

# 1

## **Towards a comparative ethnography of Austronesian ‘paths’ and ‘journeys’**

James J. Fox

### **Introduction**

The expansion and dispersal of Austronesian languages from Taiwan to Timor and across the Indian Ocean and through the Pacific, stretching from Madagascar to Easter Island, demonstrate a remarkable social mobility. Exploration of this mobility has been the implicit theme in the majority of the various volumes of the Comparative Austronesian series. This exploration has included not just the delineation of the distribution of Austronesian languages and the examination of the archaeological evidence for the spread of plants, people and their products, but also the consideration of the social factors underlying this mobility: technologies of travel, systems of exchange, forms of subsistence and their implications, trade patterns, demographic pressures on small islands, the reception of distant strangers, the role of status systems that propel individuals outward, the prestige of founder status and the recognition and celebration of multiple ancestral origins. This volume is a further, explicit exploration of this critical idea of mobility focusing on the concepts of the journeying and the paths this journeying implies. In addressing this topic, each of the individual chapters in this volume opens a path or paths to a wide range of other comparative issues.

The focus in this volume is as much on actual journeying on specific paths as it is on spiritual journeys in the realm of memory and imagination. Some of the most locally established Austronesian populations embrace the idea of distant journeying and may indeed perform such journeys in their ritual celebrations, as in practice, such journeys tend to be path specific and are often highly embellished in their details.

There may even be an underlying basis for this path specificity. In a stimulating paper that examines motion events in several Austronesian languages, the linguists Shuanfan Huang and Michael Tanangkingsing argue that ‘path salience in the encoding of motion clauses appears to exhibit a strong diachronic stability, suggesting that Proto-Austronesian was probably also a path-salient language’ (2005: 307).<sup>1</sup> Essentially, this argument provides a semantic-typological predilection for the prevalence of attention to path information in motion events.

Of more general relevance is recent research on cognitive mapping. Based on the foundational identification of place and grid cells, Bellmund et al. have, in a recent paper in *Science* (2018: 8), titled ‘Navigating cognitions: Spatial codes for human thinking’, proposed ‘cognitive spaces as a primary format for information processing in the brain’. In this model, ‘cognitive spaces enable generalization and can reveal novel trajectories via the representation of positions along defined dimensions’ (Bellmund et al. 2018: 7). Replaying such trajectories involves evaluating ‘previous paths’ and may extend to the simulation of ‘future paths’ so that the ‘replay of both correct and incorrect future trajectories supports learning and planning’ (Bellmund et al. 2018: 6).

Whatever direct relevance this basic research may have, it points to the idea of the path as a mechanism for the encoding and critical differentiation of information—information that can be retrieved, re-evaluated and reused. In the cases considered in this volume, paths and the rehearsal of journeys along them encode specific cultural information. The patterning of this information is the subject of this volume.

---

1 The idea of path saliency began with Leonard Talmy’s topological distinction regarding motion events according to whether path or manner is coded as the head of a verb phrase (1991) and has been developed by Dan Slobin (2004) in terms of a further distinction between satellite-framed languages (‘S-languages’) and verb-framed (‘V-languages’). As Huang and Tanangkingsing, who use their own typology, note: ‘[T]here is a great diversity across languages in the level of salience and granularity in path or manner expression, in type of semantic components employed, and in the balance in the different parts of the language system in expressing spatial motions’ (2005: 311).

## Specific Austronesian paths

Among Austronesians, the metaphor of the path is a recurrent socially defining metaphor. It offers a means of understanding—a vehicle for identifying and tracing relationships between specific nodes of knowledge. It can also be a record of former engagements and an evocation of origins, thus providing an enactment of the past. Just as readily, such metaphors may envision future directions and open expectations to as yet unknown realms of possibility. The journeys defined by such paths are generally oriented and often directed. Their significance requires critical attention and interpretation. This volume examines the use of such metaphors in specific Austronesian contexts.

The 10 chapters in this volume explore multiple metaphors of paths drawn from societies across the Austronesian-speaking world, ranging from Taiwan to Timor, from Borneo to Madagascar and from Flores into the Pacific. The paths examined in these chapters define a diverse combination of physical and spiritual journeys. A majority of the chapters rely on reflexes of the Proto-Austronesian construct for 'path or road': *\*zalan*.

For the Bunun of Taiwan, the term for path is *dan*. 'To traverse a path' is *mu-dan*; 'walking' is *mudadaan*, while 'finding one's way' is *kilim dan*. The specific Bunun paths that Wen-ling Lin discusses are part of a major collective effort at 'wayfinding'—the rediscovery of lost paths in a concerted campaign to reclaim what was once traditional land. For the Amis of Taiwan, paths are *lalan*. While *lalan* can refer to structures in the mundane world, Yi-tze Lee discusses the invisible thread-paths that Amis shamans call forth to journey to the world of the spirits and the need for a constant checking of these paths to avoid dangerous diversions.

For the Betsileo of Madagascar, paths are *lalana*. The paths that Denis Regnier describes are a network of laterite paths that criss-cross Betsileo territory and must be traversed in searching out ancestral origins to ensure proper marriages. For the Kelabit, the term for path is *dalan* and in Monika Janowski's chapter it is used to refer to heroic journeys in the quest for power. For the Iban, the term *jalai* can refer to the paths or journeys of life and death. Clifford Sather in his chapter discusses the interdependency of these paths: the *jalai mati*, the 'journey of death', as a continuation of the *jalai idup*, the 'journey of life'.

A similar idea—perhaps a basic general Austronesian idea linking the journey of life to the journey into death—lies at the heart of fundamental conceptions of the Rotenese of the Timor area. The repertoire of Rotenese mortuary chants celebrates a variety of possible ‘life-courses’. Life-courses in their variety, as indeed the passage to the afterlife, were regarded as journeys on specifically marked paths (*dalan*).

For the Lamaholot of Flores, paths are referred to as *laran*. These can refer to physical roads but also ritual paths. In her chapter, Dana Rappoport focuses on the long song path (*opak moran laran Tono Wujo*) that recounts the journey of the rice maiden eastward—a narrative song sung to enact this path.

In areas of Melanesia, there are local lexical terms for path, as is the case for the populations of two islands, Dobu and Muyuw, in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. For the Dobu, the term for ‘path’ is *'eda*; for Muyuw, the term for ‘path’ is *ked*; yet the idea of the path and its metaphorical usages are bound up in similar Austronesian conceptions. In her chapter on Dobu, Susanne Kuehling presents a wideranging examination of the complex network of relations involved in contemporary *kula* exchange, where journeying follows an oriented pattern of cyclical activities linked to the winds, the sea and, significantly, the pattern of yam gardening. Her analysis of this ‘pulse’ of exchange across an extensive array of named places provides a stunning re-examination of the interconnected dynamics of *kula* relations. For the Muyuw, as Fred Damon—who has, like Susanne Kuehling, sailed with *kula* traders—explains, the idea of *ked* embraces a manifold range of meanings, from *kula* exchange to the proper manner and performance of reciprocity. As such, it is a key social concept to understanding Muyuw social life.

