

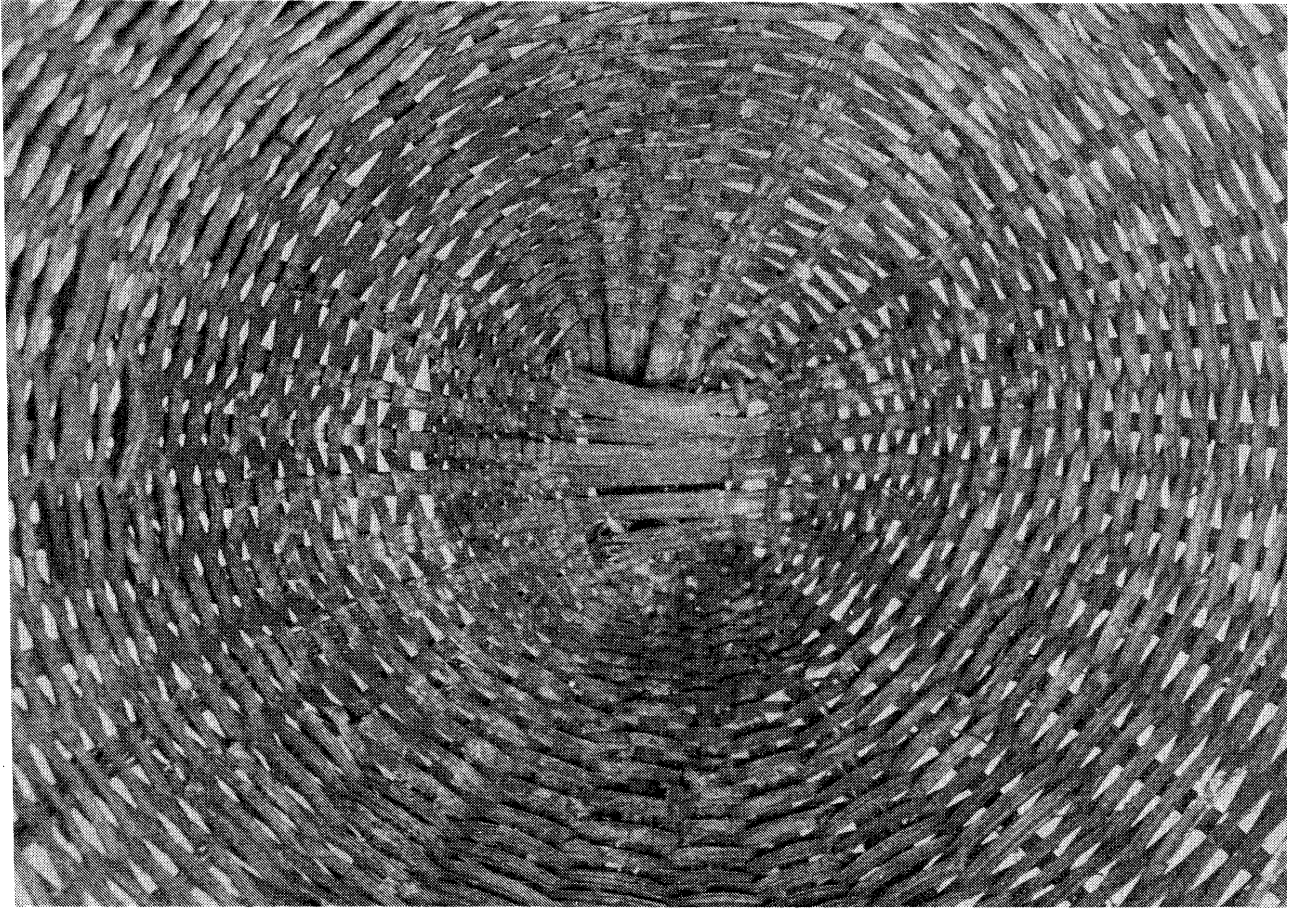
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Housing, Household Economy and Material Culture

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Material Culture



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Housing, Household Economy and Material Culture

NAOMICHI ISHIGE

National Museum of Ethnology

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I. HOUSING

1. Settlement Pattern

Since fishing plays an important part in the life of Limau, and since in this mountainous island only small coastal strips are flat enough for settlement and the sea serves as the principal highway, the villages of Halmahera are concentrated in the coastal districts, except for a few areas opened-up in the hinterland. Limau, located on the seashore, is no exception. In this village houses are built facing each other along a 340 m road that runs parallel to the coast. The end of the row of houses marks the end of the road, which serves only the Limau Village community (Map 2). Street villages (*strassendorfer*) is the common form used by most ethnic groups in Halmahera, a uniformity of which is in part the result of government instructions that each village chief, who has the authority to assign a house lot to each household when a new village is established, should plan the settlement so that the houses form 2 parallel lines along the main street.

It is not uncommon for an entire village to relocate. The center of Limau Village before World War II was to the south of the present location, but in 1949 it

moved 1,500 m northeastward from the northern edge of the former village. In 1966, it moved again, to the present location. This last move was reportedly motivated by inundation during the previous rainy season which was accompanied by a 2-month epidemic that killed 30 villagers. The villagers claim that the epidemic was caused by an angry *Moro*, an invisible creature, and that they abandoned the former site because it was cursed by the *Moro* (see Ishige, this volume p. 410). But neither is the present location satisfactory, since it is liable to repeated flooding by the high storm waves that sweep over the protecting sandhill, and the village is also inundated by prolonged rains during the rainy season. When we were doing field-work, the villagers were making plans to relocate their settlement during the following year to a site further inland, closer to the mountains.

The settlement of the present village site was undertaken by the villagers under the direction of the village chief. First they worked together to construct the road, on both sides of which the village chief allocated house lots. Houses of the Christians are centered in the northern part of the village (Fig. 1, p. 346), because they came to Limau after the new village was settled and were assigned the still vacant northern area. A Christian church, constructed by the congregation, was built in 1968 (Photo. 4, p. 10). In contrast, construction of the mosque, the largest building in Limau, started in 1971, although it was not yet completed in 1976. The framework of the mosque is of barks of timber finished by professional carpenters hired from outside the village, and the other parts were built with the collective labor of the Muslim villagers (Photo. 3, p. 10). The elementary school (Photo. 5, p. 10), and the teachers' lodging house were also collaboratively built by the villagers. The village chief's house (HN 8), located a short distance from the road, has an open space in front of it which serves as an assembly place and is used for village conferences and for such ceremonies (*pesta*) as banquets and dances.

2. House Lots

Figure 1 shows the housing lot for the households HN 9, 10, 30, 31, 32, 33. On both sides of the road (*tapaki*) are fences (*pagaru*) made of wooden stakes and bamboo rails. It is the duty of each household to construct and maintain the fence in front of its lot. The fences can be used for drying laundry. In Limau, however, no fences are made to separate adjacent houses. Weeding of the road is done by all villagers under the direction of the chief.

When the present village was constructed each assigned house lot was about 6 m in width. No restriction is imposed on the depth of a lot, although the sandhill which parallels the road and marks the rear end of the housing lots on the east side of the road, and the marshes and fields in the back delimits the house lots on the west, and acts as a physical limitation. Although the ownership of the land is vested in the village, use rights belong to each household and are inherited. With the village chief's permission a house lot can be divided to provide land for relatives who move into the village from elsewhere. As a consequence, house lots now vary in size.

Canoes are pulled on-shore somewhere between the sandhill and the high tide

mark (Fig. 1, Photo. 1). In principle, each household must keep its canoe on the shore adjacent to its house lot. Since there are no toilets in this village, it is customary to defecate at the water's edge early in the morning, usually before dawn. Sea water is used, with the left hand, to wash the anal parts, and at the same time Galelans also bathe in the sea. Daytime or evening bathing is usually done with freshwater drawn from a well.

Useful plants are cultivated in the house lot. At the houses shown in Fig. 1, several fruit trees—mangos (*wale*), coconuts (*igo*), lemons (*wama*), cultivated bananas (*bole*), and betel palms (for betel chewing)—are grown together with the edible plant *kiha*, a kind of taro. Pandanus (*krewe*), that provides material for weaving mats, is also cultivated. HN 33 has a *tuli* tree (*Croton tiglium* L.), a medicinal plant effective for chest diseases in children. These examples illustrate that plants growing in the dooryard garden are useful plants, that provide staple food, raw materials and medicine. These plants are always owned by the cultivator, even if growing into neighboring lots. For example, the coconut palms shown in Fig. 1 were all planted by the household of HN 8 before the village moved to the present location. This household retains the right to gather coconuts from those palms, which now grow in house lots of other families.

The main entrance to a house faces the road, and at the back the rear entrance leads to the kitchen. At the rear entrance is a water container (*kiloha*) where food and dishes are washed. It is made from a piece of bamboo 2–2.5 m long and 10–15 cm in diameter (Photo. 3, p. 271).

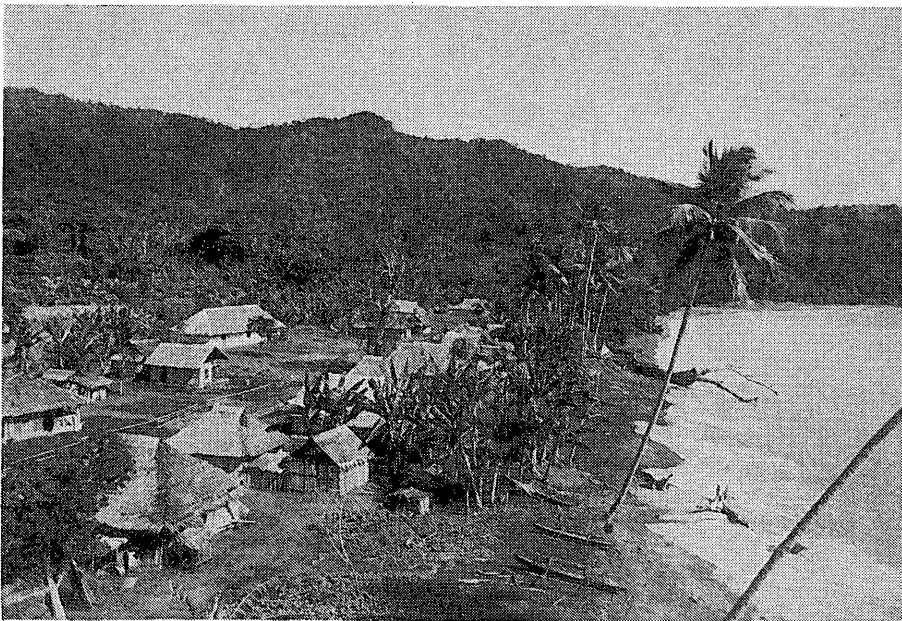
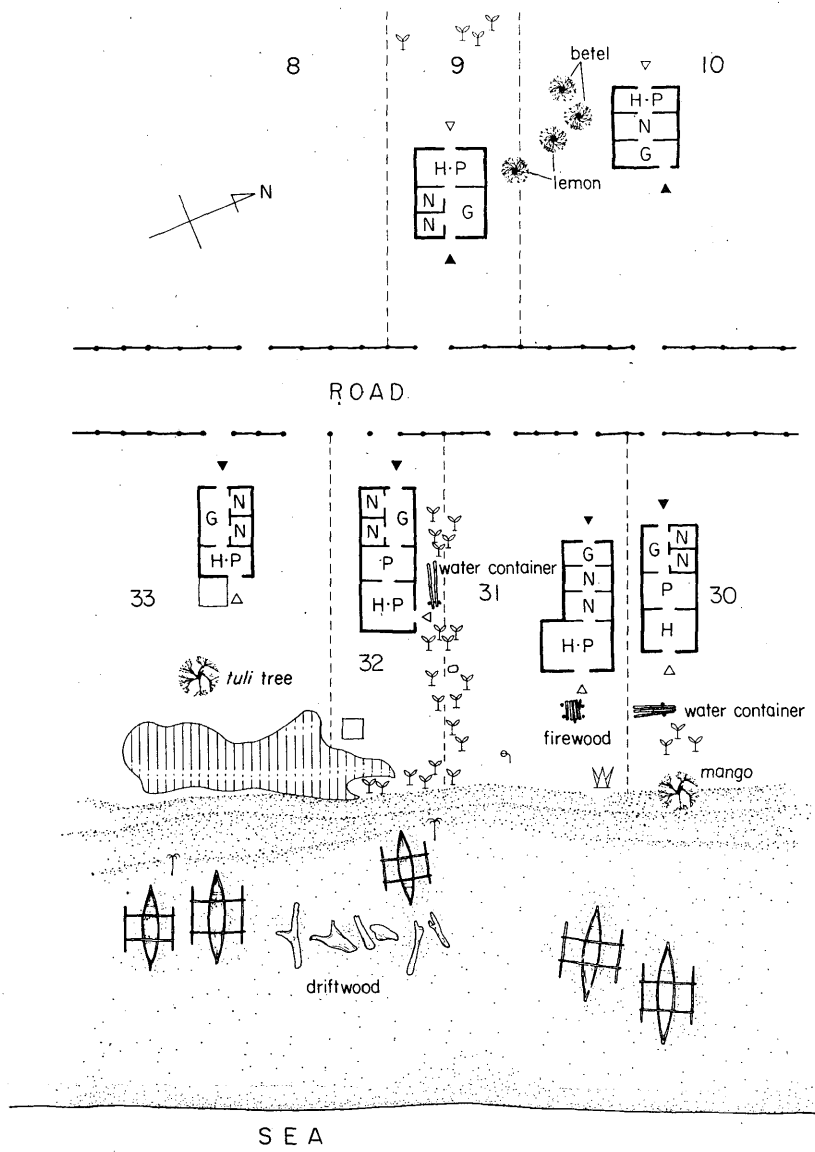


Photo. 1. The northern part of Limau Village. The large whited-walled house is the elementary school. Canoes are kept on the beach.



