

Sound of Bamboo as Talk of Spirit : Social Meaning of Sound among the Waxei People in the East Sepik Hills

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Sound of Bamboo as Talk of Spirit: Social Meaning of Sound among the Waxeï People in the East Sepik Hills¹⁾

Yoichi YAMADA

1. Introduction

The Waxeï people, whose population was approximately 300 in 1988, live in the two villages of Meska and Wainim along the middle reaches of the Korosameri River, a southern tributary of the Middle Sepik River, in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. They are sedentary hunter-gatherers subsisting mainly on wild pigs, birds, fish, and sago. Their indigenous language, which they also call Waxeï, is Non-Austronesian, belonging to the Bahinemo Family of the Sepik Hill Stock²⁾.

This paper concerns a Waxeï musical performance and aims to clarify a characteristic aspect of their sound perception. The performance could be described as a men's ensemble of 10 to 12 side-blown bamboo flutes without finger-holes, rendered inside the men's ceremonial house and visually kept secret from women. The players must be adult men who have arcing scars along their shoulder blades as a result of initiation. They stand in a circle, each blowing a bamboo flute and stamping their feet strongly on the floor. The performance usually continues through the night.

This kind of performance is ubiquitous in the East Sepik Hill area, especially among the Alamlak, Kapriman, Sumariup, Bisis, and Mali, whose languages all belong to the same stock as the Waxeï³⁾. The Waxeï are distinctive, however, in that they clearly regard the sound produced through the bamboo flutes as the "talk" of a female spirit. This spirit is believed to dwell in a river and has strong power to kill human beings. Her existence and activities are demonstrated through a myth and various experiences of encounter. People are fearful of the spirit, but the performance using bamboo flutes is the only means for them to summon her and communicate with her peacefully.

The Waxeï also state that they are in a "dream" while they are perceiving the spirit's sound. The dream is often regarded as a mode of communication with spirits in many societies of Papua New Guinea [KURITA 1989]. It is also believed among the Waxeï that spirits can easily enter the consciousness of a dreaming man. For spirits the dream is a channel through which they can come into contact with the human world, while for men it is a channel through which they can communicate with spirits through sound.

The performance of bamboo flutes among the Waxei thus shows a unique perceptive process of sound. Their auditory sensation seems to work beyond physically recognizable acoustic phenomena and their cognition of sound is also beyond our conventional aural distinctions, such as musical tone versus noise or artificial sound versus natural sound. They distinctly interpret the tones produced through bamboo flutes as spiritual sounds and position them as a socially important mode of sound. Such a unique consciousness and attitude for sound provides a significant viewpoint for an ethnographic study of sound and an anthropology of perception.

In this paper, I will first present a myth upon which cognition and knowledge about the female spirit and the bamboo flute performance are based. Like the existence of bamboo flutes, the myth is also kept secret from women. Then I shall extract themes from the myth such as spirit, dream, and bamboo, and consider their symbolic interrelationships. The sound of bamboo flutes is interpreted as a spirit's talk with such a mythical background. Next I will describe in detail the context of performance, its sound structure, and its mythical and spiritual meanings. It will be shown how the spirit's talk emerges as a sound structure and how it connotes an underlying cognition of myth and spirit. And lastly I will situate the Waxei's outwardly peculiar phase of sound perception in a broader socio-cultural setting. What will be tacitly questioned throughout this paper is how the Waxei hold a sense of reality for sound.

2. Myth of Sagais⁴⁾

A woman lived on Mt. Ubadaniq, which lies on the upper course of the Weisas River, a tributary of the Korosameri. When she was sleeping at night, a spirit named Sagais emerged in her dream and talked to her. "Tomorrow morning, come to the mouth of the mountain stream. I will be waiting for you there to have a talk with you. Don't tell this to the men. My talk should be kept only among women. My name is Sagais. My spirit lives in a bamboo and I myself live in a river."

Next morning the woman woke up early and walked up to the mouth of the mountain stream. Standing there, she heard a rustling noise approaching her. Soon a strange woman appeared and said, "You have nothing to fear. It's me, Sagais. Come close and listen to me." Sagais tried to put her at ease and asked, "Do you have a bamboo in your place?" The Ubadaniq woman showed her two kinds of bamboo standing in the nearby bush. Sagais glanced at them and said, "They aren't the ones I want. The distance between their nodes is too short."

Sagais told her to watch carefully. Then an exceedingly tall bamboo emerged in an instant. Sagais said, "This is the bamboo where my spirit dwells. Pull it out and bring it to me." The woman handed her the long bamboo and Sagais began to cut it into pieces. She explained, "I will make five woman-pipes and five man-pipes. Blow into them, and talk in a high voice will be generated from the woman-pipes and talk in a low voice from the man-pipes." Sagais then cut out

head-pipe close to the root and said, "This is Sagais' head, my head. This head is Sagais myself. Well, you cut out an edge-pipe now, which makes a song better." The Ubadaniq woman cut it and tried to blow it.

Sagais said, "I can't stay here any more. But if you, the Waxei, blow deeply into both the man-pipes and woman-pipes, my spirit will come back and enter these Sagais' pipes. When the spirit stays in the pipes, it is sure to talk to you. Now you go back to your village and explain my story only to the women. Sagais is not for men but for women. Be sure to call together only women and girls and teach them how to blow and dance Sagais." The Ubadaniq woman walked back to her village and told women who had only daughters to gather secretly at a deep bush in the evening.

The woman explained exactly what she had been taught by Sagais. "Well, then we play the first song of Sagais. It's *tageya tuwas*. It goes like this: 'tageya tuwaswo tuwa:swo, tageya tuwaswo tuwa:swo, tuwaswo tuwaswo tuwa:swo,pupupupu.' A head-pipe sounds 'pupupupu.' OK, let's start the song." As soon as the woman blew the pipe, others also began to blow into the pipes. They were all joyfully dancing and playing, strongly stamping the ground, until dawn.

The woman gathered every night to devote themselves to playing Sagais' pipes. As they didn't take care of their families at all, the men in the village, who were left hungry, began to show their discontent and before long became suspicious. They gathered at the men's house to discuss the matter and decided to send a man to reconnoiter what the women were doing.

