

# Reports about the Human Soul, New-Guinea, Eastern Highlands.

By Henry Aufenanger

Contents: Accounts from the following people:

- |                               |                      |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Dengglagu                  | 9. Kuma and Kunanagu |
| 2. Vandeke                    | 10. Dom and Golin    |
| 3. Komkane and Siako          | 11. Ndika            |
| 4. Kulxkane                   | 12. Gende            |
| 5. Kigin                      | 13. Vamizuhu         |
| 6. Dagle, Naruku and Kamanugu | 14. Biyom            |
| 7. Vaugla and Tsiambugla      | 15. Kondelxka        |
| 8. Nauru and Yuri             |                      |

Introductory Note. - The statements about the human soul, which I submit here, I gathered from the people who live on both sides of the Wagi River and on both sides of the Bismarck Range. Man has always been puzzled by the mystery of the human soul. Most civilized and most primitive people have tried to solve it. Their queries about such problems as the soul's qualities, activities, structure and way of living are concerned with the living and the dead. At collecting these reports, I always took great care to find people who were really trustworthy. I hope these notes will help establish a clearer concept of the primitive people's fundamental ideas of the human soul.

## 1. Dengglagu.

After the death of a man, who had a house and a garden and planted good trees, his soul will come back at night and break off certain things he had planted, such as twigs of casuarina trees, and take them with him. The men, who live in the dead man's house, may hear his soul making a noise while collecting things. If the person died from a very bad disease such as leprosy, people will set his house on fire or break it down; otherwise they will live in it.

My mother told me: When I was married to a man who was not your father, one afternoon I saw a strong light in the sky. In this light I saw a man with wings. Another man, who had no wings, appeared outside the light. Both men ascended into the sky. After a while, my husband died. I then realized that the man outside the light had been my husband while the other man had been his soul.

Reported by Gene.

A person may be heard to say: Having seen a dead person I got the "Kundu kundu." Those who have caught the *kundu kundu* do not go into their garden for about three days. If they did, their vegetables would not grow. A smoke magician can remove the *kundu kundu* by using the flower of a *ken* reed.

Reported by Kutne.

## 2. Vandeke.

When somebody is very skinny, his relatives will catch some rats and marsupials. A magician then speaks a charm over a *ken* reed flower and rubs with it the patient's body. This will remove the bad stuff, that made his soul run away. The magician puts the reed flowers, which he has made into a little ball, in a bamboo tube and receives the cooked rats and marsupials. The sick man will keep the bamboo tube in his house.- His soul may now come back. When his body is restored to health, he will slaughter some pigs and give them to his relatives. After that he will throw the bamboo away.

Reported by Aglum.

A man, Kegle by name, went to the Pinde Aunde lakes (on Mt. Wilhelm). There he found a hollow tree. He put his hand inside the hole and found three sweet-potatoes in it. He called out for his dog and heard someone imitating his voice somewhere in the bush. Kegle asked: "Who are you?" The man in the bush answered: "Who are you?" Then Kegle saw a man coming towards him, who looked exactly like himself. The dog saw the man, was afraid and ran away. Kegle also took to his heels and came home. Here he slaughtered a pig. A magician took a thin bamboo tube, that was closed at its lower end, walked away about one hundred yards' distance and blew into it. He did this to invite Kegle's soul to come back. Speaking a charm over the bamboo tube, he forced Kegle's soul to go into it. Then he put this bamboo tube on the central pole of the men's house. From now on Kegle could go into the bush without being frightened by his own soul.

One day two men went to Bundi. On the slopes of Mt. Wilhelm they burned off the dry grass, which was the abode of the dead. The soul of the dead cried: "Hold these two men! They have set fire to our gardens and our houses!" The two men

ran back to their homes, but a very heavy rain came pouring down and killed them.

Reported by Dua.

Two young men went to Keglotsugl to sing love songs with a young girl. Just before dark, they heard someone blowing out the air through his mouth, but they could see no one. Then they heard a woman wailing: "Ayao wehe!" When the two told the people about this, they were given the following explanation: "The wailing is that of a woman who died some time ago. She is crying for her little daughter. It won't be long before she'll come and take her to the place of the dead on Mt. Wilhelm.

A man whose name was Dua Kondo had died far away from his home in the Wewak area. Some of his fellow clansmen brought home some hair from his head and some fragments of his finger-nails. His relatives put all that into a netbag called *kuia nggagl*, the netbag of the soul. His female relatives carried this netbag with them. Later on they put it into the little garden known as *komuglangge*. Now it happened that some women belonging to another clan, who did not know that this ceremony had been performed, were passing the two lakes on Mt. Wilhelm, which are called Pinde Aunde. They were collecting twigs from *nombun* trees. (*Nombun* twigs are used for making netbags). On their way back, at a place called Kombuglo mambuno, they heard a whistle but could not see anyone. On the ground they saw the footprints of a grown-up man and of a little child. When they came home, they were told that the soul netbags of the man who had died at Wewak and that of a little girl, who was related to him, had been laid on the *komuglangge*. People then realized that, what the women had heard, was the whistling of the dead man and that they had seen the footprints of the two souls who were on their way to the place of their dead ancestors.

Reported by En.

When a young fellow hits his own mother, she will say to him: "You are always hitting me; when I am dead, my soul will come and kill your pigs and do damage to your garden." So her son will be afraid. He will slaughter and cook a pig and give it to his mother.

Reported by Dua.

A particular kind of bird, whose real name is *minenggorua*, is referred to as "the eye of the dead." It is a small black bird. Its wings are partly white underneath and so is its back near the tail. People warn the boys, not to shoot this bird, because it is *yomba nggelxkus*, "the eye of the people who have died. Reported by Aglum.

A middle-aged man, Aba by name, was afraid of his own soul. Whenever he heard a noise, either inside or outside the house, he thought, his soul had left his body and was making this noise. He was not sure though, whether it was his own soul or the ghost of someone who had died. So Aba called for a magician. The latter cut some sugarcane and told Aba to hold it behind his back and walk about with it after dark outside the men's house across the open ground. He was told that if he could feel something pulling at the sugarcane leaves, it was because his own soul had left his body and was following him. If nothing happened while he was thus walking about, then it was one of his ancestors who had been causing all this strange noise. Aba did as he was told and could feel something pulling at his sugarcane. So the magician took a bamboo tube about one foot long, and addressed the man's soul like this: "Eh,

you, Aba's soul! You've left his body! Come back!" Then the magician blew into the tube; which meant that just as his breath was going into the tube, so Aba's soul was invited to enter the man's body.

Reported by Dua.

A woman dies while giving birth to twins. About five or six days after her burial, some men lay four sticks about 15 inches long on the ground in the shape of a rectangle. These sticks are held in position by wooden pegs driven into the ground. The men will rub between the palms of their hands some *indaun* grass blades greased with pig's fat, and lay them down inside the rectangle called *komuglangge*. Before the burial, the deceased woman's brother will slaughter a pig at the place where she died. Her husband puts the axes, pearlshells' etc., which his brother-in-law has brought, into a netbag and places it on the ground beside his dead wife. While the corpse is being taken to the cemetery, a near relative of the deceased will take the netbag into her house or lay it on the ground near her house. In the afternoon men and women will gather to examine the netbag. People believe that the soul of the dead woman is in it. If a pig's bristle is found in it, it means that she did not give a pig to a person to whom she owed one. So the latter killed her through death magic. (A similar meaning is attributed to other objects that may be found.) People then close the netbag again and the woman takes it back into her house. There she puts some cooked sweet potatoes on top of the netbag, because the soul of the dead woman might be hungry. After an hour or so. the deceased has finished eating the souls of the sweet potatoes and the living woman may now eat what is left. About two months later, a pig is slaughtered and the netbag with the soul in it is laid on the grave. The axes, shells and whatever was in the netbag, are given to the clan members of the dead woman's husband. A man will take her soul out of the netbag, together with some bark cloth. He put it down about a yard or so away from the grave and tells the soul to stay there. People believe that a soul will wander from the grave to the *komuglangge* and back from there to the grave.

Reported by Wimba.

When a person has died and been buried, people will slaughter and cook three or four pigs on the following day. When the meat is done and has been laid on banana leaves on the ground near the house, in which the person died, one of the men calls out the name of the deceased: "N.N., come and take the vegetables (meaning the vegetables and the meat)." When there is a thunder-clap, people say: "He has come to take his food." If rain falls on that day, or on one of the following days, people say: "He has planted the vegetables and the rain will do them good." Apart from his food the dead person is also given some ropes of sweet potatoes, young sugar-cane plants as well as some *aglmba* and *kumba* herbs. The deceased takes the souls of these plants to his garden on top of Mt. Wilhelm. Later on, people take the sugar cane and the herbs down from there again and plant them in their own gardens. According to the belief of some natives the dead go to live in the lakes of Mt. Wilhelm, while others think they disappear in the rocks there. Here is a story about the dead on Mt. Wilhelm: There was a very strong Vandeke man, whose name was Gambogla nanggigl (child of Gambogla) who killed many enemies. When he had died (not in a battle), he went up to Mt. Wilhelm and is now living there in the

mountain. He closed the door that leads into the house of the dead. He has a spear and does not allow any of them to go out. His son, whose name is Dem Kama (Black excrements), is still living in the Vandeke area. If only he were willing to take a pig to Mt. Wilhelm and kill it near the rocks, his father would open the door and all the dead would come out. People urge Dem Kama, who is a married man, to perform this ceremony. If he did, the dead would come and bring their relatives many valuable things. But he refuses to do so because he does not believe in this story.

