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A. C. Haddon, W. H. R. Rivers, C. G. Seligmann and A. Wilkin

Excerpt

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## INTRODUCTION.

By A. C. HADDON.

FROM a geographical point of view the islands of Torres Straits are conveniently divided into three groups by the lines of longitude  $142^{\circ} 48' E.$  and  $143^{\circ} 30' E.$ <sup>1</sup> The western group contains high and low islands, the former consist of old igneous rocks and are a continuation of the Queensland axis. The hills support a comparatively meagre vegetation, and the general appearance of the islands is somewhat barren, as water is usually rather scarce. The low islands vary in size from small sandbanks to Saibai, which is fourteen and a half miles in length. The central group consists entirely of low islands, none of which are of large size; they may be described as vegetated sandbanks. The eastern group contains a few sandbanks or 'cays,' some of which are partially covered with vegetation, and eight volcanic islands, most of which are very fertile.

The line of longitude  $143^{\circ} 30' E.$  also divides the islands of Torres Straits from an ethnological point of view into two groups, each of which is inhabited by a distinct people. As there was no native name for these people, I have previously<sup>2</sup> spoken of them as the Western Tribe and the Eastern Tribe. The term Tribe is here replaced by that of Group, implying by this peoples who speak the same language, with slight dialectic differences in various islands. Although both the Western and the Eastern Group were in the same stage of technical culture, there were appreciable differences in their social and religious customs. The only communication between the two Groups appears to have been through the natives of the small sparsely inhabited islands of Damut, Umaga, Kodal and Masig, who practically acted as intermediaries. The Masig language was half Western and half Eastern. Damut, Aurid and Paremar were closely associated with Tutu, but even in the latter island some Eastern words were employed.

As will be seen later on, the totemic clan system enabled a certain amount of friendly intercourse to take place between inhabitants of the different Western Islands even during the time of more or less open hostility. This sentiment and the practical exigencies of trade and occasional intermarriage constituted the warp that, so to speak, bound the isolating tendencies of insular and savage life into a loose social fabric. There was no tribal organisation nor sentiment that affected the Western Islanders as a whole.

The natives of all the islands recognised the inhabitants of each of the following groups of islands as being distinctly allied: (1) the Prince of Wales group (Muralug,

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, W. J. Sollas, and G. A. J. Cole, "On the Geology of Torres Straits," *Trans. Roy. Irish Acad.* xxx. 1894, p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xix. 1890, p. 299.

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Narupai, Maurura, etc.), and Moa; (2) Badu and Mabuiag; (3) Boigu, Dauan and Saibai; and (4) the remaining islands which are included within a line drawn between Gebar, Damut, Umaga, Aurid, Guijar and Nagir. As it is convenient that distinct names should be given to these groups, they may severally be termed (1) Kauralaig<sup>1</sup>; (2) Malulaig; (3) Saibailaig; and (4) Kulkalaig. I have selected what may be regarded as the most common appellation for each group; but it must be remembered that in the different groups other names are sometimes employed. For example, the Mabuiag folk are termed Gumulaig, from one village in the island, and the Badu people are always called Badulgal, Badulega, or some similar term after the island as a whole, which never is the case for Mabuiag. I obtained a common term (Maluigal)<sup>2</sup> for both the Mabuiag and Badu people from Saibai only, evidently as the Mabuiag people are in the sea as regards Saibai; but Mr Ray was told by Tom of Mabuiag that the Gumulgal were Mabuiag and Badu, 'because Gumu was the place of Kwoiam' (p. 67). The terms Kowrarega and Kulkalega were first recorded by Macgillivray in 1849 (Vol. II. 1852, p. 2), and I adopted the terms Kauralaig and Kuikalaig, which I found current in the same sense in 1888 (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* XIX. 1890, p. 301). Tom of Mabuiag called the natives of Muralug, Kaiwalgal, and I then found that Muralug is called Kaiwa, Kawa, or Kauwa by the Mabuiag people and Muri by the Moa people. In the Vocabulary<sup>3</sup> *kaura* (Muralug), *kaiwa* or *kawa* (Mabuiag) signifies an island, as well as the external ear, and *kulka* is blood. But *kulka*, as Mr Ray was definitely informed, is used also of the dawn, as e.g. *ar kulka*, the dawn (*ar*) reddens: hence Kulkalaig means Eastern people.

