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CUSTOMS OF AMBRYM
(TEXTS, SONGS, GAMES AND DRAWINGS)

by

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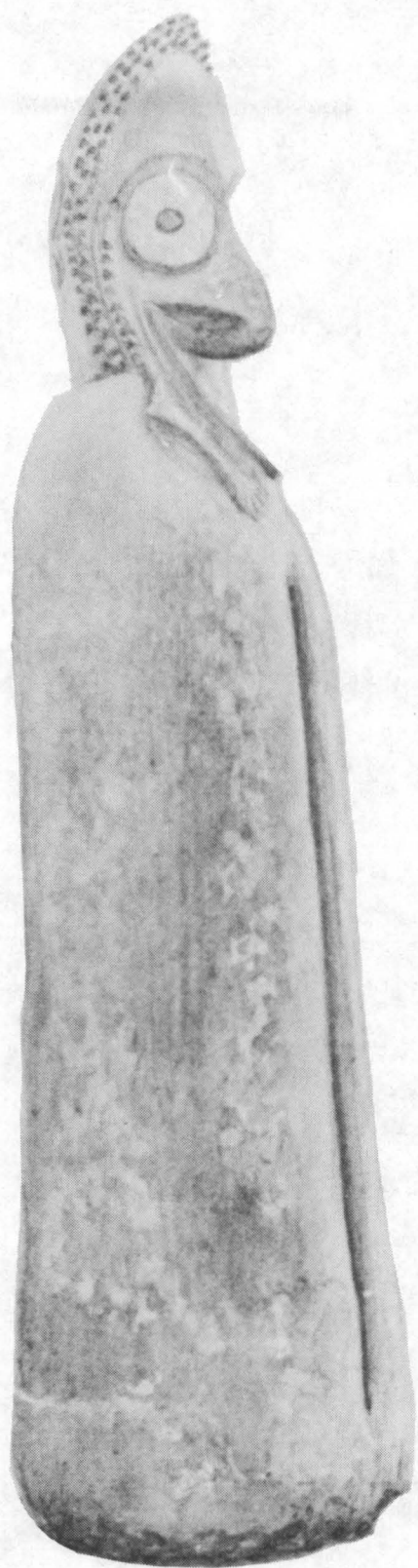
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Frontispiece: The Drum at Fanu (between NebUl and Magam), North Ambrym.
Painted by Brett Hilder, 11.6.48.

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INTRODUCTION

It seems abundantly worthwhile to record the language and life of even one remote island of the New Hebrides Group, for while Ambrym is, in one sense, an unimportant dot on the map of the Pacific, and its people a handful of only about four thousand souls, yet in its many villages is still reflected a good deal of primitive, or at any rate old, culture. In some islands of the Group the influences of American occupation, inevitable and fundamentally beneficial in the perspective of the War (1939-1945), may have made such indelible imprints on tribal outlooks that life for the people will never be quite the same again. Ambrym, however, being off the beaten track, and by its geographical and geological peculiarities disqualified for use as any kind of military base, remained comparatively unaffected by this recent wave of influence, though many Ambrym men worked on other islands, especially on Santo and Efate, for the American forces.

Yet much had already operated during the last century, or even half century, towards the disappearance of things that were old. Ambrym was known as a happy hunting ground for the recruiters for the Queensland plantations in the days of the *kanaka* labour system, a period and experience to which some old Ambrym men looked back with wistful regret, others perhaps with less happy memories. The coming of trade, missions, 'government'; the people's own imitation of new fashions, methods and instruments, most of them clearly more effective than their own cruder ways; all these things have greatly altered Ambrym life. Nevertheless a deep force of virile native life moves along still, and can be felt, even seen, and at any rate partly understood. One always remembers the elusive nature of so much of it, and the further one advances in its knowledge, the less certain one becomes of some of its ramifications.

The island is interesting in itself. If its seventy miles of almost shelterless and inhospitable coasts have kept it comparatively

remote from outside influences, its own active volcano from within has exercised a disturbing effect, and is a phenomenon by no means unrelated to the history of the spoken and written language.

Ambrym as a whole island exhibits two distinct languages. Ambrymese proper, of which Lonwolwol is a dialect, is spoken by about three quarters of the population, that is, by almost all except the eleven hundred (or so) people of the south-eastern corner of the island opposite Paama (an island only five miles distant from that corner of Ambrym). The speech of this south-eastern district is only dialectally different from Paamese. Culture differences follow this main grouping of languages. Fanbang (Fanban) village, of about forty people, isolated in the hills overlooking the east coast between Fɔnwɔr and the distant well-defined south-eastern district, speaks a composite dialect which probably includes much of both languages. The map will help to show the position more clearly.

Within the main language of Ambrym, the gradations of dialect are extraordinary and almost baffling. Ray's remark that 'it is difficult to ascertain whether there is much difference of dialect in Ambrym...' becomes sadly and quickly disproved by a practical worker and learner in the field.

It is not sure that the dialects as now spoken are quite pure and distinct, and there is probably some mixing and overlapping; but, on the other hand, there is much to suggest that the dialects are fundamentally distinguished by their speakers and hearers.

Within the main Ambrym language, it has been in the dialect of the old Lonwolwol tribe that I have chiefly worked, for reasons which appeared to me to be adequate, although our Mission Station was situated on the very northern point of Ambrym. Throughout this work the main comparison is between Lonwolwol and the northern speech.

For most of Ambrym, the Lonwolwol dialect had, by various historical circumstances, come to be a kind of *lingua franca*. The two chief forces responsible were missionary work, and volcanic destruction.

Mission work began on Ambrym in 1883, when Reverend W.B. Murray and his wife settled near Stony Point, quite close to Ranon; the ruins of the foundations of the early mission house may still be seen. Ill-health soon drove him away, but he was succeeded in 1885 by his brother Charles, whose wife, however, died in 1886; and by 1887 ill-health forced him also to retire.

But from Dr Lamb's appointment in 1892 until the disastrous volcanic eruption of December 7, 1913, Presbyterian mission work on Ambrym was centred in the Dip Point area, and a medical hospital, opened in 1896, became the base.

This comparatively long period of settled influence, during which the native language was more and more studied and used, while at the same time the work itself spread widely to other districts, established Lonwolwol as a kind of common dialect, or at least a leading one. It was from Dr Lamb's notes that S.H. Ray's survey of the Ambrym language was nearly all compiled.

In 1899 Dr John T. Bowie succeeded Dr Lamb, who had been forced to retire from Ambrym in 1897 through ill health.

The violent volcanic eruption of December 7, 1913, brought the work to a sudden, though not final end. It destroyed and engulfed the entire Mission Station, including any stocks of printed books, and Dr Bowie and all at the hospital escaped with bare life. It brought the tribal life of the Lonwolwol people to a close, for they were scattered far and wide as refugees; but the very process of their dispersion further spread their linguistic influence. On the east coast of Malekula opposite Dip Point there still exists a small colony of Ambrym refugees or their descendants; and at RanmuWuhu village on the north of Ambrym the small community continued to speak a good deal of the Lonwolwol dialect fairly consistently.

It was on the solid basis of such linguistic foundations that I decided to continue the use of the Lonwolwol dialect in my work as a missionary on Ambrym from 1933 to 1948.

It remains to be said that in my attempt to record the language and life of Ambrym, I have in no way tried to mould the record on alien or classical models, but rather to express it in its truly native genius and function. Though aware of many imperfections in the work, and even a few inconsistencies I am yet quite sure that, on the whole, it is a very sound and reliable statement. I offer it as a contribution to the wider comparative knowledge of Melanesian people and language, and as a basis for any further research on Ambrym.

W.F. Paton
1954

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It is my happy duty to offer my sincere thanks to those who have helped and encouraged me, not forgetting my friends on Ambrym itself. To all the people there who, over the years, gave me their friendship, accepted such service as we were able to offer them, and allowed me to become (at least in some way) one of themselves, here is my best thanks. Especially am I grateful to Da: and Ouan for the many patient hours of discussion and instruction. And to Mr J.L. Mitchell (of Ranon), and the Reverend Père L. Clénet (of Olal Roman Catholic Mission), I also offer my warm thanks.

Welcome encouragement and criticism came also from Dr C.M. Churchward, and especially from Dr A. Capell (of Sydney University); without his continued advice over the years, mainly by correspondence, the work could never have been satisfactorily accomplished. I am very grateful to my artist friends - Captain Brett Hilder (master mariner, and Fellow of the Institute of Navigation), and Mr Harry Buckie, of Hobart, who most kindly drew the many designs from my original records and specimens, so that they could be artistically grouped together in section YY. I would also thank the officers of the Social Development Section of the South Pacific Commission in Sydney for the encouragement which their promise to micro-film my work has been. For Mr Justice J.A. Ferguson's friendly help and encouragement I am also grateful.

W.F. Paton,
The Manse,
Swansea.
Tasmania.

1954

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The following sections, including many native texts, are my anthropological notes gathered over the years on Ambrym. The sections are set out under double capitals, AA to ZZ; the native texts are also numbered by 'verses' for easy reference from Dictionary, Grammar and Tales. These texts show a line-for-line literal translation, and are followed by freer readable renderings.

No attempt at comparative anthropological inferences or conclusions is made, but these observations and records of some of the ways of Ambrym life and thought are offered as a contribution to the wider knowledge of Melanesian custom.

KEY TO PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Vowels

i	high front unrounded vowel
ɪ	lower-high front unrounded vowel
e	higher, close, mid-front unrounded vowel
ɛ	open, mid-front, unrounded vowel
a	low front unrounded vowel
a ^ː	low back unrounded vowel
ɔ	lower mid-back rounded vowel
ɔ:	lower high back rounded vowel
o	higher mid-back rounded vowel
ʊ	lower high back rounded vowel
u	high back rounded vowel
ʌ	lower-mid back unrounded vowel
ø	higher mid-central unrounded vowel
ə	mid-central unrounded vowel

Consonants

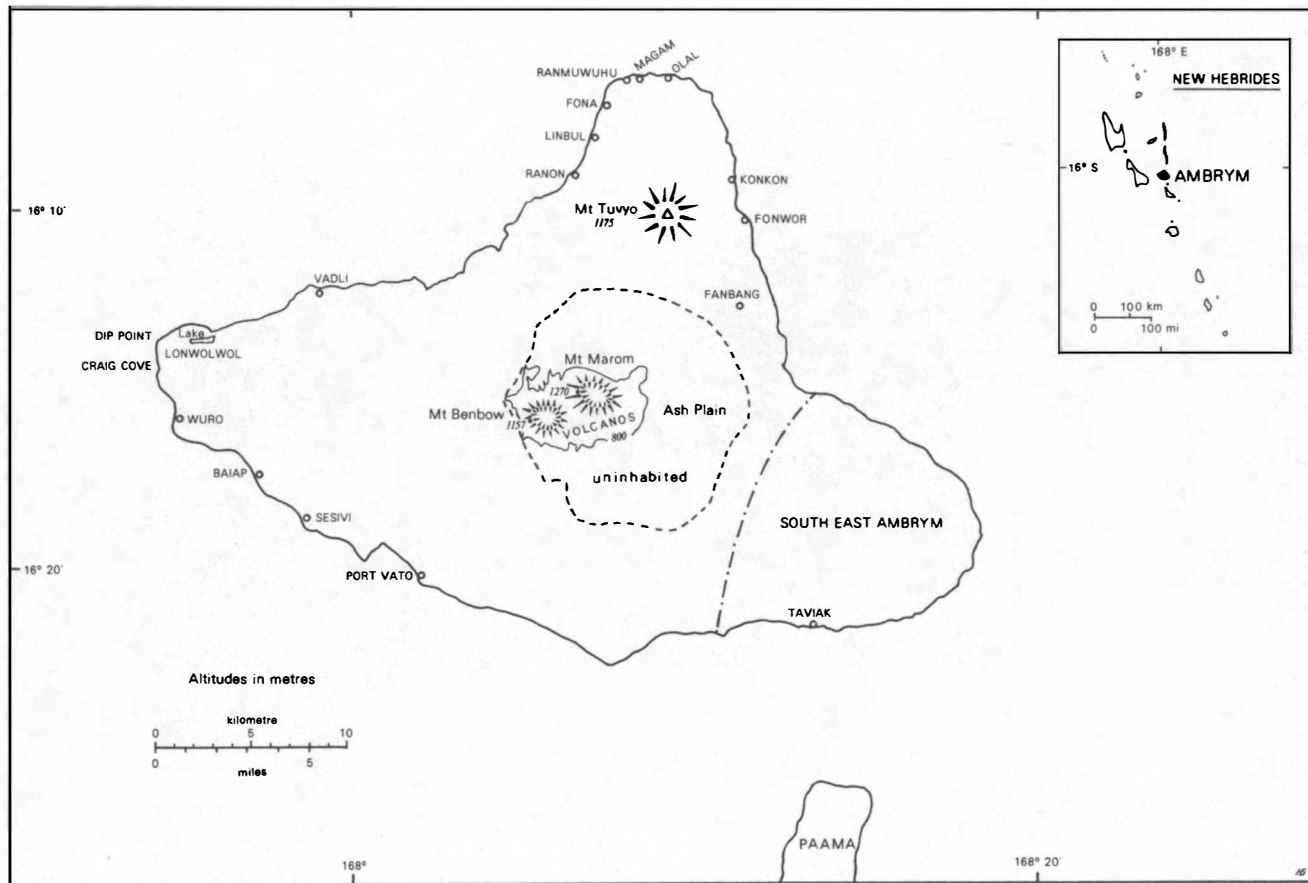
b	voiced unaspirated bilabial stop
p	voiceless aspirated bilabial stop
bʷ	voiced labialised bilabial stop
bj	voiced affricated bilabial stop
d	voiced unaspirated alveolar stop
t	voiceless aspirated alveolar stop
r	alveolar flap
rr	alveolar trill
dj	voiced affricated alveolar stop
tj	voiceless affricated alveolar stop
k	voiceless aspirated velar stop
g	voiced unaspirated velar stop
c	palato-alveolar affricate (voiced and unvoiced)

Consonants

m	voiced bilabial nasal
n	voiced alveolar nasal
ŋ	voiced velar nasal
f	voiceless labio-dental fricative
v	voiced labio-dental fricative
s	voiceless grooved fricative
h	voiceless glottal fricative
sh	voiceless pre-palatal grooved fricative
l	voiced alveolar lateral resonant
w	labio-velar semi-vowel
j	palatal semi-vowel
i	glottal stop
·	half-long (vowel)
:	long (vowel)

LANGUAGE/DIALECT NAMES

B	-	Baiap
CC	-	Craig Cove
FB	-	Fanbang
FW	-	Fonwor
IN	-	Indonesian
K	-	Konkon
LON	-	Lonwolwol
MN	-	Melanesian
NA	-	North Ambrym, i.e. Magam and neighbourhood
P	-	Paama
PV	-	Port Vato
SEA	-	South-East Ambrym
Ses.	-	Sesivi



MAP OF AMBRYM

CUSTOMS OF AMBRYM

W.F. Paton

hɔ:te:an

AA

BIRTH CEREMONIES

1. bɔnegɔ teslmre mo hɔ:te: bɔlca rahen a tlmian a
When a child is born, it will be its mother and its father and
helan ɲe slnca rUn anɛ tɔ a ralɔtɔ slnca
its brother-s, let-(them)-not them eat fowl, and fowl's egg, let not
rUn anɛ barbar rUm je fele bjüsɔn slnca rUn anɛ
them eat pig, they (are) fast(ing) for its navel, let not them eat
maholɔ gərə sise gɔ ɲe li me mubu bogɔn
fish, flying-fox, thing(s) (these) here, (that) is meats every.
2. slnca rUn ɛn klrine venten ɲe teban gɔ ram jo anɛ sise
Let not them eat with men, because they-are eating thing(s)
bogɔn teban gɔ ram fanɛ sise bogɔn ran bɔ fan
every, because they roast things every on their fire(s).
3. slnca tlmian a helan ɲerUl rUn tae li gɛlar
Let not its father and brother-s few they cut tree (of) stinging-
a liɛ bogɔn slnca rUn tae tene wobUɲ ɲalim slnca rUn
leaf, and tree every, let not them cut until days five, let not them
tu ol tene wobUɲ ɲalim 4. a sise bogɔn mUru
hit-and-break a coconut until days five, and things every remain
tene gɔ ca bjüsɔn be ma: slnca rUn ɛn (n)ɛ teh rUm
till that its navel dries up.¹ Let not them eat with saltwater, they

¹Sometimes, when the navel dries up and falls off, it is taken and buried near the stump of a coconut tree, which is then called, e.g. ol besɔn Barbo (NA), *coconut (tree) of Barbo's navel*.

jo fane sise gon ran faŋ 5. rUm je fele sise miale
are roasting things just on fire. They are avoiding things thus

ca bJüson teslmre tema: tUnjok loŋ bWlca
if navel of the child dried up it was finished, well, it will be

helan rUremelole sise go hu go ca ruane
his brothers will desire thing a-certain, that they may eat it, it

be mubu o: be to 6. loŋ bWlca rahen a
may be meat or it may be fowl, well, it will be his mother and

tlmian ru ramne mene helan ŋerU1 7. a
his father they'll allow (it) to his brother-s few; but (his)

rahen a tlmian teslmre sinca rUn ane tene go ca
mother and father of child let not them eat (it) until that

teslmre beme ro:ro: bwe 8. megahean bonego
the child comes running about first. It is washed when

moh:te: mUru mon miale tene go ca begahean mon
it is born, remains a while more thus till that it is washed again.

rahen sinca negahean nelchloh tene wobUŋ ŋavir.
Its mother mustn't be washed, (or) 'swim', until days four.

9. bonego teslmre moh:te: megahean mUnjok ne we marid
When child is born, is washed it's finished with water cold,

ram aru a lŋi ram biu ran faŋ 10. wobUŋ
they take and place (it), they warm (it) over a fire. Days

ŋavir mUnjok loŋ rahen a teslmre bWlca rolchloh
four its' finished, well, its mother and the child will they-two bathe

ne vloh a ramne enan 11. rUn veen ŋe
with green coconuts, and allow eating. Relations of woman they,

bWlca rame raria neti-barbar wo go hu me go ca
will they come, they'll bring young-sows some come, so that

raheŋene mene veen go millŋlŋ dru 12. ŋae bWlca bagele
they may give to woman who has given birth. She will pay

("doctor") veen go ŋa ram tite:fon a bWlca manan
the women who they care for her, and it will be her husband

batjue bu a veenan batjue barbar
will hit-and-kill tusker(s),¹ and his wife will kill (a) sow(s).

¹go ca veen su batjue bu ram ke ŋae "leŋ fa" jafu ne han veen ŋe
if woman any kills male-pig, they call her "leŋ fa", i.e. chief of her women.
(NA: jŋ fa:)

13. go ca veen bols:lɔ: tɛn jɛrɛn bɛmɛ tjuɛ barbar ɲɛ
If the woman is weak very her sister will-come kill sow -s.
14. ram to:nɛ harUl hɛlar maklrinɛ arUl mubu go ca
They put together their food-pile, it is with their meat, so-that
 rUria kɛbu vanɛ harUl verɛ 15. sise go ɲɛ
they may take back (go) to their villages. Things these
 rUn veen ɲɛ ram tia mɛ ta glɛ ɲɛ
relation(s) of woman (they) they bring (come), of this-district they,
 ram tia ram je falinɛ 16. a mɛlɛh go ta glɛ
they take they are cooking (them). and the food that of this-
 ɲɛ ram to:nɛ (lɪŋkUrUkUru) rUn
district they, they throw-in-a pile, (put together), relations of
 veen ɲɛ bʷlɛa raria klirinɛ mubu 17. enan
woman it will be they'll take with the meat. Feasting¹
 me ran wobUŋ nɛ lɔhan han veen tɔn tɛslmɛ me wobUŋ
is on day of washing of woman with-her (with) child, it is day
 go me viran
that is fourth.

BIRTH CEREMONIES

AA

When a child is born, his mother and father and brothers must not eat fowl, or fowl's egg, or (female) pig; they are fasting for (the child's) navel (to heal); they must not eat fish, flying-fox, and such things, that is, every kind of meat. They must not eat with (other) people, because they (i.e. the others) are eating everything, and cooking everything on their fires.

The child's father and brothers must not cut stinging-leaf bush, or any tree; they are not to cut them for five days. Nor must they hit-and-break a coconut for five days. Everything remains as it is until the child's navel dries up. They must not eat food cooked with saltwater, but only things that they roast on a fire.

They fast from things in this way until the child's navel is quite dried up; and then, the child's brothers desiring something to eat,

¹The feast is sometimes called bɔŋɔro, *days of them two*, i.e. mother and child (NA dialect). The reckoning of days is inclusive, so that if child is born after 5 p.m., say, or in the night, the next day would begin the count.

perhaps meat or fowl, well, the father and the mother will allow this to the child's brothers. But the mother and father of the child must not eat (such things) until the child comes to be running about.

It is bathed when it is born, and then remains for a while as it is until it is washed again. But its mother must not be bathed, or wash, for four days. When the child is born and washed with cold water, they take it, and hold it while they warm it over a fire. After four days, the mother and child will both bathe with green-coconut juice, and a feast will be allowed.

The woman's relations will come bringing some young sows, to give them to the woman who has given birth. She will pay the women who look after her, and her husband will knock (a) tusker(s) on the head, and his wife will kill (a) sow(s). If the woman is very weak, her sister will come and kill the sows.

They throw their food-pile together, with their meat, to take it all back to their villages. The things which the woman's relations have brought, the local people take and begin cooking them (in ovens). The food that the local people have thrown together in a pile, the woman's relations will take away with the meat. The feast is on the day of the bathing of the woman and her child, that is, the fourth day.

bag^əvi

CIRCUMCISION

BB

1. b^əneŋɔ teslmrɛ man nɛ ɔr gorɔbU1 ɔɔ hu ram naknak
 When children male of village-place one, they (are) ready,
 b^wlca rae bag^əvi 2. wUrUn ɲerU1
 it will be they-will-be circumcised. His mother's kin a few (of
 rUm tia han hobeti mɛ ca be tUnjɔn a senan
 them) they carry his mat(s) come that it-may-be his bed, and another
 be han ɛlulu (sise ɔɔ ram kɔfo metan nɛ
 it-will-be his 'blindfold', (a thing which they cover his eyes with,
 sinca nelŋka ɔɔ ɲa ram je slvi ɲae) 3. ram
 so that he will not see that they are cutting him). They
 hare ɲɔ:r iman ram ca me mɛl 4. b^əneŋɔ
 stick up a tabu leaf-fence its house they say is a 'mɛl'. When
 ram demɛlɔle ca ra slvi wUrUn memɛ mugUm
 they wish to cut (them), his mother's kinsman comes, holds

kate teslmre ma llihan elulu gorɔ batɛn a metan
fast the child, puts his 'blindfold' around his head and eyes,
 lɔŋ mugUmkate 5. a vantɛn gɔ hu mɛ ŋa van tʰue
yes and holds him fast, and man one at length goes hits
 (aru) ŋae 6. teslmre mɔɔ fan ran vɛr mɛ fa:la
(takes) him. The child sits down on a stone, opens legs.
 7. ma lliŋi luɔn able gɔ hu van memo lɔn alUn
He puts 'tooth of poison' one to go it is first inside skin of
 han sise lɔŋ mɛŋa aru mɛrɛ ran han bahɛl
his 'thing', then well, then takes (it) on top on his 'bird',
 lɔŋ mɔ: mar^obɔ han mɛnɔk nɛ tɔmtɔm gɔ
yes and, well, very well, squeezes his sore with leaf-juice, which
 magUlugUlu molɔ:lɔ: bur 8. mUnɪɔk lɔŋ,
he has rubbed it is soft quite already. It is finished, well,
 ram dram bahɛl rahɛn teslmre a tlmian a
they call out like-a-bird, the mother of the child and his father, and
 veɛn nɛ ram jo rɛŋ ram tʰue ɛtɪŋtɪŋ ɛtɪŋtɪŋan han
the women they begin to cry out, they beat the drum, that drum its
 ih ŋa bari-hɔ:(:)an nɛ gɔ ram lɔŋnɛ ram kelbɛrɛ gɔn
name (there) 'bari-hɔ:an'¹ they who they hear (it), they know just
 9. ram je tɔ: bu a barbar lɔn ŋɔ:r
they-are hitting tusker(s) and sow(s) inside the leaf-fence,
 wobUŋ tavi tɛnɛ wobUŋ saŋavül 10. teslmre nɛ gɔ ram e
days every until days ten. The boy -s who are
 bagəvi ram jo anɛ rɛm hɪnɪtɛ ŋa hu gɔn han ih ŋa
circumcised they begin-to eat yam, its point one only, its name
 'wɔŋan' 11. ra dɔ anɛ fahaver mubu sise bogɔn ɛhɛ: ram
wɔŋan, they don't eat greens, meat, things every, no, they
 fɛɛ a tlmian a rahɛn teslmre nɛ nɛ ram fɛɛ
avoid (such); and the fathers and mothers of the boys, they they avoid
 miwɛnɛ teslmrɛan nɛ, tɛnɛ wobUŋ saŋavül 12. wobUŋ ŋalim
it's like boys those for days ten. Days five

¹bari-hɔ:an, perhaps meaning something like 'the real climax, or arrival, of the ceremony'; bari-, 'root of, origin of', etc.; hɔ:, 'to catch, arrive', etc.

teslmre ne slnca ran mün ram jo nãhe gɔ:r
child -ren mustn't they drink, they-are-chewing a section (of sugar

su na hu gɔn wobUŋ gɔ hu 13. arUl duru meleh
cane) one one only, day one. Their pieces of food

slnca vantaŋ su ne anɛ ram huŋUn titi lɔn arobɔl
let not man any eat (it), they push (it) in with care into baskets

tene wobUŋ saŋavül 14. bɔnegɔ ram hɔ:te wobUŋ saŋavül ram geh ne
until days ten. When they reach days ten, they work

airUl efaloh na hu gɔn ram tia tɔrUl arobɔl klrine
their(-few) canoe, one only, they take their(-few) baskets with

nerUl 15. ram jahe nerUl van læ tɛh ram tjue nerUl
them-few, they lead them(-few) to go by the sea, they-hit them few

van ram worɔ nerUl veen ne slnca ran lŋka mɔ kɔn
to go, they chase them (few) - women must not they see, it's tabu -

16. lɔŋ, gorɔbUl bur ram je m^olɔ·ne tUnjɔrUl
yes and (at) village already, they-are-spoiling their (few) beds

bur mele me je fo ram ca mene teslmre ne
altogether, wild duck is burying (it). They say to child -ren,

mele bɔlca bo fo lɔnle 17. teslmre ne ra dlɔ kelbare
wild duck will bury now. The boys... they don't understand,

ram van læ tɛh gɔ ca ra lɔhlɔh ram lŋi tɔ:
they go to the sea,¹ so-that they may bathe, they put their (plural)

arobɔl ran efaloh 18. lɔŋ lɔhne van lɔn tɛh lɔŋ
baskets on the canoe, yes and swim (it) go into sea, yes and

hune mɛ van bɔlca ru te: lɔn te: 19. a
push (it) it goes, it will be they'll look in mirror(-pool), and

bal bɔlca be vahe ne ma rehe aundɔn teslmre ne ba-ulu
hawk will tread on them, it scrapes neck of boy(s) with prick of

me menɔk 20. gɔ ca te je reŋ lɔŋ ma
black-palm, it is a sore, if he-begins-to-cry (out), well, he

tjue ne lie gɔ ca ba worɔ nãe kebu van
strikes (him) with stick so that he-will-chase him back to go (to)

¹Also see UU (bu¹), bata song, for Circumcision Dance.

gorɔbU1 21. ram fʷer lɔn mɛl tɛnɛ gɔ ca mɛnɔk
 village. They sleep in the men's house till that the sore

(nɛ bagʷvi) bU njɔk
 (of circumcision) will be finished.

