

INANWATAN

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Inanwatan (or: Bira, Irarowataro) is a non-Austronesian language of the Bird's Head peninsula of Irian Jaya (Papua), Indonesia (De Vries 1996, 1998). The Inanwatan language is spoken in the village Inanwatan on the south coast of the Bird's Head peninsula, where the Siganoi river waters into the MacCluer Gulf. There are migrant communities of Inanwatan people at the southern entrance of Sele Strait which separates Salawati island from the Bird's Head peninsula and in the Jalan Ferry area of the city of Sorong, the capital of the Sorong regency. The three Inanwatan speaking communities maintain intensive contacts and I have not been able to detect dialectal differences.

The Inanwatan language is affected by generational erosion. Generally speaking, only people older than fifty speak it well. Children of elementary school age do not know the language; they speak Indonesian. Whereas the Inanwatan people as an ethnic group number about 3000, I estimate the number of people fluently speaking Inanwatan to be no higher than 800. The great majority of these 800 is also fluent in local varieties of Indonesian.

The Inanwatan language belongs to the Inanwatan family. The Inanwatan family has two member languages, Inanwatan and Duriankari (also called Duriankere). It is very doubtful whether Duriankari, reported by Voorhoeve (1975:440) as spoken on the island of Duriankari at the southern entrance of Sele Strait, still exists.

To the east and north of Inanwatan, the Puragi language is spoken in the villages Saga, Puragi, Bedare and Isogo. Puragi belongs to the South Bird's Head family to which Arandai also belongs (Voorhoeve 1985). Yahadian, of the Konda-Yahadian family, spoken in the villages Mugim and Yahadian, is the western neighbour of the Inanwatan language. In initial survey work, I found only 8% lexical correspondence between Yahadian and Inanwatan whereas I found 25% lexical correspondence between Inanwatan and Puragi. Furthermore, Inanwatan shows many correspondences with Puragi in phonology and morphology whereas the Yahadian phonology and morphology are strikingly different from Inanwatan and Puragi. Since correspondence percentages tend to turn out much higher in later research than revealed by initial surveys, the results of my survey shed doubt on a separate status of the Inanwatan family and suggest that Inanwatan is a member of the South-Bird's Head family.

Inanwatan has a five vowel system (i, e, u, o, a) and 12 consonant phonemes: p, t, k, b, d, g, Φ , s, m, n, j, and the glottal stop. Inanwatan syllables can be subsumed under one type of syllable: (C)V(V). Stress is phonemic.

Whereas the languages of the western and eastern parts of the Bird's Head have rather simple morphologies, Inanwatan has a relatively complex morphology. Verbs are inflected for subject person and number, object person and number, tense, mood, aspect, negation and gender. Subject and object are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes (s-o-v), with the exception of counterfactual and third person future forms which have subject suffixes. There is an exclusive/inclusive distinction both in first person plural

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pronouns and verb forms.

Gender is a pervasive feature of the morphology, affecting all major word classes. Gender in nouns seems to be determined by the last vowel, with as a general rule, nouns ending in a front vowel (/i/, /e/) being masculine and the remaining nouns (ending in /o/ and /a/) feminine. For example:

- (1) *Tégi-sai* *me-tára-rita-bi* *íraroi -biyai*
sun-this.SM 3SUBJ-shine-DUR-SM quick-very
- me-ráwo-rita-bi-re* *mé-i-rita-bi*
3SUBJ-come.up-DUR-SM-and 3SUBJ-descend-DUR-SM

When the sun shone, it rose and set very quickly.

The name Inanwatan originates from a Patipi expression meaning 'sago only' or 'it is all sago' (*inan* 'sago' and *sewatan* 'one'). Patipi (or Sekar) is an Austronesian language spoken in Kokas and Patipi, villages across the Gulf on the Bomberai peninsula. The Inanwatan people call their language either Inanwatan or the *Írárowataro* language, an adaptation of this Patipi expression to the sound patterns of the Inanwatan language. Neither final consonants nor consonant clusters are allowed. In loan words vowels are added to maintain the licit pattern (Inanwatan>Inanowatano). Also, the nasal phonemes /m/ and /n/ have [w] and [r] as their respective intervocalic oral allophones resulting in the pronunciation [írárowataro].