Yu-chien Huang’s chapter provides an appropriate conclusion to this collection by traversing the Austronesian world in its comparison between specific paths among the Yami of Taiwan and the population of Yap in Micronesia.

These chapters, as a whole, offer an explicit discussion of a general theme—one that pervades the ethnographic discussion of Austronesian populations but has not been given the formal attention it deserves. Moreover, the examination of this key metaphor opens ‘paths’ in different directions, leading to the examination of other critical comparative issues.

In considering earlier discussions of Austronesian paths and journeys by previous ethnographers, one can, at best, present a strategic selection of observations from among a wealth of ethnographic accounts.

## Ancestral paths

In his monumental *The Work of the Gods in Tikopia*, originally drafted in 1929–30 after his return from the field, but only published in 1940, Raymond Firth (1967) describes in detail the rituals of the sacred canoes, which are (or once were) the first and foremost of an entire cycle of celebration. This focus on canoes as the primary vehicles of Tikopian fishing and voyaging is critical to these commemorative ceremonies, but Firth also examines a pertinent adjunct ritual that occurs in conjunction with these ceremonies. This ritual the Tikopians describe as the 'path of the ancestor' (*te ara o pu*)—the ritual enactment of an initial exchange between the ancestors of the chiefly lineages of Kafika and Taumako. This 'path' (*ara*) is not of great length—particularly on a tiny island like Tikopia—but its significance requires regular renewal. It commemorates the marriage of the 'Great Ancestor' of Taumako, Pu Lasi, son of Te Atafu of Tonga, with the daughter of the Ariki Kafika. As Firth makes clear, in this context, 'path' defines a relationship that demands the carrying of a great load of foodstuffs including shark meat from Taumako to Kafika. As he states: 'The *ara* is the most formal occasion on which this relationship is expressed' (Firth 1967: 131). It is a prime example of the use of path as a metaphor of multiple significance and, in particular, of a continuing relationship established by an ancient marriage.

This use of path to define relations among kin is common in the region and more generally throughout the Austronesian-speaking world. Judith Huntsman and Antony Hooper in the historical ethnography *Tokelau* discuss this explicitly:

Pedigree relationships are expressed in terms of *ala* (or *auala*) 'paths' ... Such 'paths' are traced to a pair of siblings rather than an ancestral couple ... By tracing to siblings, it is established *how* two people are related; that they *are* related is assumed. In fact, in many instances, people may be linked by two or even more 'paths' of this kind, relating them in different ways and increasing the closeness of their relationship. (1996: 117; emphasis in original)

Interestingly, from an Austronesian perspective, this tracing of paths is distinguished from the tracing of genealogies (*gafa*) that begin with either a single individual or an ancestral pair and recount lines of descendants in a set and orderly fashion.

Among ethnographies of Oceania, Richard J. Parmentier's *The Sacred Remains* (1987) provides the most diverse litany of the use of metaphors of 'path'. On Palau/Belau, 'paths' (*rael*) present a powerful image. Parmentier brilliantly summarises their use and significance:

A path is a method, technique, patterns, or strategy—in short, a way of doing something. Warfare strategies, fishing techniques, oratorical skills, and patterns of exchange are called 'paths'. But paths are also established linkages, relationships, and associations among persons, groups, and political units which were created by some precedent-setting action in the past, and which imply the possibility, as well as the obligation, for following the path in marriage, exchange, cooperation and competition. (1987: 109)

There are various sorts of paths: ancient paths (*mechut el rael*), distantly linked paths (*ngamekechui rael*) and newly created paths (*beches el rael*). Ancient paths are those instituted by gods or ancestors and possess great significance; others are more contemporary, of lesser worth and thus less travelled. Each path is defined by its origin (*uchul*: 'beginning, base, trunk') and its end point (*rse*: 'tip'). It can consist of a linear progression that may be either limited or extended. Parmentier clearly recognises the importance of paths as a means of establishing an order of precedence:

[L]inked elements can be viewed in terms of sequential precedence, with the origin point outranking all other points, according to a logic which stipulates that priority in time implies seniority in ceremonial precedence. (1987: 109)

Paths link villages and titled houses in a complex network. So, too, is the entire Belau archipelago joined in a path that extends from its southern islands—where fire was discovered and where the techniques of measurement, carving and carpentry were obtained from the sea—in a progression towards the north. These archaic ancestral connections define a critical path of origin with its 'trunk' (*uchul*) at Lukes or Mekaeb and its 'tip' (*rse*) at Oikuli on the main island of Babeldaob.

This conceptual scheme is narrated as a journey. As Parmentier explains:

Rather than having separate schemes for space and time, traditional Belauan culture unites these two Western categories through the notion of a journey (*omerael*, from the verb *merael*, 'to walk, to travel' itself derived from the notion, *rael*, 'path, road, way' [PAN *dalan*]). The journey of a god, person, group, or mythological creature provides a basic space-time for conceptualization and discourse. (1987: 133–34)

Parmentier's discussion offers an excellent exemplification of a common feature of many Austronesian societies: a journey whose path provides a fundamental 'origin structure' for the society (see Fox 1992). This is a point that is made repeatedly in the chapters in this volume.

## Defining journeys of origin

As Parmentier recognised, the paths recounted in these journeys are replete with specific nodes. Each carries specific information. The nodes in these socially defining ancestral journeys can be places, thus making the journey a topology—a recitation of placenames or named ancestors—and giving the journey a genealogical cast or, as is most common, a combination of both. As Dana Rappoport indicates in her chapter on the journey of the rice maiden in east Flores, new elements may be added as improvised nodes to make such recitations more current and relevant. Examples of similar defining journeys abound in the Austronesian literature.

One of the best examples of this kind of defining journey has been highlighted by Elizabeth Traube in her ethnography of the Mambai of Timor-Leste produced over decades. She has noted:

The idea of a journey comprehends both the sequence of past events that is presented in a narrative account of origins and also the very activity of telling. Narrative discourse, as much as the events it relates, is thought of as a trip or a journey across space and time. Tellers endeavour to 'follow a path' or 'track an ancestor,' that is to retrace verbally the movements of the tale's protagonists. (Traube 1989: 331–32)

In the case of the Mambai, this journey or 'walk of the flag' focuses on a sibling set of three ancestors, one of whom, Au Sa, is accorded little attention; another, Ki Sa, who is central to the narrative and the 'planting

of the flag of the interior'; and a third, Loer Sa, who leaves, only to return from overseas as a 'familiar stranger', in the form of the Portuguese colonial flagbearers. This narrative admits of various retellings that allow it to be made contemporary. In a version after the 1975 invasion of East Timor, Au Sa comes to be recognised as the dark ancestor of the Indonesians in contrast to Loer Sa, who is considered traditionally to have given rise to the Portuguese (Traube 2011).

