

***Lendawi*: The Multifunction Chants and Their Metaphorical Expressions Among The Lany Tribe In Papua**

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Abstract, The Lany is a tribe in the mountains inhabiting the area, close to Wamena, formerly called West Dani. This tribe has a type of chants called *lendawi* that is chanted for a number of occasions. Ethnographic method was used to find the functions of the *lendawi*; for analysis of the metaphors, Halley's semantic field hierarchy was used. The study found that *lendawi* may be carried out anywhere anytime depending on certain functions. Seven functions were found: (1) for lamenting a dead person, (2) for thanking people contributing something in an event, (3) for remembering a family member who is already dead or in a foreign land, (4) for releasing a newly wed girl to follow her husband or a family member to go to a foreign land, (5) when meeting a person who resembles a family member already dead or far away, (6) when visiting a sick relative or friend, (7) for welcoming a relative or family member from overseas. The semantic field shown in the metaphorical expressions were found to be at the levels of (a) **being** e.g. **sadness** like in the *landawi* for the dead; (b) **substance** like clouds for **eternity** and rain for **tears**, (c) **terrestrial** like mountains and rivers, in the mention of mount Tari, and Donggi and Konda rivers, (d) **living** like weeds or grass in the mention of gardens, (e) **animate** like birds in the mention of the birds *kimagi*, *welem*, *uluwe*, *prikokir*, *piage*. The semantic field is more around the surrounding area or some other places but still in Papua as found in the metaphors.

Keywords: Lendawi; Chant; Metaphorical Expressions; Lany; Tribe; Papua

1 Introduction

1.1. A Brief Overview of the Lany Socio-Cultural Background

There are 7 *Adat* (Customary Laws) Regions in Papua: the Doberai region, the Boberai region, the Ha-Anim region, the Saireri region, the Mamta region, the Mi-Pago region, and the La-Pago region, and Lany belongs to the La-Pago in the mountains.

The Lanny inhabit the central mountain range plateau of Papua. They have become hunters and farmers since antiquity (Muller, 2008). They grow sweet potatoes, taros, bananas, sugar canes, various types of beans, and vegetables. Some of the inhabitants still use adzes, knife made from animal bones, and spears. Some still wear their traditional attires: *sali* from dried grass and *yonggonoak* from dried tree barks for women and girls, and *koteka* from dried gourd

for men and boys. They may decorate themselves with white-black colors, and cassuary, chicken, and *maleo* bird feathers, as well as bracelets and rattan belts. They have traditional dances called *wisisi* and *pesek* that are performed, especially in *adat* rituals, to welcome guests like dignitaries or foreign tourists.

The Lany have a traditional musical instrument called *luggik* which is played by men when they are resting or having a break from work. They have a traditional net bag called *noken*, with a multifunction: for carrying garden produce, carrying babies, etc. Their traditional house is called *onai*, shaped like a mushroom, similar to the Dani's *honai*. Men's *onai* is called *kunu* and women's *onai* is called *ome*. The Lany have a number of rituals related to bride price delivery, head price, thank giving rituals for winning a tribal war, rituals to commemorate the deaths of ancestors, thanksgiving rituals for abundant harvest from new gardens, etc. Fingers cutting which is done to show sadness because of a family member's death: a husband, a wife, a father, a mother, a child, a brother, a sister, is disappearing because more and more people among the Lany are now educated and make use of their education to deconstruct cultural practices that bring disadvantages rather than advantages. For a marriage to be considered valid, three types of bride price have to be delivered: (1) *wam* (pigs), (2) *noken* (the net bags), (3) *yebarip* (money).

Studies done on this tribe are not many – let alone on *lendawi*. In 1993, there was a study on the phonology of West Dani (now Lany) Language by Purba et al in which I was a member, then in 1997, there was another a study on West Dani syntax also done by Purba et al. There has been only one study on *lendawi* in which I was involved and from which this article has been based on, that is, by Yikwa (2018) discussing the structure, types, and socio-cultural values of *lendawi*.

