

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

pronouns and verb forms.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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