Reported by Aglum.

When a child dies very young, before having been shown the spirit flutes, a male member of the clan will take a pointed *tambono* fern stick and run it through a cooked pig's jaw while two young men will blow the spirit flutes. Then the man addresses the dead child: "You never saw the bird (meaning the spirit flutes). We are going to show them to you." He then presses his index against one side of the child's nasal septum and pierces it with the other hand. Sometimes he presses instead of his index a part of a green cordyline *Kaura nggumane* against the nasal septum. Then he says: "You were angry because you hadn't been shown the spirit flutes, so we showed you the "bird". Now you may go." After that the corpse is buried. - People believe that the child's soul would not find its way (to the land of the dead) unless its septum had been pierced and the spirit flutes had been shown to it. Reported by Wimba.

When I was still a little boy, I used to sleep in my mother's house at Dua nigl. Sometimes at night we heard a whistle outside the house. My mother said it was the soul of someone who had died down the Chimbu Valley and that it was on its way to Pinde aunde muglo, the Pinde Aunde mountain (the native name of Mt. Wilhelm). The two lakes beneath the peak of Mt. Wilhelm are called respectively Pinde and Aunde. Pinde is supposed to be a man, and Aunde a woman. The rocks of the mountain are the houses of the dead. When someone has died and there is a thunderclap during the following night, people say: "The dead are rejoicing; they are all shouting Oooo, and are carrying their new friend into their house." - Not only the dead of the Vandeke but those of other tribes as well go to Mt. Wilhelm. - When people find some old wood on the shores of lake Aunde, they say: "Our ancestors made a fence but it broke, and the water threw it out." Reported by En.

A mother will put her dead child's girdle, armband, his little netbag or (in case it is a girl) her little string dress into her netbag. As soon as any trouble arises, the dead child's mother holds up this netbag with both hands, addressing her dead child: "We are in trouble. If it is to develop into a nasty business, shake the netbag violently; should there be only some slight unpleasantness to be expected, shake the bag gently." If the movement of the netbag suggests that some serious trouble is ahead, people kill a pig to avert the danger. Reported by Dua.

When we (the young men) were shown the spirit flutes, our fathers' brothers gave us the following warning: "When you go to sleep, go to bed only, when the women have gone to sleep! Sleep quickly in the afternoon! If the women sleep before you sleep, (he probably should have said: If you sleep, before the women sleep) their bad things will cling to your skin! Get up early in the morning, when we are still asleep! Get up quickly when the rooster crows for the third time. If

you sleep long, the women's bad things (their souls or shadow *kuiane*) will cling to your skin." - For one month we candidates slept all together in a men's house. Only one old woman, a magician, cooked our food, cast a spell over it and gave it to us in order to make us grow up fast. She alone was allowed to come into the men's house, where the candidates were. She and the old men told the initiates to be kind and helpful to other people. For one month we boys had to use the road along the Chimbu river. If a woman happened to be walking on this road we had to cross the river, for the woman's shadow must not fall on us. When the month was over, the woman's shadows could no longer do us any harm. If however, a woman's shadow had fallen on a young man during the initiation period, the spirit flutes would have made him seriously ill.

Reported by En.

The Vandeke have a man who is the "interpreter" of the dead. His name is Ir kumugla yagl. A man who is a go-between of the living and the dead is called Gigl moglo yagl. - When a person is ill, people ask: "Who made him or her ill?" A meal consisting of sweet potatoes, corn, pork etc. is then prepared and the wise man eats some of it. When it is getting dark the food is taken to a women's house near the outer wall. The ghosts' "interpreter" lies down on a platform inside the house. He bids all the people in it keep silence. The sick person lies on a mat near the fire and the Gigl moglo yagl tells the patient to listen: "Your dead relatives are going to talk to you!" So they all listen and the dead will whistle. When the "interpreter" hears this he will explain: "The patient's dead father (or mother or child) said: When I was ill, you didn't look well after me. When I had died, you didn't kill a pig for me at the grave. I went on my way feeling hungry. That is why I made you ill. I will cause your pigs to die and you will be poor".- After that the ghosts' "interpreter" will speak for the sick man: I am going to slaughter a pig for you at the cemetery; you may eat that; don't cause my pigs to die! let them rather multiply; later on you may eat some of them if your neck is dry; take this illness from me!" On the following morning the sick person or his substitute will slaughter a pig for his dead relative. - The "interpreter" is well paid for his services. - When anything has been stolen, he will again approach the dead, who will point out the thief to him.

Elderly people warn us: "Do not shout at little children! If you do, their souls will go away and the children will always cry!" - Their souls are, however, believed to come back later on.

Reported by Dua.

One morning at dawn, a Vandeke woman was coming out of her house. She saw before her a woman who looked exactly like herself. When she had rubbed her eyes to see better, the woman had disappeared. Later in the day, when the sun had risen higher into the sky, the woman went into her garden. There she again saw the strange person sitting on the stump of a casuarina tree. As she approached her, she again disappeared. People were sure that the woman had seen her own soul, which had left her body. So they slaughtered a pig and called in a smoke magician. He spoke a charm over a bunch of fern leaves and hung it over the entrance to the woman's house. This was to induce the soul of the woman to come back. If that would not have been done, the soul would not have come back and the woman would eventually have died.

People believe that the Minenggorua bird is the "eye of the dead;" the following report may be of interest.

My mother spoke to the Minenggorua bird, which was singing on a tree: "If the father of this boy will come back today (from a walk to Bundi), sing again! If he will not be back, do not sing again!" - At another time my mother asked the bird: "Tell us, whether a trouble will come our way, or not! If so, sing more! If not, don't sing again!" The bird did sing again, and it was true, a trouble had arisen against us. People accused us: Our pigs had broken into their garden. - When somebody is very ill, people speak to this bird: "If this person is going to die, keep singing! If not, don't sing again!"

Reported by Waruo.

### 3. Komkane and Siako.

#### a) Komkane.

My father and I had come from my mother's house and were on our way to the men's house. It was not quite dark yet. Suddenly there was a noise, like the rustling of large wings overhead. We were afraid and sat down on the ground. When the noise had gone, I asked my father what it was. He said: "That's the soul of Pumai, the woman who hanged herself after the death of her child. She is on the way to her garden she planted when she was still alive." - My little brother, whose name was Dindonggo, was very ill. So my parents carried him to Kundiva hospital. As they were walking back, an insect, called Tsingguragle (probably a grasshopper), settled on the netbag in which my brother was lying. When my parents had reached home, my mother put the insect on a tree. My brother died. For a long time the insect sang there at night. Whenever she heard it, my mother thought of her dead child and cried. She said: "This is my dead boy's wife; she is crying because she lost her husband." When the sun was high up in the sky and there were Minenggorua birds perched on the fence and playing around, my parents would say: "These birds are our ancestors who watch over us. "When I threw stones at them, my parents became angry with me. "The eyes of dead men change into these birds," they said. Near my mother's house, there stood a huge casuarina tree on which a big lizard (*embrame*) used to live. It had no tail. My father warned me not to kill this lizard: "It is my dead father!"

Reported by Goglau.

#### b) Siako.

When the young men have been shown the spirit flutes they are warned not to pass round the back of women for fear that the latter might tread on the candidates' shadows (souls), in which case they would not grow up and become strong. (The same belief is reported by Wemen about the Dom.) When a person is very ill, he is taken to the native hospital which is often far away. If a noise is heard on one of the following nights, either in the men's house or in a women's house, or if some of the sticks that close the entrance of the house are removed, people say: "The soul has arrived." It indicates that the patient has died. Sometimes the soul makes a noise in the rafters, or at the back or at the front of the house.

Reported by Gandia.

When a little boy or girl has died, the mother will put the baby's little netbag or

its string dress and girdle into the child's netbag. When darkness has fallen, a magician calls out the dead child's name. When the latter's soul whistles, the magician lifts up the young head leaves of a banana and gives them to the mother. The soul is now in the leaves and the mother puts them into the child's netbag. After about an hour's time the magician takes out the leaves and throws them away, but the child's soul remains in the netbag. The mother puts some good cooked food into it for her dead child. She wants to make sure that her little one is going to stay with her. From time to time she will take out the food and eat it and then put in new provisions. The mother carries this netbag with her on her chest or on her back for about two months. Then a pig is slaughtered near the child's father's house. While other people are preparing the meat for the earth-oven, the child's parents take the netbag with the soul to the grave and lay it on the ground outside the fence, that surrounds the grave. Then they go back and hand out the pork to all their relatives and friends.