1.2. Oral Literature

Oral literature, oral tradition, verbal folklore, folk literature, oral performance, popular culture—these areas of human communication and performance are now attracting increasing attention from social anthropologists (Finnegan, 1992). It is stated in Mourner and Rausch (1991:158) that oral literature is the ballads, folktales, and proverbs of preliterate or non-literate cultures that are sung or recited to audiences and are passed with change from generation to generation through memory rather than by being written down. Common to oral literature are devices that aid memory, such as traditional phrases, repetition, and metrical patterns.

Since the oral literature is still literature except that it is oral, it also shares characteristics belonging to literature. *Lendawi* seems to belong to poetry since shares characteristics of poetry. The *lendawi* may be lyric or narrative. The lyric expresses personal emotion in a ‘singable’ way or tuneful form. The emotion is personal, whether it arises from the individual's experience or the experience of others. The lyric stirs the emotions by its rhythm and imagery. The lyrical *lendawi* may be in the form of an ode, a simple lyric, a reflective lyric, or an elegy; the narrative *lendawi* may be an epic, a mock epic, a ballad, a metrical romance, a tale, an allegory, an idyll, or a descriptive poem.

1.3. What is *lendawi*?

This is a type of multifunction chants chanted by the Lany tribe. The *lendawi* is both individual and communal. *Lendawi* is a means of communicating with both the living and the dead, among people, between people and nature and the cosmos. Chanting is universal and not limited to a specific culture, language or historical moment. Older Lany people in the villages still chant the *lendawi* for the various occasions. The youth rarely practice or attend

ceremonies where these *lendawi* are chanted any longer. *Lendawi* is an important part of Lany culture because there is a lot of oral data about the culture contained in the *lendawi*. Townsley (2001:267) argues that chants use a special language to recount the mythical foundations of reality and so “Chants are ... most highly prized possessions, the vehicles of ... powers and the repositories of ... knowledge”. Descola (1986) also show that the metaphorical words of chants present a socialized conceptualization of nature. This is particularly the case in chants performed to secure the positive outcome of livelihood activities.”

According to Townsley (2001) metaphorical language is needed to open up to a wider vision of reality which is instrumental for its mystical manipulation. Townsley argues that the metaphorical construction of chants is directly linked to the visions which accompany the chanting. Such a blending of the senses – in this case the fusion of auditory and visual fields - is known as synaesthesia which is essential to tribal life, and is a cognitive phenomenon of cross-modal perception (Shanon 2002).

2 Method

The research method used in this study was ethnographic method, with 9 Lany people ranging in age from 40 to 80 years as sources of the data, the data were collected through interviews and recordings. For data analysis grounded theory was employed, and the data are presented in tables for the functions, then the metaphorical expressions were identified and the meanings were discussed. In this short article, only some representatives of data are presented.

The discussion will start with the explanations of the *lendawi*, their functions, and their formula, then the presentation of 6 samples of the *lendawi* are given here.

The explanation of the metaphorical expressions in the *lendawi* will be based on Halley’s semantic field (in Chink, 1980:139-153, Wahab, 1991:78). Halley puts forth the semantic field of human perception in a hierarchy starting with **being** on top down to **human** at the bottom like the following: (1) **being** e.g. truth, beauty, (2) **cosmos** e.g. sun, moon, (3) **energy** e.g. light, wind, (4) **substance** e.g. hydrogen, anti-matter, (5) **terrestrial** e.g. mountain, river, (6) **object** e.g. minerals (rock), (7) **living** e.g. flora, (8) **animate** e.g. fauna, and (9) **human** e.g. man, girl, at the bottom is human. Wahab (1991:87) also mentions that the semantic field of perception is bound with two aspects: (1) physical environment e.g. fauna and flora, and (2) cultural experiences which consists of social, moral, belief, and arts.