- | | | |
|---|------------------------|-----------------|
| lololo grass (<i>Ipomea pescaprae</i> Sweet) | boundary of house lots | |
| banana | small tree | <i>gandaria</i> |
| coconut | large tree | <i>ngihi</i> |
| pandanus | main entrance | <i>pandopo</i> |
| taro | rear entrance | <i>hito</i> |

Fig. 1. House lots.

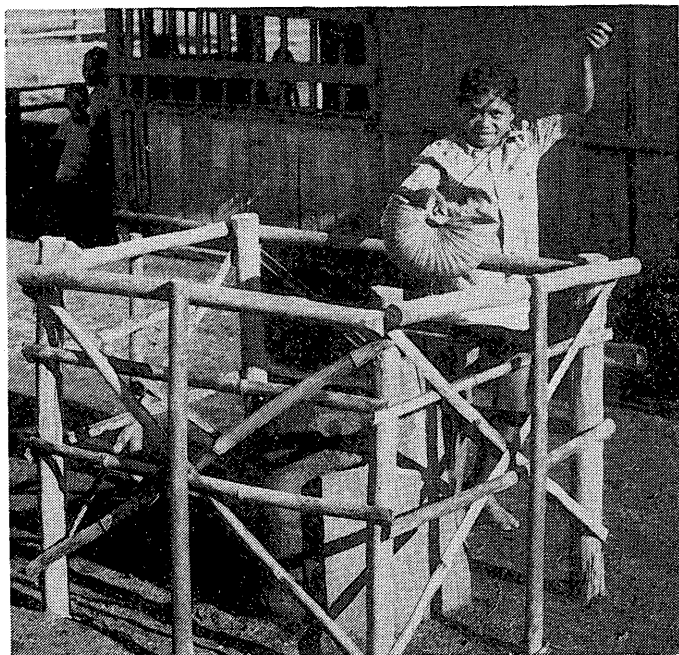


Photo. 2. A village well.

Freshwater is drawn from a well (*sumu*). Of the 7 wells in the village, all but that belonging to the mosque are located in individual house lots, and are used jointly by neighboring households (Photo. 2). The water level in the village is at a depth of 2–3 m. Well-water is drawn in a *sia-sia*, a basket made of *woka* leaves (Photo. 4, p. 197). Nowadays these have largely been replaced by plastic buckets with ropes attached. The drawn water is taken in a *kiloha* to the house. Drawing and carrying water is the task of women.

3. Floor Plan of the Houses

The Galela word for a “house” (*tahu*) means not only the physical structure of a house but also “a dwelling place” or “residence.” In its narrow sense, however, the word designates the main building of a house, as distinguished from subsidiary wings.

A house space is basically divided into 4 functional units:

- (1) *gandaria*: The living and drawing room, furnished with a table and chairs or benches;
- (2) *ngihi* (*jongihi*): The private room with a bed; the bedroom;
- (3) *pandopo*: The dining room, furnished with a dining table and chairs or benches (Photo. 5, p. 273); and
- (4) *hito*: The kitchen, with a furnace (Photo. 4, p. 271).

Of these four units, *gandaria* and *ngihi* must be in the main building, which usually has a hipped roof, whereas *pandopo* and *hito* are often built into small inde-

pendent wings with gabled roofs. The *pandopo* wing is usually smaller and has a lower roof than that of *hito*. These two wings, although architecturally independent, have earthen floors on the same level and are connected with each other via an entrance. Thus they can be reached directly from each other without going outside the house. The *pandopo* wing abuts on the rear of the main building which faces the road, and the *hito* wing in turn abuts on the back of *pandopo*. Thus *hito* is the rearmost unit of a house. The front entrance is placed in the main building, and the rear entrance in the wing of *hito*, with no external entrance to the *pandopo*. Presumably this arrangement within a house reflects the traditional construction pattern of large houses, as will be discussed below.

In practise, however, not all the 3 building units are necessarily found in a given house. Some houses have only 2 units and others combine the 3 into a single unit. The following 3 types of room arrangement can be distinguished (Fig. 2):

Type A: *tahu* (*gandaria*, *ngihi*)+*pandopo*+*hito*

Type B: *tahu* (*gandaria*, *ngihi*)+*hito* (*pandopo*)

Type C: *tahu* (*gandaria*, *ngihi*, *pandopo*, *hito*)

Type A, having 3 units, is found in some 50 percent of Limau houses. Type B has two units, *tahu* and *hito*. The *hito* here is a general term for the combination of *pandopo* and *hito* ("kitchen"), namely a kitchen *cum* dining room (Photo. 3). There are an equal number of Type B houses and Type C houses. Type C incorporates all the functional units into one building, *tahu*. The common practise in this case is not to set-off the *pandopo* as a separate room, but to have a kitchen *cum* dining room with dining furniture in the *hito*.

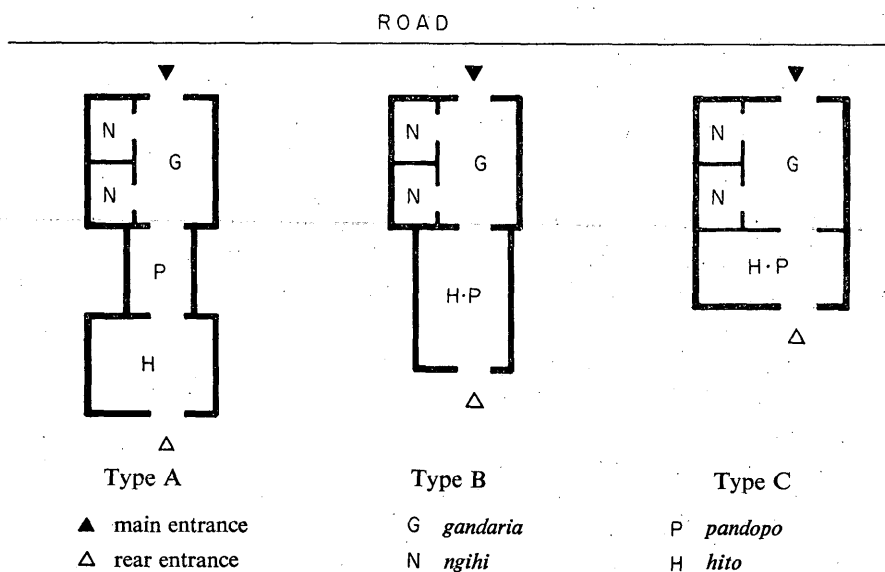


Fig. 2. Three types of room arrangement.



Photo. 3. Type-B house.

4. House Construction

Many Halmahera villages now employ the services of professional carpenters in lieu of village amateurs who formerly built their own houses. Houses built by professionals typically have planed balks of wood joined with nails, bolts and nuts, plastered walls, corrugated iron roofs and cement floors. Villagers admit the advantages of a carpenter-built house, including its larger size, durability, the advantage of having locks on the doors, and the beautiful appearance of a house that even has glass windows. Limau is a poor village, however, and thus has no carpenter-built houses, since such a house costs at least Rp. 100,000 for the construction materials alone, the greatest single expense being for the finished timbers.

A Limau villager who builds a house for himself starts by preparing the timber, thatch made from the leaves of the sago palm, and ropes. Forest trees are not individually owned and any villager is free to cut them. The timber used for the pillars at the 4 corners of a house (*golingaso*), which must strong enough to support the weight of the entire structure, is bought from a dealer in the village, because it should preferably be sawn and planed. Straight, debarked and dried logs are generally employed for the other wood materials and these logs are gathered by the owner of the house under construction. The roof (*rohe*) is thatched with sago leaves (*katu*). Although each sago palm has an owner who retains the right to extract starch, no permission is needed for gathering sago leaves to make *katu*.

In *katu*-making, sago leaves are first gathered, then transported from the swamp to the village (see Yoshida, this volume, pp. 113–114). The freshly prepared sago leaves, which are still green and flexible, are folded down the middle and placed in a row over a bamboo core, one leaf covering half the preceding leaf. A set of folded leaves is then fixed to the bamboo core by a strip of pierced bamboo skin (Photo. 4). One *katu*, consisting of about 45 sago leaves, is approximately 60 cm long and 130 cm



Photo. 4. Sewing sago leaves together.



Photo. 5. Drying *katu*.

wide. Both men and women participate in *katu*-making, and it takes a skilled *katu*-maker 7–8 minutes to complete a single set. On completion, the *katu* is spread-out and dried (Photo. 5). In addition to serving as thatch for the villagers' houses, *katu* is also sold in the Soasio market, where it is known as a special product of Limau Village, which has a sago forest. One *kaku* sells for Rp. 20.

Some 200 *katu* were employed to thatch the roof of the main building of the house shown in Fig. 4, Photo. 10, which is a representative of Limau houses in both type and size.

Although nails are used to join the main pillars and beams, ropes are also required to tie thin logs together or to attach *katu* to a roof. Ropes (*gumi*) are manufactured by hand. Some are made of coconut-husk fibers, but stronger ropes are fabricated from the "bark" fibers of the sugar palm (*gago*). To make double- or triple-yarn ropes, the *susoabalo* is employed. This is a cross-shaped plaiting device with a bamboo tube on the grip to facilitate holding. At the cross point of this device is a coil of hand-twisted ropes. Two *susoabalo* are manipulated to produce a double-yarn ropes, whereas three men, each holding one *susoabalo*, work together at plaiting a triple-yarn rope (Photo. 7).

The tool kit required for building a house consists of an axe (*basu*), bush-knife (*taito*), saw (*garagaji*, *Mal. gergaji*), hammer (*maretelu*, *Mal. martil*), chisel (*sosonoto*), plane (*sikafu*), rule (*meteru*) and square (*siku*, *Mal. siku*) (Photo. 8). Ordinary households, however, have only an axe and a bush-knife, borrowing the other tools from those who own them.

The construction of a house begins with heaping-up the earth 10–20 cm above ground-level on the construction site to prevent flooding during the rainy season. (The measuring unit for house building was formerly a "fathom," but this has now been replaced by the "meter.")

The wooden frame structure is illustrated in Fig. 3. This shows the natural stones used as plinths to hold the pillars, also the short posts which support the ridge

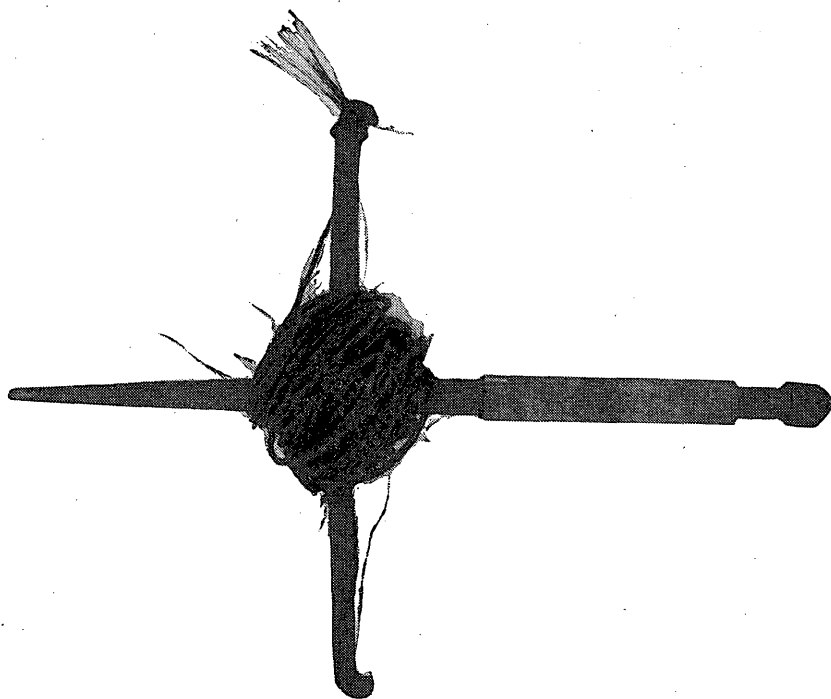


Photo. 6. Tool for making rope (*susoaboro*).