Reported by kua.

#### 4. Kulxkane.

When my father's father, whose name was Kindi, had died and been laid into the grave, his fellow clansmen put flat sticks across the hole and covered them with earth. In the middle of the grave they left a little hole, into which they inserted a big bamboo tube. This tube was open at both ends. It did not touch the body, and the upper part stuck out of the grave for a length of about one foot. People said, in the afternoon the soul would come out of the grave through this tube. In the evening they gathered outside the men's house in which the dead man used to live. My father's younger brother called his dead father's name and asked: "Where were you?" The deceased answered: "I was at Gembo and have now come." (Gembo is the name of a settlement in the Kulxkane area.) Then people said: "Now he has arrived." - The dead man is not given anything. They destroy one or two good trees, some cordyline plants and some banana stalks at the place where the man had died. People do not like to have much shade round their houses. Otherwise all the souls of the dead will come (and stay there).- On the morning following the day of burial a man took the bamboo from the grave and replaced it with a piece of wood with which he closed the hole; then he covered it with earth.- In the afternoon my mother filled my grandfather's belongings into a netbag and tied it up with a piece of string. In the morning she opened it while all the men and women were watching her in front of the men's house. They found a sugar-cane leaf in it, which led them to believe that the deceased must have refused to give any sugar-cane to people who were looking on when he was chewing some. So they concluded that those concerned must have become angry and must have killed him by using death magic.

Reported by Wave.

A very skinny boy or girl who happens to go out of doors at night may have an uncomfortable feeling of someone following him. So a magician is called for. He will thrust a piece of sugar-cane about 5 feet long, into the ground outside the woman's house, near the entrance. Again and again he will call the name of the child, who is in the house. Then, at a given word, the youngster will pull the sugar-cane into the



house, and with it his or her own soul which had been wandering outside. The magician will address the soul with these words: "You were outside; you have to stay with your age mate (*yaxkunan*). In the case of a girl, the expression used is *ambu kunan*, stay with your equal aged woman friend. (*yagl*=man; *ambu*=woman.)

Reported by Aba.

People sometimes hear a voice calling their own name. When they look back, however, they can see no one. A smoke magician knows how to solve this problem. He will say: "Your soul has left you and is wandering about." So the people concerned will slaughter and cook a pig. The liver and part of the animal's head is cooked by the magician in a special little earth-oven. When the meat is done, the magician holds up a piece of liver and some of the other meat, and addresses the patient's soul in a loud voice: "You are always walking about calling this person's name. Now we know it! You go right back into the sick man (or woman)!" Then the meat is given to the patient. From now on the soul will stay where it belongs. While the patient is eating his pork, the magician will fasten some fern leaves on the cross-pole over the entrance to the house. At Dengglagu, there is a smoke magician, whose name is Gaima, and who has the power to bring back a soul that has been wandering for a longer or shorter period, even up to three months.

A woman may say to a little boy or to a young man: "Go away! If my shadow or soul (*kuiana*) falls on you, you won't grow fast!" - Even a mother may say so to her little son, or an elder sister may thus warn her younger brother. Both women and big girls even say this to little girls. - Sometimes a woman will warn men with these words: "Don't eat this food! My shadow soul is lying (or has been lying) on it, otherwise you will be eating my shadow soul as well." Even men will talk like that. But as soon as those who give these warnings have left, the others will continue to eat.

Reported by Waruo.

When a person has died, people sometimes see that one of their pigs has a wound. So they will say: "The deceased saw his (or her) pig in the bush and became angry at the thought, that he (or she) reared it while other people are going to slaughter and eat it."

Reported by Aba.

When a patient is lying in the house seriously ill, one of his fellow clan members who have gone to sleep in the bush, may hear a voice calling his name in the middle of the night. When he goes to see who it may be, he will see nobody. On reaching home in the morning, the men will find the patient dead. His soul had gone into the bush and had called his clan-fellow's name. - Sometimes, at night, people hear a loud crash, as if someone was throwing a heavy object on the ground. So they wait, thinking that perhaps a man is coming in. If there is no one, the men will go out and inquire. If there is nobody, they will say: "The *tsie* bird is always calling at the cemetery. It is really the father of one of our men who has been changed into this bird!" A smoke magician is consulted. His answer will be: "The *tsie* bird is the soul of this man's father. You have to give him a pig." So they all go to the grave of the deceased. There they will find a little hole leading into the grave. It is the path on which the soul walks in and out. A pig is cooked, and the smoke magician, taking a piece of pork in his hand, addresses the dead man: "You are always calling out to

us. We have heard you and we are giving you a pig." Then the magician hands the pork to the son of the deceased, who will eat it. Finally the magician closes the hole through which the soul used to leave the grave. (The *tsie* bird is apparently an owl. It catches mice and flies about at night.) At Arelxkuglo, there is a little round pond called Numbule. Its water is blue. If a woman drinks from it, she will have only female children. When the natives are ready for their great pig festival and are building a *bugla bolim inggu*, (L. J. Luzbetak, The Socio-Religious Significance of a New Guinea Pig Festival. *Anthrop. Quarterly* 27. 1954.) the water in the pond rises and becomes very beautiful. Women who have had boys only, may go and drink from its water. The *bolim* house is built in the middle of this pond. Some men sit down on the roof of this house and start eating pork. Some of it they throw into the pond and some they throw into the crowd who are watching. The men affirm that if they throw some pork into the water, their pigs will grow bigger. - When the pork has been distributed to all the relatives and visitors, the hosts themselves eat all the pork that is left. Some days later, the men will cut the *bolim* house to pieces and throw it into the Numbule pond. The *bolim* post (the *bolim* post apparently represents the phallus of an ancestor) is pushed into the mud that is at the bottom. The women wash their sweet potatoes in this water because they are convinced that it will make their pigs prosper. Children wash themselves in it, but they are strictly forbidden by their parents to drink from it. The belief is that the people's male ancestor is staying at the spot where the *bolim* house was built. Every family has its own short *mondo* post or *bolim* post, which is cut in the bush by the men and boys. The little chips are carefully collected by the boys, who take them home in their netbags. Later on, these chips are to serve as fuel for the roasting of the liver of the pig that each family is going to slaughter near the long festival houses. The liver is roasted near the *bolim* house on an open fire. All the members of the family partake in the eating of the liver. - For a wedding, people will cook a pig's head and liver at the place where the *bolim* house had been. Flowers, shrubs and trees are planted round this important place.

Reported by Waruo.

The day after a person has been buried, his relatives and fellow clansmen gather for the mourning and slaughter and cook pigs. When the visitors have gone, the relatives of the deceased may hear a thunder-clap. If this happens, they will say: "This man walked about stealing and committing crimes. After his death he went to the place where his father is and the two are quarreling. Will he go to the good place or will he go to the bad place?" (People said this before the arrival of the whites.)

Reported by Aba.

The deceased parents will rear the soul of a pig that has been slaughtered by their son. One day our enemies the Numbultsi attacked us at night. They surrounded a men's house and set it on fire. Many of our comrades were burned to death. - Some years later two young men went to the place to sing love songs with young girls. All of a sudden they heard a loud noise in the air and a lot of grease fell from the sky. It was the grease of human bodies. They also saw fire in the air. The two men were afraid and shouted for help. When their clansmen arrived, they could see nothing. In the morning they slaughtered a pig, which the young men ate.

(They probably ate it with those men who had been killed in the fire.) A magician spoke a charm over some *bingga* fern leaves and hanged them over the entrance to the house in which the young men lived. This would keep the dead from coming and killing them.

Reported by Wave.

The souls of the dead men are believed to go to the head (the spring) of the Dawai river. My mother told me not to spit into the fire. By spitting into the fire, people throw their souls into the fire.

Reported by Mende.

One day I went into the bush with an old man. Suddenly a branch of a *yomba* tree fell on the road. When the old man, whose name is Gugl kumugl, saw it falling, he took it in his hand and said: "When I was young, I used to kill marsupials and give them to my mother. She was very pleased and said: "When I am dead, I shall always give you a sign whether you will find marsupials or not. I shall throw a branch on the road if there are no marsupials. If I don't throw a branch on the road, you will find marsupials. (A little insect called *nggavall ambu* cuts small branches of *yomba* trees by knawing all round them until they fall off; the soul of this man's mother was supposed to have been transformed into this little insect.) Having received this sign, we walked home again.

Reported by Waruo.

There is a Kulxkane man whose name is Kinde kua. One night he went to a creek called Dawai kuglo. There he saw a man sitting near the water. Kinde kua filled his bamboo with water. When he looked up again, the other man had become a butterfly. A little later he noticed that the butterfly had been changed into a man again. Kinde kua tried to get hold of him, but he escaped into a banana thicket. Our Kulxkane man reported these strange things to some friends in the man's house. They went and surrounded the banana thicket and caught the man. Stretching him out on the ground, they drove pointed wooden nails through his arms and thighs. In the morning they found him lying still in the same position. He was dead; so they laid him into an old grave. On reaching their house, they became aware, that one of the men with whom they shared the house had died because they had killed his soul. A few days later they noticed that the soul they had buried in the old grave had disappeared.