It will be convenient to take this opportunity to define certain terms which will be in constant use in this volume.

**Augud.** The English equivalent for *augūd* is 'totem,' employing that term in its generally received sense; it is the 'clan totem' of Frazer<sup>4</sup>. In the appropriate places I

<sup>1</sup> The termination *laig* is compounded of the two affixes *lai* and *g*. Of these *lai* (usually abbreviated to *l* in Mabuiag and to *li* in Muralug) is used to form adjectives from nouns, as e.g. *Gumul garka*, a Gumu man, *kulal baradar*, a stony place. The suffix *-g* makes this adjective into a personal noun, *Gumu-l-aig*, a Gumu person, and this form is always used when the adjective is used predicatively, as e.g. *Nui Gumulaig*, he is a Gumu (person). The suffix *g* is never used of things, for which *-nga* is used in a similar way. *Ina kulal baradar*, this stony ground, *Ina baradar kulalnga*, this ground (is) stony (thing). As indicated in the Grammar, the plural is not indicated in nouns unless the evidence of number is especially prominent. A few persons would be *Gumulaig*, *Badulaig*, etc., but for a large number the plural suffix *al* would be used, and the *ai* suppressed, *Gumulgal*, *Badulgal*.

'*Garka*' or '*garkai*' signifies a 'person, being, individual.' It can be used with '*ipi*,' 'female' or 'wife' as *ipi-garka*, a woman. With *kuiku*, head, *dana*, eye, *mudau* of the house, *buai*, family, is formed the compounds *kuikugarka*, head person, king, *danagarka* (eyeing-person), master, lord, governor, *mudaugarka*, person of the house, servant, *buai-garka*, head of the household. In *garka*, *ka* or *kai* is an abbreviation of *kazi*, which reappears in the plural *garkazil*, *ipikazil*, etc. The *gar* is a particle of emphasis or exclusion, *garka*, *garkazi*, a real person, perhaps in contrast to such another *kazi*, as *magikazi*, a child, or *markai* (for *marikazi*) ghostly persons. S. H. RAY.

<sup>2</sup> *Igalaig* was given to me by a Mabuiag man as the Saibai equivalent for *tokoiap*, with the plural *igalgal*, but *Maluigal* is probably for *Malulgal*, the people of the sea. A friend, mate, or companion is *tubud* (pl. *tubudal*), and *boai* or *buai*, a kinsman or relation, member of the same family irrespective of sex. The people who live in one place are also called *buai*. S. H. RAY.

<sup>3</sup> S. H. Ray and A. C. Haddon, "A Study of the Languages of Torres Straits, with Vocabularies and Grammatical Notes." *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* (3rd Ser.), II. 1893, p. 463; IV. 1897, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Totemism*, 1887, p. 2.

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shall point out the instances in which the term *augūd* has been locally extended beyond the usual idea of totem.

**Clan.** A clan is that body of people which has the same totem or group of totems.

**Family.** The term family has been avoided as far as possible, but where used it signifies a portion of a clan that is descended from a common ancestor.

**Kwod.** In every inhabited island there was a certain area set apart for the use of the men which was known as a *kwod*. Some islands appear to have had but a single *kwod*, others had several; for example, in Mabuiag alone a *kwod* was located at Gumu, Panai, Dabungai, Aubait, Wagedugam, and Kwoikusigai (I do not know where this place is), besides one on the neighbouring small island of Widul, and there may have been others belonging to the Mabuiag men. Each of these so far as I could learn was the *kwod* of a particular clan, whereas the great *kwod* on the adjacent sacred islet of Pulu was what might be called the national *kwod* of the Gumulaig.

The *kwod* corresponds to the club-houses, *gamal*, that are so widely spread over Melanesia, and which in British New Guinea are variously called *darimo* in Kiwai, *eravo* (*erabo*, *eramo*, *elamo*) in the Papuan Gulf district, *rave* at Namau, *marea* in the Mekeo district, and *dubu* in the Central district, and other names elsewhere. Speaking in general terms, these places are tabooed to women and to the uninitiated, they are used as dwellings or meeting places of the men, and in them various ceremonies are held; they constitute the social, political and religious centres in the public life of the men.

