WEHALI: THE FOUR CORNER LAND
THE COSMOLOGY AND TRADITIONS OF A TIMORESE RITUAL CENTRE

Gerzon Tom Therik

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University

September 1995
Except as noted in the text, this work is the result of research carried out by the author

Gerzon Tom Therik
Department of Anthropology
Division of Society and Environment
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University.
This thesis examines the historical and cultural dimensions of the territory of ‘the four corner land’ (Wehali) in the southern plain of Wehali Wewiku, west Timor. Within the political structure of the domain of Wehali, the hamlet of Laran is the seat of its supreme ruler entitled Maromak Oan. His authority is undisputedly acknowledged by people of this higher order origin group (‘the four corner land’).

The Tetun living in this lowland describe themselves as the ‘plains people’. Economically speaking, the majority of this people are subsistence agriculturalists who rely on the cultivation of maize, rice and sorghum, and the extract of gebang palm as an alternative source of food. In terms of social organization, they live attached to their named houses (*uma maho naran*), which function as primary lineages. Every person identifies his or herself with a named house as his/her ‘trunk house’ (*uma hun*). This is the social unit to which a south Tetun traces his/her derivation. For ritual purposes, these named houses are grouped into *le‘un*. The grouping of more than one *le‘un* comprises a larger entity called hamlet (*leo*). To distinguish a hamlet where a man resides after marriage from the hamlet where his named house is situated, he refers to the latter as his ‘trunk hamlet’.

As an ethnographic work, this thesis explores dual symbolic classification as expressed in a variety of local categories. Social relations among people at the domain, hamlet and house levels are expressed in ‘metaphors for living’ such as female/male, inside/outside and centre/periphery. Unlike other societies where the botanic ‘trunk’ and ‘tips’ are used as prominent categories to reflect the continuity of life within the societies concerned, the south Tetun botanical idiom rests mainly on the notion of ‘trunk’. As for ‘tips’, south Tetun has ‘flower’, ‘fruit’ and other categories expressed in house symbolism. Wehali is conceived of as the inner house while other domains are its platforms, corner post, ladders and gates. Wehali is also a dwelling space while others are cultivation spaces. In life-giving rituals, central Wehali is acknowledged as the source of life while its peripheral domains are its source of wealth.
Like other societies of 'unwritten' culture, the south Tetun preserves the knowledge of the past, which we term 'history', in various forms of oral tradition. These narratives provide a legitimate ground for the people to claim their present superior social and political situations. These narratives are associated with a particular origin group at the level of domain, clan or even house (lineage). The corpus of narratives recorded in this thesis (Reference Texts 2 to 8) represent the three levels just mentioned. Myths recorded as Reference Texts 2, 3 4 and 7 were narrated by adat historians and represent the higher order origin groups of Wehali and Wewiku. Myths in Reference Texts 5 and 6 represent the hamlet of Kateri. The myth in Reference Text 8 is a story associated particularly with the house of Umanen.

From the time of the first contact with Europeans who came to the island of Timor until the present Indonesian government, the domain of Wehali and the hamlet of Laran have experienced a dramatic change. Wehali, which was once politically considered as a 'superpower' among domains in Timor, has been reduced to a hamlet of only ritual significance. The historical and cultural dimensions of the 'great empire' which is the focus of this thesis are reflected by the order of chapters as outlined in Chapter One.
## Contents

Abstract iii  
Contents v  
List of figures vii  
List of maps viii  
List of photographs viii  
List of tables ix  
Acknowledgments x  
A note on language xiii

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter One</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opening Remarks</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Earlier Writings</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Theoretical Orientation</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thesis Outline</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Endnotes</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter Two</th>
<th>The Ethnographic Setting</th>
<th>16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Brief Account of the Regency of Belu</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The District (Kecamatan) of Malaka Tengah</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Language</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Endnotes</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter Three</th>
<th>Two Perspectives on Wehali</th>
<th>45</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An Historical Account of Wehali's Hegemony</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Decline of Wehali Power</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Centrality of Wehali as Revealed in Oral Tradition</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concluding Remarks</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Endnotes</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter Four</th>
<th>Giving Away the Centre to the Periphery</th>
<th>72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ideological Construction of Centre-Periphery</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Five</td>
<td>Marriage and Alliance</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage Stages</td>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idiom and Mediation</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Perpetuation of Alliance</td>
<td></td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving Back a Seed and Returning a Banana Head</td>
<td>127</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage and Politics</td>
<td></td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluding Remarks</td>
<td></td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endnotes</td>
<td></td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter Six</th>
<th>Paths and Borders: Relations of Origin, Consanguinity and Affinity</th>
<th>147</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td></td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations of Origin</td>
<td></td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship Terms</td>
<td></td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consanguineal Relations</td>
<td></td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affinal Relations</td>
<td></td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluding Remarks</td>
<td></td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endnotes</td>
<td></td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter Seven</th>
<th>Ancestral Path in the Wehali House</th>
<th>168</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td></td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Types of Houses</td>
<td></td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The House of Earth-Sky</td>
<td></td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation of Houses</td>
<td></td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Four Corner House</td>
<td></td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritual Posts</td>
<td></td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner House and Platform</td>
<td></td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Boundary</td>
<td></td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluding Remarks</td>
<td></td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endnotes</td>
<td></td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Eight  Life-Giving Rituals

Introduction 199
Myth, Ritual and Polity 201
Ritual of Avoidance 210
Rituals Concerning Mother and Baby 213
Agricultural Rites 224
Concluding Remarks 243
Endnotes 245

Chapter Nine  Conclusion

Dawan as seen from south Tetun 250
Major Features of Wehali 253

Appendix 264
Reference Text 1  Greetings Poem 264
Reference Text 2  Wehali 270
Reference Text 3  Fatuaruin 282
Reference Text 4  Wewiku 284
Reference Text 5  Kateri (Bei Rai) 289
Reference Text 6  Kateri (Bei Tema) 292
Reference Text 7  The Path of Liurai 297
Reference Text 8  Ho'ar Nahak Samane Oan, Umanen 301

Bibliography 315

List of figures
Figure 2.1  Rainfall data recorded in Besikama and Atapupu 27
Figure 4.1  Timor as seen from Wehali 75
Figure 4.2  The four hamlets related as a single origin group in Kamanasa 93
Figure 4.3  The origin group of Fatisin 96
Figure 4.4  The origin group of Liurai 98
Figure 4.5  Named houses in the hamlet of Laran 102
Figure 4.6  Spatial orientation of the inner Wehali (the four corner land) 105
Figure 5.1  Genealogy of the house of Leko (tafatik Leko) 125
Figure 5.2  Marriage alliance (Leko & Makbalin) 126
Figure 5.3  Path of brother 126
Figure 5.4  Giving back Seed and returning Banana Head 128
Figure 5.5  Genealogy of the house of Marii Lia 132
Figure 5.6 Valid and invalid marriage 137
Figure 5.7 Genealogy of the house of Liurai 138
Figure 7.1 House orientation 177
Figure 7.2 House posts 182
Figure 7.3 Sacrificial pillars 184
Figure 7.4 Male and female wall mats 187
Figure 7.5 Cross beams of a house 190
Figure 7.6 Social division 192
Figure 7.7 Order of precedence 194
Figure 8.1 Pig liver divination 232
Figure 8.2 Order of precedence in the passing of rope of announcement 239
Figure 9.1 Conceptual structure of the Wesei Wehali polity 256

List of maps
Map 1 Eastern Indonesia 16
Map 2 Language distribution 18
Map 3 Domains in Belu Regency (1911) 19
Map 4 The Regency of Belu 24

List of photographs
1. The late Maromak Oan Hendrikus Seran Nahak. 15
2. The Maromak Oan of Wesei Wehali and the Liurai of Malaka. 15
3. Agustinus Klau. 15
4. The crowning of the Loro of Dirma. 15
5. Chinese antique ceramics. 15
6. The late Maromak Oan's sacred paraphernalia. 44
7. Ferik Lulik. 44
8. Uma Bei Nufa. 71
9. Houses in the hamlet of Umakatahan. 71
10. Uma Marii Lia in the hamlet of Umato’os. 71
11. Fukun Katuas of Fatisin. 71
12. Adat Historian (Mako’an), Piet Tahu Nahak. 109
13. Ai Lotuk. 167
14. Na’i Nona and Na’i Niis. 167
15. A bunch of the seven cobs of maize. 198
16. “Dark Food”. 198
17. Eating in front of the female door. 198
List of tables

Table 2.1  Swapraja of Belu in 1904  19
Table 2.2  Composition of the swapraja of Belu Tasifeto in 1916  21
Table 2.3  Composition of the swapraja of Malaka in 1916  22
Table 2.4  Villages: size and population  25
Table 2.5  Hamlets in Wehali  26
Table 2.6  Agricultural Cycle  29
Table 2.7  Roots crops  31
Table 2.8  The conversion of natural forest  34
Table 2.9  Names of dry rice varieties  34
Table 2.10  Varieties of sorghum  35
Table 2.11  Types of oral language  38
Table 2.12  Taboo wording  42
Table 3.1  Domains under Wehali as listed in Paravicini’s contract  57
Table 4.1  Wehali’s periphery as cultivation space  79
Table 4.2  Flow of life and flow of wealth  81
Table 4.3  Basic oppositional categories  86
Table 4.4  Assembly of the Four Ferik, Four Katuas  106
Table 5.1  The stages in the marriage process in Wehali  122
Table 6.1  Birth order terms  152
Table 6.2  South Tetun kin terms  154
Table 8.1  Vicarious death of Liurai Brehi  207
Table 8.2  Liver omen categories  234
Table 8.3  Distribution of fukun’s named houses  241

*************************
In the course of my study, fieldwork and the writing of this thesis I have built up relations with numerous people who have assisted me in many sorts of ways. Here I acknowledge my appreciation, and at the same time reveal the relationship. My period of study in Canberra is made possible through an award under the Equity and Merit Scholarship Scheme sponsored by the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (the present AusAid). Subsidy for my field research was granted by the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, the Australian National University. I extend my appreciation for their role in this matter. I am indebted to many members of staff under the leadership of the late Professor Anthony Forge in the Department of Prehistory and Anthropology, and Professor Jim Fox in the Department of Anthropology (RSPAS), who moulded me as an anthropologist. Courses led by Dr. Ian Keen, Dr. Chris Gregory and Dr. Don Gardner; a one and a half year seminar on Austronesian under Professor Jim Fox’s auspices; and the many hours of discussion with Dr. Penny Graham stimulated my curiosity to know more. To Jim Fox I owe a great debt for his critical comments since the early stage of my work. His extensive knowledge and persistent interest in the region have become the source of my knowledge. His strategy ‘to read things that are not in the text’ challenges me to understand more of what I have been writing. I owe a great debt to Penny Graham who meticulously corrected many drafts of my chapters, clearly pointed out the weakness and strength of the arguments and suggested alternative solutions. To Dr. B D. Grimes and Dr. C. E Grimes I owe thanks for their willingness to suggest valuable comments on various parts of the thesis. I thank Professor David Hicks for his kind support and his willingness to assist me with a number of books and articles.

I owe thanks to the General Staff and Research Assistant in the department: Susan Toscan, Ann Buller, Ria van de Zandt and Dr. Barbara Holloway, Dr. Amanda Scott, and Ian Heyward from the Cartography Laboratory for their excellent services. I want to acknowledge the value of companionship from fellow students: Andrea Molnar, Yunita Winarto, Eriko Nakagawa, Susanne Kuehling, Nils Bubandt, Philip Taylor, Abdul Muhaimin, Ma’ruf Jamhari, I Gde Pitana, Dedi Adhuri, Catharina van Klinken and Pater Philip Tule.
My note of acknowledgment is also extended to members of staff in the Artha Wacana Christian University and my colleagues in the Faculty of Theology. Their constant encouragement to accomplish this study has been one benefit of our solidarity. My gratitude in particular goes to the Rev. D.J. Mauboi, MTh who spent much times writing letters of encouragement during my period of study.

In Atambua I owe thanks to Mgr. Pain Ratu, Bishop of the Diocese of Atambua and Father Justus Asa, Provinsiial of the Divine Word of the Societas Verbi Divini of Timor Province, who allowed me to search for unpublished documents on the regency of Belu from the SVD’s library; to Mr. B.J. Manek who kindly gave permission to access his personal archives on adat court cases in Wehali; and to Mr. Anthon Adi who allowed me to reproduce old photos of the crowning of Seran Nahak as the first Keser of the kingdom of Belu.

My greatest debt however rests with the many villagers in south Tetun who shared not only their stories but also their shelters and food with me. Their friendship, hospitality and generosity are immeasurable in words and therefore remain always in my heart. I especially thank mama and bapa Fuah who received me with open arms as the ‘return son’ in their house and provided me with basic needs and most of all their love. Thanks also to my brothers and sisters, Suryadi & Roos, June & Mias, Mona, Mea & Min Usifa and Semy & Hanna Hauteas who were always ready to take me wherever I went and introduced me to many villagers, which opened up the way for me in my early stages in the field. To the whole house of Umanen, particularly ina Fouk, mama Funan, ina Bete, tante Bui & ama Frans Klau Nahak, Na’i Makde’an Rai and om Muti, who contributed so much to the knowledge I gained, I would also like to offer my gratitude.

I would like also to thank Luis Sanaka Tei Seran, the Liurai of Malaka, Agustinus Nahak Seran of Haitiimuk, the Maromak Oan of Haitiimuk and Agustinus Klau, the disputed Maromak Oan of Laran for their time in sharing their ideas on Wehali’s political structure; and adat historians (mako’an) and many elders in both Wehali, Wewiku and Fatuaruin who tirelessly narrated ‘the path of ancestors’. In this regard, my heartfelt appreciations go to Piet Tahu Nahak, Bau Fahik La Rosi, Paulus Dini Sonbai, Cornelis Mau Nehi, Benedictus Bere Seran, Albertus Berek, Katuas Seran Teti and Yohanes Seran Kehik. There are also many friends whom I think of as field tutors in ritual language. In this regard, specific acknowledgment is due to the Rev. Gabriel Bria & Fini’s maman, Ferdy Seran & Ibu Brigitta, ama Bo’uk & all members of the Uma Katuas (Umakatahan), Sam Kehik Seran, Salomon Tahu Berek, Bei Manek, Nikolas Teti, Silverius Bria, Alfonsius Klau, the late Bei Lulik, ama Dato Fatisin and Felix Bere Sou Rai.
During my stay in Betun, many people in the hamlet of Laran showed generosity and friendship I will long remember. My enjoyable months staying in this hamlet are related to their kind acceptance of a ‘foreigner’ in their midst. My deepest gratitude rests with Na’i Niis (Theresia Telik Seran), Na’i Mea (Welhelmina Ho’ar Seran), Na’i Man (Marianus man), Na’i Nona (Yasinta Nona), Na’i Kloit (Dominikus Tei Seran), Na’i Nona (Hoa’r Nahak), Na’i Bo’uk and guardians of Uma Bei Nufa and Uma Ai Tou.

Finally, I thank my family, Dee, Rani and Lia. During my fieldwork in Timor, they had to live alone in Canberra. At the final stage of writing the thesis, they are in Kupang. To them I dedicate this thesis as a token of my indebtedness, love and acknowledgment of their patience and support.
A NOTE ON LANGUAGE

The Catholic missionary, Father von Wilco Wortelboer, S.V.D includes a brief but useful sketch (1955: 176-177) of Tetun. Morris (1984) describes aspects of Tetun in the introduction to his dictionary. As far as I know, there is only one published monograph on Tetun language (Troebes et al.1987). As mentioned by the authors (1987: 11), the analysis presented in their work was based mainly on data collected in north Tetun, a dialect known locally as Tetun foho (hill Tetun). Catharina van Klinken, a PhD student from the Australian National University is presently conducting linguistic research on south Tetun, known locally as Tetun fehan (plain Tetun). It is hoped that these studies will encourage further descriptive and comparative study in this region. Here, I highlight some aspects of Tetun relevant to following the vernacular data incorporated in this present work. A few dialectal differences are summarized below as background for understanding some of the different cultural interpretations noted in the ethnographic literature.

Troebes et al claim that Tetun has five vowels and nineteen consonants phonemes (1987: 14). The vowels are /a, e, i, o, u/. They note the vowel sequences /io/, /ie/ and /uo/ appear to be unheard in Tetun. In my transcription, I treat long vowels as significant feature of the Tetun language, written as a double vowel. In this system the syllable takes the word stress. For example: hare 'rice' but haree 'see'; kbon 'smoke' but hakboo 'evaporate'.

The nineteen consonants phonemes referred to by Troebes et al.(1987: 22-28) include six consonant clusters: /kb, kd, kl, km, kn, kr/. Van Klinken (1994) has argued that these should be considered sequences of two consonants rather than complex phonemes, so these six are not considered here as part of the Tetun phonemic inventory. The remaining consonants (after van Klinken 1994) are as follows: /t k ? b d f s h l r m n w/. In this thesis glottal /ʔ/ is represented orthographically by an apostrophe ('') as in na'an 'meat'.

Tetun words consist of one to four syllables. One and four syllable words are relatively rare. Most lexical roots are two syllables.

Beside rhythmic and intonational differences between 'hill' and 'plain' Tetun (commonly noted by native speakers), both von Wilco Wortelboer and Troebes noted some additional dialectal differences, adapted and summarized below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Possessive pronoun</th>
<th>North Tetun</th>
<th>South Tetun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha'ukan</td>
<td>ha'un</td>
<td>ha'uk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okan</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niakan</td>
<td>nian</td>
<td>niak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amikan</td>
<td>amin</td>
<td>amik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itakan</td>
<td>itan</td>
<td>itak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emikan</td>
<td>emin</td>
<td>emik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siakan</td>
<td>sian</td>
<td>siak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Conjunctions: ne'e and mak

3. Negation: la and ha'i

4. Differences in use of consonant clusters

5. Different phonemes in the same word

6. Different lexical items with the same meaning

7. Different compounds for the same concept

From my personal familiarity with both the north and south dialects, I have no difficulty understanding von Wilco Wortelboer's notes (1955: 176-177) as summarized in points 1 to 3 in the table above. Using Testamento Tuan, the Old Testament in Tetun language, as translated by Father A. Mathijsen (1967) and Reference Texts in this thesis as a basis for comparison one would note the same differences. However, Troeboes et al (1987: 10-11) note four additional differences (4 to 7), which may reflect the bias of being familiar with only one dialect and thus not encountering additional forms in another. Therefore, additional dialect research, including statistical work, is clearly needed, but such research is beyond the scope of this present study.
Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Opening Remarks

This thesis is based on field research on the island of Timor in eastern Indonesia, from August 1992 to August 1993. I went to Timor to investigate matrilineal societies located in the southern plain of the south Tetun division, and more specifically the people of the old 'empire' of Wehali. In the course of my research, I gradually came to understand how the notion of 'flow of life' emphasized by eastern Indonesian anthropologists is also central to south Tetun discourse. This notion is expressed in different sets of lexical terms or dual categories, based on different symbolic 'operators'. To explore this basic notion of life, I examine Wehali social organization and rituals designed to maintain the continuation of their society, the fertility of human beings and crops as sources of livelihood. Thus this work examines expressions of dual categories used by the south Tetun in general and the Wehali in particular to organize their society.

To study dual symbolic classification in a society such as Wehali whose history can be traced over several centuries, one is forced to begin with the historical account of their first encounter with 'outside' traders. However, my aim is not to reconstruct their past history. Rather I attempt to highlight how 'outsiders' (in this case European traders, missionaries and colonial government officials) viewed Wehali and how the Wehali perceived themselves based on their own origin myths. Thus, the thesis starts with the presumption that there is a contrast in perspective between those whom I refer to as 'outsiders' on the one hand and 'insiders' on the other hand. Historical documents written by 'outsiders' are taken to represent their own point of view, while oral histories narrated by ritual specialists represent the 'insiders', the subjects of my research.

People often compare the process of writing a thesis with the idea of making a journey. My Tetun friends also portrayed my endeavour to learn their cultural life as an attempt to seek the true knowledge inherited from their ancestors. It is not a
coincidence that this notion of journey, an important element of Austronesian heritage, is also preserved by these Tetun people. In seeking the true knowledge (of something), the south Tetun delineate it as a journey ‘tracing the old path, the old track’ (*tuir dalan tuan // tuir inuk tuan*). Using this notion of journey as an analogy, my endeavour began in Canberra. As part of my preparation for fieldwork, my supervisor, Professor James J. Fox, urged me to translate a collection of invocations published by Vroklage (1953) in Tetun and German. In translating a few hundred lines from Tetun to English, I took the opportunity, not only to translate lines of parallel verse and dyadic phrases into English, but also to familiarize myself again with Tetun, a language that was part of my childhood.

I was born and grew up in Atambua, the capital of the regency of Belu. Although the location of my fieldwork was only about 60 kilometres from my home town, during my childhood the difficulty and danger of travelling discouraged people from visiting the fertile plain of south Tetun. In taking up my field work, I went to Betun believing it to be still a remote village, “isolated geographically, historically and culturally from the rest of Timor societies”, as Francillon phrased it. The rugged mountains enclosing the northern part of Wehali Wewiku and the rough ‘male sea’ on the south isolate three ancient domains (Wehali, Wewiku, and Haitimuk) from the rest of the world. With an inadequate infra-structure (road and transportation system), I imagined Betun to be still in the middle of nowhere.

The earlier perception of isolation of south Tetun was further strengthened by its location between two ‘unfriendly’ groups of people, Halikelen and Mande’u. Travellers who went to Betun or came from Betun to Atambua had to pass through these two places. Halikelen was well-known as a place where travellers (on horseback or even by car) would be stopped and forcibly robbed. Mande’u was well-known as a place where skilful head-hunters lived.²

For the most part, the geographical isolation of south Tetun as described by Father Jansen in 1892, by Father Mathijsen in 1904 and even by Francillon in 1962 to 1964 fitted with my past experience. But to my surprise, by the time of my field research the situation had changed dramatically. Now commuters can use public transport to travel conveniently between Atambua and Betun. It took only two to three hours (because of frequent stops) for me to travel between these two capitals. Electricity is no longer strange for the villagers, although only a small number of people have the privilege of enjoying this luxury. In accordance with the spirit of development stressed by the Indonesian government, a TV relay station has been built in Betun. A few weeks after I left the region, this TV station was officially to begin operating. Whether these new developments, promoted to reach isolated areas,
will have any impact on so-called cultural isolationism remains a topic that will need further study.

In its present form, this study reflects my own experience in the field coupled with my endeavour to capture issues that are central to south Tetun social life. These issues range from politics to marriage and kinship to ritual obligations.

A number of ethnographic writings focus on political systems in this region, reflecting the importance of this theme. For the people themselves, the important thing is not so much the system, but the people who exercise its power. This was reflected in my first encounter with the ‘deputy head’ (wakil camat) of the district of Malaka Tengah. After reporting to him, he straightaway mentioned a political problem that the south Tetun were (and still are) facing concerning the appointment of a new Maromak Oan, the supreme ruler of the domain of Wehali. “Government and other adat elders have endorsed Agustinus Nahak of Haitimuk to be the Maromak Oan. This decision was rejected by the Laran nobles from the hamlet of Maromak Oan. Instead, they proposed their own Maromak Oan by the name of Agustinus Muti (Na’i Muti)”. For the first few months, heads of villages, nobles and other adat elders voluntarily kept me informed about this ‘political turmoil’ as they called it, seeing it as the most important thing an anthropologist should know.

Ritual language occupies a special place in peoples’ perceptions because it reveals ‘the path of the ancestors’ and is therefore considered the language or words of the ancestors. To emphasise this, a ritual specialist would often conclude his explanation of something with the phrase “these are the words ancestors left for us”. Ritual language is different from ordinary speech in its use of images and metaphors and its distinctive rhythm of its expression. But the most significant difference is the consequence the speaker bears if he ‘re-tells’ the words of the ancestors falsely. When a ritual specialist uses ritual language, he is risking death for himself and misfortune for the community if he deliberately alters the words of the ancestors. Another characteristic of this type of language is the heavy use of paired couplets and paired words or ‘the open-closed formula’ as it is phrased by the Tetun. Concerning this type of parallelism, my ‘instructors’ said that like a basket, every expression has to have a lid (tatakan). Because of the ethical obligations and language skill necessary to be able to speak in ritual language, I considered myself a slow learner. The idea of ‘studying’ this type of language is also quite peculiar because one does not learn to be a ritual specialist but is rather endowed with this art of speech by the ancestors themselves. This perception influenced the progress of my endeavour to learn ritual language.
But for others my endeavour was appreciated because it was also in accord with the cultural concept that to be a respected *adat* elder, a man must be able to explain things in various forms of ritual language. On several occasions during my field work I pointed out that I intended to learn ritual language simply 'to be able to offer betel-nut properly' to my brothers and sisters, but not to become a ritual specialist myself. But when I asked the cultural significance of a place or a personal name, I was often flooded with parallel verses, dyadic sets and other formulaic lines in response to my questions. My knowledge of the dual symbolic classification for organizing the social order was built from my learning of the social categories expressed in many forms of ritual language.

Another personal experience worthy of note concerns the cultural ability of the Wehali to receive an 'outsider' into their community of 'insiders'. Working with people who believe that their domain was the first 'to grow' when the earth started to emerge and is therefore the origin place of humans, nobody is made to feel that he or she is totally an 'outsider'. Every outsider is potentially a returning 'insider'. Seven months after living among the Wehali, nobles from the houses of Leko and Mako'a Rai in the hamlet of Laran (the hamlet of Maromak Oan) escorted me to pay my respects to the nobles living in the hamlet of Liurai in Builaran. Upon our arrival, the seventy three year old *adat* historian (*mako'an*) named Bau Fahik La Rosi, who claims to be the ninth *mako 'an* of the house of the Liurai, greeted me with 198 lines of ritual poetry. As an 'outsider' who came to seek the 'true knowledge of the words of the ancestors', I was greeted as a Chinese dove, a Malay (foreign) duck:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wehali Phrase</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>lakateu sina oan</em></td>
<td>a small Chinese dove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>krade malae oan</em></td>
<td>a small wild duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>no 'i nafofek onan</em></td>
<td>is rowing (toward here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>no 'i naknanik onan</em></td>
<td>is swimming (toward here)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But as an ethnic Rotinese, born and raised in another part of the Tetun-speaking area, I was not totally an outsider. Therefore toward the end of the poem, this 'Chinese dove, Malay duck' was considered as having returned to 'the grand granary', 'the grand hut', 'the navel land', 'the umbilical cord land' and 'to the lap of *ina no ama* (mother and father). Unmistakably, it was the journey of a returning insider.
Earlier Writings

There are a number of published ethnographies devoted to the study of the eastern and western Tetun societies. By eastern Tetun, I refer to the ethnic Tetun in the former Portuguese colony which is now the 27th province of Indonesia. The western Tetun are further divided into two groups: the north Tetun and the south Tetun. The north-south division is attributed to administrative, to geographical, and to some degree to ethnic boundaries. In terms of culture, however, the Tetun living in the north part of the southern administrative division are more closely related to the north Tetun than to the south Tetun. To mark the cultural boundary between the north and south Tetun, people employ terms such as the ‘mountain people’ (ema fofo) or the ‘hill people’ (ema taruik) for those in the north and the ‘plains people’ (ema fehan) for those in the south. In this account, I refer to the three divisions of ethnic Tetun as east Tetun, north Tetun, and south Tetun.

The majority of published works are devoted to east Tetun societies. David Hicks (1971:17-18) lists these authors and their focus: Forbes (1884, 1885), Sá (1961) and Duarte (1964) collected data on the Samoro, Fatuberliu and the Barique Tetun; Ferreira (1933) on the Manufahi region; Pires (1926) briefly mentioned the Viqueque territory; and a few linguists produced grammars, include Fernandes (1937), Aparico da Silva (1889), das Dores (1907), Ramos da Silva (date unknown) and Mendes (1935). These valuable works were written in Portuguese. My inability to read Portuguese fluently coupled with my focus on the south Tetun has meant that I have not examined these east Tetun materials as thoroughly as I would have liked. This language barrier was to some extent overcome, however, with the publication of a few papers on east Tetun in Indonesian and English (L.F.R.Thomaz 1981; A.B. Lapian 1980; Parsudi Suparlan 1980; Masinambouw 1980), as well as a monograph written by Capell (1943) whose main interest was linguistic classification, a work by J.K Metzner (1977) on environmental issues, and a report on a socio-anthropological survey by Mubiyarto (1990, English edition 1991). More importantly, two books written by David Hicks (1984, 1990) and a number of his papers published as chapters of books and as articles in various journals have in many ways overcome the complaint made by Hicks himself about the inferior quality of ethnographic writings on the area (1971: 13,14).

For the north Tetun, there are also some publications worthy of note. The most frequently cited are a monograph written by Grijsen (1904) and three volumes by Vroklage (1953). The conflicting accounts given by these two authors, which
became a focus for critical analysis in Graham (1985) and Hicks (1990), are also a subject I address in the following discussion.

As far as social organization is concerned, Grijsen and Vroklage gave different accounts on how to characterize the north Tetun societies. Both Grijsen and Vroklage used the terms kanoea (knua) and kotta (kota) which they glossed as 'village' (Grijsen 1904: 43; Vroklage 1953: 473). The same terms are also used by the south Tetun but they imply different meanings. In south Tetun knua(n) means 'rind' or 'sheath'. This term is also used as a metaphor for 'house' and 'domain'. So, for example, the phrase knua as (high sheath) metaphorically refers to the house of Maromak Oan. In contrast, the phrase knua kraik (low sheath) refers to the house of Liurai. It should be stated, in this regard, that the south Tetun do not employ this term for the notion of 'hamlet'. Instead they use the word leo. Folk exegesis relates this term to the Tetun word leon meaning 'the shade of a tree'. In Grijsen's description, knua or kota denotes a conglomeration of 6 to 20 households. This compound of households is enclosed by two metre walls of stone, tree trunks or tree branches.

Grijsen claimed that every person in north Tetun associated him/herself with three patrilineal descent groups. The first group was called the alin-maun (yB, eB) group. A man, his brothers, father, father's brothers, grandfather and great grandfather, with their children and his unmarried sisters belong to this alin-maun group. The alin-maun relationship could also be established either by a blood oath or without a blood oath. A relationship established by blood oath was unalterable and therefore passed on to future generations. The alin-maun relationship without a blood oath was not inherited (Grijsen 1904: 39-40). The second group was called the fetosawa (the wife-taking house). This was the patrilineal group where women of the alin-maun group married and resided. The third group was the uma mane (wife-giving house), the group from which men of the alin-maun group choose their wives. The marriage between a man from the fetosawa house to a woman from the uma mane house was described by Grijsen (1904: 41-42) as a 'contract' between the two houses establishing the obligatory nature of the marriage. Any man who married outside his wife-giving house had to pay a fine to this latter group. The status and role of the wife-takers were clearly distinguished from the wife-givers. The latter were the source of water, the root of origin and the trunk of life (Brandewie and Asten 1976: 21) and therefore superior to the former. The seating arrangement during marriage ceremonies also reflected the asymmetry between uma mane and fetosawa. Members of the uma mane occupied the 'true house' while the fetosawa sat on the 'verandah' which was constructed lower than the 'true house'.

Vroklage (1953: 254), acknowledged the importance of the *fetosawa-uma mane* marriage for understanding the north Tetun social network. On the average, a man had the option of finding a woman to become his wife in five to six *uma mane*. The most influential *fetosawa* house had no more than 10 *uma mane*, but always endeavoured to have more wife-taking houses. In contrast to the patrilocal marriage and patrilateral affiliation mentioned by Grijsen, Vroklage’s account suggests uxorilocal marriage and matrilateral affiliation to be common cultural features in many north Tetun societies. He estimated that in Lahurus up to ninety-nine percent of marriages were uxorilocal and that descent was reckoned matrilineally (1953: 254-258).

Vroklage’s accounts were supported by a later ethnographic note on marriage and kinship by Brandewie and Asten (1976: 19-30). Translating the meaning of *uma mane* as ‘the house where the husband resides’ (1976: 21) these authors suggested that either uxorilocal or matrilocal residence was a common practice in some north Tetun societies. Concerning the affiliation of children, Brandewie and Asten point out that in the four types of marriage recognized in the region, the children belonged to the mother’s lineage (1976: 24-25). Finally, based on this ethnographic note and Vroklage’s monograph, Hicks (1990: 56) concludes:

> Regardless of their differences, our two ethnographic sources thus demonstrate that the relationship terminology of the matrilineal Northern Tetum is symmetrically prescriptive and thus diverges from the asymmetric contraction of affinal alliances.

Regarding written ethnography of the south Tetun, the only reliable sources are those from Gerard Francillon’s hand. He conducted systematic research in the region for 16 to 18 months. Based on his field work, he wrote a PhD thesis at the Australian National University (1967), a paper on indigenous musicology (1974) and one on systems of brother exchange (1989) and an article on the political organization of the Wehali published as a chapter of a book (Fox 1980: 248-265).

After the publication of van Wouden’s doctoral dissertation (1968), the matrilineal societies of south Tetun in Timor, the Kodi of Sumba and the Wemale of western Seram attracted the interest of later anthropologists such as Rodney Needham. The coming of Francillon to Timor was also driven by the advice given by Needham to study one of these ‘matrilineal islands’. Francillon appropriately commences his thesis according to the local custom by discussing ideas about ‘origins’ as recapitulated by the south Tetun in their myths of origin.

The myth copied by Francillon from a notebook owned by a school boy
(Francillon 1967: 78) noted two main points: “the main theme is that one class of the present lords descends from the first occupiers of the soil and that another descends from a second more recent wave of immigrants” (1967: 89). The first point was related to the story concerning the coming to the region of Bui Kiak and her brother Mau Kiak from ‘the great land’ (rai bot). Eventually Bui Kiak married a mysterious man and gave birth to a girl called Ho’ar Na’i Daholek. The second point related to the coming of Taek Rai Malaka together with his subjects from Malacca on the Malay peninsula. They came to Wehali following the path of the sun. Eventually Taek Rai Malaka married Ho’ar Na’i Daholek. Their children ruled the domains of Timor. Two sons ruled domains toward the rising of the sun; the next two sons ruled areas toward the setting of the sun. The last two sons became the immediate protectors of their youngest sister and the three of them were designated to reside in Wehali. The analysis of the myth revealed that the issue concerning the coming of outsiders to rule Wehali was a pre-eminent theme of the myth. The first group of rulers were descendants from a female outsider who came to the region and somehow married an indigenous man. The second group of rulers came from a definite outside place, namely the land of Malacca. Thus, according to this myth, the name of the district (Malaka) where the domain of Wehali is now situated, has its origin in myth. The old Malaka (Malaka tuan) is on the Malay peninsula, while the new Malaka (Malaka foun) is the present district of Malaka. The present nobles of Wehali and other domains under Wehali sovereignty are descended from these two groups of outsiders.

Despite the differing detail between the myths collected by Francillon and those recorded by Grijsen (1904: 18-20) and Vroklage (1953: 148-149), these myths reveal the same pattern concerning incoming outsiders who established a political structure and ruled domains in Timor.

The origin myths that I attach as Reference Texts 2 to 6 deal with the same pattern, so common in Austronesian societies, that is, the influence of outsiders in structuring the political communities in Timor (Fox 1994: 1). The myth cited in Reference Text 4 is an example of outsiders who were responsible for founding the three domains in the southern plain, namely the domains of Wehali, Wewiku and Haitimuk. However, myths that I recorded in Wehali (Reference Texts 2, 3, 5 and 6) show another variety of ‘outsider origin’. The myths were constructed based on the gender categories of male/female and the spatial categories of inside/outside. In these myths a man, referred to as either descending from the ‘sun above’ (loro leten) or from areas toward the ‘rising sun’ (loro sa’en), eventually marries a Wehali
woman. The cultural themes of male-outside coming to Wehali and marrying female-insiders persist throughout the myths.

There are at least two key terms used in the myth. The first is the Tetun word *tur* (to sit, reside) and the second the phrase *fo ba* (to give away). In accordance with the uxorilocal pattern of residence, after marriage a man resided (*tur*) at his wife's house. Their offspring were members of their mother's house and so became the first rulers of the land. This metaphor (*tur*) is maintained in my recorded myths. Using the analogy of uxorilocal residence in which a husband is only a 'new man' in his wife's house, the myths always highlight the superior status of the insiders because it was the outsiders who resided (*tur*) in the houses of the insiders. The second phrase, *fo ba*, deals with the story concerning the dispersal of Wehali's sons to sit and rule domains outside Wehali. In this phrase, the superior status of the female insider is unfolded explicitly. It was the female insiders who gave away their relatives (in this case their 'sons', Tetun: *oan*) to outside domains in order to rule those domains and protect their 'mother and father' (*ina no ama*) who sent them. Thus, extending myths recorded by previous researchers in which outsiders directly influence the political structure of the region, the myths I present in this study represent another variant of the Austronesian outsider origin. In this case, the authority of the outsiders was endorsed by the female insiders.

The notion of exchange in marriage is also crucial in Francillon's thesis (1967) and a later article published in *L'homme* (1989). Based on the same presumption proposed by van Wouden that marriage is the 'pivot' for the organization of society, Francillon brilliantly explained the ideology and practice of returning a woman to her father's natal house upon the death of her father. This practice is called the returning of the *mata musan*. When the *mata musan* has 'fertilized' her father's house, this recipient house has to return a woman offspring to the *mata musan*'s mother's house. Francillon informs us that the returned woman, called 'banana head' (*hudi ulun*), is expected 'to water the root' (*ramas abut*) of her mother's mother's house (1967: 365). Francillon used the expression *tate rai halo we*, which can be glossed as 'making the canal to drive water', as a metaphor for the marriage alliance between two houses. The husband-receiving house is the source of water. The sending of the *mata musan* from the husband-receiving house to the husband-giving house is seen as driving water from the former to the latter. The return of the *hudi ulun* is then considered to refill the source of water.

Marriage alliance expressed in the metaphor of 'driving water' is quite common among the north Tetun. The ethnographic note published by Brandewie and Asten (1976) based on data from Lahurus also discusses the same expression. The Lahurus
used the phrase *su kanu foun, baki foun* (to dig a new ditch, a new canal) to describe the alliance between *uma mane* (the wife-giver) and *fetosawa* (the wife-taker). The asymmetric alliance between these two houses is explained in the expression *mota la bele suli sa’e* (water never flows upstream). The interpretation of this phrase is given by the authors: “as water always flows down-stream from its source, never upstream, brides also should come from the *uma mane*, never from the *fetosawa*” (1976: 21). Undoubtedly this phrase and its interpretation suited the notion of asymmetric alliance as understood by Dutch ethnographers, to prohibit the symmetric exchange of women.

In contrast, the south Tetun understand the terms *uma mane* and *fetosawa* differently. In marriage negotiations, the woman’s house (the house where the husband resides) is simply referred to as *uma feto*, not *fetosawa* since the latter is a term of reference for ‘sisters’. The man’s natal house is referred to as *uma mane*. The *uma mane - uma feto* relationship is reciprocal. One house can potentially be a husband-taking group and at the same time a husband-giving group to the same house. Consistent with this pattern of marriage, the metaphors used by the North Tetun to imply asymmetric alliance are unheard of in south Tetun. Following the uxorilocal patterns of residence, land inheritance and succession as custodian of a named house, the south Tetun constitute what Fox describes as a ‘house-based’ matriliny (1988b: xiii). But the symmetric exchange of women between the husband-giving house and the husband-taking house is not forbidden.

**Theoretical Orientation**

The analysis of dual symbolic categories to examine the social order of a particular society has a relatively long history in anthropology. Scholars such as E. E. Evans-Pritchard and Rodney Needham introduced this system of analysis to the English-speaking world, tracing its origin to the French sociological tradition, particularly to the works of Robert Hertz. Evans-Pritchard in his ‘Foreword’ to Needham’s ‘Right and Left’ praised Hertz’s two important papers as “the finest essays ever written in the history of sociological thought” (1973: ix). Needham particularly praised Hertz’s work on ‘The Pre-Eminence of the Right Hand: A Study in Religious Polarity’ as a “work of an unmistakable excellence” (1973: xi). Despite Hertz’s excellent ideas, it remained hidden until 1933 when Marcel Granet delivered his paper in Paris on ‘Right and Left in Central China’ (1973: 43-58).
According to Granet, the concern with human anatomy discussed by Hertz was meant to be a starting point in understanding the notion of religious polarity. Thus, it was not anatomy per se which attracted Hertz but the notion of pure and impure, analogous to the absolute opposition of left and right as the most essential categories in religious polarity. This conclusion was also shared by Needham in his statement that ‘Hertz’s essay is not about anatomy: it is about values, and in this case, strikingly unequal values’ (1987: 124). Hertz’s classic essay directly or indirectly inspired the theoretical concern about primitive classification elaborated by Durkheim and Mauss.

Among Dutch anthropologists, a concern with primitive classification evolved in a limited teacher-student network. This subject was prominent in anthropology, one of the most important courses designed to train civil servants who were going to take up positions in Indonesia. One of the instructors of that training course was F.D.E van Ossenbruggen who introduced the works of Durkheim and Mauss to these civil servants for the first time. When van Ossenbruggen himself had the opportunity to work as a judge in Indonesia, his knowledge of primitive classification helped him to analyse Javanese culture. It was through van Ossenbruggen’s publications that later Dutch structuralists such as W.H. Rassers and J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong, the two cofounders of the Leiden school of anthropology, and F.A.E. van Wouden, a pupil of de Josselin de Jong, became acquainted with the works of Durkheim and Mauss.

The years 1935 to 1940 should be noted as the most important period in the history of Indonesian studies carried out in the Netherlands. In 1935 the framework of Indonesia as a ‘field of ethnological study’ was pronounced by J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong in his inaugural address to the chair of “Indonesian and General Anthropology”. In the same year, van Wouden successfully defended his dissertation promoted by J.P.B de Josselin de Jong, who was his supervisor. In 1940 the works of the Dutch scholar, W.H. Rassers, were translated into English. P.E. de Josselin de Jong welcomed this publication as an important piece of work on the reconstruction of the Javanese belief and classification system, a subject of importance for J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong and van Wouden (1983: 9-10). The quotations from Rassers’ analysis on socio-cosmic dualism in J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong’s inaugural address (1983: 175-177) show the degree of influence Rassers had on this great scholar. It is worthwhile to note in this regard that within J.P.B de Josselin de Jong’s framework, socio-cosmic dualism is considered an element that belongs to the ‘structural core’ of Indonesian societies.
In his inaugural address for the chair of Anthropology at the University of Leiden, J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong stated that ethnological research has to be based on the study of the *sociale struktuur* of a particular culture. Under his direction, students were sent to study the *sociale struktuur* of various societies in Indonesia. This was an effort to identify the common cultural features making up the Indonesian societies as a "field of ethnological study". Reasons given by J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong for establishing Indonesia as a whole as a 'field of ethnological study' are summarized by Koentjaraningrat in 14 points (1958: 399-402). In line with the emphasis given in this study, I highlight a few points elaborated by J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong which were considered to reflect features of Indonesian social organization: 1. Indonesian societies consist of descent groups that trace their origin matrilineally or patrilineally; 2. These descent groups are organized into wife-giving clans and wife-taking clans; 3. The wife-giving clans occupy a higher social status than the wife-taking clans; and 4. Marriages of people between clans are regulated by a system of asymmetrical connubium. These four points represent only two elements within J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong's arguments on 'structural core', namely the clan system and the marriage system. What is lacking in Koentjaraningrat's summary is the emphasis on socio-cosmic dualism, an important theme within the French tradition which was carried on by Rassers in relation to Indonesia.

With regard to eastern Indonesian societies, de Josselin de Jong's thesis was supported initially by extensive library research conducted by his student, F.A.E van Wouden. The region considered by van Wouden extends from the "Timor archipelago in the west to the Southern Islands in the east, and is bordered to the north by the islands of Seram and Buru" (van Wouden 1968:1), an area of diverse culture and language. These areas were selected because they were believed to form a cultural region and share a common structural core of marriage system, clan system and socio-cosmic dualism. At the time when Van Wouden wrote his dissertation, ethnographic sources on these areas were inadequate both quantitatively and qualitatively. Therefore he relied primarily on scanty information, which ranged from official documents and traveller's accounts to missionary reports.

One strength of van Wouden's work for eastern Indonesia that attracted anthropologists working in this region was his emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. This focus alone has led commentators such as Cunningham and Fox to designate him "a precursor of Lévi-Strauss" (Cunningham 1971: 844; Fox 1989b: 426; cf. Locher 1968: vii). This designation was based on van Wouden's arguments as summarized below:
(1) cross-cousin marriage is the ‘logical expression of a systematic communication of women among larger descent groups’; (2) the ‘lineality’ of the descent groups is theoretically immaterial to the forms of connubium; (3) ‘ordinary’ [symmetric: MBD/FZD] marriage and ‘exclusive’ [asymmetric: MBD] marriage are ‘representatives of two opposed systems of affinal relationships between groups’; (4) exclusive marriage with the FZD would make a ‘systematic ordering of affinal relationship between groups impossible’; and (5) an ‘integral system of affinal relationships based on exclusive or asymmetric marriage would number at least three clans but could also be composed of any larger number of clans linked in a ‘closed chain of marriage connexions’ (Fox 1989b: 426).

Around twenty years or more after van Wouden’s dissertation, islands that comprise the present Nusa Tenggara Timur province and the southern part of Maluku province began to attract a growing number of ethnographers. However, unlike the pre-Second World War approach to ethnographic investigation, this second wave of interest in eastern Indonesian studies marks a shift from an overemphasis on model to a more thematic approach. This shift of emphasis promises future comparative analyses within a broader framework for two reasons. First, the region taken as a field of study is not limited only to the societies that structure their alliance on the basis of asymmetrical connubium, but it extends to eastern Indonesian societies that do not have such a system (Fox 1980: 330). Secondly, it allows study of each society to be based not on a predefined model of a clan system, marriage system and socio-cosmic dualism but on local categories as expressed by the people themselves. This approach focuses on the study of what Fox has termed “metaphors for living which are encoded primarily in a pervasive dyadic form” (Fox 1980: 333. Emphasis mine). My endeavour in this present work, as I see it, is an effort to analyse metaphors for living articulated by the south Tetun of west Timor.

Thesis Outline

Following this introduction, Chapter Two contains three sections. First it attempts to situate the study area in the regional administrative system. The emphasis in this part is on highlighting the influence of the Dutch colonial administrative system in reducing the domain of Wehali to a single sub-district, a policy continued by the Indonesian government. Using the slogan of anti feodalisme, the domain of Wehali and other domains have practically ceased to exist within the present administrative scheme. The second section documents the
economic life of the south Tetun. The third section focuses on the many oral traditions used in daily life.

In Chapter Three, I present the history of the domain of Wehali in the pre-European period as viewed from an ‘outsiders’ point of view. This chapter serves as the ‘threshold’ of my thesis. Subsequent chapters explore how the Wehali and the south Tetun in general perceive themselves. A number of social categories recurring throughout the following chapters include centre/periphery, inside/outside, female/male (following the Tetun sequence of expression), trunk/edge and first to dry/last to dry. When the Tetun speak about territorial alliances and political systems, the same dominant categories are used in the following order: centre/periphery, female/male and first to dry/last to dry. Therefore the discussion in Chapter Four is titled, ‘Giving away the Centre to the Periphery’. When kinship and affinity are in focus, such as in Chapters Five and Six, the south Tetun emphasis is the notions of female/male and inside/outside more than on the categories of centre/periphery. These social categories can only be fully understood if the Tetun concept of ‘house’ (umä) is appreciated. This concept is explored in Chapter Seven. In that chapter, I claim that the south Tetun house, like the majority of ‘houses’ in this region, is associated with the ‘female’. Thus, again, the dominant categories of female/male and inside/outside are evident in this chapter. To recapitulate, chapters four to seven emphasise the direction of the flow of life from centre to periphery, inside to outside, and female to male. Chapter Eight elaborates on two kinds of rituals: ‘life-giving’ rituals for humans and for edible crops. In the latter rituals the south Tetun celebrate the flow of wealth running from periphery to centre, outside to inside, male to female and cultivation space to dwelling space. In a comparative exploration Chapter Nine highlights the common cultural heritage the Tetun share with their Austronesian relatives particularly with the Dawan-speaking people.
ENDNOTES

1 This plain is known by several names. The Wewiku people favour the term ‘Besikama plain’ because it is associated with one of the ritual centres in the domain of Wewiku. Some take a neutral stand by calling it the ‘Benain plain’. This term refers to the name of the river of Benenai which divides this plain into two halves. The first half is occupied by the Wehali and the second half by the Haitimuk and the Wewiku. Throughout the thesis I use the term the ‘plain of Wehali Wewiku’, a phrase commonly heard in Wehali.

2 Father Jansen in his first fieldtrip to Wehali in 1892 saw 4 human heads hung on a stick of wood. In his report, he mentioned this experience under the title ‘The tough adat in Belu’ (Laan 1969: 302). In one of my trips outside Wehali I visited the neighbouring domain of Mande’u (Dirma), a place called Maibiku. One of the ksadan (ritual centres) there was set up specifically for head-hunting rituals. People in this place still remember well the songs the head-hunters sang when they proceeded to the hamlet and what type of dance the women performed to praise their heroes and to humble the dead.

3 ‘Offering betel-nut’ is a phrase used in ritual language to mean ‘greetings’.

4 The Tetun word kota means ‘fortress’ and ‘city’.

5 Brandewie and Asten mention four types of marriage as follows: (1) fetosawa-uma mane marriage; (2) uma laran marriage; (3) matak no let marriage; and (4) husar oan (binan) marriage. In the first three types the children automatically become members of the wife’s house. In the last type of marriage, the children are also members of their mother’s house until an amount of bride-wealth is paid to transfer them to their father’s house.

6 This myth was recorded in Wewiku and was regarded by my Wehali informants as Wewiku’s version of the origin myth.

7 Francillon translated this phrase as ‘the pupil of the eye’.
Photograph 1. Maromak Oan Hendrikus Seran Nahak was crowned “Keser of the kingdom of Beloe” on 10 May 1926 in Atambua. (From personal collection of Mr. A.N. Pattiwael).
Photograph 2. The Maromak Oan of Wesei Wehali, Agustinus Nahak Seran (left) and the Liurai of Malaka (Luis Sanaka Tei Seran).

Photograph 3. Agustinus Klau. A challenger for the Maromak Oan, a noble from the hamlet of Laran.
Photograph 4  The crowning of Sipri Ulu, Loro of Dirma (right). The Liurai (centre) and the new Loro display a golden staff and a trading contract signed with the Dutch by Bau Nekin, the Loro Bot of Dirma on 20 September 1879.

Photograph 5. Chinese antique ceramics. These items are kept in the Ai Lotuk and form part of the Wehali sacred regalia.
Chapter two

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING

Introduction

Timor is one of the largest islands of the outer arc of those which classical accounts have grouped in the Lesser Sundas. Due to its recent uplift and turbulent geological past, the island is dominated by rugged and dissected mountains. As a result, topographical differences prevail even within short distances. The geographer, Ormeling shows in his study the geological complexity of the island such that "marine sediments chiefly limestone and marls are especially wide-spread on Timor" (1957: 31). Despite its rugged terrain, there are a few areas that have been classified as lowlands, such as the south plain of Wehali-Wewiku in the Belu regency, the plain of Bena, and the plain Oesao-Pariti at the head of Kupang bay. Ormeling identifies the common features of these plains as typical delta zones built up by flooding rivers that brought mud down from the range of mountains surrounding them. Thus, young alluvial plains, below spring tide level and enclosed by hills and mountain ranges are characteristic of these lowlands. The diversity of vegetation growing in this island also attests to its geological complexity. This vegetation ranges from evergreen monsoon forests to white eucalypt (*Eucalyptus alba*) stands, widespread savanna areas, dense gebang palm (*Corypha utan*), and varieties of mangroves along the coastlines.

Timor's location in between the humid isles of Indonesia and the dry Australian continent affects the climatic pattern of the island (see Map 1). During the dry season, the daily temperature range is quite high, which makes working unpleasant. The movement of air masses between the Asian and Australian continents also affects the distribution of rainfall. The east monsoon brings a dry season for most of the island, but brings a second rainy season for the southern plains. The west monsoon brings the annual rainy season for the whole island. Due to this air movement, Timor and its surrounding islands also suffer from an 'annual wind season' as it is phrased by most people. Thus, in addition to the common division of
dry and rainy seasons, people also talk about the so-called ‘windy season’. Agricultural activities on Timor are regulated to suit these three sorts of seasons prevailing through the year.

No wonder the people of this island equate their agricultural activities with the naming of rain and wind. There are various names given to identify the blowing of the wind and the onset of the rains, which will be elaborated further in this chapter. To some extent, temperature also regulates the working rhythm of the people. The highest daily temperature is recorded towards the end of every dry season. Travelling along the trunk road of Timor at night-time during this part of the season, we come across groups of farmers working in their gardens by the light of kerosine lamps. During the day, the time when the temperature reaches its climax is a rest period for them. Working at night-time, besides avoiding the heat of the day, is also to catch up with the work undone.

Ethnic diversity is another aspect of Timor’s identity. Studies concerning physical anthropology done by Bijlmer (1929), Lammers, based on data provided by Vroklage (1948), von Bork-Feltkamp (1951) in the western part of the island and by other Portuguese anthropologists in the eastern part do not provide a conclusive answer as to how to group people on the island. Generally speaking, Lammers (1948: 283) distinguished two groups of people in the western part. The predominantly Melanesoid Atoni (or Dawan as termed by the south Tetun) inhabit areas in the west of this region and the predominantly Malay Belunese inhabit areas in its eastern sector. Areas between the Dawan in the west and Belu in the east are inhabited by three groups of people who Vroklage designated the Noemuti-group, the Beboki-group and the Insana-group (Lammers 1948: 276). These three groups are mixed, having a Melanesoid (Papuan) element, a Weddid element and perhaps even a Negroid element. Lammers describes these mixed populations as having a mosaic of characteristics (1948: 283). Lammers also suggested that further studies are needed in order to reach a more definite conclusion.

An adequate linguistic classification is also needed to delineate the mosaic of this multilingual island. The linguist Capell (1943: 313-314) classified the Timorese languages into Malayo-Polynesian (Indonesian) and Papuan (non-Indonesian). For him Tetun, Mambai, Tukudade, Galoli, Idate and Dawan belong to the former group, while the latter consists of Bunak, Makasai, Waimaha and Kairui. The range of languages cited, is, however, based on the number of informants available at the time of his linguistic research, which does not therefore represent all the languages spoken on Timor. Even concerning the number itself, there is not yet a conclusive answer as to how many mutually unintelligible languages are spoken in Timor. Earlier writers
such as H.O. Forbes suggested that there were 40 languages, while Martinho reckoned 16 languages (Capell 1943: 313). Among more recent writers the same uncertainty prevails. Thomaz, a linguist who worked in East Timor during the Portuguese era listed 19 mutually unintelligible languages spoken in East Timor alone. Not much linguistic research has been done by Indonesian scholars to date, apart from repeating studies carried out by former Portuguese linguists (Suparlan 1980, Masinambouw 1980).

Nowadays the languages of Timor are classified into two groups recognised as Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages respectively. In the best overview to date Fox and Wurm (1981) compiled a list of Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages spoken in the Lesser Sundas with notes on the estimation of numbers of speakers and the affinity of the languages concerned (see Map 2). As far as Tetun is concerned, it was estimated that the Tetun speakers (in both east and west Timor) were about 300,000.

Based on the 1991 census, I would estimate that in west Timor alone, about 190,000 people speak Tetun as their first language. In this relatively recent census, the population of the Belu regency is 216,252. They live in 72 villages (desa) that are divided into 7 districts (kecamatan). Within these 72 villages, there are small clusters of non-Tetun speakers namely the Ema (atmas Ema) who speak to'ek Ema and the non-Austronesian Bunak-speaking people. The Ema live in the hamlets of Fatukmetan, Tenu Bot, Sadi, Leo Lima, Leo Hitu and few more locations in the villages of Tohe, Manumutin. The Bunak are more or less concentrated in 10 out of 12 villages in the district of Lamaknen. A small number of Bunak also live in the hamlet of Labarai, the village of Kamanasa, the district of Malaka Tengah. Included in these non-Tetun speakers are people from other ethnic groups, either from Timor or outside Timor who are categorized as ‘newcomers’ (pendatang). These non-Tetun speakers then make up 10% of the total Belu Population.

The focus of this thesis is the Wehali, who occupy a narrow strip in the middle of the 300,000 hectare Wehali-Wewiku plain. This huge plain is also occupied by people of the former domains of Wewiku, Haitimuk and Lakekun. These peoples identify themselves as the ‘plains people’ (ema fehan). According to their origin myths, the people of the three domains known as Wewiku, Haitimuk and Wehali originated from three sisters (see Reference Text 4). For this reason, my research extended beyond Wehali to include these other two domains.
A Brief Account of the Regency of Belu

With the introduction of a law regulating the administrative zone incorporating Bali along with Western and Eastern Lesser Sunda (known as Undang Undang no. 69/1958) and a later law on Pemerintahan Desa (known as Undang Undang no.5/1979), the so-called ‘feudal domains’ of eastern Indonesia ceased to exist administratively. The former great domain of Wehali was thus integrated as one area within the six districts of the Belu regency. The border of this once mighty ‘empire’ was reduced to the limit of a small hamlet, Laran, the seat of its former supreme ruler popularly known as Maromak Oan. This section gives an account of this historical irony.2

Under the Dutch administration, Timor was part of the province of Lesser Sunda known as Resedentie Timor en onderhorigheden (Timor and its dependencies). It consisted of three divisions (afdeeling), 15 sub-divisions (onderafdeeling) and 48 self-governing domains (swapraja).3 Over time the Dutch possessions on the island of Timor were divided into four administrative districts: Kupang, South-central Timor, North-central Timor and Belu.

In the district of Belu, when Grijsen was its controleur (1904), the Dutch government registered 20 swapraja as part of the Belu sub-division. Most of the swapraja listed in Table 2.1 below are shown in Map 3.

|-----------|------------|-------------|------------|

Table 2.1 Swapraja of Belu in 1904

A.A. Bere Tallo, the first head of Belu regency in the Indonesian administration notes that the above list merely showed Dutch ignorance of the political structure and alliances prevailing among these domains of Belu and therefore its institution was a terrible blunder made by the Dutch (1957:18). Unfortunately Bere Tallo did not elaborate, despite his claim that the contemporary dispute among domains was the result of the publication of the Dutch list. I assume the failure to list the domain of Bauho was one reason for Bere Tallo’s disappointment. Considering that this domain is the seat of Astanara, the supreme ruler of Fialaran, its exclusion from the 1904 list was really a blunder.
Map 3. Swapraja of Belu (source: a Dutch map dated 1911)
Domains listed in Table 2.1 consist mainly of people from 3 language-speaking areas: the Bunak (of Lamaknen, Makir and Lamaksanulu), the Dawan (of Nenomet, Insana, Biboki and Hameno) and the remainder who are the Tetun. In 1910, the domain of Nenomet (known as Anas) was ceded to the sub-division of South Central Timor, under the Amanatun domain where it originally belonged. Following the establishment of the sub-division of North Central Timor in 1915 the three Dawan-speaking domains of Insana, Biboki and Hameno were included in this newly formed district.

In an attempt to control various petty domains in the Belu sub-division the Dutch, in collaboration with native rulers, then began their scheme to reduce the number of domains. Among native rulers in the area, the Dutch government favoured the ruling dynasty of da Costa, who headed the domains of Jenilu, Lidak and Naitimu (see *Militaire Memorie van Timor* 1932: 74). The initial opportunity for amalgamation came when a civil war broke out in the region in 1913. The people of Naitimu under their leader Kau Besin fought against the people of Lidak, whose ruler was a woman called Dona Petronella da Costa. In this civil war, Lidak was assisted by the people from Jenilu, under the leadership of Jozef da Costa, Dona Petronella's brother. Having won the battle, Jozef replaced Dona Petronella and became the ruler of both domains (Jenilu and Lidak). Eventually, these two domains became one domain under the name Jenilu. Meanwhile Don Basenti da Costa was appointed to be the ruler of Naitimu. Following his death in 1914, Jozef, his brother, also incorporated this domain into a confederation of three domains called *Kakuluk mesak* (literally 'the only pillar') in which Jozef was the supreme ruler. This newly established *swapraja* of Kakuluk Mesak was ratified by the Dutch government in their decree no.13, 7/10/1914.

Then, in 1916 the *swapraja* of Kakuluk Mesak was abolished. Its three domains (Lidak, Jenilu and Naitimu) together with the domains of Fialaran, Lamaknen, Makir and Lamaksanulu were combined into a single *swapraja* called Belu Tasifeto. So, the 8 domains in the north had become 2 *swapraja*, namely *swapraja* Belu Tasifeto and *swapraja* Maukatatar. Under the 1904 agreement between the Dutch and the Portuguese concerning the international border of east and west Timor, ratified in 1909 and carried into effect in 1916, there were further changes in the number of domains in Belu. In article 1 of the 1909 tract, the domain of Maukatatar was ceded to the Portuguese. In return the Portuguese ceded Noemuti, Tahakae and Tamiru Ailala to the Dutch (article 2 *Staatsblad* 1909 No. 214). Noemuti was included in the *swapraja* of Miomafo (North Central Timor), Tahakae in the district of Nualain (Lamaknen) and Tamiru Ailala in the district of Lakekun. With the transference of
the *swapraja* of Maukatar to the Portuguese, only one *swapraja* was left in north Belu, namely *swapraja* Belu Tasifeto. In the list of districts that made up the *swapraja* Belu Tasifeto, the name Fialaran was replaced by Bauho. In addition, the district of Lasiolat, which was not included in the 1904 list, was now included as part of *swapraja* Belu Tasifeto. The composition of this *swapraja* was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Sub-district</th>
<th>Names of ruler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naitimu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Hale Kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lidak</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Asa Nesin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenilu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Josef Faercicianus Parera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silawan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Koli Atok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauho (Fialaran)</td>
<td>Bauho</td>
<td>Atok Samara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takirin</td>
<td>Dafala</td>
<td>Siku Suri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manleten</td>
<td>W. Ati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lasiolat</td>
<td>Umaklaran</td>
<td>Sili Saka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asumanu</td>
<td>Seran Kehik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lomaknen</td>
<td>Aitoun</td>
<td>Don Cajetanus da Costa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kewar</td>
<td>Manek Siku (Mau Siki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lakmaras</td>
<td>Atok Moruk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nualain</td>
<td>Lau Besin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leowalu</td>
<td>Suri Wilik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fulur</td>
<td>Lauk Besin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ekin</td>
<td>Bau Liku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lo’onuna</td>
<td>Bere Taq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dirun</td>
<td>Bere Taek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makir</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mau Asa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamaksanulu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Fahnik Taek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Luan Bau (Mau Loko)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B. Dato Manu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tes Bau (Leo Bele)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Leto Asa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 Composition of the *swapraja* of Belu Tasifeto in 1916

Their success in amalgamating these domains led the Dutch to take further steps. In order to amalgamate the southern domains, the troublesome Nahak Maroe Rai, the ruler of Besikama had to be subdued. In an unequal ‘battle’ Nahak was captured and forced to acknowledge the Dutch authority over the area. This ‘heroic battle’ of Nahak Maroe Rai in We Liman (1908) is still commemorated by the Besikama people in the form of poems, songs and ‘battle stories’ (*lia hatuda*). With the fall of Nahak Maroe Rai, Wehali and most of the southern domains came under Dutch authority. In a meeting held in Besikama on 29 May 1915, chaired by Grambeg, the *keser* of Wehali (Bria Nahak), the *liurai* of Fatuaruin (Tei Seran) and
the head of the *swapraja* of Wehali, Wewiku, Haitimuk, Fatuaruin, Lakekun, Dirma and Mande’u agreed to amalgamate their domains into the *swapraja* of Malaka. Perhaps the name Malaka was chosen to suit the origin myth recorded by Grijsen (1904) that the ancestors of these people were originally the *Sina mutin Malaka* (literally, ‘the white Chinese of Malaka’). The composition of the *swapraja* of Malaka is as listed in Table 2.3 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Sub-district</th>
<th>Names of ruler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wewiku</td>
<td>Umalor</td>
<td>Bere Nahak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rabasa</td>
<td>Bere Klau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wederok</td>
<td>Bere Seran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Klau Fahik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haitimuk</td>
<td></td>
<td>Klau Kloit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wehali</td>
<td></td>
<td>Edmundus Bria Taek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatuaruin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Seran Asit Fatin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manlea</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bani Bani</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakekun</td>
<td>Litamali</td>
<td>Loro Tahu Leki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alas</td>
<td>Atok Luan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirma</td>
<td>Mande’u</td>
<td>Wilhelmus Leki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kusa</td>
<td>Fatin Nekin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nino Besi Bara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tuna Berek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3 Composition of the *swapraja* of Malaka in 1916

Reflecting on the amalgamation policies outlined here, the twenty domains acknowledged by the Dutch as constituting Belu in 1904 had been reorganised by 1916 such that Belu consisted of only two *swapraja*. Of these, *swapraja* Belu Tasifeto was headed by Jozef da Costa and *swapraja* Malaka was headed by Liurai Tei Seran. This division was ratified on the 22 February 1917 with the signing of a short declaration (*korte verklaring*) by the two rulers (Bere Tallo 1957: 19).

Eight years later the Dutch government issued another decree (*Beslit Gubernemen* no. 39, 28/11/1924) which abolished this system of bi-partition and replaced the two *swapraja* by a single one, namely the *swapraja* of Belu. This *swapraja* consisted of 37 districts. All the domains registered in Table 2.2 and Table 2.3 were given equal ranking with the status of district. In this newly established *swapraja*, however, the former sub-districts of Fulur and Ekin were not included in the list of autonomous districts. The Dutch then appointed Hendrikus Seran Nahak, the *Maromak Oan* of Wehali to be the ruler of *swapraja* Belu, giving him the title the *Keser* of Belu. He took an oath to this effect on the 10 May 1926 in Atambua.
As his assistant, the government appointed Seran Asit Fatin to the rank of Liurai (Overakker 1927: 37, 38). