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Dialogues with the dead:
the experience of mortality and its discussion
among the Sora of central India

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ABSTRACT

Living Sora hold frequent dialogues with the dead, who speak with them through mediums in trances. The thesis explores the problems of understanding which this presents to the anthropologist. It takes the awareness of mortality as a universal human experience which is however discussed differently in different cultures, according to their underlying metaphysical assumptions. Sora trance is considered as a technique for operating on this experience by means of a postulate (sonum, conventionally translated as 'spirit') which represents the continuing influence of a dead person on the living.

The thesis is built on the analysis of extensive tape-recorded dialogues between mourners and the dead. It falls into three parts.

Part I outlines the relevant areas of Sora ethnography and metaphysics. After sketching in something of Sora politics and social structure, it discusses their view of the person, of relations between persons and of "subjective" and "objective" reality. This leads to the crucial Sora dichotomy between the Ancestor and Experience aspects of the dead and the mapping of these on to incompatible areas of the landscape.

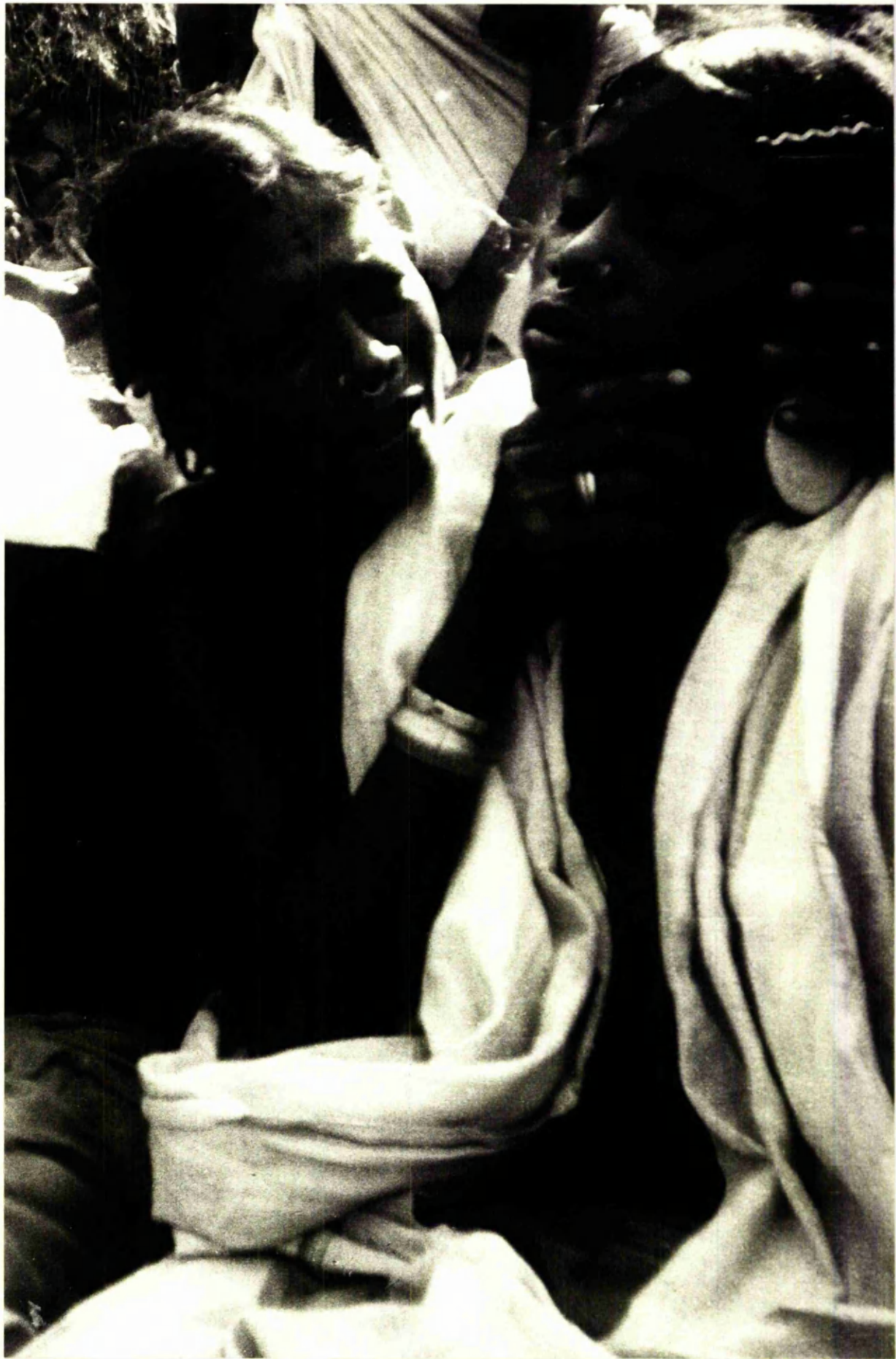
Part II examines a funeral dialogue in which the deceased is cross-examined to establish the nature of his Ancestor and Experience aspects. The subsequent attempts to transform the terms of this verdict in order to modify his future influence on the survivors leads to a discussion of the grammar of verbs of experience and suffering and thence to a provisional English translation of the word sonum.

Part III develops the implications of this translation across time. A series of linked case-studies explores the healing of private emotion, the arguing out of ambiguities in inheritance and in the unfolding of the lineage, and finally the Sora sense of the interplay between transience, permanence and repetition and with this the counterbalancing of grief with joy.

A final chapter discusses the inadequency of any translation of sonum by making a comparison with Freud's theory of bereavement.

Plate 1 Dialogue between a living and a dead person

The mourner (left) speaks with the deceased through a medium in trance (right). Photographed at a guar (funeral stone-planting).



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Preface

a) fieldwork

The Sora are a "tribal" people in central India (see Chapter 2) with whom I lived for periods amounting to a total of 15 months during two visits to India, from December 1975-May 1977 and January-November 1979.

I stayed successively in three villages within two miles of each other and visited most other villages in the vicinity. For the first month the Sora were very cautious in their response to me and I was obliged to stay in the non-Sora settlement of Puttasing and make daily expeditions to Sora villages. Finally one group of brothers, to whom I shall always remain grateful, overcame their mistrust and lent me an empty house as well as some of their children to live in it and keep me company. It was from these children and their families that I first began to learn the Sora language. Later on in every village I was always invited to live as a brother in one or another friend's household and share their cooking pot. Everywhere, I received much uncalculatingly generous hospitality, patience and tolerance both from lay persons and ritual specialists and now count some Soras among my closest friends anywhere in the world. During my second stay I was privileged to act as one of the small group of Ancestor-Men (Chapter 9) for one lineage and in that capacity to fast, sing and dance at their funerals in order to impersonate their ancestors and bring about the redemption of the deceased.

The Sora were aware throughout that I was photographing, tape-recording and writing down some of the most intimate aspects of their lives in order to tell my own people about them. It is consistent with their openness that after some initial doubts they gave me all assistance (cf. plate 9). I have accordingly taken steps to conceal the identities of persons and villages where this seemed judicious.

Most of my best tapes were stolen in a big city shortly before I left (cf. table 7.1) and before they had been transcribed; the texts given here are mostly from a final week's return to the area.

b) acknowledgements

Apart from the Sora themselves, whom it would be invidious to name singly, I am indebted to many persons and organisations for making this work possible. Early financial support came from the Social Science Research Council of the U.K., the Governing Body of the School of Oriental and African Studies and the Central Research Fund of the University of London, as well as from the Perrot-Warwick Fund for Psychical Research, administered by Trinity College, Cambridge. The second period of fieldwork was made possible by Girton College, Cambridge, who awarded me the Margaret Smith Research Fellowship; the Royal Anthropological Institute, through an Emslie Horniman Scholarship; and the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, through a grant-in-aid made via the South Asia Language and Area Center of the University of Chicago. In addition, I was often rescued from financial embarrassment through the generosity of my parents.

Parts of this thesis have been read by Olivier Herrenschmidt, Ronald Inden, Geoffrey Lloyd, David Parkin, Jim Peacock, Ann Salmond and Marilyn Strathern. I have benefited much from their comments and am alone to blame for any faults which remain. I am also indebted to the following people for discussion or encouragement at various times: Susan Drucker-Brown, Meyer Fortes, Kathleen Gough, Roberte Hamayon, Caroline Humphrey, Edmund Leach, Alan and Sarah Macfarlane, Rodney Needham, Audrey Richards, Rupert Sheldrake, David and Patricia Stampe, Hilary Standing, Stan Starosta, Michael Yorke and Arlene and Norman Zide; also to Mr B.H. Farmer, Director, Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, both for the quotation from Shakespeare in Chapter 5 and for his tolerance as I laboured to finish this thesis at the same time as being already engaged with him on another project. I am also grateful to the Department of Anthropology at the School of Oriental and African Studies for their initial support of this research when it was first proposed and to my supervisors there, at various times Professor G. von Fürer-Haimendorf, Mrs Audrey Hayley and Professor A.C. Mayer.

In India, apart from many people known and unknown who showed me kindness, I am particularly grateful for hospitality and assistance to the following: Elisabeth Chaussin and Christian

Petit for sharing information; to Andhra University, Waltair, particularly to the Registrar's office and the Professor of Anthropology, Dr Prasada Rao; to many people at the Department of Sociology, Delhi School of Economics; to Professor L.K. Mahapatra of Utkal University; to Mr N.S. Kumaraswamy of Berhampur, Mr Prakash Pashpureddy of Puttasing, Mr Bala Patnaik of Parlakimidi and Dr Bhupinder Singh, IAS; to the members of the Baptist Mission in Serango and the Catholic Mission and the Lutheran Church in Gunupur; and to Rupert Sheldrake for providing at his home in Hyderabad rest-cures and stimulating conversation whenever needed.

Back home, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the unfailing competence and patience through crisis of my typists, Patricia Little, Celia Little and Ann Robinson.

c) conventions of language and presentation

Fieldwork was conducted in the Sora language without interpreter and both for this reason and because of my earlier training as a classicist, considerable attention was necessarily paid to linguistic evidence. The sizeable texts presented are therefore placed in the main body of the work as integral to its development instead of being relegated to space-saving appendices. I have tried throughout to give the reader enough of the Sora language for him to feel that the proper evidence exists to support whatever statements are made but not so much that he is overwhelmed by it (further references are given in the bibliography). Accordingly, only a selection is given of the Sora originals of the texts quoted, since these may serve little purpose without the detailed commentary which it is hoped to give them, and others like them, on a more suitable occasion.

For the present, commentary on texts has been kept to the bare minimum though in translating, great effort has been made to keep close to both the meaning and the tone of the original (see Chapter 11).

There is no indirect speech construction; instead, the Sora reproduce the speaker's supposed original words including the tense and person of the verb, the intonation and often the gestures. In translating, I have used double inverted commas " " for an exact quotation or (in the case of a single word)

a precise lexical equivalent, and single ones ' ' for paraphrases, glosses, etc. Since this is an oral culture, pairs of grammatically parallel words and phrases are commonly used in both prose and verse. These will here be called "doublets" and I have analysed their structure, with examples, elsewhere (Vitebsky: in press). They have often been translated without commas in an attempt to convey the tightness of the association of the words involved, for example

i-omdrenga i-omda kun-a-si'ing kun-a-kerun

1 2 3 4

"Leave abandon that-house that-home!"

1 2 3 4 (cf. Chapter 11, line 286)

This device is also used to link more than two elements to form lists.

In order to spare the reader, Sora terms have generally been rendered into English where nothing important is at stake in the translation. Certain key terms are left untranslated and those which recur most frequently are no longer underlined after their first few appearances. Any word which is tantamount to a name and thus receives a capital letter, is likewise not underlined. A glossary is given at the end of the work, but the meanings given are not to be taken as equivalent to full entries in a lexicon.

All longer Sora words are built up from monosyllabic or dissyllabic roots and compound words have sometimes been broken up into their constituent elements where it seemed helpful to make an etymological point. Verbs are generally quoted as uninflected roots, e.g. pang-, "take".

Many questions of Sora orthography are open to debate. The conventions adopted here include the following signs:

ng as in "singing"

ngg as in "single"

ɨ a closed i sound, similar to the Russian *и*
or the Turkish *i*

ñ as in Spanish (could also be represented by ny)

ɖ retroflex d

ʝ as in French jour, Russian *ж* (zh)

② (schwa) is not used: though such unemphatic vowels occur constantly in Sora, I believe there are usually grounds for preferring a or e.

' where two consonants meet within the same word at the beginning and end of syllables, the former consonant is reduced where possible almost to a glottal stop. Thus dub-a, imperative, "Support!", is pronounced as written; but the written dub-tai, "I support" is pronounced almost as du'tai. In cases where the suppressed consonant cannot be reconstructed with certainty, a glottal stop has been used, e.g. ka'ja, "casual, random".

Stress is very variable but often on the last syllable, e.g. gorjáng, "village" (in this sense it falls on the last syllable of the stem in inflected verbs, e.g. olóng-tai
1 2

"I encounter"). This is specially so of most personal names
2 1

which end on an open vowel.

Genealogies and discussions of kinship terminology follow the usual anthropologist's conventions, including the following:

	△	male		○	female		
M	mother	F	father	S	son	D	daughter
B	brother	Z	sister	e	elder	y	younger

These are combined as e.g. MB "mother's brother", MeBS "mother's elder brother's son". The adults of today are said to be in generation 0, their parents in generation -1, their children in +1, and so on. Further conventions adopted are explained as the occasion arises.

Though as will be seen there is in Sora thought a great sense of spatial relations, all diagrams are my own and are designed only for clarity of exegesis of Sora concepts to the non-Sora reader. An outline of structure of the thesis and the argument to be presented is given at the end of Chapter 1.

PART I:

INTRODUCTION

(Chapters 1-6)

1 The problem: Dialogues with the deada) the occasions for dialogueText 1.1

Dialogue between a recently-deceased little girl, speaking from the Underworld through the mouth of a medium in trance, and her living grandmother; also present: the young mother of the little girl, but she is too overcome with grief to be able to speak.

1. Little girl: [faintly] Mother, where are my nose-rings?
2. Grandmother: [tenderly] They must have burned up in the pyre, darling, we looked but couldn't find them. I don't know whether they jumped to one side or what.
3. Little girl: [petulantly] Why aren't you showing me my nose-rings?
4. Grandmother: They were so tiny. ... If I'd found them of course I'd show them to you. Oh my love, my darling, don't cause your own illness in others. Can you say that your mother and father didn't sacrifice for you? They didn't turn their backs or refuse to help you, did they? Think of all those pigs, all those chickens, goats, buffalos, my lovely child. Didn't your father say "Let's light a fire, let her stay at home and not go out to work, look at her, she's already got the face of an old woman", didn't he say that? ... What? Your two gold necklaces aren't here, Sarsuno's wearing them now ...
5. Little girl: [crying] Mother, you were horrid to me, you scolded me, you called me Scar-Girl, you called me Leper-Girl, you said "You're a big girl now, why should I feed you when you sit around doing nothing?" ...
6. Grandmother: She didn't mean it, she couldn't help saying it: after all, you were growing up and there were such a lot of chores to do.
7. Little girl: [sulkily] I want my necklaces ... I used to hobble around bent double, I couldn't stand up straight ... [unreasonable childish tone] Why can't I have my nose-rings? ... I have to go digging, shovelling and levelling earth [in the Underworld], all without my nose-rings. My mother came from Kond country, she gave it to me in her womb, it's in her family. I came out in scars all over, my fingers started dropping off. That illness was perpetuated on to me, that's how I got ill. But I've been cured down below: my ancestors ransomed me and I'm cured now.

8. Grandmother: So don't you perpetuate it, don't you propagate it on to your mother and little sisters!
9. Little girl: If I grab them I grab them, if I touch them I touch them, if I perpetuate I perpetuate: that's how it goes. But I'm all right now.
10. Grandmother: Your cough your choking, your scars your wounds, don't pass them on ...
11. Little girl: My Mummy doesn't care enough about me.
[departs]

In every Sora village, almost every day, living people conduct dialogues with the dead. The text given above is a close unedited translation of one such dialogue tape-recorded in the field and may be considered as typical, if less couched than many in obscure imagery. It will reappear in context in Chapter 11.

Dialogues take place sometimes in the open by a path or stream, sometimes in the shadowy interior of the house. The dead speak with the living through the mouth of a medium who is frequently though not always female. Her soul is said to absent itself from her body and to go to a separate existence in the Underworld. This is the place where everybody goes after death but only mediums can come and go with impunity. While she is in this dissociated state of trance, her body is available for a succession of the dead who speak, one at a time, through her mouth. She sits in a special posture, with eyes closed and legs outstretched, at the centre of a group of people who according to the mood of the dialogue and the degree of their involvement may squat on their haunches and huddle intently around her arguing vehemently with the dead, or else come and go at the edge of the proceedings and interpose a remark.

The occasions for dialogues are always associated with the performance or promise of a sacrifice by the living to the dead. Such occasions arise at the various stages of each person's funeral rites; at the divination to find out the cause of a patient's illness and in some of the subsequent cures; and at certain seasonal harvest rites. There are two separate traditions of medium. The performance of funeral rites falls under the more "important" (muda), which is conducted largely through female mediums, while complementary non-trancing

roles are played by other classes of male and female ritual specialists; the tradition of diagnosis-and-cure is considered a lesser (oseng) one and is conducted equally through women and men; in seasonal rites both kinds of medium have roles to play, as do various ancillary specialists.

All mediums acquire their powers from predecessors who are often though not always close relatives. In a large village of 500 people there may be about twenty mediums, of whom only two or three may belong to the funeral (sanatung) tradition, and the remainder to the "diagnosis" (tedung) tradition which also includes curing.

The main intention of dialogues with the dead, formally at least, is to find out information. All trances are thus divinations leading to a verdict: the tedung kurans allow people to seek the cause of a patient's illness or, where a cure (pärpär) requires a trance, the knowledge that a sacrifice has been successful, while the sanatung kuran allows a quest for knowledge about the cause of a 'patient's' death. Much of this thesis will show how this knowledge is not just retrospective but also moulds the present and the future.

For diagnoses and cures, the medium generally sits alone. But at funerals, teachers and apprentices sit together and in one village with a strong line of succession I have seen four young people (three women and one man) who sat side by side with an old, nearly blind woman. Each acted independently as the mouthpiece for a different stream of dead people while their living interlocutors moved from one to another of them amidst the hubbub and the dead sometimes conducted additional subsidiary conversations with each other.

A sequence of dialogues can last up to several hours and range from casual gossip to extremes of emotion which may include an intensity of grief which the fieldworker can perhaps never learn to observe while remaining unmoved (plate 1). But dialogues with the dead are not all tears: they often include moments of good humour and of obscene joking amidst uproarious laughter. Sora culture is largely preoccupied with death but it is not morbid. My subjective impression is of happy people. More rigorously, I hope to demonstrate that the Sora employ extremely effective means for facing personal unhappiness by

bringing it into the open, acknowledging its destructive power and eventually drawing its sting.

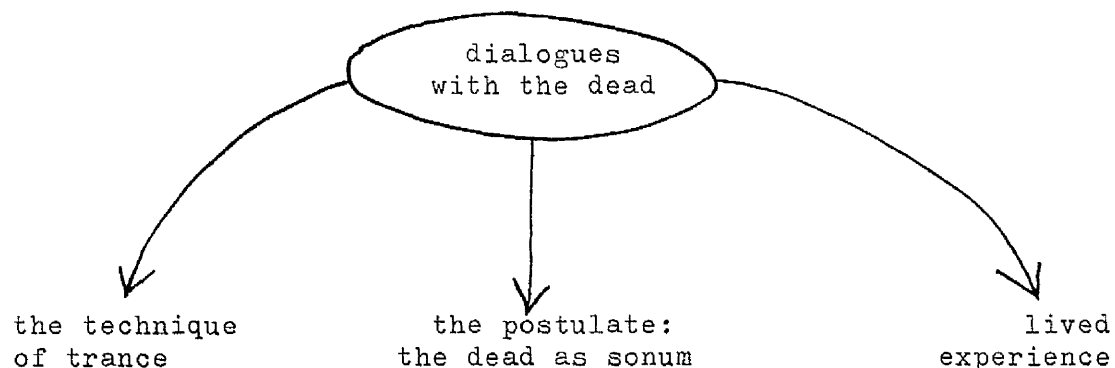
All illnesses and deaths are said by the Sora to be caused by people who are already dead and as such are called sonum (pronounced with a long o: in compounds this appears as the suffix -sîm, e.g. Idai-sîm, "Ancestor-Sonum"; Labo-sîm, "Earth-Sonum"). This word appears to designate both an entity and a state. There is no article in the Sora language; but following Sora usage one can say of a dead person both that he has "become a sonum" and that he has "become sonum" (in both cases sonum gadîlle). In attacking the living, the sonums of the dead seek to transfer to them certain aspects of experiences which they themselves underwent while alive or at the hour of their deaths. They do this by "eating the soul" (puradan jum-) of the living victim in order to absorb him, thereby causing in him a death which is analogous to that of the attacker (cf. lines 7-10 in text 1.1, above). Being staged mostly in direct response to them, dialogues between living and dead are discussions of the motivation and operation of these attempts at eating; through sacrifice, they are also a means of forestalling their consummation.

Dialogues are staged with a frequency which varies in a large village of 500 people, according to season, from about five a week to about ten a day. Those involved will generally be a wider or narrower circle of relatives centring on a nuclear household. Under these circumstances, various groupings and regroupings among the living and the dead find themselves in constantly recurring contact: family conversations, jokes and quarrels continue after some of their participants have crossed the dividing line between life and death. It will become increasingly clear in Parts II and III that the occasions which precipitate these dialogues are not only concerned with resolving the situation of the moment but are also at least partly pretexts for the continuation and development of conversations whose underlying import may bear on some quite different question (see especially Chapter 11). Thus, though numbered "cases" are given in the thesis, they are in fact events or moments in a constantly shifting web of relationships, and are by no means isolated from numerous other such "cases".

b) problems of interpretation

As an initial approach, I propose to regard the practice of dialogues with the dead as a technique which utilises properties imputed to a postulate, namely the concept "sonum". The object of that technique, as the emotional impact of the dialogues suggests strongly, may be called a particular area of experience, namely that of mortality. The relationship initially suggested between these three terms is depicted in figure 1.1, in which the postulate "sonum" is portrayed as interposed, so to speak, between experience and the technique for its management.

Figure 1.1 the relationship between technique, postulate and experience



Despite its simplicity, this diagram is not intended to be facile and it will reappear in a more elaborate form at the end of Part I of this thesis. There it will attempt to summarise the full dynamic relationship between these three terms as it will by then have been developed. Meanwhile, the terms are discussed in turn below.

(i) technique: a medium whose soul travels to an Underworld is a clear candidate for the label "shaman", and his or her practice for that of "shamanism". In the revised edition of his comparative survey of shamanism, Eliade devoted considerable space to the Sora (1964: 421-27), using the data of Elwin (1955). However, this term has been deliberately avoided both in the title and the text of the present work since we are here concerned not with the comparative typology of spirit possession (for example, Lewis: 1971; de Heusch: 1981) but with what takes

place among one group of people, and their own understanding of this. The congruence or otherwise between Sora practices and various typological categories will therefore be left to the reader's own judgment.

The Sora word for someone who goes into trance in order to act as a medium for the dead is kuran. This word will be used throughout. There are several other roles which are indispensable on certain of the occasions when such dialogues take place. These are played by specialists who do not go into trance and cannot therefore be called "shamans" in any accepted sense of the term. They include the male funeral pyre-lighter (sigā) and "Ancestor-Woman" (idai-boi) and "Ancestor-Man" (idai-mar) who at funerals fast like kurans in order to impersonate the long-dead ancestors and in this role to assist the deceased by respectively cooking a meal for him and singing the crucial song of redemption (Chapter 9). Though there are separate terms for all these roles, they are also commonly referred to generically as kuran and have similar traditions of inheriting their powers from predecessors. This should caution us further against using the term "shaman" for which there is thus no strictly overlapping term in Sora. However, the word kuran is also used in a par excellence sense only for those specialists who do go into trance, so to avoid confusion this usage will be followed here.

In talking about the kuran's journey to the Underworld, the Sora do indeed use imagery, such as a ladder or tree linking the levels, which corresponds remarkably closely to that widely documented by Eliade and considered by him to be among the defining features of "shamanism" (ibid.: passim). Sora kurans experience such journeys almost daily and are able to talk freely about them. However, their inner experience and its imagery will not be discussed here. This is because I wish to redress the exaggerated emphasis often placed on these individuals which leads Eliade to see shamanism as a "mysticism", "at the disposal of a particular elite" (ibid.: 8). This approach is echoed by many anthropologists, of whom Castaneda (1968 and many subsequent books) is only one of the most extreme. The approach adopted here differs in that I shall assume the kuran's experience to be a specialised form of the experience of ordinary non-specialist members of the Society. Given the kuran's need

for an audience and the fact that trance can take place only in order to summon the ancestors of that same audience, the kuran's experience can have meaning only if it is in some sense shared by laymen. It will be shown in Chapter 4 that the way in which they share it is from a complementary perspective: most ordinary people know and can even reproduce kurans' texts but are simply unable to act out their implications. It will also be clear that the kuran's private experience is set within the sociological framework of the public occasion on which she performs. To summarise, it has seemed necessary to focus on the layman's perspective partly in order to produce an account which will be, among other things, rooted in social life; but also, and more profoundly, to help us understand what it means to the Sora for this practice to be fundamental to ordinary living. The word "shaman" is thus rejected at least partly in order to avoid a misplaced sense of exoticism, in the conviction that this strange Sora practice will seem both intelligible and all the more fascinating once one has grasped the fact that it is, for them, essentially commonplace.

(ii) the postulate: this must likewise be included in this approach. It was stated above that "sonum" is the only possible cause of illness and death. In this, the concept sonum and its manifestations as specific named sonums appear respectively as principle and agents of causality. The crucial term "causality" is inevitably problematic and its implications will be developed throughout the thesis. For the moment, it can be stated that in any Sora quest for knowledge about the means and motivation of such events, the goal of that quest is knowledge about sonums. It is because this term constitutes for the Sora an ultimate solution that I shall take it as my initial problem.

Phenomena resembling sonums are encountered throughout the world. One possible approach to their interpretation might be first to translate the word into a widely accepted English equivalent and then discuss the workings of the present particular example in comparison with others from elsewhere. Among such equivalents, commonly used ones include "spirit", "God" or "god", "deity", "power", etc. However, the use in anthropology of such terms may in certain circumstances block

the reader's understanding or prejudge the nature of what it is set out to investigate. Terms with connotations which carry conviction for theology will not necessarily be able to carry this quality over into social anthropology, much of which has an inbuilt materialist tendency. Thus within anthropology, certain widely accepted terms such as "spirit" (for example, Lewis: 1971, and numerous other authors) clearly seem intended to support some degree of consensus, and yet at the same time are treated as "black boxes" immune to internal analysis. It will be suggested that this consensus is thereby made one not so much of understanding as of that kind of distancing which encourages the more intractable formulations of the supposed dichotomy between "primitive" and "rational" thinking.

Even within theology, where terms like "spirit" and "god" most properly belong, there are comparable problems of understanding. This is so not only in an obvious sense for the reader who is an atheist, but also for Christian and maybe other believers. Despite the use of such words in missionaries' accounts of alien religions, traditional Christian discourse does not readily allow them to be applied to sonum as we wish to understand it here. "God" with a capital G is closely tied to the idea of monotheism and can perhaps be used only when a similar idea is presupposed for the religion under discussion, as was done for instance by Evans-Pritchard for the Nuer (1956) or on a comparative scale by Schmidt (1912-55); "god" with a small g implies a possible multiplicity of such gods so that by contrast to "God" we risk suggesting their falsehood or inferiority; "spirit" similarly leads into possible hierarchies of non-material beings which imposes an unlooked-for framework upon the data; "Power" (cf. Leinhardt: 1961; Castaneda: 1968, etc.) seems at first sight more promising, but it leaves unresolved certain questions about the source of that "power", which will be raised in Chapter 10 and echoed in Chapter 16. In addition, it need hardly be said that the absence of social context from much of the discourse of comparative religion limits its relevance for the anthropological discussion of a situation like that of the Sora, where "religion" is socially "entrenched" (cf. Gellner, 1973: 177 ff; 1974: 164 ff).

(iii) the experience of mortality: by its own independent resonances, any rendition of key terms into the reader's own language can crucially affect his understanding of the entire culture since they control the "emotional tone" (cf. Bateson, 1936: 2) of his access to Sora experience itself. Thus for many modern western readers faced with the concept sonum, glosses such as "spirit" or "god" do not support, let alone generate, the remainder of the ethnography as a familiar-seeming consequence or even accompaniment in any sense which makes him feel that he could with equal ease have been born to live out his life as a member of that society, pervaded as it is day in day out by "spirits". For such a reader spirits are something eccentric and marginal and probably are not even "real". As Leach asked, speaking no doubt for many others, "how should we interpret ethnographical statements about palpable untruth? ... Why do all these people believe in something which is untrue?" (1967: 44). If the reader is told that for the Sora, sonums are the main agents and even principle of causality in human affairs, how can he "understand" this in any way which does not distance him irretrievably from those people's experience?

The approach adopted here has been to focus on the cultural expression of that particular area of experience to which sonums are most conspicuously applicable, that related to the awareness of our own mortality and that of the people around us. "Mortality" is here understood as the consequence of our organic and fleshly nature, as a predisposition to fall ill, to die and to create own own replacements through sexuality. Hence throughout this thesis, the word "experience", which has been given a key place in the title, should not be understood as referring to the subject matter of empiricist philosophy or of much of western (as opposed to Sora) phenomenology, and though there may be some overlap no claims are necessarily made for these fields. The same caveat applies even more strongly when in Chapter 5, "Experience" with a capital E is turned into a technical term as a collective gloss for certain Sora categories of sonum, just as it does when in Chapter 4 the word is used with a small e in what is intended to be a non-technical sense in an attempt to elucidate the Sora equivalents of our "subjective" and "objective".

I shall take the step of assuming that experience in the sense chosen is the foundation (in a certain logical sense if not chronologically) for certain mental activities or processes and that this constitutes a common ground, or at least a starting point for comparison, between different cultures (cf. Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 43). Thus the further we move from the events of birth, illness and death, through the surrounding penumbra of what in the west is called "emotional" response, to increasing degrees of their "intellectualisation" through cognitive categories, the more limited and culture-specific I expect our data to be. The fascination of anthropology then appears to lie in the consideration that, while different cultures start from what we have no alternative but to take as the "same" range of experiences and while in every culture we may expect people to feel love for each other, the bereaved to grieve and the sick to fear for themselves, these cultures nevertheless extrapolate from this quite different systems of cognition. The categories of cognition in turn appear in this light both as a reflection on experience and as the necessary foundation for any means of acting upon it. Ultimately it is between these cognitive systems that the "translation of culture" (see below) called anthropology takes place, but this can be valid only to the extent to which we have been able to recognise from within ourselves those experiences or emotions from which the foreign cognitive system has been derived.

(iv) comparative metaphysics and the "translation of culture": the view of anthropology as the "translation of culture" (cf. Beidelman, ed.: 1971) is an attractive one. However, the already considerable limitations of linguistic translation are here exacerbated by additional limitations in the analogy between language and culture, the translator's lack of a full "bilingualism" and the inevitable bias of his personal experience of the culture. Within the process of translation the foreign ethnographer's own intuitive understanding underpins his communication of the culture to others and even to a more detached part of himself, yet it is not fully distinguishable. The first kind of understanding is all but incommunicable to the reader, yet has some special value as the

source and impetus of the other. Sometimes, during absorbing moments in fieldwork, I "understand" to the extent of forgetting that I am not a Sora. But this will not last long: among all the many details of my activity and talk with other Soras, something will soon arise to remind us that I am not actually one of them, and again I feel a sense of my own otherness. In what does this sense of otherness lie, which allows me at the same time both to feel homesick among the Sora and to feel that my understanding of them has, almost thereby, improved? Of course, it may simply be that the superficial details of Sora life are very different from my own and sometimes cause me considerable bodily and mental discomfort. But the sense of otherness becomes most acute when a Sora friend dies and, like everyone else, I am called over to speak with him at his funeral and continue the development of our friendship. This suggests particularly insistently that the root of this sense lies in differences between the conceptions of reality held in Sora society and in my own, and thus in the cognitive framework through which we experience such events: the doubts and certainties with which the Sora contemplate death are not the same as mine.

As I understand it, this problem lies in the area which Collingwood (1940) defines as the subject matter of metaphysics, which he calls the "science of absolute presuppositions" (ibid.: Chapter 5 and passim). Absolute presuppositions in Collingwood's sense are neither true nor false: they are simply presupposed in order that propositions derived from them may be judged to be true or false. Such judgements can be made only within the limits set in advance by the particular presuppositions involved; all propositions, including those of our "natural sciences", are included in this view. Being an historian, Collingwood saw metaphysics as "an historical science" (ibid.: Chapter 6), but his reasons for this make it sound not unlike those regions of social anthropology which border on social psychology and the sociology of knowledge:

Metaphysics is an attempt to find out what absolute presuppositions have been made by this or that person or group of persons, on this or that occasion or group of occasions, in the course of this or that piece of thinking ... it will consider ... whether absolute presuppositions are made singly or in groups, and if

the latter, how the groups are organized; whether different absolute presuppositions are made by different individuals or races or nations or classes ...

(Collingwood, 1940: 47)

If one accepts this view, then one may also accept the suggestion that social anthropology can be a partner to history in this science of comparative metaphysics.

However, though in this respect specific ethnography and comparative anthropology are dependent on each other, this creates a dilemma in choosing a theoretical framework within which to present ethnographic material which in the best of all possible worlds should be presented entirely on its own terms while at the same time remaining intelligible to the reader. Perhaps the most suitable response to the problem is to recognise that it cannot be resolved definitively and that one can only shift one's perspective in reaction to the emphases of other writers which one finds exaggerated or uncongenial, expecting oneself to suffer a similar fate in turn.

It is no doubt possible to design an analysis which undermines any accepted abstract term (cf. Levi-Strauss: 1969; Needham: 1972; Rivière: 1971, for "totemism", "belief" and "marriage" respectively). Though valuable, this perhaps amounts simply to pointing out how language is used and may not prevent the future use of those words. This is borne out by the rarity with which they are carried out in the course of an ethnography, where it is more common for new terms to be constructed (for example, notably Bateson: 1936).

In a study of terms which may be called Sora reifications, one should perhaps be cautious about the unquestioning acceptance of those current in anthropology. In the present work some common anthropological terms are avoided as carrying undesired or confusing connotations, while some new terms are coined as the situation appears to demand. Insofar as I knew how, I have tried to choose terms which leave the reader the widest scope for his own response to the material presented. Thus, in using abstract terms I have tried in general to draw on broad classical and humanist usage rather than on that of (usually modern) technically narrow fields of limited application. Thus, for example, the term "metaphor" is used in a broad sense,

following Richards (1936), for any kind of similarity or analogy. Parts at least of the presentation would therefore with small modifications probably be comprehensible to ancient or medieval readers. However, for the modern reader it is impossible not to sense these modern resonances, and indeed the power of this awareness may be linked implicitly to the argument above in terms of presuppositions. Hence, the Freudian overtones of the ideas of "identification" and "absorption" were not originally intended but came unbidden and suggested the explicit comparison with Freud in the concluding chapter; while what seems to me the best translation of ondrung (Chapter 7 and elsewhere) as "false consciousness" was nearly abandoned in favour of "lack of self-awareness" because listeners to an earlier seminar paper were overwhelmed, irrelevantly, by their awareness of the Marxist use of the phrase in the definition of "ideology".

c) structure of the thesis: this thesis is in three parts. Each of these begins with the transcription of a tape-recorded dialogue between living people and the sonums of dead people.

The overall structure of the thesis is cyclical, in that Part I is both an introduction to Parts II and III, and derived from them as their conclusion and summary. The lengthy dialogues which start each of Parts II and III (Chapters 7 and 11 respectively) stand in the context which has been prepared for them by the preceding Part, as well as providing the material for the argument to be developed in the Part at the head of which they stand. In the same way, though on a first reading its impact is largely dramatic and illustrative, the brief dialogue given above at the beginning of Part I will be understood most fully only after reading the conclusion of Part III.

The reason for placing the analysis of Part I at the beginning of the thesis, rather than at the end, is in order to allow the substantial dialogues of Chapters 7 and 11, so far as is feasible, to speak for themselves. For this intention to succeed, it is essential that the reader be fore-armed with a basic knowledge of the "language" in which they speak.

Thus the remainder of Part I ("Introduction") starts by presenting the background to the Sora and outlines against this the scope within which sonums are applicable to Sora life (Chapter 2). A discussion of the formal framework of social structure (Chapter 3) and the Sora view of the nature and character of the person (Chapter 4) prepare the ground for the analysis of the term sonum into the crucial Sora dichotomy between its Ancestor and Experience aspects (Chapter 5). Chapter 6 examines the principles by which these are applied to the interpretation of lived situations and concludes with a diagrammatic summary of the relationships which have emerged between the "technique", "postulate" and "experience" proposed above.

It hardly needs to be said that such a formalised statement could not be made inside Sora culture itself: as Collingwood might have put it, much of this section consists of matter which is not propounded but presupposed. Chapters 4 to 6,

in particular, are perhaps not easy reading on account of their density. However, the reader's possible sense here of systematisation amounting to a reduction is itself instructive, since in anthropology something of this sort is not infrequently considered a final goal. The decision to take it instead as a starting point and then force it through the twists and turns of actual Sora living raises useful questions about the sense in which any account of this sort can be regarded as capturing the essence of this lived experience. It is hoped that the reader will thereby be left with a picture of what is social among the Sora not so much as structure but as process, involving constant negotiation, adjustment and re-creation.

Accordingly, in Part II, "Metaphorising a new death", sonums are examined in action during a funeral dialogue. Here the reader observes the process whereby they are seen to have eaten and absorbed the deceased, who thereby becomes one of their number (Chapter 7). The interaction between dead and living as the latter try to determine the cause of death (Chapter 8) in order both to "redeem" the deceased's experience of the way in which he was eaten and to change the nature of his power over themselves (Chapter 9), allows us to propose a provisional English gloss for sonum (Chapter 10). While the translation is avowedly only partial, it allows us to set up what will be called an "experiment" in comparative metaphysics.

Part III, "Operating the calculus of all previous deaths", looks afresh at dialogue with a new and more complex specimen (Chapter 11) in the light of this translation and develops its implications. This allows us to explore the dynamics of private emotion (Chapter 12); of Sora social and legal process as they discuss ambiguities related to marriage, childbearing, inheritance of land rights and the long-term development of the patri-lineage (Chapters 13 and 14); and their sense of time which combines a sense of the transience of the personality with its partial renewal (Chapter 15). A final chapter (16), "Dialogues with the self?", analyses reasons for the impossibility of any full translation of sonum, through comparison with the example of a modern western theory of the mind faced with mortality, that developed by Freud.

2 The settinga) the Sora: location and literature

The Sora (also written Saora, Savara, Saura, etc.) inhabit an area around the borders of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh towards the eastern seaboard of central India (map 2.1). According to the 1961 Census there are some 200,000 speakers of the Sora language. This is classified by linguists as belonging to the Munda group, which includes some other Indian "tribal" languages such as Mundari, Ho, Santal, Bondo, etc.; while this group itself is considered to be a branch of the Austroasiatic family which includes Mon-Khmer languages such as Cambodian and many of the Montagnard languages of Vietnam (Pinnow: 1959; Zide, ed.: 1966).

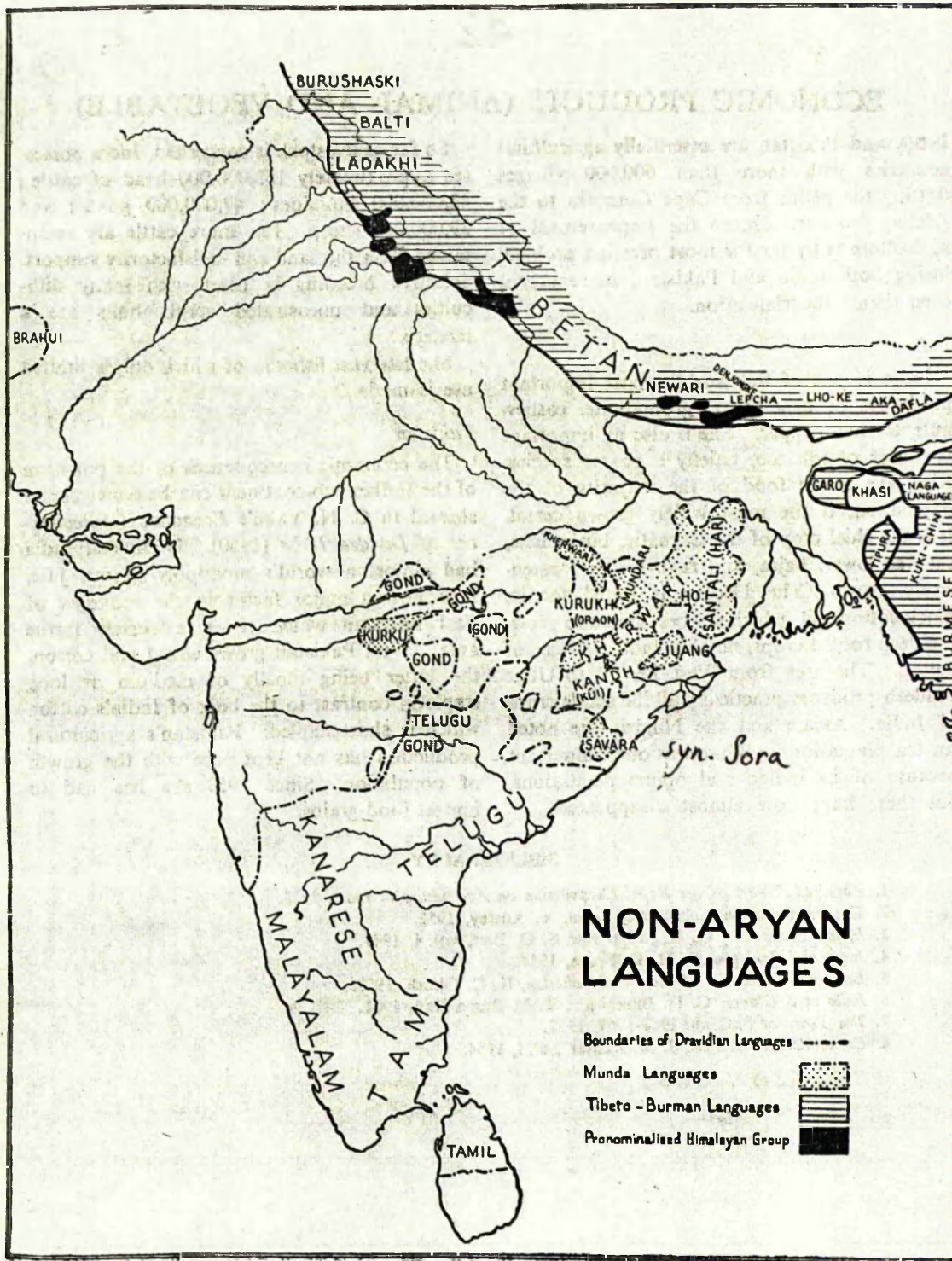
The Sora are surrounded to the northeast by the Hindu Oriya population who speak a language of the Indo-Aryan family, to the south by the Hindu Telugu (Dravidian family), and to the northwest by "tribal" Khond or Kond (Dravidian).

The Sora appear to fall into several main divisions, whose approximate distribution is shown on map 2.2.¹

The group covered in the present study are the Lanjia Sora, also known variously as Lamba-Lanjia, Jeđu, Mone, and Arsi. These straddle the hilly border between the Districts of Ganjam and Koraput in Orissa and the present study was conducted mostly in the villages around Puttasing (Sora: Gudangsing), a settlement of non-Sora traders and officials on the Koraput side. For the remainder of this thesis the word Sora, unless otherwise qualified, should be understood as referring only to Lanjia Soras from this area. By any criterion of "acculturation" these can probably be considered the most isolated and least "Hinduised" of any Soras.

There has apparently been a long contact between Sora and neighbouring populations, and some references to the history of the area have been brought together by Elwin (1955: Preface).

The Puttasing area was first brought under nominal government control in 1864-6 by an expeditionary force who executed and



Map 2.1

84°E Map 2.2

340

350



Gumpur

Puttasina

SARDA SORA

KANTH SORA

19°N

RE

East India Coy. Cemetery

SRIKANTHAPETA

PK

PK

5

transported Sora resistance leaders and established a permanent Police presence (Senapati and Saha: 1966). Thereafter, the administrative history of the area, caught in permanent marginality between constantly changing centres, is complex (ibid.; Bell: 1945). The Sora were ruled on the Ganjam side via Oriya march-lords of Paik (Warrior) caste, on the Koraput side through Sora village headman responsible ultimately to the raja of Jeypore.

The earliest ethnographic account, however, appears to be that of Fawcett (1888) and this, along with some notes by Ramamurti, formed the basis for Thurston's article on the "Savara" (1909).

Ramamurti, a Hindu schoolteacher in Parlakimidi, prepared a Manual (1931) and two Dictionaries (1933, 1938) of the Sora language. His pioneering work now inevitably seems open to severe criticism with the increasing sophistication of linguistics and the development of an ethnosemantic approach in anthropology. From the 1960s to date, Zide and his collaborators and students have studied Sora phonology and syntax (Biligiri: 1965; Stampe: 1965; Starosta: 1967; Zide and Zide: 1973; see also some papers in Jenner, Starosta and Thompson, eds.: 1976; Stampe & Diffloth, eds., in press), while I have begun an examination of Sora semantics and poetics (Vitebsky: in press; see also Stampe, Vitebsky et al., in preparation).

Ramamurti's interest was shared by his son Sitapati, who collaborated with the Canadian Baptist Missionary Miss Munro (Munro and Sitapati: 1931).²

Sitapati also wrote on Sora customs and folklore (1938-43) and included lists of names with descriptions for diverse ethnographic features. Already conspicuous is the number and heterogeneity of his "deities and spirits" (ibid.: 1940-1). Subsequently the publication of Elwin's lengthy book The Religion of an Indian Tribe (1955) made the Sora more widely known among both anthropologists and students of comparative religion. This work is at the same time both fascinating and ultimately disappointing. In reviewing the book both Dumont (1959) and Turner (1967) responded to this fascination and each with slightly different emphasis pinpointed the source of his own disappointment, namely the overwhelming accumulation of ritual data which is vividly exciting but has no rigorous ordering and an almost total lack of sociology which leaves this data wholly without

context. In his "Introduction", Elwin writes: "The most remarkable thing about the organisation of Sora society is its lack of organization." (p.50), and the remaining 500 pages discuss a "religion" based on "ancestors" with almost no discussion of the workings of kinship.

These criticisms seem to me justified. In addition, despite Elwin's own theological and literary background (Elwin, 1964) so far as I know no critic has noted the effect of the author's indiscriminate use of "god", "deity" and "spirit" for "sonum" (see for example his pp. xxi and xxiii) nor even of his readiness to translate the term at all.³ Yet for reasons given in Chapter 1 it can justifiably be argued that it is this, as much as the undeniable lack of sociological perspective, which renders the book ultimately baffling: the book is about sonums yet the reader emerges from Elwin's account unable to understand what a sonum is, or why for the Sora they exist and are powerful. Indeed, as will be shown in the present work, the two questions are not separate: a sonum's power is derived at the same time both from its properties in theological terms and from its position as an ancestor in local social organisation. Since the approach adopted here differs so fundamentally from Elwin's, his book will not be cited during the remainder of the thesis: in fact, the framework he has created makes it very difficult to use any of his material.

Elwin's book left in its wake the twin problems of Sora "religion" and "social organisation". No other serious study of the religion has been attempted until the present work. However, on the basis of short visits to the Puttasing area, the French team of Petit (1974) and Chaussin (1978) wrote respectively on Sora material culture and kinship. Chaussin's was thus the first investigation of Sora kinship in this area, while the Indian Suryanarayana (1977) has studied kinship and marriage among non-Lanjia Sora of Andhra Pradesh. These works and their authors have been consulted, but as they consider their topics quite separately from the study of "religion", their approach likewise differs from that adopted here. To the best of my knowledge, no other serious research has been carried out in this area, and in particular nothing substantial has been written about Sora politics or land tenure; nor has any previous investigator had a command of the private language of Soras in their homes.

b) "Hindu" and "tribal"

The terms within which the Sora and peoples like them have traditionally been discussed compel us to make passing reference to the debate on the relation between "Hindu" and "tribal" (or "caste" and "tribe").

The history of this dichotomy can be said to fall into three phases: the culture-historical or philological, especially well-developed among German-speaking scholars (Max Müller [1854]);⁴ the political and territorial (Bailey: 1957, 1960);⁵ and that in terms of values or ideology (Dumont: see especially Contributions to Indian Sociology I, 1957:7-22; III, 1959: 55-74; VI, 1962: 120-2). By any of these criteria, if the term tribal is to be used at all it must surely apply to the Sora.

Yet in each case it does not yield a clear-cut distinction. In the first place, whatever their Southeast Asian connections, the immediate ethnographic environment of the Sora has been "Hindu" for centuries if not millenia.⁶ Secondly, in Bailey's terms, on the count of ostensible control of their own territory the Sora would qualify; but in relation to their neighbours they have far less political power than have Bailey's Khond, particularly in their relations with the Pan (Pano) with whom they deal most frequently.

The case in terms of values is more subtle. Since his model of India is both hierarchical and monolithic (Contributions I, 1957: 9: "never ... forget that India is one "[original emphasis]), Dumont pays scant attention to tribal ethnography. Probably his main discussion of it is in his review (Contributions III, 1959: 60-74) of Elwin's book on the Sora. However, this is an unsatisfactory exercise. On the one hand, he calls the Sora "autonomous" (ibid., p.61) and writes:

If a certain system of ideas and actions outlined above and defined as the Hindu opposition of pure and impure is fundamental to Hinduism, then, the Saoras are not Hindus, for their ideas in the matter are very sketchy. (p. 60)

Yet on the other hand,

One does not see how this tribal religion could possibly be considered apart, as an "animism" opposed to "Hinduism". (p.74)

By what stretch of the imagination could such a religion be considered as absolutely alien to Hinduism? (p.66)

since

the relation of the Saoras with their spirits is achieved through marriage of their shamans with some of the Hindu dead, considered of higher rank and greater power than their own. (ibid)⁷

Dumont himself provides a hint of a way out of this. On p. 61, he writes that the Sora "do not imitate the Hindus in the recognition of impurity. They do not submit directly to the scheme of Hindu values." [my emphases]. The word "submit" recurs in the context of the Pramalai Kalar (Contributions VI, 1962: 122). It seems that these are a caste because they submit to Hindu values whereas the Sora are a tribe since they do not. Yet even the former "do not actualize [sic] them as perfectly as other people (ibid.)

It is perhaps beyond the scope of any single ethnography, and certainly of the present one, to claim to offer a solution to this old debate. However, the Sora material seems to me to show that even the idea of actualisation does not reflect adequately the complexity of awareness which may be involved. The Sora do not lack the idea of such values, nor do they simply fail to actualise them very fully. I would suggest instead that they regard this actualisation as only partially appropriate for themselves and much more so for some others. "Hindu values" may thus be called hegemonic.⁸ For instance, kurans and their sonum-spouses observe menstrual taboos which no Sora couples observe, and kurans who themselves stand with everyone else around funeral pyres nevertheless cover the belongings of their sonum-spouses at home to protect them from airborne particles of ash.

Thus, beneath the immediate phenomenon of dialogues with the dead, we shall seem also to be witnessing fragments of an ancient and continuing dialogue between the Sora and what they know of Hinduism, which is for them almost the whole known outside world; and our judgement of whether that which replies, in the sense of further influencing the Sora, is "really" Hinduism itself or a hypostatisation of it may be as delicate as the interpretation of dialogues with the dead in the final chapter.

In doing this, the Sora do not replicate this outside world but respond to it with a more or less self-conscious commentary which sometimes amounts almost to parody. Both these kinds of "dialogue" are open-ended and invite continuous re-evaluation of their object. From Dumont's perspective, looking from the summit downwards, there is no place for this kind of debate and the ethnographic situation of the moment can be little more than a failed model. The Sora, on the other hand, consider themselves not only as adivasi ('aboriginal') but also as "Indu". In this they are probably right and we shall be watching here the building of Hinduism from the bottom upwards.

It will probably strike the reader that a Sora person or group of persons lives inside a self-sufficient total symbolic system to an extent which would be very unlikely in a "caste" "Hindu" village. This may be partly due to the way in which in such a situation the Brahmin abrogates to himself the "totalisation" (Herrenschmidt: forthcoming) of the system which the othercastes perceive each from his own, more limited perspective. But it seems due also to a related phenomenon, the fluidity of the Sora system itself, in which there appear a metaphysics, a lineage system, a law of inheritance, and so forth, all of them recognisably Indian in form yet uncodified and inchoate.

c) the Sora landscape

Sora territory comprises a series of hills rising to 3,000 ft. It is bounded to the north by the Khond hills and on the other three sides by plains or river valleys. Down here the towns of Gunupur and Parlakimidi contain a diversity of Oriya and Telugu castes as well as the more "acculturated" Sarda or Kapu Soras. For long the seats of Telugu rajas, they now act as administrative headquarters and the main commercial focus of the area. To the Sora they are a world of police and clerks armed with guns and literacy, of metal-workers, bus-stands, cement houses, and loudspeakers blaring film music over bazaars where the flare of kerosene lamps after dark falls on piles of plastic trinkets and bales of cloth brightly coloured with synthetic dyes. This is a world which most Sora find both repulsive and fascinating, but overall deeply intimidating. The path out of Gunupur towards the Sora hills leads through fields of paddy and irrigated vegetables by the river Vamsadhara and past a village of Sarda Soras. From these one crosses the desolate flat area where Gunupur cuts its firewood. Once forested, this is now furrowed with deeply eroded gullies of red earth. About 9 kilometers later, after a little climbing through a fairly bare landscape, one walks into Jaltar (in Sora Yaltab), a village containing Soras who according to perspective⁹ may be called either Sarda or Lanjia and who live side by side with a number of administrative officers and settlers of various castes. This is the scene of the weekly market through which a large quantity of Sora produce leaves the hills beyond, bound for the plains. Nine kilometres further, up two steep passes and past several wholly Lanjia Sora villages, one comes to Puttasing (Sora: Gudangsing), a smaller settlement almost exclusively of some 400 Christianised Untouchables called Dom or Pano, along with a few traders of Paik caste and some government employees, but no Soras. Here, surrounded by a smaller area of eroded firewood coppice,¹⁰ are the last small Police Station, Dispensary, Post Office, and Primary School. A similar picture holds for the route from Parlakimidi via Gumma to the outpost of Serango; this is more developed as there is a surfaced road along which buses ply, though the road to Puttasing is due to be surfaced likewise

(cf. Chapter 9, case 9.3). There are other similar outposts on all sides along paths reaching past weekly markets at the foot of hills almost into the centre of Sora territory. Between these outposts the mountainous heartland, populated exclusively by Soras, is not more than a few miles across. During the few years I have known the area, non-Sora immigration into these outposts appears to have increased noticeably.

As one draws away from Gunupur, certain contrasts appear between the Sora and the peoples of the plain. Many of the Oriya and Telugu castes and even the Sarda Soras have comparatively long-limbed, often almost ebony-skinned bodies with strong beard growth and hairy legs. By contrast, the Lanjia Sora have shorter bodies, sometimes with a light reddish-brown skin, rounder faces, often with a distinctly southeast Asian cast of feature, no beard growth and very little body hair. Among both men and women, the chest is still usually bare. For men, the ankle-length lungi, dhoti or trousers of the plains give way to a cream-coloured homespun cotton loincloth exposing thin muscular shanks and buttocks or increasingly these days, to market-bought khaki shorts. For women the often brightly coloured sari, universal among all plains groups, is replaced by a knee-length wrap-around skirt, which is either homespun in cream or market-bought in black. In striking contrast to the plains, vivid colours are here largely absent. Sora homes still contain almost no artifacts which do not have the colour of the earth, stone or dried vegetation from which they were made. Sora women wear none of the mascara or other cosmetics of the plains, though the faces of both women and to a lesser extent men have permanent tattoos, dyed with the juice of an indigo-coloured berry. The brightest colours are those of their jewellery in brass, silver, gold and coloured glass, all made in the plains by Hindu castes using a technology of fire; brass waterpots, though only in the wealthiest homes; and the red patterned bands in vegetable dye, used deliberately sparingly on the borders of homespun loincloths and skirts. Even in the markets the Sora choose cloth of khaki, black, white or dark blue and the merchants cater for them accordingly. The Sora comment on the limited use of bright colour in their earth- and vegetation-tinted world: red (jee) is the colour of blood and fire, and a dream of the red borders of clothing presages

bloodshed or a violent death. Freer use of bright colours is associated with the plains: to wear flowers or coloured cloth on one's person is to invite an attack by the distinctive sonum of the plains, Ruga-boi ("Smallpox-Woman": see Chapter 9), identified by them with the Hindu goddess Durga or Thakurani.

Towards the Sora heartland a distinctive landscape emerges of steep stony hills interspersed with more level areas in the valleys, some of pocket-handkerchief size, others large plains running into each other in shallow steps over two or three miles. The hills are covered with remnants of forest, patches of which are cut down for shifting cultivation, while the valley floors have been terraced into paddy-fields which sometimes climb high up out of the valley and reach into clefts in the hills behind meticulously constructed stone retaining walls. From a high vantage point at certain seasons the landscape resembles glaciers of paddy or straw-coloured stubble flowing round the base of green wooded mountains. The Sora roam across this landscape from which they draw a living by a combination of hunting, gathering, shifting and settled cultivation, as well as by selling produce, either to itinerant Panos or by taking it direct down to the weekly markets (plate 2).

Domestic animals, namely buffalo, cow, pig, goat and chicken, are kept in the village and most are destined to be eaten, usually on the occasion of a sacrifice to a sonum (Chapter 5). As regards wild animals, the Sora do both individual trapping and collective hunting and eat almost all kinds of mammal, bird, reptile and crustacean as well as many kinds of insect. All meat is highly valued. ¹¹

Land is classified into four categories, as follows:

- 1 kotta: small gardens inside the village, growing mostly maize (jona), chillie (moridsa) and some fruit trees.
- 2 saroban, "paddy-land": this is usually cropped once a year in the rainy season, but a second crop may be grown in the dry season if streams permit. It is in this form of land that one places wealth in order to multiply it. Wealthier households thus have rice as their staple diet, while the selling or lending of surplus paddy both among Soras and to the outside world is probably the biggest single economic activity. However, while paddy-

Plate 2 A Sora landscape

Shifting cultivation sites are scattered across the forested slopes above the village while the valley around the stream is terraced into paddy fields. The picture is taken during the dry season from where the ground rises on the other side of the valley, at the alin-drinking site of the men who are dancing in the left foreground



fields produce in addition edible weeds, crabs, etc., they are not considered sufficient for a balanced diet.

- 3 baseng or jenon, "level": unirrigated land which can be cropped on a short fallow system apparently because it is sufficiently level to prevent erosion; it is planted with a variety of crops similar to those of barun, below.
- 4 barun "hill", "slope": a clearing in tulab "forest" made on a slope by slash-and-burn techniques and cultivated for two or three years before being left for a long fallow period. This is what is commonly referred to in English as shifting cultivation (for technical aspects, see e.g. Ruthenberg: 1976; Spencer: 1966; Conklin: 1957, 1963).

Apart from many kinds of wild leaves, roots, fruit, fungi, and medicinal herbs, the main planted crops are various grains, gourds and beans.¹²

All these are grown both for sale and as the staple diet, in which case, like rice, they are boiled into a watery, unspiced gruel and eaten with only salt and sometimes chillies (other methods of cooking, including all those which use oil, are not used). In addition, rights to the produce of certain wild trees may be held independently of rights to the land on which they grow. Chief among these are tamarind (titin; Tamarindus indica); wild date (sindi; Phoenix dactylifera); mohua (aba; Madhuca indica); and the fishtail palm (alin; Caryota urens). These last two are extremely important as they provide the alcoholic drinks which are an essential part of the daily diet as well as of almost all offerings to sonums. The dried flowers of the aba are distilled into a spirit which fortifies the drinker during the cold rainy months; the sap of the alin, kept flowing by incisions made at the growing tip of the tree, is fermented by airborne yeasts to produce a foaming toddy with about the strength of beer. This is harvested three times a day in warmer months by all adult males. ^(Plate 3) A man's trees may be widely scattered and the nurturing and gathering of alin and its drinking in regular informal groups is the main focus of male social and political life, though alin is also widely drunk by women and children.

Plate 3 Harvesting wine for the evening's drink

Every man collects alin from the tops of his trees once or more a day. It is then poured into large communal pots at the centre of the drinking circles which meet in congenial spots in the forest before each meal.



Sora conviviality takes for granted a plentiful supply of drink and this will often be emphasised in future chapters. Milk is never drunk and water rarely, except as the juice of boiled gruel.

A large part of the Soras' life is spent on the hillsides and in the forest and they have a keen awareness of plant life. Examples of a botanical idiom, concerning the Sora imagery of the development of the lineage, will appear in later chapters.

In Sora eyes, all land is potentially subject to individual rights. The man who clears a barun thereby acquires the rights over its immediate use and these days in a period of increasing land hunger, perhaps also the right to return and recultivate the same plot after some years of fallow in which the forest has partly reclaimed it. Apart from saroban (paddy-land), barun is by far the most important, since the other kinds of land do not account for much of the food grown or the labour expended.

The supposed ownership of permanent paddy-land (saroban) and level dry-land (baseng) is legally recognised and entered in the Revenue Department's Record of Rights; an annual tax ("cist") is due on these to the government. No official cognisance is taken of village gardens (kotta) or house sites. While a Revenue Village (see d) below) will contain no more than a maximum of 300 acres of saroban and baseng combined, there may be as much as 2-3 thousand acres of forest which are subject to shifting cultivation, of which at any one time a large proportion is not being cultivated but is lying fallow. All forest is legally owned by the government, so that all shifting cultivation is considered an illegal encroachment. However, despite the occasional punitive fines and increasing general official pressure, the Sora consider shifting cultivation to be indispensable on ideological, recreational, dietetic and economic grounds, so that I do not know of a single household, however wealthy, which does not practise it extensively, while the many poorer households depend on it entirely. It is essentially the technique of the pioneer: one needs no capital, only labour. A barun plot can either be abandoned with or without the right to return or, if labour and water resources permit, converted into a permanent paddy-field.

Water sources are a key element in the recognition of land rights, though not the exclusive one. Each spring has a distinctive name and is said to be an "Earth-Sonum" (Labo-sim) or an "Earth" (Labon), also the word for "land". Unlike the ancestors introduced in Chapter 1, this sonum is not a single dead person but a focal point on the landscape encompassing a number of dead people. This dual aspect of the idea "sonum" will later be developed into the central theme of this thesis. An Earth-Sonum is contained within the spring and its influence is considered to extend over land within the vicinity as well as sometimes to land below if this is watered by a stream originating in the spring. The general principle of the connection between a living person and the land which he has the right to cultivate is that some of his ancestors - who are themselves at the same time individual sonums - are said to reside, in a sense to be clarified later, within the Earth-Sonum whose influence extends over his land. The workings of this idea in practice are extremely complex because:

- 1 so long as resources permit, new sites can be opened up and new rights created;
- 2 existing holdings are divided each generation on inheritance;
- 3 all types of land are freely bought, sold, rented and mortgaged in a variety of ways;
- 4 not every landholding need necessarily be related to an Earth-Sonum: this is due partly to the process of lineage segmentation over time (Chapter 14), but probably also to the fact that since titles to paddy-land and baseng are now registered in law (section e, below), then where social circumstances are appropriate, disputes about rights can be conducted through this idiom.

Much of the argument in Parts II and III of this thesis turns on the use made by the Sora of the category "Earth" and no more will be said about it here.

d) the Sora village and house

Sora villages are found mostly along the line where a forested slope meets the more level paddy-land, and always near a water supply. They are generally half a mile or a mile apart, and may contain from approximately 50 to 500 people. Villages on valley floors are larger than those on hills, though the latter are usually similarly sited by some small area of terraced paddy-fields.

A village usually contains several exogamous segmentary patrilineages (birinda), each of which has its own cremation-ground (kintalod) and group (ganuar) of memorial upright stone slabs on the outskirts of the village. Between them these constitute the birinda's focal point. The birinda is the basic principle of social organisation and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

It is not easy to be certain how far the structure of the village was affected by the conquest of 1864-6 and the subsequent development of an administrative framework. Today villages are of two types: the Revenue Village, under a hereditary Headman (Gomang) and always containing more than one birinda, each of which inhabits its own quarter (longlong); and the smaller, more isolated settlement which contains only one birinda and may be as small as one nuclear family. These smaller settlements acknowledge their membership of a nearby Revenue Village and are considered by the administration as such.

Since birindas are exogamous, marriages may take place equally inside or outside the village. There is constant contact among villages throughout the area and the emphasis placed on the cross-cousin relationship (see Chapter 3) leads large delegations to visit other villages for funerals, which are the occasion not only of tearful dialogues but of drinking, feasting, dancing and flirtation among those who are emotionally less directly involved. Similarly, land rights are widely scattered: a household may cultivate barun or saroban sites up to an hour's walk away from home and can expect hospitality from affinal relatives or cross cousins in many villages on the way.

Within the longlong (quarter) inhabited by one birinda, several houses are often joined together in rows, each with a

separate entrance giving onto a common verandah (pinda). A house consists of one single-storeyed room, constructed of solid stone walls plastered with reddish mud, topped by a thatch roof supported on a framework of pillars (sundang), beams and rafters. Apart from the door, light enters only through a gap between the thatch and the top of the wall. At the opposite end of the house from the door (sanang) is the hearth (kuda), the smoke of which similarly passes through this gap. Just inside the door is an area in which one can stand upright and where a heavy wooden grain-pounding mortar (onal) is set flush into the cowdung-finished floor. Here also is the waterpot-shelf (saleng). Beyond this the remainder of the interior is divided horizontally in two by a loft (maran) set at chest height and made of stout planks. Above is the household's storage space, containing in particular large baskets of grain (unless the house is very poor). Below, often screened from the door area by a low interior wall, is the dark and shadowy area leading to the hearth; this area is for squatting or sitting, not standing, and one must walk crouching or like a crab. Here, by the light of the fire, the family eats and sleeps. The walls are draped with tools, cloth, gourd and clay bottles, and bric-a-brac. Wall-paintings (idtal) and other offerings hung on the wall in dedication to sonums, such as a sonum-pot (sonum-dang) containing grain, may be placed anywhere, but most often above the waterpot-shelf near the door.

Certain parts of the house have a strong association with the ancestors of the male householder and some of these will be referred to again. The most important such features are the loft, the main (muda) pillar, the door and the mortar.

1 The loft: grain stored here belongs to the male householders' patrilineal ancestors and though in-marrying women cook this grain, they must not climb up to fetch it. This may be done only by males or by daughters and sisters of the house.

2 The pillar represents the continuity of patrilineal kinship in the past and future. For example, before drinking alcohol inside the house, a man may sprinkle a few drops at the foot of it with a few words of offering to his predecessors; or a man may say "I have my main pillar" (ñen muda-sun ñen daku) meaning "I have sons".

3 The door is an entrance for ancestors and in certain contexts great play is made of barring and opening their passage (see Chapter 15), while someone who has died is "inducted" (amgan-) into the house through the door as an ancestor and in a certain sense resides there permanently.

4 The mortar is a direct path to the Underworld and on certain occasions is used vividly for the same purpose of induction. In addition, it seems likely that the pounding motion of the pestle (ondring) in the mortar has a thinly veiled connotation of sexual intercourse.

e) two types of authority: ancestors and the state

Why do ancestors enter the homes of their descendants? This will require us to define the limits of the scope of the concept sonum. It has often been remarked, notably by Fortes (e.g. 1965), how especially in unilineal descent systems ancestors may regulate a "politico-jural domain" (Fortes: 1966, 1970) which may be largely independent of any encapsulating state framework of authority.

Something of the sort will be presented here for the Sora, but with an interesting twist. What Dumont calls "Hindu values" are not only hegemonic, they are also closely tied to the Sora perception of state power. Hinduism for the Sora is rooted almost entirely in Kshatriya, rather than Brahmin, values.

There are today two kinds of authority which bear on the lives of the Sora and are perceived by them to do so. One derives from the political and economic machinery of the outside, non-Sora world of caste Hindus. In this, power is seen to originate in big cities with ministers and "rajas", pass via their "agents" (pisirian) such as civil, police and military officials, and reach the Sora most directly via their own village Headman. It operates through a bureaucracy based on the technique of literacy and its ultimate sanction is the threat of military or paramilitary violence. All such non-Soras of high status are called raji, which seems to mean at the same time "officer" and "caste Hindu".

The other kind of authority lies within Sora social life, in that it is unknown to the outside world and indeed is not recognised by it. This reaches them through their own ancestors, whose medium is the kurans. However, the kurans themselves hold their power to act in this way through a special connection with familiar sonums who are not accessible to laymen. Apart from the sonums of deceased former kurans, the most important of these are called alda, who are Hindus of Paik (Warrior) caste and give the kurans their powers by marrying them.

Each of these kinds of authority will be examined in turn. In view of the fact that both derive their power ultimately from an image of Hindu royalty, bureaucracy and militarism, it would be misleading to characterise them simply as "external" and "internal", and they will here be summarised, for simplicity's

sake, as authority passing respectively through Sora Headmen and Sora kurans.

(i) authority passing through headmen: I intend to discuss this kind of authority at length elsewhere and only the briefest summary will be given here.

Following the events of 1864-6, a Police Station was established at Puttasing and despite certain well-intentioned protectionist policies, the way was opened to the influx of outside interests.¹³ It was probably at this period that a native Sora in each Revenue Village was appointed as its Headman (Gomang, literally "wealthy": for a Sora view of this process see text 14.1 in Chapter 14).

The Gomang was originally charged with collecting revenue from his villagers in order to pass it on and with administration and the maintenance in his village of law and order. Both these functions have now been officially superseded by other arrangements.

Revenue collection: The annual tax due from each registered owner of a saroban or baseng plot is now collected once a year by a government officer who tours the area. This is done on the basis of a settlement finalised in the early 1970s. Whatever their original position, the Gomangs were previously able to use their status as official revenue collectors to corner a large amount of paddy-land through a combination of extortion and the skilled management of debtors' labour, as well as by hoarding their own womenfolk (Chapter 3). Today these practices continue and a very high proportion of paddy-land remains theirs. Though it will be argued below that much of their real power has passed into the hands of bariks (Pano interpreters) and other outsiders, protective legislation prevents the "ownership", i.e. the overt control, of land from leaving the hands of people of Sora ethnicity.

Administration and law: The Gomang was assisted in this by a deputy Gomang (Dolbera) and sometimes a Karji and Bororoito. These four named office holders all received their office by male primogeniture and together constituted the village council (bisara), though some people say a representative of each birinda had member status. The council gave verdicts in certain judicial matters and had the power to impose fines (danda) either in

cash or in animals which were then shared in a feast by the entire village.

It is doubtful if such Council meetings ever take place today within this formal framework, though I have witnessed many heated slanging matches in which Gomangs have felt themselves especially fitted to intervene, and the payment of fines continues for the same sort of reasons as before. Such discussions are still called bisara. However, the informal framework of such gatherings makes it hard for any decisions which emerge to be binding and in such cases recourse is frequently had to bariks and the police. Many such disputes are between members of different villages: in these cases the bisara framework may always have been of limited effectiveness, and I know that in the past these disputes frequently led to war between villages.

Today, under the system of rule by panchayat (a government-sanctioned local committee), one "Member" is elected from each Revenue Village to attend a monthly meeting. However, being based on area and not ethnicity, the panchayat generally includes several Pano Members who as well as having a representation quite out of proportion to their numbers, have often taken over the key offices of Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Secretary. In addition, the Chairmen of all the panchayats of the district themselves form a further committee which centres on the town of Gunupur. There is thus now no level of local government from which non-Soras can be excluded or which they do not dominate. The panchayat does not, like some caste panchayats in India, function as a legal power in internal Sora affairs.

External legal power is provided by the Police in Puttasing and Yaltab backed by the courts down in Gunupur. Police operate in collaboration with bariks, panchayat officers and Gomangs. Their medium is fines, and their sanction the threat of prosecution and imprisonment: for example, they often threaten to bring a murder charge in the case of deaths by suicide, accident or leopard (cf. Chapter 11, line 194). The occasion for a fine may be a death of this sort; a breach of certain government regulations which in the very nature of their lives cannot be observed by the Sora, such as those prohibiting the distillation of aba or the cutting of forest for barun cultivation; and

occasions when the Sora cannot resolve a dispute among themselves through the attenuated bisara. On most days one can see several groups of Sora from outlying villages at the Police Station in Puttasing, each with their Pano bariks. It is generally acknowledged that even to win such a case is expensive and undoubtedly the bariks are instrumental in bringing many of the disputes to the Police and receive a share of the proceeds. In addition, such cases may later be transferred to the courts in Gunupur, in which case costs can be enormous.

Thus it appears that for at least a century, if not longer, there has existed among the Sora a framework of judicial authority which is distinct from that of the ancestors. In recent years this has tended to pass more overtly out of the hands of Soras into the hands of bariks, police, courts and the Revenue Department. Against this background, what is the role of the ancestors?

(ii) authority through kurans: The words of the ancestors pass through the hollow shell of the kuran, empty of his or her "soul" (puradan). This is made possible through the kuran's familiars which include two classes of sonum called rauda and alda. Raudas are former Sora kurans, now deceased, the most recently dead of whom is the kuran's personal teacher and speaks during trances as master of ceremonies while escorting the dead from the Underworld. Aldas, on the other hand, are raji, that is Hindus, and of Paik (Warrior) caste. They have never been alive on earth but exist only in a separate alda-land (alda desa). Aldas do not normally speak during trances. Their relation to the kuran is one of marriage and it is to this marital life in the Underworld, independent of any marriage which the kuran may have on earth, that the kuran's soul goes during trance.

A novice kuran is unable to go into trance until such a marriage has been made. The sociology of this will be discussed further in Chapter 3, but the political dimension may be outlined here.

As members of the Paik caste aldas are also called raja ("king"). They have Oriya names and inhabit mountain peaks (in terms of which they are elaborately classified) at the same time as the Underworld (kānorai desa: paradoxes of double-location in space will be discussed in Chapter 5). They observe certain Hindu taboos to do with purity (e.g. concerning

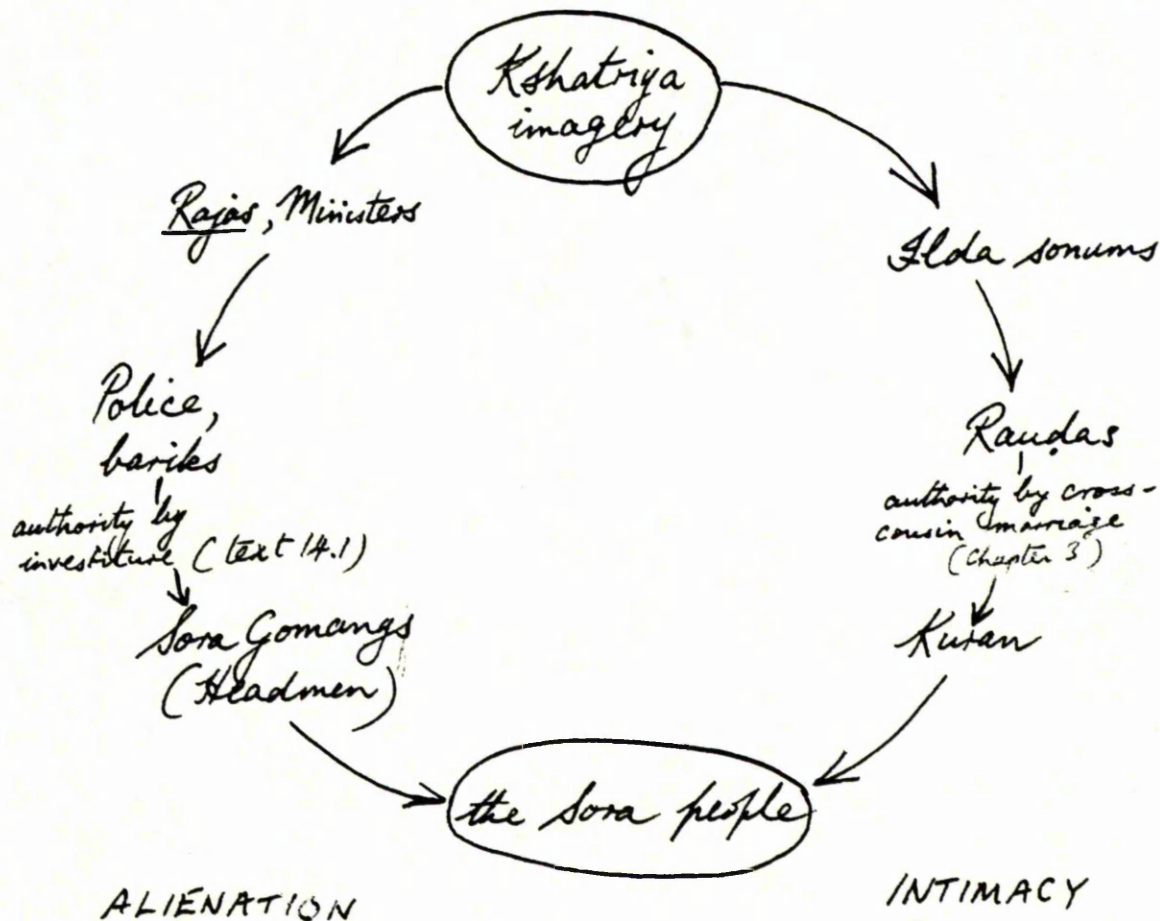
menstruation and kinds of food) which are not observed by most Sora except for the kurans associated with those aldas. They inhabit multi-storey cement houses with tiled roofs, and their representations in wall paintings and their epithets in verse centre on symbols of status and power: thrones, umbrellas, armed retinues, vehicles such as elephants, horses, bicycles and aeroplanes. Female aldas wear brightly coloured saris, mascara, til marks on their foreheads and flowers in their hair.

As well as visiting them in the Underworld during dreams and trances, kurans feed their alda-spouses periodically with vegetarian food and alcohol. Being vegetarian, aldas cannot attack people by eating their souls as do the Sora's own ancestors (for the equation of soul and blood, see Chapter 4). Their fundamentally benign function is additionally assured by the fact that at the same time as being of higher status than their kuran spouses, they are fully under control: though they are kings (raja) and government officers (raji), they are nonetheless on our side and at our service. This is of course a total reversal of the political reality outlined above where the root of all "temporal" power lies outside the Soras' reach.

The Sora acknowledge that the key techniques of political domination are information-retrieval through literacy, backed by physical coercion. They themselves have none of the former and little of the latter, but aldas and raudas use literacy to subjugate any other sonum who is troubling the kuran's client by "writing its name down" and can thereby "like a policeman" bring it, if need be "in handcuffs", to talk in a trance.

(iii) living with two systems of authority: one system bears on the Sora through Gomangs or their modern supplanters, the other through kurans. Both derive their force from caste Hindus who are defined by the Sora as raji (i.e. lying outside their own ethnic group) and, moreover, represent the temporal power of the King rather than the spiritual power of the Brahmin. The two chains of power may be represented schematically as in figure 2.1:

Figure 2.1 Paths of authority and power in Sora life



The system of authority through Gomangs and living policemen inevitably covers all relations between Sora and non-Sora—at least insofar as the non-Sora are included in the interpretation of these relations—but are also available, where appropriate, to regulate relations between Sora and Sora; while the system of authority through kurans using sonum "policemen" is available only for the latter purpose.

In this case, the question of which one applies on a particular occasion cannot be answered in any hard and fast way. Rather, it is a question of emphasis ~~between~~ what for want of better terms may be called intimacy and alienation (in the non-Marxist sense).¹⁴ It will be noticed that figure 2.1 above represents only a framework of power and makes no allowance for rationale, motivation or morality. It would be an exaggeration

to insist that the Sora see the world of officialdom as being absolutely devoid of these, though they do indeed credit it with an inherent hostility and capriciousness which are absent from the formal framework of kurans and raudas. Though the sonums of their ancestors who speak to them by means of the latter framework are similarly sometimes capricious and malevolent, this is so with an important difference: the same ancestors can also be affectionate and in fact at various times they pass through the entire gamut of human emotion towards their living descendants. Thus the channel of communication which runs through the kuran is in itself neutral in order to take on the tone of the conversation of the moment. Thus to the extent that it yields a sense of authority, this is felt as fuller and more rounded because it has a conviction and a relevance based on the intimacy of close personal relationships.

The scope of ancestors thus reaches far beyond the strictly legalistic implications which may be read into the words "jural" or even "authority". For example, the power of the deceased over grieving mourners is an integral part of the regulation of the latter's own relations both with each other and with the deceased, but in such cases any jural element present is clearly far from being the most important.

Since this thesis is about sonums, it is concerned with the corresponding intimate aspect of Sora relations rather than with those aspects of their lives which are directly subject to an external politico-legal framework. This framework will not be discussed again explicitly, though it can often be discerned in the background.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that this provides a reason why western medicine can only partly fulfil the needs of the Sora when sick. There are a medical dispensary at Puttasing and hospitals at Serango and Gunupur. Yet though the Sora of this area attend them a great deal, they are generally regarded as a supplement to the treatment of illness in terms of sonums and not a substitute. This is only partly explained by limited facilities, expense of treatment or inconveniences of following a prescribed regimen, since sonums are likewise demanding. Rather, although the Sora traditionally used a sophisticated herbal medicine which seems to have declined in direct

proportion to the increased availability of modern medical facilities, "medicine" (regam, 'any material substance with a potential for action which can be harnessed', e.g. drugs, glue, gunpowder) remains, as it probably always was, a separate realm from that of sonum, subordinate and to be used as an adjunct. In fact many kinds of sonum require special regam in their treatment and such regam cannot be used outside the appropriate ritual context.

Though it has potential, when "medicine" is used alone and not as part of a schema embracing sonums, its implications are limited and in the terms of the present discussion we may say that it is not "intimate". In continuing, when ill, to invoke mainly sonums, the Sora do not seem interested in explaining their distress by an aetiology which is essentially alienated and unmotivated. Sonums are the principle by which much of the Soras' personal experience is ordered, and suffering through illness is only a part of that ordering, which is based on their overall relationships with both their contemporaries and their forebears.

3 Social structurea) the birinda ('segmentary patrilineage'), exogamy and inheritance

The birinda is the only constant corporate kin-group among the Sora. It may be glossed as an exogamous, segmentary patrilineage but in order to avoid prejudging its properties it will be left untranslated. Its male core is descended from an apical male ancestor and its imagery is aboreal, with "trunks" or "branches" (aneb), "twigs" (sipa) and "leaves" (ola) (cf. Chapter 15). These are not absolute but shifting terms and in this thesis the word "line" will sometimes be used at sub-birinda level to signify the descendants of any one man.

In residence the birinda is a fixed unit and possesses its own cremation-ground (kıntalod) and group of upright memorial stones (g-an-u-ar, "stone-planting site") to which a new stone is added at each funeral (gu-ar, "stone-planting") conducted by the birinda. Marriage is normally virilocal, so that the male core of the birinda stays put while women come and go. The household normally contains a nuclear family of husband, wife and children. Each son as he marries founds a separate household, taking with him a complete replica of his father's ancestor-cult, while the youngest son brings his wife to his parents' house and remains in it after their death.

Except for the birinda's stone-planting site and cremation-ground, all property is conceived of as being owned by individuals. Immovable property (land, house-sites, useful trees) as well as cattle are owned and inherited almost entirely by males. Other movable property (jewellery, tools, personal effects) is ideally inherited by heirs of the same sex as the previous owner. The normal heirs are the deceased's own children of appropriate sex, sharing equally: thus a man's sons divide his land. This will include whatever rights are recognised to shifting cultivation sites, so that even the poorest man will have something worth inheriting. Despite usually already living in separate houses, they do this only after his death and after taking on his uncleared debts and performing his funeral rites, thereby incorporating him into

their ancestor-cult. Where there are no sons but there are collaterals whose connection lies no more than two or three generations back, those who are nearest genealogically perform the funeral and the success of their claim is usually automatic.

Every person has at least one "proper" (sa'kai) name besides various nicknames, teknonyms, etc. Though new proper names can be coined, all old ones must sooner or later be given to one baby among the range of the previous holder's heirs (if necessary one baby is made to bear the names of several ancestors). This means that normally a male person's name will reappear in the direct line of his heirs. However, since the right to an ancestor's name is an important part of inheritance there are many irregularities and disputes, some of which will be examined in Part III.

In certain important formal respects, Sora kinship falls into what is generally called a North Indian type. Thus the terminology, though its lexicon is almost entirely Austro-asiatic, is almost indistinguishable in the mutual relations of many of its elements from Oriya (Karve 1968: 197-204) or Bengali (Inden and Nicholas 1977: 10-11).¹ Space does not permit the discussion of this here, though I hope some time to write about it separately. However, its usage has implications which are sometimes different from what is usually reported for North Indian systems elsewhere. Rather than lay these out with lengthy examples and a typology, I shall simply describe here the salient features of the Sora system as their understanding will be required for future chapters.

The Sora in this area are emphatic that one should avoid marriage and sexual intercourse not only with members of one's own birinda but also with the following categories of relative, all of whom are called marongger:

- all matrilateral parallel cousins (MZD) and their direct descendants for three generations;
- all cross cousins (MBD/FZD) and their direct descendants for three generations.

The range of prohibited cousins is thus similar to that defined by the sapinda rule in its various north Indian interpretations (see, for example, Tambiah 1973: 92-93).

The literature on the North and South Indian attitudes

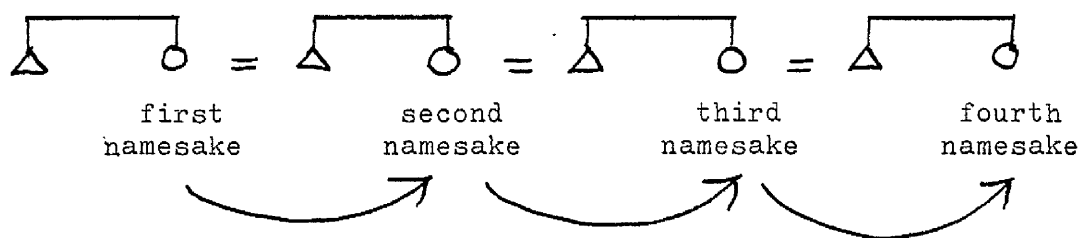
to cross-cousin marriage is large and complex and no attempt will be made to summarise it here. The subject is touched upon in most Indian ethnographies and has been discussed from the comparative and theoretical viewpoints by, among others, Dumont (in Contributions V, 1961 : 75-95; VII, 1964 : 77-98 IX, 1966 : 90-114), Karve (1968) and Tambiah (1973). At the risk of gross simplification, its significance may be said to lie in the fact that though in the south and north respectively it is either on the whole encouraged/enjoined or discouraged/prohibited, nevertheless what are being expressed amount to the same relations between affines continuing over the generations (cf. Tambiah 1973: 92-93); this is accompanied by complex variations in gift-giving (ibid.; cf. Trautmann, 1981: 277-93).

In this light it is interesting to see how the Sora, standing as they do on the edge between North and South India, exhibit both patterns simultaneously in one and the same village and even household. For despite the prohibition, some 10% of marriages are indeed between cross-cousins. These are usually among wealthier families and involve arranged, rather than free-choice, marriages (see below). Though cross-cousin marriage is said to be "stupid" (a'budi-) and "greedy" (rangka), the Sora are keenly aware that it is practised by most known Hindu (that is, raji, and thus of higher status) groups. Furthermore, I shall suggest that it bears for them some important symbolism concerning the attraction of incest and the retention of resources, in the form of the birinda's women. Thus, in Chapter 12 a girl's death is interpreted in the light of her brothers' opposition to her marriage with a cross cousin. Yet this was not the only reason for their opposition: had the man's economic and social status been better, they might themselves have arranged just such a marriage for her.

The constant outward-moving thrust of the cross-cousin prohibition, and the sense of incest where this is reversed, are seen most clearly in the funerals of women and their position in the cult of ancestors. Before marriage a woman is nourished from her father's soil, which she helped to cultivate, with grain containing the "soul"-force (puradan) of his ancestors who reside in that soil. On marriage,

her source of nourishment is transferred to her husband's ancestors. After death, if she has borne children but especially sons, she should join these ancestors rather than those of her natal birinda and her name should reappear among their descendants. Women's names thus ideally move across birindas between one bearer and the next (figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 Movement of a female name over time
(generations compressed)

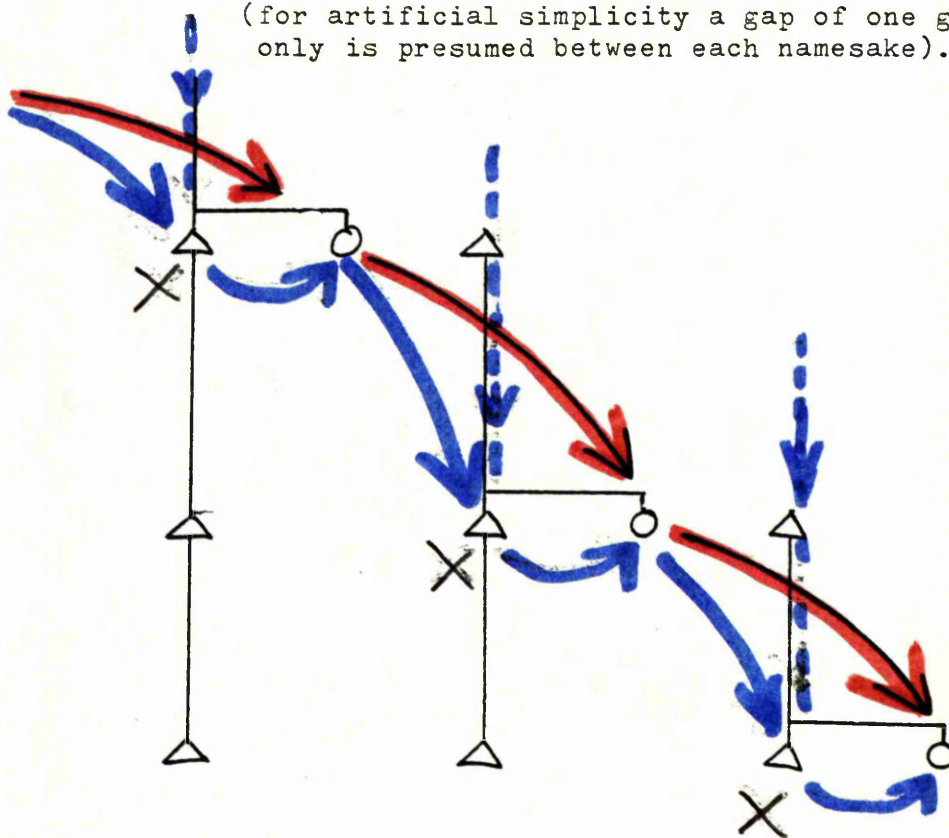


However, throughout her married life she continues to manage her own independent capital (keruru) which is derived entirely from her father's family. This never passes under the control of her husband but is held in trust for their children. On marriage she brings some jewellery and clothes as well as a quantity of her father's grain which is kept separately from her husband's and can never be cooked and eaten by them. Everything eaten in the house is provided by the husband while she lends her grain out at interest and may even lend it, though interest-free (rea), to her husband. If her father's family is wealthy they will give her further substantial amounts whenever she visits them, after harvests, etc. Eventually she may be able to buy her own paddy land which she and her husband will work with the same division of labour as on his fields though the crop will be hers alone for reinvestment. A woman's personal wealth is inherited by her children: if she has only daughters, they receive everything; if she has sons as well, they take the land and grain while her daughters receive only the jewellery and personal effects. This is because their brothers will in turn be obliged to pass wealth on to them as part of their keruru. Thus the part of a woman's keruru which consists of clothing and jewellery will probably be derived from her own mother in a process which crosses from

birinda to birinda with each marriage ad infinitum, in the exact manner of female names; while the part which is in grain should have been processed so that it has become indistinguishable from that of her father and brothers, from whom it is symbolically important that it should seem to emanate (Chapter 4). Figure 3.2 shows this where each marriage has both male and female children.

Figure 3.2 Movement of a woman's name, jewellery and grain, acquired from or via her natal birinda

(for artificial simplicity a gap of one generation only is presumed between each namesake).



Note:

red arrows show movement of woman's jewellery and name; solid blue arrows show movement of grain; crosses mark where this is assimilated into agnatic grain represented by dotted blue line.

Figure 3.2 depicts two paths for certain among what will emerge by the end of this thesis as several aspects of the woman's person (see especially Chapter 15). These aspects have their origin in previously existing persons and during the course of her life refract out and move on, sometimes separately, to form part of further new persons. Thus the interest, commonly discussed as a motive for gift-giving in such kinship systems, of the mother's brother in the welfare of the sister's child, is complicated by a further factor: in cases where the sister's husband's line dies out, even if this occurs some two or three generations later, her brother's line may not only retrieve her keruru but may also acquire the entire property of that cross-cousin line, even against the interests of that line's own collaterals. This will be demonstrated in detail in Chapter 14 and may be linked to the extreme underlying provisionality of Sora marriage (section b) as well as to the practice of double funerals for all women and many male cross cousins (section c) below).

The kinship world does not divide solely into consanguines and affines, nor even into equivalents of the Bengali jñāti and kutumba (Inden and Nicholas:1977). Some people are at the same time both and neither and rather than follow Inden and Nicholas in talking of "par excellence" and "residual" members of each group, I shall follow Sora usage and speak of consanguines (buñang, "member of a birinda"), affines in the generation of marriage (kuñar, "father-in-law") and quasi-consanguines (my gloss for marongger, female maronsel, "cross or parallel cousin outside the birinda"). This last category dissolves affinity, as last generation's kuñar becomes this generation's marongger. There is no pattern of terminology or behaviour which could stem this process by holding affines separate into a second generation.

b) marriage(i) woman-hoarding:

The male-centred household seeks ideally to acquire as many women as possible. The Sora explain this in two inter-related senses: the high productivity of the labour of females over and above their consumption needs; and their capacity for reproduction. Whether from the perspective of an individual male householder or of the agnatic core of a birinda or its segment, it is this capacity for production and reproduction which is lost to men with every sister who marries out and gained with every incoming wife - and vice versa from the point of view of the other men involved. Each will be considered in turn.