**Pulu.** This islet is so important a spot in the social life of the Gumulaig that it deserves a special description. It is a small rocky island on the reef on the western side of Mabuiag. On the side furthest from Mabuiag is the little bay of Mumugubut, where boats can easily land. This is a pretty sandy cove surrounded by granitic rocks, which are fissured and undercut in an extraordinary manner. To the left is a large somewhat top-shaped rock perched on a smoothed dome of granite; as its shape resembles that of the fruit of a New Guinea palm that is often washed up on the shores of these islands, the natives call the rock by the same name, *zeibu*. To the right (Pl. III. fig. 1), projecting from massive boulders, is a gigantic  $\Gamma$ -shaped rock, which is called Kwoiam's throwing-stick. Kwoiam implanted his weapon here after the slaughter of a number of Badu men who had humbugged him, he had followed these men from Mabuiag, and landing elsewhere on the island, walked across to the back of this bay. Natives point out a rock lying on the ground against which Kwoiam pressed his foot when preparing to throw his spear against his sleeping foes, but concluding this spot was not suitable he made a détour inland, took up a position whence he commanded a better view of the unconscious Badu men. He again prepared to hurl his spear, pressing hard with his right foot against the ground, which immediately became a shelf of rock to give him a better purchase for his foot. A little inland from the bay are a number of large slabs of rock which represent the bodies of the men killed and decapitated by Kwoiam (Pl. III. fig. 2).

A short way inland from the beach is a cleft in the rocks, which in some places is very narrow, but in others widens out to leave two or three various-sized but small open spaces, which were formerly utilised as the retiring-rooms of the men engaged in the ceremonies. One compartment was the cooking place, another the dressing-room; and in this latter was a great overhanging rock, under the shelter of which were kept the sacred objects. No women were allowed to come near this spot.

Beyond is a small level tract of ground which is bounded by an open bay on one side, and rocks and scrub elsewhere. The southerly end of this area was the *kwod*.

The panoramic drawing on Plate I. was partly made from a rough sketch taken from the south-westerly end of the *kwod*, facing a north-easterly direction. The drawing has been modified in order to bring into one picture all the essential features of the landscape and *kwod*. In the distance can be seen the islands of Widul and Aipus, and the most westerly point of Mabuiag, Walilmaidan; the hill and the strip of shore that are visible are both called Kalalag.

To the left, at high-water mark, is a large rock with an overhanging smooth surface facing the *kwod* (Pl. II. fig. 1). On this surface are some nearly effaced paintings in red of various animals and other objects, such as a cassowary, spoon-bill (*tapur*), curlew (*karuri*), crayfish (*kaiar*) canoe and dugong-platform. There are also some handprints made by placing the outstretched palm and fingers on the rock, and spitting powdered charcoal mixed with water round the hand. The handprint thus appears light against a black background. I was informed the men used to sit on a mat under the shelter of a stone as a protection from the sun, and then might make the pictographs, which I understand had no serious meaning. The legendary origin of this stone, Mangizi-kula, 'The stone that fell,' will be found among the Folk-tales (p. 22).

Beyond the *kwod* near the centre of the sketch is the dancing ground or *sugu*<sup>1</sup>, where there is a Y-shaped post (*kag*) which marks the old funeral platform (*sara*).

This was the dancing ground for the war dance, and when the dance was over the heads of the slain enemies were suspended from the *kag*. Then an earth-oven was made in order to readily remove the skin and flesh, and the skulls were replaced on the *kag*. The warriors did not object to the odour from the heads, but sniffed it down, it being quite different, I was assured, from that of a decomposing corpse. The skulls were finally removed to Augudalkula, the cave of skulls that will presently be described.