Reported by Wave.

When someone's child is ill or has died, he may think that this trouble has been caused by his dead mother. So he will take a pig to her grave, lift up a wooden club and address her like this: "You have given me a lot of worry. We now want to eat with you." Then he slaughters and cooks a pig. While the pork is being cut to pieces, a butterfly or a blow-fly, a worm or a frog may come and sit on the meat. People will then say: "That's the dead mother's soul." They do not remove the animal though, but leave it there until it flies or crawls away. If the children try to frighten it, their parents will tell them to leave it alone.

Reported by Mende.

A few days after the burial of a man, people may go into the bush, where one of them may see the soul of the deceased. If he goes near it, it will disappear. So he will break a branch off the cordyline that grows there and take it to the grave of the dead man. Then he will tell the widow of the deceased about his experience. She and her children will go to the place where the man had seen the ghost, and they also will break off cordyline branches and take them to the grave. Here Aba

reports something, that might not quite fall under the category of soul; but since it is closely connected to the concept of soul, it may be related here: There is a spirit who lives in the Chimbu river. People call him *Inggu nem*, the father of the house. Every man has an *Inggu nem* spirit. (According to *Aba*, women do not possess one.) When a man has gone to a far-away place, his children will wait for him to come back. They will eventually see their father coming while he is still far away. Naturally, they will be most happy. So they wait and wait but he never arrives on that day. What the children saw was only their father's *inggu nem* spirit. When he himself comes at last, his children will tell him about the strange incident. So the man will ask a magician to help him. The latter will speak a charm over a bunch of fern leaves and hang it over the entrance to the men's house. Unless this is done, the *inggu nem* spirit will burn down the house or cause some other harm but he will not kill anybody. The *inggu nem* spirit is the man's *yalx kunamo*, his contemporary friend. According to *Aba*, this spirit does not watch over a man. If he leaves the spirit alone, no harm will befall him. But if he provokes the *inggu nem* spirit he will retaliate. - According to *Nuglai*, who belongs to the Nauru people, the *ige nem* is a nature spirit. Not every man has one. There are certain places which are supposed to belong to him. He is believed to make people ill. When this happens, they offer him a pig at one of the afore-said places. Reported by *Aba*.

#### 5. *Kigin*.

Whenever a member of the family is ill, or if a pig is going to die, the father will say to his son or daughter: "You didn't obey my orders, after I had told you not to eat certain bananas and certain sweet potatoes. You violated the taboo. That's why so and so is ill." After this the man will kill a pig or a fowl or even one or more rats. These animals are cooked in or near a woman's house, or (if it is a large pig that is dying) near the men's house or at the cemetery, where the liver and the head of the pig are also cooked sometimes. Rats however are not killed and cooked there. When the pork is in the earth-oven, a *dondin* plant (The *dondin* plant has a pleasant smell.) is tied in such a way as to form a knot and a loop. The plant is exposed to the hot smoke of the earth-oven, between two banana leaves. When the meat is done, the man will open the oven, take out the *dondin* plant, hold it in his hand and say: "My son (or daughter) has eaten things that were taboo. I am going to undo the *dondin kno*." The taboo is thereby lifted and all the members of the family help themselves to the pork. In the afternoon of the day on which a man has been buried, the ground near his wife's house is cleared. Corn, sugar-cane, beans, sweet potatoes and other vegetables are planted there. All this is not harvested however, but is left to rot. This garden is called *Komuglangge*. (*Komuglangge* is the deceased person's garden.) When anyone has died, the namesake, or the child of the deceased will call out the latter's name. One of the men has hung a cordyline twig, which he had been wearing on his back, on one of the lower branches of a tree. A fresh twig is not used for this purpose. After a while the deceased will answer: "Here I am," and then he will take the cordyline twig. A man who has committed suicide by hanging himself may be seen by those who go to fetch water

in their bamboo tubes. The deceased is supposed to be seen walking in mid-air and carrying the tree on which he hanged himself. Reported by Miyomba.

## 6. Dagi, Naruku and Kamanugu.

### a) Dagi.

The soul of a dead person is not called *gigl*, ghost, until the fence round his grave is rotten and falling to pieces. From that time on people are afraid of it. No one dares go to his grave unless there are two or three persons together. When a pig or a fowl etc. has been stolen, the owner of the animal will search the ground for the thief's footprints. A smoke magician will stew some *aglmba* herbs wrapped up in banana leaves. He will put some hot stones into this package and lay it on the thief's footprints. This is done early in the morning. At sunrise he summons the soul of the thief. Then he addresses the sun: "You gave me the pig (or the fowl etc.), but the thief has stolen it from me. Take revenge on him!" When the steam begins to rise from the package, the magician will hit the thief's footprints with a thorn-studded branch of a *tambono* fern tree. Only the members of the family concerned are allowed to witness this ceremony called *gurugl kum kenggua*. Afterwards the magician and all the members of the family eat the *aglmba* herbs. - The thief's body, his hands, legs and face will swell up and eventually he will die.

A man, Guan by name, had got very skinny. So a smoke magician, called Mogumbai, slaughtered a pig at a place where people kill a pig, whenever one of their relatives is ill. This place is called Dinggan kirai nggalxkua ndumo, the place where they cook the Dinggan medicine. It is near the river Ga. There is no cemetery at or near this place. - The magician placed the meat of the cooked pig into a netbag together with short pieces of sugar-cane, put it on the ground, turned to different directions and asked: "Guan's soul, are you at Gagugl or aren't you?" Then he waited. If nothing happened, he tried another place, till eventually a blow-fly came and settled on the netbag that contained the meat. Then the magician said: "This blow-fly has brought back Guan's soul." (The blow-fly is not the patient's soul, it only carries his soul.) The magician took the meat to the patient, encouraging him to eat it: "I have brought you back your soul!" When pigs are ill, one of them is killed at the cemetery, but not at the Dinggan kirai nggalxkua ndumo. Reported by Mas.

### b) Naruku.

There is a bird called *toruwo*, which is all red except for its black head and a black spot where its tail begins. People do not kill it, nor do they eat it if someone happens to have shot one. Its flesh tastes bitter. One day a boy ate such a bird and was taken ill. People were afraid he was going to die. So they called for his mother's brother (*bauomo*), who pulled the sick boy's hair for a while, shouting: "Don't die! Get up again!" In these people's opinion the deceased parents of the boy's mother and uncle were sure to restore the boy's health. Reported by Taglmba.

### c) Kamanugu.

For three days no girl's or woman's shadow must fall on the young men who have been shown the spirit flutes. The men would be furious with any female who would dare to come near them. When a person has died, neither young men nor

women and children are allowed to leave the house. The soul of the deceased would go into them and kill them. If one of the house has to go to the W.C., the men in the men's house, and the women in the women's house will light a torch, accompany the person in question, and wait for him or her to come back. If a woman was caught walking about alone at night the men would cut off one of her finger-joints. In the morning all the women had to come and show their hands. The woman with a missing finger-joint was asked whether she was the sorceress. She would, of course, deny that she was a *kumo*, a death-magic woman, but the evidence was overwhelming. Some of those women were killed and others were banned. Nobody was allowed to go near them. Any persons on whom their shadows, i.e., their souls happened to fall would become sorcerers or sorceresses themselves.

Reported by Kondum.

## 7. Vaugla and Tsiambugla.

### a) Vaugla.

Sometimes a woman who is working in the garden may say to the *minenggorua* bird: "You are the eye of the dead."

Reported by Yomba.

When a woman is going to give birth to a male child, people will hear at night the cry of the *tsie* bird. This is not the real *tsie* bird, however. The deceased father and mother of the woman (or perhaps of the child's father?) rejoice and bring *aglmba*-tree leaves as well as other leaves for the netbag into which the new-born baby is to be laid. These leaves can not be seen.

Reported by Vaiangge.

When a woman comes to the men's house in the morning to bring roasted sweet potatoes to her husband, the latter will shout to all the boys: "Clear out or else the woman will tread on your shadows (your souls.) If she did, you wouldn't grow up." -- While a magician is curing someone from a disease, a boy may be standing behind him, eating a sweet potato. In such a case the parents will warn their boy not to stand behind the magician eating. "You'll be eating his shadow (his soul) together with your sweet potato, and then you won't grow up." -- A little boy had died. After having buried him, his parents went back to their respective houses. His mother roasted a sweet potato, laid it on a banana leaf and pushed it between the grass-roof and one of the rafters of her house. In the morning she examined the potato and saw that some of it had been eaten. The parents said: "Our son has eaten the food. "So his mother threw out of the house what remained of the potato. Every day she replaced new food for her dead boy, until she did not think any longer about him. - The belief is that deceased children come to play with their playmates. When they are hungry they eat some of the food from under the roof.

Rep. by Yomba.

### b) Tsiambugla.

People say: "The eyes of the dead are transformed into the *Minenggorua* bird."