Production: the Sora acknowledge the role of both land and labour in the creation of wealth. The symbolism which pervades the entire culture points to a stronger emphasis on labour, particularly that of women: 'It's not having material wealth as such which makes you important (pimeng) as the people who produce it.'

Reproduction: every man or group of men desires a large progeny and depends for this on their women. Female offspring provide labour for as long as they can be retained, while male offspring bring in wives for the same purpose as well as providing perpetuity for the line, and if numerous will make one an apical ancestor at the head of a large branching genealogy. Though a large number of sons inevitably breaks up their father's accumulated estate, females help to build this up again and for a man to die without sons (tad-) is a personal misfortune: the reverse, tambob-, 'to have sons who survive after one's death' means literally "to sprout again after being pruned down to the ground".

While this might apply to many groups in India, what is unusual among the Sora is the degree to which these considerations lead to practices which may be called wife-hoarding and sister-hoarding. Those households which have more than a modicum of paddy-land inevitably - and partly by design among wealthy or ambitious men - embark on what may be called a capitalist quest of monopolising resources through political

domination. Capitalism begins at home and as a valuable resource the women of such households become controlled and manoeuvred, sometimes with considerable loss of the great personal freedom generally enjoyed by Sora women.

Wife-hoarding: each village contains a few polygynous households, almost all those of wealthy or aspiring men.² Usually the first wife is the daughter of a wealthy household, acquired through a negotiated marriage (see below), but later wives are generally from homes poorer than that of their husbands, and come out of free choice (dari, see below). Alternatively, the second wife is the younger sister of the first.

Sister-hoarding: however, in the same kind of household this is associated with the accumulation of unmarried sisters and daughters. This may be brought about in several ways:

- outright prevention or subversion of a girl's marriage: suitors are intimidated, often against the girl's will (though some girls are themselves very proud); or else emotional pressure induces her to abandon a new and insecure marriage and return home.
- illegitimate children (junjuri-on, "promiscuous woman's child"): while living at home in this way the girl bears the child of a lover, often poor, whom she may love very much but is prevented from marrying. Such children receive names of the ancestors of her brothers, not of her lover, in a naming ceremony sponsored by her brothers who connive at this promiscuity. The genealogical effect of this naming is the same as if the child had been fathered by the girl's own brother.
- uxorilocal marriage (lo-tab, "a kept husband"): usually when a poor man or refugee marries the daughter of a man with no sons. This is humiliating for him and is resented by his father-in-law's collaterals who would otherwise be his heirs. The uxorilocal man's children are likely to be named after his father-in-law's ancestors, not his own.

Some hoarded sisters are reduced to despair and even suicide (case 8.1). But sometimes, as is usually the case with polygyny,

the hoarding is done with the woman's own consent. A household with a large number of women attracts further women 'for the company' and also for the comparative comfort of prosperity. They may come either as co-wives or they may stay on as unmarried sisters: life as the only woman in a poor household is tough and girls who have been spoiled in early life, even if they love a man, may refuse to set up house with him.

(ii) ways of marrying:

There are several ways of marrying:

(i) elopement (dari: as verb, "to have an affair with"):

the usual kind of marriage, probably accounting for 70% of all marriages in the area. This is done in their late teens on the lovers' own initiative and only its permanency distinguishes it from other affairs. All teenagers have such affairs and the usual sign of intended permanency is for the couple to disappear for a few days in a way which makes their absence conspicuous, then to return to the boy's village and found a separate household with its own hearth on which the girl cooks for him. Probably all poor people marry like this, as do many from wealthier homes especially if defying families who have other plans for them. In such cases the girl's family may demand cash or a "fine" (danda: effectively a brideprice) and try to mobilise public opinion in their support. This is often intended to break up the couple and can be a severe test of their devotion. But if the girl is steadfast her family are forced to give in, often receiving no payment or only an attenuated one.

There is thus usually no contractual basis whatever for a dari marriage beyond the gesture by the couple of setting up house together and maybe the support of the boy's kinsmen in building their house. Separation for both partners thus remains easy and frequent for some time and becomes less likely only with the birth of children. It is only by this time that the boy's rights in the girl have grown to the extent that he in turn can demand a "fine" for her adultery or desertion, whether to another man or back to her natal home. It should be noted that such fines are an arrangement between males together with their agnatic supporters, over a woman in between.

(ii) negotiated marriage (pang-sal, "bearing wine"; the final ceremony is sid-rung, "throwing rice"): this is done

mainly by wealthier people, especially for a cross-cousin marriage. The parents and their supporters negotiate over several years on behalf of their children, who to begin with are usually barely adolescent. The children's eventual cooperation is essential though not always wholehearted.

Again, no payment is made but this time the contractual basis is firm. The boy's parents make numerous expeditions bearing wine to the girl's parents. At first the latter refuse it, smash the pots, beat the bearers, etc. Finally they signify their assent (unless they are genuinely refusing the offer) by drinking it, and the boy may come to work for a token few days for his prospective father-in-law, a gesture which may be repeated occasionally after marriage. From the moment when his wine is drunk the boy has gained the right to the substantial material compensation of a danda ("fine") if the girl should later change her mind or desert him, that same right which for a husband by elopement (dari) grows only gradually. A time is fixed when after one or more years the bride will be led to the groom's house in a dancing procession (the sidrung).

Though pangsal negotiations are started on behalf of many young people, few such weddings actually take place. Many pots of wine are smashed and many fines paid for a girl's changes of heart. The first time the boy's parents make an overture they do so anonymously during the night, hanging an old, fragile pot of wine from an arrow stuck into the thatch just above the door. It is hoped that the first person who staggers half-asleep out of the house before dawn will smash it with his head and involuntarily drink some. The girl's family, on the other hand, if they catch a pangsal expedition approaching, smash the pots with sticks while they are still on the heads of the bearers to make the wine run into their mouths. The girl's side are in a strong position and can afford to be choosy on their daughter's behalf. Their main motive for accepting will usually be either the desirability of the family with whom they will make a cross-cousin relationship for their sons, or else the fact that they are already cross-cousins and are using the idiom of pangsal to make a marriage which would not be likely if they relied on elopement.

The reason for the frequent payment of fines is that though girls may be hoarded and thereby forced not to marry, no girl can be forced into a marriage against her will. The negotiations continue between the parents while she is growing up and has boy-friends, and many such negotiations reach an advanced stage only to be pre-empted by her sudden elopement with someone else. In such cases once the wine has been drunk her lover will owe a fine to her parents or her disappointed fiancé. Even a negotiated marriage is not irreversible: a dissatisfied girl can return home or find another man, in which case a fine is due to the husband; while a dissatisfied man, though wives are not usually dismissed so long as relations are bearable, can bring in another wife. In both cases the new arrangement will be of the dari sort.

(iii) abduction (dāng-dāng-boi, "abducted woman"): the boy and his supporters kidnap the girl. This may be either as pangsai when the wine has been drunk and the girl withheld too long, or as dari if she does not reciprocate the boy's affection or else does so but is being hoarded by her family. In neither case if she does not connive will she be held for long against her will, and there will in any case be heated arguments over fines. Abduction is not only an alternative to other forms of marriage but also a frequent component of them, and seems to have been until recently the cause of serious wars between villages.

(iv) the junior sororate (ali-boi/eri-boi, "wife's younger sister"): this is the commonest form of second marriage for a man. The girl is the first wife's "younger sister" (ayi) by the same parents and there is therefore no payment, no new set of in-laws, and supposedly no quarrels between co-wives. All co-wives use "elder/younger sister" terms to each other regardless of their real relationship. A man jokes with his wife's younger sister but must not do so with her elder sister who is assimilated in terminology and behaviour to his mother-in-law.

(v) the junior levirate (buni, "elder brother's wife"): a widow may, by consent of all parties including the sonum of her dead husband, marry his actual or classificatory brother rather than return to her natal home. She is more likely

to do this later in her married life than earlier, since the survival of her children gives her a stronger stake in her husband's village (see below). She must not joke with her husband's elder brother, who is assimilated to her father-in-law.

The interplay of some of these forms of marriage and woman-boarding may be seen in the following text which charts an aspect of the rise of Jamano, whose death forms the subject-matter of Chapters 7 and 8. At the time of his death he, his brother and son were living with eight adult women, an assortment of wives and unmarried sisters:

Text 3.1 A comment on Jamano's hoarding of women

'How did Jamano get rich? Through his unmarried sisters. His father was an unimportant man. In those days Gurunda was the rich one, because of all his sisters! Jamano's sister Kusumai was beautiful. A man from Basara village came to ask for her. Kusumai wanted him but the others wouldn't drink his wine, they smashed the pot and beat him. They wouldn't give him a knife to work with [on their land]. We gave him one and later they scolded us very fiercely: "You give away your daughter, you feed the Basara man!" Then the men of Basara kidnapped her, but Jamano raised a big party and went to get her back. They brought her back against her will. Later, the men of Ganuren village kidnapped her. My father was doing a "Moon-Eclipse" sacrifice in their house that night and was hit on the head and knocked unconscious in the fight. Our men then went to Ganuren, beat up their Gomang and brought her back again. But she wasn't in love with the Ganuren man anyway, the way she had been with the Basara man, and pined to death soon after - though they say the Basara people killed her with sorcery. They tried to hang on to her sister Jenggi too but she took no notice (a'dere) and just went off with her lover.'

c) the cult of ancestors: single and multiple funerals

The series of rites carried out for each person's death incorporates that person into the ancestors of a birinda and more particularly of those householders who perform the rites in their fullest form. Ancestors influence the lives of their descendants and are organised in birindas and subordinate groupings which are an extension of those of the living (and vice versa). The way a living person participates in a funeral is therefore a close reflection of the role he expects the deceased to play for him in the future.

Stages of the funeral will be described in later chapters. Here, the guar will be taken as the main stage which reveals clearly all necessary relations.

(i) men's behaviour at men's funerals:

In an earlier section the categories consanguineal, affinal and quasi-consanguineal were distinguished. This section will develop these distinctions and show how quasi-consanguinity can model itself on consanguinity.

Women grieve at funerals and channel their grief into long laments improvised formulaically to a set lament (eda) tune. Men are not debarred from doing this, but they do so more rarely. Instead they participate by giving a buffalo under one of three rubrics which express a kinship relation to the deceased. These rubrics are distinguished by separate terms and different kinds of action, for example, in sharing out meat.

Consanguineal full heirs: guar ("performing guar"):
only a man's direct heirs actually stage the guar. As well as a buffalo such heirs provide the stone and in some villages they may also "sacrifice" an egg or eat a "cremated" rice-flour effigy of the deceased. This seems to signify their exclusive right to his name for one of their future babies. At the end of the day they will "induct" (amgan-) the deceased into their house or houses to which, as a full ancestor, he has full rights of ownership. For the indefinite future he will cause minor fevers in that house and demand as his right to be fed with small sacrifices in a way that he will not do in any other houses. In addition to his property, the dead man's full heirs must take on all his debts.

Consanguineal collaterals: idbong ("hitting a buffalo"):

this is done by birinda members who are not heirs "out of pity because he's our brother (abasuyim buñang len gamle)". They give a buffalo but do not sacrifice eggs or share in eating an effigy and so do not inherit the man's property, name or debts. The deceased is not inducted fully into their houses, but as a birinda-ancestor he nonetheless retains certain rights over them and is liable to attack them and demand sacrifices, though less insistently. There are degrees of collaterality all of which are covered by idbong, and if the line of direct heirs should later die out, everything should normally revert to the nearest of these. Participating in a guar through the act of idbong acknowledges the continuing unity of the birinda as a whole, since all ancestors of all its branches are enumerated at the guar of any one of the birinda's members (chapter 9).

Affinal: tongsengbong ("dancing a buffalo"): this is done for a parent-in-law, brother-in-law, or child-in-law. If they have come from other villages the representatives of each affinal group camp and cook outside the village, then enter twice with a flamboyant, aggressive dance to a beat called gan-desa ("entering the village", but also with overtones of "invading"). The first time they dance leading the living buffalo, the second time, after killing it outside at their camp-site, they bring certain portions of the meat as gifts and are then taken into people's homes and plied with drink (*plate 4*).

This is the affinal act par excellence. I was once present at a furious argument when an unwanted suitor of the dead man's daughter turned up from another village with his supporters and made ready to kill a buffalo on the outskirts of the proceedings. He was discovered and prevented in time and the buffalo locked up for safety till evening, but had he succeeded in performing the act of a son-in-law his claim to the girl would supposedly have been much strengthened.

Affinal buffalo-dancers are outside the village during the focal rite, conducted by the host birinda, of planting the stone and enumerating all their own ancestors; similarly, they do not take home and induct into their houses the soul or name of the deceased. Normally they have no right to inherit

Plate 4 The end of the party: waiting to go home

A group from another village who have come as affines to dance a buffalo to a guar (funeral). At the end of the afternoon, groups of the host's affines from other villages are still dancing on all sides around them.



him, nor he to demand further sacrifices of them (Plate 3).

Quasi-consanguineal, for funeral of marongger: there is thus a clear distinction between affinal and consanguineal ways of giving a buffalo at the funeral of a male. In the latter, one incorporates the deceased into one's own ancestor-cult and thereby acquires the right to inherit him. For those doing the guar, this right is immediate; for those doing idbong, it remains a potential in case the direct heirs should later die out: this potential is kept alive through the enumeration of all the birinda's ancestors at every guar.

One's response to the death of any kind of marongger must fall within this framework. In the case of cross cousins, these are the children of my mamang (MB, FZH). At my mamang's death I act only in place of my father if he is dead, when I go buffalo-dancing (tongsengbong) since my mamang belongs to a generation in which his relation to my own line, through my father, is one of affinity.

For a marongger, however, the procedure is different since by this generation my father's relationship of affinity has been transformed for me into one of quasi-consanguinity. If, as is likely, my marongger has heirs within his own birinda, then I take a buffalo as idbong (collateral consanguineal action) to the guar staged by them.

However, there also exists a sequence of rites called "leading the soul" (dinggara) and "taking the bones" (pangjang) in which a portion of the deceased's soul and bones (contained in ashes from his pyre) are carried to the stone-planting site of another birinda to be given a full guar there. Among men this is often done, either with a view to pre-empting the inheritance rights of the deceased's own collaterals if he has no heirs in a direct line (this is rare), or very commonly because one feels "friendly" (timyim) or out of "pity" (abasuyim) and with no immediate claim.

In the former case the guar staged by me for my marongger will be the only one he receives; in the latter, this will provide the deceased with a secondary guar, or even several, in various villages.

How does this affect the status of the deceased as the

"ancestor" of various groups of "descendants"? Though he is now represented by a stone at my guar-site, after the guar staged on his behalf he will not again normally be enumerated among my ancestors and his name will not reappear among one of my descendants - so long, that is, as he has descendants of his own. A marongger relationship is called "brother"-hood and if properly kept up can be more timyim than that between all but the closest collaterals, especially if maronggers live near each other and constantly exchange labour and hospitality. This will be reflected in the tenor of dialogues with the deceased over the years following his death: he himself, if his immediate line dies out, may speak out in favour of the heirship of his maronggers against that of his own collaterals.

Thus, to perform a primary guar, rather than merely to participate in one staged by someone else, is to assert one's right to inherit the deceased and to retrieve his name for one's own children; while to pangjang ("carry the bones") in order to perform either a primary or a secondary guar is to bring within the range of consanguinity, and therefore of actual or potential inheritability, someone who would otherwise remain outside it as an affine (cf. mamang). This process thus depends on a conflation of lines across an affinal tie so that the affinity effectively disappears through being assimilated in the next generation to consanguinity.

For a male who is being given a second guar only "for affection", this ambiguity is rarely played upon: his own birinda still retain the exclusive right to list his name in their funerals and he will reside after death in one of their Earth-Sonum sites and give his name to one of their descendants. Each dead male is enumerated among the ancestors of only one birinda at a time, under the heading "fathers, brothers" (wangji buñangji). If they later wish to inherit him against his collaterals, his maronggers must first induce him in dialogues to change his residence to one of their own Earth-Sonum sites as the first stage in the transferral of what we may call more material rights. Thus, though a deceased male cannot be listed among the ancestors of two birindas, by revealing in dialogues that he has changed the site of his

post mortem Earth-Sonum residence, he can effectively change his birinda in that the rights first to his name and eventually to his property are thereby gradually transferred. The case-study in Chapter 14 will show how in this way a more recent link between affines can be made a stronger claim than an older collateral one, largely on the grounds that it is more persuasive in terms of emotional relationships. If as seems likely every village may contain several such long-running cases, then rather than any neat model of a system based on exogamous segmentary lineages there appears a picture of considerable actual flux as lines prosper or die out, rival claims are pressed and in their justification ancestors change their minds in the Underworld years after their deaths.

(ii) women's funerals:

While no man need do so and many go without, all married women must receive a pangjang and a second guar. Normally the first guar is performed by their husband's birinda, the second by that into which they were born. As with a male who receives a double guar, this provides a framework which can allow the question of her ultimate affiliation to remain open. But the ambiguity of the married woman's position is much greater: sisters whose productive and reproductive potential are lost on marriage are brought back in their funerals in a sense which is laden with paradox, since the birindas into which they have married and for whom they have borne children do not in turn relinquish them. Instead, they are enumerated simultaneously in all funerals conducted by both their brothers' and their husbands' birindas under the (significantly) undifferentiated heading "mothers, sisters" (yangji bujmai: cf. Chapter 9, lines 213, 225). This double existence can last for several generations and is the strongest evidence for the continuing provisionality of marriage.

A woman's gradually tightening assimilation to her husband's group can be observed in many contexts. For example, routine dialogues with the dead are conducted almost entirely by women while men only attend on special occasions or if the situation touches them deeply. The male householder's agnatic ancestors who speak successively in a kuran's trance are "greeted" (olong-) mostly by a group of his wives and sisters who offer

them food, drink and emotional response. So just as she changes her source of ancestral nourishment, a woman who marries changes from "greeting" the ancestors of her father or brothers to greeting those of her husband. The tone in which young sisters greet their own ancestors is relaxed and familiar; that of young wives greeting their husbands' ancestors is reserved and respectful; most of the talking, including even that on the young wives' behalf, is done by older women whose tone is fearless often to the point of being abusive. These distinctions of tone will emerge strikingly in Chapter 11. Such older women can be equally sisters (either hoarded, or else returned after divorce or widowhood) or wives who through their marriage and the survival of their children have become assimilated over the years until they are in this sense equivalent to sisters and able to address their husbands' ancestors in the same tone. Such women if widowed are now unlikely to return to their brothers.

Ultimately, however, the extent of a woman's assimilation to her husband's agnatic group can be judged only when she herself dies and announces in dialogues held after her death that she has gone to reside with her husband's ancestors in their Earth-Sonum site. Normally a woman with surviving sons will do this and declare her intention to recycle her name into one of her sons' female descendants.

However, a married woman without sons (or a hoarded woman with only illegitimate sons) will normally reside with her brothers' ancestors and her name will reappear among their descendants. In this case one can only conclude that the marriage has turned out in a very important sense to be invalid. Chapter 14 will show that this can also be the case as much as two or three generations later, when a dead woman's progeny ultimately die out and she announces a change of residence in order to join her own brothers in their Earth-Sonum site. When this complex and lengthy manoeuvre has been carried into effect with all its implications for those affected, no trace will remain of the marriage whose progeny failed to flourish. The inheritance by cross cousins which will be seen to be involved here is made possible by the fact that, since marriage is not seen by the Sora as an irreversible sacrament, a woman's

compulsory double funeral differs from the optional one of a marongger in that she is listed as an ancestor far into the future by both sides.³

d) cross-cousin marriage in the Underworld:Pubic-Haired Sompa and the female tradition of trance

Many features relate the ambiguities raised by every marriage to a sense of the inadequately compensated loss of a valuable woman. Many tendencies bear witness to this interpretation: the demands for brideprice, even if not met, and the fines for desertion; the desirability for men of polygyny; various elaborate forms of sister-hoarding and of avoidance of exogamy; the attractiveness of cross-cousin marriage for more ambitious people against the prevailing ideology and the structure of the ancestor cult to which all without exception subscribe; and the compulsory double funeral of all married women. Most of these combine an economic or material aspect with strong psychological undertones. These perhaps find their deepest expression in the inner marital experience of kurans and the myth of origin for kuranism which suggest that cross-cousin marriage is seen as a form of incest and of sister-hoarding. I have recorded the story several times and give here a summary of its most consistent features (text 3.2):

Text 3.2 The story of Pubic-Haired Sompa

There were two sisters, Pubic-Haired Sompa (Kurutij Sompa) and Mascara-Eyed Riđi (Sanidmad Riđi). Riđi was the younger and appears in the story only as a shadowy counterpart of Sompa. Some say they were Sora, some that they were "raji", that is, of a caste Hindu, and therefore higher-status, ethnic group. Sompa had so much pubic hair that she had to keep it coiled up under her skirt, hence her full epithet in song: "Pubic-Hair Sompa, Sompa of the coiled pubic tresses" (Kurutij Sompa, Saekur Sompa). Some say she was covered all over with hair "like a bear". When they had grown up they sought lovers but no-one among their own people wanted to make love to them (or her: most of the details of the story seem to centre on Sompa), either because they were repelled by the pubic hair or else because they were embarrassed at the elaborate gold jewellery and fine clothes they wore, making them "like caste Hindus, like rich women" (rajiboi amrid, gomangboi amrid). So they were feeling extremely lustful but unfulfilled and the veins in their heads were throbbing "bál bál bál" (that is, with lust). At some point in the story they abandoned their gold and fine clothes, which were then destroyed by termites, and they wore ordinary clothes. In their wanderings in search of lovers they came to a certain Sarda Sora village (an "acculturated" section of the Sora people in the plains

who are at the same time both despised and recognised as of higher status, and who practise cross-cousin marriage) where there was a dance. The style of drumming and dancing, which differ from those of our Soras, are described: the dance involves a wide-stepping movement, at which Sompa's tresses spilled out and so she again failed to secure a lover. The sisters returned home to their brothers, saying 'Hey! brothers! the veins in our heads are bursting: will the sun drown will the moon drown if we make love with you?' [i.e. why not do it?]. So they slept with their own brothers and their souls were cooled. Later when they found that they were pregnant, they also slept once with their brothers' two Sarda servants, saying "Now you've slept with us, say it's your child". Thus they "put the responsibility on" (abdusaleji) the two Sardas.

It is not related how these girls died. After their deaths they somehow caused other unmarried girls to fall into trance. This is always the least specific part of the story. Some say that the trance for diagnosis-and-cure (tedung) was already known and even practised by Sompa and that her innovation was to introduce the funeral (sanatung) trance on which the whole sequence of funeral rites depends. Others say that both kinds of trance began only with the first successors to Sompa and Riḍi, who received their power from the two of them after their deaths. Either way, Pubic-Haired Sompa now stands at the head of the great, predominantly female tradition of funeral trance while Mascara-Eyed Riḍi controls the lesser, equally male-and-female tradition of trance for diagnosis and cure. Whatever their ethnic origin, they are now raji and all kurans trace their descent through a line of predecessors and teachers culminating, according to the type of kuran, in one or other of these sisters. Dead kurans themselves become ethnically raji and join the group of living kuranism's supporting sonums as raudas.

This story should be seen in the light of certain facts about Sora ethnicity made clear in Chapter 2. All neighbouring peoples (including Sarda Soras) are seen by our Sora to:

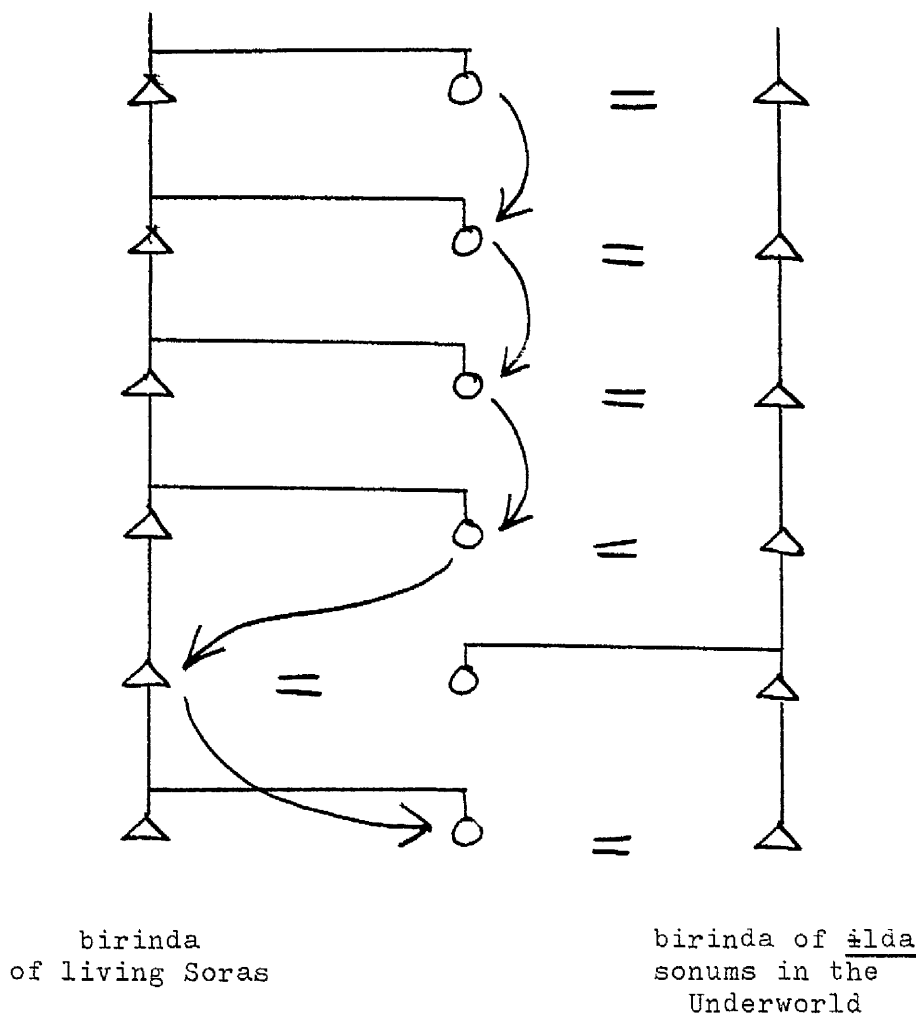
- 1) have greater political and economic power which is based on literacy and exercised to the Soras' disadvantage;
- 2) practise or favour cross-cousin marriage;
- 3) have conspicuously more body hair;
- 4) use mascara among their women as well as more elaborate and brightly coloured clothing than do the Sora.

It seems reasonable to interpret this story as deriving the powers of women kurans from a negation of the normal process of sexual attraction which draws them away from their brothers and towards lovers and husbands. But this is done by a conscious imitation of the social structure of the surrounding dominant ethnic groups. This gives sexual satisfaction without the loss involved in exogamy, and the advantages of incest without the stigma: note how the responsibility is shifted on to the Sarda servants. The equation between cross-cousin marriage and brother-sister incest is exact except that one is socially acceptable and the other is not.

It will be recalled from Chapter 2 that all kurans acquire the ability to go into trance by marrying one or more of a class of Sonum called alda. These are caste Hindus and distinct from a rauda, who is a deceased former Sora kuran. Much of this was reported by Elwin (1955) and worked by Dumont (1959) into his discussion of tribal-Hindu relations. But though the idea of incest emerges in places in Elwin's account, there is no discussion of social structure and so any function which incest may have, beyond universal psychologising, remains impossible to discern.

However, it can be shown that though anyone from any birinda can become a kuran, aldas and kurans generally intermarry on the model of cross-cousin marriage, of the FZD type for male kurans and of the MBD type for female kurans. The lesser diagnosis-plus-cure tradition of Ridi uses equally male and female kurans, while the "important" (muda) funeral tradition of Sompa uses females wherever a suitable apprentice is available (figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3 Succession of funeral kurans with a less common male incumbent in the fifth generation



A kuran of either sex and her or his alda spouse have several alda children of both sexes who inhabit the Underworld. Some of these may later marry the kuran's living apprentices and successors, while the rest who are not needed marry somewhere in the Underworld and disappear - unless utilised in a later generation. Time in the Underworld is elastic and an alda baby may take five years or fifty to grow up, depending on the availability of successors in the "outside" (bayira) world. In principle no line of succession is ever lost. Even after all possible teachers in a tradition have died, grandchildren often still may acquire their powers by learning from them and marrying their alda children in dreams.

All kurans, male or female, experience a double marital life, one "outside" among the living and one in the Underworld which they visit in dreams and in trance. But the sociological

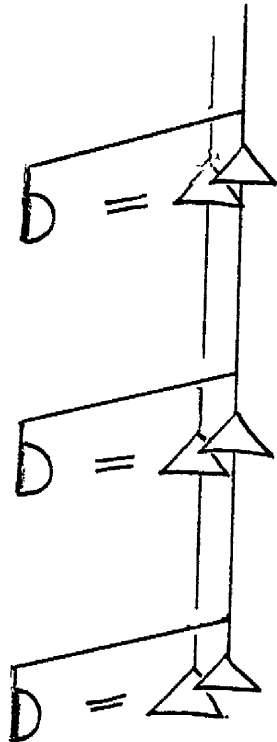
and psychological implications are different for men and women, partly corresponding in principle to the distinction between Ridi's and Sompa's tradition. Men, whichever tradition they are entering, normally learn in young adulthood and if they enter the funeral tradition of Sompa, this is likely to be only because there is a lack of female claimants to the tradition. Thus kuranism does not normally come to a boy in adolescence nor does it place any strain later upon his marriage (which in any case always includes the possibility of polygyny even in this world).

Women, on the other hand, usually marry in the Underworld before puberty, at a formative age a good ten years before they marry among the living. The psychology of normal marriage allows no scope for polyandry and the tension is felt by both the woman and her living husband. If she is in the diagnosis-and-cure tradition, this is tolerated and she continues to practise after marriage; but if she is in the funeral tradition the fact of marriage itself exerts a strong pressure to give up. Where she moves to another village she is obliged to give up as she is in "in-law country" (kuñar desa) and there is a constraint of "embarrassment" (garoj) on naming and acting as a channel for her husband's ancestors; where she marries within her own village, her husband will usually persuade her to give up. Married women often take up funeral kuranism again in old age, especially if they have stayed on in their husband's village after being widowed. I was also told that in some areas, female funeral kurans do not marry at all among the living, while in the area known to me their marriages seemed conspicuously unstable.

Thus apart from a few fully adult men of all ages, the crucial sequence of funeral rites is entirely in the hands of unmarried teenage girls and old women who in relation to the man with whom they reside are either sisters, or wives assimilated to the status of sisters. Women who are sexually active within marriage are generally excluded. It will be remembered that in the myth of origin the prototypes of the alda spouse were the women's own brothers. Evidence from elsewhere in Sora life, particularly the symbolism of Earth-Sonums adduced in later chapters, will suggest that it is

perhaps not unreasonable to locate the source of power in the funeral tradition in a process which can be represented by figure 3.4, in which figure 3.3 is folded down the middle and husbands in the land of alda sonums are identified with brothers in this world.

Figure 3.4 The identification of a female kuran's sonum husband and earthly brothers



This allows us to see the homologies between different concepts of "power" (renabtin), political and economic, cognitive and emotional, all of which are seen to run parallel to and to be dependent on the idea of the retention of sisters through the paradox of combining the realisation of marriage with the avoidance of exogamy.

4 The Sora view of the persona) fluidity, form and identity: Sun-Sonum and Earth-Sonum

Sora thinking about origins is concerned with formation rather than creation ex nihilo. There is thus a certain lacuna in their explanation of where new entities come from, in favour of an elaboration of the explanation of how they come to have their present form. This goes with a metaphysics in which the new is seen as re-formation, repetition, or recycling.

There appears to be no noun meaning "form". The associated verbs, however, clearly presuppose the prior existence of the material which is now taking form:

"to become, be formed"

root il-, gadil- literally "peel, strip oneself" (used in the middle voice, see Chapter 10)

"to form"

root gade- "mould" (as a potter, or blacksmith pouring molten metal into mould)

pompom- "hammer" (as a blacksmith on anvil)

sabda- "fashion, make, fix" (general, but especially as a carpenter)

The Sora view of the formation of a child takes place within this technological vocabulary.

Though there is no single Sora word covering all our senses of "boundary" (cf. usal, "skin"; maneng, "edge"), the maintenance and rupturing of boundaries is a central concern of Sora metaphysics. Absence of form is expressed by the word ka'ja, used as an adjective or adverb, and meaning not only "without form" but also "[at] random; without reason, discrimination or specification; aimless[-ly]", etc.

Space is essentially ka'ja, except where some significance is read into it. Then it provides a framework within which entities can themselves take form. This may appear to us to be either perceived or imposed, though the Sora do not distinguish between these. That which can take form and be conducted and stored in space is conceived as a force, power or energy (renabti). Thus when I took them to a city, my Sora friends had no difficulty in understanding electric lights, accumulators and telephones. For them, these operate in the same way as consciousness, which is seen as similarly dynamic and subject to storage and transmission.

Consciousness is contained within bounded entities: when they are "alive" (ameng), it is found as "soul" (puradan) in humans, animals, some

plants, and alcohol, while apart from still-living beings, conspicuous features of the landscape such as rocks, trees or heavenly bodies, are charged with meaning as the residences of certain sonums (Chapter 5). Sonums may also be contained in clearly bounded areas such as sealed pots, wall-paintings and kurans in trance; they may be conducted along paths created across "formless" space such as the threads and ladders used to link the Sun, earth and Underworld.

In the discussion which follows, "consciousness" will be used to refer to the ability to perceive, feel and think, while "a consciousness" refers to a perceiving, feeling, thinking entity. Both are used as translations of the same Sora words. Consciousness remains constant across time but its name changes, from puradan (which may be glossed as 'soul') while alive, through kulman ('ghost') immediately after death, to sonum (the main topic of this thesis) some time after death. These stages are discussed in section d), below.

In animals and humans, consciousness is conceived as animating the body and being coterminous with it. Thus it may be "like" the shadow or photograph of the body. More specifically, it is contained in or somehow identified with the person's or animal's blood. Thus sickness is caused when a sonum starts to "eat" the victim's soul, and it is also said of the patient that he "has no blood left"; in "substituting" the soul of a sacrificed animal (Chapter 5), attention is focussed on the animal's blood. None of this may be spilled until the animal has been killed with blows on the head, as its soul would otherwise drift up to the Sun (see below) instead of reaching the sonum for whom it is destined. Thus consciousness is essentially fluid, since it is only in filling a bounded space that it takes on form and identity.

In embryology, this body is itself not yet fully formed and the child's consciousness and body seem to be formed together in the womb indistinguishably. The technological imagery referred to above is linked to a fundamental opposition in Sora cosmology between heat and cold, associated respectively with the sonums of Sun and Earth (cf. Vitebsky: 1980). The confined space within which the foetus is formed out of blood (kampung, meaning both "womb" and "stomach") is also a blacksmith's mould (kumoi) in which the foetus is cast, as if out of molten metal, by Sun-Sonum (Uyung-sim). Heat is thus the precondition for plasticity or the moulding of something amorphous into something which has form. The Sun is a low-caste (Gansi) Hindu blacksmith and the mother's womb the microcosm of the Sun's forge. On appropriate

occasions, a kuran in trance will sing in the Sun's persona¹ the words gadi-on ñen pompom-on ñen, "my moulded child, my forged child", and many synonyms.

This imagery has certain social consequences for the parents. The Sora do not use the metaphors, widespread elsewhere in India, whereby the woman is a field on which a man sows his seed, or else whereby she provides blood to make the baby's flesh while he provides semen to make its bones. Instead, they say that a baby is made from the fusion of semen and vaginal fluid; these are called respectively asong-kad and asong-tij, meaning literally "exuviae of the penis/vagina". The word asong will be examined more closely below, but it is important to note here that the child is thus made of substances which during the process of conception and birth cross, in an equivalent manner, the boundaries of both mother and father. In providing a mould for this fluid, the mother is the custodian of something which will be separated from them both. Though in conceiving she "takes-fruit-child" (pang-gur-on-), the root kud-, "beget, give birth", is used equally of both parents, while an abstract noun formed from it, kerud-kud, is used as a more or less precise synonym of the agnatic birinda.

The Sun itself is composed of many elements, in a manner which will be discussed in Chapter 6. Some of these are male, some female, some indeterminate, and various relationships between them are brought to the fore in different rites and myths. The most important aspects are:

Uyung-boj "Sun-Woman"

The dominant aspect; in all ways she determines the actual formation of the baby; the other aspects are her "emissaries" (pisirian) or "servants" (kambari);

Mo'mo'-yung "Dumb-Sun"

A male, imbecile blacksmith who hammers embryos under her direction and has no initiative of his own;

Lur-jadan "Python-Snake"

Sent by Sun-Woman to swallow and absorb e.g. the Moon to cause eclipses, the foetus to cause miscarriages.

Clearly, there are ambiguities of sex-roles here which need to be examined more closely. Words like jabmol "seed" and miñam "blood" are used loosely to refer to the idea of kinship, and to say that two people are of the same seed or blood can be used to refer to anything from membership of the same birinda to membership of the Sora people as against Oriyas or White Men. In other words, the terms of the metaphor do not in themselves permit the unambiguous separation of male and

female roles in making a baby, and instead of a simple male/female opposition, we shall rather consider the position of a married woman between two agnatic birindas and ask to which group she is assimilated to a greater degree and for whom she is producing babies. This will be taken up fully in Part III of the thesis.

Earth-Sonum (Labo-sim), on the other hand, inhabits separate named springs of water-sources and is associated with the idea of cleanliness and, so far as reference is made to Hindus, the relatively high Paik (Warrior) caste. Much of its symbolism centres round the ideas of wholeness and retention. Thus as a cause of illness and death, it afflicts with symptoms of swelling and bloating and especially of constriction of the excretory and genital passages. In addition, it may take people who die uneventfully in old age, while attempts are made to retrieve everyone after their deaths and reunite them into kin-groups based in various sites which are manifestations of Earth-Sonum. Thus whereas there is only one Sun in the sky, there are numerous distinct Earth-Sonums contained within the overall category Earth-Sonum. (The Sora use the singular and plural here in the same way). The cool symbolism of Earth-Sonum is used to express the solidarity of the agnatic group who own the particular site for which that sonum stands, since grain grown on the site of a particular Earth-Sonum contains, in a special sense which will emerge later, the soul of the ancestors of the man who cultivates the site, since these ancestors inhabit it. A woman after marriage gradually transfers her loyalties to match this change in her source of nourishment. If she dies in childbirth, especially during her first pregnancy, it is the ancestors in her own natal Earth-Sonum who have reclaimed her out of resentment because she is bearing children for others whose food she now feeds on (see Chapters 3 and 13); while if she and the child live, they will continue to be fed with grain grown on her husband's soil and containing the soul of his ancestors whose involvement with her and her child thus build up over the years.

In contrast to the group solidarity of this Earth-Sonum imagery, the Sun's heat now appears as a precondition not only for plasticity of the foetus but also for the divisiveness of birth whereby one entity splits, almost amoeba-like, into two. Since it is normally her husband's group who will incorporate the child, this birth-process can be seen by her brothers as a threat to their own group integrity.

This will be developed in later chapters, but enough has already

been said in Chapter 3 to suggest that the physical bond between mother and child is in some way equivalent to her social link to her brothers, and must be gradually converted into a social bond between the child and its father. It is through the idiom of grain that he converts the mother's act of physical divisiveness into generational succession for himself and his group, and through socialisation tips the scales once and for all in the balance between male and female roles in procreation as the child gradually becomes definitively a member of its father's birinda.

Just as stages in the Sora life-cycle, such as those of puberty and marriage, are not marked in a decisive way, so the processes of death and birth require several years for completion and their course is subject to many reversals. This dissolution of a child's physical tie to its mother takes about three years. The child is not fully weaned until the age of about three and sexual relations between the parents are supposedly prohibited until then to protect its welfare. The child will never drink milk again, whether human or animal, but meanwhile the porridge on which it begins to feed will be made from grain belonging to the father. In addition most infants are made ill during their first year by a paternal ancestor of the same sex, and recover after a promise is made that the child will bear the ancestor's name. A brass finger-ring, supposedly one of those used in the original namesake's funeral rites, is tied to the baby's wrist and if the child survives, this is removed in an elaborate and important naming-ceremony (abñimón), also around the age of three (see Chapter 15). If the child dies beforehand, as many do, a full funeral is not performed and the child does not become an "ancestor": never having had a name, he was not a full person and cannot rename a successor; so the original ancestor simply seeks out a new baby to rename. It will be shown in detail in Part III how certain battles which arise between groups of consanguines and cross cousins over control of a woman's reproductive capacity are conducted through the strategic placing of ancestral names onto new babies.

The full formation of a new person is thus a long and delicate process, and one with a high failure rate. The explanation for these failures is based on the imagery of the process itself. Though heat allows formation and separation, a form cannot be held stable under continuing conditions of heat: form which has been acquired must be retained after the heat has ceased. It is for this reason that a

newborn baby fresh from the Sun's forge must be protected and its form confirmed by cooling rites which include the use of hard metal objects and the application of "medicines" (regam: especially turmeric, sangsang), associated with Earth-Sonum to the umbilical stump of the baby and the vagina of the mother. If this is not done adequately the baby's very existence as a separate entity is threatened.

A child may suffer a failure of separation at any stage in his development up to around the time of the naming ceremony and sometimes even far beyond. If this happens, he has been re-absorbed into the Sun, who sent her Python to swallow him up. Though the Sora do not use the expression, it is tempting to say that he is returned to the melting-pot. Though it is not the only possible cause of infant deaths, the Sun when she refuses to perform her proper function is the only possible cause of miscarriages and failures to conceive: the appropriate cures are highly specialised and refer to specific named aspects of Sun-Woman and her Python (cf. Chapter 6). In the case of a sterile woman, the snake is inside her, swallowing the foetus almost before it is conceived (Ural-sim, "Bud-Drop-Sonum"); in miscarriages, after swallowing the foetus the snake vomits it prematurely (Mogaj-sim, "Eclipse-Moon-Sonum") instead of in the properly-timed, viable separation of normal birth; after the birth, the snake may drain the mother's breast of milk and starve the child (Ajora-sim, "Stream-Sonum"): in the cure it is fobbed off with an offering of "pretend" (bukai) milk made from flour and water. The myth chanted during the cure makes it clear that the snake is acting on behalf of the mother's brothers: it normally attacks only the first-born and the mother must return to her natal village to carry out the cure, using pretend milk made from flour provided by the child's father. Dependence on nourishment from the breast may thus be seen as a continuation of the relationship of the umbilical cord, but in a form which must be phased out, as shown in figure 4.1:

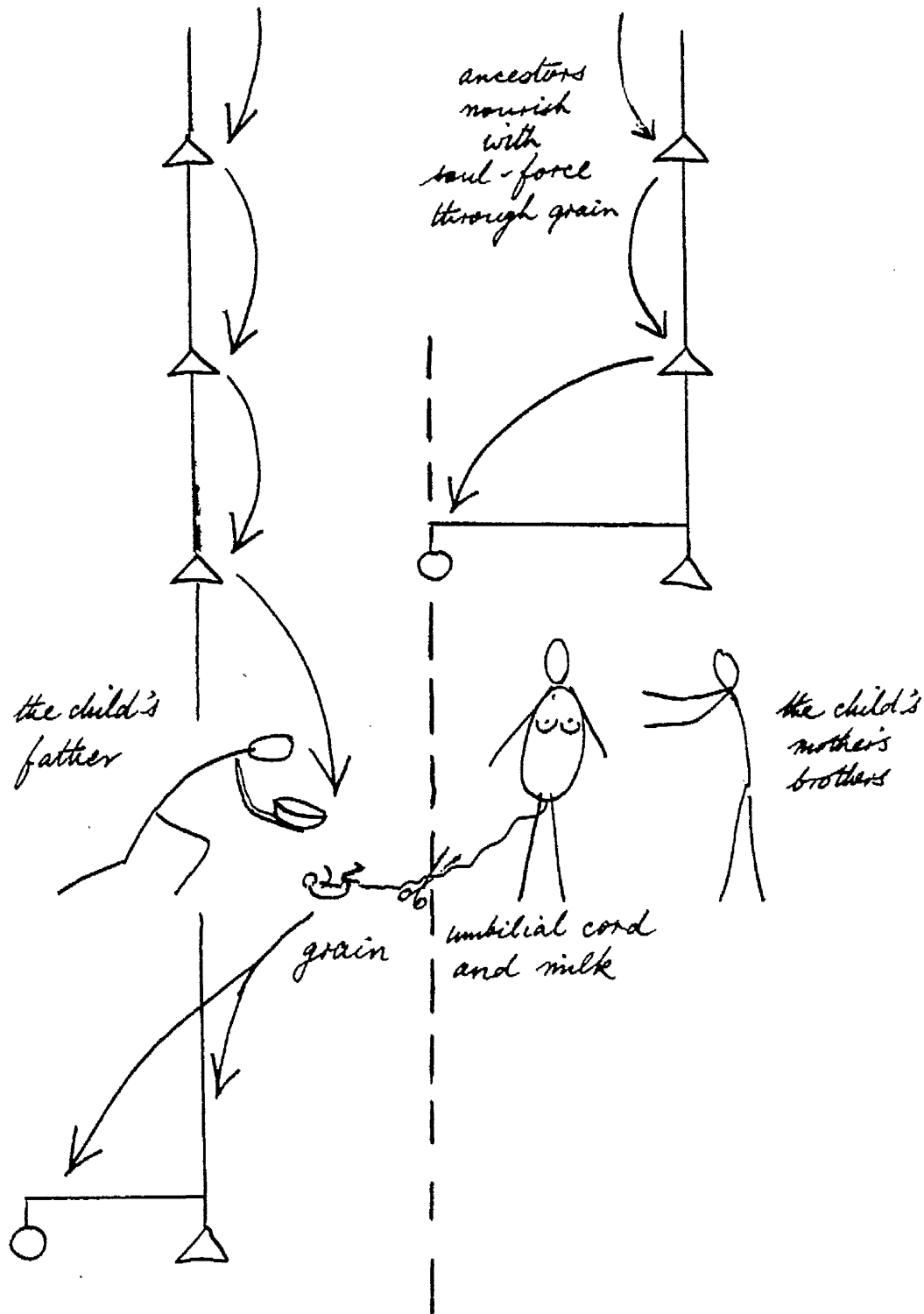


Figure 4.1 Ancestral soul-force:
how a woman's child becomes a descendant
of her husband

In addition, certain imperfectly formed adults return after death to the Sun, though not through the agency of this Python. I have examined the logic of this at length in the article cited above and shall here only summarise the features most relevant to the present discussion. For these adults, their separation at birth was complete, but their moulding or casting was faulty. They receive a full funeral, with extra elements appropriate to the imagery of their death, and after some special difficulties become ancestors in the normal way and rename successors. These people include not only cripples, who are manifestly physically flawed, but also victims of murders, accidents and suicides, that is those whose death ruptures the boundary of their being and releases the soul in a sudden and violent way and is additionally interpreted as revealing them to have been latently morally flawed.

The moral aspect will be taken up below in the discussion of inherited and acquired elements in the formation of the person. It is clearest in the case of suicide, which is usually motivated by embarrassment over public knowledge of one's own misdemeanour or humiliation, usually sexual (see case 8.1 and Chapter 11, lines 158 ff). Moreover, since suicide is without exception by hanging, the rope itself is said to provide a path to the Sun. In addition, for suicides, as for murders and accidents where blood is actually shed, it is said that the violence and suddenness release the soul out of control and that instead of going to the proper destinations of the dead - the Underworld and various sites at ground level (Chapter 5) - it rises "like smoke" to the Sun.

Sun and Earth are only the extreme opposite poles - both spatially and in their significance - of a set of diverse cosmological sonums which are located between them. Chapters 5 and 6 will show how the mapping of these sonums on to space supports complex relationships between their meanings. Meanwhile table 4.1 gives a provisional summary of the basic symbolic characteristics of Sun and Earth, not all of which have yet been fully discussed. It will, however, already suggest how the imagery allows a close analogy between the fragile boundaries of the person and of the agnatic group.

Table 4.1: Summary of important basic characteristics of Sun-Sonum and Earth-Sonum (NB. the order of these does not represent any particular Sora chain of associations)

<u>Sun-Sonum</u>	<u>Earth-Sonum</u>
hot, fire	cool, water
molten metal	solid metal
bodily leavings, dirt	cleanliness through washing
amorphousness, dissolution of boundary	fixed form, boundary cleanly defined
mother's womb (and by implication the continuing influence of her brothers' birinda)	full incorporation of child into father's birinda
baby nourished by mother's milk	baby nourished by father's grain
socially undifferentiated, i.e. one universal Sun for everybody; contains suicides and otherwise malformed persons (multiple aspects are <u>subordinate</u> , see Chapter 6)	socially differentiated and mutually exclusive, i.e. different Earth-Sonum sites contain the ancestors of different kin-groups (different Earth-Sonum sites are <u>equivalent</u> , not subordinate aspects)
cause of death by reabsorption, for adults also with violent and sudden rupture of being and release of soul	as cause of death for old people signifies fulfilment of life span and generational replacement within the birinda; or else, for young people especially women, resentment by their Ancestors of their marriage and childbearing: blockage of external bodily orifices

b) innate and acquired characteristics

The Sora can say nothing explicitly about the origin of a baby's consciousness or 'soul' (puradan). This is consistent with their denial of any ex nihilo origin of the baby's body, but unlike its body, the baby's consciousness is not in any way formed out of that of its parents. As will have become apparent by Chapter 15, it is maintained that at conception, and perhaps even as late as at birth, the baby's consciousness grows in response to experience: a lifetime's accumulation of experience is weighed and summarised retrospectively in the interpretation put on a person's death in terms of the sonum responsible (Chapters 7 and 8); while the entire cycle of funeral rites seems designed to block the transmission of this experience-derived metaphor from his descendants or successors and to ensure a succession which is purely social and unmarked by experience (Chapter 9 ff).

To "acquire" material property "by inheritance" is dane-, while physical characteristics are said to pad-, "pierce, penetrate, pass through", from one person to another, i.e. across boundaries. This is the usual word for stitching leaves, cloth, etc., and is commonly used also for the transmission of facial resemblance and all physical characteristics. In this, it presents no problems. However, the Sora are anxious to deny that this word could apply also to characteristics which they prefer to regard as acquired either from the Sun in the womb or through later experience. This question arises only over undesirable characteristics and the reaction to such a suggestion is a hasty 'There's nothing like that in our ancestry' (see e.g. Chapter 11, line 208).

Such acquired characteristics when they are transmitted are said to gorod-, "wander, move uncontrollably or contagiously". This word will be discussed in several places later, especially in Chapter 9, and together with pad- ("pierce") it will emerge as crucial for the Sora understanding of causality and continuity in human affairs. Though in itself it describes uncontrolled, spontaneous movement, this word also provides the first link in a chain of reasoning whereby this movement can be controlled.

This reasoning aims to separate two kinds of continuity, that which we would call hereditary in the sense of social and biological succession (pad-), and that of the constancy of form of kinds of experience, in order to throw upon the latter much of the burden in the

explanation of the unhappiness inherent in human frailty. Attention is focussed particularly on the final experience, that of one's death. All kinds of death "are contagious" in differing ways and degrees, in that previous victims return to cause similar deaths among those they left behind. The problem is that such people attack those closest to them, friends and acquaintances but particularly descendants. The Sora thus do not find it easy to distinguish the principles of the processes of pad- and gorod- in such attacks though for their control it is essential that it should be made possible.

It is not easy to distinguish in the Sora interpretation of personal experience between what we would call innate character and external influences encountered during the course of one's life. Character, as in the original Greek meaning of the English word, is imprinted on us in a very physical way in the womb. Hence someone accused of bad behaviour can use the same escape clause as the physically crippled or the mentally sub-normal: "It's not my fault: Sun-Woman forged me like that" (ñen dusa tid: Uyung-bojen edte pomingte). Yet already at this stage, formation in the womb can be susceptible to outside influences: pregnant women avoid certain places, actions or foods, and in particular contact with a recent death by a highly contagious sonum before the rites have been completed which attempt to block the transmission of this sonum (Chapter 9). Over and above everyone's anxiety to protect themselves, this is done to prevent the event from influencing the ultimate fate of the child in the womb, even though this will be known only at the end of its adult life.

This blurring of character and external influence shows most clearly at the moment of birth. It is widely said that everyone's eventual fate is decided at this moment, but that we can have no means of knowing this. However, Sun-Woman knows: 'This one will be killed by a leopard, that one by a fall, that one with a cough ...' Some say that she has built it into the baby's formation as a pre-disposition to a certain fate; others that the sonums themselves race to the scene of a birth to stake a claim (ñen ate, ganteji, " 'mine!', they say") to the baby (cf. text 15.1). This suggests that until that moment there is no intrinsic prior relationship between the foetus and the form of its eventual death and that the moment of birth contains the first experience or event on the path leading to death.

A brief example may be given to illustrate the ambiguities involved here:

Case 4.1 Ambiguities in the interpretation of a man's violent personality

A certain man is widely cited to illustrate the workings of contagion: he sometimes has violent raging fits in which he beats his wife, brother and others (cf. case 9.2, which concerns the same man). This is usually said to be because as an adult he helped to carry the corpse of a murder victim before the blocking rites were performed (Chapter 9). The victim's unchannelled blood entered him and now causes these fits. Out of obstinacy, he still refuses to undergo the rite and is expected to die a violent death himself. However, I later learned contrary to this that he had also been a sadistic child and had once beaten a buffalo to death and given his brother a serious head injury with a stone. Meanwhile his aged mother is at pains to insist that there was no such violence among his forebears, and that she avoided all such influences during her pregnancy, and that she rubbed him well with turmeric after his birth.

Here we see how heredity, influences on the foetus, influences at birth and subsequent adult experiences are all aired as possibilities in a single case. However, if it is attempted to deny that fate is acquired by inheritance, in favour of an emphasis on later contagion, this is not to say that it is not acquired from other people, even one's own ancestors; it indicates only that the logic of this acquisition is not automatic and in principle more or less predictable as is that of inheritance in kinship terms. In fact, instances given later show that even in the case of Sun victims, supposedly malformed in the womb, effectively nothing whatever in a person's fate is finally interpreted only as innate and that the events of his illnesses and death are always interpreted also in terms of the influence of other persons, living or dead, acting across the boundary of his own person.

It could therefore reasonably be said that the whole of Sora religious practice is concerned with asserting that undesirable experiences of a certain kind are transmitted by contagion and not by heredity. They thus appear as extraneous to the person.

c) boundaries

The example given above, as well as the imagery of Sun and Earth summarised above in table 4.1, are strongly suggestive of an importance attached to the definition and maintenance of an entity's boundary. Earth-Sonums, belonging to segments of the agnatic lineage, are concerned with bodily cleanliness, pertaining particularly to the excretory and sexual orifices; they cause death either by blocking these orifices, or else peacefully in old age, for reasons discussed later. Sun-Sonum, lacking any sociological counterpart, is concerned with the dissolution of boundaries in childbirth and kills by uncontrolled rupture and release. It will be argued in Chapter 13 that by using the analogy of excretion and childbirth this symbolism serves to make a further powerful analogy between the boundary of the individual and of the group; and that the Sora make use of this in the discussion of the loss by their brothers of women when they marry (cf. Chapter 3). Meanwhile, some linguistic evidence may usefully be presented here. The normal word for faeces is asong. However, its meaning is significantly broader than that, in that it is used to make the normal word for secretions from other parts of the body and from certain other processes, as follows (table 4.2):

Table 4.2: Vocabulary of excrement, etc.

asong- mu	nose-exuviae	i.e. nasal mucus
asong- mad	eye-exuviae	sleep-dust
asong- lud	ear-exuviae	ear-wax
asong- kad	penis-exuviae	semen
asong-tij	vagina-exuviae	vaginal fluids
asong-sal	wine-exuviae	sediment, lees
asong- lang	iron-exuviae	slag

These suggest very strongly that asong should be glossed as "fluid or semi-fluid (i.e. formless) exuviae given off by a bounded entity".

An illustration of the importance of this is that materials which have crossed a person's boundary such as excrement and hair, or which have partaken of his form and then become detached such as the impression of his footprint in soft earth, his voice on a tape-recorder, or his name, are apt materials for sorcery against that person.

Sorcery, by living enemies, provides only the most obvious illustration of how the fact that parts of a person can be detached or extracted across his boundary makes him vulnerable to other people. But even a living sorcerer can work only by making a pact with the dead, in whose hands all power to cause death ultimately resides. A dead person assimilates his victim by "eating" (jum-) his "soul" (puradan), thereby at least partially annihilating the victim's identity. The Sora thus explain mortality and the related vulnerability of the person by his relationships to others who pull his consciousness across his boundary (note that this is not an incursion: laymen are not "possessed" in the sense of de Heusch: 1981). To the extent that the person is defined by his relation to others, he is diminished to the extent that other persons impinge on him in a certain overwhelming and uncontrolled way. All illnesses are seen as such attempts on the life of the patient, so that a Sora's medical history is felt by him as a chronicle of threats or advances from those who were close to him and have predeceased him. It is perhaps for this reason that in interpreting a person's death, such emphasis is put on the twists and turns of his life-history rather than on any supposed innate predisposition.

We may ask why others in one's life should have this effect only after their own deaths. As a first step this will involve an examination of ways in which the consciousness can detach itself from the body and a discussion of what may be called the life-cycle of the consciousness. This will seek to demonstrate that once it has come into being a consciousness cannot simply cease to exist, even after death, but that when cut off from its perceptible counterpart (the body) it will nonetheless make this existence known to the perception of those left behind.

d) intersubjectivity: the separation of the consciousness from the body and of experiences from the experiencer

It is agreed that everyone normally has dreams, in which their "soul wanders" (puradan gorodte) away from the body in an involuntary and uncontrolled manner. These experiences are freely talked about among laymen and largely reduced to a set of conventional motifs with standard interpretations. Some examples are given in table 4.3:

Table 4.3: Some common interpretations of dream-motifs

<u>motif</u>	<u>meaning</u>
1. red thread or flowers (N.B. the Sora environment contains almost no bright colours)	someone close to you will suffer injury or death by bloodshed
2. you are walking on human excrement	someone is sleeping with your spouse
3. a woman dreams she is naked in public	her husband's alin-tree will dry up
4. falling grain	someone close to you will die (grain is poured onto a funeral pyre)

Most such interpretations contain warnings and are close to omens perceived in waking life, of which a similar repertoire exists (table 4.4):

Table 4.4: Some common interpretations of waking omens

<u>omen</u>	<u>meaning</u>
1. your clothes are eaten by termites	you will be attacked by a leopard (most biting, nibbling and clawing sensations lead to this interpretation)
2. you are surrounded by swarms of mosquitos in a jungle clearing	ditto
3. you find a lump of ash in your porridge	someone close to you will die (connected with funeral pyre)

These interpretations are half-believed and if the perceiver is sufficiently scared, appropriate preventive rites exist to be performed. These dreams and omens represent a perception of causality, or link between present and future, which is not available in most of ordinary life. Their most significant feature for the present discussion is

the extreme limitation of their usefulness, due to the rigidity and the piecemeal nature of their interpretation. In other words, though omens and laymen's dreams give first-hand glimpses of a transcendent knowledge in which perception is enhanced by an inkling of causality, these glimpses are fleeting and lack unity.

This lack of coherence is related to the question of the relationship between what in English are generally called "subjective" and "objective" phenomena. It will gradually emerge that the Sora treat these not within a dichotomy separated by a gulf, but rather as lying along a continuum in which several degrees can be distinguished. There are those phenomena which are perceptible only to their experiencer (dreams), and those perceptible to others also but involving primarily the experiencer, such as the omens given above: the former category perhaps corresponds most closely to our "subjective", the latter rather less so even though they are still applicable only to certain people. Then there are other degrees which lie nearer to our "objective" pole: phenomena which as with omens are perceptible to others but in addition may involve them intimately in a role complementary to that of the original experiencer from whom the impulse of the experience originates; (discussed below: these are were-leopards; kurans in trance; and people who die but continue to interact with us as sonums). These have a public quality which makes them, in Sora eyes, effectively indistinguishable from phenomena which fall into the range of the English "objective" reality and lead, in a way which can be unfolded only over many chapters, to the possibility of a full-scale transference over time of an identical experience from one person to the next: after his death, the deceased returns and absorbs (literally "eats", jun-) the mourner. The second person here does not simply play a complementary role (tending a sick relative) but actually relives in his own right, from the same perspective, the first person's original experience of death. This transference is made possible by the introduction of the element of time. The two perceptions take place not simultaneously, as with complementary roles, but in succession. The event which is perceived the second time is a repetition of the previous event.

Clearly, the terms "subjective" and "objective" are inadequate for this. A large area in the middle could be described as "intersubjective" and Chapter 8 will show in detail how the consensus is established which makes it so. All these terms, therefore, will be

used from here on only as if in inverted commas to signify "what we call ...", and will be progressively eliminated as the alternative Sora framework becomes sufficiently well established in the reader's mind. It should be noted that phenomena of all degrees of objectivity are in Sora thinking equally "real" and there is thus no clear distinction between the "empirical" and the "mystical". As far as sonums are concerned, these two realms are indistinguishable since the phenomenological basis by which sonums are known to be active is linked indissolubly through divination to their motives for acting. The former lies in omens, signs and the lay perception of the patient's condition, while the latter constitute the realm of explanation, called here "transcendental" and knowable only by means of trance.

Chapter 6 tries to show how this indissoluble link is established. The remainder of the present chapter presents a series of Sora concepts arranged so as to lead the reader towards an acceptance of their idea of the reality of sonums.

(i) being a were-leopard in sleep: were-leopards (kinlong) are the subject of a widely told, fantastic and complex lore. Anyone may dream of wandering, not in his usual form, but in that of a leopard (kina). In this form he is actually encountered by others, whom he may kill. If, on the other hand, **the other person succeeds in** killing the leopard, the dreamer claws convulsively in his sleep at that moment and dies. Some people admitted to me in private having had these dreams, and many knew stories of people who had killed were-leopards and kept as trophies the dreamer's gold earrings and nose-rings which (unlike ordinary leopards) were-leopards continue to wear.

The importance of this for the present argument is that it is thought to be possible to share, in a complementary role, in someone else's subjective experience: the dream has been detached from the dreamer and exists in part somewhere outside himself, independently of his own perception of it.

(ii) being a kuran in trance: it is the layman's subjective experience of his own dreams, combined with the possibility in some instances of their intersubjective verification, which underpins the public role of the kuran. Kurans of either sex experience in dreams regular journeys to the Underworld where they make marriages and have children independently of, and often at cross-purposes with, any family life they have among the living. A future kuran begins having these experiences in childhood. Both the child and the lay public

are agreed on what the general nature of such dreams should be and it seems to me extremely likely that the kuran does in fact experience these dreams. However, the public acceptance of his or her claim to do so comes when the kuran begins in adolescence to go into trance. Kurans say that their experience of trance is identical to that of dreaming. Not only is there the same dissociation of the soul from the body, but it also goes to the same place and enjoys the same alternative domestic life. Compared to the were-leopard, the wanderings of a kuran's soul have three additional features important for the present argument:

- 1 As with a were-leopard, others can participate, in complementary roles, in a kuran's experience. The difference is that this is done by a group of people assembled specially for the purpose as the main social activity of their culture.
- 2 There is a continuity and consistency in this experience which is lacking in dreams. Everyone accepts that the kuran lives two separate, simultaneous lives, each equally self-consistent, and that on going to sleep she takes up where she left off in the Underworld, just as we all do on waking above ground.
- 3 This consistency gives a corresponding control. Trance amounts to a kind of dreaming to order except that, unlike the body of a sleeper, the kuran's vacated body is not left idle but put to use on clients' behalf.

We have established the principle in Sora thought that it is possible for an experience to be perceived by someone other than its original experiencer, and thus to exist as an element in what both parties regard as 'reality'. This apparently independent existence of the experience, however, remains conditional upon their own independent perception of it by others, who experience it from the perspective of a complementary role.

(iii) dying

For the Sora, a person's consciousness persists from life into death. There are three stages in this: puradan ('soul'), kulman ('ghost'), and sonum:

— puradan ('soul'): as well as being coterminous with the body and carried in the blood, this is also said to be concentrated in the liver and many idiomatic expressions reflect this idea. Some people say that the heart and brain also play some role, which they are unable to specify.

Animals have soul or souls, as do certain important vegetable foods: raw grain, alin (palm-wine) and aba (distilled liquor). The destiny of wild animals after death is beyond anyone's purview, while the souls of domestic animals, grain and alcohol are subordinated to the expression of human relations, especially through sacrifice (Chapter 5, section c)). However, dead alin trees are often given a guar at which a fish or crab (symbolising the flow of moisture) is "slaughtered" as a "buffalo". Though ancestors are sonums, to the extent that their vital force infuses the grain which grows out of the earth which they inhabit, then this too is referred to as puradan, a word otherwise used only for entities which are at a live stage of their being. This may be compared with the discussion in Chapter 15 of continuity and the recycling of certain elements of the dead back among the living.

The human puradan (soul) grows or becomes stronger as a child matures. The abbreviated funeral rites for an unweaned, un-named baby show that for essential purposes it has not yet had a soul at all or been a full member of the birinda. In addition, certain outward manifestations of soul are added in much later childhood, such as face tattoos, nowadays done only for girls, around the age of eight or ten.

— kulman ('ghost'): for the few days or weeks between his death and the first stage of his funeral (guar: "stone-planting") a person is in a state which is defined largely negatively. He is hot and filthy with ash from the pyre and it is in this pitiful state that he comes to the post-mortem divination to discuss the cause of his death (Chapters 7 and 11). In this state he can drink offerings only of water, not alcohol. He often does not fully understand that he is dead and continues to come home in the evening as if nothing has happened, until driven away. In a myth of the origin of death, the first time someone died even the survivors did not understand and a man whose dead wife continued to do the housework tried to treat her normally till she turned to ashes in his embrace. The fear of kulmans is intense because they stand outside the conceptual framework for control which is provided by the elaborate classification of sonums. It is said that they "swallow people up" (mo-); in fact no death can be attributed to this cause but they are held responsible for certain violent and unpleasant fits (mo-kul-le, "he has been swallowed by a kulman"). A kulman remains a person and can appear to survivors as a pathetic figure but in a recognisable form with the same body as that which they recently saw cremated. He has been "taken" (pang-)

or "eaten" (jum-) by a sonum but has not yet "merged" or "fused" (maj-) with it.

—— sonum: though a person may be called a sonum immediately after death he does not cease to be a kulman until after his guar, when he may be thought of as a sonum proper. It is at this stage that a person's identity starts to operate with a different kind of logic, one which allows him to act as an agent of causality and continuity. Being free of any anatomical analogue, he has no boundary to keep within and his identity can expand, refract and merge with the identity of others according to the rule of what may be called sonum-logic. This will be explored in the following two chapters.

5 Ancestor-Sonum and the Experience sonums:mapping two kinds of relationship
between the living and the deada) the contrast between Ancestor-Sonum and
the Experience sonums

The Sora use of the generic term sonum always implies the possibility of specifying which sonum is meant, for instance "which sonum took you?" (iten a sonum pangamte?) (said to a recently dead person), "some sonum or other" (sonum-bona). Our understanding of this term will depend therefore on our analysis of the various categories of sonum distinguished by the Sora themselves. This analysis will be carried out in stages in the present chapter and in Chapter 6.

The answer to the question "which sonum?" can lie in two kinds of terms. One such answer is in terms of a specific person, for example "the sonum of my father"; the other, of a metaphor such as "Sun-Sonum", "Leopard-Sonum" or "Convulsion-Sonum". Though sonums are the only possible cause of illness and death, the full explanation of such events requires these two sets of terms to be read off against each other like a two-dimensional graph: 'It was my father acting in conjunction with/through the agency of Sun-Sonum'. The Sora word for the former kind of sonum is Idai-sim: "Ancestor-Sonum", or often just Idai, "Ancestor". There is no collective word for the various categories of the other kind of sonum but in view of their properties I propose to call them collectively "Experience sonums" or "Experiences" (with a capital E). The interplay of these two ideas of sonum is complex. Each will be discussed in turn, while the mediating role of the category Earth-Sonum (Labo-sim) as sharing properties of both Ancestor and Experience will be introduced gradually and developed throughout the thesis.

Ancestor (idai)-Sonum:

An Ancestor is a dead person. Each such person retains his own name and separate identity within the framework of the birinda and its segments, for whom he is Ancestor to a greater or lesser degree according to their involvement in his funeral.

An idai is not necessarily an "ancestor" in the literal, restricted sense of the English word: rather, this is a category of people who have been incorporated into one's own dead by virtue of one's having given them a funeral. It will therefore include younger people like one's own deceased children (cf. text 1.1) as well as some cousins to whom one has given a second guar (Chapter 3). The English word "descendant", which is not intended as a translation of a single Sora term, should be understood in the same light as its counterpart. In the context of dialogues these will be referred to where more appropriate as an Ancestor's "survivors".

There are three main contexts in which Ancestors are talked about, and fed with sacrifices, purely in their capacity as Ancestor:

1. The main context is at the several stages of their own funeral, which form a cycle running from the stone-planting (guar) and the three annual lajab and karja festivals (commemorations of the dead), to the recycling of the Ancestor's name into a new baby at a naming ceremony (abñimón). Each of these is accompanied by a dialogue conducted through a funeral (sana-tung) kuran and by the sacrifice of a buffalo.

2. Ancestors are also fed at various seasonal rites (abdur) which are associated with the growth and harvest of various crops. These occasions are partially combined with the lajab and karja and the sacrifice for these is a goat or chicken, never a buffalo. Both kinds of kuran have roles on these occasions.

3. Ancestors also exercise their rights over their heirs by causing illness in members of their own households. Such attacks cause fever but are never fatal: the fever is regarded as an annoyance, rather as colds are among us. The Ancestors are fed inside the house in a "house rite" (sing-pir) with a chicken by a tedung kuran.

All these rites take place within what I shall call "Ancestor space". This is a domestic area located in the house of the nuclear family and the funeral sites of the birinda. They are conducted on behalf of descendants of the Ancestor or Ancestors involved, as an acknowledgement of their kinship and as a payment due to one's predecessors.

The Experience sonums:

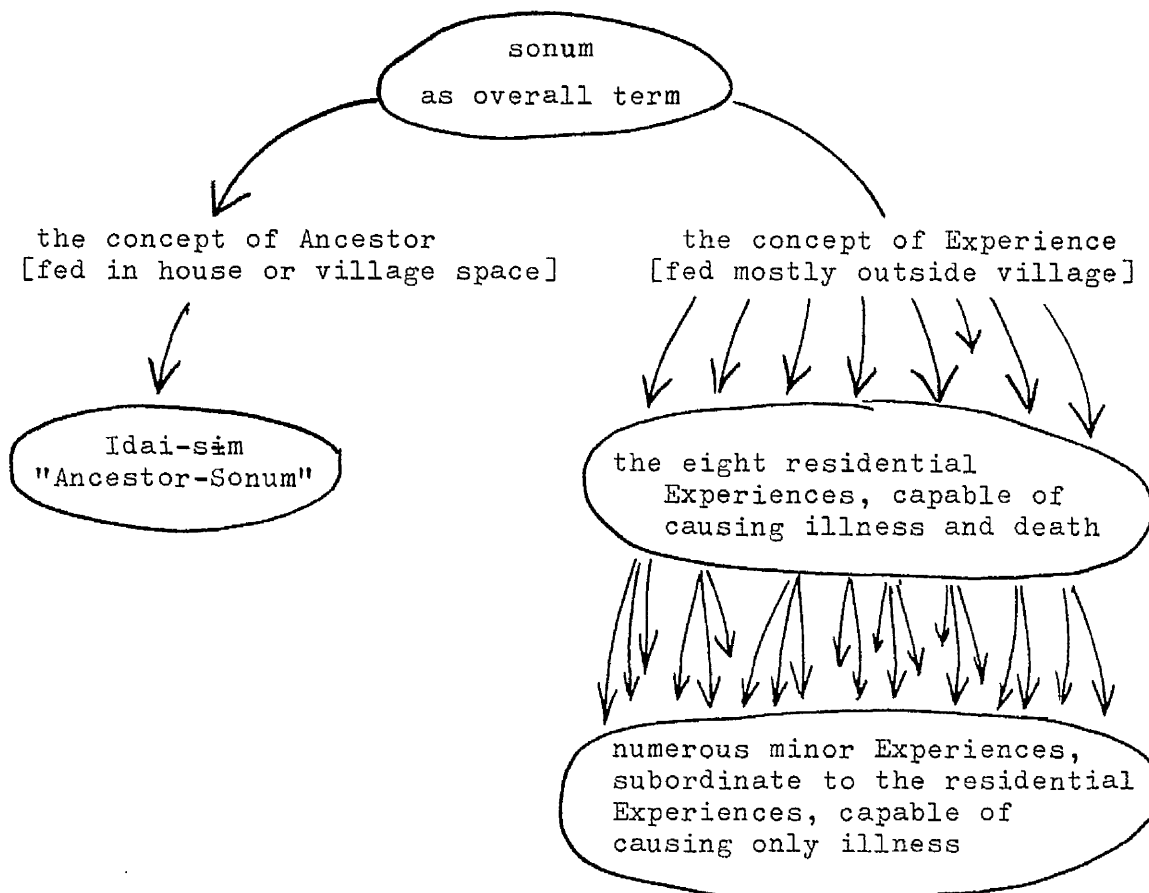
However, this is not the only kind of claim which may be made upon the living. The dead frequently cause illness not on the strength of kinship ties but in their capacity as representatives or members of one of what I have called the Experiences. Unlike attacks made in the Ancestor idiom, attacks made through the medium of an Experience may be fatal, since it is only by acting in this way that Ancestors have the power to cause death. Accordingly, sacrifices to Experiences are generally made, not in "house rites", but in a "banishing rite" (amdung-pār) in which the attacker is led out of the house and fed beyond the confines of the village.

There are many kinds of named Experience but no collective word in Sora to cover them all. Since it would be necessary for our discussion to coin a word, the word "Experience" was chosen mainly for its consonance with the notion of "experience" discussed in Chapter 1, where it was associated with the awareness of mortality. It also shares important properties with the "experience" of Chapter 4, section d), which discussed the possibility of the separation of an experience from its primary experiencer. There it was shown how someone else can partake of my experience of dream or trance from a complementary perspective. Later chapters will show how Experience in the new sense of this chapter is equally detachable from its original experiencer but in addition transferable in its subjective entirety, as a second person is made to suffer the same form of illness or death as did an earlier sufferer. It is hoped that in the long run the play between these two senses of the English word will give a richer sense of its corresponding area in Sora as well as contributing a strand to our understanding of the full significance of the Sora word sonum.

The concept of an Experience is a difficult one and can itself be shown from Sora practice to fall into two classes which I shall call respectively residential Experiences and minor Experiences. The latter are subordinate categories of the former. The overall classification proposed is represented in figure 5.1. "Ancestor-Sonum" is a direct translation of a Sora term, while "minor Experiences" and "residential Experiences"

are not: each of these classes contains a variety of named sonums for which there is no generic term and the use of these classes must be justified on the strength of their members' common properties.

Figure 5.1 The relations between Ancestor-Sonum,
residential Experiences and minor Experiences



The full list of residential Experiences only is given in table 5.1 with a summary of their means of killing (this summary is simplified and provisional):

Table 5.1 Names of residential Experiences and ways of dying

Ruga	"Smallpox"	death from smallpox, coughs, rashes, cholera, epidemics
Uyung	"Sun"	suicide, murder, accidents
Kani	"Convulsion", "Epilepsy"	convulsions, epilepsy, spasms
Kina	"Leopard"	killed by leopard
(Tonaj)	"Sorcery"	(partial inclusion, discussed in Chapter 6: works only in collaboration with another Experience)
Ra'tud	(etymology unknown)	sudden collapse, coughing blood, etc.
Labon	"Earth"	swelling, bloating, constriction of excretory or genital passages; also peaceful death in old age
Mane	"Docile"	takes all kurans after death, but nobody else: will therefore not enter remainder of discussion. This happens regardless of the immediate cause of death. ¹

A residential Experience is at the same time a site on the landscape, a manner of dying, and a group of people who reside in that site as a result of dying in the manner which it represents. For example, people who have died through suicide reside in the sun and join the group of people who form part of Sun-Sonum; those killed by leopards reside in a particular rock which is Leopard-Sonum; and so forth. However, the situation is very much more complex than these simple examples would suggest at first sight, since a mere eight categories of landscape-based Experiences, some of them referring to specific and even rare occurrences, are able between them to yield a convincing interpretation for every death which occurs.

Chapter 6 will show how this is made possible through the properties of the minor Experiences and their relationship of subordination to the main, residential Experiences. The Sora call these minor Experiences "agents", "emissaries", "slaves", etc., of the residential categories: for example, Dumb-Sun (Mo'mo'yung) and Python-Snake (Lur-jad) are respectively the "slave" (kambari) and "emissary" (pisirian) of

Sun-Sonum (Uyung-sim). For the moment it is necessary to note only that compared to the broadly-based character of the residential Experiences of which they form part, each minor Experience has very specific properties and limited applications; and that since they lack any residential site in which to store dead people, they can be held responsible only for illness, never for death. Residential Experiences, on the other hand, do not always use agents and can operate not only in deaths but also in illnesses.

An attack by a minor Experience is thus only a tentative advance by a sonum towards the victim, the first step towards his death. Minor Experiences are mainly invoked to explain everyday maladies where there is little fear that they will prove fatal. After a death, however, discussion is necessarily conducted in terms of the residential categories. In both cases, Ancestors are normally implicated. Since the minor Experiences are sub-categories of the residential ones, Ancestors can choose between more and less serious ways of attacking within the idiom of their own residence. As we have seen, these contain a collectivity of people whose names can be specified and are listed in rituals. When they are considered in this light rather than as Ancestors, their personal characteristics and kinship affiliations are submerged in favour of an emphasis on their shared experience of a certain manner of death. In this way it is said that they have "fused" or "merged" (maj-) into a "crowd" (ompu). In a sense to be developed later, the residential Experiences can thus be seen as a counterpart, perversion or parody of the kinship groups (the birinda and its segments) which they cross-cut. Thus, my own Ancestors will be spread across a wide range of residential Experiences each of which, in turn, will contain some of the Ancestors of many other birindas besides my own. This is shown schematically in table 5.2, where dead people are marked with a cross. These may be at any intersection of the diagram and there may be more than one in each position.

Table 5.2 Double identification of the dead
in terms of Ancestor and Experience

Ancestors of birinda:	No.1	No.2	No.3	No.4	No.5	etc.
Experiences:						
SUN	x				x	
LEOPARD		x	x			
EARTH				x		
etc.	x			x		

Just as an Ancestor cannot kill me (or even attack me apart from with fever) except through the medium of an Experience whose symptoms he needs to use, so an Experience does not attack except through the intention or motivation of one or more of its members. Usually one of these acts as a "ringleader" (muda), while the others are "shadow-men-at-the-back" (lub-dung-maranji) who back him up and share in the spoils (if he dies, these are the soul of the victim himself; otherwise that of the sacrificed animal, section c) below). Since Experiences are not normally allowed inside the house the attackers are led in a banishing rite (amdung-pir) from a starting point in the house to an "appropriate" (tam-) point outside the village. There they are fed and dismissed. If the cure fails for any reason and the patient dies, he is assimilated ("taken", pang-; "eaten", jum-; etc.) into the Experience. He now becomes a member of that Experience and a likely ringleader of future attacks on others.

While a person's susceptibility to demands and attacks by an Ancestor pure and simple (symptom: fever; cure: a "house rite") is cast clearly in terms of kinship, his susceptibility to attacks by an Experience is cast largely in terms of events in his life and actions which bring him within the range of those Experiences. These include passing near their residences or encountering one of their scouts who "wander" (gorod-) across the terrain. However, in addition, the ringleader at least

of such attacks usually has close kinship connections with the victim, so that one is generally assailed throughout one's life by the same range of dead people who act now as one's Ancestor, now through an Experience.

The remainder of this chapter will clarify the relation between the ideas of Ancestor and of the Experiences. Section b) will discuss their mutual incompatibility in space as they are mapped by the Sora on to the landscape; Section c) will use this sense of space to discuss the logic of sacrifice, which will also allow a discussion of the peculiar balance of mutual affection and hostility which underlies relations between living and dead. Chapter 6 discusses the full repertoire of residential and non-residential Experiences and the occasions on which these are invoked and concludes Part I with a summary of what has been presented so far.

The reader will be constantly aware throughout of the existence at his elbow of the concept Earth-Sonum, which somehow mediates between Experience and Ancestor by partaking of properties of both. However, he should be warned here that Earth-Sonum will remain just out of his field of vision and that no serious clarification of its mediating role will be offered until Part III of the thesis, since this will depend on an appreciation of the Sora sense of human time which can be built up only gradually in the intervening chapters.

b) the mutual incompatibility of Ancestor space
and Experience space

The clearest demonstration of the mutually exclusive nature of the concepts Ancestor and Experience is that they are mapped on to mutually incompatible kinds of space at the same time as the dead person is said to be simultaneously located in both of them. The Sora are aware of and use this paradox, which they cover with the word gorod-, "wander". This incompatibility operates equally on the vertical and the horizontal plane: vertically, since a full description of a dead person includes both his Ancestor aspect in which he resides in the Underworld (kānorai or kānorai desa) and his Experience aspect, all residences of which are on the ground or in the sky; and horizontally, since as Ancestors the dead are fed at the birinda's funeral sites and inside individual houses, while in their Experience state they are explicitly led out of the patient's house and dismissed outside the bounds of the village. The incompatibilities on each plane will be discussed in turn.

(i) vertical cosmology:

Figure 5.2 gives the basic framework of Sora vertical cosmology showing levels, paths between them and points of becoming and being between them in terms of heat and cold. Not all elements shown have yet been discussed in full. The Underworld (kānorai) lies below ground level and is the normal abode of the Ancestors. A rather bleak replication of normal social life among the living, complete with houses and villages, is supposed to exist there. The passages from there to the world of the living are through the grain-pounding mortar set in the floor of each house and through the cremation-site (kāntalod) and guar-site (ganuar) of each birinda (it may be remarked below that in horizontal terms too, all these lie within Ancestor space). During the annual karja, the Ancestors are invited to climb up into the house by means of a bamboo pole which is lowered into the mortar (Chapter 14); the soul of a kuran in trance descends (lidso-), clambering down awesome precipices and leaping "like a monkey" (arsin amrid) from branch to branch of the tree which links the two levels (text 5.1):

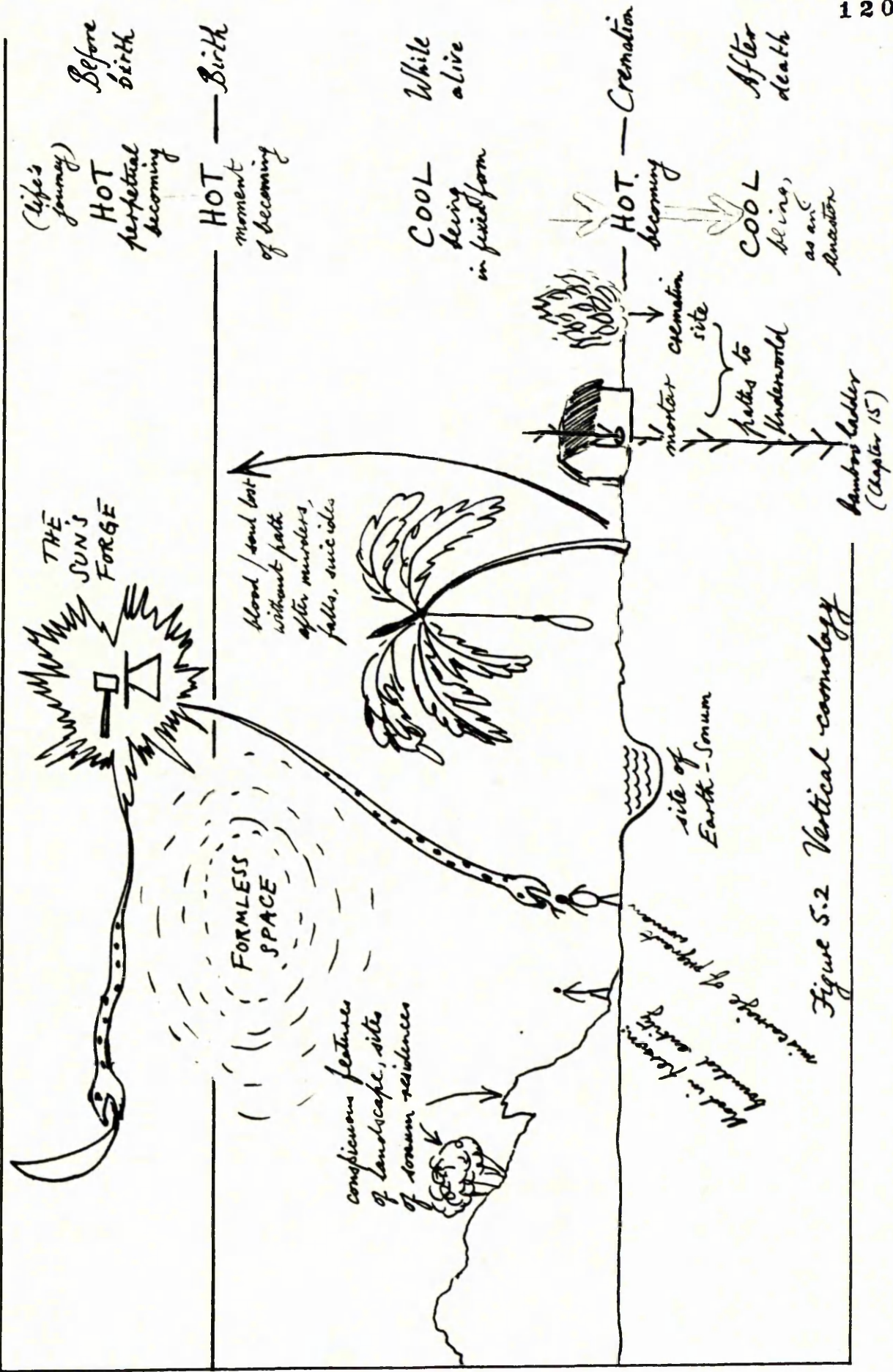


Figure 5.2 Vertical cosmology

Text 5.1 The kuran's descent to the Underworld

clasping hands, grandmothers, the one-hand narrow path
 clasping feet, grandmothers, the two-cupped-hands narrow
 path

you, grandmother, the tightrope path
 you, grandmother, the impossible-balancing path

your monkey's four-footed walk, grandmother
 your baboon's four-footed walk, grandmother

(from a funeral kuran's invocation to his predecessors,
 asking for their assistance just before he enters trance).

It is for this reason that almost all banishing rites (with a few exceptions like Duri, see Chapter 10) do not involve trance since they take place in Experience space and since the Ancestor aspect of the attackers is less strongly emphasised than their Experience aspect.

Experience space is mapped on to the landscape at ground level and above, from clumps of trees, rocks and crossroads up to the Sun. These are the focusses of meaning in "formless" (ka'ja) space (Chapter 4, section a)), whereby the concept of the Experiences

Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
 A local habitation and a name.

(A Midsummer Night's Dream, V.i.16-17)

It was explained in the last chapter and more fully in an earlier article by me (Vitebsky: 1980) how paths between earth and sky or within the sky are associated with the Sun.

Figure 5.2 includes the Python who causes eclipses of the moon and miscarriages, as well as the movement towards the Sun of the souls of people who die by murder, accident or suicide.

At the funerals of such people a thread is tied from the pitch of the roof inside the house above the mortar while the kuran sits on the mortar and the soul of the deceased is coaxed down this before speaking through the kuran and being passed on into the Underworld.

The ambiguous position of Earth-Sonum, in hollows slightly below ground-level, should be noted: both in vertical and horizontal terms, as an Experience this category is anomalous and will become very important later in this thesis as it

becomes apparent that this anomaly is also mediatory. It is the polar opposite of the Sun in the vertical system of Experiences and consequently the Experience sonum which involves the least paradox when correlated with an Ancestor's location in the Underworld: it is much less of a spatial paradox to say 'My father is both an Ancestor-Sonum in the Underworld and in, or part of, Earth-Sonum' than to say the same about the Underworld and Sun-Sonum. This is part of the reason why it is so desirable to rescue Sun victims and bring them down into Earth-Sonum sites and the Underworld (Chapter 9), since this spatial polarity matches a polarity between the meanings of the two categories (cf. table 4.1).

(ii) horizontal cosmology:

Here, Ancestor space is distinguished from Experience space as domestic to wild, or village to jungle, and its various points of concentration are analogies of different levels of segmentation of the kin-group: the house for the nuclear family, the Earth-Sonum site for smaller or larger segments and the cremation-site and stone-site for the birinda as a whole. These are shown in map 5.1. It should be noted that Earth sites in addition stand midway between Ancestor space and Experience space and will therefore be discussed separately in this light.



X = Experience site

Map 5.1 Horizontal cosmology showing points of Ancestor space, Experience space and Earth sites

— Ancestor-space:

1. The house: As pointed out above, the house is the crossroads of Ancestor space both vertically and horizontally. Apart from their residence in the Underworld, each man's house contains his own Ancestors which until segmentation will be identical in total repertoire to those of other men in the birinda, though somewhat different in the emphasis put on recent Ancestors. The focus of the cult is the mortar: here is pounded the grain which nourishes the members of the house and which contains through the imagery of Earth-Sonum an aspect of those Ancestors' "soul". At the annual harvest festival (karja) the Ancestors climb up the ladder set into the mortar, while similarly a dying person will be laid across the mortar to give the soul an easy downward passage. Certain other key parts of the house, though they are not passages, are given heavy emphasis in various ways as "belonging to the Ancestors" (idaienji ate), such as the main post supporting the roof, the hearth, the doorway and the loft in which grain is stored.

2. Birinda sites: Each birinda has a cremation-site (kıntalod) and a memorial stone-site (ganuar) on the edge of the village. Here, for each dead person a stone slab is planted upright alongside earlier ones as the central point in the guar ("stone planting") which constitutes the first major stage in the sequence of funerary rites. In the induction (am-gan-) of the deceased after the guar, he is led from these sites through the open door into the houses of those among his relatives to whom, through the form of their buffalo-sacrifice (full guar) he has become a full Ancestor.

— Earth-space: overlap and mediation:

In horizontal as in vertical terms, Earth-Sonum sites are an anomaly. They lie beyond the village interspersed among the sites of other Experiences, but being partially Ancestor-based they represent a clearing of human space in the wild. As stated in Chapter 2, they are focussed in water-sources and represent in principle the right to land which lies in their vicinity or is watered from them. This may mean either the right to return in later years to the same shifting-cultivation site or to convert that site into terraced

rice land. It is thus a concept which is in principle applicable to the direct heirs of the man who first cleared the site - that is, to a segment of the birinda. Ancestors are summoned to an offering at threshing-floors constructed at each Earth-Sonum site before the harvest is carried into the village for an analogous rite inside each house.

Earth space stands as a partial analogue both for Ancestor space and Experience space. It achieves the former by standing for a defined kinship group as well as by what will emerge later as a forceful symbolism of kinship solidarity (see 4 a) above and especially Chapters 9 and 13), and the latter by being in addition, like any other Experience, a possible cause of illness and death with its own recognised symptoms (cf. table 4.1).

—— Experience space: the threat of shared identity:

Points of Experience space can be located anywhere in the non-domestic space that lies beyond the village boundary.

Every location outside the village which is distinctive enough to be referred to in conversation has a name, which can usually be etymologised. Thus a journey can be specified as sequence of points almost every few yards: "Date[-Sweet]-Mango", "Where-Cows-Stray", "Peacock's Dancing-Ground", "Bees'-Home", "Wind-in-the-Sal Trees" (Sindiul, Garegetangen, Tarongsengmar, Borsing, Sargiaringen). The same kinds of descriptive, usually compound words serve equally to designate human villages (Manengul, "Furthest-Mango"; Sogad, "Dove"; Kumbulsing, "Rat's-Home"), residential sites of Experiences, and locations which have no such strong significance. Thus any place which can be sufficiently isolated perceptually and conceptually to be labelled, has the potential to contain consciousness in the form of sonum. This potential is not always realised: for example, nothing actually happens at Garegetangen except that cows stray, or perhaps did on one particular occasion, but it is always possible for stronger meanings to be read on to such sites, which are then in turn gathered into classes through some common property. For example, Date[-Sweet]-Mango and Wind-in-the-Sal-Trees are the sites of water-sources, and therefore of specific instances of the

conceptual category Earth-Sonum. Since each such point represents a form of illness and death, the Sora landscape is thus a gigantic three-dimensional mnemonic device. This functions in a manner analogous to the ars memoriae by which classical Greek and Roman orators memorised the points to be made in their speeches by mentally walking round a landscape or building (Yates 1966: for an extraordinary parallel as a mental illness, see Luria 1968). The information yielded by this system is on the one hand a set of attributes ranging from the descriptive (for example, medical symptoms) to highly metaphorical and obscure cosmological symbols, on the other hand a list of names of people known to have died that way and to have "fused" into the site. This is important knowledge and quite apart from constant references in everyday conversation, both kinds of information are used and repeated according to appropriate formulae every time a rite is performed in connection with the site.

The reason why such knowledge is important is that the landscape is not merely a repository for the storage of the knowledge, but itself contains the potential for the repetition over time of the events which that knowledge is about. Thus this difference between points in space not only allows the Sora to conceptualise the differences between kinds of events by holding them apart, but also serves to perpetuate that difference indefinitely into the future. Whereas much of modern western metaphysical thinking, from quantum physics to catastrophe theory (Thom:1975) is preoccupied with explaining changes in the form of entities or events on the assumption that this is a problem, the Sora system seems concerned on the contrary to account for the problem of their constancy. The names of the residents of an Experience are charted in the order of their deaths; the present attacker is often the most recent recruit who acts as ringleader while the earlier victims who support him as shadow men eventually disappear without trace just as in a list of a birinda's Ancestors (Chapter 15). In theory, if an observer returned at any time in the future, the situation would be the same except that the particular people involved (that is, the list of names) would be different. The residential Experience is thus a self-perpetuating corporate

group closely analogous with the birinda but recruiting members on grounds of shared experience rather than of kinship. It is consistent with this that the residential sites in which Experiences are concentrated are referred to with a suffix which as well as "house" also means "village" (-sing, the compounding form of both si'ing and gorjang) and which will here be translated as "residence": e.g. Uyung-sing, Kina-sing, "Sun-Residence", "Leopard-Residence".

