing" is likened to the act of canoeing along a meandering river, an important traffic route. That is, nature is culturally interpreted, and culture is given by nature. It may be said that Waxei nature and culture retain an essential continuity which is inseparable.

Such a relationship manifests itself also in Waxei social organisation and ancestral myths. The origin of clan founders is traced back to various animals or plants, and people are integrated and organised under respective clan symbols as natural objects. What is explained by a myth is called the "narrative of roots"—a state of origin in which human beings were originally born from animals or plants, wandered as spiritual beings, and exhibited their transcendental power through incarnation at will—a state in which human beings, nature, and spirits are fused together. It is cognition underlying Waxei ontology that the root of every being is a spirit and shadow, and also serves as the ground upon which their present is based.

In this respect, it is interesting that the world of myths is depicted as a rather abominable situation. Ancestral myths are filled with incidents such as deceit, theft, illicit love, adultery, sorcery, surprise attack, rape, battle, murder, revenge, and cannibalism, and also with motifs such as anger, grief, humiliation, grudge, fright, and fear. Assuming that a myth is a mirror in which people's ontology is reflected, these aspects express a cross section of the spiritual world woven by the mythical ancestors, and also the epitome or a model of human society. Needless to say, it is not a social image as an ideal, but a model in the sense that it cannot be otherwise. Indeed, the repetition of indescribably disconsolate incidents and the entanglement of distressing human relations and feelings of hate vividly reflect the realities in which people live.

In chapter 1 I tried to show such a state of society in which the Waxei live and provide a vivid cross-section of their actual life. The weeping and wept-words delineated initially are, superficially, an expression of individual sorrow which come out on the occasion of the death of a human being. One manifests a sorrow inexpressible in words by a stylised weeping voice, which then shifts to wept-talk in a poetic form. It is a sound expression which is really full of sorrow, touching the depths of emotion. Yet, it should not be overlooked that, behind such a scenery of sounds, there lie entangled social relations among human beings or between human beings and dead persons, such as making an apology or excuse to the dead, mutually reproaching or thrusting responsibility between survivors, and consciousness of being in fear of the retaliation of a spirit of the dead. In weeping, voices with which people appeal to the dead, together with the sorrow of having been bereaved of their relative, even the consciousness of trying to safeguard one's social position by weeping can all be recognised from time to time.

In wept-songs which are collectively expressed in the dark at night, the situation changes considerably, and direct expressions of feelings become diluted. Wept-songs are basically sung by being selected from a fixed repertory. In their tunes, a variety of expressions arousing an image of death are incorporated, such as kinship terms, personal names, bird names, and place names. Through wept-songs, people continue indirectly expressing the social images of death and spirits of the dead, and a sort of collective dreaming is gradually made up in the dusk. Wept-songs are an overture, socially set to invoke the possession of a spirit of the dead and, in the field of sounds where men's voices and women's voices mournfully echo to each other, the emergence of a spirit is induced.

A spirit of the dead possesses a human being who has sunk into a state of deep dream. Communications with the spirit always occur in the state of dream, but the dream has various levels. A human being completely controlled by the spirit is in a state of unusual dream, so to say, and begins to abruptly show loud stamping sounds, that is, the emergence of *guxaj*. This is the first indicator of possession. and in the talk that ensues too, some of the general characteristics representing possession can be observed—for instance, a heightened tone of voice, use of a language which ought not be known, and the frequent use of words suggesting the spirit and symbolic expressions, as also pointed out by Irvine (1982). It is, however, meaningless to pry into the reality of possession. As stated by Lewis (1971), spirit possession is a matter of cultural evaluation and it is not we

who judge its truth. Therefore, when it is explained that a person is in a state of possession, the best means for extracting its socio-cultural meanings is to record and reproduce the situation of possession and people's comments about it as faithfully as possible. In accordance with this idea, I described the dialogues between people and spirits at length in chapter 1.

A spirit of the dead talks through a human body. It is a phenomenon analogous to that of a spirit possessing a bamboo and signalling or responding through the bamboo percussion, or Sagais singing by possessing bamboo pipes. To the Waxei, the process in which a spirit talks by possessing something, and human beings receiving its sound and interpreting it, is not special at all. It is the fundamental aspect of sound communications.

From the talk of a spirit possessing a human being, it can be read that a human death is caused by the power of spirits, and such power is dominated by Guxaj. Spirits are always ready to launch an attack against human beings, but it is Guxaj who is fundamentally moving the spirits. Besides, what the possessing spirit suggested, are the identities of spirits of the dead which, for a certain reason, had a grudge and eventually committed murder. Since, in many cases, the possessing spirit is a spirit of the murdered person or a spirit of their close relative, it talks away almost one-sidedly, due to its furious anger against a murderous spirit, and declares retaliation to its kin. With such talk of the spirit as a clue, people call to mind various incidents which took place during the last two or three generations, and thereby try to presume a murderous spirit. What come to the surface out of this process are the wretched incidents of the past and intricate human relations, such as deceit, betrayal, adultery, death due to venereal disease, theft, and murder, or sentiment of getting angry at and deploring the destruction or loss of tradition. By spirit's talk, the true nature of their society is disclosed.

The possession of a spirit is strongly demanded socially in order to clarify the cause of death, that is, to identify murderous spirits. It is evident though that, thereby, abominable past incidents and the correlations of people's grudges are inevitably laid open. Nevertheless, they set a stage for spirit possession which ensues from wept-songs. Moreover, elaborately enough, if they cannot convince themselves of the talk of a spirit which possessed a human being, it is a custom even to prepare a bamboo and invoke other spirits to possess it. People try to settle up death tenaciously or even, dare I say, in a self-tormenting way.

In communications with the spirit possessing a bamboo, since the man's side can take the initiative in inquiring, it is possible to receive messages from the spirit relatively distinctly. People put various questions to the spirit, to which the spirit replies with signal percussion or affirmative/negative percussion, although confusion coming from anger is occasionally shown. While "talk" is not recognised in a signal proper by a slit-drum, a signal pattern being struck by a spirit is expressed as "talk" containing the spirit's signification and indicative contents which are drawn out in the special context of the spirit's dialogue with people. It is also said that, in affirmative/negative answers and the strong continuous percussion expressing anger, as well, definite "talk", that is, the spirit's will to be read, is charged. The spirit possessing a bamboo talks to people by means of percussive sounds.

Many questions people raise to the spirit show their own interpretation concerning causes of death and murderous spirits. People, by fully mobilising their memories and knowledge about past incidents, inquire of the spirit about the names of persons and clans on the basis of cases which are supposed to be the cause of a grudge. Although they say that "a spirit often tells a lie" (*yabogasuya sabuyakusa*), nevertheless, they have no choice but to have the possessing spirit evaluate their interpretation and convince themselves of the background to the death. The fact that their conjecture is often denied by spirits indicates that there exist so many incidents which, by incurring grudges, may naturally be linked to murder. Also, for them, by such denials from the spirit, it becomes possible to restructure their questions and eventually lead to a final agreement. This agreement is their own social agreement and also an agreement between people and spirits.

In short, the contents of their questions are extracts from social incidents which have already taken place. It may also be said that they invite possession of spirits in order to have the spirits confirm their interpretation. In this sense, as pointed out by Duvignaud (1977), possession completes the imitation of an existing model. After all, it was proven that the death of the baby had been brought about by many spirits of the dead who had held grudges due to incidents such as adultery, death by venereal disease, rupture of a marriage proposal, unjustifiable marriage, and monopoly of brideprice. Some of them appear to be unjust resentment in every respect, but unjust resentment is also a typical form of grudge.

Even when, through dialogues with possessing spirits, murderous spirits are identified and the cause of death unravelled, it is impossible that

the entanglement of social feelings which have surfaced by the death is truly dissolved. Rather, through the spirit's talk, the composition of grudges assumes a more definite form and the feeling of suspicion from fearing revenge increases among people. Amicable settlement by cash and foods only provides temporary consolation. As long as human beings live in society and spirits exist latently behind the society, a grudge invites murder by a spirit and that death again gives rise to a new grudge and retaliatory murder. The feelings of grudge and retaliation continue to circulate forever in Waxei society through the mediation of the shadows of spirits, and there is no choice but for people to live in such a hopeless reality.

In chapter 2, I examined Waxei classification, perception, and cognition concerning various spiritual beings, including the problem of positioning those possessing spirits and murderous spirits. Thereby, I think, it was made more concretely clear from a broader view that people's lives cannot exist without connection to the spirits and that society is surrounded by spirits. To describe the existence and nature of spirits involves very delicate problems, such as the consideration of spirit possession. As in the case of the phenomenon of possession, there is no alternative but to be given by them as the basic material for discussions about spirit cognition. Therefore, basing the outline of my description upon the Waxei classification system, I presented as widely and minutely as possible accounts of encounters with spirits and tales of personal experiences, and mythical episodes as their traditional accumulation.

The basis of Waxei cognition concerning spirits lies in the understanding that every spirit is a dangerous being, malevolent and harmful to human beings. A spirit is identified with "power" itself, and man stands in awe of the spirit's power. It is nothing but the emergence of that power that enables a possessing spirit to appear and control a human being or bamboo, or to announce a murderous spirit while openly showing anger. Precisely because people are really in awe of that power, the spirit's declaration of revenge is taken very seriously. This cognition, "spirit = evil power", is exactly the same as in the case of a spirit of sorcery or supernatural spirit, and various kinds of power, haunting here and there in the ecological environment, suddenly appear to frighten people, wound them, and deprive them of their lives. In short, a spirit is such an overwhelming power that it can be neither predicted, controlled, nor overthrown.

Because the power of a spirit is also a product of people's acute sensibility and imagination, the ways of cognition and classification of various types of power are related to the problem of "sway = *guxaj*" at the level of social feelings. As mentioned earlier, on the occasion of a death, correlations of grudges lying latent in society are exposed, and retaliation is manifested by a spirit of the dead, with the result that the ruffling of quite disconsolate feelings occurs among people. Also, coming into contact with or being attacked by a spirit of sorcery or a supernatural spirit, the agitation of feelings is experienced as a fundamental fear that the spirits might even menace their survival. There are no means for fundamentally holding the sway of such social feelings; all that people can do is to survive while fearing retaliation from the spirits of the dead, or attacks by spirits of sorcery or supernatural spirits. One of the reasons why spiritual beings are so minutely classified, and myths and accounts of personal experiences explaining their nature are handed down from generation to generation, may be that, they try to reasonably protect social feelings which continue to sway by unavoidable contacts with spirits. By ascertaining the true characters of spirits at least conceptually, vague feelings of uneasiness are reduced to some extent.

Furthermore, the cognition of spirits is related to Waxei ontology itself at a deeper level. The root of life of human beings is traced back to myths and, since myths are also the basis of spirit cognition, mythical beings are identified with spiritual beings. Therefore, life is paradoxically guaranteed by the spirits. The variegated power of spirits which wander beyond the category of nature menaces people's survival and, at the same time, it also gives reality to that life. That spirits are positioned as being transcendental and polysemous, indeed, means that spirits are understood as being in a state which is unstable and uncertain, both psychologically and cognitively. That is, spirits intrinsically sway. The life of human beings which is given reality by those spirits, also cannot but sway. Spirits are beings like the shadows of human beings, and human beings also sway, drift, and rove like the shadow of spirits.

It ought to be stressed that the grounds of such an ontology of spirits and human beings lie in myths. Myths are a source of people's world cognition and also a model of the actual world. It is by virtue of their mythical thought, sensibility, and imagination that people can recognise the power of spirits as a shadow, perceive their low-breathing sounds, and socially accept the spirits' talk. The same thought, sensibility, and imagination support people's lives and produce "song" as sound communication with

spirits. "Song" is created precisely by these very myths, not figuratively. The problem of the social meanings of sound expressions made by the Waxeï becomes accessible at last by understanding such correlations between spirits, myths, and human beings.

In chapter 3, I examined the "song" produced by Guxaj as a powerful supernatural spirit. Guxaj is a mythical being who founded a social institution and a symbolic being of death. What is ethnosemantically important is that the concept of Guxaj forms the root of the image of "sway". Guxaj, which is originally the proper name of a spirit, also represents dynamic ideas such as waver, rove, wander, flow, stir, shake, and dance. Words which derive from this are used to indicate an act of percussing while rocking the body, stamping on the ground, moving vibrantly, and also a happy state. It is evident that such polysemy of the concept of *guxaj* is based on the polysemy of Guxaj as a mythical=spiritual being. Guxaj is a symbol of Waxeï society and culture which sways and roves like the flow of water.

It is concretely revealed in the structure and meaning of a song that the "song" is given by the spirits and myths. The four kinds of voices constituting a song are divided in half: *yabangu* 'high voice' and *yogoq* 'low voice', and, by the entwining of these two different voices, dynamic aspects of sound such as "sway" and "swell" are brought forth. The dynamic aspects expressed in this way are, from a musical point of view, an exciting tenseness and a vibrant sense with which the body begins to dance naturally. These aspects are stirred up by the intricate polyphonic structure of songs, while, from a spirit's point of view, it is nothing but the manifestation of the spirit's polysemous power. That is, a song traces the cognition of spirits through sounds.

On the other hand, the meanings lying inside the song are cunningly concealed from women by variegated rhetoric, but men's imagination easily goes beyond the superficial meanings of words and reaches the context of myths. Thanks to men's mythical sensibility, they can call to mind boys receiving an initiation from a reference to the young fruits of betel pepper, and imagine blood trickling out of a wound from a deep-red large flower, or the figures of ancestors who fought with Guxaj from a black cuscus. The meanings a song bears are, after all, the acts, thoughts, strategies, transcendencies, and controlling power of spirits developed in the myth as reproduced through people's sounds and imagination.

In chapter 4, I discussed the process through which the voice uttered by the female spirit Sagais, in possessing bamboo pipes, turns into a "song".

The structure of her voice is interpreted as "spirit's talk" and the images of spirit and myth vividly appear in the semantic field of sound.

It seems possible for us to find one of the keys to understanding Sagais' "talk" in a mental state called "dream" by the Waxeï. When perceiving Sagais' talk, they recognise that they are in a state of dreaming in a broad sense. When translating the contents of various explanations made on this state of dreaming, it follows that, at an early stage of performance, they are not asleep but are in a relaxed state with open consciousness. As the performance proceeds, they gradually forget themselves and their awareness wanders off. To the men who are in such a state of light dreaming, Sagais suggests the melody of the next talk or makes her voice echo directly. The spirit's voice is surely perceived as sound, although it is actually incomprehensible to know from precisely where it is sounding. Nevertheless this perception of sound makes people more and more excited. It is clearly an experience of pleasure, like an experience of singing in which, by animating the voices all together, they go on presenting the dynamic aspects of sounds.