The man walked in the bush, concealing himself in the shade of trees. When he came to a small open space a little way down from the summit, he found the women in raptures, holding and blowing the bamboo pipes. Astonished at the sight, he returned to the men's house and explained what he had witnessed. The story roused the men to fury and they stood up to fight with the women. They wore headdresses of black cassowary feathers and painted their bodies black with charcoal cinders. Then they took spears and went into the bush. When they came close to the dancing women, they silently divided themselves into two groups to attack the women from both sides. An elder gave a signal and all at once the men began to charge forth at the women. Several of them shouted, "Wah!", "Wah!", "What are you doing?", "We are nearly dying of hunger!", "You are here to dance, aren't you?", "Wah!", "Wah!"

A violent battle broke out. The women were fighting, so they laid the Sagais' pipes on the ground. Their defensive power was fairly strong. After a long struggle, the men finally deprived the women of the pipes and ran away with them to the village. The women chased them obstinately until the men succeeded in running into the men's house with the pipes.

All the men were sitting in the men's house for fear of the women's counterattack. The woman who met Sagais at the mouth of the mountain stream came there and addressed the men loudly. "Listen to me carefully, men. The

pipes you have just taken from us are from Sagais, a female spirit. Walk into the deep bush and start blowing them. The first song must be *tageya tuwas*. Then Sagais' spirit is sure to appear and start talking. You have only to blow deeply into them. You'll certainly feel Sagais' pipes are talking. You'll be able to get the genuine songs in this way. OK men, keep the pipes with you from now on. We aren't angry with you any more. Sagais is to appear not for us women but for you men. You should keep it secret."

3. Spirit, Dream, and Bamboo

Sagais is a fundamental being of female spirits which are recognized by the Waxei people to dwell in several specific riverbed rocks or bamboos along rivers and creeks. She is able to appear in human dreams, manipulate human beings at will, transform into a human female, bring forth a bamboo in a moment, and produce fascinating sounds through bamboo pipes. These diverse abilities exemplify her transcendental strength and importance in Waxei society. Here I will extract three concepts—spirits, dream, and bamboo—from the myth and give brief explanations which can be the premises for the consideration of Sagais' "talk".

The generic Waxei term for spiritual beings is *yabosgas*. Since all spirits are considered to be potentially malevolent and harmful to human beings, they are also called *swoni yabosgas* ("evil spirit") or *swonuj/swonus* ("the wicked"). The Waxei recognize three types of spirits: spirits of the dead, spirits of sorcery, and supernatural spirits. The spirits of the dead are called *nuxui yabosgas* and dwell in their own world beneath the mountains. They sometimes transform themselves into birds (the pheasant coucal, *Centropus phasianinus*⁵⁾) to fly to the human world and have a glimpse of human life. The spirits of sorcery are named *sokwi yabosgas* and are made to appear and are controlled by human sorcerers who know a special spell. They are thought to turn into small bats or centipedes to attack men. Supernatural spirits are called *beiya yabosgas* and are divided into six categories according to the places they reside. Each of them has a specific name: *sagaim* (in bamboos or grasses along rivers, or in riverbed rocks), *wingufum* (inside mountain caves), *ungufotum* (in large trees along rivers), *shuwobanijatum* (in large trees in the mountains), *mayamotum* (in lakes or swamps), or *songum* (in river coves). The distinction between male and female is clearly recognized in every category. Sagais is a female spirit belonging to the *sagaim* category and is considered to have extraordinary strength as its representative being.

Although each spirit has its own character, some common features can be extracted especially in terms of the Waxei cognition and perception of spirits. First, it is believed that spirits have "life" (*yogoq*) and malicious "thought" (*sketa*), and therefore, they sometimes attack or even kill human beings. Second, the emergence of a spirit can be visibly perceived as a "shadow" (*xojofas*) wavering in the dark, tangibly as a soft, gentle "breeze" (*wifojqaj*) caused by the "breath" (*gofshuqaj*) of spirits, and audibly as "low sound" (also *yogoq*). Through these

shadows, breaths, and low sounds, people vividly feel the spirit's life and its inviolable power.

Dream is another important topic which can be extracted from the myth. Sagais appeared in Ubadaniq woman's dream and ordered her to come to see her secretly. The woman blindly obeyed Sagais—it is easy enough for a spirit with strong power, such as Sagais, to entirely control human beings as it wishes. For such purposes spirits often emerge in a human dream and give directions. The Waxei explain that a spirit in a dream looks like a human being, but its figure is too obscure to discern clearly. It seems to be extremely difficult for the Waxei to cognitively and visually distinguish a spirit existing essentially as a "shadow" from the dream itself in which the spirits emerge, since dream itself is also regarded as a "shadow" of some states. The emergence of a spirit is, therefore, felt more vividly through auditory sensation, and personified because it utters human words. Thus the Waxei ascribe the source of talk or sound perceived in a dream to the spirits.

The Waxei concept of "dream" is fairly wide. In addition to a dream during night or daytime sleep, which is common to our concept, the following particular conditions are also expressed as dream: a state during which various ideas are crossing through our mind when we are casually absent-minded but still conscious; a state during which a fragment of a melody occurs to us when we are strolling about; and a state of peculiar feeling which we would call "fancy", "hallucination", or the "flash of an idea". All these states are generically called *siyoxus*, while a dream during sleep is specially termed *xaisiyoxus*, the prefix *xai*, meaning "sleep".

For the Waxei, every dream is considered to be controlled basically by spirits in spite of the diverse appearance of dreams. Sometimes they even state that spirits generate the dreams. A dream is a suitable occasion for communication between spirits and human beings. When men are in dreams of any kind, their consciousness and thoughts are wandering somewhere, a phase which has a fundamental affinity with the existence of spirits forever roving over the world.

The women infatuated with blowing bamboo pipes in the myth could also be regarded as being in a kind of dream or *siyoxus*. They were absorbed in the performance, leaving their families and household duties, and enthusiastically danced every night, stamping their feet strongly on the ground. This abandonment of everyday life and the self-intoxicated state of the women were, as such, obviously induced by Sagais. That is to say, they were in a dream charmed by Sagais' talk.

The symbolic meaning of bamboo is the last topic which we should examine here. In order to get songs of Sagais, a set of bamboo flutes is needed. The Waxei call them *kunu bogonim*, which consist of 10 to 12 short *bogonim* ("pipes"), cut out of *kunuj* ("bamboo") and each given a *buseis* ("mouth") for blowing. This set of bamboo pipes is indispensable equipment for obtaining Sagais' sound and talk, and is a symbol of Sagais herself for the following reasons.

First, the bamboo which Sagais gave to the Ubadaniq woman in the myth is not considered to be natural but an artificial one which Sagais herself generated to possess. This bamboo, named *taibamus*, today exists around human villages also,

but is said to have been transplanted there from the original place, Mt. Ubadaniq. Because the distance between nodes is too long and the walls too thin for constructional usage, it can only be used for flutes. *Taibamus* is, therefore, a mythical bamboo which Sagais created to rule and control the women.