CIRCUMCISION

BB

When the male children of a village are ready, they will be circumcised. Some of a boy's mother's kinsfolk bring his mat for his bed, and another (cloth) for his 'blindfold' so that he will not see them cutting him. They stick up a 'tabu' leaf-fence, and a house inside it which they call a 'mɛl'. When they want to circumcise him, his mother's kinsman comes and holds the boy fast, puts his 'blindfold' around his head and eyes - and holds him tight.

One man then goes and strikes (or 'takes') him. The boy sits down on a stone, and opens his legs. The man then puts a 'tooth of witchcraft' from the front inside his foreskin, then brings it up on his penis, and then squeezes leaf-juice (which he has already rubbed soft) on to his sore. (The operation finished, they call out like a bird, and the boy's mother and father and the women begin to cry (or, cry out), and they beat the drum - the drum that is called 'the real achievement' - and those who hear, know exactly (what has happened).

They begin to knock tuskers and sows over inside the tabu fence, every day for ten days. The boys who are circumcised begin to eat yam, the yam with only one point, that is called wɔnan. They do not eat greens, meat, and everything (else), but avoid these things, as their fathers and mothers also do, just like the boys themselves, for ten days.

For five days the boys cannot drink; they just chew one section of sugar-cane each day. No one must eat any pieces of their food, which they put carefully into baskets for the ten days.

On the tenth day (the men) prepare a single canoe for the boys, and take the boys' baskets with the boys, and lead them towards the sea, hitting and chasing them on the way. Women are not allowed to see this - it is tabu. Now at the village the (men) spoil the boys' bed mats - 'the wild duck is burying them' - they say to the boys, 'The wild duck will bury them now'. The boys do not understand, but they go to the sea to bathe, and put their baskets on the canoe. They launch the canoe into the sea, and push it along. They will look into

a mirror (pool), and a hawk¹ will tread on them, scraping the boys' necks with black-palm pricks, which makes a wound. If a boy begins to cry, they hit him with a stick to chase him back to the village.

They sleep inside the men's house until the circumcision wound has healed.

lean

MARRIAGE

CC

1. The father says, I must 'pay' mama (a 'mother', i.e. a wife for my son) from Metamli.

Nagɔn tolo mtene vanten vivi wɔ go hu ram ca ehe: hab⁴e
Nagɔn doesn't object. Men young some they say, 'No, not yet'.

bate: mi jah 2. tutu
Their head is strong. The father sends money to his 'grandfather,
tae²

grandmother' that he wants to 'pay' his (classificatory) mother.

nam demelɔle ca na gele tae han tutu
I desire that I may buy 'mother'. His (classificatory) grandparent

mlca mu gɔn 3. vanten mi kebu lɔka netln mlca
says, it's good only. The man goes back sees his son, says,

nam lɔka tutu mU njɔk ma remane tae ca
I've seen 'grandfather' it's finished, he allows 'mother' so that
na gele taro blur hal goro veen vivi
I'll-buy (her). We-two will glue the road around the woman young.

4. taro halen neti-barbar su hu vane tutu³
We two must lead a young sow one to go to the-girl's-father.

5. nam demelɔle bu mato be
(The girl's father says): I want tuskers old it-will-be

¹Really one of the men.

²tae, mother; see Dictionary, tae; as the male alternate generations are classed together as 'brothers', a man's daughter-in-law, i.e. his son's wife, becomes his classificatory 'mother', being the mother of his grandson who is his classificatory brother.

³tutu, grandparent; see Dictionary. neti-barbar, young sow, of verse 4, is the 'deposit pig' which reserves the girl.

ru mɔ: bu be ru mɔn
 two ①, very well, tuskers (male pigs) (let it be) two more
 be ɛteta¹
 let-it-be (like a) curved club ②, (he mimics the tusks' shape
 be ru mɔn ran bu - va: go
 with finger and thumb), let it be two more on knot of hand which
 to ɲɔr 6. a be
 was big (i.e. like two knuckles of index finger); and let it be
 sUl ran bu - va: go tI kIke
 three, on knot of finger which was little (first knuckle length on
 ral go mi jah mU njɔk ɔn ɲale
 index finger) word that (one) is strong, it's finished just there.
 7. bu kolo ɲe ɔn a barbar tɛn ɲe 8. ram lIɲi wobUɲ
 Pigs fat (they) only, and sows real (they). They fix a day,
 ram ru ɛwa ram ru ta mo ne
 they stick-in sticks (for ropes), they-stuck-in the first one with
 awa tɛn bu mato 9. ram ru go hu mɔn me aruru (NA:
 rope real, tusker old, they stick-in one more, it is 'take the
 gUrru) ne awa ram kIkIke awa go me sUlan go
 second', with rope; they stick-in rope which is third, (and) which
 ma aru viran 10. mɔ: ram ɲa kIkIke go me tɛn
 takes the fourth - very well, they at last 'plant' (all) that is for
 tabli-bu tɛn ɲe a barbartɛn ɲe. 11. ran wobUɲ an jafu
 fat pigs 'real' (pl.) and 'real' sows. On day that one chief
 go ɲa mi jo fohne netIn bʷIca bo bal kebu ne
 who is selling his child, it will be he'll give back again
 bu neti-bu go ɲa tIbjün te blur
 the male pig, the young male pig which his son-in-law glued
 hal ne tUru 12. bɔnɛgo tesImre veen tImian
 the road with, it remained. When(Then) child female, her fathers
 rUm bIldu ru bɔn awa - tesImre veen jɛm fahhene
 they (few) stand stop near the ropes, child - female we-all decorate

¹ɛteta is any crooked instrument for hitting, e.g. tɛlɛtɛn, *shell axe* (perhaps with bent handle); it is suggested that a circular tusk could be said to 'hit itself', or 'to hit the pig'.

nae mU buIdu ru kirIne raHen a bülbülan ne 13. a
her, she stands stops with her mother and friends, and
 vantaN go ma gele veen bWlca beke jafu ne nerUl be
the man who buys the woman will call chief of them-few, it may be
 harUl mal (o: be meleun tur) go ca bi - fifine
their 'mal' (or it-may-be 'meleun' perhaps), so that he may distribute

bu 14. mica go tamoan be a tlmian
the pigs, he says, (Which) first one will-be of, for father of
 veen go me aruruan be a mlnjenari go me sulan
girl; (which is) 'take No. 2' will-be for her brother; which is third
 be a tlmian senan go me aru viran be a
will-be of her father another; which takes fourth, will be of
 mlnjenari senan rute go le ml na fifine
her brother another; the rest there, you-all now divide up. (They take

15. bonegole gon ram tjue bu hu memer loN
the pigs....) Then just they strike a pig one it dies, yes
 ram llni lok makrine ram je ha: gelgele lok ne
and they put puddings it's with it, they begin to exchange puddings.

MARRIAGE

CC

The father (of the young man) says, 'I must buy a wife for my son (he calls her mama, mother, because, if she has a son, he - his grandson - will be his classificatory brother). Nagon doesn't object. Some young fellows say, 'No, not yet'. They are headstrong. The father sends money (modern usage) to his (classificatory) grandfather¹ so as to buy his 'mother' (whom he calls tae). He says, 'I wish to buy a 'mother' for me'.

His classificatory grandfather (i.e. her father) says, 'Very well!'. The man then goes back to see his son, and tells him, 'I've seen 'grandfather' already, and he grants (his girl) as my 'mother', for me to buy her. You and I must reserve the girl; we two must take a young sow (on a rope) to 'grandfather'.

The girl's father says, 'I want two old tuskers' (showing with his thumb and forefinger a completely curved tusk shape); 'and two more

¹tutu, grandparent, both natural and classificatory. As his son's wife will presumably bear a son, this grandson will be classed as his 'brother', and thus a man's son's wife is classed as his 'mother'; clearly it follows that her parents will be classed as his grandparents. (Cf. WW, XX.)

male pigs like a curved club' (showing the shape of the tusks again); 'and two more' (his thumb pointing to the second knuckle of his index finger); 'and three more' (showing the first knuckle of his index finger). That is a heavy demand, and the talk ends just there. Only fat male pigs and really good sows (are spoken of).

They fix a day, and plant sticks for ropes (in a row); they fix the first one with native rope, an old tusker; then a second one - it is 'take Number 2' - with rope; and they fix the third and the fourth; and at last have all the sticks and ropes 'planted' for the 'real' fat pigs and sows.

On the appointed day, the chief who is selling his daughter will pay back the castrated-pig, the young pig with which his son-in-law 'glued the road', that is, reserved his daughter. Then the girl - (we all decorate a bride) - her fathers standing near the ropes, she too stands with her mother and friends.

The man who is buying her will call upon the chief among them (it may be a 'mal', or highest grade chief, or perhaps it may be a 'melɛun' chief) to distribute the pigs. He says, 'The first one will be for the girl's father; the second for her brother; the third for another of her fathers; the fourth for another of her brothers; the rest of them there, all of you divide them up'.

They take the pigs, and then they kill a male pig by clubbing it, and putting puddings with it, they begin to exchange them too.

mɛran (tɔntɔnan)

DEATH (sacrifice)

DD

1. jafu gɔ hu mɛmɛr bʷlca nɛtɪn ba tɔnɔ (barnɔ) vanɛ wUrUn
Chief one dies, it-will-be his son will pay out to the mother's
nerUl 2. bɔnɛgɔ mal mɛmɛr,
kin (them few). When a 'mal' (the highest grade of chief) dies,
mɛ jɛ tɛwɛ ca bɛmɛr nɛtɪnɛn gɔ hu ca bUru mɛmɛ ca
he is trying to die, his daughter one, if there is (one) comes so
bɛ lɪŋka a baria han hobɛti 3. a ru - vantɛn ɲɛ
that she may see, and may bring his mat(s), and other men (pl.)
slɪnca ran tia hubɛti bʷɛ gɔlɛ gɔn ma ria hubɛti
must not they bring mat(s) yet, that (daughter) only brings mat(s)
mɛ tɛnɛ gɔ ca mal tɛ mɛr lɔŋ bʷlca bo fo
come till that 'mal' is dead, well, it-will-be she'll bury (he'll be

lon ram fo bur 4. go ca vanten su bu wUhtɔ
buried) in them. They bury already. If man any may ask

mal - mal mUru mu gɔn ram ca lon te ane lɔk
(about) 'mal', 'Mal is good just?', they say, 'Yes, he ate pudding

hu mən 5. ram reha ram lUŋsune mUru tene wobUŋ
one more'. They lie, they hide (it) it (he) stops until days

saŋavül ram fo bur lon han wɔrwɔr 6. bɔneɔ
ten, they bury already inside his stone tabu-fence. While

mUru mo hɔ:te wobUŋ saŋavül ram aru neti-bu go hu ram
he remains catches days ten, they take a young male pig one, they
tia wlŋibal a li-ha a li-lek fo
take hibiscus flowers and croton-sticks and sticks of 'lek' tree, to

kate gorɔ aundɔn neti-bu 7. a ram aru
bind fast around around neck of the young pig, and they take

neti-bu gɔle a ram tɕe a ram aru vane
young pig that one, and they kill (it), and they take (and give) to

mal senan tene go ca bahɛɛɛ ral van ɔ:r bogɔn
'mal' another so (till) that he will send word to go places every,

8. etɪŋtɪŋ bʷɪca berɛŋ a jɛm lɔŋɛ jɛm kɛlbɛrɛ mal
the drum(s) will sound out, and we-all hear, we all know 'mal'

memɛr lonle 9. vanten bogɔn ram lɔŋɛ rUn ɲɛ bogɔn
is dead today (now). Man every they hear, his kinsmen all

ram hɔl hobɛti mɛ mɛ ha mal ram jo rɛŋɛ mal
they-carry mats come, it's of 'mal', they begin to bewail 'mal'.

10. ram lɪŋi hobɛti ɲɛ tɛba neti - mal lon wɔrwɔr ram dɛŋ
They put mat - s with son of Mal inside tabu-fence, they wail

mU njɔk ram jo wil ram jo rɛŋ ram jo u
it's finished, they begin to dance, they begin to wail, they begin to

tavio tene go ca ɔr be rɛn 11. ɔr mɛ rɛn
blow conch-shell, until that place will be light. Place is light

ram mae rɛŋan go mɔ ɲɔr mɔn mɔ: ram mae
they make wailing which is great more, all right! they've made

rɛŋan mU njɔk lon bu mo hɔ:te ram tɕe
wailing it's finished, well, a (male) pig arrives, they club (it)

- me mer 12. mal su bʷlca ba aru bu go memer lɔŋ neti -
it dies. A 'mal' one will take pig that is dead, yes and son
- mal bʷlca ba tʃue bu mato go hu mɔn be ten han meran
of Mal will club tusker old one more, it will be for his death,
- bo ro:ro: fan 13. bu mato go hu mɔn bʷlca mal
will run-run under... tusker old one more, it-will-be 'mal'
- bi fio ne an ne bʷlca netIn
will be 'hallowed' (sacrificed to)... with (it), (will) his son
- ba tonɔ mɛnɛ wUru - mal ɲerUl 14. bʷlca bialɛ
'll pay-out to mother's-kin of 'mal' them-few. It will be thus,
- neti-mal ba heɣene bu su hu bur vanɛ wUru - mal
son of 'mal' will give pig some one already, to mother's-kin of 'mal'
- ɲerUl tɛban hal bur 15. go ca sinca ne
them-few on account of the road for-a-start; if not he
- heɣene bu su van(n)ɛ wUru - mal lɔŋ bʷlca
(doesn't) give pig a, to go to mother's-kin of 'mal', well, it will be
- wUru - mal ru aru etutu bʷlca ru buldu
mother's kin of 'mal' they'll take a long spear, (will) they'll stand
- gorɔ tɛmar ne mal 16. mal sinca ne van ran vere
blocking (dead) spirit of 'mal', 'mal' couldn't go on district
- ha rahen bʷlca be kebu me ru gorɔbUlan gɔn ɔ:r go
of his mother, (will) back come stay in-his-village just, place that
- mofu ru en lɔn han wɔrwɔr gɔn 17. bʷlca
he's buried stay(s) in-it inside his tabu-fence just. It-will-be
- netIn ba tonɔ mɛnɛ wUru - mal ɲerUl ne bu
his son will pay out to mother's kin of 'mal' them-few with tuskers
- mato ɲaru be sUl tur bu wɔ go hu mɔn luo:
old two, it-may-be three perhaps; pigs some more their teeth
- miaŋa be sUl 18. a barbar me an veɛn
(tusks) there-are-none it-will-be three, and sows it is of women
- an ɲe be saŋavül a beha be ɲavül ɲaru
(his) (pl.), it-will-be ten and perhaps it-will-be tens two.
19. ra dlɔ kehkih-va: bʷe tɛnɛ wobUŋ ne enan go mɔŋɔ:r
They don't wash hands yet until day of eating which is big.

20. ram kilkilɛ bəraŋ ɲe ɡo mal tɛɡɛɛ ɲe
They stick up black-palm-image-s which 'mal' had bought them
 bur ram hʉbsɪnɛ ɡo mal maɡɛɛ sɪsɛ ɡo ɲe li bur
already, they show that 'mal' has bought things these completely.
21. mUnjɔk, mal sɛnan mɛmɛ mɛ buɪdu tɛban bu a
It's finished, 'mal' another comes, stands beside tuskers and
 barbar ɲe bʉlɪca ba wɛrɛ wUru - mal ɲe nɛ 22. mal
sow-s, (will) present maternal kin of 'mal' them with-them;¹ 'mal'
 meke man an ɲe mlca bu a mal ɲali nam jo tɔnɔ
calls men-their (them), says, Tusker of 'mal' here, I'm paying-out
 mal nɛ 23. bʉlɪca ba halɛn ɡo hu mɔn bʉlɪca bɪca
'mal' with-it, (will) he'll drag one more, (will) he'll say,
 nam jo tɔnɔ mal nɛ be a mɛlɛun-tɛn a ɡo hu mɔn
I am paying-out 'mal' with-it, it'll be of Melɛun-tɛn, and one more,
 bu naim ɲali omɛ halɛn nam jo tɔnɔ mal nɛ
Pig of Naim here. Come lead it. I am paying-out 'mal' with-it.
24. a ɡo hu mɔn bu a wUrwUr ɲali omɛ halɛn nam jo tɔnɔ
and one more, Pig of wUrwUr here. Come lead it. I am paying-for
 mal nɛ 25. ra dlɔ rɪa barbar ɲe van ran harə
'mal' with - it. They don't take sow-s to go onto the
 mUru ɡorɔbʉl ɡɔn ra ɲa hɛɲɛnɛ
ceremonial clearing, it remains in the village only, they will give
 mɛnɛ vɛɛn ɲe 26. mal toɔ fɪfɪnɛ barbar ɲe mo kɔn nɛ
to women. 'mal' doesn't distribute sow-s, it's tabu for a
 mal 27. nɛlibʉŋ bogɔn bʉlɪca tɛmar rɛŋrɛŋ be rɛŋ
'mal'. Night(s) every (will) spirit-yelling will wail (call out)
 lɔn tɔ:balbal a ɔ:r ca be rɛn ra wil wɛɛ:lɛ:
in the tabu-place, and place if it-be light they'll dance 'wɛɛ:lɛ:'.
28. bɔnɛɡɔ wobʉŋ mɛvan ɲavül mɛ ru mUnjɔk man ɲe
When day(s) it goes 'tens' it's two it's finished, male-s

Note: The author saw the ceremony of tɔntɔnan at Fanu.

fɔn ram falɪnɛ lɔk a mubu
to-be-sure they cook (in ovens) pudding(s) and meat... (every 20 days).

¹Verse 21: the reference is to the ɛfah (NA: afa, afa:), the line, or 'fence' of sticks 'planted' ready for the ceremonial pigs to be tied up.

29. ran wobUŋ wə ɡɔ hu sɛnan ram fane mɛlɛh mɪkɪkɛ ɡɔn ʃɪhkɔn nɛ
On days some other, they roast food small only, smoke of

fəŋ bɪ kɪkɛ ɡɔn 30. veen ŋɛ nɛ vɛrɛ ha mal ram fʊlʊkɛ
fire will be small only. Women of place of Mal they count

wobUŋ ŋalɪm ram falɪ lɔk a mubu tur
days five, they-cook pudding(s) and meat perhaps (every 5 days).

31. mUru tɛnɛ ɡɔ ca rɛm bɛ mato lɔŋ
He remains (or, It goes on) till that yam will-be ripe, well,
 bʊlɪca ra mae ablɛ nɛ mal su bʊlɪca bɛ
(will) they'll make death-ceremonies for Mal some(one) (will) he'll

mɛr bɛ hɛmɛ mal ɡɔ tɛmɛr bur 32. bʊlɪca ra ru
die, he'll replace Mal who dies before (will) they'll stay

ɡɔrɔ han wobUŋ bʊnʃɔk sɪnca ran - ŋa
around ('block') his day it'll be finished, (they will not) any

fʊlʊkɛ han wobUŋ mɔn 33. ram mae wɪlan ɡɔ mɔŋɔ:r tɛn
longer count his days more. They make dance that 's big very,

wɛlɛ:lɛ: mɛrandʊm ram ɡɪsɪnɛ wɪŋɪbəl mɛtɛ: lɔn
'wɛlɛ:lɛ:', mɛrandʊm; they stick-in flower-of-hibiscus, feathers, in
 wovʊl ram sunɛ rɛ - mahɛŋ ram ɡaɛl
hair, they put (in belt) leaf of 'mahɛŋ', they call out 'ho, ho, ho,'

34. ram hɛha: van mɛrɛ bɛha
as they dance, they stretch-out-hands to go high, perhaps
 jafu suhu ba hɔrɔ jɛm lɔŋnɛ mu bur
chief some-one will say, 'we(all) feel "hear" happy "well" completely
 lɔnlɛ mal mɛ mau kɛbu bur sɪnca jɛn ŋa lɔŋnɛ
now, Mal is alive again completely, let not us any-longer feel

nɛhakebɛ tɛban 35. ram fɪfɪnɛ rɛm vanɛ vɛrɛ bɔɡɔn
bad about him', they-share out yams to go to place every.

hasɪnɛ
Finis.

Additional Notes:

1. ta mɛrɪn ŋɛ rar ca tɛ lɔlɪwɛ ɡɔ vantɛn tɛmɛr
Of long-ago they, they said it-was Lɔlɪwɛ that a man died
 tɛ van lɔlɪwɛ
went (to) Lɔlɪwɛ (i.e. a village where the tired can 'spell').

2. The writer noted, in reference to *tontonan*, *sacrifice*, *paying-out* (for dead man), that women who belonged to the chief's place of origin slept at scene of *tontonan*, and when they returned to husbands' villages, they killed sows, e.g. in one case ten sows; the husband would kill *bu*, *male pig(s)*.

DEATH, AND 'SACRIFICE' (for 'ransom')

DD

When a chief dies, his son will make payment (for his 'ransom') to his father's maternal kin. When a Mal (that is, a chief of the highest fanxon, or tabu-fire grade) dies, or is about to die, his daughter - if there is one - comes to see him, and will bring his mat(s); other people must not yet bring mats; the daughter alone brings them, so that when the Mal dies, he will be buried in them...

The burial is over. If any man enquires about the Mal, 'Is Mal all right?', they say, 'Yes, he has eaten another pudding'. They are lying, of course, to hide his death. So it goes for ten days, and they bury him inside his stone tabu-fence.

At the end of the ten-day period, they take a young male pig, and they get hibiscus flowers and croton branches and branches of the lek-tree, and bind them around the young pig's neck, which they then club to death, and take and give to another Mal so that he will send word to every place. The drum(s) will sound out, and we all hear them, and understand that now the Mal is dead. Everybody hears the news, and all his kinsmen now bring mats for him, and they begin to wail for him.

They leave the mats with the Mal's son inside the stone tabu-fence, and when (one) wailing is over, they begin to dance and to wail (again), and to blow the conch shells until daylight. At daylight they make an even greater wailing, and when that is over, and a young male pig arrives, they club it to death. Another Mal will take the dead pig, and the Mal's son will club one more pig, an old tusker, for the Death ceremonies, and it will (ceremonially) 'run under' the dead Mal.

The Mal will be 'sacrificed for' with still another old tusker, and his son will 'pay for', or 'ransom' him by a payment to the Mal's mother's kinsfolk. Thus the Mal's son will already have given one pig to the Mal's maternal kinsfolk, on account of 'the road', for a start. (By this is meant the following belief.) If he does not give a male pig to the Mal's maternal kinsfolk, well, the mother's kin will take a long spear, and take up their stand to block the spirit of the dead Mal, who then cannot go to his mother's district, but will

just return to his own village, or abode - to the place where he is buried, inside his own stone fence.

So, the Mal's son will pay 'ransom' to Mal's mother's kin with two old tuskers, or perhaps three; and with some more male pigs, tuskless ones, three of them. And the sows are for the women concerned, ten, or perhaps twenty sows. They don't wash hands until the day of the great feast.

They stick up the black-palm images which the Mal had paid for in his lifetime, thus showing that the Mal had paid for these things.

When this is done, another Mal comes and stands beside the tuskers and the sows, and will present the dead Mal's maternal kinsfolk with them. The (officiating) Mal calls their men-folk, saying: 'I am paying for, "ransoming", Mal with his tusker here'. Then he will drag another pig along, and will say: 'I am ransoming Mal with it, it will belong to Mɛlɛun-ten'; and another one (saying), 'This pig is to belong to Naim; come and take it away; I am "ransoming" Mal with it'.

They don't take the sows on to the ceremonial clearing, but these stay just in the village, and they will give them to the women. The Mal doesn't distribute the sows, that is tabu for a Mal.

Every night the 'yelling spirit' will wail in the tabu area, and when it's daylight they will dance the 'Wɛɛ:lɛ:' dance.

After twenty days, the men - only the men, indeed - cook puddings in ovens, and meat. (This happens every twenty days.)

On some other days they roast just a little food, the smoke of the fire must be only small.

The women of the Mal's district count five days, and cook puddings, and perhaps meat; (they do this every five days).

So it goes on until the (new) yams are ripe, and then they will make (death) ceremonies for some (other) Mal who (probably) will die, and so replace the Mal who had died before. They will round off the (mourning) period of the first Mal, and will no longer take count of his day(s). They make a very big dance, called 'Wɛɛ:lɛ:', and 'MerandUm'; they put hibiscus-flowers and feathers in their hair, and mɛhɛŋ leaves (or, love-charm leaves) in their belts; they shout 'Ho! ho! ho!' as they dance, and stretch their hands above their heads; perhaps some chief will say, 'Now at last we all feel quite happy, for the Mal is by now alive again. We must not grieve about him any longer'.

They share out yams to be sent to every place.
Finis.

Notes: 1. Long ago they said that a dead man went to Lolliwe.

2. At Magam village, I noted on one occasion that the village provided the food for the feast to mark the end of mourning, perhaps especially the family of the dead man. It was said that 'they must give presents to those who came to cry'.

TRIBAL SPIRITS (MS. largely in 'English')

EE

Each old village has its own Father Devil. They usually say that this Father Devil is so ventured to attack their enemies, and also say that if foreigner man or baby if he's passing through same old village, the Father Devil 'copy' (?) ba aru will take that man or baby same day, just while he is passing the village. Here, what they say, Father Devil says to his own tribe(s), if you need anything me, I'm always near. Here's the plan. L- and her tiny daughter L- they going to this old village, Farpu. When L- and her daughter coming for rest at supper fever got the baby in midnight the worse sickness on the baby she about really die, so at once mother and father in a such attention by thinking where has this baby been, did she pass through old village, Farpu, mother said, 'yes, we do, we pass through old village, Farpu'. (Then text follows in Lonwolwol and Magam.)

1. miale ram van ke patutu me petatava

Thus they go call Batutu to come he will lift up his hands.

2. gae nakibite wahi liberal men mokokone coro baten

He breaks off branch of wild-kava waves (it) around head of

teslmre vein 3. mlca so temmar temmar teta jafUmto

child female, says 'Peace, spirit, spirit, Father, Elder-Chief,

ome lln malle terere vehen geli teba rahen ollqi buru

come, put back child female this with her mother, let her remain

banban mənən temar ne mUtu jəl metenen

to play about! it's finished.' (Spirit-s, you few go away-from

terere gea

child that!)

Note: These 'spirits' ('devils'), help their own village people.

The people 'pray to their own devil'.

Here follows the names of some of the tribal spirits, with (in most cases) the locality said to be concerned:

Sɔnhal	Ranuwuhu village; (but there are 'many sɔnhal').
Leŋŋaŋulɔŋ	Magam and Farəbu; (? meaning, 'boss of wind') - I think there is a song connected with this spirit - leŋ, <i>wind</i> .
Kitamɔl	Antara village.
Buviasɛr	Olal village; (from bu, <i>male pig</i> ?).
Reŋreŋ-rablar	(? village) (said to be associated with a sound of rushing, like a wind; ra-blar, <i>leaf of banana</i> , i.e. the dry leaf).
Lihehe	'a mountain "devil"' (see Tale N in <i>Tales of Ambrym</i> . PL, 1971, D-10). This spirit is nowadays associated with Bɔgɔr village, in Northern Ambrym, where the dialectal form is leseseo; such a spirit is said to be small, with thin body and legs, but with a big head, and long, human-like hair; it is said to be able to fly, and to eat up everyone and everything.
BUnjam	Fɔnah village (see Tale R in <i>Tales of Ambrym</i> . PL, 1971, D-10). A sinister kind of original spirit.
Ver-sal	(?) Wilir and LonlilibUlva: area. Versal is the name of the conical rock which is exposed during low tide, off Metanwɔr Point, near Nəbül, North Ambrym.
Vehen-ru	A female spirit, (vehen, (NA) <i>female, woman</i>); a woman, N-, was said to have seen one; this spirit is thought to be able to return lost articles, and 'to help with tobacco', etc.; said, strangely, to be 'an uncircumcised man, or a flash woman'; you are liable to find such a spirit when by yourself, in a house, or in a creek-bed; vehenru maktu me, (NA) <i>the "Vehenru" brings...</i> 'and treats like a husband'.