Usually, they perceive Sagais' talk as having a melodic structure which has already been heard in the past. Therefore, they can understand the whole structure of a tune and the order of blowing the bamboo pipes, even if Sagais suggests only a fragment of a melody. But it is also admitted that, on very rare occasions, somebody suddenly hears a melody which has never sounded before. A man who senses such a melody is, without exception, in a state of dreaming in which he is completely asleep. He wakes up soon and, before the memory dims, he teaches the other men the outline of that melody and the order of blowing by whistle-like sounds. At first it is difficult for men to find meaning in the talk thus produced, but as they try to sing it as a single melody, they begin to feel some mythical and spiritual images through the sway and movement of the sounds. A *bittagas* called *maxoq*, which reminds them of the emergence of Sagais who turned into a coronated fruit-dove, appeared in this way fourteen or fifteen years ago for the first time.

This episode shows that Sagais' song is precisely "given" by the spirit and, at the same time, demonstrates well that to sense the spirit's voice is neither a surrealistic phenomenon nor a peculiar experience. That is, to catch the spirit's voice in various ways is precisely a realistic experience situated somewhere among such essentially continuous states of human sensation and perception of sounds, as the state in which, when asleep, we feel that a word or melody was certainly heard, the state such as illusionary

hearing and auditory hallucination, the state in which an unknown melody unexpectedly crosses our minds when we are absent-minded, the state in which we spontaneously recall a familiar melody to mind, and the state in which we physically and distinctly perceive an acoustic sound—all states we have also experienced. With respect to such perceptual experience, the Waxei are noteworthy only in that they regard all those sounds as being given by a spirit.

As to the tune *maxoq* as well, the Waxei definitely say that it is a man who felt the sound, but the source from which the sound was generated lies in the spirit. Therefore we cannot assume that the Waxei are composing a song, even if an unknown tune like *maxoq* appears which has not existed before. They do not connect a new song which has appeared in a dream with their creativity, but instead, clearly interpret it as what the spirit has talked to them. They sense a mythical image of the spirit through the sonic structure of its talk, standing on the same socio-cultural basis on which their cognition of the spirit itself is based. This attitude plainly reflects their social cognition that the song is essentially created by a spirit and at the source of the song there always exists the spirit's talk.

From this point of view, it also becomes clear that the Waxei's comment, "We only blow into the bamboo pipes; it is Sagais who sings", is not a metaphor but represents a social truth. Statements, such as "It is Sagais who sings" or "The sound of bamboo pipes is Sagais' voice", are metaphors to us, but never to the Waxei.⁹ It is the cognition of sound socially held in common and constituting a social code upon which they interpret the song. According to such a code, people recognise the song as spirit's talk and sense the sounds of bamboo pipes as the spirit's voice. This way of interpretation has a cultural coherence which is clearly continuous with their recognition of a voice uttered by a man possessed by a spirit, not as his own voice, but totally as the spirit's talk, or their evaluation of the song of Guxaj expressed by organising human voices as a faithful reproduction of the spirit's voice and talk.

9. This view is based on Feld's notion of the connection with "metaphors as local sociocultural models" (Feld 1984:406). I once discussed song from the viewpoint of such metaphors (Yamada 1988). There, by taking up as a problem, metaphor at the level of the discourse of sounds, distinguished from either metaphor at the level of words constituting the concept of song or at the level of verbal discourse such as comment or explanation about the song, I tried to grasp the very structure of sounds, the song, as a metaphorical process which occurs as a social event, producing mythical meanings.

Finally, what has been discussed thus far in chapter 5 is the problem of how the Waxei themselves grasp the formation of song and the organisation of sounds, and also how song and talk, as unique modes of sounds, are placed among the various sound phenomena surrounding the Waxei.

Waxei thinking on the general principle of "song" reflects the inseparable mutual relationship interwoven between people, spirits, myths, and the natural environment. The ontology of song is connected to the cognitive system of spirits and myths through the metaphor of a tree as an important constituent of natural environment, while the structure of song brings into relief the coexistent relationship of people with the natural environment through the metaphor of a stream of a river, representing the existential state of spirits. In both cases, the partial names of trees or rivers and the various adjectives and verbs denoting the state of water are metaphorically transferred as musical vocabulary for explaining the song. According to Feld (1987), a system in which a meta-language is coded through metaphors being based on such polysemy of words may be called a "musical theory".

In fact, however, whether or not Waxei musical terminology is systemised as a "theory" does not much matter. If one proceeds with the analysis of concepts concerning sounds from an ethnosemantic point of view, it would probably be possible to derive such a musical theory from every society, though it may be intricate or rough. So, even if one could extract a "theory" from the Waxei's musical world, it is not a special discovery at all. Furthermore, as pointed out by Shimeda (1982:292), the very concept "musical theory" itself, is ours and not the Waxei's. More importantly, the ways of human thought and sensation concerning sound do not necessarily appear only in musical concepts.

The reason why I have presented the various Waxei concepts concerning song as a "theory of song" was to show how song is placed in a broader "ethno-theory" consisting of the mutual relationship of many semantic domains. By locating the theory of song upon the wider horizon of sounds, I have tried to understand as a coherent cultural principle how the Waxei sense sounds from their environment, produce song by organising the sounds, and perceive a spirit's talk in song. A song does not consist only of a combination of concepts explaining it, but is placed in a broader "mesh of meanings", such as the co-existential relationship between people and natural environment, and the mutual relationship of song with the cognitive system of spirits and myths. This mesh of meanings, when

put another way, may be said to be a mesh of cultural logics, and precisely therein exist the social meanings of sounds.

In this regard, that the Waxeï clearly distinguish between "true song" and "quasi song", based on the principle of song, indicates that cognition of song is based on minute cultural logics. "True song" must be equipped with factors such as identity as a tree, root growing in the ground, myth as the root, *bittagam* as mythical concepts, collaboration of performance, man and woman, grudge and retaliation, high tone and low tone, collision and separation of sounds, polyphony, movement of waves, stream of a river, *songoqaj* articulating the river, spirits wandering beyond *songoqaj*, fright and awe, sway as *guxaj*, dynamic states of spirits and sounds, and transcendental power of spirits. Judgement as to whether a song is true song or not, therefore, is a cultural evaluation reflecting the whole processes of Waxeï perception, conceptualisation, and classification about not only the sounds but also the natural environment, world view, myths, social feelings, gender, human relations, body, structure, dynamism, power, and spirits.

Now, at this point when I have finished the summary and overview of this book, it is necessary to ask at the very end: Why do the Waxeï sing?

It is beyond doubt that singing is a pleasure for them. Either when they vibrantly dance and sing while entwining high voices and low voices, or when they blow into bamboo pipes in rapture while stamping their feet, one can surely read bliss in their faces. Singing is a happy experience. However, the structures of voices and sounds joyfully expressed that way are interpreted inevitably in connection with those abominable and vivid images of spirits and myths. The experience of singing is also to experience a spirit. Nevertheless, they utter voices and blow into the bamboo pipes.

A clue to explaining this seemingly contradictory existence of song is the cognition of that ambivalent spirit=power, *Guxaj*, a source of awe and also the etymology of happiness. The ambivalence of this spirit is linked by the idea of *guxaj* as sway. Sway is a symbol of *Guxaj* as a spirit which lies at the root of spirits and myths, people and natural environment, and life and death, and sway is also a symbol of his power. In the song, what is generated from the structure of human voices or the sounds of bamboo pipes is precisely the same dynamic aspect, sway. Through the structure of that sway, the cognition of spirits and myths and the images of human life and death lying behind them appear in the actual world. Accordingly, it may be said that a song is a symbolic manifestation of sway and power

as socio-cultural values. The feelings of awe and happiness which are mediated by the idea of sway, *guxaj*, are actualised at a stroke by experiencing song as this sway. In song as a semantic field of sounds, social feelings being in awe of spirits are connected to the happiness brought about by acceptance of the spirit's talk, through the perception of the spirit's voice as a cultural sensibility. The experience of song is nothing but an experience of incorporating sway as a spirit's fundamental power into oneself, through the expression and perception of the spirit's talk.

Song is also a metaphor of people's actual existence, because it is thinkable that the cognition of spirits and myths which song suggests metaphorically is a reflection and model of their cognition of reality. In this sense, it should be noticed that the Waxeï understand that everything—spirits, myths, and even their own existence and life—is uncertain and unstable. They should also be aware that there is next to no difference between feeling in awe of spirits and happiness, both of which sway unstably and easily change into each other. When such reality is depicted by voices and sounds, a song appears. Through the experience of the song, people confirm after all how they themselves are and how their society is. It is precisely a swaying and uncertain state—disgusting and yet happy, abominable and yet pleasant. In this sense, a song embodies Waxeï cognition of reality that there is nothing certain in this world.

APPENDIX ONE

Clan Origin Myths

A. Nunguwase¹ (clan of the flying fox)

The progenitor of Nunguwase is a man named Odifo. He was born at a place to the north of Timbunke, along the Middle Sepik River, and lived in a creek in the shape of a catfish. There were no human beings around.

On one occasion, Odifo flew out of the creek. The moment he cast aside his catfish skin, he transformed himself into a big flying fox and hung down from the branch of a nearby tree. The catfish's pectoral fins had turned into the flying fox's wings. Odifo, flapping his wings loudly, flew towards the Sepik. When he reached the Sepik, he went up the river. In due course, when he came near Ambunti (a place along the Upper Sepik), he changed his course, flew over a range of many mountains, crossed the Salumei and Korosameri Rivers, and reached Bobugutos along the Mombugotus River. There he found a tall tree, hung down from a branch to give his wings a rest, and looked around.²

Being satisfied with Bobugutos, Odifo made up his mind to settle down there. Leaping from the branch down to the ground and throwing off the flying fox's skin, he immediately turned into a human shape. He built a house by himself nearby and began to live there. It was a "men's house". When going for food, he turned into a flying fox to fly about, and ate a nut every time he found one.

Once, when he flew over to the Upper Mombugotus River, he saw a stream of smoke rising from among the trees. Landing on the ground, he quickly transformed himself into a man's figure and walked towards the smoke. There, a man of Baishumei clan named Deba lived together with his family. Sympathising with Odifo as he was single, Deba gave one of his daughters to Odifo. Taking that girl with him, Odifo returned to Bobugutos and, by making a "women's house", they began to live together.

Odifo did not transform himself into a flying fox any longer. He also learned how to catch a wild pig with a bow and arrow presented by Deba and made the

1. The order in which the myths appear follows the order in which the clans gathered at Bobugutos; also see map 4.

2. The name Nunguwase derives from *nunguwasnas*, which Odifo called this big tree. *Nunguwasnas*, together with a flying fox, became clan symbols of Nunguwase, and the flapping sound of the flying fox came to be used as a clan signal.

basin of the Weisas River his main hunting ground. In due course, he begot many children and lived peacefully as a family.

B. Fogosei (clan of the pig)

[Fogosei consists of three unnamed subclans which have the pig and crowned pigeon as symbols in common. The progenitors of one of the subclans are a father and son named Dubumaqei and Mindiguraf, respectfully. As father and son, they are identified together as progenitors.]

Both Dubumaqei and Mindiguraf were born at the same time in the river called Nousas which flows into the Upper Wogupmeri River. Although both had a human appearance and form, part of their bodies below the ankles was in the shape of pig's feet.³ The two went down the Wogupmeri to the place of the Bunar⁴ who lived in the lower reaches. However, since the Bunar felt uneasy about their pig's feet, the two were not allowed to live together. So, they went up the Wogupmeri again, proceeding westward, and came near Bobugutos. On the ground near a creek, they made a simple sleeping place surrounded only with branches, which were stood aslant and covered with leaves, and lived there. They could only eat the starch remaining in rotten sago and grubs.

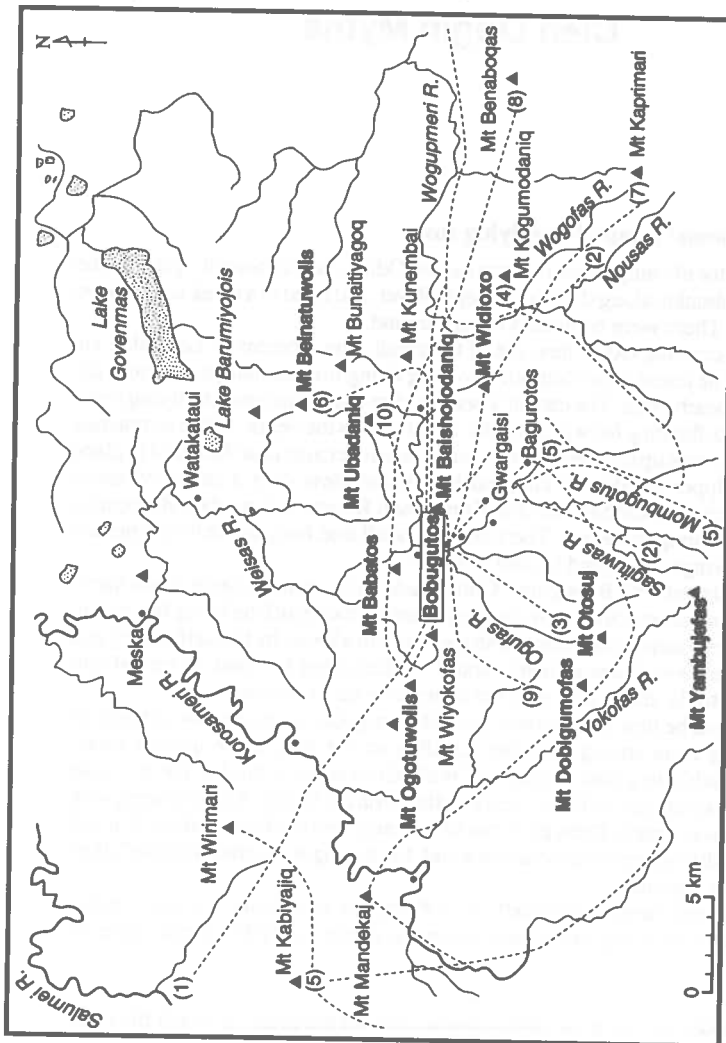
One day Odifo came there, following the tracks of pigs he had found in the forest. Odifo wished to call the two to Bobugutos, as they did not have a decent dwelling place, but he was concerned about the pig's feet. When he talked to his wife, she unsurprisingly showed aversion. So, he thought out a plan and made a small bridge with soft bark across a creek which would run in front of the two when they came to Bobugutos. He went to meet the two. When they came to the bridge, they were scared of crossing, but persuaded by Odifo, they proceeded cautiously. Their pig's feet sank into the soft bark and, when pulled out, the pig's hoofs came off and their feet changed into human feet. The pig's hoofs, which had come off, dropped into the creek and were carried away. The two, finding that it had become very easy to walk, were ecstatic. By and by, Odifo taught them how to make a house and cook sago starch, and they began to live with Odifo and others.