Map 5.2 (foldout, at back) gives all sites connected with all Experience sonums known to me for Alinsing, the village with which I am most familiar.

From the map it can be seen that there are three kinds of site associated with an Experience: apart from its residence there may be two kinds of intermediate points which come between residence and the village within which only Ancestor space applies. These will be called respectively 'outpost' (called in some cases by the Sora "Police Station", tana, because they are used to "seize" or "arrest" (ñam-) people); and 'sacrificial site', for which there is no single Sora word but which is referred to as "where we do the sacrifice" (wante pârtebe) for such-and-such a sonum .

Residences are marked on the map by squares, outposts by triangles and sacrificial sites by circles. Most of these are given by their place names and are colour-coded as representatives of the various residential Experience categories: thus Sindiul, "Date[-Sweet]-Mango", marked with a green square, is the name of a location, in which there is a spring of the same name, in which there is a sonum, called in full Sindiul-a-Labo-sim, "Sindiul Earth-Sonum"; similarly, Sangkaroren (etymology uncertain) is a place, in which happen to be located nearly side-by-side both an Earth-Sonum (green square) and the Ra'tud-Sonum (red square) for the entire village of Alinsing. Other Ra'tud sites, this time outposts, are marked by red circles.

While residential Experiences and their outposts are spread across the landscape at some distance from the village, sacrificial sites mostly cluster along the paths leading out of the village, taking over at roughly the outermost edge of Ancestor space by the birindas' cremation-sites and guar-sites (cf. map 5.1). All such sacrificial sites are used for banishing

rites which, it will be recalled, lead the attacking sonum from inside the house to the edge of the village. If the attacker is a residential Experience, the sacrifice and dismissal are done on a path or some other site which in some sense leads towards that residence (cf. Chapter 11, lines 173-74, 180-81, etc.). To avoid overcrowding, these have not been shown on the map. Where the attacker is a minor Experience, on the other hand, since it has no residence it is fed and dismissed at a conventional or ad hoc site. Where these are ad hoc a site is chosen which has some symbolic connection with the Experience; where they are fixed they are marked by turquoise circles and are to be found mostly on the inset to the map. In Alinsing at least they are strung out along the main path just beyond the last houses of the village and the point of their location seems to be simply that they should be distinct from one another. Since they are not generally set in named places, for want of anything else the names written in beside them are those of the minor Experience itself. On mornings during slack seasons for work, processions of families from all over the village converge on the path leading out of Alinsing, where their kurans will chant over their patients for hours, independently of each other but within earshot, the different signature tunes of various of the minor Experiences.

The properties of residences, outposts and sacrificial sites can be summarised as follows:

1. Residences store the Experience's dead victims and in so doing provide the rationale for further recruitment by means of them. Direct contact with the site may precipitate an attack though it is not the only possible means, since members of the Experience use the site as a base from which they move out to seek new recruits, particularly among relatives and friends. Different categories of residential Experience may or may not have outposts to assist them in this.

2. Outposts are linked to their residence and recruit victims on its behalf. Thus every village has one Ra'tud-Residence at an important path-junction and a number of outposts at similar sites all around, which are frequented by its members. These act rather like booby-traps, and to succumb fatally to any of these outposts will entail residence at the main site.

The underlying principle seems to be susceptibility by "encountering" (olong-), and in this respect the relationship between a Ra'tud-Residence and its outposts is similar to that between a Leopard-Residence and actual leopards which attack people. In fact in addition members of Ra'tud similarly wander and could be encountered anywhere on any path. This idea of encounter, however, shades into ideas of actions and forms of behaviour which attract the attentions of an Experience: for example, to utter the name of an Experience in vain is to invite trouble, though everyone does so constantly as "Leopard" and "Ra'tud" are among the main everyday swear-words; Smallpox (Ruga) is a Hindu deity and is attracted by the wearing of flowers or brightly coloured clothes, which is not a normal Sora practice; excreting near the spring of an Earth-Residence will offend the sonum within it and cause blockage of one's excretory passage; and so forth.

3. Sacrificial sites: A sacrificial site is the place at which an Experience sonum, in accepting a sacrifice, withdraws its threat. When the dead are fed inside the house as Ancestors (house rite; various stages of the funeral) either no attention is paid to making them depart ('they just go of their own accord when they've finished') or else they are sent off with words or gestures through the mortar into the Under-world and the passage blocked behind them.

When they come as members of an Experience, they are initially summoned inside the house with an invocatory chant and usually some alcohol, raw grain and the live animal; the participants then lead the sonum along with the materials out of the house to the sacrificial site where they will perform the main chants and kill, cook and eat the animal (banishing rite). In the case of highly contagious Experiences (for example, Leopard [Kina]; Convulsion [Kani]), there are taboos about lingering at the site afterwards or taking meat home, but otherwise the meal is a leisurely picnic and meat is taken back for those who did not attend. The dismissal of the sonum is contained in the words and actions of the rite and its efficacy aimed at through the selection of appropriate signs which include among others the distinctiveness of the sacrificial site.

It will be remarked from the map that the categories of minor Experiences are more numerous than those of the residential Experiences, which were listed above in table 5.1. The latter, though they each have many specific manifestations (Ra'tud, Leopard and Convulsion: generally one residence per village; Sun: one for the whole world; Earth: numerous), are few and finite in their basic categories and are constant for all villages throughout the area I know.

Minor Experiences, on the other hand, though they too show considerable constancy between villages, are potentially infinite in number. Chapter 6 will list around one hundred of these and attempt to show that this is due to the need for an intermediate level between the variety of actual events and the extremely limited number of residential categories by which they must ultimately be explained. It will be shown that this articulation is made possible by a combination of the specific, narrow range of applicability of the minor Experiences and the fact of their logical subordination to the residential Experiences whose meanings are generally much broader.

An example will be given of a trivial affliction which is linked to one of the most feared of the residential Experiences, Leopard, which is a much more complex concept than the mere form of its death would suggest (Chapter 9).

People who are killed by leopards (kîna) are "taken" (pang-) by Leopard-Sonum (Kîna-sîm) and "become" (gadîl-) one of the Leopard-People (Kîna-maran) who inhabit Leopard-Residence (Kîna-sîng). In their post mortem divinations it will always emerge that the leopard had acted under the instigation of certain previous leopard victims who will be named and will generally be known to the deceased, and many questions of the victim's morality and destiny will be raised. However, the Leopard-People are also able to bring themselves to the attention of the living through minor afflictions which are non-fatal and not seriously feared. Thus indigestion may be due to Rumble-Tummy-Sonum (Kurkur-pung-sîm). Though this sonum has its own name and symptoms, these are highly specific and the category has, so to speak, no substance of its own since it is in fact a previous leopard-death victim who is afflicting the patient. A clear example of this, using this same sonum, is given in

Chapter 9, case 9.4. The connection between Rumble-Tummy-Sonum and Leopard-Sonum is made explicit by the involvement of the Leopard-Man, by the explanation of the symptom (the rumbling is the leopard's growl), and the meanings attached to the objects used in the cure (crabs, because they claw). In the same way, another subordinate aspect of Leopard-Sonum (Jojo-mar, "Grandfather-Man") uses a termite-hill as the sacrificial site because the nibbling action of termites is likewise said to be like the claws of a leopard.

It should not be thought from the above material that the Sora regard their landscape or even their lives with undue fear. The Sora go everywhere constantly, walking, sitting, laughing, drinking, much as people here will have a picnic within inches of the lorry lane of a motorway, a high-tension cable or a nuclear reactor. The reading of highly-charged points on to the landscape is actually a means of containing and controlling a power which would be more dangerous without that control. What the Sora actually fear are the tragic events symbolised by that landscape, and they know that actual contact with a residence or an outpost is only one of the ways in which a previous victim fastens himself on to a new one and is in any case not in itself sufficient. This should be seen as something more than merely the equivalent of stumbling on an uninsulated electric cable or a dump of poisonous chemical waste: an Experience attacks someone by creating an analogy between the new victim and the old. This functions through the personal relationship which exists between them so that there is no discussion of the role of an Experience, whether residential or minor, in a death or even usually an illness, except in terms of the motivation of one or more of its members. Even the most everyday affliction is therefore never an accident, with the English word's connotation of randomness.

c) keeping the living separate from the dead:
the substitutive logic of sacrifice

Bringing together the above discussion of cosmological space with the discussion at the beginning of Chapter 4 of how form is created by creating boundaries in "formless" space, we may borrow the language of logic and state the following 'axioms' of Sora thought:

1. to occupy the same bounded space is in some sense to share the same identity;
2. to move into or out of such a space is to be assimilated to or separated from that identity.

The integrity of a living person's identity is assured through his adequate separation from the dead -- and in particular from his parents, from whose bodily substances he takes his substance -- and the continued affirmation of his boundary against their draining influence. Sacrifice serves both to acknowledge this separation and to reinforce it.

Domestic animals, particularly the larger ones like buffalos, are not normally killed and eaten "casually" (ka'ja) but are given either to the dead in sacrifice or to the living as compensation (danda) for adultery and divorce. In all cases it seems to be made clear that the animal is a "substitute" (apanadu) for a person and in particular that its soul is a substitute for the person's soul.

However, in the case of sacrifice it is not always so clear who that person is. I shall suggest that this is because the animal represents both parties simultaneously and holds the balance between their mutual identification and their mutual separation.

The two main kinds of context of sacrifice to the dead correspond to an emphasis on what I have called their Ancestor and their Experience aspects, though in each case it is the same dead people who are involved: in the various stages of the funeral rites it is the Ancestor aspect of the deceased which is emphasised and the Experience aspect which is played down, in most instances of attack and cure, the reverse. For an Ancestor, the animal given must be a buffalo or a chicken in the house-rite cures. In many villages, at funerals this

buffalo is dressed in the clothes of the deceased which are laid across its back and it is fed, hugged, wept over and explicitly addressed as the deceased shortly before being killed. In a cure for an Experience, on the other hand, it is this aspect which is emphasised through being linked to the medical symptoms from which the full diagnosis is ultimately derived (Chapter 6). Here, the animal given (usually not a buffalo) is an explicit substitute (apanadu) for the patient: 'don't eat my soul, eat the soul of this pig instead'.

But in both contexts, the other side of the equation is also present beneath the surface. In funerals, it is extremely important who gives the buffalos and on what grounds. Kin and affinal relationships are maintained, broken or even initiated by making or failing to make this gesture (Chapter 3). Along with many other people, I gave a buffalo to be sacrificed at Jamano's guar (Chapter 7). Some of the buffalos escaped during the previous night and in the morning I was told that some were still at large, including "the one with your face" (muka nam ate), that is, "the one which is a substitute for yourself". Similarly in cures, the animal is equivalent not only to the patient but also to the sonum to which it is being given, and a sign that the cure will be successful is when the animal eats raw grain and drinks alcohol from the patient's hand: 'the sonum is taking back the illness into itself'.

Thus in all contexts of sacrifice the giver is identified with the receiver via the identification of each one of them with the animal. This may be represented by the unidirectional equation

$$[\text{donor} \Rightarrow \text{animal} \Rightarrow \text{receiver}]$$

in which the animal is interposed as a buffer in order to avoid the direct equation

$$[\text{donor} \Rightarrow \text{receiver}]$$

which is the formula for the death of the donor: the explanation of a failed cure and the consequent death of the patient is that the sonum did not accept the animal substitute. In other words, the equivalence between donor and receiver, which in sacrifice is acknowledged in order to hold it at arm's length, has proved too powerful and has become a complete identification or

assimilation of the patient by the attacker. The mathematical sleight of hand which makes sacrifice possible as an option which is satisfactory to both parties, is that animal souls are exact equivalents for human souls at a one-for-one exchange rate, at the same time as being (unlike humans) expendable (even if expensive).

This shift of emphasis back and forth between the two sides of the equation leads us to the heart of the ambiguity with which the Sora regard their dead, and which they intellectualise and control by playing off against each other the concepts of Ancestor and Experience. It is the same dead people who are involved in both cases. The equivalence acknowledged in funeral sacrifices and house rites for Ancestors is one of replacement, as in the succession of generations; that which is repudiated in banishing rites for Experiences is one of assimilation, whereby the subsequent generation is perversely re-absorbed into those who gave them birth.

An Ancestor is in principle benign, protective and solicitous for the welfare of his descendants who as his replacements are an entity whose boundary it is in his interest to preserve - though even here he is sensitive to his amour propre and can cause suffering if his rights are not respected (fever; house rites). Ancestors are the source of all that has come to us by inheritance, and their claim on us is based on a piquant combination of moral obligation (even if often viewed as a nuisance) and sympathy for the pathetic condition which is the lot of the dead. It is generally only Ancestors, not Experiences, which can speak in a trance and thereby reduce people to tears with pity on their behalf. It is realised that when an Ancestor is demanding and spiteful, this is for reasons beyond his own volition which are expressed most simply as acute material deprivation in the Underworld. However, it is not as an Ancestor that he kills his descendants: all such destructive or assimilative tendencies are projected on to his Experience aspect.

An Experience, by contrast, seeks to assimilate us by an annihilation of our own identity, through making us share in the experience for which it stands metaphorically. According to the specific imagery of the Experience concerned, this attempt

at assimilation may be expressed by a verb of grabbing, eating, swallowing, or even sexual embrace. However, all such words imply a total overwhelming by the attacker of the victim who thereby "fuses" or "merges" (maj-) into the Experience (see Chapter 10 for a full discussion of the vocabulary and grammar of this).

Experiences are by definition aggressive and hostile to life and even though they are constantly made against everyone their claims are illegitimate. Each Experience may contain a reshuffled selection of everybody's Ancestors, and its connection with a new victim is based not on any kind of kinship right but on contagion, as expressed by the word gorod- ("wander uncontrolledly", etc.). The reaction to an Experience is one not so much of pity for those already inside it as one of self-defence. Whereas we respond to the Ancestor aspect of the dead by meeting them in dialogues as people (and in many ways equals), we respond to their Experience aspect by manipulating their chains of symbolism whose automatic, inexorable logic is at once the explanation of their ruthlessness and the key to mastering them.

6. Interpreting illness and death: the contexts of dialogue

a) moments and repetitions in the cycle of illness and death

It was stated in Chapters 1 and 3 that the two traditions of kuranism are distinct, namely that (tedung) of diagnosis plus cure and that of the funeral (sanatung) cycle. The former is conducted equally by men and women whose practice is unaffected by marriage, the latter almost entirely by women whose married life it affects very deeply; they use separate rauda (predecessor) sonums as well as alda (Hindu spouse) sonums who reside in different hilltops; and so on.

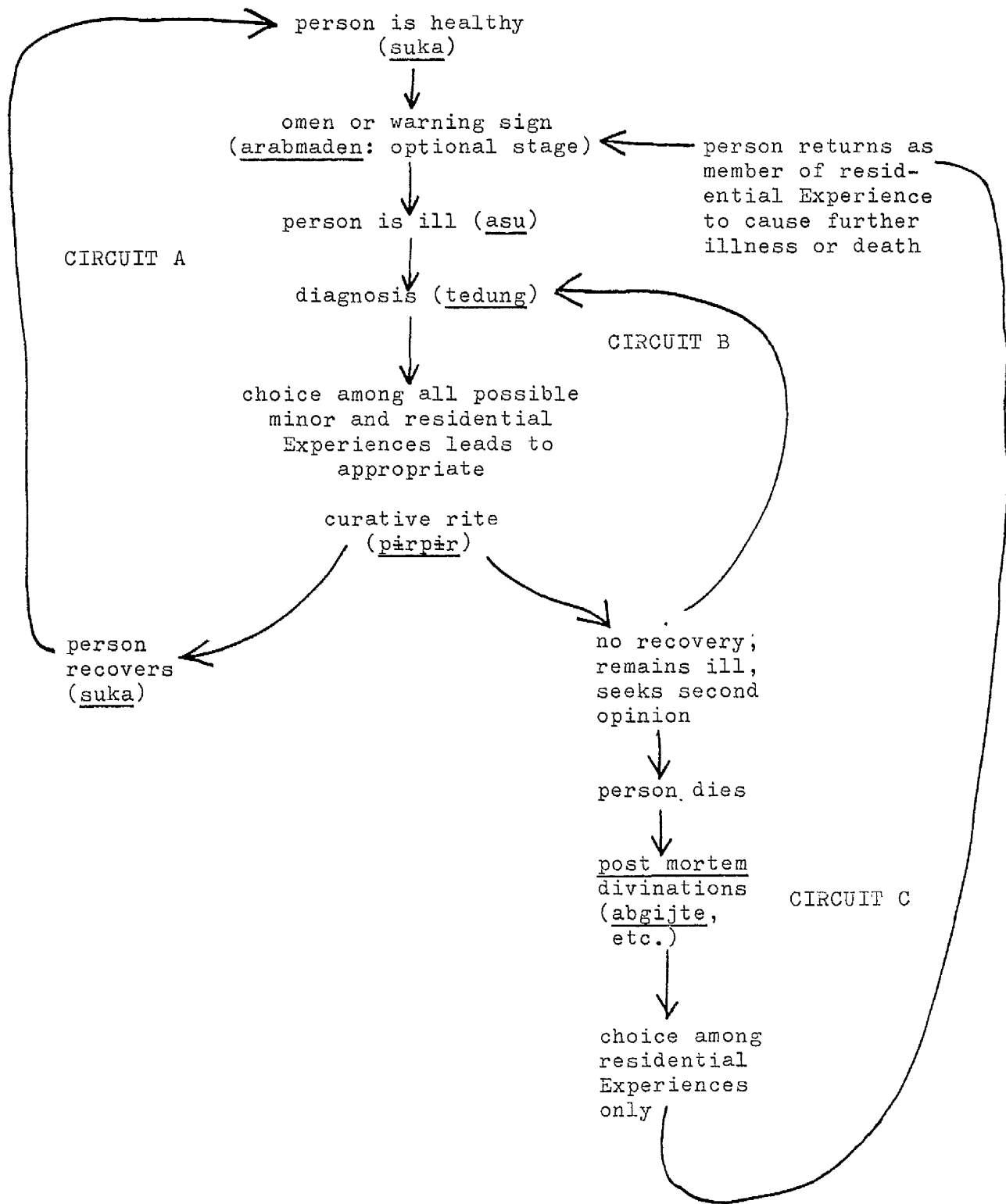
The present chapter will link these to the distinction made in the last chapter respectively between minor and residential Experiences. There it was stated that while the former can be involved only as a cause of illness, the latter may be a cause both of illness and of death. Yet it has also been made clear that these operate cyclically in such a way that dead people act as carriers of Experiences which they perpetuate on to the living. It remains therefore to clarify the role of the minor Experiences in this perpetuation: since they cannot perpetuate themselves, why are they conceptually necessary and how do the events for which they stand recur? In order to answer this, it will be necessary first to lay out the stages of the processes involved.

Figure 6.1 represents the cycle of events which incorporates illness and death as well as attempts at cure and the moments for the discussion of all these in dialogues with the dead.

The cycle falls into three circuits: a person who recovers quickly from his illnesses returns around circuit A; someone who is chronically ill passes round circuit B, as he goes from kuran to kuran and cure to cure; finally, after death, everyone must pass round circuit C.

Each of the two points of divination requires the selection of one out of a set of equivalent and mutually exclusive possibilities: at diagnosis, this set contains over one hundred categories, after death, effectively seven (cf. table 5.1).

It is in the nature of the world that all categories co-exist

Figure 6.1 The cycle of illness and death

simultaneously in perpetuity as possibilities at the stage to which they apply: the transcendental task is to match any given event to one of them as its cause. It is the need to make a selection which demands trance for its satisfaction since this is the special kind of knowledge which can be reached only by transcendental means (cf. Chapter 4).

The two stages of divination will be discussed in turn. All kurans must fast from the start of the day in order to enter trance and journey to the Underworld in a "clean" (marid) state; Ancestor-Men and Ancestor-Women must do likewise on days when they will have to impersonate the dead (Chapter 9).

Diagnosis (tedung) and cure (p̄irp̄ir): various patients turn up for a diagnosis at the kuran's house every day before dawn to catch him or her before breakfast. No blood is given at a diagnosis but the patient gives a handful of rice to the kuran and familiar sonums. The kuran turns this round and round in a winnowing fan on his or her knee and continues this movement after entering trance. The rauda (kuran's predecessor) comes first among the sonums, questions the patient and then leads three or four, sometimes eight or ten, sonums one or more of whom will claim responsibility and dictate terms for a cure. The discussion will include details of the Experience through which they are acting. Where the patient is an infant the attacker may often be an aspect of the Sun as gynaecologist (see below): in such cases the Ancestors are not implicated but still provide the necessary information.

The patient will then ask a kuran who knows the cure (p̄irp̄ir) appropriate for the Experience involved to fast the next day and perform the rite. This rite is an active response to the diagnosis, in which the kuran matches the symbolic properties of the attacking Experience point for point in order to ensure the sonum's acceptance of the sacrifice and to preclude imposters from coming for a free feed to which they are not entitled. The range of signs through which these properties are met are reflected in the poetic imagery of the chants and must include at least the location of the sacrificial site, the species of animal sacrificed, the species and number of leaves into which its blood is poured (e.g. two oloi leaves for sorcery, various numbers of tub̄ir leaves for aspects of Leopard-Sonum, etc.),

and the signature-tune in which the chant is sung. Many other props and symbols are added in most cases to reinforce the specificity and mutual distinctiveness of Experiences.

The essential feature at this stage is that it opens up a chain of symbolic entailment in which cause and effect are seen as automatic: if you can find out from the divination the right starting point and then act correctly, the result must follow by a chain reaction. The consequence is that for many kinds of cures for non-residential Experiences trance is not called for once the diagnosis has been made. In such cases the dead, having assisted in the diagnosis, do not come to the cure to talk because there is nothing more to say. Hence when a cure fails, as many do, it is generally said not that its performance was incompetent but that the sonums "deceived" (bukai-) us at the initial divination.

Post-mortem divination (abgijte, etc.): whereas the tedung last for an hour or two and is followed by an all-or-nothing cure, the abgijte is the starting point of a long process:

1. the day after the death: abgijte: this takes place the morning after the ashes of the pyre have been cooled (sira-) with water by the birinda's Ancestor-Woman (idai-boi). To distinguish it from further post-mortem divinations it will be called the pyre-divination. This involves five hours or more of intense interrogation of the deceased and various Ancestors by their descendants to find out the cause of death. The verdict is open to dispute and often incorporates sorcery accusations against a living person as having made a pact with an Ancestor and inciting him to cause death (see below).

2. the next few days: a similar procedure is conducted if appropriate (see Chapter 3) by marongger (cousin) groups after taking the bones (pangjang): this often leads to conflicting verdicts.

3. some days, weeks or months later: the first and main guar ("stone-planting"), performed by the heirs of the deceased, incorporates a further long dialogue (called in this thesis the guar-divination) in which the verdict may be revised and should ideally be raised above further dispute; however, talk of sorcery may persist. The deceased is rescued, even if not

definitively, from the Experience of his death and moved into an Earth-Sonum site. Chapters 7 and 9 will be based on the texts of a guar-divination and rescue respectively.

4. soon after that: secondary guaris if appropriate. The verdict should conform to that of the first guar but may not yet do so.

5. the following three annual rice-seedling festivals (lajab) and harvest festivals (karja): the final revision of the verdict is usual by the first karja and if sorcery was involved this is now generally discarded.

6. namegiving ceremony (abñámon) for a new baby: the funeral (sanatung) cycle closes many years later with the sonum of the old namesake giving his or her name to a baby among their descendants (see Part III).

In the post-mortem divinations, a diagnosis is not made so that its symbolism can be matched and capped in the same automatic way as in a cure, nor is it open to falsification in the same way as by a failed cure, since the person who is the centre of attention and may be called the patient is already dead. Thus, when the deceased gives false information, he does so not as conscious "deception" but through a lack of self-awareness which I shall translate as "false consciousness" (ondrung). He has begun his dual existence as both an Ancestor and a member of the residential Experience which "took" him. Here the interest of the living in the verdict is that it tells them how the deceased is likely to affect them in the future as he returns to recruit new members for his Experience. The Experiences are perpetuated by transference, and the neutralisation of the threat represented by each post-mortem verdict requires many years of dialogues: though we protect ourselves from the deceased by cures, for him there is no quick miracle cure.

b) disjunctions and continuities between the divinations for illness and for death

(i) disjunctions between moments:

The length of time on figure 6.1 for which a verdict remains applicable is limited. The choice of a sonum responsible is applicable only to the case in hand and the particular knowledge represented by its relevance of the moment is lost before the Experience can make its effect felt the second time around. A tedung (diagnosis) verdict is quickly superseded either by cure, by further divinations or by death, and every recovery cuts the link between patient and sonum which was set up by the verdict; while an abgijte (pyre-divination) verdict is concerned with the probability that the deceased will transfer the Experience diagnosed to others. In this case, its relevance will likewise be limited: where death was preceded by illness, many conflicting diagnoses are made immediately beforehand in an attempt to save the patient. Finally the dead patient's Experience will be transferred to a new case and here the connection will need to be divined anew. Thus there are two parts of the total circuit at which knowledge is necessarily lost and must be sought again. The first is on circuit C between the death of the first victim and his attack on a new one. There are many dead people known to the new patient and from the perspective of his illness any one of them could be attacking him on some pretext.

Between illness and death, the reasons for this break are different. The difference between minor and residential categories corresponds to an operational disjunction since the former category cannot be carried forward to account for death: a cured patient returning to health around circuit A cannot be a carrier of the illness diagnosed since a successful sacrifice has completely separated him from the illness; and a sick person seeking new diagnoses on circuit B is cut off from all previous diagnoses since they have been shown to be erroneous. A person who dies is thus subject to a new divination at which firstly, most of the categories which were available for the illness stage are by definition excluded; and secondly, any connection with a previous diagnosis for illness has been undermined by its apparent falsification through the failure of its specific cure.

The picture is complicated by the several kinds of relationship which can exist for both illness and death between the sonum who commands the symptoms from which one may be suffering, and the particular people who may be motivated in making the attack. Since the dead are constantly visiting each other and ganging up against us, these relationships can take several forms:

1. The motivated attacker is himself a member or resident of the Experience through which he attacks. In this he may use the residential Experience itself (for example, Ra'tud, attacks from which are an everyday occurrence; Leopard, attacks of which are rare and much more serious), or one of its minor aspects. In the second case, the Ancestor is reminding the patient in a non-fatal way of his existence: thus the patient may say 'When my tummy rumbles it is my father [who was killed by a leopard] stroking (sîm-) me in the form of Rumble-Tummy-Sonum (Kurkarpungsîm).'

2. The motivated attacker is not himself a member of the Experience which attacks, but instigates some other dead person to attack. Several instances of this will be given in later chapters. Someone who died of, say, Ra'tud-Sonum may "sell" (tem-) the intended victim to a member of Convulsion-Sonum. The patient then risks dying of the Experience Convulsion even though the motive came from elsewhere (for example, Chapters 7-8). Alternatively, and very commonly, all the Ancestors of one birinda or segment of a birinda unite in "hiring" (baiñ-) the Sun (Uyung) in her aspect Duri-Sonum (Durisîm) to produce Sun symptoms in the form of lumbago (Chapter 11). They do this as Ancestors and the sacrifice is therefore a buffalo.

3. In addition, and very commonly, a living sorcerer makes a pact with a dead person so that the latter will cause the death of the intended victim through the agency of his own Experience (Chapters 7 and 8).

Various combinations of the above occur. The result is an extremely wide scope for interpretation, since any person living or dead may be responsible directly or indirectly for any illness or death. The interpretation must necessarily combine convincing symptomatology with convincing motivation. The relationship between these is explored below.

(ii) continuities between levels of categories:

The meticulous way in which every kind of sonum that can have a name is differentiated according to its sacrificial site, makes evident the importance of the distinction between residential and minor, non-residential Experiences.

Table 6.1 presents all the Experience sonums recorded by me in and around the village of Alinsing. Minor Experiences are arranged as subordinate categories of residential Experiences according to criteria discussed below.

Table 6.1 Classification of residential and minor Experiences recorded in Alinsing

Note: Names are given only of those sonums for which adequate documentation of properties, symptoms, rites, etc., were collected. Many more which are known only from passing references are omitted, including those many which seem to exist only as words forming the second elements in doublets. However, many of the following are also often combined in doublets; in this situation they lose for the time being their separate identity and become as if synonyms, thereby contributing to the richness of the concept which in their partnership they serve to characterise (see Vitebsky: in press). Nothing will be said here about the specific imagery of sonums mentioned. However, certain aspects (e.g. their etymology) will be commented on below, albeit briefly, and it is hoped to discuss them more fully in a later work as befits their complexity.

Key to table 6.1:

1. Sun-Sonum (Uyung-sim)
 - a. attackers of adults
 - b. attackers of the proper separation of mother and child
 - c. Leprosy-Sonum (Madu-sim)
2. Earth-Sonum (Labo-sim)
3. Leopard-Sonum (Kina-sim)
4. Convulsion/Epilepsy/Spasm-Sonum (Kani-sim),
5. Ra'tud-Sonum (Ra'tud-sim)
6. Smallpox-Sonum (Ruga-sim)
7. Others

1. Sun-Sonum (Uyung-sim)a. attackers of adults

Uyung-boi	Sun-Woman
Mo'mo'yung	Dumb-Sun
Id-tang-yung	Hit-Cow-Sun
Id-tang-joma	Hit-Cow-[?Yama (Hindu God of death)]
Su-yung-tar	Painful-Sun-Thread
Gođu-sim	Cowherd-Sonum
Gođu-boi	Cowherd-Woman, Herdswoman
Duri-sim	Hobble-Sonum, Lumbago-Sonum
Duri-boi	Hobble-Woman
Gobgob-dur	Squatting-Duri
So-bo [✓] jen	Decomposing-Woman
Anggaj-sim	Moon-Sonum
Anggaj-boi	Moon-Woman

b. attackers of the proper separation of mother and child

A-budbud-sim	Maggoty-Sonum
A-denung-ki	Shoving out (i.e. of foetus in miscarriages)
A-dulang-sim	(translation uncertain)
A-jora-sim	Stream-Sonum
A-komoria	(translation uncertain)
Anar-jo	-Smear (i.e. medicine on the child)
A-saleng-da-nod	Waterpot-Shelf-Python
Lur-jad	Python-Snake
Mo-gaj-sim	Moon-Eclipse-Sonum
Mo-gaj-yung	Moon-Eclipse-Sun
Sindinarjo	? 'smear attacked child with medicine'
Tâl-jang-drama	Bury-Bone-[]
Ural-sim, Ural-ba-sim	Bud-Drop-Sonum
Balong	'premature falling of seed before it can be harvested'
A-baro-sim	Baro-Tree-Sonum
A-lud-sing-boi	?Dark-House-Woman

(Sun-Sonum, continued)c. Leprosy-Sonum (Madu-sim)

Madu-yung Leprosy-Sun

A sonum sometimes credited with its own residential site like Kani (No.4 below), which is likewise an aspect of the Sun/Moon but which in all villages is credited with its own residence. Symptoms include disorders of the person's outside surface caused by the Sun's scorching: leprosy, leucoderma, external tubercular scars, various lesions, boils, gangrene, etc.

2. Earth-Sonum (Labo-sim)

Kinad-lo Crab-Earth

Langiboi-sim Lovely-Girl-Sonum (causes the death of young men
by marrying them)

Pang-sal-sim Bring-Wine-Sonum (i.e. Wedding-Sonum, cf. Chapter 3)

Labo-sim-tuj Earth-Sonum-Star (one has erotic dreams of
copulating with a star;
symbolism obscure)3. Leopard-Sonum (Kina-sim)

Kurkur-pung-sim Rumble-Tummy-Sonum

Jojo-mar Grandfather-Man

Bena (name of the original Leopard-victim)

Sani'sim (untranslatable)

4. Convulsion/Epilepsy/Spasm-Sonum (Kani-sim)

Kani-boi Convulsion-Woman

Kani-Yung Convulsion-Sun

Kani-gaj Convulsion-Moon .

Kindal-kan Basket-Weaver's Convulsion

Su-tar-dib-kan Throbbing-Vein-Convulsion-of-the-Loins

Tanong-da-kan Dancing-Water-Kani

Nardabul (untranslatable)

Naning (untranslatable)

5. Ra'tud-Sonum (Ra'tud-sim)

Ki'tung	(see below for the meaning of this)
Kambu-tung	Ki'tung 's Bear (a hunting dog with which Ra'tud hunts down its victims)
Ro-mu-jel-sim	Impale-Snout-of-Pig-Sonum

The following are Ra'tud-Sonums of particular localities:

Badong	Hill-slope
Darama	(name of an original victim)
Jedu-il	Become-Jedu (i.e. by being absorbed by their sonum)
Kansid-il	Become-Kond
Sarda-il	Become Sarda
Badbad-kanti-boi	Immured-in-a-Wall-Woman (a plains sonum: this was done to her by a <u>raja</u>)
Tangor-sim	Path-Sonum (in any locality, this may follow one home)

6. Smallfox-Sonum (Ruga-sim)

Babu-sim	Clerical-Officer-Sonum
Buyi-boi	[]-Woman
Gal-bed-sim	Bundled-Peacock-Feather-Sonum
Gusara	(untranslatable)
Kukun-boi	Cough-Woman
Mandua-sim	Temple-Sonum
Udeng-mar-ku'	[Strangled-in-a-]Noose-Peacock-Cough
Mordi-sim	Cholera-Sonum
Ranggi-sim	Wind-Sonum
Siñol-boi	Rash-Woman
Yuyu-boi	Grandmother-Woman

7. Others

Mane-sim	Docile-Sonum (see table 5.1 and note)
Tonaj-sim	Sorcery-Sonum (works in conjunction with other sonums, see Chapters 7 and 8)
Guru-sim	Guru-Sonum (a sorcerer's familiar)
Duba-sim	Support/Obstruction/Holding-up-Sonum
Buto	(an Oriya demon)
Tangsir-bob	Tangsir(-Tree)-Head (causes headache)
Tu'tum-sim	Lizard-Sonum (makes children as skinny as a lizard)
Keru-sim	Monkey-Sonum (makes children as skinny as a <u>keru</u> monkey)

We have seen that there are some significant differences between the actions and concepts involved at the two stages of divination, the diagnosis (tedung) for illness and the pyre-divination (abgijte). These are summarised in table 6.2:

Table 6.2 Summary of illness and post-mortem divinations

<u>diagnosis (tedung) for illness</u>	<u>post-mortem divinations (abgijte, etc.)</u>
1 conducted by <u>tedung</u> kuran in tradition founded by Mascara-Eyed Ridi (Sanidmad Ridi);	conducted by <u>sanatung</u> (funeral) kuran in tradition founded by Pubic-Haired Sompa (Kurutij Sompa);
2 uses both residential categories and the 100-odd minor categories, the latter of which	uses seven residential categories only which have
3 have compound, polysyllabic names	simple root names,
4 often referring descriptively to symptoms:	often cosmological;
5 they are not self-perpetuating in own right, because	they are self-perpetuating, because
6 they have no residential site,	they have residential sites;
7 and therefore contain no people;	they therefore contain dead people;
8 the diagnosis is provisional, in that it leads either to successful cure or else reassessment based on a sense of falsification	diagnosis not falsifiable but first step in a series of metaphorical transformations

The arrangement of subordinate minor Experiences under superordinate residential heads is recognised explicitly by the Sora and is based on a continuity of symbolism between the two levels. Each superordinate has one broad symbolic property which is taken up in narrower, more specific ways by each of its subordinates. The connection between the two levels is made along what we may represent to ourselves as a thread of symbolic reasoning in which what is a thick twine at the residential level separates out into simple strands at the minor

level. In each case such twines and strands exist for a selection from a wide range of possible kinds of sign. These may be more or less clearly motivated and include etymology, myths of origin, choice of a significant sacrificial site, choice of animal, distinctive signature tune, number and species of leaves filled with the animal's blood, etc. Some, like the choice of animal, must be used while many others are optional extras.

We could try to represent this by saying that each subordinate category has a unique position on a graph which has a large but indefinite number of dimensions. Or alternatively, we may capture both the tightly-woven texture of the system and the continuity between levels by a schematic diagram as in figure 6.2:

Figure 6.2 Distinctions between minor Experiences and continuities between these and residential Experiences

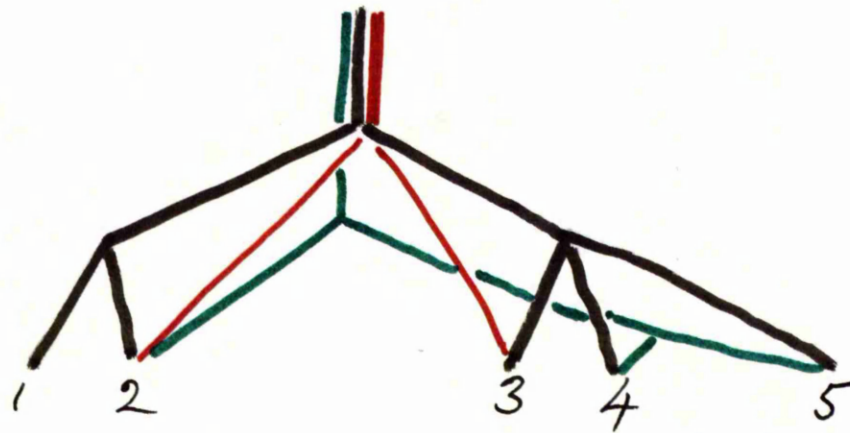


Figure 6.2 introduces colours in order to plot the connections between a prototypical superordinate (residential) category and five of its subordinate (non-residential) categories, using three kinds of sign. Let the black branch represent a sign, such as species of animal, in which a positive

choice must be made for each subordinate category. On this criterion, subordinates 1 and 2 are grouped together against 3, 4, and 5: for example they could be subordinate categories demanding the sacrifice of a chicken inside the house as opposed to categories demanding a banishing rite and therefore a pig. The red and green branches represent choices within optional signs which need not be used in every subordinate: here it is possible to express any combination of shared or opposed properties. Since for many signs the range of choice is extremely limited, some similarities are also expressed between subordinate categories belonging to different superordinates though not in such a way as to undermine the primacy of the latter themselves; for example a pig is always the appropriate sacrifice for a banishing rite except when some other distinction which uses choice of animal takes precedence.

A few selected examples should make clear the workings of this. Table 6.3 lists the overarching broad property of all the superordinates, while the following commentary gives some more specific properties derived from some of these through which subordinate categories are related to their superordinates.

Table 6.3 Overarching broad properties of residential Experiences

Sun (Uyung)	heat, leading to rupture or dissolution of boundaries
Earth (Labon)	coolness, maintaining integrity of boundaries
Leopard (Kina)	attack by leopards, clawing sensations
{Spasm/Epilepsy/ Convulsion (Kani)	spasms, loss of conscious control; derived ultimately from Sun
Ra'tud (untranslatable)	sudden onset of symptoms, the result of a brief encounter with the sonum on a path
Smallpox (Ruga)	invasion from the Hindu (i.e. non-Sora) plains with the peacock as symbol of plains culture
Sorcery (Tonaj)	works in conjunction with these

For illustration, some examples are given below of more specific properties derived from these and applicable to only some of their subordinates.

A) Kina (Leopard):

- symptoms: Kina-sim ("Leopard-Sonum") can attack directly by sending an actual leopard against you; omens presaging this include the eating of your clothes by termites or being surrounded in the jungle by biting gnats. Clawing or nibbling sensations on the skin may be caused by Bena, the sonum of the original human leopard-victim. He is perhaps the same as Jojo-mar ("Grandfather-Man") whose symptom in adults is blindness. This is the blindness of the panic one experiences on suddenly coming face to face with a leopard. Kurkur-pung-sim ("Rumble-Tummy-Sonum") is the agent when one's tummy rumbles like a leopard's growl.

- response by patient: even the most trivial of these aspects is a reminder of a relationship between the patient and a leopard-victim and the cure aims not only to meet the symptoms but also to avoid an escalation of this relationship within the leopard idiom. Cures for all subordinate categories use a list of names of all known leopard-victims and use tubar leaves, which are used for no other purpose, to hold the blood of the sacrificed animal. Some are done near termite-hills using a pig, one by contrast is done in the house using a goat when the emphasis is on the complicity of an Ancestor of that house. Here a pig is a sign of the uncompromising need for a banishing rite, a property which this aspect of Kina-sim has in common with Ra'tud-sim and many aspects of the Sun. A goat, on the other hand, is used for special kinds of indoor sacrifice. A grass resembling a furry tail may be used in outdoor banishing rites but is too dangerous to be used indoors, and so on.

B) Ruga (Smallpox):

- symptoms: there seem to be two main lines of reasoning, one of pocks and rashes on the skin, the other of seasonal occurrence or epidemic intrusion. The word Ruga seems related not only to the Sanskrit roga ("disease") but also to the Sora rige ("speckled") and rogon ("speckled gram") and some of its minor aspects like e.g. Siñolboi ("Rash-Woman") are based on the latter idea. However, the many aspects relating to coughs, cholera, the wind, etc., are based on alien intrusion and/or seasonal occurrence.

- responses: these are based on repulsion and sealing of territorial boundaries in order to return the disease to source but all rites do or can make use of peacock feathers which are

often used to brush the illness out of the patient and are then abandoned on the path leading towards the plains. The symbolism here is both that of plains culture, especially Hindu royalty, and in some categories the analogy (clearly not applicable in cases of coughs) between the eyes of peacock feathers and the pock-marks of smallpox. Smallpox-Woman sometimes sings in trances, as a peacock, that she has invaded from the plains by flying.

C) Uyung (Sun): As was shown in Chapter 4, the symbolism of an attack from the Sun centres on the heating and rupturing of boundaries. As a cause of death this was linked to suicide, murder, accidents and having been a cripple or a blacksmith; as a cause of non-fatal illness it follows the same reasoning. For example, "Bash-Cow-Sun" (Id-tang-yung) causes lumbago by hitting the patient with the hammer of the blacksmith "Dumb-Sun" (Mo'mo'yung) and requires the sacrifice of a cow since in another area of its symbolism the Sun is also a cow-herd (Godu-sim), "Cowherd-Sonum").

It would require several chapters to catalogue and cross-reference the reasoning behind all the sub-categories of the Sun. These are so numerous that some stable sub-headings can be discerned: for example, categories based on the idea of scorching of the skin are linked to "Leprosy-Sonum" (Madu-sim) which controls a wide variety of skin lesions as well as boils and is sometimes credited with its own residence like Kani-Sonum (Convulsion-Sonum) which in every village has a residential site but is similarly an aspect of the Sun.

The clearest such sub-head is that of the numerous ways by which the Sun reabsorbs an unweaned baby. These categories cannot attack an adult nor generally a child after it has been fully weaned. One example will suffice to show the degree of specificity with which these subordinate categories are distinguished. Several aspects of the python of the Sun were referred to in Chapter 4. In addition to causing symptoms in the baby these all drain the mother's breast of its milk and drink it themselves, so that the response to an attack includes offering a bowl of simulated milk made from rice-flour. They share a myth, recited during the cure, in which a Sora woman seeking honey with her brother is abandoned by him to a python who pursues

her. In her efforts to escape she becomes stark naked and he then embraces her. However, he proves a gentle husband and she comes to love him dearly. When she becomes pregnant by him her jealous brothers pretend to be friendly and then murder him treacherously by cutting him up in slices. His grief-stricken wife then revives him by joining him together again with a medicinal herb.

The snake then becomes a stream with several named aspects of which three will be described here:

Ajorasim ("Stream-Sonum"), in this form he must be fed with a buffalo at a certain site on a stream bed; symptoms in the baby attacked may include a long stripe along an imperfectly closed fonatenelle which is said to be the snake's path, or else the baby may flick its tongue. Buffaloes are normally given only to ancestors and the choice of animal here suggests that the snake represents the baby's mother's ancestors. It attacks only a woman's first-born child and she must return to her brothers' village to have the rite performed in their name.

Abuabudsam ("Maggot-Sonum"), however, draws on the corruption which in one variant overcame the flesh of the murdered python and its symptoms are sores or gangrene. The sonum is fed also by the stream but at a separate site and with an offering of fish.

Mogajsam, ("Moon-Eclipse-Sonum"), on the other hand, is based on the analogy between miscarriages and the swallowing of the moon at eclipses. As well as miscarriages, symptoms may include dribbling and twitching in a baby who has succeeded in being born and the cure includes putting an amulet round the baby's neck: this is said to reverse the dismemberment and decomposition of the python's body since the amulet is made by tying end to end sliced-up sections of the root of the herb by which the python's body was healed. In all villages (N.B. in map 5.2 Alinsang and Tongseng have separate sites) the sacrifice for Mogajsam is done not by a stream but on a dry part of a hillside above the village, offering a pig.

D) Labon (Earth)

and

E) Ra'tud: For comparison and later reference some particulars are given here of the two residential categories which are almost devoid of minor aspects. The overall identity of these is built up therefore not out of subordinate characteristics but from an indefinitely large number of separate manifestations, each of logically equivalent status and mutually exclusive in their recruitment of dead people. Thus, if someone is killed by a leopard, though he goes to reside in the site nearest his village which called a "Leopard-Residence" (K̄inas̄ing), the Sora insist that all such sites "are one, so to speak" (abo'nin amrid) and all known people from all such sites are listed together in leopard cures. Something similar applies to the Sun, Convulsion, Smallpox and to a certain extent Sorcery.

For Earth and Ra'tud, in contrast, it is important to know into which such site a person has been taken. This is because each such site has a double aspect: on the one hand it acts as a cause of death, that is, as an Experience; on the other hand it acts as a rallying-point for a social grouping. In this respect, as will be seen in later chapters, it loses much or all of its quality as an Experience and leads the deceased ultimately to a state of pure Ancestorhood.

The separate named Earth-Sonum sites serve to bring together male and female members of small "branches" or "twigs" of the birinda, and the equivalent for them of the minor, non-fatal aspects of other residential Experiences may be considered the Ancestor attacks which lead to house rites (the imagery of house rites supports this interpretation). Many people die directly of Earth symptoms while all people are brought some time after their deaths to reside in an Earth site. This is the main idiom for debate over ambiguous kinship loyalties.

Ra'tud-Sonum residences, however, are distributed at the rate of one per village. But unlike, say, each village's Leopard-Residence, the Ra'tud-Residences both are mutually exclusive and moreover also contain the accumulation of all dead males from every branch of every birinda in the village. Females are excluded, while males arrive here some three generations or more after their deaths and after having spent some time as Earth residents.

It will be seen in Part III that this suggests a sense of village unity which is found nowhere else, since it is associated with the fading of the relevance of people's membership of a particular Earth site and the factionalism within the village which this implies. Each village Ra'tud is also called a Ki'tung, one of the figures who feature as superhuman creators and norm-givers in stories about the origins of the world as we know it. In this aspect, the village Ki'tung receives seasonal offerings by the hereditary "Buya" of that village in return for protecting that village for the year from crop failures and epidemics.

Under the name of Ra'tud, however, it is a frequent cause of illness and death to both males and females of all ages, leading to a residence there which is untimely or "inappropriate" (a'tam:- see, for example, Chapter 12). Thus, though these are all frequent occurrences, it is "inappropriate" for any woman ever to enter a Ra'tud site and also for any man to enter one prematurely (that is, as a cause of death) and in particular to be "eaten" by the Ra'tud-People of another village while passing through their territory. All these occurrences create a necessity for the victim's rescue or repatriation.

c) from description to metaphor

The purpose of the detailed examples just given is to show that the formal relationship between categories at the two levels is one of mutual interdependence which moves from considerable generality to extreme specificity. Subordinate, minor categories exist only by virtue of their role in representing specific, limited aspects of a residential superordinate heading: it is this which is the basis for the possibility of their recurrence. Conversely, then, the residential categories can operate only through the stage of illness which works largely through the agency of their subordinate aspects. Thus, just as the personal identity of residential categories lies in the accumulated personalities of their residents, so their symbolic identity is built up out of the sum of their subordinate aspects.

This can be seen clearly from an examination of etymologies. There is a conspicuous contrast between the, *often* elaborate, compound, polysyllabic names of minor categories (e.g. Kurkur-pungsam, "Rumble-Tummy-Sonum", "Udengmarku", "Noose-Peacock-Cough", Sutardabkan "Throbbing-Vein -Convulsion-of-the-Loins"), and the bare roots of the residential ones (e.g. Uyung "Sun", Kina "Leopard").

To a certain extent the names of categories at both levels must inevitably summarise their properties by stating only some of them and implying the rest. But those at the lower level not only have the simplest properties but are obliged to state the most comprehensive range of them within their names. The effect of this is that they could be said to be scarcely metaphors at all but to amount to little more than semi-literal descriptions of themselves. By contrast, those with the simplest names etymologically have the most complex properties which in the names must go almost entirely undeclared. Thus the function of these categories cannot be description but deserves to be called metaphor.

The level of subordinate categories thus provides a highly flexible filter between events and the metaphors in which they are ultimately expressed. Their names resemble ordinary descriptive compound words except that the very fact that they are the names of sonums makes them in addition causal agents. It is perhaps significant that often if the compound word could

not have a meaning except as the name of a sonum, the suffix -sɨm, "sonum", is omitted (for example, Udengmarku', "Noose-Peacock-Cough"); while if the word could have a meaning besides that as a sonum's name, the suffix is always added, e.g. mogaj, "an eclipse of the moon", Mogaj-sɨm, "Moon-Eclipse-Sonum").

But though new non-residential experiences are sometimes coined on a generative basis to match specific situations, the very technique of responding to those situations through a curative rite with animals, leaves, etc., demands that the new Experience be assimilated to one of the pre-existing residential categories along the lines of figure 6.2. Thus though as a joke I was able to steer conversations so that outrageous and amusing new sonum-names were produced, the discussion could always include considerations of their properties which implied unambiguous subordination under a residential heading.

The minor Experiences thus face Janus-like in two directions. With one face they point towards the non-specific and highly abstract metaphors of the residential Experiences from which they derive their identity and symbolism; it is this connection which allows them to recur without having their own independent reservoirs of human carriers stored in a residence. With the other face they point towards the actual illnesses from which they derive their applicability. Here their high specificity of sign is closely tied to medical symptoms and other circumstantial factors in the realm of perception. It is their semi-descriptive accuracy at this level which gives them verisimilitude so that they convince, while the symbolic consistency of their formal relationship to the residential head categories allows this phenomenologically-based conviction to be carried over undiminished to that realm of more extreme metaphor.

It follows that the further away one moves from phenomena the less the minor categories will be relevant. This is done by a movement from literal description of events towards discussion of interpersonal relationships. At the tedung (diagnosis) a sonum must be found which matches the phenomenon and this connection itself constitutes its main explanatory power, so that explanation through motivation is often (though not always) considerably subordinated to some form of analogy or encounter using the logic of automatic symbolism. At the post-mortem

divinations, however, considerations of personal relationships are already more important and from then on will increase their dominance over considerations of the signs which accompanied the actual death. Parts II and III will present case studies from the abgijte onwards in which the phenomenological element of symptom will disappear entirely and become forgotten as the survivors develop and refine their view of the relationships in which the deceased was enmeshed.

In sacrifices to residential Experiences the illness is being returned to its source, in those to minor ones it is simply being discharged from oneself. The first is a cyclic conception while the second would appear at first sight to involve a kind of cognitive entropy whereby an idea, after the hard work of grasping and acting upon it, was necessarily dissolved again into formless space.

If this were the case, the problems presented would be immense, since once one person had suffered from, say, the non-fatal Throbbing-Vein- Convulsion-of-the-Loins, it would be impossible for the disease ever to occur again in any way that was connected to the previous case.

However, we have seen that this is absolutely contrary to the Sora view and would undermine the elaborately specific names and symbols with which they apprehend their illnesses (if not language and symbolism themselves.)

The problem can be approached if we consider the degree of complexity that an idea must necessarily attain before it needs or warrants its own space to store dead victims. Minor Experiences by definition are non-residential and so do not actually contain anyone; therefore along with residential Experiences they are a common diagnosis in illness but unlike them are an impossible one after death. This is because in themselves they have nothing to perpetuate and no people to act as their carriers.

Yet the residential categories must ultimately be flexible enough to stand for all possible kinds of symptoms, signs and omens in death, as well as for complicated and conflicting interpretations of motive in terms of personal relations. It is clear that a small set of highly symbolised residential Experiences cannot do this as monolithic categories, but can

mould themselves to the particulars of lived experience only through a command of subordinate levels of metaphor which match it more closely. In this light the nature of the mnemonic power of residential categories appears clear: they are highly simplified and condensed summaries: simplified in the sense of carrying out a symbolically consistent conceptual reductionism on their primary perceptual data; condensed, in that in order to act they must unpack their compressed latent symbolism and set one specific part of it to work. The minor categories are thus not themselves summaries so much as constituent elements of those summaries: "the python is the Sun's agent/emissary" (ja'adan Uyungen a pisirian). For data to be summarised, and for the summary then to be able to yield back the expanded data from which it is constituted, there must be intervening levels of interpretation which can in some way be read both backwards and forwards.

d) summary of Part I: the control of experience

Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1 proposed to consider the problem of interpreting dialogues with the dead under the headings of a technique utilising a postulate (sonum) related to lived experience as it was defined in that chapter. Figure 6.3 develops that figure in the light of what has been said in the intervening chapters.

After the presentation of background material in Chapter 2, the first few chapters concentrated exclusively on the internal properties of the concept sonum as postulate. In order to lay the necessary groundwork, Chapters 3 and 4 considered respectively Sora society and the Sora person. Though this was an artificial distinction it allowed us both to see the strong analogies which exist between the boundaries of the two and to prepare the way for Chapter 5, which analysed the Soras' own fundamental distinction between what we called a person's Ancestor aspect and his Experience aspect. These are held rigorously apart through their mapping on to space. The former concerns perpetuation of the person through replacement of generations over time (pad-) and is linked to the continuity of social structure; the latter concerns the perpetuation of an aspect which is often morally or experientially perverse (gorod-) and wrenches people away from their social groups into residential groupings which are a parody of these.

In the present chapter we have seen something which can perhaps best be described as the reaching over by technique in order to take command of amorphous experience. Here, it takes this experience and metaphorises it into Experience with a capital E. In doing this it often starts from perception and the more or less literal description of the minor Experiences with their lack of coordinates in space, and then moves on to a higher degree of metaphorisation in the residential categories. Though these stages are logical rather than chronological, the second stage can be fully realised only after a death since it is the beginning of a further process: now that experience has been made to run parallel with Experience and has merged with it, it lies open to a further conflation as the original dichotomy between Experience and Ancestor is itself reduced. The former is made to run parallel to the latter via the

Chapter ① The problem: dialogues with the dead ~
 A technique for operating through a postulate
 on experience

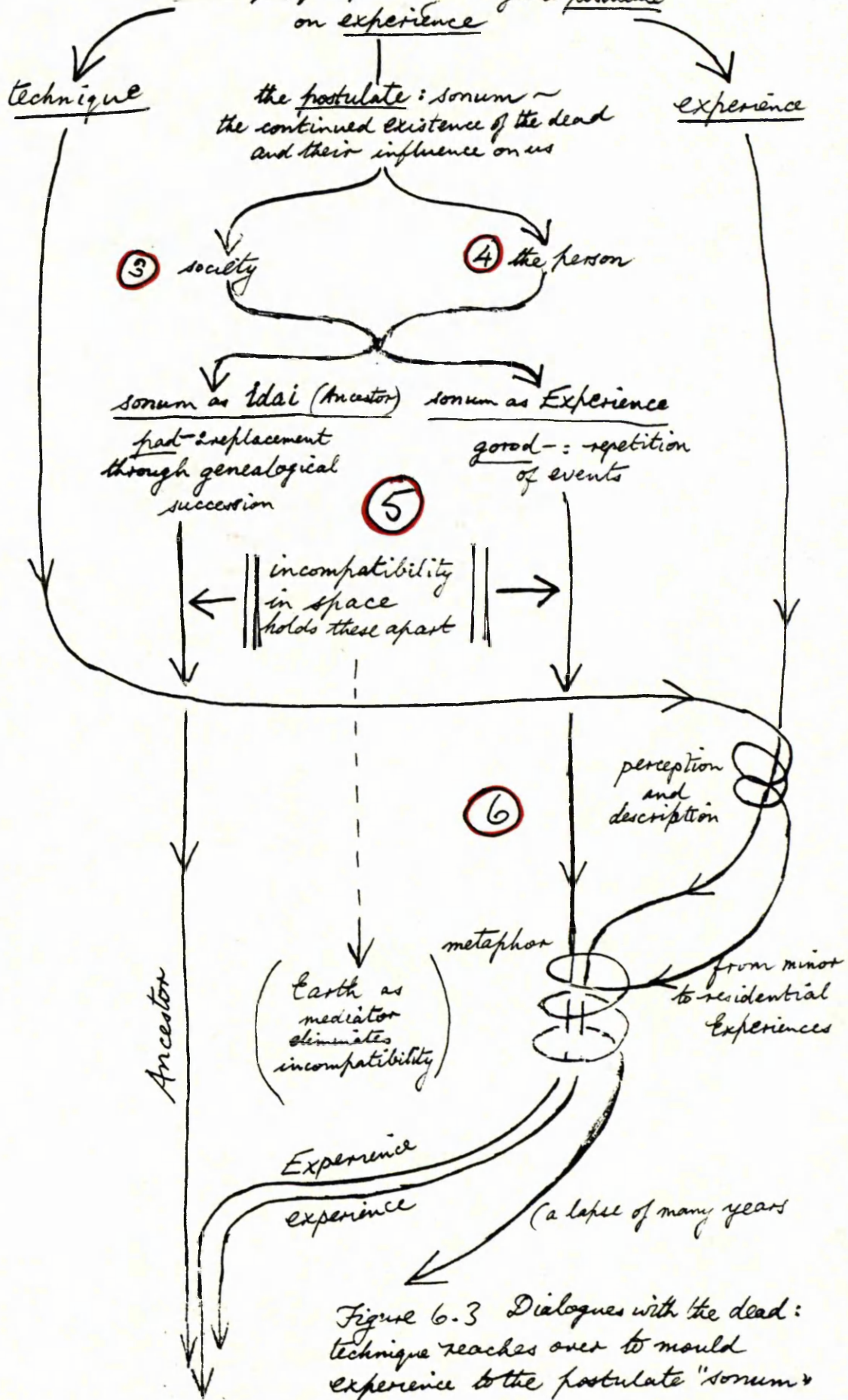


Figure 6.3 Dialogues with the dead: technique reaches over to mould experience to the postulate "sonum"

mediating category Earth until many years later nothing remains of the deceased but his pure Ancestor aspect. The remainder of the thesis will be taken up with using actual instances to show step by step how this is done and what it means in this society, where the experience of reality is subject day in day out to a dramatic technique for its control and refashioning.

PART II:

METAPHORISING A NEW DEATH

(Chapters 7-10)

7. Text: transcriptions of dialogues

a) background to the death of Jamano

In assigning an illness or a death to an Experience Sonum which has caused it, the link through signs and symptoms is in itself not obvious to the Sora layman, and besides must be justified in terms of the motivation of Ancestor-Sonums. This is why such knowledge depends on information from transcendental sources through a kuran. The presentation of Jamano's death as a case study will show at once how much effort goes into mapping the shapeless turmoil of actual events on to the formally rather rigorous framework of categories and relations described above, and conversely, how far-reaching the imposition of this framework can ultimately be in bringing this turmoil under intellectual and emotional control.

The villages involved are:

Alinsing, a large valley-floor settlement having several birindas and with a prosperous Gomang whose own birinda is large and well-branching;

Tongseng, a small hamlet which lies half a mile across the valley from Alinsing and is inhabited by a segment of the Alinsing Gomang's birinda. These hived off four generations before the present generation of adults but still share the same funeral sites and belong to the same exogamous group;

Jai'tagorjang, a large village very close to Alinsing.

As a result of a quarrel some forty years back, this village now has a separate Gomang, but still combines with Alinsing for major festivals such as the karja.

Figure 7.1 is a select genealogy showing people immediately relevant to the case. Expanded genealogies involving the same people will appear in later chapters. As in all genealogies, the names of people who are alive at the moment in question (in this case 1979) are given in small letters and of those who are dead, in capitals. Names of people who die in the course of the narrative are given in capitals and underlined. Two strokes, as under Poke's name, signify that a man died without a male heir. To help the reader's orientation, ages are given

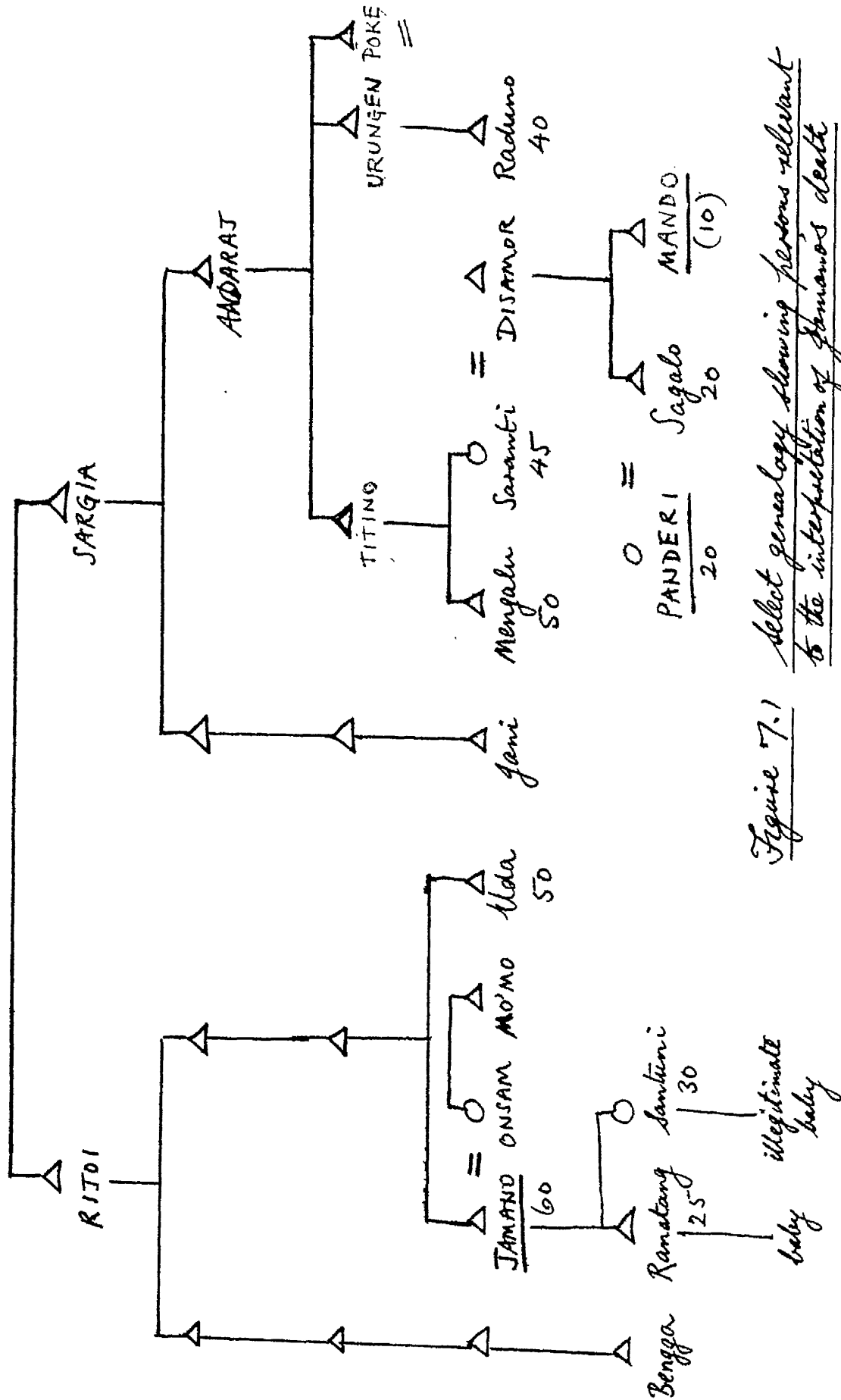


Figure 7.1 *Select genealogy showing persons relevant to the interpretation of Gbano's death*

here for living people, but these are guesses and cannot be known for certain.

Jamano, the man who dies in the present chapter, was the most prominent elderly member of the Tongseng branch of a large segment of the Gomang birinda of Alinsing. Those who are considered to be implicated in his death are, firstly, his predeceased first wife Onsam, originally from Jai'tagorjang; and the living Mengalu. The latter is a birinda brother of Jamano's from the other half, still based in Alinsing, of the overall segment to which they both belong. Mengalu's sister married into the small Buya birinda of Alinsing; as Mengalu's relations become strained with various groupings within his own birinda, he identifies himself more closely with that of his sister's husband.

Table 7.1 shows the timetable of events which bear on the case. I witnessed one important event (No. 2) during my first fieldwork in 1976-7; later events were witnessed by me occurred during my second fieldwork in 1979. All 1979 tapes were destroyed before transcription except those from the one week in September when I returned to Soraland, and the texts quoted both in this chapter and in Chapter 11 date from this week. I left on 8 September 1979 and have no news of later developments.

Table 7.1 Timetable of events relevant to the interpretation of Jamano's death

<u>date</u>	<u>event</u>	<u>ethno-grapher</u>	<u>tapes</u>
1 early 1970s	Mengalu quarrels with Raduno, is exposed publicly as having attempted murder by sorcery	absent	-
2 February 1977	the child Mando dies, diagnosed as Mengalu's first successful murder by sorcery	present	survive
3 February 1979	Jamano now gravely ill; various curative rites fail	present for some of these	destroyed
4 February 1979	an old quarrel between Mengalu and Jamano over land persists and is talked about	present	-
5 February 1979	namegiving ceremony for daughter of Ranatang and illegitimate child of his sister Santuni	present	destroyed
6 1 May 1979	Ranatang's new-born infant dies and is given infant's funeral	present	destroyed
7 3 May 1979	Panderi dies	present	destroyed
8 June-July 1979	tension between Jamano and Mengalu reported to have escalated	absent	-
9 mid-August 1979	Jamano dies	absent	-
10 the next day	pyre-divination for Jamano to find out cause of death	absent	-
11 a few days later	Ranatang builds a cement shrine at Tongseng and sacrifices nine chickens as a promise of the guar to come	absent	-
12 12 September 1979	guar-divination for Jamano to establish more truly cause of death	present	survive
13 13 September 1979	guar: actual planting of stone and sacrifice of buffalos	present	survive
14 end September 1979	annual lajab for whole village, in which Jamano's case will have been further discussed during trance	absent, no information	-
15 February 1980	annual karja for whole village; as with lajab, the first of three to include Jamano	absent, no information	-

Commentary to table 7.1Event No. 1 The quarrel between Mengalu and Raduno

Mengalu's father Titino was the eldest of three brothers and so married and set up a separate home first. When Andaraj died his property was shared equally among his three sons. Urungen and Poke stayed together and acquired a lot of new land jointly. When Poke died without heirs, his share of Andaraj's property was divided between Mengalu and Raduno whereas the substantial land he had acquired with Urungen alone went only down Urungen's line. Mengalu was beginning to build himself up through polygamy and needed more land; he was envious and gave way to his envy in an act for which he has been paying ever since. It appears that he hired a professional sorcery-assassin from another village to kill Raduno and his dependants by the standard techniques of burying a pot containing their discarded toothbrushing sticks, excrement, soil from their footprints, etc., along with the remains of a tortured black chicken trussed up in thread and a head of rice similarly twisted with thread. Such a pot is supposedly buried at night on a hillside to the accompaniment of sung dialogues and a pantomime enacted by the assassin and his client (both called "sorcerer", tonajmar) and remains effective so long as it is not dug up. However, Mengalu was indiscreet, rumour spread and Raduno intimidated the assassin into confessing and digging up the pot, which was displayed in the village with great publicity and humiliation for Mengalu.

This is probably one of the rare cases in which sorcery is actually done by a sorcerer rather than merely imagined by the victim, and I personally believe that Mengalu has never done it again. But at least since event No. 2 there seems to be scarcely a death in Alinsing over which the possibility of his sorcery is not at least aired.

Ironically, Mengalu and Raduno are now very friendly, as such close birinda brothers must be for reasons which are discussed in Chapter 14, where it will also be shown that it is only at the genealogical distance which separates Mengalu from Jamano (event No.4, below) that sorcery accusations can herald the segmentation of a birinda.

Event No.2 The death of Mando

Mando was a boy of about 10 from the Buya birinda who died after a year of suffering from a painful disease which twisted his body. I attended the pyre-divination the next morning. It was the first I had attended since knowing enough of the language and the people to follow what was going on, and the intensity of the grief and anger was terrifying. Listening now to the tape-recording, I see from preliminary conversations among bystanders that it was already inevitable that the trance should give a verdict of Mengalu's sorcery, in a manner exactly like that in the texts quoted below from the death of Jamano. The reason given for the sorcery was that Mando's elder brother Sagalo had seduced the girl-friend of Mengalu's son Sargia. In revenge Mengalu was supposed to have performed sorcery against him. But the soul of the youth Sagalo was strong and resilient, so that the sorcery ricocheted off it on to the more delicate one of the little boy and killed him instead. This verdict was later modified (see under event No. 7, below).

The girl involved was not the same as the one whom Sagalo eventually married, Panderi (Chapter 11, lines 269-294, and Chapter 12, passim).

Event No. 3 Jamano's illness

Jamano was a scrawny old man, lanky and phthisic with a tired smile. He had clearly once been handsome, and still retained something of the self-assurance which his son Ranatang now displays. He appeared to be in the last stages of what in medical terms is called TB. The curative rites to which he refers after his death were for Duri-Sonum, that is all the Ancestors of the birinda "hiring" the Sun to produce aches and pains (Chapter 6).

Jamano's younger brother, the kuran Uda, is now showing signs of the same disease (cf. lines 119, 125, 127, below).

Event No. 4 Mengalu's quarrel with Jamano

This quarrel was over some land by the Earth-Sonum site called Sindiul, which was originally divided equally between the two brothers Rijoi and Sargia. The significance of this can wait till Chapter 14. For the moment it is sufficient

to note that it is similar to the quarrel in event No. 1 but involves higher stakes and more persistent bitterness. Several generations back, Rijoi had moved out of Alinsing to found Tongseng. The people of Tongseng are now anxious to break away and found their own birinda, with its cremation-site and guar-site, of which Jamano and after him Ranatang would be the natural leaders. In the event, at Jamano's death a strange innovative compromise was reached, which I had never seen before; Jamano was cremated at the usual cremation-site and a stone was planted at the guar-site. But only one of the 21 buffalos was killed at the guar-site, while the other 20 and all the important dancing and chanting took place round a shrine built in a field in front of Jamano's house on the edge of Tongseng. For this, a Pano was imported to make it in cement and whitewash in the style of the Hindu plains, and instead of being buried at the cremation-site, Jamano's ashes were immured in this. This was said by all to make Jamano very "distinguished" (pimeng).

Event No. 5 Naming ceremony for Jamano's two grandchildren
and

Event No. 6 Death of Ranatang's new-born baby

The day I returned to Alinsing valley after nearly two years' absence, I was taken directly to the house of Jamano's son Ranatang in Tongseng, where he was that day performing a double namegiving for his own child and that of his sister (the latter child illegitimate). I was warmly greeted by all present except Mengalu, who seemed surly and withdrawn and very different from his ebullient self as I remembered him two years earlier, before the first actual death by sorcery was laid at his door. In particular, I noted at the time that he seemed to have given up the role of leader of the Ancestor-Men to Gandamo, the only other man in the birinda whose knowledge of the movements and words approached Mengalu's, but a modest and retiring man who would not normally seek to lead the group. Quite early in the proceedings, Mengalu left and crossed back to Alinsing to sing for another ritual there on behalf of Sagalo's birinda, into which his sister had married (it is not usual, and certainly not obligatory, to sing like this on behalf

of another birinda, i.e. to impersonate their Ancestors). Some time later, in the context of Jamano's death, I learned that Mengalu had not contributed grain towards this namegiving feast. This amounts to a denial of his interest in receiving a share in the cuts of buffalo meat appropriate to a fellow birinda member. This drawing closer to his sister's husband's birinda was readily open because his sister's husband had died many years back and left his son, the barely grown-up Sagalo, as head of the household responsible for his mother, elder sister and one surviving little brother. The mother did not remarry and the household, and indeed the whole birinda, are extremely poor and withdrawn from the mainstream of the village's political machinations. They were thus happy to accept closer companionship and support from Mengalu.

These moves by Mengalu over the namegiving in Tongseng are not to be interpreted as a denial of his membership of the Gomang birinda as such, for he remains the most devoted exponent of its identity in ritual; rather, it is a denial of fellow birinda-membership with Jamano and Ranatang: thus when in event No. 6 Ranatang's baby died, Mengalu is reported (by Ranatang) to have refused to lead the Ancestor-Men at the funeral, with the words "a'galamai, buñang tid" (I don't know how to do it, we're not brothers). The words "We are not brothers", are often used at a dangerous point in the relationship between people who are indeed brothers, and are taken as pointing to sorcery by the man who says it against the man to whom it is said. But if Mengalu were to try to break away from the Gomang birinda, he would not carry anyone else with him since the lines of cleavage are so clearly marked out elsewhere and there is no sufficiently powerful group in Alinsing outside this birinda with whom he could ally himself. It appears that some years ago he dissociated himself from the Gomang birinda after a quarrel in which he was alleged to have seduced the wife of the eldest son of the Gomang himself. For some time he became a member of his father-in-law's birinda, a group as small, impoverished and politically powerless as that of his sister's husband. Later after tearful reconciliations he returned to the fold. In fact, for the reasons given earlier, Mengalu is likely to stay near the core of the Gomang birinda while the villagers of Tongseng break away. In the end it will be they

who say "We are not brothers", and given the Sora idiom whereby one's own feelings are echoed from the mouths of others (see texts below), it is quite possible that in his imagination Ranatang has put these words into Mengalu's mouth. After all, the buffalos at the namegiving of the babies in Ranatang's household were danced not around the houses of the entire birinda, most of which lie across a stream and the other side of the valley in Alinsang, but only within Tongseng itself, and it is Jamano who wanted to found a new cremation-site and guar-site on the occasion of his own death.

I was sleeping in Ranatang's house the night his baby died. It was about ten days old and had been refusing the breast since birth. I did not know what to do, and the child had been the subject of curative rites for Jojomar (Grandfather-Man) and Sindinarjo (?untranslatable). It was a pitch-dark night and by the light of flaming torches a huge tree at the edge of Tongseng itself was cut down by all the men of Tongseng and dragged along the twisting path down over the boulders of the stream and up again to the cremation-site of the Gomang birinda just outside Alinsang. On reflection I now think that this was calculated to exclude the main part of the birinda, since normally every man who will himself be burned on the same site is expected to get up as soon as the guns are fired and the women of the bereaved household start their lament, and join in felling the tree and building the pyre. As we crossed stumblingly across the stream-bed carrying the corpse Ranatang remarked to me that it was time they had their own cremation-site, and many people in Tongseng repeated this sentiment both throughout the time surrounding the baby's death and a few months later at Jamano's guar. When we reached the cremation-site, the men of the main part of the birinda from Alinsang were waiting for us along with the pyre-lighters (siga) who work for the entire village. I do not remember if Mengalu was there and can find no reference to it in my notes. Certainly if he were not, it would be conspicuous. However, the death of a new-born baby does not provide an occasion for the exercise of talk of sorcery, since no pyre-divination is performed until a child has been definitively named at around three. Back home, in the early morning, while his wife sat silent and empty-eyed, Ranatang told me through his tears, "There won't be a pyre-

divination, we'll never know which sonum took it, but it doesn't matter (adsun)".

The following morning, when the pyre had died down, the Ancestor-Women of the birinda cooled the soul of the dead child by dousing the ashes with water contributed by every household of the birinda, and buried them in a pit on the site of the cremation. There was no talk of Mengalu's house having failed to contribute water, but he was conspicuous by his absence later in the day at the abbreviated, simplified version of the guar which is performed for unnamed babies (junkub, "feeding the ashes" or maybe "eating the ashes"). Ranatang made much of this later, after his father's death, and credited Mengalu with the remark on this occasion, quoted above, about not being brothers. When Mengalu himself once raised the subject spontaneously with me, he excused himself by saying that he had had pressing work in his hill-fields that day.

Event No. 7 The death of Panderi

Under event No. 6, it was explained how Mengalu had been moving closer to his sister's son as part of his growing estrangement from Jamano. By the time Sagalo's young wife Panderi suddenly died (see Chapters 11 and 12) Mengalu was attending her pyre-divination in the role almost of the senior man of Sagalo's household and supporting Sagalo in a fierce argument with the girl's brothers over the disposition of her property (keruru). The supreme irony of this is that it was this same Sagalo whom Mengalu was supposed two years earlier to have tried to kill by sorcery, and whose little brother Mando it was supposed he had in fact killed instead. At Mando's first karja, which happened after I had returned from my first fieldwork to England, it was reported to have emerged instead that the boy had been taken by his own father without sorcery and talk of Mengalu's hand in the affair went underground.

Events Nos. 8-13 The death of Jamano

Shortly after Panderi's death I went away to Delhi for three months and returned to find that Jamano had died a few days previously. The pyre-divination had taken place the

following day, and was reported in everybody's gossip to have revealed the cause of death as Ra'tud-Sonum, motivated by Mengalu's sorcery. In fact I know from every pyre-divination I have witnessed that they are not as explicit as this, and it is possible to reconstruct what probably happened here too.

Jamano had died coughing blood. This is generally considered to be an unambiguous indication of Ra'tud-Sonum. But as with any Experience, this leaves the question of motivation open. The gossip which was current between Jamano's pyre-divination and his guar already claimed to be based on the actual words he was supposed to have spoken in the divination, but could be seen as based rather more on circumstantial evidence which had assumed significance in the eyes of Ranatang and those who interpreted the situation along the same lines.

Ranatang later produced the following examples of Mengalu's suspicious and unfeeling behaviour at the time of Jamano's cremation and pyre-divination: at the time of cutting wood for the pyre he was very slow in coming to join the others; while they were standing beside the burning pyre he turned to another man and said "Let's go and prepare a drink" (yirai, agadsalenai) and "seemed to be laughing" (mangle amrid); at the pyre-divination the other members of the birinda, including significantly Jani who stands in the same structural relationship to Jamano as does Mengalu, came and "spoke weeping" to the dead Jamano (edale olongleji). Though Mengalu did at first attend he did not wait to speak to Jamano but went and slept in a nearby house "as though he wasn't sorry" (a'sintae amrid).

Some of these could be interpretations of innocent behaviour by Ranatang's overwrought imagination, while some, like going off to lie alone elsewhere, could be the product of Mengalu's own intense nervousness. His behaviour at the best of times is histrionic and unpredictable, and he clearly reinforces people's suspicions about him by doing the wrong thing in a crisis. The strong thing to do when one expects to be accused of sorcery in a divination is to attend in person: this is supposed to be enough to prevent one's own disembodied soul from appearing in the mouth of the kuran, though I was once told that it is possible for it to do so nonetheless and that one then has to fight it out in public with this refraction of one's own personality which obstinately insists on

drawing suspicion to, or even confessing, what one has come along expressly to deny. However, other people deny this. Where, as so often, sorcery accusations run between men who are birinda brothers and therefore participate in each other's funerals, there is a strong connection between attending the series of divinations to speak with the dead man and demonstrating your innocence. A typical example of a quarrel which is curtailed in this way before it escalates into talk of sorcery is given below (between Jamano and Bengga, lines 134-150).

In the same way, at the death of Mando two years earlier, Mengalu had not attended the pyre-divination but had sent all his wives and children to work in the hills for the entire day and disappeared himself too. By the second dialogue with the deceased on the day of the guar itself, he had attended but his task had become that much more difficult, and it was only with the first karja that the sense of his guilt began to fade.

In the case of Jamano's death, other reports were circulating about actions and words of Mengalu's which, if he had indeed done and said them, were extremely foolish. Though he is just the kind of man who might take a perverse pleasure in playing with fire in this way, the tape-recorded conversations transcribed below suggest that they may equally well have been invented or heavily embellished. It was said that only a short while before Jamano's death Mengalu had placed his hand upon Jamano's head (not a normal gesture) and said 'When you die I shall sing your guar for you'; and that earlier, at some stage of the quarrel over the land, he had said "I'll bind you and later in the middle of the night you'll squawk like a chicken" (rajingtam do tiki amen kansimen amrid tungar dina kekerbij gamle ulete). This was taken as an unmistakable reference to sorcery.

What at least was beyond doubt is the fact that when Ranatang inaugurated the new shrine in Tongseng in accordance with Jamano's wishes by sacrificing several chickens as a promise of the buffalos which were to come at the guar, Mengalu was not among the Ancestor-Men who performed. Over the two days of the guar, however, which I attended, he was back as the leader of the Ancestor-Men, though he was extremely tense. Only the actual planting of the stone took place at the

birinda's guar-site, while all the dancing which normally takes place at the guar-site, as well as most of the chanting and all the sung dialogue (kata), took place in Jamano's territory around the new shrine (see event No. 4), which was treated exactly as if it was the guar-site. During the pauses in the chanting, Mengalu stood rigid and solitary watching the dancers going round the shrine while the other Ancestor-Men nearby tried to act normally by drinking and joking together; during the sung dialogue, at the words sung in Jamano's persona, "It was in vain that I made all my paddy-fields" (asangge lumlai gai sering poi ring len), he burst into tears; and again, later, at the line "[Do not dismiss me by saying of me] 'He has already become Ra'tud'" (andreng de gadille tana-na Ra'tud), he had to disappear for some time to weep alone while the song went on without him. This kind of behaviour in a man is very unusual and quite unlike the metrically formalised, public laments into which women can drain their griefs without inhibition for hours on end.

During this period I could not have any intimate conversations with Mengalu, especially since, as a close friend and junior of Jamano's who had called him "father", I was not only sacrificing a buffalo but also giving an egg and cannibalising his soul by swallowing it in a cake (see Chapter 15) thereby sharing (if only in an honorary sense) with Ranatang in the actions of a son and heir. But at this stage the view of Mengalu held by Ranatang and his faction had an inner dynamic force of its own and was independent of anything Mengalu might have been feeling about the situation.

Events Nos. 14-15 Three successive lajabs and karjas involving
Jamano

These will have occurred after I left and I have no way of knowing what has emerged, except that as in Mando's case I expect the talk of Mengalu's sorcery to diminish and then disappear - until the next case arises.

b) the dialogues

Three extracts of conversations are given. Tongseng has two funeral kurans of its own, who also join in serving all the birindas of Alinsing, where there is only one other funeral kuran. Though the reader may notice certain tendencies in the mouths of the kurans in favour of their local group, it is essential to remember that this is not a necessary part of the kuran's role.

In the pyre-divination, Jamano had spoken through the mouth of the old lady Kumbri; in the guar-divination (text 7.3) he spoke through his own younger brother Uda; at other times in this divination other sonums speak through either of these kurans who are seated side by side throughout.

In the texts given here and in Chapter 11, the names of dead speakers are in capital letters and of living speakers in lower case. Raudas are included among the dead because they are the sonums of former kurans. Each change of speaker has been given a line number. A dash signifies that a speaker breaks off or is cut off, a series of dots that he fades away or his words are missing or inaudible on the tape.

Text 7.1 From a private conversation before the divination

This is from a private conversation I had with Jamano's son Ranatang and younger brother Uda on 9 September 1979 after my return, that is between Jamano's pyre-divination and his guar.

[Ranatang has been bringing me up to date on recent strained relations with Mengalu].

1. Piers: Which is why he said sorcery in the pyre-divination?
2. Ranatang: Yes. "He ensorcelled me" [or "I was ensorcelled (tonajingte)"], is what he said, but whether it was really that or whether it was a sonum, how can we know?
3. Piers: Who actually said that?
4. Ranatang: He did, the deceased--our father.
5. Piers: He said so?
6. Ranatang: Yes. "He ensorcelled me, long ago he ensorcelled me," in this way ... he hired a kuran from Tamdrana and collected his excrement, his [], he collected everything--better not write this down, never mind--that's what he said, but was it really, or perhaps Ra'tud took him, or some sonum or other ...
7. Uda: [mutters] ... our father.
8. Ranatang: ... meaning really sorcery.
9. Piers: Surely we hear it in the pyre-divination?
10. Ranatang: Yes, we hear it in the pyre-divination, but-- "Sorcery took me," he said, but did he really ensorcel him or did he really not ensorcel him, how can we know?
11. Piers: That's what he said in the divination?
12. Ranatang: Yes, our father's words.
13. Uda: Not quite, it might be his false consciousness (ondrung) [see Chapter 8] ...
14. Ranatang: [partly inaudible] ... Who turned up?
15. Piers: Who sat for the pyre-divination?
16. Ranatang: Kumbri. Anyway, the one who said "I was ensorcelled"--or rather, "Sorcery [past tense verb, meaning unknown] me, I told you I died because they fixed (sabda-) me," he said; he didn't mention any names, but was it really sorcery or did a sonum take him, how can we know [voice tails off] ...
17. Piers: But we'll know on Thursday, he'll tell us straight on the day of his guar, won't he?
18. Ranatang: Yes.

19. Uda: Guar-day and lajab-day.
 20. Ranatang: At the time of the lajab and guar we'll know.
 21. Uda: [mutters] guar-day ... lajab ...

Text 7.2 The raudas speak at the beginning of the guar for Jamano

This is from the raudas' appearance in the divination on 12 September which formed the first part of that day's guar. Raudas always appear at the beginning and end of trances in their role as psychopomp and master of ceremonies. Mengalu was not present in the flesh; but his "soul" (puradan) comes and speaks briefly through the mouth of the kuran Uda.

22. Uda's RAUDA: Listen children, as for the sorcerer, I'll, um, first of all, I mean, I shan't bring on the Ancestors direct.
23. Kumbri's RAUDA: No, that's how he bound him into a Residence-- into Ra'tud-Tania [a doublet] --destroyed him by slitting his throat, bashing his head. But when [we] come and sit, whatever is hidden, whatever is kept silent, whatever is buried ...
24. Uda's RAUDA: I'll bring the sorcerer, children, I'll make him come first right now ...
 [a moment's silence, then a sharp intake of breath: whispers] What? [some words inaudible] ... called me. Who am I? Mengalu.
25. a woman: [gasps] ai!
26. "Mengalu": What is it? My brother--
27. Santuni: [an agitated torrent] What's the idea of ensorcelling your brother, how could you ...
28. "Mengalu": [almost inaudible croak] My brother didn't give me a fair share ... only this much ...
 [a hubbub of voices: only a few phrases can be clearly made out]
29. a woman: ... a freshly cleared field ... don't we share it properly?
30. "Mengalu": Would I strike him? It was nothing ...
 ... don't say I ensorcelled him, he just died ...
 [some more simultaneous lines from the women]
31. a woman: What was it like? Did you go into a sort of trance or--did you do it in the hills or in the fields ... you said the words ...
 [drowned in a babble of voices]
32. Kumbri's RAUDA: Ask him what his terms are [translation uncertain].

["Mengalu" departs suddenly before anyone can speak to him again].

Text 7.3 Dialogue with the dead Jamano

The above lines were followed by the voice of Jamano's long-dead father, who denied having had any hand in his son's death but suggested that Jamano's deceased wife was implicated. This conversation is not given here. He was followed by Jamano himself.

Jamano stayed for several hours, during which he spent over one hour discussing his creditors and giving the story behind each of the loans he had given, and which now had to be administered by Ranatang. But for the purpose of the present analysis the important part is over by line 133, and the dialogue will be allowed to run on only in order to give an impression of its range. The quarrel with Bengga which is aired on the way (134-50) is part of another dispute over land for which Bengga might have expected to be accused of sorcery.

The sonum of Jamano arrives. All women immediately fill the house with uncoordinated lamenting songs, while the men rush around to prepare things. As the pandemonium dies down, conversation with Jamano becomes audible:

33. Ranatang: [urgently] One moment you were walking around, the next you were dead. Don't hesitate, don't be afraid: speak out...[overbearing tone] speak out!
34. woman: You died alone, no wife, no daughter-in-law, no daughter with you, you were all on your own. Tell us how you died, how you perished. Was it your father? Your mother?
35. distant voice: Were you handed over your wife, your spouse? Earth-Sonum? Simu-Sonum [a doublet]? Tell us straight out how you were handed over.
36. voice: Your daughters-in-law met you.
37. JAMANO: Be quiet! I drank some aba--
38. voice: The time you died, whom exactly did you meet, tell us honestly.
39. JAMANO: I drank some aba, isn't that right?
40. woman: How do I know, we went off to work. I didn't stay here so I didn't see you.

41. JAMANO: A sacrifice - Simanto's house - he said he was doing a sacrifice.
42. woman: Tell us as a test (tungjing)—
43. man's voice: It's dark, how can I fasten [JAMANO's necklace on the kuran]?
44. voice: Whose house did you go to?
45. JAMANO: Simanto's house.
46. voice: What happened there?
47. voice: Did you join in the feast?
48. JAMANO: No.
49. voice: Whom did you eat with then?
50. JAMANO: Um ... with the kurans.
51. woman: Were there several of you?
52. JAMANO: It was with Betuden of Asangul.
53. woman: Who else?
54. JAMANO: First of all I met Kondo--
55. woman: And what was he doing?
56. JAMANO: He'd been planting out rice ... "Brother," I said, "I'm dying, I'm perishing." ...
57. woman: At the time you were actually eating, who came and joined you?
58. voice: When he came along that evening, what was he carrying?
59. JAMANO: Who?
- [a babble of voices]
60. JAMANO: Pork from his sacrifice.
61. voice: What sacrifice did he say he'd done?
62. JAMANO: He'd been protecting his cattle from sorcery.
63. voice: Did he give you aba?
64. JAMANO: Most certainly.
65. voice: Did you eat that meat?
66. JAMANO: No, I didn't eat it--
67. voice: You put it away--
68. JAMANO: I just put it away.
69. voice: Did you come straight back?
70. JAMANO: Yes, I drank the aba ... "If he comes, make supper and serve him"--my younger brother [i.e. Uda] had gone to pay the land-tax--I said [to the women]: "He's very fastidious, he likes only the best rice. But if he doesn't come, don't cook it". That's what I said to you all.

[more voices]

71. JAMANO: ...then I vomited, I vomited twice there.
72. woman: Was it there that you vomited blood?
73. JAMANO: Yes ... I vomited ...
74. woman: Outside on the veranda ...
75. woman: Why didn't you wake your sister when you were there?
76. JAMANO: I vomited on the ground below the veranda.
77. woman: They'd told you to stay the night with them [in the other house]. Had your soul already swallowed the food [of the dead, i.e. were you already doomed, that you chose to go]?
78. JAMANO: "Father, stay the night with us, your brother probably won't come"--That's what they said to me.
79. woman: When you went back along that path, whom did you meet on the way?
80. JAMANO: But I said, "No, it doesn't matter, but call me if he comes."
81. woman: Which of your various daughters-in-law spoke to you?
82. JAMANO: Um.... I encountered Jampari, ...
83. same woman: Sangganen?
84. JAMANO: I encountered Sangganen, I encountered Yagajen, I encountered Kındrimi--
85. same woman: What? Sangganen, for example, what did she say to you then? Did you stop and talk?
86. JAMANO: Hey children ... [tails off inaudibly] ... coughing ... blood ...
87. same woman: No, this is what she said to you: "Hey father, are you all right?" she said ... [and you said] "Hey children, my heart is tearing, it's sprouting out of my chest --" [rising babble of voices] ... you said you took a rest on the veranda ... [voices become louder]
88. woman: They told you to stay the night ...
89. Ranatang: [breaks in impatiently] Which sonum took you?
90. JAMANO: Morning and night I used to go along that path-- Why did this happen to me?
91. Ranatang: Because sorcery had been worked on you ... [by] your brother ... [loudly], well, were you caught by sorcery? [frantic] Speak out!
92. woman: And make sure you tell it straight.
93. woman: Because you're related, because you're brothers, maybe you think they'll be quarrelling and beating each other after you've gone. Don't conceal, don't cover it up because you're thinking that. Speak straight, speak honestly, say "He did this to me, he did that to me."

94. woman: Speak properly, uncle ...
95. JAMANO: I was going my usual way ...
96. Ranatang: I'd have done any number of sacrifices for you, if only ...
97. JAMANO: I said "Get up" [i.e. the women, to cook for Uda].
98. voices: wine!
99. --wine!
100. --bring wine!
101. BATIN: [speaking through the mouth of the other kuran Kumbri, who has been silent since JAMANO appeared in the mouth of Uda] And don't go saying it was BATIN's doing [i.e. because BATIN is the ringleader of the Alinsing Ra'tud-Sonum]. Let's have [the wine] warmed up.
102. JAMANO: "Ow, they're prodding me up the anus with a goad, ow, my body is racked, ow, it's tearing apart," I said ... my brother ... mm this tastes good ... [babble of voices] be quiet! ... be quiet! ... [voices increase] be quiet! [they die down] They did a divination for me. "What turned up?" I asked my daughter-in-law. "They say [they're acting through] Duri-Sonum," she said. Duri my shit! I'd done a Duri sacrifice only recently, they could have had the left-over buffalo-scrap from that--
103. voice: Still, he said they'd do another for you--
104. JAMANO: What was the use of Duri? "They've already taken me, they've already carried me off," I said, "they're already prodding me, they're already roasting me ..."

[some dialogue missing while tapes were changed]

[babble, from which emerges:]

105. Ranatang: [Are you] in Earth-Residence? Our father's people? Our mother's people? [suddenly flaring up] What man destroyed you by sorcery? Where did he go to set it up, you speak out and I'll go and find him. Do you know his identity? I'll bloody well summon him through a kuran!
106. woman: Once you'd gone into the house, why--?
107. JAMANO: I didn't go inside, don't say that. I sat on the veranda: it was only later that I went inside ... "Help me Mandebo, help me Sunamo, help me children, save me, protect me ..."

[a consternation of pitying noises, many voices at once]

108. woman: We couldn't hear, we were all in our separate houses.