Notes: 1. See also the term tɛmar, *spirit*; and wonɔunɔ-, *shadow, spirit, ghost*. It is said that Batutu's son, Mage-nam on Pentecost Island, had made a secret appointment with a widow woman, and her wonɔunɔn, *ghost* came; after his act, she disappeared; he became ill, and died the same day. It is thought that there are many deaths like that on Epi.

It is also said that 'ghosts' like running water, so there are comparatively few on Ambrym, but many on Malekula, Santo, Pentecost etc.

2. Cp. also: *ver haŋla:*, a *tabu stone*, a *spirit stone* (see photo - Lamb 1905:214).

EE (a readable rendering of the above account)

Every old village has its own tribal 'guardian spirit'. They usually say that the guardian spirit is venturesome in attacking their enemies; indeed, it is as if the guardian spirit says to his own tribe, 'If you need anything, I am always near to help'.

It is believed that if a man from a strange district, or a baby, passes through the old village, the Spirit will come over them while they are passing through.

For example, here is a case: L- and her tiny daughter L- went to the old village of Farbu (near Magam). When they came back (to their own village) for a rest at the time of the evening meal, fever attacked the baby. At midnight, she was worse, and seemed about to die. The mother and father racked their brains to remember where the baby had been... 'Had she passed through the old village of Farbu?'... The mother said, 'Yes, we did pass through old Farbu village'.

So they went to call Batutu to come and pass his hands over (the baby). He broke off a wild kava branch, and waved it around the little girl's head, saying:

*'Peace! Spirit, Spirit! Father! Elder Chief!
Come and restore this little girl to her mother!
Leave her alone, to play about! (That's all.)
Spirits, go far from that child!'*

mage

IMAGES

FF

mage, *image(s)*, are largely associated with the faŋkɔn, *tabu-fire* grades of chieftainship, especially with the higher grades (cp. GG). Initiation into a higher grade of faŋkɔn is marked by the 'paying' for the mage, *image* which is the badge, as it were, of that grade. The payment is based on certain numbers of tusked pigs.

Thus, mage ne hivi(r), *the image of the hivir* (i.e. the superior) grade of the naim 'faŋkɔn') is associated with a very high platform of bamboos; and the mage, *image*, has the right half of the face, and the right arm, painted red; the left half of face, and left arm, painted black.

(See Lamb 1905, facing p. 126, for photograph of 'A Small Platform', which was said to be such as used for the wUrWUr grade of faŋkɔn, when showed to intelligent natives of Ambrym.) (Also, see Guiart 1951, photos 5 and 6, facing p. 38.)

mage ne buI, *image of a hole*; or mage lɔn buI, *image in a hole*, is an image associated with some of the higher faŋkɔn grades. I have seen such images (Guiart has a picture of one, facing p. 56 - his photo 7).

mage ne mɛlɛun and mage ne mal are self-explanatory terms, i.e. the images respectively for the mɛlɛun and the mal grades of faŋkɔn.

During the rites of payment for a mage, by which a chief becomes a member of a higher grade of faŋkɔn, he does not eat anything hot or roasted for five days, but eats only bananas, and drinks coconuts. All women must leave the village for the five days. (?Then the chief, or some 'strong men', makes - or make - fire out of green wood. So runs an odd note made by this author.)

Pigs which are killed as part of the initiation rites of faŋkɔn grades are, of course, said to be kɔn, *holy, tabu*, e.g. mokɔn fan mage, *it is tabu underneath the image* (cp. ro:⁴, *to run*, with its reduplicated use, ro:ro fan used [DD 12] of an old tusker pig *running ceremonially underneath [the dead Mal]*).

(Some informants suggested that a time of comparative licence exists during such faŋkɔn initiation periods, e.g. that a chief might even allow one of his wives to be used by a number of men at an appointed time and place; long ago at Fɔnah, so it was said, a woman named Maijau had so been treated.)

Cp. wɛlɛ:lɛ: (Dictionary) and MM. Dances are held for faŋkɔn graduations.

faŋkɔn¹

SACRED FIRES

GG

So much is known, and so much has been written, about the caste grades of chieftainship, that this worker has done little more than compile lists of the names of the caste grades themselves. On Ambrym, the keyword is faŋkɔn, *tabu, or sacred, fire*.

With the number of the grades varying in various lists as given by several observers, one can say that there are about a dozen grades of

¹My informants said (28/11/44) that, according to native Ambrym tradition, the faŋkɔn system came from Malekula via the western (Dip Point) side of Ambrym, and was paid for with many pigs, tusked and otherwise.

fəŋkɔn on Ambrym. Some of the differences in observers' descriptions are due to the fact that some grades have two or more sections. I have tried here to give, for comparison, the lists of fəŋkɔn grades as given by Dr Lamb (Lamb 1905, II:117ff. - especially p. 121); and as recorded by myself on various occasions; also, as copied from a list compiled at Olal (NA); and finally, as recorded by Guiart.

The notes on *mage*, *image(s)*, found in FF above, add something to observations on this whole aspect of Ambrym social life and structure. The native text of Tale E (Paton 1971:16) in which is told the story of the beginning of the 'wu-mɛlɛun' grade of chieftainship, gives something in the way of natural background. Also, in the Dictionary itself, under such words as kɔn¹, *holy, tabu*; ɛn¹, ɛn kɔn, *to eat, to eat within a tabu* 'fəŋkɔn' grade; ɛn ka mɛh, *to eat outside any 'fəŋkɔn' grade*, (cp. mün, mün kɔn); han, hanhan, *common, not tabu*; some notes of anthropological interest are found.

Put in a broad and simplified way, it was the aim of an Ambrym man to rise, step by step, in the social scale of the fəŋkɔn grades of chieftainship, until he might attain the height of human achievement by becoming a 'Mal'. I have seen women walking on their knees because a Mal was present in the gathering, and women certainly must not adopt a posture which might place them higher than such a chief.

The rise in the fəŋkɔn grades is by the payment and killing (almost a 'sacrifice') of pigs, mainly tusked pigs. Chiefs of each fəŋkɔn grade eat and cook food only with chiefs of the same grade, that is, at the same 'fire'. It goes almost without saying that they will eat only male meat - male pig, rooster, etc., never hens or sows. (It is worth noting here that in bato ceremonies, see section II, there is at least some relaxation of the rigid caste rules about eating, and that chiefs belonging to grades up to and including the mɛlɛun grade would eat together.)

Two informants (25/3/48) said that a Mal who has reached the highest rank may then begin again to climb the scale, redoubling his fəŋkɔn prestige, and all the time retaining his exclusive, highest rank of Mal. (It appeared from what they said that the whole scale was again open to the Mal, but it may be that a lesser number of grades was meant, namely the several grades even within the Mal fəŋkɔn.)

Lamb rightly pointed out that there are certain fəŋkɔn grades open even to women (see Lamb 1905:128). My informants said that wives' fəŋkɔn grades begin with a 'wu-mɛlɛun's wife, i.e. they are not to be entered by a woman whose husband belongs to a lesser fəŋkɔn than that

of *wu-melɛun*. The names of these *faŋkɔn* grades for women 'chiefs' are given in the lists that follow.

Ethnologically, it is interesting to note that two distinct uses of *kɔn*, *holy*, *tabu*, *sacred*; and *bitter*, *sour* (see Dictionary p. 39, *kɔn*^{1,3}) have corresponding, contrasted uses of *meh*^{1,2} (see Dictionary p. 130), i.e. *meh*, *plain*, *bare*, *free*, *not tabu*; and *meh*, *fresh* as opposed to *bitter*, e.g. of fresh water and salt water. It is permissible to ask whether there can have been some original culture connection. It is said (by informants) that the caste chiefs of the *faŋkɔn* grades let it be understood that their food is 'holy' and also tastes 'bitter'.

The accepted step for an Ambrym chief, in becoming a Christian and joining the 'school', is *enka meh*, *to eat without tabu*, *plainly*, *freely*, and he may be said *liŋkabrine faŋkɔn*, *to leave his tabu fire*. This is felt to be the natural thing rather than a harsh demand on the part of any mission or missionary, on the plain ground that unless Christianity means 'fellowship', it means little else. In the Christian sacrament of Communion there could be no room for the exclusiveness of *faŋkɔn*.

Modern conditions, such as sea travel or plantation labour, sometimes enforce at least a temporary abandonment of their exclusiveness by *faŋkɔn* chiefs, in the matter of eating, at least. The others involved in this relaxation of the rules feel that it is *tabu* for them to report it or to spread it abroad.

In comparing the following lists, it will be seen that the seniority of the *gUlgU* and *wUrWUr* grades differs.

My list, noted 4/11/33:

1. *sakran* (the initiate paying 4 or 5 pigs)
2. *wUrWUr* (the initiate paying about 7 pigs)
3. *kUlkU*
4. *naim*
5. *meleun*
6. *meleun* (*big name*)
7. *lɔkbaro* (*big name*)
8. *mal* (*big name*) (payment of about 15 pigs)
9. *malmɔr* (*high name*)

Dr Lamb (Lamb 1905:121) says: 'The ranks are

1. The common folk
2. Berang, small chief - got by killing 5 pigs,
of which one must be tusked.
3. Vir, on payment of 7 more pigs.
4. Sakran, " 15 " "

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|---------------|-------------------|
| 5. | Ngurur, | on payment of | 15 more pigs. |
| 6. | Gulgul, | " | 18 " " |
| 7. | Naim, | " | 20 " " |
| 8. | Melun, | " | 30 to 40 " " |
| 9. | Lugubaru, | " | 100 " " |
| 10. | Mal, | " | 200 to 300 " " .' |

My list, noted at Craig Cove (? date):

1. mel, m^wel
2. melip, (melib)
3. taŋɔp
4. bəraŋ (? Same word as bəraŋ, *black-palm image*.)
5. bəraŋ vər (A bəraŋ image standing near stones - one stands on the stones and kills the pigs, to become bəraŋ vər.)
6. sakran, (? sagaran)
7. liun
8. wUrUr
9. (a) gUlguUl vər
(b) gUlbuUl bəraŋ
10. naim simɔk } mage ne hlvir, *the hlvir image*
11. naim hlvir }
12. melɛun } mage ne buI, *image in hole*
13. wu-melɛun (see Tale E) }
14. lɔkbaro, (lUkbaro)
15. mal (Several grades, probably six, of which mal mər, or mal mur seems to be the highest. My informants gave me the names of Mals belonging to several of the grades. Even first grade pays 100 or 150 pigs.)

Women's faŋkɔn grades:

1. rebet
2. bəraŋ
3. bəraŋ vər
4. sakran
5. lɛmar (Note: there seemed to be some doubt as to whether lɛmar grade could follow rebet.)

As mentioned above, no woman who is the wife of a chief of lesser grade than wu-melɛun can begin initiation into these faŋkɔn grades. It appears that even faŋkɔn grade women can not eat with faŋkɔn men, at any rate of the higher grades.

List copied from Olal notes: (Bwerang is said to be *the scale*.)

1. Fangstasum
2. Muel
3. Bueranguer
4. Sagran
5. Gulgul
6. Wurwur
7. Simo
- 8-9. Naim
- 10-11. Muoleūn
12. Loho baro
- 13-14-15. Mal

My list copied (probably 28/11/44):

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|----------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Fang tasu; (NA: fang tasum) | that is, | fəntasu |
| 2. Məɛl | | məɛl |
| 3. Bərangver | | bərangver |
| 4. Sacran (pays 4 or 5 pigs) | | sakran |
| 5. GULgUl (pays about 7 pigs) | | gULgUl |
| 6. Wurwur | | wURwUr |
| 7. Simok ('nearly Naim') | | simək, simok |
| 8. Naim (proper) | | naim |
| 9-10. Meleun | | mɛlɛun |
| 11. Lokbaro (Lɔnwɔlwɔl: lUkbaro) | | lɔkbaro (lUkbaro) |
| 12. Mal lon to bal (i) | | mal lɔn tɔ: bal |
| 13. Mal go le teh (ii) | | mal go lə tɛh |
| 14. Mal go gorobul (iii) | | mal go gorɔbUl
(NA: gɛ bəsau) |
| 15. Mal m'or (iv) | | mal miɔr |

Notes: No. 12 - the first grade of mal (refer to DD 27, tɔ:balbal, a special tabu place. His distinguishing 'place' is the harə, open area with images.)

No. 13 - *Mal by the sea*: he stands on 'altar stones' near the sea, to 'worship', e.g. at Fɔ:nah.

No. 14 - *Mal in a village*: he builds a stone wall around his house, and adorns it with tavis, *conch shells*; and tusks, etc.

No. 15 - No special mage, *image*, for this highest grade of mal.

List taken from J. Guiart's *Société, Rituels et Mythes du Nord Ambrym (Nouvelles Hébrides)*, 1951:44ff.:

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. fantasum | 8. simok |
| 2. m ^w èl | 9. hiw̄ir |
| 3. w̄er | 10. w̄et ne m ^w eleun |
| 4. sagan | 11. Mage ne im |
| 5. liun | 12. loybaro |
| 6. gulgul | 13. Mage ne mal |
| 7. wurwur | |

kuan

CEREMONIAL THROWING (for Title, tan mənək)

HH

kuan (NA kUman), is the ceremony by which a candidate is initiated into the title of tan mənək (NA tan mənək), which will now be a normal title prefixed to his name, and is regarded as a high honour.

The meaning of the title is not quite sure, but one native suggestion was that it comes from a yam-planting custom or incident; the ground being all prepared, the garden-master was supposed to ask of a worker:

N - , om tɔ: taine tan?

N - , *you've worked to-perfection the ground?*

to which the worker replied:

lɔŋ tan mU njək
Yes, the ground is finished.

jafu ne tɛl tɛca ih ne jafu ŋali ih
The chief of garden said, name for chief here, name
hu to ŋɔr ŋa tan mUnjək (NA tan mənək)
one was-big here, ground is-finished.

(Another suggestion was that the title, tan mənək, or tan mUnjək, etc. meant *earth is finished*, i.e. it is the end of earthly ambition (to reach this title); but my chief informants rejected this idea as the origin of the title.)

The title is not open to chiefs of the lower faŋkən grades, but from about that of naim upwards (see GG).

Surprisingly, the title is open to women, presumably wives of chiefs of the higher faŋkən grades; and also, in a partial way, to young boys who may be the sons of women candidates. Such a boy does not take an active part in the ceremony, but views it 'from inside', and afterwards will be called tan mənək kike:, *Little Tan mənək* (or, in NA tan mənək

kakere). The initiated woman will be called jemarkɔn, a title of rank about equivalent to one of the lower faŋkɔn titles.

The right of initiation lies with those men who have already paid for the title, or with the son of a Tan mənɔk chief who has died before the son could be initiated, the title in such a case being apparently inherited. A candidate pays the required fee, which is sometimes sixteen or twenty or more tusked pigs, to the graduates who initiated him. He provides himself with a sponsor from among tan mənɔk chiefs.

The candidate gives a tusked pig (bu) to his sponsor, with his request for initiation. A low fence of leaves is made around the central area for the ceremony, and, inside the enclosure, the sponsor digs a hole in which a certain stick (eku, NA akUm) is laid and covered with the earth. The sponsor gives back to the candidate a pig - but not the same one as the candidate had already paid to him - i.e. mU to:nɛ bu, *he hands over a tusker*. The candidate, on his part, has either killed, or tied up ready for killing, a small pig (which, however, is not reckoned as part of the payment for the title).

He has adorned himself (mifah, *he is flash*), with all his badges of rank and achievement, chiefly his tusks worn as armlets - all the tusks of all the pigs he has killed or sacrificed during his career, e.g. at his elevation to each grade of faŋkɔn, or at his paying for his bride, etc. (luɔn bu, *pigs' tusks*).

While all the other men stand outside the low fence watching, the sponsor takes the candidate, and his wife (if she is to be initiated), and perhaps his young son, inside the enclosure, where they kneel (sɪŋdu) or bow down (bʷenu), kneeling on one knee, with head bent forward.

The sponsor has provided himself with a vessel, perhaps a coconut-shell (bʷɛle-ol) or a clam-shell (bʷɛledɛ), containing water, or coconut-water.

The candidate takes a red mat (beti, NA bati) with which he covers himself and his wife. The sponsor first drinks of the water, then gives to the candidate and his wife, but not to the son, even if he is present. After they have drunk from it, the sponsor washes the hands of the newly initiated person(s) by pouring the water over them while they clap them together (rəbərəbá), especially as the washing (li:nean) is ended. The sound of the clapping gives all the onlookers to understand that the ceremony is nearly over.

The new initiate then takes the small pig, which he has already killed or tied up ready, and throws (to:nɛ) it over the fence towards the onlookers. Whoever catches it takes it and cooks it for a feast with the members of his own faŋkɔn.

The ceremony is now over, except for the payment. The participants come out of the enclosure, and the new initiate takes the agreed number of tusked pigs to 'pay for the water'. He is henceforth known as Tan mənək... (e.g. Tan mənək Lili; Tan mənək kakəre, etc.).

Note: Cp. Guiart, 1951:67-68.

bato

II

On 1/12/1936 I wrote: 'There has been a heathen celebration of a ritual known as "bato" in a village about two miles away. As far as I can make out, there is nothing specially harmful in it; it seems to be a kind of club celebration, when new members have to pay to join in, the fee of course being pigs; at the centre of the business is the making of several "images", grotesque figures of men, very cleverly made and painted and decorated. I saw them the other day, and am very sad that we have run out of films, and by the time the steamer calls, the celebrations will be over, and I shall have missed...one of the best snaps. They assure me that there is no thought of prayer or worship in connection with the "images"... In this "bato" rite, the caste system lapses for all those who pay to join in, all chiefs eating together within the "tabu" enclosure, whatever their rank of heathen chieftainship ordinarily'.

(Subsequent research proved the last statement to be too sweeping, as Mal chiefs do not eat with others, nor do chiefs of the ləkbaro rank; but from that of mələun downwards, the caste exclusiveness lapses for the time being.)

Near the bato fence, the *mage nē bato*, *bato images* - sometimes twelve in number if there are, say, about twenty initiates - are set up after careful preparation and artistic decoration. The activities were described as 'only play...talking of pigs, etc., and making the faces', and so on. The whole ritual is tabu for women even to see it. Young boys who 'still eat with women' are not allowed inside the bato fence, though older boys might be allowed inside the main fence, and put on one side of a dividing fence. If a bato man were to come outside, and be seen (for example) eating or drinking a coconut, he would have to kill a pig to be allowed to return within the bato rites.

There seems to be a close connection between bato and luan (*hiding, concealment, secrecy*) - see JJ and YY 9. In the native texts (b) and (c) below, bato and luan are bound up with Invisibility Magic (see II(b) 15,16,17).

The images are also described in the native texts; they are full-body figures, usually in a sitting posture, with elbows on knees, and forearms stretched upright from the knees (tamar fa: la:, *spirit (image) (with) open legs* - illustrated here. They are ornately decorated



with white lines picked out, from the head down, in small feathers glued on with sticky breadfruit sap or similar substance. The limbs are made of wild-cane (li-to:), bound with leaves well fastened on to them. The wild-cane must be covered from sight - this is emphasized. They pound (or 'fight') a breadfruit tree and get the white juice to use as paint, and (I was told) they 'put ground' with the juice (possibly this meant clay, perhaps coloured). Coconut-leaf basket-like head-coverings are made and, two by two, the bato men put them on, walking from two ends of a row, passing in the middle. They sing out, or yodel (keke ur or keke ur or keke ɔ:r, see haɔ:r, *to appear*); the women then say, ram je haɔ:r, *they are appearing*, but they keep out of sight, as it is specially forbidden for women and non-initiates to see the men taking off the head-gear and putting it on the next pair. If a non-initiate should see them, they would kill his pigs, break his garden, and so on.

Though set up more or less in the open, these images are (as noted already) tabu for women to see. A palisade is built to enclose the space in which the 'club' ceremonies and feasting take place.

Inside bato, along with the relaxation of the faŋkɔn eating rules, referred to above, such rules as the following are observed: there must be no quarrelling (ɔlfrifrian); no one must talk loudly (sinca au nɛhɔro van mɛɛ); and no swearing or bad language (kerɛhan, NA waran).

An instance of an initiate's fee was quoted as two (real) tuskers and one pig with short tusks; but this is probably not in any way a fixed fee. The acquiring of pigs is one of the chief subjects of bato discussion and thought.

The following notes and native texts will add background and some details:

II(a) (noted 2/3/43). The ritual came from Malekula to Craig Cove side of Ambrym, thence to North Ambrym. bato nɛ arɛ, *bato of arɛ*, one of the forms of the ritual. arɛ is said to be a Malekula word, the name of a tree. The writer once saw something of this ritual at Fɔnah, NA. (The breadfruit juice, or sap, the sticky substance with which the feathers are attached to the figures, is bül'.)

Another explanation of arɛ was given as follows: ɔɔ ca vanten bɛmaɛ

sise hu, me hanan go bur, gae me are ne, if a man makes thing one, it is his own quite, he is 'boss' of it, i.e. a man is master of a thing he makes himself.

II(b) (in North Ambrym dialect), noted 17/9/48:

1. bonege vanten do va lon bato em(m)a - rawene bul - fwili
 When a man is-going inside bato, they - make hole of cooking,
- bonege vanten do ba lon bato. 2. melɛun njer sakran wUrwUr
 when a man is-going in bato. Melɛun-s, sakran(s), wUrwUr(s),
- naim njer emjen kUkUr lon bulbul na hu na 3. em
 naim-s, they eat together 'in' cooking-oven-hole one only; they
- do jen te, em kɔune wlɨibal ba lon tobɔle meje
 are-eating, yes, they throw hibiscus-flowers to go in middle of food,
- marawene mokɔn 4. bonege do jenan temar¹
 it makes it is 'holy'. While (continues) eating, spirit ('devil
- mosur njer ge emgeje temo bur
 devil') speaks, they who they've bought it-was-before already
- em(m)arawene temar mosur ebjile ebkɔn
 they make spirit it speaks, it'll be thus it will be 'holy'.
5. vanten te hu edlon sur bonege vanten ebsur ebanban
 Man one must not speak. When a man will speak, he-will-
- mauhe barbar teban² 6. em(m)arawene bul - fwili
 pay-a-fine, he kills a sow for-it, they make hole for cooking
- gerlam toto em(m)arawene bulUn fan bul - fwili faŋ
 which-was-big very, they make mouth of (oven)hole cooking, fire
- gerlam mɔn faŋ ge mokɔn 7. em taŋtiti bulu - faŋ
 that (was) big more, fire that is tabu. They guard ashes of fire,
- te hu edlon 'simok' ne faŋ gele teban ge mokɔn
 (no)one mustn't smoke with fire that-one because it is tabu.
8. gehe vanten ge hu eb-'smoke' ne loge ebanban
 If a man one will smoke from-it, well, he will pay a fine

¹temar, spirit (of bato), said to be a shell blown through a piece of bamboo.

²Not one thing must be dropped, or one word spoken, e.g. not press any piece of food on another, just sit quiet.

teban ebaue barbar ge hu mon 9. faṅ gele mUru tōne
for it, he will kill sow one more. Fire that-one remains till
 dem ḡaru ḡasUḷ ḡavir edlon mar 10. gehe ebmar vanten ebtou
yams 2, 3, 4, it will not die. If it dies, a man will
 barbar teban mon faṅ eb ḡa ru mɔl mon em
kill sow for it also, fire will at-length remain back again, they
 do rahe faṅ¹ 11. emallṅi wobUṅ belim emfe
are kindling fire. They (?we) put days it-will-be 5, they say
 duan ge hu be borbōran (Lōn: meraruan)
affair one it-will-be 'to be on the job early in the morning'.
 12. mijen vanten ge mobor ba birin mēnan metahal
It is like a man who (early) goes (to be) with his sister
 gehe ebaue an mubu
so that she'll kill his meat (i.e. her husband will kill it for his

(Noted 7/10/48):

mauhe emaria me mafli:ne
wife's brother). He kills (it), they (?we) bring come, we'll cook it

13. temar² mice vanten bōṅa
(or: it is cooked) (in oven hole). The spirit calls men all
 ge efeme jen wobUṅ bōṅa mijlle temar ro ce ḡamto
that they come to-eat; days all it's-thus, Spirit is-calling always.
 14. emauhe barbar ḡamto tōne^{9E} dem be ru mUru
We/they kill sows always until yams it-will be 2, it goes on
 tōne ge rēm be ru mijlle 15. mallṅi wobUṅ ne
till that yam(s) will be 2 it-is-thus. (He) puts day for
 bato be kaka-ru-an bur bemo 16. em
'bato', it will be 'blackened-ness' quite it'll be first, they -
 kakaru mēnōṅ emba en ɔ:r bōṅa teban hɔl vi an
become black it's-complete, they go in place every for stealing
 vanten ge temni: edlonelhe
(carrying) bananas, man who was-different he will not see

¹All true bato men would pay, if the fire died.

²temar, spirit, is said to be a beṅ shell, being blown into through a length of bamboo, or at least, this is the sound supposed to be the 'spirit' calling.

- te hu 17. em lu ru lon maleŋ
any one (of them),¹ they hide remain in blackness (invisibility),
18. ema lliŋi wobUŋ ge hu mɔn be ten temar matɔ emarəwɛnɛ
We/they put day one more to-be for 'devil-devil' old, we/they
 li - awu ema la:la: ran faŋ 19. emauhe
make stick of wild-cane, we(they) heat it on fire, we(they) hit
 lije nɛ morɔm ba mərə mijlle emfe
tree (or stick) with-it, it 'bangs' go high (loud), it's thus they say
 be temar matɔ 20. mo: ema lliŋi wobUŋ nɛ fafa(h)an
it is 'devil' old. Right, we/they put day for flash-flashness,
 emfafanɛ nɛ oldoro (Lon: ol gogɔ:) mUŋɔŋ
they decorate (themselves) with coconut-oil, it's finished,
21. emallŋi wobUŋ nɛ im emakline im mUŋɔŋ wɔr
we(they) put day for house, we build house it's finished, ...
 ge hu em done temar ge hu bur mijen nana
some... they (make) a 'spirit' one complete, it's like an image,
 mijen nɔn vanten 22. em done ran bʷɛla(t)ŋɛnɛ-ol
it's like face of a man, they make on thick end of coconut-leaf
 bijlle awa farir ŋa
stem, it'll-be-thus ceremonial-stick talking together (there), we(they)
 emarəwɛnɛ be loŋ em kinti ran ul damlje
make it is pudding, they-squeeze (into shape) on cloth-spider-
 emallŋi lowɔn barbar ɛn em fe be temar
web, we/they put tooth of sow (pig) in it, they say it is a 'spirit'.²
23. gele bur mUŋɔŋ loŋe emabte arobɔl be
That complete is finished, well, we/they plait basket, to be
 bʷɛten temar gele 24. emallŋi wɔulul ran
head-piece of spirit that (one), we/they put hair on it, we/they
 emarəwɛnɛ waun nɛ li-tɔr be wɔulun ge me
make coarse-thread of wild-cane-stick, to be its hair which is

¹If you see a bato man, you must (be) fine(d) because you saw him. You keep away from your own garden to let bato men get fruit. Cp. su 00(d),(e).