In a similar vein, Susana Barnes has aptly emphasised the importance of the narrative of key ancestral itineraries in the Uatolari area of Timor-Leste:

Ancestral itineraries and histories serve not only to reinforce the enplaced nature of claims to authority, but also to reaffirm the order of arrival and settlement of various descent groups living within these territories. At the same time, these narratives provide a guide in understanding the dynamics and processes whereby subsidiary groups were formed and in-migrant groups were incorporated into the social order. (2011: 30)

A key founding narrative, recounted by Barnes, centres on the relationship between an elder–younger brother pair: the elder brother fails in his ritual duties and is exiled, leaving his younger brother in place as 'lord of the land'. In describing Uatolari narrative journeys as 'histories of incorporation and accommodation', Barnes cites E. Douglas Lewis, whose ethnography of the Tana Ai population of central eastern Flores, *People of the Source* (1988), offers a model examination of an ancestral journey and analyses its implications as an origin structure. This journey features a set of three ancestors: two brothers who journey together, arrive at an auspicious site and thus found the domain of Wai Brama, with a third ancestor, who travels by a different route and eventually joins the domain as its final clan member.

These journeys, identifiable by their genealogical underpinnings, contrast with similar founding journeys among the Atoni Pah Meto of west Timor. The nodes that mark the recitations of the journeying of the clans of the Meto are made up primarily of placenames. As Andrew McWilliam explains:

West Timor is mapped conceptually by a bewildering array of named places ... Recounting the origins of the clans in West Timor is perhaps better described as tracing the path of the name. This is because all individuals in Meto society are affiliated to agnatically-related kin groups called *kanaf*, a Timorese word

meaning name or name group. Thus, when a speaker recounts the history of his group he is, in effect, mapping the journey of the name along a spatial and temporal trajectory which is punctuated by significant events or settlement sites (one notion of the gate) along the way ... In other words, the reproduction of the group name is measured or recorded in terms of sequential places rather than a sequence of people. (1997: 104–5)

As McWilliam astutely notes, whether the specific place nodes on these journeys are poetically described as 'gates', 'fences', 'rocks' or 'trees', there is a great deal of additional cultural information attached to them. The recitation of these topologies provides an outline schema of a fuller history.

In his account of the formation of the domain of Amanuban whose centre at Tumbesi is defined by its 'rock and tree'—its sacrificial altars and raised wooden posts—McWilliam offers this example of a ritual assertion by a *kanaf* to set the boundary of its rule from its ceremonial centre (1997: 109):

Take the head wrap and axe  
And take the hair comb and silver coin  
To tie in the roof spar  
At the path of Teas  
The platform of Teas  
To become the guardians of  
The flowers of the *hue* tree  
The flowers of the *usaip* tree  
At the outside fence  
And the outside boundary.

McWilliam's ethnography *Paths of Origin, Gates of Life: A study of place and precedence* (2002) offers a superb historical examination of how such Meto paths come together in a local political formation.

In his ethnography of the Banda Eli population, who have been displaced from their home island of Banda to the island of Kei in eastern Indonesia, *Songs of Travel, Stories of Place* (2010), Timo Kaartinen presents a rich analysis of the recitations of sad memories of places lost and never regained. Among various oral genres that Kaartinen considers, he offers an extended examination of an *onotani* lament that recounts an ancestral sea journey—carried by the wind, drifting like flotsam—from Banda via a string of islands, Kur, Uf and Rumadan, to Greater Kei, with its distinguishing mountain tops. This topogeny, coupled with its poignant

commentary and recurrent refrains, sets out the foundations of the Banda Eli's journey into social exile. Excerpts from this lament give a hint of its expressive performative power (Kaartinen 2010: 112–16):

They search in the Banda islands ...  
 for your nest, our navel ...  
 gust of wind, log of driftwood  
 gust of wind, log of driftwood  
 thus we land on the tall island of Kur  
 the island of Kur, rising to the skies  
 there is no faith in you island  
 no blessing, we retreat ...  
 we land inside the reef of the Ujuf Island ...  
 at sea we speak Bandanese  
 at sea we speak Bandanese  
 pearls of wisdom  
 the nutmegs have died  
 there is no faith, and you keep drifting  
 there is no blessing inside this island  
 no blessing left in the whole world!

Kaartinen's exegesis of this text, his discussion of what he refers to as 'songs of history' and 'the poetics of travel' and, in particular, his observation of the importance of 'the concretization of mythic-historical pasts in named places and their topographies through ancestral activities, especially travel' (2010: 122) have broad Austronesian relevance.

Dana Rappoport's chapter in this volume, 'The long journey of the rice maiden from Lio to Tanjung Bunga, eastern Flores: A Lamaholot sung narrative', offers a critical comparative perspective on fundamental Austronesian ideas. Lamaholot narratives of the rice maiden take two forms. A 'short' form, known as the 'road song', is sung by participants on the way to the ceremony. This song is intended to alert the spirits to the participants' presence as they pass specific points on their journey. The 'long' form of these narratives, consisting of thousands of lines and referred to as the 'narrative of the road', constitutes the core of ceremonial performances sung and danced through the night until dawn on repeated occasions during the agricultural cycle. The ceremony recounts the story of Noga Ema' (also known as Tonu Wojo), her killing and transformation into rice and her beneficent journey as the female personification of rice (and as an 'ancestral sister') from the Lio area of central Flores to Tanjung Bunga in the Lamaholot region at the eastern end of Flores. The musical

and linguistic complexity of these narratives is remarkable. So, too, is the variation in these narratives among the villages of the Lamaholot regions (see Graham 1991; Kohl 1998).

This long 'narrative of the road' consists of a number of embedded journeys, the last of which recounts the mysterious journey of the rice maiden, her successive impregnations and progeny and the ever-present possibility of the loss of the precious gift that she bears. The narrative is set in the past and re-enacting the journey brings it into the present. Spatial succession defines a temporal succession. The chief narrator (*opak*) is referred to as the 'drum' (*bawa*) or the one who 'beats the drum continuously'. Although no drum is used to accompany the chant, this naming of the chief narrator creates an analogy between his voice and that of the drum. The narrator is accompanied by an embellisher (*nukun opak*) plus paired singers (*hode' ana*) as well as a soloist, who, in concert with one another, offer a succession of narrative sequences, punctuated by duet singing and a variety of choreographed dancing.

As Rappoport pointedly notes: 'Two criteria govern the singing of the journey: continuity and correct naming.' Such enunciation requires an extraordinary knowledge of particular nodes of specific information about persons, places and events, set in succession and recited in proper order without omissions. The complementarity of lexical items—the parallelism of the narrative's presentation—contributes to the stability of this coding. Only a well-ordered path constitutes a proper performance. A performative error is dangerous and is believed to be potentially fatal to the narrator.

The performance evokes comparisons with ritual journeying elsewhere in eastern Indonesia. The drum is a crucial instrument that opens contact with the spirit world and marks the steps of a variety of narrative journeys.<sup>2</sup> Joel Kuipers has described in fine detail the divinatory and spirit placation ceremonies (*zaizo*) of the Weyewa of Sumba in which drums provide the accompaniment for singers. In these ceremonies, the spirits are called to return along familiar paths to their former village (Kuipers 1990: 135):

do not be slow in descending  
do not be late in departing ...  
the tracks that were followed e-e-e  
the path that was travelled e-e-e

2 See Needham (1967) on the significance of percussion as a mechanism in ritual.

as you gaze at the village gate  
as you look at the house ladder  
if you are Mbili  
if you are Koni  
truly  
and you come straight down  
along the soaring house tower  
along the Kamberan center rafters  
and you come down to the ground.