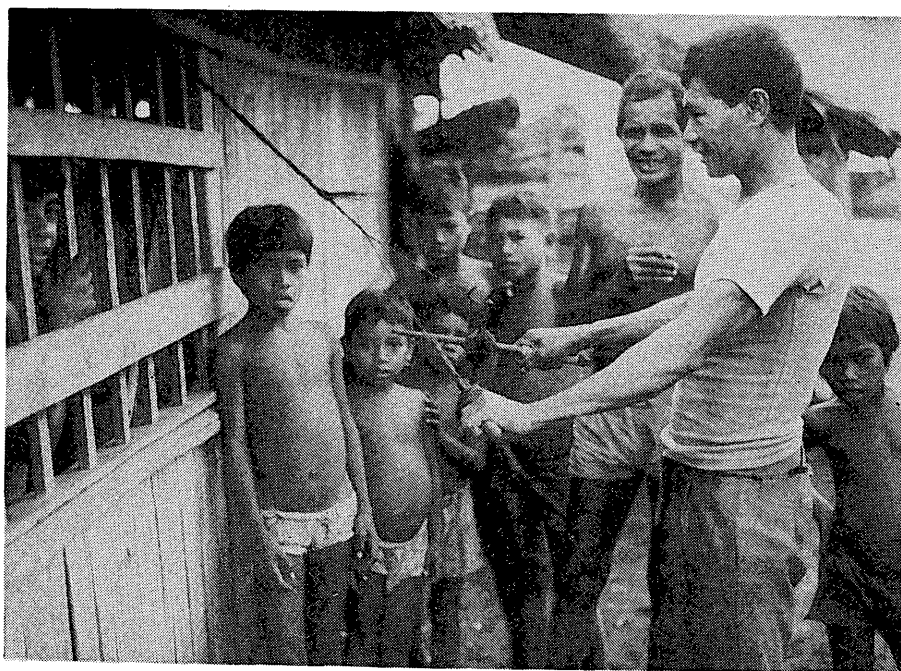


Photo. 7. Making a rope.

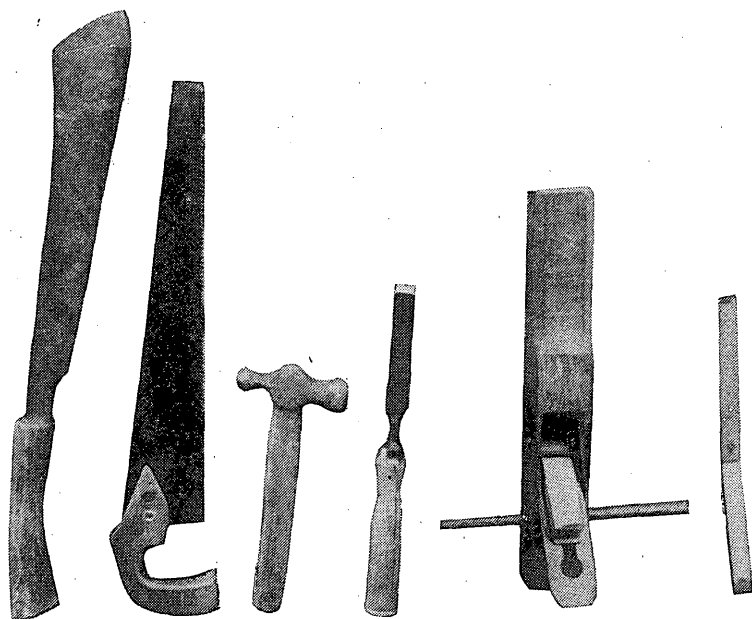


Photo. 8. A carpenter's tool-kit.

purlin (*moku*) represented as *tian raja* (Mal. *tiang raja* "king's pole"). It is said that a man who stands under the posts holding the purlin will suffer a misfortune, disease or death, caused by the spirit descending from above. This legend, the origin of which is unknown, is common throughout Maluku. To avoid passing or staying under the *tian raja*, the Galela plan the room arrangement so that the entrances do not correspond with the center line of the house, and in many cases walls rather than room spaces come directly below the purlin.

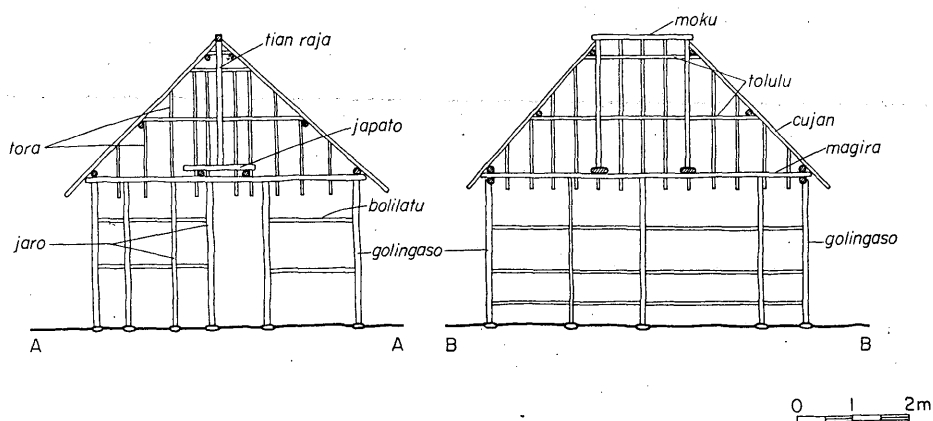


Fig. 3. Details of the construction of the Hs's house (structure of A-A and B-B section of Fig. 4).

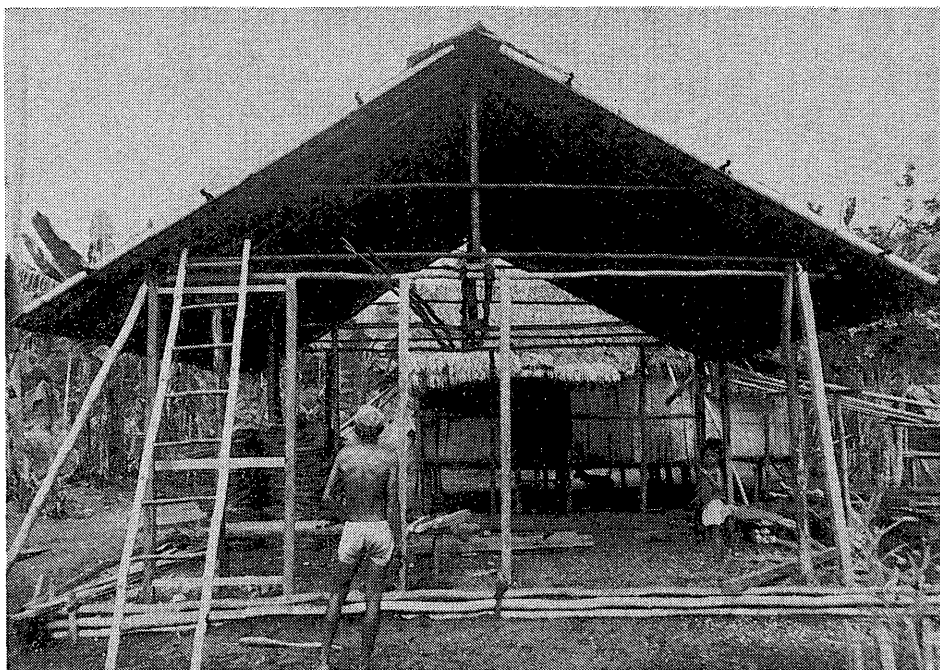


Photo. 9. Building a house.



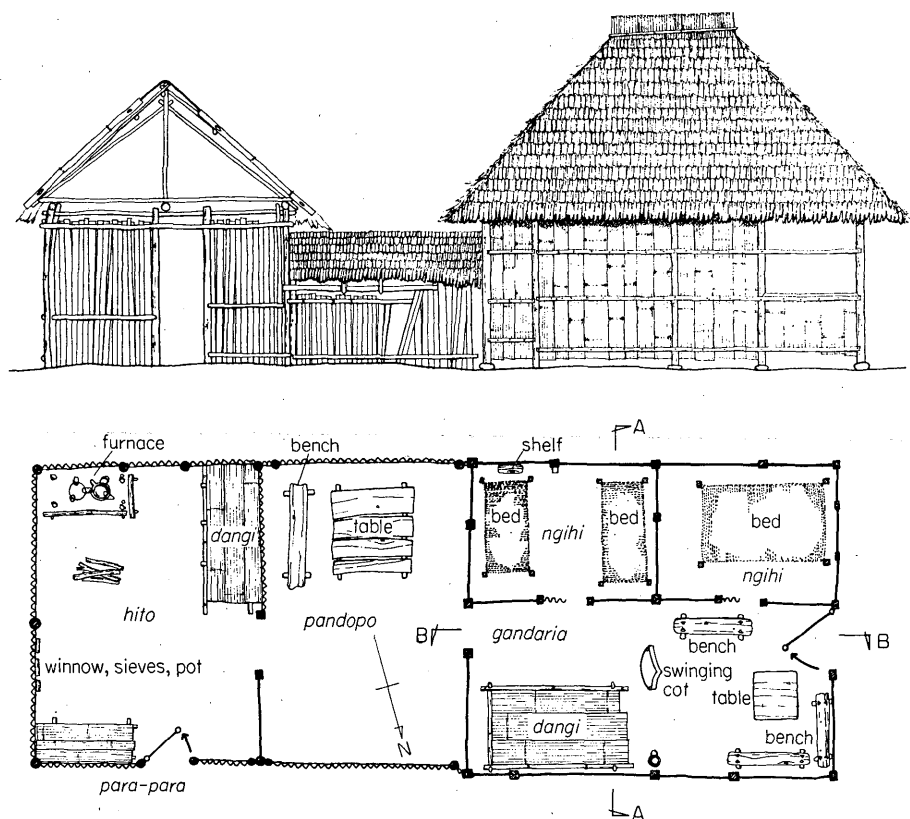
Photo. 10. Mr. Hs's house (Type A).

The term *beberesu* designates both house walls and room walls. The walls of the main building are generally made of *data*, a board made by chopping-up bamboo and removing the joints. This bamboo board is nailed to the cross bar (*bolilatu*). The use of *data* as wall material is assumed to have begun only after World War II, when nails started to be widely employed in house construction. Prior to that time, the leaf-stalks of sago palm (*uto*) were placed close together and wedged in position with crossbars at the back and front. Many *pandopo* and *hito* walls are still made of *uto*, as exemplified in the house shown in Fig. 4, the main building of which has walls of *data* whereas the *pandopo* and *hito* have *uto* walls.

5. The House of the Hs's Family

The medium-size house shown in Fig. 4, and belonging to Mr. Hs, is representative of the commonest Limau house type, Type A, with *tahu*, *pandopo*, and *hito* joined as mentioned above (Fig. 4, Photo. 10).

The construction of the main building (*tahu*) was mostly undertaken by Mr. Hs and his wife. The timber were gathered from the mountain forests over a long period. Sawing and finishing the architecturally important balks, such as *golingaso*, *tian raja*,



and *moku*, took 1 week, and cutting the smaller timbers, like the *tolulu*, with bush knives and axes, took 4 days. The *katu* used for roof thatching was prepared by the couple. The framework was built by Mr. Hs, who worked alone for a whole week, and with the help of his wife roof thatching was finished in 3 days. It then remained to make the bamboo walls. Assembling bamboo into *data* and putting them on the walls was completed in 1 day, with the aid of 9 young volunteers from the village. The volunteers were rewarded with a meal. Reciprocal assistance among villagers is quite common. In all such cases the helpers are usually rewarded with a treat rather than with money.

6. The Interior of a Typical Limau House

1) GANDARIA

As stated earlier, the front door of a Limau house faces the road. The front door (*ngora ma bobbe-rasu*) of Mr. Hs's house, which is made of bamboo, is attached to the entrance post (*jaro*) with ropes. (It should be noted that wooden doors have the advantage of being hinged and locked. A wooden door made by an amateur carpenter who makes furniture for sale in the village costs Rp. 3,000.)

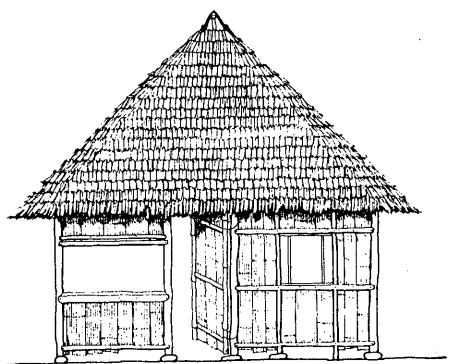


Fig. 4. House type and use of space in the Hs's house.

In every Limau house the front door leads directly to the *gandaria*. The table (*meja*) together with the bench (*bako*) or chair (*kursi*) is usually placed in this room. These 3 items are not the traditional furniture of a Galela house, as the terms are of Malayan origin. Mr. Hs's *gandaria* has 1 table and 3 benches, all hand-made. An opening in the wall behind the table serves as a window. It has no curtain and the room is open to public view. If a passerby notices Mr. Hs in the *gandaria*, he will enter the house, sit down on a bench, and start chatting.