Soon there came a man named Dukwabi. He is said to be the progenitor of the second subclan. He was born inside a large rock near the river called Sagituwas which springs from Mt Yambujefas and joins the Mombugotus. The part of his body below the ankles was also in the shape of pig's feet. Dukwabi went down the river and, after living for a while in a place called Gwargaisi to the east of Bobugutos, he came to Bobugutos.⁵ He also got Odifo to change his pig's feet into human ones and settled in Bobugutos.

3. The name Fogosei derives from *fogoq* 'pig'.

4. An offshoot of the Gaidio, who speak a dialect of the Enga language of the Highlands. They still live in the mountains around the Wogupmeri River.

5. A man named Wisagaida, who came with Dukwabi at this time, is thought to be the progenitor of the third subclan of Fogosei. Wisagaida did not stay in Bobugutos, but went to the place of the Shubujob, down the river. Later, since the Shubujob had merged into the Waxei, his genealogy was incorporated into the Waxei as a subclan.



Map 4: Routes along which the ten clans gathered at Bobugutos. Those names in **bold** show mountains where the worlds of spirits for the respective clans lie. The routes shown by dashed lines are based on presumption. The numbers associated with the dashed lines are the order in which the ten clans gathered at Bobugutos: (1) Nunguwase; (2) Fogosei; (3) Ogufayo; (4) Bagisei; (5) Baishumei; (6) Haishomir; (7) Yomisei; (8) Gesei; (9) Kabindei; (10) Wesayom.

Three Fogosei men then remained in Bobugutos and received from Odifo the area around Mt Babatos, located a little downstream. One after another, the three married the women of Ogufaiyo clan who came to Bobugutos soon after and increased their offspring.

To the three Fogosei men, Odifo gave the eastern half of the "men's house" he had built by himself, and he himself used the western half. This division is based on the approximate directions from which they came to Bobugutos: Odifo, who flew from the west in the shape of a flying fox, was called *nukojum* (moiety of the west); the Fogosei men, who came from the east, were called *metakojum* (moiety of the east).⁶

As for the Fogosei and the crowned pigeon, there is a myth as follows. This tale was several generations after the three Fogosei men settled in Bobugutos. Once, a bird with a beautiful head decoration flew down near the Fogosei men who had gone to get a sago starch. It was a bird they had not seen before. The bird talked to them, and introduced herself as Duwis. She began to explain why, although originally a human being, she had assumed the shape of a bird.

Duwis had lived alone by the Weisas River. There came a man named Shumonuq and approached her with a proposal for man hunting. An evil bat had incarnated itself into Shumonuq.

Approaching a man of Bagisei clan living in the upper reaches by pretending to be his nephew, Shumonuq begged to have the man's daughter for his son's wife. Since the Bagisei man had ten daughters and the request was made by his nephew, he could not decline. Thus succeeding in taking one of the daughters, Shumonuq led her to where Duwis was waiting, and disappeared unnoticed. Duwis dug a pitfall near a *najim* tree and waited, covering it well with leaves. She begged the man's daughter to climb the tree and take nuts. Picking up nuts thrown down one after another by the daughter from up the tree, Duwis swallowed each nut whole without biting. Then, her eyes gradually turned red. The daughter, having taken all the nuts, jumped down as she was told, falling directly into the pit. Duwis covered it with a large stone and confined the daughter.

Thereafter, Shumonuq gradually continued to suggestively deceive the Bagisei man and took his daughters one after another. Duwis, likewise, continued to confine the daughters in the pit. However, the last daughter was not like the others. When this youngest daughter was taken to the *najim* tree, she heard a sound from down in the ground, and grasped the situation. She went to a nearby pond, caught a large-mouthed fish to take with her, steamed it with heated stones, and gave it to Duwis. At that time, she stealthily put a small red-hot stone in the fish's mouth. The moment Duwis swallowed that fish without biting as usual, the small stone burned her stomach and Duwis writhed with pain. Duwis then turned into a crowned pigeon and flew away with a painful calling.⁷

6. This is thought to be the prototype of the moiety organisation of east and west which is observed today among the Waxei. This division was also applied to the other clans which subsequently came to Bobugutos.

7. Duwis thus appeared as a crowned pigeon in front of the Fogosei and symbolically became a 'clan's thing' (*ima sangi aisojofim*). As to this encounter
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Seeing this, the youngest daughter removed the stone cover and, after cutting a long tree to take with her, stood it on the bottom of the pit. Then, three enfeebled elder sisters crawled up from inside. The other six were already dead. The three surviving had even eaten their own hair and grass skirts. The youngest daughter gave small fish to her elder sisters and they all returned together to their father.

The next day Shumonuq came again with an innocent look. The father asked him to climb the betel palm to fetch nuts. The instant he came down with betelnut and stood on the ground, the father stabbed Shumonuq's chest with a concealed spear. Shumonuq fell down to the ground and the father smashed his head with a stone axe. He threw away the body into a rock cave in the mountain. Thus, since that time, a flat-nosed bat named *shumonuq* began to dwell only in rock caves.

C. Ogufaiyo (clan of the sulphur-crested cockatoo)

For a long time, the ancestors of Ogufaiyo lived in a mountain called Otosuj to the southwest of Bobugutos. The name Ogufaiyo was taken from the Ogufas River which flows into the Mombugotus River from this mountain. It is unknown from where they came to this land.

There was a young girl named Gaisi among them. She was very fond of the pith of the sago palm's young leafstalk and everyday ate only it. On one occasion, Gaisi unintentionally put a yellowish young sprout from the pith on her head. Instantly, her body turned into a sulphur-crested cockatoo and her voice was heard only as "*gaya, gaya, gaya...*". The cockatoo's pure white plumage looked as if it reflected the white colour of sago pith, while the yellow crest bristling on the head was just like a young sprout itself. The parents sighed that Gaisi ate too much pith and was at last transformed into a cockatoo. However, never again did she turn back into her previous form. Before long, Gaisi flew away with a rather sad call.⁸

After a while, the Ogufaiyo left Mt Otosuj and migrated to the lowlands toward Mombugotus River. One morning, a man found a big snake and a lizard up a sago palm. Cutting down the palm, the man caught the two and, after steaming them with heated stones, ate them up together with the other men.

Then, that night, flying branches and water from all quarters suddenly came toward the houses. People, being surprised, watched outside, but nothing came into sight. With shields at the ready in the house to defend the women and children, the men were anxious with terror. Presently, from apparently nowhere, uncanny voices sounded. They were the voices of the snake and lizard which were eaten in the morning by the men. The spirits of the two, wishing to pay off their grudge, were attacking the humans.

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and symbolisation, the Fogosei today regard them fatalistically, so to speak, and they do not call into question the evil past of the crowned pigeon. Clan symbols are generally such that, whether by chance or by fate, things which were connected with the ancestors in some way or other are taken in symbolically and assigned a role to represent the continuity and unity of the clan genealogy.

8. Thereafter the Ogufaiyo came to prohibit themselves from catching and eating this bird, which was originally one of them.

The branches and water falling down increased more and more. However much the men wished to fight back with spears and bows and arrows, the opponents were invisible. Only the low, howling sound of the wind and the sound of branches and water striking the houses roared around them. The men, who had decided to run away by all means, fearfully got out of the houses, holding shields and protecting the women and children by surrounding them. Even when they walked down along the riverside path, branches and water still came flying. Soaked to the skin, all of them walked quickly. Before long, when they were about to reach the Mombugotus River, the spirits' attack was over at long last.

The Ogufaiyo walked further along toward the lower reaches, rested near Bobugutos, and warmed themselves. Dawn arose. Odifo's wife then came to catch fish. Being informed, Odifo called them to Bobugutos and thereafter the Ogufaiyo began to live in Bobugutos.

D. Bagisei (clan of the hornbill)

The progenitor of Bagisei is a hornbill named Bagiq which was born in Mt Kogumodaniq, to the south of the Wogupmeri River.⁹ On one occasion, Bagiq saved a woman who was born from inside a breadfruit. The woman was living near the Wogupmeri River with a man transformed from a snake. Her husband was murdered by a snake-man, her husband's nephew, who loved her illicitly, and she was pressed into marriage. Feeling averse to this nephew, she fled, and took refuge in a tall tree by a river. But the tree was cut down with a stone axe by the nephew and the woman fell into the river. There, Bagiq happened to come flying by, seized the woman firmly with his legs, and took her away to Mt Kogumodaniq. There, the woman returned inside the breadfruit and appeared never again.

In due course, Bagiq left Mt Kogumodaniq and, going up the Wogupmeri River, he came to the Upper Mombugotus River. Going down the Mombugotus, he reached Mt Baishojodaniq, just on the east side of Bobugutos, and entered into a *wajom* tree growing there.

On that mountain lived a woman named Fuwis, who bred many pigs. Bagiq came out of the tree occasionally and stole some of those pigs to eat. His body at this time turned into a human figure with dark black skin. Every time a pig disappeared, Fuwis climbed to the mountaintop, taking the bark of a *muja* tree with her. She recited a spell, bit the bark, and spat her saliva toward the mountains all around. It was a spell to locate a pig. However, without having any effect, pigs disappeared one after another.

Thinking out a plan, Fuwis took out all the pigs and tied them to the trees half way up the mountain. She concealed herself in the shade of a tree. After a while, suddenly with a loud sound, "*poff!*", a crevice opened on the *wajom* tree, and a black-skinned man appeared from it. It was Bagiq. At the sight of pigs tied to the trees, Bagiq killed one of them by striking its head with a stone. Shouldering the pig, he returned to the tree and tried to go inside. However, because he was seen by Fuwis, the crevice had already closed. Bagiq soon discovered Fuwis trembling in the shade of a tree and approached her.

9. Another hornbill was born at the same time. It is said to be the progenitor of a clan of the Sumariup (a group neighbouring the Waxei) whose symbol is a hornbill.

While embracing Fuwis who was sobbing with fear, Bagiq assured her, "You have nothing to fear, as I will not kill you." Shortly thereafter, the two began to live together and had many children.¹⁰ Their offspring lived at Mt Baishojodaniq for a long time, but, in due course, they met Odifo, who came to Bobugutos, and they began to live together in Bobugutos.¹¹

E. Baishumei (clan of the lorikeet, cormorant, and pigeon)

[Baishumei consists of three subclans. The clan symbols—lorikeet, cormorant, and pigeon—each correspond to the subclans, but are also held in common by the clan as a whole.]

The progenitor of the subclan of the lorikeet is a man named Bowa who was born on Mt Kabiyaq, to the west of the Korosameri River and between the Korosameri and Salumei Rivers. Bowa then moved southwestward to the Upper Sitifa River to live there, where he married a Seifu woman¹² and had two sons. The elder son remained in Sitifa, but the younger son, Ugasa, returned to Mt Kabiyaq where his father was born. He met a Wirio¹³ man named Mabitwa, living in Mt Wirimari to the northeast of Mt Kabiyaq.

Although Mabitwa tried to make a house, it soon collapsed because he did not know how to set up the posts. So, Ugasa taught him to make the top of each post into a Y-shape and place a crosspiece on top. Every morning Ugasa transformed himself into a little red lorikeet and flew over to Mt Wirimari. When he arrived, he took off the bird's feather coat to take a human form and walked to Mabitwa's place. After he helped in making the house until evening, he put on the lorikeet's feather coat again and flew back to Mt Kabiyaq. Mabitwa was perplexed as to where and how Ugasa came along.

One morning, when the house was about completed, Mabitwa, concealing himself in the shade of a tree, was waiting for Ugasa to come. A lorikeet flew in and, after taking off his feather coat, Ugasa appeared. Although Mabitwa was frightened to death, he nonchalantly continued to build the house on that day, too. In the evening, Ugasa tried to turn into a bird to go back as usual. However, since he was seen by Mabitwa in the morning, he could no longer become a bird to fly. So, he unwillingly returned to Mt Kabiyaq by foot and, thereafter, he never came to Mt Wirimari again.

On the next day, Ugasa left Mt Kabiyaq and went towards the Upper Korosameri River where the Gaidio lived in large numbers. He married a Gaidio woman and, in due course, had two children. One day, Ugasa begged the Gaidio,

10. Notches on both sides of a hornbill's long beak are regarded as a sign of fecundity.

11. Needless to say, the clan name Bagisei is derived from *bagiq*, denoting a hornbill.

12. Presumed to be hunter-gatherers of the Sanio language family who sporadically inhabit the Upper April River (cf. Laycock 1981).

13. Presumed to be a linguistic group of the same family as the Inalu (see map 1). Early in this century, it merged into the Kapriman at Mugumute. The name Wirio derives from their dwelling place, Mt Wirimari.

who were about to go hunting, that if they caught a cassowary, they give him its feathers and thighbones. Nevertheless, neglecting this request, the Gaidio took the feathers and bones only for themselves. Getting angry, Ugasa challenged the Gaidio to a fight. After all, however, he alone was no match for them and, having been wounded, Ugasa had no choice but to run away with his wife and children.

They went down the Korosameri River and struggled through to Mt Mandekaj, along the ridges of Mt Kabiyajiq. There, also, lived other Gaidio people. For a while, Ugasa and his family lived there in peace, but an epidemic began to spread, and the Gaidio died one after another. Escaping danger, Ugasa and his family, took refuge deep in the Yokofas River, a tributary of the Korosameri, settling in another Gaidio hamlet situated further upstream.

The elder of the hamlet had his wife and daughters prostitute themselves to earn bows and arrows or food from those coming there. On one occasion, he also forced a woman, who came down from the Highlands, to prostitute herself. Learning of this, her husband got angry and killed the elder and his family by sorcery. Ugasa and his family had to run away again. Going up the Yokofas River and over Mt Yambujefas, they reached the Mombugotus River. Going down the river, they arrived at Bagurotos in the middle reaches. The man who was there was Deba, progenitor of the cormorant's line (another Baishumei subclan).

It is unknown from where Deba came to Bagurotos. It is this Deba who gave his daughter to Odifo, progenitor of Nunguwase. Deba was originally born as a little pied cormorant and, even after incarnating into a human, he knew nothing but to eat fish.

One day Deba went to catch fish with the men of Bagurotos and, finding a big catfish comparable in size to a human body, stabbed it with a spear. However, the spear was broken halfway and the catfish sank into the river with the spear pierced into its back. Deba jumped into the water and chased it. The catfish was about to enter a big hole in a large rock protruding from the riverbed. Swimming with all his might, Deba also made headway in the hole. It was a very long hole. Before long, the water ended and he found himself in a dim cave. As he walked slowly, relying on a light visible in the distance, he reached the cave's exit. Deba held his breath. He was in a huge space, as bright as daytime. It was a village of fish men.

As he walked along a path, he encountered a woman chopping wood. He hastily hid himself in the shade of a banana tree, but was detected by a woman who came to collect its leaves. Deba explained that he came there after chasing the fish stabbed with a spear. The woman said that it was not a fish but a man and that she also assumes the shape of a tortoise when she enters the water. After covering Deba's body with banana leaves, the woman returned home and consulted her husband, an eel-man. Late at night, the two stealthily took Deba to their house.