²(verse 22): bʷɛlatŋɛnɛ ol, lit. *shell bite coconut*, cp. Lon: bʷɛle-, ŋɛh ol; a term used for the thick end of the coconut stem of leaf, because *it bites the coconut tree*.

fifjo (NA: fɸfjo) ge me mærmær be sese ge hu ma reo
white, which is black, it is a thing one, it-pulls
 kUrukUru raki bɔŋa mUru lɔn bubuɔr 25. gele bur
together leaves all it-remains (is) in bush. That completely

mUɔŋ lɔge ɛmarəwɛnɛ tɛmar ge hu mɔn be
it's finished, well, we/they make 'spirit' one more, it is

li-rgɔr me tablite jɛn be li-bUlva
tree-thatch-palm it is its trunk, its foot is tree-wild cotton,

veran be li - tɔr 26. ɛmabihi jɛn raki
its hand (arm) is tree-wild cane, they bind its feet, leaves

wɔr ge hu be fan bur ɛmabihi nɛ lu - bUlva
...some... are underneath for a start, we/they bind with skin of wild


mɔn ra - wɔbwirə mɔn 27. lɔge mabihi veran nɛ
cotton more, leaf of 'wɔbwir' also, yes and bind its arm with

ra- wɔbwirə mɔn mUɔŋ tabelite mɔn ɛmabihi nɛ
leaf of 'wɔbwir' more, it's finished, its body also we/they bind with

ra- wɔbwirə mɔn 28. mo: ɛmallŋi ra - jil
leaf of 'wɔbwir' more, right! we/they put leaf of creeper

ɛmarəwɛnɛ be lute 29. mUɔŋ ɛmarɔbɔ behel
we/they make it-is its skin, it's finished, we/they shoot a bird,

lɔge ɛmallŋi wɔlute mijɛn ge ɛmabsa
well, we/they put its feathers it's like as we/they paint flash

mijlle  30. vantɛn nɛ bato njer ɛmaria tɔ
it is thus . Men of 'bato' they they bring fowls,

hobati ɛm ba kɔune ɛn bUlufatau nɛ ŋɔr 31. mUɔŋ
mats, they go throw (them) in gate of tabu-fence, it's

ɛm ba lɛ sese bɔŋa ge mUru lɔn im mijlle
finished, they go see things all, that is in house, it's thus,

mUɔŋ ɛm do wil lɔn ŋɔr ɛmaktu
it's finished, they-begin-to dance inside tabu-fence, they take (away)

ŋɔr 32. mUɔŋ lɔge ɛm hɔl kuku (batɛn) bʷɛtɛn
the tabu-fence, it's finished, well, they take away head of

tɛmar ɛmallŋi ran vantɛn tɛn 33. lɔge vantɛn
the 'spirit', they put on a man mere (real), yes and man

gele me haor ne vanten njer emageje ne
that-one comes out (appears) with-it, men (they) they/we pay with

bumto barbar wor ge hu mon
old tusker, pigs ...some... more. They all pay and have it on their

34. mUnon wobon be lim mon loge em tou barbar
heads. It's finished, days it-is five more, well, they kill pigs

mol mon teban ge fan ge rlam ebmar em sirku
again more because that fire that (was) big will die. They-dig out

bulu - fan gele em kokou en or bona mijle mUnon
ashes of fire that-one, they throw in place every. It is thus it is

35. a sise hu mon
finished. (Later note; Lonwolwol; NL 81): And thing one more,

...gehan ne bato go rarmae ...go na rammae ol gogo:
the work of 'bato' which they made, that they make 'prepared

(go hu gahi?) miwlne teslmre baten a veran a jln (jen) a
coconut' one it's like a child its head and arms and feet, and

sisean bogon miwlne vanten lon ram slgru mene gae
that-thing every is like a man, well, they bow down to him

miwlne tamtamaan gon gole gon¹
it's like praying just. That just.

Here follows a freer translation of the above notes, II(b):

When a man is going to join 'bato', they make a cooking-oven. MELeuns, Sakrans, WurwUrs, Naims, all eat together inside the partition of one cooking-oven. As they begin to eat, they throw hibiscus flowers into the middle of the food to make it 'tabu' or holy. During the eating, the 'spirit' of 'bato' speaks - it's the men who have already paid to join 'bato' who make the spirit speak. So there is a tabu in force. No man must speak. When a man speaks, he must pay a fine by killing a pig (sow) for his fault. They make a very large cooking-oven-hole, and a large fire, a tabu fire.² They guard the fire's ashes, and no one must light his pipe with that fire, because it is tabu. If a man should smoke from that fire, well, he would have to pay a fine for it, by killing another pig.

¹Verse 35 was contained in NL 81, written later by the same informant.

²This 'tabu fire', however, is not strictly a fanjon, *tabu fire caste* (see GG).

That fire continues alight during two, three, or four years, not being allowed to die.¹ If it should go out, the man would kill a pig for it also, and the fire would be restored again - they kindle it by rubbing wood.

They fix (a period of) five days, and call a certain custom, bɔrbɔran, 'to be on the job early in the morning'; it is like a man who is early on the job to go to see his sister, so that she'll kill meat for him (or perhaps rather, her husband will kill it for his wife's brother). He does kill it, and we/they bring it, and it is cooked in the oven hole.

The 'spirit' invites all the men to come and eat; every day it is the same - the 'spirit' is always calling. They kill pigs all the time during two years - yes, it goes on like this for two years.

A day is arranged for 'bato' - for the blackening ritual for a start. They finish blackening themselves, and go everywhere to (steal and) pick up bananas; a non-initiate must/will not see any of them; they are concealed in black-invisibility.

They arrange a further day for the 'old spirit'. They work on a stick of wild cane, and heat it on top of a fire; when they strike it against a tree, it explodes with a loud bang, and thus they say that it is the 'old devil' (or spirit).

They then arrange a day for decorating themselves, which they do with coconut-oil.

They fix a day for the house, and complete its building. Some of them work on making one 'spirit' for a start, like a nena² image, like a man's face. They make it on the thick end of a coconut-leaf stem, so that it is a 'ceremonial stick for talking together'. They form it like a pudding, and squeeze it into shape on the pattern of spider's web (like a big cloak), then put a pig's tooth in it, and say it is the 'spirit'.

When that is complete, they plait a basket affair to be that 'spirit's' headpiece; and they put hair on it, which they make from the coarse thread of wild-cane; some is white hair, some black; and there is (a substance) that holds together all the leaves in the bush.

That finished, they make one more 'spirit', with its body trunk of thatch-palm, its feet of wild-cotton tree, its arms of wild-cane. They bind its feet with some leaves underneath for a start, and with bark of wild-cotton also, and 'wɔbwir' leaves as well; its arms also they bind

¹If the fire were to go out, all true 'bato' men would 'pay'.

²Lon: nena; NA: nana; nena, image (see Dictionary p. 146).

with 'wɔbwir' leaves, and its body also with more of these 'wɔbwir' leaves. Then they fix creeper leaves which they've made for its skin, and when that is done, they shoot a bird and fix its feathers as if they were painting it in this fashion.

The 'bato' men bring fowls and mats, which they throw inside the gate of the tabu-fence. That done, they go to inspect everything inside the house, and then they begin to dance inside the tabu fence. They remove the tabu fence, and after that they remove the 'spirit's' head-gear which they put on a real man.

This man then makes a ceremonial appearance with it, and the men pay (for it) with old tusker(s) and some pigs¹ as well. (They all pay to have it on their heads.)

This over, they wait for five days, and kill more pigs again, because the 'big fire' is going to die. They dig out its ashes, throwing them everywhere. And so it is all over. ...There is another thing that they did (or, do) in the 'bato' work: they make a coconut (?) like a child, with head and arms and legs and everything like a human, and bow down to it, just like prayer.

Notes: It will have been noticed that some of the verbs are translated with alternative rendering *we/they*. In the Northern dialect (Magam, etc.) (see Grammar p. 111), the verbal pronominal prefixes are: *ɛm* for 3rd plural present; and *ɛma* for 1st exclusive plural future. Probably all the verbs in this Text are meant for the 3rd plural present of ordinary narration, with the inserted vowel *a* for euphony. It is clearly so in such an instance as (verse 30) *vantɛn nɛ bato njer ɛmaria...*, *the bato men bring...* Elsewhere (for example, verse 31, *ɛm do wil*, *they begin to dance*), there is sometimes found a clear 3rd plural-present prefix.

Verse 12: *mafli:nɛ...*, lit. *he cooks...* This may be an ordinary active (3rd singular) verb, used loosely for *they cook*, or even for *it is cooked*; cp. *mallɲi*, *he puts*, in verse 15. Just possibly it could have been mistaken for *ɛmafli:nɛ*, *we/they cook* (and *ɛmallɲi*, *we/they put*).

II(c) (noted 21/9/48): *bato nɛ arɛ*, *bato nɛ luan*, *bato nɛ faŋ nɛ able*
'Bato' of 'arɛ', ...of secrecy, ...of fire (of
witchcraft).

¹barbar wɔr gɛ hu mɔn - lit. *some sows too*.

1. able batoan ram kilkilē bar
 'Poison' or witchcraft its-'bato'. They dig-and-erect smoking-bed
 lōŋ ram hute faŋ fan 2. ram tia reŋohō
 (platform), well, they light fire below (it), they take leaves (?)
 mermer bogōn ram lliŋi ran faŋ faŋ maane reŋohō¹ bogōn
 black all, they put on fire, fire consumes leaves all,
3. jihkōnan mohō:te vantēn gō mef^wer ru ran bar
 smoke-of-it catches man who sleeps rests (stops) on platform,
 mablō mablō tehin bur mUnjōk 4. lōŋ
 smokes smokes one-side-of-him complete(ly) it's finished, yes and
 faŋ mablō tehin mōn memae ŋae
 fire blackens-with-smoke his side another (the other), makes him
 bUru lōn malēŋ be able
 he-will-remain in(side) dark invisibility, he'll be 'poison' (witch-
 bur b^wlca beralir vantēn sinca nelŋka 5.
 craft man) completely, (will) he will walk, a man will not see (him),
 a ŋae mōn b^wlca bē ŋa hute faŋ mōn mēne vantēn senan
 and he also will...later-on kindle the fire again to (for) man another
 mōn gō ca bagele ne bu mato
 more, so that he will pay with tusker old.

(Cp. also next section, JJ, luan, *secrecy*.)

Further Note on bato: The fine photograph of images, etc. printed in Lamb (1905 - opposite p. 278) taken by a Dr Marsden on Malekula, was shown to some of my native informants on Ambrym. The 'chief' was said to be a 'bato' image.

luan (Cp. II(b), (c) etc.

HIDING, SECRECY

JJ

Layard (in *Folklore*, volume 47, June 1936) describes luan as a 'secret ghost society', and this is generally substantiated by the native texts above (presented in section II Bato). There is clearly a great deal of connection between bato and luan, perhaps even complete connection. It is largely mixed up with Invisibility Magic, and is described in the texts as able, *witchcraft*, *poison*. The Ambrym word lu means *to hide, to be concealed*.

¹Verse 2: reŋohō, reŋohō, (?) leaves (see Dictionary, re-⁴, p. 160; rekho p. 161).

Texts II(b) and (c) give different accounts of the technique, and both are probably practised; the informant for Text II(b) did not know 'this smoking business', as described in (c).

Layard's article, referred to above, on 'Maze Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula' includes as Fig. 15 a drawing of the luan symbol from Ambrym (I think, as collected by Deacon). The drawing which I have included in YY 9 is of a more complicated design, and was drawn for me by an Ambrym man about 6/2/1945.

Among my notes are the following titles, though no description other than that given in the texts and notes in Section II:

bato nɛ luan
 bato nɛ arɛ
 bato nɛ luan sisi
 bato nɛ temar kil

Guiart's description of luan (Guiart 1951:57-62), and my texts and notes supplement each other.

The 'image', mage nɛ bato, is in some sense a faŋkɔn image, as the 'bato' fire is described in II(b) 6 as kɔn, *tabu*; but clearly the sense is not strictly that of the well-known faŋkɔn, *tabu fire* system of rigid mutually exclusive grades of chieftainship, described in Section GG.

rɔm (NA: ole)

KK

In the notes of my observations, it seems clear that rɔm is supposed to be the Lɔnwɔlwɔl equivalent of the Northern term ole, and that the terms cover the whole very picturesque ceremonies of this special event, including dancing, 'playing', elaborate dressing, and so on. In the Dictionary I have recorded that rɔm is 'a very picturesque ceremony, in which the celebrants wear the elaborate dress of banana-leaf strips, and the tall, ornate mask and hat, crowned with feathers, and the long conically-tapered gauntlets (veran rɔm, *arm of rɔm*), with the rattle of nuts at the end (wɔŋbaɪ). rɔm is sometimes applied to a part of this paraphernalia, e.g. the mask-face; see KK; YY 10, etc.; also RL/S&S, p. 126, where Lamb says: "...the dancers (and the festival too) are called rom.'" Guiart, however, may be justified in saying that ole applies to 'l'ensemble de la danse dont les participants se revêtent du masque rom'.

As in the case of other social achievements, those who wish to take part in rɔm must pay for the right to do so, with hubeti, *mats*, barbar, *pigs*, or money.



The photograph gives a good idea of the costume worn by the celebrants. The tall plumed masks are beautiful works of art. The flowing 'dresses' are made of dry banana leaves (see *blar*, *blat*, *re-blar*, NA: *rablar*). Their wearers carry also the gauntlet (*veran rom*, *arm of 'rom'*), to the end of which are tied, in a bunch, the hardened seeds of the '*wombal*' tree *liwombal* (NA: *liwombal*), to make a rattle; these hollow shell-like seeds have been cooked to make them hard. The gauntlet is made of woven pandanus leaf on a frame of bamboo. The bamboo length, of slightly over three feet, is split about half way along and (in my specimen) the resulting seven 'ribs' are spread and held apart by three wooden rings (probably wild-cane), so that the aperture - into which the arm of the celebrant goes - is about five inches in diameter. For an illustration see YY 13.

It is tabu for women and non-initiates to see the celebrations, or the costumed celebrants who run along the tracks between villages, often in pairs. As they run they rattle the seeds at the end of the gauntlets, and keep bowing their tall headgear. If they see women or children they will chase them, hitting them with the gauntlets. The spirit of the event, in this aspect at any rate, is said to be chiefly 'for play and showing off around the villages'.

My informants suggested that there was no 'religious' significance in these ceremonies. I remember, however, that in 1935 I witnessed a

simple scene in a thatch house, where it appeared that some of the adolescent boys were being instructed in, or at least imbued with, what meaning lie behind the rɔm. It was evening and the flickering fire was the only light in the darkened house. Near the entrance sat the three lads gazing - across the fire - at a number of splendid rɔm masks which were set up in array on a cross beam of the house. A number of the elder men, presumably initiates, were in the house. There was an air of rapt concentration upon the boys' faces.

Dr Lamb gives some description of rɔm in *Saints and Savages: the Story of Five Years in the New Hebrides* (Lamb 1905:124-126). It is not clear from his account that there is distinct separation between fanɔn grade rites, 'harvest home' festival, and rɔm. It seems worth while to quote some of his description (at foot of p. 125): 'Amid great rejoicing the 'makis' are unveiled. Each candidate mounts the platform above in turn and is received with a shower of missiles which he cleverly dodges. Suddenly there is a great uproar. A huge crocodile rushes through the village, apparently pursuing a man who leaps and flies from before it, scattering the spectators on every side, amid shrieks and yells and bursts of laughter. Again a band of strange creatures appear in the woods and threaten to attack the village in different quarters. At length, growing bold, they throw themselves boisterously among the villagers, and reaching the central area, begin dancing and singing. They wear queer and terrifying masks, and wild flowing locks, and are covered to the ground in rustling hoods of brown ribbons - the dried sheaths of the banana plants. Originally they were believed by the uninitiated to be ghosts. The dancers (and the festival too) are called 'rom'. Their appearance is a feature in the day's amusements'.

ks:ran

THE NEW YAM RITUAL

LL

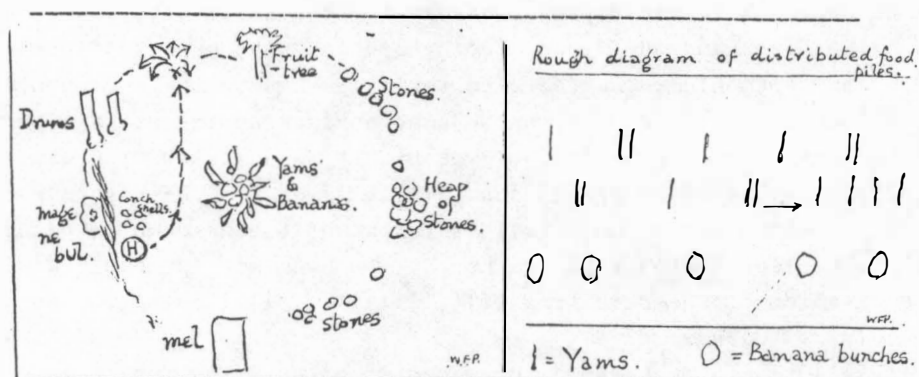
A tradition is that when Barkɔlkɔl came to Ambrym long ago he found the first men (or man) at Fɔna(h) village. They were (so it is said) the first men of Ambrym, and they told Barkɔlkɔl that the land was already theirs, and he is said to have passed further inland to Bahaltalam (village). Fɔnah keeps its prestige as the original village, especially with its prerogative in the matter of the ceremonies connected with the planting and reaping of the yam crop.

During my time on Ambrym, Haŋlam was the chief at Fɔnah to whom had come down the right of being master of the ceremonies concerning the yam crop. I was able to watch one 'New Yam' observance.

Towards the end of the (February) moon he would watch each night towards daylight to see the distance between the moon and the horizon and fix the day for the ceremony accordingly. It appeared to fall on, or about, the March new moon. Thus, in 1943, Hanlam named March 7 as the day (though the diary showed March 6 as the day of the new moon).

In March 1948 the ceremony was not held because, owing to the shortage of food, yams were being dug and eaten generally. Hanlam either declined to make the ceremony, or felt the futility of doing so - which seemed a pity, from some points of view.

The accompanying diagrams set out the general arrangement of items in the *harə*, the ceremonial clearing.



In the morning of the appointed day, Hanlam and the other chiefs and men of the village gather in the *harə*, the ceremonial enclosure, part of the edge of which is marked by stones which, at least in one place, are piled in a heap. The men stand near the *mel*, the club house of the *faŋkən* chiefs; this place was the old dwelling-place of Mal-tən. Near the *mel* also are wild-canes which help to mark out the central dancing-area. Behind the wild-canes is a ditch in which is set up the *mage*, image, of the *məleun faŋkən*, that is, *mage ne bul*, the image of the hole. This image, being that of the higher of the two *məleun faŋkən* grades, is gaudily painted in red and white. To the side stands a flat stone set up on its side, painted half black, half red - the sign of the lesser of the two grades of *məleun*. There are also *ətɪŋtɪŋ*, drum(s), drum-images (NA: *atɪŋtɪŋ*), conch-shells, etc.

The men have brought some of the new yams which they have dug from their garden(s) early in the morning, and also big bunches of bananas or plantains.

My notes then describe what occurred:

When all seemed ready, the men took the yams and bananas into the centre of the enclosure and placed them in a heap, yams resting against bananas. Haqlam took in his hand a small bundle of sticks called müjü, which represents yams (it is marmaran ne rem, a sign for yam(s)). With the müjü in his left hand, he moved to the further side of the hare, enclosure, and made passes with the müjü in various directions. He was said to be thinking of the yams in all the surrounding villages, and, in a sense, to be 'praying for a good crop for all'. He then turned full on to the gathering of men, and gave the sign for the climax of the ceremony.

One man, squatting in front of the two drums (εt|ηt|η), heartily began to beat a specific rhythm, notable for the skill with which the beats of his two hands differed. Being special rhythms significant of the New Yam ceremonies, they carried their message to the surrounding villages, where other drums began to beat and spread the message further. One rhythm was called rajlljll, of which a strange explanation was offered, namely, leaf of yIlyIl (cp. jil, a creeper); the rhythm was said to represent the sound of rain water when it runs down from the folds of the leaf where it has gathered. Perhaps more probable would be a derivation of the name from jil², jiljil, jlljll being the word for a swirl of water.

During all these proceedings the women stood watching from beyond the stone walls of the enclosure.

At the same time as the vigorous beating of the drums, the conch shells were blown (tavjo, conch shell), (bubu, the sound of the shells), and all the men shouted or cheered, and threw oranges out beyond the enclosure, mainly in the direction beyond the spot where Haqlam stood during his part in the ritual. They were said to be chasing away the old year or the old yam (dεm, rem, yam, year).

In the absence of any offered explanation of the title, kɔ:ran, of this ritual I suggest that it may derive from (ko⁸), to cast out; to wave (NA: kɔ:r, kɔr), and be taken from the action of the presiding chief, Haqlam, in waving the müjü in various directions, or from the throwing away of oranges by all the men at the climax of the ceremony.

To end the formal proceedings, the food is piled in little heaps (see the second diagram above) much care being taken to divide it equally or fairly equally; and the piles are then distributed, as free gifts, among all the men.

DANCES

MM

(Of the many native dances, the writer has recorded the names of only a very few.)

wil, *to dance*, appears to be a more general word than ha:⁹, *to dance*, ha: being used of special ceremonial dances.

Dances said to originate from Malekula include: taur (of which I have no details); and wəɛ:ɛ:, a dance used in Death ceremonies, e.g. DD 27. During the dancing the word wəɛ:ɛ: is often called out. Women are allowed to witness this dance.

Note also: merandUm, a dance used also in Death ceremonies, e.g. DD 33; and the bata or Circumcision dance (see BB and UU 1). This dance is forbidden to be seen by women. Its origin was said to be in the north (? of Ambrym). The 'Song for bata Dance' recorded in UU 1, is obviously a modern production, and appears to have little to do with Circumcision rites. rɔm (see KK). ha: rɔm (NA: hau ole), *to dance the rɔm, ole dance*. lɛŋ (NA: jɛŋ, *wind*); ha: lɛŋ (NA: hau jɛŋ), *to dance the Wind (dance)*. I observed this dance at Nəvha many years ago. It was said to be concerned with getting a good yam crop. Two tall dancers seemed to dance together, and two short ones.

Of the wəɛ:ɛ: dance, it was said to be held for 'another mage', i.e. for fanƙɔn graduation ceremonies; and also, as is clear from DD 27, ...in Death ceremonies, at any rate of a Mal chief. DD 33 seems to indicate that wəɛ:ɛ: and merandUm are important dances, rammae wilan ɡɔ moŋɔ:r ten wəɛ:ɛ: merandUm..., *they make dancing which is very big, wəɛ:ɛ:, merandUm...* It was said that the sexes could dance the wəɛ:ɛ: dance together, and that often a man would arrange with another man's wife to have irregular relations during such occasions; and that this sometimes led to quarrelling and shooting; one informant said that such a dance as wəɛ:ɛ: was not felt to be fitting for Christians.

GAMES

NN

Among the games played are the following:

Various forms of 'Cat's Cradle' are played by the children with string made from pandanus leaf.

ba⁴ and tesi, tesi². These two are similar games for two players, with small shells. The two players sit opposite each other; each has some small shells ready to be thrown, and each puts a small shell in front of him as the target for the opposite player. tesi, being a

spiked shell, is stuck into the ground. They take turns in throwing their other small shells at the target shell; the one scoring the most hits wins the game, and 'takes many shells'.

ba can mean either the small shell, or to cast shells (in this game), and therefore is easily transferred, in modern usage, to gambling (with dice, etc.).

to:², *wild-cane*; ramhe to:, *they hurl wild-cane* (see he^{1,6,8} [probably ⁸]). This game is played by any number of boys or men. At either end of a chosen clear space, they set up the butt ends of coconut-leaf stems as the targets, the thick end upwards, and the targets being about three feet high. The targets are perhaps fifty yards or so apart. Each player has his wild-cane arrow shaft. In turn they all hurl their arrows by throwing them down on the near ground, in such a way that the arrows skid from the ground in an arc towards the target. Great skill is often shown by the number of arrows that find their mark in the target stem. When all have thrown from one end, they move in a body to the other end, retrieve their own arrows, and throw again from where they are, towards the end from which they have come.

In April 1937, I observed an amusing community game at Craig Cove, and wrote: 'One of the strangest games I have seen was...on Christmas Day. Quite a crowd of natives seemed to be waiting in excitement, and we were told that in the bush - just beyond the village fences - some of the men were searching for several big shells which had been hidden. At last, a calling-out showed that four men were coming into the village, marching along one behind the other solemnly, each carrying a short piece of wild-cane on the top end of which was a flat arrow-head, such as they use for knocking down pigeons. As the four came into the village, the crowd began to yell at them, shouting all kinds of remarks which must have been funny, judging by the laughter that they raised... But the four men kept their faces quite stiff, not a smile, and the villagers yelled at them all the more, throwing crackers almost at their feet, mocking them, all in the greatest good fun - but never a smile from the four. In the centre of the village they halted, sticking their arrow-heads into the ground (with blunt arrow-head upwards, of course). Then they just stood by. Not long afterwards, more excitement arose with the coming of four more men, marching in single file just as solemnly as the others. More laughter and mocking and crackers greeted them, but not one trace of a smile did we see. They were solemnly chewing! When they arrived at the line of arrow-heads,...each one

spat a little of the green leaf, which he had been chewing, on to the flat top of the arrow, to make it sticky. This done, they too stood aside.

Then the greatest excitement of all was when the last four men (in the game) appeared at the village fence, carrying the shells themselves. They were the big conch shells and the peak of each one had been sawn or ground off, so as to make a little flat top, perhaps an inch wide. One of this last four had a very hard job to keep his face straight in all the yelling and laughing and explosion of crackers. The four of them came to the spot, and settled to the real business of the game, that was to stand the big shell straight up on top of the arrow-head. It must have been a very ticklish job getting the exact balance, for it was some minutes before the first man did it. All this time, while they were crouching at their job, the onlookers were running all round them, blowing on the shells to make them wobble, stamping on the ground, jeering almost in the faces of the competitors, and even putting lighted crackers at their very feet, and all were roaring with laughter, except the players themselves. It was really very laughable, though I found myself very sorry for the poor fourth man who just could not get his shell to stick on his arrow-head, and in the end he gave up trying. There were no prizes for the winners; but everyone seemed to get great fun out of it all. And it was fine self-control on the players' part not even to smile the whole time.'

able

WITCHCRAFT ('POISON')

00

Under this heading are grouped a number of notes and native texts which describe various witchcraft, or 'poison', beliefs and practices. Witchcraft is so much a part of the background of Ambrym society and life that its atmosphere, or shadow, and practice are also found in other sections of this record, e.g. BB 7, in circumcision procedure; DD, in death rites; EE 1-3, which describe exorcism; II, bato invisibility magic; PP, medicine magic; YY, the jahan, or 'power' movement; etc. Also UU 2, a witchcraft song.

An old Ambrym man said to me in 1937, 'Man Ambrym clever man for bad thing'. He meant what I found to be true, that the island is a home of witchcraft and the fear it breeds, and in which indeed it breeds. It is worth comparing Dr Lamb's notes (Lamb 1905:137-139; 207 ff., especially 211-13).

Sickness is always, or almost always, believed to be due to witchcraft, and the resulting feuds, witchcraft hunts and retaliations are well-known items in the general pattern.

As a physical aid to the psychological weapons of witchcraft, the traditional way of disposing of a selected victim is by strangling, probably oftener partial rather than complete. I have notes of an attempted killing by these means, carried out in November 1941; and Dr Lamb gives a graphic account of such an incident (Lamb 1905:231).

Here follow the notes and texts:

(a) Water of Unconsciousness (Noted 21/9/48)

wε ne ləlbUŋbUŋ ne able

Water of unconsciousness of witchcraft

1. jε d b kelbərə re-hogɔ-an ehe: (-) tɛca li- rmɔbUŋ
We don't know leaf of-it, no, so-and-so said, tree-'rmɔbUŋ'.

wε gɔn ŋali mUru hubɔn 2. ram tjue vanten tɔ hal
Water only this is-there itself. They hit a man on the road,

lɔŋ tolɔmer mε mermer gɔn ram ŋa mae sise hu
yes and he doesn't die, is unconscious only, they then make thing one,

ram llŋi luwɔn able ne mUnjɔk 3. memo ram
they put tooth of witchcraft on it, it's finished; it's first, they

heŋene wε ne lɔlbUŋbUŋ vanten an mamnu tɛban gɔ ca
give water of unconsciousness, the man that-one drinks for-it that

slɛca ne ŋa kelwuɔ 4. ram llŋi li - to: mean
he can't later-on tell out. They put stick of wild-cane it goes

lɔn tlnjen (lɔn buUUn sen vantenan) 5. ram halduhu
inside his intestines (in anus of man that-one), they draw it

tlnjen mεmε vere ram fufo kate ne weɔn
out his intestines come(s) outside, they tie (it) around with coconut-

mUnjɔk 6. lɔŋ ram huŋUn kɛbu ne
husk-string, it's finished, well, they-push-in back his-

tlnjen mekebuvan lɔn tɛban 7. lɔŋ ram fuhne
intestines it goes back inside his belly. Well, they squeeze-out

wε ne lɔlbUŋbUŋ gɔ ca slɛca ne ŋa kelwuɔ ŋe
water of forgetfulness so that he will-not later-on tell out them,

mamnu lɔŋ me hu-li-rmɔbUŋ 8. vanten an
he drinks, yes, it is sap (juice) of 'rm bu ' tree. Man that-one

me kebu van gorɔbUl tolo ɲa kelwo ɲe mUru gɔn
 ...back goes (to) village, doesn't then tell-out them, he remains just,
 mamhe gɔn 9. ram wuhtɔ tolo ca sise su mlca mu
 is sick just, they ask, he doesn't say thing any, says, 'It's good
 gɔn du mUru gɔn miale wobUɲ ɲasUl ɲalim tur
 just (remaining)', he remains just it's-thus days three, five perhaps,
 ɲalise tene go ca bɛmɛr
 six, till that he'll die.