In the rear corner of the *gandaria* is the *dangi*, made of *data* placed on a wooden frame about 50 cm in height. The *dangi* found in the *gandaria* of many Limau houses is a multi-purpose device that functions as a bed if covered with a mat, as a bench if sat on, or as a stand if items are placed on it. It functions as a bench for the family to relax on. In fact, the *data* is said to have been used as a bench before tables and chairs were introduced. Whereas a *data* in the bedroom (*ngihi*) serves as a bed for a particular person, that in the *gandaria* may be used in daytime by anyone to relax on. The man of the house and his male guests sit around the table in the *gandaria*, his wife and her female guests or the family members sit around the *data* in the same room. Thus the *data* provides a place of relaxation for people on familiar terms. The *data* is also used for napping by family members or as a place for a guest to sleep at night. In this way, the *gandaria* serves as both drawing room and living room.

Mr. Hs's *gandaria* has swinging cot (*didide*) made of cloth slung from a beam by two ropes. This is used by the baby during the daytime. In addition, Mr. Hs's *gandaria* is equipped with a bamboo stand for a hand lamp (*todenge*), placed on a wall pillar. The oil-burning unshielded lamp (*poci*) is made of an empty can. Other houses use an oil hurricane lamp (*lampu*) or a pressure lamp (*sutoronken*). At the beginning of this century the lamp was lit with resin obtained from a forest tree. In Mr. Hs's house the lamp in the *gandaria* is lit throughout night to prevent devils and other evil spirits from entering the house.

2) NGIHI

In the main building the *gandaria*, which is open to guests, contrasts sharply with the *ngihi*, a closed space reserved for family use, and serving primarily as a bedroom. The doors and windows of the *ngihi* can be closed to prevent intrusion. Thus in Mr. Hs's house, whereas the window in the *gandaria* has no curtain and is open year round, the road-side *ngihi* has a cloth curtain in its window. A bamboo or wooden door or a curtain may be put on the entrance to the *ngihi* so that the interior cannot be seen from the *gandaria*. The 2 *ngihi* of Mr. Hs's house have curtains on their entrances. In general, no special furniture other than the bed (*dangi*) is found in the *ngihi*. One of Mr. Hs's *ngihi*, for example, has only a shelf (*raku-raku*) to hold spare clothes and the like.

The number of *ngihi* per house varies depending on the size of the family. A common practice is to have 2 or 3 *ngihi*, one of which is shared by the husband and wife, and possibly by the infants. Children of the same sex often share one *ngihi*. In a large family, boys may sleep on the *dangi* in the *gandaria*. Two or 3 brothers or

sisters often share one *dangi*, whereas the husband and wife will have separate *dangi*. In Mr. Hs's house, one of the 2 *dangi* in the west *ngihi* is occupied by Mr. Hs and the other is shared by his wife, his 1-year-old daughter and his 3-year-old son. A 7-year-old sister uses the *dangi* in the *gandaria*. I occupied the road-side *ngihi*, which was left vacant. When his children grow older, Mr. Hs himself plans to move into this room, while his wife and his 2 daughters occupy the room Mr. Hs now uses, his son going to the *gandaria* for sleeping.

A flexible mattress made of pandanus leaves (*tungutu*) is placed over the bamboo board *data* that forms the top of a bed.¹⁾ The Mr. Hs's family sleep directly on such mattresses without using sheets or blankets. They sleep in loincloths. The pillow (*gogerena*) is a cloth bag stuffed with kapok.

3) PANDOPO

The *pandopo* is a dining room, basically furnished with the dining table (*meja*), a bench (*bako*) or a chair (*kursi*). Mr. Hs's *pandopo*, with a low ceiling and no doors on the entrances leading into the *gandaria* and *hito*, has only a *meja* and *bako*, both made by Mr. Hs. At mealtimes, food-laden dishes are brought from the kitchen to the table, and are removed after eating. As the head of the family, Mr. Hs will first finish his meal, and then his wife and children enter. This frees Mr. Hs from being disturbed by the young children. In other households where children are old enough



Photo. 11. *Tungutu* mat placed over a bamboo bed.

- 1) Pandanus mats are woven by women. In the Galela language, pandanus are classified into three groups, depending on the width of the leaf: *guluwe*, *ororo*, and *tabaluko*. Of these, *ororo* and *guluwe* are cut into thin pieces and plaited into the mat *tungutu*, which is mainly placed on a bed (Photo. 11). The broader leaves, *tabaluko*, and *ororo*, are placed end-to-end to form the mat, *kokoa*. The *kokoa* is not usually a sleeping mat but rather is a sitting mat or a raincoat worn over the head (Photo. 12).



Photo. 12. *Kokoa* mat used as a raincoat.

to eat by themselves, however, all the family eat together at the dining table, although the wife and children are excluded when male guests and male family members eat together in the *pandopo*.

The *pandopo* is also a woman's workroom. Sieves and pandanus raincoats are woven on the table. While the *pandopo*, shut off from the outside, is used by the wife, the *gandaria*, facing the road, is used by the husband for repairing fishing gear and the like.

4) HITO

This is the kitchen and is the housewife's domain. In a corner of this room is a fireplace (*rika*). Although traditionally a fireplace is set at ground level, increasingly they are being constructed on a shelf covered with earth, enabling the housewife to work standing up. The *rika* consists simply of a pot resting on 3 stones. In Mr. Hs' kitchen, however, 5 stones instead of 3 are placed in such a way that 2 pots can be heated at one time. A simple shelf consisting of 4 poles joined with bars is put over the fireplace. Firewood is piled on this shelf to be dried by the heat of the *rika* (Photo. 13).

In addition there are stands for pots, dishes, and foodstuffs. In Mr. Hs' kitchen a *dangi* and a *para-para* are used for this purpose. The *para-para*, derived from a Malay word, denotes a stand higher than the *dangi*. The *dangi* only reaches the height of a man's waist, whereas the *para-para* is at chest height.

On a kitchen wall is the *wararata*, a bamboo nest for hens, in which eggs are hatched (p. 265, Photo. 1).

Winnows, sieves, and pots also hang on the kitchen wall. (The utensils found in Mr. Hs' kitchen have been noted above, see Ishige, this volume pp. 270-274.) The rear entrance of the *hito* (*hito ma ngora*) in Mr. Hs' house has no door, and is open



Photo. 13. The kitchen fireplace (*rika*).

to the neighboring housewives as well as the family. Men cannot enter the house through the kitchen unless they first receive permission from the housewife.

7. Penalty for Trespassing in a House

Since the doors of Limau houses do not have locks and many houses even have no doors, as in the rear entrance to Mr. Hs's house, to break in would be easy. Although Limau houses thus have little physical protection against intrusion, a family's privacy is ensured by the customary law (*adati*, *Mal. adat*).

One can freely enter someone else's *gandaria* through the front door if a male member of the family is seen there; and women can freely enter the *hito* at the rear entrance if they find the housewife at home. Without permission, however, a person will not go into rooms other than the *gandaria*, nor will a woman admitted to the *hito* enter other rooms.

The *adati* inflicts a penalty on those who enter an uninhabited house, or on men who enter a house when the male members are away. Thus if a male visitor who asks for admission is informed that the male family members are away, he ought to retire. Disregarding such a notice, intruding into a house with women only, or into an unoccupied house incurs the sentence of *hukumu*, upon indictment, from the administrator of the customary law (*kapara adati*). The more private the area the intruded, the severer the sentence. The trespasser who has put his feet inside the *gandaria* entrance will be charged Rp. 2,500, and the one who has gone further into the *pandopo* or *hito*, will be fined Rp. 5,000. The severest penalty is inflicted on the trespassers of the bedroom *ngihi*, who must pay Rp. 24,000. The varying severity of a penalty shows that of the house space, the *ngihi* is most closed whereas the *gandaria* is relatively open. A fine collected on the basis of customary law is divided between the *kapara adati* and the victims.

8. The Structure of Traditional Houses

Formerly, the Galela were settled in locality groups known as *soa* (see Matsuzawa, this volume pp. 376–379), which consisted of several large houses (*tahu-lamo*). An extended family consisting of several couples and their children lived together in a *bangsaha*. In this century, under Dutch occupation, the *soa* were reorganized into administrative villages and the Galela were grouped into nuclear families. Although in the early 1930's some Galela still lived in the *bangsaha*, those who had abandoned their houses to take refuge in mountains to escape Allied air raids during World War II did not attempt to build new *bangsaha* at the end of the war. *Bangsaha* no longer exist in Galela.

The three types of Galela houses discussed above were introduced after the *bangsaha* was abandoned. Little is known, however, about the origin of this new house structure. One informant claims that it is an imitation of urban house structures found in Ternate, Ambon and other towns. The small-size, earth-floored house with a basic floor plan consisting of drawing room, bedroom, kitchen, and dining room, separated by bamboo walls, is not confined to Halmahera, but is widespread in Maluku. It can be assumed that the house type for nuclear families, comprising small buildings like *tahu*, has become popular with the modernization of Maluku and that it represents the common culture of this area.

Closer inspection of the details of this modern Galela house, however, reveals several relics of the *bangsaha* tradition. Only a few are mentioned here. (For detailed information on the *bangsaha*, see Matsuzawa, this volume pp. 373–376.)

A model of the *tahu-lamo* (lit. "a big house"), is shown in Fig. 9, p. 374. In this type the first room from the front entrance has only a waist-high wall, over which the interior of the room can be seen from outside. This room, furnished with chairs and benches, is used as both a living room and a drawing room, and thus corresponds to the *gandaria* of the modern house. Behind the *tahu-lamo* is a space consisting of what is now the recess of the *gandaria*, with the *dangi* for napping, and the *ngihi*. Since several couples lived together under a single roof, the old house had a greater number of *ngihi* than does the modern type. Most deeply recessed in the old house is a dining room, corresponding to the *pandopo*. The kitchen (*hito*) is located in a wing separated from the main building.

Thus if the total size of the *tahu-lamo* and the number of *ngihi* is reduced, and the *hito* joined to the *pandopo*, then the basic structure of the modern Limaü house will emerge. And just as the *tahu-lamo* counterpart of the *pandopo* had a low ridge, so the modern *pandopo* has a low roof. But there are other differences. Modern houses often have the *pandopo* situated in an independent wing connected with the main building. This, however, results from technical reasons. If a modern house, though small because only a nuclear family lives in it, is built without the services of professional carpenters, technical problems will arise in constructing the large frame structure for the *pandopo*, as does the problem of obtaining the long ridge timbers. In a modern house built by the villagers themselves it is inevitable that the *pandopo*

should be built in a separate wing and connected with the main building. In the past the same difficulty existed in building the big *tahu-lamo*, for which, however, professional carpenters were available.

II. CLOTHING

1. Modern Clothing

The clothes worn by the Galela today are of the same type as those used by other ethnic groups of Halmahera and the peoples of the other islands of Maluku. In terms of clothing, the Galela are basically typical of the common culture of Indonesia.

Since the Galela traditionally had no skill in the production of textiles, they are presumed to have made clothes from bark cloth. However, through the spice trade they acquired clothes made of the textiles imported into Ternate Island. Apparently most of the population usually wore textile clothes by the end of the nineteenth century. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the various types and designs of Galela clothes have been imported, and that the origins of almost all of their names for clothes are derived not from the Galela language but from Malay, formerly the *lingua franca* of Maluku. (For this reason the Malay or Indonesian equivalent for each item is included here in parenthesis, wherever possible.)

1) MEN'S CLOTHING

pakean (Mal. *pakaian*): The Indonesian word *pakaian* ("a uniform") refers to clothes in general. By *pakean* the Galela mean clothes in general in the broader sense as well as the uniforms of such officials as soldiers or policemen in the narrower sense. A *pakean sekola* (Mal. *pakaian sekolah*) is a school uniform (Photo. 5, p. 10).

baju (Mal. *baju*): Overclothes made of thick cloth, such as a business suit, a jacket, and a thick shirt that looks like a military uniform, are referred to by the general term *baju*. Since this is a tropical region where overclothes are not normally worn, the use of *baju* is usually restricted to ministers who wear it during religious services, and officers, policemen, soldiers, and the like who must wear it as their uniform.