The catfish Deba had stabbed with a spear died of the wound. The corpse was wrapped in banana leaves and placed exposed on the shelf near the house. The catfish's relatives were going to leave for retaliation. The tortoise and eel couple thought it better to let Deba go back to the world above ground.

The two let Deba chew a betelnut and eat a betel pepper with lime. Deba, who tasted it for the first time, felt sick from the stimulus and soon vomited with his body shaking. When the woman rubbed Deba's body with a fibrous *utam* leaf (a leaf with an intense, stimulative smell, which even today is used to heal a mild

disease), he felt better. He tried it again and he gradually began to feel that it tasted good. Then, he was served a mixture of grass-ash salt with sap squeezed from the root of the curcuma. He also soon vomited this, but as he was given a drink of water, it became acceptable to him. Furthermore, he was also forced to smoke tobacco wrapped in a banana leaf. He immediately had a coughing fit and began to feel dizzy. However, as he was taught how to smoke upon drinking curcuma sap with grass-ash salt or water, he gradually found it acceptable too.

A night, the couple collected betelnut, tobacco seedlings, betel pepper vines, lime, grasses from which ash salt are extracted, curcuma roots, and pandanus and banana seedlings, wrapped them with the skin of a palm's leafstalk, and concealed them in a cave. Then, they also stealthily brought in the catfish's corpse. On the shelf where the corpse should be, a thick banana trunk was placed instead.

Early next morning, the two took Deba to the water's edge in the depths of the cave and let him have the bundle of betelnut and other things, as well as the prepared catfish corpse. Then, by reciting a spell on the bark of a *mujajis* tree, they bit the bark a little and spat on the surface of water. Presently, the water split in two and a path to walk on appeared in between. Deba hurried along that path. He eventually found himself on the bank where he had previously stabbed the catfish and, at that instant, the split in the water disappeared and the path in the water vanished.

Deba returned to Bagurotos on foot. The villagers, having concluded that he had drowned, were astonished. Deba showed them various things he took back from the village under the water and planted them on the outskirts of the village. In this way, betelnut, tobacco, pandanus, banana, and other things were brought to Bagurotos for the first time. The catfish's corpse was broiled and eaten by everyone, but the skull was coated with earth, decorated with birds' feathers, and suspended in the men's house.¹⁴

The progenitor of the third subclan of Baishumei is a man named Numbugat¹⁵ who was born in a waterfall on the uppermost reaches of the Mombugotus River, increased his family there, and lived in a hamlet made near the waterfall.

In Numbugat's family, it was usual that, when boys grew so that they could remember anything, they put on a loincloth made of gnetum bark fibre and long cordyline leaves. However, there was a boy who, being told that it was too early, did not get anyone to make a loincloth. Only he was naked and he felt very ashamed of even playing with the other boys. Therefore, he always went to the waterfall to swim. Only when he swam was he not ashamed, as all the others were also naked.

One day, after diving into the basin of the waterfall, the boy did not come up, however long they waited. Feeling anxious, the boys who were playing together looked about in the water, but there was no figure at all. When they were about to return home to tell the adults, a big grey mullet leapt from the middle of the basin,

14. A catfish came to be regarded as a symbol of Baishumei, together with a tortoise and eel Deba also encountered.

15. Although the relation between Numbugat and *mombukij* (purple-tailed imperial pigeon), Baishumei's clan symbol, is unknown, *mombukij* is the source of the name of the Mombugotus River, in the upper reaches of which Numbugat was born.

making a sound from the water. They called the boy's name and the grey mullet leapt again, as if replying. After being told what had happened, the men came and dived to catch it, but it was in vain. They all lamented, feeling sorry for him.¹⁶

Ugasa, Deba, and the others who had gathered in Bagurotos, eventually, went down the Mombugotus River and moved to Gwargaisi.¹⁷ Numbugat and others also migrated there, so that the three groups gathered. This marks the formation of Baishumei clan. Later, the Baishumei also moved to Bobugutos. It is said that this happened a while after Odifo's death.

F. Haishomir (clan of the cassowary)

Haishomir's progenitor is a man who was born from a female cassowary at Mt Beinatuwolis to the north of the Weisas River. A man lived on this mountain. It is unknown from where he came. The man grew bananas and he was often embarrassed, since when the bananas ripened, they were soon eaten by cassowaries. So, when he tried to protect his bananas by making pitfalls around them, a female cassowary fell in. The cassowary desperately begged for her life, and the man, not killing her, took her to the house.

That night, the cassowary laid an egg. When the egg hatched three days later, a boy in human shape came out. This was the birth of Haishomir's progenitor. The boy grew rapidly and, in a very short time, became a young man of large build.

One day, this young man went to cut a tree to be used for a post in his own house. The man was absent as he had gone to get sago starch. When the young man looked around the ground wishing to dig a hole for erecting a post, dog faeces was there. Feeling sick, the young man vomited. Since a betel palm the man had planted was growing nearby, the young man took it, ate its nuts, and felt refreshed. When he told this to the man who had returned, he was badly reproached for having taken betelnut without permission. He was told that, as he was the child of a cassowary, it was appropriate for him to eat nuts of trees of any kind. Hearing this, the cassowary felt very sad and, after collecting the seedlings of the betel palm, coconut palm, sago palm, and cordyline shrub one by one, she swallowed them all, and left the mountain in the night, taking her son.

Next morning, the cassowary and her son reached the mountain called Kunembai, near the Wogupmeri River. When the cassowary defecated, the seedlings of palms and trees, which had been swallowed, dropped onto the ground, took root, and instantly grew big. These were food for her son; the cassowary ate only the nuts of wild trees.

One day, the cassowary went to the Wogupmeri River to find a wife for her son. When she went up along the river for a while, she came across many young girls bathing in the river. The cassowary secretly stole the grass skirt of one of those girls and concealed it in the forest. As the girl, who had finished bathing, could not go back without the grass skirt, she remained alone and continued to look for it. There

16. The clan name Baishumei derives from Baishobuq, the boy who was transformed into a grey mullet. This fish (also called *baishobuq*) thereafter came to be regarded as the clan symbol.

17. It is said that the Fogosei first reclaimed Gwargaisi and, by this time, they had already moved to Bobugutos.

appeared the cassowary who had transformed herself into a human female, handed the grass skirt to the girl, spoke as if she had found it by herself, and, with false kindness, invited the girl to Mt Kunembai. The girl who followed obediently, married the cassowary's son.

In due course the two had children, one after another. Boys and girls were born alternately and, at about the time when the tenth child was born, the eldest son married the eldest daughter, followed in turn by incestuous marriages in such a way that the second son married the second daughter, the third son married the third daughter, etc. These couples also had many children in the order of boy, girl, boy, girl, etc., and these children likewise repeated brother-sister marriages. Before long Mt Kunembai was crowded with people. It became difficult to procure food so that people dispersed into the mountains and rivers here and there. One party went up the Mombugotus River and settled down in Bobugutos.

G. Yomisei¹⁸ (clan of the rising sun)

Once upon a time, an elder brother and younger sister, both dogs, lived on Mt Kaprimari on the Upper Wogofas River, a tributary of the Wogupmeri River. One day, when the two dug up the ground halfway up the mountain with their feet, a huge rock appeared and from the inside many human beings came up to the ground.

The two dogs ordered them to urinate. The urine, becoming a river, went down the mountain, and flowed into the Wogupmeri River. The dogs, after saying they were free to go to any place they wished along that river, transformed themselves into stones. Just as they were told, the human beings began to walk along the river. The two, having ascertained that the last one had left the mountain, turned back into dogs again, and jumped into the river. They made headway in a dark waterway, extending straight from the riverbed into the underground, and found themselves in a spring of Mt Widioxo, along the Upper Weisas River.

Sago palms grew around the spring in large numbers. The two felled a sago palm with their feet and raked out the starch inside to eat. Then, several men came out of the stump of the sago palm. Disobeying the dogs' directions, they concealed themselves in the forest and, looking furtively at the two jumping into the river, followed them along the same underground waterway. It is said that these men are the progenitors of Yomisei clan. The moment they appeared, the two dogs again turned into stones, and these are said to still remain on Mt Widioxo. After living on Mt Widioxo for a while, the men moved to Bobugutos. This was a considerably long time after the arrival of the Haishomir.

18. One of Yomisei's clan symbols is the "rising sun", but this does not mean that Yomisei represents the moiety of the east. It is presumed that their ancestors, who were intensely conscious of their eastern origins, intended to symbolically take in the sun, which is situated in the east, as "their own thing". They also have a white cuscus with brown spots as their symbol. This is because its round spots look like the sun.

H. Gesei (clan of the sago grub)

In the mountain called Benaboqas to the south of the Wogupmeri River, there once lived a rainbow lorikeet named Yagaq and a black-capped lory named Wis. The two birds were an elder brother and younger sister, respectively.

Yagaq's feathers were reddish brown like the soil of Mt Benaboqas, and his beak and breast feathers were deep red because he was always eating red pandanus fruits. In the daytime Yagaq perched on a pandanus tree to peck its fruits; at night he slept on a *dajujoiq* palm.

Meanwhile, soon after her birth, Wis fell into a nearby river, which flows with reddish water, and her whole body was dyed red. Wishing to wash it off, she bathed in rainwater which stood in the trunk of a rotten sago palm, and her wings turned green from the stagnant water. Wis ate the sago palm seeds or the nuts of a *najumais* tree, and slept on a sago palm.

One day, when Wis defecated onto the trunk of a rotten sago palm, a big horsefly came and spat on the droppings. Then the droppings changed into two sago grubs. The two grew in the trunk, became big, and, as soon as they crawled out onto the ground, they transformed themselves into human figures. These two men are the progenitors of Gesei.¹⁹

As ordered by Wis, the two cut down the sago palms and made many holes in the trunk. There again came a horsefly and when it spat, many sago grubs were born in the holes. Wis told the two to live by eating those sago grubs from then on.

After a while, the two left Mt Benaboqas, proceeded far westward, and settled down on Mt Ogotuwolis which lies between the Weisas and the Korosameri Rivers. It is said that at this time the offspring of Odifo and others had already been living in Bobugutos. The two married women of the Shubujob, living north of Mt Ogotuwolis in those days, had many offspring there who later scattered on Mt Wiyokofas in the east. In due time, they began to make contact with people in Bobugutos; the Gesei moved to Bobugutos considerably later.

I. Kabindei (clan of the harpy-eagle)

The progenitor of Kabindei was a man named Dobibugoq who was born in Dobigumofas, a place between the mountains on the Upper Yokofas River. It is said that Dobi (his abbreviated name) was a valiant warrior and, by turning into a harpy-eagle, attacked the enemy and ate the opponents he seized.

When going to fight, he rubbed his entire body with deep-black cinders and put on a loincloth made of flying fox skin.²⁰ As he trotted along toward the forest, both of his hands stretched sideways and turned into wings. Shortly his whole body transformed into a huge harpy-eagle, flying high away in the western sky.

When Dobi flew to where he could overlook the Korosameri River, he perched on the top of a tall tree nearby and looked around. Unfamiliar people were bathing

in a creek. Powerfully taking flight, Dobi swooped down at a girl, held her firmly with his talons, and took her straight to Dobigumofas. When he landed on his feet, he turned back into a human figure again.

The girl was eaten by Dobi's nephew and brothers-in-law. In due course, a "song of man hunting" celebrating the victory was started. The name of Dobi and the names of places where enemies were defeated were sung one after another. They sneered at the girl they had eaten by calling her a pig. The song continued till dawn.

Dobi repeated man hunting, but, on one occasion, he had a dream in which he was shot to death with bows and arrows. Feeling uneasy, Dobi tightly tied one of his legs with a long vine, had his nephew securely hold one end, and then flew away by transforming himself into an eagle as usual.

Just as expected, enemies waited in ambush on his way. They were the men whose fathers, wives, and daughters had been killed by Dobi. When Dobi perched on a tree, they all shot arrows at once. Dobi was pierced by arrows all over his body. When Dobi called his nephew by name at the top of his voice, his nephew pulled the vine while crying. With this help, he barely managed to fly back to Dobigumofas. Yet, he breathed his last before he had turned back into a human figure.²¹

J. Wesayom²² (clan of the goshawk)

[It is reported that the progenitor of Wesayom is a man named Bofiyoga who, in the shape of a goshawk, came flying to the Weisas River and settled down at Mt Ubadaniq. It is unknown, however, where he came from and how he transformed himself into a human being.]

When Bofiyoga came to Mt Ubadaniq, he first tried to make his own house. It was the "men's house". When he strenuously dug several holes in the ground and tried to erect the first post there, he cut his finger on a vine tied to the post. He sprinkled the dripping blood into the other holes. Then, the bleeding from his finger also stopped.

At night, the blood in the holes began to move by itself and crowds of men emerged from there. They erected all of the posts during the night and again returned into the holes from beside the posts. Next morning, Bofiyoga was very surprised to see that, in only a single night, the work of erecting posts was over. Though he was afraid, thinking that it might be the work of spirits, he was glad that the work had become easy. On that day, all that he did for the whole day was to lay a ridgepole over the central posts.

At night, the men again came out of the holes and put two sidepoles over the posts on both ends. The next day, Bofiyoga lay only four rafters on the edges and the men fastened all the remaining rafters during the night. In this way, the

19. A sago grub is called *geinam*. *Geseim*, which resulted from *geinam* being added to *sangim* 'group' and changed phonologically, is the source of the clan name Gesei.

20. Since the brown dorcopsis and common cuscus are both dark-coloured marsupials, like Dobi's colour, they came to be regarded as the Kabindei clan's symbols.

21. Even after the death of Dobi, the Kabindei seem to have lived in Dobigumofas for a long time. During this period, they often came to the Mombugotus River and made peaceful contacts with those in Bobugutos. About five to six generations before the present elders were born, all of them are said to have migrated to Bobugutos.

22. The name Wesayom comes from the Weisas River and implies 'people of Weisas'.

construction of the "men's house" proceeded quickly and, when the framework was completed, the roof was thatched with braided sago leaves. With sheets of palm bark, the upper and ground floor benches were also made. To the tip of the ridgepole thrusting up from the gable, a wood carving of the goshawk, with the board-like roots of a big tree used for wings, was attached. Bofiyoka only did part of the work, while everything else was done by the men coming out of the holes.

Finally, only the work of making walls using sago palm leaves remained. This work took much time and, when Bofiyoka came early in the morning, the men were still working. Although they hurriedly tried to go back into the holes, as they had been seen by Bofiyoka, the holes were closed so that they could no longer return into the ground.