Similarly, in Kodi on Sumba, the drum is at the centre of spirit communication. Janet Hoskins describes it as a:

crucial nonhuman intermediary ... sent on a journey up through the seven layers of the heavens and six layers of the earth (*pitu ndani cana, nomo ndani awango*) to the upperworld on the eighth level to ask for blessings. (1993: 227)

As at funeral ceremonies, so, too, in divination rituals, the role of the drum is to convey the words of humans to the divinity. The drum is addressed and given offerings and, as it is about to begin its long journey, it is told, as Hoskins (1988: 45) reports:

You are the bird we set singing  
You are the butterfly we set flying  
So let us walk down the same path together  
So let us ride astride the same horse together

Dana Rappoport, in her account of the Maro rituals of Sa'dan Toraja, provides a stunning example of the use of the drum in trance-journeying. In the midst of a chaotic succession of ceremonial activities—the 'madness' of the Maro—the spirits are called on to empower the knife held by an officiant, in trance, who cuts his forehead and lets forth his blood to rub on those around him. A chorus of women, dishevelled with their hair in disarray, chant in unison. One of their number demands a drum, circles it and then steps on top of it, as the chorus recounts the journey of the trancer (Rappoport 2009: 145):

I'm already on top of the drum  
On the peak of the zither  
On the point of the glorious knife.

A truly beautiful heavenly village  
A wonderful house indeed  
The glorious ritual grounds.

I'm almost at peace up there  
 I'm almost not returning  
 I'm almost not returning

Eventually, the chorus of women recounts the reluctant return of the trancer—transformed ‘with the energy of gold’—who descends, ‘bathed by the sound of the drum, rinsed by zithers and washed by flutes’ (Rappoport 2006: 96–97).

As in the case of the Toraja trancer, journeys can be productive and life-giving. The journey of the rice maiden and the germination of rice from her body, as told in the Lamaholot region of Flores, form one of a variety of recurrent myths of the origin of rice and other foods. In eastern Indonesia, this narrative more often relates to the origins of a full suite of plants. The island of Rote, for example, has several different origin myths. The most prominent is one that tells of the origin of rice and millet from sea creatures who are planted and then ceremonially transferred around the island by women whose personal names are the personification of places—often irrigated fields. The narrative constitutes a topogeny—a recitation of placenames that describes a journey clockwise around the island (Fox 2014a: 265–66). Another myth tells of the origin of millet and maize from the blood of a heavenly being. The figure Lakimola Bulan//Kaibake Ledo pierces his little finger and little toe and then walks through the dry land: wherever his blood drops, red millet and red rice spring forth (Fox 2014b: 277–82). Yet another telling blends elements of the other two versions to create a new telling: the woman Seku Tine//Rele Hade scoops the seeds from the sea and plants them on the slopes of a site called Lakamola//Kaibaka, an upland area with a small lake in eastern Rote. When ‘the nine grains and eight seeds’ (*pule sio//poka falu*) spread throughout the island, they are collectively referred to as the ‘children of Lakamola’.

More striking a comparison is that of the Tetun origin of domestic plants as told in Wehali, in south central Timor (Therik 2004: 257–59). This tells of a time when there was no food in Wehali and one of the six ruling *liurai*, the Liurai Berechi, offered his body to become food for the people. From his head came red and green coconuts, from his right hand came *fuan* bananas, from his left hand came mung beans, from his guts and intestines, vines and pumpkins. His blood flowed into the sea and became the *nase* fish and from inside the head of this fish, when it was caught,

came special sorghum seeds (*batar tasi*) that can only be grown in the gardens of Wehali. Finally, when the legs of the *liurai* were burned, their ashes became gunpowder.

The critically interesting feature of this narrative is the complex network of paths that trace the transfer of these plants into and out of Wehali. Green coconuts were sent to Fatumea Takolo in the land of the rising sun, red coconuts to Fatumea Talama in the land of the setting sun, while the people of Wehali took only young green coconuts to sprinkle on and cool their gardens. Mung beans, which are the staples of Tetun subsistence, were brought from Akani, planted in Wehali and then taken back by Akani to be planted more widely. Each of the plants in this recitation has its distinctive pathway. The whole of this narrative is a recitation of interwoven paths linked to Wehali as a sacred centre.<sup>3</sup>

## Journey as a quest

The full narrative of the journey of the rice maiden is more than just a narrative of the transference of rice. It begins as a foundation myth and proceeds to recount the search by the ancestral figure Pati Sogén for a wife. This is a journey as quest and thus belongs to a rich genre of diverse Austronesian narratives, many of epic proportions, focusing on the adventures of cultural heroes. Monika Janowski's chapter, 'Journeys in quest of cosmic power (*lalud*): Highland heroes in Borneo', provides an excellent illustration of this genre—an example from the Kelabit of Borneo, featuring the journey and martial adventures of Toked Rini and his companions (see also Janowski 2014).

These narratives contrast male mobility with female stability in place.<sup>4</sup> The acquired spiritual power and magical endowments of these wandering males are paramount and their journeying advances the narrative as it

---

3 I have now held two recording sessions in Bali with the Mako'an Piet Tahu Nahak, Tom Therik's chief informant, who first revealed this origin narrative to him. I have recorded two further versions of it, but I have not yet managed to understand all its complexities. After recording one longer version and spending time trying to map out the sites mentioned in the narrative, Piet Tahu decided to recite another version, which was longer, more elaborate and more difficult to comprehend fully. My efforts remain a work-in-progress.

4 This pattern of male mobility and female stability in place highlights the special ritual significance of the journey of the rice maiden among the Lamaholot.

moves the hero-figure from adventure to adventure. Kichapi, the young hero in William Geddes's *Nine Dayak Nights* (1957: 81), voices his efforts in journeying:

Walking on, forever walking on  
Uphill I go, and downhill  
On hills of a thousand different kinds;  
Each stream at its mouth flows into a second,  
Each lake at its end joins another ...

In the end, after many struggles and near-death escapes, Kichapi succeeds in triumphing over his final opponent and gaining his beloved Gumiloh; so, this tale of wandering ends in the attainment of a bride and residence with her in her village.

In a rich and varied genre, the Kichapi narrative can be compared with a variety of similar male-journey narratives: the Saribas Iban narrative of Sugi Sakit recorded and analysed by Clifford Sather in *A Borneo Healing Romance* (2017); the ritual song of the double-named Nias noble Situo Mäli Itô//Situo Mäli Ndeŵa, who wanders for years to find a wife, as recorded by W.L. Steinhart in *Niasse Teksten* (1954: 5–42);<sup>5</sup> the long Tiruray narrative featuring Laqei Lengkuos's journey and eventual obtainment of his bride, Menfelabu (see Wein 1989); or the Palawan narrative that recounts Mämiminbin's journeying to the realms of the Master of Thunder and Lady of the Fishes and eventual marriage to the Äriq ni Labit, the sister of Labit whose steadfastness in place is maintained throughout the entire narrative to the point that she never leaves her house (Revel and Intaray 2000).