In Limau just those few villagers engaged in official business have *baju*. *Baju* is worn in the village, only when the village chief occasionally wears it as a uniform or ministers dress in *baju* for services. A few people have a secondhand business suit which is mainly worn on the occasion of a kind of social dance party called a *longin*. This dance has become popular in the 1970's. Men who own a *baju* proudly wear it, to a *longin* (Photo. 14).

kameya (Mal. *kemeya*): A *kameya*, a collared shirt with buttons and either long or short-sleeves, is worn on formal occasions.

kosu (Mal. *kaus*): A word derived from the Dutch *kous*, meaning "stockings." The Malay word *kaus* is a general term meaning clothes of thin textile, and includes stockings: For example, a *baju kaus* can be the equivalent of a *kameya* and

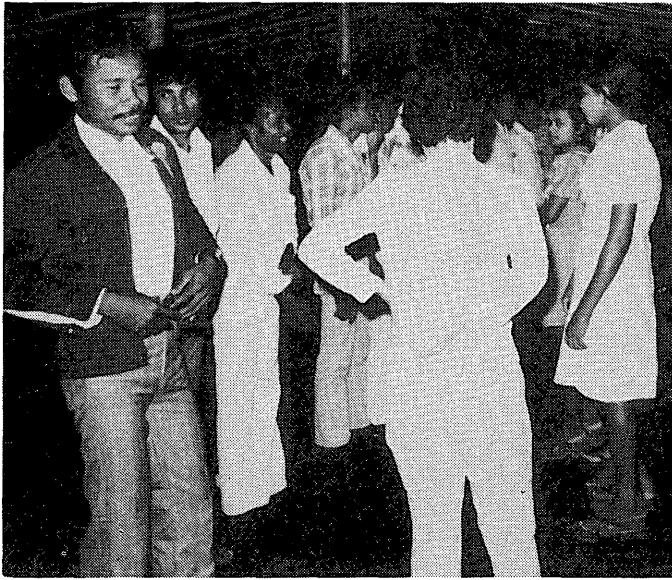


Photo. 14. A *longin*; the man on the left is wearing *baju* and *calana panjang* and the girl on the right has a *baju shose* and *manbo*.

a *kaus pendek* means an undershirt, like a T-shirt. On the other hand, the Galela use the word *kosu* to refer to a cotton T-shirt now popular with young men.

cola: An cotton athletic shirt often worn as working clothes. The word derives from the Sanskrit *cola*, short coat, an undershirt, or a jacket. A *cola* can be used instead of a *kosu* (Photo. 15).

calana (Mal. *celana*): A word meaning trousers, short breeches, and underpants in general. More specifically, a *calana panjang* (*panjang* being derived from the Indonesian *panjang*, "long") (Photo. 14), a *calana pendiku* (the Malay *pendek*, "short") (Photo. 17), and a *calana dalam* (the Malay *dalam*, "inside"), correspond to trousers, short breeches, and underpants, respectively. However, since it is not usual to wear both underpants and short breeches, a *calana dalam* and a *calana pendiku* frequently refer to one and the same thing.

baro (Mal. *sarung*): A men's cylindrical waistcloth made by stitching together both ends of a piece of cloth (Photo. 15). The origin of the word is unknown.

kofia (Mal. *kopiah*): This is the black cap usually worn by Moslems (Photo. 15). A white *kofia* is worn by Hadji, those who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. So far there is no Hadji in Limau. Young men occasionally wear a western-style cap made of cloth (Photo. 17).

sarau (origin unknown): Traditionally, the *sarau* was a hat made woven pandanus fibers with a round visor around a raised central part. It was decorated with Job's-tears, white shells or similar ornaments [BAARDA 1895: 400]. This kind of hat is no longer made, and has been replaced by a version using a simpler tech-

nique imported from Tidore Island, in which the strips of pandanus are woven into a conical form. A *sarau* can be purchased for Rp. 250, and that shown in Photo. 16 has a maximum diameter of 40 cm, and is worn by a man when fishing and farming. In Limau only 2 men use a *sarau*, the others going to work without one.

supatu (*Mal. sepatu*): Shoes, called *supatu*, are owned by less than 50 percent of the adult, male villagers. They are worn only on such formal occasions as ceremonies or a *longin*. Socks are called *tatapu ma kosu* (*Mal. kaus kaki*).



Photo. 15. A man playing a harmonica. He is wearing *kofia*, *cola* and *baro*.



Photo. 16. A man with *sarau*.



Photo. 17. Clothes for working; the man on the left is wearing *cole* and *calana pendiku*, the person in the middle has on a western-style *kofia* and *calana pendiku*, the man on the right is wearing *kosu* and *calana panjang*.

manbo: The word *manbo*, a common name derived from a dance called *mambo*, was imported from somewhere near Ambon or Ternate. It refers to rubber or vinyl sandals, the most popular footgear in the village. Both men and women usually have *manbo* and wear them when journeying beyond Limau (Photo. 14, 19).

The men of Limau usually wear a *kosu* or a *cola* over a *baro* or *calana pendiku* with no shoes' (Photo. 17). When working, men tuck the loincloth up to the waist. The dress most popular among young men is a combination of *calana panjang* and a *kosu* with a portrait of a film star printed on the front.

Only for attending religious services do the villagers dress-up. When going to worship in the mosque, Moslems wear a *kofia* and a *kameya* over a clean *baro*, and Christians dress in a *calana panjang* and *kameya* to go to church. Those who own shoes are expected to wear them.

Sometimes, small children of both sexes run about naked when playing during the daytime, but usually they wear a *kameya* and a *calana pendiku* (Photo. 18).

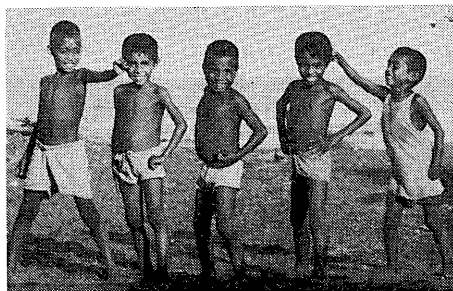


Photo. 18. Children playing on the beach.

The men in Limau ordinarily wear their hair short, but younger men have fashionably long hair. Hair is not cut by a professional barber, rather they cut each other's using scissors. A T-razor is used for shaving, and many wear a mustache.

Christians, both men and women, predominate among those wearing an ornamental ring (*ale-ale*, *Mal. cincin*). Most are made of cheap metal and are purchased in the market at Soasio. In former times it was apparently the custom for men to wear a bracelet on the right hand. Individuals wear a handmade bracelet of tortoise shell, or one of imitation gold or silver purchased in the market. Only six men and no women in Limau possessed a wristwatch at the time of our study.

2) WOMEN'S CLOTHING

kabaya (*Mal. kebaya*): A long-sleeved blouse. Today the national costume of Indonesian women is a combination of a loincloth (*kain*) and a *kebaya* worn over it. This is also true for Galela women, who usually wear a *kabaya* over a loincloth, called a *subaro* (Photo. 19).

baju panjang (*Mal. baju panjang*): A loose blouse with a knee-length skirt. A *baju panjang* typically was worn by women before the *kabaya* came into vogue. Nowadays it is little used. A *baju panjang* of white cloth is said to have been worn in Maluku, including Galela.

magiya titimisi (origin unknown): A blouse with half-length sleeves, in the European style.

baju kakaku (*Mal. baju kakak*, an Indonesian word presumably used only in Maluku): A one-piece Indonesian style dress that appears like a combination of a *kabaya* with a long, tight skirt. A *baju kakaku* is worn primarily by married women.

baju shose (*Mal. rok payun*): A one-piece dress in the European style with half-length sleeves and a broad skirt. It is worn mainly by unmarried women (Photo. 14).

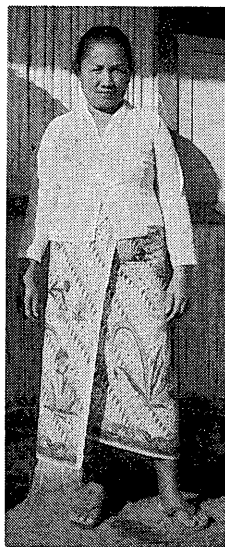


Photo. 19. A woman wearing *kabaya*, *subaro* and *manbo*.

subaro (*Mal. kain*): A loincloth worn by women. Unlike the men's loincloth, made mainly of check cloth stitched together at both ends, a women's loincloth is simply a large piece of *batik* cloth which a women wraps around her body up to the breast (Photo. 19).

setagen (*Mal. setagen*): A long, narrow sash tied over a waistcloth. Whereas in many parts of Indonesia a *setagen* is used as a sash tied over a *kebaya*, it is not popular in Galela, except among middle-aged or old women, who will occasionally wear one.

selendang (*Mal. selendang*): A long stole worn by an aristocratic lady when dressed in a *kebaya* and *kain*. (None were found in Limau.)

rok (*Mal. rok*): *Rok* is a skirt. Since it is more usual to wear a blouse over a waistcloth, women do not often use a skirt. It is, however, worn together with a blouse as a uniform by schoolgirls. Two adult women in Limau had a skirt.

rok dalam (*Mal. rok dalam*): A petticoat to be worn mainly under a one-piece dress.

cola (*Mal. beha*): This word means brassière. (*Calana*, in referring to women's clothes, means underwear in general.)

cipo (*Mal. cipo*): A white veil worn by female Muslims at worship.

supatu (*Mal. sepatu*) and **manbo**: Refer to shoes and sandals, respectively. In Limau only a few women have either a *supatu* or a *manbo*.

An unmarried women usually wears a *baju shose* over a brassière, petticoat and panties, whereas a married women wears the national costume common to all parts of Indonesia, i.e., a *kabaya* on a *subaro* with no underwear. Girls change clothes, wearing a *rok* and *magiya titimisi* (*pakean sekola*) to go to school, and a *baju shose* throughout their girlhood. It appears that women wear a European style costume before marriage and switch to traditional dress after they get married.

Hairstyles also differ between married and unmarried women. Girls wear their hair bobbed or in a ponytail, whereas married women usually wear their hair swept-back into a bun (*beleti*). The traditional hand-made comb (*wusi*, *Mal. sisir*) has been completely replaced by one made of plastic. Many families do not have a make-up mirror (*kasinanga*, *Mal. cermin*) and must borrow one from their neighbors in order to apply the cosmetics required for a ceremony.

2. Clothing of the Hs's Family

The number of the standard types of clothes owned by the Hs's family are shown in Table 1. In terms of clothing, this family can be regarded as an average Limau household. The family members change clothes after taking a cold bath. When the husband and the wife sleep they wear only an old *baro*, as do the other villagers. Except when going out at night or attending religious services, on Friday evenings, they customarily dress in their bedclothes directly after the evening bath and change into working clothes after taking a bath on the following morning.

It is only on Friday afternoon or evening that women worship at the mosque, apart from a pious few, so that the wife of the Mr. Hs usually does not change her

Table 1. List of clothes owned by the Hs's family

men's costume			
item	Mr. Hs	3 year-old son	
<i>sarau</i>			
<i>kofia (topi)</i>	1		
<i>baju</i>		2	
<i>kameya</i>	3	1	
<i>kosu</i>	1	2	
<i>cole</i>			
<i>baro</i>			
<i>calana pendiku (dalam)</i>	2	2	
<i>calana panjang</i>	1		
<i>ban</i>	1		
<i>pakean sekola</i>			
<i>kameya</i>			
<i>calana pendiku</i>			
<i>tapatu ma kos</i>			
<i>supatu</i>	1		
<i>manbo</i>	1		
women's costume			
item	Mr. Hs's wife	7 year-old sister	1 year-old daughter
<i>cipo</i>	1		
<i>kabaya</i>	1		
<i>baju panjang</i>			
<i>magiya titimisi</i>	2		4
<i>baju kakaku</i>	1	4	
<i>cole</i>			
<i>setagen</i>			
<i>selendang</i>			
<i>subaro</i>	4		
<i>rok dalam</i>			
<i>calana</i>		3	3
<i>pakean sekola</i>			
<i>magiya titimisi</i>		1	
<i>rok</i>		1	
<i>tatapu ma kos</i>			
<i>supatu</i>			
<i>manbo</i>			
common use			
<i>wusi</i>	1		
<i>handuku</i>	1		

clothes until taking the evening bath. She sometimes wears *kabaya* over a *subaro*, but it seems that being still young she usually wears a *magiya titimisi*.

The husband of the family, on the other hand, attends service at the mosque every afternoon or evening. Before he goes in the afternoon he takes a cold bath, removing the sweat-stained *cola* and *calana pendiku* used for the morning's work, and changing into a *kameya* and a *baro*, together with a *kofia*. On returning home he changes again into everyday wear for spending the afternoon at home.

The children of the family also change clothes when they take a cold bath in the morning and afternoon, although the three-year-old and one-year-old infants often spend the whole day naked. The seven-year-old girl makes a practice of changing into a *pakean sekola* (a school uniform), comprising a white blouse with half-length sleeves, and a reddish-brown skirt, after taking a bath. Village schoolboys wear a uniform consisting of a white shirt with half-length sleeves (*kameya*) and reddish-brown knee-length pants (*calana pendiku*). Because of the frequent change of clothes and the few spares, women of Limau are forced to wash laundry frequently, the wife of Mr. Hs does her family washing at least every other day. She goes to a stream to the north of the village and washes clothes in a washtub (*bokole*) with a bar of soap. After washing, the clothes are hung on a shelf (*pagare*) in front of the house. She usually finishes the laundry in the morning, and if the weather is fine, the clothes are ready for wearing that same evening.

While the wives of Limau are diligent in laundering, they have little skill in repair clothes, except for such an easy tasks as replacing buttons. Since most are ignorant of sewing clothes, they are forced to buy them ready-made.

Only two women in Limau are skilled in making clothes. One is a daughter of a store-owner who sews women's clothes on order, and who makes waistcloths for the men from pieces of cloth sold by the store. Both of the women specialize in sewing women's clothes, because, except for very simple sewing such as making a *calana pendiku*, men's clothing is beyond them. Only the families of these women have a sewing machine (*masin*).

The wife of Mr. Hs usually buys cloth that attract her in the Soasio market. Also she has clothes made by one of the skilled women. In an average year, she makes as many as two *subaro* and two *kabaya* or *baju kakaku*, and pays about Rp. 4,500 for the cloth plus a labor charge. Her husband, on the other hand, must pay about Rp. 3,000 per year to make a *calana panjang*, two *calana pendiku* and two *cola*. The family also purchase 2-3 towels (*handuku*, *Mal. handuk*) per year, which they use when taking a bath.