Second, the bamboo which Sagais is able to possess must not be one growing in the ground but one which has been cut into pipes. The bamboo is a container, the home of a spirit, and of itself never makes a sound. The sound of the bamboo can be perceived as the sound of a spirit only when the breath of the spirit living in the bamboo turns into a breeze to cause the rustling sound of leaves. This is regarded as a token of the appearance of a spirit. The Waxei, therefore, never use the term "bamboo" separately or even figuratively to refer to flute when the spirit enters and makes significant talk.

Third, the bamboo pipe is a traditional device of metamorphosis and spirit possession for the Waxei. As an example of its use in metamorphosis, we can cite an ancestral myth of a Waxei clan in which a short hollow bamboo pipe, which a boy, getting no share of fish from his sister, passed through, out of deep grief, to turn into a spot-winged flycatcher (*Monarcha guttula*). His skin changed fully into feathers as he went through the bamboo pipe. As an example of possession, the Waxei use a long bamboo pipe, into which they summon ancestral spirits to draw to reveal the murderer-spirits. Such a pipe, usually three meters long, is never called a bamboo but an "evil stick" (*swoni kumaj*) or an "evil pipe" (*swoni bogonis*).

Sagais' bamboo pipes, thus containing multiple mythic and symbolic processes, could be positioned as a spiritual device to which Sagais' power enters and appears with sound as talk. They are also a symbolic device of social privilege, in the sense that only those who own them have a chance to experience her power. This social privilege, however, can be retained only in a shaky manner. Although it is legitimated by myth of Sagais that the ownership of bamboo pipes was passed from women into men's hands through a violent fight, the myth itself might be the result of self-serving interpretation by men. Furthermore, if a spirit does not possess the pipe and express its power as talk, the bamboo pipes are not intrinsically valuable as material objects (*aisojofim*). It is, therefore, necessary for men to conceal the flutes and its myth from women to cover up the uncertain existence of bamboo pipes themselves⁶.

The sound produced through Sagais' bamboo pipes is thus interpreted as her talk with a background of mythic and symbolic interrelationships between spirit, dream, and bamboo. The sound retains general features of an aural aspect which the Waxei call the "song" (*windioqos*), being signified as a peculiar communication mode of talk from a spirit. Now we are at the stage of proceeding to describe the context, structure, and meanings of Sagais' songs and make an inquiry into the deep phase of its socio-cultural significance, giving special attention to such specific problems as spirit possession of bamboo flutes, the relationship between sound perception and dream, and sound as a spirit's talk.

4. Context of Sagais' Talk

At present there are six sets of Sagais' bamboo flutes among the Waxei. Each set was made within the last ten years by six men individually and each set is wrapped in the leafstalk skin of a sago palm to be concealed in the attic shelf of the men's house. The ownership of the flutes is with the individual who made them and at the same time with the maker's clan.

Sagais' flutes are today played on the following occasions: when a new set of flutes has been made, when a domestic house or a men's house has been newly constructed, when an owner of the flutes is inclined to play, etc. In each case, an owner family of flutes or a house, or a clan who wishes to celebrate the new men's house by increasing its social prestige has to present meals (usually wild pigs, chickens, coconuts, rice, and canned fish) to specific relatives (*i.e.*, father's sister's sons, father's sister's husbands, sister's husbands, and daughter's husbands) and friends participating in flute performance, who, then necessarily give cash in return to the owner's side which should be equivalent to the meals they received. The meals are usually distributed after an all-night performance undertaken in turn by an owner, his relatives and friends.

The bamboo flutes can be made at any time and by any adult man. But this does not occur frequently because the maker has to shoulder the heavy burden of preparing a large amount of food. Nevertheless if he wishes to make such flutes, he has to complete a set single-handedly. This reflects the idea that the flutes were originally created by Sagais, an individual spirit. The man enters into the bush to try to find as tall and straight *taibamus* bamboo as possible. As delineated in the myth, one set of flutes should be cut from one bamboo because the pipes are intrinsically out of a single bamboo identified with Sagais herself. It might also be possible to surmise that the multitude of pipes symbolize the polysemic nature of spirit.

The man cuts down a tall bamboo beneath the lowest node and then cuts it into four lengths, using his forearm and fingers for measuring. The manner of cutting different pipes from varying parts of the bamboo and assigning names to them exactly follows the way demonstrated by Sagais in the myth: in order from the root, the one longest "head-pipe" (*togo bogoniq*, c. 90 cm), then four to five "man-pipes" (*uyagu bogonim*, c. 74 cm) and four to five "woman-pipes" (*toganu bogonim*, c. 62 cm) respectively, and the one shortest "edge-pipe" (*jemxaidai bogoniq*, c. 50 cm)⁷. Each pipe has a node left at one end, close to which a "mouth" (c. 2.5 cm in diameter) for blowing is cut out.

The performance of Sagais' flutes usually starts at around eight o'clock in the evening when it has grown fairly dark⁸). Prior to this, the men have taken bamboo flutes out of the attic of the men's house and washed them with water. This is not only for clearing cobwebs and dust from the inside but also for making it easier to invoke Sagais, a river spirit, by moistening the bamboo flutes themselves. They have also carefully stopped up the gaps in the walls of the men's house, the inside of

which becomes a stage for performance. This is, needless to say, to guard against women's eyes. Then 10 to 12 men go into the bush close to the men's house, hiding the flutes, and hold their breaths waiting for real quiet and darkness. Other men have gathered inside the men's house to sit calmly, only chatting in whispers.

In due time the men in the bush stand up and hold the flutes. The men signal one another with their eyes and begin to blow the flutes together strongly. This is the opening of the melody *tageya tuwas* ("a leaf of the *tageya* tree") which Sagais taught to the Ubadaniq woman in the myth. Performing this tune, the men start stamping their feet in time to its metrical rhythm and then walking to the men's house. Under cover of darkness they enter it and continue blowing there, keeping on stamping their feet hard on the floor. After four to five minutes, a man makes the remarkable sound of a footstep, at the signal of which only the low sound "pupupupu....." of the head-pipe remains. At this they finish the first performance of *tageya tuwas*.