Rep. by Toglu.

When people intend to kill a pig at the cemetery, they do not cook any food in their houses that morning. They go to the grave, slaughter the pig and heat the stones. Now a child may say to his mother: "I am hungry." So she will put some sweet potatoes on the fire and give them to her child. He will peel the potatoes and

throw away the skins but his mother will say: "Yomba vende enatno?", i. e., "Would you like to become a good, great man?" The hidden meaning of this is: "The ghost will come and eat the potato skins and you will become an ugly-looking cripple." That is why all the food remnants are burnt to ashes. - If anyone has a severe toothache he will call on his deceased parents or grandparents: "Father, Mother! Why don't you kill me? My pain comes on again and again. I have to suffer as long as I live. Please, do kill me!"

Rep. by Miugl.

When a man has died and been buried his father or his brother will lie under a sleeping-mat near the men's house. If a woman has died a near relative of hers will lie near the woman's house. When it is getting dark the relative will call the name of the deceased and the latter will whistle. Then the dead person's relative will say: "It is cold! Go into your house!" Upon that all will enter their houses. - If the ghost does not answer (by whistling) it means that he is angry because he was not looked after when he was ill. Everbody will be afraid then. If the person, who killed him by death magic is in the house, the ghost will not answer either. In this case a smoke magician will smoke to find out the murderer.

If a leper sits on the ground in the sunshine and a child steps between him and the sun, the parents will scold their child: "If your *kuia* (*kuia* means shadow-soul) covers the leper, you will become a leper yourself."

Rep. by Ongguglo.

## 8. Nauru and Yuri.

### a) *Nauru*.

On the morning following the day on which a person has been buried a magician will cast a spell over some "biga" fern leaves and hand some of them to the clansmen of the deceased. Then he himself and all the other men will get hold of the leaves, sweep the ghost out of the house and scare it away to the grave. There the magician will fasten the leaves to a tree near the grave and forbid the ghost to come back to the house.

Rep. by Koxkia.

### b) *Yuri*.

The souls of all the dead go to Mount Dagine, where they have their houses. Whenever a person has been buried a thunder-clap is heard on Mt. Dagine and people say: "The souls of the dead are rejoicing. They are clapping their hands, shouting and making a lot of noise while bringing their new companion into their house in the mountain." Sometimes when there is a thunder-clap, people will say: "The dead are judging the soul of the person who died recently." Others aver: "Our Great Father sits in judgment upon him. If the dead person was a trouble-maker he will send him to a bad place, otherwise the soul will go to a good abode." This is made known by a thunder-clap. If the mountain is covered by a cloud and it rains, people say: "He (the dead man) is planning to come and get one of us." If there is neither a cloud nor rain, it means that none is going to die. If it rains or there is a cloud over the mountain a magician will thrust a pointed stick from a "boba" fern tree into a ginger bulb. If it pierces the bulb, it means that nobody is threatened with death. Otherwise one of the people will die.

Rep. by Au.

## 9. *Kuma and Kunanagu.*

### a) *Kuma.*

Kuma people say: "When we kill a pig, its soul goes to our dead father and mother. The dead have built a pigsty and are waiting for us to give them a pig, but all in vain. That is why they are upset and are causing us trouble."

At the time of the great pig festival all the people slaughter pigs and give them to their ancestors. If a man fails to do so, his ancestors will make his family sick. The dead father of this man will come with a rope in his hand to lead away the pig that he has been expecting his son to kill for him, but in vain, so he is angry.

Rep. by Palxka.

A person who has a bad toothache will try to get rid of it by passing it on to somebody who has died but not been buried yet. He wraps a little mucus from his bad tooth into a leaf, or better still into some bark and lays it on the dead person's chest, saying: "The toothworm is hurting me. I do not like it. So I give you my pain. You take it with you. I don't want it to trouble me any longer."

After a corpse has been laid into the grave, a fresh "ngamp" reed is taken with its leaves still on it. In them a little bit of earth from the grave is wrapped up. An open netbag with dry banana leaves in it is held in readiness. Before the leaves with the soil in them are tied together with a knot, the relatives ask the deceased to come. When the soul is in the reed leaves, these are put into the netbag, which is then closed and bound with a liana. Then it is given to the dead man's widow or to his brother's wife. The latter will hang it on her head or carry it on her neck. Then they all go home to try and find out who has killed the deceased through death magic. After dark the woman will go outside her house, open the netbag and lay it on the ground some little distance away from the house. Then she sits down against the wall of her house, covered with a rainmat and calling the deceased man's name. When a little noise is heard in the netbag people will say: "He has arrived." The woman runs to the netbag and fastens it. Then she hangs it against the inner wall of her house. The next morning she opens the bag, while all the people are watching. If a little stone is found in it, it is interpreted as the dead person's explanation: "The one who killed me, did it with this stone, which was laden with death magic." If some ashes are found, the meaning is supposed to be this: "The magician threw these magic ashes on me and killed me." The netbag is then closed again and hung back in the house. The same thing happens again on the third morning and then the netbag is carried to the grave. A pig is slaughtered and cooked, but its liver, part of the ribs and the intestines are steamed in a special earth-oven. Only the nearest relatives of the deceased person eat this meat. Before the meal the contents of the netbag are scattered over the grave. A stick is driven into the grave above the head of the corpse. The upper end of the stick is still visible about 15 inches above the ground. People say: "We must not keep the soul of the dead person too long with us, lest it should kill one of us." They address him like this: "If we keep you too long, you will kill one of us, who are still alive." The Kuma expression for putting a soul into the netbag is: "Minman kon ta kindin."



Rep. by Konggube.

b) *Kunanagu*.

Before a corpse is laid into a niche grave a near relative of the deceased holds the upper part of a reed over the body and, while all are silent, he makes a knot in the reed leave. A little netbag (*galx kamban*) is cleaned and some dry banana leaves are put in it. The knotted leaves which are believed to contain the dead person's soul are put on top of the dry leaves. The little netbag is closed and a liana is tied around its opening.

If the bag is taken home by a man, he will carry it in his hand. If, however, it is taken by a woman, she will tie it to her neck while she is standing at the grave side. If she carried it in her hand, it would mean, that she had murdered the person through death magic. This netbag is carried on the day of the burial and on the following day. On the third day, when one or more pigs are killed, people take the bag to the grave and empty its contents on it. On the morning after the burial a rain mat or a bark cloth is spread on the ground either in the house or outside. The reed with its knotted leaves is carefully laid on the mat or on the bark cloth and the dry banana leaves are searched. If some particles of a sweet potato are found in them, people say: "The death magic people (*kumo*) gave the deceased man sweet potatoes with death magic in them." When the pork and the specially cooked liver etc. have been laid out in good order, all the relatives go and take the soul, which is still in the netbag, to the grave. One of the men or the deceased man's daughter, unties the knot in the reed leaves so that the soul may go. Neither widows not married women may do this.

Rep. by Goglau.

10. *Dom and Golin*.

a) *Dom*

When somebody is very fast asleep, people say: "His soul has gone far away towards the east. When it comes back he will wake up." If a woman's soul walks away at night and passes a little boy who is asleep in his mother's house, her shadow soul, falling on him, will prevent his growing up for a long time.

Even his own mother's soul has this effect. This is why a mother will lay her baby son on her chest, when she is going to sleep for fear that her shadow soul might fall on him. A sleeping woman's soul has this effect on boys only. If it falls on grown up men, it does not do them any harm. - If there are two women's houses near one another, the woman in one of them will waken her little son early in the morning because she is afraid the soul of the woman next door might come back from her walk and fall on her sleeping boy. This is one of the reasons, why male children live in the men's house, when they are still very young. If a boy is named after his grandfather, he will assume the latter's habits. If he used to eat a lot, his grandson will do the same. People explain this phenomenon thus: "The old man lost his soul and his grandson got it." If the grandfather was a trouble-maker, his young namesake will be troublesome also. If he was a good worker, his grandson will possess the same good quality. From the moment when the spirit flutes have been shown to the candidates up to the time, when the flutes are discarded,