The Patipi name Inanwatan reflects both the landscape and the political history of the Inanwatan area. The Inanwatan landscape is dominated by immense sago swamps which inspired Patipi colonists to call the area Inanwatan ("it is all sago"). As far as the political history is concerned, the North-Moluccan Sultans of Tidore had their 'middle men' in the Onin area of the Bomberai peninsula who established trade monopolies across the Gulf on the Bird's Head south coast, especially where major rivers watered into the MacCluer Gulf and the Seram Sea. These 'middle men' had the Malay title *raja* 'king'. There were *raja*'s in the Onin villages of Rumbati, Patipi, Ati-Ati and Fatagar and each *raja* had his own section of the Bird's Head south coast where he had some influence through representatives who settled near river mouths (see Vink 1932: 41). The *raja* of Patipi sent representatives to the Siganoi river mouth where they engaged in slave trade with the Inanwatan people. To get slaves, the Inanwatan raided the interior but also neighbouring coastal peoples like the Yahadian. In exchange for the slaves, they received cloths, iron tools and weapons and guns from the Patipi 'middle men'. Although these *raja*'s of Patipi never established a regular government in the Inanwatan area, the Patipi colonists in Inanwatan married local women and Patipi words were borrowed by the Inanwatan language.

The relationship with Onin and Patipi is strongly reflected in the oral tradition of the Inanwatan people. The Inanwatan text given below tells about Nawora, the first *raja* of Inanwatan who came from Patipi. He became the father of the Inanwatan clan Nawora. This clan name also occurs in the Onin area, in the village Puar, and the Inanwatan Nawora people and the Onin Namora people regard each other as kinsmen. According to this text, Nawora settled on a small island in the Siganoi headwater opposite the mouth of the Solowat river, married local women, introduced iron weapons and instruments to the Inanwatan, engaged in slave trade with them and was finally killed by the Inanwatan people because he demanded too many girls to be given to him in marriage.

The Nawora story was told to me by B. Mitogai, a former *Kepala Desa* of Inanwatan (born in Inanwatan around 1930) in March 1994 in his house in Inanwatan. In the first line the story is announced as belonging to the *túgarido* genre. Every clan in the Inanwatan community possesses its own oral tradition. An important genre within these clan-owned oral traditions is the *séro túgarido*, stories

about the origin of the clan, about relations with other clans and tribes, and so on. The word *séro* means 'word, story, quarrel, argument, problem'. The word *túgarido* means heritage and is also used for inherited objects such as antique guns and plates.

The glottal stop phoneme is written as *q*, the / ϕ / as *f* and the /*j*/ as *y* in the text. The oral intervocalic allophones [r] of /n/ and [w] of /m/ are written as *r* and *w* at the request of Inanwatan speakers who felt that the Indonesian letters *w* and *r* should be used to represent these sounds. Words of Malay origin are in bold.

Nawóra aga séro túgarido

The history of Nawora, told by B. Mitogai, Inanwatan, March 1994

- (1) *Nawóra aga séro túgarido / né-qe-rita /*
 Nawora CONN story inheritance 1SG.SUBJ-speak-DUR

Nawóra-esai Patipi-wotewe wé-de-wo-re #
 Namora-this.SM Patipi-from 3SUBJ-go.across-come-PAST.PL

I am telling the history of Nawora, as for Nawora, they came across from Patipi.

- (2) *Mé-de-wo-i ewáíwa² / muró-wai mura /*
 3SUBJ-go.across-come-PAST.SM and river-this.SF river.GEN

gárebo-wai / ura-wai Sarátubiro Nawétira-wo Nawétira-wo
 mouth-this.SF DEM-this.SF Sartubir Nawétira-CONN Nawétira-CONN

*máiwo-qede mura gárebo **yadi** máiwo-qede*
 here-from river.GEN mouth therefore here-from

máso-we-ge-i #
 enter-3SUBJ-do-PAST.SM

He came across and via the rivermouth of the Nawetira river at Cape Sartubir he entered.

- (3) *Ewáíwa **terus** / mo-uwo-i-re / mó-uwu-i*
 and next 3SUBJ-come.upriver-PAST.SM-and 3SUBJ-sit-PAST.SM

nusíro úra mó-uwu-ge Sorowáto³ gárebo-qai #
 island DEM 3SUBJ-sit-PAST.PL Solowat mouth-at

And when he had come upriver, he settled on the island, they settled opposite the Solowat rivermouth.

- (4) *Máiwo wó-uwu-i ewáíwa / ao nésaro áwuga era-era-ro*
 here 3SUBJ-sit-PAST.SM and his smithy iron.GEN piece-piece-PL

tétewo ogó-we-de-wo-i #
 all carry-3SUBJ-go.across-come-PAST.SM

Here he settled and he brought across pieces of iron for his smithy.