The different name changes of the hero that occur in the various episodes of some of these narratives suggest that they may be an amalgam of tales of several different heroes whose exploits have been creatively joined as one. Particularly important, as Janowski indicates, are the status and spiritual qualities of both males and females: their consequent beauty, lustrous appearance and their rich and striking apparel. These are generally narratives that exalt a social elite.

---

5 Steinhart's Nias corpus, produced between 1934 and 1954, is a monumental collection of Austronesian texts in strict canonical parallelism with detailed notes on the language of the texts, but it provides frustratingly little information on their social and ritual context.

The journeys of these heroes can also be seen as a trial. The prize is often a change in power and status. Frequently, the hero is assisted by helpers—human, animal or spirit-advisors. The hero is told to take the difficult path—‘the narrow road’—the difficulty of which tests the capacities of the hero and thus serves as evidence of his inherent worth. Like specific placenames that mark a journey, the creatures encountered on the journey serve as nodes that inform, direct and advance the narrative.

One of the longest and most elaborate oral narratives in this genre is the *Guritan of Radin Suane* from the Besemah of south Sumatra. This monumental recitation, recorded by William A. Collins and eventually published (1998) after years of effort to transcribe, decipher and understand its formulaic high language, is a long quest by Radin Suane to search for and eventually win a bride. Collins describes this *guritan* as ‘a prince’s quest for a wife and a princess’ choice of a husband’ (1998: 19).<sup>6</sup> In its details, it is a portrait of a Besemah past.

The recitation is formulaic in structure and in language. It takes 20 cantos—more than 1,100 lines—for Radin Suane to prepare his weapons, jewellery, clothes and other accoutrements ready for his departure. Embedded in this departure sequence is a long recitation of almost 200 lines of a formulaic topogeny that names and describes the surrounding lands and their ruling dynasties (Collins 1998: 93–94):

<i>Wan itu jalan ke Bengkulu</i>	That is the way to Bengkulu
<i>Tunak kundu Mentiring</i>	The place of the soul of
<i>Sakti ...</i>	Mentiring Sakti ...
<i>Wan itu jalan ke Jagat Aceh</i>	That is the way to Jagat Aceh
<i>Tunak kundu Pangeran</i>	The place of the soul of Pangran
<i>Dunang ...</i>	Dunang ...
<i>Wan itu jalan Kisam Tinggi</i>	That is the way to Kisam Tinggi
<i>Tunak kundu Radin</i>	The place of the soul of Radin
<i>Bambayan</i>	Bambayan

6 In the Borneo narrative summarised by Janowski, Toked Rini is already married to Aruring when he sets off on his journey. He returns with two lost relatives who have heroically helped him. One of the men tries to persuade Aruring to sleep with him, but she refuses and declares she wants only Toked Rini. This resembles the convention in other narratives such as the *Guritan of Radin Suane*, in which the princess rejects other suitors and, instead, chooses her hero husband.

This topogeny identifies 37 realms, from Aceh at the northern end of Sumatra to Semarang, Demak and beyond along the coast of Java, each with its named local aristocrats.

When Radin Suane finally sets sail following an invitation to a three-month-long cockfight in preparation for a wedding, he directs the ship on a straight, unswerving path as if on land (Collins 1998: 118):

<i>Tumpak tuju di Remban Tinggi</i>	Our destination is Remban Tinggi
<i>Nyimpang ke kiri dibenupkan</i>	Deviate to the left and be sunk,
<i>Nyimpang ke kanan dipelebur ...</i>	Deviate to the right and be smashed ...

As the distinguished Finnish scholar Aarne A. Koskinen noted in his study of the symbolism of the path in Polynesia (1968), among Austronesians, any deviation from a set path is regarded as an error and, for Christians in Polynesia, could be defined as sin. Koskinen was particularly struck by the folk etymological implications of the two similar sounding terms (*h*)*ara* for 'path' from \**zalan* and *hara* for 'error, sin' from \**salaq*, and he drew on this connection to consider the critical significance of the idea of keeping to the path. His observations have a wide applicability among Austronesian speakers, especially, as he indicates, because paths also refer to relations among kin.

An explicit example of such symbolic associations occurs among the Rotenese, who link the word for 'error, sin or lack' (*sala*) with the word for 'deviation' from a path (*singok*) as a formal ritual language pair. Thus, a frequent refrain is the ritual expression at funerals:

<i>Au ana-ma ma-salak</i>	I am an orphan wronged
<i>Ma au falu-ina ma-singok.</i>	And I am a widow off-course.

In grand metaphorical terms, this expression for bereavement is extended to describe the human condition in the world.

## Journey to the afterworld

For the Iban, as Clifford Sather expounds in his chapter, 'Life, death and journeys of regeneration in Saribas Iban funerary rituals', the journey to another world after death is a stage in a life-giving

regenerative process. The initial funerary journey continues through multiple transformations—a series of rebirths and deaths—until finally the *antu*, which Sather describes as the ‘postmortal self’, returns to the world ‘as dew, which, through the medium of rice, is re-embodied in a new generation of humans’. This path charts an immanence of all life that transforms death into a life-giving potency—a conception that is widespread among Austronesians (Fox 1987).

Sather draws on the Lamaholot ethnography of Penelope Graham for similar notions (1991). Another expression of similar ideas can be found among the Mambai. The spirits of death go through a series of transformations, moving from land to sea, where ‘they sleep inside the waters, sleep inside the sea’. From there, they become nourishing rains or, as the Mambai phrase it, they ‘walk with the rains’ and come ‘to descend into the white corn and yellow corn, to descend into the white bean and yam’ (Traube 1986: 194).

The journey into the afterworld is a topic so widely and so copiously examined that it might well be considered a defining theme in the Austronesian ethnography. Classic monographs on this topic—often with extended narrative documentation—include Hans Schärer’s massive two-volume compendium, *Der Totenkult der Ngadju Dajak in Süd-Borneo* [*The Death Cult of the Ngadju Dajak in Southern Borneo*] (1966), Peter Metcalf’s *A Borneo Journey into Death* (1982), Jeannine Koubi’s *Rambu Solo’ ‘la Fumée Descend’ le culte des morts chez les Toradja du Sud* [*Rambu Solo’, ‘The Smoke Descends’: The cult of the dead among the South Toradja*] (1982), H. van der Veen’s *The Sa’dan Toradja Chant for the Deceased* (1966), P. Middelkoop’s *Een Studie van het Timoreesche Doodenritueel* [*A Study of the Timorese Death Ritual*] (1949), Maurice Bloch’s *Placing the Dead* (1971) and, along with an exceptional array of specific papers, they provide one of the most extensive fields of comparison among Austronesian populations.<sup>7</sup>

---

7 As Sather discusses in his chapter, Robert Hertz’s 1907 essay (Hertz 1960) has had a substantial influence on comparative research on this topic. His stimulating ideas have had their influence in Austronesian studies, as for example, in Hans Joachim Sell’s *Der schlimme Tod bei den Völkern Indonesiens* [*The Concept of Bad Death among the People of Indonesia*] (1955) or Pascal Couderc and Kenneth Sillander’s superb collection of papers, *Ancestors in Borneo Societies: Death, transformation and social immortality* (2012); Henri Chambert-Loir and Anthony Reid’s *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, saints and heroes in contemporary Indonesia* (2002); or more broadly, in Richard Huntington and Peter Metcalf’s *Celebrations of Death: The anthropology of mortuary ritual* (1979).