109. woman: They pounced and beat him up without warning.
110. woman: Why didn't you put up a fight, why did you offer yourself to them?
111. Bengga: Who was the main one to grab your hair, to get on top of you?
112. woman: Did they drag you off as you hugged the main pillar of the house?
113. man: Which way did they take you after wrenching you away from the pillar?
114. JAMANO: It was Mo'mo' who dragged me off.
115. Ranatang: [nonplussed] Which Mo'mo'?
116. JAMANO: [whispers] [Mo'mo' from Jai'tagorjang]. It was through him that they overpowered me.
117. woman: It was only after they'd dragged you away that you called out for help.
118. voice: Sunamo was the only one who heard your cry ...
119. Ranatang: If it's sorcery, if it's witchcraft, that explains why your brother's throat is ill and doesn't get better however many sacrifices we do.
120. JAMANO: But didn't anyone hear when I was taken off, that's what I'm asking, why didn't anyone protect me?
121. ? a RAUDA: [speaking through Kumbri] Anyway, we brought you the sorcerer.
122. woman: Yes, your nephew says that was what was responsible. [?]
123. Ranatang: [wildly] I'll find him and I say it in front of everybody, I'll slit his throat and drink the blood.
124. Bengga: [rather cautious to speak] Was it an Ancestor, perhaps our mother's people, perhaps our father's people?
125. JAMANO: Now where will you take your uncle, how will you cure him?
126. Ranatang: [shrieks] ... I'll slurp up all his blood, I'll slit his throat from ear to ear ...
127. woman: Are we all going to be consumed by this sorcery?
128. Ranatang: [unclear]
129. woman: When on earth ...
130. JAMANO: Be quiet!
131. voice: ... refuses ...
132. JAMANO: You haven't given me any aba.
133. Ranatang: Here, take this leaf-ful.
134. JAMANO: [addresses Bengga] You're talking to me today, but do you remember the day you refused me aba,

- wouldn't speak to me? "Different houses different homes, we're not on visiting terms," said Bengga to me.
135. chorus of voices: When did he say such a thing?
136. woman: You didn't see eye to eye because you'd both been drinking.
137. woman: Anyway, he later came and drank in your house: "Even though he shouted at me I'm drinking with him because he's like a father to me," that's what he said about you.
138. a voice: [on the previous occasion] he said that because he was drunk.
139. Ranatang: No, but ... a word ...
140. JAMANO: Be quiet all of you! "Brother," I said. "Uh?" he said--be quiet! [the noise continues] Be quiet! "I would have gone into Bengga's house but because he said that we're not now on visiting terms, that from now on we have nothing to do with each other, I've come home", I said. "Ugh," said my brother, "what did you want to go and visit him for?"
141. woman: You spoke to each other alin-mouthed, abamouthed.
142. woman: You think he was being nasty? More likely he was joking.
143. Bengga: Well, maybe I was a bit brusque.
144. woman: You were firing verbal arrows at each other.
145. JAMANO: And so I went out and left. --well, friend Bengga, did you offer me any aba?-- [Back home] I asked [my brother], "Is there any aba?" "The best: aba made for the sonums, but didn't you get anything to drink over there? How embarrassing that you went to visit him." "You're right, but it's because I knew that he'd just been distilling that I went over there."
146. a woman: You two always did bicker over nothing ...
147. Bengga: [hoarse and subdued] Once upon a time did we drink together or didn't we?
148. JAMANO: Maybe, but what about later on?
149. Bengga: And what did you say to me in those days? "Let's drink over at your place--"
150. JAMANO: Well, what do you expect I'd say? [this sentence uncertain]
151. Ranatang: [calls out] Hey there, Roprab! Go and tie up the stone [i.e. sling it on a pole for transport to the guar-site], I'll stay and listen for a while.

152. Bengga: What about loans, what about debts, nothing about that?
153. Ranatang: Yes, it's time for that.
154. JAMANO: Now my children, now my little ones, I've gone down below but will you be able to match my forceful teeth my forceful mouth--if someone comes along wearing a hat, maybe we'll be frightened--
155. Santuni: If you put the words into his mouth if you pour the words into his mouth, he won't be frightened he won't be nervous.
156. JAMANO: If he wears trousers, we'll be frightened; if he wears glasses [changes to fearful voice] "Oh, dear, what kind of man is this?", we'll be shaking with fear. The Sardar [Officer in Charge (Police)] may come, the S.I. [Sub Inspector (Police)] may come, important men may come big shots may come. I was never frightened: my face is as good as his my visage is as good as his, even though he knows Government language Oriya language. There's Government language, there's Sora language: who's to say which is high and which is low? And so should we be frightened? I used to let Gu'guba get on with the rituals, I used to let Limia get on with the rituals, while I took on the responsibility of keeping officials out of the village, of warding them off, of not allowing my people to contract debts and loans. And widowed women unprotected women, if they tottered if they slithered [literally, as on rocks slimy with algae], they never had to say, "Issi! why didn't you come to our rescue?". Hmm, what have you lot got to say to that? You'd better just keep quiet.

8 Funerary divination: reaching consensus
through shared consciousness

Post mortem dialogue is a quest by the living for certainty from the lips of the dead, who must therefore be bound into an obligation to speak truth. The dead speak to the living only after the kuran's main rauda has spoken as a sort of master of ceremonies and set the tone for what is to follow. As former kurans, raudas are themselves incorruptible and stand impartially above deception and vested interest. Thus they say "whatever is hidden, whatever is kept silent, whatever is buried [we shall reveal]." (Chapter 7, line 23). It will become clear what power this gives them to point a dialogue in a particular direction along which it will then proceed with its own momentum.

To match this, the deceased is similarly bound by a vocabulary of truthfulness which is urged upon him. Thus, as well as being told to "speak out", oblinga (33, 91, 105), he is told to do so "straight", rojtd (35, 93), "honestly", sa'kai (38, 93), "properly", bangsale (94); while possible reasons for hesitating are spelt out in order to be dismissed: "don't be afraid", batongdongam (33), usually though not here coupled with the doublet "don't be embarrassed" garojdongam; in line 93 they urge him not to "conceal" (soso-) or "cover up" (daltad-) the truth because he may be reluctant to stir up trouble between two segments of the birinda.

His response to this cannot be taken for granted but must be tested: the word for this test is tungjing (42). From lines 38 to 65 inclusive, every remark addressed to the dead man is concerned exclusively with this: questions requiring specific answers are fired at him one after another, and his first, early, bid for confirmation and approval is cut short with a response roughly equivalent to "we ask the questions, not you" (39, 40): far more is required of him before they will allow the atmosphere of interrogation to relax. At 56 he tries to expand into anecdotal detail, but they are still interested only in the question of truth, and force him to keep to the point. The first sign of softening comes at 67, where a voice finishes off his sentence for him with a piece of information which he then echoes as his next remark (68). This is a turning point in

the conversation: up till now they have been ruthlessly insisting that he should tell them facts about his last hours which are already known and agreed by them. From now on, they will begin to supply the facts about his last movements, words and even feelings - but not, as before, only on circumstantial topics, but more and more in terms of the causes of his death.

Thus the tone of the conversation changes after 68, in two ways: they are now prepared to help him by supplying the answers to their own questions, and he is at last allowed to make anecdotal detours and appear to be leading the conversation himself (70). So the question in 72 echoes Jamano's remark, the indisputable fact that he vomited; as a question, it allows him to repeat himself, which prompts further details from the audience (74, 75, 77). Where these are cast in the form of a question, they are rhetorical rather than interrogative, and the tone of suspicion in lines 38 to 65 has been softened into one of compassion (75, 77). The very same kind of question which earlier had been used as a test ('Whom did you meet?' 'What did you say to each other?'), has now become a vehicle for the living to tell their own versions: the questions, where they are still interrogative, have become leading questions, for example 83, which now supplies a much more substantial detail than did 67 (where putting the meat aside was perhaps the only alternative to eating it). The woman who speaks lines 81, 83, 85 and 87 has presumably been given a graphic account by Sangganen of what Jamano had said to her just before he died, and is determined to go over the details, with him in agreement. Whatever evasion he may have been preparing in 86, the way in which she spares him the embarrassment by cutting in with 87 shows that the work of the test (tungjing) is complete and that absolute verisimilitude has been established.

The form of deception which has thus been circumvented is expressed through the word ondrung, which I have translated in 13 as "false consciousness". It is "not really him", and yet is not anyone else either: rather, it is "like his shadow" (uñulen amrid). The Sora have difficulty in defining this concept, but it seems to be an aspect of the deceased's own consciousness which can not be relied upon to tell the truth; thus, every time in Text 7.1 that Ranatang tell me what his

father said at his pyre-divination, it is under the influence of the concept of ondrung that he adds 'but whether it was really so or not, how can we know?' (jadi ode, wan galambe?).

Ondrung is a problem in funeral (sanatung) rites only, and is essentially different from bukai, as practised by attacking sonums in curative rites and their preliminary divinations. In the latter case, the sonums are fully aware of their own identities and are pretending to be something else in order to cause mischief or get food to which they are not entitled (cf lines 102-104). This is the commonest word used for "cheating" in ordinary relations among the living. Ondrung, on the other hand, is concerned not with wilful deception of others but with lack of self-awareness; it is commonly said that the reason why the recently deceased gives false leads at first is that he is hot and filthy from the pyre and hungry, bewildered and confused. He himself does not yet understand what has happened to him, so that in a very important sense to be taken up below, the quest for certainty about the circumstances of the death is a shared one common to both the deceased and the survivors: the latter can be seen to use the medium of the dialogue to shape his consciousness of his new position.

It should also be noted that in bringing the sorcerer, (text 7.2), the rauda has made sure that the accusation will stick in the minds of the audience. The consciousness which speaks, under the pressure of being led by the rauda, names itself as the man whom everyone has in mind. He denies his guilt, but in a feeble way. The fact that he has been brought at all is highly convincing, while his denial is not forceful enough to counteract this - indeed, given the framework and the power of the rauda's speech, it is doubtful if anybody summoned in this way could successfully deny it, since this appearance of the disembodied consciousness of a living sorcerer apparently does not happen if the potential suspect himself has the courage to attend the session (cf under events Nos.8-13, Chapter 7). What further makes his denial unconvincing is the fact that he has not been bound by the test of tungjing and is therefore not obliged to be telling the truth. It seems already inevitable that the entire ensuing drama must be acted out in terms of Mengalu's hostility - or their hostility to him.

In the context of attack, the patient's supporters and the sonums responsible are engaged in a straightforward two-sided wrangle where interests clash and terms must be reached for settlement. But in the funeral context, both the living and the key person among the dead are still on the same side, though the latter is in transition between shared interests (as one of us) and opposed interests (as a sonum, and therefore a potential attacker).

Thus the terms of the joint quest are stated clearly from both sides: 'How did you die?' (34, 35); "Which sonum took you?" (89, cf. 105), being matched by "Why did this happen to me?" (90), "I was going my usual way" (95), "morning and night I used to go along that path" (90). In this, the deceased and the living interlocutors both stand in the same relationship to the causal agent, as victims. I shall return to this later in the context of perpetuation. Now that unanimity has been established through an interrogation which uses what appear to us as leading questions, this joint question can be answered in such a way that if one side (the living) say something, they can emerge with the impression that it was in fact said by the deceased. They make their own consciousness explicit through the act of transferring it on to that of the deceased: at first he is bewildered and confused; later, with our help, he will come to understand his situation; once he has reached this stage of self-awareness his situation will become open to transformation by symbolic operations.

In this context, it is essential for anyone who may be accused of sorcery to speak with the deceased in order to show that they are allied in this quest: thus it was noticed who came to the pyre-divination, and Mengalu's behaviour in going off to another house to sleep was extremely conspicuous and either defiant or inept. However, the determination of the raudas to implicate him suggests that he was already trapped by an atmosphere which made him too nervous to attend.

Thus it is no accident that while Ranatang asks Jamano "Which sonum took you?", it is he himself who supplies the answer when Jamano asks the same question (89-91). When Ranatang repeats his answer in the form of a question (91), it is a question not to seek information, but one of rhetorical

affirmation. At no point over several hours of conversation did Jamano himself speak of sorcery, or even acquiesce openly to his son's talk of it.

It is important to realize that this is part of a systematic process. Though I missed this pyre-divination, I have taken part in several others and the pattern is regular enough. Though in text 7.1, Ranatang several times quotes to me what purport to be Jamano's actual words (it should be noted that there is no indirect speech construction in Sora), it can be doubted whether Jamano had ever said anything explicit about sorcery in his pyre-divination any more than on the occasion of text 7.3, since the second dialogue, of the guar-divination, is always more explicit than the first in the pyre-divination. So what Ranatang and Uda are questioning when they talk of ondrung and the difficulties of knowing, is not who said the words, but whether they were said under conditions of sufficient conviction. In view of the leading questions, it is a question of whether Ranatang is convinced by his projection of his own views on to Jamano's consciousness (though any interpretation by us along these lines is tendentious: see Chapter 10). Thus whereas Ranatang reports his father as having said in the first dialogue "I was ensorcelled" (2, 6), when we see them conversing in the second at a higher level of certainty, it is still Ranatang who says 'You were ensorcelled' (91, 105, 119).

So the living have established with the deceased what amounts to a shared consciousness. The dialogue is between two halves of the same self and all the questioners are united, by a consensus, to form one of these halves, since both the living and the deceased stand in the same position vis-à-vis the cause of death - that of victim. Over time a distinction will emerge in which the deceased changes from victim into potential victimiser, and the living into his potential victims. But for the moment, in this Us-against-Them confrontation, the deceased is still one of Us and has not yet gone over to the other side. The relationship between these victims and their attackers is a passive one, that of having been affected by them. In this, the process of deduction runs from themselves to the attacker, that is, from the problem-solvers to the solution.

The impetus of the action itself which is being explained moves in the opposite direction and entails an active relationship of having affected the victims. The connection between these active and passive verb forms will be discussed in Chapter 10.

Let us return to text 7.3, at the point where the symptoms of Jamano's last illness are discussed. There is a subtle conflation between Jamano's supposed perception of the event and that of his interlocutors, between "subjective" and "objective" (cf. Chapter 4). In 56, he first mentions his distress in the most unspecific terms, then in 71, with the symptom of vomiting, which the leading question in 72 shows to be the externally established fact that he vomited blood. This and the suddenness of his collapse are taken to be pointers towards the Experience Ra'tud-Sonum.

When the topic of symptoms is taken up again, in 87, it is in the metaphorical terms with which Jamano is credited with having described his own inner feelings. The symptoms are not referred to again in external terms, but the metaphor is immediately developed, in Jamano's own words, into the unmistakable symbolism of Ra'tud which, though experienced by Jamano, is also accepted by everyone as part of the world which they all share: sujtingji "they're prodding me", (102, 104), padarte "is racked" (102), moltingji "they're roasting me" (104). From a sceptical viewpoint it is extremely unclear whether at the time of his death Jamano did actually speak in any of the imagery of private sensation with which he now develops his external symptoms; but he is now claiming in 102 and 104 to have felt his death in these terms even while it was happening to him and while the others were still conducting unsuccessful divinations with false answers like Duri-Sonum (ibid.). Not only this, but he says that he said so to others at the time. Did he "really"? It is impossible to be sure; he does not say to whom he addressed these remarks, and the spirit of refutation is not in the air. Lines 109 ff show that from now on the thread of continuity from the objective vomiting to the subjective imagery of experiencing Ra'tud is complete and beyond challenge - they too feel his agony to the extent of supplying gratuitous details imagined by themselves (109, 111-3).

It has now been established by all present that the relationship between the victim and his attackers passes through a third element which represents their shared experience of a certain kind of event. What kind of personal relationship between the two parties is suggested by this formal relationship? Before the session began, it seems that it was already inevitable that Mengalu would be implicated here. But the details of how his sorcery was accomplished were not known or discussed in gossip. I shall suggest that this is because they were not an essential part of the unanimous suspicion which was being urged onto Jamano for his confirmation.

Returning to text 7.3 we see this next stage of the deductive chain being prepared. Having established the idiom of Ra'tud as an Experience with all the conventional symbolism which that entails, the audience move on to specifics. The imagery used earlier (sujtingji/moltingji, "they're prodding/roasting me") is that of the victim's existence after he has been captured, that is, his awareness of having been taken by Ra'tud. The imagery of the very moment of attack is that of being suddenly set upon and kidnapped by a gang of thugs, and it is within this imagery that the question of who was the ringleader (111) is cast. In this, the remaining graphic details can be supplied by the audience, so that I know that not the slightest gesture of affirmation was made between the posing of the question in 112 and the taking for granted of the answer in 113. Jamano's reply, however, in 114 ("It was Mo'mo") to the question of 111 contains entirely new information and comes as such a revelation that they have to ask: "Which Mo'mo?" (115). The rauda has pointed out a goal (Mengalu) which accords convincingly with what people are already prepared to believe; the symptoms themselves have equally convincingly set up the first link from victim to Experience; it is now left to Jamano to supply the remaining connections. In the comparative context of other post-mortem verdicts in later chapters, it will seen that the present case is a particularly devious one because it involves what is probably the maximum possible fragmentation of roles into direct and indirect attackers with a concomitant multiplication of links.

Thus it seems to me that the introduction of Mo'mo'

belongs to a stage, not of forming the audience's convictions regarding motivation but of assisting its conformity to the symptoms. It is axiomatic that one can be taken into an Experience only by someone who is already there: thus the links from victim to Experience and direct attacker to Experience must be identical in type, except that one is a reversal of the active/passive, or subject/object relations of the other (cf. Chapter 10). In many cases, a member of the attacking Experience will be sufficiently motivated and no further connection is needed. However, it is also possible for the direct attacker who shares the victim's Experience to be distinct, where he has no motive, from one or more indirect attackers who are not members of the same Experience but are motivated to "hire" (baiñ-) him (Chapter 6). These indirect attackers may be either another dead person, a living sorcerer, or both. Some examples will help to make this clear:

1. A motivated attacker may share his Experience with the victim: it is normal - or rather, inevitable - for a hanged man, say, to wish to cause the death of another person by taking that person into the Sun to join him. In this case the Sun is acting as a symbol for a dynamic aspect of the direct personal relationship between victim and attacker:

Case 8.1 The contagion of suicide passes between lovers

A boy and girl were in love, but her brother was being jealous and obstructive and making her life wretched, so she hanged herself. At her guar, she asked who was drumming so beautifully in the background. It was her lover, so she called him over to drink from the gourd with which she - in the body of the kuran - had just been drinking, saying 'I loved you desperately, but now this is the only way I can occasionally be with you.' [Shortly afterwards] the boy went out and hanged himself. She had taken him into the Sun, by the contagion of suicide which was in the drink.

2. A motivated attacker among the dead may choose to act through the agency of an Experience which he himself has not undergone and whose symptoms he therefore does not command directly: He "sells" (tem-) the victim to a member of the other Experience (case 8.2, also used as case 9.6):

Case 8.2 Causing death by someone else's Experience

Padani, no close relation of Donjo, was "taken" by her father A'dia through the agency of Donjo. A'dia had been murdered and so went in Sun-Residence and became part of Sun-Sonum. But instead of taking his daughter by these means, he chose to sell her to Donjo, who took her by his own symptoms of Convulsion (Kani).

3. A death may be motivated by a living sorcerer: he "ensorcells" (abtaj-) and "binds" (jing-) the victim by making a pact with a dead person who then acts through his own Experience or incites someone else among the dead to do so. Where a sorcerer is involved, he is the prime mover in the chain of explanation.

Jamano's case thus brought into play the full range of possibilities. By the end of the afternoon the following explanation had been established: Mengalu had obtained Jamano's exuviae and with them performed actions and uttered words which induced or encouraged Jamano's dead wife Onsam to act. Though she is in an Earth-Sonum, a certain lack of intimacy (timyim) between her and Jamano made her unable to "take" him unaided. In this context I was told by way of contrast of certain elderly men who had pined rapidly to death after being widowed. So she "sold" him to Mo'mo', who is her birinda brother and thus frequently in her company (see Chapter 11) in the Underworld, as well as being through the circumstances of his own death a notorious ringleader of Ra'tud-Sonum. He then led his Ra'tud companions in the fatal assault on Jamano.

What does all this mean? Three relationships have been concocted or made explicit between the victim and his directly attacking sonum, his indirectly attacking sonum, and the living sorcerer. They are unfolded by the Sora in this order and each one is established in order to lead on to the next. Though for the reasons given earlier I do not have tapes for every part of the proceedings and was not present throughout, I was able to establish the following details:-

1. Jamano and the direct attacker Mo'mo'

Nobody had anything in particular to say about the personal relationship of these men while they were both alive. Since Jamano had married Mo'mo''s two classificatory sisters, they were classificatory brothers-in-law; but coming from Tongseng and Jai'tagorjang, they would normally be liable to absorption by different Ra'tud sites. But Mo'mo' has the distinction of being the only member of Onsam's village Jai'tagorjang to have been taken and absorbed on his death by the Ra'tud-people of Alinsing (this is common knowledge and I can confirm it from lists of names chanted at Ra'tud cures, though I do not know the story behind it). Thus he was prepared to lead the attack on his sister's behalf where it was said Jamano's own brothers and village-mates would demur (at least on the present occasion). One gets no answer if one enquires why the latter were subsequently happy to follow Mo'mo''s lead, but I think this could be explained in terms of the dichotomy between the impulses to protect through kinship as an Ancestor and to destroy through the automatic relentlessness of an Experience which has been set in motion. It is commonly said in such contexts, reproachfully, 'Why did my Ancestors among the members of the Experience not block their companions' attack on me?' My attempts to discuss Mo'mo''s private motives were always turned towards the link of shared Experience and the question of motivation shifted further down the line to Onsam and Mengalu. This confirms Mo'mo''s role as it appears in the dialogue quoted above, and the lack of further elaboration or interest is highly significant, since it suggests strongly that he was simply being used as a link.

2. Jamano and the indirect attacker Onsam

Onsam, Jamano's first wife, died many years ago. She is said (at least by Jamano's side) to have been killed by the sorcery of her own brothers. This is the only such case I know of, and I believe (but cannot demonstrate) that it was part of a battle over her in which her brothers took her back, so to speak, from her husband. At any rate, the marriage is considered not to have been too intimate. I was told:

'Jamano's wife sold him to Ra'tud because she couldn't take him unaided - if they're very close (tāmyām), the widowed partner dies quickly: look at Dano and Onjoni - they were old but very close. At Onjoni's death, her husband didn't eat for a week and immediately died.'

I have recorded several instances where elderly people, perhaps especially men, pine to death rapidly after losing a beloved wife or husband. This is readily diagnosed in post-mortem divinations as the result of the action of the lonely predeceased spouse. So the implication of the reference to Onsam seems to be that her husband did not miss her enough, and so she found a way to force him to join here. These aspects were not here made explicit in the dialogue itself, but formed the implicit background in the awareness of the bystanders to the choice of Onsam in the chain.

Thus though she has a clearer motive than Mo'mo' the relationship between Jamano and Onsam is not made to bear the weight of being the ultimate precipitatory factor in Jamano's death. As with Mo'mo', Onsam's name was introduced by Jamano himself as a new piece of information for his audience; and I never heard references to either of them in preliminary gossip, nor much in a discursive way after the trance was over; nor, significantly, did the raudas set the audience on their trail in advance. The relative importance of Mo'mo', Onsam and Mengalu is accurately summed up in the following conversation which I had immediately after the trance with one of the women who had been present, Jamano's second wife and younger sister of the dead Onsam:

Text 8.1 Conversation with the dead man's sister

Piers: So it was the Ra'tud-People?
 Puni: Mo'mo' from over there, Mo'mo' from Jai'tagorjang.
 Piers: So it can't be Mengalu's sorcery.
 Puni: He certainly did do sorcery, he bound him.
 Piers: Maybe it isn't sorcery?
 Puni: He certainly did do sorcery.
 Piers: Ai! You're sure?
 Puni: m-hmm [affirmative noise]

Piers: But did he say so straight out?
 Puni: "He did sorcery on me," he says, "hither and thither
 he took me to my Ancestors, he took me to my wife,
 by binding me," he says.

3. Jamano and the living sorcerer Mengalu

The object of the process can now be clearly seen as to link Jamano's death by the symptoms of Ra'tud-Sonum to a motivated person who has no intrinsic connection with that Experience. Starting from the symptoms of Jamano's illness, a chain of causality is constructed to someone who died of the same Experience, to someone who motivated him, and then on in turn to someone who motivated her. The earlier links can be freely and explicitly supplied by the deceased, because they are not important. The final connection is; and the living are allowed to supply it themselves in a way which leaves them with the impression that this too was supplied, or at least confirmed, by the deceased. Thus his own supposed inner feelings match what his questioners believe on his behalf and form the focus of a consensus between living and dead.

Yet it is only the first of these personal links, that between Jamano and Mo'mo', which is actually dependent on the Experience; and, as the present case shows, in terms of personal motivation it can be very far-fetched, at least if there is a more strongly motivated person further down the line. The material seems to show a clear progression through an agent who is most plausible in terms of Experience and least so in terms of motive, to one - the prime mover - who is least plausible in terms of Experience but most so in terms of motive. Mo'mo' has no motivation of his own, Onsam's is real but weak and not elaborated because peripheral to the case in hand. The motive of the former is superseded in explanatory power by that of the latter, which in turn is superseded by that of the sorcerer. It is ultimately this last motive which is being expressed through the Experience. Every death among the Sora demands a procedure similar to the one analysed above, in the same two stages of pyre-divination and guar-divination. The upshot of this sequence will always be a verdict, cast in terms

of an Experience linked to a previous sharer of that Experience and of a motivator, who may or may not be the same person. This verdict represents a consensus among all who attended and shared in the deceased's consciousness. However, this itself is subject to modification over time and much of the remainder of the thesis will be concerned with this process.

This modification proceeds on two fronts. The first concerns improvements in the certainty of the verdict regarding cause of death, the second, the action taken on this certainty. These two may overlap in time.

1. improving certainty: these post-mortem divinations are essentially different from those for an illness: since the ondrung ("false consciousness") of the deceased is different from the bukai ("deceit") of an attacker, there can be no question of a similar once-and-for-all falsifiability. Certainty is increased both (A) by resolving the simultaneous conflicting verdicts of rival pyre-divinations and (B) through the chronological sequence of the series of funeral rites.

(A) rival pyre-divination verdicts: for reasons given in Chapter 3, several pyre-divinations may take place over the ashes of the same person in different villages, probably on the same day: I recall one dead person, caught in a tight spot during his interrogation, who said, "Can't stop now, must go, they're calling me over in the other village." In that case, as so often (cf. Chapter 12), we later heard that the verdict in the other village had been different from ours. These conflicting preliminary verdicts give rise to further play on sorcery accusations or other clashes of interest between affines and these inconsistencies take some time to iron out.

The problem of rival pyre-divination verdicts in different villages is eliminated through the very strictly observed order of precedence in performing guar. For a man, his own birinda must perform the guar before any marongger cousins, for a woman who has borne sons¹ her husband must do so before her brothers. This second divination is part of the guar and takes place on the same or preceding day. The verdict which emerges here should, at least in principle, be echoed in all secondary guar.

(B) the overall funeral sequence: just as the second divination improves on the accuracy of the first, so in the three annual lajabs and karjas performed for the deceased, new truths can emerge and mistakes be admitted. An example of this was the boy Mando (Chapter 7), whose death was held at his guar to have been the responsibility of Mengalu, but who later revealed at his first karja that he had been taken by his own father without the instigation of a sorcerer. Talk of sorcery, often prevalent around the time of death, always diminishes with time.

2. acting on certainty: the second modification is of a different order and is performed by and within the actions and words of the guar itself. Rather than looking backward by attempting to know the truth about the past, this looks forward to the future and attempts to control it by transforming the nature of the now definitely established past. Having shared, by a vicarious re-living of his experience, in the consciousness of the deceased, the living now proceed to transform that consciousness.

9 Differentiation and control in the funeral ritesa) Experience and Ancestor aspects of the deceased and the mediating role of Earth-Sonum

At the conclusion of the divination which takes place on the morning of the guar, a verdict has been reached regarding the relationship between the deceased and the ultimate motivator of the attack, incorporating on the way all those through whom this relationship passes. Though in this process the dead are thought to have supplied vital pieces of information, the verdict was reached by the deceased and the living together, in consultation.

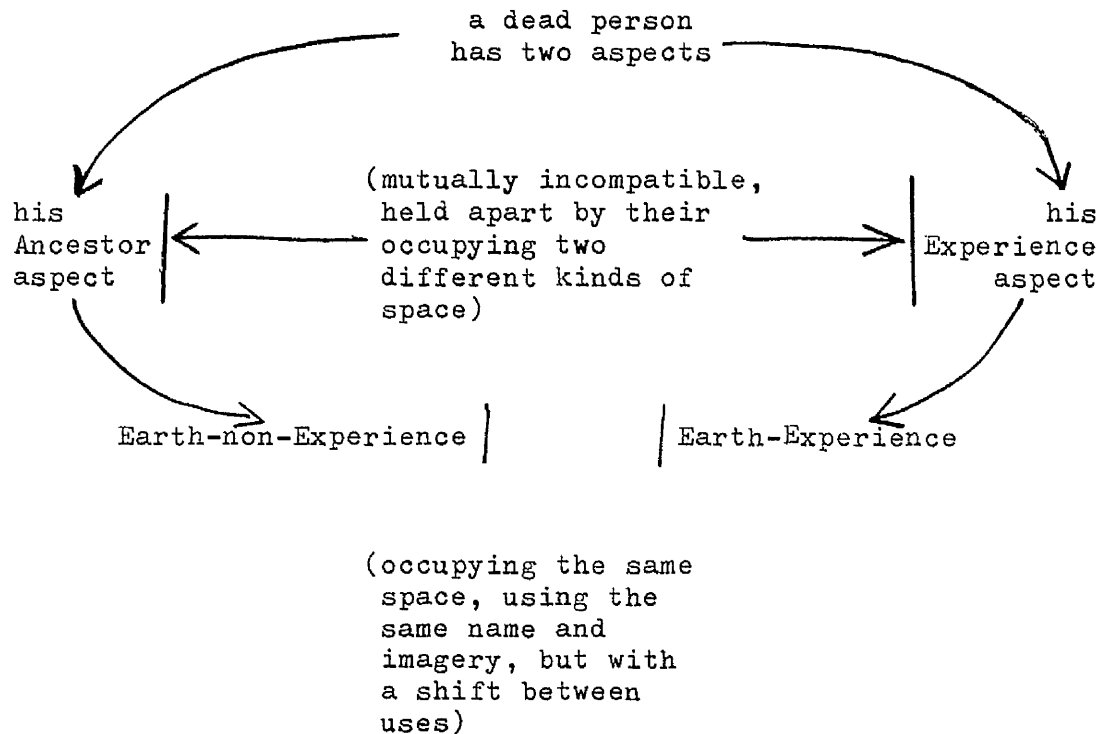
What is the interest of the living in this? The terms in which the dialogue is cast have differentiated the deceased into two aspects, that of being a member of an Experience and that of being an Ancestor to those who as his descendants perform his funeral. Jamano has "become Ra'tud" (Ra'tuden gadille) yet he remains father, grandfather, husband or uncle to those he left behind. The former aspect is necessarily unpleasant for him and wholly hostile and aggressive to us; the latter is (with certain qualifications) pleasant for him and benign towards us.

The present chapter will begin the examination of how this duality is used. It will become apparent in Part III that the long-term aim is to make the deceased into a pure Ancestor and thereby eliminate entirely his Experience aspect. But the reader who remembers the discussion in Chapter 5 of the mutual incompatibility of Ancestor space and Experience space will not be surprised to be told that this cannot be accomplished in one step. Though in the guar the planting of the stone, the killing of the buffalo, etc., are charged with meaning, the central symbolic act lies not so much in these as in the words of a solemn chant whereby the deceased is rescued from the Experience Sonum which I shall call his original death-Experience, wherever on the landscape that may be. From there he is "escorted" (orong-) into Earth-Sonum (Labo-sâm).

The semantics of this are complex. It was pointed out in Part I (Chapters 2 and 5) that there are numerous mutually exclusive Earth-Sonum sites connected with different kin-groups

and that the space in which Earth-Sonum is found (springs in hollows) stands as a partial analogue for both Ancestor space (in the Underworld) and Experience space (mapped on to the landscape outside the village). Earth-Sonum may act at any given moment either as an Experience or as a rallying-point for a kinship group. Thus, it can commonly act like any other residential Experience to cause death through its own symptoms (swelling, retention of bodily fluids) or through a peaceful death in old age. On the other hand, drawing on this same imagery of retention and wholeness (cf. Chapters 3 and 13) it can act as a residential site to bring together various members of the same birinda segment regardless of their original death-Experiences, because they have been escorted there after their deaths. Though the Sora do not distinguish these uses by separate names, the distinction is nonetheless crucial to their behaviour and I shall call them respectively "Earth-Experience" and "Earth-non-Experience". The second, somewhat enigmatic gloss leaves the properties of this sense of Earth-Sonum open to gradual discovery in later chapters as the argument proceeds. For the moment, it should simply be remembered that these are not translations of separate Sora terms but analytical labels for what I believe to be demonstrably separate applications of the same term. Indeed, it is precisely because of this shifting double aspect of the single category Earth that it is able eventually to overcome the incompatibility between the ideas of Experience and Ancestor. In the style of Levi-Strauss (for example, 1967) and remembering our figure 6.3, we may say that a big paradox is resolved by means of its translation into a smaller one contained in a "mediating" category, as in figure 9.1:

Figure 9.1 The mediating role of Earth between Ancestor
and Experience



As with the greater gulf between Experience and Ancestor, so here, in any situation in which one of these uses of "Earth" predominates, the other is latent or implicit. However, the difference is that the terms of the dichotomy allow an almost imperceptible slide, so to speak, between the two poles. Because Earth in one sense is a residential Experience like any other, it acts as an analogue for the original death-Experience so as to allow the rescue of the deceased to take place at all. In the same way, anyone who has come by these means into Earth-Sonum can then attack the living with Earth symptoms even if this was not his own death-Experience. Yet, at the same time, the particular Earth-Sonum site in which he finds himself stands for a kinship-based grouping. It is this aspect of Earth-Sonum which will be developed in Part III under the label "Earth-non-Experience", where it will be seen to deny or negate the original death-Experience and thereby

crass-cut the Experience-based groupings which this represents. Over time the effect of the non-Experience side of the deceased's existence in Earth increases so that he becomes ever less likely to attack in this form and turns gradually into a pure Ancestor, whose attacks are of an altogether milder kind and culminate eventually in the naming of a baby. The rescue of the deceased on the day of the guar as described below is the first stage towards this; its full effects can be unfolded only in Chapters 11-15.

However, the conflicts which lie inside the category Earth-Sonum go beyond its dual role as Experience and kinship-group symbol. Within the latter role there arises a distinction between the numerous separate Earth-Sonum sites on the face of the landscape, each of which is an Earth-Sonum. The kind of uncertainty in terms of cause of death is compounded and eventually replaced by a further kind regarding the residence of the deceased in one or other of these mutually exclusive sites. This will be the main concern of Part III of this thesis. There it will be shown how the future unfolding of the birinda as well as the settlement of what may be called legal disputes depend on the outcome of yet further dialogues, some of them taking place many years after the deaths of the people whose ambiguous affiliations are under discussion. Only after this stage of uncertainty is resolved does the idea of Earth-non-Experience pass most fully into the state of Ancestorhood, finally free of the taint of any Experience whatever.

The path towards this lies in the early days through elaborate procedures of differentiation and control. A differentiation of the Ancestor and Experience aspects of the deceased was established in the post-mortem divinations described above. This will be consolidated in the guar and other associated rites. Here it will also be apparent how this differentiation forms the basis for what is intended to be an ever-increasing control of the deceased. This will be dealt with in the present chapter under three headings: the "redemption" of the deceased into Earth-Sonum; his perverse "wandering" back to the Experience of his death; and the "blocking" rites carried out to prevent this reversion.

b) the idiom of control and of its failure(i) tandi- : "redeeming" the deceased

The Sora word for this rescuing is tandi-. This is an active transitive verb and its object is not the Experience but the person. The Experiences exist as given categories, as their mapping across the landscape shows: what matters is where people move among them. The root tan- means "change", while the meaning of the root di- is uncertain; the word tandi- is used in a doublet with urdi, in which the root ur- means "untie". The overall semantic climate of the pair is thus clearly one of transformation and release. It is also said that the victim is 'brought back' or 'ransomed' (cf. lines 42-44 below) from the Experience; the translation "redeem" for tandi- is intended to capture both this element of commercial transaction (cf. the discussion Chapter 4 of sacrifice, whose overtones are present here also) and that of salvation in a theological sense.

This redemption is effected by words in verse which are chanted in a slow solemn monotone by the Ancestor-Men (idai-mar). They sing these several times in the course of a guar while squatting in front of apparatus which is about to be used in the next part of the proceedings. The words vary little each time and hardly if at all refer to the specific apparatus in question; rather, they refer to the process of which the actions performed on it are the symbol.

The Ancestor-Men sing in the collective persona of all the Ancestors of the entire birinda. Since the functions of the Ancestor-Women (idai-boi) do not including singing, the Ancestor-Men sing also in the persona of the female Ancestors. Since the song is sung in the persona of the Ancestors themselves, the verbs are in the first person plural. Ancestor-Men, Ancestor-Women and kurans all fast, consuming only alcohol and tobacco for one day (during the guar) or three days (during the karja). This is often accompanied by vigorous dancing. In this way they move "close" (a'dam) to the sonums: "They become the Ancestors, so to speak" (idaienji gadalteji amrid). At the end they pass through a careful 'decontamination' (absuka-) rite to bring them back among the living before they

eat any of the sacrificed meat. During my second fieldwork, I became an Ancestor-Man for Jamano's birinda and was one of the three or four men (including Mengalu) who chanted versions of the following song at the annual karja and at several guar. Much of the material and the interpretation offered in this thesis are derived from the experience of this participation.

Below are given two from the eight such chants which were sung at Jamano's guar. The first (text 9.1) gives almost the entire text of a chant in the persona of the male Ancestors, while the second (text 9.2), which gives some additional imagery, is taken from another chant in the persona of the female Ancestors. The names of Ancestors are mostly grouped by main segments of the birinda and within these by smaller segments. Though important names are never omitted not all of the others are necessarily included every time. Women's names are similarly grouped, with wives and sisters mixed indiscriminately. Each name normally occurs once only and denotes the last holder of that name to have died. In the first text the list of male names is given in full, both to show the flavour of the song and to allow the reader, if he wishes, to compare the relevant parts of its layout with that of the genealogies given in later chapters. Female names are not listed in full since the formats of those genealogies, which are concerned mostly with the positioning of male names in the structure of the birinda, do not include sufficient information for this.

Some poetic words have been left as untranslatable since the Sora themselves are unable to gloss them. The doublet structure of the verse is very apparent, and has been discussed in my paper on the subject (Vitebsky: in press). Even more than with the prose texts in other chapters, one could here comment endlessly on obscure imagery. However, comments will be kept to the minimum necessary for a reasonable degree of comprehension in passing or in order to draw attention to points which are taken up elsewhere.

Text 9.1 Song of the male Ancestors

1. fathers	fellow-Ancestors	
2. [line incomprehensible]		
3. today	now	
4. Sunday	Monday	
5. Tuesday	Friday	
6. our twin brother	our linked brother	
7. our elder brother	our [younger] brothers	
8. our born child	our hatched child	
9. our young child	our [] child	
10. our grandchild	our child	
11. by reaching	by merging	[both adverbs in form]
12. into our company	into our [group]	
13. into our binding	into our bundle	
14. into our []	into our []	
15. into our []	into our []	
16. come, brother	come, fellow	
17. let us comfort	let us escort	
18. let us []	let us []	
19. we are right here	we [are coming]	
20. wealthy Gomang	prosperous Gomang	
21. Gomang of many cows	Gomang of many buffalos	
22. Gomang []	Gomang []	
23. the man from Udayagiri	the man from Chandragiri	[migratory origin of the birinda: see text 14.1]
24. the man []	the man []	
25. we are important	we are [significant]	
26. our <u>sinjang</u> -leaf	our <u>partad</u> -leaf	[trees with numerous feathery leaves, here implying fertility of birinda]
27. our []	our []	
28. [] brother	[] brother	
29. into our hand-out	into our share-out	[i.e. of food]

30. janam-flowered Earth Earth-flowered Earth
[two kinds of flowers which grow by springs, i.e. by Earth-Sonum sites]
31. [] sonum [] sonum
32. protruding-fanged Kitung downward-curving-fanged Kitung [here as synonym for Ra'tud]
33. has snatched and eaten up has snatched and drunk up
34. our born child our hatched child
35. all speak up all speak out
36. our brother huddles our brother cowers
37. in a hovel in a shack [for this wretched condition, see discussion below]
38. by a mean cattle-track by a sordid cattle-track
39. he huddles he cowers
40. let us comfort let us escort
41. we, for our part, brother we, for our part, fellow
42. circular-purse money circular-purse cash [informants explained 'we use cash to ransom him']
43. round-seeded-tarab money round-seeded-tarab cash [a plant with round flat seeds; for additional properties of these plants making them suitable symbols for birinda fertility, see below and Chapter 15]
44. growing-shoot of round-seeded singkung growing-shoot of round-seeded lajan
45. [line incomprehensible]
46. like a banana-plant like a plantain-plant [i.e. vigorous, robust; also refers to many sprouting suckers]

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| 47. let us [hold] our axes | let us grab our axes | |
| 48. let us [] | let us [] | |
| 49. let us brandish our swords | let us brandish our knives | |
| 50. let us speak like an
advocate | let us speak for the defence | |
| 51. let us be forceful-mouthed | let us be forceful--toothed | |
| 52. [line incomprehensible] | | |
| 53. let us lead him towards us | let us bring him by the arm
towards us | |
| 54. come brother | come fellow | |
| 55. whether in [] | whether in palanquin | [lines 55-62
refer to
recognised
attributes
of various
residential
Experiences] |
| 56. whether in cement-house | whether in multi-storey
house | |
| 57. whether in Sorcery-
Residence | whether in Kurab-
Residence | |
| 58. whether in Sun-Residence | whether in Moon-
Residence | |
| 59. whether in Mane-Residence | whether in Simu-
Residence | |
| 60. whether in Bone-scruncher | whether in Bone-grinder | [lines 60-62
refer speci-
fically to
Ra'tud] |
| 61. whether in eat-up-victim | whether in drink-up-victim | |
| 62. whether in police-outpost | whether in arrest-victim | |
| 63. to our big <u>titin</u> -tree | to our [spreading] <u>titin</u> -tree | [English
"tamarind":
again,
numerous
feathery
leaves] |
| 64. let us lead him towards
us | let us bring him by the
arm towards us | |
| 65. all speak up | all speak out | |
| 66. Rugadung Gomang | Bima Gomang [male Ancestors] | |
| 67. Jotam Gomang | Sumbara Gomang | |
| 68. Kimbob Gomang | Lamting Gomang | |
| 69. Gurunju Gomang | Ana Gomang | |

70. Mu'tuku Gomang	Jani Gomang	
71. fathers	fellow-Ancestors	
72. brother	fellow	
73. Kadulang Gomang	Rijoi Gomang	
74. Gupeno Gomang	Pengpeng Gomang	
75. Tulugu Gomang	Dokoro Gomang	
76. Muruka Gomang	Genju Gomang	
77. Gunggaru Gomang	Upuria Gomang	
78. Kantino Gomang	- - -	[there is no second half to the line, since list of names in monotone has destroyed sense of balancing two elements; the pairing is picked up again when the singers return to words which are not names]
79. come brother	come fellow	
80. into our binding	into our bundle	
81. our kinsman	our brother	
82. [line unclear]		
83. his stone	his rock	[this image obscure]
84. all speak up	all speak out	
85. Jamano Gomang	Dipano Gomang	[this refers to the earlier namesake who gave his name to the Jamano of our Chapters 7 and 8 when the latter was a baby, cf. Chapter 15]
86. Surage Dino	Tabaro Dino	
87. Jole Gomang	Dosing Gomang	
88. Lakkia Gomang	Duramo Gomang	
89. Sentano Gomang	Bengga Gomang	
90. Tedla Gomang	- - -	[see line 78]
91. come brother	come fellow	
92. into our binding	into our bundle	

93. into our []	into our []
94. let us comfort	let us escort
95. into our tying	into our bunch
96. all speak up	all speak out
97. Kondia Gomang	Palda Gomang
98. Lumbeta Gomang	- - -
99. fathers	fellow-Ancestors
100. Limia Gomang	Bordo Gomang
101. Upuria Gomang	Gurunda Gomang
102. [line unclear]	
103. by the side of the path	by the edge of the road
104. do not huddle	do not cower
105. we are right here	we [are coming]
106. the wealthy Gomang	the prosperous Gomang
107. all speak up	all speak out
108. Gurunda Gomang	Doneng Gomang
109. Titino Gomang	- - -
110. fathers	fellow-Ancestors
111. Sargia Gomang	Dino Gomang
112. Tabaro gomang	Andaraj Gomang
113. Indomoro Gomang	Pandia Gomang
114. Kartia Gomang	Rumbana Gomang
115. Jonu Gomang	- - -
116. fathers	fellow-Ancestors
117. Gupi Gomang	Jidlano Gomang
118. Mayaga Gomang	Karanta Gomang
119. Aruru Gomang	Lajsara Gomang
120. Podu Gomang	Timpa Gomang
121. Ladsia Gomang	Donurjo Gomang
122. Jampara Gomang	Sitai Gomang
123. Jurtano Gomang	Nikana Gomang
124. Jorenda Gomang	Biso Gomang
125. fathers	fellow-Ancestors
126. Batin Gomang	Ampara Gomang
127. Parsinggo Gomang	- - -
128. come brothers	come fellow
129. Pute Gomang	Beda Gomang
130. Suru Gomang	Jugi Gomang
131. Sorano Gomang	Kodano Gomang

132. Bikara Gomang	Rojlun Gomang	
133. Atel Gomang	Jugalu Gomang	
134. Kokom̄ Gomang	A'dia Gomang	
135. come brother	come fellow	
136. you have reached the gathering of Earth	you have been piled up into Earth	[i.e. accumu- lated there with other Ancestors]
137. the grain of feeding	the grain of nourishment	[i.e. you enter the grain, cf. Chapters 4 and 15]
{ 138- [three lines unclear] 140.		
141. into our heap	into our gathering	
142. all speak up	all speak out	
143. fathers	fellow-Ancestors	
144. Ompur Gomang	Pudar Gomang	
145. Lakkia Gomang	Pardani Gomang	
146. Doya Gomang	Kitaro Gomang	
147. Jugi Gomang	R̄mjarang Gomang	
148. Joneka Gomang	Guran Gomang	
149. Jontuno Gomang	Kuru Gomang	
150. Jamantaru Gomang	Yagai Gomang	
151. Langbob Gomang	Ilesu Gomang	
152. Parsia Gomang	- - -	
153. fathers	fellow-Ancestors	
154. Jalabang Gomang	Tora Gomang	
155. Buya Gomang	Paju Gomang	
156. Jonia Gomang	Ana Gomang	
157. Ritapo Gomang	Sundaito Gomang	
158. Sabong Gomang	Sutalu Gomang	
159. Bondeka Gomang	- - -	
160. come brother	come fellow	
161. Karanje Gomang	Baru Gomang	
162. Sompito Gomang	Dorai Gomang	
163. Masali Gomang	Jirbun Gomang	
164. Badanu Gomang	Samia Gomang	
165. Dorsu Gomang	Imana Gomang	

- | | |
|--|---|
| 166. Sansuno Gomang | Dema Gomang |
| 167. Udeng Gomang | Babu Gomang |
| 168. Motali Gomang | Jumpa Gomang |
| 169. Soko Gomang | Kursai Gomang |
| 170. Sorganto Gomang | Robana Gomang |
| 171. Raitano Gomang | Ronggia Gomang |
| 172. come brother | come fellow |
| 173. all speak up | all speak out |
| 174. Tidraka Gomang | Paiko Gomang |
| 175. Royantu Gomang | Langbob Gomang |
| 176. Upuria Gomang | Joru Gomang |
| 177. come brother | come fllow |
| 178. our younger brother | our little brother |
| 179. our elder brother | our big brother |
| 180. let us recognise | let us acknowledge |
| 181. let us [] | let us [] |
| 182. let us [] | let us [] |
| 182- [here follow the names of surrounding hillsides where | |
| 193. monkeys are found: monkeys symbolise longevity on | |
| account of their wrinkles, leathery buttocks, their | |
| white hair and the fact that they are considered to | |
| be kurans and capable of trance. Kurans during | |
| dreams and trances are said to "be" or "be like" | |
| monkeys, as they leap among precipices and down the | |
| branches of the tree which links the earth with the | |
| Underworld. This is one of the many ideas which | |
| make it clear that kurans enter the state of death | |
| and re-emerge - as to a lesser extent do the non- | |
| trancing Ancestor-Men and Ancestor-Women. | |
| All the imagery through to line 212 concerns either | |
| longevity of the person or fertility of the birinda, | |
| and no further comments will be made. For branching | |
| plants, cf. line 44 above and see Chapter 15]. | |
| 194. thick-skin-buttocked | bald-buttocked |
| 195. deep-set-eyed one | []-eyed one [i.e. monkey] |
| 196. may we become one
with him | may we echo his
voice |
| 197. today | now |
| 198. fathers | fellow-Ancestors |
| 199. <u>sinjang</u> -wood | walking-stick [i.e. a
support for
a very old
person] |

200. <u>kurang</u> -wood	walking-stick	
201. creeping	bristly <u>butid</u> -tuber	
202. creeping	[plant-name]	
203. blind	to the dung on the ground	[i.e. a very old person with poor eyesight, but some people say this refers to senile incontinence]
204. blind	to the urine on the ground	
205. distant descendant	distant offspring	
206. may we be	may we behave	
207. fathers	fellow-Ancestors	
208. spreading <u>riadi</u> -grass	spreading <u>purpuri</u> -grass	
209. many-rooted	sprouting-suckered	
210. may we strike root	may we [take] root	
211. iron [ploughshare]	iron [plough-tip]	
212. having stepped on	we perch	[a reference to the name- giving cere- mony in which the baby is made to walk into the house across the threshold while stepping on an iron plough- tip and a tuft of <u>riadi</u> grass (see Chapter 15)]

Text 9.2 from the Song of the female Ancestors

At other times during the guar, the Ancestor-Men sang the same chant, using much the same imagery but in the persona of the birinda's female Ancestors. The duties of the living Ancestor-Women (idai-boi), female counterparts to the men who sing here, include 'washing the ashes' (sira-) to cool them after the pyre has died down, as well as washing the corpse in turmeric water and dressing it in new clothes before cremation; this is recognised in the following lines:

213. mothers	sisters	
214. having anointed with turmeric	having anointed with oil	
215. having spread with turmeric	having covered with turmeric	
216. having changed his clothes	having changed his garments	
217. having washed his clothes	having cleaned his clothes	
218. a silk covering	a silk [sheet]	[a hyperbole: Soras possess only cotton cloth]
219. wrapping him	draping him	
220. let us lead towards us	let us bring by the arm towards us	
221. our brother	our younger-brother	
222. our younger-brother	our elder-brother	
223. [inaudible]		
224. all speak up	all speak out	
225. mothers	sisters	
226. Jumboni woman	Ilam woman	
227. Santuni woman	Kusumai woman ...	

[Here follows a list of 104 women's names, somewhat shorter than that of the 138 male names in the earlier text. Though it should be borne in mind that all names are not necessarily listed every time, the argument in Chapters 13-14 will suggest that a birinda's reservoir of female names is likely to be smaller as they tend to be recycled sooner.]

The movement from the original death-Experience to Earth is conceived in spatial terms. In rescuing the deceased the war-party escorts him, from wherever he may be. But what he is led into is not just a place, but a state of society: "into our hand-out, into our food sharing" (line 29), "into our binding, into our bundle" (line 13, etc.). In the present imagery, despite his grouping with fellow-victims of the Experience, what he is led out of is a state of solitude: in his hovel or shack (37 ff), it was explained to me, he is kept in a solitary confinement by a Duba-sim ("Obstruction-Sonum") who keeps saying 'No, no, they're not calling you yet,

stay here a little longer'. By contrast with this mean existence the supportive vigour, numerical strength and wealth (20-22) of the rescuers make this text a very powerful example of performative speech (Austin: 1970). The fact that these features are expressed in the imagery of vegetation will be taken up in Chapter 15. The many references to vegetation (42-46, 201-2, 208-210, etc.) depend on the idea of creepers or climbers which branch indefinitely at the growing end without division of the single root stock. The fact that some of these have round coin-like seeds (42-44) makes them suitable in addition for the image of redemption.

It should be noted that in this sense tandi- exactly reverses the act of selling (tem-) which formed the link between Jamano, Mo'mo' and Onsam ('his wife sold him to the Ra'tud-people'), while its doublet urdi-, "untie", reverses the verb used of the sorcerer's action: jing-, "bind". Despite his solitude in the hovel, by another image he is part of the collectivity of Ra'tud-People, so that in untying him from them and tying him into their "bundle", the Ancestors are transferring him from one collective category to another and inverting an important part of the process by which he died. This inversion takes place inside the context of the victim's passivity: the time has not yet come for him to perpetuate his situation on others and he remains the object of transitive verbs performed on him by active others, just as when he was originally attacked and absorbed by his Experience.

In rescuing him, the Ancestors are substituting themselves for the attacker. Just as the "Ra'tud-Man" (Ra'tud-mar) had acted on the victim by taking him into his own group of Experience members, so the Ancestors, who in this context are Experience-free, act upon him by taking him into their own, kin-based group. While the attacker is an individual, separated out from his Ancestor identity in order to play the role of, for example, Ra'tud-Man, it is noteworthy that if he is member of the deceased's birinda (as Mo'mo' in this case happens not to be, but as A'dia was in case 8.2), he is enumerated in the redemption chants as one of the group of Ancestors at the same time as they are seeking to undo his work as a Ra'tud-Man. Similarly, Onsam was named among the female Ancestors of Jamano.

It is now possible to show how the creation of unanimity allows the redemption of the dead to be effective from the point of view of the living. Since each person is a member both of a kinship-denying Experience and of an Experience-denying group of birinda Ancestors, this paradoxical double identity of the attacker is matched in turn by a similar double identity of the victim in his attitude towards those who follow him. The relation of attacker to victim is transferable on to the questioners as over time the original attacker fades in importance, the victim becomes the new attacker and the questioners become the new victims. This will be discussed in Chapter 10, where this relationship will be called "transitive".

Though the act of redemption is carried out in the persona of the Ancestors, it is actually performed in the flesh by the Ancestor-Men. These are the selected representatives of the living questioners, probably all of whom (except Mengalu) will have been present at the trance to meet the deceased and attune their consciousness into unanimity with his. For them, the dead Jamano will continue to act both as an Ancestor and as a member of an Experience, and the balance between these two aspects will also affect all other relationships touched on in the case. Thus at one turn, the funeral "redeems" not only the victim but also transforms all possible permutations of the relationships between questioners, victim, direct attacker (Mo'mo'), indirect attacker (Onsam) and sorcerer (Mengalu), for which the metaphor stands. In terms of Jamano's case, for instance, both his likelihood of killing his descendants by Ra'tud and the quarrel with Mengalu for which Jamano's membership of Ra'tud stands and which Ranatang has inherited, are modified together.

Before going on in the next chapters to develop further the analysis of personal relationships and their transformation over time, we shall turn for the remainder of the chapter to the internal dynamics and logic of the Experiences by which they are represented. These were presented in Chapter 6 in an elaborate formal classification which was however relatively static, in the sense that their symbolic properties revealed their potential to perform an action on a victim, but did not explain how this action could be perpetuated over and

over again. This movement is expressed in two key Sora terms: gorod-, their "wandering" or "contagion"; and dang-, the attempt to "block" this.

(ii) gorod-: the "wandering" of the deceased and the "contagion" of his Experience

Illness recurs down the generations because for many years after the guar the stability of the newly-redeemed state of the deceased is very precarious and he often returns to his original death-Experience. This is known because he is revealed in diagnoses as having attacked his descendants in this form rather than in the form of Earth-Sonum or as a pure Ancestor. The word for this is gorod-, which is also the ordinary word for "wander". In the context of the movement of the dead between two cosmological locations, the Sora illustrate this by a smooth waving of the hand from side to side, as though the word also meant "oscillate". This is perhaps the closest Sora comes to expressing in a single word the paradox of the simultaneous existence of the consciousness of the dead in two incompatible places. It should be noted that while the deceased "is redeemed" in the passive under our control, he "wanders" (back, that is, "reverts") in the active, that is under his own impulse and in defiance of our attempts to control him.

There is a further common use of the word gorod-. In this, it is the Experience itself which wanders. Thus one can say either "the deceased wanders" (a gondelen a mandran gorodte) or, for example "Leopard-Sonum wanders" (kīnasīm gorodte). In the latter sense I shall translate gorod- by "be contagious", that is, to be transferrable from one person to another. The core meaning of gorod- now appears as "move in a way which is beyond the control of someone who has an interest in controlling the mover". The idiom by which the deceased is said to wander will be discussed in the next chapter; the remainder of this chapter considers the contagious nature of the Experiences themselves.

All the residential Experiences are said to be contagious, but this applies most specifically to those rarer forms of death - Leopard (Kina), Convulsion (Kani), Sun (Uyung), Smallpox (Ruga), as well as Sorcery (Tonaj) - rather than to Earth (Labon) and

Ra'tud. The more contagious are capable of moving relentlessly from one member of a family to another and often among friends, acquaintances and lovers: cf. Chapter 7, line 127: "Are we all going to be consumed by this sorcery?". The contagion "enters" (gan-) the body of a potential victim and must be removed by a kuran. Sometimes, though not always, it takes what we should call a material or quasi-material form (anoki). For Leopard and Sorcery, this is usually a black hairy caterpillar which people can see being extracted; for Sun it is the unbounded blood of the previous victim seeking to enter a bounded body; for Smallpox it is the speckled (rige) seeds of the gram plant (rogo) which Smallpox-Woman (Ruga-boi) flings against the victim's body to sow them, where they sprout as pustules; if there is a similar "material" link for Convulsion I am not sure what it is. However, Sora usage does not recognise a distinction between the "material" and the "immaterial". Their imagery is sensory; but one can "feel" (im-) a contagious "power" (renabti) inside oneself as well as one can a caterpillar, while the attacking sonum "strokes" (sim-) the victim as a preliminary to "seizing" (ñam-) or "taking" (pang-) him.

A word closely related to gorod- is upangge, which means "contagiously destructive". This is always likened to a fire out of control, so that it may perhaps best be translated "like wildfire". However, it has moral overtones. A sorcerer and his actions are upangge and it is this quality which explains why though his sorcery is motivated by greed he never prospers: after consuming a series of his chosen victims the sorcery returns and consumes first his property and finally the sorcerer himself, who is inevitably unable to feed it with enough victims to keep its voracity sated. Similarly,

the birinda of hereditary pyre-lighters (sigā) are always poor because of the upangge nature of their work; playing wind instruments during the harvest season is upangge since it blows away the crops, and is hence tabooed; deaths from Experiences which involve the imagery of heat (namely Sun and Smallpox, see below) are likewise upangge. This idea of fire leaping from one entity to another may be contrasted with the coolness and the containment of Earth-Sonum, which is not upangge.

(iii) dang-: "blocking" the perpetuation of Experiences
in order to protect the living

Such uncontrolled, contagious movement must be prevented. So parallel to the guar with its songs for the redemption of the deceased individual, for most categories of residential Experience a rite is performed to "block" the perpetuation of the Experience on to the living. The word for this, dang-, is the word commonly used of obstructing a path, damming a stream, etc. Here its grammatical object is the Experience itself. This is not done for the majority of actual deaths (which are caused by Ra'tud and Earth) but only for those which occur through an Experience which is highly contagious (see above), the instances of which are not numerically frequent.

We may note the similarities and differences between blocking rites and the banishing rites in which cures consist. A cure is performed each time a person is "stroked" (sām-) by a sonum and made ill, in order to forestall his being "taken" (ñam-); a blocking rite, by contrast, is done only once, immediately after a death: in anticipation of any future attacks it covers the full range of potential victims. Thus, as will be seen, a death by Sun or Smallpox threatens a whole village, one by Leopard, Convulsion or Sorcery more expressly usually only the household and intimates of the deceased, who are thus the only people involved in the blocking rite. Of the fatal Experiences, only Earth and Ra'tud are not subject to blocking rites. It will be recalled from Chapter 6 that these contain respectively members both male and female of a segment of a birinda and the totality of a village's males from all its birindas. Thus although Earth and Ra'tud have their own symptoms and are the most frequent attackers and killers,

they are also sociological categories whose separately named but logically equivalent residential sites are the eventual re-grouping point for the deceased members of separate, differentiated social groupings. Like the more contagious Experiences, when they attack in this way they are similarly subject to banishing-rites. But their potential perpetuation cannot be blocked in a blanket manner to protect all those who are vulnerable to the deceased's action through them, since these are the very people who must themselves eventually enter those same Earth and Ra'tud sites. Indeed, to do so directly is, at least in the case of Earth, the most favourable form of death available to any Sora.

Particulars of the blocking rites for the more contagious Experiences are given below, with examples. Tonaj (Sorcery), while not a residential Experience in the same sense since it always works in conjunction with one of them, is subject in its own right to similar blocking rites even when it has worked in conjunction with Earth or Ra'tud. Thus, though the perpetuation of Jamano's Ra'tud membership cannot be blocked by a rite of this sort, Mengalu's sorcery will certainly have been.

1. Uyung (Sun)

The symbolism of this has been discussed in Chapter 4. After a death by suicide, murder or a fall, the entire village is cordoned off until gare ("drink-medicine") has been administered to every member of the village and any visitors who have been caught by the event. A pig is trampled to death or beaten with boulders, a method not used on any other occasion since normally animals are killed by simply hitting them on the head to conserve the blood inside them until they are dead before later slitting the throat and releasing the soul. The raw blood of the pig is stirred in a big pot of water together with red-juiced tubers from the forest and everyone must wash in the mixture from head to foot and drink some of it (plate 5). A separate pot, made with chickens' blood, is prepared for the women, since women do not consume pig. This is the only occasion I know in which people ingest raw blood. I participated in this rite in this manner in one village, but was told in another that the medicine should be applied to one's body

Plate 5 Blocking the contagion of a violent death

After a Sun death everyone in the village must drink a mixture of raw blood and forest tubers and wash in it from head to foot. Anyone who fails to do this is likely to be taken into the Sun through a violent death by the previous victim.



with the point of a knife to represent the letting out of the bad blood. In both villages, the bloodless carcass of the pig is dragged out of the village on the end of a rope while someone coming behind scores the ground with a knife to make a channel for the "bad blood" to flow along behind it. The hollow stems of banana plants are also used as these represent conduits to carry the blood out of the village. It is emphasised that this rite is not the same as a cure, in that the pig is not being given to the dead man: rather it is an action which draws the spilt blood - which would otherwise be seeking a form to invade - out of each individual and of the village.

This is not the most contagious form of death-Experience. Meat from the pig which is dragged out of the village and cooked in the fields may be taken away from the site, and the heirs, who are liable to provide the animals to be killed, keep the jewellery and personal possessions of the deceased. However in one case I witnessed, where the deceased was a man who had made an uxori-local marriage and, most unusually, stayed on in his wife's village after her death, his own agnates came from another village to collect his possessions and brought the animals, while men of the host village smashed his mortar and grinding-stone and destroyed the interior of the house to obliterate the traces of his domestic life in their village.

The consequences of ignoring the need for gare are made clear from two examples:

Case 9.1 Avoiding the contagion of a Sun death

Lamboni's father's sister, to whom she was very close, missed her footing and fell off a high rock when slightly drunk, back in Lamboni's home village. When she heard this in her husband's village, she wanted to go home immediately. But he pointed out that the gare had not yet been done and that if she went, she would either have to drink it there herself or risk bringing the contagion back to their house. Since such contagion is upangge ("infectiously destructive"), his crops would perish and his prosperity be destroyed; furthermore, since she was pregnant, their child would probably die of a wound or fall in later life.

Case 9.2 The consequences of exposure to Sun contagion

Indaro was one of the men who carried the corpse of the murdered A'dia (cf. case 9.6) down to Gunupur for Government post-mortem, as required by the Police. He refused to take part in the gare and now suffers from violent fits of rage

in which he beats people. Though he showed signs of this behaviour as a boy (when he once beat a buffalo to death), it is considered to have increased greatly since the contagion entered him (Indaro was used as an example in Chapter 4).

2. Ruga (Smallpox)

Ruga is primarily smallpox, but also cholera (mordi) and all epidemic diseases and its minor forms cover skin rashes and some coughs. Thus involvement is on a village level, and the appeasing of Ruga in one form or another is a significant element in annual rites to the costs of which every household in the village contributes.

However, in the case of an epidemic (which has not happened now for many years, in Alinsing apparently not since the early 1950's) I was told that the house in which it first appears have to provide a cow which is killed outside the village, where all members of the village ingest a piece of the meat from the end of a pointed stick and wash themselves from head to foot in the gravy. Ruga-Woman, being a caste Hindu, is so disgusted (kāri-) at this that she abandons the village and moves elsewhere. Some say they also wash in pig-dung to enhance the effect. Apart from these attempts to disgust, the form of the rites appears to be very similar to the seasonal prophylactic ones (gongsam: "chase-[Ruga]-sonum"), though the details of this vary considerably in each village. Here the Goddess is led in a cart or litter to the boundary of the village and left there, in some areas in the form of a wooden effigy with her husband, in a rite modelled on that known to be performed in the Hindu plains (cf. Archer: 1947). She is appeased with offerings of matches, bidi, milk, vermilion, and other materials considered characteristic of the plains, and told to return where she belongs.

I have been told that the bodies of those who die during an epidemic are not cremated immediately but buried in the forest, since Ruga is itself upangge and "like fire" and to light pyres at this time would only inflame the epidemic (cf. Babb: 1975). Later, when the danger is over, the bodies are exhumed - apparently they have not decayed, but become desiccated - and cremated in the normal way. Smallpox differs from other fatal Experiences, in that there is no residential location in Sora country ("people who die of Ruga go down to

the plains and drink tea and smoke bidis"). I have no evidence about the way in which previous victims are associated with her attacks. I have not heard of an adult who has died of Ruga outside an epidemic, though many are afflicted with illnesses and there are occasional child fatalities, in which case an Ancestor apparently need not always be involved. The following case gives a fair indication of the kind of situation in which this can arise:

Case 9.3 Smallpox-Woman invades a village

The path up to Puttasing, passing through Takumsing, was being surfaced for the first time to take motor traffic and for some months there had been migrant construction workers from the plains camped in the vicinity, both acculturated Sarda Soras and various other castes, as well as a greatly increased flow of officials. The whole business was clearly causing a great deal of anxiety in Takumsing, most of whose people were feeling threatened and uneasy (cf. Chapter 2). A baby had died during the night and despite its young age at first light a pyre-divination was being conducted by the village's main funeral kuran. As she was laying out the apparatus for the rite, the news arrived that two children of walking age in a nearby house had just died within minutes of each other. The atmosphere in the house of the original dead baby was tense and silent as she began her divination to the sound of the drumming and new lamentations outside. Because of the baby's age, the conversation with the Ancestors dwelled for a long time on reabsorbing aspects of the Sun like Ural-sâm ("Bud-Drop-Sonum") but the verdict finally settled on Ruga-boi ("Smallpox-Woman"): "Don't talk about the Sun", said one of the Ancestors who was guiding them towards a verdict, "... nor is it one of our Ancestors: it's our village that is unclean" (Uyungen gam-dong ... idailen tid: desalen ermarid).

No confirmed verdict would ever be available for the other two children since they were from a Christian house. But the rest of the village, who were pagans, decided to perform a gongsâm to drive Ruga out as soon as possible even though it was not the season for the regular annual rite.

3. Kina (Leopard)

Case 9.4 A victim of Leopard-Sonum

[Kantino speaks as we walk along] "My father was "leoparded" (kinale) just along this path ... there were seven men, it was getting dark, towards evening. My father was the second in the file behind another man. This man came weeping to where we were, calling "Kantino!" "Hoi!" I said. "A leopard has taken your father", he said, "at Sargiaringen ("Wind-in-the-Sal-Trees", a hillside); we went hunting a monkey up there." [Another man breaks in: "My aunt was leoparded just over there, on that

slope". Kantino continues:] I went to the Police Station and gave a Report. Later I found his legs and head and cremated them. We do this at the site of the death. We kill a big pig, a little one and a chicken, and mix the [raw] blood with medicine in a pot and sprinkle it on everyone: it's like gare [after Sun death] only we don't swallow the mixture, just sprinkle it on our bodies. The whole village comes, but not children, and only a few woman, and the meat isn't taken back to the village. The sacrifice is done at an anthill which we call "jungle guar-site" (kandring a guar) and we kill a cow for his "jungle guar" (kandring a guar). He's all alone. All Leopard-People are one birinda, so to speak (amrid), and after this jungle guar we'll later do a "nearby guar" (a'dam guar) in the village in the ordinary way, with a buffalo. [The full order is] cremation, jungle guar, jungle karja, nearby guar, nearby karja. Even the jungle karja is done all alone. Then we say, "Now I've done you a jungle guar, go and join your fathers. I'm going to do you a jungle karja, and then at the big karja [i.e. in the village], come with your fathers, don't stay with Leopard (kānan amang daku dong), stay with your fathers" ... For the jungle rites we don't employ female [i.e. funeral (sanatung)] kurans, that's taboo (ersi), nor Ancestor-Women ...] ... If my tummy rumbles I say "Leopard-Sonum is stroking (sām-) me, it's my father." [Rumble-Tummy-Sonum (Kurkarpungsām) is a minor, non-fatal manifestation of Leopard-Sonum]. [In this context] he's residing where he was leoparded [i.e. in the jungle] and hasn't merged (maj-) with the Ancestors. No, I'm not frightened, but I feel sad, because he hasn't become (gadāl-) an Ancestor [i.e. he continues to "wander"].'

As in the case of a Sun death, no outsider will visit a village where a Leopard death has occurred until the sprinkling with medicine and pig's blood has taken place, for fear that he will take the contagion home to his own village; while within the village itself, finer degrees of contagion are observed. Like Convulsion (see below), Leopard is considered to wander down a narrow line of descent, so that people are very reluctant to marry into a household which is infected unless the blocking rite has been seen to be effective, or until further more private ones have been performed. It is also said that the contagion enters the body of the victim's heir and "its power becomes an insect", (usually a black furry caterpillar), a renabtin budbuden ālte, which must be removed by a highly specialised kuran in a rite which involves introducing Leopard-medicine (kāna-re) into the house - a calculated but it is hoped controllable risk, since this medicine itself is highly upangge and carries a concentration of the very power which it is used to combat.

In all villages, precautions are taken over inheritance: any gold or silver jewellery found with the remains of the corpse is abandoned; in Alinsing, where only three such deaths are remembered, there is no "nearby guar", no pangjang ("taking the bones") by affines and no renaming of descendants. In Kantino's village, however, Kantino's son bears the name of Kantino's father, and such renaming is the general practice in villages like this where the proportion of such deaths has been relatively high.

This distinction is itself interesting, since it suggests that the availability of the rites to deal with the event is related to a recognition that the event is too frequent not to be faced. In Alinsing, Leopard-Sonum is assimilated to the level of fearsomeness which in other villages is reserved only for Convulsion-Sonum. I have been told in Alinsing that for both Convulsion and Leopard, though one uses it, no medicine or rites are truly effective: however hard one tries, someone who dies by either of these is lost for ever into the Experience itself and can never become an Ancestor.

4. Kani (Convulsion)

Kani (long a) calls forth the extreme fear of an Experience. It can cover a wide range of symptoms, including our "epilepsy" and will be used in this section untranslated. There can apparently be no redemption from the fullest form, though I am not sure how often this is given as the final verdict on a death. The procedure, however, is clear. The victim is cremated alone on his own land, not at the birinda's cremation site, Kani-medicine (kani-re) is boiled very hot in a pot and simply turned upside down on the ashes of the pyre, and everything is abandoned. There is no guar or even pyre-divination, let alone second guar by any affines; all the victim's gold ornaments and personal possessions are abandoned, and his heirs will not redeem any land which he has mortgaged. Some people say that the bones are not buried (as they usually are at the site of a cremation) but thrown into a stream to carry them far away. Perhaps further rites are carried out at the site of Kani-Residence, a clump of bushes which is reputed to be littered with abandoned smashed pots, baskets, axes,

gold, etc. Though that of Alinsing is by the side of a frequented path, very few people have visited it since a specialist kuran has to be brought from a neighbouring village with medicine and paid highly for his expertise and risk. Those most implicated are the household of the dead person: the kuran comes late on a moonless night and stands outside the locked door of the house, singing in the persona of the deceased, asking to be let in. Those inside maintain a total silence till he gives up and goes away. This is the only situation I know of in which one persona attempts a sung dialogue which is unrequited. I know from experience (case 9.7 below) that no blocking rite is performed on the village as a whole: the rites performed are extremely private to the household concerned, and embarrassing. Much more than Sun or even Leopard, Kani is believed to "wander" exclusively within narrow descent lines and their lovers, spouses or fiends. The effect of this on the personal lives of those involved can be imagined, since people will not even eat food in a house that is believed to be still contaminated.

This is the full power of the idea. Usually, however, it seems it is mercifully tempered. As will be remembered from Map 5.2, there are some subsidiary aspects of Kani which are spatially differentiated on the map. In Alinsing, for example, there is the outpost Tanongda-kanen down by the river as distinct from Arabul, the main residence described above which is littered with contaminated refuse. People say that the former is not so serious but just causes pains in the arms with spasms:

Case 9.5 A man is sent by Sorcery into Kani-Residence

Donjo of Alinsing had an affair with a woman of Rungkusing village. She had already been claimed as wife by someone in Langka village through pangsal ("bring-alin", i.e. her family had accepted his proffered drink). The men of Langka came to demand compensation (danda) which Donjo refused, so they "ensorcelled him into Kani-Residence (kanising lingen tonajleji)". I do not know who was the previous victim of Kani who collaborated with the men of Langka in their sorcery, but this was "not real Kani", that is, the symptoms were not those of full convulsions. He therefore went only into Tanongda-kanen, not Arabul and was cremated on his birinda's cremation-site, redeemed by his Ancestors, and now has a young namesake.

Case 9.6 (a retelling of case 8.2)

Padani of Alinsing, an unmarried girl and no close relation of Donjo, was "taken" by her father A'dia through the agency of Donjo. A'dia was murdered and so went into Sun-Residence, from where he was redeemed into an Earth-Sonum site. But instead of taking his daughter through Earth (or even Sun), he chose to "sell" her to Donjo, who took her by his own symptoms of Kani. A'dia himself later joined in with the birinda's other Ancestors in rescuing her out of Kani-Residence and she now resides with him in Earth. As with Donjo, her symptoms were "not real Kani" and she received a normal funeral and has recently given her name to her brother's baby daughter.

Case 9.7 Total eclipse of a Kani-victim

While I was in Alinsing, Lando died of unmitigated Kani, that is, of the Kani represented by the site of Arabul [?grand mall]. I was not intimate with the household and have only limited knowledge of what happened. The diagnosis was made without any pyre-divination. He was cremated secretly in the jungle by only his closest brothers and there was no rite involving the rest of us. People talked about it the next day in hushed tones and I was told not to write anything down, in a way which suggested not so much that it was in bad taste (surely only my feelings) but rather that it would be dangerous for me to be in possession of the upangge written words. It was maintained that he could never be redeemed and that his name could not be recycled and would be lost for ever. I was unable to discover the names or identities of any previous victims of Arabul, and the system ensures that they should be quickly forgotten. It was said, however, without further details, that he had had it in his ancestry. The uttering of Lando's name has apparently become taboo (ersi) for ever.

The devastating impact of this can be understood only after reading Chapters 13-15, which examine the perpetuation of the birinda through an endless recycling of names which depends on the unfailing triumph of birinda structure over Experience. "Ever since Ki'tung made the world", there must always have been either a living man called Lando or a recently-dead one looking for a direct heir to whom to give his name — that is, until now. The full form of Kani is apparently so terrible that it falls off the end of the continuum of redeemable Experiences.

a) transitivity and the perpetuation of the person

Chapter 9 has presented the Sora funeral as a rite of control which differentiates the deceased into his Experience and Ancestor aspects with the intention of altering the balance between them so as to eliminate the former: the pyre-divination and guar-divination aim at a certainty about the Experience which the deceased now shares with his attacker; the song of redemption in the guar aims to rescue the deceased from this Experience and lead him, by means of the intermediate category Earth, into his identity as an Ancestor residing in the Underworld; while this redemption is reinforced, where appropriate, by the blocking rite which aims to prevent him from "wandering" back to his Experience and thereby causing its repetition among living people. Since neither the redemption nor the blocking is likely to be totally successful at once, the control begun at this time must be gradually consolidated whenever it appears to be failing and the deceased still attacks in his Experience aspect: curative rites (pārpar) are repeatedly enacted in which his undesirable Experience aspect is "banished", while in his relatively more desirable Ancestor aspect, even when attacking, he is welcomed and fed inside the house. Though the deceased can come in only one aspect at any given manifestation, both his aspects continue constantly to exist as simultaneous possibilities. It will be remembered, too, that within the Experience idiom he may also appear associated with an Experience other than that of his own death, for instance when he goes to visit other sonums socially and joins them in an attack, or else "hires" other sonums to produce symptoms which he does not himself directly command (cf. examples in Chapters 8 and 9).

The existence of the blocking rites suggests that, in addition to the "pity" (abasuyim) felt for the deceased, the redemption is not performed for his benefit alone. The way in which the survivors share initially in his sense of being a victim is an indication of their sense of their own vulnerability. We may now enquire more deeply into that vulnerability, and ask why a particular dead person afflicts a particular living person, on a particular occasion, in a particular form.

The material already presented will suggest that a person's sonum is his means of continuing not only to exist in death but also to

exist in an important sense among the living. He does this not merely by bringing himself to their attention but by perpetuating something of himself among them, through the living out of their own lives. This impingement cannot be avoided: it is an intrinsic characteristic of people whom you knew while they were alive that they will have this effect on you after their death. Indeed, in their Ancestor aspect, this is even desirable and necessary for the regulation and conduct of kinship relations among the living, and it is in this direction that the attempts at control tend.

The present chapter will begin to explore the workings of the influence of sonums over the living and will conclude with a provisional translation of the word sonum as a first step towards the continuation of this exploration in later chapters. It will become increasingly clear, despite the existence of the blocking rites and the double meaning of the verb gorod- ("wander"), that the entities which perpetuate themselves are not so much the Experiences as the dead people themselves. The concepts "Experience" and "Ancestor" are simply alternative vehicles for this perpetuation of the person. Their crucial difference is that as members of an Experience, persons do this by attacking in order to kill, while as Ancestors they attack in order to seek a sacrifice as their right by kinship and maybe also to give their name to a baby. In this aspect they stop short of causing a death and perpetuate themselves through generational rather than experiential succession. Thus the differentiation in the early post-mortem divinations is the prelude to an attempt to control the aspect through which a dead person is to perpetuate himself, made by those on whose heads the perpetuation, whichever form it takes, must inevitably fall. The more impersonal idiom of the Experiences will then appear as a necessary part of the logic of the process by which a dead person perpetuates himself.

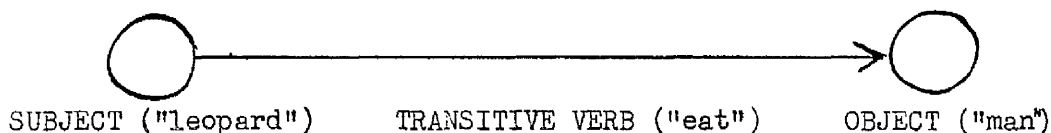
The idiom of the discussion in the present chapter will be linguistic and will involve an analysis of the grammar of the verbs by which sonums are said to affect living people. Formally, this can be represented by a model of static entities linked by dynamic relationships: the former are people, living and dead, the latter, the transitive verbs of which these are respectively the grammatical objects and subjects. The word "transitivity" will, however, be taken beyond the limited meaning which it usually has in linguistics. In this sense, an actor (the "subject") exercises an influence through an

action, contained in a verb, upon a second party (the "object"); we may say that at this point the impetus of the verb is absorbed by the object and ceases. In the present special sense of transitivity, on the contrary, the impetus of the verb passes right through the object and out the other side undiminished; it thus continues indefinitely into the future in quest of further objects. It will be suggested that this kind of transitivity, being perpetual, is the essence of the Sora view of continuity across time. This model can be used equally for the continuity of Experiences and of kinship (figure 10.1).

Figure 10.1 Special sense of the term "transitivity"
in the discussion of sonums

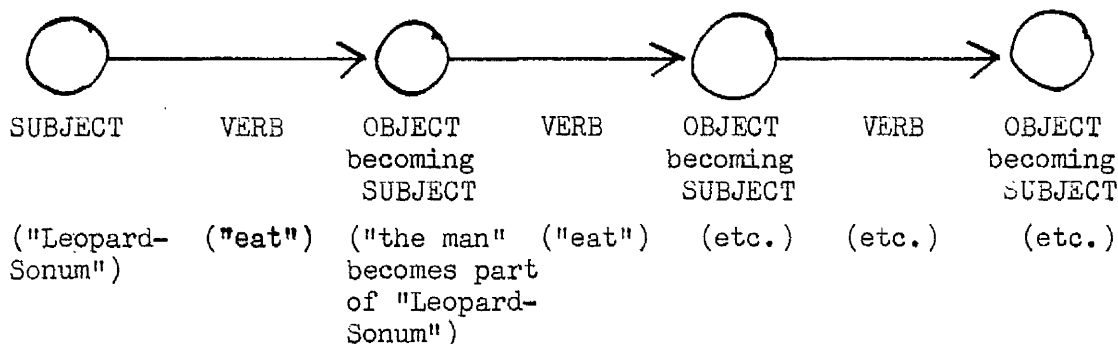
a) Sora sense corresponding to conventional linguistic sense:

example: "The leopard eats the man"



b) in the context of the transmission of Experience: (Sora term for this movement: gorod-, "wander")

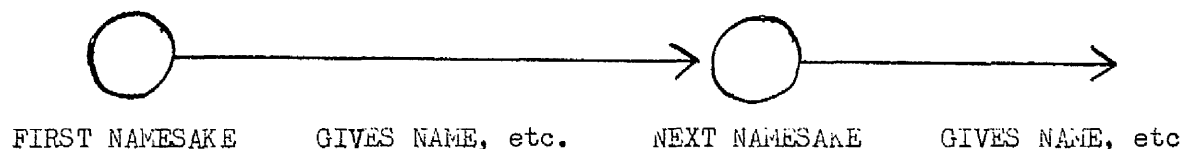
example: "Leopard-Sonum eats the man"



c) in the context of the transmission from Ancestors to descendants:

(Sora: pad-, "pass through")

no examples given here: this will be dealt with in Part III



It need hardly be said that the Sora do not themselves discuss these processes in these terms. But it may be pointed out that the

concept of transitivity proposed here is extremely close to the Sora 233
word pad-, "pass right through and come out the other side" which as
noted in Chapter 4 is used both of stitching cloth or leaves and of the
transmission from parents to children of features of appearance and
character (cf. Chapter 11, line 231).

For the Indo-European languages at least, and widely elsewhere, it
is conventional to speak of the "subject" and "object" of a transitive
verb. When the verb is shifted from the "active" to the "passive"
voice, the persons represented by these terms change place: thus "the
sonum eats the man" becomes "the man is eaten by the sonum". The
terms "subject" and "object" will, however, not be used in the present
discussion. But this is only partly in order to avoid resonances from
the terms "subjective" and "objective", discarded in Chapter 4. If we
are to focus on the actions of the people involved at opposite ends of
the process represented by the transitive verb, it will be better to
talk instead of "agent" and "patient". In this, the agent is the
person who initiates or performs the action, the patient the one on
whom it is performed.

This formulation has a certain advantage for our present purposes
over one in terms of subject and object, since in order to recast the
sentence into the passive form it is not now necessary to reshuffle
the labels among the roles. A simple transitive sentence thus
contains the following elements:

agent --> verb --> patient
("sonum") ("eat") ("the man")

The patient remains the patient whether he is the "object" of an active
verb or the "subject" of a passive one. I hope to show that this
approach can teach us something about the Soras' own view of the matter.

It should be stated that in presenting a linguistic argument, the
aim is not to follow an extreme Whorfian view of the determination of
thought by language (Whorf: 1956). Rather, it will be assumed that
the grammar of a language can serve and support a wide range of
metaphysical systems (and vice versa).¹ It will not be suggested that
the grammar of Sora verbs in any way determines the mode of operation
of sonums, only that through some perhaps mutual adaptation it may
assist its expression. The argument of the thesis as a whole does not
therefore depend heavily on the linguistic sections immediately
following. These are intended mainly to introduce an additional

dimension to the ethnographic picture and to enable us to tie up a greater number of threads. Though I believe that the linguistic sections give it added depth, the translation of sonum offered at the end of the chapter could have been developed in only slightly different terms without it and could probably be extended in principle, for example, to the Dinka of the Sudan (Lienhardt: 1961) who, though their language is doubtless very different, appear to have a metaphysic which in certain key respects is identical.

b) active, middle and passive forms of the Sora verb

The verb in Sora has been discussed by several writers (Ramamurti: 1931; Biligiri: 1965; Pinnow: 1966; Starosta: 1967; Stampe, Vitebsky et al.: in preparation). Without in any way impugning the work of earlier authors, it may be pointed out with respect that even those among them who worked directly with Sora informants were not in a position to observe certain features of usage and idiom which are crucial for our purposes here.

In the present discussion three voices will be distinguished, which for simplicity's sake will be given a gloss of "active", "middle" and "passive". Of these, active verbs are mostly transitive (in the usual linguistic sense of the word), middle verbs mostly intransitive or reflexive, while passive verbs will require special discussion. The forms of these three voices are as follows (table 10.1):

Table 10.1: Active, middle and passive forms

<u>Class</u>	<u>root</u>	<u>tense</u>	<u>voice</u>	<u>person</u>	
1. <u>active:</u>	<u>so-</u> "hide"	<u>t-</u> present tense marker	-- voice unmarked	<u>ai</u> first person singular agent	<u>sotai,</u> "I hide (some- thing)"
2. <u>middle:</u>	<u>so-</u>	<u>t-</u>	<u>e-n-</u> middle voice marker -n-, with -e- added for euphony	<u>ai</u>	<u>sotenai,</u> "I hide myself"
3. <u>passive:</u>	<u>so-</u>	<u>t-</u>	<u>ing</u> combines passive voice and first person singular patient		<u>soting,</u> "I am hidden" or "(some- body) hides me"

Each of these classes will be dealt with in turn.

Class 1 (active): so-t-ai, "I hide (something)"

Most verbs in this class are transitive in that they require a direct patient. The exceptions are mostly verbs of motion which though intransitive take this form rather than the middle because they require

for their completion what may be called a construction of destination or direction: like a transitive verb, they look forward to an external predicate. There is in addition a set of impersonal verbs, mostly words of weather and climate, formed from the third person singular of this class. They may stand alone without patient, e.g. togel-t-e, "it becomes night" or may, by using suffixes derived from pronouns, take a patient of the person affected, e.g. togel-t-ing, "I am overtaken by nightfall". When suffixed in this way, these form part of the vocabulary of class 3.

The full paradigm of these verbs runs as follows (table 10.2):

Table 10.2: Paradigm of active verb

<u>optional pronoun of agent</u>	<u>initial prefix also indicating agent</u>	<u>root</u>	<u>present tense marker</u>	<u>ending indicating agent</u>	
<u>ñen</u>	-	<u>so-</u>	<u>t-</u>	<u>ai</u>	I hide (something)
<u>amen</u>	-	<u>so-</u>	<u>t-</u>	<u>e</u>	you (singular) hide, etc.
<u>anin</u>	-	<u>so-</u>	<u>t-</u>	<u>e</u>	he/she/it hides
<u>anlen</u>	-	<u>so-</u>	<u>t-</u>	<u>ebe</u>	we (inclusive of listener) hide
<u>anlen</u>	<u>a-</u>	<u>so-</u>	<u>t-</u>	<u>ai</u>	we (exclusive of listener) hide
<u>amben</u>	<u>a-</u>	<u>so-</u>	<u>t-</u>	<u>e</u>	you (plural) hide
<u>anin-ji</u>	-	<u>so-</u>	<u>t-</u>	<u>e-ji</u>	they hide (-ji is plural suffix used for third person pronouns and verbs as well as for all nouns)

The initial separate pronoun of the agent is generally omitted unless required for emphasis, so that if no noun is used to indicate the agent, the ending or context must suffice to make it clear. When the patient of the verb is a noun, this is either separate (sɛ'ɛngɛn yɛm-t-ai, "I thatch the house") or infixed (yɛm-sɛng-t-ai, "I thatch-house"). When it is a pronoun, this is suffixed (ñen so-t-am, "I hide you"). So long as nouns are used for both agent and patient, there is no ambiguity. But where, as in the last example, the verb forms a link between two pronouns not both of which are in all cases expressed, this gives rise

to two kinds of paradigm. The first shows a constant patient with a changing agent, the second keeps the agent constant and changes the patient (tables 10.3 and 10.4):

Table 10.3: Constant patient, changing agent

(<u>amen</u>)	<u>so-t-ing</u>	you (singular) hide me
(<u>anin</u>)	<u>so-t-ing</u>	he hides me
(<u>amben</u>)	<u>a-so-t-ing</u>	you (plural) hide me
(<u>anin-ji</u>)	<u>so-t-ing-ji</u>	they hide me

Table 10.4: Constant agent, changing patient

(<u>anin</u>)	<u>so-t-ing</u>	he hides me
	so-t- <u>am</u>	he hides you (singular)
	so-t- <u>e</u>	he hides him, etc.
	so-t- <u>ai</u>	he hides us (inclusive of listener)
	so-t- <u>e-len</u> (-e- for euphony)	he hides us (exclusive of listener)
	so-t- <u>e-ben</u> (-e- for euphony)	he hides you (plural)
	so-t- <u>e-ji</u> (-e here third person marker)	he hides them

It will be remarked that without additional freestanding (and usually only emphatic) pronouns it is not always possible to express unambiguously both agent and patient. Sometimes both of these can be expressed, but only where suitable markers exist and can be combined (table 10.5):

Table 10.5: Some forms combining agent and patient markers (agent markers are doubly underlined, patient markers trebly):

1. (<u>ñen</u>)	<u>so-t-ai-<u>ji</u></u>	I hide them
2. (<u>anin-ji</u>)	<u>so-t-ing-<u>ji</u></u>	they hide me
3. (<u>anlen</u>)	<u>a-so-t-ai-<u>ji</u></u>	we hide them
4. (<u>anin-ji</u>)	<u>so-t-e-len-<u>ji</u></u>	they hide us (exclusive)
5. (<u>amen/anin</u>)	<u>so-t-ing-<u>ji</u></u>	you (singular)/he hides me

It will be noted that in the first and third of these examples, the suffix of third-person plurality -ji refers to the patient, in the second and fourth example, to the agent. Where markers cannot be combined, as in example 5, the patient will always be expressed even at the price of suppressing the agent, so that if the agent is in the third person and is not made explicit by either the context or a noun, this can lead to complete anonymity of the agent and thereby into the passive: it is only one step from (anin) so-t-ing, "he hides me" to so-t-ing, "I am hidden". Fully "impersonal" verbs, whether of climate or of personal sensation are formed in this way (e.g. togel-t-ing, asu-t-ing, literally "it nights me", "it pains me", i.e. "I am ill"). These have no specific agent, only a patient. This will be taken up in the discussion of the passive (class 3, below).

Class 2 (middle): so-t-en-ai, "I hide myself", or with some other roots, "... for my own advantage", etc.

Verbs in this class cover a range of what may be called middle and reflexive uses. Their essential feature for the present discussion is that they do not normally seek an external patient, that is, they are intransitive because they contain their own predicate within. It was explained above why verbs of motion fall into class 1; but the present class includes non-directional verbs of the agent's relationship to space, e.g. daku-t-en-ai, "I stay", formed from the class 1 verb daku-t-ai, "I put, keep".

The paradigm of this class is as follows (table 10.6):

Table 10.6: Paradigm of middle verb

<u>~nen</u>	<u>so-t-e-n-ai</u>	I hide myself
<u>amen</u>	<u>so-t-e-n</u>	you (singular) hide yourself
<u>anin</u>	<u>so-t-e-n</u>	he hides himself
<u>anlen</u>	<u>so-t-e-n-be</u>	we (inclusive) hide ourselves
<u>anlen</u>	<u>a-so-t-e-n-ai</u>	we (exclusive) hide ourselves
<u>amben</u>	<u>a-so-t-e-n</u>	you (plural) hide yourselves
<u>anin-ji</u>	<u>so-t-e-n-ji</u>	they hide themselves

An important feature of this class is that its verbs generally have

a double patient, one to some degree internal or reflexive, the other external. Starosta appears to have this property in mind when he uses the term "bitransitive" (as opposed to his "monotransitive", i.e. my class 1), and says,

"the -n- suffix which is the phonological realisation of this category, could be considered the remnant of some dummy object, which, although it would have no meaning of its own, would nevertheless fill a (VP, Adv) slot, explaining its intransitivising effect."

(Starosta, 1967:133)

An examination of the vocabulary used in this way suggests that the second, external patient is always in some way identified with the agent. It seems therefore that this "bitransitive" use creates an analogy between the agent and something outside himself. This is equally so if one includes as analogous to a second patient the adverbial constructions which follow a verb of resting in space.

Examples will be given of both these uses. The first use shows a noun as the second patient. The root añám plus the causative particle ab- or -b- give the class 1 active abñámtai (a-b-ñám-t-ai), "I cause to bear a name", used for example with the patient pasijén, "a child". The middle form of this, pasijén abñámtenai (a-b-ñám-t-e-n-ai), means "I cause a child to bear my own name". The interest of the agent in the patient amounts to a degree of explicit identification - which is reinforced in this case by that fact that this can be said only by a dead Ancestor who will at the same time receive a sacrificial buffalo given to him on the child's behalf (cf. Chapter 4). Similarly, the active sonum pártai, "I sacrifice to a sonum" is what is said by the kuran as a technician, while the middle, sonum párttenai, is what is said by the client who provides the animal and on whose behalf the kuran is performing the rite; again, idaitenai means "I play the role of Ancestor" (idai), i.e. perform as Ancestor-Man at a funeral by "becoming" the dead.

The extensive vocabulary which functions in this way is not confined only to the context of sonums: words such as ayímtenai, "I remember", similarly imply an identification between the two parties, while many verbs have both active and middle forms which are related in the manner of íltai, "I peel" and ílttenai, "I become", meaning literally "peel myself". It can be seen here how the Sora middle or reflexive construction gives a similar kind of identification which in Indo-European languages is provided by a "complement" in the same "case" as

the "subject".

The second use concerns adverbial phrases of position in space. The reader will recall the discussion in Chapter 5 concerning the relation between shared space and shared identity, and will therefore appreciate the possible uses of constructions of the shape tedne dakutenai, "I stay here"; si'ing-lingen dakutenai, "I stay in the house"; Uyung-sim amang majtehai, "I merge/fuse into Sun-Sonum". Section c) below will show the verbs, all also current in ordinary language outside the context of sonums, which express in this way a dead person's relationship to the Experience in which he resides.