i. e. for about one month, no one's shadow may fall on the initiates' back. Otherwise they will become skinny and not grow up. When a man has been buried, one or more pigs are slaughtered and given to him. If rain falls on one of the following days, people say: "The dead man is taking his pigs with him but his and his pigs' foot-prints are washed away by the rain." My grandfather's name was Kopia. He said: "When I have died I shall be changed into a Milaua bird. (This bird has a yellow spot on either side of its head) I shall watch over the Amil pandanus trees." My grandfather is dead now, but the Milaua bird's call is often heard in the Amil trees. People say: "When we go near these trees, he is afraid we might steal the nuts. We do not go there or else he might kill us." ----- When someone has died and is lying on a stretcher, decorated with feathers, etc., an insect or a bird may come near the corpse. On seeing this people will say: "The dead man's soul has been transformed into this insect (or this bird). When later on an insect or a bird of the same kind comes to where the relatives of the deceased live, they get terrified and scream: "Look! There is the soul of our dead relative!" ----- When ever a certain bird called Kovaku comes and cries near a men's house, its inmates say: „One of our ancestors has come. To-morrow people will accuse us of having caused some trouble or other." (For instance because our pigs have broken into someone else's garden.) ----- When a large insect, called Diwi comes flying along with a humming noise, people say: "A woman has died. The Diwi is her soul." ----- When a rustling noise is heard at night in the banana leaves that cover the entrance to the house people say: "The man who recently died wants to tell us that he is going up to the mountain where the dead live." ----- When, in the late evening, or during the night the women hear something falling heavily on the ground near their house, they will whisper: "The soul of a man or of a woman who died some time ago is carrying the corpse of someone who has died just now." ----- If the men hear somebody cutting firewood outside their house at night, they will say: "That is the soul of a dead man. To-morrow one of our clansmen will kill a pig." ----- When they hear someone breaking off Gurau leaves, this noise is made by a ghost who indicates, that somebody is going to slaughter a pig on the following morning. (The Gurau is a kind of a bread-fruit tree with very large leaves that are used at the cooking of pork). ----- If one of the rafters above the sleeping place of one of the men disappears at night the other inmates of the house say: "This man's soul went out during the night." ----- When at night a noise is heard at the entrance of the house, just as if somebody were coming, the men say: "There is the soul of a man who has just died and who is coming in." If, however, there is a noise suggesting that someone is leaving the men's house there will be a whisper: "That is one of ourselves who is going to die. His soul has just left the house." Everyone will be scared and ask: "Which one of us?" ----- When in the late afternoon a noise is heard in the banana leaves at the entrance of a woman's house those inside will say: "The soul of our friend who has just died comes to tell us. Tomorrow we shall hear the news." ----- When a man has planted a young Koba tree and it does not grow up straight and is even struck by lightning, his neighbours will say: "The man who planted this tree will die because his soul has left him." ----- If a man is very skinny and often ill, people say: "His

soul has gone away, eventually he will die unless it is brought back."

Rep. by Kopia.

We slaughter our pigs near the place where our ancestors have been buried. They are now in the house of the sun. Just before we eat the cooked liver of the pig we think of the sun and say to our dead father and mother: "Our children are always ill and so are our pigs. Please help us!" It is only afterwards that all the members of the family think of enjoying the meal. If there is a blow-fly sitting on the liver, we say: "Our ancestor has come. Let us wait for the insect to fly away. We shall help ourselves afterwards."

Rep. by Yolal.

There are two lakes in our area, a longish and a round one. In the former, called Bal kilma, live the souls of the deceased men. In the latter called Kan nggugil, live the souls of the departed women. For the great pig festival *more* trees are collected alternatively from the bank of the women's lake and from that of the men's lake. Nobody dares go into the water of either of the two lakes, nor does anybody drink there. - In the night following the burial of a woman, a fire is seen shooting up from the women's lake and falling down again. The same happens at the other lake, when a man has been buried. Those men who collect the *more* trees believe that the souls of the dead help them make the meat of the slaughtered pigs sufficient for all their friends and relatives and even for the visitors who will participate in the great festival.

Rep. by Wemen.

b) *Golin*.

In our area there is a round pond which we call Ibanin nil. When a woman has died, her soul goes to live in it, while the souls of men go to Gore koya nil, which is a long and deep body of water. Another name for this water is "Yal agu nil", i.e., "Men's house water" The women's pond is also known by the name of "Abal agu nil", i.e., "Women's house water". These two ponds are only about 50 yards apart from each other. When they dry up during a long period of drought, the souls of the men go to another pond, called Milx kuba, while the souls of the women repair to the Milx wel pond. Later, when there is enough water again, they all go back to their old abodes. The women's drought resort is near that of the men. - Nobody may go near the Milx kuba pond. Its water is hostile and kills people. The women's water however is friendly and talks to the visitors. - When a man's wife always runs away to another man the latter will take any part of her belongings, for instance a piece of her string-dress or a particle of a potato skin that she has thrown away. He will go with it to the Ibanin nil pond. There he throws the stuff into the water. If the water begins to "boil" he will know that he killed his wife's soul and that she will die in due course. If the water does not "boil", her soul is still alive and he will leave it at that. ---- If anybody's father (or mother) has been buried in the bush, and his children and pigs are taken ill, he will say: "My father is buried in the bush. It is his soul that is responsible for all this sickness." He will take a pig or a fowl to the grave of the deceased and address his soul like this: "Father, I have not thought of you for a long time. Let us go home together!" He makes knots in a great many red or black cordyline leaves and throws them at certain intervals on the road on which he then carries the bones of the deceased to the common ceme-

tery. There he lays them on the ground near a tree, and leaves them there during the following night. In the morning he slaughters the pig that he had taken to the grave the day before. Then he plants the cordyline. ----- All our ancestors stay on the Kaul mountain where they have plenty of houses. When some-body dies, they are happy and bring him home, clapping their hands and shouting for joy. If a son has treated his parents well they will do him no harm after their death. People say : "When we die we want to go to Kaul. Rep. by Kauba.

An old woman warned her son who often scolded her : "When I am dead I shall stay in the bush. When you come to shoot marsupials or to find Amil nuts, I shall hit you." Another son of hers she promised that when he went into the bush she would give him plenty of Amil nuts. "You are a good boy," she said, "you will not have any trouble." Rep. by Kamore.

A married man whose name is Morua looked well after his old mother. So she said : "When I am dead I shall become an Elgorume Bird. (a little black and white bird). Then I shall watch well over your house, your children, your pigs and your gardens." ----- A man called Ainaku often gave harsh words to his old mother. So one day she said : "You are always abusing me. When I have died I shall do harm to your children. They will not grow." Her son answered : "Never mind! You may as well die!" Hearing this, his mother cried. Rep. by Kumulgo.

### 11. *Ndika.*

If a man is often ill and people hear the call of the Mua bird from the cemetery at night, they say : "It is the sick man's soul calling : Kiwiki or Ki Ki. It has left his body and he will die soon. (Mua is a quail) ----- The same is said of the Kukau bird who cries Ku Ku. (Kukau seems to be a small owl) ----- People who have died go to live in the Tsimbikul mountain. Some people are afraid to climb up there. Others, however, are not afraid and build their houses on that mountain. In this mountain there is a large house. When a great Ndika man has died the souls of the dead sing and dance and beat their hand-drums. When there occurs a thunderclap it means that the dead will get another person from the same tribe as well. If, at the time, when the people are eating their funeral meal, a bird, called Tsikorige, sits on a nearby tree and sings, people say : "This is the soul of the deceased. It cries, feeling sympathy with us, before going away to the mountain." - The soul of a man is transformed into a Tsikorige bird. The Soul of a dead woman, however, is changed into a Kuralba bird. (The Kuralba bird is brown and lives in the grass) ----- People warn their children : "You may go up to the Tsimbikul mountain, but do not make any noise there! You will be walking on the dead people's house. If you make a noise the dead will resent it and hit you. Your pigs will die or some other trouble will arise. You may gather dry wood up there but do not take fresh wood. It serves as the dead people's decoration. The dead have their gardens on the mountain although the living cannot see them. Old people, men and women, see in their dreams the mountain and the dead persons they used to know. They see that the dead are very rich. Their gardens are most fertile. Old people can see themselves going with the dead into their houses and talking with their friends and relatives. Old people

are usually not afraid of death. ---- When an important man has been buried, people may hear a big branch falling down from a tree near a men's house. This means that the soul of the deceased will come and take another man with him. To prevent this, a magician will cast a spell over the branch. ---- Just before clubbing a pig to death near the tree, he will murmur some words. Later he will cook the pork near the tree. When he has eaten some of it, he ties some Bega fern leaves to the roots of the tree. The remaining pork he takes home with him. He alone is allowed to eat it. ---- Little children who have died do not go (immediately?) to the mountain where the dead live. Their souls stay with their mothers who will carry on a string round their necks the small bark cloth that they had filled with salt and tied to their children's wrist, (small children are very salt hungry and suck this salt) their little girdles and in the case of girls, their little string dresses. Some weeks later a magician drives the child's soul out of the mother's house. She will then throw her dead baby's belongings which she had been carrying into the bush. From now on the child's soul is a "gil", i.e., a ghost.

Rep. by Emau.

When a man's pigs are dying he takes one of them to his dead father's grave and says: "Come, let us kill a pig!" Then he takes the pig to his mother's grave, calls her name and says again: "Come, let us kill a pig!" After that he goes home and slaughters a pig near a men's house. He chews a ginger bulb, spits it on a banana leaf and lays it on the ground. Then they all watch. If grasshoppers or any other insects go near the ginger, people say: "The souls have arrived." Then they take the pork out of the earth-oven and lay it out in order. They do not eat right away. They want the souls to eat first. When the insects have left, the members of the family help themselves to the chewed ginger, carve and enjoy the pork. ---- If a woman is roasting sweet potatoes on a fire in her house early in the morning, and one of the children happens to stand between the sun and the fire, she will shout: "Don't stand there! Your shadow soul is falling on the fire. It will burn your shadow soul and you will not grow up fast!"