Although all of the men who were born from Bofiyoka's blood had long tails, they were accepted as his children. In return for their having completed the men's house, Bofiyoka gave them dishes of pig, sago cakes, and sago grubs. He ordered them to go bathe in the river to remove their filth. When they came out of the water, they were ordered to sit on the long trunk of an *ibumuq* palm placed on the ground so that their tails hung down. Secretly holding a stone axe, Bofiyoka approached their backs and, suddenly heaving the stone axe, cut off their tails, one after another. The astonished men ran away in all directions and only four of them remained in Ubadaniq. Out of the cut-off tails, those thrown into the forest presently changed into snakes, wallabies, and cuscuses; those thrown into the river became eels.

That night, when Bofiyoka and the four men were sleeping, a loud sound, "*boh! boh!*", suddenly, echoed around, shortly changing into a low sustained whirling sound. When Bofiyoka jumped up and went out, the men's house was slowly whirling in the sky. The loud sound was made when the posts came out of the ground. The men's house, angry that Bofiyoka cut off the tails of the men who had completed it and let them disperse in all directions, was going to leave Ubadaniq. Seeking a place to stay, the men's house flew about here and there. Before long it sank into the water of a lake named Barumiyojois. Bofiyoka and the others now had to build another men's house without anyone's help.

After a while, crowds of women came to Ubadaniq from the direction of the Upper Weisas River. They were originally women into whom spirits dwelling in the marshland had incarnated. Refusing to have intercourse with Bofiyoka and the others, they conceived by descending the valley and having their genitals receive wind with their legs spread wide apart. Yet, those born were only female babies. Getting angry, Bofiyoka and the others did not provide them with foods. Then, the women went out of Ubadaniq.

Bofiyoka caught many wild dogs and let them loose for the search. The dogs found the women in the mountain whose ridge continues from Ubadaniq, and raped them. When children were born, they raised those in the shape of a dog, while they killed and ate children in human shape. The four men of Ubadaniq came to search for the women. One of them visited a woman under the cover of night. This was discovered by a dog and then a battle broke out. The man who had come under the cover of night was bit to death and eaten by the dogs. The remaining men made a terrific counter-attack and stabbed the dog who appeared to be the leader with spears. Just then the dogs lost strength and began to run away into the forest. The

men killed all the remaining dogs and brought the women back to Ubadaniq. After having them wash well their genitals which had been dirtied by the dogs, they had intercourse. This time, the women did not refuse. In due course, male children were born one after another, and the offspring of Bofiyoka and the others continued to increase.²³

Among them was a boy named Gujombuq. One day, Gujombuq went to a nearby brook to catch fish with his elder sister. His sister first dammed an upper stream with branches and earth, and bailed out the water remaining on the downstream side with a sago palm leafstalk. Then, she took fish in the shallow water with her fingers and threw them it onto the bank.

Gujombuq, being still small, was on the bank, and earnestly gathered up the fish thrown by his sister. Before long, there were three piles of fish. The boy asked his sister if he could get one pile. She replied that she would take all the fish back to the village and give them to her husband. Then he could eat his share given by her husband. As the boy was very hungry, he wished to have a fish soon. He thought that, as he had also helped, he ought to be given his share. Saying that he would go urinate, the boy entered the forest. He thought, standing under a *mainbuq* tree, that if he were to get his portion from his brother-in-law, there was no knowing how much he would be given.

The boy took a *mainbuq* leaf with white spots and inserted it into a small black netbag hanging around his neck, down his back. Then, he cut out a short, hollow bamboo pipe from wild bamboo growing nearby. With the netbag hanging on his neck, he entered into the bamboo pipe. As he proceeded along the inside of the bamboo pipe, his human skin was gradually taken away. When he slipped out of the other end, the boy's body had turned into a spot-winged monarch. The netbag changed into black feathers on his back, while the *mainbuq* leaf turned into white spots on the scapular feathers. The spot-winged monarch flapped his wings and perched on the top of a *mainbuq* tree.

Soon his sister came to search for him. She felt uneasy because he had not returned however long she had waited. When she came near the *mainbuq* tree while calling her brother's name, an unfamiliar bird call came into hearing from above. When she called his name again, the call intensified even more, as if responding to her. The sister realised that her brother had become a bird. When she tried to catch him and brought a wood stick near, the bird changed his perching place. She tried again and again, but in vain. At last, his sister gave up, returned to the bank to fetch the three piles of fish, and placed them under the *mainbuq* tree. Then she went back to the house, crying.

She told her husband what had happened. He was sharpening an arrow outside the house. Explaining why she would not give fish right away, he bitterly reproached her. With the arrow in his hand, he stabbed his wife to death in the belly.

23. The Wesayom thereafter continued to live in Ubadaniq for a long time. During this time, due to geographical proximity, they frequently contacted people of Bobugutos and actively married with them. Only four to five generations before the present old men, the Wesayom moved to Bobugutos. But it may be regarded that, long before this, the Wesayom continued to be a member of the Waxei, both socially and culturally.

At that moment, his wife's body turned into a *yujujas* palm. In the next moment, the husband turned his back against it and transformed himself into a *dajueq* palm. It is said that even now these two palms stand halfway up Mt Ubadaniq.

APPENDIX TWO

Guxajuxo bujo susuxaj ['The myth of Guxaj']

Guxajuxo ogojamisa basma Ubadaniq. anajo nukeidumusuya, osiya oguxami. Woqaibofas, os anajo nukeis. mba uxajuxos. bujo susuxajeya ogutami indu ufas. sakisa osuwa, anajo nukeisuya oguxami, Woqaibofasuya Guxaj, osiya omo guxai omutusa.

"an bujof neiyaja. xaf neiyaje nakuj ojuda. nakuj ojuduja, naku duja, oju nata. nata, gofnusma yadaja." omosa gofnusma yaxai, uyagimuq omtogoqma ojiyojomjom. omtogoqma ojiyojomjom, osiya nojaxoiste yai, omtogoqma omsusa, "an xaf neiyaja agajum nda, xaf ikada uguiste. kobujma nakusno bokwate, uyagumxo otaju nakum, towaneya neiya."

xojuji, nakojinuq, oj xombuji uguisma, gwagune xui, Gaidagato bodos. Gaidagato, Omnujaiyogosxo yuwis. muxafusma omosa xui. omutusa, munai ogonda, omutusa. xabeqa xane. mba afanesisa munaim. bidiyo, ojomeisa xui, xabeqa xane, xabeqa xane, ugui ajujaxane, mba. xuisiko xuisiko muxafe. Guxajai. Guxajuya anaimui. xaite xaite yameisa uguis aiyogoqma. uguisma aqajunameija Guxaj. os iti omosa. "tateya ojuqwo, munaijwo?" osiyomo gujaixane. osiyo omshou, "mba, andu damaj? aishofa aishofaituj." koto omosa wonuxabaxabete. "andi nakai ojomma, andi yuwisma, ugui aga teitogonum, an bej mba ofnojosuya anda aisojofim. anduj dama aisojofim wadejomiya otei xaidei yaimej?" os tubuja bujaite bujaite ojosa.

osuya aneqanefa yajatujma uwo. oj bujoqaneja, "libu, libu, libu..." "isi! anduj damaje? bujoqane anduj! anduj fatitiquitaya? mba." tumbujui os uguiste aijobojoji, ukwaje untuwosma.

uyaguq gumonusma ojiyomja. osiya osute, "on iya bufo. on ituwa wafunaje, on xabiteanda aisojofim an axona." oj omo funaje, oj omshou. "dajima afaneni?" oj omshou, "an meimoya anduj damajteya. mba wonequnum bej, bej mba omnojosnum. bej mba omnojosnum anda aisojofim. yaya?" "an bokwa. an mba omnojoyoseya bej. num andunum nojujanum." "andi aisojofimuya afayu, bujof oniya ojona? deti afaneni?" osiya ofshou, "ite, mba. yuwisma afaneya. igo tojeyaou, 'libu, libu, libu...' muxafe bujoqane." oj ofshou, "besiko." "wa:!" "witomte! yukwa wondaja aniya." oj yukwai, gumonu yogoisma oqomojajumuja.

omsuja, "an uxas ande uyagu gumonusma iyeduja. ituwayum nojuim, ainumba bokwate bojuwo fajiyojom. bojuwo fajiyoasko an, aniya nunguxa dajas nojuimma. ukwateyom." Guxajuya nunguxasko. "bom, bom, bom..." onunguxamuja nojuimma. "oum ukwateyom?" "ya," omjoms, "ya, num ukwatenum." "anij ijiyodojasaite gumonusma. ondu, onuj unujma oni yonio ojoom? mangim.

koboqainum, ojojomwo?" ojom oshou, "numojom dim." ojom oshou, "anajo gajiq dij." "anajo gajiq dij." "anajo gajiq dij." "omshou, ojom waxunayom gofnojosma, gofnojosma dojdais tojuse. dotu wawindioqoyom. windioqoyom muxaiyonum xunabaja." ojom gofnojosma dojdaim tojuse. ojom dijomuxuna, ojom jainimuyo, ojom gwaxuta, ojom gwaxuta olsem. andim xaneyaja gumonusma, oje oshou, "ya, wade." ojom ai, uyagum dijomuya windioqo funaj, windioqo funaje. ojom qai yonum mei.

yonum mei, nai gumonu badojoisma. gumonu badojoisma nai. orait, dijomomuya akawota, wojino omjomomuya xoijom bubujajma, muxafe yunu skoijomiya. gojuxoi wojino nujojuxo sumonusma. Guxaj dotu funajesko, oji ai. oji ai, ojom qomjaje gumonu yogoisma xojai. gumonu yogoisma xojai, ojom bokwate xai nosuje. yaxas ijiyojujom. omi yaxasma neijom owiya. ojom owi, yai, ojom yai ijiyojujom. ouikubujom oshujom dijomiya nei, nungo tasotuda, nungo tasotuda. indi fujom Guxajuya afam. fujom neijom wasim yaisko, xofuna wasim yadajujom. fitada, fitada, ojom yaisko fita yaiskom Guxaj ayuqu fujom. ojom fita bokwa yaisko gumonusma. gumonusma ijiyosko.

ojom bokwate, igo osuja ojom wade wasijaxutayom. ojom sijaxuta, ojom toganum najatujom. ojom ofsumomuya ofshum. ojomuya ajaqomjajujom gumonusma, andijom ayusko. ojomuya nai bajma duma mafe, neijom xaju bogonisma. duma mafe neijom, ogotu, nakumotuwa. nakumotuwasko, dotu saigajom. sagim mba afasjom gumonusma ojomuya ofijofa. ojomisko nakumotuwafa, ogotu, nakumotuwafasko, dotu saigajom. geinam ai, giyom ai, agam ai. gumonusma ojom ofigofa, mba afasjom dama dama aisojofim. saigim, agam, fogobam, geinam. disko muxafe ojom ofefasko, nakumotuwadasko, ojom nakumotuwadasko, dotu afaijomsko. toganum dotu ofnojojomsko. toganum dotu onojojomsko. "wade." nukomtejomuya dotu axojom xojujiya aiqoj. danjoim xombuguikum, yofujam xombuguikum, dotu axojomsko xojuji aiqoj, dotu teitojujom.

dim bekoxum yonuskoim oqomjajujom bujofqaj. "omum." ojom kutif yonum ajaxujinijom itije daje igo, iti duba. igo oshuja, "omum, omum kutijofe yonujom fainayom." ojom xaftei nai, dotu bana. igo ojom subema gumonusma nai. igo aita mangiyom ojom Guxaj. ojom guxa funaje. aitaimejomiya guxa funaje gumonusma, mangiyomjomuya guxa funaje unujma. muxafe skoinum xaguxa, ojom nai badogoi dubasma.

igo subema oj ai. oj ai ojma atai ajusumuja. Bofiyogajuxo gajiq. "nono!" ojom dij, "Bofiyogai mangiyomisiya! mba dojo onojosa. suwaxusa. fauniya. mbai." ituwayunum ai gumonusma oqomjaje, ojom gumonusma oqomjaje, ojom gumonu yogoisma obuj. ojom gumonu yogoisma obuj, ojom obuj, dijomuya otoqamejom. Guxajuya dijiya nunguxaqamei. orait, ojom ungwatqane.

oumoj najashou, oqomfa. bej oboqaneja tabojas. bej oboqane, bokwatesa. dotu togoquxo aisko, subem ai. ojom obujma toguwi gumonu yogoisma, ojom togoq ai, ojom gumonu sekusma ojom kutatekita. ojom mobudaxuta sijaxuta majina, kutatekita. ojom mobudaxuta, ojom bokwate, ojom oshou, "wade, bedinum ofo." omjom ijiyodaje. igo oshuja, "wade, ojom waxunaijom xombuji kobus, xombuji kobi yonu skoim, yonu bajium waxunaijom, igo." ojomuya ofo, igo subema, xombuji kobi skoinum qomojaje. qomojaje, xombuji kobi, imaj yei, skoinuj

yesko. kuti kobismasko. oji yei, oji taiya agisei, ai oj wonujuta. igo ojom subema ojom obuj, obuj kutatekita.

dij nunguxaqameyo, oj nunguxakwai. oj oshou, "o: mba! bedinum ofo." aitaimejomiya. "oji ofoja." aitaimejomiya dijiya noju. "ofgoju gajiq ofgoja Guxajuya?" "onuguq." ojeja afamei kandobis, inas, inaste Guxaj yei. Guxaj gwatina. "mba!" indi gumonusjofum, dijomuya gwatina tosko, dijom gwatina, dijom tegatesjom Guxaj. Guxaj tegate xaneyo, omi ushumbusma qoju, a: ojom ushumbusma oje oqoumja ojom tegate gwatina. oj xoiti xobujane ushumbusma, a: ojom xoiti. aitigojuduj neqaneyo. omu ushumbusma okoju, igo omu ushumbusma tegate. xobujane. tegate, xobujane, aitigojuduj. inam, yamosbesuya, kandobisya, ijujojuya, ojomuya omom yajane yajane yajane yajane yajane.

oj omu ushumbusma funajesko, oj funajesko gwaxunesko Ubadaniq. Ubadaniq daniqma kateitojqane, sakajma Nujoti yogos gwajneqma. Nujoti yogos gwajneqma, dijoj gwajneqma Guxanuji dumadi nekmami, Nuna yogos. andisko Weisasma xunungwaisko, Weisasma dij xunungwaiyo, Weisa bogosma, aiti Weisasma dij yafnajemuja. aiti Meska dij ofnajmei nakaisma Weisa gauisma. dij funajesko, dij nekmami Inajoma, Inajujo dij nekma, naiyo Afshoshoja. naisko, Bongos naisko, Bongosma dij naisko, kutei ojojasko. aikumaj. ojujo ufas aikumaj.