3 Findings

Only some representatives of parts of the *lendawi* are given below from the 39 *lendawi* for each of the functions with some explanation about the occasions.

Lendawi #1: for lamenting the dead

The lamentation *lendawi* below is for the death of a man lamented by another man. This is a situation in which the first man is lamenting on his friend, leaving his brothers and sisters. This lamentation expresses his unwillingness to let him go leaving them alone in Kurulu, with a lot of tears. It is therefore, this *lendawi* is a lamentation, precisely a eulogy.

| The <i>Lendawi</i> | English translation |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Nogoba Kagup kabok oo ndugwi paga</i> | Sir, leaving your love, you will go |

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>garu-garu nano nda, iiii.</i> | peacefully to heaven, iiii. |
| <i>Oopur tiatebek Tari abuna time kone gugur wiya wonok nagalowak ooo.</i> | Let your voice be carried by the wind among the low clouds covering mount Tari |
| <i>Nogoba wae kagalip loge yime kalir loge yinduak oooo.</i> | Sir, weeds are left to grow thick in this place. |
| <i>Nogobaooooo. Erigero oo.</i> | Father ... Sad, sad ... oo. |

Lendawi #2: for Thanking

Different from *lendawi* #1, *lendawi* #2 is not a eulogy. This *lendawi* is chanted to thank those who contributed something e.g. goods to an event or an activity. This event is usually an *adat* event or some other event involving a number of people gathering.

| The <i>Lendawi</i> | English translation |
|--|---|
| <i>Wone gok mbagwi nogo ap pagok ooo.</i> | People talk much because others are around. |
| <i>Ninaporemegwe nogo Gweage dirok wagao oooo.</i> | Our relatives are coming past the Gweage river. |
| <i>Wone gok mbagwi nogo inarugi pagaluk ooo yi iiii.</i> | <i>Wone gok mbagwi nogo inarugi pagaluk ooo yi iiii.</i> |
| <i>Niyo Dogi konda dirok bambegak yelok golok wagao ooo.</i> | People are talking a lot because their relatives support them. |
| <i>Erigerok aaaa.</i> | Our relatives come through the tears of the Dogi and the Konda. |
| | Sad, sad. |

Lendawi #3: for Saying Goodbye

There are two *lendawi* given here: (a) *lendawi* chanted to say goodbye to a family member leaving for a foreign land, e.g to pursue a higher education; (b) a *lendawi* for parting with a just married girl to follow her husband to his place/village, usually the place is a bit too far. Usually advice is given to the family member leaving to pursue a higher education, for the newly married girl, memories of childhood of the girl through her adulthood is mentioned in the *lendawi* when the girl is leaving her village on her way with her husband. The following *lendawi* is chanted to say goodbye to a family member leaving for a foreign land.

| The <i>Lendawi</i> | English translation |
|--|--|
| <i>Komologwe yinok wone gok mbagwi eee, yimegwe nogome yi le eeeee.</i> | Because you look at the girls, you raise your voice here, they are walking, crying. |
| <i>Ap Dalek wae. Ere k wae ninamegwe nogo yi ooo. Eeeeeee.</i> | Dalek, Ere k. Look we are going back to our home. |
| <i>Ninagonalak yaruk-yaruk le eeeee. Erigerok oooo.</i> | The mothers holding their babies crying sadly. Sad, sad. |
| <i>Ap piam-piam me oggo mbaguga eeeee. Ninamegwe yi. Eeaooo. Ap Tageme medek erigerok. Aoooo.</i> | Sir, people are embracing one another Towards our home. |
| <i>Ninagonalak umegwe le eee ooo eeeee. De wae eee. Ume undeme oo. Nore bonak ninamegwe nogome. Leeooooee.</i> | Our mothers, crying from home. De passing in front of houses, passing in front of your house, my friend. Sad. They are crying sobbingly. |
| <i>Ap kogoyanak-kogoyanak menganomgwe ye. E towe Gin one. Eeeeeee.</i> | Sir, passing in front of the the Kogoyas' place, there are the sounds chirping birds. |
| <i>Umar wae e. Lea wa ee. Ninamegwe nogome yi ooooooo.</i> | Umar. Lea. ...Look! They are passing through our house. |