After a short interval the men start *tageya tuwas* again. This tune is considered to be a message for invoking Sagais and inducing her to enter the bamboo pipes. Waxei men believe that if Sagais catches their message, she is sure to come out from the river to their village and enter the pipes, but they also recognize that it is fairly difficult to summon Sagais. Even after the second performance has finished, their facial expressions remain rigid because Sagais has not appeared yet. Several men mutter to themselves; "No, she doesn't come" (*mba, osuya mba afayususa*). "Soon she is coming" (*uxas yadaxusa*). "She should catch the *tageya tuwas*" (*osuya tageya tuwas fisa, wade*). "We can only wait" (*num bedyumuya ngwatunum*).

The men persevere in repeating *tageya tuwas* over and over again, taking short rests between each repeat. They say that they can occasionally feel a faint breeze, when Sagais emerges. That breeze is her "breath", which goes into the bamboo pipes and makes a "low sound". After the fifth or so performance has ended, a man begins to produce a small sound similar to a whistle, displaying a rough melodic movement and rhythm pattern to the others. The sound is not clear like a real whistle but more feeble and more like breath. It is a sort of sound signal indicating that the man has perceived the emergence of Sagais before any other man and that the players should proceed to the next tune.

The men then start blowing the pipes again, but in a different order and combination from *tageya tuwas*, producing a new tune, *yogoq*. In this *yogoq* which literally implies "throat", "life", and "low sound", the appearance of Sagais is clearly recognized by the people gathered at the men's house. *Yogoq* refers to a tune in which Sagais herself declares that she has already turned up in the human world. The men, therefore, are able to perceive and believe that Sagais' vivid life has appeared (*Sagaisuxo yogoquya bej gwatinya*), her breath has entered the bamboo pipes (*osuxo gofshuqaj xujenei kunu bogonim*), and has started a song in a low breathing sound (*igo osuxo gofshu yogoquya windioqo gwatinya*).

Once the appearance and possession of Sagais have been manifested through

yogoq in this way, it follows that she solely continues her talk one after another. The sound generated from the bamboo flutes are regarded totally as of Sagais herself. Thus the men's act of blowing flutes is only a tool for the realization of such transcendental sound. In this regard, Waxei men make the explicit comment that "we only blow into bamboo pipes; it is Sagais who sings" (*num bedyumuya gofshuj kunu bogonisma, igo Sagaisiya windioqosa*).

It is not men, therefore, who decide which tune shall be played next. Each tune as a content of spirit's talk is something which the spirit herself "shows" (*naxatusa*) and "gives" (*afxousa*) to human beings and something which just "emerges" (*gwatinya*) as such. The Waxei say that Sagais enters into a man's "thought" (*sketa*) and secretly teaches him the next tune to play. This man is, in almost all cases, one of the players, but sometimes could be one of the men sitting around in the men's house. While they have a short rest after a tune is finished, smoking or chewing betel nuts, they try to open consciousness to receive such messages from Sagais. If the sign, nevertheless, does not occur to anybody and there is only silence for a long time, an elder man often irritatingly utters such words as "Think well of a tune Sagais shows" (*wasketayom wade bittagas Sagaisiya naxatusa*).

Sagais' tune is bound to appear in somebody's thought. The Waxei men express this state as really "feeling like hearing the sound of a song" (*iti ojojom okwate windioqo fyugoxqaj*). That is, Sagais' message does not emerge as a series of words but as a pattern of sound which constitutes the song, however vague it is. A man who has sensitively caught the sign informs others of its sound pattern by a feeble breathy sound like a whistle. Since the real sound of a song can be given only by Sagais, this breathy sound of man cannot be substantial. Just like blowing into a bamboo pipe, he shows the sign by "blowing" (*gofshuj*) only the ascending or descending movements of sound and the outline of the rhythm pattern he has perceived. This enables other players to know into which pipes and in what order they should blow.

Such perception of sound as indicated by a spirit entering a man's mind is not peculiar to the Waxei, but rather similar to ours; for instance, the perception of a melody which accidentally occurs to us or a song which we subconsciously hum to ourselves. While we are not aware of the source of the melody or song, the Waxei clearly interpret that the melody they hit upon is caused by the spirit. They also recognize that they are in *siyoxus*, a dream, at that time. They are awake with their consciousness open exclusively to the spirit. It could be regarded that the spirit draws men's consciousness to herself and creates a special state of mind throughout the process of performance. The setting further promotes this quasi-dream of the men: darkness with only a few kerosene lamps around them, the time of night inducing them to sleep, the closed space of the men's house, and the numbing stimuli of tobacco and betel nuts.

The men continue blowing into the bamboo pipes after the model of the melodies which have occurred to them, that is, the ones which Sagais has shown.

Then the breath of the men mingle with Sagais' breath, *i.e.*, her life itself, to emerge as substantial sound. It is really Sagais' sound, structured and expressed as song and talk. Sagais successively unfolds her songs as talk to the men who are induced to dreams, just like the women in the myth. When she wants to finish a tune, she again enters into the mind of one of the players and announces the end of the tune to him. The man who has received the sign then stamps his foot particularly strongly on the floor and the players take this sound as an ending cue and stop their blowing at once.

Two hours or so after the performance has started, the women begin to gather in two and threes around the men's house outside. Dressed in skirts made of the fiber of young sago leaves, they stand near the men's house and, in an exaggerated movement, shake their hips from side to side without any steps to the rhythm of the tunes. As a result of their movement, their skirts sway and make rustling sounds. The women seem to listen earnestly to the sound of the bamboo flutes, not uttering any words. Even if they have no knowledge of the Sagais' myth, they are certainly aware that the sound from within is Sagais' voice. Although it is socially prohibited for women to approach the secrets of myth and bamboo flutes, they are able to share a common experience with the men in being enchanted with the spirit's sound. Therefore the situation where Sagais' talk is revealed through bamboo flutes is to be understood as an occasion for social experience of spiritual sound, shared by both men and women.

As Sagais was invoked by the men's appeal at the beginning, it is also the men who put an end to her talk. When they judge that the ending time is approaching, the men who will receive the meal estimate its amount, collect money equivalent to that amount, and wrap the cash in a cloth to hang on the end of the head-pipe. As the meal is primarily to be dedicated to Sagais, the money is also to be offered to her as a matter of form. Then they start playing the last tune named *sigaxus*, "cicada". This tune has a similar melodic structure to the first tune, *tageya tuwas*, and consists of a short pattern slowly repeated many times. It is said that *sigaxus* was also taught to the Ubadaniq woman by Sagais, although this is not stated clearly in the myth. Only the beginning and ending can be controlled by human beings who follow the patterns which Sagais once gave.