In front of the *kag*, that is a few feet nearer to the sea, are a couple of stones one of which has a deep notch. In front and behind these stones are one or two broken large *Fusus* shells. It was on each side of this stone that Tabepa, the spirit lover of Uga, erected two sticks, on which he suspended the presents for his bride's parents, and on the smoothed sand in front of this stone that they left their footprints (cf. Folk-tales, "Uga," p. 84, Pl. II. fig. 2). These stones were called '*adi*,' which I took to mean something ancient or sacred, about which there is some legend.

Near the centre of the *kwod* is a large oblong heap, about 10 feet in length, composed of dugong bones, and surrounded by several upright stones. This is the *kai sibi*. At short distances from this were the fireplaces of the five chief clans. These were so arranged that the *Sam* (cassowary), *Kodal* (crocodile), and *Tabu* (snake) fireplaces were comparatively close together at its westerly end, whereas the *Kaigas* (shovel-nosed skate) fireplace was to the north and the *Dangal* (dugong) fireplace was to the north-east. The first three clans were the people of the big *augud* (cf. p. 172).

At the back of the *kwod* towards the east were two heaps of *Fusus* shells, one on each side of a boulder, the more westerly one was slightly the larger, and was called *kai mat*, the other being the *mūgi mat*. A short distance from these to the south-east are

<sup>1</sup> A clear space between houses in a village is also called *sugu*.

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two small heaps of *Fusus* shells, the *kai augudau kupar* and the *mügi augüdau kupar*, that is, "the large navel of the *augud*," and "the small navel of the *augud*."

To the south of this is a double row of dugong ribs called *mügi sibo*. As there was some shade here owing to it being at the border of the *kwod* close to the trees, the men used to sit by the *mügi sibo* when the sun was hot, but when it was cool they went and sat by the *kai sibo*. Near these latter shrines is a stone, at one end of which are a few *Fusus* shells; this was stated not to be a shrine.

It was here that the most important ceremonies were performed, the *kwod* being the place where the *markai* or death-dance was held, and subsequently the initiation of the lads.

On some rocks beyond the *kwod* (those seen in front of Kalalag in the sketch) are a few simple pictographs. One group consists of two *müri* dancing, while a third beats a drum; one pictograph, according to Gizu, represents a waterspout (*baiu*), which is the harpoon of the *müri* (p. 359), one man who probably did not know, called it a centipede (*sag*).

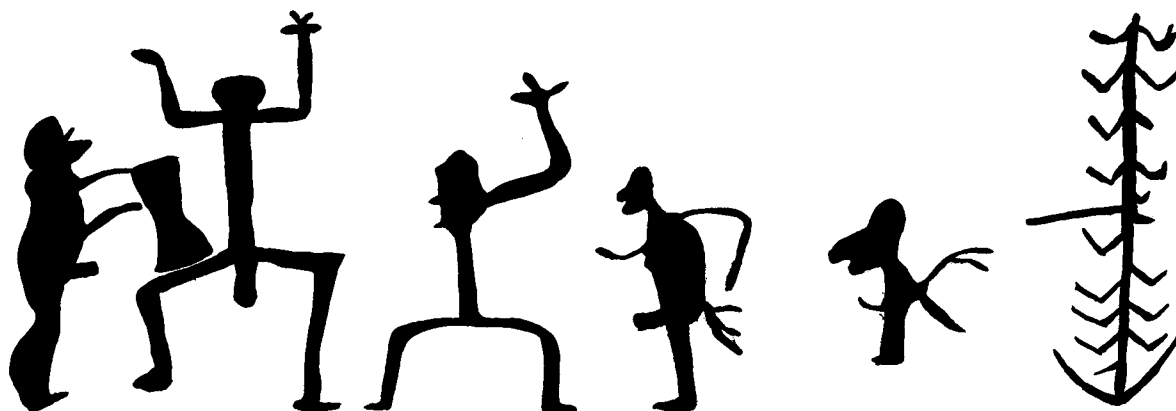


FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

Pictographs on rocks in Pulu.

FIG. 1. Group of three *Müri* dancing,  $\frac{1}{4}$  nat. size.FIG. 2. Group of two *Müri*,  $\frac{1}{3}$  nat. size.FIG. 3. Waterspout,  $\frac{1}{3}$  nat. size.