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>Ap nawor wae Kelilagwe mili-miloo. Erigerok oaoooo Erigerok oaoo. Komologwe pagopinok me yiwone-ndiwone pian-pian o. Eeeeeee. Ak agalo pian-pian ninamegwe nogome towe Gin one. Eeeeeee Kogoya wae. Lugagwe managalogoner oooo kir mongonom yi. Labura le oeeee.</i> | My brother, look at the green view of Kelila, sad, sad ... Expecting the girls, you talk with sweet words, praising the sister with her mother passing our house listening to chirping of birds. Hey Kogoya, look towards the direction of Luga. Look at the snaking rivers while crying. |
|---|---|

(b) The following *lendawi* is chanted to say goodbye to a just married girl to follow her husband to his place/village, usually the place is a bit too far.

| The Lendawi | English translation |
|---|--|
| <i>Nebibe kinamengwe logwe. Kira gologwe time logome enabo wae kagup logwe yagwa-ndagwa agan norak kwe ra aaa. Kelapa logwe awe yarir. Oooo.Tagu logwe awe yarir oooo. Kota logwe time erigerok negelogoner logwe eeee. Nebibe Kira gologwe time lewak kane mengenom. Ooo Yagwa ndagwa nawak nduk logwe. Nebi nak kwe yira taguga paga logwe time Kelapa engga paga logwe time kabur logwe induk wanduk oo. Kenara induk wanduk oo Nebio oooo Timer mengenom logwe yime Atep mengenom logwe yime pirikikur egwak erigerok ariwanuk logwe. Enabogwe wae kwe Urdina kwe Yarolina inoba logwe arinagalogomigindik time ra aa. Kawone logwe erugun ooo. Enabogwe wae ooo. Kunik logwe worak meden unde logwe lemeden erigerok igak logwe. Ee iii. Unde logwe lemeden ando logwe lemeden. Kwe Urdina logwe time kwe Yarolina logwe time nenegen logwe pigigitik kwe muka logwe lain ooooo. Ogoti ago logwe lain ooo Nawor kwe yira aaaaaa Aerigerok logoner logwe.</i> | I cannot accept this reality. You should live in the village of Kira, your village. My youngest sister, cheer up in happiness. You will grow coconuts, you will plant sago ... When you are in a foreign land, in the city there. I am in Kira, the place of sorrow, disagree The place where corpses will be burnt, lamented. Shouts of goodbyes. I do not agree, women from the place full of sago, the place full of coconuts there, look out. Sad, the dwelling place of Timer and Atep. Listen to the sounds of a <i>prikikur</i> bird bringing a message, remembering you. My youngest sister, you will go to the place of madam Urdina, madam Yarolina there ... we over here will tell your story. My youngest sister, if you were still here, we can take care of one another, sad, sad ... we can still take care of one another. In the place of madam Urdina, in the place of madam Yarolina. My youngest sister ... we here lament, sad, sad. |

Lendawi # 4: for Welcoming People

This *lendawi* is for welcoming a relative or family member from other foreign lands, etc. The following text is not a lamentation, but a welcome cry by a mother for a son who went to some foreign land and just arrived back in his village in Kelila. She is expressing how she longed for him and she believed that he would some day be back home. She is expressing that she would be angry with him in the past because she would not want him to be in trouble. Yikwanak is a call name for a boy/man whose mother is from the Yikwa tribe, one whose mother is from the Kogoya tribe is called Kogoyanak. Kogoyagwe is for a girl whose mother is from the Kogoya tribe.