APPENDIX THREE

Sagaisixo bujo susuxaj [‘The myth of Sagais’]

omu toganu Ubadaniq otogoikus. Ubadaniq otogoiku toganusuya ojamei nijisma. nijisma ojameisa, Sagaisixo yabosgasya ojofunamei nijisma. osuya ojameisa, omususa, “on xaf kobusma iya, anda tojoingwateda, tojoingwateda badojoquxo fauisma. imabujom bujowaj nuj, imabujom bujowaj nuj. anajo ufas Sagais. yadaja onte imabujom bujowa. uyagujomte mba bujo uxasuya an imabujom. mba. uyagum mba onojoyasujom. toganu dabajojom bujofqajma bujowa. sakisa xofunakutaya uxas nijisma. xaf, xaf mafe iya, tojoingwateda anda. dotu yadaja onte bujowa imabuj om. onu wade, uyagum mba bujo uxasne imabujom. mba ojoxu imabujofqaj, numtoganumuxo bujofqaj. anajo ufas Sagais. Sagais anajo ufas. Sagais. an bajma afayuwa Bunaitiyajoq. anajo omtogoq Bunaitiyajoq. andi Sagais dufuja gwatinyaya an. anajo yabosgasya dufuja gwatinyasa. kunumus anajo yabosgasya. muxafusuma otojoya, muxafusuxo yogoisma otojo anajo yabosgasya, kunumusma otojosa. ima ufas Sagais, an sakajma xojikuwa an, sakajma xojiya an Sagaiya.”

osiya ukwate, kobusma xai gwatinya. xai gwatinya, osiya ojui. iti ofsusa, tofa tojoikum om toganum, “an neiya numbogoini nda xaf ikada. xaf ikada oxuiya numbogoni nda badojo fauisma.” osiya ofo xui bado fauisma tojoi, osi ofshou, “dajeya nungunungukuna?” osiya ofo tojoi, onkatisa. “isi! om imas. om togonukwate imasuya ayu. andus, amaj toganusuya ayu?” ofsusa sketa ofsusa. andi xaisiyoxus ofnojoi, aiti muxafusuya.

osiya gwajune ofshou, “ai, anda tubuja anda. an Sagaiyaneya ayu. iya iya anajo bujom xofnadajum.” osiyo ofo nai, of jiyo. os tojoyo tojoi, omus tojoyo yojoi. osiya ofshou, “on, uyagum xaitobi ojojomwo?” osusa, “mba, uyagum bobujoqaji omtogoqma onuxutaya.” “a: onujo omtogoqma dim kunumumwo?” osusa, “ya, dim kunumum.” “faunu woniya kunumum.” osiya wanaxabite ofsusa. “o: andu kunumum mba xabite ojejasjom. anajo omtogoqma aniya gwatinyajuma bogonisma kunumum, kuniyofum xaju mafe ojojom. mba tamja ojoyasjom. onujo itojojom, ganuse, tojutaise, bedi dubam onujo omtogoqma.” osi oshou, “anajo bedyum. anajo kunumum bedyum.”

osi oshou, “mba, o:, ukwatuxutafo.” osiya afabujoqanesa, ofnojosa, om xaju kunum xajus isitinya. isitinya muxafe kunu xajus. osi oshou, “on onojonio? anajo omtogoqma, anajo Bunaitiyajoqma, itixafete kunujomiya gwatinya, anajo yabosgasya muxafusuma ojosa. ituwa qai, indi skikuj, skiku kunuj wayajujai dubaj. dubaj wayajujai, muxafuj wayajujai waxuna.” orait, osiyo ofo qai muxafu kunuj, osiyo ofo qai muxafu skikuj igo. osi buqu muxafu dubaj. toganu bogonise, uyagu

bogoniq, ojom buquxanesa, osi oshou, “itufae soji xoutus, toganu bogonim, om soji xoutus, uyagu bogonim, onu gofshou uxas. dotu idajune yogoquxo bujofqaje, dotu toganusuxo kujeini bujofqaje, yabangu bujofqaje iti ijiyodaje. yogo bugoq, dij uyaguq, yabangu dis toganus.” dotu wai togoq, togoq dotu buqu, osi oshou, “dij Sagaisixo togoq, anajo togoq. an, andi Sagaiya, andi togoq. o: jemxaidaiq, oj wabuqo. windioqom weaimainajom. itu wabuqo.” osi ofo buqu bokwate, osi gofshu foti.

osi ofshou. “wade.” itu ai. “weaimainai. an mba aiti ijiyo dajasuya. anajo yabosgasya dubasuya yadaje andi Sagaisixo kunu bogonijomma, ojomma xujei neiyaja aniya. aniya xujei neiyaja kunu bogonijomma. ani idaje xujei nei, dotu bujojomuya gwatinyadaja. uyagu bogonim bugoqumo, toganu bogonim bugoqumo, iti gofshu Waxeyomuya. onu kaiyas, itu waxubuna toganum. washou an itete afabujosuya Sagaisiya yabosgasya. an neiyaja Bunaitiyajoq. mba yadajasuya. anajo yabosgasya dubasuya, osiya yadaje. onujo Sagais buqodajafa, oniyo buqofasko, dotu bujo waxune. otoj bujom fabujowa, uyagum anda xofuna. uyagum ishi waxune fajufunaya. mba ojoxus, igo num toganumuxo Sagais, mba uyaguquxo Sagais. uxas waqai. xofuna ojom, an oste on afa abujoqma badojoqma. deti tojoikus, Bunaitiyajoqma tojoikusuya afayu. wade. num muxatofim idajunum, osi ofshou. toganum wibokwateyom, toganu xofunaiqum. ojom faina Sagais wonida, Sagais faguxajom. uyagu xofunaiqum dojo ayujom, shuwajo fainajom. shuwajo fainajom, ojom wonsadaje, an Sagais guxadajafa. ojom idaje nai, aitimom xofuna shuwajom, Sagais guxajom ojomuya. ojom itufasjom Sagai mafus, ima toganus, ojom itufai sketajom uyagumuya.”

osi ofo qai omtogoqma qai. unu unu ijiyoqum toganum. unu unu ijiyoqum osiyo najashouwi. osi ofshou, “om iyayomfo! an anajo bujom xofunadajayom om.” “an omimaste onuwontekma aitixouwo bado fauisma.” osi ofshou, “om mba muxafete ogoyasuyom, mba Sagaisite ogayasuyom? an diyane ayu xofunada. om Sagaita wajiyo toganeyom. uyagum dujo ojojom Sagaita. om toganeyom wajiyo to Sagaita. omeya Sagaita ijiyo, omojo Sagais fajiyosko omojo omtogoqma.” ojom ofshou, “wade,” ojom ofshou, “gofnojosma neiyajunum muxa Sagaisma.”

orait, muxa Sagais osiya oxofunajutam. “omiya guxayas, Sagaisixo windioqos, muna:s, muna mafus. Sagaisixo muna:s, tageya tuwas wiyom. tageya tuwas aiyajayom. muxafusuxo windioqos. ‘tageya tuwaswo tuwa:swo, tageya tuwaswo tuwa:swo, tuwaswo tuwaswo tuwa:swo ... pupupupu.’ togoquya fashou, ‘pupupupu.’ dis Sagaisixo muna windioqos.” ojom osuwa muna windioqos, osiya omiya aisojof xofunada, Ubadaniq tojoiku toganusuya. osiya oshou, “iti wawindioqoi gwatinya.” iti windioqoi gwatinyamsasko Sagais, ojom windioqo gwatinyamfa. ojom xuisko Sagais guxaisko, ojom windioqoqanayo. om nigis, os guxa ifajuta, windioqoqanayo. om nigis, os guxa ifajuta. bes om windioqosmasko, xombujikof windioqosma.

xombujikof windioqosmasko, em nau, dijomuya, dijom uyagumuya nunumba gumonusma, uyagum nunumba, ojom oshou, “num ojouwa nuxuinuxuinum, ojouwa nuxuinuxuinum. num mba awasnum nakum. andu toganum deti neijom?” “deti deti neijom?” “dinim ukwate Sagais neijom wondateya.” ijiyo tofa ijiyokum toganujomiya oshou, “ya, ya. muxafe Sagais neijom wonda. Sagais afayu aitixouwo.” om imasuya ofuna, “duma Xojuwoji ogwatinyajmasa om toganus, Sagais osuxo ufas.” osi ofshou, “om iyayomfo. aiti ijiyo toganu bugosuya, andu

bugosuya andi unusjofusuya nai. osi ofshou, 'xaisiyoxusma ofnojeya. xaisiyoxusma ofnojeya, toganusuya ofo yai an oxofunakutasuya. an, on iya, anduba badojo fauisma tojoijojuda, an xaf imabujom bujowajunum onte.' sakisa ofosa nai, muxafe Sagais, os, oste nunumba. onu muxafe Sagaisixo bujom xofunaidajunum. Sagaisixo bujom xofunaidajun, 'onu omtogoqma mba muxafete ogoyas,' sakisa ofosa naisko. muxaf toganus sakisa ofosa nai xofuna, ofosa xofuna, sakisa ofejom muxa Sagais wonda." osiya ofshou, "an mba sketaisuya, mba sketaisuya ojomuya ofeitedijomiya otedijomiya ou." iti ofshujom, "Sagai toganus, ima mafus o, ima mafus o," iti ofshujom, "Sagai toganus neijom wonda." igo uyagum ofshou, "wade, wade, wade. num mba nambo ugwasnum. numeya jouwa nujeiyanda, najashou ununum." om toganujomiya ofshou, "ya, wade," iti ofshujom, "om uyagu xofunaikum ishuwaje fanainum muxa Sagais wonda. toganu xofunaikum dubajomiya ofoi. muxa toganu xofunaikujom uyagum sakisa jouwa." ojom ofshou, "ya, ya, wade. muxa toganum ofoi bokwatejom muxa Sagais ofejom wonda. besi!"

ojom neijom, indu uyagum. uyagum bokwate unu unu ijiyokum, ojom nei nunumba gumonusma, gumonusma ojom nunumba, ojom ofshou, "num anmotum oteidim idajei?" om ima takojeya ofshou, "wade, neiyajunum xofjanda. wonuwunda dama dama tofim ojom. dajeya abujou, num meimonum. andi nojuxa aisojofimuya abujowam wade, omtogoqma xouwo, omtogoq gofnajma, ojma." ojomuya abujowam, "num meimonum dama bujofqajetiya abujou." ojomuya ofosko ite. ojom ijiyo, ojomuya ofshou, "fu! num fabigasnum! itu fainum ugu tugam ki, ugu tugam ki, kixui bokwate fanainum, xagotuda andum! toganum xagote, muxa aisojofim woni xafete dama aisojofimomiya! muxa aisojofim wade ojojom, dotu aiyajunum. iti dajunum toganujomite nyajuna, nyajuna, nyajuna, nyajuna, dotu aiyajunumsko. namboju togwaiyajunum, namboju togwaiyajunum muxa aisojofim." ojom ofshou, "ya, ya." ojom nai aisojofim, iti ojom aimainai ugu togajuya, ugu togasuya, baji nuwasuya. ojomwo kujubojum otu, ojom xotatekita.

om imaj ofshujom, "onu indu. oniya nai, wonixafetejom. oni neiyas, xombujojuna anda nai. wanqejaxane, wanqejaxane, miyo subejomma naiqaneyo, dotu wonixafete. ima mafum onojoyo. dotu wai iti wonuxuta dotu iya. iti ukwatekita?" ojeya oshou, "an, om aiti wajiyokwaijom gumonusma. gumonusma idaje ijiyokwai, dotu wajiyogwatejom anda, dotu anda ijiyo ungwatekita."

"an bej afayu. an bej afayuwasko, dotu xofunadajeyom aneya iti iti ofnojoya. onujo toganus, toganus iti ofnojoya guxaikus. onujo toganus iti ofnojoya guxaikus." oji ofshou, "wade." ojeya nai, muxa miyo subesma nukegaiqane, ojeya nai. "dijiya onogoi." "wu!" andum Sagais guxajom, kunu bogonim obukujom, kunu bogonim obukou guxa. iti uyagu bogonime, toganu bogonime, dotu togoqui, jemxaidaiqui. "a: andi toganum, numeya ofshou, deti ofejom. andum muxa tofim ojom. a:, num ojowa nuxei teitojonum. numeya iti ofshou, ambushou deti deti neijomxo. andum muxa Sagais ayujom guxada." oj iti woni yoxujaikita, diji nei, oj nai gumonusma, diji oshou andi gumonusjofiyom, "omojoju toganujomiya oguxamo, oguxamo, oguxamo, Sagai bogonijomite. iti omjomiya Sagai bogonim, omjomiya akate. uyagu bogonim omjomiya akate, toganu bogonim, ojomuya faguxajom, faguxajom mba. maitate mafe oguxajom, faguxajom mba, faguxajom, Sagais faguxas mba. iti faguxajom omtogisi gwagi? mbai, wajesijataja ojo. mba sishukwate ojoyas, miyo sobosabim bej atabo bokwatejom, ojom guxajom."

ojom oshou, "wade, wade. uxas neiyajunum!" "uxas neiyajunum!" ojom oshou, "uxas neiyajunum!" dijomiya gwatinnyame. dijomiya gwatinnyame naiyo, ki ugu togam, inabojum, dijom naiyo. xaitobi neiyom, ojom nai, dijomisko tojte. dijomiya tojte muxa guxaikum. omjomiya faukoj, omjomiya sogakoj, dijomiya tojte aibokidaiko, ojom tojte aibokidai. om ima takojeya ofshou, "aniya xajote gwatinnyadajujom. ani bujo funajedaja." ojom dijom gwatinnyame. "wa! wa! wa! wa!" ... "dama tofim owom?" "dama tofim owom?" ... "numeya ojowa nuxuibo nuxuim." "iti num ofshou, toganum deti deti ofejom." "Sagai guxada afayuwom." "Sagai guxada afayuwom." ... "wa!" dijomiya nyaguna gwatinnyasko muxa toganujomte. toganum, ojom Sagai bogonim gwaxutaxuta, bedijom nyagunasko. dijom nyaguna. nyagunaxane, nyagunaxane. nyagunaxane, nyagunaxane, nyagunaxane, nyagunaxane. uyagum dijom naiqane xoto, toganujomiya kajaituxane. kajaituxane, kajaituxane, kajaituxane. uyagumuya Sagais tosnas os guxai. os guxai, kiniyayukum dijom axou, kiniyayukum ojomsko, ojomi, "bej ujutubujayum!" ojomi teitojoi gwatinnyame, dotu neisko. ojom naiyo, dijom xui nyagunaxane yaxatujma, omtogoqma teitojo funaje. omtogoqma nyagunaxaneyo. ojom gumonusma xaf fujenei Sagai tosnas. dijom xaf fujeneisko, dijom xutatekita.

tozanum ojom nai unujma. unujma dijom nai, dijom yojoi teitojulum. dijom oshou, "numojo yunumaji aisojofim uyagum afanei bugof. ojom afanei iti nyaguna nyaguna afanejomsko." om ima takosuya, os oshou, "wade. wade afanejom, wade afanejom. wade afanejom, os, Sagai tosnas komjaje xutatekita." dijom ijiyo ijiyo. uyagum mba omuisijom xaikosa muxa toganujom unujma, otufujamjom. iti omshujom, "tozanujomiya idajujonum. muxa fujojom ainkejaikom aisojofim numeya afanei, numeya afanei muxa fujojom ainkejaiko aisojofim."