Some distance from the *kwod*, about the centre of the island, in the midst of scrub among the big rocks that crop up all over the island is a large rock, the western face of which overhangs its base, and thus forms a small cave which is known as *Augud-alkula*, 'The stone having an *augud*' (Pl. XXI. fig. 1). Formerly the cave had a greater height, but it was filled up by the missionaries (p. 368).

Near the entrance to the cave are two heaps of *Fusus* shells, that to the northern side of the entrance is oblong, running N.W.—S.E., this is the *kai mat*, the smaller heap, *mügi mat*, lies to the south of the former, and is roughly circular in contour.

The ceremonies connected with the cave and the shell shrines will be described in the section dealing with Religion, under the heading of Hero-cult.

I regret extremely that owing to circumstances over which he had no control Mr Ray was unable to assist me with regard to the translation of numerous native phrases and



songs in the earlier part of the volume, and my knowledge of the language was inadequate to enable me to give full translations of them. I hope that this may be partially remedied when Mr Ray is able to publish his volume on the linguistics of these people.

Allusion has previously been made to slight dialectic differences in the language spoken by the people of various islands; but there is, in addition, considerable variation in pronunciation in the same island, and even by the same individual. The following sounds are used interchangeably, *u* and *o*, *ǎ* and *ǔ*, *oi* and *ai*, *ui* and *oï*, *k* and *g*, *d* and *t*, *b* and *p*, *f* and *p*, *s*, *dz* and *z*. The discrepancies of various writers in the transliteration of native names and words may usually be accounted for in this way. We have often had to effect a compromise in this matter, one of us would generally hear a particular sound which to another of us appeared somewhat different<sup>1</sup>. Occasionally in this volume alternative pronunciations are given, and inadvertently variants of the spelling may be printed in different places. As a general rule accents and stress marks are omitted; but these are usually indicated when a name or word is mentioned for the first time, and they will be inserted in the index.

The plural number is indicated in various ways in native syntax. In this volume the plural form is occasionally stated, but usually the singular is alone given; for example the plural of *augud* is *augudal*, but for the sake of simplicity the word *augud* is used for 'totem' or 'totems,' never is an English plural employed (*auguds*).

Owing to the large amount of material that has to be published in this volume we have had to omit any discussion of the data or of the problems which they suggest. In only a few instances have allusions been made to similar customs elsewhere. When we deal with the Sociology and Religion of the Eastern Islanders we hope to draw some comparison between the two tribes, and also, if space permits, between the islanders and the Papuans of the mainland on the one hand, and the Australians on the other.

It is now my pleasing duty to tender our thanks to the Authorities of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew for naming the plants we brought home. The specimens were mostly so fragmentary and in such poor condition that we were agreeably surprised at the result. We have also to thank Mr John Cowling, of Mabuiag, for the considerable assistance he has rendered us, not only when we were on that island, but in sending to us valuable information in answer to questions which we posted out to him. Our indebtedness to our native helpers is obvious; but to Waria, the chief of Mabuiag, we owe much, as, in addition to what he has told us orally, he has sent a large quantity of manuscript, mainly of genealogies and folk-tales, which he has written at his own initiative. Pasi of Dauar (cf. Vol. VI.) wrote for Mr Ray some short tales in his own language, but they are in the somewhat crabbed style of the Gospels, and his manuscript has only 49 pages as against Waria's 281 pages. With this exception, this is, so far as I am aware, the first time that a Papuan has written an account of the history and mythology of his people.

We would like to repeat here our thanks to the Honourable John Douglas, C.M.G., the Government Resident, for the great services he rendered to the Expedition as a whole and for much kindness shown to us individually.

<sup>1</sup> For example, Mr Ray prefers *augǎd*, *mǎgi*, *mǎri* to *augǔd*, *mǔgi*, *mǔri*.