Rep. by Tine.

People sometimes speak to a dying person: "When you are dead and have found your dead ancestors, come back and break off a big branch of a tree!" When the man has died they will be watching for this sign. ---- When someone is dying his relatives gather round him and watch the unconscious man carefully. If his hands move in such a way as to suggest that he is receiving something, people will say: "His father, the "Great Man", can see that our man is dying. So he throws a rope directly down to the latter's eyes. The dying man holds it fast and the "Great Father" draws his soul with it to the Tsimbikul mountain.

Rep. by Kuiwa.

## 12. *Gende.*

### a) *Duakai.*

When somebody has died people lay one shilling in his hand and bury the corpse with it. They say: "He will give this money to the judge. So the judgment will not last long."

Rep. by Kuruno.

To cure a patient who is very skinny two magicians will bring back his soul which has gone into the bush. Some men will kill a pig and cook it in an earth-oven. In

one case the performing magicians were Norungga and Mbagai. The patient has to sit on the little earth-oven. Then the magicians go into the bush and come back blowing little bamboo tubes which are closed at their lower ends. They give a piece of a Miandu cocoon to the sick man who is still sitting on the earth-oven and say to him: "Your soul went into the bush but we have brought it back. It is in this cocoon." The sick man hangs it on his neck with a string. (Miandu is a caterpillar). Then each magician scrapes a little dust from his bamboo tube on the head of the patient. After that they take the cooked tongue of the pig from the oven, crush their little bamboo tubes and cut up the tongue with the sharp edges of these tubes. The pig's tongue is eaten by the patient, while the rest of the pork is enjoyed by the others. ---- A widow does not go to the grave for the burial of her husband. She is taken to her house by the women who give her a lot of ginger to chew. She will go to sleep and see her deceased husband in her dream. They will talk to one another. (Sometimes, if she has murdered him by using death magic, he will kill her.) Next morning she is given her departed husband's decorations and also some hair from his head and the parings of his finger and toe nails. This hair is tied to a string of coix seeds and hung round her neck. The finger and toe parings are also tied to a piece of string, but hung against both sides of her head, or pushed into her hair. - His jaw-bone is usually worn by a man who used to live with him in the same house. Sometimes, however, it is worn by the widow herself. Two or three months later pigs are slaughtered for the farewell meal of the deceased man. The mourning regalia and the decorations are taken off the widow by female magicians (*kane maraiyai anambia*). For this purpose a piece of wood is pushed underneath the regalia, etc., at the widow's neck and all the stuff is cut off and thrown into the bush with the following words: "You now have become a ghost. Go away!" On their return the female magicians will tell the widow that she now is free to marry again. - Before a deceased husband is carried to the grave the women hang the butt of a banana flower on the widow's neck. Shortly after nightfall some men and women take the widow to the skirt of the woods. Some others, the "Poroi kwaiyai vana", i.e., the "Ghost seers" hide nearby. Some hot ashes are put in the banana flower-butt which is tied to the upper end of a stick and held by the widow. Then she calls the name of her late husband and says: "N.N. come! You must feel cold. I am giving you the hot ashes. Come and take them!" Now they all wait. If a Kuritoro bird (in Australia it is called Willy-wag-tail) sings nearby people will say: "Kara momona ono eti", i.e. ' "His soul came and took it." The ghost seers have been watching. If the deceased is followed by a certain man or woman, whom they know, he or she will die soon. Sometimes the departed person really takes hold of the banana flower-butt with the hot ashes. The women hold the widow fast. If she has murdered her husband by death magic the dead man will try to draw her into the bush and kill her. That is why the women hold her fast.

Rep. by Kianungga.

When one of our men had been killed in a fight we took home a stone on which he had fallen, and buried it in the "Mavari nom", i.e., "Taboo house." (About the "Mavari nom" see: H. Aufenanger und G. Hoeltker. *Die Gende*. Wien-Moedling. 1940. p.113.) In a new fight we would take this stone and hit with it the enemies' war-

shields. On hearing the crash on the shields they would run away in terror.

Rep. by Marawa.

A dead man's soul is invited to go into a ball of Moinaka leaves. This ball is hung against the central post in a men's house, where it will show to all its relatives how its owner was killed by death magic. If, for instance, a pig's bristle is found in the bag, in which the ball is lying, it means that the magic was hidden in a piece of pork that was given to the man.- People say: "If we do not tie up the soul in a netbag, it will change into a *poroi* (ghost). As soon as the soul is let out of the bag, it is transformed into a *poroi*. Later the people leave the house and the widow calls for her dead husband, as it is described by Anggiva further down for the Guyebi. - When the soul of the deceased has arrived and the widow has thrown the above mentioned dry banana leaf towards it, her husband's brothers lay his belongings near the place where the soul appeared on the ground. - In the middle of the night the brother or sister of the deceased goes and brings all his things (pipe, girdle, netbag, dress, etc.) into the men's house. In the morning the husband's brother hangs the netbag with all these things round the widow's neck. On her head she puts a netcap, from which coix seeds hang down on strings. After that the men prepare a place, usually near the widow's house, called "Kara momona ikai", i. e., "They have removed his soul." The Duakai lay four pieces of wood on the ground in the shape of a rectangle. In the middle of it they stick in the ground an arrow which pierces a banana leaf and which is meant to be indicating a little roof. Under this "roof" they place the Moinaka ball (with the soul in it.)

Rep. by Yonduai.

b) *Guyebi*.

In the afternoon of the day on which a man has been buried, his widow will push a long banana leaf under her girdle on her back which reaches down to her heels. At nightfall she will split a stick at its upper end and clamp the banana leaf into this "fork". Then she holds up the stick at an angle, calling the name of her dead husband and saying: "You will be feeling cold. Come into the house!" As soon as the ghost is seen by one of the ghost seers (there are also women who can see ghosts) he will shout: "There is his soul!" The widow will at once throw the stick with the leaf towards her husband's soul, and everyone will enter her house. A magician gives her a ginger bulb which he has pierced with a pointed bone and which she has to chew and swallow. This will intoxicate her and make her go to sleep. The magician spreads a rain mat over her and then the soul of her husband will come and talk to her. After a while the magician will tap her gently and awaken her. Now all the men and women want to hear what her dead husband told her. She may for instance say: "My husband told me, a certain woman whose name is N.N. killed him by using death magic." In the morning the dead man's relatives put all his belongings into a net-bag and give it to the widow who will carry it about for several months. If the widow carries this netbag, she will not carry her husband's mandible and vice versa. People are convinced that her husband's soul is with her while she carries all his belongings about. After three or four months pigs are killed and cooked. The dead man's belongings are put together on a heap not far from the men's house in which he used to live and cordylines are planted all round the spot.

c) *Gegeru.*

When the ghost seers have observed a living person coming together with the soul of a dead man to the latter's widow, they will tell him (or her) that he is doomed to die. But a magician will tie up a tuft of hair on this man's head and cast a spell over it. That will save his life. While the widow is throwing the stick with the banana leaf towards her deceased husband, men and women hold her fast. If she holds the stick too long, the dead man will pull her over with it. A sick person is not taken to a place where some-body has died before, because it is a spot, "where a dead person lost his soul." "If we lay a sick person there, he too will lose his soul there." ----- When somebody seems to be dying and drawing his last breath and then does not die after all people will say: "He had lost his soul but it came back again." ----- If a man falls from a tree or into an abyss without hurting himself fatally but becomes very skinny, his neighbours will say: "He cut off his soul and lost it." To help him to regain his soul a magician will collect leaves of the Enggevery tree, moisten them in the water of a creek, pound them between two stones and allow some drops of the sap fall in a short, thin bamboo tube, which is closed at its lower end. Then he puts the empty cocoon of a *Dambia* caterpillar into his netbag, decorates himself with the leaves of various trees and goes back, blowing in his little bamboo. When he approaches the settlement he blows strong into it. He places the cocoon into the patient's hand and the latter holds it for a while. Then the magician ties a string to the cocoon and fastens it to the wrist of the sick man. That is how the magician brings a man's soul back. In one case this was performed by an old magician whose name is *Karamuke kindari*. ----- Before the young men go into the bush to catch rats and marsupials in preparation for their initiation their elders will warn them not to eat any meat in the bush. "The spirit of your soul will do you harm," they affirm. ----- When a *Mori* bird is heard whistling at night, people say: "That is the soul of one of our men who is going to die." Rep. by Keni.