When *sigaxus* has been repeated several times, an elder man takes a leafstalk of sago palm and approaches the players. The moment he strikes the floor strongly with it, all the players put the bamboo flutes on the floor and let them slide to the exit on the side of the river. Sagais' talk is brought to a close by the striking sound of the petiole, and she goes back to her original home in the river, being led by the sliding of the flutes. Thus the bamboo pipes finish their role as spiritual devices and again become mere objects. The men wrap them in palm skin to put back on the attic shelf. Then the women who have been dancing outside through the night, as well as the men, go back to their individual houses.

5. Structure of Sagais' Talk

Sagais' talk which emerges through the bamboo pipes is regarded as a "genuine song" (*windioqo mafus*), a unique Waxei musical concept. It is, therefore, endowed with all the following general structural characteristics of Waxei song: the independent unit of tune; the *bittagas* as a name of each tune; the repetition of a musical sentence ending with *songoqaj* (a phrase consisting of rapid alternation of two tones and/or reiterated unisons), a term which originally denotes the human elbow and also the bend of winding river; and the organization of vocal parts composed of "high voice" (*yabangu buseis*) and "low voice" (*busei yogoq*).

The sounds which constitute Sagais' song are generated by four kinds of bamboo flutes of different lengths. Because a flute is blown strongly, as shown in the myth, only one tone—basically the second overtone—is produced from each flute. Therefore the tonal organization of Sagais' song is almost always composed of four tones: for example, E (edge-pipe), Db (woman-pipe), Bb (man-pipe), and Gb (head-pipe), from high to low⁹). Among these, the two tones of the edge-pipe and woman-pipe are categorized as high sounds while the other two of man-pipe and head-pipe are low sounds. This demonstrates that two ranges or parts of high and low are the basic components in songs of bamboo flutes, as well as in songs for human voices.

Among the four, the high sound of the woman-pipe and the low sound of the man-pipe are given especially important meanings as tones which make up the "frames" (*subem*) of Sagais' songs. Since the frame must be strong, four to five of the woman-pipe and the man-pipe each should be used to produce sounds of the necessary density and loudness. The structure of all the songs is based upon the alternating progression (*nunugonunugofa*) and the simultaneous progression (*dabusnefa*) of these woman-pipes and man-pipes, while the edge-pipe and head-pipe each plays a different role. As the term *jemxaidai* (which is translated as "edge" here) primarily implies "a state different from others" or "a state departing from others", indeed, the high sharp sound of the edge-pipe is clearly audible, rising over the mass of sounds, and in the melodic structure it has the role of articulating and accentuating the movements of the other tones. Sagais' utterance in the myth that the edge-pipe "makes a song better" indicates this function of the pipe. On the other hand, the implication of the head-pipe, which is cut off from the base of bamboo that is identified with Sagais' head and is the basis of Sagais' existence, is obviously disclosed in the role of its sound. That is, the lowest sound of the head-pipe is a genuine *yogoq* ("low sound") and its continuous sound gives to the melodic structure Sagais' real life as living power. In other words, the sound of the head-pipe functions as a fundamental tone which supports all of Sagais' songs, just as the pipe itself sustains the existence of Sagais herself. Thus the constitution of bamboo pipes which was organized by Sagais in the myth is reflected in the sound structure to produce melodies.

The sound structure of Sagais' songs can be generally classified into two types,

according to whether the tonal progression of man-pipes and woman-pipes is alternating or simultaneous. *Tageya tuwas*, shown in Figure 1, is a typical example of alternating progression. In this tune, the sound of the edge-pipe overlaps the sound of the woman-pipes to articulate and accentuate the alternating progression. The sound of the head-pipe, on the other hand, also proceeds synchronously with the sound of edge-pipe to intensify the accents in a low tonal range. The basic pattern of simultaneous progression can be found in a tune named *yadij* ("a huge earthworm"), shown in Figure 2. Particularly during the first half of this tune, the sounds of edge-pipe and head-pipe are inserted between the simultaneously-sounding woman-pipes and man-pipes which form the axis of the song. This produces a typical overlapping pattern.

The most important aspect of Sagais' song is that it is perceived and understood by the Waxei not only as a structure of sound but also as a structure of talk. "Talk" is translated from a Waxei term *bujofqaj*, an abstract concept that

The musical score for 'tageya tuwas' consists of two systems. The first system shows four staves: 'edge-pipe' (top), 'woman-pipes' (second), 'man-pipes' (third), and 'head-pipe' (bottom). A bracket on the left indicates a 10" interval between the top and bottom staves. The notation includes various note values and rests. The second system shows a piano accompaniment with two staves, featuring a repeating rhythmic pattern in the right hand and a more melodic line in the left hand. A repeat sign is followed by '(x15)'.

Figure 1 *tageya tuwas*¹⁰⁾

The musical score for 'yadij' consists of two systems. The first system shows four staves: 'edge-pipe' (top), 'woman-pipes' (second), 'man-pipes' (third), and 'head-pipe' (bottom). A bracket on the left indicates a 6" interval between the top and bottom staves. The notation includes various note values and rests. The second system shows a piano accompaniment with two staves, featuring a repeating rhythmic pattern in the right hand and a more melodic line in the left hand. A repeat sign is followed by '(x7)'.

Figure 2 *yadij*

can be defined as “an utterance with a comprehensible content that can be explained with words”. The term *bujofqaj* is used clearly differently from its cognate, *bujom*, which means “words” or “language” in a broad sense. Thus the Waxei say that although Sagais’ songs don’t have *bujom*, they do have *bujofqaj*. This means that Sagais’ spirit doesn’t utter the words themselves but expresses the significant concepts interwoven in the sound structures. Human beings perceive them, extract the conceptual content from them, interpret them linguistically, and understand them as *bittagas*. With regard to this process, the Waxei explain that they can “sense” (*osketame*) the *bittagas*, because Sagais’ sounds enter into their “thoughts” (*sketa*). This is why they are in quasi-dreams when they are listening to Sagais’ talk.

That Sagais’ songs are recognized as talk can be confirmed by the performance practice that the men sitting around the players are actually able to sing words to the sound patterns produced from bamboo flutes. At the first stage, only a few of them begin to sing a fragment of a song phrase in low voices, and then, as they gradually become excited, many of them start singing a long phrase in chorus. The words uttered at that time are *bittagas* as the songtext and they indicate the conceptual content of the talk given by the spirit and interpreted by the men.