This following *lendawi* is by a mother who welcomes her son back home after having been in some foreign land. The mother is expressing how she longed for her son when he was away and that some day he would be back home.

| The <i>Lendawi</i> | English translation |
|---|--|
| <i>Ap yikwa tabuni menganom mayu logwe wagao.</i> | In the dwelling place of the Yikwa Tabuni, rain is pouring down. |
| <i>Tari gologwe nio logwe ukwe oooo erigerok</i> | At the foot of mount Tari, water is flowing, sad, sad. |
| <i>Ap Tabenak yi wae kiawe menganom iriga logwe ukwe ooo.</i> | Tabenak, in the dwelling place of your uncles, weeds have grown thick. |
| <i>Nio Balim ineri logwe towe logwe onioneooo karigik kabuaooo.</i> | Birds are chirping in the Balim water spring, sad, sad. |

Lendawi # 5: for Remembering a Dead Person

The following *lendawi* is chanted when remembering a dead family member, e.g. a husband by a widow while taking a rest in the garden after hard work. This *lendawi* is chanted because there is nobody to help with the hard work in the garden.

| The <i>Lendawi</i> | English translation |
|---|--|
| <i>Ap Pilipueee. Eee. Yikwanak waeeee</i> | Mr. Pilipur, Yikwanak |
| <i>Eee. Ir Remanur inok oooo orenak oo</i> | The child of Ir Remanur, the child of his friend. My son in the dark place. |
| <i>Eee neak be aaaeeee. Ilime oo.</i> | Stay together in the cradle in the place ... together with your family |
| <i>Kinalia liak layak time ooo. Kinarugi logwe time. Kinom logwe logonip nda oo. Iieeiii.</i> | Kogoya's son, my child. In this place we grieved while sitting here. We were waiting for others to come. |
| <i>Kogoyanak wae. Eo. Napur be. Eee kinawi yogweme logwe yime. Ee. Kudik logoner kundak logoner yimegwe logwe woragun oo.</i> | Den, my brother, my little brother who went to find fire woods, who went to find |
| <i>Ap Den. Waeeee. Naor. Ebeeeeee.</i> | hays and brought them back. Putting |
| <i>Kane logwe urirak. Aaa Ogi logwe worak aaaaa ooooo Uranur wonok oooo. Panur. Onok. Inebelek yi age eeee iiii</i> | them in the house but now no more. |

Lendawi # 6: When Meeting a Person Resembling a Family Member

The following *lendawi* is chanted to remember a family member or relative when meeting a person resembling the family member or the relative who is already dead or in some far away land. The *lendawi* is an example of this type which was chanted by a woman. The chanter would look towards the village, the mountains, the clouds to remember the family member or relative.

| The Lendawi | English translation |
|--|--|
| <i>Kuliga Yikwagwe yira kangik kabok logwe dugi wonok logwe waga ooo.</i> | Hey, Yikwa girl, your story has been brought by clouds until our place. |
| <i>Kiruwi kauri kagalume logwe logogun oo.</i> | We will stay among your brothers and sisters. |
| <i>Nio. Gweage dirok ugwa dirok kiawe wonogo menganom towe kimagi one erigerok. Oo. Ooo.</i> | In the places where the rivers Gweage and Ugwa flow rapidly Birds chirping. |

4 Discussion

4.1. *The Formula of the Lendawi*

Lendawi is chanted in the Lany community with similar formulas. Since quite a number of people would come to condole with the family members of the diseased, or for thanking contributors to an event, or saying goodbye to a newly wed girl, the formula of the *lendawi* for these occasions (functions number 1 through 4) is similar like the following: (a) a number of women or men would sit or be together and the *lendawi* would begin with a start: one of them would inhale a little and would start chanting one line. At the end of the line and the ends of any succeeding lines, the others will join in dividing their voices (e.g. bass, tenor, etc.) naturally. For the other kinds of occasions, the *lendawi* could be chanted by individuals, like in functions 5 through 8.