² This is a demonstrative based discourse conjunction often used following Tail-Head linkages.

³ Small stream watering into the (very wide) Siganoi headwater.

- (5) *Mái-wo ura-sai tigó / mírago mé-qobo-rita táwaro / sósorao-wo⁴ /*
 this-at DEM-this.SM there machete 3SUBJ-hit-DUR.PL axe. spear-CONN
orówo / ádawao / mái-wo ura me-wága-rita-i-re dáro itatábo-wasu
 lance harpoon this-at DEM 3SUBJ-make-DUR-PAST.SM-and our.INC ancestors-these
túkari-we-rita-i /
 exchange-3SUBJ-DUR-PAST.SM
sugére-go wé-iba-rita-i / ererau-wasu nábwawo wé-we-rita-re #
 sago-with 3SUBJ-trade-DUR-PAST.SM other-these slave 3SUBJ-give-DUR-PAST.PL
 And there he welded machetes, axes, fishing spears, lances and harpoons, there he made them
 and traded them with our ancestors for sago, other people gave slaves.
- (6) **Baru** / *mírago sówato mé-we-rita-l táwaro sówato / **buat** mogóqo áreto*
 next machete good 3SUBJ-give-DUR-PAST.SM steel.axe good for for thing
wé-ra-rita-re itatábo iówosu #
 3SUBJ-make-DUR-PAST.PL ancestors those
 And he gave good machetes, good axes for the ancestors to do things.
- (7) *Mé-de-wo-i-sai Náwora esai / **buka** méwo si*
 3SUBJ-cross-come-PAST.SM-this.SM Namora this.SM not hand empty
wé-de-wo-bi-d-aigo / ao miriqó ewái nági-aga íragiro
 3SUBJ-cross-come-PRES.SM-TR-NEG his gun this.SF one-CONN body
ógo-wé-de-wo-i / mawágoruqu-wa mé-era-rita-re #
 carry-3SUBJ-cross-come-PAST.SM big.men-these 3SUBJ-say-HAB-PAST.PL
 When he came across, he did not do so emptyhanded, he brought twenty guns across, the leaders
 used to tell.
- (8) *Gáago-wo **dópis** ewái ísi-we-rita-re **obapasa**⁵ ewái #*
 side-at chamber this.SF fill-3SUBJ-HAB-PAST.PL gunpowder this.SF
 At the side they used to fill the chamber with gunpowder.
- (9) **Yadi** *nágia-ga íragiro ógo-we-de-wo-i /*
 therefore one-CONN body carry-3SUBJ-cross-come-PAST.SM
ao miriqo ewái / ao béraro / ao máwise /
 his gun this.SF his warcanoe his younger.sibling.PL
tétewo urú-we-de-wo-i #
 all together-3SUBJ-cross-come-PAST.SM

⁴ From Patipi *sosona*, a forked fishing spear (Indonesian: *kelawai*).

⁵ *Dópis* >chamber for gunpowder= and *obapasa* >gunpowder= (<Indonesian *obat pasang*) are local Malay words used for these parts of antique guns.

So he brought twenty guns and he brought all his warcanoes and all his relatives.

- (10) **Buka** *wéwa-muteri qeqído-wo / ao árubugere urú-we-de-wo-i /*
 not himself-one not-be.3SF hisrelatives together-3SUBJ-cross-come-PAST.SM
mó-uwu-i mái-wo-qede/ ére itigó qobó-i-ge
 3SUBJ-sit-PAST.SM this-at-from therefore so hit-NOM-with
mé-iba-rita-i / áretere suqére-go / atau nábawo
 3SUBJ-trade-HAB-PAST.SM whatever sago-with or slave
mai wé-iqo-rita-re #
 this.SF 3SUBJ-put.down-HAB-PAST.PL

Not just he himself, no he brought across his relatives and settled and from here he exchanged what he welded with whatever which they put down, with sago or slaves.

- (11) *Má-ge-re-re mawágo-wasu meigo-weigo / ago Mugúro-wotewe /me-párea-re /*
 thus-do-PAST-and big-these deceive-deceive but Mugúro-from 3SUBJ-know-PAST.PL
urú-we-rowo-rita-re ewáíwa órewe sówa eráwise-wasu
 together-3SUBJ-come.down-DUR-PAST.PL and woman.PL attractive virgin-these
qeqúqu-wa / éro-wo teqo-ge /táwaro ra-bírowu mírago ra-bírowu #
 parent.PL-these canoe-in ascend-withsteel.axe take-for.PL machete take-for.PL

Thus the big men deceived (him) and those from Mugim knew it and they came down with (their) attractive women, girls, the parents put them in the canoes when they went to get axes and machetes.