dijomisko gofnosmasko dijomi neisko unu unu, gofnusma ojom nei unu unu, bokwate. dijom oshou, toganujomiya oshou, "om ishuwajeyom numunda fatufujanum. bej afaneyom numojo nukeja ijiyoko aisojofim. Sagais afaneyom. wade. wade afaneyom. afaneyom num mba nambou uxasnum omte. dama bujofqaja nambou waxunum? bej afaneyom, oninyagunanum, yonumaji. nyaguna gujofqaj ofonum. wade. wiyom omojo gumonusma wajiyosasko Sagais."

orait, ijiyo, ojom ijiyo gumonusma. gofnoxusma igo, om ima takosuya, disi nai, disi xofuna oshou. "omi ukwate uxas gumonusma. Sagais ayu omojo gumonusma. duma faisa qai, buboxajma waxutaisa gwaji. duma qaji. iti faisa qai buboxajma, xutai windioqo baj tageya tuwas fisa. tageya tuwas fisa, osiya gwatinnyame bujofqaj muxafusma. fagwatinnyame xamasa. dotu faisa tageya tuwas aikuna, gumonusma koju. dotu fapinisimesa e: fabasa, fatesjosa, dotu fatesjosasko. muxa tageya tuwasmasko windioqo mafum wisko. om shou uxas aneya. windioqo mafum." "kobusma yuj wi indu fogoq ida. uyabomiyom omojo gumonusma koju, uyateinajuwom. ateinajuwom, uyateinajuwom omojo asxojim, fogoq, ugus, wabuq, kojweij, uyayum. numda ishuwajeyom fasketanum. num fodunumsko. num muj idajunum, asxojim jojo, igo muj xouwaxunum uyagum. uyagum idajunum xou, ojom uyayum, koju omojo gumonusma ijiyokumesko. num toganum mba. num fodunum. mba wofuniasnum. numojo nukeja aisojofim bej anamboju togwaneyom, muxa bujofqajasko fodunumsko. muj idajunum asuxojim jojoisko, muj xouwom, om xousko. num mba namboju uxasnum, num mba namboju uxasnum."

"dotu, wayum ite ojom asxoji xou. omeya fogobam bayoj baj, kogweibam bayoj baj, wabubam bayoj baj, omeya waxouwom uyagum. uyagum xaneiyaje gumonusma, ojom idajexanei gumonusma, ojom gwaxuta, dotu adajujom gumonusjofum, adajujom gumonusjofum. Sagaisixo omu yubuj, omu yubuj sedyo waxutaxuwom. yandamum ojomiya adaje Sagaisixo xobujeis. om yubuj, muj aidanijma waxutayom. dotu adajujom iti omjomiya sedyosedyo iti aifunikujomiyaajo indim. numeya ofoim Sagais guxada dabus. Sagais guxada dabus, ojom sedyo adajujomsko, ojom adaja sedyo. Sagaisixo xobujeis yandamjomiya adaje, omum tumbuxuji adajujom omjomiya, omjomiya tumbuxuji adajujom, ishuwajujom. num ambushunum Sagaisite guxa. nigisma yaxajma, yaxajma nigisma, ambushu guxanum, mba asuxoji awasunum. ojom ambushu yayukum, ojom asxoji adaje sedyo. Sagaisixo xobujeis yandamjomiya adaje."

"andiya xofunayom, aniya xofunakutayom. an oxofunasuya Sagaisiya andi bujofqaj. igo andi Sagaisixo yabosgasmomma yadajusa. Sagai yabosgasmijiyodajusa. Sagais bujowajusa. mba shou uxassa, mba. andi toganujoju yabosgasmbej afayum, afakateyom. Sagais yabosgasm yadajusa gumonusma, bujowajusa, bujowajusa. om oshuwam Sagais kunu bogoniq abujaja o. uyagu bogoniq abujaja o, toganu bogonis abujaja o, togoq abujaja o, jemxaidaiq abujaja o. Sagaisixo yabosgasm yabujou. om muj gofshou bugos. Sagaisixo yabosgasm yabujou. andiya xofunakutai om. muxa tofim waiyom. igo numeya mba wondajasunum Sagaisixo osuxo toj fotus. dinumuya owonteqma bidiojma, bidiojma dinumuya owonteqma. gumonusma, omujo gumonusma os ijiyodajasusko. mba wondajasunum. ainkejadajeyomsko. Sagais ainkejadajeyom."

"om ishuwajeyom, omi duba dinum ofnogoi. omojo yonum, andi motinum omiya xofunaiyom, ojomuya mba wondajasujom. ishuwajejom. ajobo mafe ojo. mba wondajasunum."

APPENDIX FOUR

Kinship Terminology

Many of the following kinship terms are diagrammed in figures 4a and 4b. Abbreviations are: Fa (father), Mo (mother), So (son), Da (daughter), Br (brother), Si (sister), Hu (husband), Wi (wife), El (elder), and Yo (younger).

- abej* — Fa (= *aitaboj*)
- abesi* — FaYoSi (= *teituwos*)
- aitaboj* — Fa (= *abej*)
- anjois* — FaElSi; MoElSi (= *yajis*)
- babaj* — DaSo; MoFa; MoMoBr; WiFaFa
- babas* — DaDa; MoMo; MoMoBrWi; WiFaMo
- fajugaj* — FaFaFa; FaMoFa
- fajugas* — FaMoMo; FaFaMo
- fugas* — ElBrWi
- gajiq* — So (= *yonuj*); FaSiSo (= *yandamuq*)
- gaxuq* — MoBrSo
- imos* — FaMo; FaMoBrDa, FaMoBrSoDa, FaMoBrSoSoDa; MoMoBrDa, MoMoBrSoDa, MoMoBrSoSoDa
- inituj* — DaHu; BrDa Hu
- kifugaj* — FaSiHu; WiBrSo; FaFaSiHu
- kifugas* — WiBrDa
- kogumog* — SiHu; WiBr; SiHuBr; BrWiBr; FaBrDaHu; FaMoBrSoSo; MoMoBrSoSo
- kogumos* — WiSi; FaBrDa; SiHuSi; BrWiSi; Wi of *kogumog*
- kogumom* — generic term for relatives by marriage
- kogug* — WiMoFa
- kogus* — Wi MoMo
- kojis* — WiBrWi; WiMoBrWi
- mamuq* — MoBr
- miyojom* — generic term for mother's relatives
- motus* — Da (= *yonus*); FaSiDa (= *yandamus*)
- naij* — ElBr
- nainumaj* — WiSiHu
- nandas* — Si
- nukeij* — FaFa; FaMoBr; SoSo
- nukeim* — generic term for father's relatives
- nukeis* — FaFaSi; FaMoBrWi; So Da

numaj — YoBr
 nundej — FaYoBr
 ogotuj — WiFa; WiFaBr; WiMoBr; SiHuFa; BrWiFa; FaMoBrSo;
 MoMoBrSo
 ogotus — WiMo; WiFaSi; WiMoSi; Wi of ogotuj
 sogofaj — MoFaFa; MoMoFa
 sogofas — MoMoMo; MoFaMo
 teituwos — Fa YoSi (= abesi)
 toganus — Wi
 wofus — MoBrWi
 yaisi — Mo (= yakas); SoWi; FaBrWi; MoYoSi (= yakakujes); MoBrDa (= yakakujes)
 yajis — FaElSi; MoElSi (= anjois); WiYoSiDa
 yajiq — FaElBr; MoElSiHu; WiYoSiSo
 yakas — Mo (= yaisi)
 yakakujes — MoYoSi; MoBrDa
 yandamuq — SiSo; FaSiSo (= yandamu gajiq/gajiq)
 yandamus — SiDa; FaSiDa (= yanda motus/motus)
 yogotus — MoBrSoWi
 yomboq — MoBrSoSo; MoBrDaSo
 yombos — MoBrDaDa; MoBrSoDa
 yonuj — So (= gajiq); BrSo; WiElSiSo
 yonus — Da (= motus); BrDa; WiElSiDa
 yonuxos — YoBrWi

APPENDIX FIVE

Fauna & Flora

Birds

bagiq/bajiq — Blyth's hornbill (*Rhyticeros plicatus*)
 beinatuks — [unidentified]
 dobibugog — New Guinea harpy-eagle (*Harpyopsis novaeguineae*)
 dobikuges — brown goshawk / grey goshawk (*Accipiter fasciatus* / *A. novaehollandiae*)
 dubujis = gaisi
 duwis — Victoria crowned pigeon (*Goura victoria*)
 fogous — [unidentified]
 kaffi — little black cormorant (*Phalacrocorax sulcirostris*)
 gaisi — sulphur-crested cockatoo (*Cacatua galerita*) [= dubujis]
 gujombuq — spot-winged monarch (*Monarcha guttula*)
 igofum — birds (plural)
 isojojig — rufescent imperial pigeon (*Ducula chalconota*)
 kajunaj — little red lorikeet (*Charmosyna pulchella*)
 kakujag — little pied cormorant (*Phalacrocorax melanoleucos*)
 koj — lesser bird of paradise (*Paradisaea minor*)
 kouq — trumpet manucode (*Manucodia keraudrenii*)
 kowakiyoq = kowoq
 kowoq — rufous babbler (*Pomatostomus isidorei*) [= kowakiyoq]
 kujas — brown-collared brush-turkey (*Talegalla jobiensis*)
 kushuq — pheasant coucal (*Centropus phasianinus*)
 matasiak — spangled drongo (*Dicrurus hottentottus*)
 maxoq — coronated fruit-dove (*Ptilinopus coronulatus*)
 mombukij — purple-tailed imperial pigeon (*Ducula rufigaster*)
 mumundas — Papuan frogmouth (*Podargus papuensis*) [= nungutokwam]
 numbugatuj — wompoo fruit-dove (*Ptilinopus magnificus*)
 nungutokwam = mumundas
 nunguwawis — spotted jewel-babbler (*Ptilorrhoa leucosticta*)
 obej — red-necked rail (*Rallina tricolor*)
 siyogoiq — ornate fruit-dove (*Ptilinopus ornatus*)
 taikojos — palm cockatoo (*Probosciger aterrimus*) [= xofxais]
 tasusaj — hook-billed kingfisher (*Melidora macrorrhina*)
 ugush — northern cassowary (*Casuarus unappendiculatus*)
 wis — western black-capped lory (*Lorius lory*)
 xofxais = taikojos
 yagaq — rainbow lorikeet (*Trichoglossus haematodus*)

Mammals

bojufij — spotted cuscus (*Spilocuscus maculatus*)
fogoq — pig (*Sus scrofa*)
idej — small bat
kobis — large flying fox
kojweij — brown dorcopsis (male) (*Dorcopsis veterum*)
kojweis — brown dorcopsis (female) (*Dorcopsis veterum*)
owas — small bat
shumonuuq — flat-nosed bat
wabuq — common cuscus (*Phalanger orientalis*)
wadas — black cuscus

Reptiles

bakus — tortoise
mojujuq — crocodile
nouj — snake (generic)

Plants

babujus — tree
baiden — liana
baisujis — sago palm
bakujas — pandanus
dajaiq — palm
dajueq — palm
dajujoiq — palm
daxujas — tree
ibumuq — palm
igaijuq — tree
jijoxumois — tree
kamdajos — bamboo
kejaj — tree [= *majij*]
kundaij — palm
mainbuq — tree
majij — tree [= *kejaj*]
masas — tree
miyoq — tree (generic)
mujajis — tree
najim — tree
najiseis — tree
najumais — tree
nakuj — sago palm (generic)
nofaj — tree

Fish/Crustaceans

baishobuq — gray mullet
botij — catfish
munaij — small fish
saiboj — eel
ujufaj — large river shrimp
xafus — small fish
xumoxoj — small fish

Insects, etc.

figas — small grasshopper
geinam — sago grub
inis — poisonous centipede
owaseis — water strider insect
sigaxus — cicada
yangus — grasshopper
yadij — huge earthworm

nojus — tree
nomis — grass
nunguwasnas — tree
sonumus — breadfruit
suxuij — tree
tageya — tree
taibamus — bamboo
tiniq — curcuma, ginger family
 [= *yajuq*]
ujeimus — gnetum
utam — plant
wajom — tree
xawajis — tree
yabujamus — tree
yafodumuq — tree
yajuq — curcuma, ginger family
 [= *tiniq*]
yubuq — palm
yufuj — betel palm
yujujas — palm

Glossary

-f — suffix of dual
 -j — suffix of male name
 -m — suffix of three or more
 -q — suffix of male name
 -s — suffix of female name
aga yabosgaz — spirit of fish
Agri windioqom — 'song of Agriq', a type of group singing
 Agriq — *wingufuj* spirit
ai — (Kapriman language) mum; name of tune in wept-song
Aikumaj — alternate name for Guxaj; *sagaiq* spirit
aisojofim — things
 Alamlak — name of people and language
amaiya — (Alamlak language) mum; name of tune in wept-song
amaju yabosgaz — spirit of a four-legged animal
 Ankwebaj — *sagaiq* spirit
 Ankwefas — *sagais* spirit
 Badasoj — *sagaiq* spirit
 Badasonubos — *sagais* spirit
baftifas — whip made by tearing a piece of thick rattan; name of tune in song of Guxaj
 Bagifoqaj — *sagaiq* spirit
 Bagisei — clan name
baiden tuwas — 'a leaf of *baiden* liana'; name of tune in song of Sagais
 Baishumei — clan name
Bandugoqaj — *shuwobanijatuj* spirit
beiya yabosgaz — supernatural spirits
bidio — outside
bittagaitus — tunes with a name
bittagas — (plural, *bittagam*) song title; songtext of each tune; the first sentence where the songtext is sung; a mythical image being associated the songtext
bobojasojofum — 'people in the ground'; spirits of the dead
 Bobus — *mayamotus* spirit
bogonim — pipes
bombugoqaj — wave, dynamic state of the song
bombujoj — collisions