3. Clothing Used in Former Times

The book, *Halmahera en Morotai* shows that both the men and the women of Galela wore clothes made of cloth [BARETTA 1917: picture III-X]. From a photograph taken at a gathering held by the village chief and some other men, it appears that a close-buttoned jacket, or a *baju* (sack coat), and a *calana panjang* (long trousers

in the European style) or a *calana o gila*, long trousers made of colorful check cloth, commonly were worn by the men of the Maluku Islands.

Other photographs show casually dressed men wearing a *baro* up to the waist like skirt or simply covering their genitals and buttocks by tucking up a *baro*, their chests being bare or covered with a *baju*. One man appears to be wearing a loincloth of bark cloth, but the picture is not clear enough to permit a definite statement on the material used. One notable difference between the clothes of that period and those of today is the addition of the Moslem *kofia*. In former times many men wore a cloth turban (*tuara, Mal. lenso*). Today the turban is no longer worn except as a costume for the war dance, *cakalele* (Photo. 3, p. 250).

Some pictures show women wearing a *kabaya* over a *subaro* or simply covered to the breast in a *subaro*.

It appears, therefore, that by the beginning of the twentieth century most of the Galela had already started wearing imported clothes. It is known that bark cloth was formerly made in Sulawesi, Seram, and Halmahera. The Galela are also said to have worn bark cloth clothes before the introduction of textile goods, since they were not skilled at weaving. In this century, as cloth goods have come into common use, the villagers have forgotten how to make clothes of bark cloth, and none remain in Galela. It is said, however, that the people had to make bark cloth under the guidance of some old men, when cloth goods became unavailable during World War II.

III. HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY

1. Cash Income

An examination of Limau household economics was made using the Galela Hs family as an example. The economic activity of his household involved mainly foodstuffs, clothing and other household necessities.

Men over 19 years of age must pay a head tax of Rp. 500/yr. In addition, households with a large income are charged an income tax. Of the 41 households in Limau only 7 pay income tax. All the tax-paying households own many coconut trees and derive a considerable cash income from the sale of copra. As Mr. Hs pays only a head tax he cannot be described as well-off by Limau standards. Nevertheless, he works hard and produces copra, sago and smoked fish which he sells to maintain an average level of living, according to the estimate of his neighbors.

Of the crops cultivated by Mr. Hs (p. 268) only copra is sold for cash, the remainder being reserved for family consumption. He produces about 900 kg/yr of copra. One village resident is a copra broker who purchases copra produced in Limau and sends to the Soasio market. At the time of our research, 100 kg of copra wholesaled for Rp. 1,100, thus the Hs's household earned about Rp. 9,900/yr from the sale of copra.

Mr Hs is keen on producing sago starch, and he processes at least one sago palm per a month. As mentioned above, sago is measured by the *ruru*. Even in a relatively poor month 4 *ruru* of sago can be obtained. During the period of our

research, 8 *ruru* were produced in October, and 15 in November. Less than 2 *ruru* family/month are consumed and the remainder is sold either in Soasio or to those villagers who do not extract sago. In the Soasio market 1 *ruru* of sago fetches Rp. 700, and at Limau Rp.500.

In principle, fishing is limited to family subsistence needs, but a small quantity of mackerel and barracuda are occasionally smoked and sold. In Soasio, 6–7 smoked *leanga*, each about 20 cm in length, can be sold for Rp. 100. However, even when in season, less than 200 *leanga* are sent to the market.

In addition, *katu*-making provides a source of cash income. A skilled villager can weave a piece of *katu* in 7–8 minutes, and this fetches Rp. 20 in the market. However, Mr. Hs is not keen on making *katu*, and in 1976 made none.

A mature chicken sells for about Rp. 700 in the market. But chickens are sold only on extraordinary occasions when there is a need for immediate cash. In principle they are reserved for household consumption. The Hs's household possessed 3 adult chickens.

Mr. Hs's cash income for November, 1976 was as follows. During this month, 15 *ruru* of sago were made, 5 of which were sold in the Soasio market and 4 at Limau. This yielded Rp. 5,500. The remaining starch was reserved for family consumption. He also sold some smoked *leanga* for Rp. 1,500. However, Mr. Hs had borrowed some money from the villager who purchased the sago, so no cash income was realized from these sales.

However, November falls in the agricultural slack season, so Mr. Hs could concentrate his efforts on sago extraction. It is also the season when the migratory *leanga* found are in the waters of Limau and when plenty of smoked fish can be produced. The cash income obtained in other months is probably much less, and over the year Mr. Hs averages Rp. 3,000–3,500 per month.

In other villager households cash can be obtained from different sources. Four families own large saws for felling trees. They saw the trees into rectangular pieces which they sell in the Soasio market. There are 4 grocery stores in Limau, 1 of which is run by a merchant from Soasio, and the other 3 by villagers during their spare time. The store "C" in Table 3, run by a villager, takes-in about Rp. 1,000 per day. Another villager is a part-time carpenter who makes household furniture, doors, sago beaters and the like. One villager is also a specialist fisherman who exploits an area far distant from Limau.

A few members of the village draw monthly salaries from the local government: The village headman (Rp. 2,000), his assistant (Rp. 1,000), the village clerk (Rp. 1,500), and the chief of culture and sports (Rp. 500). These are all part-time offices, the holders of which depend on agriculture or other activities for their main subsistence. The only full-time salaried positions in the village are held by the primary school teacher and the minister of the Christian church.

2. Expenditure of Cash

Apart from rice, sugar, tea, salt and a few vegetables, all the food needs of the Hs's

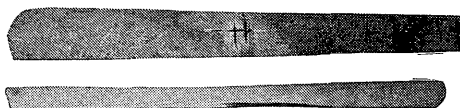
Table 2. Monthly expenditure for consumer items in the Hs's household

item	unit	expenditure (Rp.)
rice	5 kg	875
sugar	3 kg	300
salt	3 packs	300
vegetables		250
tobacco		250
laundry soap	5	250
toilet soap	3	250
lamp oil	10 bottles	200
total		2,475

household are met from the production of its own fields. Table 2 shows the household's monthly purchases of consumer items. It does not include the purchase of consumer durables, head tax or the donation to the mosque. The expense of costly items such as clothing or consumer durables is often met by selling copra or some other commodity. Such expensive goods are available in Soasio but not in Limau.

Table 3 shows the kinds of goods available from the stores in Limau. Store "A" is that run by a merchant from Soasio. It is open 3–4 days a week, when the proprietor stays in the village. The other stores (B, C and D) are open during their owner's spare time. A comparison of Table 2 with Table 3 shows that all the Hs's household monthly purchases can be made in the Limau stores. But the same goods are somewhat cheaper in Soasio, so Mr. Hs goes there once or twice a month to make his purchases.

As shown in Table 2, the monthly expenses of the household amount to Rp. 2,457. Besides these basic necessities are matches and tea, which are not shown in Table 2.²⁾ However, the expense for matches and tea probably does not amount to more than Rp. 200/month. Other villagers confirmed that it requires Rp. 3,000/month to cover essential household expenses in Limau. Including the miscellaneous expenses for occasional purchases this figure probably represents the average monthly expenses of a typical Limau household. The other main, annual expenses of the household are estimated more than Rp. 7,500 for clothing per couple, the purchase of dishes and cooking utensils (Rp. 1,500–2,000), and for the head tax (Rp. 500).

**Photo. 20.** A bamboo fire saw; the upper section is the bed and the lower is the saw.

- 2) Matches (*giru-giru*) and a kerosene lighter (*stekel*) are used to light fires. A bamboo fire saw (*sosilihi*) is kept in the field hut in case the household runs out of matches or they become wet (see Photo. 20).

Table 3. Goods typically available from the stores in Limau

item	store A	store B	store C	store D
rice		○	○	○
wheat flour	○	○	○	○
baking powder	○			
salt	○		○	
sugar	○	○	○	○
tea	○		○	○
bread	○		○	○
crackers	○			
tobacco	○			
cigarettes	○		○	○
onion			○	○
garlic			○	○
cooking pan				○
matches	○			
lamp oil	○	○	○	○
talcum powder	○			
laundry soap	○		○	
toilet soap	○			
loin cloth	○			○
pomade				○
fishing-line		○		
dry cell battery	○			

IV. AN OUTLINE OF MATERIAL CULTURE

1. Introduction

This section describes the tools, farm implements, containers, furniture and other items used by the inhabitants of Limau, as background material for an analysis of the articles used in their daily life, particularly the material aspect.

Tools and utensils used for food processing and eating, clothing, and the material culture of fishing are excluded here, having been discussed already. Also, because they are described elsewhere, houses, and the road and fences adjoined them are also excluded. This discussion concentrates on these aspects shown in Table 4. However, tools used to construct canoes and fishing gear are also used to produce other implements, and for this reason they are mentioned again. Table 4 is concerned with movable items, except such things as food or matches, which are consumed in a relatively brief period of time. Aspects of the material culture depicted here focus on the completed artifact, hence consideration of the raw material used is excluded.³⁾

3) The grindstone is probably an exception to this principle, since it is not processed before being put to use, being simply collected from the mountains and used in its natural state. It is not, therefore, an artifact in the strict sense. However, after repeated use over a long period it bears the trace of constant sharpening. If this is recognized as a kind of processing, then an old grindstone can be included as an artifact.

A bamboo cylinder (*iba*) containing unhulled, seed rice is used in sowing upland rice. It is discarded when sowing has been completed. This kind of tool is also excluded from the Table. The Table is restricted to a consideration of articles always found in any average household. Articles found in schools, churches and mosques are not included. Data were not gathered on such small items as potions, religious articles, photographs, letters, documents or children's toys.

Keeping such constraints in mind, and combining information on the material culture of fishing, food processing and eating and clothing, the basic tools used to sustain daily life in Limau are all listed in Table 4. The basic data used to complete this table were obtained from Mr. Hs.

Owing to time constraints it was impossible to make a detailed survey of the material culture in all Limau households. Data on those items not present in the Hs's household are based on the author's observations of other households together with those provided by the informant. The informant was relied on also to indicate those items common to all households and those which are rather exceptional. The survey was made also of the techniques used to manufacture the various items. Homemade items are indicated in Table 4 by a plus sign (+).

In Table 4, units of material culture are distinguished according to the Galela language. In principle, items are classified according to word distinction. For instance, *diha* means a knife with a blade about 30 cm in length. *Diha o pela*, which is expressed in more than one word, distinguishes among the various *diha* a falcion-shaped knife. Such a distinction is not made in Table 4, where *diha* is adopted as a unit. The English and Malay (Indonesian) names for the items classified according to the Galela language are also given in Table 4.

2. Explanation of Items

This section briefly describes the artifacts shown in Table 4. Items of the material culture described or depicted elsewhere are noted in parentheses.

Tools

Most of the tools used for manufacturing other items (No. 1-17) are edged tools. Blades for them are not produced by the village blacksmith but instead are purchased in Soasio or Tobelo town. Villagers fabricate only the wooden handles.

Diha (1) indicates a general, multi-purpose knife, that is used for such purposes as fabricating other items, food processing, or, in former days, for self-defense.

Of two kinds of bush knife, (*suambel*, 2) has a blade 50-60 cm long, curving near the top like a saber. The blade is made from thin steel. This knife is modelled on that introduced into Southeast Asia and Oceania during colonial times and which is a universal agricultural tool in this region (Photo. 14. p. 161). The *taito* (3) has a straight blade about 40 cm long and which is heavier and thicker than that of the *suambel*. It is used for cutting or shaving wood (Photo. 9, p. 460).