What the men sing to Sagais’ talk is a single melody which is extracted from its structure. Although the method of extraction varies according to the song structure, it is generally formed chosen from among the sounds of man-pipes, woman-pipes, and head pipes as follows. In the case of a tune such as *tageya tuwas* in which the alternating progression of man-pipes and woman-pipes is dominant and the head-pipe also overlaps with either of them, a melody woven by the man-pipes and woman-pipes is sung. Figure 3 shows the single melody sung and the added words. In the case of a tune such as *yadij* in which the basic structure consists of simultaneous progression of man-pipes and woman-pipes, either tone is picked out to be connected with the tones of the head-pipe. In this case, the lower tone of the man-pipe is usually chosen because of its proximity in pitch to the head-pipe’s. Its melody, *bittagas*, and an example of vocalization are shown in Figure 4.

The Waxei explanation that Sagais goes into the bamboo pipes and utters her talk is not the result of their abstraction or a product of their imagination. This can be demonstrated concretely by the fact that the men can extract a melody from

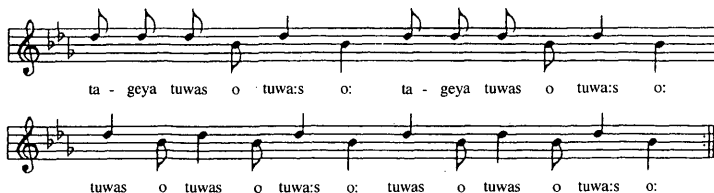


Figure 3 Melody and Songtext for *tageya tuwas*



Figure 4 Melody and Songtext for *yadij*

the talk and give it words. Furthermore, another fact should also be given to strengthen this. That is, the spirit's voice can be actually perceived as a strange but truly acoustic sound. The spirit's voice sounds similar to a human being's, but its feeble tone quality is obviously different from a human voice or the sounds of the bamboo flutes making up the talk. If we concentrate our consciousness solely upon the spirit's talk and listen to it most carefully, it is possible for us as well to perceive the voice floating and wandering over the song structure. The simpler the structure of the tune is, the more clearly it can be perceived. In *tageya tuwas*, for instance, it sounds low, resonating behind the melody of the woman-pipes and man-pipes. It can be heard not from the beginning but eventually at the last stage after the tune has been repeated several times. It is regarded precisely as Sagais' "breath", which indicates her long-awaited emergence. In *yogoq*, in which the spirit's appearance is clearly revealed through the continuous "low sound" of the head-pipe, the spirit's voice sounds more distinctly. Overlapping the joyful voices of men who have felt the spirit's emergence, it can be heard as a squeezed and strained sound: "we: we: wo:" or "yogora yogora yo:" (a phonological change of *yogoq*). It is nothing but the singing voice of the spirit.

The spirit's voice is expected to be perceived as long as the spirit is inside the bamboo pipes and is talking, although it depends upon the song structure and the surrounding conditions in the men's house whether it is easy or difficult to sense it. In any case, people get more excited through the actual perception of the spirit's voice, and their state in a collective dream continues all the more. According to acoustics, the sound which they feel to be the spirit's voice could probably be analyzed as a resonating sound resulting from the complicated interweave of different fundamental tones, overtones, and breathy sounds inevitably leaking. As the lengths of bamboo flutes are not strictly the same, even the pipes of the same kind have slightly different fundamentals and overtones. Such various tones from the bamboo pipes combine to produce an unusual sound with a complex waveform. In fact, the spirit's voice distinctly floats over the sounds of the numerous man-pipes and woman-pipes.

Whether this phenomenon occurs accidentally or arises intentionally, the important fact is that people are able to sense the vivid emergence of the spirit's life and power. They can actually perceive the spirit's voice through a series of its talks. In this sense, the sounds and melodies rising over such talk can be regarded as symbolizing the spirit's power. On the other hand, the monophonies sung by

men can be conceived to be a manifestation of their will to try to take the spirit's energies into themselves by imitating the symbolic melodies. The sounding of the men's voices overlapped with the spirit's voice are exactly the expressions of rapture of those who have experienced the power of the spirit.

6. Meaning of Sagais' Talk

What Sagais is talking is comprehended as *bittagas*. That is, *bittagam* (plural form of *bittagas*) represent the conceptual contents which people have extracted from the spirit's talk. Although it doesn't seem to be fixed as to how many tunes are rendered in an all night performance, there occurred about twenty-five in my two experiences. In Sagais' songs the same tune is seldom repeated, because the decisions about tunes are made not by men but by the spirit. In addition the men are not able to produce a new song according to their wishes, because Sagais' songs are wholly given by the spirit and the myth.

I have thus far recorded 36 tunes in total, and I have been given detailed explanations about their *bittagam* by several Waxei men. When I asked them whether they know other tunes besides them, they all said nothing and show embarrassed expressions. Since the *bittagas* comes into existence simultaneously with the substantial sonic structure of Sagais' talk, it is extremely difficult for them to think of it out of context.

These 36 tunes are, nonetheless, enough to survey the meanings of *bittagam*. They can be generally divided into two categories: the ones which allude to the context of the Sagais' myth (22 tunes) and the others which stand for the existence of Sagais as a spirit (14 tunes). In each case, the *bittagam* are symbolized by way of stratagemical concealment of real meaning. Thus outwardly, the *bittagam* are literally interpreted to exhibit superficial meaning, behind which there covertly exist mythical or spiritual meanings interpreted with relation to the cognition of myths and spirits. The following brief descriptions include both meanings of each *bittagas*. The order of tunes shown here does not correspond to that of the actual performance.

In the first place, the *bittagam* which make men think of the context of the myth can be arranged according to the main topics of myth as follows.

Kombuxomajiq is the proper name of a mountain situated eastward of Ubadaniq, over which Sagais is believed to have passed to come to Ubadaniq. For women it is only a place name, but for men it generates a vivid image of the spirit's wandering. Similarly, although *daniq* is a common noun indicating the ridge of a mountain, it indirectly designates the high place called Bunaitiyajoq which is reached though the ridge of Mt. Ubadaniq. Sagais is said to have dwelled there. *Nofa nofa*, a tree named *nofaj*, also points to Bunaitiyajoq, where this tree still grows plentifully. In this case, specific land is evoked in men's minds by a tree name. A similar association is drawn by another *bittagas*, *dajai tuwas*. *Dajai* is the name of a palm tree which grows only at Ubadaniq and *tuwas* is a leaf.

Through the name of the palm tree leaf, men are reminded of Ubadaniq which was the stage of the myth.