4.2. *Functions of the Lendawi*

Lendawi may be said to be eulogies or soliloquies for the various occasions in laced language to some extent with metaphors. The chants are very lamenting but they are not always pathos of suffering. Expressions of grief may be found more in the *lendawi* for the dead or when remembering a family member when one is alone with hard work and nobody around to give a hand. This loneliness is described in the *lendawi*. The *lendawi* is therapeutic because grief find channel through the expressions in the *lendawi*. The different occasions are vividly expressed in the *lendawi*. The *lendawi* may be performed for various functions: (1) for lamenting a dead person; (2) for thanking people contributing something in an event, e.g. an *adat* event; (3) for saying goodbye to a newly wed girl to follow her husband, or a family member to go to a foreign land for certain purposes; (4) for welcoming a relative or family member from other foreign lands, etc., (5) for remembering a family member who is already dead or in a foreign land; (6) when meeting a person who resembles a family member already dead or far away; (7) for remembering a person in a foreign land when looking at his or her picture(s) at home; (8) for visiting a sick relative or friend. The *lendawi* contains metaphorical expressions related to geography, daily existence, ancestors, beliefs, cosmologies, etc.

4.3. *The Metaphorical Expressions in the Lendawi*

Hierarchical wise, in the Lany *lendawi*, one can see that most metaphorical expressions are found in the level of (a) being e.g. truth, beauty; (b) substance like clouds, rain, (c) terrestrial like mountains (mount Tari, Donggi and Konda rivers, (d) living like grass, (e) animate like birds (the birds *kimagi*, *welem*, *uluwe*, *prikokir*, *piage*). These metaphorical expressions are elaborated below as they are found in the *lendawi* context.

(1) From the level of **being**:

Wone gok mbagwi nogo inarugi pagaluk ooo yi iiiii.

People are talking a lot because their relatives support them.

(lendawi#2)

(2) From the **substance** level: clouds and rain

- a. Clouds (e.g. in *lendawi* #3 and #4). Clouds in most of the *lendawi* represent eternity. In the following quotes, for example, the memories of the father are kept in the clouds, that the mother is above the clouds, looking down on her child. Because there are clouds almost daily and that the clouds are always in the sky, the memories will always be there for good.

Nogoba, Kanggup kabok ooo ndugwi paga nggaru-nggaru nano ndaaa iii...

Father, your memories, your story will be on the clouds.

(lendawi#3)

Iii ... nagalo waeee ndugi paga loge nanunda...kena unagak nanuooo..

My mother.... is on the clouds looking down.

(lendawi#4)

- b. Rain (e.g. in *lendawi* #2, #10 and #16). Rain in most of the *lendawi* represent tears. Since these *lendawi* are for lamenting the dead, rain is mentioned many times to represent the tears as the following quotes indicate.

Ap inamegwe Kurulu time mayu ooo erigerok.

Relative, brother, the rain is falling. It wets the people in Kurulu, dear.

(lendawi#2)

Ooo, ap Wenda Pagawak mengganom mayu, niyo Gweage loge uke oo.

Ooo, rain falls in the Wenda Pagawak people's house, so there is flood in the Gweage river.

(lendawi #10)

Nagalo, ap Yikwa Tabuni menganom mayu logwe waga, erigerok aa nagalo.

Mother the rain falling down in the place of YikwaTabuni, dear mother.

(lendawi #16)

(3) From the **terrestrial** level: mountains, rivers (e.g Mount Tari, the rivers Dongi, Konda, and Gweage) in *lendawi* #3, #4, and #6). These mountain and rivers are many times mentioned in the chants. The Lany people mention mount Tari and the rivers in their chants because they believe that when they, particularly the Yikwanimbo clan and the Yikwakogoya clans, die, their spirits will go to live in the mountain or rivers for eternity. They also mention the rivers Dongi, Konda, and Gweage many times in the chants which seem to indicate similar meaning. These mountain and rivers represent eternity.