(A more readable rendering of the above text follows.)

THE WATER OF UNCONSCIOUSNESS - A WITCHCRAFT PRACTICE

My informants said they did not know which leaf this drug was made from, it was just a leaf-juice that was available, but said as an after-thought they remembered that (so-and-so) had said that it was the 'rmɔbUɲ' tree.

They strike the victim on the track, but he is only unconscious, not dead. They make a certain instrument, and fit a 'witchcraft tooth' on it. First (then), they give him the 'water of unconsciousness', and their victim drinks it in order that he may not later on tell who they are. They insert a wild-cane piece, through his anus, into his intestines, and then draw it out with some of the intestines, which they ligature with coconut-husk string. That done, they push the intestines back inside his belly. Then they squeeze out the 'water of unconsciousness' (from its leaves) - it is the juice of the 'rmɔbUɲ' tree - its purpose is to keep him from later telling who they are. He drinks it, and returns to his village, where he doesn't say anything about them, but just remains as he is, and becomes ill. When (his friends) ask, he doesn't say anything except, 'I am all right'. He stays in the same condition for three days, or perhaps five or even six, before he dies.

(b) Witchcraft of the Bamboo (Noted 21/9/48)

able ne bʷɛlebo

Witchcraft of the Bamboo

l. ram hɛ:ne tan van lɔn bʷɛlebo go mUru lɔn buUɲ-fan
 They fill-up earth to go inside bamboo that rests in mouth-hole
 vanten a ram li:ne we maklrinen go ca ba aru
 of the man, and they pour water with-it, so-that it will take the

tan van lɔn tɪnjen vanten ɡɔle 2. mlale mUnjɔk
ground to go in stomach of the man that. It's thus it's finished,
 ram ɲa heɲene we ne lɔlbUŋbUŋ mene vantenan ɡɔ ca
they then give water of unconsciousness to man-that-one, so-that
 be kebu me ɡorɔbUɪ sinca ne ɲa keɪwuwo
he'll back come (to) village, he will not later tell out.

(Or, in more readable rendering.)

They will a bamboo piece with earth, (the bamboo) being in the victim's mouth, and then pour water with it to carry the earth into his stomach. That done, they give him the 'water of forgetfulness', so that he will go back to his village, but will be unable later to tell who they are, etc.

(c) (Noted 12/10/48, in North Ambrym dialect, mixed with Lɔnwɔlwɔɪ.)

1. mUru lɔn tu - bUɪ ablean me bUɪu-faŋ
It is inside hollow of bamboo, its 'poison' is ash of fire,
2. jafuan mUɦune ne vanten mɛrɔŋne tu - bUɪ
master-of-it points (it) at a man, he feels hollow of bamboo
 memao ne ɡɔ maktu vanten mUru lɔn 3. ableo maane
is heavy because it takes the man he is inside, 'poison' bites
 makea ɡe ma ɲane mUnɔŋ mə lakeli
(him), he knows that it-'eats' (consumes) it's finished, he-returns,
 malhe ɡe emkUkUr ru 4. mə sɛrŋi tɔbɔle
sees that they are gathered remain, he-empties (it) out in midst
 njer mijlle emarəwene abio ne 5. vanten
of them, it's thus they make 'poison' of-it (with-it)... The man-
 an mova besau mala: makte bɔŋɔn
concerned goes (to) village, shivering (ague) takes (him), his days
 be sUɪ ɲa te memar
(is)/are three (then), yes and he dies.

(Or, in more readable rendering.)

This witchcraft preparation is inside a hollow bamboo piece - it is fire ashes - and its owner points it at (or, towards) the victim, and feels the hollow bamboo grow heavy because it has the man (i.e., his 'spirit'?) inside it. 'Poison' 'bites' him - he knows that it already

consumes (him);¹ he returns, and sees that they (or, those who) are gathered together, and empties (it) out in the middle of them, and in this way they make 'poison' with it. The man concerned goes home, is attacked with ague, and in three days is dead.

E.G. noted 26/10/44: NəhardlIŋ chief and others: bamboo - ashes - pointing - victim comes - inside bamboo (?) - 'chloroformed', we ne lɔlbUŋbUŋ, *water of unconsciousness, forgetfulness* - wakes up...back to village - three days sick - dies.

(d) lu ru lɔn malɛk (NA: malɛŋ)
To hide remain inside dark-invisibility.

i.e. INVISIBILITY MAGIC

For this aspect of Ambrym life, we must also compare notes on bato, see II(b) 15-17; II(c); su, see 00(e) etc.

Notes taken 26/9/37: My informant, N-, said that once, when he was young, he was walking with B-, when they saw some persons, including women, approaching along the track. B- drew N- aside, and he crouched beside the track. B- then put a sur (see 00(e)), over N-'s head - a kind of stone - and this made him invisible to the passers-by, who were close enough to have touched him. N- was quite sure that they did not see him. Therefore, it is quite likely that bushmen may be crouching, invisible, at any point at the side of one's track. If N- or B- had spoken the passers-by would have seen them; N- and B- had to stare straight ahead, not at the persons passing.

This was confirmed 9/5/38, at Tawɔ:r village where T- was ill, and T- said he could not come to the mission-house for medicine as he was watching against avio, *poison*, and the possibility of men lurking around unseen.

Also noted (12/10/48): T- T- used to rub bUŋ, *charcoal*, on his right eyebrow and forehead each morning; it was tabu to rub it off. He had told N- that if N- wanted T- to teach him able, *witchcraft*, N- must first begin by 'poisoning' his own son (or brother or sister); this is the usual thing.

If invisible, N- would be able to take away a load off his wife's shoulder without her knowing how or who or where, etc.

See also 00(e) below, and compare in Dictionary bUŋ, etc.

¹It is not quite clear whether this refers to the witchcraft operator or the victim.

Note: bUŋ, *charcoal*, *black substance*, etc. as used in witchcraft practices; this was said to be made (perhaps not always) from the burnt bones of disinterred bodies of dead infants, preferably of babies who may have died when not more than one month old; the idea being that such infants have had no real consciousness or mind. The able, *poison*, man manages to sprinkle such ashes on the victim's head; the victim is thereupon sympathetically affected with loss of consciousness, becoming mentally as a new babe, and he will then make his way automatically to where a number of the witchcraft conspirators are waiting to deal with him.

(e) su (NA: sur) - a witchcraft instrument of invisibility

Noted 4/9/38, at Baiap: Informants recalled the case of Dr Bowie's being attacked by a Sulol man one night at Dip Point; when awakened, Dr Bowie was said to have kicked with his foot and sent the intruder flying off. The man was said to have had a su with him, a thing something of this shape:



made up with spider's web etc., and containing something which had to do with the intended victim. The su is believed to enable a 'poison man' to

approach his victim more easily, open shut doors easily etc.; he can also hit his victim with the su, which gives him power to hurt more. The power of su is strongly believed; it is *sise hanla*, a *tabu thing*, a *witchcraft item*.

My informants also recalled the death of Mr Berg at Napo, on Ambrym's south coast. He had expressed disbelief, but they had warned him to take care. His doors had been locked, or at least securely shut, but in the morning he saw that the door had been opened, 'and he believed'.

On March 6 and 7 1940, at the village of Harimal, I was able to make some further observation of the su aspect of witchcraft. M- L- had died on the 6th, and next day was a time of great wailing by a great crowd of mourners. After the burial service, the chiefs seemed fairly willing, even glad, for me to throw the su paraphernalia away into the sea near Olal. The dead man was said to have inherited much of it from his father. The things were in a wooden case which an old Christian man helped me to carry; but as he appeared somewhat uneasy, I took the case myself.

In the case were: (1) a white earthenware jar (with lid); and (2) an oblong tin.

In the earthenware jar were: three small bottles, in one or two of which was a dark liquid, a piece of soft stone, an old reflector out of a small torch, a piece of a funnel, a tobacco tin, obviously known to be the central item (see below), a couple of small paper rolls, odd buttons etc.

In the oblong tin were: odd bits of metal (? off a launch), some small lead balls, a piece of metal pipe, buttons, a slate pencil, a brass reel, a bit of a brass spring. Of the lead balls, I was told that they are used when a man is killed, by being pushed into his eyes to displace the eyeballs; I noted signs of fear even in one of my Christian teachers, who told the others that I didn't believe in these things, and thus they were harmless for me; but that they were 'no good' for him and other natives as they had 'another blood'.

Now to describe the central item - the tobacco tin from the earthenware jar. This contained two *su* items which appeared like cocoons, or cocoon-like rolls, apparently wrapped around with a spider-web substance. It was, I think, suggested that some dirty substance was inside them. These objects were clearly *su*. No native was prepared to touch them; to have done so would have caused swelling of arms, and possibly death. (Rather amusingly for myself, some days after the incident I developed a boil on my right arm.)

The account of Invisibility Magic, given just above, in 00(d), clearly involves *su*.

(f) *hal*, '*The Road*' (of *Premonition*)

If this use of *hal* is the same word as *hal*¹, *track*, then (as was suggested by an Ambrym man) it perhaps means '*a road for thinking about*', which may suggest the rather occult gift of premonition as to the approach or whereabouts of someone. In old days, this gift was used in times of fighting, so as to know the whereabouts of the enemy, or to be forewarned of his approach. The intuition is said to come with a feeling or itching of the head, particularly of the nose; it was said that the itching of the left nostril suggested evil or danger, e.g. that a 'poison man' might be about; but that a feeling in the right side of the nose portended good. Some men find themselves naturally to possess this ability of knowing what is about to occur, but it is also a power into which candidates may be initiated by payment of fees to noted *hal* men:

si magele hal məjəfəl bʷlca bæ jə fane
Who pays-for 'hal'? He begins to fast, he will continue cooking
 beta kənken gən sinca ne mün
(roasting) breadfruit sharp (with 'nail') only, he mustn't drink, he'll
 baŋahe gɔ:r su hu gən ne wobUŋ hu tene wobUŋ
chew a section (of sugar cane) one only for day one until days
 saŋavül (? saŋavUl) marbɔrbɔ (see: robɔ¹) ni
ten. (An initiate) puts his hands on me (then
candidate dreams...).

There was some suggestion that this hal power was connected with Falisarllili, a place high up Mt Tüvjɔ.

vanten ne hal, a 'hal' man, can come almost to mean a *clever man*.

On 5/9/37, at Wurɔ:, Craig Cove (where the dialectal form is sal), I noted that T- was said to have declared that he did not believe Jafu, *the Lord*, but believed sal 'no more', i.e. only in sal, the power of premonition.

On 24/4/45, L-, a blind young man, told the Magam people that a ship was about to bring one of their friends; they all said, 'May be N-'; sure enough N- arrived the same day on a French Government vessel.

(g) fao (A power, or risk, of causing sickness.)

fao, faone, seems to mean *to make tired, or sick* (see Dictionary, p. 43). A possible derivation is from fa^h, *to shock*, and o used for the noise of groaning, etc. Thus, if you heard a man groaning in pain or illness, you might say,

vanten hu mefaone vanten goli miale mijerəbe
A man one causes-sickness-to man this, it's thus he is groaning.

In 1937 I saw a notice posted on a tree in a village where a little girl was ill (actually she had by then died). It forbade fao - for instance - none of the villagers who might have slept away from the village, in another (possibly) hostile village, must return to sleep in this village during the child's illness. The notice gave instances of certain days when this had happened, e.g. W- had been to Pentecost Island and returned; and some men of the village had been on contract work on a plantation a few miles away.

(A later reconstruction of the notice was as follows.)

sinca min faone hak teslmre ca mi fao ne
Do not you-cause-shock-of-sickness-to my child. If you make-her-ill,

bica bo loŋne behakεbe
she will feel bad.

(h) tUru mar an
Pierce-the eye (-ing), i.e. Piercing the eye.

1. L- hlnln tεhakebe ramoa go ŋa vantɛn wɔ go hu rar
L-, his character was bad. They say that men some they

tUru metan turɔl 2. rar aru miju go hu
pierced his eye he (it) was blind. They took 'big-eye lizard' one,

rar mae able ne miju temo rar aru miju
they made 'poison' with the lizard it was first, they took the lizard

me rar umarne L- ca be mae faŋ bafrlfri 3. vantɛn
come, they watched L- if he should make fire it would blaze. A man

tεme tao L- te buɔdu kilihi ne L- te aru miju tUru
came behind L-, stood turned-his-back to L-, took lizard it was

taɔn te rUru metan ŋaru ne hlni- wɔmUɪ
behind (him), he pierced its eyes two with prick of orange,

tεca lɔn lɔlɔn nam je rUru meta L- ca bu rɔl
said (in his heart), 'I am piercing eyes of L- so that he'll be blind'.

4. ma aru miju mekebu van temga tɛn L- toloŋne metan
He takes lizard back goes. It was quick very L- felt his eyes

ŋero tekenken to kolo teslmre ne metan tu to:
the-two-of them it was sore, it swelled, 'pupil' of his eye 'broke out',

wεan tlli: metan tlbwi: metan tu
its water flowed out, his eye was affected for the worse, his eye was

rɔl bur tUnjɔk 5. vantɛn wɔ go hu alu mɛnek
blind quite, it was finished. Men ...some...their skin is afraid,

ra dlo mae faŋ ca bi je frlfri nelibuŋ tεban
they don't make fire so as it'll be blazing during the night, because

able ne miju a able wɔ go hu mɔn
of witchcraft of 'big-eye lizard', and 'poisons' ...some... more.

A freer translation:

L- was a bad man and they said that some (witchcraft) men pierced his eyes and blinded him. First, they got a 'big-eye' lizard to make witchcraft with, and brought it, watching to see if L- made his fire blaze up. Then a man came behind L-, stood with his back to him, held the lizard behind him, and pierced its two eyes with an orange-thorn, saying to himself, 'I am piercing L's eyes to make him blind'. Then he took the lizard away (very quickly). (Very soon) L- felt his eyes sore; they became swollen, the pupils seemed to 'break out' and watered badly; his eyes became worse, until he was completely blind.

Some people are afraid, and do not make their fires blaze up during the night, for fear of 'big-eye' lizard witchcraft, as well as of other kinds of witchcraft.

(i) Wind Magic

Supposing that a south-east (trade) wind is blowing, and that some Ambrym canoes are on Malekula waiting for suitable weather to return to Ambrym, the wind master takes some leaves (probably a certain kind) to the beach or to the reef. Heavy rain will follow, the south-easter will end, and a westerly will set in to enable the canoes to return home.

(j) Note on 'Poison in Witchcraft'.

Apart from the psychological weapons employed in witchcraft, there is some evidence to suggest that actual substances of a poisonous nature exist, and that their uses are known and practised.

One old man, who had been in Queensland in the days of the labour trade, said that some of the Ambrym men had bottled 'alligator grease' in Queensland, that it was 'poisonous', and that some still had it on Ambrym; a drop in drinking water was said to be a method used. This kind of poison was alleged to have been used in incidents near Mapकिन in July/August 1939.

I once got a sample of a substance said to be used as a poison by being placed in the victim's cooking fire, so that its smoke might affect the food being cooked; though I sent it away in the hope of an interesting analysis, no result was obtained.

In 1938, two good plantation dogs were poisoned; one apparently with a stomach poison, dying in slow agony; the other apparently with a heart poison, more suddenly. An old woman had been seen sitting for most of the morning, seeming to be 'making friends' of the dog which shortly became ill and died.

(k) The well-known 'personal item' method of witchcraft.

Some intimately personal items, such as a half-eaten piece of food, or a hair (or hairs), are notoriously dangerous things if allowed to get into a hostile person's hands. (Though the reasoning is not quite clear, it is the fear that excrement could be used by a poisoner which often stands in the way of hygienic reforms.) When one has drunk the water of a coconut, he always splits the nut before throwing it away. An intelligent informant (20/5/37) said that this is because 'something that stops in the ground' - he illustrated by means of a little green twig, and I could think only of a centipede, perhaps - 'might go inside the empty nut, through the hole, and eat the remains'; this would result in sickness for the person who had drunk the coconut-juice.

The writer remembers having to dress the badly cut head of a North Ambrym man. As each tuft of hair was cut away from around the wound he carefully put up his hand and took it all.

Sometimes the victim's hair is put inside an exhumed skull. A-, an old Christian teacher, was sure that he had saved a witchcraft victim's life by going up into the bush to a village where he had heard that this method was being used. He found the skull, removed some hair, and the sick victim, a woman, had then quickly recovered.

At least sometimes, the normal procedure in a poisoning process would be for the man who plans to kill his victim to gain possession of some such personal item, pass it on to a mal chief, who would instruct one of the 'poison men' to get to work (there would probably be some kind of payment involved between the various parties to the witchcraft).

The following account from the pen of a friend who observed the case during my absence from Ambrym in 1942, gives a good idea of this side of witchcraft practice:

'...a sorcery case. Big M-1...and another boy from the other side were the subjects, and the sorcerer of M- (village) was burning them both in the same fire to save trouble. This is what came out in court:

As far as M-1- is concerned - his woman cut a lock of hair which she passed to a man who passed it on to - Mal, who instructed the sorcerer, who got to work. The hair, with the necessary accessories, was placed in a bamboo which was then stuck in the ground with a small portion protruding. Over this was built a fire of specially selected poison woods which evidently burn slowly, and from time to time the bamboo is pulled up a little as the top burns away, so that, by the time

the bamboo is consumed, the patient also is - and it seems to take some weeks. The patient, or victim, feels in his feet a sensation as of ants crawling over them, which makes him scratch. The sensation rises slowly up the body, which swells, probably through the scratching.

In M-1-'s case the sickness was diagnosed by those who had seen a similar case, and a search was made for the magician. He was run to earth as a fire was noticed burning all day in his house - for all fires are extinguished when the natives go to their gardens. The investigators went to the house, and asked to light their pipes at the fire, but were refused, and a youngster sent for a light at another fire. This convinced them, so they called upon the sorcerer to remove the fire, but it was only after much trouble they succeeded, and the bamboo was withdrawn. ...At the court, the sorcerer disclaimed all responsibility, as he was only plying his trade, and would have been paid a pig or pigs on the completion of his task.

...It appears the victims started to recover as soon as the bamboo was recovered...'

(A later note: 'they say M- is not better yet - or likely to be, they say - as his leg swelled up, and now the swelling has broken'.)

(1) An example

From many cases, a brief record of one will suffice. In Ranhor village, in September 1937, Taron Meleun was dying, probably of tuberculosis, as he suffered with 'short wind' for a couple of months, anyhow. He told me that T- had taken the other half of a breadfruit which he had been eating, and had taken it to Nøvha where he had probably worked sorcery with it, causing him (Taron Meleun) to die. (Naturally, I spoke of the Christian spiritual power as being stronger than that of 'poison'.) He died a couple of days after I saw him.

MEDICINE MAGIC

PP

Noted 14/3/40: I was told that a woman, S- kōn, was very sick in a bush village; she was said to be vomiting, coughing blood, and to be weak. An elderly woman, L-, had given her a medicine infused from leaves, which seemed to have cured the coughing of blood. A day or two ago she had 'touched' a new piece of 'calico' (print cloth) - which

had been bought for the purpose - with her hand, and her friends had sent it to M-, of another village nearby, 'a clever man', who would use the calico, and would dream, and so 'find out' what the sickness was. He might dream, for instance, that a half piece of food (of the sick woman) had been put 'in a bad place', and then he would go and remove it. He would, of course, keep the calico.

Sometimes, an old piece of calico would be sent along with the new piece; the new piece obviously seems to be a kind of fee. Other men, besides the one concerned in the above incident, are said to have a similar power of divining the nature of sickness, and the measures to be taken for its cure.

Noted April 1938: L- was clearly very ill, perhaps with pneumonia; he suffered, too, with persistent vomiting, and 'short wind'. He was difficult to treat, and I thought that the medicines I prescribed were not taken by him. Later, he declined the medicines I offered, saying that his sickness was due to 'poison', and that some one or other must be putting certain leaves on a fire all the time, 'not slackening'. B- Melεun had seen his sickness, and had given him (native) medicine to counteract the 'poison', an infusion of leaves for him to drink. Also, they would get four coconuts, two of which they would put on a fire to heat. They would then pour the hot and the cold coconut water on to his hair and head; it would hurt, 'but it's good for that sickness'.

Noted 4/2/48: When a little girl, M-, was sick, a youth, T-, was said to be heating a coconut; there would be invocation of a sonhal, a tribal guardian spirit (see EE), who might have harmed the child.

SOME TABUS, OATHS, ETC.

QQ

Many regular tabus operate strictly and are well known and understood by all, e.g. a man does not speak to his wife's mother, or go into his wife's parents' house; the father of a new-born babe must not do certain work or eat certain foods, etc. (see AA); leaf for thatching must not be cut at certain times during the growing of the yam crop, as I found out when, in December 1937, I suggested getting retago:, 'tago:' leaf, for thatch for the roof of the new church building near Magam; I was told that they cannot really get this till 'the yams are dry'; and that if the Christians were to get it at that stage, the bush people might talk against them for 'spoiling the yams'.

At Endu, in the far south-east district of Ambrym (whose language and culture are akin to that of Paama), I found a tabu called (h)εrelto in

operation; it appeared that a leaf-'poison', in some way combined with fowl's egg, is left as a tabu on the track, and it was believed that if a woman were to go over it she would 'catch sickness, fowl egg in belly'.

Another tabu there was against women swimming in the sea; presumably this was a limited tabu as regards time; it was thought that their swimming might cause a big hurricane which would spoil the yams.

Besides the regular, normal tabus of Ambrym life, special prohibitions are put into effect, with the implication of a curse upon whoever should break the tabu, unless by payment a man should arrange a dispensation enabling him to do so. (See Dictionary, p. 205, $t\eta^3$, $t\eta t\eta$ goró, *to put a tabu, or curse, around...*)

As an example of a special tabu or oath, around which there developed quite a little trouble, I give some of the details of the case of ϵ - (of Fanla) and his runaway wife J- (a girl from Wo: village); noted in February 1937.

J-'s father, K-, owed a separate debt to ϵ -, a fact which complicated the affair. When J- had run away from her husband ϵ - (who belonged to the $me\epsilon un$ grade of $f\eta k\epsilon n$, *tabi fire*, ϵ - had gone to Wo: with a gun, threatening her. She had run away from ϵ - three times, complaining that he 'swore' at her, and 'talked against' her. ϵ - not only said that she could now stop at Wo: with her father, and be buried there, but had put up a bamboo tabu, something obscene apparently, meaning that if she returned now to him, he would be re-circumcised! This was felt to be a serious kind of oath, or tabu, and the following week, K-, the woman's father, accepted two pigs and five shillings from ϵ - for the offence of the tabu, and for having pointed the gun at J-.

This photograph shows the settlement of the affair. In the two men's hands are the ends of the ropes which hold the two pigs' legs. A Mal is superintending the transaction.



tamtamaan (Cp. Dictionary, p. 188)

PRAYER

RR

Dr Lamb's informant (see Lamb 1905:218) said, in answer to the question, 'Don't your people pray to the ghosts?' 'No, we don't worship, nor do we pray to anything.'

However, Dr Lamb uses the word *tetama* for *prayer* (Lamb 1899:26). My own observations, or notes, indicate that something very much akin to the meaning of *prayer* is covered by the word *tamtama*. It was said to mean an act of verbal approach to a spirit (*temar*), i.e. the spirit of a departed man or ancestor, particularly for help or - at least asking the spirit to refrain from further active harm - in time of illness. For example, if a child were ill, the father might approach an image-drum (*etlŋtŋ*) associated with ancestor(s), and with out-stretched hands make verbal appeal to this effect: 'If you made this sickness, take it away'. This actual wording was given to me as an example:

taba ne gemasUl o gur mŋle menamasUl terere be la
Old Man to-do-with us, take back our child (so) he'll
 mŋl me
walk again come.

that is: *O Ancestor of ours, restore our child to healthy life again!*

A man's 'mother's grandfather' would be a proper spirit to invoke in such circumstances. A man would probably take leaves, particularly wild-kava leaves (see EE 1-3), and wave these around the head of the sick child - as I noted was done by T- and N- on one occasion.

With this description of *tamtamaan*, the reader should compare the whole of EE, notably the exorcism by the *lifting, or waving of hands* (*ta va: an*, see *ta*⁴).

But on other occasions also, apart from sickness, there is invocation of ancestral spirits, or of 'the beginner of their generation', as one informant put it. I noted, on a launch, in a big sea near a Malekula reef, that one of the Ambrym crew men said words like this:

O taba omae lŋ bUru rŋrŋ gŋn o hŋl kebu ne genemsUl
O Ancestor, make wind let it rest quietly just, carry back us - few
 van o taba... O tata...
to go... (i.e. safely ashore). O Ancestor! O Father!....

I was also told that if they should 'meet' a big fish on a point (i.e. off a point, when travelling by canoe, etc.), they would not

call it a fish, but a chief, jafu mato, and they would tamtama, pray:

O jafUmto o ria genemsUl van ɔ:r
O Old Chief, take us - few to go ashore.

Compare also the kind of prayer to the moon that is noted in Tale U (*Tales of Ambrym* p. 79), where an old Ambrym man, addressing the moon, asks 'him' to carry a message to absent men, who were working on the Queensland plantations, putting it into their minds to come home.

In bato ceremonies (see II), *'if they hear a shell bu, i.e. sound, all must remain quiet, no speaking, no eating - like quiet tamtamaan; ...mene temar, to a spirit; ramca temar mejehoro, they say the spirit speaks'*.

It remains to be said that tamtama is naturally used by Christian Ambrym people for *to pray*; examples occur in almost all the Native Letters, e.g. NL 76:

merlɔ ɔɔlbUŋbUŋne gamsUl bogɔn ɔɔn hanem tamtamaan
We don't forget you-few all (of you) in our praying.

ɛtɪŋtɪŋ

AMBRYM DRUM(S)

SS

The frontispiece (by Brett Hilder) gives a fine example of a ceremonial drum. Ordinary drums are also used for various purposes of summoning villagers, or of sending messages.

Some variations of beat, tone, etc. could indicate a message about, or a significant connection with, various grades of faŋkɔn, *tabu fire*. For instance, if someone were seeking some meɔun chief, an enquiry for him might be beaten out on the drum of one village, and answered from another. For a chief of a different faŋkɔn grade there would be a different beat.

It is worth while comparing the account given in Tale E (Paton 1971: 17), of the rhythmical bird-call, and the consequent making of an image, which was probably a drum-image; for the bird's call was like tɪŋ tɪŋ (Tale E 8). Cp. *nena*, Dictionary p. 146.

SOME INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC AND SOUND

TT

Besides the drums referred to above (SS), other instruments are used for various sounds.