(4) The most important use of the axe is for felling trees during swidden-making. Of the two kinds of adze, (*patu-patu*, 5) is used for constructing a dugout canoe. The

Table 4. Items of material culture

	No.	English	Galela	Malay (Indonesian)	A	B	C
tool	1	knife	<i>diha</i>	<i>pisau</i>	2		
	2	bush knife	<i>suambel</i>	<i>sabel</i>		1	
	3	bush knife	<i>taito</i>	<i>parang</i>	1	1	
	4	axe	<i>basu</i>	<i>kampak, (kapak)</i>	1	1	
	5	adze	<i>patu-patu</i>	<i>rimbas, (beliung)</i>			
	6	adze (with narrow blade)	<i>galo-galo</i>	<i>beliung</i>			
	7	saw	<i>garagaji</i>	<i>gergaji</i>			
	8	file	<i>garagaji-besi</i>	<i>kikir</i>			
	9	grindstone	<i>dodiodo</i>	<i>batu gosok</i>	1	1	+
	10	plane	<i>sikafu</i>	<i>ketam, (serut)</i>			
	11	plane	<i>galis</i>	<i>serut</i>			
	12	chisel	<i>susuga</i>	<i>pahat</i>			
	13	chisel	<i>sosonoto</i>	<i>pahat</i>			
	14	gimlet	<i>bobore</i>	<i>bor</i>			
	15	hammer	<i>maretelu</i>	<i>martil, (palu)</i>			
	16	tool for making rope	<i>susoaboro</i>	<i>alat pemintal tali</i>			+
	17	bellows	<i>dua-dua</i>	<i>semperong, (puputan)</i>			+
measure	18	rule	<i>meteru</i>	<i>meter, (meteran), pengukur</i>			
	19	square	<i>siku</i>	<i>siku</i>			
sewing	20	scissors	<i>guguti</i>	<i>gunting</i>			
	21	needle	<i>jati</i>	<i>jarum</i>	2		
	22	sewing machine	<i>masin</i>	<i>mesin</i>			
agriculture	23	hoe	<i>pacu</i>	<i>pacul</i>			
	24	shovel	<i>sionga</i>	<i>sekop</i>		1	
	25	reaping knife	<i>gutu-gutu</i>	<i>ani-ani, (ketam)</i>			
	26	digging stick	<i>tutudu</i>	<i>linggis kayu</i>		2	+
hunting	27	spear (with iron point)	<i>galati</i>	<i>tombak besi</i>	1		+
	28	spear (wooden)	<i>ngipo</i>	<i>lembing</i>			+
	29	spear (bamboo)	<i>taba</i>	<i>bambu runcing</i>			+
	30	bow & arrow	<i>ngangami</i>	<i>busur, anak panah</i>			+
	31	lasso for snare	<i>dodeso</i>	<i>perangkap</i>	4		+
fire and lamp	32	lighter	<i>sutekelu</i>	<i>korek api</i>			
	33	fire saw	<i>sosilihi</i>	<i>kasi giring, (kasi-kasi)</i>			+
	34	unshielded lamp	<i>poci</i>	<i>lampu kitir, (lampu tangan)</i>	2	2	
	35	lamp	<i>lampu</i>	<i>lampu, (pelita)</i>			
	36	pressure lamp	<i>sutoronken</i>	<i>lampu strongking</i>			
	37	flashlight	<i>senteru</i>	<i>senter</i>			

	No.	English	Galela	Malay (Indonesian)	A	B	C
container	38	carrying basket	<i>kiaro</i>	<i>saloi, (keranjang gendong)</i>	1		+
	39	trunk	<i>tasi</i>	<i>tas, (kopor)</i>	1		
	40	box	<i>borua</i>	<i>dos, (kotak), (peti)</i>	1		
	41	jute sack	<i>karon</i>	<i>karun</i>	1		
	42	wall basket	<i>sia-sia</i>	<i>timba</i>			+
	43	bucket	<i>emberu</i>	<i>ember</i>	2		
	44	bamboo rice seed container	<i>moluka</i>	<i>tabung biji</i>	4		+
	45	water container	<i>kiloha</i>	<i>tabung air</i>	1		+
	46	ceramic rice seed pot	<i>moluka</i>	<i>tempayan</i>			
furniture	47	bed	<i>dangi</i>	<i>tempat tidur</i>	4		+
	48	pillow	<i>gogerena</i>	<i>bantal</i>	5	2	+
	49	sleeping mat	<i>jungutu</i>	<i>tikar</i>	3		+
	50	mat	<i>kokoa</i>		2		+
	51	swinging cot	<i>didide</i>	<i>bubue, (buai)</i>	1		+
	52	table	<i>meja</i>	<i>meja</i>	2		+
	53	bench	<i>bako</i>	<i>banku</i>	2		+
	54	chair	<i>kursi</i>	<i>kursi</i>			+
	55	ladder	<i>ngutu</i>	<i>tangga</i>			+
dance & music	56	drum	<i>gosoma</i>	<i>tifa, (gendang), (tambur)</i>			+
	57	gong	<i>lipa</i>	<i>gong</i>			
	58	viola	<i>fioru</i>	<i>biola</i>			+
	59	guitar	<i>gitaru</i>	<i>gitar</i>			+
	60	harmonica	<i>harumonika</i>	<i>harmonika</i>			
	61	shield	<i>salawako</i>	<i>perisai</i>	1		+
stationery	62	pen	<i>pena</i>	<i>pena</i>			
	63	pencil	<i>pensilu</i>	<i>pensil</i>	3		
	64	notebook	<i>buku note</i>	<i>buku catatan</i>	2		
	65	book	<i>buku</i>	<i>buku</i>			
others	66	sago beater	<i>ngangalo</i>	<i>penumbuk sagu</i>	1		+
	67	radio	<i>radio</i>	<i>radio</i>			
	68	wristwatch	<i>lonjin</i>	<i>jam tangan</i>			
	69	domino set	<i>domino</i>	<i>domino</i>			

Notes: A=Hs's house B=Hs's field hut C=made in the village

a kind with a narrow blade (*galo-galo*, 6), is used for the fine cutting of lumber or for finishing a canoe.

The saw, (*garagaji*, 7), is for cutting felled timber. Most carpenters make do with a bush knife and an axe rather than a saw (Photo. 9, p. 460).

The file (*garagaji-besi*, 8) is used mainly for setting the teeth of a saw. A naturally occurring stone serves as a grindstone (*dodiodo*, 9).

There are two types of plane, (*sikafu*, 10), used for planing boards (Photo. 9, p. 460), and *galis* (11), for cutting fine grooves. There are also two kinds of chisel: *Susuga* (12) is used to make a board, whereas the *sosonoto* (13) is used with a hammer (*maretelu*, 15) to make a hole (Photo. 8, p. 460). The gimlet (*bobore*, 14), tool for making rope (*susoaboro*, 16) (Photo. 6, 7, p. 459), and forge (*dua-dua*, 17) (Fig. 2, p. 251) are illustrated by photographs or figures on the pages indicated in parentheses.

The adze with a narrow blade *galo-galo* (Photo. 37, p. 242) plane (*galis*) and chisel (*susuga*) are used by men who moved to Liman from Sangih Island. Native villagers do not possess them. Although these kind of adze and plane were unknown to the Galela their absence presented no difficulty for constructing of the traditional house or canoe. Moreover the plane (*sikafu*), chisel (*sosonoto*) and gimlet are owned only by those who do carpentry as a side-job (p. 478). Two households own a bellows, 4 an adze and 3 a saw. No information was obtained on the ownership of hammers and tool for making rope but possibly a few households have them. Tools found in every Limau household are the knife, 2 types of bush knife and the axe. When other tools are required, they are borrowed from within the village.

Measure

The fathom is the linear unit used in daily life and is not limited to just fishing activities. Recently, however, it has been more common for new houses to be measured metrically. This probably reflects official regulations, that use the metric system (Photo. 9, p. 460). Two metric rulers were owned by village households. One belonged to the part-time carpenter, who also possessed a square. There is no balance for weighing in Limau. Copra is sold by the gunny sack and sugar by the package, when it is necessary to weigh something the balance brought by the copra broker is used.

Sewing

Only two village women know how to make clothes. There is one sewing machine (*masin*, 22) in each of their houses. As clothes are not homemade but are purchased as finished goods, needles (*jati*, 21) are used only for making repairs. They are found in every household. Many households possess a thick sewing needle, used for making pandanus mats (*kokoa*, 50). These mats also function as a raincoat (Photo. 12, p. 466 and Photo. 13, p. 485). This large needle is not used for sewing cloth. Sewing is rarely done, and scissors (*guntir*, 20) are used more for hair-cutting. Few families own scissors.

Agriculture

These are no specialized agricultural tools, but the axe or bush knife used to clear fields and harvest crops are indispensable. The hoe (*pacu*, 23) is used to harvest sweet potatoes, but some households do without it (Photo. 22, p. 175). A digging



Photo. 21. Sewing together *koko* mat. On a bamboo stand is the unshielded lamp (*poci*).

stick (*tutudu*, 26), usually a temporary tool made by sharpening any suitable piece of wood found in or around the field site, is used for sowing seeds (Fig. 10, p. 176 and Photo. 25, p. 177). Occasionally, a digging stick is kept for re-use. Often, root crops are harvested with the bush knife, but a shovel (*sionga*, 26) may be used. Mostly it is used for weeding. The *sionga* looks like a small bush-knife with a broad blade (Photo. 23, p. 175). Only a few families have a western shovel, also called *sionga*. The reaping knife (25) is a special tool used to reap rice (Photo. 27, p. 178). Mostly, however, a knife (*dih*) is used instead. Galela agriculture uses few special tools and most operations can be performed adequately with just an axe, bush knife and digging stick. This is similar to the situation observed among Oceanian vegetative planting agricultural systems, which indicates that the main part of Galela agriculture, even now, depends on crops that reproduce vegetatively.

Hunting

Hunting is discussed in detail in an earlier chapter in this volume. Tools used for hunting are not used against men, and nowadays the Galela do not possess special weapons.

Fire and Lamp

Fires and lamps are lit with matches, but because this article is consumed it is excluded from Table 4. The lighter (*sutekelu*, 32), fueled by kerosene, is used mainly by young men for lighting cigarettes. A fire saw (*sosilihi*, 33), made of dried bamboo is used sometimes. It is kept at the field hut in case the matches become unusable or run out (Photo. 20, p. 479). The unshielded lamp (*poci*, 34) is widespread in Limau (Photo. 21). About one-third of village households possess a lamp with a glass chimney (*lampu*, 35). Only a few families own a relatively expensive pressure lamp

(*sutoronken*, 36). When public meetings are held, a pressure lamp is called for. Several families own a usable flashlight (*senteru*, 37). Other families had a flashlight that did not function properly.

Container

The carrying basket (*kiaro*, 38) is a household necessity, because everyday village women uses one to carry harvested crops of firewood from the fields (Photo. 22). *Tasi* (39) is the general name applicable to all kinds of bag, including trunks and briefcases. All *tasi* are purchased and most are made of vinyl. They are not used for carrying but rather to store clothes or fancy items. A cardboard or wooden box

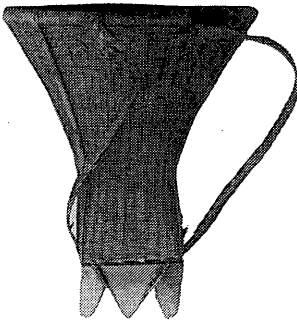


Photo. 22. Carrying basket (*kiaro*).



Photo. 23. Ceramic base rice container (*moluka*); repaired using rattan.

(*borua*, 40) is also used for the same purpose. Jute sacks (*karon*, 41) are used to store rice and copra. Various vessels are used as water containers, including the well basket (*sia-sia*, 42), bucket (*emberu*, 43) and a bamboo water container (*kiloha*, 45) (Photo. 3, p. 271). A container for seedrice (*moluka*, 44) is made from a bamboo cylinder 10 cm in diameter and 1–1.5 m long. Both rice for food and unhulled rice for next year's seed can be stored in the *moluka*. Only one old ceramic *moluka* (46) was found in Limau. It was a Ching dynasty vase that was probably imported from Ternate (Photo. 23). In former times it is said that such a vase was used as a wedding gift. The bride presented the bridegroom a vase containing rice, and the bridegroom gave his bride a vase containing sugar palm syrup.

Furniture

Each item of furniture has been mentioned above in the description of a house-ing.

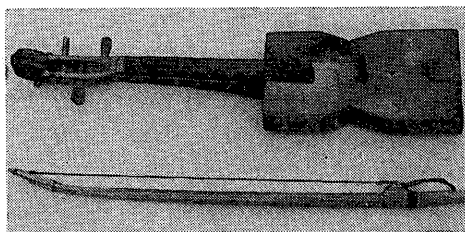
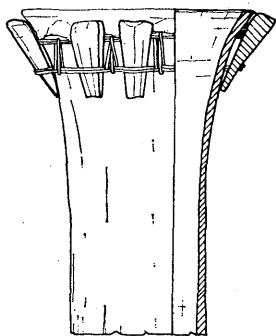
Except for a swinging cot, which is limited to families with babies, and a ladder, every item listed is found in each family. There are two types of ladder (*ngutu*, 55). The first (Photo. 9, p. 461), is used for house construction and re-roofing, and the second (Photo. 37, p. 311) for collecting palm sap.

Dance and Music

Dancing is highly popular with all villagers. Young adults go willingly to dances in every village, which also give them an opportunity to find marriage partners. In the past feasts were held to worship the dead or to welcome visitors, but nowadays a dancing party is held for many reasons, including betrothals, marriages, or the inauguration of the Christian church. During our stay at Limau, such parties were held. A social dancing party (*longin*), which has become popular recently, is accompanied by a band which plays mainly Indonesian popular songs (Photo. 14, p. 470). It requires a considerable sum money to invite a band (in most cases amateur musicians), so either all participants make a contribution or the dance may be spon-



Photo. 24. Beating drums (*gosoma*).

Photo. 25. Viola (*fioru*).

0 10 20cm

Fig. 5. Drum (*gosoma*).

sored by an individual or a group, such as our research group, for example. Village dances are usually accompanied by the traditional music of the gong, for rhythm, and a viola or a harmonica, to provide the melody. The drum (*gosoma*, 56, Fig. 5) is made from a piece of hollowed log covered with deer skin. It is struck either with the palm or the hand or with the elbow (Photo. 24, p. 487). The gong (*lipa*, 57), made of brass, is suspended and struck with a wooden stick. Both the viola (*fioru*, 58, Photo. 25) and the guitar (*gitaru*, 59) are made by the villagers. The former is played at dances, and the latter is played mainly by an individual as an accompaniment to popular songs. The harmonica (60) is purchased in town (Photo. 5, p. 471). The narrow shield (*salawako*, 61) is for war dancing. Its surface is inlaid with mother-of-pearl. For the war dance (*cakalele*), only gong rhythm is used. Men dance holding either a bush knife, which represents a sword, or a wooden stick, indicating a spear, in the right hand, and with the shield held in their left (Photo. 3, p. 250).