Clifford Sather's chapter on Saribas Iban death rituals is one of the clearest and most concise descriptions of the performance and eschatology of complex celebrations. By contrast, Fox's chapter, 'Rotenese life-courses and the journey to the afterworld', deals with a population whose rulers began to embrace Christianity in the early eighteenth century. The slow spread of Christian ideas about life after death have eliminated any coherence in traditional eschatology. As among the Iban, the rituals allude to the spectral dissolution of the person in the journey westward to the afterworld, but the pathways of this world are unclear. What have become elaborated are formulaic ritual narratives of different possible 'life-courses'. Whereas the Iban confine the discussion of the deceased's life to the earliest stages of their rituals, the recitation of a formulaic 'life-course' assigned to the deceased is—or was until recently—central to the Rotenese funeral ceremony. These 'life-courses' are described as 'paths' and many of them comprise further embedded 'paths' within them, including journeys in search of a wife.

## Paths and journeys in practice

Sather notes the Iban term *jalai*, which means both 'path' and 'journey', 'has a normative connotation and inscribes a linear and/or temporal dimension to whatever activity it refers'. In a similar vein, writing about the Muyuw term for path, *ked*, Frederick Damon writes:

People often speak as if the *ked* determines their action; they are just doing what the way prescribes ... the *ked* is the agent; people are just the means by which its action is accomplished.

By such understandings, a straight path implies good intentions; by contrast, a crooked, wandering path indicates deviousness. Such normative evaluations apply widely among Austronesians.

Rituals can be performed to open a path to facilitate the flow of life, to straighten a path to avoid deviation or, critically, to remove hindrances on an intended path. As an example, Sather writes that:

before a new longhouse is constructed, its site must first be measured out and ritually constituted as a *jalai*. This is done through a rite called *ngerembang jalai*—literally, 'to clear' or 'trod down a path'. The purpose of the rite is to remove obstructions.

In his chapter, ‘On the word *ked*: The “way” of being and becoming in Muyuw’, Frederick Damon exemplifies the idea of the *ked* by reference to a Muyuw death ritual:

A death is likened to a tree falling, blocking paths among the living who are connected by lines of affinity or *kula*. People should ignore one another until they have performed a small clearing ritual.

Paths may set out a trajectory, but they also demand physical action in the journeys they define. This physical component—the actions involved in stepping, striding, walking, riding and sailing—is also a key focus of the chapters in this volume. The second chapter in the volume, Wen-ling Lin’s ‘From paths to traditional territory: Wayfinding and the materialisation of an ancestral homeland’, highlights the actions of walking as a long multigenerational rediscovery process in reclaiming ancestral land. This is part of an ongoing struggle by the Austronesian-speaking populations of Taiwan to revive, reassert and regain distinct local identities and national recognition. This specific case involves the Bunun of the Laipunuk region in the Central Mountain Range of Taiwan and constitutes a return to a ‘homeland’ from which these Bunun were displaced. As Lin beautifully phrases it, ‘the path was born of walking, and this walking shaped the landscape’. Equally interesting, though subtly more difficult to appreciate, is the process of redefining the boundaries of the village by Amis shamans who hold invisible threads that link them to the spirit world. As Yi-tze Lee describes in his chapter, ‘Testing paths in shamanic performances among the northern Amis of Taiwan’, the first and most dangerous task for Amis shamans is to find the correct path that will link them to the spirit world and only when this path has been found can they use it in their public procession through the village to define social and spatial boundaries. No less significant is the emphasis that Denis Regnier, in his chapter, ‘Funerary speeches and marital investigations in highland Madagascar’, places on the trekking that occurs among scattered groups of Betsileo to determine the intimate details of ancestry that will ensure proper marriage arrangements. The mobility of the populations of Madagascar makes the island an area of subtle but complex diversity in which one’s journey towards social identity is ultimately determined by placement in a specific local tomb.

In his book *Iban Bejalai* (1993), Peter Kedit presents an extended discussion of Iban journeying that includes not just ritual journeys, but also a great variety of undertakings intended to seek experience, wealth and renown. Institutionalised as the regular practice of young men to leave the longhouse for a period to gain a living, new skills and enhanced

respect, the practice of *bejalai* supported Iban expansion and migration. It is similar to the practice of Malay and Minangkabau *merantau* ('to leave home, to go abroad') or Javanese *lelono* ('to go wandering, travelling') and what is described by all manner of itinerant workers and most fishermen in present-day Indonesia as *cari hidup* ('to seek a livelihood').

In her chapter, 'Winds and seas: Exploring the pulses of place in *kula* exchange and yam gardening', Susanne Kuehling examines one of the best-known practices of traditional Austronesian trading: the *kula* exchange network linking numerous island populations in southeastern Papua New Guinea who are involved in trade associated with the circulation of shell valuables. This remarkable trading complex was first examined in Bronisław Malinowski's classic ethnography *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922). Based on long fieldwork on Dobu and on her own journeys among *kula* traders, Kuehling provides a further perspective on these seaborne activities.

For most traders, this is a journey conceived of as upwards or downwards in line with the rising or setting sun and across a series of specific named spaces (*mwatui*). *Mwali* shells enter the trading network from the north and west while *bagi* shells enter from the eastern part of the network. What Kuehling calls the 'pulse' of this trade consists of the countercirculation of these individual shells whose number she estimates as more than 1,000 of each kind. As she writes:

The pulse of *kula* and the rhythm of the winds combine to create windows of opportunity and adventure, giving men a chance to prove themselves and to escape the daily grind of subsistence work.

As she notes, the stability of the household—wives and children, who remain on land—constitutes support to the men who venture to sea. Gardening is linked to these *kula* activities and, in Kuehling's assessment, 'both activities are of equal importance'.

The final chapter in this volume, Yu-chien Huang's 'Walking on the village paths: *Kanaawoq* in Yap and *rarahan* in Yami', links two Austronesian populations on islands a considerable distance from one another: the Yami of Orchid Island off the coast of Taiwan and the population of Yap in Micronesia in the Pacific. Her chapter poses an interesting comparative question about the different nature of paths and of 'pathing' in these two societies. Among the Yami, path-making is improvised and open to change and paths are meandering and changeable, whereas on Yap, paths

are wide, flat and carefully tended; they are interconnected and politically and socially endowed with meaning and there is an etiquette and protocol for walking on them. Huang develops this comparison of paths brilliantly and points to the way an ethnography of paths can illuminate differences in Austronesian societies. The question is whether her idea of different modalities in path and ‘pathing’ can be further generalised: can one detect a more pronounced individual modality in the defining of paths among societies in western Austronesian and a more notable collective modality in paths among societies in eastern Austronesia; or, more specifically, under what conditions do these varying modalities arise? It is useful to conclude this volume by posing new questions for further research.