Class 3 (passive): so-t-ing, "I am hidden", (he) hides me"

Two roots are given here, so-, "hide" and asu-, "be ill". The implications of these will be discussed below. The paradigm runs as follows (table 10.7):

Table 10.7: Paradigm of passive verb

<u>so-t-ing</u>	I am hidden	<u>asu-t-ing</u>	I am ill ('it illls/ pains me')
<u>so-t-am</u>	you (singular) are hidden	<u>asu-t-am</u>	you (singular) are ill
<u>so-t-e</u>	he is hidden	<u>asu-t-e</u>	he is ill
<u>so-t-ai</u>	we (inclusive) are hidden	<u>asu-t-ai</u>	we (inclusive) are ill
<u>so-t-e-len</u>	we (exclusive) are hidden	<u>asu-t-e-len</u>	we (exclusive) are ill
<u>so-t-e-ben</u>	you (plural) are hidden	<u>asu-t-e-ben</u>	you (plural) are ill
<u>so-t-e-ji</u>	they are hidden	<u>asu-t-e-ji</u>	they are ill

Linguists have been wary of identifying a passive in Sora. Ramamurti dismissed it in a few words, writing, "There are only two voices - active and middle. There is no passive voice in So:ra: [sic]." (1931:26). This is accompanied by a footnote "So:ra: words used in expressing the meaning of the English passive forms are not of the passive voice" (*ibid.*, n.3). The context makes it clear that he is here referring to his example "togel-t-in" (in my orthography togel-t-ing), which he translates as "'it will night me,' i.e., 'I shall be benighted or overtaken by night'". He gives three classes of verbs which correspond to my classes 1, 2, and 3 but the last of these is

given only as the impersonal use of a few verbs from class 1 (ibid.).

Pinnow, a comparative linguist with field experience in related languages but having Ramamurti as his only substantial source for Sora, writes as if in Sora there were no passive either in form or in function. He gives the equivalent of table 10.7 above but calls it "impersonal" with no indication that it may have a more elaborate passive function in usage. Starosta, whose work (1967) is based on interviews with Christian Soras, similarly gives no indication that there is anything unaccounted for in the expression of passivity.

Biligiri (1965), whose article is similarly based on fieldwork, reproduces Ramamurti's three classes and like Pinnow gives for the third class a paradigm equivalent to table 10.7. But he seems to be aware of something which does not fit. Though he nowhere mentions the word "passive" he translates this paradigm without comment as a passive, e.g. " 'I was drowned' " for ḅ̣b-l-ing (in his orthography ḅ̣b-l-iñ) (p.233). The only reference to this problem in his discussion is with the words,

"These suffixes, roughly speaking, have subject meaning when used with the roots of I and have object meaning when used with the roots of +NI, -NI, or +NI."

(p.238, emphasis added)

In his terminology as laid out on p.233, these letters stand for the following (table 10.8: for ease of comparison I have changed his orthography and converted the past tense of his examples, where quoted, into the present):

Table 10.8: Biligiri's three classes of roots

I	roots which exist only in "impersonal" form	
	e.g. <u>togel-t-ing</u>	"I am overtaken by night"
+NI	roots which take the endings of both my classes 2 and 3	
	e.g. <u>der-te-n-ai</u>	"I believe" (Biligiri's example)
	<u>der-t-ing</u>	"I am believed"
-NI	roots which take the endings of both my classes 1 and 3	
	e.g. <u>gij-t-ai</u>	"I see" (Biligiri's example)
	<u>gij-t-ing</u>	"I am seen"
<u>+NI</u>	roots which take all three endings	
	e.g. <u>ḅ̣b-t-ai</u>	"I drown (someone else) (Biligiri's example)
	<u>ḅ̣b-t-e-n-ai</u>	"I drown myself"
	<u>ḅ̣b-t-ing</u>	"I am drowned"

This is restated in the summary at the end of the article (p.249):

- "-iñ [equivalent to my -ing]
 (i) 1 sing. subject when root is I
 (ii) 1 sing. object when root is +NI, -NI, +NI."

What the author seems to be suggesting is that this suffix appears to refer to the "subject" only for words in the vocabulary where the source of the action, or in my terms the agent, cannot be specified; while in words where formally this agent can be specified, the suffix appears to refer to the "object" of the action. There is clearly a serious difficulty here. How can the same morphological element represent either "subject" or "object", according to the meaning of the word to which it is attached? The problem is a formal one, while the solution proposed, albeit half-heartedly, is on the level of semantics alone. I shall suggest instead that the semantics of the word in question can determine no more than the extent to which the properties latent in the formal paradigm may be realised in usage.

Let us examine this semantic question more closely. Words in this morphological class come in three semantic types:

- 1 words of weather, etc., e.g. togel-t-e, "night falls", ganur-t-e, "it rains". These are formed from the "impersonal" third "person" singular of class 1. It is impossible to specify any agent by asking who or what is raining or becoming night. Such verbs can either stand alone without a patient since the events they denote take place regardless of any perceivers, or else they can take as a patient the person who perceives them.
- 2 words of personal sensation, e.g. asu-t-ing, "I am ill". These are similarly formed and it is similarly impossible to specify any agent. However, the word cannot stand without a patient since the event denoted is dependent on the perceiver in a way which is significantly different from the type above.
- 3 words formed from active verbs where it is possible to specify the agent, e.g. so-t-ing, "I am hidden", "(someone) hides me". As with type 2 above, these actions are discussed only through the perspective of the perceiver. This type is extremely common in Sora, mostly in the plural, and some examples are given in table 10.9:

Table 10.9: Passive verbs with formal possibility of specifying agent ²⁴³

<u>kenid-l-e, gam-l-am-ji</u>	"he died", they (i.e. people in general reported you i.e. you were reported to have died
<u>ali-ban gudang-l-am-ji po?</u>	did they invite you to a drink? i.e. were you invited to a drink?
<u>tulab-längen gij-l-am-ji</u>	they saw you in the forest i.e. you were seen in the forest (i.e. by an anonymous informer, so you can't deny it)
<u>anin bangsa-mar, gam-t-e-ji</u>	he is a good man, they say i.e. he is said to be a good man

We can now see where it is so misleading to say either that there is no passive in Sora (Ramamurti, Pinnow) or by implication that this class simply is the passive (Biligiri). While it is in some ways equivalent to the passive as understood by linguists, we can observe that in the first place, there is in Sora usage no intention to make a sharp distinction between active and passive and that the Sora interest therefore probably lies elsewhere; and in the second place, that this is so because this passive form remains active in a substantial formal sense. What we have here is a transitive verb in which the agent is left unspecified in favour of a highly specific patient. A more accurate translation would therefore be "(agent unspecified, suppressed or implied) hides me". So instead of our initial formula for the simple transitive sentence:

agent --> verb --> patient

we now have:

(agent unspecified, etc.) --> verb --> specific patient

c) from passive to active in the cycle of illness and death

The creation from an active verb of a passive meaning through the avoidance of specifying the agent, can be linked in a significant way to the process of transitivity between the dead and the living. Table 10.10 (foldout) gives the most important verbs in the relationship between sonums and living people at the various stages of attack, followed either by cure or by death and absorption. This process will be followed across time, while holding constant the point of view of one and the same consciousness as it passes through all the stages. Thus at the beginning this consciousness is that of a sick person who says ñam-t-ing or ñam-t-ing-ji, "(agent or agents unspecified) are seizing me", i.e. "I am seized". If the cure fails and he succumbs, he then returns after his death, alone or with companions, to act as the agent in seizing someone else. Now it is the new patient who, without knowing the identity of the agent, says "(agent or agents unspecified) are seizing me", while the original person whose course we have been following says in the active "I seize".

The table of verbs is presented in a foldout (at back). These verbs are classed into five columns, as follows (from left to right):

1. active transitive, ending -ai (class 1). All these verbs are also found in the passive in column 5.
2. active intransitive, taking construction of motion or destination, ending -ai (class 1).
3. middle (intransitive or "bitransitive", including constructions of mutual identification), ending -enai (class 2).
4. passive impersonal, can have no active form and agent cannot be specified, therefore cannot reappear in column 1; ending -ing (class 3).
5. passive with possibility of specifying agent and thus of personalisation; it can thereby be activated and then corresponds exactly to verbs in column 1; ending -ing or ing-ji (plural) (class 3).

The vocabulary in most classes is larger than the selection given here, though this always includes the commonest words.²

The chronological sequence in which the verbs are arranged shows a remarkably clear progression from the fully passive, in the sense that the agent can be specified (column 5), to the "impersonal" (column 4) which is "passive" in form but with no possibility of specifying the agent, to middle (column 3), in which the person rests, being neither patient nor agent. But his location here in a fixed point in space represents his potential to act on others over time and thereby to link their future with his past. His first move in this direction is through the root gorod-, "wander", an active verb (column 2) which, though like all verbs it seeks a predicate, does not need a patient because it is intransitive and so satisfied with a construction of motion. Finally, however, this leads him to a state of full transitive activity in which he necessarily seeks a patient.

The verbs given above are presented from the point of view of what may be called the perceiving subject rather than the grammatical subject. The person who is the perceiving subject remains constant throughout, and though he later also becomes the verb's grammatical subject, initially he is its grammatical object. But it is highly significant that he becomes the grammatical subject only at the stage at which people's attention has shifted from speculating about his perception to speculating about that of a new patient on whom he is now acting: in such contexts the Sora are interested in discussing transitive verbs from the viewpoint only of the patient, not of the agent. As the old patient becomes the new agent, the entire apparatus is transferred and the old patient is seen to be perpetuating his situation (summarised by his Experience) onto the new patient. The questioners want to know about the old patient's feelings and wishes only to the extent that it enables them to act on behalf of the new patient. The latter, in turn, since he is in the passive, is now the new perceiver of the situation. It is on his behalf, whether in a divination for illness or in a post-mortem one in which the person playing the role of patient is already dead, that the agent is made explicit.

Since in the context of dialogues with the dead the patient and the questioners are closely identified, this has the effect of locating the agent or agents outside the total gathering of the participants in the dialogue. Thus in Chapter 7, lines 102 and 104, the sonum of Jamano claims to have said around the time of his death sujtingji/moltingji "they're prodding/roasting me", i.e. "I am being prodded/roasted". Only later, in response to the appropriate question in line

111, boten ... ñamante? 'who ... grabbed you?', will he specify the agent. Ignoring specific variations in vocabulary, and using ñam-"grab, seize", the ideal basic syntax of such an exchange can be laid out as follows:

deceased:	<u>ñam-t-ing</u>	} {	"(singular or plural subject unspecified) grabs me"
	OR <u>ñam-t-ing-ji</u>		OR "I am grabbed"
questioners:	<u>boten?</u>		"who?" (singular and plural not distinguished)
deceased:	<u>manen</u>		"I mean (particle preceding restatement with increased specificity or accuracy), then name of specific sonum or sonums, e.g.:
	<u>wa-ñen</u>		my father
	OR <u>wa-ñen-ji</u>		my father's people
	OR <u>Ra'tud-sim</u>		Ra'tud-Sonum
	OR <u>Ra'tud-maranji</u>		the Ra'tud-People

Note that there is no construction which would give anything equivalent to the question "by whom?" Personal pronouns are used with verbs only in the agent or patient form. This means that it is not possible to specify the agent without at the same time drawing attention away from the patient: thus a Sora cannot say "I am being grabbed by x"; he can only move from "I am being grabbed" to "x is grabbing me".

The shift to a specific agent is contained in the very possibility of asking boten, "who?". This will become clear from an examination of the semantic range of verbs which can appear in the passive form. On the one hand, there is the vocabulary of bodily functions and sensations (including perceiving the weather) in which an agent can never be specified, e.g. asuting "I am ill", manggating "I am tired", kenidting "I die", añumdating "I need to urinate", etc. Rather than calling these "impersonal", it may perhaps be better said that a grammatical subject does not need to be distinguished from the perceiving subject, and that the reason that these verbs do not appear in the middle form is that being verbs of sensation they put the emphasis on the perceiving subject rather than on any agent subject. Thus asuting, "I am ill", must be regarded either as truly impersonal or as having an internal agent who is one and the same as the perceiving patient; ñamting, "I am grabbed", on the other hand, keeps the same perceiver but has the potential to externalise the agent. I would characterise this distinction as one between a closed passive governed by the perceiver and an open passive governed by the agent. It is perhaps this distinction which corresponds most closely in Sora to that between the

English terms "subjective" and "objective". In personalising an "impersonal" verb, the divination makes a perception by the patient into a public perception. The perception must therefore depend on a vocabulary in the open passive form. In this way the agent can be separated from the perceiver, isolated and dismissed in a release which though cast in grammatical terms parallels that achieved in the act of sacrifice. It is thus not merely a fortuitous pun which links our use of the term "patient" to Lienhardt's use of the Latin passio (1961 : 151-3).

The relation between the transitivity of verbs and of sonums can be summarised as follows: there is a strong sense in which all Sora verbs look forward to a predicate for their fulfilment. The impulse of a verb must either be taken up in a construction of motion or destination (intransitive); or else turned back on itself (reflexive/middle); or if it is transitive the perception of it must be transformed within the patient so that he becomes the agent of that verb and seeks to transfer the passio onto a new patient.

The impulse of the social life of a person is transitive, in that it must go on after his death. Despite blocking rites, the recent recruits of an Experience defy the blocking and continue to cause deaths in this way. The Sora do not insist that every person who dies must of necessity cause further similar deaths. Though all are likely to do so and to make many such attempts, some cause several deaths, others none. However, it does not appear to be in the transmission of his Experience that the deceased finds ultimate satisfaction and release, since a person who has caused one death may still feel the need to cause many more; rather, it is through the gradual replacement of this destructive and hostile kind of self-perpetuation by another kind, that of protecting one's descendants and heirs as their Ancestor.

d) the translation of sonum: an experiment in comparative metaphysics

The time has come to propose a provisional translation of the word sonum, as a first step towards translating the system of thinking in which it is a key term. The problem of anthropological "translation" in general was raised in Chapter 1, where it was acknowledged that all translations of alien concepts, in moving away from the original, give rise to a loss in the area of familiarity, naturalness and seeming inevitability. This is usually justifiable as the necessary price for any degree of understanding at all. However, as an outsider one can also try to increase this understanding by ploughing the translation back, so to speak, into the original material in order to examine the nature of this loss itself.

It is something of this sort, however inadequate, which is attempted here. The translation is proposed on the strength of what has gone before, even though we admit that like any possible translation it is not a complete one. In order to select one among the many possible English terms, we shall state in advance the properties required of the term to be chosen, whereby it must be seen to point to an area of experience which is common to both Sora and modern English life, yet which receives in each of these a strikingly different metaphysical interpretation. Instead of trying to paper over the semantic strain which will inevitably appear, we can turn this to advantage by making this strain itself a part of our translation. This will amount to what I should like to call an experiment in comparative metaphysics through the use of the translated term throughout Chapters 11-15 as a substitute for sonum. To conclude this "experiment", Chapter 16 will examine the adequacy or otherwise for us of the translation for the task it has been required to perform. In doing this we shall pinpoint what appear to be certain crucial differences between the interpretation of the experience of mortality in the metaphysical system of the Sora and at least one modern western "secular" system.

It has been argued that funerals and cures, with their conceptual apparatus of the dual aspect of the deceased, are in large part rites of differentiation and control and that what they control is the way in which the deceased perpetuates himself, or in our most recent terminology, in which his passivity is activated. Through their techniques of redemption, blocking and banishing, the survivors seek to modify the influence of his past over their own futures, in a series of

acts which amount almost to undoing his past.

All this activity bears witness to the extent of the power of the dead over the lives of the living. What is the root of this power and where is its locus? Earlier chapters have shown how the ostensibly phenomenological basis on which Experiences are invoked serves largely as an entry into another level of interpretation, based on intention and motivation in interpersonal relationships. As the effect of the Experience is lessened over time, the relationships for which that Experience was made to stand among various living and dead people are likewise transformed. These relationships can be very diverse and those revealed in the case of Jamano's death (Chapters 7-8) are only one possible configuration. In this example, it will be remembered, the potential for Jamano's self-perpetuation by means of his Ra'tud Experience means that if he attacks his descendants in that form, then what will be stirred up is the hostility between his son Ranatang, who has inherited the quarrel, and the supposed sorcerer Mengalu.

How does this affect our view of what a sonum is? According to the Sora, the individual dead consciousness moves around a chart of sonum space and sends back to the living messages, the nature and impact of which depend on his location of the moment. Wherever he is, he has the power - indeed, in Sora terms, the necessary property - of affecting the living and speaking to them as an autonomous entity which though materially insubstantial is seen to be a personality of the same order as themselves.

At the beginning of this thesis, I explained why I wished to avoid the word "spirit" as well as several near-synonyms. It was also stated that the more promising term "Power" would be dealt with in this chapter. It can now be said that the inadequacy of this term lies paradoxically in its being too close a translation. In English, a Power is the initiator and sustainer of any relationship in which it is involved, or in the sense of the discussion above, the agent. However, it acts in this way because it is external to the patient and independent of him. In this respect it corresponds very closely to the Sora term sonum. The disadvantage here is that it can be used in English only within the framework of a more or less theological metaphysic, a property which limits the interpretations which it will allow to be put upon the term sonum by a predominantly materialist modern western idiom.

From the foregoing discussion of the distinction between a

grammatical subject and a perceiving one, it could be claimed from within this idiom that though they do so from a position in the passive, it is the living Sora themselves who appear to an observer to manipulate the concepts, properties and application of sonums. Thus in the Soras' interpretation of Jamano's death, and in other examples elsewhere, the chain of action is conceived as originating with a sonum (or sorcerer) and passing as necessary through a series of sonums to the recently deceased victim and thus on to the living questioners. However, as we have also seen, the chain of deduction runs in the opposite direction, using the same people but in reverse order. According to the Sora, the justification for this entire chain must be seen in the attitude of the sonum at one end towards the victim at the other.

However, a materialist metaphysic might require that the system be seen as controlled by the attitudes of the living towards the dead and might insist that sonums are some kind of projection by the latter, for which the kurans act as a blank reflective screen. This inevitably raises the question of just what it is that is being controlled and whose past - that of the deceased or of those whom he affects - is being modified or undone. Need these two interpretations be mutually exclusive, and if so, on which level and what is the meaning of this need?

It would be a mistake to hasten to judge the outcome of what is at stake here. I suggest that what is required for our proposed "experiment" is an English term which satisfies three conditions: it must echo reasonably closely what we know already about sonums; it must be based on a concept which can reasonably be assumed to have a place in both metaphysical systems; and it must have in English inherent connotations which make it normally internal to the person affected in order that it may be set, still carrying these connotations, into the Sora context where it will be forced to act as though it were external to him.

The translation proposed on these grounds is "Memory". This should be understood in the sense of "a recollection" (as in the French un souvenir) rather than in that of the mental function "memory" (la mémoire). The living people who converse with a dead person will be called his "rememberers". For the remainder of the thesis "Memory" with a capital M is a translation of "sonum", while all other uses of the English word are written with a small m. "The Memory of x" there-

fore refers to the sonum of the dead person x as he affects the living rememberers a, b, c. In the light of the discussion in Chapter 4 of "intersubjectivity" we can say that this is not the same as to talk of a, b and c's "memories of x".

The word "Memory" is only a partial translation, representing what seems to me a dominant feature which has emerged so far of what was called in Chapter 1 the "postulate" sonum. It does, however, satisfy the conditions laid down above. It is normal both in Sora and English to say that on such occasions one "remembers" (ay-~~i~~m-, a middle verb compounded from an unknown element plus -~~i~~m, "feel" in all senses of the English word) one's dead. However cautious we wish to be, it seems to me reasonable to assume that the core meanings of the Sora and English words point to the same area of human experience and maybe even - though this can be asserted with less confidence - to the same mental processes.

It is this very probability which forces our metaphysical problem into the open. Though the idea of remembering other, dead people is a commonplace in both English and Sora its significance in the two is very different. For us, both popularly and as a technical term in psychology, a memory is generally held to be located in the minds of the rememberers, notwithstanding expressions like "the memory returns to me". According to this view, "memories" must be seen as "subjective" phenomena and therefore have a degree of plurality and what may be called phenomenological and social irresponsibility which is quite opposed to what seems intended in Sora thinking. There, on the contrary, a Memory has an autonomous existence outside the boundaries of any living person and constitutes part of what seems to correspond for them to our "objective reality". It would be difficult even to frame in Sora the proposition that Memories are located within the mind of the rememberer since it is the sonums themselves which show us how the Sora concept of "mind" itself is radically different from ours. I cannot express this better than through a quotation from Lienhardt:

[This] raises first a difficult question of differences between Dinka and European self-knowledge which I can discuss only inadequately. The Dinka have no conception which at all closely corresponds to our popular modern conception of the 'mind', as mediating and, as it were, storing up the experiences of the self. There is for them no such interior entity to appear, on reflection, to stand between the experiencing self at any given moment and what is or has been an exterior influence upon the

self. So it seems that what we should call in some cases the 'memories' of experiences, and regard therefore as in some way intrinsic and interior to the remembering person and modified in their effect upon him by that interiority, appear to the Dinka as exteriorly acting upon him, as were the sources from which they derived.

(Lienhardt 1961: 149)

As with any other recognised entity in the ("objectively real") world, it must be possible for a number of people to experience a sonum and in some sense agree on its properties. It will be argued that this is how private memories are publicly metaphorised into Memories. Accordingly in the dialogue to be presented in Chapter 11 we shall see a group of living people conversing for over three hours with a succession of nineteen dead people. Any given person, or group of people who fall together in some context, lives constantly with a repertoire of such Memories. Each of these has its own cosmological location, relations with other Memories, relations with other rememberers and potential effects on each of them. These properties are subject to change, which should be steered by the rememberer in a desirable direction and blocked in others.

However, on both sides, the story is likely to have many additional sub-plots. Among the dead, on the one hand, each person is sometimes a pure Ancestor, sometimes in Earth-Memory, sometimes in his original death-Experience, sometimes in an Experience with which he has no necessary connection but to which he has gone temporarily for some purpose of the moment. Among the living, on the other hand, there are the mutual relationships of the interlocutors, each of whom is affected by the death in a different way and brought during the dialogue into a unanimity which is temporary, artificial and probably never total. In addition, there are the contradictory interpretations in rival divinations performed by affines and cross cousins who have occasion to summon the same dead person.

Thus, though the autonomy of sonums will be preserved in our account to the extent of writing "the Memory of the dead person x speaks to the living person a", it will also be possible to note variations from one person to the next in the tone and content of such conversations. In this way we shall be able to distinguish between the Memory of the deceased x as it appears to living rememberers a, b or c, even as we watch them crowding in consensus round the kuran through whom x speaks to them (plate 6).

Plate 6 Raising the dead at a cremation site: the living crowd
around in consensus

This dialogue took place on the eve of the karja, when the funeral kurans "git on the ashes" to raise the dead who will then be led into the house for the main night-time trances (Chapter 15). The old woman in the middle is the kuran through whom a dead boy is speaking to his mother. She meanwhile is fastening his necklace onto the kuran in order to "show" it to him.



PART III:

OPERATING THE CALCULUS OF ALL PREVIOUS DEATHS

(Chapters 11-16)

11 Text: transcription of a dialoguea) introduction to Part III

The existence of a progressive movement between various stages of being dead suggests that for our interpretation of sonum an appreciation of the Sora perception of time will be crucial. So far we have seen only the beginning of this process around the time of the death and first stages of the funeral, and have not developed a longer perspective over the years and generations following each death. It is hoped that this will be made possible in Part III through the use of the term "Memory".

This term will be used with the same double sense as that of its Sora original, "sonum". However, as it is gradually set in time the emphasis will shift more and more towards its Ancestor aspect and away from that of the Experiences. The Memories which I have called Experiences are modalities of being and exist in a sense which is perpetual or perhaps even timeless; the individual Ancestor-Memories who pass through them are subject to the passage of time and thus more closely tied to their particular rememberers. In all contexts, except for a very few brief and highly stylised remarks or songs, it is never the Experience Memories which speak in their own personas but only the separate named people who are their members, that is, Ancestor-Memories.

In order to help the reader to grasp the implications which I shall try to draw out of the dialogue presented here, three progressive stages of Ancestor-Memory will be distinguished according to the degree of the intensity with which they affect their rememberers. These categories are not absolute, nor are they directly reflected in so many words in Sora terminology. They should better be regarded as areas on a continuum. Their characterisation will be based partly on shifts in the tone and subject matter of their conversations which are noticeable to us as observers, but also on corresponding different kinds of behaviour which the Sora themselves expect from their dead. These dead people may act upon the living as members either

of their original death-Experience, of Earth-Memory in the form I have called Earth-Experience, or of Earth-non-Experience, which verges on pure Ancestorhood. It must be emphasised that these categories reflect no more than predominant tendencies: just as the dead wander back and forth between these states, so our categories and dead people's membership of them will not be hard and fast. Indeed, it is this which will allow us eventually to characterise the flexible fit between "structural time" with its conceptually distinct stages and the continuum of "lived time" (see Chapter 15) and to explain how each Memory is able to correspond to the current circumstances of the living rememberer whom it confronts.

For convenience we shall call those among the dead who have a tendency to appear in each of these forms respectively "Recent", "Middle" and "Old" Memories. The relationship of these categories to time alone, however, is not a strict one. Rather, it is a question of shifts in emotional attitudes which tend to correspond to the passage of time, so that these categories could equally have been called "Harrowing", "Middle" and "Undisturbing" Memories. Thus those in the first category may cause great grief among their rememberers and attack frequently in the form of their original death-Experience. The second category, who in general have died some years earlier, have lost much of their power to distress and are inclined to attack less through their original death-Experience and more through its analogue Earth-Experience. The third group have been dead many years: though they are known to be in Earth-Memory, there is no longer any personal emotional involvement and they generally attack only in the form of pure Ancestors or in ways associated with this such as through Duri-Memory (Duri-sim, see below).

The remainder of Part III uses material from this dialogue to develop a view of the gradual distancing of the Memory from the rememberer both in time and emotionally, and the implications of this for social structure.

Chapter 12 ("Memories and emotions: a tentative case-study") looks at the movement of the deceased from his original death-Experience to Earth-Memory and considers the significance of this for those who grieve most deeply for him. It is here,

in the immediate aftermath of a death, that one can point most clearly to the psychotherapeutic function of the Sora dialogues with the dead, a function which will be taken up again in the final chapter. But it nonetheless becomes apparent even here that amidst all this emotion, the dead have a choice between different Earth-Memory sites to reside in after death. These are mutually exclusive and belong to different birindas or segments of a birinda. Thus this initial choice and any subsequent changes of mind as announced in dialogues also have fundamental implications for structural concerns.

Accordingly, Chapter 13 ("Alternative Earth-sites: exogamy and the transmission of women's names") analyses this question of choice for women in the medium-term perspective of marriage within the three-generation prohibition on cousins (marongger). Chapter 14 ("Synonymous Earth-sites: segmentation and the transmission of women's names") discusses the long-term unfolding of the birinda and aims to show the limits to the stability of fixed points—in the sense both of founding Ancestors and of territory—in this non-literate society. Chapter 15 ("The transitivity of the person and the death of Memories") closes the account of Sora conceptions of mortality and arrives at an overall vision of the Sora person, dead for up to a century but not yet extinct and caught up in a flow of time which will carry him off beyond the reach of living memory. In conclusion, Chapter 16 reviews the experiment in comparative metaphysics which was set up above in Chapter 10, by means of a comparison between the Sora and the Freudian views of bereavement. To assist the reader, a sketch is given of the framework of the remaining chapters as they follow from Chapter 10 (table 11.1). This summarises the general tendencies which it will be suggested can be discerned in the correspondence between the emotional impact of Memories, the forms in which they make themselves known, the passage of time and the maintenance of social structure.

Table 11.1 Framework of the remainder of the thesis

Chapter

10 (above)	an experiment in comparative metaphysics: the word sonum translated as "Memory"
11 (present chapter)	three stages of Memory based on time
12	Recent Memories (roughly, up to about three years after death) - predominance of original death-Experience - emotions: the immediate aftermath of death
13	Middle Memories (mostly up to about two generations old) - predominance of Earth-Experience - exogamy: medium-term structural matters
14	Old Memories (mostly over two generations old) - predominance of Earth-non-Experience merging into Ancestor and Ra'tud - segmentation: long-term structural matters
15	Memory and memory: the shape of structural time and lived time in Sora metaphysics
16	conclusion: translating the metaphysics of sonum

b) an illness as context for a dialogue

The text quoted here is taken from a cure (pārpir) for Duri-Memory (Duri-sim, cf. Chapter 6) conducted in Alinsing for the sick baby of the young woman Rungkudi who came from another village to marry Ikaram, a member of the Buya birinda of Alinsing. Unlike most diagnoses for a sick baby, which are generally in terms of a threatened reabsorption by the Sun (Chapter 4), Duri-Memory implicates a wide range of the patient's birinda Ancestors, male and female. These have united, regardless of their own manner of death, in "hiring" (baiñ-) the Sun to afflict the patient with certain kinds of Sun symptoms. Since Duri has no residential site it cannot be given as a cause of death in post-mortem divinations and the Ancestors are not perpetuating a form of death which they themselves have undergone. The sacrifice for Duri is a buffalo, which indicates that it is directed towards Ancestors in their birinda role rather than towards the particular collection of dead people who make up the members of a particular residential Experience, in which context a buffalo is never used. The symptoms of Duri-Memory are generally said to be in the area of rheumatism, arthritis and lumbago. These are caused in particular by Herdswoman (Godu-boi) and the blacksmith Dumb-Sun (Mo'mo'yung) who has smitten (id-) the patient in the loins with his hammer (the root duri means "hobbled", "twisted", "crippled").

However, in the present case, as in many others, the symptoms did not correspond closely to this but were rather those of diarrhoea. It may be partly that, as in Jamano's case, we see here the conventionalising power of the Experiences over the events for which they stand (cf. Chapter 6), so that there are expressed both the notion that an Ancestor who died of diarrhoea may be perpetuating these manifest symptoms (cf. lines 87 ff), and the suggestion that the baby and those around it are actually suffering from arthritic symptoms (for example, line 2).

But the dialogue will also serve to illustrate clearly a statement made in Chapter 1, that the occasions which precipitate such dialogues are a means for the continuation of ever-developing discussions between living and dead which are broken off and resumed from one occasion to the next. The child's

illness is largely ignored, its curing left to the automatic efficiency of the sacrifice. During the course of three hours' conversation the sick baby is rarely mentioned except in passing with some of the Old Memories in the closest branch of the birinda to which the baby belongs: these are the Ancestors who are actually responsible for the illness. But it is striking, and typical of most such curative dialogues, that it is not with these that the most intense focus of the dialogue lies but with the Middle and most especially the Recent Memories. The implication of the last category in the baby's illness is not even discussed. It will be argued that this is due to the extreme importance of the other kind of continuing discourse in which the baby is only the pretext for the conversation of the day.

The broad characteristics of each group of Memories can be stated as follows:

Old Memories show a striking uniformity in the tone and content of their conversation and are barely distinguishable in personality. They converse on the same kind of non-topics which Sindi, the main living interlocutor, for all her accomplishment in backchat, appears to find fundamentally uninteresting. These Memories are treated facetiously, even rudely, and dismissed quickly. They turn up ostensibly to receive what is theirs by right through their having been inherited (cf. INDUPUR's claim on Sandi, lines 141 ff.).

I have classed these Ancestors together because they are the least likely to revert to their original death-Experience and attack in that form. Nor are they likely to attack with Earth symptoms, since for them the category Earth is no longer even an analogue of their death-Experience, as it was soon after their deaths when as Middle Memories they had been redeemed and led there only recently. In this, they represent the final phase of the concept Earth-Memory, in which it eventually allows a full fit (Chapters 13-14) between the two socially equally differentiated worlds of the dead and of the living. This depends on a vivid notion of two parallel worlds superimposed over the same landscape, with the power to make incursions into each other (see below).

Middle Memories: though these Memories too having received a guar reside in Earth sites, they are still at various stages between a frequent reversion to their original death Experience and the state of irreversible residence which will make them into Old Memories. Though these stages are not absolute and a Memory's behaviour may vary with the occasion and the identity of the rememberers present, Middle Memories are distinct from Recent Memories in that, even if they are still currently active seizers and killers, they no longer cause their rememberers the same intense emotional anguish. Whereas Recent Memories still attack predominantly through their death-Experience, Middle Memories are now more inclined to attack also through Earth-Experience.

Thus we can say of Middle Memories that the rememberer has his emotional relationship with them adequately under control and that on this level nothing outstanding remains to be resolved between them. With the more distant among them (Nos. 10, 14-16), their personalities have become reduced through conventionalisation and they come to be identified by superficial attributes which lead ultimately to caricature. Thus Nos. 16 (SARA'KA) and 19 (GURANDI) act out distinctive speech habits and in addition SARA'KA repeats (as he does every time he appears) his rather ludicrous personal case-history. These Middle Memories shade into Old Memories, being perhaps not much more than Old Memories with a little garnish of stylised local colour still clinging to them.

Memories Nos. 12, 13 and 18, on the other hand, lie closer to the heart of their current rememberer Sindi since they are her own husband and children. Her insulting banter with her husband, for instance, is not distant as it often was with the earlier Old Memories but tinged with some affection and, above all, highly specific in tone and content. She is here facing the Memories of personalities who cannot be fully conventionalised away until she herself is dead. Her conversations with those who were close to her give a convincing picture of what those relationships were probably like when they were all alive: a husband who was slightly tedious and not very pre-possessing, but who left a memory of a marriage which was familiar if unromantic; a son OINDO (No.12) who seems to have

been her favourite and much resented by his elder brother PALDA (No.11); a daughter MAIANTI (No.18), whose appearance is brief and not very revealing in this way, perhaps because she has a different, structural point to make. Even these somewhat closer Memories can be placed in the Middle category since they are not capable of seriously distressing their rememberer.

Recent Memories: three Memories (Nos. 11, 17 and 20) seem to belong unequivocally in this category. They appear to come in direct response to the presence of a rememberer whom they have the power to disturb. In these cases the bereaved person may sometimes try to greet the deceased and even embrace the kuran through whom the Memory speaks, but often he or she will weep silently on the outskirts of the group and it is left to the main interlocutor (in this case Sindi) to speak with the Memory on the mourner's behalf.

These three conversations stand out sharply in the intensity of their impact. The topics discussed are highly varied and specific, and they plumb emotional depths of a quite different order from the other Memories. Nos. 17 and 20 are expressions of love and grief which reduced the person at whom they were aimed to helpless weeping and an inability to speak. No. 11 (PALDA) is a nasty Memory of an odious youth - at least, in the tone of today's conversation set in the context of his recent attempt to perpetuate his own death on to Rungkudi's son Sarsuno. Further explanations of these cases will be given as the occasion arises.

c) persons and places involved(i) genealogy

The basic genealogy relevant to the occasion is given in figure 11.1 (foldout at back). Not all minor characters mentioned in the dialogue can be placed with certainty, while those not mentioned are not shown unless they form a necessary link. As an aid to the eye, the three main living speakers and the people living or dead who are of most pressing concern to them are shown inside circles. The numbering represents the order in which the dead speak. As in Chapter 7, the names of the dead will be in capitals both in the genealogy and at the head of lines. In addition, because of the plethora of new names this will be done within the spoken text itself and any commentary. It should be borne in mind that at any given moment there is usually both a living and a dead bearer of the same name.

(ii) living rememberers

The interlocutors among the living are almost entirely women, except for one man, Sagalo, who joined us near the end. The men of the birinda were meanwhile killing, cutting up and sharing out the buffalo nearby, helped by those women who were not closely involved in the case and who did the cooking. Most of the time I was the only man present, though there were always several more women present besides those who spoke most of the time. Occasionally one of these would interpose a remark. The main living speakers were:

1. Sindi, an elderly widow from another birinda within the same village, who has stayed on with her husband's birinda after his death and brought up his children, maintaining her own household in the neighbourhood of her husband's brothers. Her dead husband, two sons and daughter (respectively Memories Nos. 13, 11-12 and 18) will come to speak to her. Sindi does most of the talking throughout. It is usual for the chief interlocutors to be elderly women like this. They may be either sisters of the birinda who have returned after being widowed or divorced or who have never left home,

or else wives who whether widowed or not have borne children and gradually become closely assimilated to their husband's birinda, thereby becoming equivalent to retained sisters.

2. Rungkudi, a young woman from another village married to Ikaram, with two living children of whom the younger was the sick baby who provided the occasion for the dialogue. Her dead little girl (Memory No. 17) will speak, while the recent narrow escape from an attempted suicide by her surviving teenage son Sarsuno will be discussed with Nos. 11 and 12. Rungkudi is present throughout, but does not speak very much or very forcefully since she is in the village of her in-laws, speaking to their Ancestors, and is therefore constrained by "embarrassment" (garoj). When her own dead little girl comes, however, it is not for this reason that she is unable to speak but through grief.

3. Sagalo, a young man of the birinda, who was married to the girl Panderi (Memory No. 20), who died recently under tragic circumstances. Like Rungkudi, and for the same reasons, he did not speak at all at the crucial moment when confronted with his own recently deceased Memory. The burden of speaking on their behalf therefore fell on the elderly Sindi ("mother-in-law" to Rungkudi, "mother" to Sagalo) who also did the speaking to her own dead son. However, it seems evident that it was in direct response to the presence of these silent rememberers that these Memories came when they did and spoke as they did.

(iii) Memories of the dead

Memories are listed in table 11.2 in order of speaking. The numbering corresponds to that on the genealogy (figure 11.1, foldout at back). As in all dialogues, female Memories come on only after all the male ones have appeared. Some Memories whose conversation adds nothing to our purposes are not translated in full but simply summarised in a few words (Nos. 7-10, 14-16, 19).

Table 11.2 List of Memories of the dead in order of speaking

<u>sex</u>	<u>approximate category</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>residence in Earth site group</u>	
Male	Old Memories	1. FOITANO	Sangkaroren, etc.	segment of the birinda containing Rungkudi's husband and her sick baby: these are the main attackers in today's illness segment containing Sindi's husband and children, as well as Sagalo young man, son of Sindi teenage son of Sindi middle aged/elderly husband of Sindi
		1a. POITANC again		
		2. PANSIA		
		3. IKARAM		
		4. ORTINO		
		5. SARSUNO		
		6. INDUPUR		
		7. PANSIA again		
		8. POIRO	Jelabbab, etc.	
		9. GUMESARA		
	? distant Middle	10. DURUGAD		
	Recent Memory	11. PALDA		
	close Middle	12. OINDO		
		13. BORJANU		

<u>sex</u>	<u>approximate category</u>	<u>name</u>	<u>residence in Earth site group</u>
Male	distant Middle	{ 14. DIASAMOR 15. DORSANG 16. SARA 'KA }	
Female	Recent	17. (LITTLE GIRL)	Sangkaroren little daughter of Rungkudi (name not recorded)
	close Middle	18. MAIANFI	born into Jelabbab, now moved to Jagatumba to join her new husband RUMBANA
	distant Middle	19. GURANDI	(unplaced)
	Recent	20. PANDERI	likely to reside in Jelabbab young wife of Sagalo

(iv) Earth sites

Places mentioned are Earth sites where groups of dead people reside. These will be discussed in great detail in later chapters. For ease of reference they will be written in the text with wide spacing and a list, with birinda segment associations, is given in table 11.3. In addition, many of these are marked on map 5.2 (foldout at back). Individual Earth sites in each group will be separated during the course of chapters 13-14.

Table 11.3 Earth-Sonum sites relevant to the text

- a) belonging to the branch of the Buya birinda containing Sagalo and Sindi's son PALDA (figure 11.1, left-hand branch)
- Bodigan
 Jelabbab
 Kantursing
 Kupa
- b) belonging to the branch of the Buya birinda containing Ikaram, husband of Rungkudi (figure 11.1, right-hand branch)
- Laiba
 Purpuri
 Rugidi
 Sangkaroren
 Sargiadan
- c) belonging to the branch of the Gomang birinda containing RUMBANA
- | | |
|-------------|----------------------------------|
| Bungsengdan | (though not mentioned explicitly |
| Rere | in this dialogue, these will |
| Sangkaroren | become important in later |
| Sindiul | discussions based on it) |
- d) belonging to the unnamed birinda from which came RUMBANA's father's mother
- Dulo
 Jagatumba
 Jorauren
 Ra'giribgiban

d) the dialogue (text 11.1)

It is mid-morning on an overcast day in the rainy season. A number of people are scattered under a huge wild mango tree by the side of a dusty path leading out of Alinsing. The aged female kuran Rondang (a nickname: "Bag of Bones") sits on the ground in front of an old winnowing-fan made of basketry. On this are laid out the special apparatus appropriate to Duri-Memory, such as the creeping waterside plant "Duri-Medicine" (duri-re) and the toy bow which will fire the caustic kernels of the wild cashew (oloi) into the air and over the patient.

The edges of the bare space under the tree are littered with remnants of old winnowing-fans from the one or two hundred Duri cures which I estimate are done at this site every year: since this is a banishing rite, the refuse would be contaminated if taken home again. Most of those present are women, draped as always with babies and young children (cf. plate 7). A few of these women hover around Rondang while the rest watch over the rice boiling above fire-trenches dug in the ground and wait for the men to bring the meat.

The air is quiet, the people unhurried. From time to time a few drops of rain patter on to the leaves of the mango tree. People take swigs from a little pot of aba, the distilled spirit which is the main drink of the cold rainy season and will be offered to each dead person on his arrival. The aba flowers were gathered some months ago; after drying, they have been distilled over the last few weeks. Because the seasons in the Underworld are topsy-turvy, it is now the gathering-season down there (lines 5-11). (In the same way, lines 70 ff, the trees which we cut down during our clearing season are simultaneously the beanpoles of the Ancestors during their growing season).

The procedure described here is typical of all such events. A preliminary summoning of the Ancestors, with a short trance, took place inside Ikaram's and Rungkudi's house last night, and this morning these Ancestors have been led out of the house to the village's Duri-sacrifice site where the present more substantial trance takes place.

For some twenty minutes now the kuran has squatted alone on her haunches and beaten her drum steadily summoning

Plate 7 Scene on the sidelines of a dialogue: women draped with babies watch over the cooking

Children are not fully weaned (or named) until they are around three. Their early life is spent in constant contact with flesh. Men also spend a great deal of their time carrying children.



Duri-Memory and its collaborating Ancestors by singing in its characteristic signature tune. Now she sits for the trance, legs stretched out and eyes closed; some women including Sindi leave off their other activities and move closer in anticipation. After a few minutes of singing the tune which summons her rauda, Rondang's soul departs, her arms and legs are locked rigid and her fingers and toes are clenched tight. With some effort, the bystanders unclench her, she sits at ease and the sonums are free to come. First the rauda, the Memory of her dead teacher, arrives and promises all assistance. Thereafter nineteen dead people, followed by Herdswoman, Dumb-Sun, and the rauda again, come in succession over three hours with hardly a minute's break. The preliminary and closing speeches of the rauda, as well as Herdswoman's stylised speech and the inarticulate gruntings of Dumb-Sun, are not included here as these would require copious extra commentary without furthering the present discussion. Instead, attention is focussed exclusively on the Ancestors themselves. In translating, I have taken pains to preserve shifts in the tone of the original, since much of the significance of the text depends on just these distinctions between insult and tenderness.

Memory No. 1 (POITANO) arrives:

1. POITANO: POITANO!
2. Sindi: Mind they get better ... your grandchildren daughters-in-law are crippled-leg crippled-hand... everybody - [sharply] What aba? There's no aba.
3. POITANO: [taken aback] There isn't any?
4. Sindi: Your aba failed, there isn't any: the tree -
5. POITANO: Over in R u g i d i, over in S a n g k a r o r e n, over in P u r p u r i, [names of Earth sites], it's ripe now -
6. Sindi: There isn't any -
7. POITANO: It's ripe now, did the leaves [wither]?
8. Sindi: There's none.
9. POITANO: Oh? It didn't fruit? O gai! [expression of surprise or disbelief] don't tell me it didn't even flower? We're gathering now.
10. Sindi: Then do you need me to pour you some?
11. POITANO: We're already gathering it.

12. Sindi: Why are they giving dysentery diarrhoea? How is [the baby's] soul to survive, if they give dysentery diarrhoea, how -
13. POITANO: [name inaudible]'s house yesterday - [voices and interruptions] - don't tell, don't tell anyone at Lengkanu's [a member of the birinda] ...
14. Sindi: Of course not, I shan't tell Lengkanu, and here's why: Lengkanu said the pot [of aba] had disappeared and hunted around for it saying "Where is it, I can't see it?"
15. POITANO: Did your father teach you that [an expression ridiculing the other person's remark or action], that I'd taken the pot?
16. Sindi: Yes, "POITANO crooked the cord over his elbow and went off with it", he said. [Pause, then sharply:] Clouds! Here, take this quickly.
17. POITANO: Come here JOJOKAB! They're chasing us away.
18. Sindi: It's not [], it's that we can see the clouds piled-up stacked-up,

[POITANO goes; a discussion about clothing to be presented to the Memories: Rungkudi asks, "Shall I give this one?" etc.]

.

1a. POITANO:

19. POITANO: POITANO!
20. Sindi: [indignant] Has POITANO come again? [hubbub of voices breaks out].
Ai! [noise of surprise] How come POITANO's just this instant come, and you don't say you're JOJOKAB?
21. POITANO: [firmly] It's POITANO who's come.
22. Sindi: [puzzled tone] Then who -? He says he's POITANO.

[POITANO goes again; there seems to be no special meaning attached to this double appearance]

.

2. PANSIA:

23. PANSIA: Hoi there! PANSIA! Hey gai! bring an umbrella...
24. voices: What umbrella? There's no umbrella.
25. Sindi: Look, because you lot plough on my back, I don't get anything, I get no cloth or money.
26. PANSIA: [not clear]
27. [voices]: [inaudible]

28. Raduno: Where are you? [an artificial question asked for my benefit since he knew I was interested in Earth sites]
29. PANSIA: Me? I go and stay in Sangkaroren.
30. Raduno: With the Ancestors?
31. PANSIA: Yes, with the Ancestors, in the Earth, over there, I go and stay in Sangkaroren, I make rice-fields, I repair retaining walls ...
32. Sindi: [scornful] U gai! It's all fallen down in ruins, haven't you been and had a look?
33. PANSIA: Ai! What's that? [scornful] Did your father tell you that? [cf. line 15].
[firmly] I do repair the walls.
34. Sindi: Then you'd better go and shove all that sand out of the way [in recent rains a stream had flooded these fields, silted them up and damaged the walls].

[some interruptions in the background; Rungkudi brings a shirt]

35. PANSIA: Have you brought me only one?
36. Rungkudi: Yes, only one.
37. Sindi: Only one, it was yours.

[pause while Piers helps him put on his shirt]

38. PANSIA: This one, this one ...
39. Piers: Through here ...
40. Sindi: If that's the case -
41. PANSIA: Ai! [unclear]
42. Sindi: [words unknown, adverbial form] go!
43. PANSIA: Look here, [] is this my shirt?
44. Sindi: He's on about his shirt, shit to your shirt!
45. PANSIA: Hey SARSUNO! Come and try on this shirt!
46. Sindi: Hey SARSUNO! Can you say we didn't buy you a buffalo? [i.e. for your guar]
47. PANSIA: [whispers] What about the foreign cloth?
48. Sindi: You've been given the foreign cloth, this is your homespun one - now enough! Shoo! don't hang around jigiri-jigiri; a gai! What rain!
49. PANSIA: Give me some aba.
50. Sindi: What, haven't you drunk just this instant?
51. PANSIA: Have I?
52. Sindi: Ai! He'll drink aba ten times and get sozzled -
53. PANSIA: Then let me get sozzled, I'll go and sleep it off over in Sangkaroren.

54. Sindi: Don't do that, your buffalo will wander off [i.e. the one sacrificed today].
55. PANSIA: What, do you think I haven't got a herdsman?
56. Sindi: In that case he'll take it and keep it in the plains [cattle are associated not only with wealth but also with the Hindu plains].¹
57. PANSIA: Then shan't we go and fetch it back?
58. Sindi: ... terrific rain ...
59. PANSIA: Let it rain: will it never clear again? Hey there, SARSUNO!

[departs]

.

However, the next to come is not SARSUNO but:

3. IKARAM [actually a nickname: his real name was YOGÉ]

60. IKARAM: [fiercely] IKARAM! Give me, aba [swigging noise].
61. Sindi: [irritated] That's a silly name, say YOGÉ. Still you've come.
62. IKARAM: Because they nicknamed me, then whatever -
63. Sindi: IKARAM?
64. IKARAM: Tut! I went - I went, and if people say YOGÉ, then it's YOGÉ, if -
65. Sindi: Since they call you IKARAM down there, it's your name up above too [not clear] ... here, take this ...

[IKARAM departs]

.

4. ORTINO

66. ORTINO: ORTINO! Come on, aba!
67. Sindi: You see properly to this, I mean your nephews your grandchildren our daughters-in-law, make sure they get well ... [your lot] give us dysentery diarrhoea ... take them carry them off -
68. ORTINO: Ai! Why not just say you're going for a trip to Sangkaroren [a sarcastic joke, meaning "to die"] -
69. Sindi: Why should you perpetuate -
70. ORTINO: - or Laiba? Far from it! Our son very nearly - at one point he sold (tem-) himself [i.e. doomed himself to die by arousing our anger] but then

- 70 continued he managed to ward us off [i.e. with a sacrifice]:
[histrionic intonation] every bit of beanpole every bit of support, he had the whole lot cut down.
[crashing noises] Did you hear it go ooooooooooooo a-boom!?
71. Sindi: [drily] How would I hear, I'm deaf. If it went "boom!" I wouldn't hear, if it went "padoom!" I wouldn't hear.
72. ORTINO: Every bit of beanpole -
73. Sindi: Don't make heavy weather: they're ripe now so go and pick them -
74. ORTINO: Ai! We've only just sown them, can't you see the supports? Gourds, beans, everything -
75. Sindi: Come off it! Go on, buzz off!
76. ORTINO: Are you saying ORTINO doesn't dibble doesn't sow, are you saying I'm not a hard worker?
77. Sindi: Which is why you just come along and cadge tobacco from me?
78. ORTINO: Can't you see over there in Laiba, in Sangkaroren -
79. Sindi: What is there to see? If you've got so much grain why aren't you giving it to us?
[called after ORTINO as he departs] I don't manage to get any sorghum, rice, millet; however much I do however hard I work, the granary is never full.

.

5. SARSUNO

80. SARSUNO: Give me aba! [pause] SARSUNO.
81. Sindi: Why don't you go and chase away any birds squirrels [i.e. from the crops], why don't you chase any monkeys baboons?
82. SARSUNO: They perch up in the trees and we shout from the ground, can't you see? Ugh, how stupid -
83. Sindi: If you shout properly from the ground they'll go away. Go on, it's raining!
84. SARSUNO: Let it rain, will it never clear again?
85. Sindi: [changes to a quiet and serious tone] Hey, SARSUNO -
86. SARSUNO: Uh?
87. Sindi: Just see to this: may your nephews daughters-in-law get well healthy. Should we accuse you of giving dysentery?

- 88. SARSUNO: Not at all, I didn't have dysentery diarrhoea, but [] they did, I mean GURANDI [i.e. Memory No. 19] -
 - 89. Sindi: [starting a subsidiary conversation, aside to Rungkudi] Did she take that umbrella away?
 - 90. SARSUNO: - and ANGGARI, now they did have it, didn't they?
 - 91. Sindi: [turning back to SARSUNO] Is she well now?
 - 92. SARSUNO: Yes she's well.
 - 93. Sindi: [aside again]. Is that umbrella over there or what? No, I haven't seen it. [to SARSUNO] U gai! It's raining over there!
 - 94. SARSUNO: Ai! We're all going to come in our turn.
 - 95. a voice: You had a drink only yesterday.
 - 96. a voice: [unclear]
 - 97. SARSUNO: Hey there, MURULA! [nickname of INDUPUR]. Come and have a smoke!
 - 98. a voice: Bring a made-up cigar [i.e. to offer to INDUPUR, known as a greedy smoker and drinker].
 - 99. Sindi: [unclear]
- [SARSUNO departs]

.

6. INDUPUR

- 100. INDUPUR: [gasps] Aku! Rungkudi, I want a smoke!
- 101. voices: It's raining ...
- 102. Sindi: Wherever he goes, it'll be wet [i.e. with drink].
- 103. INDUPUR: [shouts angrily] Have you gone blind, Sindi?
- 104. Sindi: Ai! As for you, you can go and [rude word, meaning unknown].
- 105. INDUPUR: Look at this turban [i.e. he has been given a poor offering] ... have you gone blind? ... Am I not going to get any aba? [babble of voices] I want a smoke.
- 106. Sindi: Hey uncle, drink up your aba: if you have a smoke will you go? Drink up your aba, have a smoke and go. [in reply to voices off: aside] No, later.
- 107. INDUPUR: No, I'm going to stay and have a smoke: give me some tobacco [spits]
- 108. voice: [unclear]
- 109. Sindi: [angrily] Hurry up quick-quick drink up ... whether it's the aba of up above or down below [it makes no difference to you] ...

110. Rungkudi: [chimes in] Your nephews - Hey listen, let your nephews be healthy, don't do this to them, if you give them dysentery diarrhoea where will you come to feed where will you come to eat where will you come to drink where will you have a house to enter [unclear]. Do you think we're just any house?
111. Sindi: [takes over again] Your own child [referring to Rungkudi's sick baby] and [if] he doesn't stay in the village, hamlet in the house, residence -
112. INDUPUR: [savagely] You're talking about him! What, have I no kinsmen? Isn't there Ikaram? [i.e. the living namesake of Memory No. 3, above]
113. Sindi: [unclear] ... or not enter the house? Let him be well -
114. INDUPUR: I've got my kinsman Ikaram -
115. a woman: Hey uncle, smoke this -
116. INDUPUR: I've got my kinsman Ortino -
117. Sindi: Go away!
118. INDUPUR: Are you afraid? [pause] Sindi?
119. Sindi: [scornful] Why should I be afraid? I'm afraid only because I get stroked [sim-, i.e. the first stage of an attack].
- [pause: some business]
120. INDUPUR: Ugh, are you serving it to me like a dog?
121. Sindi: That's right, like a dog, didn't your father LOINJO tell you?
- [various voices, a baby crying in the distance, a pause: they run out of conversation]
122. Sindi: Go on go on, clear off! O gai, what rain, can't you feel it?
123. INDUPUR: Go and find me some big matches like this, and some tobacco.
124. Sindi: And don't bring BAGMARI.
125. INDUPUR: Why not?
126. Sindi: She chews the stuff [a habit of the plains, considered disgusting]
127. INDUPUR: [spits] I smoke, then I get drunk, what of it? I smoke, you smoke -
128. Sindi: Didn't we give you some?
129. Rungkudi: Can't you see?
130. INDUPUR: Let it rain [i.e. what's the hurry to go?]

- 131. Sindi: Clear off, go on, shoo! Should we call you [word unknown]? Have your smoke and go to [casual aside] where is it, Sargiadan or Sangkaroren, he hangs out?
- 132. INDUPUR: I would have gone over to live in Sargiadan but - [catching her attention: sharply] Sindi!
- 133. Sindi: Huh?
- 134. INDUPUR: I would have gone to live in Sargiadan, but POITANO and JOJOKAB scolded me.
- 135. Sindi: Did they invite you to drink with them?
- 136. INDUPUR: Yes. [calls] Rungkudi! The other day I came and drank some of your [aba], did you see me?
- 137. Sindi: [You come and drink its soul (puradan)] and then you complain it's got no taste. That's how it loses its taste.
- 138. voices: Go on, it's raining, quickly ... [sound of heavy rain beating on umbrellas, tape recorder moved, babble of voices ...]
- 139. INDUPUR: I'm LOINJO's son -
- 140. Sindi: So what?
- 141. INDUPUR: The other day I demanded a buffalo from Sandi [i.e. in a separate Duri cure with Sandi as patient]
- 142. Sindi: And hasn't she sacrificed it?
- 143. INDUPUR: Yes I got it.
- 144. Sindi: Then are you calling her mean (rangka)?
- 145. INDUPUR: No I don't call her mean, it's because she lives on my grain [upsurge of voices], I'm angry because she didn't give me a share.
- 146. Rungkudi: She gave you a karja she gave you a guar she gave you sacrifices she gave you everything.
- 147. Sindi: And what's more you come and take some grain anyway: I've seen you in dreams, you come and scoop it up with your hands - we see it all in dreams.
- 148. INDUPUR: Sindi! As for her millet I don't claim that's my work I don't claim that's my labour. Hey sisters hey children, that's Sandi's mother's work.² I don't claim that; but as for that other grain, give me some of that -
- 149. Sindi: ... she went out to work for hire (badi) ... orphaned, because she had no mother because she had no father -
- 150. INDUPUR: Don't turn your backs on her: she's your sister your little-sister your niece -

- 151. Sindi: Don't they do all the sacrifices, divinations, cures on her behalf? So are they going to turn their backs on her then? Whoever [unclear] -
- 152. INDUPUR: [shouts] What's that - o gai, no! [reference unclear], please give me something to smoke - come on quickly quickly, some tobacco.
- 153. Sindi: Give him [unclear].
- 154. a voice: Later, the other [Ancestors] will bring it to you.
- 155. INDUPUR: All right, send tobacco and a cigar-holder, later will do. Sindi, did I go strutting around in fancy pants? [not fully clear] You saw me didn't you? [insistent] Didn't you? Did I wander round in arrogant fancy clothes [i.e. trousers and shirt bought in the market instead of a loincloth]
- 156. Sindi: [inaudible sarcastic mutter] [then why are you asking for things now?]
- 157. INDUPUR: But now I've gone down below -
[tape ends and with it INDUPUR is cut off]

.

7. PANSIA again

Complains he was insulted last time and demands more to drink.

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8. POIRO

Talks about having joined in with POITANO to raid the aba in Lengkanu's house (cf. Memory No. 1]; more backchat.

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9. GUMESARA

Calls for aba; they say 'May your descendants be well ...'

.

10. DURUGAD

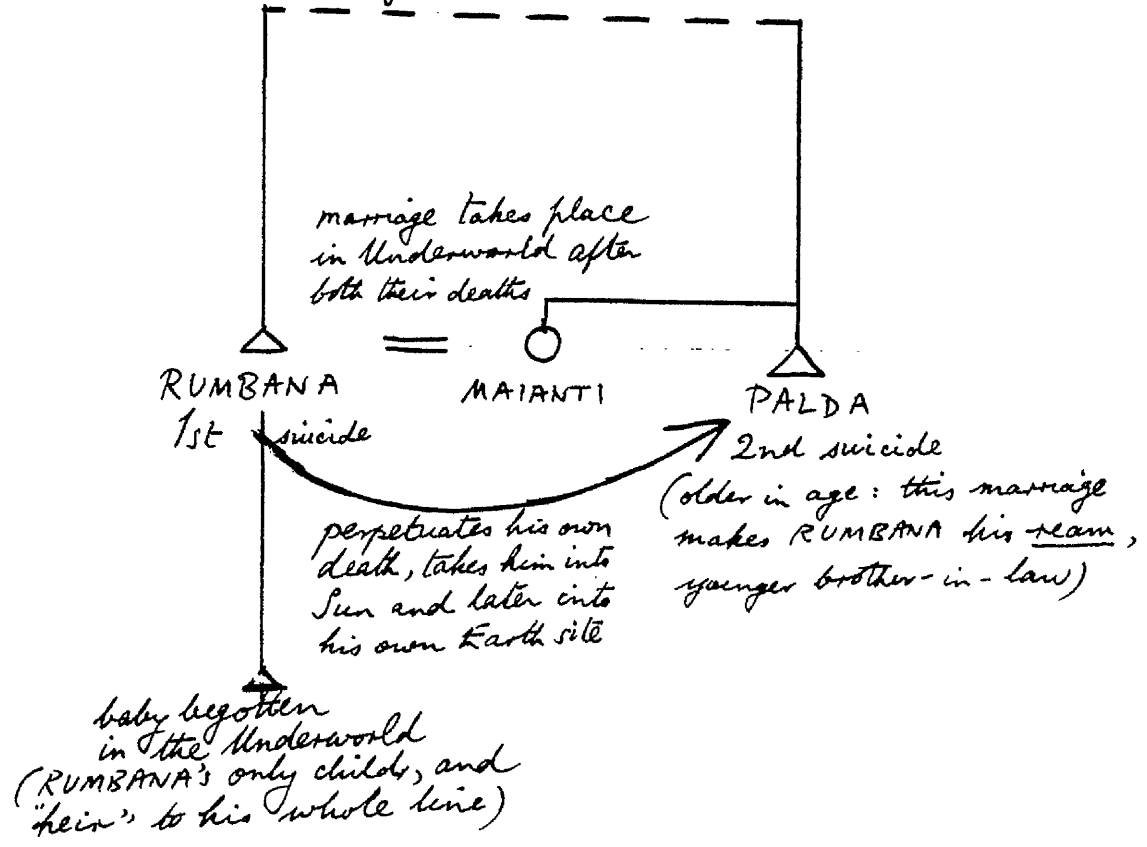
Says he did not turn up last night with all the other Memories because he had fallen asleep. Boasts about all the rituals he used to perform when he was alive. They reply, 'You did all that ritual, but it didn't save you in the end, did it?'

.

11. PALDA

A young man, Sindi's son, he seduced a parallel cousin (MZD: maronsel, feminine of marongger, also addressed as "sister"), became frightened that she would tell people, got drunk and behaved wildly that evening and then hanged himself during the night. This caused his mother great shock and distress. He has subsequently been responsible for urging several people on to attempted suicide by persuading them to join him in the Sun. After his redemption out of the Sun at the hands of his Ancestors, he should have gone to one of their Earth-sites. But perversely he has gone to reside in the same Earth site as RUMBANA, the earlier suicide from another birinda altogether who had originally perpetuated the form of his own death on to PALDA. Moreover, PALDA is now leading several of his dead birinda relatives over to join him in this Earth site, even though it belongs to another birinda. The link between PALDA and RUMBANA has been further consolidated by a marriage which has taken place in the Underworld after both their deaths between RUMBANA and PALDA's sister MAIANTI (No. 18). The discussion of this runs on through the appearance of Memories 11-13 and 18. Both RUMBANA and MAIANTI died young and unmarried. Since they were third-generation cross cousins, their post-mortem marriage with each other is incestuous and, moreover, uxorilocal into the bargain. RUMBANA was the last of his line and has no close heirs above ground. However, he has now begotten a baby in the Underworld by MAIANTI. A sociological interpretation of these bizarre goings-on will be given in Chapter 14, but meanwhile as an aide-mémoire figure 11.2 gives a restricted genealogy:

third-generation cross cousins



- 158. PALDA: Mother! Why haven't you brought me some pan to chew?
- 159. Sindi: Ugh, filthy habit! [a plains custom, not normal among Soras; appropriate to someone who is in the Sun] ³
- 160. PALDA: Your tummy-button sticks out!
- 161. Sindi: Well so it might after giving birth to you. I suppose that's why you're so clever?
- 162. PALDA: Watch it mother, watch it! The Earth-Memories are waiting for you - Kantur sing, Jelab'bab, Jagatumba: it'll be your turn next. Anyway, I've gone and set up house with my younger-brother-in-law (ream).
- 163. Sindi: [mutters] Brother-in-law my shit!
- 164. PALDA: Do you doubt me? MAIANTI's growing up, you know.
- 165. Sindi: Up here or down below, we lack sense, still screwing our sisters [i.e. both RUMBANA and PALDA had committed incest].
- 166. PALDA: It's just a quick down-and-up-again, mother, what does it matter who she is? [turns to Rungkudi] Hey, aunt! You were happy enough to dispose of my corpse, weren't you?

167. Rungkudi: Did your mother or father tell you to hang yourself? [cf. line 15] Did they put you up to it?
168. PALDA: I'm not saying you put me up to it.
169. Rungkudi: So did I kill you then? Don't you try to perpetuate your death on your brother again. I'm not joking, if you get my boy [Sarsuno] to do it again, I'll ...
170. PALDA: [to Rungkudi] Only the other day I almost made him hang himself, but then said "Hey, you, untie yourself!" I went and fetched a knife to cut him down ... Hey, aunt, are you listening?
171. Sindi: [muttering in background][I always looked after you so well: if you'd said something I'd have done a cure for you.] But you climbed up into the loft at dead of night: whose fault is that? I was sleeping outside on the veranda ... you'd been funny all day not wanting to go to work ...
172. PALDA: Let Sarsuno sacrifice a pig this size and cut a rope into sections - hey listen! - then do a ritual over this rope, cut it up into bits and burn it. [Note how this banishing rite echoes symbolism of the blocking rite described in Chapter 9].
173. a voice: Do we take it outside the village?
174. PALDA: Yes, point it towards Jagatumba. †
175. Rungkudi: What's the idea of doing that to your little brother? Did he cause your death? Did he tell you to do it?
176. PALDA: Not at all, he didn't say "Do this, hang yourself".
177. a voice: Are you saying it was of your own free will?
178. PALDA: Suddenly my soul wanted to die [translation uncertain].
179. Sindi: We'll cut up the rope and do the sacrifice. But don't you ever again ... your brother ... aren't you ashamed of yourself?
180. PALDA: Remember I said do it on my path, mother.
181. Sindi: All right, I'll point it out along the Kantursing path.
182. Rungkudi: We already did a pig, when you first turned up in the divination. And if we hadn't, you'd have had a go at him that very night again.
183. PALDA: Yes, no joke, I'd really made up my mind to destroy him: "Come on brother, let's go, into the Sun, into the Moon, I've gone up there", but - [whispers] - OINDO untied him.
184. Sindi: Then let's speak to OINDO.

185. PALDA: Be patient, we'll all come in good time.
186. Sindi: You're an arrogant creature, whereas OINDO ...
187. PALDA: [taunting] I've gone and set up house with my brother-in-law, over there.
188. Sindi: And where's OINDO?
189. PALDA: Well anyway, I've gone to live in Jagatumba, mother.
190. Sindi: Then be off with you, Jagatumba's over there!
191. PALDA: Ai! Why should I go, it's a long way. Now you're being nasty to me. But I went around singing and fiddling and had a good time. What are you going to do about it?
192. Sindi: Are you telling yourself you died of Ra'tud-Memory [i.e. a morally blameless death]?
193. PALDA: Not likely! I didn't say anything about Ra'tud, I did just what I liked and hanged myself.
194. Sindi: And unplugged my arse in the process. Drained me and ruined me with the expenses [i.e. Police bribes, etc.].
195. PALDA: Hey OINDO, come here! [sarcastic] It appears you're a nice sensible boy.
196. Sindi: I was a poor widow, always setting some grain aside for your future. Your father was a pauper, do you think I saved it up from his land?
197. Rungkudi: You come and talk frivolously to us from down below, but do you feed us? Yet you're quick to come and take us away.
198. Sindi: [calls after PALDA as he departs] If only you'd said all this - but you didn't. I'd have done a sacrifice for you. But you were so obstinate you'd never have agreed. We said afterwards that you'd have said "What makes you think there's anything wrong with me, why should I need a sacrifice?"

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12. OINDO (Sindi's son, younger brother of PALDA):

199. OINDO: Mother!
200. Sindi: Are you OINDO?
201. OINDO: Yes.
202. Sindi: [in a torrent] Why ... your little brother ... he's all alone now, alone like a fly, alone like a wart, what's the idea of throwing out a rope to him, don't give it, don't throw it -
203. OINDO: On the contrary, I untied him. My brother was on the point of hanging himself.

204. Sindi: [hysterical] Stop perpetuating that rope!
(abtonglud dong).
205. OINDO: "Hey, what on earth are you doing?" I said.
"I'm going down below the earth, I'm going to see the faces of all you Ancestors", he said.
"You silly shit", I said, "if you really mean it go ahead and I'll watch". He gave a sheepish laugh. "Look, the moment you start hanging yourself, I'll - I'll get a knife and cut you down", I said. "Really?" "Most certainly."
206. Sindi: Was this his soul (puradan) talking?
207. OINDO: Yes. Then he climbed the loft and went swinging from side to side into space. Yes, the rope was this long, he'd already tied it in advance and had already hanged himself. He'd tied it to the main beam and jumped. "What do you think you're doing?" I said, "Did you learn that at your father's knee or what? What's all this talk of going into the Sun, into the Moon? I'm damn well going to cut down that rope." "Are you serious?" "I'm your brother OINDO, who do you think? I've gone and entered Ra'tud-Residence [his original death-Experience before he was redeemed], but now I've moved and settled in Jagatumba, Kantursing," By that time he was twirling piyurrr! on the end of his rope. I went slash! [breaks off] - no thanks I won't have a drink - "You shit!" he said. "Do you want me to cut you down, or slash your bloody neck?" I said. "O shit", he said with that sheepish laugh. "Don't you laugh", I said. He'd really have done it, you know, if I hadn't propped him up.
208. Sindi: We've always been taken by Ra'tud-Memory, we've no tradition of suicide. So what ate, what drank our brother, to be touched, to become, like this? You tell them not to follow that path!
209. OINDO: Ah mother, they've been touched by homicide [i.e. a Sun death].
210. Sindi: That was an incident in Assam [young Soras migrate temporarily to the tea gardens to earn cash]. Who's been killed, murdered here?
211. OINDO: ... and so this [murdered] Nepali, or Sahib, or Babu, whoever it was, has touched them, his power is at large, seeking to perpetuate his own fate. This fury has penetrated here among us ...
212. Sindi: Tell me something new.
213. OINDO: Ah my aunts, my sisters, make him drink medicine and he'll soften.

214. Sindi: He's already drunk the medicine; and what's more, we're going to kill a black chicken and chop it up with a rope - PALDA told us to do it on his path [actually PALDA had specified a pig].
215. OINDO: That's right, get hold of a black chicken and the medicine and make him drink it together with the [raw] blood of the chicken; then lay out the rope and do the rite, and lead the rope out along the path and chop it up, then burn up the pieces.
216. Sindi: All right, we'll get the medicine.
217. OINDO: Ai! My little niece is crying [i.e. the baby begotten in the Underworld by the dead RUMBANA and MAIANTI].
218. Sindi: She's crying for her uncle.
219. OINDO: Ai! Mother, she's a lovely child!
220. Sindi: Huh! Is she so lovely that she doesn't shit?
221. OINDO: Of course she does - don't we all?
222. Sindi: Well, Piers here is lovely, but he shits. What's so special about your baby then unless it doesn't?
223. OINDO: Well, everyone says MAIANTI's and RUMBANA's child is lovely.

[departs]

.

13. BORJANU (husband of Sindi):

224. BORJANU: I've just been babysitting.
225. Sindi: Call yourself a babysitter, and you've left it for leopards to snatch while you come and talk to us!
226. BORJANU: Now I've gone to live with them.
227. Sindi: Big deal! You didn't do any work while you were alive, why would you go to the trouble of building yourself a house down there? Did Raduno or Indaro ever see you doing any work? It took enough of their money to do sacrifices for you when you were ill. So now you're a babysitter?
228. BORJANU: [ungraciously] How do I know whose money you did it with, or how well you did it? It didn't save me anyway, did it? Now I've got my son and daughter-in-law down there ...
229. Sindi: Go on then, buzz off! Drink up quickly and go!
230. BORJANU: ... Such lovely children ...

231. Sindi: Your beauty was passed on (pad-) to them.
[actually he looked gormless, and dribbled].
232. BORJANU: Drizzling-Shits Borjanu, Arsehole Borjanu, you called me.
233. Sindi: Well your arse has got a hole, so why shouldn't I?
234. BORJANU: Well I'm going to live there as a babysitter.
235. Sindi: Then get on with it - Kantursing is full of leopards waiting to snatch her.
- [much more bickering over their domestic life, text cut]
236. Sindi: Go on, the other Memories are all waiting their turn behind you.
237. BORJANU: Who are you waiting for, your father's people?
[ironic: her father's birinda are excluded from this occasion]
238. Sindi: Would you give any of this buffalo-meat to my fathers?
239. BORJANU: Why not? They're all there: DORSU, JIRBUDEN, SANSUNO, KARANJA, ANGKULAN, BARU, MASALI, DAIAN ...
240. Sindi: Aren't you ashamed to name your in-laws? And you didn't even give a buffalo when they died!

[BORJANU departs]

.

[a woman: The drink's running out, what are we going to receive them with?]

14. DISAMOR (excerpt):

BUNGA was a very ancient and shrivelled old man in Alinsing who died the night before JAMANO's guar (Chapter 7). In his pyre-divination it emerged that he had been taken by the Ra'tud-People of Alinsing to be sacrificed "as a buffalo" at JAMANO's guar as their collective offering. It is now the following day.

241. DISAMOR: [whispers] Yesterday they came and took an empty, dried-up old man, took him as a buffalo-offering at the guar.
242. Sindi: Why? He was minding his own business, sitting huddled in a corner, why couldn't you leave him alone? Was he a difficult victim, did he put up much of a struggle?
243. DISAMOR: Yughhh! [spits] ... we threw him away, not worth eating.
244. Sindi: He was so old that if you drove him like a buffalo instead of carrying him [the usual method of abduction by Ra'tud], how did he make it to his destination?

245. DISAMOR: The Ra'tud-People took him as a sacrifice to Tongseng. Then they said, "Oh dear, he's our uncle, our father, our granddad, let's leave him and go": so they ate only his skin. There wasn't any flesh anyway. Bleahh! [spits]. I said "He's our own grandfather and he won't taste good anyway", so I didn't join the others but went home

.

15. DORSANG (excerpt):

246. DORSANG: I'm thinking of taking old Aganti: she's from a rich family and we'd get plenty to drink at her guar ...

.

16. SARA'KA (excerpt):

[SARA'KA was slightly moronic and speaks in a slow, slurred manner which is considered very funny]

247. SARA'KA: ... a Blacksmith [Gansi: a non-Sora caste] set up shop over there. "Will you work this piece of iron for me" I said. Then he took my iron and disappeared, so I went and shitted on his forge. Then he came back and put some of my shit in a mould and sealed it up, so that I died of constipation: he put sorcery on me. I used to work as a labourer in BATIN's house, always hauling round huge baskets of grain all on my own ... [description of various tasks] ...

248. a woman: Yes, you paid dearly for your gesture to the race [ja'ti] of Blacksmiths [or maybe, you are putting the blame for the consequences of your own stupidity ...].

249. Raduno: Have you gone to live with the Blacksmiths?

250. SARA'KA: No, I'm in Kantursing, with my father's people.

.

17. Rungkudi's LITTLE GIRL:

She died with open scars on her throat, in western terms probably from TB. More than even PALDA, this LITTLE GIRL, together with PANDERI (No. 20, below) epitomises what I have in mind in talking of Recent Memories and will be discussed in the next chapter. Rungkudi was in tears throughout the LITTLE GIRL's appearance and unable to speak. The following text was used at the beginning of Chapter 1.

251. LITTLE GIRL: [faintly] Mother, where are my nose-rings?
252. Sindi: They must have burned up in the pyre, darling, we looked but couldn't find them. I don't know whether they jumped to one side or what.
253. LITTLE GIRL: [petulantly] Why aren't you showing me my nose-rings?
254. Sindi: They were so tiny. If I'd found them of course I'd show them to you.
- [a pause; Sindi continues]
255. Sindi: Oh my love, my darling, don't cause your own illness in others. Can you say that your mother and father didn't sacrifice for you? They didn't turn their backs or refuse to help you, did they? Think of all those pigs, all those chickens, goats, buffalos, my lovely child. Didn't your father say, "Let's light a fire, let her stay at home and not go out to work, look at her, she's already got the face of an old woman", didn't he say that? ... What? your two gold necklaces aren't here, Sarsuno's wearing them now ...
256. LITTLE GIRL: [crying] Mother, you were horrid to me, you scolded me, you called me Scar-Girl, you called me Leper-Girl, you said, "You're a big girl now, Why should I feed you when you sit around doing nothing?" ...
257. Sindi: She didn't mean it, she couldn't help saying it: after all, you were growing up and there were such a lot of chores to do.
258. LITTLE GIRL: [sulkily] I want my necklaces ... I used to hobble around bent double, I couldn't stand up straight ... [unreasonable childish tone] Why can't I have my nose-rings? ... I have to go digging, shovelling and levelling earth [in the Underworld], all without my nose-rings. My mother came from Kond country, she gave it to me in her womb, it's in her family. I came out in scars all over, my fingers started dropping off. That illness was perpetuated on to me, that's how I got ill. But I've been cured down below: my Ancestors ransomed me and I'm cured now.
259. Sindi: So don't you perpetuate it, don't you propagate it on to your mother and little sisters!
260. LITTLE GIRL: If I grab them I grab them, if I touch them I touch them, if I perpetuate I perpetuate: that's how it goes. But I'm all right now.
261. Sindi: Your cough your choking, your scars your wounds, don't pass them on ...
262. LITTLE GIRL: My Mummy doesn't care enough about me. [departs]

18. MAIANTI (Sindi's daughter; excerpt only given here):

263. MAIANTI: RUMBANA told me not to come here today but I said "Why shouldn't I, they're my birinda my group, I'll go and eat with my brothers". But he said the children would cry. [actually they have only one baby, in the Underworld].
264. Sindi: Then let GURANDI come and take the grain for you.
265. MAIANTI: Or why don't you carry it down yourself to join me in the Underworld? [cf. line 68].
266. Sindi: [sharply] Clear off!
267. MAIANTI: - to Jagatumba, Ra'g±r±bg±ban, Jorauren... Why isn't my mother-in-law doing a harvest festival? I came here for a pumpkin.
268. Sindi: Ai! Her granary ... [sentence unclear]

.

19. GURANDI:

Comes from a village two miles away, makes play of speaking with an accent. Subject-matter slight.

.

20. PANDERI:

At some point the young man Sagalo had arrived, I believe in anticipation of an encounter with his freshly-deceased wife PANDERI. She had collapsed and died suddenly after returning from market several villages away. She was Sagalo's third-generation cross cousin and their marriage had been opposed by her brothers partly on these grounds and partly because he was extremely poor (this is the same Sagalo who features in Chapter 7, events Nos. 2, 5 and 7). However, she had defied her brothers because she was in love with Sagalo, ignored the incestuous element of their marriage and borne him one son, Disamor, who was about a year old at the time of her death. Her brothers claimed that she had hanged herself or been murdered after a quarrel with her husband, but the series of post-mortem divinations upheld the view preferred by Sagalo, that her soul had been eaten and drunk by the Ra'tud-Memory of a distant village whose territory she had passed through on her way home from market and that she had died by unselfishly protecting her baby who was the real target of the Memory's attack.

269. PANDERI: [faintly] I got eaten up I got drunk up, mothers. [language appropriate to the action of Ra'tud].
270. Sindi: Ah my dear, it was so sudden, just like that, you ... [continues inaudibly]
271. PANDERI: After I came and joined your group, mothers -

272. Sindi: [rising out of inaudibility] "This is my house my home", you said ... Have a drink before you go.
273. PANDERI: [same small, shaken voice] O dear, really, I got eaten up drunk up.
274. Sindi: [near-inaudible monotone] ... didn't we do all your sacrifices, yet - if only you'd been ill first [we could have done something] ... didn't we do all your sacrifices, yet -
275. PANDERI: It's not that; but your little grandchild would have been swallowed right up and I would still have been alive. I bent down to protect him, mothers, and they ate me up instead.
276. Sindi: Yes, if they'd got the child, you'd have been all right.
277. PANDERI: Yes, they ate me up ... two gourdfuls of alin, Birsan handed me two gourdfuls of alin [i.e. she stopped for a drink on the way, between having been attacked and beginning to feel its effect]. I drank them, while your child -
278. Sindi: Where did you go to drink?
279. PANDERI: Uh?
280. Sindi: Was it Sindi ul? [the reference here is merely to the location, not to its function as an Earth-Memory site]
281. PANDERI: No no, Garegetangen [a location]. Garegetangen. It was Disamor's father's alin, I mean I drank it with Birsan, but I only drank two gourdfuls, and I -
282. Sindi: Only two gourdfuls! [i.e. what a meagre, unhealthy appetite!]
283. PANDERI: Well my soul had already fused (jakid-) [into Ra'tud-Memory]. That's right. [calling out] "Hey, really, help me, fathers, Hey, really, help me!" I cried, "Hey aunts Hey uncles Hey mothers-in-law Hey fathers-in-law!"
284. Sindi: How could we see you?
285. PANDERI: [tearful] "Where's my husband where's my husband, I want to be with him I want to speak to him, where's your nephew where's your son?" is all I cried. [quiet again] They ate me up fresh-and-alive (rongtapada). [fast hysterical monotone] "Hey husband Hey spouse, now that we've stopped being brothers now that we've stopped being sisters, now that we've given up being cousins, that we're no longer marongger-man marongger-woman, truly, you do my sacrifices [i.e. instead of my brothers], Hey fathers Hey mothers!" I said - [Sindi is speaking very fast in the background, words inaudible] - your child your grandchild, they would have beaten him up and snatched him, but I screamed "O gai, my baby, o gai, my baby!" and bent down over him, so that they ate me up instead.

286. Sindi: [becoming audible] You can't say we didn't guar you or do your sacrifices can you? [vehement torrent] Leave abandon that house that home, that place that location, that seat that site, leave it abandon it, are you a male that you should stay in a house like that a house of that sort? [i.e. Ra'tud is properly a location only for men]. Say you're going to your fathers your fathers-in-law your fathers [meaning actually only her fathers-in-law], and go to Kantursing, Bodigan, Jelabbab, Kup a -
287. PANDERI: Yes, [my father-in-law's] Ancestors redeem me all right -
288. Sindi: - then give it up ... will you stay like that in Eating-up-Residence Drinking-up-Residence? -
289. PANDERI: - My father-in-law says, "Let's go and live together over there", he says -
290. Sindi: Well, if they've redeemed (tandi-) you if they've untied (urdi-) you -
291. PANDERI: Yes they have.
292. Sindi: Are you saying we didn't guar you, didn't do your sacrifices?
293. PANDERI: But [the Ra'tud-People] won't release me they won't let me go!
294. Sindi: "Let go!", you should say, "I've got my fathers-in-law I've got my mothers-in-law I've got my brothers-in-law I've got my kinsmen I've got my sisters-in-law", you should say.

[PANDERI departs]

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12 Memories and emotions: a tentative case-study

In the above text we see a number of Memories caught on one particular day in their movement across a wide range of stages in time in relation to their living rememberers. These Memories exercise a wide range of influences over the emotions of those who remember them. The terms of our discussion so far prompt the questions: what is the nature of the link between the progressive movement from Experience Memories to Ancestor-Memories and of the lessening of the manifest intensity of the mourners' grief? Can we coordinate our account of a system of psychotherapy with an account of the structural processes of an exogamous segmentary lineage system? The present chapter will try to identify the way in which these meet for one specific case, that of the dead girl Panderi and her tearful, silent young husband Sagalo, whose encounter we witnessed in lines 269-294 of the last chapter. Apart from theoretical difficulties, the situation is so sensitive and unsuitable for an investigator's gratuitous probing that the interpretation offered here must remain somewhat tentative and beyond the reach of any serious hope of verification. However, it seems to me that a similar parallelism between emotion and structure will be perceptible in many of the cases in later chapters and a theoretical justification for this is given in the final chapter.

Almost from the moment of a death, the mourners' reaction to the event is moulded through the conventional attributes of the Experience into which the deceased has been assimilated. It is thus not possible for the survivors to contemplate someone who was close to them except through the filter of the terms which provide a framework for that contemplation. The extreme distress which some dead people arouse in their rememberers is linked to their being seen as still wholly or largely trapped in their original death-Experience. As Panderi put it (Chapter 11, lines 287-93), though Ancestors strive to redeem her, the Ra'tud-People will not release her to go with them. The empathy which their shared consciousness makes the survivors feel with the patient, goes hand in hand with fear for themselves: those whom one loved the most

while they were alive, one fears the most once they are dead. While the Old Memories receive routine disrespect, Recent Memories may be greeted where appropriate with the utmost tenderness. Yet along with this, Sindi's speech to the Little Girl concentrates explicitly on the fear that she may perpetuate her Experience, just as the conversation with Palda, though hardly tender, focusses on his role in precipitating Sarsuno's recent attempted suicide (this was moreover not the only person to whom Palda had done this since his death).

We may thus infer that grief, while it lasts, is seen as destructive to the griever. This grief can diminish over time, as can the destructiveness. Thus at funerals it is often said to older Ancestors regarding the deceased, "Don't let him wander [i.e. attack in his original Experience] just because he's new" (abgorod dong tabme gamle). Panderi (No. 20) had been dead only three months and had not yet received the first of her three annual karjas; Palda (No. 11) had been dead for four years; while I believe that the Little Girl (No. 17) had died within the previous year. But what determines the deceased's move away from his death-Experience is not time itself, in any absolute sense, but the development of the relationship between Memory and rememberer. For instance, it seems a reasonable interpretation to say that the undeniably devastating effect on her mother of the Little Girl's words is related to the way in which they reflect back at the mother the very same self-reproach, as it might be called in English, which she feels most deeply but is unable to admit to herself: the kuran's role here is to allow to be made explicit what would otherwise be forced to remain inside the mother and fester.¹ Though I could not stay in the field long enough to check this, on the analogy with other cases I have followed I would expect the Little Girl some months or years later to be saying that her mother did her best and that no grudges remain. Because of the verisimilitude achieved through a necessary cruelty in these early conversations, then this later volte-face will be equally convincing. It will be matched by the girl's growing disinclination to perpetuate her scars and a greater tendency to make herself known only as a resident of an Earth site.

This ultimate resolution of the inter-personal difficulties

represented by the deceased's prolonged association with his death-Experience passes through the term Earth. However, within this term itself, there may be a further tension to be resolved which is expressed through the need for a choice of residence between rival Earth sites. It was pointed out in Chapter 2 that "law" as understood in the outside world was often irrelevant in such matters, while Chapter 3 outlined a lineage system with general normative rules for its regulation. However, it will be noticed that apart from any emotional considerations, all three of the Memories in the above dialogue which I have classed as Recent are the focus of a clash of interest among the living for which the "rules" provide no definitive answer. These clashes are based in each case on an unresolved ambiguity in their structural position. I cannot assert this must always be the case for everyone who dies. Yet Chapters 13-14 will show that this is not likely to be merely because of the youth of the people in the present cases, or because two of them are female. Owing to the potentially fissile nature of the birinda, even men who die as adults with descent lines can be involved in such structural ambiguities, as are all married women. These ambiguities are often linked to emotional ambivalences and the two can be so intimately interwoven that they can be discussed and resolved only together. In the present three instances, Palda's change of post-mortem residence is linked to an extremely complex series of strategies of inheritance discussed in Chapter 15; the Little Girl accuses her mother of having transmitted to her a hereditary contagion (line 258) from which the girl's father's line have power to redeem her; while Panderi talks of her cross-cousin relationship to her husband and is enjoined to enter her father-in-law's Earth site rather than that of her own father (line 286). This is the example which will be examined more closely below and the reader may like to remind himself of the words of her conversation with Sindi (lines 269-294).

Case 12.1 the death of Panderi

I was present at the cremation and two rival pyre-divinations for Panderi which took place about three months before this conversation.

On the night of her death I was sleeping in Ranatang's house in Tong seng, half-a-mile across the

valley from where she resided in Alinsing. During the night there came the sound of drumming and lamenting from Alinsing and the sky was red with the flare of a pyre. I was conscious of the others' tense wakefulness in the dark for some time before someone broke the silence to ask, "Are they singing langga or langgi?" (i.e. "lovely", or "beloved", in the masculine or feminine form). However, before first light they knew not only who had died but were also saying that she had hanged herself after a quarrel with her husband Sagalo and that she had tried to do so once before but had been cut down in time. At first light we crossed over to Alinsing, where the pyre on Sagalo's cremation site had not yet died down. A friend from Alinsing told me, "She had been going around with only her external (bayira) soul [i.e. just as an empty shell], her real soul had been lost since she went to Pangrung yesterday [cf. Chapter 11, line 283]. Yesterday a Memory grabbed her, Ra'tud." Others added that this was the Ra'tud-Memory of Rungrungba village. But members of her natal birinda in Jai'tagorjang who were standing round the pyre were muttering that it must have been suicide or murder to be so sudden. As it turned out, they had already raided Sagalo's house and snatched back her personal jewellery, grain and clothing with a promise to return it to her child if it should survive. This was a calculated irony since the baby was only a year old: such unweaned children usually perish since no other woman will wet-nurse them.

Unlike Jamano's case (Chapter 7), there were here two preconceived diagnoses in circulation before the pyre-divination, neither of them involving sorcery but each reflecting one of two conflicting views of what even the perceptible symptoms might have been. That involving Ra'tud was based on the fact that the dead woman had returned from a long journey along a path which passed through many known Ra'tud sites and characteristically of Ra'tud had collapsed suddenly during the evening, in addition making horrible noises reminiscent of the dog Kambutung with which Ra'tud-Memory hunts down its victims. Besides, it was argued, she had initially collapsed outside the house and called out for help, whereupon certain named witnesses had carried her inside, so how could it have been a concealed murder or suicide? The second diagnosis, on the other hand, reflected her brothers' hostility towards her marriage, both because of their third generation cross-cousin relationship to Sagalo which made it incestuous and because they were wealthy and he poor. Their view was supported in addition by her supposed previous suicide attempt after an earlier quarrel with Sagalo.

When the Ancestor-Women of Sagalo's birinda had cooled (sira-) her ashes, her brothers' group, as is normal, took some of these in a pangjang procession to their own cremation site and buried them there just as the remainder had been buried on Sagalo's cremation site. The pyre-divinations in her husband's and her brothers' houses were to be performed in that order on successive

days by the same old woman who though now blind and barely able to walk performed all the post-mortem divinations for both Alinsing and Jai'tagorjang.

The following morning the first of these divinations began in Sagalo's house. Only households of his birinda contributed grain, with the addition of Mengalu. He is Sagalo's mother's brother and was going through an intense phase of the quarrel with Jamano during which he distanced himself from his own birinda and acted rather as a senior member of that of Sagalo (Chapter 7, events Nos. 5-7). I could not help remembering the last time I had attended a pyre-divination in the same house two years ago, when Mengalu himself had been revealed as the murderer by sorcery of Sagalo's little brother in his attempt to kill Sagalo himself (*ibid.*, event No. 2). Some representatives of Panderi's brothers' people came and sat stony-faced on the verandah outside, from where they could hear through the open door everything that was said within.

The format and tone of the pyre-divination are similar to those of the guar-divination as presented in Chapter 7. There are the same injunctions not to conceal the truth and the same techniques for creating verisimilitude by building from a shared perception of the symptoms towards a goal in terms of motive. Yet at the same time, since it takes place earlier, the pyre-divination proceeds with a more elaborate display of tentativeness, with its feeding of water rather than alcohol to the deceased who is still a confused kulman ('ghost') hot from the pyre rather than a true sonum, and consequently a greater risk of ondrung ('false consciousness').

In a pyre-divination, therefore, an additional preliminary test is done before the actual trance in order to give the company a lead towards the likely cause of death, although the verdict of this need not be binding on the dialogues which follow. The kuran places two grains of rice between two leaves from a special kind of tree and passes them through the flame of her lamp. This lamp is associated with the idea of clarity of perception in the quest for truth in the shadowy Under-world. A verse is sung naming one Memory at a time - which may be either an Ancestor or an Experience - and the leaves opened and examined to see whether the two grains have stuck to the same leaf (indicating a negative probability) or to separate leaves (positive).

On the present occasion, after working systematically through various Ancestors, the kuran moved on to separate named Ra'tud sites. After this procedure had been followed with a grim determination for about an hour, she came at the thirty-second test to the Ra'tud-Memory of Rungrungba village. On separating the leaves it was found that the two grains had disappeared completely, which I was told indicated a very high probability indeed that this Memory was responsible. At this point the tests with leaves ceased and Panderi's brothers' people entered the house and took part in the remainder of the proceedings.

Once the trance began, there came a succession of eight dead people who stayed only long enough to name themselves and enjoy a drink of alin. These were Ra'tud-People from Rungrungba but not related in any way to Panderi or her husband. Then came Palda (Chapter 11, Memory No. 11), who confusingly lent support to the alternative verdict by claiming to have induced Panderi to follow his own example and hang herself. He was followed, however, by the slaving hunting dog of Ra'tud, whose behaviour Panderi was supposed to have imitated in her death-throes. In the body of the frail old kuran I found this a chilling performance. Then came Sunia of Rungrungba, who claimed responsibility while acting as a member of his village's Ra'tud-People and was, moreover a cross cousin (marongger) of Sagalo (see genealogy below, figure 12.1). Mengalu asked him indignantly why he had done this terrible thing when they had treated him well by giving him a second guar, even more than was strictly required by his marongger status.

Finally the dead girl herself came. After being given a drink of water she was made to recount every detail of her movements as she came alone along the path with her baby, where she had stopped to rest and whether she had felt anything at the time. She repeatedly emphasised how she had saved the baby who was the real target of the attack. Her husband wept at the thought that at the very moment that she was being eaten alive, he had been having a good time drinking with his friends in the forest; he recalled how when she had recently been ill he had sacrificed an animal for her and she had immediately recovered. There was a long discussion of all her belongings in order to establish their precise quantities. Though they had been snatched by her brothers, the day might come when they would be demanded back if the baby survived. At one point she was accused by her brothers' people of concealing the fact that she had been driven to suicide, and there were threats of calling another kuran to force her to corroborate this view. But Panderi herself supplied the unmistakable imagery of Ra'tud, for example, "They prick me with a goad like a buffalo" (cf. Chapter 7, lines 102, 104). She explained that the ringleaders in the attack had been Sunia and his father Jambing and before going advised her younger sister, who was present, to marry Sagalo in her stead.

Anything said in this pyre-divination could have been contested in the one held by her brothers the following day and it was not inevitable that she would either confirm her cause of death or repeat the advice to her sister. In this light I am inclined to interpret the appearance in the first divination of the suicide Palda as being just enough to keep suicide - or rather, what it stood for - a live issue. In the event the original verdict was upheld in the second divination even though she was surrounded by rememberers from

the other side of the dispute. This was moreover confirmed at her first guar given by Sagalo a month later and in the subsequent guar given by her brothers. All talk of suicide seems then to have ceased.

The rationale for this verdict is somewhat different from that for Jamano's case, where the role of the attacker was fragmented into three (Chapter 8): the unmotivated person who shared Jamano's Experience; the wife who did not share his Experience but was at least partially motivated; and the highly motivated sorcerer who was not yet dead and so not associated with any particular Experience. These gave a chain from a person who was most plausible in terms of symptoms but least so in terms of motive, to someone in whom these properties were reversed. In the present case there is no such fragmentation: the ultimate impetus for the attack lies with someone who is himself a member of the Experience through which the attack is routed. We should therefore expect this person to be plausible in terms not only of symptom but also of motive.