- (12) *Ago mé-qaqo-i-de mé-era-rita-i /*
 but 3SUBJ-face-PAST.SM-and 3SUBJ-say-DUR-PAST.SM
qotoqówaro owó íqo-ra-e na-wao-go #
 daughter that.SF put.down-IMP-PL my-wife-INS

And he faced (them) and said, that girl, you must give her to me as my wife.

- (13) **Suda**⁶ *mai mé-iqo-rita-re mo-wé-tira-rita-i /*
 allright this.SF 3SUBJ-put.down-DUR-PAST.PL come-3SUBJ-take-DUR-PAST.SM
tígo mao-go mé-ra-rita-i #
 allright wife-INS 3SUBJ-take-DUR-PAST.SM

Allright they put her down and he came and took her to become his wife.

- (14) *Má-ge-re-re má-ge-re-re / a mé-era-rita-re*
 thus-do-PAST-and thus-do-PAST-and ah 3SUBJ-say-DUR-PAST.PL
qáwere ígadara ísido mé-ge-rita-bi-sai-sai #
 child.PL us.INC.from empty 3SUBJ-do-DUR-SM-this.SM-this.SM

⁶ *Suda* and *yadi* (see (17)) have general discourse connective functions in Inanwatan texts.

Since he kept doing so, they said, ah, this one leaves us without children.

- (15) *Yadi suda / póra séro wé-ge-re mutáu-birowu #*
 therefore allright conspiracy word 3SUBJ-do-PAST.PL kill-in.order.to.PL
 Therefore, allright, they made plans to kill him.

- (16) *Séro-wai mé-ge-re / íso-we-rego-re*
 word-this.SF 3SUBJ-speak-PAST.PL ?-3SUBJ-put.down-PAST.PL
sówato-go / baru otau-wai mó-u-ge /
 good-INS and sago.species-this.SF 3SUBJ-fell-PAST.PL
mé-iqo-re-re / bidó iro we-qúgo-re / fúgido
 3SUBJ-remove.bark-PAST.PL-and pig body 3SUBJ-cut-PAST.PL banana
we-sée-re / ógo-we-reqa-re Múguro néwago
 3SUBJ-cut-PAST.PL carry-3SUBJ-walk.PL-PAST.PL Múguro harbour
má-wai mé-ra-re / baru / owáqepo egéqiro mé-soro-re
 thus-this.SF 3SUBJ-take-PAST.PL and stairs bridge 3SUBJ-plant-PAST.PL
owáqepo-wai gábo-go mé-itoqo-re #
 stairs-this.SF decoration-INS 3SUBJ-decorate-PAST.PL

They spoke thus and organized it well and they felled sago trees, removed the bark, butchered a pig, cut bananas and brought it to the Mugur harbour, constructed a bridge and decorated it.

- (17) *Mé-itoqo-re ewáíwa /mai we-róe-re-re*
 3SUBJ-decorate-PAST.PL and this.SF 3SUBJ-go.down-PAST.PL-and
mé-era-re / ágo ao béraro-go uru-wó-uwo-i
 3SUBJ-say-PAST.PL next his warcanoe-INS with-3SUBJ-come.upriver-PAST.SM
nata ewásu nági-aga íragiro miriqó-wai otí uru nagí-aga íragir-i #
 wives these one-CONN body gun-this.SF also together one -CONN body-M

They decorated and went down and invited (him) and he came upriver in his warcanoe, with twenty wives and also twenty rifles.

- (18) *Baru / owáqepo áboto egéqiro mi-arouge-l íde-we-qáwo-i #*
 and stairs top bridge 3SUBJ-moor-PAST.SM INTR-3SUBJ-descend-PAST.SM

And he moored at the bridge and descended (from the canoe).

- (19) *Mé-raai-rita-d-aigo mádei mísida-e-sai*
 3SUBJ-ascend-DUR-TR-NEG already person-M-this.SM
i-rita-we-sai mé-era-re / méwo-gaisi naqide ra-ra #
 pierce-DUR-NOM.SM-this.SM 3SUBJ-say-PAST.PL hand-armpit quick do-IMP.SG

While he is ascending (the stairs), they had told the man who was to pierce him, you must do it suddenly under the armpit.

- (20) *Yadi orowó-wai dówo-go me-sée-re # géro-wai #*
 therefore lance-this.SF short-with 3SUBJ-cut-PAST.PL handle-this.SF
 Therefore they cut the lance short, its handle.