Kundai tuwas suggests the bamboo which Sagais brought into existence in the myth, because the *kundaij* palm tree is very tall and looks like *taibamus* bamboo. Also related to this bamboo is *yadij* which denotes a giant earthworm about one meter long. In particular, its rapid movement on the ground reminds the men of the mythical scene in which the long bamboo appeared in an instant. *Nouj fas* implies the process in which the bamboo was cut into pipes. *Nouj* is a generic term for snake and *fas* means a piece or fragment. In this tune, the construction of bamboo pipes is expressed metaphorically as the act of cutting a snake for eating. *Kukux* is, then, associated with the bamboo pipes themselves thus made. It indicates a wooden stick used for pounding the fibrous tissues of sago palm, whose length and size are just like those of bamboo pipes.

Tageya tuwas which Sagais taught to the Ubadaniq woman is the only tune for which the inner meaning is already revealed in the myth: the first song for invoking Sagais. The same mythical meaning is suggested by *baiden tuwas*, "a leaf of the *baiden* vine". Not only in the shape of the leaf but also in the melodic structure representing the rustling of leaves, *baiden tuwas* closely resembles *tageya tuwas*. And the emergence of Sagais is actually indicated through sound in *yogoq* which denotes "life" and "low sound". Similarly, *swonus*, which means a wicked female spirit, is also interpreted as Sagais talking about herself as if showing off her power. Furthermore, *sketaya*, meaning "I think", represents not only the state that Sagais is talking *bittagas*, thinking about this or that, but also the circumstances under which the talk goes into men's thoughts to produce a song.

In the myth, the women in Ubadaniq are described as having gathered at a small open space in the upper mountain to blow the bamboo flutes. The place is symbolically indicated by *igofu miyoq*, meaning a tree (*miyoq*) where many birds (*igofum*) assemble. Here the sound aspect of many birds gathering and twittering actively is connected with a scene in which various tunes are generated from many bamboo pipes. And the state of women dancing and blowing the pipes in rapture is indirectly shown by several *bittagam* as follows. *Kogweis geituna*, "a wallaby skips", expresses the springing movement of women who are likened to wallabies. *Ujas*, "sole of the foot", suggests that the women enthusiastically danced, stamping their feet strongly on the ground. *Shuwis*, indicating the fibrous skirts made from young sago leaves the women wore at that time, gives a vivid image of the swaying of the skirts from side to side according to their body movements. *Yangus*, the name of a grasshopper, is associated with the sound of the rustling noise of skirts. The grasshopper is said to like eating young leaves of sago palm, from which women's skirts are made. The sound of the grasshopper and skirts are linked together in this regard as well. Lastly, *kejaj majij* and *yujuja tuwas* indicate the leaf ornaments which were attached to women's skirts. Both tunes are interpreted as representing the swinging movements with the dancing of sweet-smelling leaves of the *kejaj* tree (*majij* is its other name) and *yujuja* palm.

In contrast with the women who happily devoted themselves to dancing, men were deadly hungry and discontented with them in the myth. *Nakus*, "a baked sago", represents the food eagerly desired by the men, in which their hunger and anger are symbolically contained. Then the men sent a man for reconnaissance. *Kogweis tubuja*, "frightened wallaby", stands for his state of peeping at the women's feast, especially his disquiet. The men resolved to fight with women and made a violent attack on them, which is suggested by *owas*, "a small bat". When a sorcerer attacks somebody, he is believed to control and send such a bat as a killing agent. Its flapping sound pattern in this tune brings back the striking power of men who bore a strong grudge against the women.

In the second place, the *bittagam* which represent the existence of Sagais as a spirit are illustrated as follows.

The river where Sagais dwells and the state of Sagais herself drifting there are suggested vividly through such tunes as *munaij*, *dubaxai*, *owaseis*, and *sigaxus*. *Munaij* is a small fish which is ubiquitous, like Sagais, in the surrounding rivers. The state of their swimming in a large school is sometimes identified with the appearance of Sagais as a shadow. *Dubaxai* is the act of washing out sago starch along a river. This tune shows the pattern of water sound made by the act, which causes an image of the flowing water of the river and especially an image of the waves made by Sagais. *Owaseis* is a water boatman, whose movements such as sliding or flying over the water suggest Sagais wandering around rivers. Finally *sigaxus* is a cicada which is often on a tree along the river. Its sound, resonating against the surface of the river and echoing through the trees, is like Sagais' voice from the bamboo flutes. Being led by this tune, Sagais goes back to the river, her home, where the voices of cicadas resound.

Like other kinds of spirits, Sagais is also believed to transform herself into various birds and to make sounds which are always perceived as the antiphonal singing pattern of two birds. When people mention the names of birds as *bittagam* of Sagais' songs, they usually think of birds which are the metamorphosis of Sagais. Included in such tunes are *nungutokwam* (Papuan frogmouth, *Podargus papuensis*), *gujombuq* (spot-winged flycatcher, *Monarcha guttula*), *wis* (western black-capped lory, *Lorius lory*), *kouq* (trumpet manucode, *Manucodia keraudrenii*), and *maxoq* (coroneted fruit-dove, *Ptilinopus coronulatus*).

Lastly cited are tunes in which the nature of Sagais as a supernatural spirit which has a transcendent power to kill or wound human beings is brought into relief through the talk of Sagais herself. Among them, the most direct is *yakas swonus afa*, "a wicked female spirit ate Mother". This *bittagas* is regarded as representing the deep grief of a child whose mother was killed by Sagais. Here Sagais is making a display of her power by showing the child's weeping as talk. *Naku tujas*, which means the skin and bone of a pig's forefoot, also manifests Sagais' power. Needless to say, skin and bone is a metaphor for a human dead body killed by Sagais, floating on the river. A similar relationship can be seen in *tojoijus*, "a dead turtle". In this tune, the movements of the feet of a dying turtle are expressed,

which is further connected with the vivid image of a man dying in agony. Also in *figas*, "a small grasshopper" which is used for bait, the murder is indirectly suggested. That is, the manner of the fish biting the grasshopper in the water is related to a scene in which Sagais in the river attacks the human. A similar and more concrete example is *kafji bomuq*. *Kafji* is an all-black little cormorant (*Phalacrocorax sulcirostris*) and *bomuq* is a shortening of *bombugojqaj*, meaning "wave". What the men directly perceive from this tune is the wave movement the cormorant makes when it dives into water to catch fish. This, then, concretely reminds them of a cruel scene when Sagais pulls men into the water to kill them.