## **Pathways through the Austronesian-speaking world**

The dispersal of Austronesian languages has created innumerable pathways. Tracing these pathways is one of the preoccupations in the study of the Austronesians. Similarities across the Austronesian-speaking world are notable but equally so are the differences among Austronesian societies. The social use of metaphors of the ‘path’ is apparent in some of the chapters in this volume and implicit in others. The development of comparative Austronesian studies has highlighted both these continuities and these regional differences.

Virtually everywhere, except in the remote Pacific, Austronesian speakers—or more specifically, Malayo-Polynesian speakers—spread into areas inhabited by earlier populations whose languages and existing patterns of local adaptation had varying but significant influences on Austronesian social and cultural practices. Austro-Asiatic and even pre-Austro-Asiatic influences are evident in western Austronesia as are the non-Austronesian—often referred to, loosely and indeterminately, as ‘Papuan’—influences in eastern Austronesia. The diversity of this expansion, its many migratory pathways and the millennia-long multilingual social interaction of mixed communities have created what is today a complex Austronesian-speaking world.<sup>8</sup>

---

8 Innovative research by Owen Edwards (2018) on substrate retention from pre-Austronesian languages has begun to provide new insights into historical linguistic relationships in the Timor area and has wider methodological and theoretical implications for an understanding of the Austronesian-speaking world. Marian Klamer (2019) provides an excellent summary discussion of current findings and debates on the dispersal of Austronesian languages in island Southeast Asia.

Traces of these influences are evident, for example, in the relational terminologies of the Austronesians. The formal complexities of these terminologies that define and distinguish kin and affine—sorting them by generation, gender, relative age, seniority, sex-of-speaker, relational distance and marriage connection—show fundamental continuity as well as considerable variation across the Austronesian world. There is evident continuity between the cognatic terminologies of the Austronesians of Taiwan and those of the Malayo-Polynesian speakers of western Austronesia to the island of Sumbawa where significant differences begin to appear roughly coincident with the Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian subgroup. Key affinal relational categories common throughout western Austronesia disappear and differing patterns of relative age and sibling relations emerge and are combined with tendencies towards category-directed marriage.

Eastern Indonesia is a transition zone but is by no means uniform. Many of the relationship patterns notable in societies in Oceania first emerge in eastern Indonesia and are carried into the Pacific. Societies on either side of New Guinea, in particular, share distinctive relational patterns, whereas Polynesian societies share patterns more in common with those that occur in the area of transition from western to eastern Indonesia. This would certainly be in keeping with a migration through eastern Indonesia and into Oceania marked by a distinct movement into the Pacific that had relatively little influence from local non-Austronesian-speaking populations (for specific details on these various patterns, see Fox 2015, 2019).

In this complex cultural world, it remains possible to recognise a considerable continuity in the nature of Austronesian paths and the journeying that takes place on them. Whether broad or narrow, straight or winding, all journeys—however difficult—are both instructive and transformative. This volume with its 10 chapters describing distinctive paths, each discussed in its cultural context, offers a journey into a wide and fascinating Austronesian-speaking world.

## References

- Barnes, Susana. 2011. 'Origins, precedence and social order in the domain of Ina Ama Beli Darlari.' In Andrew McWilliam and Elizabeth G. Traube, eds, *Land and Life in Timor-Leste: Ethnographic essays*, pp. 23–46. Canberra: ANU Press. doi.org/10.22459/LLTL.12.2011.02.
- Bellmund, Jacob L.S., Peter Gärdenfors, Edward L. Moser and Christian Doeller. 2018. 'Navigating cognition: Spatial codes for human thinking.' *Science* 362(6415): eaat6766. doi.org/10.1126/science.aat6766.
- Bloch, Maurice. 1971. *Placing the Dead: Tombs, ancestral villages and kinship organization in Madagascar*. London: Seminar Press.
- Chambert-Loir, Henri and Anthony Reid, eds. 2002. *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, saints and heroes in contemporary Indonesia*. Sydney and Honolulu: Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai'i Press.
- Collins, William A. 1998. *The Guritan of Radin Suane: A study of the Besemah oral epic from South Sumatra*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Couderc, Pascal and Kenneth Sillander, eds. 2012. *Ancestors in Borneo Societies: Death, transformation and social immortality*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.
- Edwards, Owen. 2018. 'Parallel histories in Rote-Meto.' *Oceanic Linguistics* 57(2): 359–409. doi.org/10.1353/ol.2018.0016.
- Firth, Raymond. 1967 [1940]. *The Work of the Gods in Tikopia*. Reprint. London: The Athlone Press.
- Fox, James J. 1987. 'Southeast Asian religions: Insular cultures.' In Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion. Volume 13*, pp. 520–30. New York: Macmillan.
- Fox, James J. 1992. 'Origin and order in a Micronesian society: A comparative assessment of two books on Palau.' *Canberra Anthropology* 15(1): 75–86. doi.org/10.1080/03149099209508460.
- Fox, James J. 2014a [2006]. 'Genealogy and topogeny.' In James J. Fox, *Explorations in Semantic Parallelism*, pp. 265–76. Canberra: ANU Press. dx.doi.org/10.22459/ESP.07.2014. [Reprinted from 'Genealogy and topogeny: Toward an ethnography of Rotinese ritual place names', in James J. Fox, ed., *The Poetic Power of Place: Comparative perspectives on Austronesian ideas of locality*, pp. 91–102. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2006. doi.org/10.22459/PPP.09.2006].
- Fox, James J. 2014b. 'Blood-red millet: An origin narrative.' In James J. Fox, *Explorations in Semantic Parallelism*, pp. 277–82. Canberra: ANU Press. doi.org/10.22459/ESP.07.2014.