- (21) *Ere dówo-go mé-tira-i / máiwa me-ráa-i tetewo-re*
 therefore short-INS 3SUBJ-take-PAST.SM next 3SUBJ-ascend-PAST.SM all-and
mádei owáqepo étoto egéqiro atu-beqewu-g-aigo / mewu-gais-i ura naqide
 already stairs end bridge step-for.SG-?-NEG arm-armpit-M DEM quick
wé-ra-i tidó-i-de me-róe-re seréwi
 3SUBJ-take-PAST.SM pierce-PAST.SM-and 3SUBJ-go.down-PAST man.with.lance
i-wigo áwoqe ao ero qero-wó-o-i orówewi-wa
 descend-while again his prao fall.into-3SUBJ-fall-PAST.SM man.with.lance-this
me-róo-i seréwi-wa #
 3SUBJ-fall.into-PAST.SM man.with.lance-this

Therefore he held (the lance) short and he (=Nawora) went up and while he wanted to step on the bridge, he (=killer) suddenly pierced him through the armpit and the man with the lance in his body fell back in his canoe, with the lance in his body.

- (22) *Me-róo-i seréwi-wa / nataqe*
 3SUBJ-fall.into-PAST.SM man.with.lance-this wives
qaqó-ere miriqó ewái qoqó-we-ra-re mai wi-átuge-re #
 child-and gun this.SF grab-3SUBJ-do-PAST.PL this.SF 3SUBJ-fire-PAST.PL
 The man with the lance fell back and the wives and the children grabbed the rifles and started firing.

- (23) *Mai wi-átuge-re / tapi qido-wo morá-y-aigo /*
 this.SF 3SUBJ-fire-PAST.PL but not-be.3SF hit-TR-NEG.
me-wo-re-wo mó-ura-re mé-roda-re árasau-go #
 3SUBJ-come-PAST.PL-CONN 3SUBJ-see-PAST.PL 3SUBJ-run-PAST.PL fright-INS
 They fired but they did not hit and they (Namora's people) came and saw that they (=the Inanwatan killing party) had fled with fright.

- (24) *Mé-roda-ri-y-aiga suda / a mé-rowo-i*
 3SUBJ-run-not.be-TR-NEG allright ah 3SUBJ-come.down-PAST.SM
ewáíwa / qaqó-wa me-súsa-re arubu we-súsa-re
 and child-this 3SUBJ-trouble-PAST.PL relative 3SUBJ-trouble-PAST.PL
qégi-sai úra nádoro mé-rowo-re-re nárere-wai
 father-this.SM DEM again 3SUBJ-come.down-PAST.PL-and magic-this.SF
mé-ra-re #
 3SUBJ-take-PAST.PL

While they were fleeing, he (Namora) came down and his children lamented, his relatives were in sorrow and seeing (their) father, they returned and performed magic.

- (25) *Tawo-tawo-gobe-sai-qede néto nárere-go e-rita-wo ewái*
 Tawo-tawo-river-this.SM-from shell magic-INS speak-DUR-CONN this.SF
- mé-ra-re ewáíwa /kárído awéro mó-uwu-ge-re*
 3SUBJ-take-PAST.PL and pot big 3SUBJ-sit-PAST.SF-and
- me-qúqu-rita-ri-y-aigo mai wi-wi-re gao-wai*
 3SUBJ-boil-DUR-not.be-TR-NEG this.SF 3SUBJ-give-PAST.PL inside-in
- mó-uwu-ge-re / mai néto ewáíwa áibo wé-to-re /*
 3SUBJ-sit-PAST.SF-and this.SF shell and voice 3SUBJ-open-PAST.SF
- sira gao-wo baru dóqe⁷ / párato nérewo / saa ewái*
 boiling.water.GEN inside-in and oh rain storm water this.SF
- mó-owe-re baru qáqe-wa qáqe-wa mai-we-reso-i*
 3SUBJ-go.upriver-PAST.SF and sail-this sail-this this.SF-3SUBJ-throw-PAST.SM
- máíwa tíge saq-go we-ii-de #*
 next thus water-INS 3SUBJ-go.down-PAST.PL

With a shell from the Towatowagobi stream they cast a spell and they put down a big pan and while the water boiled, they let loose the shellfish into it and its mouth opened in the boiling water and with the rainstorm the water rose and the sail threw⁸ and they (=the Inanwatan people) drifted with the water.

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⁷ Adapted form of local Malay interjection *ado* (<*aduh*).

⁸ The meaning of 'the sail throw' is unclear.