The conch shell, with small hole made in the spiral, is a widely known instrument for the loud bu:bu: sound. Such a shell is regularly

carried aboard canoes and launches, and blown to advise those on shore of the canoe's approach, as well as ceremonially to indicate the transport of pigs, etc. See *tavio*, *tavjo*, Dictionary p. 193,; the fuller phrase being *b*ελε-tavio*, *shell of conch*; *u:*, *uu*, *to blow*.

bau, *flute*: This wind instrument, used for dances and otherwise, is made from a hollow bamboo piece; my specimens of the ordinary kind of flute vary in length from about two feet six inches to two feet ten inches; in diameter from about an inch and a quarter to an inch and a half. The length is about one span of bamboo, i.e. from one growth-ridge, or 'node', to the next. There is only one ridge or node in the flute, and its solid internal circular growth or partition forms the cavity wall for the bottom of the wind-chamber; though short, shaped pieces of the next section of the bamboo are left beyond the ridge for the sake of ornament, such pieces varying in length (in my specimens) up to five inches. Flutes (*bau*) are illustrated in YY 14.

The top end of the flute is open, the bamboo being cut across just short of the next node, and a V shaped notch in the top edge forms the 'mouthpiece'. In line with this notch, but at the other end of the flute (that is, at the bottom of the wind-chamber) are two holes or 'stops' cut through the bamboo wall; these vary from a quarter to almost half an inch in diameter, although not all by any means are perfectly circular; they are spaced from centre to centre of the holes, from about two inches to three and a half inches apart; and the lower hole may be towards an inch or an inch and a half from the bottom node.

The player stands, sometimes on one leg, with the other foot raised and resting on his straight knee; he holds the flute perpendicularly by the bottom, between his two hands, in such a way that the fleshy ball of the middle finger of each hand may cover, i.e. 'stop', or uncover (open) one of the two holes.

He covers the open end, or top, of the flute with his chin, and blows down into the notches 'mouthpiece' by protruding his upper lip. The sound produced is soft and mellow, and tunes seem to use three notes.

The outside of the flute is ornamented with bands of more or less symmetrical designs of varied character, in which are probably to be seen patterns of fish, shark's teeth etc.

bau bɔlbɔl, *double, or crossed, or wide flute*, is illustrated in YY 14(b). My specimen is about four feet four inches long, the bamboo is about an inch in diameter, and the outside is ornamented similarly to that of the ordinary flutes. The length includes three growth-ridges, or nodes, of bamboo, two of which, with their complete discs or partition-growths, form the end cavity walls of the flute's two wind

chambers; the central partition divides the flute in the middle. On either side of that central node and its partition, a little more than an inch from it - on my specimen - is an oval blowing-hole, roughly a quarter of an inch in diameter. Each wind-chamber has, at its far end, and about an inch from the end node, one hole, or stop. The two blowing holes and the two stops are in line, on the same side of the flute. Obviously only one wind-chamber can be blown into at one time. The musician holds the double flute across him, with hands widely apart; so holding it that one finger of each hand can stop one hole, so producing tune variations, while he blows down into one or other of the two blowing-holes.

On my specimen, there are no ornamental pieces protruding beyond the end nodes of the flute, as there are at the end of the ordinary flute.

vⁱUhtɔ:ɔ, literally (probably) *bow strike-strike*, is a small stringed instrument shaped like a miniature curved bow (vⁱUh); the player holds it at one end by his hand, the other end being held in his teeth, in such a way as to give greater resonance; he plays the instrument by 'plucking' (see ɔ:⁹, *to hit*) the string with *wesuso*, a *small spine of the coconut-leaf*, as a plectrum; and the music produced is a resonant, twanging, rhythmical note or notes, varied by the position of a finger on the string; the effect is something like:

tlŋka tlŋka tlŋk tlŋk...

N- used to demonstrate the use of this little instrument with engaging little tunes, and the name s^lŋs^lŋjal is noted in connection with his information; it was said to be the 'name of one boy', and it may indicate a certain tune. For illustration see YY 15.

bu

SONGS

UU

1. bata Song, for Circumcision Dances (ref. to BB)

Note: This song is obviously a modern effort, and is said to refer to a well-known trading ship's captain of a few years ago. For some reason which it is difficult to see, the song is said to be sung at Circumcision Dances. Though most of it appears to be put in the captain's mouth, the song has been described as a 'song of victory', i.e. on the natives' part, and was said to have been sung by one, H-kən, on an occasion of success, the details of which were known to the writer. Possibly there is an underlying 'anti-white' feeling (cp. VV). The dialect is northern. By reading between the lines, a pattern of

meaning may be seen, and this is suggested in the freer translation offered after the literal.

jowá: e:...e:...e:...mənɛŋ ol a: a: a: e: e: mənɛŋ ol a: a: a:
Hurrah !.....my copra, ah!..... my copra, (exclamatory
 e: sllŋ do rɔɔ nɛ fan ɛm dro
refrain)... The sling is carrying (or picking up) under-it. They stop
 ran ru(r) nɛ ni e:...e:... vere ɛm bɔŋa
on a moving (? earthquake) to-do-with me, places they (are)
 ɛm (d)rɔɔ fan mənɛŋ ol mɛnɛ ni
all, they pick-up under-it my copra to me...(captain anchors)...
 ɛm 'wlnlm mi' va 'wlnim' 'bank' ge ran vere e:...e:...
they 'win' 'me'...go 'win' bank which (is) on land.....
 ɛm du se nɛ ni e:... nam du va (wa ?)e:...e: mime
They are-singing about me,..... I stop go you (all)
 mila:nɛ e:... jowá:...
come! rob me! Hurrah!

A freer translation:

Hurrah! it's my copra! ah!...it's my copra! The sling is picking it up from below...(The captain gloats over the copra's being carried to the anchorage)...(it is his, or soon will be!). They are in a bustle of preparation and talk about my arrival...in every village they are carrying it, my copra! to me...(The captain anchors)...They (think they are) beating me (by running me short of ready money to buy their copra); (?) we must go and 'conquer' a bank in my big country. (This may refer to his need to go and replenish his supply of cash from a bank in his country; or, possibly, if vere, land, etc., could be a reference to his ship (cp. vere halhal, floating land, used of Captain Cook's ship, see Tales C9, then it would be another reference to the natives' 'victory' in the white man's temporary shortage of ready cash)...They are singing about me...I am about to go...Come on! rob me!...Hurrah!

2. lɛlaan, a Dirge Chant (in northern dialect)

Note: On 25/4/37 I was in Ranvərəmto village, some miles south-west of Ranɔn, where a chief, T- t-, had died that morning. Among the loud wailing in some of the houses, I heard a rhythmical chanting by women's voices, with what seemed to be definite words. Later, informants gave

me the words. I was told that the women sing such little songs, and that this stirs all the men to wail loudly.

Awukɔn was said to have been a woman of long ago; she had belonged to Barrereu village, had been married to a Pentecost man, and had died there. At her death, this dirge was made and sung. (From a linguistic aspect, it is said that dialects are often mixed in songs.)

nam tɛr ɔ:r bʷll ɛ mbʷll ɛ..... (This line thrice repeated,
I seek place deserted... i.e. four times chanted.)

ɛ...ɛ...ɛ

(exclamatory refrain),

Awukɔn ɛ mawɛɛ... wɛɛ nɛ ŋgos be ...e? be a (nu) wu ɛ...
Awukɔn steers (away), steers ...where...? She'll go all-right...

that is (freely): I cannot find my friend Awukɔn; the place is
deserted..... Ah! ah! ah!...
Awukon is sailing away...
Where will she go ashore?...
Perhaps she will go safely somewhere...

Notes: 1. wɛɛ, to steer; more usually in NA: weje.

2. For 'Awukɔn' it was suggested that a dead person's name might be substituted.

3. A Witchcraft Song (cp. 00, etc.)

Note: The intended victim is lured into the bush where, at an arranged spot, he is attacked, perhaps hit on the head or - as commonly in such cases - half throttled; his assailants may cover his head with spider's web (ɛm taŋwaune); and, as he sinks into unconsciousness, this song may be sung over him; when he recovers consciousness and makes his uncertain way back to his village and friends, he is quite unable to remember who it was that attacked him - or, by ingrained tradition, does not dare to remember - and he will sicken, and in about three days die.

lɔlbUŋbUŋ ɛ lɔm do mbUŋbUŋ nɛ ni ɛ
Unconscious(ness) ah! your 'heart' forgets me,... (This line repeated,

lɔlbUŋbUŋ a: ɛ ɛ lɔm do mbUŋbUŋ nɛ
and for third time...) unconscious(ness).....you... forget

(n)i ɛ a ɛ lɔlbUŋbUŋ ɛ a ɛ
me..... unconscious(ness)...

tahi bu nan
other-side of song-that one:

om dɔl du ɛ nam fɔuku mɛtam
you're blind remain(ing) I cover (with ground) your eye(s) ...

...(repeated)...

om dɔldɔl ɛ...ɛ.....
you're quite blind.....

Note: I attempted to note the tune and, allowing for possible inaccuracies, the following, in sol-fah system, is near to it:

lɔl bUŋbUŋ ɛ lɔm do mbUŋbUŋ ne ni ɛ
d r d r s m d d l, l, s, s, l,

lɔl bUŋbUŋ ɛ lɔm do mbUŋbUŋ ne ni ɛ
d r d r m d l, s, s, s, l, m

lɔl bUŋbUŋ a ɛ lɔm do mbUŋbUŋ ne i ɛ
s, d m r d s, l, d l, s, s, s, l,

a ɛ lɔl bUŋbUŋ ɛ a ɛ
d r d r

4. Long Nose

Note: This song, told me by L-, was said to be used of a dead man who had a long nose.

gUsUŋ ɛ an gUsUŋ ɛ
my nose ah! my nose ah!

gUsUŋ ambe lantɔ ɛ
my nose is wishbone-of-fowl, ah!...

Note 18/3/48: At Fɔ:na:, in the old wɔrwɔr, *tabu fence*, of the Mal who was said to have seen Captain Cook, I saw a skull on the ground; it is (said to be) the skull of one Lɔkbarobano, who was a fine-looking man with a long nose, an admired feature of distinction, and the reason for the preparation of his skull. His body was said not to have been buried, but to have been put in the shell of a drum (atɪŋtɪŋ), and allowed to decompose. Apart from the skull, his bones had been thrown away.

Almost surely a good deal of the foundation for the 'good time coming' obsession was the natives' observation of the abundance of the 'white man's' power and equipment during the American occupation of the Group in wartime. This all focussed the contrast between the white man's and the natives' standards of living. Reasonable people deeply sympathise with the legitimate aspirations of the Pacific islanders for a better deal, and for education and training to enable them to take a more worthy part in the world's affairs, as well as to enjoy more of the benefits of modern civilization. The regret is that any such commendable ideals should have been led astray by the folly of the cults and 'movements' such as we are describing.

The Ambrym jahan Movement probably sprang from the Tanna 'Jon FrUm' Movement. A Tannese man, imprisoned (with dubious wisdom on the Government's part) on Malekula for his share in 'Jon FrUm', was at least a strong influence on Ambrym minds. From Port Sandwich, Malekula, where he was kept, the mysterious influence fairly easily spread to the western end of Ambrym, as intercourse by canoe between these district is common.

Many wild rumours flew, and found ready belief among many men. For instance, that N-, the Tannese, while in gaol on Malekula, flew every night back to Tanna; that, while the government might not give him food for a couple of weeks - which no reasonable person believes - N- could find food for himself because he was jahan, *power*; that, even if he were to be shot, he could not die; and that N- knew the names of the Ambrym men who did 'not believe'. Those Ambrym men who embraced jahan, made trips across to Port Sandwich to get 'news' from N- (or rather, the leaders or enthusiasts did).

Other rumours included: that a person, or being, in white clothes, carrying a 'torch light' which appeared to burst into fragments, was seen by some of them; that jahan, *the Power*, lived somewhere in the northern district of Ambrym, probably on Mt Tɔvjo; that if a person believed 'this thing, (he) would find Him (It)'; that the Ambrym leader got real power from N-, the Tanna man; that jahan knew all the northern men who did not believe jahan, and that if jahan appeared, non-believers would 'be ashamed'; that jahan (or 'Jon FrUm') always met a man in dancing; and so on.

It was believed that a strange cat had been seen walking near a certain mango-tree in W- village about New Year time, that it had disappeared - and 'no one talks about it'. The Cat was importantly associated with the Movement, and one story was that the leaders had a cat which they were feeding well, because 'jahan was in the cat'.

A magnet was another item, being called 'stil', i.e. 'steel'; if an adherent of jahan were to take one, put it in the mouth and sleep with it there, he was likely to see visions of houses and money and everything to be desired.

Three Northern men, non-believers in jahan, while cutting firewood (for my steam-launch) in the Craig Cove area, saw a small bird, 'a pigeon', 'hop out', whereupon one of them said, 'might this one jahan'.

Non-believers were sometimes pressed to join the Movement before it became too late; 'something might appear!'. At one stage, one of the leaders said it was already 'too late' to let others in, as it was 'last days now'. They would hear a noise 'on top from fire (i.e. volcano)'.

As is clear from the following Native Text, wireless also came into the scheme of things; adherents were said to be able to hear 'singing in the air', and would sit waiting quietly in their houses.

Bible texts and teaching were perverted to the use of jahan, including references to the Holy Spirit, and to 'The Comforter'.

(I personally felt that at least some possibility existed that the fantastic vulgar books of the 'Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society' were not without a part in the origin and development of jahan, for quite a number of these books were to be found among the villages; they had been sold by a colporteur named Rice, who had died on Epi in 1932.)

Such notes as I have gathered were in spite of a strict tabu against any jahan information being supplied to a white man (or missionary). Names of leaders have been omitted, for obvious reasons of courtesy and restraint.

Native Text: tenbarian ha 'Jɔn FrUm'
 Beginning of 'Jɔn FrUm'

1. memo ram hɔ:k|rine me 'busi cat' k|kɛ: hu lɔŋ ram
 It is first they find it-is pussy-cat little one, yes and they
aru ram liŋi tUru fan im lɔŋ tU lo: ne 'money'
take (it)...they put it-was under house, yes and it vomited money.

2. lɔŋ vanten ɡɔ tearu cat me kɛlwo mɛnɛ vanten bogɔn, lɔŋ
 Well, the man who took the cat tells out to men all yes and
nlti-cat ma helal bur 3. lɔŋ ram teweka ca ra hɔ:kri kebu
kitten is lost quite. Well, they try that they-may-find back

mən lɔŋ ram teja hUl kɔkɔ: (? gogɔ:) van ɔ:r
 again, yes and they take bed (? to cover) (prepared) go (to) place
 ɔɔ vantən ɔɔ ra(m)mər ram fo ru ɔ:r an 4. ram van
 that men who they die they bury rest place-that one. They go,
 lɔŋ tablɪbUŋ fifi a ram ru rɔŋrɔŋ ɔ:ran ram lŋka
 yes and mid-darkness covers, and they remain quite, there they see
 vantən me taura mu wutɔ ŋe mɪm te:nɛ ha? 5. ram ca demelɔɛ
 a man rises up, asks them, you seek what? They say, (we) want
 nɛk a ŋae mlca vər mənɛ ŋe lɔŋ ram dia vər
 you. And he tells stone(s) to them, yes and they take stone(s)
 mUru 6. vər hu me ha ʔ- a ɔɔ hu me ha J- a ɔɔ hu me ha
 it-remains. Stone one is of T-, and one is of J-, and one is of
 L- a ɔɔ (hu) me ha T-m- 7. a vər ɔɔ ml kɛlwo mənɛ
 L-, and one is of T-m-. And stone that-one tells-out to (them)
 ha(n) ih slnan (sɛnan) a Jɔn Sɪlesɪɔn lɔŋ narlɔ demelɔɛ
 its name other i.e. 'Jɔn Sɪlesɪɔn', Well I don't wish
 meke (mlke) rak mlke Jɔn FrUm ɔɔn tɛban ɔɔ na mae sɪsɛ
 you-call on-me, call 'Jɔn FrUm' only, because I'll make things
 həkɛbe bUnjɔk tɛn bur 8. lɔŋ ml kɛlwo
 bad it'll be finished very-much-so completely. Well, he-tells-
 ha: ih ŋe ŋe ɔɔ ram dia vər miwɛnɛ vər
 out their name-s, they who they take stones, it is like (the) stone
 mi jo hɔro mənɛ ŋe miwɛnɛ ram lɔŋta 'radeo' a mlkɛlwo
 is-talking to them it's-like they listen-to radio, and it announces
 ih ha J- me 'Judge' a M-r- me 'coter master' 9. lɔŋ vər
 name of J- he-is Judge, and M-r- is Quartermaster. Yes, stone
 mlca mənɛ ŋe ca vantən ɔɔ hu tɛ kɛlwo ni mənɛ vu su
 says to them, if man one told-out me to white-man any,
 ('or') vantən su ɔɔ rarlɔ krɪnɛ gami blca na
 or (to) man any who they-aren't with you-all, it-will-be I'll
 takɔtɛ batɛn ɔɔn 10. a (W)- a P- B- ŋa me
 cut through his-head just. and W- and P- and B- there he-is
 'Post' nɛ ŋe S- mən
 'boss' of them, S- also.

Here follows a more readable rendering of the above:

*The Beginning of the 'Jon FrUm' Movement
(and of jahan, the 'Power' Movement)*

At the beginning of it, they found a little kitten, which they took and kept in a house. It vomited money! So the man who had the cat, announced (this) to everybody, and then the kitten vanished completely. Well, they tried to find it again, and took a mat-bed to the burial-place, yes, there they went, and darkness came on, and they remained in silence. In that place they saw a man rise up (from the grave) who asked them, 'What are you looking for?', to which they said, 'We want you'. He told them about the stones, so they got stones to keep. One stone belonged to ..., one to ..., and one to ..., and one to

A particular stone told them its other name - which was 'Jon Silesion', but it said, 'I don't wish you to call me by that name (lit: I don't wish you-should-call on-me), call me just "Jon FrUm", because I'm going to put a very complete end to everything bad'.

Well, he announced the names of the men who took the stones - it was as if the stone was talking to them, it was as if they listened to the radio. He announced ... to be Judge, and ... to be Quartermaster.

Yes, and the stone said to them, if a man should inform any white-man or any person not 'with' you all, i.e. any outsider or non-believer of jahan, I shall chop his head asunder.

(Then follow some names...including one said to be the 'boss' of the jahan men.)

KINSHIP TERMS AND CONVENTIONS (cp. XX)

WW

In Melanesian society, as is well-known, kinship terms cover not only the 'straight' relationships of the intimate family circle, such as 'father, mother, son, daughter etc.', but also a complex system of classificatory relationships or conventions, so that, for example, by good reasoning, a man's son's wife, i.e. a man's daughter-in-law by our conventional arrangements, is his 'mother' (see below, tae, rahe-); his grandson is his 'brother', and so on. Such basic classificatory relationships or groupings bring in their train a further wide system of relationships, which to an outsider often seem baffling, but to Ambrym people appear to be widely and easily recognised. This worker frankly admits an ineptitude for following the complexities of kinship, and that some of the reasoning and diagrammatic representation used by Deacon, for instance, in his article on 'The Regulation of Marriages in

Ambrym', is more than he can follow. On the other hand, the following list of terms, and notes on relationship, are at least based on personal familiarity with the people and language of Ambrym over a period of fifteen years, and are thus some contribution to the recorded knowledge of this aspect of Ambrym society.

The following specific terms cover a good many ordinary Ambrym relationships; the words should be looked up in the Dictionary also. (See Grammar 22 ff.)

hela-, hela-, *brother of*, e.g. helak, *my brother*. This is used by one brother of another, e.g. Da: calls Taso helak, *my brother*; they are both sons of the same man, and so very commonly. hela is not used by a girl of her 'brother' (see mlnje- ari, Dictionary p. 138). But it can be used by a girl of her real sister, for which another word is jere-; thus, one sister says to another: helak or jerek, *my sister*. hela- is also used by a woman of her 'co-wife' (see Dictionary p. 67, o van lŋka helak, *you go and see my co-wife*).

In classificatory relationship hela- is a most important term. Alternate male generations are grouped together in the relationship of 'brothers'; thus a man's grandson (at least, a man's son's son) is helan, *his brother*.

(It is interesting to note that the northern dialectal equivalents for Lon: hela- and jere- are the same, viz. tala-, tall-, taje-).

helak ŋe, *my brothers*, is heard as a general way of addressing a group.

This term also covers the (cousin) relationship of sons of two sisters, e.g. a son of Lifan would call a son of ξlen (Lifan and ξlen being true sisters) helak, *my brother*.

mlnje- ari, *my brother*, as used by (his) sister, e.g. CC 14, in marriage ceremonies of distribution of tusker pigs, mlnjenari, *her brother*. (NA: menŋre, *my brother*.) Thus, for example, LIsIŋ to DA:, mlnjekari.

metahal, *sister*, is a non-suffix-taking term used by a man of his sister, for example, hak metahal, *my sister* (NL 73, written by a man, hak metahal ŋe, *my sisters*. Thus, mlnje- ari and metahal are reciprocal terms. See Dictionary p. 138 for probable derivation of word. NA: metahal and jUnje-; for example, DA: calls LIsIŋ metahal...

jere-, *sister of (sister)*, for example AA 13, go ca veen bolc:lɔ: ten, jeren beme..., *if a woman is very weak, her sister will come...* (NA: tala-, tall-, taje-, the same words as for *brother of (brother)* (cp. hela-).

tata¹, *father* (and for other persons than 1st, tUmom, *your father*, tImian, *his father*, etc.; see Grammar 25,26,28). Usually tata is used by itself, either in vocative address, or as an ordinary noun for *father*, e.g. tata, mε, *Father, come!*; tata teme, *father came*; but NL 68 shows hak tata teme, *my father died*.

By classificatory usage, one's father's brother(s), both natural and classificatory, would be one's father(s); e.g. NL 46 (a woman's letter): ca naniŋka tata hu Lonol, *so that I may see one of my fathers at Lonol*.

The naturally reciprocal terms are: netUk, *my son*; netUkaen, *my daughter*. (See Grammar 25,28.)

Also (class.), e.g. Belaŋ - Da:, a girl calls her mother's sister's husband tata.

tae, *mother*; and rahe-, *mother of ...* (see Grammar 26). Besides the natural relationship, one calls one's mother's sister *mother* (e.g. Jack - Esther, as Jack is son of Belaŋ, sister of Esther). Also, notably, a man calls his son's wife tae, *mother*, because she will (presumably or actually) be the mother of his son's son, i.e. of his *brother*, helan, the alternate male generations being grouped as *brothers*. For example, Alek says to LISIn, wife of Bōŋ, A's son, tae, or rahek, *my mother*. See examples of tae in N.4,10; NL 73, and, e.g. N.4 gae mewuto raheŋ, mīca, tae..., *he asks his mother, he says, 'Mother...'* (Reciprocal terms: netUk, netUkaen...) mama, *mother* (see Dictionary p. 126).

netUk, netUkaen, *my son, my daughter* (see Grammar 25,28). See Dictionary p. 147. Besides the natural relationship, those who are 'father' or 'mother' by classificatory usage would be able to call the persons thus related by the term *child*, netUk, - aen. tesimre, *child*, a non-suffix-taking word, may also be used.

tutu (NA: probably tUtU), loosely translatable as 'grandfather, grandmother'; thus used in the following cases:

children call their father's father tutu (FF)

children call their father's mother tutu (FM)

e.g., Eva, LILonto, Graham Da:kIke:, who are children of Bōŋtamgam and LISIn, call their father's father and mother (Alek and Seleŋ): tutu. (Note: Graham Da:kIke:, of course, also calls his father's father helan, *his brother*, the alternate male generations being classificatory brothers.)

Also, children call their mother's father and mother tutu, e.g. Gaom, son of Da:melip and Lifan, calls Lifan's mother and father (Alek and Seleŋ) tutu. Note example in Tale E 1,2... tIm'a-tae te ta

Labul..., *my mother's father belonged to Labul...*, and the narrator said that his mother's father was tutu to him.

Note: In using the word 'children', I mean persons of the generation mentioned; they continue to use the relationship term all their life.

An intelligent informant (5/10/48) said: 'tutu is our batatɔn or grandfather. We must call tutu always on that person who bear our father, or on woman who bear our mother'. But the examples already given show that both parents of both parents are called tutu.

tutu seems also to be a conventional term of address to an old person; e.g. in Tales N 32,33, the lihɛɛ, *mountain devil*, calls raɛma: *Mother Dove*, mebeɔk, *my grand-daughter*, to which she replies with the reciprocal term tutu, *grandfather* (see mebeɔ- below).

It was noted above, see hela-, *brother...*, and tae, *mother*, that because the alternate male generations are grouped as 'brothers', a man's son's wife is his 'mother'; it follows, by classificatory relationship, that her parents are tutu, *grandparents*, to her husband's parents, or at least to his father; thus, e.g. CC 2,3,4: the father of the youth sends money to his tutu, *grandfather*, i.e. the father of the prospective bride of the youth; han tutu mɪca mugɔn, *his grandfather*, i.e. *his son's prospective father-in-law*, says 'All right'.

In tables of family relationships noted by me, Esther and Belaŋ, for instance, call Graham Da:kIkɛ: tutu; he is their mother's brother's son (Esther and Belaŋ being true sisters); so also Eva calls Gaɔm tutu - the same relationship; the logical reason being, of course, that one's mother's brother's son is the 'brother' of one's mother's (brother's) father.

A woman also calls her daughter's husband tutu, for which relationship another term is the suffix-taking word tūbjū- (see below).

A man also will call his sister's daughter(s) tutu when they are married and have children. Thus, Da: will call the daughters of his sister LIŋIŋ tutu when they are mothers themselves. (It appears that one's sister's daughter's sons are ones classificatory 'fathers'.)¹

The reciprocal term mebeɔ- is next dealt with.

mebeɔ-, *grandchild of...*; mebeɔk, (*my*) *grandchild* (see Dictionary p. 130). man, *male*; and veɛn, *female*, are added when necessary to distinguish sexes.

¹In the writer's notes are a number of persons, names linked by the reciprocal terms tutu and mebeɔ-; but he is unable to give the actual relationships involved, so do not quote the examples.

Thus Gaəm calls Eva mebeək veen, *my grand-daughter*; she is his mother's brother's daughter as well as his father's sister's daughter; reciprocally Eva calls Gaəm tutu.

Gaəm calls Da:kIke: mebeək man, *my grandson*; Da:kIke: is Gaəm's mother's brother's son as well as his father's sister's son.

(Big) Da: calls little Jack mebeək, *my grandson*; Jack is his wife's sister's daughter's son; Da:'s wife LIfan is sister of LIIsIŋtɔ: who is mother of Belaŋ who is mother of Jack; thus, LIfan is a classificatory 'mother' of Belaŋ, and so *grandmother* of Jack, so that LIfan's husband is Jack's *grandfather*.

tübjü-, tıbjü, *daughter's husband of...*; in my list Selen, a woman, calls Da:, who is husband of S's daughter LIfan, tıbjük, *my daughter's husband*; in that case, she may also call him tutu, (*grandfather*). See also Dictionary p. 218, where an example from CC 11 shows the word as used by the father-of-the-bride of his daughter's prospective husband. Thus, broadly, tıbjü- corresponds with our English term 'son-in-law'. (Also, ? dialectal, tıbjU-.)

irnja-, *father's sister of...*; e.g. Gaəm calls LIIsIŋ irnjak, *my father's sister*; i.e. English 'paternal aunt'. So also, see XX Selen calls LIlɔnto irnjan, *her father's sister*.

In a list which I gathered, and which must (I believe) be a list of classificatory relationships and terms, a man calls the wife of a man whom he calls mısjək, *my mother's brother*, by the term irnjak, *my...* (MBW) *mother's brother's wife*; it is possible, perhaps, that she was in some way his *father's sister*; the interesting point is that the reciprocal term used by her to him is tata, *father*; which suggests that irnja- may imply a classificatory relationship as *daughter*.

As further examples of the probably basic meaning of *father's sister* (Fs), I quote:

Gaəm calls his father's sister LIIsIŋ, irnjak, *my father's sister* (Fs); Gaəm is son of Da: who is brother of LIIsIŋ; Graham Da:kIke: calls Ellen and LIfan, who are real sisters of his father Bɔŋ, irnjan, *his father's sister(s)*.