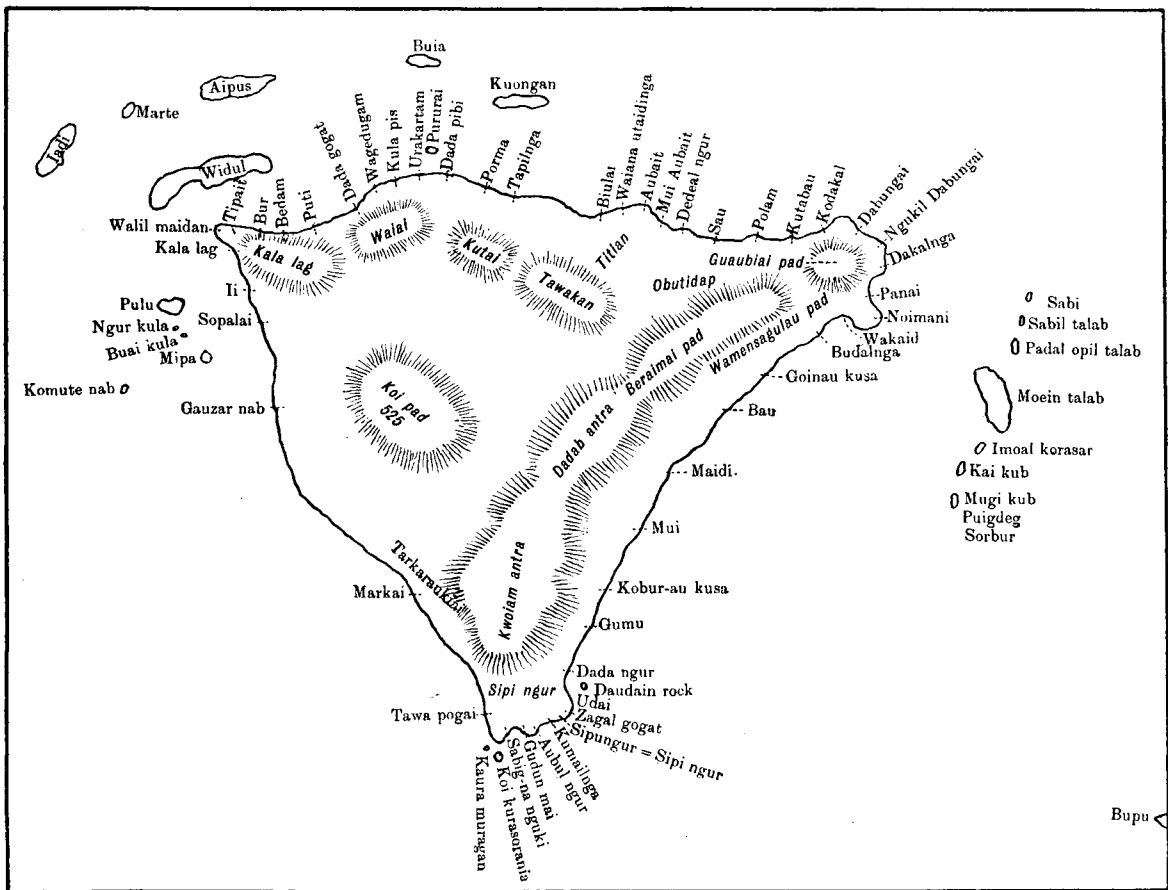
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