Yiii... Tabenak kone yugu nogo Tari abuna logwe logogin ooo.

Tabenak, your voice will live under Mount Tari.

(lendawi # 3)

Eiye eiye... nagalo waeee nio donggi... Konda... ineri inera nanuo...

Hello my mother.....goes to Dongi and Konda river springs

(lendawi # 4)

Ap yira, kanggup kabok logwe, Gweage ndirok logwe loggin oo erigerok o.

Hello father, your story/ will live in Gweage river, sayangeee.

(*lendawi* # 6)

- (4) From the **animate** level: fauna (e.g. birds like *kimagi*, *welem*, *uluwe*, *prikokir*, and *piage*) found in *lendawi* #5 and #6. The Lany people believe that these birds are news bringers. The Lany living in Kelila particularly, believe that *kimagi* bird is the news bringer. If the bird, usually called *eyonggame memdek*, which means spirit from the forest, goes on chirping, this indicates that there is no problem. But if the bird is quiet, this means there may be problems coming. This bird lives in the cold area in the middle of the forest around Mount Tari.

Towe Kimagi one Uluwe one mban naruk kunungak mban loggin ooo...

I hear the Kimagi bird tweet and Uluwe bird tweet continuously

(*lendawi* # 5)

Kiawe wonogwemengwe towe Kimagi loge oneoo...oo erigerok, sayangee.

In your uncles' houses tweets of Kimagi bird are heard, dear.

(*lendawi* #6)

- (5) From the **living** level: flora (e.g. weeds and grass). Most people in the Papuan mountain range are farmers. They, therefore, talk a lot about their gardens and about weeds in the gardens. They use weeds as metaphor for something not being taken care of, or something being left and not being nourished, and of other similar ideas, not in the sense Shakespeare uses them in his *Richard II*, for example. The following quotes exemplify this from *lendawi* #3 and #4. In each case, there is a woman lamenting her father who has just died. She has to use these images because these are the images she is familiar with.

Nogoba wae kagalip loge yime kalir loge yinduak ooo

Father... the place where you usually worked, weeds are growing

(*lendawi* #3)

Nogoba kar mengenom kagalip loge iriga iduwak ooo

Father ... the weeds in your place grow thick

(*lendawi* # 4)

5 Conclusion

The conclusions that can be drawn are that the *lendawi* generally function as eulogies or soliloquies, these functions are (1) for lamenting a dead person which are more often found because deaths more often happen and since these are final goodbyes; (2) for thanking people contributing something in an event, e.g. an *adat* event is something that is more planned and so may be predicted; (3) for saying goodbye to a newly wed girl to follow her husband, or a family member to go to a foreign land for certain purposes, this is also something that is more planned and may be predicted; (4) for welcoming a relative or family member from other foreign lands, etc., events like these ones cannot be predicted and therefore not very often take place; (5) for remembering a family member who is already dead or in a foreign land; this type is more personal and so may not occur very often; (6) when meeting a person who

resembles a family member already dead or far away; this ones may also take place rarely since kesempatan like these may be said to be very rare; (7) for remembering a person in a foreign land when looking at his or her picture(s) at home; these are also personal, and therefore, are difficult to be found; (8) for visiting a sick relative or friend; these one are also difficult to find since people from the mountains are not sick often; when they come down to the cities and get sick, they may want to go back to the mountains, and there they get well soon enough.

From Halley's semantic field, the *lendawi* show that most metaphorical expressions are in the level of (a) **being** e.g. sadness in the lamentation for the dead; (b) **substance** like clouds, rain, (c) **terrestrial** like mountains (mount Tari, Donggi and Konda rivers, (d) **living** like weeds and grass, (e) **animate** like birds (the birds *kimagi*, *welem*).

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