In my list, Da: also calls his wife's mother irnjak, *my...(?)*; this was said to be a 'different' relationship from that of father's sister.

Two reciprocal terms are mısjɔ- and jɛla- (cp. metelo). mısjək seems basically to mean *my mother's brother* (MB); jɛlak, reciprocally, seems to mean *my sister's son*. Broadly, from English viewpoint, the terms thus cover the relationship of *uncle and nephew*. An alternative term, a non-suffix-taking word, metelo, (*a man's sister's son*), means the same as jɛla- (NA metano).

Thus, (big) Da: calls Da:kIke: *jelak* or *metelo*, (*my*) *sister's son*, *my nephew*; Da:kIke: is son of LI*sI*η, sister of (big) Da:. Little Da: calls (big) Da:, reciprocally, *mIsjok* or *mUsjok*, *my mother's brother*, i.e. uncle.

Similarly, Bəntamgam calls Bəη *kəkae jelak*, *my sister's son* (sS), because B.k. is son of Bəntamgam's sister LI*sI*η*ɔ*(:). Bəη*kəkae* reciprocally calls Bəntamgam *mIsjok* or (NA) *møusəη*, *my mother's brother*.

A girl also calls her mother's brother *mIsjok*, *my MB*, *my uncle*; and he uses as the reciprocal term to her, *jelak veen*, *my sister's daughter*.

In an interesting example, Da: called Alek *jelak*, *my sister's son*; actually Alek was Da:'s wife's father; but owing to the fact that Da:'s sister LI*sI*η was the wife of Alek's son, Bəntamgam, LI*sI*η's son was classificatory brother of Alek, and therefore Alek was Da:'s sister's (classificatory) son.

Reciprocally, in the example just given, Alek called Da: *mUsjok*, *mIsjok*, *my mother's brother* (although Alek happened actually to be Da:'s father-in-law, i.e. his wife's actual father); for, LI*sI*η being Alek's classificatory mother, as just explained, her brother Da: was logically Alek's *mother's brother*. See additional note on following page.

via-, and *təvjan*, *wife's brother*: my example shows that Da: and Bəntamgam call each other by these terms; Da: is married to LI*f*an, Bəη's sister; Bəη to LI*sI*η, Da:'s sister, e.g. *viak*, *my wife's-brother*, *my brother-in-law*; or *hak tovan*, *hak tovan* (NA: *vian*, *my wife's-brother*; and *mənəη tovan*, *mənəη majiu*).

wUηɔ-, *wife's mother of...*; thus, Da: to Sə*l*əη; the NA equivalent seems to be *wUηɔ-*; and as *veen* may be added to the Lonwolwol word (and *vehən* to the NA word), to indicate 'female' - it looks as though *wUηɔ-* may also mean one's wife's father, though of this use I have no recorded example. Da: might thus call Sə*l*əη *wUηɔk veen*, *my wife's female parent*. Apparently the term implies some classificatory sense of grandchild, as the reciprocal term, used by Sə*l*əη to Da:, is *tutu*, *grandfather*.

Also noted is an example where a small boy, Ga*ɔ*m (son of Da: and LI*f*an) calls Eva (daughter of Bəntamgam and LI*sI*η) *wUηɔk veen*, *my female...(?)*; Eva is both Ga*ɔ*m's mother's brother's daughter and his father's sister's daughter.

It is interesting to note that *wUηɔ-*² is also the word for *armpit* of ...; possibly some derived sense was originally involved in the relationship term.

Note too that there seems some danger of confusion, at least to an observer from outside Ambrym, between this term (Lonwolwol) wUŋɔ-, for which the NA equivalent was said to be wUnjɔ-, and (Lonwolwol) wUnjɔ-, *mother's mother's kin*, for which NA: term was said to be wɔnjɔ-.

wUrU-, *mother's kin of ...*, e.g. BB 2,4 (in Circumcision ceremonies): wUrUn ŋerUl rUmtia han hobeti me, *some of his mother's-kin bring his mat(s)...*; and DD 1,13 (in Death ceremonies): jafu gɔ hu mɛmɛr, bwlca netIn batonɔ vane wUrUn ŋerUl, *a chief is dead, his son will pay-out (ceremonially) to his mother's people (i.e. to the people of the mother of the dead chief)*. Cp. batatɔn below.

wUnjɔ-, *mother's mother's kin of ...* (cp. Dictionary p. 245, and batatɔn below; also XX). For example, a small boy, Bule ola, calls Waji's bliim, *tribe, family*; wUnjɔk, *my mother's mother's kin* (NA: wɔnjɔŋ, *my m.m. kin*). It was said that Bule ola would 'avoid' them, though he could marry into that kin (mɔ gɔrne, *he avoids (them)*).

Additional notes on tata *father*, and tae, *mother* (cp. p. 72):

tata: also noted was that LIIsIn (a woman) called Gaɔm (her real brother's son) tata, *father*; the logic being that her brother's son would, by the grouping of alternate male generations as 'brothers', would be the classificatory brother of her brother's (and of her own) father. (So also LIfaŋ calls Graham Da:kIkɛ: tata - the same relationship.) ta:kɔn, (*tabu, respected*) *father*, a specially respectful form of address, was heard (15/3/43) used by Barbo to Nagɔn.

tae, *mother*: one's mother's mother's mother (m.m.m.) is classed as one's 'sister' in one's batatɔn group (see below). Therefore a woman calls her daughter's daughter (d.d.) tae, *mother*, because she is the mother of her 'brother(s)' and 'sister(s)'; e.g. Selɛŋ (mother of LIIsInɔ:), who was mother of Bɛlaŋ, who was mother of little Da: Jack - calls Bɛlaŋ tae, *mother*, because Jack is Selɛŋ's classificatory 'brother'. Thus, a man calls his sister's daughter's daughter tae, *mother*, for she is the 'sister' of his mother (his real mother).

Another example shows that an elderly man calls his daughter's son's daughter tae, presumably because she will be the mother of a son who will be his great-great-grandson; from which it seems that the alternate male generations even through the female side are classed as 'brothers'. Thus, Alek's daughter LIfaŋ has a son Gaɔm, who presumably will have a daughter who presumably will have a son; Gaɔm and Gaɔm's grandson will both be classificatory 'brothers' of Alek.

Additional note on mIsjɔ-, *mother's brother* (cp. p. 75):

By classificatory relationship, a man calls his sister's daughter's son mIsjɔk, *my mother's brother*, because, of course, the boy is the

classificatory 'sister' of his mother's mother's mother, i.e. of the man's mother. Thus, Bəntamgam calls Jack Da: mɪsɔk, my 'mother's-brother'. Jack Da: is 'brother' of his mother's mother's mother, Seləŋ, Bəntamgam's own mother.

Besides the above fairly specific terms of relationship, there remain to be discussed some terms of more general application such as bül¹, *related*; ta⁵, *belonging to*; ru-, rU-³, *part of...*, i.e. *relations of ...*; and also a series of terms which have to do with the rather complicated system of community divisions into tribes and moieties and groups. Such terms include:

bɪli-im, *family, tribe*; and the following words which cover aspects of tribal divisions, wɔ:, NA: wɔr, wɔ:r, *set, group*; tehi-vjUŋ, *verete, laŋlaŋ*; and a difficult word batatɔn, (*brotherly*) *group(ing)*. Any discussion of these words must take notice of Deacon's article 'The Regulation of Marriage in Ambrym'¹ (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* vol. 57, pp. 325-342). There is some kind of overlapping between the matters covered in the rest of this section WW, and in section XX which deals with some of the regular 'Marriage Lines' of Ambrym.

bül, *related, connected* (see Dictionary bül¹ p. 24). As will be seen from the Dictionary, the suggestion is that this word, in its social use, is an apt metaphor, being derived from bül, *breadfruit-juice-gluce*. For example, marom e vantən bül, *you two are brothers*. bül seems to be a word of fairly wide application, e.g. its reduplicated form bülbülən is a common word for *friend*. But also, it is said to be the strictly Lonwolwol equivalent for (NA) batatɔn, which may have a fairly restricted sense of social relationship.

ta⁵, *belonging to...*, e.g. ta hak ŋe, *my relations*, lit. *belonging-to-of-me they, those belonging to me*.

ru-³, rU-, *part of ...*, e.g. rUk ŋerUɪ, (*some of*) *my relations* (lit. *part-of-me they-few*). For example, AA 11, rUŋ veen ŋe, *the woman's kinsfolk*.

bɪli-im, *family, tribe* (lit. *door of house*). D/Marriage writes bwelem as the Baiap equivalent. As an introduction to a statement about 'marriage lines' (see XX), a Native Text has: iŋka bɪliim ne ham mem kean, *see the family, or tribal connection for our (marriage) calling*. D/Marriage says that each community is divided into three such tribes,

¹Referred to as D/Marriage.

called *bwelem* at Balap (Balap), *bwulim* at Ranon; so that a man speaks of *my tribe*, *my mother's tribe*, *my mother's mother's tribe* - Deacon uses *bwelem*. My notes, in confirmation thus far, show *mak biliim*, *my family or tribe*; *biliim ma tae*, *family or tribe of my mother*; and *biliim ma tae rahen*, *family or tribe of my-mother her mother, i.e. of my mother's mother*. (Deacon says that a person's mother's mother's mother 'came back' to a man's own *bwelem*, and to his own 'line' in that *bwelem*, and that she was called 'sister'. One of my Tables in this same section [WW] will show that this is so, and that she is in *bataton* relationship.) (I personally am not able to be sure that there are only three *biliim* in each community.)

Several words are used to describe the division of the tribe into moieties. My information confirmed Deacon's that there are two 'sets', 'sides', 'groups', in each *biliim*, *tribe*. The fundamental line of division appears to be the grouping as classificatory 'brothers' of the alternate male generations. Some of the words used for the 'sets' are picturesquely metaphorical, e.g. *wɔ:* (NA: *wɔr*, *wɔ:r*), *a part*, *a kind*, *a set*, *a group*, etc. In everyday speech *wɔ: ɡɔ hu* or *wɔ ɡɔ hu* means *some* (of indefinite number), e.g. *vantɛn wɔ: ɡɔ hu*, *some men* (lit. *men group...one*). See also note on p. 84.

tehi-vjUŋ is a more picturesque term: (lit. *half-bunch of coconuts*); my informant(s) said this was equivalent to *wɔ:*, e.g. James *Gaɔm* and little *Gaɔm* were said to be *ŋero rom e tehi-vjUŋ nɛ vantɛn*, *they-two are half-bunch-of- coconuts as men*, i.e. being alternate male generations, they belong to the same tribal moiety. Also, a man says to his own blood brothers, or to his grandson: *marom e (mUsUm e) tehi-vjUŋ ɡɔ me ni*, *you (two, three) are half-coconut-bunch which is I*.

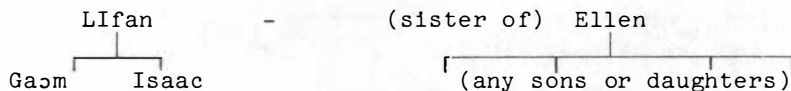
Another term for *moiety* is *verete*, *its handle* or *its arm*. It is the word commonly used for the wooden handle of knife or axe (NA: *veratie*, *veratje*). See Dictionary p. 228.

laŋlaŋ is also used for *group*, *set*, *generation*, etc. It is a word that can be used for a *deck*, *layer*, of house or ship, and perhaps more readily fits the English idea of 'generation' than 'moiety'. Cp. *si*⁻⁶, *sie*, Dictionary p. 177.

bataton (see Dictionary p. 11). In dealing with the society of North Ambrym, Deacon says, after describing the tribal divisions into moieties, that the community is further divided into two *batatun*, *with matrilineal descent*, and that each *batatun* is composed of one *wor* from each of the three *bwulim*. I would prefer to say that within the tribes and their moieties, there is a (further) grouping into a relationship by which persons are thought of as *bataton* to or for each other.

Broadly, the word seems to mean of *one's 'set' or 'brotherhood'*. Indeed, informant(s) told me that *batátɔn* was a northern word for Lonwolwol *vanten bül*, *brother man* (Baiaɸ: *vanten bi:*). One definition was that it really means children of the same sex, but also of both sexes, of the same father and/or mother; and thus three sisters were described as *veen batátɔn ɲerUl*, *three sisters*. But their little brother was also able to be included in the *batátɔn* grouping. It was said that the term could be loosely used in a tribe, e.g. *vanten batátɔn ɲjer* (NA), or *vanten bül ɲe* (Lonwolwol), for something like *tribal brothers*. In one's own tribe, however, *vanten batátɔn* are of one's own *set*, *wɔ:*, i.e. of alternate generations on the male side.

In one's mother's tribe, one's mother's sister's children are *batátɔn*. (It was noted above that one's mother's sister is also one's 'mother'.) Thus,



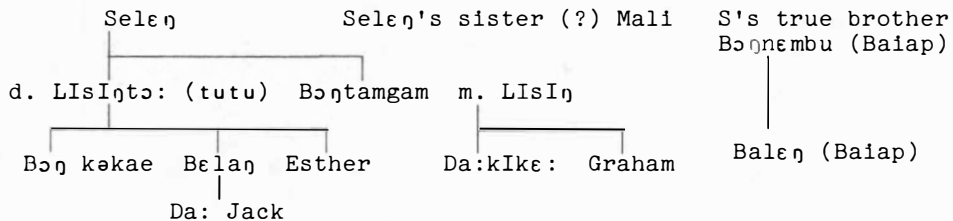
Gaɔm and Isaac would be *brothers*, *hela-*, and *batatɔn* brothers, with any sons of Ellen.

Some of the definitions quoted above are admittedly rather vague, and Deacon may be right in his preciser description of the meaning of the relationship. However, his use of terms is puzzling to this worker. For instance, he says that: a man, his mother, his mother's mother, etc. are all members of one *batatun*, and that this was expressed by saying that 'a man's *Talig*, *Mosyug*, and *Yeleg* belong to his *batatun*, while his...*Teta*, *Viag*, and *Tivyug* belong to the other'. The endings in -g represent the Northern dialectal 1st person singular ending, e.g. *talig* represents *talig*, which is NA for *helak*, *my brother*. The terms he uses mean that he says that a man's brother, his mother's brother (*mɪsɔ-*), and his sister's son or daughter (*jɛla-*), belong to his *batatun*. This sounds rather confusing and inadequate, and one of my most intelligent informants said that he thought it was not correct. For the terms covering those said by Deacon to belong to the other *batatun* group, *teta* means *father*, who, of course, belongs to the other group; *viag* means *my wife's brother*; and *tivjung* means *my daughter's husband*, and possibly other persons.

As to one's mother's mother's tribe or kin being *batatɔn*, it seems at least uncertain. I discussed the question with the father of young Bule ola (16/8/48), and noted that he was a little puzzled. Bule ola's mother Nini was daughter of Waji (i.e. Waji was Bule's maternal grandmother); Bule would call Waji's *biliim*, *wUnjɔk*, *my mother's mother's*

kin; my informant said they were non-batatun and that Bule could marry in her bllim, or village. Waji's mother, however, was a 'possible batatun' for Bule, which corresponds with Deacon's statement as to one's mother's mother's mother. (By being able to marry into Waji's bllim, Bule is able to marry his mother's mother's brother's daughter, it was said.) Bule mə ɡərne wUnjon, *avoids his mother's mother's tribe*, as they are not batatun. My informant's point seems clearly to contradict Deacon's information as to one's mother's mother's kin.

In the following Table, little Da: Jack is the central person from whose point of view the relationships are calculated. The Table may help in viewing the rather complicated subject of batatun relationship.



Da: Jack calls: Bəŋkəkəe (m.B.) mIsjək

Esther tae or rahək, *my mother*

LIsIŋtə: tutu, *grandmother* (m.m.)

Selen hak metəhal or jUnjek, *my sister*,
and she is batatun, a *sister*

Selen's sister Mali and brother Bəŋnembu batatun

Baləŋ tata, *father*; Baləŋ is not batatun

Da: Jack məɡə:rne LIsIŋ, *avoids LIsIŋ, i.e. Bəŋtamgam's wife*;

Selen calls Beləŋ tae, *mother*, because she is real *mother* of Selen's classificatory *brother*, Da: Jack.

It was noted that if Beləŋ were to have a daughter, she would 'go back' to Graham for his wife, i.e. Graham would marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter (Fsdd), see XX.

MARRIAGE 'LINES'

XX

Deacon says that 'on the face of it, the Ranon system (NA) would be easy to mistake for an ordinary non-class dual organization, since the loose general statement of the native there is that he must marry a woman of the other batatun, and may not marry one of his own'. In my attempts at discussion of the ideas of the article with intelligent informants, I found similar native doubts and uncertainties. One

of my informants thought that his father had been one of Deacon's informants. It is possible, of course, that to a researching anthropologist there might become clear a system whose complexities might, for practical purposes, not be clear in the native mind.

Deacon's statement that he collected relationship systems from four linguistically distinct districts in Ambrym must be modified by the fact, established in this whole work, that - strictly speaking - there are not four such districts. The language of the south-east 'corner' of Ambrym is quite distinct from the other and main Ambrym language, and is only dialectally different from the language of Paama. The main Ambrym language is spoken, with dialectal variations that are often considerable, in the Port Vato, Baiap, Craig Cove, Dip Point, and surrounding districts, and in the northern part of Ambrym also.

Much of Deacon's material was gathered around Baiap (Baiap). My informants were sure that Baiap 'custom' is the same as that of Lonwolwol, Ranon, Magam etc. But there were notable differences in the 'custom' of south-east Ambrym, of which I had an example in a dispute about a woman of Pwele, near Port Vato, who had been married to a man of Bomvamie in south-east Ambrym. Her husband had died, and according to Port Vato custom, she had returned to her own people. According to the custom of her dead husband's people, she 'belonged' to them. I have a letter, in English, dated 2/1/40, from south-east Ambrym, saying that Tom of Bele '...must send back Mao to Bomvamie... They [i.e. the Bomvamie, south-east Ambrym people] say they not want to man Bele take her to married, for men Bomvamie had buying out her already from men Port Vato'.

I am aware that my contribution to the knowledge of this aspect of Ambrym's social structure and procedure is not at all conclusive, but, if taken as complementary to Deacon's work, may help in any further investigations in the field.

It remains for me to give some tables to illustrate some of the regular lines along which marriage is arranged.

lŋka bliim ne ham mɛm kean Alick
See family-line for our calling, invitation (for marriage). Alick

netinaen ŋa LisIŋto: lɔŋ matemane LisIŋto: mɛlɛnɛ Stephen
his daughter ... LisIŋto:, well, he lets LisIŋto: she marries Stephen

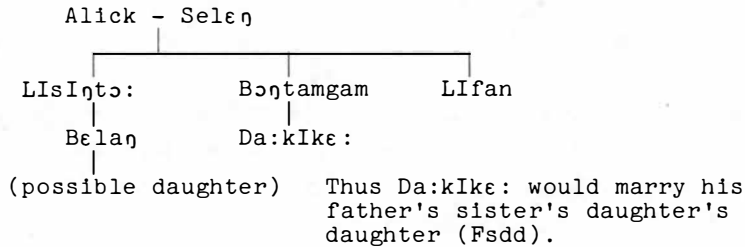
a mallŋi Belan a ca ratemane Belan mɔn mɛnɛ vanten
and she bears Belan, and if they allow Belan in-her-turn to man

su hu mɔn ca Belan tellŋi teslmre veen (vein) ɔ hu mɔn
some one also, if Belan should bear child female one more,

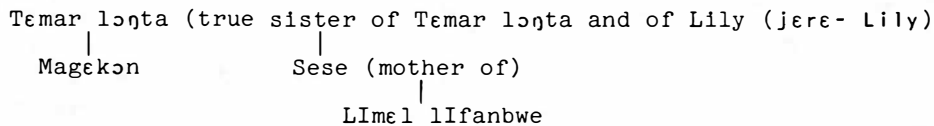
lɔŋ bʷlca vein ɣɔle bekebu mene Allick be han
well, (it'll be) girl that-one will come back to Allick to-be his
 vein.

wife (or, to Allick's 'brother', i.e. little Da:, his son's son).

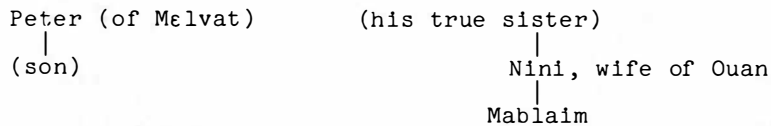
Thus,



Marriage with father's sister's daughter's daughter is 'straight marriage', as in the above example, and in the following case:

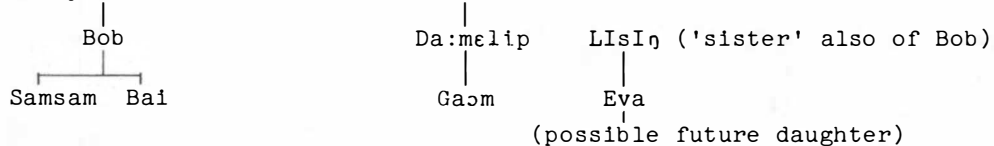


(Magəkɔn married LI:mɛl lɪfanbwe, i.e. his Fsdd.)



(Peter's son would rightly marry Mablaim; Fsdd.)

Willy Bai is brother of James Gaɔm

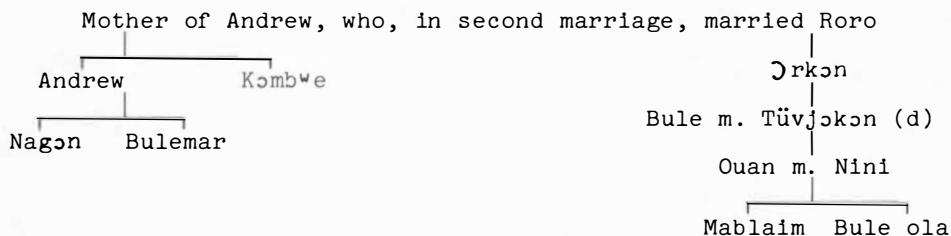


(It would be 'straight' for Gaɔm to marry Eva's daughter, if she has one; i.e. his Fsdd; and also for Samsam or Bai to marry Eva's daughter, as LI:ɪŋ's father, James Gaɔm, is also 'father' of Bob, James Gaɔm's own brother's son.)

Marriage with one's mother's brother's daughter' daughter is also 'straight' (mBdd). For example,

Other examples could be given of each of the above types of marriage arrangement, but the examples given will suffice.

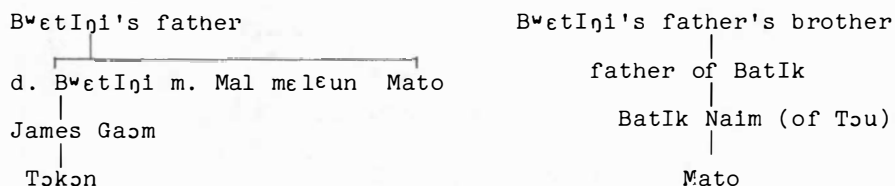
Two tables remain to be recorded of marriages which have actually occurred, though the principles involved are not clear to me:



(Bulemar married Mablaim.) (If Bulemar had had a sister, Bule ola was said to be in right place to marry her.)

In the above example, as ɔrkɔn is Andrew's step-brother, Bulemar appears to marry his father's brother's daughter's son's daughter.

The other actual marriage (Tɔkɔn - Mato) is set out as follows:



My notes include a native's remark:

jɪm du taɔn duan han viɯ lɔnlɛ ɡɔ ca veen lɔn blɛhɛnɛ
We-all follow custom of white-man nowadays. If woman should-love
 ɛnsul ɡɔ hu (bɛ) lɛnɛ mu ɡɔn tɛban ɡɔ
us-few one (i.e. one of us), she'll marry, it's all right. Because
 duan han viɯ mɛmɛ ru toɔlɛ ɛr
custom of white-man comes remains among us-all.

Additional note on wɔ:, wɔr (see p. 78): wɔr appears in verbal sense, e.g. nar wɔrɛn, *I was of-a-group among (them).*

DRAWINGS

YY

The following drawings serve to illustrate some features of the customs and culture of Ambrym.

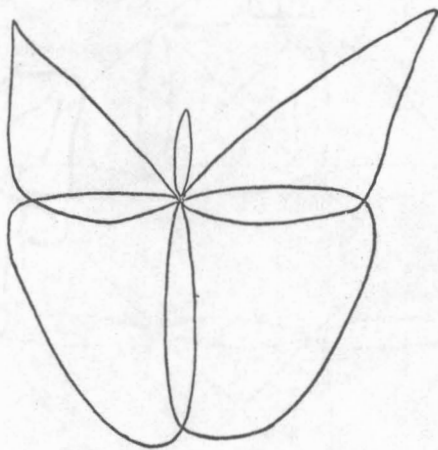
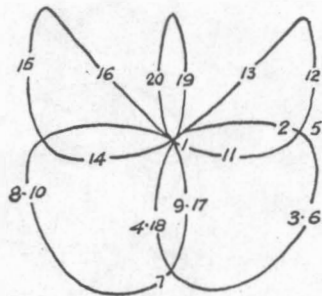
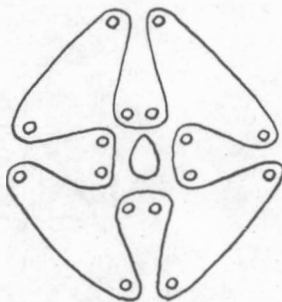


FIG. 1 Beta.



*FIG. 1^a Beta.
(Numbered diagram)*



*FIG. 2. 4 Flying Foxes eating the
fruit called "Tavoro"*

*The diagrams, with the exception of FIG. 1^a, are
facsimiles of drawings by Natives of
Ambrym Island.*

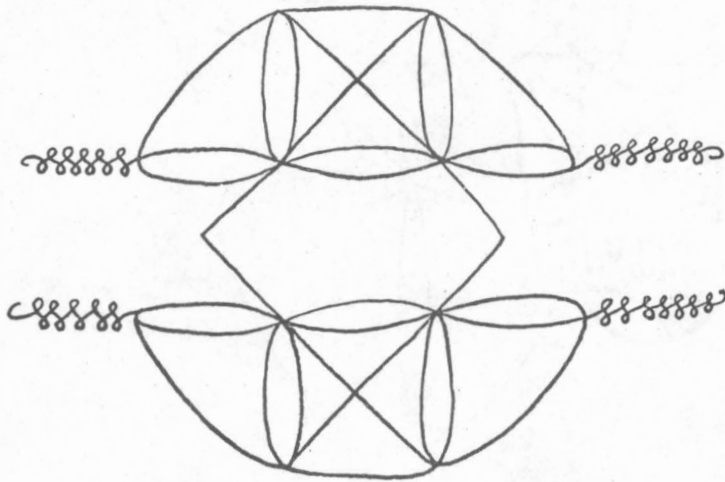


FIG. 3 BUIBUI mena alqooa



FIG. 4

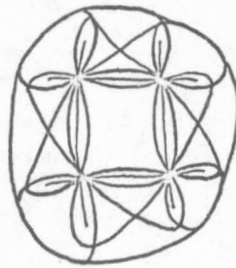


FIG. 4a

KUbur raunu



FIG. 5 Sie.