1. TOWARDS A COMPARATIVE ETHNOGRAPHY OF AUSTRONESIAN 'PATHS' AND 'JOURNEYS'

- Fox, James J. 2015. 'Eastern Indonesia in Austronesian perspective: The evidence of relational terminologies.' *Archipel* 90: 189–216. doi.org/10.4000/archipel.375.
- Fox, James J. 2019. 'A research note regarding Trobriand *tabu* and its comparative significance.' *Oceania*: 89(3): 336–42. doi.org/10.1002/occa.5230.
- Geddes, William A. 1957. *Nine Dayak Nights*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Graham, Penelope. 1991. 'To follow the blood: The path of life in a domain of eastern Flores, Indonesia.' PhD thesis, The Australian National University, Canberra. doi.org/10.25911/5d74e27794d86.
- Hertz, Robert. 1960. *Death and the Right Hand*. Trans. by R. Needham and C. Needham. London: Cohen & West.
- Hoskins, Janet. 1988. 'Etiquette in Kodi spirit communication: The lips told to pronounce, the mouth told to speak.' In James J. Fox, ed., *To Speak in Pairs: Essays on the ritual languages of eastern Indonesia*, pp. 29–63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511551369.002.
- Hoskins, Janet. 1993. *The Play of Time: Kodi perspectives on calendars, history and exchange*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Huang, Shuanfan and Michael Tanangkingsing. 2005. 'Reference to motion events in six western Austronesian languages: Toward a semantic typology.' *Oceanic Linguistics* 44(2): 307–40. doi.org/10.1353/ol.2005.0035.
- Huntington, Richard and Peter Metcalf. 1979. *Celebrations of Death: The anthropology of mortuary ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huntsman, Judith and Antony Hooper. 1996. *Tokelau: A historical ethnography*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Janowski, Monica. 2014. *Tuked Rini, Cosmic Traveller: Life and legend in the heart of Borneo*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.
- Kaartinen, Timo. 2010. *Songs of Travel, Stories of Place: Poetics of absence in an eastern Indonesian society*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- Kedit, Peter M. 1993. *Iban Bejalai*. Kuala Lumpur: Ampang Press.
- Klamer, Marian. 2019. 'The dispersal of Austronesian languages in island South East Asia: Current findings and debates.' *Language and Linguistics Compass* 13(4): 1–26. doi.org/10.1111/lnc3.12325.
- Kohl, Karl-Heinz. 1998. *Der Tod der Reisjungfrau: Mythen, Kulte und Allianzen in einer ostindonesischen Lokalkultur* [*The Death of the Rice Maiden: Myths, cults and alliances in an east Indonesian local culture*]. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer.

- Koskinen, Aarne A. 1968. 'On the symbolism of the "path" in Polynesian thinking.' In Aarne A. Koskinen, *Linking of Symbols: Polynesian patterns 1*, pp. 57–70. Helsinki: Soumen Lähetystieteellinen Seura R.Y.
- Koubi, Jeannine. 1982. *Rambu Solo' 'la fumée descend' le culte des morts chez les Toradja du Sud* [*Rambu Solo', 'The Smoke Descends': The cult of the dead among the South Toradja*]. Paris: Editions Du Centre National De La Recherche Scientifique.
- Kuipers, Joel C. 1990. *Power in Performance: The creation of textual authority in Wejewa ritual speech*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. doi.org/10.9783/9781512803341.
- Lewis, E. Douglas. 1988. *People of the Source: The social and ceremonial order of Tana Wai Brama on Flores*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- McWilliam, Andrew. 1997. 'Mapping with metaphor: Cultural topographies in West Timor.' In James J. Fox, ed., *The Poetic Power of Place: Comparative perspectives on Austronesian ideas of locality*, pp. 103–15. Canberra: Department of Anthropology, Comparative Austronesian Project, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.
- McWilliam, Andrew. 2002. *Paths of Origin, Gates of Life: A study of place and precedence*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Malinowski, Bronisław. 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An account of native enterprise and adventure in the archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Metcalf, Peter. 1982. *A Borneo Journey into Death: Berawan eschatology from its rituals*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. doi.org/10.9783/9781512818079.
- Middelkoop, P. 1949. *Een Studie van het Timoreesche Doodenritueel. Verhandeling KBGKW: LXXVI* [*A Study of the Timorese Death Ritual. Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences Treatise No. 76*]. Bandoeng: A.C. Nix & Co.
- Needham, Rodney. 1967. 'Percussion and transition.' *Man* (NS)2: 606–14. doi.org/10.2307/2799343.
- Parmentier, Richard J. 1987. *The Sacred Remains: Myth, history and polity in Belau*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Rappoport, Dana. 2006. “De retour de mon bain de tambours”: Chants de transe de rituel maro chez les Toraja Sa’adan de l’île Sulawesi (Indonésie) [“Back from my drum bath”: Trance songs of the maro ritual among the Toraja Sa’adan of the island of Sulawesi (Indonesia)].’ *Cahiers de Musique Traditionnelles [Traditional Music Notebooks]* 19: 93–116. doi.org/10.2307/40240636.
- Rappoport, Dana. 2009. *Songs of the Thrice-Blooded Land: Ritual music of the Toraja (Sulawesi, Indonesia)*. Trans. by Elizabeth Coville. 2 vols + DVD. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme: Éditions Épistème.
- Revel, Nicole and Mäsinu Intaray. 2000. *La quête en épouse/The Quest for a Wife: Mämimbin, a Palawan epic sung by Mäsinu*. [Trilingue Palawan-Français-Anglais]. Paris: Éditions Unesco.
- Sather, Clifford. 2017. *A Borneo Healing Romance: Ritual storytelling and the Sugi Sakit*. Kuching: Borneo Research Council.
- Schärer, Hans. 1966. *Der Totenkult der Ngadju Dajak in Süd-Borneo [The Death Cult of the Ngadju Dajak in Southern Borneo]*. 2 vols. ’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff. doi.org/10.26530/OAPEN\_613419.
- Sell, Hans Joachim. 1955. *Der schlimme Tod bei den Völkern Indonesiens [The Terrible Death among the People of Indonesia]*. ’s-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co.
- Slobin, Dan. 2004. ‘The many ways to search for a frog: Linguistic typology and the expression of motion events.’ In Sven Strömquist and Ludo Verhoeven, eds, *Relating Events in Narrative: Typology and contextual perspectives*, pp. 219–57. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Steinhart, W.L. 1954. *Niasse Teksten [The Niasse Text]*. KITLV [Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies]. ’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Talmy, Leonard. 1991. ‘Path to realization: A typology of event conflation.’ *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 17: 480–519. doi.org/10.3765/bls.v17i0.1620.
- Therik, Tom. 2004. *Wehali: The female land—Traditions of a Timorese ritual centre*. Canberra: Pandanus Books.
- Traube, Elizabeth G. 1986. *Cosmology and Social Life: Ritual exchange among the Mambai of East Timor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Traube, Elizabeth G. 1989. ‘Obligations to the source.’ In David Maybury-Lewis and Uri Almagor, eds, *The Attraction of Opposites: Thought and society in a dualistic mode*, pp. 321–44. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Traube, Elizabeth G. 2011. 'Planting the flag.' In Andrew McWilliam and Elizabeth G. Traube, eds, *Land and Life in Timor-Leste: Ethnographic essays*, pp. 117–40. Canberra: ANU Press. doi.org/10.22459/LLTL.12.2011.06.
- Veen, H. van der. 1966. *The Sâdan Toradja Chant for the Deceased*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Wein, Clemens. 1989. *Berinareu: The religious epic of the Tirurais*. Manila: Divine Word Publications.

This text is taken from *Austronesian Paths and Journeys*, edited by James J. Fox, published 2021 by ANU Press, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

[doi.org/10.22459/APJ.2021.01](https://doi.org/10.22459/APJ.2021.01)