- bugo fyugofqaj* — 'big melody'; big sound
bujo susuxaj — 'narrative of various things'; origin myth
bujofqaj — 'talk'; utterance with a comprehensible conceptual content which can be replaced by words (*bujom*)
bujom — words in a broad sense
bukeojoi — name of tune in wept-song
 Bunar — name of people speaking the Enga language
bunotus — generic term for relatives by marriage
busei yogo fyugofqaj — low-voiced melody
busei yogoq — low voice
buseis — 'mouth', 'voice'; human voice, buzzing sounds of insects, calls of animals including birds, sounds of bamboo flutes
dabol wo — (Tok Pisin) 'double war'; name of tune in the Tok Pisin song for finishing mourning
dabusnefa — simultaneous motion of man-pipes and woman-pipes
dajai tuwas — 'a leaf of *dajaiq*'; name of tune in song of Sagais
daniq — 'mountain ridge'; name of tune in song of Sagais
deidas — large shield for fighting
Diyaunjunuq — *sagaiq* spirit
dubaxai — action of washing out sago starch on the riverside; name of tune in song of Sagais
faguxa — a happy state; joyfulness
fainuj — 'let's go together'; name of tune in wept-song
figas — small grasshopper dwelling in grassland; name of tune in song of Sagais
 Fogosei — clan name
fukwaje — 'go up while lifting'; name of tune in sept-song
fukweij — 'hip with ash'; name of tune in wept-song
fyugofqaj — sound; voice-part or melody; motion of voice or linear movement of sound; sound pattern
gagi kunu bogoniq — 'child-pipe' of Igofnemis' bamboo flutes
 Gaidio — name of people speaking the Enga language
gekuxutais — different tunes consisting of the same material
 Gesei — clan name
goduq — bodily power
gofshuj — breathing; blowing
gofshuqaj — breath
gujeibas — young fruit of the betel pepper; name of tune in song of Guxaj
gujombuq — spot-winged monarch; name of tune in song of Sagais
Guxa windioqom — song of Guxaj; a type of group singing
guxaj — 'sway', 'waver', 'rove', 'wander'; 'flow' of water, movement of waves in the river; 'rustle' and 'shake' of many small leaves; 'squirring' of numerous bats swarming in a rock cave; 'dancing', 'stamping'
 Guxaj — *sagaiq* spirit
gwatinya bujom — 'narrative of beginnings'; origin myth
 Haishomir — clan name
 Igofnemis — *wingufus* spirit

- Igofnemis windioqom* — song of Igofnemis, type of bamboo flute music
igofu miyoq — 'tree where many birds flock'; name of tune in song of Sagais
igofu yabosg — spirit of a bird
igofum — birds
Igofnemis kunu bogonim — Igofnemis' bamboo flutes
ima sangi bujom — 'narrative of clan'; ancestral myth
ima sangim — 'groups of human being'; clan
ima tegate windioqom — 'song of *ima tegate*'; song of man hunting, a type of group singing
ima yabosg — spirit of a human being
ima yogoq — life of a human being, thought to exist in man's 'throat' (= original meaning of *yogoq*)
 Inalu — name of people speaking the Bahinemo language
ini yabangu buseis — 'somewhat high voice', men's high voice
 Jeinamaj — *sagaiq* spirit
jemxaidai kunu bogoniq — 'edge-pipe' of Sagais' bamboo flutes
jujismais — sounds accompanying a song
 Kabindei — clan name
kaffi bomuq — movement of waves caused by a cormorant when it dives into the water to catch fish; name of tune in song of Sagais
kaisi yogoq — beings having a life
 Kapriman — name of people and language
keiyaj — ladder for going up and down a private house on stilts; name of tune in song of Guxaj
kejay majij — 'leaf of *kejay* tree'; name of tune in song of Sagais
keyaji yabosg — 'quiet spirit'; spirit which is not in action, that is, not attempting to contact or attack human beings; also called *keyajis*
kogweis geituna — 'a wallaby skips'; name of tune in song of Sagais
kogweis tubuja — 'wallaby in fear'; name of tune in song of Sagais
Kombiyandunoj — *sagaiq* spirit
Kombujos — *mayamotus* spirit
Kombuxomajiq — mountain to the north of the Wogupumeri River; name of tune in song of Sagais and song of Guxaj
koskos — parallel motion in which multiple voice-parts progress while keeping a certain interval (an octave, in particular)
kouq — trumpet manucode; name of tune in song of Sagais
kujei fyugofqaj — 'small melody'
kukux — wooden stick used to smash the fibers of sago palm; name of tune in song of Sagais
 Kumbojujois — *songus* spirit
 Kunataj — *sagaiq* spirit
 Kunatas — *sagais* spirit
kundai tuwas — 'a leaf of *kundai*'; name of tune in song of Sagais
kuntuwas — 'leaf of bamboo'; name of set of Sagais' bamboo flutes
kunu bogonim — 'bamboo pipes', i.e., bamboo flutes
kunuj — bamboo
kusaim — brotherhood organisation between clans

kusaiyo xafe — 'still my friend, tomorrow'; name of tune in wept-song
Lameifas — *sagais* spirit
Lameindioj — *sagaiq* spirit
lefen — song type sung in Sumariup language, brought in the 1960s
Mambaruj — *wingufuj* spirit
Mangudaij — *sagaiq* spirit
maxoq — coronated fruit-dove; name of tune in song of Sagais
mayamotuj — male *mayamotum* spirit
mayamotukokwam — descendants of *mayamotum* spirits; spirits which derived from Bobus and Ombuij
mayamotum — (plural) spirits, said to have been originally born in the ground under Mt Beinatuwolis; spirits dwelling in ponds and marsh land
mayamotus — female *mayamotum* spirit
mba bittagaitus — tune without a name
metakojum — eastern moiety
Miyojoimafuj — alternate name for Guxaj
muna:s — root
muna:suxo bujom — 'narrative of roots'; origin myth
munaij — small fish; name of tune in song of Sagais
naidio fyugofqaj — decorative melody
naidiyojum — body ornaments in group singing
nainumam — so-called classificatory siblings, including members of the same generation belonging to the same clan or clans in *kusaim* relation, or members whose mothers belong to the same clan; when the mates are men, they refer to each other as *nainumaj*; when they are women, they say *nainumas* or *waxugas*
najashou — human call or cry
naku tujas — bone and skin of a pig's foreleg; name of tune in song of Sagais
nakus — 'baked sago'; name of tune in song of Sagais
nofa nofa — tree named *nofaj*; name of tune in song of Sagais
noju — weeping
noju bujom — wept-words
noju faitam — wept-songs
noju mumujanje — quasi-weeping
noju ufam — 'names by a slit-drum'; signal pattern of a slit-drum
nojuq — small slit-drum
nojus — large slit-drum
nouj — snake; name of tune in song of Guxaj
nouj fas — cutting a snake to pieces when eating it; name of tune in song of Sagais
nukeijuxo bujom — 'narrative of ancestors'; ancestral myth
nukeijuxo yabosg — spirit of male ancestor
nukeisuxo yabosg — spirit of female ancestor
nukojum — western moiety
Nunguwase — clan name
nunguxa- — (verb stem) to strike (a slit-drum) while swaying the body; to make a sound by stamping on the floor or ground

nunugonunugofa — alternating motion of man-pipes and woman-pipes
nunumba — converging or fusing, in reference to voice-parts; multiple voice-parts progress in unison
nutofunafa — collide, in reference to voice-parts
nuxai yabosbas — spirits of the dead
nuxai yabosgaxuxo muna:s — 'root of spirit of the dead'; reference to Guxaj
nuxuikujujo yabosbas — spirit of the male dead
nuxuikusujo yabosg — spirit of the female dead
nuxuta gwaxuta — intersecting, in reference to voice-parts
Ogufaiyo — clan name
Ombuij — *mayamotuj* spirit
otosuj — name of tune in wept-song
owas — small bat; name of tune in song of Sagais
owaseis — water strider insect; name of tune in song of Sagais
Sagai kunu bogonim — Sagais' bamboo flutes
sagai mafus — 'true sagais', regarded symbolically as Guxaj's wife
Sagai windioqom — song of Sagais
sagaim — (plural) spirits dwelling in rocks on the bed of rivers or lakes, in rocks on the side of rivers or lakes, or in trees, bamboos, or grass along rivers
sagaiq — male *sagaim* spirit
sagaiquxo muna:s — 'root of *sagaiq*'; reference to Guxaj
sagais — female *sagaim* spirit
Sagais — *sagais* spirit
Sagaisixo bujo susuxaj — 'myth of Sagais'
sagaisixo muna:s — 'root of *sagais*', regarded symbolically as Guxaj's wife
Samugutaj — *sagaiq* spirit
sausauwi — 'not yet'; name of tune in wept-song
sedyosedyo — contrary motion in which two voice-parts move in opposite directions
Seifu — name of people probably speaking the Sanio language
Shubujob — name of extinct people
Shujeifas — *sagais* spirit
Shujeikubaj — *sagaiq* spirit
Shumonubotuj — *sagaiq* spirit
Shunojmafujaj — *sagaiq* spirit
shuwiq — men's grass skirt worn for singing
shuwis — women's grass skirt for singing; name of tune in song of Sagais
shuwobanijatuj — male *shuwobanijatam* spirit
shuwobanijatam — (plural) generic term for spirits which are said to dwell in large trees growing in the forests or mountains
sigaxus — 'cicada'; name of last tune of song of Sagais
singel wo — (Tok Pisin) 'single war'; name of tune in the Tok Pisin song for finishing mourning
siyoxus — dream
sketa — thinking, thought, referring to a trivial or casual idea
sketaya — 'I think'; name of tune in song of Sagais

skoim — initiates
sobugofe — slow in tempo
Sogofa — name of extinct people
sokwi — sorcery
sokwi yabosgag — spirit of sorcery
sokwij — spirit made to appear by man's sorcery
sokwim — (plural) spirits of sorcery
sokwis — (a shortened form of *sokwi yabosgag*) spirit of sorcery; spirit made to appear by woman's sorcery
songoqaj — 'elbow of a human arm', 'bend of a meandering river'; end of a musical sentence
songum — (plural) spirits dwelling in the water of inlets of big rivers
songuq — male *songum* spirit
songus — female *songum* spirit
Songus kunu bogonif — Songus' bamboo flutes
Songus windioqom — song of Songus, type of bamboo flute music
subem — human skeleton; form of a tree or shape of branches as a whole; 'frame' or the 'shape of branches' of song as a tree
sujoj windioqom — spell of *sujois*
sujois — spell to invoke a spirit of sorcery
Sumariup — name of people and language
suxuiyuj — large, deep-red flower of the *suxuij* tree; name of tune in song of Guxaj
swoni bogonis — 'evil pipe'; bamboo for inviting spirit's possession
swoni kumaj — 'evil bamboo stick'; bamboo for inviting spirit's possession
swoni yabosgag — evil spirit
swonuj — evil male spirit
swonus — evil female spirit; name of tune in song of Sagais
tabogas — body, corpse
tageya tuwas — a leaf of *tageya* tree; name of first tune of song of Sagais
taimbagos — bamboo jew's harp
tambu tambu — (Tok Pisin) 'in-law'; name of tune in wept-song
taxxoi — slender trap basket for catching fish; name of tune in song of Guxaj
toganu kunu bogonim — 'woman-pipe' of bamboo flutes
togo kunu bogoniq — 'head-pipe' of Sagais' bamboo flutes
tojoj yabosgag — spirit of an animal
tojojijus — dead tortoise; name of tune in song of Sagais
Tomtoj — name of extinct people
tujaj — skin; feather coat for spirit of the dead
Tumaishonubos — *sagais* spirit
Tumaishonuq — *sagaiq* spirit
ufas — name of a person or thing
Undubuj — *wingufuj* spirit
ungufotum — (plural) generic term for female spirits which are thought to dwell in *kubaimus* trees; spirits dwelling in big trees along rivers
ungufotus — female *ungufotum* spirit
uyagu kunu bogonim — 'man-pipe' of bamboo flutes

uyagu gumonus — men's house
waiduj — spell to invite the supernatural spirit *songuq* to a wood carving
waiduj windioqom — spell of *waiduj*
wajuq — single-headed hourglass drum
waqombu — 'carry away'; name of tune in wept-song
Waxei — name of people and language
wayuwa kunu bogoniq — 'through-pipe' of Igofnemis' bamboo flutes
Wesayom — clan name
wifoqqaj — wind
windioqo — abstract noun for 'song'
windioqo bidio — 'outside of the song'
windioqo dukos — 'bad song'
windioqo gwatinyakuj — person starting the song
windioqo mafum — true songs
windioqo mumujanjum — quasi-songs
windioqo muna:s indis bujo susuxajma — 'the root of a song is in the myth'
windioqo wades — 'good song'
windioqo yogoq — 'inside of the song'
windioqo- — (verb stem) to sing
windioqom — (plural) traditional 'songs', including group singing, bamboo flute playing, and spells; also used for singular
windioqom aimainai — 'makes songs better'
windioqos — single kind of 'song'
wingufuj — male *wingufum* spirit
wingufum — (plural) generic term for supernatural spirits which are thought to dwell in rock caves in the mountains
wingufus — female *wingufum* spirit
wirimari — name of tune in wept-song
Wirio — name of people probably speaking the Bahinemo language
wis — western black-capped lory; name of tune in song of Sagais
wisro — name of tune in wept-song
wojinoj — (dual: *wojinof*; plural: *wojinom*) man on which a boy lies for skin cutting in initiation; refers to a friend of a boy's father
Wombio — name of people speaking the Alamblak language
Woxogoto — name of extinct people
xaguxa — vibrant; to dance amusingly; to leap in a lively way
xaisiyoxus — the dream one has in a sleeping state
xaitobi — getting near, in reference to voice-parts
xanexota — oblique motion in which, against or from one voice-part which remains at the same pitch, the other voice-part collides or separates
xanongwai — quick in tempo
xofxainda — name of set of Sagais' bamboo flutes
xojofas — shadow
yabangu busei fyugofqaj — high-voiced melody
yabangu buseis — high voice
yabangu mafe buseis — really high voice, women's high voice
yabosga buseis — spirit's voice

yabosga gofshuqaj — breath of a spirit
yabosga xojofas — shadow of a spirit
yabosga yoguq — life of a spirit
yabosga yonuxombos — spirit-baby
yabosga yuj — spirit-dog
yabosgas — spirit, power, mental power
yabosgaste xoirjunafum — 'ones who use a spirit'; ones who make sorcery
yabogasuxo aisojofum — vehicle of a spirit
yabogasuxo omtogoq — village of spirits of the dead
yabogasuya sabuyakusa — 'a spirit often tells a lie'
yadij — huge earthworm; name of tune in song of Sagais
Yafodukwaj — *shuwobanijatuj* spirit
Yafteqaj — *sagaiq* spirit
yajatu fauis — 'mouth of path'; gateway to world of spirits of the dead
Yajojois — *songus* spirit
yakaiya abeya — 'mum, dad'; name of tune in wept-song
yakas swonus afa — 'an evil female spirit has eaten my mother'; name of tune in song of Sagais
Yamus — *mayamotus* spirit
yangus — grasshopper; name of tune in song of Sagais
yofuja windioqom — 'betelnut spell'
yogo ufam — 'names of life'; signal pattern of slit-drum
yogoq — 'throat', 'life', 'low sound', 'inside'; name of tune in which Sagais appeals to people with her own emergence
yokotas — branch of a tree; tune of song as a tree
Yomisei — clan name
Yongubaj — *sagaiq* spirit
yujuja tuwas — 'a leaf of *yujujas* palm'; name of tune in song of Sagais
yukoyuko — repetition of musical sentence

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