All musical instruments are owned by individuals. At the time of our survey, there were 3 drums, 1 gong, 2 violas, 2 guitars, 1 harmonica and 1 shield in Limau. These all formed an ensemble for the dance.

Stationery

Stationery items are used mostly by school pupils. Only the primary school

teacher owned a fountain pen (*pena*, 62). The term *pena* usually refers to a ball-point pen. Although, pencils (*pensilu*, 63) are included in Table 4 (p. 483), if we regard them as a consumer item, they should be excluded. The villagers claim that only 15 male heads of household have a good knowledge of writing.

Others

Ownership of a sago beater (*ngangalo*, 66, Fig. 1, p. 194 and Photo. 2, p. 193) is essential for a household that engages in sago production. Only one family owns a radio (*radio*, 67). Although the term wristwatch, *lonjin* (68), derives from that of a proprietary brand, it is used as a general term for wristwatch in Galela and also in other Halmahera languages. Six men in Limau own a watch. This is no other kind of time piece in Limau. Dominoes (*domino*, 69) and playing cards (*kartu*, 70) are played only by men in Limau, where one set of each was recorded.

3. Basic Household Items

Articles of which only one example was found in Limau are among included the 69 items in Table 4. Mr. Hs's household, which is described here as typical of Limau, contains 29 of the items listed in the Table 4. Among these 29 articles are some that are rare in the village. Possession of a snare lasso (*dodeso*, 31) is limited to households that hunt deer, including Mr. Hs's. A swinging cot (*didide*, 51) is owned only by those families with infants, and the possession of pencils (*pensilu*, 63) and notebooks (*buku note*, 65) depend on whether or not there is a child of school age in the household. (Mr. Hs has a sister attending school.) The shield (*salawako*, 61) was inherited by Mr. Hs from his father, and is the only example in Limau.

On the other hand, Mr. Hs's household lacks certain articles that most others possess. His household lacks a chair (*kursi*, 54) but it possesses a bench (*bako*, 53), so chairs are not needed. Some families own a chair but not a bench and vice versa, whereas others have both items. Moreover, of the 29 items listed as belonging to Mr. Hs (excluding No. 31, 51, 61, 63, and 65) 24 are regarded in Limau as being basic to everyday life.

In addition to the items listed in Table 4, are the utensils required for cooking and eating food, listed on Table 3, page 272. Of all the 25 items listed there 21 items are found in both Mr. Hs and Mr. Ds's households, and it can be assumed that they comprise basic articles used in Limau for cooking and eating. (The knife and the grindstone overlap in these two tables, hence 19 of the basic articles are not listed in Table 4.)

For fishing Mr. Hs's household has a hook (*gumara*), line (*nilon*) and a fishing spear (*dodofa*). According to the descriptive method adopted in the tables of material culture, hook and line are not distinct items but together comprise one unit of fishing gear. The Galela term "fishing with hook," adequately describes both articles. Mr. Hs therefore possesses two kinds of fishing gear, *hau* and *dodofa*. Somewhat exceptional is that this household lacks a small canoe for fishing (*awa*). When he needs a canoe, Mr. Hs borrows one from his friend (HN 9), if it is not in

Table 5. Basic items of material culture

	No.	English	Galela	Malay
tool	1	knife	<i>diha</i>	<i>pisau</i>
	2	bush knife	<i>suambel</i>	<i>sabel</i>
	3	bush knife	<i>taito</i>	<i>parang</i>
	4	axe	<i>basu</i>	<i>kampak, (kapak)</i>
	5	grindstone	<i>dodiaodo</i>	<i>batu gosok</i>
sewing	6	needle	<i>jati</i>	<i>jarum</i>
agriculture	7	weeding knife	<i>sionga</i>	
reaping	8	reaping knife	<i>gutututu</i>	<i>ani-ani, (ketam)</i>
	9	digging stick	<i>tutudu</i>	<i>linggis kayu</i>
hunting	10	spear (with iron point)	<i>galati</i>	<i>tombak besi</i>
		(wooden)	<i>ngipo</i>	<i>lembing</i>
		(bamboo)	<i>taba</i>	<i>bambu runcing</i>
fire and lamp	11	fire saw	<i>sosilihi</i>	<i>kasi giring, (kasi-kasi)</i>
	12	unshielded lamp	<i>poci</i>	<i>lampu kitir, (lampu tangan)</i>
		lamp	<i>lamp</i>	<i>lampu, (pelita)</i>
cooking and dining	13	mortar	<i>lesu</i>	<i>lesung</i>
		pestle	<i>dedutu</i>	<i>tumbu-tumbu</i>
	14	winnow	<i>tatapa</i>	<i>sosiru</i>
	15	sieve	<i>tate</i>	<i>aya-aya</i>
	16	coconut grater	<i>kokori</i>	<i>kukuran</i>
	17	tongs	<i>sosoloto</i>	<i>gata-gata</i>
	18	cooking pot	<i>boso</i>	<i>kuali</i>
	19	pan	<i>pan</i>	<i>pan</i>
	20	wok	<i>kuwali</i>	<i>kuali</i>
	21	earthenware to make sago cake	<i>gogunange</i>	<i>folno</i>
	22	kettle	<i>ketelu</i>	<i>ketel</i>
	23	wash basin (bowl)	<i>bokor</i>	<i>bokor</i>
	24	plate	<i>lelenga</i>	<i>piring</i>
	25	basket to serve sago cake	<i>pigu</i>	<i>keranjang</i>
	26	glass	<i>galasu</i>	<i>gelas</i>
	27	mug	<i>kopi</i>	<i>moku</i>
	28	spoon	<i>leperu</i>	<i>sendok</i>

	No.	English	Galela	Malay
fishing and transportation	29	bottle	<i>botolu</i>	<i>botol</i>
	30	pestle for <i>dabu-dabu</i>	<i>teto</i>	<i>batu</i>
	31	small canoe	<i>aua</i>	<i>perahu</i>
	32	hook	<i>gumara</i>	} <i>hau</i> <i>kait</i>
		line	<i>nilon</i>	
container	33	fishing spear	<i>dodofa</i>	<i>serampang</i>
	34	carrying basket	<i>kiaro</i>	<i>saloi, (keranjang, gendong)</i>
	35	bag	<i>tasi</i>	<i>tas, (kopor)</i>
	36	jute sack	<i>karon</i>	<i>karun</i>
	37	bamboo rice seed container	<i>moluka</i>	<i>tabung biji</i>
furniture	38	bamboo water container	<i>kiloha</i>	<i>tabung air</i>
	39	bed	<i>dangi</i>	<i>tempat tidur</i>
	40	pillow	<i>gogerena</i>	<i>bantal</i>
	41	sleeping mat	<i>jungutu</i>	<i>tikar</i>
	42	mat	<i>koko</i>	
	43	table	<i>meja</i>	<i>meja</i>
	44	bench	<i>bako</i>	<i>banku</i>
sago beater		chair	<i>kursi</i>	<i>kursi</i>
	45	sago beater	<i>ngangalo</i>	<i>penumbak sago</i>

use. As is indicated in Table 5, Limau villagers possess 3 main items of fishing gear, a canoe, a hook and a fishing spear.

So the basic artifacts for villagers' daily life are estimated as 45 items, of which 24 items are attained from Table 4 (pp. 482-483), and 18 items from Table 3 (p. 272) and 3 items from Table 2 (p. 225). These 45 items in Table 5 constitute the necessities for life (except clothes) in that they are indispensable for agricultural activities, sago production and fishing, and for leading a normal household life. Here the number of items possessed, whether functional or not, is emphasized rather than the actual number of articles per item. The number of dishes owned, for example, is not important—since it varies according to family size or economic situation—whereas the possession of dishes is important.

These 45 items may be regarded as those commonly possessed by Limau villagers,

but the question of why some families own certain articles and others do not cannot be answered easily. But some examples will illustrate the problem.

Radios, pressure lamps and a wristwatches are relatively expensive items that only a few affluent families can afford. There are only 2 outboard engines in Limau. One is public property, managed by the village headman, and the other is owned by the richest villager, who buys goods in Tobelo town and transports them to sell in Limau. An outboard engine is among the most expensive articles owned by the Galela. In other villages also only the richest of the commercial entrepreneurs can afford a motorized canoe.

Although there are no craftsmen or full-time specialists living in Limau, some people who are part-time specialists sell their products to other villagers. The 2 women who own a sewing machine, for example, sell clothes. One man does carpentry as a side job, and owns adzes, planes, chisels and a measure. Another man, an in-migrant from Sangih Island, owns the specialized carpentry tools needed to build houses and make canoes in the Sangih way.

The possession of certain articles depends on family composition. Babies require a swinging cot, school children need stationery, and betel-chewing set is demanded by people in their fifties. The families earning cash from fishing have a net and fishing gear; and those who engage in lumbering own saws.

The possession of bow and arrow reflects the difference of ethnic groups since only in-migrants from other ethnic groups use them for hunting.

Certain common household items reflect the kind of crops cultivated by the family. Typical is the manioc grater and press, essential for removing the acidic principle present in bitter manioc.

Items are readily loaned to those who lack them. The ownership of carpenter's tools, for example, is limited, but villagers can easily in borrow a chisel or another item from the households that have one. Apart from the obligation to give a part of the catch as payment for borrowing a canoe or a fishing net, items are borrowed without the need to make a payment. However, items such as food and kerosene are lent on the implicit understanding that the borrower will make some form of repayment in the future.

4. Origin of Items

Table 4, in addition to providing the Galela names for artifacts, lists wherever possible the Malay (Indonesian) counterparts. During this survey villagers were asked the Indonesian name of each item, but it must be remembered that the Indonesian spoken in Limau is not standard, but rather the Malay language of Maluku.

A comparison of the vocabularies of 69 items listed in Table 4, shows that 26 items have the same names in both in Galela and Malay. These items may have been introduced to the Galela from outside. Additional items must have been introduced if those having foreign names alone are considered. For example, a bellows forge is called *dua-dua* in Galela and *semperong* in Malay, i.e., the names are distinct. But *dua-dua* is derived from the colloquial Malay name for bellows, hence *dua-dua* is

Table 6. Items of material culture with names derived from Malay (Indonesian)

	English	Galela	Malay
1	saw	<i>garagaji</i>	<i>gergaji</i>
2	gimlet	<i>bobore</i>	<i>bor</i>
3	bellows	<i>dua-dua</i>	<i>semperong, (puputan)</i>
4	square	<i>siku</i>	<i>siku</i>
5	scissors	<i>guguti</i>	<i>gunting</i>
6	hoe	<i>pecu</i>	<i>pacul</i>
7	bench	<i>bako</i>	<i>banku</i>
8	table	<i>meja</i>	<i>meja</i>

Table 7. Items of material culture with names derived from European languages

	English	Galela	Malay
1	bush knife	<i>suambel</i>	<i>sabel</i>
2	plane	<i>sikafu</i>	<i>ketam</i>
3	hammer	<i>maretelu</i>	<i>martil</i>
4	rule	<i>meteru</i>	<i>meter, (meteran), (pengukur)</i>
5	sewing machine	<i>masin</i>	<i>mesin</i>
6	lighter	<i>sutekelu</i>	<i>korek api</i>
7	lamp	<i>lampu</i>	<i>lampu, (pelita)</i>
8	pressure lamp	<i>sutoronken</i>	<i>lampu stronking</i>
9	flashlight	<i>senteru</i>	<i>senter</i>
10	bag	<i>tasi</i>	<i>tas, (kopor)</i>
11	bucket	<i>emberu</i>	<i>ember</i>
12	chair	<i>kursi</i>	<i>kursi</i>
13	voila	<i>fioru</i>	<i>biolu</i>
14	guitar	<i>gitaru</i>	<i>gitar</i>
15	harmonica	<i>harumonika</i>	<i>harmonika</i>
16	pen	<i>pena</i>	<i>pena</i>
17	pencil	<i>pensilu</i>	<i>pensil</i>
18	notebook	<i>buku note</i>	<i>buku catatan</i>
19	book	<i>buku</i>	<i>buku</i>
20	radio	<i>radio</i>	<i>radio</i>
21	wristwatch	<i>lonjin</i>	<i>jam tangan</i>
22	domino set	<i>domino</i>	<i>domino</i>
23	playing cards	<i>kartu</i>	<i>kartu main</i>

not the original Galela name but rather an instance of a Malay term being adopted. Another example is provided by the plane, which is called *sikafu* in Galela and *ketam* in Malay. *Sikafu* is derived from the Dutch word *schaaf*. Of the names listed in Table 4, 8 are of Malay origin (Table 6) and 23 are derived from Western languages, mostly Dutch (Table 7). That indicates that most present-day Galela material culture has been derived from the common culture of Maluku, which had assimilated items of Indonesian and Western origin (Table 6, 7).

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