When anybody has fallen in a river and has been drowned, people will gather at the bank of the river. A relative of the deceased person will stretch forth his hand and call his name. If the water comes squirting into the man's hand, it means that the drowned person's soul has come from the water. His relative then sheds the few drops of water in his hand on a ball of *Moinaka* leaves. This ball which is believed to contain the soul now is laid in a small netbag which is then closed and tied up with a string. If traces of sand are found in the *Moinaka* ball it indicates that the body has been thrown by the current on the riverbank, where it may be found. If there is no sand in the ball the corpse will be in the water and it will be very hard or even impossible to find it.- The *Moinaka* ball with the soul in it will be placed beside an arrow which is stuck in the ground near a house. A small tuft of grass is tied to the shaft of the arrow, representing a roof. ----- When a man is found dead in a hut in the bush, people assume that he has been killed by a spirit of the bush called *Poroi Toudarari*. A magician will drive away all the bush spirits with black cordyline leaves and a *Marane* reed. The dead man is laid on a stretcher and carried to a clearing in the bush. There they place it on the ground and the magician will



shout the dead man's name. If a bird is heard singing it is believed to be the deceased man's soul.

Some leaves of bush trees and a ball of Moinaka leaves are then placed into a little netbag, which is closed and tied up with a liana. On their return to the settlement the magician will say to the soul: "If you had any trouble with your own place, put something from your homeplace into the netbag. If you have been killed because you had trouble with the bush, put something from the bush into it." After a short while one of the men will untie the netbag to investigate what is in it. Then the netbag with the Moinaka ball in it is hung on a stick which is driven into the ground at the side of the corpse. While the others go and bury the man one or two men prepare a spot near a house or in a garden. They remove the grass, thrust an arrow into the ground, hang some grass on it and lay the Moinaka ball near it. All around it they plant sweet potatoes and sugar-cane. At the fare well meal the dead man's widow or his brother will cut cooked sweet potatoes lengthwise, put some pork between the slices and eat it. People explain that saying: "Tari nuna, yai nai.", i.e., "What we eat, he (the dead man) eats." Rep. by Gaima.

d) *Karizoko*

When a man is standing in the sun early in the morning neither women nor girls nor little boys may pass behind his back. If they do, their bodies will be covered with small ulcers. If that happens they are taken to the same man. He will spit in his hands before rubbing the sore parts of the person concerned. That will restore the patient to health. Rep. by Gene.

e) *Mendi*.

There is a cicada called Eleri yowo, i.e., Mother Eleri. This insect is referred to as "Anambia momondi", i.e., "The shadow (soul?) of women."

f) *Nombri*

Some of the vegetables that have been planted by a deceased person are left to rot. People say: "These things belong to him. Let them rot. We have put them aside as his property." Rep. by Turie.

The author of this saw Begeri, the mother of a little girl, coming to him for medical help. When some girls gathered round the mother and her child, she became upset and told them to stay far away. She was terrified at the thought their shadow might fall on her little daughter and kill her. ---- In order to bring an unconscious person back to consciousness, a fresh bamboo is heated over a fire. It cracks with a loud bang like the shot of a gun. The belief is that the soul is able to wander far away while the person is living on. (The loud crack would be heard by the soul.)

Rep. by Turie.

After the burial of her husband the widow has to jump into a creek. Under her arm she holds a piece of wood about two feet long which is then carried away by the current. The women splash water over her, throw her girdle and string dress into the creek and give her a new string dress and girdle. Rep. by Begeri.

At Bundikara, a small settlement, the author of this noticed a large notch in the branch of a tree. One half of the notch was red and the other half was blue. This is called Kombu kamba.- When somebody had been killed, a sign like this was cut

into a branch. Probably it was meant to remind the people of the deed of violence.

g) *Bundi*.

When the echo resounds people will say: "Kate momonde vono ti", i. e., "Our soul goes and speaks". ----- When a boy has died and the men are about to bury him, two of them will blow the spirit flutes. People say to the dead boy: "We show you the bird, i. e., the spirit flutes. The flutes are placed in the grave under the dead boy's back and the men say: "We have given you the shin-bone of the bird." This is a kind of initiation of the dead boy. They want him to be a full-fledged man in the land of the dead. ----- At Bundi, when somebody has died, people say: "Mui ikono vigo, koti nggunggundi", i. e., "When (his) breath has gone, the ground (or also the sky) thunders." ----- When a child is weak and skinny, people say: "The One up there (in the sky) is keeping the youngster's soul there." Then a man will decorate a bamboo tube with very small carved markings and cook in it some Agamba herbs, some meat and some Navai larvae. After that he splits the bamboo with a bone dagger and gives the contents to the sick child. This will cause its soul to return. ----- When a deceased person is causing trouble in Bundi, a pig is cooked in an earth-oven. A man will cut off the foremost part of the pig's snout. He will sharpen a twig, which he has taken from a cordyline shrub, murmur a charm over it and blow on it. After that he sticks the pointed cordyline stick through one of the pig's nostrils, takes some Mokumu, Kwame and Puparu plants and sweeps with them all round the grave, murmuring magic words and blowing about. After that he sticks the cordyline twig into a little hole on or just beside the grave. That hole is regarded as the soul's doorway through which it enters and leaves the grave. The man who performs this ceremony holds his hands on his back and turns his face away from the hole into which he inserts the pointed stick. All round the "Poroi iza" i. e., the "Spirit stick", the man plants the Mokumu, Kwame and Puparu plants. The hole in the grave is closed with earth. People are sure that the ghost would kill anybody who would close the hole in the grave without performing the here described ceremony.

Rep. by Karagavo.

13. *Vamizuhu*.

A little boy, about five years old had died. On the evening of the funeral people wanted to catch his soul, called Vone. So his mother covered her head with a netbag, scattered ashes on top of it and sat down near a bamboo cluster not far from her house. A man who belonged to the boy's clan seated himself near the woman but in a hiding place. He held a long strong war-bow with an arrow on its string, ready to shoot. Then the woman called her deceased son's name. When she had done so several times, his soul passed by. It was black and it was seen by his mother, the bow-man and all the other people who were standing some distance away. The man shot the boy's soul, ran quickly towards it, took the arrow, lifted it to his lips and imitated the noise of a kiss. Then he opened the netbag which hung down from his chest and tied it up with a rope. In the netbag were some Anggambo reed leaves which the bow-man had rubbed between the palms of his hands. He gave the netbag to the deceased boy's mother warning her not to open it. If she did, the boy's soul

would escape. The mother put this little netbag in her own large one, saying: "I have my boy's soul. I feel well now." She carried it about for three or four months. At night she hung the bag against the inner wall of her house. When this period had elapsed she said: "I am no longer thinking about my son. "So she burned the netbag without having opened it.

Rep. by Gena.

After my elder brother had been killed in a battle, my younger brother was sent into the "taboo house" called "marisi numunu". We resharpened the arrow-head with which my brother had been killed and tied it to a new arrow which my younger brother had to shoot at the enemies. When one of them had been hit, my brother shouted: "Ah! I have revenged my brother!"

Rep. by Merenggembo.

#### 14. *Biyom.*

Before going to fight the warriors gave anything that used to belong to the enemies, for instance an armlet, to one of their own boys. All the fighters would stand in a circle and the boy would run around them, holding up the armlet, shouting and swinging it about.

#### 15. *Kondelxka.*

When men are sitting in their house they do not allow boys to stand behind them or pass behind their backs. They would tread on their shadow (soul) called Minman. If the latter were trampled on the men would lose their strength. If anyone would pass them the water-bamboo from behind, the men would become furious because the cold water would chill their shadow souls and as result of that people would not give them any presents. My father had been ill for a long time and was at death's door. A smoke magician found out that my deceased grandfather was responsible for the sickness. So the people slaughtered and cooked a pig at his grave. Holding up the wooden club, my eldest brother called my grandfather's name, which was Tei, and said: "You want to take your son. We give you a pig instead. Don't try again to take your son!" The cooked meat was taken to my mother's house and laid on the platform on which she used to sleep. During his illness my father slept on it, while she lay on a rain-mat (on the ground). When the pork was brought my father left the platform and lay on a mat on the floor. The fire was extinguished. All the members of the family were sitting in the house. Nobody said a word. In the middle of the night we lit the fire to see whether the ghosts had helped themselves to some of the pork. They had indeed. The marks of their teeth could be seen. After a day's time my father was restored to health. ----- A dead man's soul will follow a creek called Nu Nduruakapa. The road of the dead leads up to the top of a mountain called Ngandai Mbage. It is the same road for dead men, women and children. One can see their footprints. The dead person will take the pig that has been killed and eaten by his relatives. The footprints of this pig are also visible on this road. Although the souls of the dead stay on this mountain, they have no houses there. People do not climb it lest they be killed by the ghosts. The soul of a deceased person is at first called Minaman. Later on it is termed Nggol.

Rep. by Teine.

## Selected Bibliography

- Fischer, Hans : Studien ueber Seelenvorstellungen in Ozeanien. Muenchen 1965.
- Meggit, M. : Dream Interpretation among the Mae Enga of New Guinea.  
Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. Albuquerque. 1962.
- Strauss, H. und Tischner, H. : Die Mi-Kultur der Hagenbergstaemme. Hamburg 1962.
- Vicedom, G. u. Tischner, H. : Die Mbowamb. Hamburg 1943.
- Worms, E. : Der Australische Seelenbegriff. Zeitschr. f. Miss. u. Religionswiss. 1959.
- Doerr, E. : Bestattungsformen in Ozeanien. Anthropol. Vol 30. 1935.