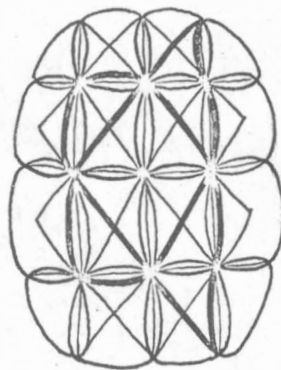


FIG. 6 REM wapanbu

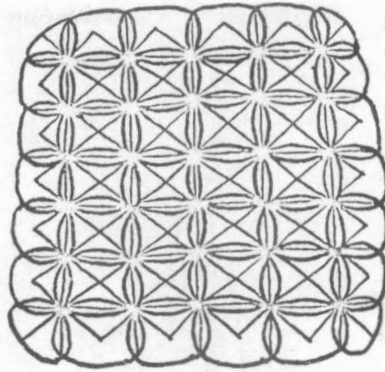


FIG. 7 Jil awa



FIG. 8 (Jackass)

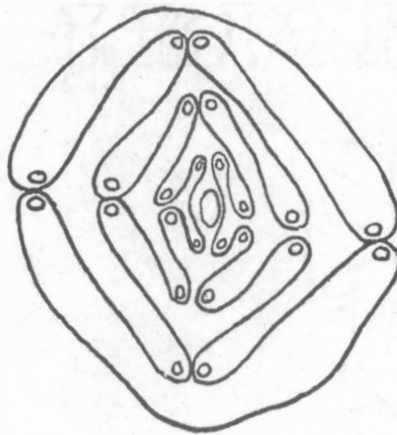


FIG. 9 LUAN

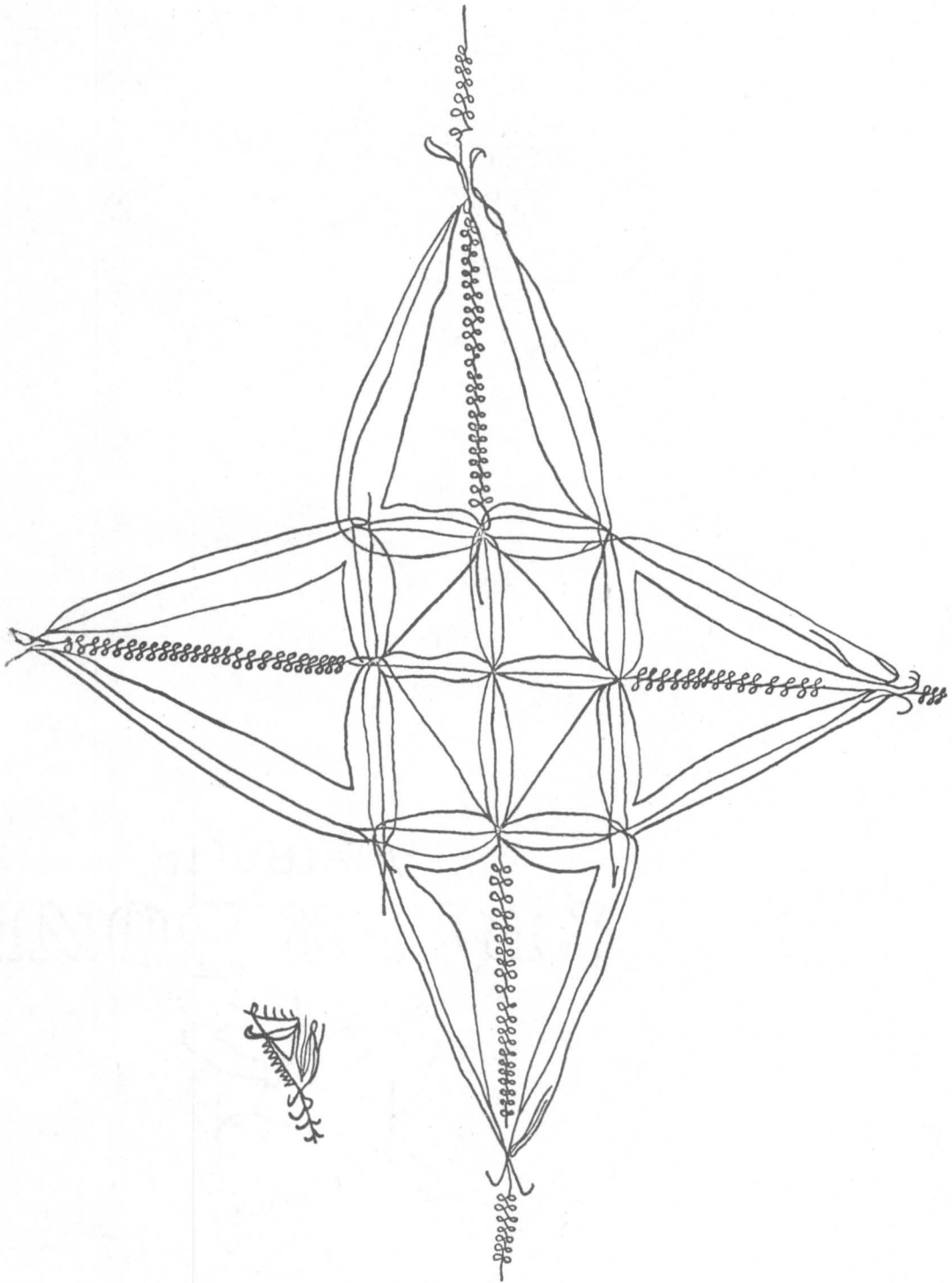


Fig. 10 Rom

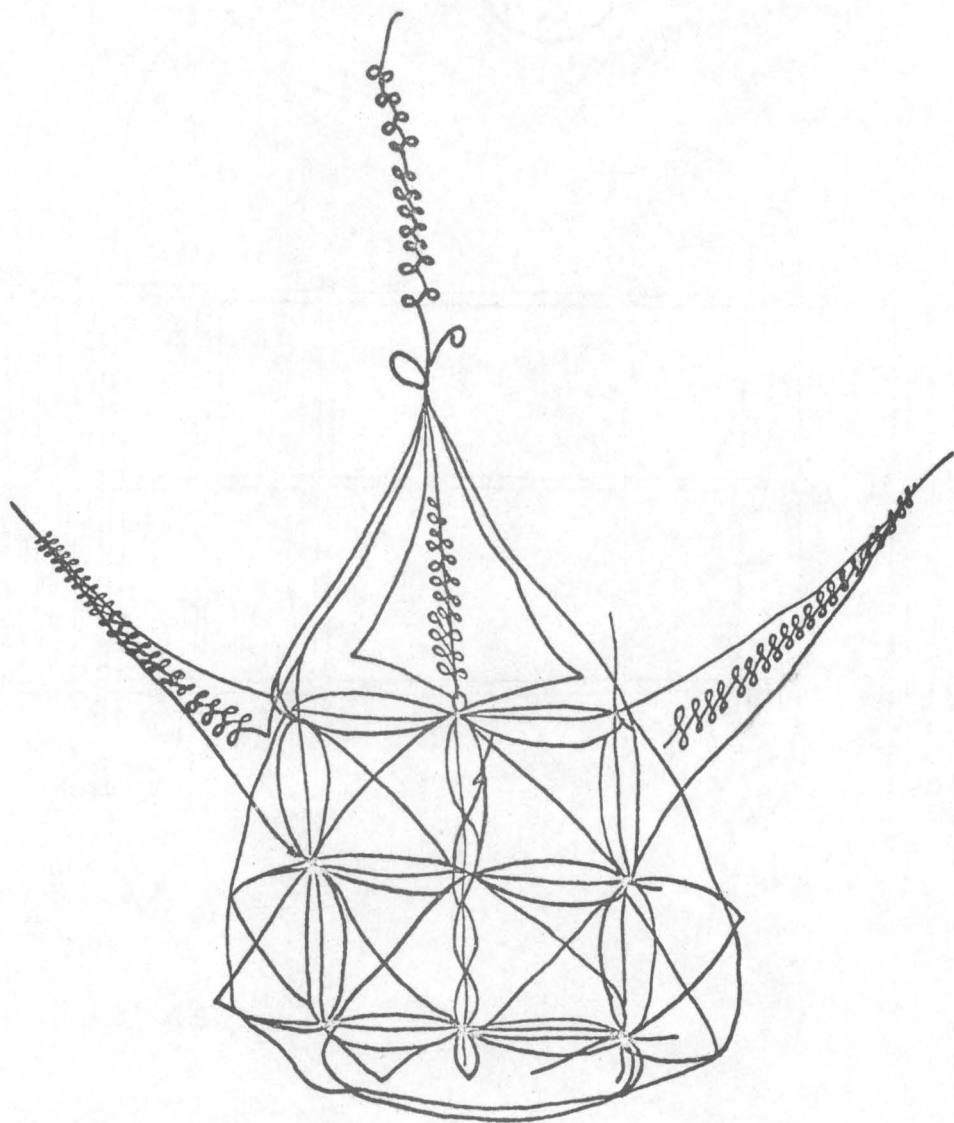


Fig. 11 AmUn ta Oba

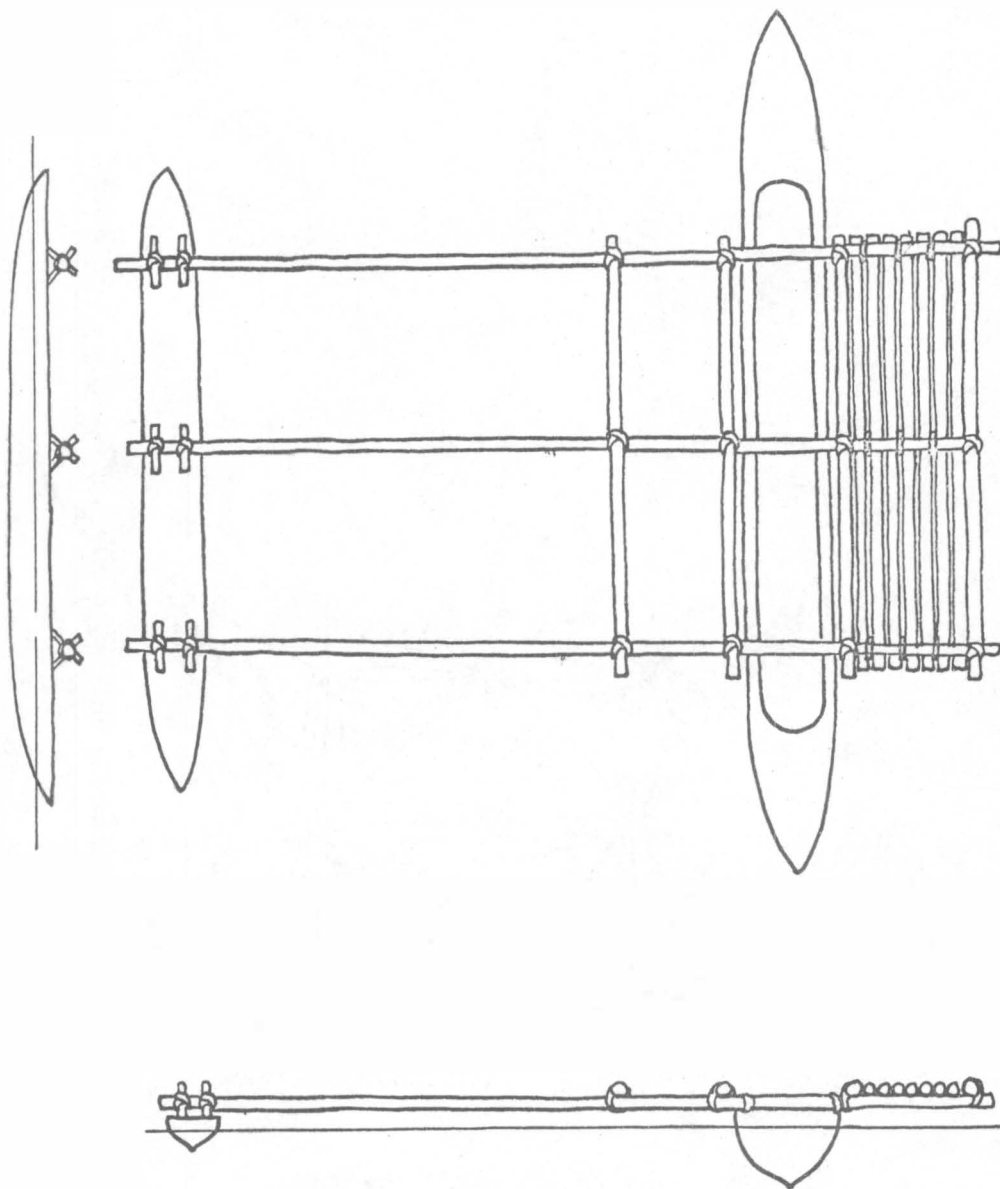


FIG. 12 Bulbulten

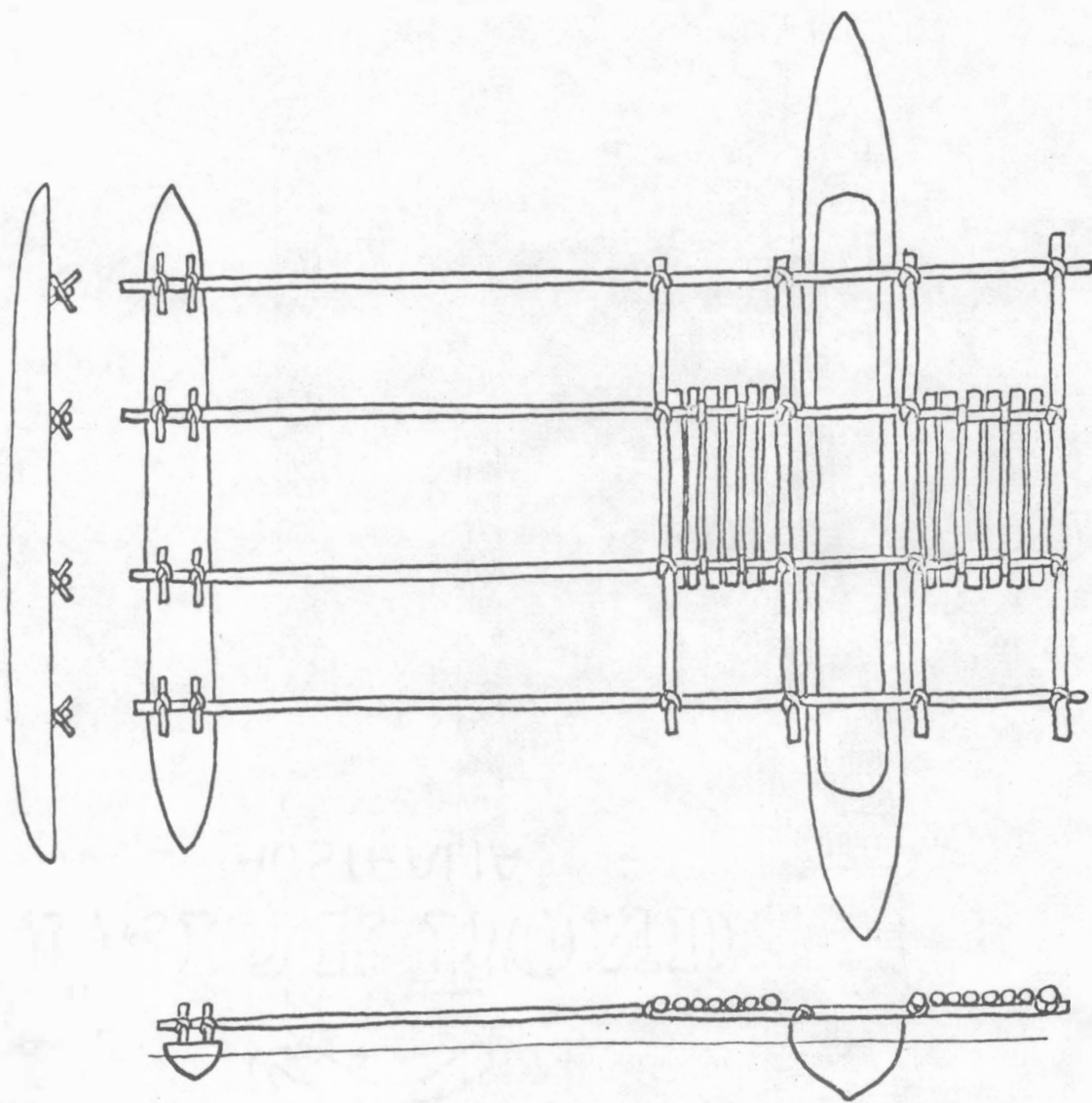
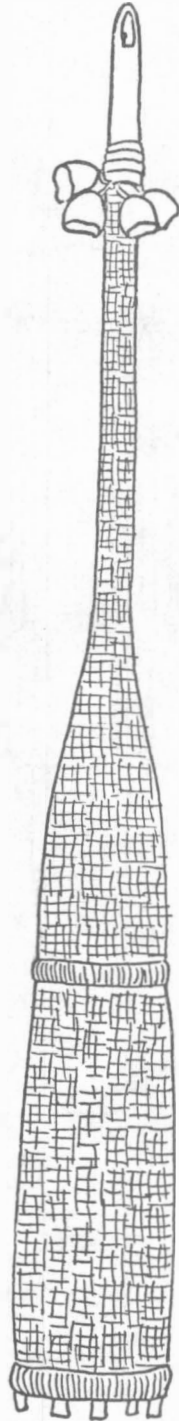
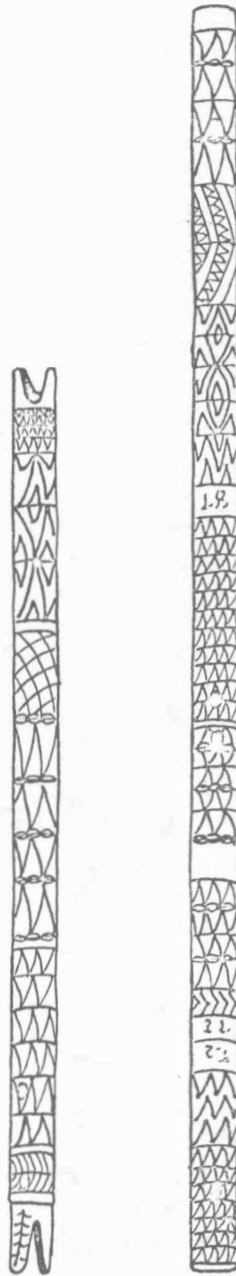


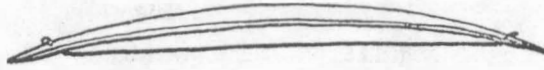
FIG.12^a Vilo Canoe (Model from Fila Island)



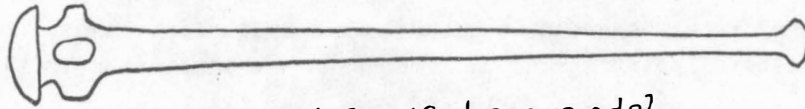
Y.Y. FIG. 13
 veran rom.



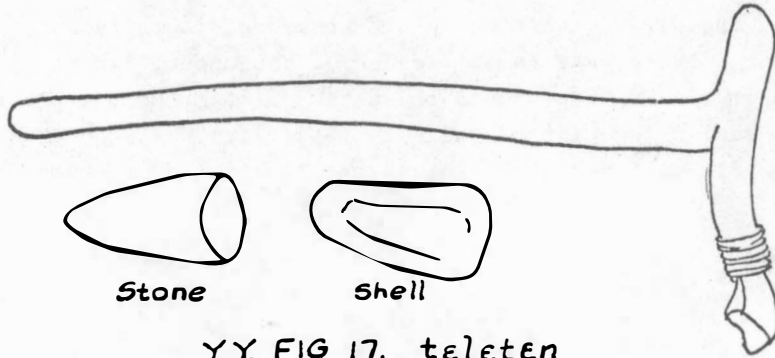
Y.Y. FIG. 14
 (a) bau (b) bau balbal



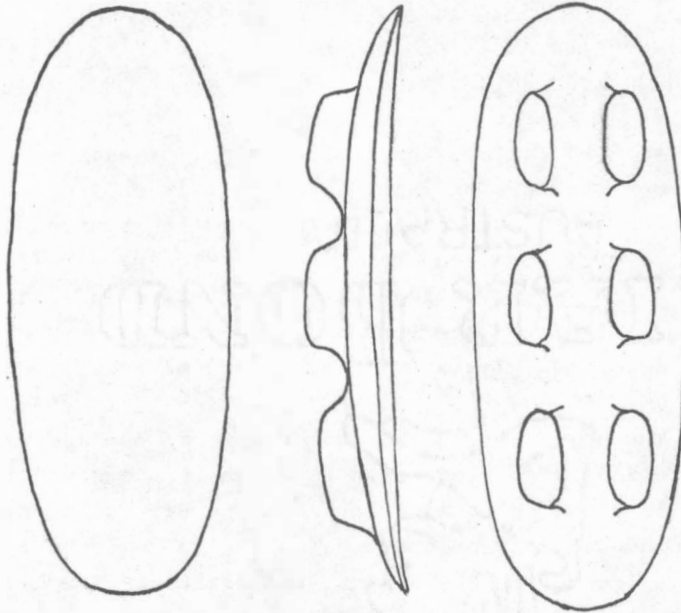
Y.Y. FIG. 15 v'Uh to:to



Y.Y. FIG. 16 bo:rwomdal



Y.Y. FIG 17. teleten



Y.Y. FIG. 18. sie

NOTES ON THE DRAWINGS

Figures 1 and 1a: beta, *breadfruit*. The numbered diagram (1a) shows the method of progressively tracing the design. Like many of the conventional designs shown in this section, it is made without lifting the finger from the ground, or sand, from beginning to end. Starting at the central point marked 1, it ends at the same point after the section marked 20. Some parts are gone over twice, as is clear from the double numbers.

The two lower, more or less round, parts of the design represent two beta, *breadfruit*; the two upper, peaked parts represent two breadfruit leaves (rete, NA: rate, *its leaf*); the upper, central little spiked part (19-20) represents the stalk or stem (esite, NA: asite); and the overlapping part of the two breadfruits, between the numbers 4/18 and 9/17 was said to represent the 'inside' of the breadfruit (vete).

Figure 2: Self-explanatory.

Figure 3: buIbUI mena ahoon, *the canoe of the white-tailed-creeping thing*; ahoon is said not actually to be a lizard, though like one. (I did not gather any story about this design.)

Figure 4: kuBur raunu (I regret that the design is the only item I have recorded under this title).

Figure 5: sie (NA: sije), the native 'dish' of Ambrym, i.e. the large concave wooden platter, on which breadfruit is rolled and kneaded, usually with a green coconut, after having been roasted and peeled. Cp. YY 18. (For derivation, see si-⁶, Dictionary p. 177.) This design (in figure 5) is called sie an eh, or sie an jeh, *dish of black ants*; it is a figure of the very small platter used by higher chiefs only, such as meloun, lokbaro, lukbaro, and mal chiefs.

Figure 6: tuu ne rem wogan bu, *the drawing of the special one-point yam* (see Dictionary p. 240, wogan). wogan is the name given to this yam, which is eaten by the initiates in the Circumcision rites (see BB 10; also quoted in Dictionary p. 240). bu is probably NA for Lonwolwol mu, *good*. In the design, the artist has emphasised the outlines of the two pointed yams. (An informant gave as the rules for

this design: 'always finish at same place as beginning. Cross lines first. Finish with two yams'.) Part of the design probably represents the 'rope', i.e. the vine, of the yam, aute, *its vine-rope* (NA: awute).

Figure 7: jil awa, *rope creeper*. (No details about this design.)

Figure 8: 'Jackass' design - no details.

Figure 9: luan, *hiding, secrecy* (cp. IIb,c; JJ). The design here shown is rather more complicated than that given by Layard, figure 15 (? Deacon, figure 61). See Layard, 'Maze Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula', in an offprint from *Folklore*, vol. 47, June 1936. luan is described as a name for a 'secret ghost society', by Layard.

Figure 10: rɔm, see Dictionary p. 169, for some description of the ceremony and paraphernalia covered by this term, as well as section KK of this work, including photograph(s). The drawing is described as: tuhan ɔɔ ram ca me 'rome' ɔɔ mukuku ŋali, *drawing which they say is 'rɔm' that shakes, here* (B. 16/2/45), and the following short account was recorded 10/2/45:

veen ŋavir rUmdu lɔn bubuɔr rUm baŋbaŋ ne rɔm
women four they are in bush, they - amuse themselves with 'rɔm',
 rUm gehne ɔɔ hu mægehne ma mnih senan mægehne mamnih
they work (it), one makes it-is-one kind, another makes it's-another-
ɔɔ hu mɔn mægehne mamnih ɔɔ hu mægehne mamnih
kind, one more works it's-another-kind, one... makes a different
bɔnegɔ rUm hUbsine rUm lŋka mi jɛn ɔɔn jafu hu mo
one. When they show they see it's-alike just. Chief one
 hɔ:k'rine ŋerUl motɔ:kɛbnu veen ŋaru rom mɛr ŋaru
finds them-few, kills-dead women two they-two die, they-two
 rom ro:helal ten bur ŋae maaru rɔm mɛmɛ hUbsine
they run away very-much quite. He takes the 'rɔm', comes shows
 mɛnɛ ŋe wɔ ɔɔ hu ɔɔrɔbUl ram wUhtɔ mlca veen rUr gehne
to them...some...at-village, they ask, he says, women they-few made
 man ŋe ram ŋa jo mae lɔnlɛ
(them). Male - s they (now) are-making today.

For which the following is a more readable translation:

Four women were in the bush amusing themselves making 'rɔm'-s, each of them making one to her own idea. When they showed them to each other, they saw that they were all alike. A certain man came upon them, and killed two of them, but the other two ran away and together disappeared. He took the 'rɔm' home, and showed it to some of his villagers, who asked about it. He replied, 'Some women made them'. But nowadays it is only the men who continue making them.

Figure 11: amUn ta Oba, *beard of Oba men*, appears to resemble rɔm.

Figure 12 and 12a offer a comparison between an Ambrym canoe and a Vila (Fila Island) canoe.

Figure 13: veran rɔm, *arm, gauntlet of 'rɔm'*, is covered by the notes in Dictionary, under rɔm¹, p. 169; section KK; Figure 10 above.

Figure 14: bau and bau bɔlbɔl, (*single*) and *double flute*. See full notes in TT, pp. 60-62 above.

Figure 15: vjuhtɔ:ts, viUhtɔ:ts, see notes TT p. 62.

Figure 16: bɔ:rwɔmdal, see Dictionary p. 20.

Figure 17: teletɛn, (*native*) *axe*. See Dictionary p. 199. One stone axe-head is shown in the illustrations; the axe-head in the wooden handle (verete) is white shell, made from the clam-shell. In using the original axes, the wood to be chopped, e.g. in scooping out a canoe, was usually burned, so that the charred wood was able to be dealt with by such an instrument as the shell axe-head.

Figure 18: sie, *wooden platter*. See Dictionary p. 177, si⁶; also cp. Figure 5 above.

VARIOUS NOTES

ZZ

As a general comment, it was noted that many customs, such as the *fan̄kɔn*, *tabu-fire grades*, and the *wəlele*, *wələ:ʔlɛ:* dance, came to Ambrym from Malekula by way of the western end, i.e. the Dip Point or Lonwolwol area. It was suggested that it was natural for the Lonwolwol dialectal forms to persist, even in the northern districts, in words denoting such customs.

On the other hand, an informant (20/12/44) claimed that the Northern people were the experts in yam culture, 'because the yam came from Ra:', i.e. from Pentecost.

But bananas were among the items said to have come from Malekula; thus the Dip Point people were the experts in banana culture, e.g. it was said that the people of such northern villages as WIlir and Nəvha, not properly understanding bananas, could not grow them very well.

Simple small items seemed to this worker to give some insight into the native mind.

For example, Ambrym logic appears in the treatment of questions couched in negative form, cp. Grammar 125,126. The reply, *lɔŋ*, *yes*; or *ehe*, *no*, applied to the whole negative conception of the question, e.g. see Grammar.

The Ambrym gesture for ordinary beckoning is to extend the arm and hand with palm downwards, and to bring the hand downwards towards oneself; on the idea, probably, that the person beckoned will make his or her way to the caller along the ground. (The European custom of beckoning by repeatedly bending the index finger towards oneself, but in an upward direction, might suggest progress by air!) An older, experienced missionary felt this small item to be an indication of simple logical thought.

Other experiences, however, indicated severe limitation of thought processes, e.g. a patient (23/5/45) with a yaws sore on her right leg, wishes for an injection into a vein on her right arm; an indication, probably, that the circulation of the blood was not understood.

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