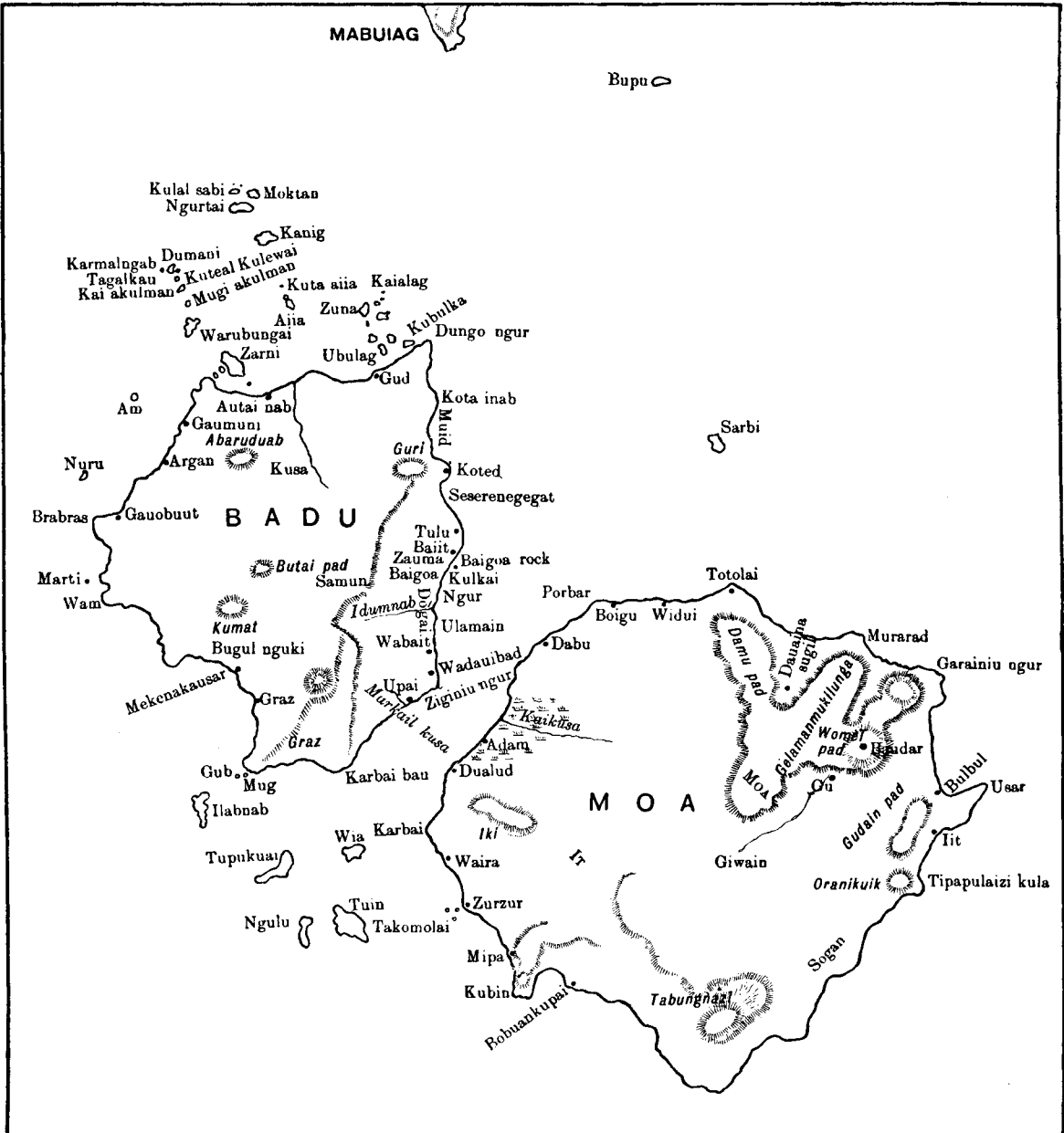
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SKETCH MAP OF MABUIAG.