In this way, Sagais talks myth and talks about herself. The *bittagas* is the result of men's interpretation of Sagais' talk and is also the core of their mythical and spiritual images. Although Sagais' talk is, in this sense, a product of the Waxei's cultural imagination, at the same time, it is obvious that it is realized through the absolute recognition of the transcendental power of a spiritual = mythical being and the social sentiment of being in awe of it. Because such cognition and feeling really exist in society, people are able to regard the sounds from bamboo pipes as substantial voices of spirits and acquire the concepts of the spiritual world from the sound structures of songs. Thus the Waxei notion that Sagais enters the bamboo pipes and talks to them is produced precisely from their social reality.

7. Conclusion

The performance of the blowing of bamboo flutes by Waxei men can be interpreted as a process through which the voice produced by a female spirit possessing bamboo pipes, Sagais, turns into a song, then, its structure is regarded as spirit's talk, and the images of spirit and myth vividly appear in a semantic field of sound. It seems possible for us to find one of the keys to understanding Sagais' talk in a mental state which the Waxei themselves call dream. They recognize that they are in a dream in a broad sense, when they perceive Sagais' talk. They gave me various explanations about this state of dream, which can be summarized as follows: at an early stage of performance they are not sleeping but relaxed with open consciousness, and as the playing continues, they gradually forget themselves and their awareness wanders somewhere. To the men who are in such light dreams, Sagais makes her voice echo and shows them the next melody. The spirit's voice is clearly perceived as sound, although it is actually incomprehensible from where exactly it is sounding. Nevertheless this perception of sound makes people more and more excited and leads them to a precious experience of pleasure.

Sagais' talks usually have melodic structures which the men have already heard in the past. Therefore they can understand the whole structure of tunes and the order for blowing the bamboo pipes, if Sagais suggests only a fragment of a melody. But they also admit that somebody occasionally hears a melody which has never sounded before. A man who senses such a melody is without exception in a

real dream during sleep. He awakes soon and, before forgetting, teaches the other men the outline of the melody and the order of blowing by the whistle-like sound. At first it is difficult for men to find a meaning in the talk thus produced, but as they try to sing to it in monophony, they begin to feel some mythical and spiritual images through the movement of the sounds. A *bittagas* named *maxoq*, which reminds them of Sagais who turned into a coroneted fruit-dove, appeared in this way in the late 1970s for the first time.

This episode shows that Sagais' song is "given" by the spirit and, at the same time, demonstrates well that to hear the spirit's voice is neither a surrealistic phenomenon nor a peculiar experience. It is precisely a realistic experience which is situated somewhere among such essentially continuous states of human sensation and perception of sounds as the state in which we hear words or melodies in a dream, the state in which we hear a sound as an illusion or a hallucination, the state in which an unknown melody unexpectedly crosses our minds, the state in which we spontaneously recall a familiar melody, and the state in which we physically and distinctly perceive an acoustic sound. With respect to such perceptual experiences, the Waxei are noteworthy only in that they regard all these sounds as being given by a spirit.

As to *maxoq* as well, the Waxei definitely say that it is man who felt the sound, but the source from which the sound was generated lies in the spirit. Therefore we cannot assume that they are composing a song, even if an unknown tune appears like *maxoq* which has not existed before. They do not connect a new song which has appeared in a dream with their creativity, but instead, clearly interpret it as something the spirit has talked and taught to them. They sense a mythical image of the spirit through the sonic structure of its talk, standing on the same socio-cultural basis that their cognition of the spirit itself is based. This attitude plainly reflects their social cognition that the song is essentially created by a spirit and at the source of the song there always exists the spirit's talk. The Waxei's perception of sound is thus fundamentally continuous with the sensation of the spirit, only through which the sound can be real for them.

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Notes

- 1) This paper is based on chapter 4 of YAMADA 1989. The abridged version of this paper is already published as YAMADA 1995.
- 2) LAYCOCK [1981] and DYE, *et al.* [1969] refers to this language as Watakataui, a term derived from the name of their former village along the Weisas River, a tributary of the Korosameri. However it seems more appropriate to adopt "Waxei" as a language name as well as a group name, according to their own designation. A general ethnography of the Waxei is presented in YAMADA 1989, 1991, and 1997. Also refer to YAMADA 1987 concerning their migration and group formation processes. In the transcriptions of the Waxei language used in this paper, three conventions representing uvulars need special attention. They correspond to phoneme as follows: q = [q] (a voiceless uvular plosive), j = [G] (a voiced uvular plosive), and x = [ɣ] or [χ] (a uvular fricative).
- 3) Information about the musical practices of these groups has been obtained through personal communication with Keichi Kumagai, Hisafumi Saito, Yukio Toyoda, and Takanori Fujita who undertook research among them.
- 4) This is an abridged version of a myth in the Waxei language told by an elderly man. The complete text is presented in YAMADA 1989 and 1997.
- 5) The identification and scientific names of birds follows LINDGREN 1975, COATES 1982 and 1985, and BEEHLER, *et al.* 1986.
- 6) With regard to men's secret ownership of paired bamboo flutes in Papua New Guinea, Gourlay discussed their social function and significance, comparing many ethnographies [GOURLAY 1975]. Finch, who analyzes various myths of bamboo flutes in Highlands societies, points out that the cultural superiority of men is symbolized by bamboo flutes, but its symbolic structure is intrinsically unstable: "the men, since they are unable to escape their dependence on women, cannot feel secure in their dominance" [FINCH 1985: 212].
- 7) The length of pipes shown here is not an average of all the sets but the measurements of a set called *xofxainda*, named after the palm cockatoo (*Probosciger aterrimus*). The longest set consists of a c. 120 cm head-pipe, c. 100 cm man-pipes, c. 80 cm woman-pipes, and a c. 60 cm edge-pipe.
- 8) The following description are based upon two performances of Sagais' flutes which I observed in November 1986 and January 1987. Although the scale and the length of the two performances were considerably different, the entire procedures were basically alike.
- 9) These actual pitches are taken from the set named *xofxainda*. As the length of flutes is determined relatively, the actual pitches of each set are different. In each case, however, the relation of intervals is invariable.
- 10) All the following musical examples show a repeated sentence which ends with *songoqaj*. Actual pitches are shown. The tones of the edge-pipe (upward stems) and woman-pipes (downward stems) are in the upper staff, the tones of the man-pipes (upward stems) and head-pipe (downward stems) in the lower staff. The approximate number of seconds required for playing one sentence is shown at the beginning of the staff and the typical number of repetitions is at the end.

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