It will be noted in the summary given above of this pyre-divination that various members of the Rungrungba Ra'tud-Memory spoke who were unconnected with the victim's family, before one of their number (Sunia) arrived who was in addition Sagalo's cross cousin. Panderi herself later added the name of Sunia's father Jambing who had supported him as ringleader (muda). As in Chapter 8, we see here a shift from symptom to motive. However, unlike that case, both of these are found in the same party, namely Sunia and Jambing. After a summary of the grouping properties of Ra'tud, the remainder of our interpretation will therefore focus on their cross-cousin relationship to Sagalo.

Ra'tud: it will be remembered that this category serves to summarise all the male Ancestors of all the birindas of the village. Each village has its own Ra'tud site. Some two or three generations after first entering an Earth site at their guar, all men must in the long run enter one of these sites, though they continue to spend some time in their Earth site and to wander between the two (Chapters 14-15). Women do not enter Ra'tud but begin at this point to disappear

from the awareness of the living (Chapter 13). It is "inappropriate" (a'tame) for any man to enter a Ra'tud site other than that of his own village, as well as to enter even this site before time. It is even more inappropriate for any woman ever to enter any Ra'tud site (cf. Chapter 11, line 286).

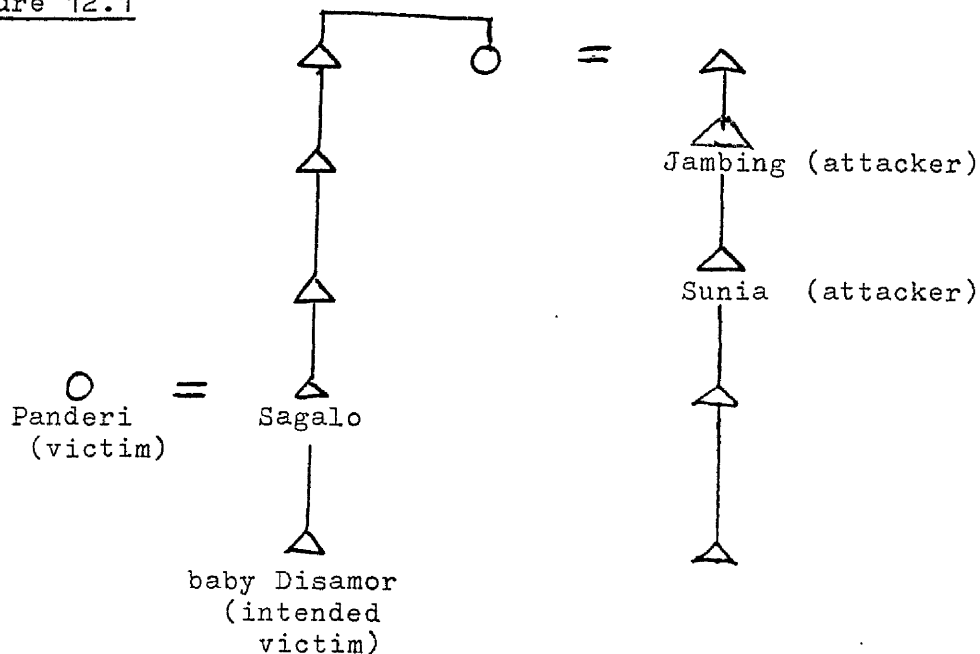
However, all these things happen frequently. The dead, even of recent generations, visit and 'gang up' with each other, meeting particularly in Ra'tud (cf. ibid., lines 241-45); while every village Ra'tud consumes as an immediate cause of their deaths a large number of people from its own village (e.g. Jamano) as well as a certain number of stray travellers belonging to other villages (e.g. Panderi). All such people may be male or female, though the latter are rarer and the exhaustive lists of a Ra'tud site's members sung at Ra'tud cures rarely contain more than three or four female names, each of which is explained by a distinctive story.

The village of Rungrungba contains several birindas the members of which make many marriages with Alinsing and Jai'tagorjang. As well as bringing together all the village's male Ancestors, its Ra'tud site is known in addition to have absorbed five members of Sagalo's co-villagers from Alinsing. However, none of these is closely related to Sagalo or Panderi, nor were they said to be implicated in Panderi's death, and attention was focussed entirely on the direct connection between Sagalo and his cross cousins (henceforth referred to by the Sora term marongger which also includes parallel cousins traced through the mother's sister).

The marongger relationship: why is the Ra'tud-Memory of Rungrungba making a drastic and exceptional move to destroy Sagalo's wife or child by stressing his marongger relationship to some of its members? One kind of answer seems to me to lie in a certain analogy which can be discerned between Sagalo's relationship to the attackers from Rungrungba and his relationship to his wife's brothers, both of them a third-generation marongger relationship. I did not hear this analogy made explicit and given the Sora idiom it is unlikely that this would be done; I can therefore do no more than point to it and hope that the reader finds it as suggestive as I do.

The relationship between Sagalo and his wife's attackers is shown in figure 12.1.

Figure 12.1



As explained in Chapter 3, a marongger relationship lasts for three generations following the marriage which brings it into being and lapses (masuna-) in the fourth. In the present case, Sagalo belongs to the last generation in his line to whom this relationship will apply and his baby will be free to marry again into Jambing's line.

However, the baby would also have been free to marry into Panderi's brothers' line had Sagalo not taken his wife from there. It was this, along with Sagalo's poverty, which lay behind their hostility to the marriage. As is common among wealthier people, they had originally accepted an offer of marriage by pangsai on her behalf by drinking the alin of a suitor whom they considered acceptable. She then refused him and (unusually) bought herself out of the contract by paying him the necessary fine out of her own resources. After living with another man for a while she had eventually come to Sagalo by the poor man's form of marriage, mutual free choice (dari). In this light the birth of her first baby, and a boy at that, can be seen as a vindication of their marriage and the first step

towards the final defeat of her brothers' opposition. It was this baby, as much as Panderi, whom the Ra'tud-People of Rungrungba sought to destroy.

What is the interest of the people of Rungrungba in this? So far as I understand it, the consensus which was reached between Panderi, her husband and her brothers must also be acknowledged by the people of Rungrungba. As in the case of other such outside victims, though I could not check this particular instance I assume that they will enumerate her, at least for some time, in the list of their Ra'tud-People. But unlike most such inclusions, they can have no serious interest of their own in the matter since among women only their wives and sisters, not the wives of their maronggers, can receive a guar with its attendant opportunities for discussion. Even had the baby died, he would have been both too young and beyond the generational limit to receive a marongger funeral. There is thus so far as I can see no opportunity for anyone in Rungrungba to air their own view of the case and no meaning to be had in their doing so.

Whose view, then, is being expressed in this verdict? Surely that of Sagalo himself. There seems to be a displacement whereby something is said about the baby's potential death through the medium of the mother's actual death, and this something concerns the validity of their marriage. The case appears to be about a marongger relationship which refuses to fade away before its time despite Sagalo's anxiety to discontinue it prematurely. What is at issue is not his relationship with the Rungrungba people but his structurally equivalent one with his wife's brothers. These are the people who do actually wish to see the baby destroyed: while the pyre was still blazing they plundered her personal belongings from Sagalo's house in the scarcely veiled expectation that the baby would not survive to claim them back. These are the people whose interpretation of her death was designed to estrange her from Sagalo, and who were defied when the interpretation favourable to him was upheld by the dead women even to the extent of asking her younger sister to take her place. Whether or not she will do this, in seeing the baby as the intended victim snatched from the jaws of death, Sagalo's point

of view remains triumphant so long as that baby is alive; and he has sent it to a missionary orphanage to make sure that it will remain alive. This is two days' journey away on the coast but he visits his baby frequently and thinks about him constantly. Moreover, if Panderi's sister does marry Sagalo and they have a daughter, then that child is likely to bear Panderi's name. The passion with which the Memory of Panderi juxtaposes her protectiveness towards the baby and her love for Sagalo (e.g. line 285) suggest that her act of self-sacrifice for their baby's sake was intended to be taken by the bereaved Sagalo as the supreme expression of that love. According to the interpretation offered here, Sagalo's growing confidence about the survival of his son, or his satisfaction at Panderi's replacement by her sister, will be reflected in the growing permanence of Panderi's redemption as she ceases to wander as a Recent, distressing Memory and remains more and more in Earth-Memory, as well as in her decision to remain definitively in Sagalo's particular Earth site.

13 Alternative Earth sites:
exogamy and the transmission of women's names

a) death from the blocking of reproductive and excretory orifices

To say that someone is in Earth-Sonum is to invite the question "Which one?", meaning which specific manifestation on the landscape of the overall concept. The intention of Panderi's husband's Ancestors in redeeming her is not only that she should leave Ra'tud-Sonum and enter Earth-Sonum but also that she should reside with them in their own Earth site and not in that of her brothers.

So far in this thesis, the idea of Earth-Sonum has been ever-present yet shadowy, always an anomaly or a category with more complexities than the discussion of the moment allows to be explained. The present chapter and the following one are devoted to elucidating these complexities, in the conviction that this could not have been done without first exploring the movement in the funeral rites away from the Experiences and without the term "Memory" which was derived from this exploration.

The operative power of Earth as a concept lies in the way that it reduces the extreme paradox of simultaneous existence in an Experience and as an Ancestor, to one in terms only of Earth, which appears both as an Experience and as the negation of the Experiences, and thus ultimately one with the state of Ancestorhood. Every element of Experience is obliterated through the recycling of the name of the deceased into a new baby. This ceremony, which takes anywhere between a year and a century after the death of the former bearer, may be considered the final stage of the funeral rites: it uses the same tunes and much of the same symbolism but is entirely joyous and free from lamentation. This is a final transformation, a counterpart of the guar in form. This renaming is not the same as reincarnation in the usual Hindu or Buddhist sense, since the former holder of the name continues to exist as a separate personality among the Ancestors and to converse with his living namesake during trances. Rather, it should be explained in terms of the replacement of individuals over time, of

inheritance and the transmission of property, of which both the name and the Earth-Memory are symbols.

Earth is a residential Experience like the others, in that it has fixed locations where the dead accumulate and recognised signs and symptoms by which it impinges upon the living.

We have seen that there are three ways in which one can enter an Earth site. One is to be led there by one's Ancestors who redeem one from whichever other Experience was the direct cause of one's death; another is to die uneventfully in old age, in which case one has been taken by an Ancestor who is already in that site; the third, which applies mainly to people of a sexually active age-group, especially adolescents, is to be taken with prominent Earth symptoms. Thus Earth differs from the other Experiences in that as well as being a direct cause of death for some, it is also a preferred residence for all the dead, in which the symptoms and Experience of their death are nullified. This is so even for those who die directly through the agency of Earth, whether of old age or of the other symptoms. These still receive the full funeral rites including redemption songs with appropriate wording: though it is not said that the deceased is in an undesirable residence, they do say that he is in an unhappy state: "Do not eat pigswill, do not drink trough-water, do not eat food of the ashes, do not eat food of the embers", and the imagery of rescue, wandering and banishing rites remains the same. Even for these people, it is only the symbols used in the guar in conjunction with the redemption chant which enable them to participate fully in their Earth existence and which prepare the way for an eventual return of their name among the living: the buffalos are for ploughing with in their Earth site, sticks painted with stripes of ash and turmeric (used in the guar) are for pillars of their new houses in the Underworld, and so on. It is the impoverishment and solitude immediately following death which make Earth in this respect an Experience like any other, and it is this aspect which will be eliminated by redemption into Earth free of symptoms. When the Ancestors attack a younger person through Earth, they do so with the appropriate symptoms regardless of whether they themselves have originally experienced them or whether they entered the Earth

only through redemption or old age. Earth¹ is thus different from other Experiences in that an attacking Ancestor is not necessarily perpetuating symptoms which he himself has suffered. The symptoms stand for something rather different.

The symptoms associated with this kind of direct death by Earth are always seen in terms of constriction of bodily emissions: either a general swelling or bloating of the body, or more specifically of the stomach or, for men, the scrotum; inability to urinate or the passing of blood in urine; constipation; and death in childbirth or miscarriage. The implication seems always to be that the Earth regards such bodily emissions as improper and seeks to repress them. This is illustrated by the following examples, which provide some of the case-study material for later analysis. These people will be found again on the genealogy in figure 14.4, in the next chapter.

Cases 13.1-5 Deaths with symptoms of Earth-Experience

Case 13.1

Old Rumbana, male, mature, owned and worked the site on which Bungsendan Earth site is situated. He habitually tethered his cattle near the water and their dung and urine seeped into the water. As a consequence he died of an inflated scrotum and became part of the Earth site. He had bought the site from a man in another village and was the first victim in his own village.

Case 13.2

Bumbuden, male, mature, his birinda brother, died soon afterwards; he did not own or work the site but often herded his cattle on a nearby hillside, where being thirsty, he stole the alin from trees belonging to another village as it hung in pots waiting to be collected. So the men of that village put some earth from his footprints into a pot with some sorcery-medicine and sealed up the pot's mouth, thereby sealing in his breath, urine and faeces. "it was as if they had tied up his penis and plugged up his anus" (a loojen jileji amrid do a sambin tudableji amrid). In the pyre-divination it emerged that they had hired (baiñ-) Rumbana to produce these Earth symptoms and Bumbuden had now joined him in Bungsendan Earth.

Case 13.3

Ra'gi, a young unmarried girl, became pregnant after an embarrassing liaison. It was her first pregnancy, and her mother administered an abortion which resulted in the death

not only of the foetus but also of Ra'gi; she entered Rere Earth, which was owned and worked by her own brothers. There she joined her classificatory father's sister Mabmati who already resided there after herself dying in childbirth.

Case 13.4

Ra'gi's sisters and mother: since her own death Ra'gi has caused the death of her close classificatory sisters Gansamar and Gadi during first pregnancy or child-birth, and Gadi has since taken her own younger sister Pui'jan in the same way. Ra'gi also took in old age her mother, Daiani, because she had unintentionally caused her death. They all went to reside together after death in Rere.

Case 13.5 (Text 13.1)

Mengalu's illness: song to cure a constricted urethra

Recently, while I was there, Ra'gi attacked her brother Mengalu, causing him pain in urinating. He recovered after leading her out of his house with a banishing rite along the path towards Rere. The song sung by the kuran included the following words:

harrow Earth-People	[a ploughing-tool] Earth-People	Earth-People
plough-the-paddy- field Earth-People	level-the-paddy- field Earth-People	we call you
arise to pick up grain [i.e. calling them to the sacrifice]	arise to scoop up grain	Earth-People
snatch-miscarried- foetus Earth-People	clutch-miscarried- foetus Earth-People	grandmothers
<u>janam</u> -flower Earth	<u>labo</u> -flower Earth	who has come and grabbed [i.e. grabbed Mengalu]
birth-pang rumble Earth	birth-pang groan Earth	who has come and grabbed
discard-stillborn- placenta Rere	kick-aside-still- born-placenta Rere	Earth
Kungsin Earth [names of sites]	Peturen Earth	who have come and grabbed
snatch-miscarried- foetus Earth	clutch-miscarried- foetus Earth	you who have entered [i.e. entered the Earth site]
labour-contraction- gasping Earth	thrusting-back-up- against-labour- contraction-panting Earth	you who have entered

[informants explained this line as saying that the Earth-People push the child back up to prevent the birth]

The imagery contrasts vividly with that of the Sun discussed in Chapter 4, who as blacksmith-embryologist creates the conditions of heat whereby boundaries melt and one entity can separate out into two. Here by contrast the sealing of boundaries through coolness, which in a normal birth is applied by medicines, washing and songs to both mother and child after the birth, has been applied in advance to the mother-plus-child as a sealed unit to prevent the birth.

The almost synonymous use of the idea of excretion deserves comment. The normal word for faeces is asong. But as pointed out in Chapter 4 (table 4.2) its meaning is significantly broader than that, in that it is used to make the normal word for secretions from several other parts of the body. This suggests very strongly that asong should be glossed as "fluid or semi-fluid (that is, formless) exuviae given off by a bounded entity".

Bearing in mind both this and the discussion in Chapter 3 of cross-cousin marriage, woman-hoarding and the initiation of female kurans, it seems reasonable to suppose that the hostility of Earth towards excrement, through which both Rumbana (case 13.1) and Bumbuden (case 13.2) died, reveals itself in its most clearly focussed way as a hostility towards the sexual reproduction of their sisters. A birinda's Earth will never attack its own wives in this way, since they are producing children for the men of that birinda. Rather, the Earth appears to be making a statement against exogamy on behalf of the birinda of the woman's brothers. It is fighting to preserve the structural integrity of a group of men through the analogy of the body of their sisters.

b) exogamy: women in between

What kind of a group can this analogy serve to define? In the broadest sense, it pitches against each other the two affinally related groups of men between whom a woman's loyalties are caught. It will be remembered that Sindi, the fully assimilated old wife to Sagalo's birinda, spoke to the Memory of Sagalo's young wife Panderi with the words: "... leave abandon that house that home ... say you're going to your fathers your fathers-in-law your fathers, and go to Kantursing, Bodigan, Jelabbab, Kupa" (Chapter 11, line 286). "Fathers" is here used in a doublet as a synonym for her "fathers-in-law", who are indeed the people of Kantursing Earth; this is meant in opposition to Panderi's real fathers, whose Earth site she risks joining by her inability to escape from the Ra'tud-Memory which stands for them.

Similarly, Sindi's own daughter Maianti has defected after death by marrying the younger Rumbana in the Underworld and bearing him a male child. Rumbana tries to prevent her from revisiting the birinda into which she was born, and though she defies him in order to turn up and speak, it is only to give the message that she had indeed gone to reside in his Earth site: "Jagatumba, Ra'räräbgäban, Jorauren" (ibid.: line 267).

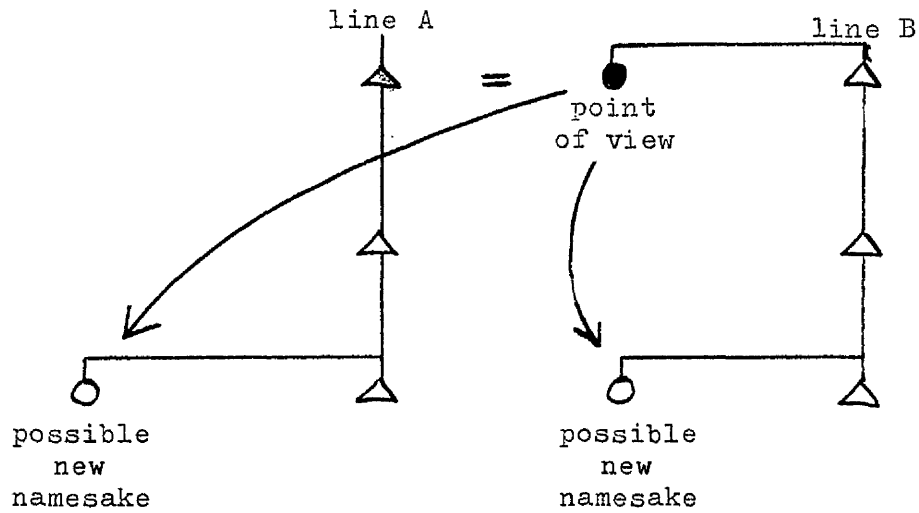
These three names, like the four urged upon Panderi above, belong to separate locations which are used as synonyms because the birinda in question cultivates some land near each site. It is only in contexts where the issue of a woman's recruitment has been solved that this synonymy dissolves into further oppositions within the birinda itself. This will be discussed in Chapter 14.

Put at its simplest, a woman who has male children will enter an Earth site of her husband after death and her name will reappear among her husband's descendants; a woman, at whatever stage of life she dies, who has no sons will enter one of her brothers' Earths and her name will revert to them. Women who bear only daughters may follow either of these patterns or their Earth membership and the reappearance of their name may be split. There are strategies according to

how long-standing or intimate the marriage has been, the availability of new female babies to capture the name quickly, and so on. Often in order to achieve this the names of such women reappear in the children of a younger co-wife (her ayi, "younger sister") even though this shortens the normal minimum recycling period by one generation (it seems likely that Panderi's name may do this).² It is for this reason that it was said above that a woman's name reappears among her husband's descendants rather than among her own; though by the terminology of the sororate this is seen as amounting to the same thing for most purposes. If a line dies out, both male and female names are transferred, along with inheritance, to collateral lines, and in principle no name is ever lost however long it has to wait for recycling. The workings of this idea will be examined in detail in Chapter 15. The choice of the new holder of a name is made known by the Memory of the old holder who reveals his or her wishes during trances staged on behalf of the relevant birinda.

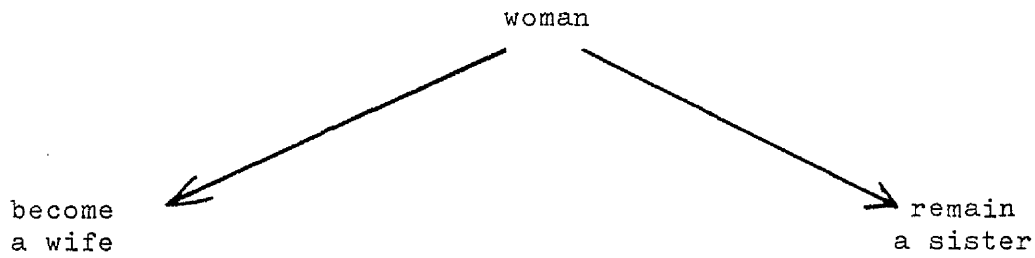
Thus a woman has a choice of two Earth affiliations after her death and two places to recycle her name (figure 13.1):

Figure 13.1 A woman's two alternatives: choosing an Earth site to reside in after death



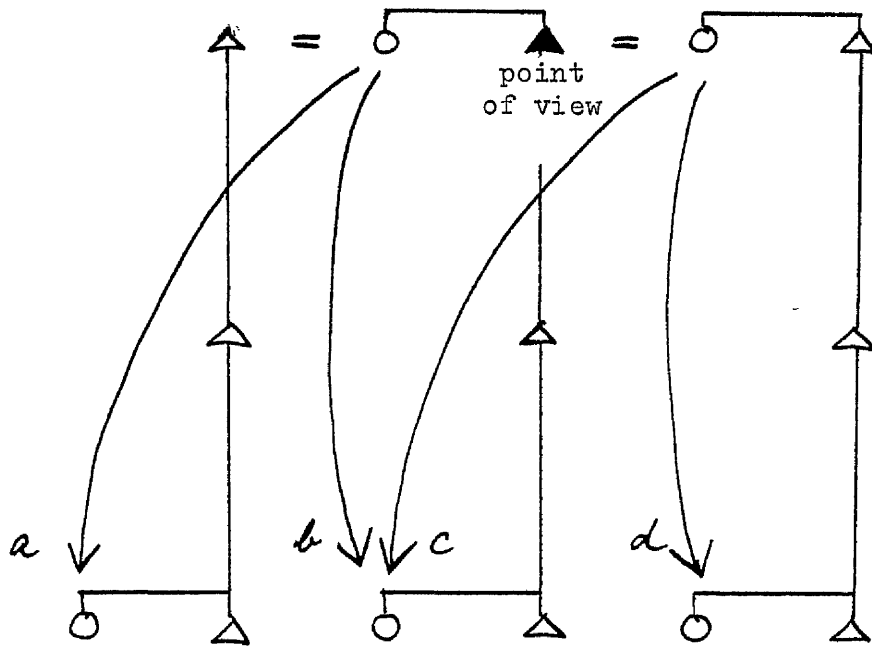
These possibilities can also be represented as in figure 13.2:

Figure 13.2 A woman's two roles



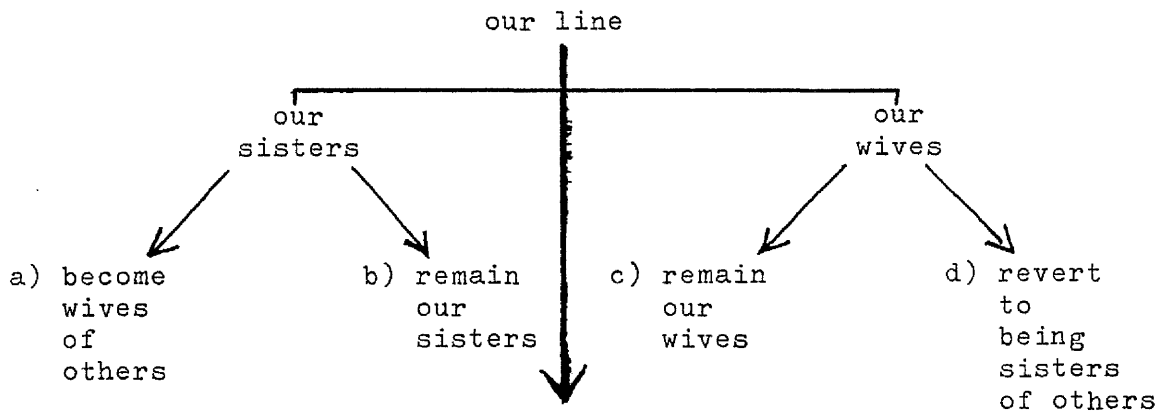
However, from the point of view of the birinda or its male representatives, a woman can be in one of four positions:

Figure 13.3 The male view: the four genealogical positions of women



Or, in terms of figure 13.2 (figure 13.4):

Figure 13.4 The male view: the four roles of women



These four positions are:

- a) wives of others, formerly our sisters: these have borne sons to another birinda, whose Earth site they enter and among whose descendants their name reappears. In their reproductive capacity these cease to be our sisters.
- b) our sisters, who have not borne sons and who consequently enter our Earth site and recycle their name into our descendants. These include women who have stayed at home and borne illegitimate children by lovers whose rights as fathers are denied by us, as we sponsor a naming ceremony with the name of one of our own Ancestors. Thus these women remain our sisters.
- c) our wives, who have borne us sons. These enter our Earth and their names reappear in our descendants. This makes them in time indistinguishable from our sisters, and they are listed in funeral songs only in the order of the segments to which they are attached, under the general synonymous heading (in doublets) "yangji bujmai" "mothers, sisters".
- d) sisters of others who have not borne us sons and return to the Earth site of their brothers, taking their name back with them.

Table 13.1 shows all the women known to have existed in two linked segments of the enormous genealogy of the main, Gomang birinda in Alinsing. One such segment will be examined in detail in the next chapter, but it is convenient to summarise this aspect of them here as they already show very clearly the differences between the ways in which the four kinds of women are remembered.

I did not carry out a comprehensive large-scale survey of such women in the older generations, since although such information is easy to quantify it is not to be had accurately for the asking. I have confined it to the two segments which I know most intimately of the birinda for whose funerals I chanted, since it is important to know under which circumstances a woman's name or her genealogical position are genuinely forgotten. The two segments have a quite different distribution of women born to them in various generations.

Table 13.1 Post-mortem Earth site residence and renaming
of women (using two segments of the Gomang
birinda of Alinsing)

- Note: (1) the branches involved are those descended from Gupi by his first wife, namely that of his son Sargia (Part A of this table) and of one son (Kanu) of another of his sons, Rijoi (Part B). The relations between these can be seen from figure 14.2 (foldout at back: cf. figure 7.1).
- (2) where no place of renaming is given, this indicates either that the name has gone elsewhere or else, if it is still ours, that it has yet to be recycled.
- (3) Earth sites are named only where these names are relevant for later discussion, i.e. in Part A, which concerns the branch to be discussed in the next chapter.
- (4) names of anomalous cases are underlined.

Part A branch descended from Sargia (generation -4), containing among its present living members Mengalu. All male and female names of this branch, together with their Earth-Memory residences, can be found on the genealogy in figure 14.4 (foldout, at back).

<u>name</u>	<u>category</u>	<u>male heirs</u>	<u>normative renaming</u>	<u>actual renaming</u>	<u>relation of new namesake</u>	<u>normative Earth residence</u>	<u>actual Earth residence</u>
<u>generation -4</u>							
Ra'gi	sister	no	b	b	BSD	b	b Sangkaroren
Komi	wife	yes	c	-	-	c	c Sangkaroren
Bodeng	sister	no	b	-	-	b	b Sangkaroren
<u>generation -3</u>							
Amboni	wife	yes	c	-	-	c	c Sangkaroren
Gudemi	wife	yes	c	-	-	c	c Sangkaroren
Kurseri	wife	yes	c	-	-	c	c Sangkaroren
<u>generation -2 (those who reached old age are recently deceased)</u>							
Dusan	sister	yes	a	-	-	a	a (in another village)
Sarsuni	wife	yes	c	-	-	c	c Bungsengdan
Indiri	wife	yes (but line now dying out: see Chapter 14, sections c(ii) and d(ii))	c	d	BSSD	c	d Jagatumba

<u>name</u>	<u>category</u>	<u>male heirs</u>	<u>normative renaming</u>	<u>actual renaming</u>	<u>relation of new namesake</u>	<u>normative Earth residence</u>	<u>actual Earth residence</u>
<u>generation -2 (continued)</u>							
<u>Nedraki</u>	sister	no	b	-	-	b	b Rere
<u>Sandi</u>	sister	no (see Chapter 11; note)	b	a and b	2 name- sakes: daughter of co- wife and <u>BSD</u>	b	b Rere
<u>Daiani</u>	wife	yes	c	-	-	c	c Rere
<u>Limai</u>	wife	no	d	-	-	d	d (in another village)
<u>Tunglid</u>	wife	yes	c	-	-	c	c
<u>Mabmati</u>	sister	no	b	-	-	b	b Rere
<u>Pai'jari</u>	wife with no brothers (see Chapter 14 under Sindiul Earth site)	no	?	-	-	?	c Sindiul

<u>name</u>	<u>category</u>	<u>male heirs</u>	<u>normative renaming</u>	<u>actual renaming</u>	<u>relation of new namesake</u>	<u>normative Earth residence</u>	<u>actual Earth residence</u>
<u>generation -1 (present mature adults, shading to elderly)</u>							
Nedri	wife	no	d	-	-	d	d
Morti	wife	no	d	-	-	d	d
Gadtani	wife	no	d	-	-	d	d
Pitani	wife	no	d	-	-	d	d
Ragidi	wife	no	d	-	-	d	d
Gadi	sister	no	b	b	BD	b	b Rere
Pui'jan	sister	no	b	-	-	b	b Rere
Ra'gi	sister	no	b	-	-	b	b Rere
Gansamar	sister	no	b	-	-	b	b Rere

Part B part of Rijoi's branch stemming from his son Kamu only and containing among its members the recently deceased Jamano (Chapters 7-8). Members of this branch tend to be older than their generation-fellows in Sargia's branch, owing to an original difference in age between Rijoi (elder) and Sargia.

<u>name</u>	<u>category</u>	<u>male heirs</u>	<u>normative renaming</u>	<u>actual renaming</u>	<u>relation of new namesake</u>	<u>normative Earth residence</u>	<u>actual Earth residence</u>
<u>generation -2 (on this side, all dead for some years)</u>							
Mangri	wife	no	d	d	-	d	d
Tarani	wife	no	d	d	-	d	d
Risan	wife	yes	c	c	SSD	c	c
Dasami	wife	yes	c	c	SD	c	c
Jumboná	sister	no	b	b	SSD	b	b
<u>generation -1 (present mature adults, shading to elderly)</u>							
Onsam	wife	yes	c	c	SD	c	c
Jenggi	sister	no	b	b	BD	b	b
Kusumai	sister	no	b	b	BD	b	b
Santuni	sister	no	b	b	BD	b	b

<u>name</u>	<u>category</u>	<u>male heirs</u>	<u>normative renaming</u>	<u>actual renaming</u>	<u>relation of new namesake</u>	<u>normative Earth residence</u>	<u>actual Earth residence</u>
<u>generation O (mostly children and adolescents)</u>							
Jenggi	sister	no	b	b	ZD (illegitimate, equivalent to BD: this was the daughter of Santuni and subject of naming in Rana- tang's house in Chapter 7	b	b
Pa'teri	sister	no	b	-	-	b	b

Table 13.2 summarises the number of women in each of these four categories for each branch:

Table 13.2 Abstract of table 13.1 showing number of women in each of the four categories

Part A: Sargia's branch

	generation	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	total
category a)		-	-	1	-	-	1
b)		2	-	2	4	-	8
c)		1	3	3	-	-	7
d)		-	-	1	5	-	6
anomalous		-	-	3	-	-	3

Part B: Kanu's part of Rijoi's branch

	generation	-2	-1	0	total
category a)		-	-	-	0
b)		1	3	2	6
c)		2	1	-	3
d)		2	-	-	2
anomalous		-	-	-	0

Despite demographic differences between these two branches of the birinda, there is a marked preponderance of women in categories b) and c). This is no accident. The memorability of women in each category is discussed below:

a) wives of others: as the brother or brother's son of this woman, we take her bones (pangjang) and give her a second guar. This establishes the exogamic marongger relationship between us and her sons, who become our "brothers" through a shared woman who in this sense is indeterminately wife/sister through the identical outward form of her two funerals. But in another sense, the distinction remains clear, since by going to her husband's Earth site her Memory will not enter our houses as an Ancestor and later in the funeral songs of our birinda "we don't enumerate her" (a'dibe). By the third generation her name is often not known by our descendants (to whom she is in category a)), though it will have survived in her husband's birinda (to whom she is in category c)); her very existence is known to her brother's descendants only through the line of maronggers which was established through her.

Thus the Memory of a woman in category a) is not inherited, that is, it is not prolonged artificially by ritual means beyond the lifetime of those who directly remember her.

b) our sisters: a child or woman in this class receives a single guar and no pangjang if she has not left home; if she has married and has either no children likely to survive or else only daughters her cremation is likely to pre-empt the arrival of her brother's people. The example of Panderi (Chapter 12), where her brothers acted as though she would leave no child, shows that this situation is ambiguous and can lead to very unseemly disputes. The dialogue given in Chapter 11 shows her husband determined to place her, from her brothers' perspective, in category a) rather than in their preferred category b), in order to keep her for himself in category c). However, if her brothers prevail, she enters their house as an Ancestor, as though she had never left home.

There are likely to be more Memories in category b) than any other, at least in recent generations, because girls are

produced at a higher rate than they are married off but lost through child mortality. Thus only some of the girls in this category offset those who come in as wives in category c), since this concerns only adults. When asked, parents recall losing slightly more children than they have walking around them, of which only those who reached the age of about three will have been fully named. Even though these children over three receive a full guar, their Memory dies with their parents and such losses are impossible to discover in earlier generations. In a structural sense they are irrelevant since a child's name will always be retrieved and recycled as quickly as possible, usually into a younger sibling, and a female name is thus lost only when its holder matures and bears a son for another birinda.

Women in category b), then, if they mature and do not die in childhood, become Ancestors, that is, inheritable Memories within the birinda.

c) our wives: a woman in this category receives her cremation and first guar from us and becomes a full Ancestor as the woman in category a) did to the descendants of her husband. She is, however, like b), an inheritable Memory to us.

d) sisters of others: even if we give her a second guar, if a woman reverts to the Earth of her brothers not only does she not become Ancestor to us but since she is unlikely to have children there is not even a marongger relationship to remind us of her existence. It is thus a priori almost impossible that such a woman could exist for her ex-husband's birinda much beyond living memory. Such a Memory is thus not inheritable.

Anomalies

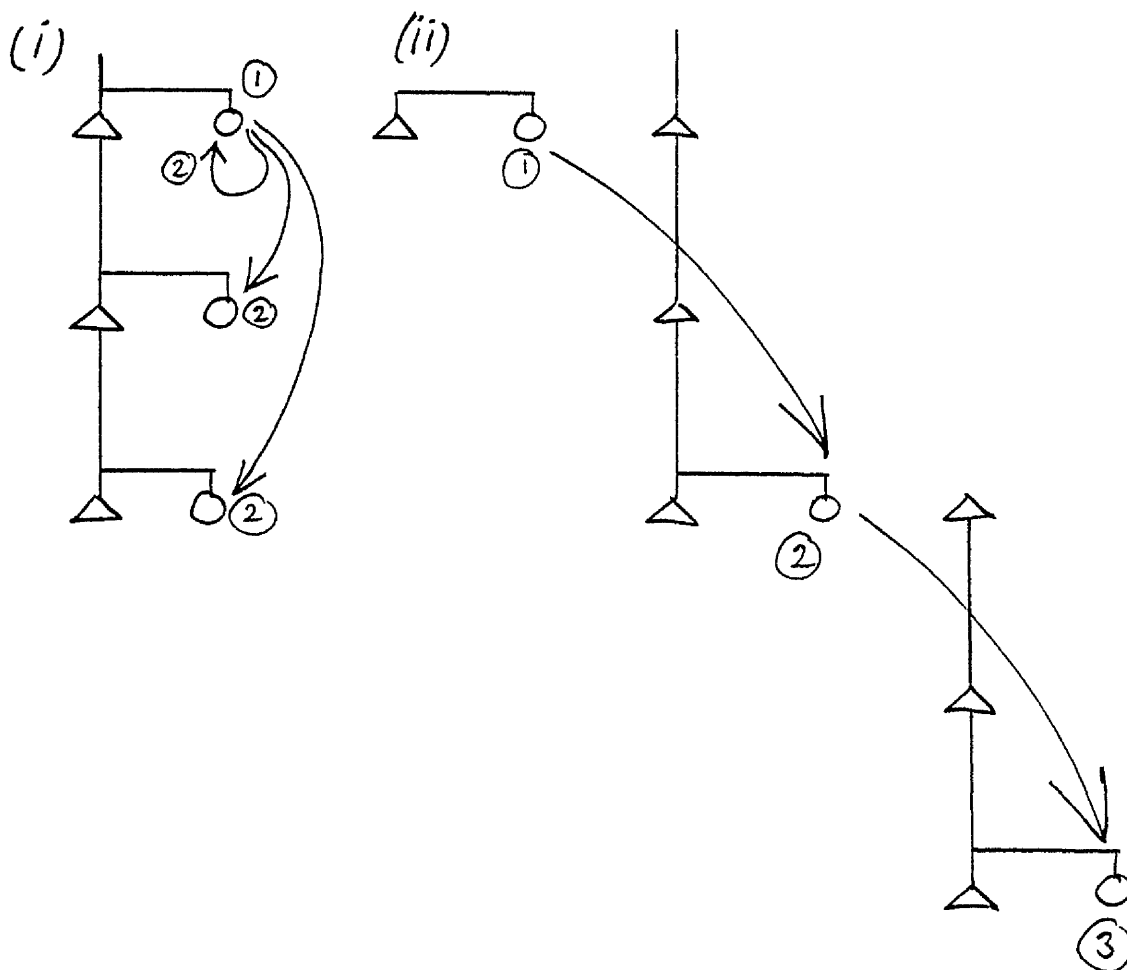
These are all in very recent living memory, and one of them (Indiri) will be examined in detail in the next chapter after the genealogies have been presented. As with illegitimate children, there are often a few anomalous Earth memberships to be found in the most recent generations though there are none whatever further back in the past. It seems that in

these recent cases strong rival interests still prevent a consensus from being reached and that when eventually it is reached, such cases sink back without further protest into the metaphor to which they have been assigned. It is only in this consensually conventionalised form that their Memories become transitive, that is they can be remembered by those who were not present while the case was being fought out, since it is the conventionalised form of a Memory which determines what can be done with it in the future.

c) the transmission of women's names

From what has been said so far it may not be fully clear how the metaphor of Earth sites can help the Sora to think about exogamy. But it is more than a mere filing cabinet for the storage of names in space. Figure 13.5 shows the parallel movement across birindas of a woman's name and the normative Earth membership of its current living holder which one can expect to be confirmed after her death.

Figure 13.5 A woman's Earth site membership and the movement across generations of her name



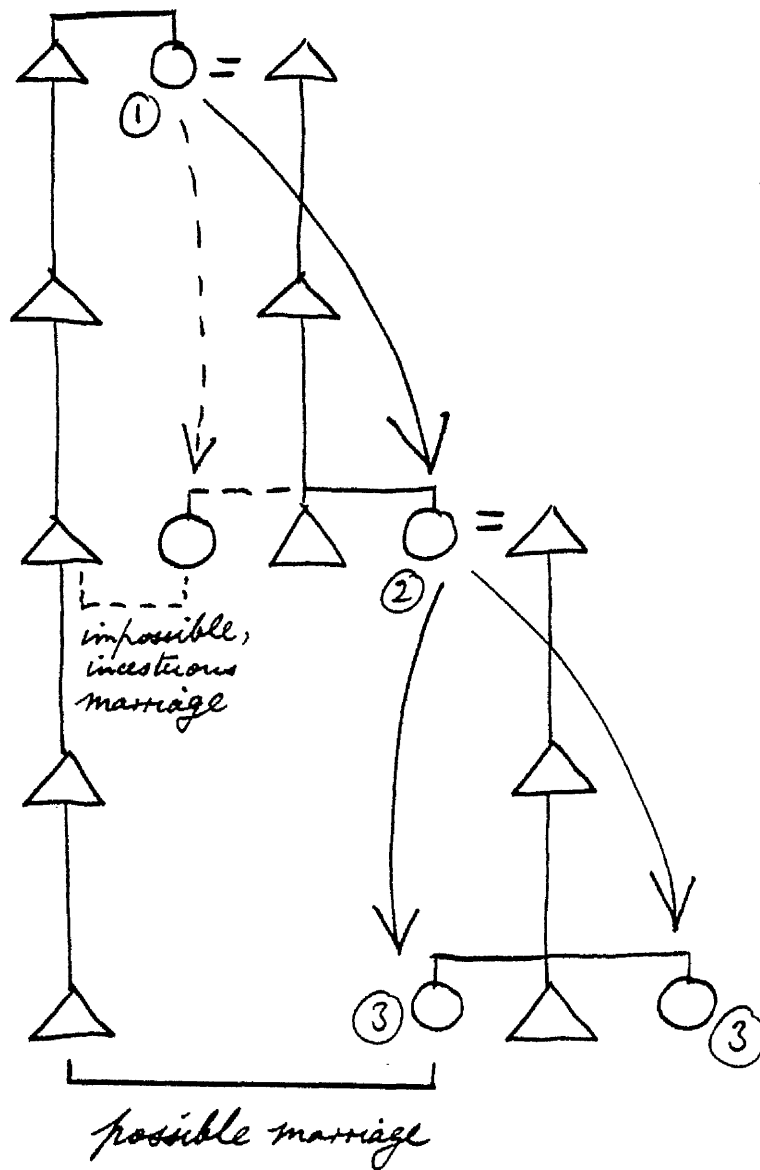
① ② = Name-holder No 1, 2, etc.

In (i) the woman died without bearing sons to another birinda, that is, with no sons at all or bearing only illegitimate ones in her brother's house. The generation of the second holder of the name will vary according to the age at which the first holder dies, but in all cases, the anti-exogamy imagery of her Earth membership makes its point forcefully. (ii) shows the normal progress of a name which bears a son every time: holder number 3 appears four generations and two birindas away from holder number 1: that is, it is only the name itself which is transitive, in a sense similar to that used earlier of Experiences, while the Earths it passes through remain fixed. Each time the name is held by a living woman, she carries it across from the Earth affiliation into which she is born, to that into which she marries. There are two areas of imagery here: the first is that of the house, which could be substituted for the word "Earth" in the previous sentence. The workings of the analogy between the Earth site and the house will emerge more fully later. The second, which will also be explored more fully below, is that of nourishment through grain. It will be remembered from Chapter 4 how, in moving from one house - and Earth - to another, a woman is also moving from one piece of soil to another as the source of her nourishment. The Ancestors of that birinda or segment have "entered" that soil and "become" it, as they have "become" the "soul" (puradan) of all the grain which grows from it. Like all Sorā life-cycle processes, marriage takes many years to accomplish. There are many reversions, and the process is known to be complete only when the woman herself dies and enters her husband's Earth, her soul, like his, becoming part of the soul of the food of subsequent generations. The tragedy of girls like Ra'gi (case 13.3) is that they fail to complete the transition, are caught half-way and are jealously dragged back to become part of the soil from which they have been nourished since their own birth.

If the normative movement of a name is mapped on to the five-generation cycle of marongger, we get the result shown in figure 13.6.

Except where a woman names the child of her co-wife, thereby cutting out one generation, this is the minimum number

Figure 13.6 Superimposition of figure 13.5
onto the five-generation prohibition of cross-
cousin marriage



of generations in which a woman's name which has gone away can possibly return to the Earth, house and source of nourishment from which it set out. Often the name takes more than two generations to reappear, and the cycle would be correspondingly longer. It is thus no accident that the marongger prohibition is supposedly strictly enforced for three generations, since any return of its second holder in either the second or third generation of marongger would be returning before the name, which was supposed to have been lost - that is, a non-inheritable Memory - had truly disappeared from memory. It should be pointed out that a third birinda is not necessary for this if birinda B should hoard the name for long enough, either in storage or through a succession of reabsorbed sisters. The essential, if startling, point is that if the name has been recycled in the meantime, and if the second holder has moved across birindas, there is no way in which the generation of the third holder is likely to know anything about the identity of the first holder. By the time she renames her grandchild in birinda C, the second holder is remembered by her son, the father of the child, only as a woman who came from birinda B; while he explains his marongger relationship with birinda A by saying only that his mother's natal birinda "took a woman" from A. The only marongger relationship in which the name and position of the linking woman is remembered by the maronggers of the third generation on either side is that where, having acquired the name in generation 1, birinda B have kept it in storage ever since. Typically this happens only with the wives of prominent apical Ancestors, and there are at least two such women in Alinsing who have not recycled their names even though the sixth generation of their descendants is now growing up (see next chapter). Since these are prominent, almost legendary figures, both their husbands' and their brothers' descendants acknowledge their mutual relationship even though they ceased to be marongger and have intermarried again. But this is unusual, and can persist only as long as the name remains un-recycled, that is, so long as it is enumerated in funeral chants without a break by successive generations of their husband's descendants.

However, in most cases the name is recycled within two

(as in figure 13.6) or three generations. By generation 5 in figure 13.6, birinda A will have long since lost all knowledge of the name, since it was in category a) (wives of others) and has not been enumerated by them since the death of holder 1. Birinda B will be on the way to forgetting it since they have similarly passed it on to C, while birinda C do not know the source of their grandmother's name but will continue to enumerate her until holder 3 herself dies. Then if she has borne sons to a further birinda D (who by this time could just as well be A again, see figure 13.6, above), she will go the same way as her earlier namesakes. But if she has stayed at home in category b) (our sisters) the name will continue to be enumerated, but this time with her person in mind, and the grandmother (holder 2) will no longer be named or even clearly considered as a separate person. With the naming of holder 4, holder 2 will cease utterly to exist, as holder 1 did at the naming of holder 3. This phenomenon will be discussed in Chapter 15 after examining the movement of men's names: it means that, with very few exceptions either because of early deaths or certain prominent positions at the head of a genealogy, each name has at any moment only one living and one dead holder. As a third child is named, the first Ancestor slips out of memory.

14 Synonymous Earth sites:
segmentation and the transmission of men's names

This chapter has numerous sub-headings. To help the reader, these are repeated here:

- a) the Gomang birinda of Alinsing
- b) segmentary tendencies in the transmission of men's names
- c) the distribution of the dead for one selected branch of the birinda
 - (i) in their own Earth sites:
 - A. Sindiul
 - B. Sangkaroren
 - C. Rere
 - D. Bungsengdan
 - (ii) in an Earth site of cross cousins:
 - E. Jagatumba
- d) the four rival claimants to the estate of the childless Rumbana
 - (i) members of his own birinda:
 - A. the descendants of Mu'tuku
 - B. Mengalu
 - C. Jani
 - (ii) cross cousins:
 - D. the descendants of Indiri's brother:
 - I. a long-dead mother moves into her brothers' Earth site
 - II. how a marriage among the dead changes the meaning of a love affair among the living
- e) time: the fragmentation of land holdings and the disintegration of synonymy among Earth-Sonums

a) the Gomang birinda of Alinsing

There are as many Earth sites dotted across the landscape as there are springs and water holes, and many more than I have been able to show on the map (map 5.2). Any of them may be used as a metaphor by any man who works a paddy-field which is watered from that site or a shifting-cultivation slope in the vicinity, as well as by his descendants. They are thus a system for differentiating agnatic groups which allows a great deal of flexibility, since each group has several Earth sites, and vice versa.

When in Chapter 11 the Memory of Panderi was urged to go to her father-in-law's Earth, this was given as "Kantursing, Bodigan, Jelabbab, Kupa" (line 286). These are four separate sites (Bodigan is not marked on the map) which are worked separately or together by the men of the one birinda. In the same way, the other branch of the Buya birinda is characterised by their connection with Sangkaroren, Laiba, and other subsidiary sites (cf. genealogy, figure 11.1 and table 11.3).

However, although the verbal technique of doublets here makes these sites into synonyms, they need not be close together on the map, and furthermore each individual Ancestor resides in only one of them: in line 131 Sindi says she has forgotten whether Indupur resides in Sangkaroren or Sargiadan, and he explains that he would have gone to Sargiadan, which he used to cultivate, but his classificatory brothers Poitano and Jojokab invited him to drink [and reside] with them in Sangkaroren. Thus a group is defined by a range of Earth sites with some of its members placed as representatives in each one. Clearly it is a matter of some importance within the group where they place each new person in order to keep each site populated, and this will be done through post-mortem divinations which they conduct for themselves. But this placing of Ancestors also has implications for future lines of segmentation within the birinda itself, and the division between these lines of the property for which the named Earth site stands.

In examining this, I shall use not the small Buya birinda of Alinsing, but one section of the large, deep and well-branched one of the Gomang (Headman). This is one of the largest birindas in Soraland. It includes both Jamano and Mengalu, and has made recent marriages with the Buyas, who will therefore be brought in as extras.

It will thus be possible to draw together in one picture most of the instances which have been used so far.

All members of the Gomang birinda agree on the story of their arrival in Alinsing. I have heard it many times, and give a summary as follows:

Text 14.1 Arrival of the Gomang birinda in Alinsing

'There were three brothers, Jani or Ana, Gurunju and Mu'tuku with three sisters Arari, Kusumai and Kumai. They were the descendants of Rugadung, Lamting, Kimbob [and more names], who were eventually descended from Rama-Bima [sometimes two brothers, sometimes, through a doublet, one person: big Ki'tung(s) who made the world]. They had a very long paddy field in Tunganrutung in Ganjam District. It was so big that they needed one putti of grain [about 60 kg] just to sow it. But the grain didn't ripen so they opened it up to see what had happened. They encountered money in the rice-heads. They were astonished, and frightened also, because of the Patro [Oriya march lord] in Udayagiri: "He will make trouble for us." Out of fear they cut and threshed the rice by night, but in the darkness they missed a few small coins in the straw. A Pano trader came on business in the morning, and saw the coins. They also had a pet python with horns, which went Moo! like a cow, and was kept in the stable with the cattle [such pythons are associated with hoards of gold; cattle also are symbols of wealth]. The Pano heard this and by a trick discovered the python which they were trying to conceal. When he asked the three brothers what was going on, they said "Don't tell anyone" and bought him off with 5,000 Rupees. On learning this the Pano went back to the Patro. "Look, in this village money grew in the Soras' paddy field." The Patro was astonished: "How can Soras have such money?" and he gave orders to gather his private army. When my ancestors heard this they got frightened and at dead of night took what money they could and left with their sisters, and the python on a lead with a cow-bell round its neck. First they went to ... [there follows a long itinerary]. Then from high up on RiJoising they saw Alinsing. It was a large level area, rather densely forested. There were a few paddy-fields already around the spring called Barang, in the middle of the lowest part of the valley (see map 5.?). ... Indira-puga was living in Alinsing, he was a Sora and had much land. He gave them a regular wage in rice (badi) for their labour. Later Indira-puga's people desperately needed some money to buy a cow or iron or whatever - in the old days it was very hard to come by cash: there was plenty of grain but no cash - but my ancestors had money and gave it as a loan. But Indira-puga couldn't repay the loan as he'd become impoverished, so my ancestor acquired a paddy-field and we became even more rich when the British soukar [Oriya: literally "moneylender" but used by the Sora for all officials] came [some time shortly before or after the authorities "pacified" the area in 1864-6]. At that time there was no law and order, there was fighting between villages. The British soukar and his party halted on the far bank of [description of a certain stream]. They were looking for men of various villages and wanted to interview my ancestor, called Gupi, who was the descendant of Gurunju, one of the original three brothers. [Gupi goes, taking offerings of a goat and grain; preliminary conversation]. They must have spoken in Oriya, through bariks. The soukar said,

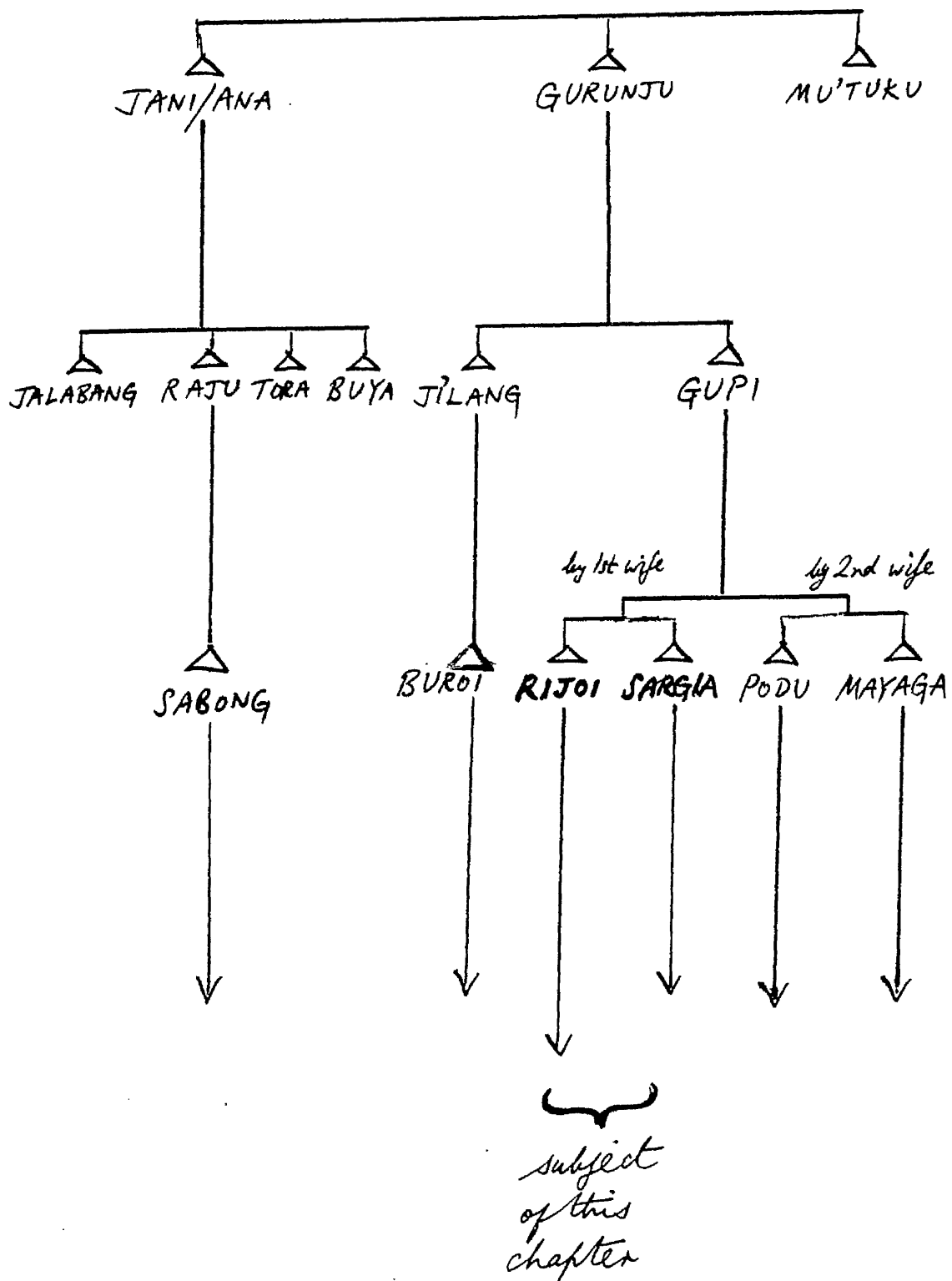
"Wars and murders and theft must stop. If they occur you must apprehend the people involved and bring them to me." ... He gave Gupi a gold bracelet, which remained in the possession of Sadaru (the present Gomang of Alinsing) till it was lost when his house burned down eight years ago (actually this was in about 1948, i.e. nearly thirty years before the recounting of this story). He gave a silver one to the Dolbera [Gomang's deputy, see Chapter 2] and both of them received a turban of office. [There follows a long section on conflict of customs and taboos back in the early days between the original three brothers and Indira-puga's people, ending in the total absorption of the newcomers into the local system]. The original three sisters didn't marry, they remained spinsters, they stayed at home. The three brothers took local wives - no, not from Indira-puga, from the part of the village called Jai'tagorjang. The people of Jai'tagorjang were originally from ... [another migration]. How far back I don't know, but my ancestors came six grandfathers ago. Indira-puga's descendants are now the Karji birinda [another subordinate position to Gomang] .'

Of the original three brothers, Mutuku had no descendants, Ana/Jani had some who have not prospered and are today a poor and small section of the village; while of the descendants of Gurunju, the children of one of his sons, Ji'lang, are in a similar position, while those of the other, Gupi, true to the imagery of the story, have prospered greatly. Gupi is the man who presumably acquired an unprecedented increase in power and wealth by the imposition of outside government in the area. Though for different kinds of minor rituals the line of kinship is drawn at varying genealogical depths, for funerals all the descendants of the three brothers share the same cremation-site, guar-site, and prohibition on marriage among themselves.

There are also some small lines of descent whose founders have migrated from elsewhere because of a quarrel or lack of prospects at home and have joined the birinda; this is similar to an uxori-local marriage (lotab, "feeding the husband"), except that since the connection is not through marriage, the man's descendants remain a distinct line. Such lines are not included in the following discussion. The relationships between the branches of the main birinda are shown in figure 14.1. As in all genealogies given here, two strokes under a man's name signify that he died without male heirs (tad-).

Further discussion will be limited to the descendants of Gupi by his first wife. Those by his second wife include the present Gomang himself, an old man in generation -2, in one of whose sons the name Gupi "has emerged" (dungnaite). But these descendants are not as numerous or well-branched: Rijoi had four sons with living descendants

Figure 14.1 Outline of the main branches
of the Gomang birinda



today and Sargia three; while Podu had two and Mayaga only one. Furthermore, since they are descended from a younger wife, they are now between half and one generation behind the descendants of the older wife, some of whose descendants in generation -1 are now dying of old age while the youngest of their "younger brothers" descended from Podu and Mayaga are still being born. So from the same starting point of old Gupi, the elder branch gives us both a greater complexity and a greater genealogical depth. All known male descendants of Gupi by his first wife are given in figure 14.2 (fold-out, at back). Names of people no longer alive in September 1979 are in capitals.

b) segmentary tendencies in the transmission of men's names

In order to get a grip on the material, it will be simpler to discuss the transmission of names before that of property or Earth residence. It is intended by the system that all names (whether newly-coined or oft-recycled) should be recycled after the death of their previous holders. Figure 14.3 (also fold-out at back) abstracts from figure 14.2 all those names which occurred in or before generation -2 and have since been repeated; some further repetitions are now beginning of names which were not recorded by generation -2, but this has been chosen as a cut-off point because it is sufficient to show the working of the system as well as marking the limit of living memory of today's mature adults. This second point will be elaborated in Chapter 15. The Sora lifespan is such that people almost never see their first grandchildren grow out of childhood (*plate 8*): ancestors of generation -3 are therefore known to the people of -1 not as first-hand memories but only as Memories, that is through the metaphors into which they have been conventionalised since their deaths. While growing up, the people of generation -1 have listened to their parents leading these Memories through redemptions, reversions and banishings, and have themselves inherited these Memories in order to perform further necessary transformations upon them.

With only one exception, Poke, for whose anomaly I have not recorded an explanation, the principle is clearly adhered to that a man's name will emerge only in his direct descendants, or if their line dies out, in the nearest collaterals. The range of possible holders of a man's name coincides exactly with the men who through sharing the responsibility of the guar have shared in the inheritance of his material wealth, including his land. It is in these terms that we shall explain the rival appearances, in equally eligible places, of the names Sargia and Rumbana in generations 0 and +1. These are matched by some anomalies in post-mortem Earth residence. It seems likely that this happens in every generation but that it is resolved before the people concerned pass out of living memory, since no such anomalies are recorded from further back. Those who are among the many who die as children can have no effect on the long-term unfolding of the genealogy: those in earlier generations who died without heirs and who are remembered, were all adults at the time of their deaths.

Some consistent tendencies emerge:

Plate 8 Vita brevis: a grandmother with her infant grandchild

It is unlikely that she will live to see it grow out of childhood. The other woman is her sister. Behind their heads is the grain-storing loft, supported by the main pillar (Chapter 2). The wall-painting and pot on the right are dedicated to Ancestor-Sonums; the box top left is the ethnographer's camera flash attachment.



- a) someone dying as a child may immediately rename a younger son of the same father;
- b) if he dies as a young man he may rename his brother's child;
- c) if he has only one or two sons, he will rename one of their sons, e.g. Tabaro-Rumbana-Tabaro-Rumbana; Andaraj-Titino-Andaraj-Titino. Where the child named is not the eldest sibling this suggests that the grandfather died between the naming of his two grandchildren. Normally it is desirable to rename as soon as possible after one's death, but
- d) where a brother dies without heirs, his name must be retrieved before that of the father, whose position at the head of a line allows him to be kept in storage, e.g. the sons of Kanu (-3): the order of birth in 0 takes names by working backwards in time: Barjol, Gadino, Kanu, Rijoi, Pantalu (a "random" (ka'ja) name shown only in figure 14.2, not 14.3). The responsibility for Gadino's name was taken over by Lumbeta's descendants in -1, and claimed back again by Kanu's as soon as that Gadino died. This was related to a quarrel over land.
- e) The further back an Ancestor, the longer he can be kept in storage. This appears to happen only to those who have several sons and who after their deaths remain confident of heading a widely branching family, and to their heir-less brothers. For example, Rijoi and Sargia in -4 waited 4 generations, as did Gupi (-5) who has emerged in -1 among Podu's descendants. Such a large brood of sons is the fruit of successful polygyny or of having some sisters who stay at home and are encouraged to be promiscuous (Chapter 3), and whose role later disappears from the genealogy.

Such an emergence may perhaps represent a claim by the father of the new holder of the name to be himself in the same apical position as the original holder. Thus in -1 Jamano died in 1979 leaving four sons by two wives and one 'fatherless' grandson through his daughter; Mengalu (-1) so far has four wives and five living sons plus one, Rumbana, who died as a child in 1979; Tabaro (-1), the father of the first Sargia in generation 0 who died as a child, has had three wives but been tragically unlucky and his entire branch as far back as old Tabaro will now die out, except that his brother's daughter has borne two strategically named fatherless children who will dispute this. Sadaru (-2), the

present Gomang, descendant of Podu (-4) and father of the new Gupi, has six sons by six wives, one daughter bearing fatherless children at home, and another who has brought in a poor man as a uxori-local husband. Though Tabaro and Mengalu named their first sons after old Sargia, Jamano waited until two, and Sadaru until three, earlier sons were safely growing up.


Meanwhile the names of the oldest Ancestors of all, Guronju, Rugadung, Jotam, Sumbara and Lamting, who died before the migration, are still waiting to emerge. It will be argued that these are being held over in order that their structural position can continue to be remembered. Every name belonging to the birinda is normally enumerated once only in the funeral chants, whether or not it has a living holder. In each case, it is most recently deceased holder who is meant. Very occasionally, a new holder may die before the structural significance of the old one has faded, and they are listed separately in parallel as "big x, little x". This is done, for instance, with the female name Ra'gi (-4), whose importance as the unmarried first worker of the site of Sindiul Earth is still relevant for inheritance among her brothers' descendants (see below), although her namesake in -1 has already died. But generally, in re-using the name of an apical Ancestor, one is preparing for his elimination: when the second holder of the name dies and renames a third person, it is inevitable, given the technique of remembering Ancestors in funeral chants, that the first holder will cease to exist: it is said that he dies a second death in the Underworld and nothing is known of him afterwards. Note that with the names of non-apical Ancestors which leapfrog in alternate generations, this happens much sooner - after four generations, the same time-span as it takes the memory of a marongger relationship to fade. Thus after the further re-naming of a descendant by the Rijoi and Sargia now alive in generation 0 and the disappearance of the earlier holders of the name who are remembered in -4 as brothers, no link between the two branches can possibly be remembered and segmentation will be complete. The name of Gupi (-5) has been pre-empted by Podu's descendants, and of old Kimbob by those of Raju (-5). One by one the names of Rugadung, Jotam, Sumbara and Lamting will be pre-empted by one or other branch and will then belong exclusively to the descendants of the new holder. Thus segmentation works by the absorption of names from the present working backwards, and so long as two branches enumerate the same

ancient Ancestors they remain one exogamous unit. With the names of the old Barjol, Gadino and Kanu safely brough down as his juniors, the Jamano who has just died (Chapter 7) could expect to stand after his death as the head of a huge lineage of his own with in this case no backlog of names behind him (so long as Palda', -3, is retrieved in the meantime by one or other line as was his brother Kondia by the descendants of Sundo). The namegiving ceremony (abñamon) at which his own name reappears will thus be the most significant event in the line for four generations - i.e. about a century.

However, the same applies to Mengalu. He has brought forward all the names behind him and is preparing to absorb the names of Tabaro's line as it becomes extinct, a work which will be continued by his sons. This gives a further layer to our explanation of the diagnosis of the cause of Jamano's death, dwelt on at length in Chapters 7 and 8.

c) the distribution of the dead for one selected branch of the birinda

How does the segmentation-oriented pattern of name succession work in conjunction with the imagery of group-integrity of the apparently synonymous Earth sites?

Figure 14.4 (fold-out at back) shows all people, male and female, known to have been born or married into Sargia's branch. As before, the names of living people are in small letters, while those of dead people are now enclosed by an oval (male) or oblong (female), coloured according to the Earth site they have entered after death. Lozenge shapes  around a few words of explanation indicate the first worker of the site within the birinda.

It proved impossible to get a consistent absolute order of deaths within the birinda, except for the most recent. The order of deaths within each site, however, is agreed on by all, since each new person was "taken" there either directly by a predecessor, often the most recent, or else after being redeemed from some other Experience. No Earth site is known beyond generation -4. Since then, the history of each site is said to be as follows:

(i) in their own sites:

A. Sindiul

Rijoi, the elder of the two brothers in generation -4, moved out on marrying and built a solitary house the other side of the valley on the site of what has become Tongseng, where he started to cultivate the Earth site of Kurujlan, which remains exclusively among his descendants. Sargia stayed behind in the house in Alinsing with his aged mother and two unmarried sisters.

Their sister Ra'gi cleared Sindiul, probably after Sargia's death. At first, whenever anyone went to clear or cultivate the site, they vanished - men, cattle, ploughs, everything. So Ra'gi went all the way back to Tunganrutung from where her grandfather had migrated, and was told by kinsmen there how to drive out the hostile alien Earth-Memories who were responsible for this. She returned to the site and lit a fire under five pots containing a mixture of hot, irritant, disgusting-smelling and red-juiced herbs and tubers, plus pig-dung. As the pots dried out under a pall of foul smoke they exploded loudly, and the cool-loving, clean-loving Earth-Memories were disgusted as well as wounded by the shrapnel and hobbled away elsewhere never to return.

In the next generation, since Ra'gi could have no heirs in her own

name, the site was divided equally between the sons of Sargia and Rijoi (some of whom for all we know could have been Ra'gi's children), whose descendants continue to cultivate some of it and to enter it after death (e.g. old Barjol, -2, father of Jamano). The fact that they still have one Earth site in common means, as I was often told, that if one of the branches died out entirely it would be inherited by the other, a claim which would be upheld against the lines of Podu and Mayaga who have no Earth in common with them.

In Sargia's line, the site has been divided in each generation and every household still owns and works some part of it. But Mengalu and Raduno have worked hard to expand it and they now own most of the paddy-fields which go under that name. This is why, though Ra'gi did not enter it but joined her brother Sargia in Sangkaroren, it first "became important" (pimengle) with:

- 1) young Andaraj (-1). He died an unmarried youth without any swelling or genital symptoms. He was in the habit of sleeping alone in a stable on the site and is reported to have said in his post-mortem divinations: 'I married a sonum-girl in Sindiul and my sonum-children called me to them.'
- 2) Poke (-2) was next. He was old, and lost his appetite and died without swelling or genital symptoms. At the divination Andaraj said 'I took him.'
- 3) Urungen died similarly, after loss of appetite, an old man. For some time he had been having more and more insistent dreams of young Andaraj and Poke and knew they were coming to take him. Urungen was a kuran, for whom monkeys are a key symbol of longevity and the ability to leap both ways across the gap between here and the Underworld (cf. commentary to lines 186-93 of Chapter 9). Another recurrent dream of his old age was that a group of monkeys, including one very ancient white-haired one, used to play with him and fill him with bliss. 'But this year they have deserted me'. He died soon after.
- 4) Jonu was the last of his generation to die, around the early 1970s. He was taken by Ra'tud and later redeemed and led into Sindiul Earth.
- 5) Pai'jari (-2) and her husband came as solitary refugees from a very far village and had no son. When he died she moved in with her daughter and her son-in-law Tabaro and at some point she died and entered Sindiul.

B. Sangkaroren

Sargia was the first to clear Sangkaroren. Inheritance of the site passed equally to his three sons, but unlike Sindiul, none of it went to Rijoi's branch. Sargia took all three of his sons after their deaths to join him there, as well as their wives, his own wife and his sisters. It is thought that Kartia, -2, is probably with him there. He fell from a tree, went into the Sun and was rescued.

All the households of Sargia's descendants still own and work part of the site but "it no longer takes us, it's no longer important (pimeng), it's faded (masunale)".

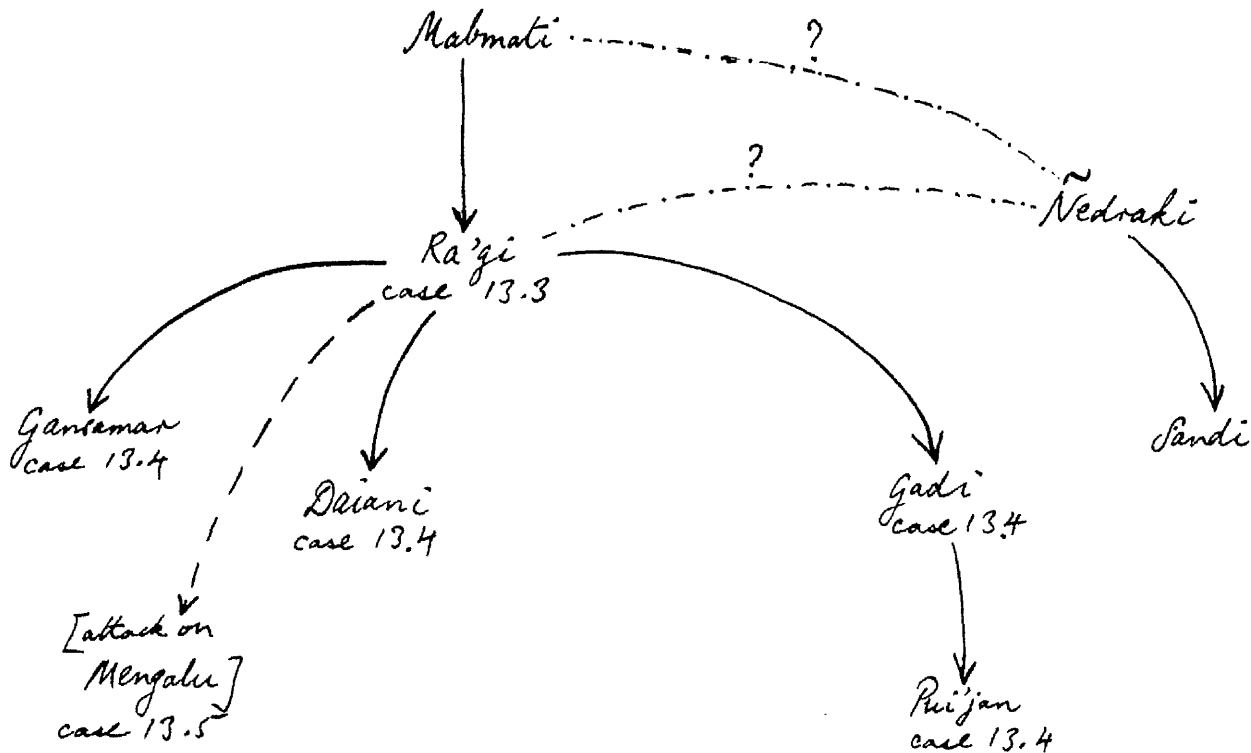
C. Rere

I cannot work out the early history of Rere. It is still active as a killer in two quite separate birindas who both work part of the site, and this appears to date from a dispute some generations back, the details of which now seem impossible to verify.

In both birindas it is notorious for causing death in childbirth, and it can do this even to cattle who graze in the vicinity. In the Gomang birinda it affects the lines of both Sargia and Rijoi. In Sargia's line all the households today still work some part of the site and every sister without exception who has returned in -2 and below has entered Rere, owing to the apparently extreme intensity of its anti-exogamy symbolism. In a line not owning a portion of Rere, returning women would normally be spread among the other Earth sites.

The first victim among them was Mabmati (-2), who married but bore no children. She then took Ra'gi (case 13.3), who took a sequence of people as described in case 13.4 and made the attempt in case 13.5. The full sequence is given in figure 14.5. I do not know the story linking the death of Nedraki to Ra'gi or Mabmati, but know that Nedraki in turn took Sandi.

Figure 14.5 Sequence of Rere victims



D. Bungsengdan

This site was bought in two stages, already cleared and cultivated, from someone unrelated in Tambobsing village. First Andaraj (-3) bought the rights to the surrounding hillside, then a long time after, Rumbana (-2) bought the spring and the paddy-fields watered by it. Though a dry slope near a spring does give rights to the name as a residence after death, Rumbana had bought the stronger claim to the metaphor. Andaraj (-2) did not enter the site after his death but went to Sangkaroren (see above).

- 1) Rumbana himself became the first resident of Bungsengdan through symptoms of excretory constriction (case 13.1, above). He was followed by
- 2) Titino (-2), who worked the hill slope but not the paddy-fields. I do not know the story of this link.
- 3) Bumbuden (case 13.2): his enemies used sorcery to hire Rumbana, rather than Titino, to take him. The similarity of symptoms may be part of the story, but such a direct link to Rumbana also represents a stronger stake in the site than if it were to Titino,

since in life Bumbuden did not actually work any part of the site. This is an important point, because a glance at figure 14.4 will show that there is no way that any descendant of Mu'tuku (-3) could claim either part of the actual land represented by the Earth metaphor unless the branch which held the rights to it died back all the way to -3. Bumbuden died before Jonu, who inherited him in toto, and it is significant that he was not put into Sindiul. This was unnecessary, since the rights of Jonu and his sons were already assured to at least that part of Sindiul which came as their share from Mu'tuku (-3); while by the time he died the descendants of Andaraj (-3), who controlled most of the rest of Sindiul, were already showing obvious signs of flourishing, whereas the only young descendant of Tabaro (-3), namely Rumbana (0), was already partially estranged from Bungsendan by the way his uncles had divided their own father's property (below). And Jani and Indomoro, the uncles who had acquired Bungsendan, were already ageing and likely to die without legitimate heirs (the illegitimate grandsons of Jani are an attempt to contest this).

4) Sarsuni (-2) At some point between the deaths of her husband Rumbana and her son Indomoro (below), she died and joined her husband.

5) Indomoro was the son of old Rumbana by Sarsuni. After Rumbana's death his two pairs of sons by the two wives divided his property in two stages, as the two pairs of sons of old Gupi (-5, figure 14.1) are likely to have done. This is common between sons of a man's co-wives and immediately gives them at least partially separate repertoires of Earth sites.

Jani and Indomoro shared the paddy-fields at Bungsendan, while Pandia and Tabaro took land in the middle of the valley-floor of Alinsing which has been under intense cultivation for a long time and now has no active Earth sites. They thus have no further connection with Bungsendan; but all four brothers kept a certain part of the ever-fragmenting sites of Sindiul and Sangkaroren.

(ii) in an Earth site of cross cousins

E. Jagatumba

This site belongs to a completely different birinda, that of the brothers of Rumbana's (-2) second wife Indiri, and is populated with her Ancestors. After her death, instead of joining her husband in Bungsendan as would be customary, she has returned to her

brothers' Earth and taken with her her dead son Pandia and grandson Rumbana, her husband's namesake. Put bluntly, she has pirated them on behalf of her brothers, since it is her husband's people who performed their guar and whose Ancestors rescued Rumbana from the Sun after his suicide. Their maronggers, the descendants of Indiri's brothers, though they did not do the full inheriting guar but only "took the bones" (pangjangleji), are laying claim to the property of Rumbana's children by Indiri, now that the line is about to die out. This will bring us back to the question of alternative affinal Earths, but with a difference from Chapter 13: here, they no longer merely retrieve sisters or hold on to wives, but pirate male cousins. This will be interpreted as indicating a breakdown in the normal system of inheritance within the birinda, but of a sort which is perhaps not all that uncommon.

d) the four rival claimants to the estate of the childless Rumbana

In the light of the foregoing commentary on figure 14.4, it seems clear that Earth sites function as a title-deed for the descendants of their owners who will inherit a share in them. Every man in figure 14.4 who works a part of Sangkaroren, Sindiul or Rere - as to a greater or lesser extent they all do - has residing in each of those sites a direct male Ancestor (including son-less brothers), or in the case of Rere a sister, whose name must emerge only among his own descendants or those of a true brother whose share, and structural position, is identical with his own. Since all brothers share equally in performing a guar and the Ancestor enters equally the houses of all of them if they have already set up separate houses each of these men has this right of ownership both to the property and to the person's name by virtue of the guar which introduced the Ancestor into his house.

The question then arises of why Sangkaroren has already lapsed as a force while Sindiul is still active (for instance, Mengalu has told me he expects to go there when he dies). All the three brothers in -3 have renamed safely in the simplest, most normative manner in only two generations; the namesake in 0 of Sargia (-4) is a young man now begetting his own children; Kartia (-2) renamed in +1, and even though the child has died, he was old enough to receive a guar and has now become the base-line from which the name will set out again next time round.

Thus every one of the five male names in Sangkaroren has been successfully recycled and moreover they are, from the point of view of the generation now growing up, Memories at least three generations old.

So why has Sangkaroren faded as an Earth? For a man with sons to achieve a normal renaming means that his sons have in their turn had sons and that there is no foreseeable danger that the line will die out. Accordingly, the original man's motive for residing in the Earth site, to guarantee his sons' heirship, is no longer necessary. The inheritance is complete, in that the range of heirs has been defined by the Ancestor's initial Earth residence, and subsequently confirmed by their having between them a child for him to name. Only a serious demographic disaster further down the line can undo this. This has now happened to Tabaro (-3). However, this situation has arisen so far down his branch that it is beyond the stage at which his own Earth residence can have any power to affect the outcome. The

fate of this branch will be the subject of the discussion in the next section.

Thus there is no longer any point to be made by anyone's now entering Sangkaroren after death. This is why I could confirm the Earth residence of the people in generations -3 and -4 only from the memories of Mengalu and Raduno about who was enumerated in curative rites when they were children - in other words, when it was still possible to think that Sangkaroren might attack, before all the renaming had been completed and consolidated. The next generation know the names only as Ancestors or as members of the collective village category of Ra'tud, and expect them to attack and be fed only in these forms.

Mengalu and Raduno also remember the wives who were enumerated in Sangkaroren. Their names remain available as Ancestors, though it is likely they will have to wait some time since many of the more recent sisters are involved in tangled cases over which it is more pressing to make a move: for example, the naming of Mengalu's only daughter Sandi was a response to the fact that old Sandi (-2) (cf Chapter 11, lines 141 ff) has renamed her co-wife's daughter in spite of the fact that neither of them had a son.

But the Earth residence of old female Ancestors, unlike that of males, is no longer relevant for inheritance, since as was shown in the previous chapter a woman's Earth residence is a matter only of short-term importance.

Sindiul, on the other hand, is still active precisely because it began to be active later and of the first round of residents only Andaraj and Poke have yet renamed, while even these namesakes are still very small children whose chances of survival are tenuous. When Mengalu's baby Rumbana died in 1979, the initial diagnosis was Mu'tuku (-3) operating through Ra'tud (which fitted the symptoms) rather than from his home, Sangkaroren Earth; the redemption was designed to send him to Sindiul, into the care of Andaraj, Poke and Jonu and it was a matter of disappointment to Mengalu that the hanged Rumbana later came and said "He's my namesake, I'm taking him to Jagatumba."

But Earth sites do not simply act as a title-deed to legitimise the actual inheritance. The two-generations-or-more gap while a renaming is awaited constitutes a safety device whereby Earths perform the same function for second-line potential inheritors in a collateral position, should the entire range of front-line inheritors die out.

The importance of this against other kinds of possible claims is illustrated by the case of old Tabaro's (-3) line, to which the hanged Rumbana (0) was the last legitimate, unproblematic heir. There are now four rival claims upon his estate:

(i) members of his own birinda

A. The descendants of Mu'tuku (-3) performed idbong ("hit-buffalo", Chapter 3) but did not give Rumbana (-2) a full guar and introduce him into their house as a full Ancestor who should eventually accompany them in segmentation. But they have placed their own full Ancestor, Bumbuden, to whose inheritance they have full and exclusive rights, in Bungsendan with Rumbana. In this way they are preparing a claim after Jani's death in competition with:

B. Mengalu, whose father Titino is also in Bungsendan: although he did not own the water-source itself he did at least own the hillside which Mengalu still holds, which is more than can be said for Bumbuden.

Furthermore, not only did Mengalu name his sons after Tabaro's sons Sargia and Rumbana, but he has inherited Indomoro's wife leviratically and named their son after him. All three renamings seem intended to suggest that all doubts about the range of inheritance of their previous holders have been resolved. The renaming of Indomoro was a move against:

C. Jani, who prevents his daughter Gadi from living with her boy-friend. He is Rutujen, a poor man of the Buya birinda and elder brother of the Palda who hanged himself. Their two sons were born in Jani's house and named after his Ancestors; and Jani intends that on his death both his own and Indomoro's share of their father's holding at Bungsendan shall go exclusively to her surviving son, little Rumbana, and his future brothers. This son was named by old Rumbana (-2) while his first namesake, the Rumbana in 0 who was later to commit suicide, was still alive. This unusual move was designed to protect the interests of the illegitimate grandsons from, among other people, even this other Rumbana, son of Tabaro.

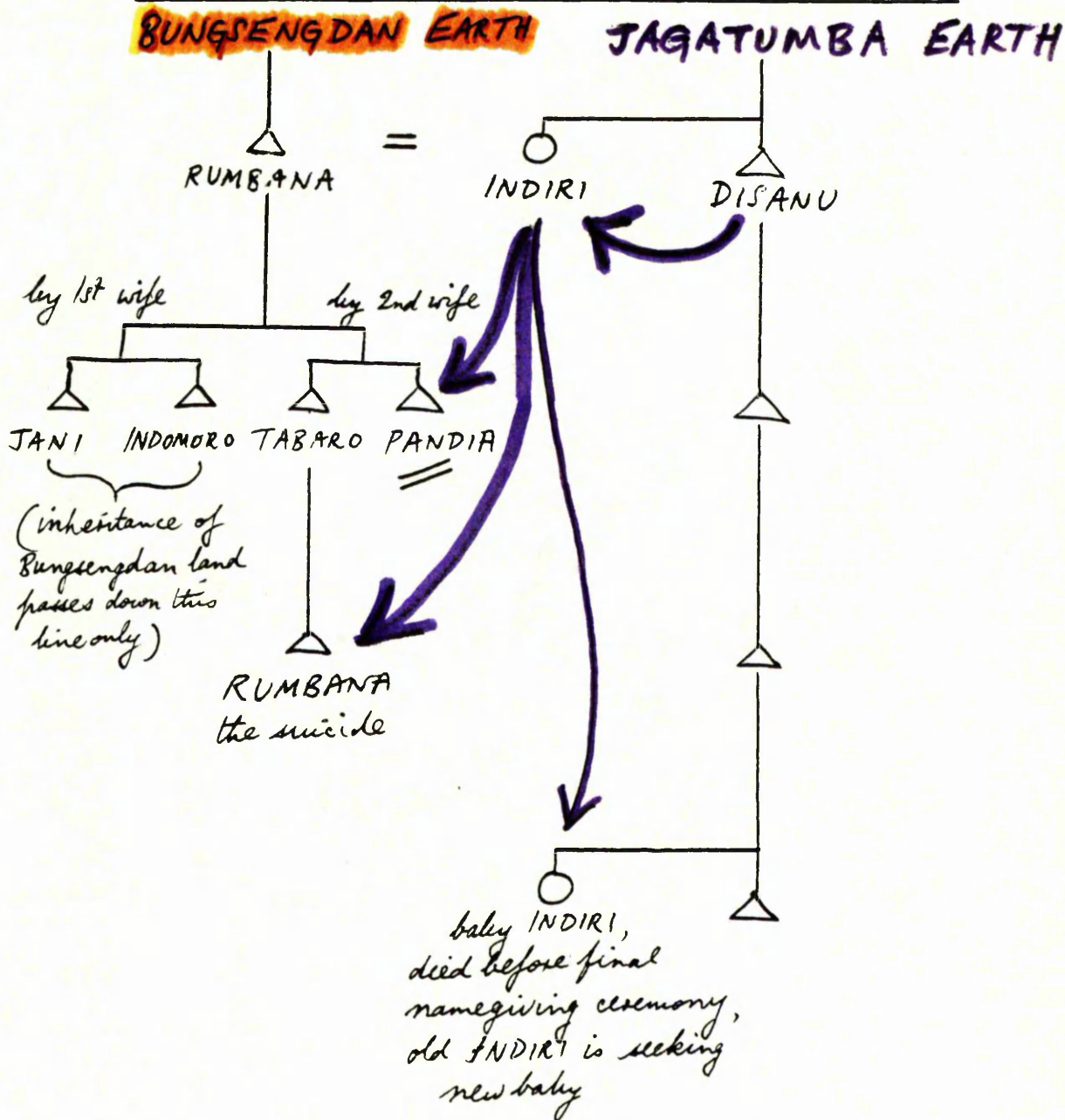
(ii) cross cousins

D. The descendants of Indiri's brother: their strategy proceeds in two stages. The first aims at the half of Rumbana's (-2) estate which went to his sons Tabaro and Pandia; the second at the half which went to Jani and Indomoro. These will be dealt with in turn.

I. a long-dead mother moves into her brothers' Earth site

The main protagonists in the first part are shown in figure 14.6:

Figure 14.6 Indiri's unusual Earth residence and renaming



thin line : renaming

thick line : taking dead people to reside in one's own Earth site : the arrows point towards the new recruits

The story of figure 14.6 appears to be as follows: some time after all four of old Rumbana's sons had matured and the course of their lives appeared to be set, his second wife Indiri, mother of his two younger sons, died. At some point after her death she announced that she had entered Jagatumba, the Earth of her brothers, not that of her husband. This was probably quite soon after her death, since such moves appear to be made only then, but late enough for it to be apparent that the survival of the line was in jeopardy since her husband's sons between them had produced only one surviving boy (their baby Sargia had died in infancy).

When her son Pandia subsequently died without heir, Tabaro gave him a full guar while her line gave him that appropriate to a marongger; nevertheless, she recruited him into Jagatumba to join her. His property inevitably reverted to his full brother Tabaro, and through him, to the young Rumbana. Since the death of this Rumbana, the place of emergence of Pandia's name is obviously of secondary importance to that of Rumbana's own, but can be expected to follow that eventual victory.

When Rumbana committed suicide in the summer of 1975 and went into the Sun, it was of course his father's Ancestors, not his mother's father's, who went up there brandishing their weapons and brought him back (cf. Chapter 9), while his mother's father's line gave him the marongger treatment. Nevertheless, by the summer of 1979 he too had gone to reside with her in Jagatumba (cf. Chapter 11, Memories 11, 12, 13, 18), and it was considered likely by many people that his father Tabaro would join them there after his own death.

Meanwhile Indiri has consolidated her position in Jagatumba by renaming her brother's great-grand-daughter. I was present at the namegiving ceremony in 1977. When I returned in 1979 the child had died and I heard the Memory of old Indiri insistently demanding another child to name and being told that no woman in the birinda was yet pregnant.

What can the birinda of Indiri's brothers hope to achieve by these moves? When Tabaro (-1) dies, he will be in exactly that position - a man without heirs, out on a genealogical limb - in which his maronggers can claim to be closer than his actual collaterals, and inherit him. They will have to be quick on the day itself, ideally be the ones to cremate him, but at any rate to perform the first guar and be seen publicly to pay off his debts. There will be heated arguments day and

night for weeks, talk of sorcery, and so on, as I have seen in other similar situations. Then the issue of Earth residence will be extremely important: if the collaterals of Tabaro and Rumbana cannot retrieve their residential loyalty from Jagatumba, they will lose their names as well and eventually a fortiori all claim on their property. This explains the urgency with which, whatever their internal dissensions, the collaterals have hastened to name two babies Rumbana: one, Gadi's son, named after old Rumbana (-2) while young Rumbana (-1) was still alive, the second, Mengalu's child, named after the hanged man (-1), after he and Gadi's baby had both died. So long as Tabaro remains alive and his post-mortem Earth residence undecided, his collaterals have the stronger right to the name Rumbana. If before they have successfully captured it, he dies and in addition goes to Jagatumba, they lose the names of both Rumbana and Tabaro (which is of course at the moment not yet available for attempts at recycling) as well as of Pandia, and with it their property and Indiri's keruru.

The case of the maronggers will depend crucially on the post-mortem residence of Tabaro. In this respect the "hitting of a buffalo" or possible second guar for a man by his collaterals or his marongger, is identical to that of a woman by her husband's and brother's lines, in that though it indicates where the stronger association should lie, the form leaves it open which way actual possession will swing. As emerged so clearly for women in Chapter 13, it is Earth residence which decides the subsequent emergence of names and the inheritance of women's wealth; and the same is true for men, whose wealth is on a larger scale and the effect of whose names operates on a longer time-scale. In both cases, any anomalies indicate that a battle is being fought over some ambiguity.

In the case of normative, unproblematic inheritance, the crucial issue for women is whether they have borne sons in the short run to another birinda; for men, it is whether they have begotten sons in the long run for their own birinda. If they have not done so, their inheritance is already ambiguous; even if they have done so, it will be shown below that the idiom of Earth residence can be used to create ambiguity. In both cases the final confirmation comes only from the mouths of the dead themselves. To have captured the residential allegiance of Pandia and Rumbana does not in itself give the people of Jagatumba the right to inherit since they gave them only a subsidiary, marongger's guar and they are not full Ancestors. But it will be a

strong inducement to Tabaro after his death to join them - even more so if the people who cultivate Jagatumba are allowed to give him a full guar - and be incorporated as a full Ancestor, bringing them all the names to which he himself was heir.

II. how a marriage among the dead changes the meaning of a love affair among the living

The second half of the strategy is an extension of the first, only more far-fetched and long-term and presumably with less chance of succeeding. Those involved are shown in figure 14.7 (fold-out at back) which also incorporates figure 14.6; the reader may also wish to refer back to figure 11.1 (also a foldout). Arrows represent the dynamics of recruitment to reside in an Earth site, not the initial cause of death before redemption which may be quite different (e.g. Rumbana and Palda committed suicide and entered the Sun).

In Chapter 11, dead people who should have been in Kantursing Earth (cf. figure 11.1) discussed at length their moves to Jagatumba (lines 158-235; 263-7). It is now possible to explain these, which may be summarized as follows:

After his rescue from the Sun, Rumbana moved into Jagatumba as described above. From there he took to join him:

1) Palda, through their shared Experience of suicide: that is, Rumbana caused Palda's suicide and after his redemption Palda joined in his Earth the man who had originally (during a moment of reversion, gorod-) taken him into the Sun.

2) Maianti: an unmarried girl in her teens, she died after Rumbana, but not of suicide; after her death she moved in with Rumbana in Jagatumba as his wife, and they now have a baby son begotten after they were both dead. As was made vividly clear in the case of Pandiri (Chapter 12) and elsewhere, it is the birth and survival of a son which clinches what would otherwise be an unfruitful affair and makes of it a marriage. Thus the hanged Rumbana has indeed got a legitimate heir - born in the Underworld. His new, post-mortem father-in-law Borjanu has joined them as a baby-sitter, and Borjanu's son Oindo has gone there too for company.

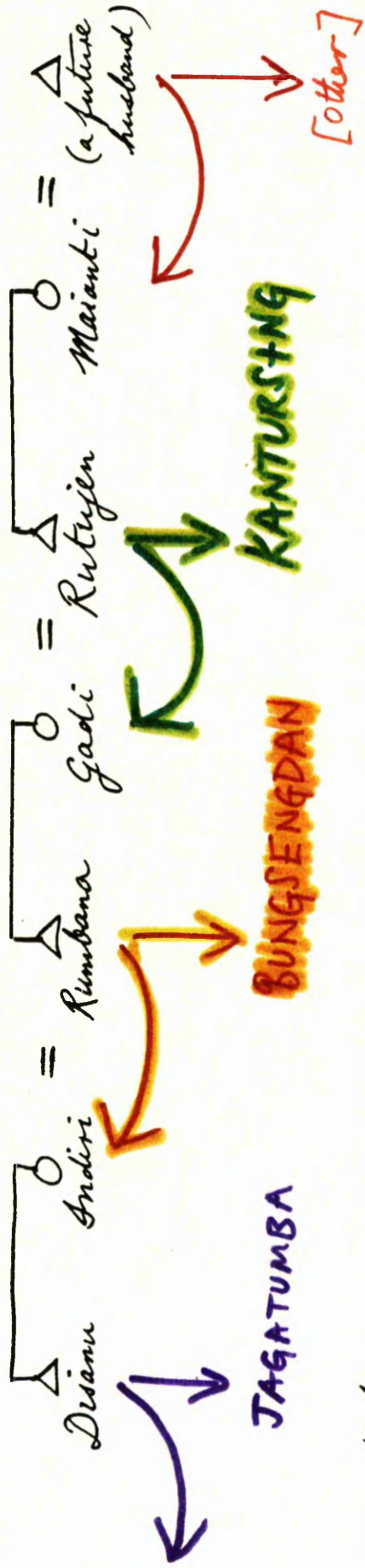
There is thus not a single deceased member of this branch of the birinda below the point at which it branches off (i.e. old Rutujen), who has not abandoned Kantursing and gone to reside in Jagatumba. The two living men of the line, Rutujen and little Oindo, are isolated from Kantursing by their father's choice of post-mortem residence, as

are the women whose link to the birinda also passes through him, namely his wife Sindi and his two returned sisters, Sandiri and Mendigi. If any of these women now died, it would not be difficult to predict where they might be inclined to go and reside for company. And the process is cumulative: if Sindi goes to Jagatumba first, this makes it all the more likely that her son Rutujen will follow her. Her closeness to her husband and children (as shown by her role as chief interlocutor in Chapter 11) ensures that there is no question of her reverting to her brother's Earth at Rukura, and she now has no-one to go to in Kantursing.

Why is Rumbana doing all this? The key lies in the living Rutujen, who is the father of Gadi's illegitimate sons. He is the man whom her old father Jani continues to prevent her from living with, which she intends doing as soon as he dies and she is freed from his inhibiting pressure. So if Jani succeeds in keeping Bungsengdan for her against Mengalu's interests (a cause which he can greatly assist by residing there after his death), she is likely then to take it all, together with the rights to the names of Jani, Kartia and maybe even Rumbana to Rutujen's house as her women's wealth (keruru) held by her in trust for their sons. Borjanu is dead, and who knows what will become of his last surviving son Oindo, the second of his sons to bear this name and now in his teens? Thus Jani's wealth would pass exclusively to Rutujen's sons by Gadi (though not those by any other woman), and Borjanu's to Rutujen and Oindo. Borjanu's property is of small consequence in this regard, since they are the poorest birinda in Alinsing and have almost no paddy-field and subsist on shifting cultivation alone. This strategy is aimed at the other half of old Rumbana's (-2) wealth which is not covered by the residential recruitment of young Rumbana (0) and Pandia which formed the focus of the first part of the strategy. Rutujen's affair with Gadi, and the demographic situation in his branch of his birinda allow it to be routed through him. If Rutujen's line later died out, the whole of Jani's part of Bungsengdan could at last be claimed by the Jagatumba-cultivating descendants of Disanu.

Rumbana's post-mortem marriage with Maianti functions as an analogy for that between the living Rutujen and Gadi; but since marital residence is normally virilocal, it is arranged to reverse its effect so that everybody will end up residing in Jagatumba (figure 14.8 with generations telescoped).

(i) normative



(ii) actual

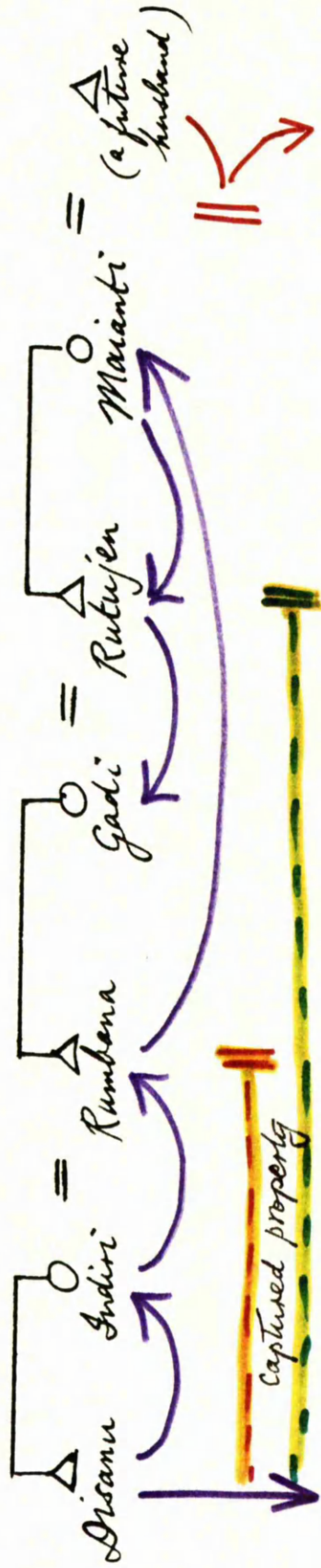


Figure 14.8 Model of figure 14.7, showing inequitable cross-cousin reversal of proper exogamy

This explains Sindi's sarcastic remark to Palda (line 165) to the effect that both he and his fellow-suicide Rumbana indulge in incest. By reversing in his own Underworld marriage the previously established relationship between Rutujen and Gadi, which should normally have been made permanent and legitimated by further sons named after Rutujen's own Ancestors, Rumbana has transformed the open-ended chain pattern of Sora exogamy into one of same-generation sister-exchange, considered the most extreme form of marongger-incest.

As for Borjanu's wealth, small as it is it is on the same scale as that of his impoverished collaterals, who have already taken the precaution of naming a child after Palda. As with the several renamings of Rumbana, the haste of this contrasts conspicuously with the normal interval in what will be called in the next chapter "structural time". Not only are the freshly dead Rumbana and Palda still wandering around unstably setting up home in alien Earth sites (which is of course the very reason for this haste), they still frequently even revert to their original death-Experience. Palda's attempt to take his kinsman Sarsuno into the Sun features prominently in Chapter 11 (lines 169 ff; 202 ff). Only a few weeks before that dialogue took place, Rumbana had made a similar attempt on Mengalu's eldest son Sargia. Sargia felt an urge to commit suicide, but managed to "block" it by leading the Memory of Rumbana out of the house in a banishing rite identical to the one prescribed by the Memory of Palda in lines 172-181. The consequences for his birinda if Sargia had died and gone to Jagatumba would have been considerable.

The question remains of why the Ancestors in Jagatumba should be passing through an imperialist phase. While it is of course true that both cleared and uncleared land are now so chronically short that anyone who is in a position to make a marongger claim to inheritance may try to do so, there is a controlling variable: labour. Men who are already wealthy can command or create labour by various forms of debt-farming and woman-hoarding. Poor men, however, have no labour but their own: they can command it only on the basis of work-parties (onsir) which are strictly reciprocal, and cannot create it at the exaggerated rate of the wealthy. But a poor birinda may nonetheless prosper demographically and produce many sons with very little land to work. This is the position of Disanu's descendants who cultivate Jagatumba. Though well-watered, the site is hemmed in by a steep outcrop of rock and cannot be expanded. Their other main Earth site

Dulo (not shown on the map) is a small level clearing in dense forest on uneven ground and no further expansion of paddy-field is possible there either. Gu'gu'dan, nearer Alinsing, was theirs but was taken from them by another birinda, apparently as the result of some complicated swindle, so that they are left with only the non-paddy hillside above the spring.¹ Thus if they can inherit Tabaro and Rumbana, they will acquire some excellent fields in the middle of the valley floor near Barang; while if they can go further in one or two generations and inherit Jani through Rutujen, they will have acquired Bungsengdan by making it synonymous no longer with Sindiul but with their own site Jagatumba.

e) time: the fragmentation of land holdings and the disintegration of synonymy among Earth-Sonums

There are severe limitations on how far a fieldworker can follow such cases across time, or even be everywhere at once to follow the development of simultaneous rival interpretations, since the particulars of each case are very rapidly metaphorised and any ambiguities are fought out between the rival metaphors themselves.

There are two distinct stages of this, involving two kinds of tension or ambiguity. Though the former of these tends to emphasise emotional aspects and the latter structural ones, we have seen that these are probably never fully distinguished. The guar and accompanying divinations focus on the whole range of Experiences, in contrast to the state of being an Ancestor; the redemption into Earth, through that category's power to eliminate Experience and realise Ancestorhood, narrows the discussion to questions of inheritance and the future development of the birinda. Whether they are used as alternatives across birindas or within them as what I have called synonyms, Earth-sites are always mutually exclusive both in literal space and in the particular people whom they recruit. Through his choice of residence in such a site, the deceased should eliminate rival interpretations and claims: his choice is acknowledged by the losers as well as the winners, as is the consequent direction of his renaming. Further moves, like that of Indiri, suggest that the verdict has not been accepted or that the demographic circumstances which led to its acceptance have altered. Given the changeable fortunes of family life, it is likely that this will happen quite often.

The imagery of solidarity which forms part of the character of Earth, looks backward to the role of Earth as an Experience resembling Sun, Leopard, etc., with its own symptoms of constriction. However, even within its imagery of indivisible bounded solidarity, the concept is already preparing for segmentation. The principle of renaming which emerges abandons this indivisibility by separating the name from all those collaterals who are equal sharers in the property of the original holder and among whom the name might have emerged. But for most of them it actually did not do so, and is now lost to them for ever. The new namesake stands potentially at the head of a new line down which he will ideally pass his name and whatever assorted property has come his way under the general heading of a new Earth site which he or his immediate Ancestors have cleared.

The inevitability that the importance of the name of Earth site for a birinda must decline for reasons of birinda structure is accelerated by external factors to do with the state of the land market. Theoretically a given site can be subdivided indefinitely, but in practice it will not tolerate too much fragmentation. A group's association with a site can be either through permanent paddy-fields which are watered from it or through surrounding shifting-cultivation sites even though these do not use the water for irrigation and at least if they are downhill, suggest the possibility of making paddy-fields. Though the Government recognise rights only to paddy-fields, the Sora also recognise rights of ownership or usufruct to shifting-cultivation slopes, which vary in different villages according to local pressure on land. They realise that continued fragmentation of both kinds of plot is wasteful and inconvenient and quite apart from responding to the pressures of their own fortunes, continually attempt to rationalise their holdings by buying and selling. In addition the generally low margin of surplus means that most households are very vulnerable to vagaries of demography, climate or health and as a legacy from bad periods are enmeshed in various forms of long-term debt to each other, to Oriya Panos, and increasingly to moneylenders of the Komiti caste in the towns. Though legally no non-Soras are allowed to buy land in the area, in practice much paddy-land is effectively owned by outside moneylenders through mortgage arrangements which are impossible to redeem. Thus rights to land change hands frequently, voluntarily or through fraud, in a bewildering variety of forms of outright sale, mortgaging and sharecropping. Under these circumstances even in a birinda which does not branch an association with an Earth site cannot necessarily last for ever, and when a site is sold to a member of another kingroup, as was done with Bungsendan, he buys, so to speak, the metaphor with it. Sooner or later the actual piece of land and the group for whom it stands are likely to become separated and the relevance of the name of the Earth "fades away" or "declines" (masuna-). The story of the expansion of the original three brothers into the Alinsing valley (text 14.1) and similar stories of migrations which I collected for several other birindas, all of them moving uphill from the plains, show that it is in essence a metaphor for land rights which assumes a continually expanding frontier of cultivation the days of which are very nearly over. Thus a group moves in on a site and moves on, taking with them only a repertoire of Ancestral

names. Some of these have not been recycled to this day, but it is said that this must eventually happen.

For example in the middle of the valley-floor at Alinsing, which appears to have been completely cultivated as permanent paddy-fields for six or more generations, is the spring called Barang. Though it is said to have belonged once to the birinda of Indira-puga who are considered the original inhabitants of Alinsing, today it contains no dead people and attacks no living people. The land now belongs to Mengalu and Raduno, but they disclaim any connection with the Memory in the spring. It has simply "declined" (masunale) or become irrelevant as the frontier of cultivation was pushed uphill towards the edge of the valley where (as a glance at the map will show) the active Earth sites are now concentrated. Though it can be used as a "Police Station" (tana) by Ancestors from any Earth site at the edge of the valley in order to "arrest" (ñam-) bathers, they act in the name of their own site and nothing can happen in the name of Barang itself. We may say that rather like an old volcano, it is still there, but extinct - "no longer a Memory" (sonum tid).

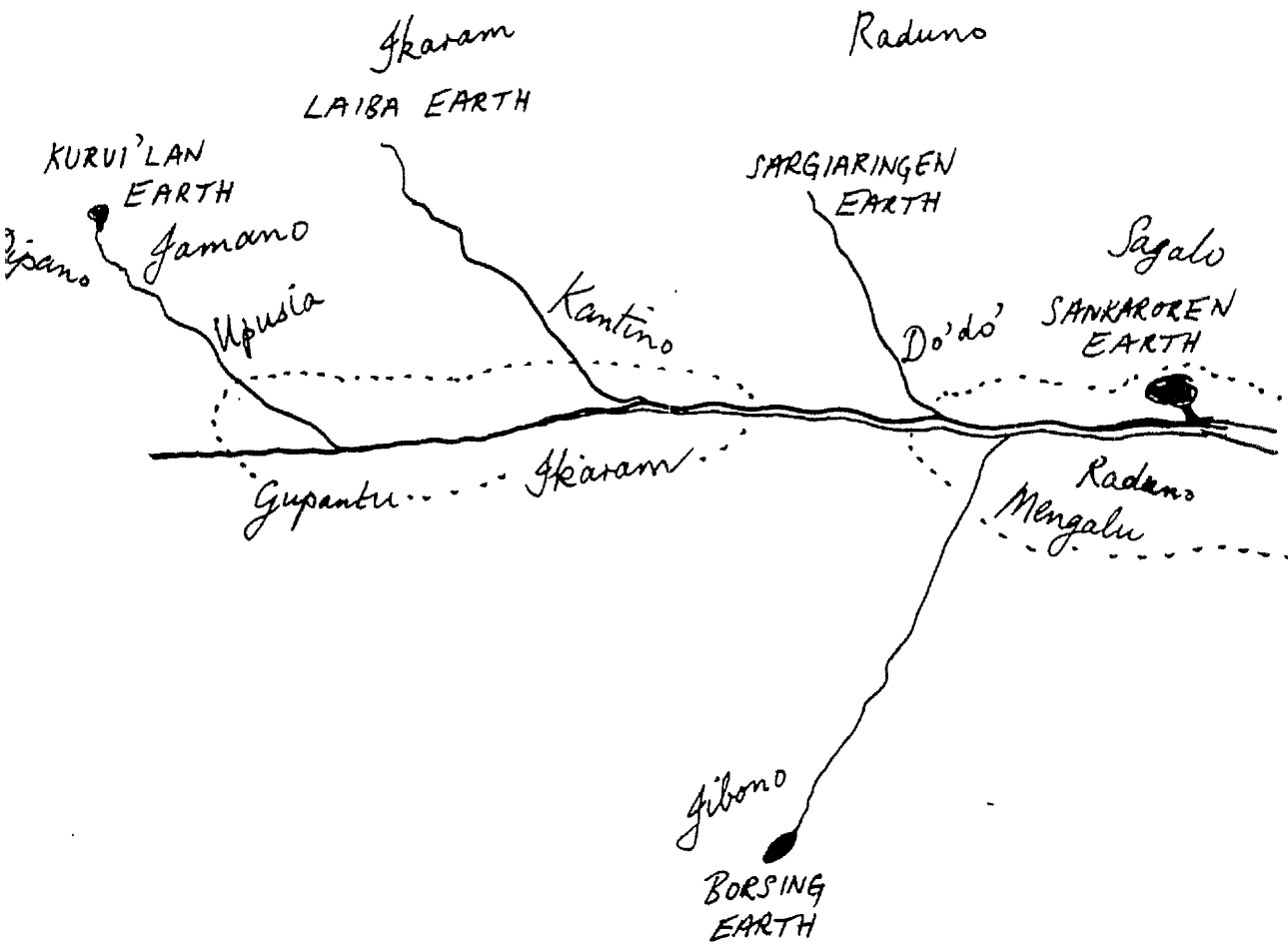
Furthermore, each kingroup, and even household, may work land in the vicinity of several Earth sites; the corollary is that representatives of more than one unrelated kingroup may assemble after death in the same Earth site, and that it may have a different degree of significance for each of them according to the amount and type of land they work there, and how long they have been working on it.

Thus while the site of Sangkarōen as an Earth-Memory has become irrelevant for the descendants of Sargia even though they still work it, it is currently very active among the branch of the Buyas to which Sagalo belongs (Chapter 11, Memories 1-7 and 17). The present effect of this on the ground is shown in map 14.1, which also illustrates nicely even without a time dimension the overall mosaic-like effect of land rights.

Thus I conclude that in the short run the category Earth functions as a full Experience based on the imagery of inviolable boundaries seen from within, and that in this aspect it focusses its unwelcome attention particularly on childbearing sisters who through the normal workings of exogamy have given themselves elsewhere. In the long run this imagery is overtaken by the natural breaking up both of the birinda and of the sites which stand for it. In this context even though it can still make its impact as an Experience, through symptoms,

Map 14.1 Mosaic of land rights

Current cultivation along a stream; dotted line encloses paddy fields, while other land is under shifting cultivation



on the living, Earth is not an Experience at all for those inside it, since it includes all the dead regardless of their original death-Experience. Instead it serves to guarantee the snare-out of inheritance down all lines until this seems assured through renaming (most commonly about two generations). But it is this very renaming which destroys the increasingly artificial unity for which the Earth has stood: through accomplishing the renaming the Earth has abolished the relevance of its own imagery. This is foreshadowed in the guar itself where the words of the redemption songs by which the deceased is brought from other, full, Experiences into Earth do their work through imagery which anticipates the naming ceremony (see the discussion of vegetation imagery in next chapter). There is thus an inevitable progress: Experience at death, Earth as an Experience, Earth not as an Experience, full Ancestorhood and renaming.

And so dead people who have renamed start moving out of Earth, that is, they are less and less likely to attack in Earth form. Women disappear altogether, while men are found only in Ra'tud, the collectivity of all the male Ancestors of one village regardless of both birinda and subordinate Earth membership. There they remain, remembered as Ancestors who justify the names of their namesakes, and demanding feeding either as Ancestors or through Ra'tud symptoms - though here too it cannot be said that they are passing on an Experience which they themselves have undergone. When the namesake dies and names a third holder, the first holder dies a second death in the Underworld and turns into a butterfly.

15 The transitivity of the person and the death of Memories

This is the end of the person, which can be understood only in relation to the corresponding process of renaming. It will be convenient to give here a summary of the shape of the structural time which this whole system presupposes. It will be noted that some of the abnormal cases discussed earlier are problematic precisely because they create such a discrepancy between "structural time" and what I call the lived time to which it corresponds.

Structural time itself is conceived to allow the greatest possible flexibility in this correspondence. All changes in the Sora life-cycle start from a moment. But this moment is not the point at which the transition actually occurs, but at which the possibility for its fulfilment begins. If the initial moment is not given by nature, as in birth or death, it is created as in the guar. But each stage must reckon with what it is hoped will be ever-decreasing reversions to the previous stage:

birth: a baby is not fully separated as an entity till fully weaned and named. If it dies earlier, it has usually been recalled by the Sun.

puberty: as soon as possible after birth, the child's head is shaved, apart from a tuft at the back, as part of the process of defining its boundary. A girl's first menstruation is responded to by beginning to cease shaving her head, and her hair begins to grow slowly to a woman's length. The same is done for boys at an indeterminate moment which is often earlier than for girls.

marriage: most people have a history of several long affairs before they settle with the partner with whom they raise a family. Setting up house together is recognised as a declaration of intended permanency but there are many breakups, with or without reconciliations, in the early years. The birth of children stabilises this, especially if they are male. But the total accomplishment of a marriage can be certain only when the wife stays on even if widowed (with or without remarrying a "younger brother" of her husband) and enters her husband's Earth site after death.

first death, i.e. in this world: between death and the guar, as well as being already in the Experience of his death the deceased is also a kulman (gnost) who keeps returning to the house not because he has rights as an Ancestor (which he is not yet) but because he does not

understand that he is no longer living, especially in the weeks immediately after the cremation, and needs to be repeatedly informed of the fact.

redemption: after the guar, the kulman possibility is over, but the deceased continues to revert from Earth to his original death-Experience. This tendency decreases over the years.

renaming: in structural terms, the relevance of the Earth of the deceased is passing away, but it may still be known and he may sometimes still operate from there as well as in the form of an Ancestor and, if male, from Ra'tud too.

second death, in the Underworld: the living receive only vague messages about this and are not sure exactly when it occurs. I shall suggest below that this corresponds structurally to the second renaming, i.e. of a third holder of the name, among the living.

The interpretation offered in this thesis has been that the initial moment is the beginning of a new possibility which can take over gradually because the memory persists of what things were like before the transition. The reversions in the developmental sequence of metaphors are throwbacks, or recrudescences, of Memories in the mind of the rememberers, and it requires frequent and progressive confirmation of the new form of the metaphor to suppress them. However, the decisiveness of the moments gives a very clear framework of the divisions of structural time across which the countercurrents and eddies of reversion flow. The ideas involved are difficult and are apprehended by the Sora only in the course of living them through. I shall try to capture them in a series of diagrams, each of which will inevitably be able to focus on only one aspect of the total system involved.

Figure 15.1, overleaf, attempts to portray the relationship between the Experience and Earth aspects of a single person as it begins to develop after his death. The diagram is intended to be self-explanatory and no commentary will be given. Some commentary will be offered on figure 15.2, on the following page, which depicts the movement of names (represented by letters) and property, here for simplicity's sake only those of males.

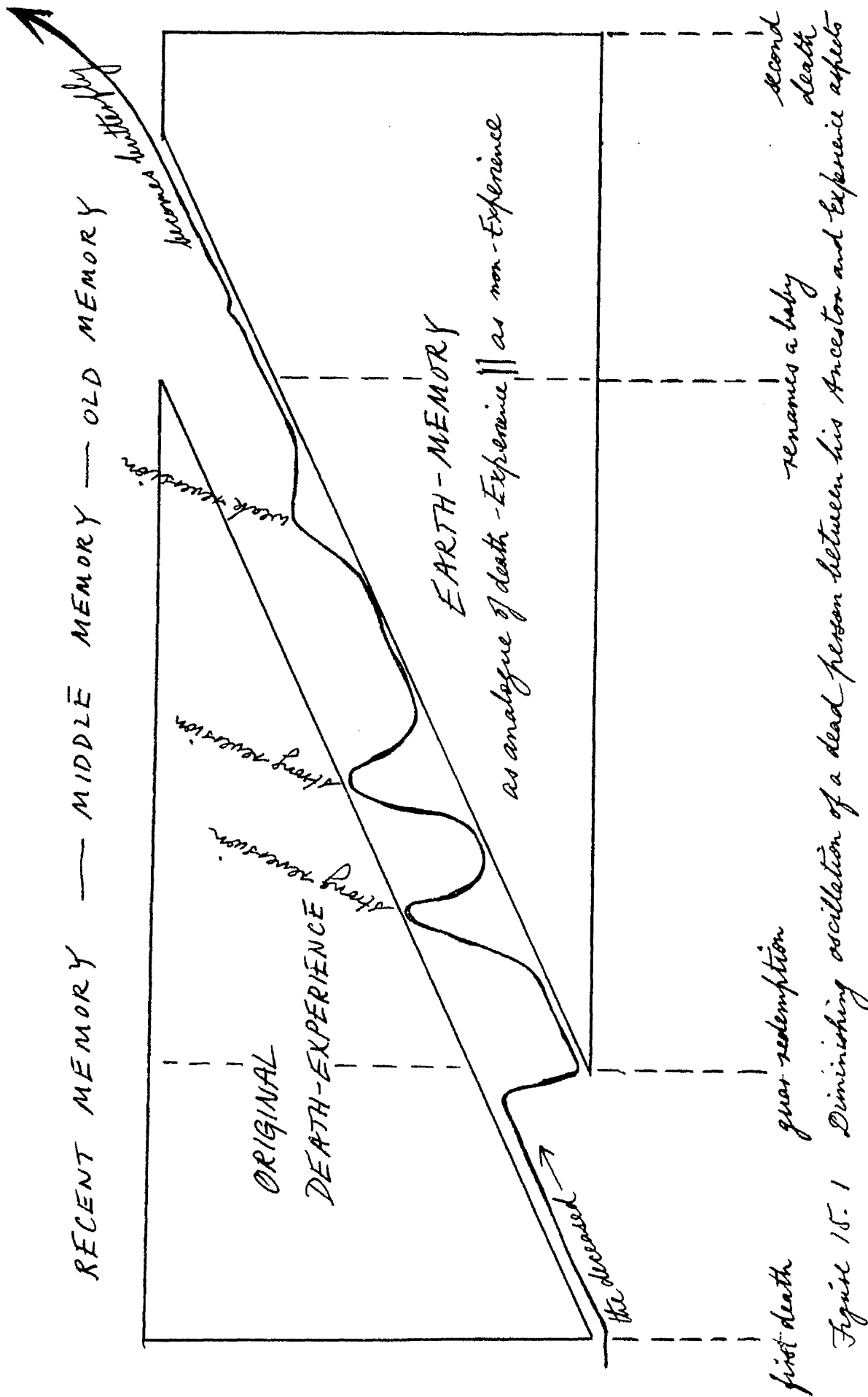
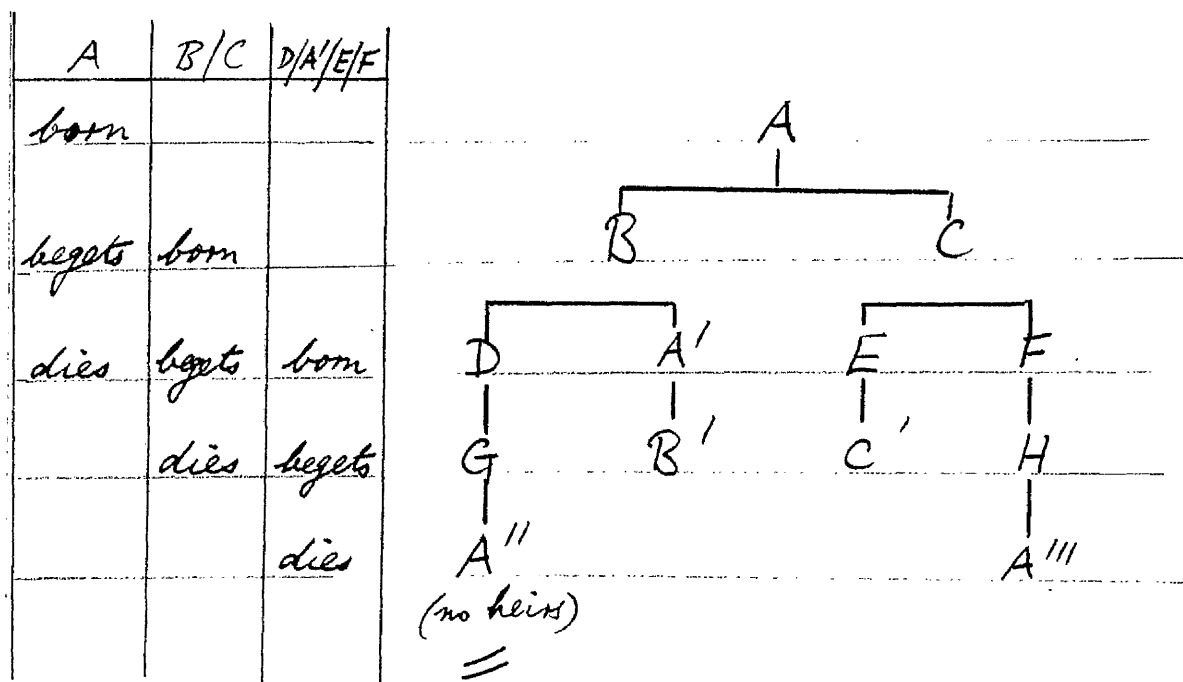


Figure 15.1 Diminishing oscillation of a dead person between his Ancestor and Experience aspects

Figure 15.2 Movement of male names and property over structural time



If in generation 3 there are one or more sons to take A's property, the first one to be born after his death should normally bear his name, A'. If no son is born in that generation after his death, then his name should appear in generation 4.

Whether the division of A's property is carried out by generation 2 or 3 will depend on how long everybody lives. If it is done by 3, it will be divided according to the number of sharers, not in 3, but in 2: division must be done afresh for each generation. If it is divided between B and C before A has renamed, the perpetuity of their share is inevitably dependent on the emergence of A's name (A') among the descendants of one of them. If this occurs among the descendants of B, then the perpetuity of C's share becomes similarly dependent on the emergence of C's name in one branch of his descendants. If neither B's nor C's line is in a position to re-use A's name, this can mean only that the whole of A's line is dying out, and A's property will revert to the nearest collaterals or, as we have seen, it may succumb to the complicated manoeuvres of cross cousins. Whoever acquires the property will also acquire all the relevant names. If, on the other hand, A's name is being kept in storage for more than the normal minimum time of 2 generations, this suggests that his descendants are particularly well-branched (e.g. Sargia and Rijoi in figure 14.2).

If, as in figure 15.2, the line of A' dies out, the name of A reverts to D's line, the nearest collaterals, giving A''. If he too fails to beget a line, it reverts to anywhere among C's descendants, giving A'''. The normal minimum time for the third holder of a name¹ to appear is four generations after the first. As noted in Chapter 13, this is the same as the time after which the marongger-cousin relationship consequent upon a marriage ceases to be recognised.

A complete cycle of structural time thus appears to embrace not two but three holders of a name, in that the work of the first holder is done only with the appearance of the third. There are always two concurrent holders of the name at the centre of the stage, either one living and one dead, or else both dead with the more recent one seeking a baby to name and the older one waiting in the wings only long enough to see him successful. Figures 15.3 and 15.4 are attempts to represent this. The first uses a linear conception of time, the second a cyclical conception which perhaps captures more of the essential features of the Sora idea. This second diagram amounts to a translation, into the Experience-free terms of renaming, of the diagram of the perpetuation of Experiences given as figure 6.1 in Chapter 6. A commentary will be given here only on figure 15.4 while figure 15.3 will be discussed at the very end of the chapter.

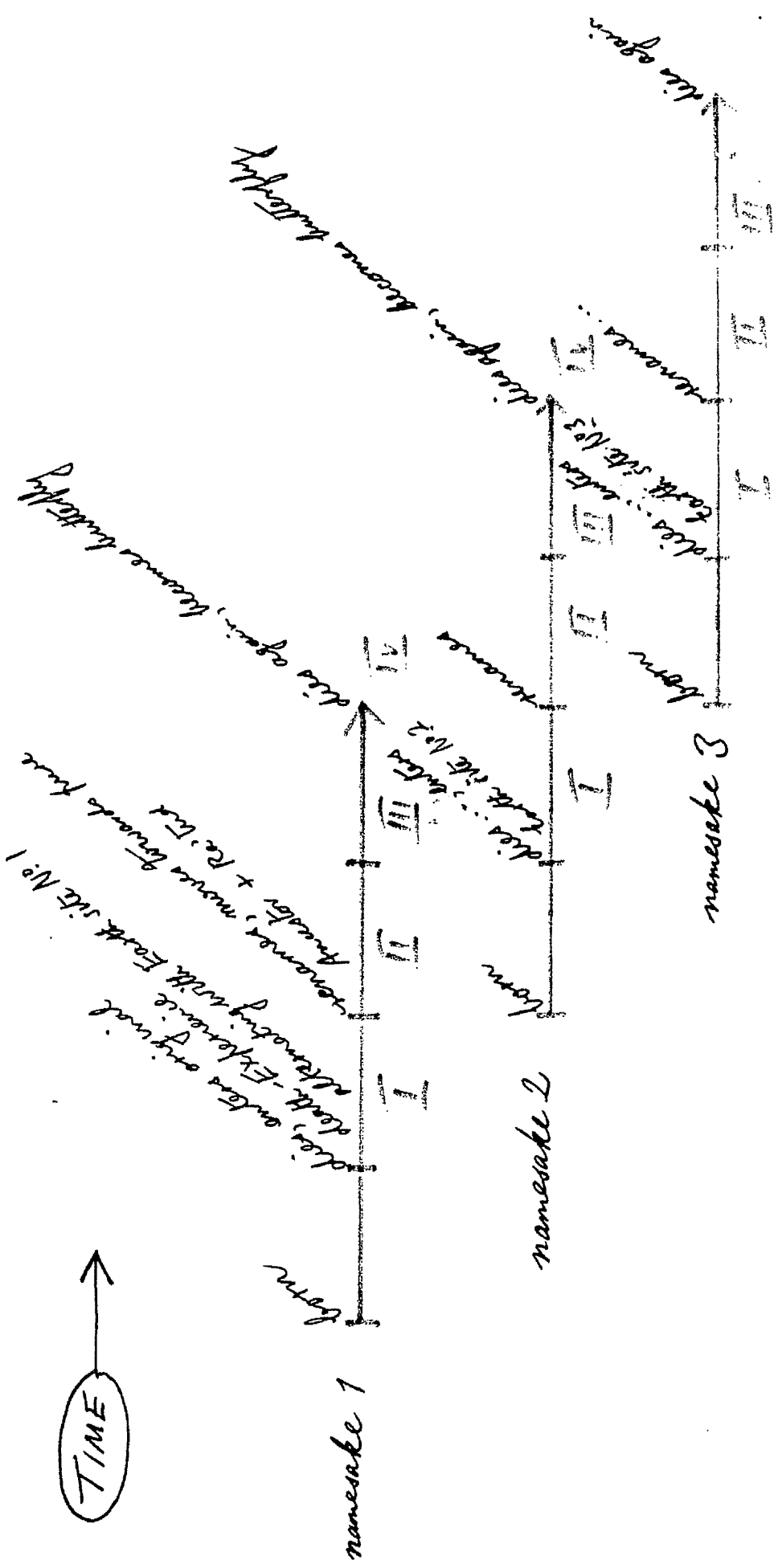


Figure 15.3 The overlapping of three successive namesakes, using a linear model of time

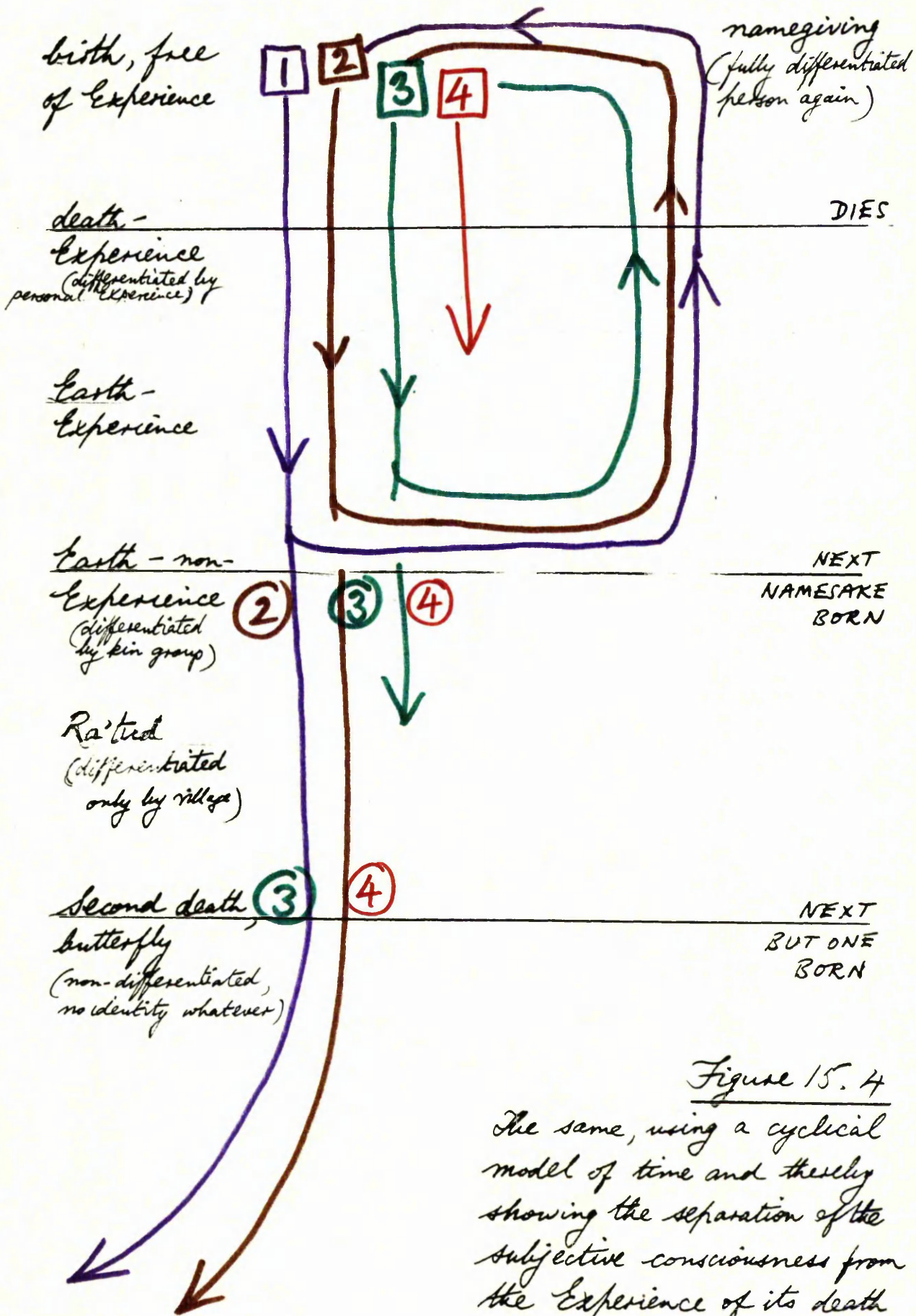


Figure 15.4

The same, using a cyclical model of time and thereby showing the separation of the subjective consciousness from the Experience of its death

A number in a square represents a person, the holder of the name. The corresponding coloured arrow represents his progress. Let us follow person [1], shown in purple. At a certain point his path splits and his name returns to the starting point and attaches itself to holder [2]. Meanwhile the person himself starts moving out along the path leading to the bottom of the diagram, but he is still remembered as the former holder of the name - hence he is still depicted in purple. Person [2], meanwhile, is truly a new person, but with the same name.

The figures in circles are placed at the points in each coloured path which the person travelling that path has reached when the new person represented by the figure in the circle is born. Thus when [2] is born, [1] has reached the point marked with a (2), when [3] is born, he has reached (3), and so on.

What this diagram seeks to convey is that as he gives his name back to the world of the living, the deceased is freed not only from his original death-Experience but also from its analogue by redemption, Earth-Experience, and that he then passes into successively less differentiated states: from Earth as a group of kinsmen from one birinda or segment, to Ra'tud as a group of all men of the village, to butterfly-hood, which will be interpreted later as standing for a complete absence of any knowable characteristics. The progressive loss of group differentiation begins only with this loss of Experience, and is counter-balanced by his extreme differentiation as an individual in giving his name to a child. The person is split into one part which is in no way self-perpetuating or transitive but can only drop out of the bottom of the diagram, and a self-perpetuating or transitive element, which I suggest is a final transformation, Experience-free and individual, of the person's original experience of death. The isolation and return of the name signifies the success of a process by which the specific circumstances of the particular death have been metaphorised into collective categories in order to undergo a series of transformations to which that metaphor is amenable. The metaphor is reduced to broader and broader categories until it becomes empty and fit only to discard - by which time the name, like some precious oil, has been extracted from it as representing the person minus the experience of death. To recall the discussion of transitive verbs in Chapter 10, it seems to me that this is transitivity but with no passivity on the part of the receiver. Hence "I name a child after

myself" (pasiĵen abñāmtenai) is a middle, not an active, verb and the child, though an "object" in conventional grammar, is not a patient in our sense but has been identified with the agent in a way which makes it more like the grammarian's "complement" (cf. verbs like "become", gadāl-, which take the same construction). This was contrasted with pasiĵen abñāmtai, "I give a child a name [not my own]". Such renaming thus epitomises the non-aggressive transitivity of biological succession and the continuity of the birinda.

Actually, the death-Experience and the name lie at opposite poles of what may be seen as a continuum of potentially inheritable aspects of the person, each of which acts as a link by analogy between the aspects on either side of it. These will be summarised later in figure 15.5, but are here discussed in advance under the following headings:

- 1 potential long-term Ra'tud membership
 - 2 personal original death-Experience
 - 3 transformation of original death-Experience by analogy into group Earth-Experience
 - 4 Earth as group non-Experience
 - 5 material property
 - 6 house
 - 7 personal name
- 1 potential long-term Ra'tud membership: like Earth in 3, this is a non-Experience for those inside it, since they have not necessarily passed through the events which it represents to those who are attacked by it direct. Such people as die with Ra'tud as a death-Experience (e.g. Jamano in Chapter 7) return to it at this stage many years later after redemption and a spell in Earth. Its impact on direct victims is precisely because for them it is untimely and short-circuits the socially vital differentiation of the Earth stage (Chapter 6).
- The potential for the ultimate, inevitable entry into a Ra'tud site is inherited transitively by all men by virtue of the fixed, territorial nature of the birinda. Nothing short of a man's migration to another village can change this.
- 2 personal original death-Experience (including untimely Ra'tud): this is fully blocked off from the next namesake. Even if, owing to undue haste as in the cases of Palda and Rumbana, the first

namesake is still in the habit of reverting to his death-Experience when the second namesake is already alive, he has nevertheless promised in the namegiving ceremony (below) to do his utmost to protect the child from this aspect of himself. The people drawn towards suicide by Palda and Rumbana are not their namesakes and will never be. When Mengalu's baby Rumbana died, it was not a Sun death and it was only after the guar that the hanged Rumbana took him into his care and led him to join him in Jagatumba.

The Sora are explicit on this point. The child comes into the world as a sort of experiential tabula rasa on which however impressions of experience are already being made even at the moment of birth (Chapter 4). Thus the eventual fate of every child is already known by Sun-Woman because it is implicit in her forging. But we cannot know it until it has eventually manifested itself in the person's actual death. Some say that the Experiences actually crowd round a woman giving birth competing with each other to earmark the child (text 15.1):

Text 15.1 A Story in which fate is cheated through foreknowledge

'A man left his pregnant wife at home and went to sleep in his tree-house on a hillside to guard the ripening crops against wild pigs. He woke in the middle of the night to hear all the trees calling to each other: "Hey sal-tree, hey mango, let's go and have a look, a woman's about to give birth". But his tree said, "I can't, I'm not free, I've got someone sleeping in me". So they went off without his tree. When he woke up again the other trees had returned. "Well", said his tree, "was it a boy or a girl, and which Experience got there first?" "It's a boy, and Leopard-Memory claimed him. The day he first visits his father-in-law's house, after his marriage, a leopard will take him."

'When the boy grows up the father is reluctant to let him marry but in the end cannot prevent it. The first time the young couple prepare to set out to visit the girl's parents, his father manages to make her understand through riddles that under no circumstances, whether eating, sleeping or even excreting, are they to let go of each others' hands from the moment they leave until they are safely back. She obeys her father-in-law even though the boy finds this very embarrassing and cannot be told the reason. Leopards lurk on the path, leopards prowl around the girl's father's house all night, but they can do nothing in the face of her steadfast hand-holding, and the Experience which claimed him at birth is thwarted for ever.'

Another version of this idea is that the thoroughness or quality of the rubbing of a newborn baby with cooling, boundary-defining medicines somehow affects its susceptibility to

Experiences and more generally experience. I heard a man who was having difficulties with his personal life saying to his aged mother who was bemoaning the fact, "Only you know what kind of turmeric you rubbed me with." (iten a sangsang jo'sangling, amen galam).

It seems that such ideas are not very fully worked out and are explored in stories rather than rituals because they cannot be operated with: ritual operations on a person begin only with banishing rites at the onset of symptoms, while the prophylactic blocking rites after a bad death are to protect a wide range of people who have been exposed to the contagion. The Experience which will actually kill the person cannot be blocked, for what happens in the story above cannot happen in real life and the story does not go on to relate how the boy eventually did die; but given the words and actions of the namegiving, we can be certain that the death-Experience of his namesake is blocked. The transitivity of one aspect of the namesake, involving the active-passive cycle, is rejected; while that of another, social aspect which is grammatically middle is accepted.

- 3 transformation of personal death-Experience by analogy into group Earth-Experience: the nature of the analogy makes this, too, not transitive.
- 4 Earth as group non-Experience: this has analogies with both Earth-Experience and material property. It follows Earth-Experience in being specific and identical with it in terms of named sites, but differs from it and resembles the transmission of material property in that in this sense it is transitive and not blocked from the new namesake; accordingly, it is similarly diluted across branches (see also below, under "house").
- 5 material property: effectively identical with 4, except that it is by definition transitive, i.e. it must be inherited, whereas the Earth name to which it is tied need not be and in the long run, cannot.
- 6 house: new houses are built either on sites owned by the builder, on sites acquired by him, or on "random" (ka'ja) i.e. unowned sites. This last is of course also the way in which inheritable rights to new land for cultivation are acquired. It is ownerless until somebody needs it and can muster the labour to use it. As with land, rights to house sites or ready-made houses can

lapse, be transferred, etc., as families expand and contract.

Brothers normally marry and move out into their own homes in order of age. But this does not lead to any idea of ultimogeniture as with the Kachin (Leach: 1954). Rather, Sora ideology seems to entail that the awareness of relative age, so important to the internal organisation of the generation, shall die with the living memory of that generation itself since it is in no way metaphorised into transmissible hereditary knowledge. Where it is remembered further it is because it explains the present rather than justifies it: for instance, in the Gomang birinda of Alinsing old Rijoi was obviously the elder brother because he moved out and founded what is becoming a new village, Tongseng. But the justification for the impending breakaway of that segment from the rest of the birinda lies not in the fact that its founder was the elder, but in the fact that it is coming to have no Earth sites in common with the other half. In the more recent generation of these two men's children (-3), it is already impossible to establish with absolute certainty the internal birth order of the two sets of brothers. This is surely because it has nothing to explain: all sharing out, both at that time and retrospectively if one branch should die out now, is equal. My adult friends today were being born as these men in -3 were dying. Their Earth site has lost its relevance and the stories of how they entered them, so readily available for those of generation -2 (my friends' fathers), are lost. Each man in -1 can remember with certainty only if, when he was a child, his father referred to his uncles in -3 by the term for "father's elder brother" or "father's younger brother", a blanket term which applies to the men of the entire birinda and makes no further distinctions.

Regardless of the way in which he acquires his house, a young man about to start a nuclear family will make it through ritual an exact homologue of that of his other brothers. All the fully guar'd Ancestors who have rights to be fed in the house and to name his descendants are inducted into the house with a ceremony. Chickens are sacrificed on the mortar and grain and wine chanted over at the foot of the main pillar. It is said explicitly that these Ancestors are the true owners of the house which we enjoy by their grace.

The multiplicity of houses in which a man's heirs live are

thus homologous with each other and symbolically identical with the house in which he actually lived. This corresponds exactly to the range across which his land is shared together with the use of the name of the Earth site which he has entered. The homology will be broken only when his name has emerged in one such house and thus been precluded from the others.

It is at last possible to show exactly how the concept of Earth is separated out into two aspects. One, which I have called Earth-Experience, is backward-looking and functions as an analogy with the original symptom-based death-Experience; the other, which I have called Earth-non-Experience, dispenses with symptoms altogether and looks forward directly to this entering of the house as pure Ancestor.

The dialogues given in Chapter 11 shows how, unlike the other residential Experiences, Earth gives a full and elaborate account of the continuation of normal social life after death. The dialogues are full of references to who among the dead is drinking with whom, who is living with or visiting whom, even the banalities of baby-sitting and all the seasonal occupations that fill real life. This world is an inverted parody of that of the living, with the seasons reversed, as well as night and day: the dead have their eyes at the back of the heads, they keep doves as chickens, pythons as cows, and so on. It is because the two worlds are so exactly analogous and yet so much at cross-purposes - the trees I need to fell at the hoeing season are at the same time my Ancestor's beanpoles during his growing season - that the two worlds impinge on each other in a way that is always problematic for us: the dead drink the soul of our alcohol and leave it tasteless; they have their own apparently productive agriculture yet demand a share of our produce as their right, and above all, they attack us and "take" us to join them. If we in turn impinge too intimately on their world, we are unable to return: a sick man who accepts the food of the dead is bound to die, it is by working or drinking in the vicinity of an Earth site or washing in its water (i.e. sometimes habitual actions, sometimes a snort, sharp encounter) that we lay ourselves open to absorption by that Earth, and so on. The whole system is slanted to our disadvantage, in that by their activity the dead place us grammatically always in the passive. But they give us a

handle towards the reversal of this through this very same inverse analogy which is the defining property of their world. The Earth sites are mapped across the same landscape as living human settlements with a specificity which makes them a realistic conceptual counterpart: they contain more or less complete segments of kin-groups and it is known exactly who resides where among them, while further marriages and changes of residence occur for exactly the same kinds of reasons as they do among the living and are reported to the living and discussed with them during trances. Thus, unlike the "wandering" (gorod-) between say the Sun, or even Leopard-Residence, and the state of Ancestorhood, which as we have seen represents a paradoxically simultaneous potential expressed by the Sora with an oscillating movement of the hand, there is not the same intractable incompatibility between Earth space and Ancestor space. An Earth site is a clearing for human cultivation in wild (kandring) space which thereby becomes a kinship-linked analogue for the domestic space of the village. This makes it quite different from the clumps of trees, rocks or cross-roads which become the focus of the other residential Experiences, with their quite different way of recruiting residents.

Earth sites therefore represent an important step towards the full superimposition of the map of Experience space onto that of social or Ancestor space, which in its pure form - that is totally free of associations with Experiences - is an Underworld mapped directly underneath the villages and houses of the living. The points of impingement between us and the Underworld (kānorai) are at the birinda level the cremation grounds at the edge of the village, and at the house level the mortar in the floor where grain is pounded and in some contexts the hearth, the main pillar supporting the roof, and the door. All of these are two-way passages for the Ancestors which can be opened up by words, tunes and gestures when Ancestors are summoned and sealed up after their departure to prevent their uncontrolled return. Thus within domestic space we have the means to retain complete control of the movements of our Memories, and those which enter the house in a non-Ancestor form are taken out by the door and beyond the village in a banishing rite (amdung-pār). On an Earth site, on the other hand, there is still a certain amount of the danger of

wild space since, as has been seen, it is not we who control the time and manner of the impinging.

However, a strong analogy exists between an Earth site focussed on a spring and the agnatically-related segment of a village focussed in each house on the mortar. This is made explicit each February when a first-fruits ritual is performed for the Ancestors as members of Earth-Memory (sacrifice: goat) at every household's separate threshing floor dotted across the landscape on their cultivated land. This takes place shortly before the big karja in which the Ancestors of the entire village come from the Underworld into one representative house as Ancestors (sacrifice: buffalo), using a ladder which is lowered into the hole of the mortar.

A man who is "in" an Earth site is also in the "soul" (puradan) of all grain which grows out of that earth, and so "enters" (gan-) the house every time a harvest is taken from the threshing floor through the door into the loft. He "becomes" (gadil-) the grain which is pounded in the mortar, cooked on the hearth and swallowed daily in each of the houses. In Jamano's guar the words of the kata (sung dialogues covering normative, non-specific topics) just before Mengalu finally broke down in tears (Chapter 7) were:

Text 15.2 (The Ancestor-Men sing in Jamano's persona):

I have become birinda food	I have become segment food
I have become birinda grain	I have become segment grain
I have become Underworld- journey rice	I have become straight- path [?] rice

In some villages at the guar and karja, each household participating contributes a handful of grain which is ground into flour by the Ancestor-Women or Ancestor-Men of the birinda. This is then mixed with water into a paste and fashioned into a human effigy (plate 9) which is charred on a fire (? presumably representing the pyre) and eaten by the males of the relevant households (in some villages, the flour is just made into pellets). Children may also eat it, but on no account should it be ingested by the birinda's unmarried daughters or sisters past puberty, as it would make them sterile. No one was able to give any explanation of this although the taboo was obviously felt deeply by the girls. But it seems to me to mean that once a girl has

Plate 9 Reconstituting the deceased: an edible human effigy
for cannibalisation by his descendants

Men who will inherit him have contributed grain containing
soul-force, from which the flour and water effigy is made.
They will then eat it, though this is strictly forbidden to
women. Photographed at a guar: the leaf is laia, always used
in this context (see text). Like the effigy, it holds promise
of descendants in the future.



swallowed a portion of the soul of her own Ancestor, she is held fast by this incestuous act and will be unable to produce children for the birinda of another man. This symbolic cannibalism must be strictly confined among the sexually mature to those through one of whom the perpetuation of the deceased person must pass. The rationale of a dead man's rights to be fed as an Ancestor is cast in such expressions as: "Do you eat for nothing?" (asangge jumte po?) or, 'I made you by my copulation, I fed you by my cultivation, now I have become your grain, give me a buffalo to plough with down below or else come and join me.'

Thus we can say that it is this superimposition of Earth space onto domestic space which de-Experientialises the concept of Earth and Ancestorises it. By virtue of the analogy with social groupings, Earth used in this way becomes an idiom for the perpetuation of a man's property and person and no longer of that of the form of his initial absorption at the moment of death. This can be brought about only through dialogue and can only draw away from any point of reference in terms of signs and symptoms to the circumstances of the deceased while alive or around the time of his death. Earth-Memory thus becomes a concept which is cut loose from the moorings of the actual experience of the person who is supposed to be experiencing it, and thus ultimately over time not an Experience at all.

7 personal name: however, this kind of entry into domestic space covers an ever widening and diluted range of houses and individuals. The namegiving can now be seen as taking this diluted person and concentrating his essence again into a whole person. All this is already prefigured in the guar. The name-giving ceremony (abñimon) closes the sequence of "funeral" (sanatung) rites which began with the first post-mortem divination and uses the same kurans, tunes and forms: prose dialogue in trance while the Ancestor-Men sing verse dialogues in song and songs almost identical to the redemption chants in which all the Ancestors are listed. But the wording is of joy and fulfilment, and it is uncanny to hear the tunes and verse forms of the guar used not amidst laments but amidst shrieks of helpless laughter and obscene horseplay in a wild party which lasts far into the night.

Every image in the guar now appears to have been a promise of

this moment (cf. Chapter 9, lines 211-2). Four examples will be sufficient to show this.

a) the ring: The central act of the abñimon is the removal of the brass finger-ring which was tied by a thread round the infant's wrist when it was earmarked by the Ancestor one or two years previously to bear the name. This is supposedly one of the rings which each participating household had given, along with their buffalo, grain and wine, at each stage of the guar, lajab and karja for the previous holder of the name. Despite its prominence, the Sora are able to say very little about the meaning of the ring, and the texts sung do not elaborate. Given the gynaecological associations of metal and the fact that the abñimon coincides, at least in structural time, with the end of breastfeeding and the supposed resumption of normal sexual relations between the parents, I suspect that the ring represents a completely closed and solid boundary for the soft material of which the child has been formed.

b) the effigy: the grain which was contributed by all inheriting households was ground into flour in order to be re-integrated into single person. It seems to me that what the men ate was not so much a fragmented snare in that person (as when they divide his property), but more an equal share in the potential for the person to emerge whole and undivided in the line of one of them.

c) branching vegetation: in the redemption chants at the guar (Chapter 9) a lot of vegetation imagery is used and all of it is brought up again at the abñimon. Riadi and purpuri (line 208) are two kinds of frequently-branching grass which form mats as they spread out in a circle from a centre to which the stems remain traceable. They are said to have additionally associations with prosperity because they are nourishing for cattle. Sinjang and partad (26) and titin (63) are some of the many trees, mostly of the families Leguminosae and Mimosaceae, which have numerous fine, pinnate leaves. A common expression for "very many" is "like sinjang leaves like partad leaves" or "like titin leaves like enger leaves" - just as the inclusion of one of these leaves in the materia medica of sorcery means "may the contagion (anoki) spread and destroy all your branch down to the last leaf". Banana plants (46), as well as being a symbol

for fleshy vigour, are reproduced by suckers and offshoots which form around the base. Butid (1.201) is a bristly tuber with long filament roots radiating out. Tarab, laia and singkung (11.43-4) are climbing creepers which wander from tree to tree, far from their original rootstock. They embody many other symbolic properties which make them apposite for the context: the bark of singkung is used as a cooling medicine in childbirth and helps easy delivery because the ripe seed cases spring open and the seed pops out; the names of plants with flat, round seeds are used allusively in conversation to mean "money" and so on. A further important word which happens not to occur in this text is "tambob-" (from bob, "head, apex") which means

- 1 to sprout again after being cut down to the rootstock, used of trees and shrubs.
- 2 to have male heirs, said of a man after his death (the opposite of tad-).

These plants, however, are not part of the imagery of Earth, even though leading the deceased into Earth is the most immediate aim of the song. Rather the song's imagery is concerned not with the inward-turning, ungenerous, incestuous tendency of Earth, but with the outward-going vigour of the forms of plant-life which ramify indefinitely at the tips without losing the unity of their rootstock (cf. lines 201-2, 208-9 and the Sora's own use of "branch", "twig", "leaf" in discussing the birinda, Chapter 3).

I am inclined to see this as an imagery of the reproduction of the group which spreads free of the divisiveness inherent in the sexual reproduction of animal life. Here are no separate consciousnesses and identities with their problems of boundaries, no exogamy, no experience or Experiences, no passions or grammatical passivity. The new baby stands at the head of a line which should ramify for ever - except that unknown to us, Sun-Woman has already prepared a fatal Experience for it, and if it is a girl the additional wrench of exogamy is probably lying in wait for her. The fact that the same texts are used for a girl or a boy is surely not unconnected with the obviously great conceptual difficulties that her marriage presents to her natal birinda, especially since there is no established solution along the lines of bride-price. It is probably here that the analogy between exogamy for women and death-Experience for all people, which seems to me implicit in Sora thinking, comes nearest to being made

explicit.

d) the entry into the house: at the end of the divination on the day of the guar, the Memory of the deceased is led out of the house and when the stone has been set up, passed through it into the Underworld. From there it will sometimes wander back of its own accord and make its presence known by following someone home or otherwise entering the house. If it has done this in the form of its death-Experience or some minor aspect of it, the Memory is first led out of the house to an appropriate site outside domestic space, fed there, generally with a pig or chicken, and dismissed. This is a banishing rite (amdungpär). The same is done for a group of Ancestors who "hire" the Sun (Duri-Sonum, cf. Chapter 11). If the Memory of the person has come in the form of Earth as an Experience, that is with Earth symptoms, it is similarly banished. In some circumstances, where its Ancestral aspect is emphasised, it is fed in the house with a goat or chicken and then kept for months or years in a closed pot hung on the wall inside the house and fed with some grain which is put inside the pot and changed from time to time. If it comes as a pure Ancestor (idai) without hiring Duri, it is always fed in the house with a chicken and left to find its own way back to the Underworld. Thus, though in one sense it owns the house and is inducted into a new home as described above, under no circumstances is a Memory left at large in the house for any length of time. If it is there at all, it will make itself known in a way which will force people to take action to make it go away or close it up in a pot.

At the three day karja . . . which is an annual festival and not held in response to illness, the Memories are invited into the house as Ancestors. But the bamboo ladder which is lowered through the mortar into the Underworld for them to climb up is chopped up on the mortar as they depart towards the end of the third night, to the accompaniment of frenzied dancing on the shattered fragments which are later also taken to a cremation site and burnt. Meanwhile at that very moment outside the house the buffalos are being massacred.

This dismissal of the invited Ancestors by destroying their path is important because the pantomime of entering through the mortar is paralleled simultaneously by another one of entering through the door which is exactly that used in the namegiving ceremony. Towards

nightfall on the first night of the karja the funeral kurans sit on the cremation ground of the birinda who are providing the representative house that year and go into a trance in which every required Ancestor announces his or her arrival and is greeted with tears and embraces (cf. plate 6). Everybody then returns to the village and the Memories come with them. One group of Ancestor-Men (in the karja, those of all the village's birindas are pooled) barricade themselves inside the locked empty house while the others stand outside in the darkness armed with axes, swords and arrows, and sing demanding to be let in. Those inside, on behalf of the living householders, widows, children, etc. reply raising doubts and objections, especially about the authenticity of the petitioner. The whole business takes several hours, since it must be gone through separately with appropriate wording for each person who has died in the last three years (in Alinsing in 1979 there were 22). Finally the Ancestors break down the door and are followed by a riotous crowd of dancers and musicians who have already been drinking for some time elsewhere. At this point the funeral pyre-lighters start dancing on the pitch of the roof outside, shaking the house, tearing a hole in the thatch and lowering the ladder into the mortar. The big trance takes place at the foot of the ladder for the rest of this and the two successive nights. Though each person who is called to the foot of the ladder to speak with a Memory may weep, they do so at the still centre of an orgiastic swirl of revellers. These dance to an orchestra of oboes and syncopated drums, who pass through a succession of tunes and beats associated with classes of Memory: the cremation-tune, the Underworld-tune, the Sun-tune for the Memory of a suicide. Yet on the third night, the ladder is destroyed and the dead dismissed.

The abñimon namegiving has no ladder, but uses exactly the same device of the two parties of Ancestor-Men singing on either side of the closed door, and the eventual breaking in. Only this time the entry is permanent, in the form of the name which during the trance on the mortar will be attached definitively by the Ancestor to the child, through the act of untying the ring. Also, this time the Ancestor-Men are of one birinda only and the single buffalo is danced around only that birinda's portion of the village before being killed.

There are numerous subsidiary themes: the turmeric-splashing fight, in which everyone throws pots of turmeric water over each other (the boundary-sealing medicine used at birth); the evening of

pantomime which includes danced and spoken enactments of the baby's future marriage, cultivation, full harvests, copulation, successful battles with moneylenders and officials, etc. Throughout, the theme is prosperity in the future and for the present, horseplay without tears. The party atmosphere of the karja is there but with one difference: there is nobody weeping in the centre. A prominent theme is that the dead namesake enters the house bringing a branch of a particular thorn (kumbali) which he or she hangs over the door inside the house to block the entry of attacking Memories. This is the protection he is supposed to provide against even his own death-Experience. When I sang this once in a team headed by Mengalu for a baby of his birinda, we claimed to have brought the thorn all the way from Tunganrutung, the original start of their migration (cf. text 14.1). The whole event can be summed up from the point of view of the dead person, who keeps saying pimenglai, "I have become important". I interpret this as meaning that it is better to have some kind of existence among the living than to be completely dead, even if your name is the only aspect of you which can return to life.

Several potentially transmissible ("transitive") aspects of the person have been described. Figure 15.5 represents the differential degree of inheritability of these between the point of the person's death and that of his renaming a new child. It will be seen that each of these aspects functions as a link in a chain of connections because it bears points of analogy with the aspects which I have arranged on either side of it. These are the same seven headings which were discussed more fully earlier in this chapter.

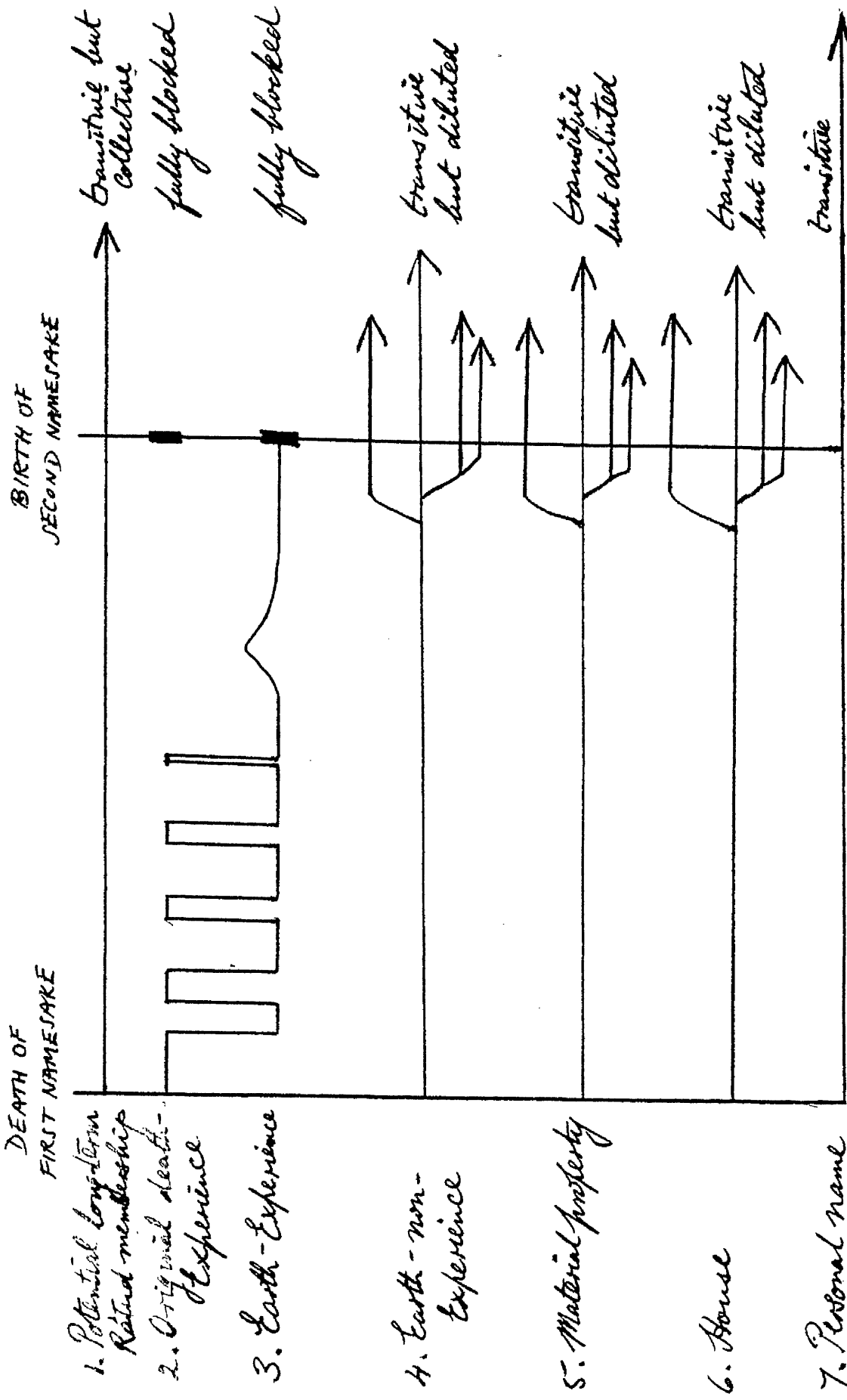


Figure 15.5 Degrees of transitivity of different aspects of the person

transitive but Collective fully blocked

fully blocked

transitive but diluted

transitive but diluted

transitive but diluted

transitive

but undiluted, individual

BIRTH OF SECOND NAMESAKE

DEATH OF FIRST NAMESAKE

1. Potential long-term Retired membership Experience

2. Original death Experience

3. Earth - Experience

4. Earth - non-Experience

5. Material property

6. House

7. Personal name

- 1 potential membership of a particular village Ra'tud in the long-term sense is ideally unchanging in perpetuity for a line of men and irrelevant for their women, whose movement on marriage between birindas and villages is discussed entirely in terms of Earth. This sense of Ra'tud is distinct from its untimely action, as in 2 below.
- 2 original death-Experience: the post-mortem blocking rites to protect a range of people are never immediately successful, but a renamed child is totally blocked off from the contagion of his namesake's Experience and makes a fresh start. Even if the renaming takes place before the rememberers' eyes are fully dry, as with Palda and Rumbana who are still trying to perpetuate their own Experience, the new baby is given immunity by the abñimon.
- 3 Earth-Experience exists only in order to be an analogue by transformation of 2, and is similarly blocked.
- 4 Earth-non-Experience is similar to 3 in that it is based on the same area in space but: (i) it is concerned not with symptoms but with the names of the sites and the rights they represent; and (ii) it branches after a person's death into a possibly ever-increasing number of co-heirs, and in this diluted form is not explicitly blocked from the namesake: hanged Rumbana took Mengalu's baby Rumbana after his redemption to stay with him in Jagatumba. But a more normal correspondence of lived time to formal time (cf. figure 14.4) shows that second name-holders do not usually enter the same Earth as their earlier namesakes, because its relevance is over. Earth has simply served to bridge the gap between Experience and
- 5 material property: this is identical with 4, since it is what 4 served to validate or protect. With the fading or irrelevance of 4, the arrows re-emerge among the living and move infinitely into the future. Note that this is similarly infinitely diluted.
- 6 house: identical to 5 in distribution and transitivity. This is expressed through the cult by different households of common Ancestors whose inheritance they share, which depends on the enumerating of the names of those of them who have not yet died a second death (i.e. whose name has not yet entered a third name-sake). When this happens the name is cut away from all branches except the one in which the name has reappeared.
- 7 personal name: this shares the transitivity of the Ancestor-cult

in 6 but strips away all branches and all dilution by concentrating everything into a single person again. In formal terms it can be said to represent the final triumph, by transformation, over 2. It is the only aspect of the personality which is transitive to infinity. Transitivity of the personality cannot pass for ever through dilutions. In returning to one person, the name makes him into the fullest possible repetition of the former personality.

The order of arrangement of these aspects leads from the Experience of death, the transitivity of which must be totally blocked, to the person's name, the transitivity of which must be assured. The analysis presented suggest firstly that this is a system for the control of Memories; and that since Memories of past events determine the form of future events, this attempts to control the future by restricting the analogies it is to follow. Secondly, it seems to be associated with the elimination of what I have called grammatical passivity, but which is clearly not unconnected with another area of the word's meaning, that of suffering. The first impact of death and the immediate response by the living of metaphorisation put the deceased into the passive and further and further submerge his individuality as the stages of metaphor develop. The elimination of Earth-Experience removes the passivity of the deceased (which is felt by the living as the threat of his activity upon them) but leaves his separate personality unsalvaged. The namegiving restores this, albeit in a highly restricted way, through a transitivity which is no longer grammatical and concerned with suffering but purely social and biological. This normally occurs just when all living memory of his personality has vanished.

And so the stages of structural time shown in figure 15.3 in Roman numerals correspond in lived time to:

- I living memory, which in the form of Memories which are not fully redeemed (are still reverting) still has a power over the rememberers which decreases only with the inverse growth in power of the redeemed Memories (i.e. as Earth-Experience).
- II living memory which has been successfully transformed into Earth-non-Experience: this is contained in the minds of the adults whose children and deceased parents bear the same names. This shades into

- III no longer living memory, which persists only in the names of people whom the living have probably never seen but who as Ancestors are the justification for the names of those all around them; this is also expressed through Ra'tud, the collective category of the greatest generality which supports the grouping of all households into one village.
- IV the death of Memories: after II, the passive/active aspect of transitivity is superseded, after III the non-grammatical aspect which ensures transmission. Now with transmission assured the Memory, itself an already once-dead person, has nothing left to give us and so dies again in the Underworld and becomes a butterfly. People often say that butterflies are indestructible since when they flock to a pot of sweet wine they apparently drown, but when pulled out they come to life again and fly away. In the division of the person at the renaming, what returns to the living is only that aspect which they can apprehend and manipulate as a label. From the supposed subjective viewpoint of the deceased, by far the greater part of his consciousness if not all of it recedes beyond the range of the awareness of the living, without ceasing to exist in a state of self-awareness — except that it no longer has any experience of which to be aware. This then is a butterfly: a consciousness which cannot cease to exist but which has no properties because nothing can be known about it. Being fully liberated from passivity and passion, butterflies are Memories without rememberers.

16 Conclusion: dialogues with the self?a) translation and the problem of epistemological realms

In our explication of the Sora practice of conducting dialogues with the dead, the word "sonum" was chosen as our initial problem for the very reason that to the Sora it is an ultimate solution. Sonums or their equivalents, whether in Soraland or elsewhere, have their own "logic" which can be made explicit by analysis. Yet the task attempted in this thesis has been not simply to make explicit the logic of this term but also to enable the reader, however inadequately, to imagine what it may be like to think and feel as a Sora does.

Although in their own language the Sora "think", "feel", "know", and so forth, nevertheless what we call "intellect", "emotion" and "cognition" are for them not necessarily distinct experiential or epistemological realms: as we have seen, they have other ways of dividing the totality of human awareness. Thus in our own understanding of the world there are certain realms of cognition or explanation which are not easily reconciled. For example, especially since Romanticism, there has grown up a gulf between the "intellectual" and the "emotional" response to a situation, while the "social sciences" are bedevilled with the problem of the incompatibility between the sociological explanation of a phenomenon and its explanation in terms of individual psychology. Yet the material which has been presented suggests strongly that the intellectual and the emotional aspects as well as the sociological and psychological aspects of the Sora interpretation of a death run so closely in parallel as to be indistinguishable. This was so for the bereavement in Chapter 12 as much as for Chapter 14, where long-term strategies of inheritance were shown to be related to judgements of personal closeness between the various persons involved. Other similar instances of non-separability could be given. However, if this interpretation is convincing, it should not be seen as an elegant achievement of the ethnographer, nor even of the kurans through whom the dialogues pass: rather it should be taken as a demonstration that in Sora culture such aspects or realms are not separable even though they can be discussed in English only separately.

In this sense Sora epistemology appears less specialised, or compartmentalised, than our own. Thus for them the realms which we call theology, ethnics, aesthetics, psychology, sociology, politics,

medicine and law are articulated and regulated in large part through the medium of dialogues with sonums. All these realms, therefore, are grounded in whatever is contained in the word sonum and furthermore are of course for the Sora not separate realms at all. However, this means that our attention must be directed with particular care to the internal classifications which the Sora themselves make within this term, many of which are likely to have no direct correspondence or immediately intelligible gloss within our own metaphysics. Thus for the first two-thirds of the thesis this term was not translated into English or even glossed, but rather set in motion, allowed to behave as it would and examined from all angles as it did so. Considerable effort was spent in elucidating basic Sora distinctions such as their primary one between the Ancestor aspect of a dead person and his Experience aspect. This distinction is unlike, say, that between a sociological and psychological explanation of the same phenomenon. The elements in the latter distinction belong to separate epistemological realms in the sense that they are (as prevailing metaphors would put it) on different "levels", or simply "incommensurable" - hence our possible surprise at finding that they are not so in Soraland.

Where does this leave our earlier hope of "translating" Sora culture, or at the very least translating the word sonum, on which this entire thesis can be seen as an extended gloss?

The difficulty of the task stems from the need to confine ourselves to one or a few of our own epistemological realms to the exclusion of others which are equally present in the concept of sonum. For instance, though there could probably be in Sora culture no idea comparable to our "divinity" which is not encompassed within the range of "sonum", the structure of our own epistemology today makes the realm of theology only a partially suitable one for its translation and moreover not even the most powerful. Some reasons for this were given in Chapter 1. In terms of the present discussion of "realms", it can be added that, though at one time in western Europe it can be argued to have done so (Kantorowicz:1957 ; Ullmann:1955), today the metaphorical idiom of theology has diminished in scope and is not able to dominate the now "secular" realms of politics, law, ethics, etc., to each of which there corresponds an application (if not simply the application) of sonum.

It was for these reasons that the gloss experimentally chosen in Chapter 10 belonged more closely to the realm of psychology than to that

of theology. However, the combination of the term's salient properties which emerged presented a dilemma. In many compelling and significant ways sonum corresponded to the English "Memory". Yet on the other hand it displayed in addition certain qualities of exteriority and self-motivation with which the English term is not usually endowed. It was therefore decided while working with the translation "Memory" to retain the autonomy of the Sora concept so that it would be normal to say "the Memory of my dead father speaks to me". The consequence of this was a piquant sense of contradiction, even oxymoron, since it was clear that this was no mere poetic conceit as, for instance, in the title of Nabokov's autobiography Speak, Memory (1967). Thus to the extent that we accept this gloss, we are obliged also to accept that when a Sora goes to a kuran to have a trance performed, he is indeed confronted by the speech of his Memories and that there is no meaning to be had in denying his sense of the reality of this encounter.

An important part of grasping this lies in the insistence that in choosing the idiom of psychology I am not rejecting that of theology nor even — except to the extent that modern English usage forces me to do so — separating them. The closest precedent known to me in social anthropology, in which theology and psychology are presented as sometimes barely distinguishable aspects of the same reality, is Lienhardt's Divinity and Experience (1961), already quoted in Chapter 10. However, though every theology must include a theory of the human "mind" (or "soul", "psyche" or "self"), the building of such theories has today itself become an autonomous realm called psychology, the power of which has greatly increased, partly at the direct expense of theology. Any attempted translation must take account of this. In its form as a science, psychology offers us a theory, free of the idiom of Divinity, of the self facing the experience of the death of other selves with which it is closely involved and through this, facing its own mortality.

b) an example of a modern secular theory of the mind in bereavement: Freud's "Mourning and Melancholia"

To conclude the thesis, and to underline the totality of the application of sonum in Sora life, I propose to compare the psycho-therapeutic function of this concept in bereavement with a statement by Freud on the same topic (1957). I am all too aware that psycho-analysis is only one form (or sub-realm) of modern secular psychology or psychiatry and that even internally it encompasses many conflicting approaches. In particular, the reader will be able to note after the following discussion the extent to which some of Freud's successors have moved closer than the master to the Sora position, e.g. Jung with his "archetypes" and "collective unconscious" (e.g. 1959) and Winnicott with his "transitional objects" and "transitional phenomena" (1971). In the space available, therefore, the following example must be taken as illustrative rather than representative.

An examination of western imagery of bereavement reveals some striking similarities to that by which the Sora express the ambiguity of love and fear as one is devoured by those whom one mourns. To take a non-technical, literary example:

Undoubtedly I was made aware of my friendship by the grief that Jean's death was causing me, and little by little I became terribly afraid that since the friendship would have no external object on which to expand itself it might consume me by its fervour and cause my death. Its fire (the rims of my eyelids were already burning) would, I thought, turn against me, who contain and detain Jean's image and allow it to merge with myself within me.

(Genet, Funeral Rites, tr. B. Frechtman, 1969: 28)

Freud's paper provides a technical account of something similar in terms of "normal" and "pathological" processes of grieving. Despite its avowedly provisional nature it remains a classic which has, perhaps surprisingly, not been superseded. The argument of his paper will be presented as simply as possible through a series of selected quotations in which I have underlined certain words and phrases to be discussed later.

According to Freud, mourning is a "normal" process which is healed with the passage of time as the mourner's "libido" withdraws itself from the deceased, who is referred to as the "loved object", while melancholia is a "pathological" disturbance of this process in which the healing fails to occur and the mourner loses interest in staying alive. In both these conditions

- (1) this withdrawal of libido is not a process that can be accomplished in a moment, but must certainly ... be one in which progress is long-drawn-out and gradual. ... first one and then another memory is activated, ... If the object does not possess this great significance for the ego - a significance reinforced by a thousand links - then, too, its loss will not be of a kind to cause either mourning or melancholia. (p.256)

However, in normal mourning,

- (2) Reality-testing has shown that the loved object no longer exists, and it proceeds to demand that all libido shall be withdrawn from its attachments to that object. This demand arouses understandable opposition - it is a matter of general observation that people never willingly abandon a libidinal position, not even, indeed, when a substitute is already beckoning to them. This opposition can be so intense that a turning away from reality takes place and a clinging to the object through the medium of a hallucinatory wishful psychosis. Normally, respect for reality gains the day. Nevertheless its orders cannot be obeyed at once. ... in the meantime the existence of the lost object is physically prolonged. ... Why this compromise by which the command of reality is carried out piecemeal should be so extraordinarily painful is not at all easy to explain in terms of economics ... The fact is, however, that when the work of mourning is completed the ego becomes free and uninhibited again. (pp.244-5)

And again,

- (3) [each] single one of the memories and situations of expectancy which demonstrate the libido's attachment to the lost object is met by the verdict of reality that the object no longer exists; and the ego, confronted as it were with the question whether it shall share this fate, is persuaded by the sum of the narcissistic satisfactions it derives from being alive to sever its attachment to the object that has been abolished. (p.255)

In the case of melancholia, on the other hand,

- (4) An object-choice, an attachment of the libido to a particular person, had at one time existed; then, owing to a real slight or disappointment coming from this loved person, the object-relationship was shattered. The result was not the normal one of a withdrawal of the libido from this object and a displacement of it on to a new one, but something different ... the free libido ... was withdrawn into the ego. There, however, it was not employed in any unspecified way, but served to establish an identification [emphasis original] of the ego with the abandoned object. Thus the shadow of the object fell upon the ego, and the latter could henceforth be judged by a special agency, as though it were an object, ... This substitution of identification for object-love is an important mechanism in the narcissistic affections; Karl Landauer (1914) has lately been able to point to it in the process of recovery in a case of schizophrenia. (pp.248-9)

In this regard, Freud had written in an earlier note dated 1897:

- (5) Hostile impulses against parents ... are also an integral constituent of neuroses. ... They are repressed at times when compassion for the parents is active - at times of their illness or death. On such occasions it is a manifestation of mourning to reproach oneself for their death (what is known as melancholia) or to punish oneself in a hysterical fashion (through the medium of the idea of retribution) with the same states [of illness] that they have had. (p.240)

Now he finds himself in a position to develop this:

- (6) Let us dwell for a moment on the view which the melancholic's disorder affords of the constitution of the human ego. We see how in him one part of the ego sets itself over against the other, judges it critically and, as it were, takes it as its object. (p.247)
- (7) ... the patient is aware of the loss which has given rise to his melancholia, but only in the sense that he knows whom he has lost but not what he has lost in him [original emphases]. This would suggest that melancholia is in some way related to an object-loss which is withdrawn from consciousness, in contradistinction to mourning, in which there is nothing about the loss that is unconscious. (p.245)
- (8) The melancholic displays something else besides which is lacking in mourning - an extraordinary diminution in his self-regard, an impoverishment of his ego on a grand scale. In mourning, it is the world which has become poor and empty; in melancholia it is the ego itself. The patient ... reproaches himself, vilifies himself and expects to be cast out and punished. ... This picture of a delusion of (mainly moral) inferiority is completed by sleeplessness and refusal to take nourishment, and - what is psychologically very remarkable - by an overcoming of the instinct which compels every living thing to cling to life. (p.246)
- (9) ... the melancholic does not behave in quite the same way as a person who is crushed by remorse and self-reproach in a normal fashion. Feelings of shame in front of other people, which would more than anything characterize this latter condition, are lacking in the melancholic, or at least they are not prominent in him. One might emphasize the presence in him of an almost opposite trait of insistent communicativeness which finds satisfaction in self-exposure. (p.247)
- (10) ... we are then faced with a contradiction ... The analogy with mourning led us to conclude that he had suffered a loss in regard to an object; what he tells us points to a loss in regard to his ego ... There is one observation ... which leads to the explanation of the contradiction ... If one listens patiently to a melancholic's many and various self-accusations, one cannot in the end avoid the impression that often the most violent of them are hardly at all applicable to the patient himself, but that with insignificant modifications they do fit someone else, someone whom the patient loves or has loved or should love. Every time one examines the facts this conjecture is confirmed. So we find the key to the clinical picture: we perceive that the self-reproaches are reproaches against a loved object which have been shifted

away from it on to the patient's own ego. (pp.247-8)

The resonances between this and Sora thinking on bereavement are remarkable. Freud's formulation reads almost like a direct translation of that of the Sora into an alternative set of metaphors. There is the same therapeutic intention based on mastery of the situation through technical analysis and appropriate response (though as yet Freud's paper contains no specific programme for action); the same intense attachment, based on "memory" (quotations (1) and (3) above) between the "libido" and the "loved object"; the same gradual, painful "withdrawal" which eventually leaves the successful mourner "free" (quotation (2)); the same risk of a shared fate through identification between the two parties ((3) and (4)); the ambiguity between compassion and hostility (5); the possibility of making explicit or "conscious" the nature of one's loss (7) and especially any element of "slight or disappointment" (4); the desire for self-exposure (9) by means of splitting roles in order to set one role against the other (6); and where the therapeutic process fails, the loss of the will to live (8). Both systems rely for their dynamic element on a dichotomy, in the one case between Mourning and Melancholia, in the other between Ancestor and Experience: the patient must be directed towards one of these to the exclusion of the other. In both cases it may be said that aspects of these two terms can coexist and overlap, as if, say, the seeds of melancholia were latent in every mourner, just as the Ancestor and Experience aspects are present in every dead person. However, where Freud appears to regard these as paths which are in principle alternative and mutually exclusive, Sora thinking treats them rather as successive stages the transition between which is made possible and takes place within the structure of the funeral rites. While it is clear that among the Sora a distinction is felt between the desirable and the undesirable and that this distinction has normative implications, there appears to be nothing which corresponds to the distinction between Freud's "normal" and "pathological". Thus whereas Freud assigns the self-exposure and the splitting of roles to the pathological, that is to one term only of the dichotomy which they partly serve to define, among the Sora they are integrated as part of the process whereby the mourner is led right into the more dangerous half of the dichotomy and safely out the other side.

The difference may be summarised as one between alternative paths (the path of mourning versus that of melancholia) and coexistent,

parallel paths with a progressive shift in emphasis over time. Freud has no doubt, any more than have the Sora, of the possible scope of reality. It can "be tested" (2) in such a way that it returns a "verdict" (3) which has the power of "command" (2) which the bereaved can either "respect" (ibid.) or "turn away from" into "hallucinatory wishful psychosis" (ibid.). This verdict is that "the loved object no longer exists" (ibid.). The Sora equivalent of reality-testing (tungjing, Chapter 7, line 42), as has been shown throughout this thesis, returns the opposite verdict: the deceased continues to exist but in a way which modifies the dynamics of his relationship to the living through a change in its means. Though these dynamics are not the same as exist between persons who are both still alive, the sonum's autonomous existence reverses many of the dynamics of Freud's model by putting the initiative into the hands of the dead. The power of the living to control their own psychic states then lies in their selective response to such initiatives so as to modify their impact. Thus it is not the Sora mourner who finds it difficult to "abandon a libidinal position" (Freud, quotation (2), cf. (1)) but the deceased, who may even appear to have more to regret in the loss than has the mourner (e.g. Panderi in Chapter 11, line 185). Nor is the view afforded of "the constitution of the human ego" (6) the same, since it is not "one part of the ego" which "sets itself over against the other" (ibid.), but a separate entity external to the ego. Similarly, what is expressed is not so much "hostile impulses against parents" (5) but their hostility towards their descendants so that the expectation of punishment ((8), cf. (5)) can be condemned as unjust and can be resisted. One may also liken Freud's "self-exposure" (9) to the Sora self-justification in the face of exposure by others (e.g. Sindi on behalf of Rungkudi, ibid., lines 255, 257), and his self-reproach ((5), (8), (9) and (10)) to the reproaches made by the dead against which one can defend oneself, either by self-justification or by counter-reproach (e.g. Sindi to Palda, ibid., e.g. line 198).

To summarise, then, and using the word "remember" to cover all relevant mental processes, we may represent the Freudian and the Sora schemata of bereavement as follows:

- A In Freud's view, dead people in this context [1] are objects existing only in the minds of their rememberers and therefore [2] manipulated passively by them: their acknowledged power over the mourner stems from properties of the mourner's own mind; [3] even this tenuous degree of existence is likely to

cease with the death of their rememberers, if not sooner; [4] any analytical dichotomy which can be made in order to ease the situation lies within the mourner's process of remembering the deceased, not in the properties of the deceased himself. Hence, [5] to plunge into melancholia and perhaps die of grief or by suicide is the result of the mourner's failure to redirect elsewhere his own attachment to the deceased.

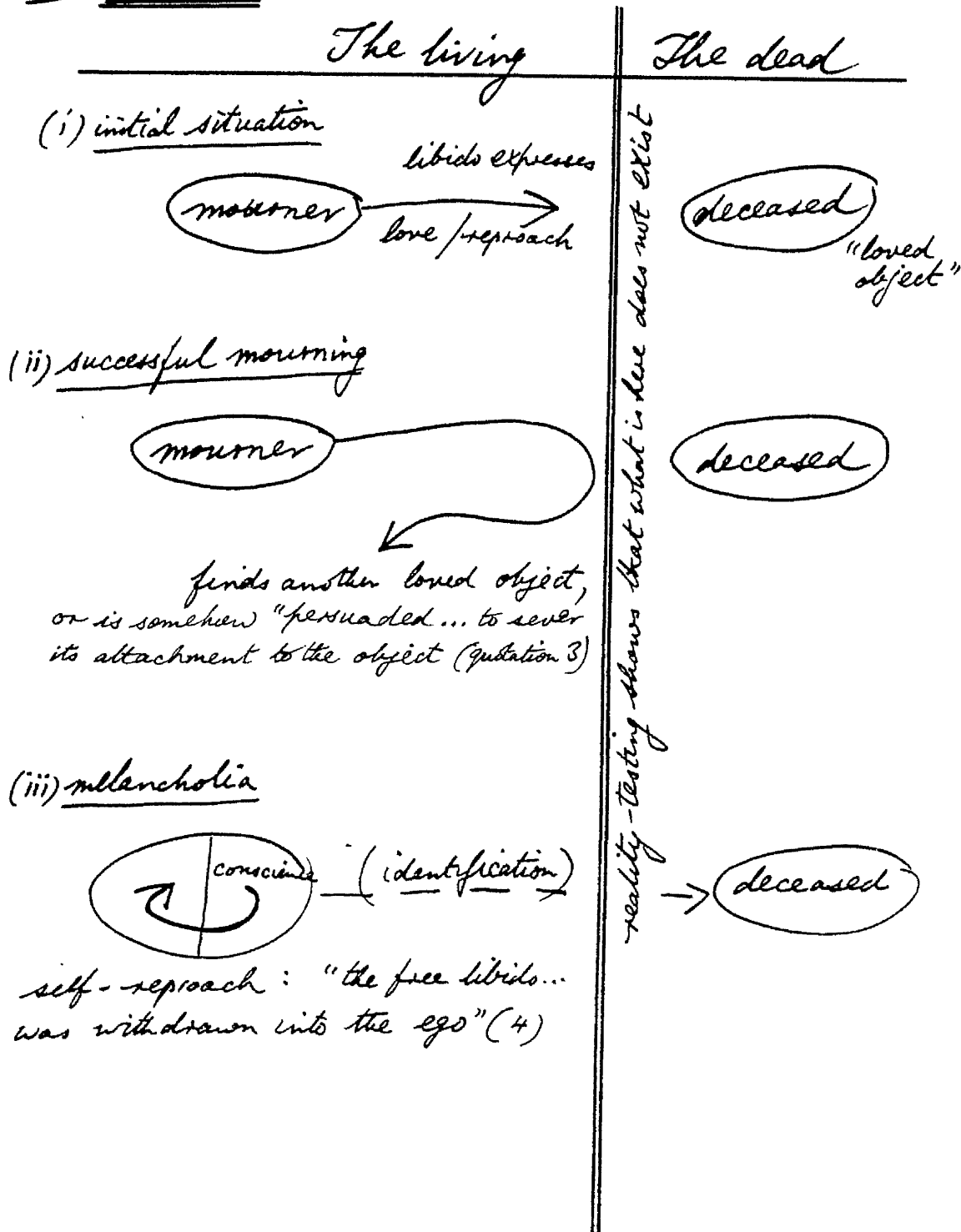
- B In the Sora view, on the other hand, dead people [1] are autonomously existent and sentient with [2] the power to initiate relationships with living people and even to dominate the tone of such a relationship by putting the living into the passive; [3] since they are autonomous, awareness of their properties is more readily transferred to people who were not acquainted with them as living people, so that their "psychic prolongation" (cf. Freud, (2) above) extends in some form far beyond the lifetime of the mourner; [4] the dichotomy which allows the dynamic development of the situation is a property of the dead themselves and not of the living. Hence, [5] to die of grief or by suicide is the result of the mourner's failure to deflect, or control the emphasis of, the deceased's attachment to himself. This is demonstrated, for pining to death, by the instance of Dano and Onjoni mentioned in Chapter 8 and in a roundabout way by that of Jamano and his wife Onsam (*ibid.*); while for suicide it can be seen in Palda's attempt on the lives of Sargia (Chapter 14, section d(ii)) and Sarsuno (Chapter 11, lines 169 ff), as well as in case 8.1, where a boy commits suicide at the beckoning of his predeceased lover.

The differences between these two models are represented in figure 16.1:

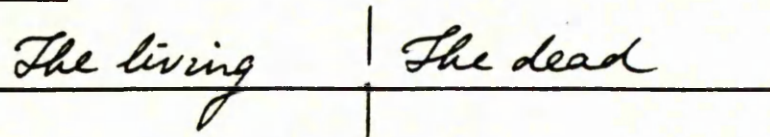
Figure 16.1

The Freudian and the Sora
models of bereavement
and recovery

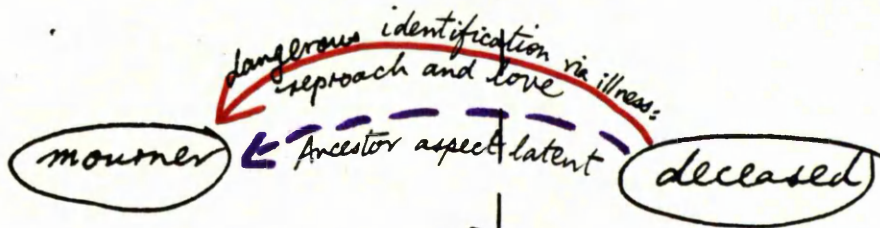
I: FREUD:



II = THE SORA (Red = Experience, Purple = Ancestor)

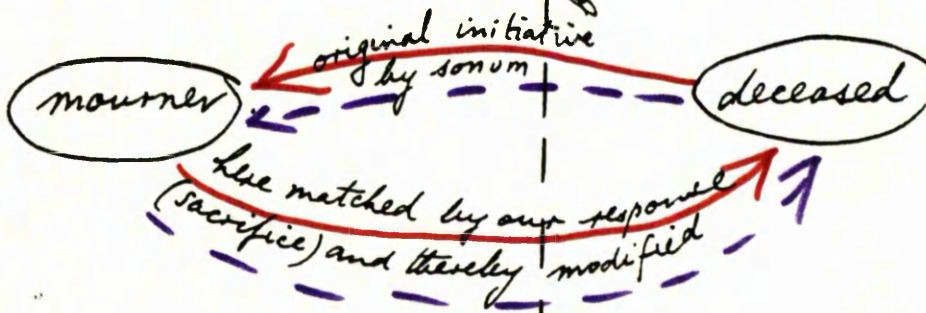


(i)

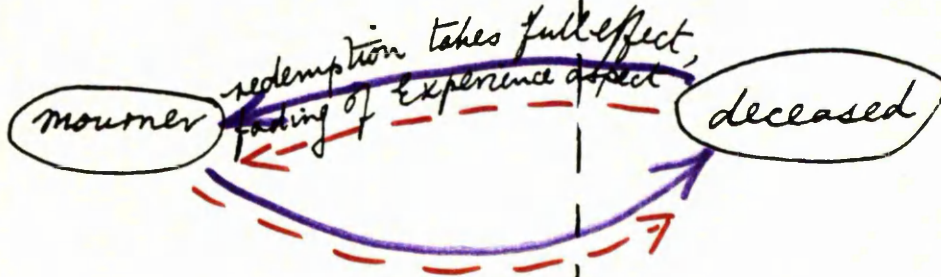


both sides of this boundary are real

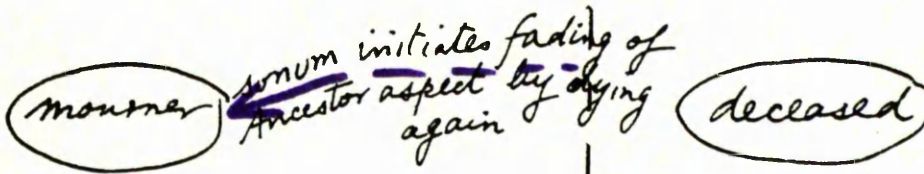
(ii)



(iii)



(iv)



Why then do Freud's patients suffer from disorders such as narcissism, schizophrenia and psychosis rather than from the effects of the Sun, the earth, rocks and trees? Beneath their areas of congruence, there are clearly some radical differences in the metaphysical presuppositions of the two systems. The social consequences of this are immense. Even if all minds are credited with a similar structure, the specific Freudian experience is isolated and, as such, will inevitably be judged "subjective". The Sora, as we have seen, do not appear to recognise the two kinds or degrees of reality implied by this particular terminology. But if we insist on applying it to Sora experiences of the kind discussed in this thesis, we see that whatever their "subjective" origins and continued sustenance in the inner feelings of individuals, they are at the same time made "objective". This is achieved not only by the intersubjective consensus which is established through dialogue (Chapter 8), but also through the cognitive map to which experience is referred (Chapter 5). This map is one and the same as that of the physical landscape over which groups of people walk, work and dispute every day of their lives and which is equally a map of the social order in the broadest sense. It is this common landscape which furnishes the means by which both personal experience and the social order are regulated and perpetuated. Thus for Freud, the structure of experience is based on the structure of the mind, for the Sora, on that of the world outside.

It is for this reason that the term "symbol" has been largely avoided throughout this thesis or used without being given any weight. Even where he detects regularities in the private occurrence of symbols, Freud's use of the term, notably in The Interpretation of Dreams (1953), shows that for him a symbol is a mere substitute for something more important. The task of the symbol, like that of scent for a bloodhound, is merely to lead the analyst to that something, whereupon the symbol can be dismissed as having no significance or value of its own. Different and opposing uses of the term can be found, especially in theology (cf. as one example among many, the discussion of the difference between Christian "symbolism" and mere decorative "illustration" in Merton, 1961: 264-73). But Freud's use is not dissimilar from that prevailing today in much of anthropology, where there is frequently a similar imputation of arbitrariness - or worse - to the relation between symbol and object symbolised. As Sperber has wittily observed:

My assistant says he is tired in the middle of the afternoon and goes to lie down. What a waste of time! He awakes, feels bad, and suspects the evil eye. Not such a waste after all...[W]hen a Dorze friend says to me that pregnancy lasts nine months, I think, 'Good, they know that.' When he adds, 'but in some clans it lasts eight or ten months', I think, 'That's symbolic.' Why? Because it is false.

(Sperber, 1975: 3)

Similarly, of the four kinds of "symbol" distinguished by Leach (1976: 12), all are "arbitrary" and one is even "conventional but wholly arbitrary". The distinction between "conventional" and "arbitrary" is not spelled out but seems to be associated with the extent to which an "arbitrary" relationship of meaning is socially accepted and repeated. This kind of implication appears also in Peirce. In Peirce's subdivision of the entire field of "signs" (1940: 98-119), a "symbol" is a sign connected to its object "conventionally" (*ibid.*, 113), in contrast to an "icon" which "is like" its object (p.102) and an "index" which is "really affected" by it (p.102).

In this sense of Leach or Peirce, the Sora have no symbols, since consensus eliminates arbitrariness. All signs which are connected with sonums are both icons related to their object by resemblance and indices related through a causal connection. These are to a high degree inseparable since the resemblances and the relations of causality are interdependent and contained within each other. To the limited extent that they are separable, the former (omens, symptoms) are generally knowable by anybody while the latter (the same but professionally confirmed, with the crucial addition of motive) can be known only through the transcendental medium of a kuran in a trance. Nothing which has meaning can escape this non-arbitrariness, so that the use in translation of the Peircean sense of "symbol" would wipe out one of the most vital characteristics of the Sora sonum. In this light, one can see why Freud's view of the symbol as arbitrary and ultimately expendable should arise in an a-social situation in which the lonely patient, neurotic or dreamer is unable to share them - except of course with the analyst, who, ironically, is immune to their power.

Beyond talk of a personal "slight or disappointment", Freud does not specify the causes which may incline a person towards melancholia rather than normal mourning. However, it seems reasonable to suggest an association of this with an inadequacy, either in its form or in the intensity of its application, in the socially recognised ritual of grieving (cf. Huntington and Metcalf: 1979). For instance, Geertz

(1959) gives a vivid account of the emotional confusion of the mourners at a funeral of a child in Java when for political reasons a breakdown occurred in the expected structure of the proceedings. The bereavement of Freud's melancholic is terrible both because the event appears as huge and unique rather than as similar to innumerable other events and dwarfed by a grander vision of time, and because there is nothing in the passage of time itself which will alter this. Among the Sora, on the other hand, the intensity of the initial grief is allowed its expression yet it is a matter of inexorable, because public, necessity that this should be modified with time, through the very structure of that time. There is no place for Freud's either/or model with its distinction between the normal and the pathological. The Sora make a dichotomy both sides of which are present from the beginning, and any necessary adjustment in private feelings takes place within and by means of the balancing of these.

If Freud's deceased is mourned by more than one rememberer, there is no provision for the mutual interplay of their memories of him. By contrast, each Sora who dies becomes yet another Ancestor, common to many. Thus if figure 16.1 were to reflect the full scope of the Sora system, it would show numerous living rememberers locked into similar circuits with the same dead person, with each rememberer linked similarly by a circuit to many dead people. In addition, both sides have their own mutual relationships, while the rememberers are at the same time witnessing and being influenced by the precise terms of each others' relationship to that dead person.

Every dead Sora is thus one node in an endlessly extendible social web which encompasses both the living and the dead. The patterning of this web is endlessly carried forward and reproduced with the flow of time, and the potential existence of each node thus pre-exists the death of the person around whom it will grow. This is implicit both in social relationships among the living as well as in the Soras' awareness of their own mortality as they talk, whether seriously or banteringly, about the future continuation of these relationships once some of the present company have become sonums. It is this network, as much as the model (whether Sora or the anthropologist's) of the exogamous birinda, which is the essence of Sora social structure. Both for their understanding and for ours, the idea of a segmentary exogamous lineage is not enough, frozen as it is respectively into a predictable and exclusive list of ancestors or a diagram with rules and sharp edges. It is for

this reason that the term birinda has not been translated. Certainly in an important sense this corporate kinship grouping exists; but in order to discern it one must be prepared to trace it through the strands of this web of personal relationships which is shot through with it but in which it shows up only in certain lights: the boundary of the group is fragile and never beyond dispute since it can be overridden, ostensibly on grounds of emotion in accordance with the desires and needs of sonums. This thesis has tried to show that it is the autonomous and publicly shared nature of sonums which structures both Sora society and the Sora person's awareness of his identity within that society.

NOTES

Chapter 2

1. Each group, and even village, has a dialect which is recognisable to both natives and linguists as being substantially different from the others and this probably accounts for the variant spellings of Sora in the literature. However, the names of Sora groups are not absolute. Thus in the area studied here the word jedu refers to people further uphill, and hence wilder, than oneself, while sarda refers to those downhill, and may have connotations of higher status. Those at the receiving end of the label jedu may of course, in some situations, respond with a pride about their wildness. Similar shifts are likely among the names for other Sora groups and this explains the unsatisfactory nature of Elwin's attempts (1955:8-9) to make a clearcut distinction between them.

2. This mission was set up in Serango, Ganjam at the turn of the century and the Sora communities in the vicinity are now largely Christian. In consultation with Sora converts Miss Munro and her successors produced a Sora version in phonetic script of the New Testament and Genesis. The language used in these translations and current today among Christian Soras is very different from that which I learned from the Soras of a largely unconverted area; however, the former is the language mostly studied by the linguists cited above (cf. Chapter 10, note 1).

3. Elwin knew very little of the Sora language and apparently relied on a chain of interpreters from Sora through Oriya to Bengali; the Sora-Oriya interpreters were Panos (see text below) whose knowledge of Sora is confined to trade and not the theology which was the dominant strand in Elwin's approach.

4. pp.175-9 of this remarkable work probably contain the first attempt to distinguish Munda languages from Dravidian. For a more recent formulation, see e.g. Rahmann: 1959.
5. cf. also his clash with Dumont in Contributions III, 1959: 88-101 (e.g. p.92); V, 1961: 7-19.
6. Though some of the material presented in this thesis may be highly suggestive, possible parallels with southeast Asia would require a separate study and will not be pursued here.
7. This confusion is compounded by a combination of inaccurate or misleading information on Elwin's part and tendentious inference on that of Dumont. For example, the Hindu "spirits" (sonum) whom the "shamans" (kuran) marry are not "the Hindu dead", (Dumont, p.66), but Hindus who have never been alive in this world (section e) below); contrary to assertions made by Dumont in following Elwin, the predominantly female kurans who conduct funerals (sanatung-kim or guar-kim) are not inferior to any others (ibid., pp.61, 67-8) but are constantly said to be the most "important" muda because of the very nature of their work. Incidentally, Elwin's account has thus completely obscured the fact that in a patrilineal society, the kuran function which is considered the most "important" is that which is performed predominantly by women. Dumont adds moreover:
- While a shaman in Eliade's sense generally has a "familiar spirit" with functions similar to those of the Saora tutelary, this relation seems unique. Marriage is something like the central social institution of the Hindus ... (p.66)
- Elsewhere marriage is called "a Hindu connection" (p.67) and even "the most Hindu connection" (p.74). Even if Elwin gives no account of Sora kinship and marriage, it is an unwarranted leap from this to the suggestion that anyone who practises marriage must be Hindu.
8. The discussion here and on the next page owes much to conversations with Ronald Inden.

9. See note 1, above.

10. The Sora go deeper into the forest and husband their firewood more carefully.

11. Kurans avoid eating some animals (e.g. pig, cow, monkey), so as not to annoy their high-caste sonum familiars.

12. Main crops include gourds (laun) and beans (luam); turmeric (Sora sangsang; Latin Curcuma domestica) grown largely for sale to outsiders; sorghum (kambur; Sorghum bicolor), various millets (sidtiri, gangga, buroi; respectively Setaria italica, unidentified, Pennisetum typhoides), dry or hill rice (kundem; Oryza sativa), and pigeon pea (rogon; Cajanus cajanus).

13. It is not clear how much these interests had penetrated earlier; but I have been told, for example, (by officials) that the Oriya Panos were allowed to settle in the area at this time in order to weave cloth for the Sora who, until then, had apparently worn only an apron of jungle leaves. It is these same Panos whose most prominent members are now the bariks or semi-official interpreters who control the access of local officials to the Sora through their local knowledge and monopoly of Sora, a language which while I was there no government officer could speak.

14. A brief indication can be given here of some contexts in which apparently similar grounds for dispute may lead towards one or other idiom for its resolution.

For example, Chapter 14 discusses a series of dialogues with the dead which encompass what I interpret as, among other things, an elaborate struggle for the control of some land. This involves parties who through the configuration of their ancestors are both in a position to press a claim. Though they are not members of the same birinda and would thus not normally expect to be potential heirs to the same property, this has been made possible through a special interpretation placed on an earlier

affinal link. Since inheritance normally passes from ancestor to descendant, such disputes over inheritance must perhaps always be argued out in terms of sonums; on the other hand there are many disputes, for example over field boundaries, access to water, or mortgage arrangements, in which neither are the disputants of the same descent line nor do they seek to exploit an available affinal link, but turn to bisara and police, accompanied often by sorcery and leading in extreme cases occasionally to murder.

Similarly, many of the cases at the Police station concern a woman and are fought between her husband or brothers and a new man to whom she has run away. In principle, because of the nature of Sora marriage (Chapter 3) ancestors have no interest in such disputes and the appropriate idiom is that of legal cases and compensatory fines. However, Chapter 12 shows how in just such a dispute - about a girl who marries her lover despite her brothers' ruthless opposition - a quasi-legalistic point is made at her funeral through a public display of her love for her husband.

Chapter 3

1. Notably, for our present purposes, in the way in which parents-in-law (male kunar, female kinar) are kept separate from terms for uncles and aunts:

mamang (MB; FZH)

awang (MBH; FZ)

tata/kinbom (Fe/yB; Me/yZH)

entalaj/yayang (Fe/yBW; Me/yZ)

All cross and parallel cousins (apart from FB's children, who are of course members of one's own birinda), as well as being called in reference and address Marongger (female māronsel) can also be addressed as kaku/u'bang ("e/yB") and kaki/ayi ("e/yZ").

The lack of distinction in Sora between MB and FZH (cf. Oriya mamo versus piusa, Hindi māmā versus phūphā,

etc.) may be linked to a lack of status differentiation between wife-givers and wife-takers.

Thus, for example, though Tambiah points out that "the North Indian notion of affinity meshes in beautifully with the ideals of hypergamy" (1973:93) and illustrates this from Lewis's study (1958) of the Delhi region he also allows, on the basis of Mayer (1960), that there is what may be called a central Indian pattern which resembles this except that "marriage is between status equals" (ibid.:100).

It may be that the Sora form part in some way of this central Indian pattern. Among the Sora, marriage is in principle between status equals and the fact of marriage cannot create status differences as between wife-givers and wife-takers. The young man and woman are constrained by embarrassment towards their spouse's parents and elder siblings, and these latter enjoy an informal and relaxed relationship among themselves under the reciprocal term parui (cf. Tambiah 1973:100 for a similar phenomenon in Mayer's village). The term marongger is in all cases likewise reciprocal.

2. For polygyny in India see Kapadia, 1977: Chapter 5. Among the Sora, though women are hoarded by the wealthy, polygyny is apparently not practised on a large enough scale to cause a noticeable shortage of women at the bottom end of the scale. There is no polyandry and, while men and women seem to marry at around the same age, 'I only ever heard of one man who never married.

3. It is worthwhile to compare this with "Hindu" populations who have similar "north Indian" patrilineages, kinship terminologies and sapinda-like rules of incest-avoidance. One point many such systems seem to have in common is the extent to which a bride is formally transferred on marriage from her brother's to her husband's agnatic group. In all cases she retains a greater or lesser degree of closeness to her natal kin, but "(b)efore marriage her own clan is her father's clan; after marriage her own clan is her husband's clan." (Inden and Nicholas,

1977:9, for Bengal); "Once married she becomes a sapinda of her husband and his sapindas and ceases to be a sapinda of her father and brother. Consequently, the death of a sister or daughter never causes full impurity for her brothers or parents" (ibid.,105). Or, again in Kangra, "(her parental household) observe mourning for her death... But the responsibility for performing the mortuary rituals and for making offerings to the departed falls on her sohriye (her father-in-law's household) ..." (Parry 1979:137); and so on.

It is suggested here that compared to this the Sora order their lives with a radically different underlying concept of marriage. For the Sora marriage is neither a sacrament (cf. Kapadia, 1977:Chapter 8) nor irreversible, but a more or less provisional arrangement. There is thus no symbolic weight placed on the idea of virginity and no obstacle to remarriage of widows or divorcees. Since in most cases there are no substantial or even symbolic payments a dari marriage, at least, starts with little if any contractual basis and depends rather on the feelings and behaviour of the couple. On a structural level, this leaves avowedly open certain questions which are supposedly definitively closed on the day of a wedding in, say, Bengal or Kangra.

Chapter 4

1. It will be explained in later chapters that it is generally only the sonums of dead persons who sing or speak during trances. The only exceptions are certain aspects of Sun-Sonum and the sonum of Smallpox, whose remarks are always confined to a few conventional formulae.

Chapter 5

1. Kurans may die from any cause, just like anybody else. However, after death, as well as going through

the same process as other people (discussed throughout this thesis) they also join their predecessors (rauda) and sonum spouses (ilda) in special locations in the peaks of hills. These are also said to be the residences of a Mane-sim ("Docile-Sonum") and the kurans also "merge" into these, becoming like them raji ('caste Hindu', etc.).

Chapter 8

1. And often also for any married woman even if she has borne only daughters; if the marriage has lasted for a long time or is otherwise close; if it has been more formally established by a sidrung wedding; etc. For play on these ambiguities, see especially Chapter 13 and Chapter 11, note 2.

Chapter 10

1. As pointed out in Chapter 2, the Sora are able to use their Austrosiatic language to have Hindu (and therefore partly Indo-Aryan and Dravidian?) thoughts, while those who have become Christian use it to have thoughts derived ultimately from Hebrew and Greek. Thus the reasons why I find the speech of Christian Soras hard to understand are likely to be ones of metaphysics rather than of language as such (cf. Chapter 2, note 2).

2. Miscellaneous notes to table 10.10:

(i) verbs in column 3, "middle", also have active transitive forms with meanings as follows:

<u>maj-t-ai</u>	I mix, blend
<u>daku-t-ai</u>	I put
<u>il-t-ai</u>	I peel
<u>gankil-t-ai</u>	I perform the cult of (a sonum)
<u>tim-t-ai</u>	I pile up, stack
<u>ruku-t-ai</u>	I gather

(ii) sidrung- (stages f. and m.) has forms in all three classes:

<u>-t-ai</u>	I marry (someone)
<u>-t-en-ai</u>	I get married
<u>-t-ing</u>	(someone) marries me

Absorption by "marriage" is a form of attack by certain sonums, e.g. Kani (Convulsion) and sometimes Labon (Earth). This is often regarded as a kind of violent sexual encounter or rape.

(iii) gadɨl-t-ing (column 4, stage g) is also commonly found with the same meaning in the form gadɨl-t-ai (active, as if in column 1). I have no explanation for this.

(iv) Stages f. and g. have a wide vocabulary of verbs reflecting the specific imagery of various Experiences. Only some of these are given here, along with the most universal like pang-, and ɲam-. For example, jum- "eat" and ga- "drink" are specially associated with Ra'tud-Sonum, as are suɟ- "prod" and mol- "roast". There are also verbs formed from the names of some of the Experiences themselves, e.g. ra'tud-t-ing "I am Ra'tud-ed", kɨna-t-ing "I am Leoparded", kani-t-ing "I am Convulsioned"; for other Experiences, however, such forms do not exist and it is necessary to say e.g. Uyung/Labo/Ruga-sɨm pang-t-ing "Sun/Earth/Smallpox-Sonum takes me". This form is always available as an alternative for the passive formed more directly from the name of the sonum: thus Kɨna-sɨm pang-t-ing "Leopard-Sonum takes me" is an alternative to Kɨna-t-ing "I am Leoparded".

These verbs can be divided variously among columns 4 and 5. Thus pang-, "take", can be activated whereas kɨna-t-ing cannot: there is no form for "I Leopard you". A previous Leopard-victim can only say in this capacity "I take you".

Chapter 11

1. The Sun has a web of associations with certain low castes in the plains (Herds-woman; the blacksmith Dumb-Sun).

These are associated also with disgusting habits and low morals. Thus Herdswoman is promiscuous and sleeps with anybody, while aspects of the Sun chew pan (betel-nut) and eat beef (a cow is sacrificed and eaten for Idtangyung, "Bash-Cow-Sun"). The Sun is also associated with wealth: as well as working all metals including gold and silver, she possesses enormous quantities of cattle.

2. The story of Sandi is as follows (figure 11.1, foldout at back, should be consulted).

Basu, the elder son of INDUPUR (Memory 6,) has migrated permanently to Assam, while INDUPUR's younger son Pitoro ("Peter") was sent away to missionaries for fostering because his mother died before he was weaned. He has since disappeared, so that INDUPUR is without direct heirs. Old SANDI was the first wife of PANDIA (Memory 7) and after her death she gave her name to the baby daughter of his second wife (cf. the death of Panderi, Case 12.1). This daughter, now grown up, is the current living holder of the name though it has also reappeared with Mengalu's daughter (see figure 14.4), i.e. among the descendants of old SANDI's brothers. Then Pansia died, leaving his second wife and two orphan daughters, of whom the elder has now married and gone to another village. Meanwhile PANSIA's property reverted to INDUPUR's line and was merged with theirs. Now that INDUPUR in turn is without heirs his property should normally revert to IKARAM's line. But the descendants of IKARAM (Memory 3) have waived their claim to all INDUPUR's property (probably with a little persuasion from the deceased INDUPUR himself), and the adult but still unmarried Sandi has taken over his land, thereby placing herself in a direct descendant's relationship of obligation to him. He is here enjoining the maintenance of this situation on the living Ikaram (represented by his womenfolk), who might otherwise try to dispossess Sandi if he chose to be unpleasant - and if he could persuade INDUPUR to agree with his point of view. The separate millet grain referred to was bequeathed to Sandi by her mother, who died recently, as 'women's wealth' (keruru) (Chapter 3).

3. See note 1, above.

4. Where the Sun attacks in the form of certain minor Experiences e.g. Su-yung-tar (Painful-Sun-Thread), the banishing rite is performed by tying a thread from the pitch of the roof inside the house while a kuran sits underneath on the mortar. This is the same as is done at the guar to redeem a Sun-victim (Chapter 5, section b), but whereas at the guar the deceased is passed from there into the Underworld, at a Suyungtar banishing rite the sonum is sent back up the thread which is then set alight from the bottom and thus burns upwards, destroying the path behind the retreating sonum.

In the present case, however, for an incitement to suicide by a previous Sun victim, the banishing rite aims to lead the deceased not into the Sun but back towards his Earth residence. Though Sindi here speaks of Kantursing (line 181), one of the correct Earth sites for his line, PALDA's main message, much to her disapproval, is that he has changed residence to Jagatumba, an Earth site where he has no business to be.

Similarly, here and on other occasions, Sindi's husband BORJANU explains that he too has gone to Jagatumba. Again (line 235), Sindi appears to refuse to acknowledge this.

Chapter 12

1. This function of making explicit was brought home to me when I accompanied a group of Soras to a big city and the members of one half of the group spoke to the others over the telephone from separate buildings. The result was uproarious laughter at the new toy; but significantly what was said to cause this laughter included the outrageous revelation of each other's "secrets", namely embarrassing facts about each other's lives which were known by all but could not normally ever be spoken about: ("We all know what you get up to with So-and-so's wife", "What about the time when you ...?" etc.). People

afterwards agreed that this was made possible by the faceless nature of the contact, "as with a kuran".

Chapter 13

1. along with Ra'tud (Chapter 6, section b), Chapter 15).
2. cf. Sandi's case, Chapter 11, note 2.

Chapter 14

1. Jorauren and Ra'giribgiban (see table 11.3) belong to another twig of this branch of the birinda.

Chapter 15

1. This applies equally to male names (the present figure, cf. figure 14.2) and female names (figures 13.5 and 13.6).

SELECTIVE GLOSSARY

N.B. only a few words are given here which recur frequently in the discussion; definitions are brief and basic.

<u>aba</u>	distilled liquor
<u>abgijte</u>	"pyre-divination" to find out cause of death, the morning after
<u>abñimón</u>	namegiving ceremony (<u>añim</u> , name)
<u>alin</u>	fermented palm sap, toddy, "wine"
<u>amdung-pár</u>	banishing rite
<u>amgan-</u>	induct, cause to enter
<u>apanađu</u>	substitute
<u>asong</u>	excrement (see table 4.2)
<u>ayim-</u>	remember
<u>baiñ-</u>	hire, instigate
<u>bayira</u>	outside; also the world of the living as opposed to that of the dead (<u>kānorai</u> , <u>jai'ta</u>)
<u>birinda</u>	'exogamous segmentary patrilineage'
<u>-boi, -bojen</u>	compounding form of <u>enselon</u> , "woman"
<u>bukai</u>	conscious deception
<u>bunang</u>	brother
<u>danda</u>	fine, payment for breach of rights
<u>dari</u>	elopement, marriage by free choice
<u>gadil-</u>	become
<u>ganuar</u>	stone-site, location of <u>guar</u>
<u>garoj</u> (<u>gandroj</u>)	shame, embarrassment
<u>gomang</u>	wealthy; <u>Gomang</u> , Headman
<u>gorjang</u>	village (combining form <u>-sing</u>)
<u>gorod-</u>	wander, oscillate, move out of control
<u>guar</u>	stone-planting, first and major stage in funeral
<u>idai</u> (<u>-sim</u>)	Ancestor (<u>-Sonum</u>)
<u>ilda</u>	<u>kuran</u> 's familiar in the Underworld
<u>im-</u>	feel
<u>jai'ta</u>	lower, below
<u>jum-</u>	eat, absorb
<u>ka'ja</u>	random, formless
<u>kani</u>	epilepsy, convulsion, spasm
<u>karja</u>	annual harvest festival, addressed specially to those who have died in the last three years

<u>keruru</u>	woman's personal property
<u>kina</u>	leopard
<u>kinlong</u>	were-leopard
<u>kinorai</u> (-desa)	the Underworld, abode of the dead as Ancestors (<u>idai</u>)
<u>kintalod</u>	cremation-site
<u>kulman</u>	ghost, person between death and <u>guar</u>
<u>kuñar</u> , fem. <u>kiñar</u>	father/mother-in-law (also elder brother/sister -in-law)
<u>kuran</u>	medium, see Chapter 1
<u>labo</u> (-n)	earth, land
<u>lajab</u>	annual rice-seedling festival, addressed to Ancestors
<u>maj-</u>	mix, merge, fuse
<u>mamang</u>	MB, FZH
<u>mane</u> (-s+m)	Docile(-Sonum), residence of <u>kurans</u> after death
<u>-mar</u> (-an)	man (male or person), compounding form of <u>mandra</u>
<u>marongger</u> , fem. <u>maronsel</u>	cross cousin, matrilateral parallel cousin
<u>muda</u>	main, big
<u>ñam-</u>	seize, grab
<u>olong-</u>	encounter, meet
<u>ompu</u>	crowd, collectivity
<u>ondrung</u>	false consciousness, lack of self-awareness (after death)
<u>pad-</u>	pierce, pass through
<u>pang-</u>	take
<u>pangjang</u>	taking the bones, i.e. of the deceased in order to give him/her an additional <u>guar</u>
<u>pangsal</u>	"taking wine" (-sal, compounding form of <u>alin</u>), i.e. negotiated marriage
<u>pimeng</u>	important, prominent
<u>pärpär</u>	curative rite, also generally, sacrifice (verb <u>pär-</u>)
<u>puradan</u>	soul
<u>raja</u>	king
<u>raji</u>	beaurocrat, caste Hindu, etc. (Chapter 2)
<u>rangka</u>	greedy, presumptuous
<u>ra'tud</u>	(etym. unknown) an attacking residential Experience <u>sonum</u> , one per village

<u>rauda</u>	a former <u>kuran</u> , now dead and assisting those still alive
<u>renabti</u>	power (<u>rabti-</u> , be able)
<u>ruqa</u>	smallpox
<u>sa'kai</u>	true, genuine, proper
<u>sanatung</u>	'funeral' (adj.); <u>satung</u> to pass out, be as if dead
<u>sidrung</u>	"throwing rice":the final stage of a negotiated marriage
<u>sigā</u>	hereditary pyre-lighter serving a whole village
<u>-sīm</u>	compounding form of <u>sonum</u>
<u>sī'ing</u> , <u>su'ung</u>	house (compounding forms <u>-sing</u> , <u>sung</u>); also translated as "residence"
<u>sonum</u>	(see Chapter 1 and <u>passim</u>), compounding form <u>-sīm</u>
<u>tam-</u>	match, be appropriate, decent
<u>tedung</u>	divination to find cause of illness, "diagnosis"
<u>tega</u>	segment of a <u>birinda</u> (not a fixed unit)
<u>tīmyīm</u>	intimate, close, affectionate
<u>tonaj</u>	sorcery
<u>tongseng</u>	dancing, <u>t.-bong</u> , behaviour of affines at a <u>guar</u>
<u>uyung</u>	sun

SELECTED SORA TEXTS

It would be extremely space-consuming to reproduce in full all texts quoted in English above. Accordingly, a selection has been made. This includes some lines of verse (the structure of which has been discussed by me elsewhere, Vitebsky: in press); and some portions of prose dialogue. There are three of these: the cross-examination of Jamano after his death (text 7.3), on which the interpretation of Chapter 8 is built; the appearance of PALDA (Memory No.11) in Chapter 11 and that of Sagalo's young wife PANDERI (Memory No.20), discussed also in Chapter 12. It is hoped that this selection will allow the linguist to judge not only the accuracy of the words of the translations offered but also that of their tone, which in the last two cases is respectively abusive and tender.

It is not practicable to be consistent in all aspects of transcription. There is no written standard and people pronounce words differently on different occasions; nor is it always obvious how far one should divide compound words. Since this section is written almost entirely in Sora, I have dispensed with the convention of underlining non-English words.

Text 1.1 see under text 11.1, lines 251-262

Text 5.1 The kuran's descent to the Underworld

argalgalsi yuyunji	bolongsi goden
argalgaljing yuyunji	banard ab goden
amen ade yuyung la	janida: goden
amen ade yuyung la	tanongda goden
arsin dola tongñam nam	yuyung la amen
kerun dola tongñam nam	yuyung la amen

Text 7.3 Dialogue with the dead Jamano (omitting lines 124-56)

33. abu'mu a keidlamen a gorod gorod. batongdonam, oblinga...
oblinga!
34. anson keidlam, kaon tid. dukri tid danggrion tid; oblinga
wan sering keidlam wan sering gondelam, wan sering marulam(?)
a sajlam, wan po yang po amang?
35. dukri po singboi po amang jerana po? Labo po Simu po? jerana
nam rojtad oblinga.
36. koinnamji olonglamji.
37. kading gamba! aban galai--
38. a keidle a dina boten boten olongle, sa'kai oblinga.
39. aban galai, ijja po?
40. wan galamai, anlen baraban ayire, tedne a'ranging, a'gijlam.
41. ijja, p̄irp̄iren ate, Simanton a 'sing, p̄irp̄iren gamete.
42. tungjing oblinga--
43. lunguddam, iangamle poruai?
44. boten a sing ille?
45. Simanton a sing.
46. iten []dalam?
47. iaite bokane boten?
48. ijja.
49. boten boten abokale do?
50. manen...kuranenji.
51. alagab po delebe?
52. Asangulbai Betuden ampara.
53. oki boten?
54. Kondon a'mang olonglai--

(Text 7.3 continued)

55. iten lumeten anin do?
56. gusaren iete...bunang keidting gondeting gamlai...
57. gaganen a ayimen adnang, boten iaite amang nam?
58. oruben la genayungen iaite, iten pangete?
59. boten?
60. kambunjel p̄irp̄irjel.
61. iten a p̄irp̄ir p̄irrai gamete?
62. p̄irtanglenai gamete.
63. aba ja po tiyle?
64. antado'de.
65. jumle po kan a sisiden?
66. ijja, erjunum--
67. iate jalai--
68. jalai sa'ta.
69. irojlenai po?
70. u'u, aban galai. inaiten den dingle tiyba --uba len jitanka
ban iete do. anin darajt̄m soi sajte, anin sanadam dai gamlebe.
bogad a'yirainden dingdongba, ñen/opunglamben.
71. a bajlain jenang, tedte bagu tarab bajlai ñen.
72. tedte miñam po bajle?
73. u'u, bajlai...
74. pindan...
75. tedte kaki nam a'tartare soi?
76. garanen koddate a s̄ing bajlai.
77. tedte a dimadba a gamlamenji. arungle po purada nam?
78. wan, adimadba tedne, uba nam a'niai pede, gamlingji.
79. kondodin po olongle ayireten agamlenji ten?
80. ijja, iten de? yiraitenden agud̄anggingba ten main̄.
81. ayingen a kanoyin tungsabar beramten?
82. manen, Jamparin olonglai...
83. Sangganen po?
84. Sangganen olonglai, Yagaj̄en olonglai, K̄ndrimin olonglai--
85. iaten iaten gamle Sangganen ate, iaten gamamte muda anin dab?
tanangle bere?
86. e o'onji...kukun...miñam...
87. ijja, edne main̄ gamamte, "e wan, a edtegoi po?" gamamte.
"e o'onji, patate reidte ugar nen...nen pindan lolesidlai"...
88. a dimadba gamlamji...
89. iten a sonum pangamte?

(Text 7.3 continued)

90. togelen tageden ten atirai--itenasen edne deling?
91. jeringnan tublamji...bunang nam. jeringna ja po tublamji? oblinga!
92. sa'kai jenang oblinga.
93. "benuñang lung jenang asen, riridal lung, benuñang lung jenang asen, altidteji jenang alruditeji jenang kandungba ñen. ednegam a sosole ñen, a daltadle ñen" gamle a berna berdongne. sa'kai gamle rojtad gamle, "edtegamle ednegamle tubling" gama.
94. bangsale, kimbom, bera...
95. ñen a roljoldam ayire...
96. pãram bin do...
97. dina la gamlai.
98. alin!
99. alin!
100. alin pangai!
101. andreng Batin agamdong...abbububa.
102. e genai sujtingji, e genai padarte la dong ñen, e genai reidte la, a gamlai ñen...uba len... ragaldam...kaqing gama...kaqing gama...kaqing gama! tedte piring. iten tedile do, agamlai ñen kinarsingbojen. Duri gamteji gamete. asong ñen a Duri! muyed a Duri [] endrang asarre tiynete--
103. gamete apirtam anin jenang--
104. iten baiñai Duri? andreng de a pangpangenji a tengtengenji dete gamlai, andreng sujtingji, padarta la moltingji...
105. Labo lingen de gai? walenji yanglenji po? wan a mandran jeringnan tublamji po? wan a manengen illai sabdaamji oblinga, ñen sajtai. ammadne po? aboi kuranmar bate gudingtai la!
106. ganen ganle si'ingen, itenasen--?
107. a'ganlenai singen, edte gamdong. pindan goblai, julu penang ganlenai. "e genai e Mandebo e Sunamo e o'onji sataringba..."
108. anlen eramdang, tirdam su'unlungen.
109. adu tidtidleji.
110. itenasen a'korane do odile do bob nam tiyle amrid?
111. boten a mandran muda ñamante tibaamte dujbaamte?
112. sundangen a kundulen a dungle dinglemenji?
113. sundangen a painete babnete wan a maneng panglamji?
114. Mo'mo' a dingingte.
115. wan a Mo'mo'?
116. [Jai'tagorjang a Mo'mo']: anin sering rabtingte.

(Text 7.3 continued)

117. d̄ingna nam d̄inglamji sering amen gugule gamgamle sataringba.
 118. amonsij nam Sunamo sa'tang sayamte.
 119. ola, jeringna den, maradna den, kan jenang ubanam a sankan
 asudate bar a'bangsae da'jing ap̄artai.
 120. ola, usung a'namdangeji po a orunglaiñji, gamtam?
 121. tonajmar a orunglai.
 122. kodte jenang amonsij nam kudite a sonum a gamte.
 123. sajtai do tedne gamtai, a sankan do gadban gadbale a miñamen
 bedtai...

excerpt from text 9.1 (song of the male Ancestors)

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 32. arangji ki'tung | atulji Ki'tung |
| 33. tampidle jumle | tampidle gale |
| 34. kudlojen on len | selojen on len |
| 35. gamaiba pa | beraiba pa |
| 36. d̄imete la buñang | turte la buñang |
| 37. tupusing l̄ingen | gabolsing l̄ingen |
| 38. ararong turung | t̄ar̄irong turung |
| 39. a d̄imten la pa | a turten la pa |
| 40. adarinaiba | akumbanaiba |
| 41. anlen ja buñang | anlen ja genai |
| 42. sansia tangkan | sansia lebun |
| 43. tarab la tangkan | tarab la lebun |
| 44. singkung la gorong | lai la gorong |
| 45. radiboi latung | kuliboi latung |
| 46. katua te le | manggorate le |
| 47. anggi sarenden | anggi ñanglenden |
| 48. tapo sarenden | tapo ñanglenden |
| 49. paurkiblenden | pauranglenden |
| 50. tupatamlenden | gañatamlenden |
| 51. doraiñ(?) tamlenden | doraiñ jilenden |
| 52. rusilangboi ja | rujinglangboi ja |
| 53. aorungnaiba | atongtongnaiba |

Excerpts from text 11.1:Memory No. 11 PALDA

158. yang! guda kon a'pangtiylin?
159. yamtab!
160. e puregipungboi!
161. nen pede puregipungting, untasen amen langgadam budi nam.
162. inaiten le yang, inaiten la! Kantursing Jelabbab a kandring, Jagatumba Kantursing. nami ille gusingnai --ream nen amang.
163. asong nen a ream!
164. jadi tang gamte? MAIANTIN danggrionte.
165. bayira kinorai a'budibe, kakutonan artudamte.
166. dilen goble yirebe jenang, iten dete yang do? e yayang! iai, sidle ailai yiring.
167. yang nam ode wa nam apaiamte? bainlamji po?
168. bainling a'gamam.
169. ode nen po tuablam? amen oki abtonglud dong buñang nam. nen goiber tid, ant a su'te lung ate nen...
170. muyed main abtoringdamalai bindo, "ijja, e gai, uruna!" gamlai, gadsadle sidlai...yayang! olonging roi!
171. (inaudible: English conjectured)...maran dajle boiboi togelen. boten dusa? nen pinda lungen dimadlai...badiban sadiban a rondu torindamle...
172. ...dakidne kambun bate puraitenden, gidan gidle luaden --kan do!-- omangen omangle, piren purre ant a luad sainjan sainjale soile balle sidaiba.
173. junjuntebe de?
174. iatenba, [] Jagatumba.
175. itenasen u'ba nam edtegoi? anin po bainamte? edte tubna gamamte po?
176. anga do...edte tubna a'gamingte...toringdamma a'gamingte.
177. "neni idsim nen bate penang"...?
178. iante dele purada nen...
179. sainjaludle apirtai...amen oki itijja...kaku nam a dong amen... amen gandroj nam tid?
180. ian! kodtate tarangorba.nen gamlam.
181. tangorba ben ade, Kantursing a tangor amdungtai.
182. amen tabdian tabdilen kambun pirneten. baroki anten a togel a'mon bin edten tubte.
183. abtuingjang mo abseidtai na gamlai bin: "malagai buñang, ayire Uyungsing lingen Anggajsing lingen, nen jenang dajle" gamlai bindo --OINDO uresidete.

(Text 11.1 continued)

184. OINDON iaite.
185. antado'de, sabuin len aitai.
186. amen kinsa mar, OINDO maiñ...
187. kodtane ream ñen amang ille gusingnai.
188. OINDO dam po?
189. Jagatumba, yang, aite dakunai yab.
190. ma yira! Jagatumba nam kodta.
191. ai! iten yire? sangai'dam te do'de. kaiñting amen. go'go'-
ñarengen bate gorodle, kenle agorodlai[?yen] ola --iten do?
192. ara'tudlenten gamdamten po?
193. anga do! a'ra'tudling jenang, nen itente idsin ñen dele,
toringdamlenai.
194. tasongle yiring a'mon, jumboble yiring.
195. malagai OINDO! amen karaj bu'di.
196. bangsale pidpidle daldalle dakulai, tiylam do amen abnidle
yire. wan nam po a saroban lungen a jendrumen barae?
197. jai'tan sering a'mon tamojloge aitai berne do aitai po maiñ
posi len do umeng-ameng maiñ apanglenba.
198. kan a'mon a oblingeten, edte a'gamad. pãrtebe pereng bin
agamlai nen, u'do po'bing gamte do. "asuing po? apãrting",
gamgamlangten debin gamingten a'mon kan.

Memory No. 20 PANDERI

269. ajumingte :againgte, yangji.
270. e yang, amen ednegam abu'mu abu'mu...
271. punja lung ben aillai dungnai ñen sering, yangji--
272. sing ñen karu ñen a gamle...aban gale yira kani.
273. issi, jadi ajumingte againgte.
274. ...a'pãram po bindo...bãmlenden...a'pãram bindo...
275. anga do, udleng be maiñ bin abtakolmo delenden, ñen bin
loting. on ñen ate jai'tan abmelai, dong ñen jumleji,
yangji.
276. o'onen jenang den, edte bin deam.
277. u'u, dong ñen...a ba kuun, Birsan a si a ba kuun tiyingte
alin, galai, on ben --
278. wan aille gale?
279. uh?

280. Sindiul po?
281. anga do, Garagetangen. Garegetangen. kan Disamor a wan a alin, manen bate, Birsanen bate agalai, a ba kuun sa'ta galai, ñen jenang--
282. ba kuun gale!
283. anga do, andreng jakijete puraða ñen. u'u a'ding. e jaði sagalingba, e wanji, e jaði sagalingba lai, e awangji e mamangji e kãnarji e kuñarji!
284. wan agijlam?
285. wan mandran wan mandran, olongtai la pa jabertai la pa, wan amonsij ben wan danggraon ben gamle sa'ta edalenai. rongtapaða jumlingji. e sãngmar e gudãngmar, kakubobre' a'delain serãng, analabmadben serãng, maronselboi maronggerboi a'delain serãng, jadi pãring, e wanji, agamlai ñen, e yangji agamlai ñen-- --pasij ben udleng ben bin ñamãamba-tãdlenji do"Ogai on ñen, ogai on ñen gamle jai'tan abmelai serãng, dong ñen ate jumlenji.
286. ...amen a'guaram a'pãrpãram po a'gambe? i omda i omdrenga kun a sing kun a kerun, kun a derakuna kun a tarangna, kun a tana kun a betuna, i omdrenga i omda, amen ongger po a o'on dab edte sãng lãngen edne sãng lãngen ite dakune? wanñenji kunarñenji wanñenji a gamle serãng Kantursãng, Bodigan, Jelabbab, Kupa yira--
287. u'u, tanditingji de'ding--
288. omdalesida amen...edte a jumpananglung a gapananglung a sã'ing?
289. kuñar ñen a berna, kodta na adakunaiba, gamting--
290. tandilamji den, urdilamji den--
291. u'u.
292. a'guaram a'pãrpãram po agambe?
293. a'nomdaing ñen ji ten, a'nomdrengingji ten!
294. ain! gamtebe de, ñen kuñarñenji dake, nen kãnarñenji daku, erisijñenji daku, buãngñenji daku, aliboifñenji daku, gamtebe de.

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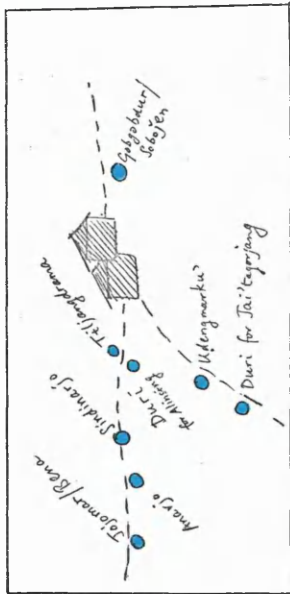
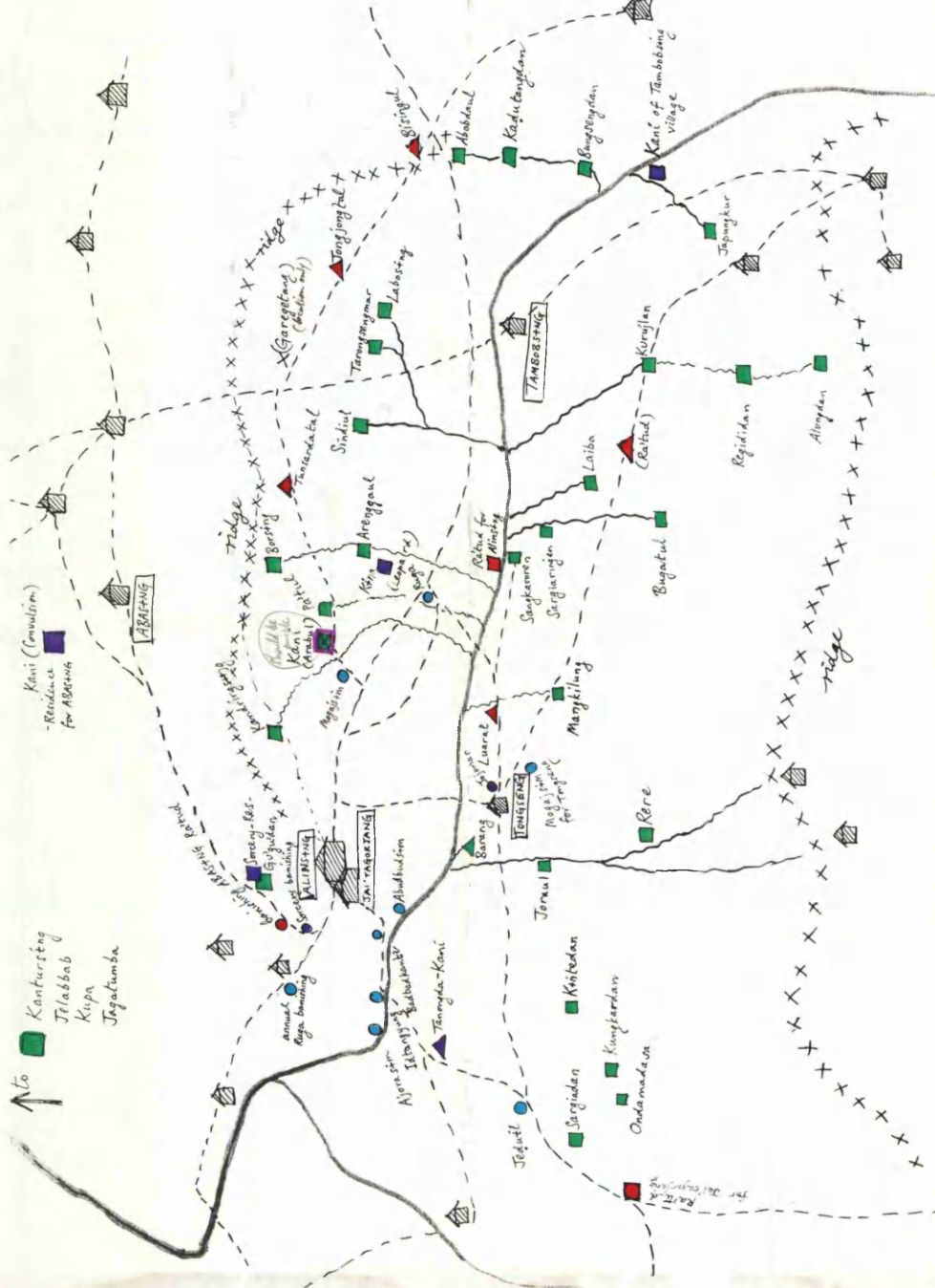
Map 5.2 Location of sites associated with Experience sonoms around the village of Alinsang

Since contours cannot be clearly reproduced, the ridge enclosing the Alinsang valley is given as a line of crosses: xxxxxxx

Scale: approx six inches to 1 mile (sketch map only)

Key:

- village/hamlet of living humans 
- residence of Experience sonum 
- outpost of Experience sonum 
- site for banishing rite only 
- location 
- minor experience, i.e. with no residence 
- Earth 
- Ra'tud 
- other residential attacker 

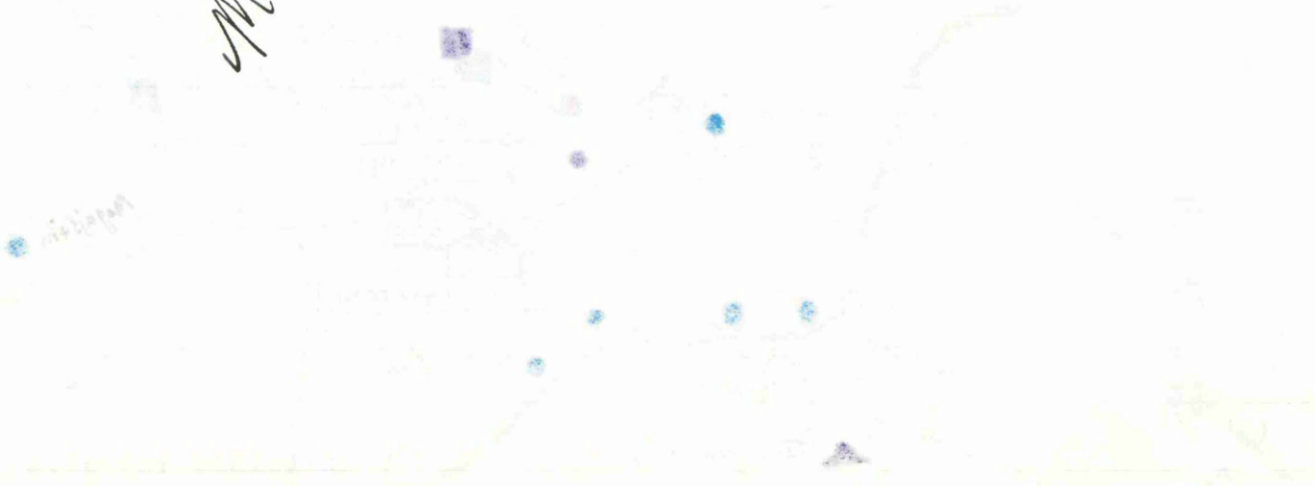


Close-up of village area, showing banishing rite site not marked on main map's all are for minor Experience

Map 5.2



Waglan



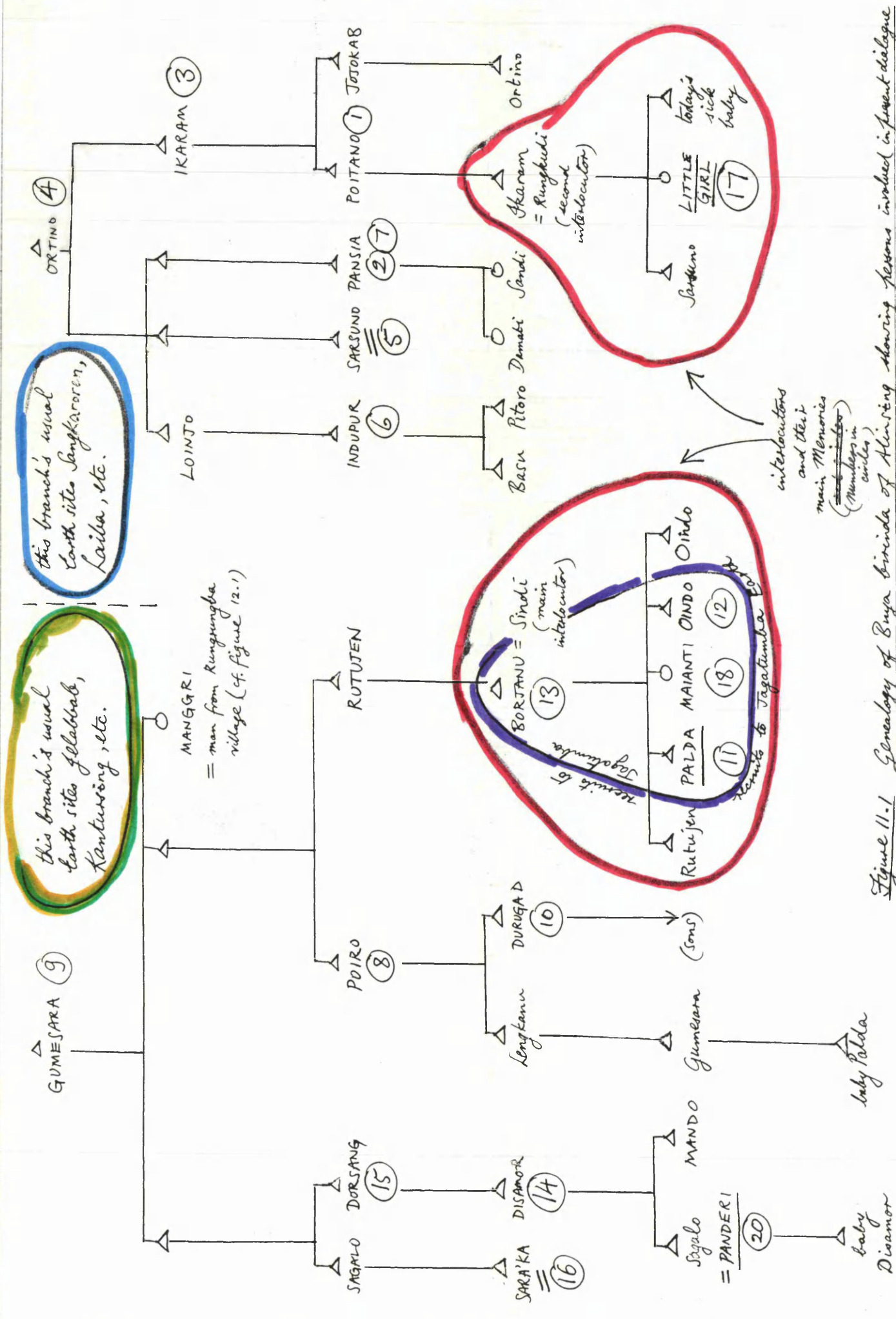


Figure 11.1 Genealogy of Buaya bininda of Aliving showing persons involved in present dialogue

▶ living ▶ DEAD ▶ DIES DURING THIS DISCUSSION (GURANDI (NO 19) cannot be placed)

interlocutors and their main Memories (Numbers in circles)

Akaram = Rungkudi (second interlocutor)

SARDINO

LITTLE GIRL (17)

today's sick baby

Terrible to Jagatumba

Palda (sons)

baby Palda

baby Diamor

Sigalo = PANDERI (20)

SARA'KA (16)

Lengkamu

DURUGAD (10)

BORTANU = Sindli (main interlocutor) (13)

RUTUJEN

Basu Pitoro Damabi Sandi

INDUPUR (6)

Akaram = Rungkudi (second interlocutor)

ORTINO

SAGALO

DORSANG (15)

POIRO (8)

RUTUJEN

INDUPUR (6)

SARSUND (5)

POITANO (1)

JOTOKAB

MANGGRI

= man from Runggingba village (cf. figure 12.1)

LOINJO

IKARAM (3)

ORTINO (4)

GUMESARA (9)

this branch's usual earth sites gelabab, Kantuwong, etc.

this branch's usual earth sites Sangkaroran, Laila, etc.

Sigalo = PANDERI (20)

Lengkamu

DURUGAD (10)

BORTANU = Sindli (main interlocutor) (13)

RUTUJEN

Basu Pitoro Damabi Sandi

INDUPUR (6)

Akaram = Rungkudi (second interlocutor)

ORTINO

SAGALO

DORSANG (15)

POIRO (8)

RUTUJEN

INDUPUR (6)

SARSUND (5)

POITANO (1)

JOTOKAB

MANGGRI

= man from Runggingba village (cf. figure 12.1)

LOINJO

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this branch's usual earth sites gelabab, Kantuwong, etc.

this branch's usual earth sites Sangkaroran, Laila, etc.

Sigalo = PANDERI (20)

Lengkamu

DURUGAD (10)

BORTANU = Sindli (main interlocutor) (13)

RUTUJEN

Basu Pitoro Damabi Sandi

INDUPUR (6)

Akaram = Rungkudi (second interlocutor)

ORTINO



Figure 11.1

Table 10.10 The perpetuation of illness and death: chronological stages in the shift from being the patient of a verb to becoming its agent

1. ACTIVE TRANSITIVE	2. ACTIVE INTRANSITIVE	3. MIDDLE	4. PASSIVE IMPERSONAL	5. PASSIVE WITH POSSIBILITY OF SUFFERING AGENT
a. patient is victim of preliminary collusion between sonum and other parties				<p>tem-t-ing I am sold jing-t-ing I am bound</p>
b. attacking sonum makes contact with patient				<p>gudang-t-ing I am called olong-t-ing I am encountered sim-t-ing I am stroked getar-t-ing I am scratched ham-t-ing I am seized</p>
c. patient falls ill			asu-t-ing I feel ill	
d. sonum accepts sacrifice, relationship with patient is broken off				omdreng-t-ing I am released
e. patient recovers, exits from diagram			<p>bangsa-t-ing I get well samang-t-ing I am cured suka-t-ing I get healthy</p>	
f. cure fails and patient is killed				<p>pang-t-ing I am taken jum-t-ing I am eaten sa-t-ing I am drunk mo-t-ing I am swallowed sidrung-t-ing I am married, raped</p>
g. patient dies and is absorbed into an Experience			<p>konid-t-ing I die gadil-t-ing I become jamad-t-ing I come to share the same eye jaber-t-ing I come to share the same speech jalang-t-ing I come to share the same voice jakid-t-ing I cling to lina-t-ing I am Leopard (become Leopard-Sonum)</p>	
h. patient remains static after absorption into original death-Experience		<p>maj-t-enai I merge, fuse daku-t-enai I stay, remain il-t-enai I become (peel myself) rankil-t-enai I enter-and-become tim-t-enai I am part of a heap ruku-t-enai I am part of a gathering ja-t-enai I cling, merge</p> <p><i>change of residence</i></p>		<p><i>change of agent from attacker (Experience) to redeemer (Ancestors)</i></p>
i. patient is redeemed at his guar				sandi-t-ing I am redeemed
j. patient remains static after redemption into Earth-Sonum		<p>maj-t-enai I merge, fuse daku-t-enai I stay, remain il-t-enai I become (peel myself)</p> <p>(etc., as for h. above)</p>		
k. patient makes an active move back towards his original death-Experience	gorod-t-ai I wander, revert, move uncontrollably			
l. in this active form, makes contact with new patient	<p>gudang-t-ai I call olong-t-ai I encounter sim-t-ai I stroke getar-t-ai I scratch ham-t-ai I seize</p> <p>(as for b. above, but verbs in active form)</p>			
m. former patient now agent, causes death of new patient	<p>pang-t-ai I take jum-t-ai I eat sa-t-ai I drink mo-t-ai I swallow sidrung-t-ai I marry, rape</p>			
n. in later years no longer reverts, remains static in Earth-Sonum		<p>maj-t-enai I merge, fuse daku-t-enai I stay, remain</p> <p>(etc., as for h. and j. above)</p>		
o. renames new baby among descendants <i>(Chapter 15)</i>		abnim-t-enai I give my own name to a successor		

Table 10.10



Spouse of the... All male descendants of the Gopi by his first wife
 are included in the first column unless otherwise indicated
 for the present document.
 ▶ Main ▶ BPD ▶ REL. SURVIVE AT PRESENT. INDICATED

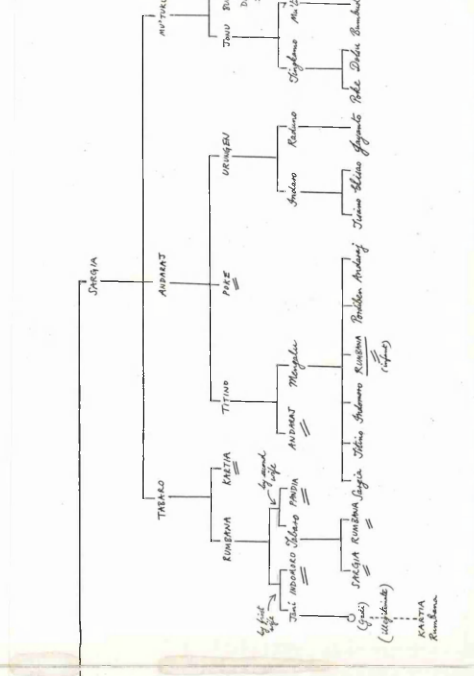
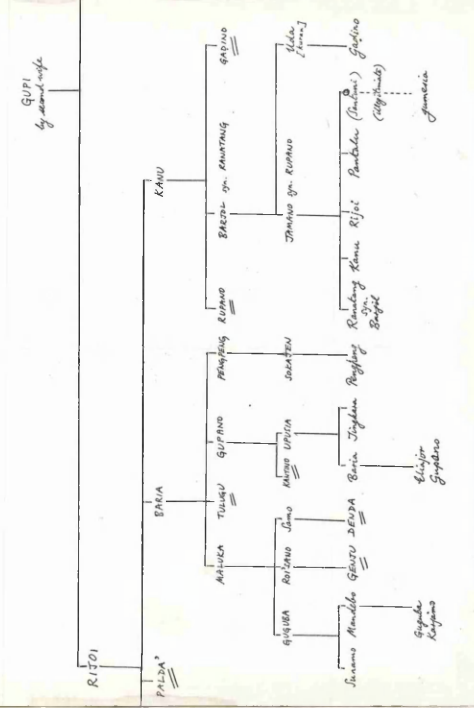
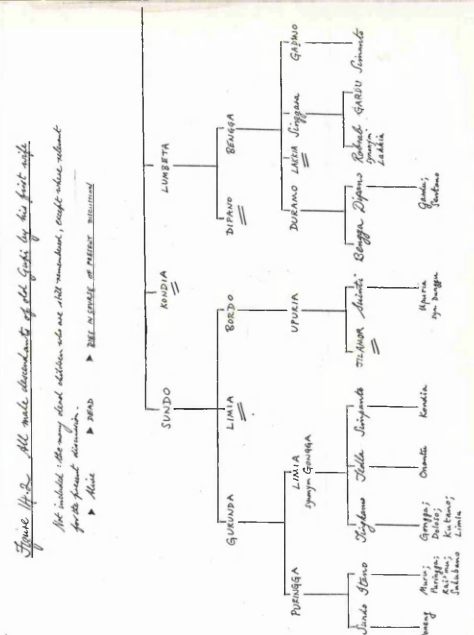
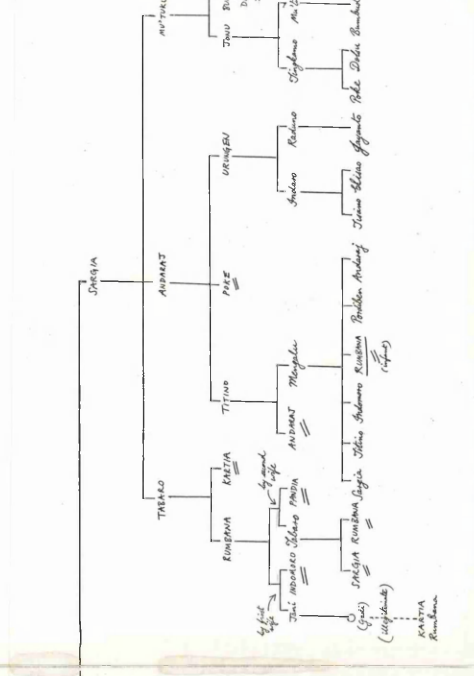
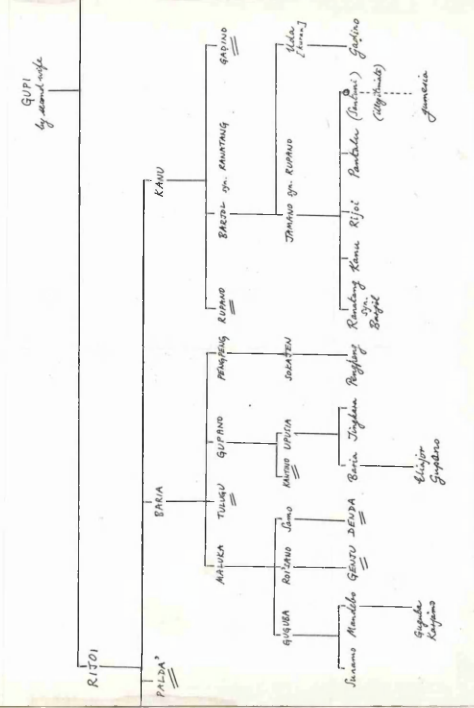
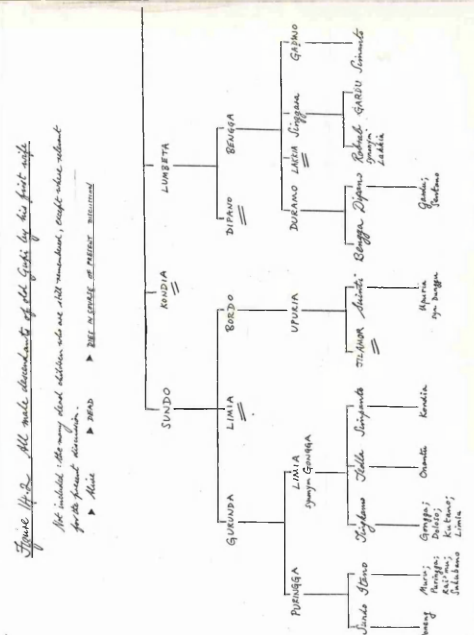
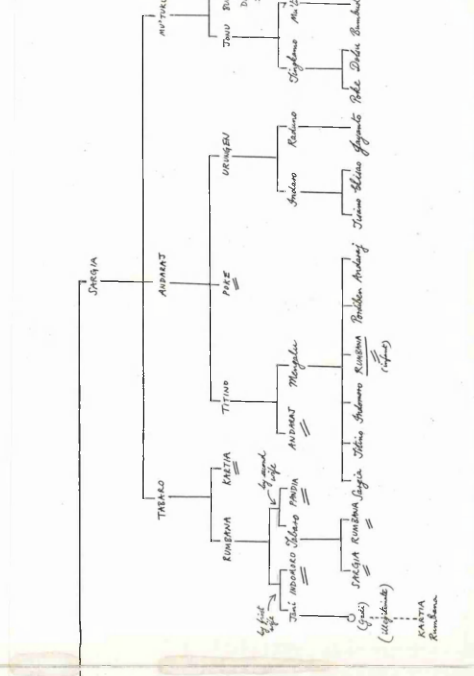
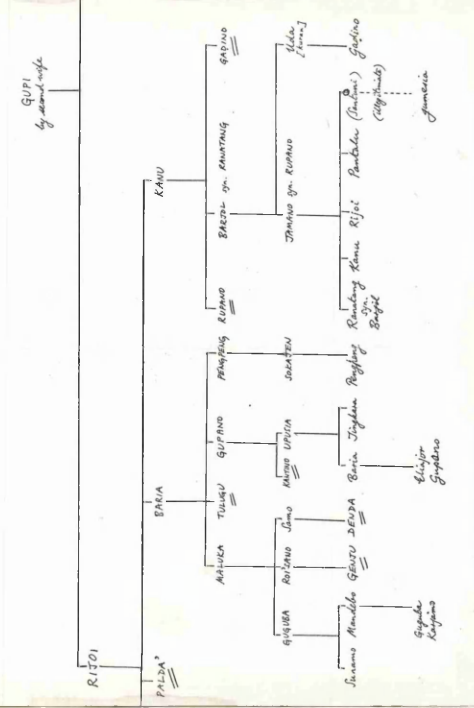
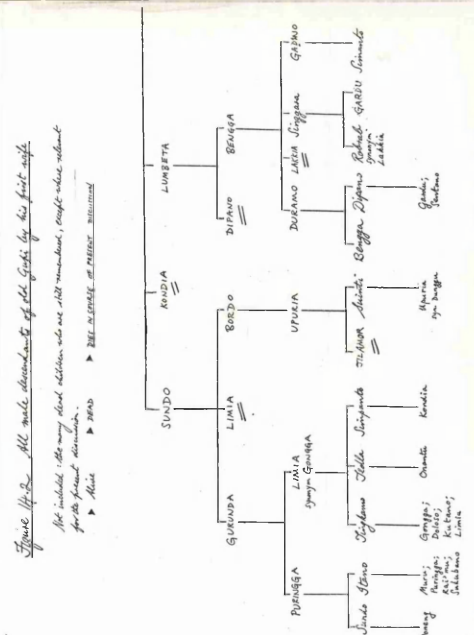
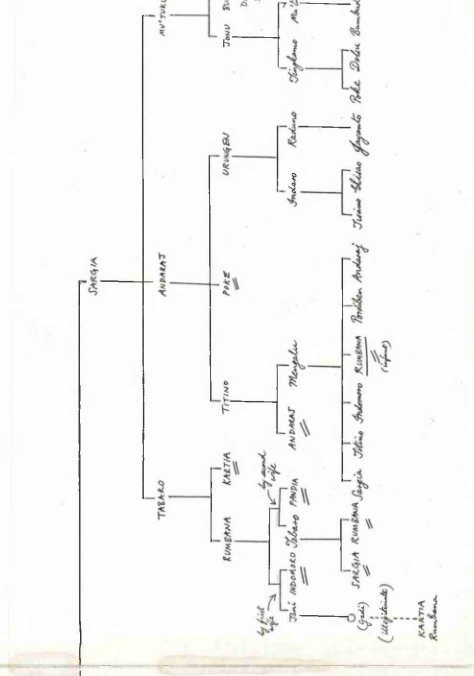
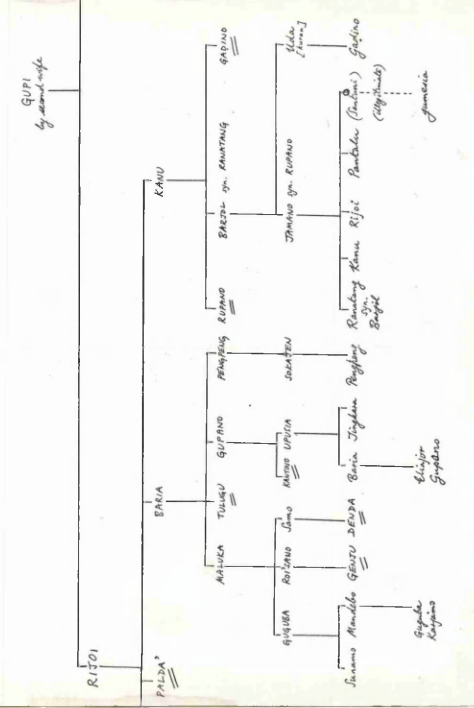
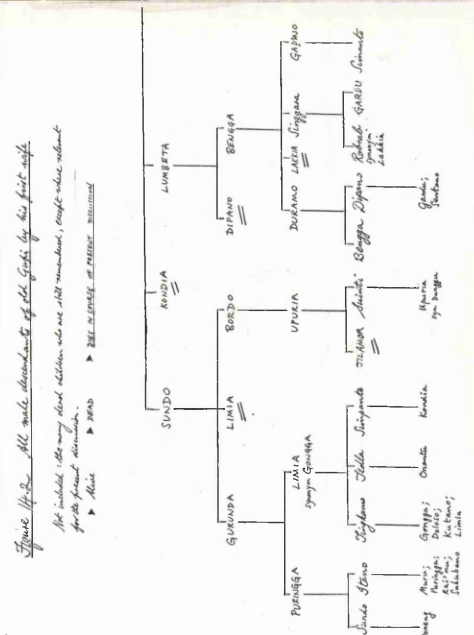
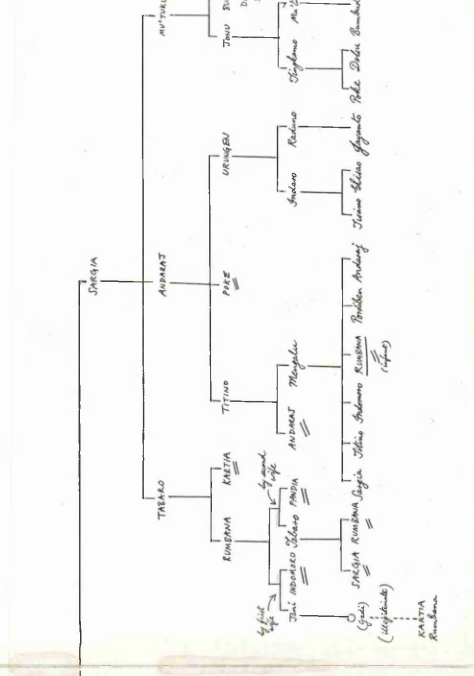
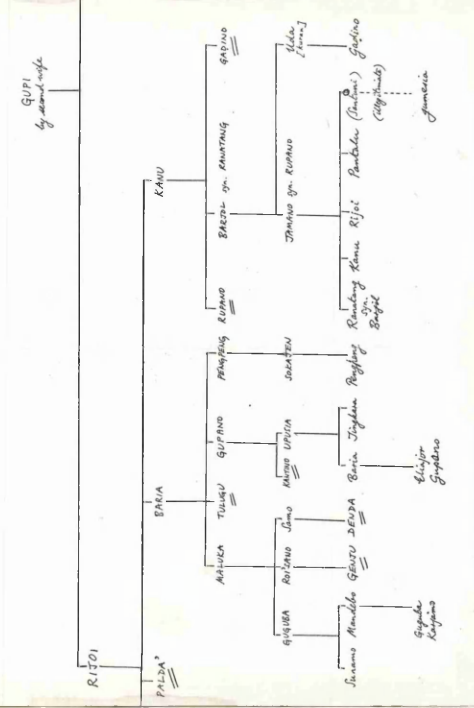
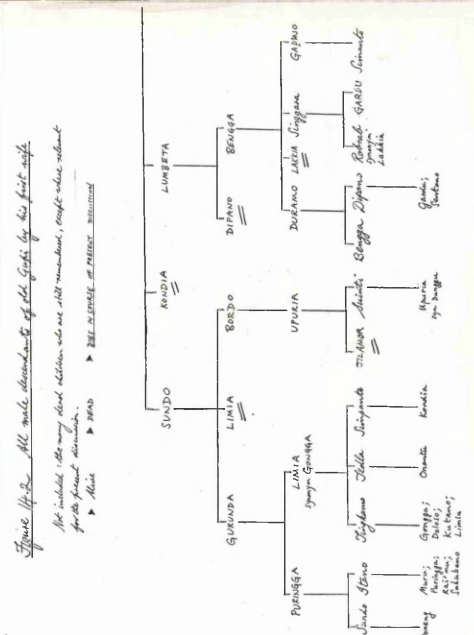
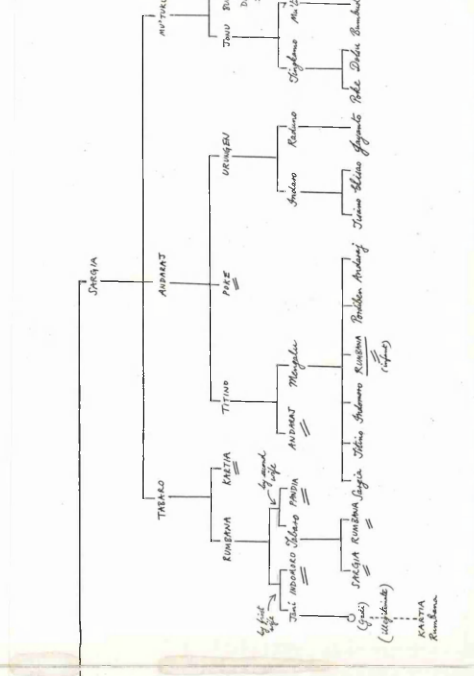
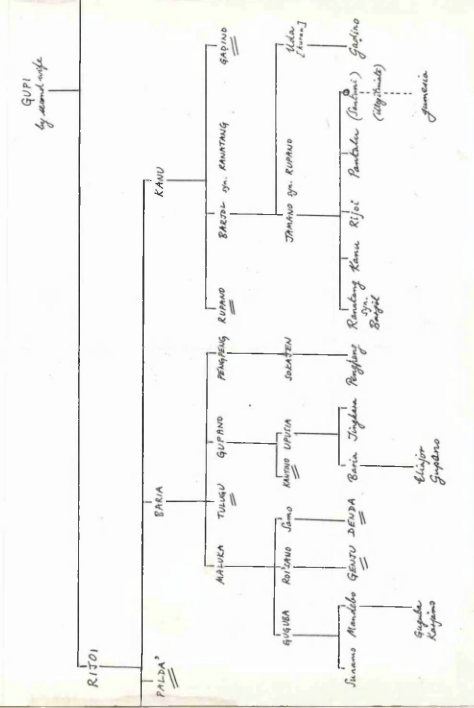
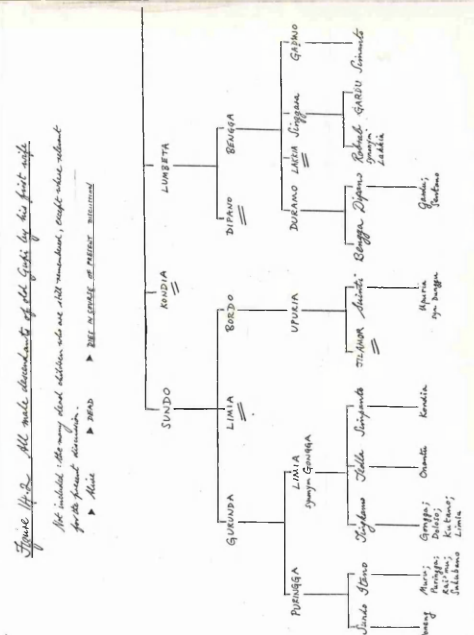
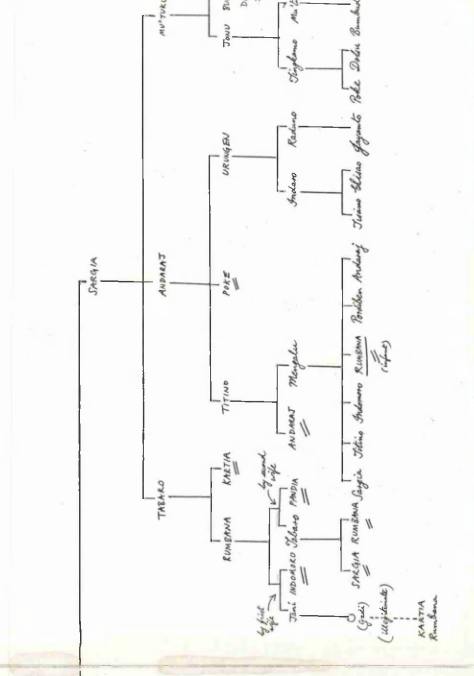
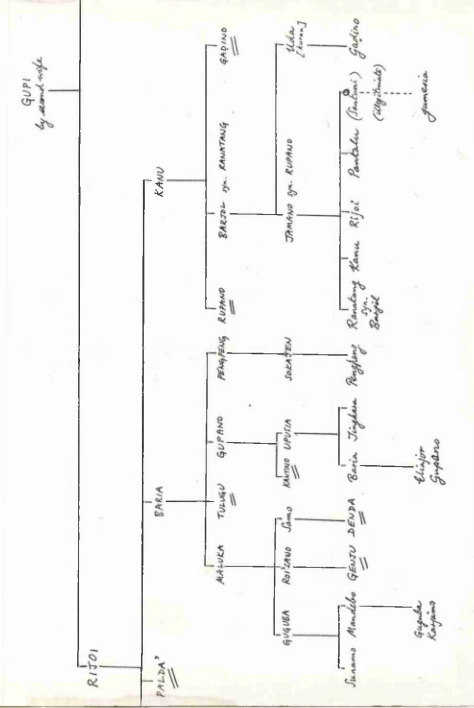
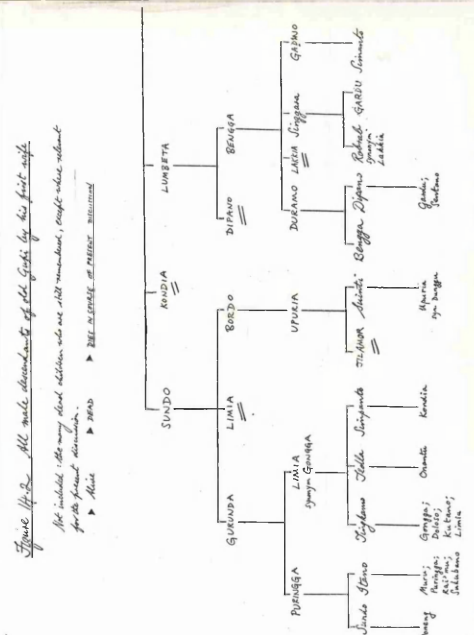


Figure 14.2



Figure 14.3
 Repletions of names, abstracted
 from figure 14.2

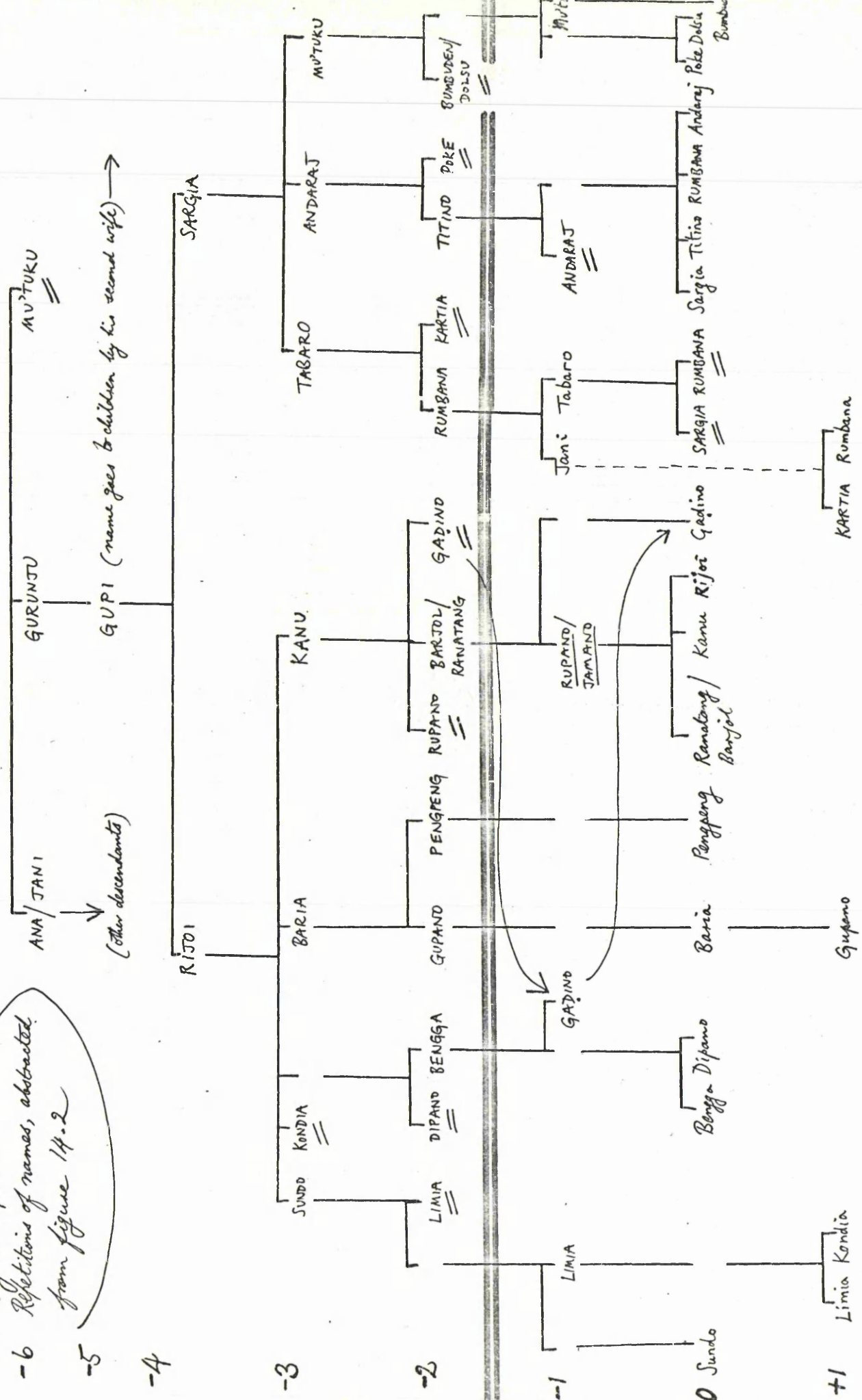


Figure 14.3



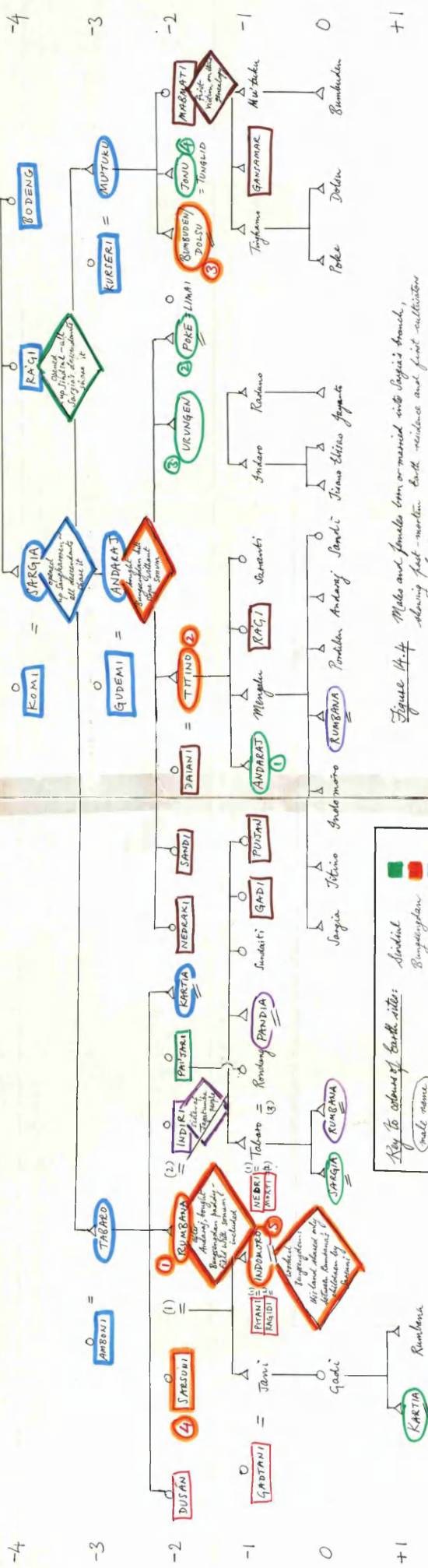


Figure 14.4 Males and females born or married into Sogai's branch, showing foot-marriage both within and foot-sisterhood of each Earth site. NB. to avoid overloading, names of wives are not given if they are still alive.

Key to colour of Earth sites:

- Green: Sibirul
- Red: Bungsulan
- Blue: Bungsulan
- Black: Bungsulan
- White: Rere
- Yellow: Fagacumba
- Grey: Other

Key to colour of Earth sites:

- Male name
- Female name
- Foot-sisterhood
- Foot-marriage

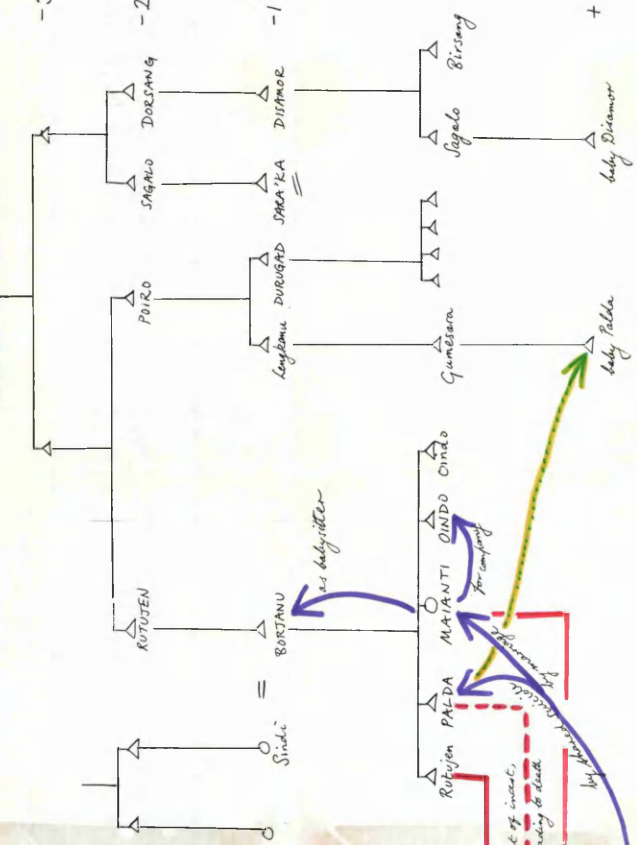
Figure 14.4



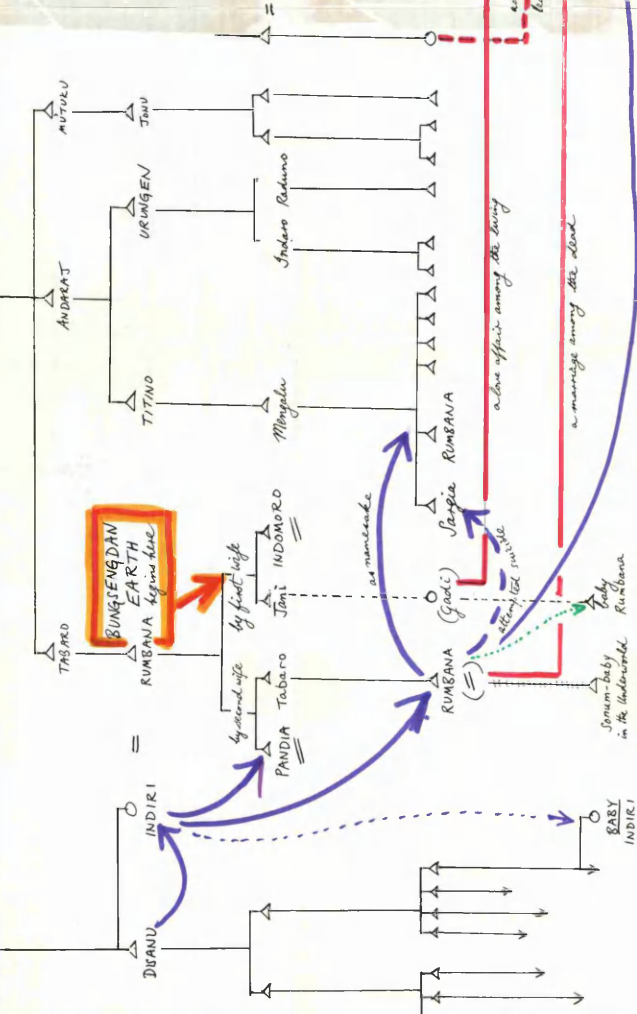
Figure 14-27
 Long-term inheritance
 strategy showing dynamic
 of offspring and inheritance
 to the next generation,
 with marriage, love affairs
 and new babies among the
 living and the dead.

Approves show direction
 of impulse of recruitment
 to new life. Links of sex/
 marriage shown in red;
 small dotted lines form
 -1 nameless, shaded lines
 show attempts to recruit.

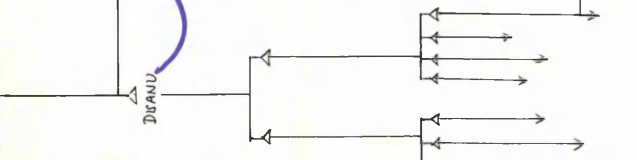
KANTURANG EARTH



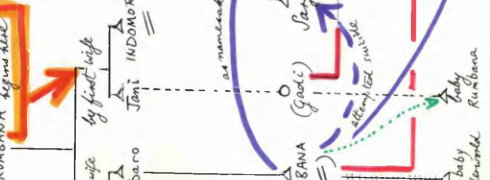
JINDIUL EARTH



JAGATUMBA EARTH



BUNGENGDAN EARTH
 Kigunahue



-3

-2

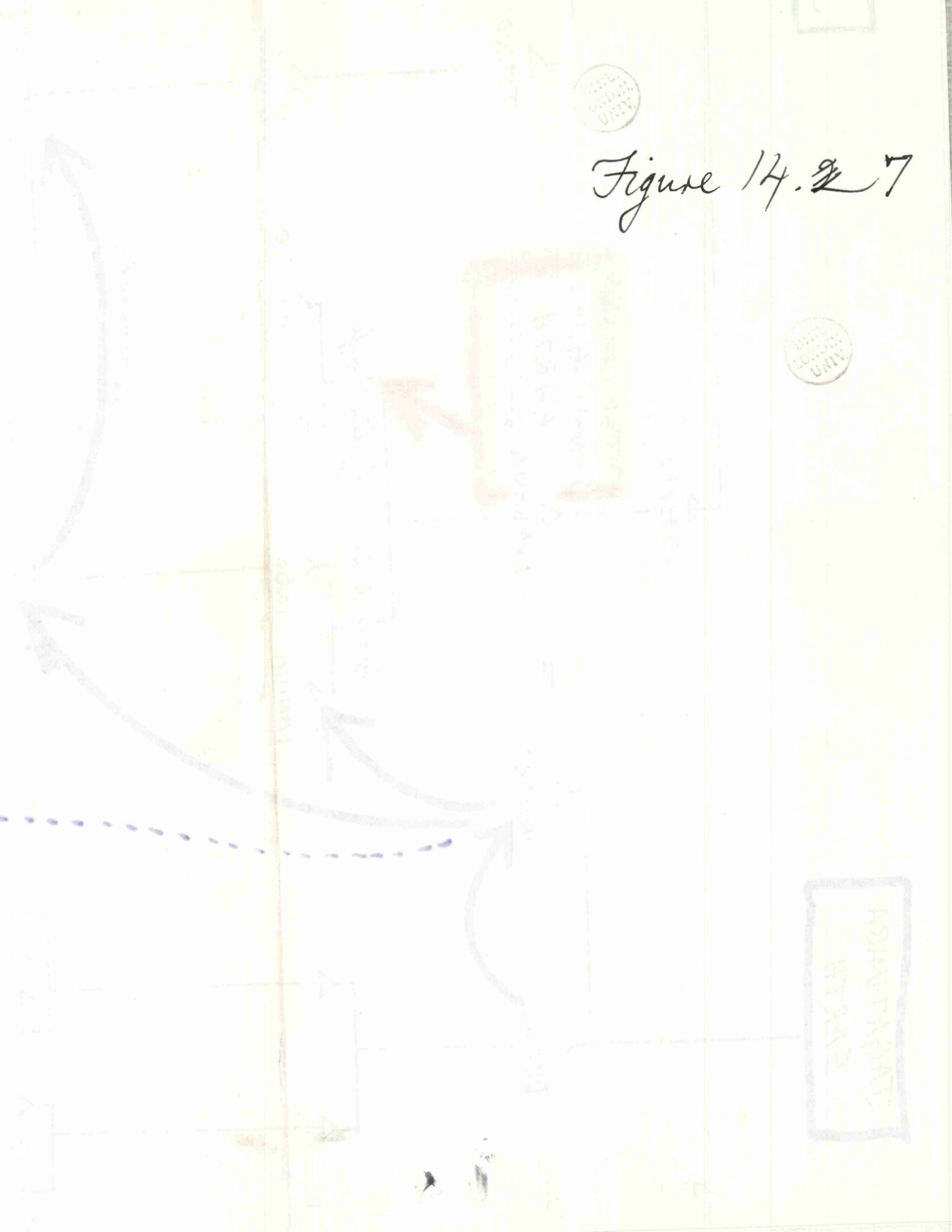
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Figure 14.27



BILL BOARD ONLY

ASIAN CULTURE

BILL BOARD ONLY