SKETCH MAP OF BADU AND MOA. BY A. WILKIN.



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## I. FOLK-TALES.

BY A. C. HADDON.

IN collecting these folk-tales I could not take down the actual native words, having limited time and insufficient knowledge of the language, but I have given a faithful rendering of the tales as told to me in broken English. I have nowhere embellished the accounts, and I have given most of the conversations and remarks of people in the very words my informants used; thus preserving, as far as possible, the freshness and quaintness of the original narrative. I believe that in many cases the native idiom was bodily translated into the "Pigeon English."

As to the age of the tales I can form no idea. One point is noteworthy, that not in a single instance did I ever hear of any reference to a white man nor of anything belonging to white men; for example, a knife was always '*upi*,' the old bamboo knife, never '*gi*' or '*gi turik*' ('knife'; *turik* also meant 'iron'). It is safe to assert that thirty-five years ago there was no intelligent intercourse with white men; this period may practically be reduced to twenty-five years, and in some islands to even less.

I usually checked the genuineness of the legends by inquiry of other men than the original informants; not unfrequently old men were present, who were often referred to. My narrators were, almost without exception, middle-aged men, and I was always careful to impress on them the importance of giving me the story as they had heard it from the old men. Experience showed me that they were as conservative as children of traditional phrases and modes of expression. Therefore I can confidently claim that this collection of tales really represents the traditional folk-lore of the last generation, and the stories therefore may be of any age previous to the influence of Europeans and South Sea men. Further evidence as to the trustworthiness of the narratives is proved by the fact that after an interval of ten years I obtained other versions of the tales that previously had been told to me. There were very few cases of discrepancies, and these were usually of a trivial character; it was, however, very gratifying to hear the majority of the incidents told in precisely the same manner, and sometimes the exact phrases were employed. A comparison of the present version of the tales with that published by me in 1890 (*Folk-Lore*, Vol. I. pp. 47—81, 172—198) will substantiate these remarks. In some instances I have been able to add considerably to the incidents of a tale. My friend Waria, the chief of Mabuia, has written out

for me in his native language several tales of which I give the version as told to me in jargon-English. It is a source of great regret to me that Mr Ray has been unable to find time to translate these tales, as it would have been most instructive to have been in a position to compare the two accounts. So far as I have been able to skim through them I find that the two versions are in close accord.

I have taken great trouble in satisfying myself as to the sense of the narratives, and in confirming incidental allusions to customs now passed away. There are, however, a certain number of phrases and customs the meanings of which are obscure to me.

These tales are printed here as trustworthy documents, and they will frequently be drawn upon as evidence for the occurrence of certain customs or beliefs. No one who has had experience in this class of evidence will deny scientific value to most of the incidents of these tales because of the miraculous that is interwoven with them. A little common sense will suffice to prevent the reader from going very far wrong.

To save trouble to students I have added a classification of the tales, with a very brief outline of the plot of each, and I have in addition given a summary of the anthropological incidents in each tale.

Several of these tales will be found to be variants of tales that are current among the Eastern Tribe. When I publish the latter in Vol. VI. I shall point out the similarities between the legends of the two tribes and discuss the significance of these variants.

#### LIST OF FOLK-TALES.

**Nature Myths:** 1. Sun, Moon and Night; (*Constellation Myths*, 2—4) 2. Dògai Metakorab and Bu; 3. Dògai I.; 4. The two Dògai of Muralug; 5. The Origin of Fire; 6. How Fire was brought to Kiwai; 7. The Origin of Kiwai and its Inhabitants; (*Myths about Stones*, 8—13) 8. The Origin of Hammond Rock; 9. The Story of the Six Blind Brothers; 10. Dògai Zug; 11. The Stone that fell from the Sky; 12. (another version); 13. The Miraculous Birth of a Stone; 14. The Birth of Kusa Kap, the Mythical Bird; 15. The Story of Siwi, or the Origin of Mosquitos and Flies; 16. The First Man of Saibai.

**Culture Myths:** 17. Sida, the Bestower of Vegetable Food; 18. (a Saibai version); 19. (a Kiwai version); 20. The Sad End of Yawar, the Gardener; 21. Gelam; 22. Sesere, the Dugong Hunter; 23. How Bia introduced fishing with the Sucker-fish into the Islands; 24. The Story of Upi; 25. Naga, the Instructor of Death Dances; 26. Naga, the Master of Ceremonies in Nagir; 27. Waiat; 28. Tabu; 29. The Story of Kari, the Dancer; 30. Aukum and Tiati.

**Totem Myths:** 31. The Story of Nori, the Snake; 32. The Origin-Myth of the Hammer-headed Shark and Crocodile Totems of Yam; 33. The Saga of Kwoiam.

**Spirit Myths:** 34. Uga, the Mortal Girl who married a Spirit Man; 35. Tabepa, the Mortal Man who married a Spirit Girl; 36. Drak; 37. The Story of Mutuk.

**Tales about Dògais:** 38. The Dògai of Karapar; 39. Dògai Saurokeki and Aipozar, the Lazy Man.

**Narratives about People:** 40. The Story of Greedy Gwoba; 41. Amipuru; 42. Yadzebug; 43. Sara and Baugai; 44. The Stranding of the first Coconut on Muralug.

**Comic Tales:** 45. The Story of Amdua; 46. The Mangrove and the Crab.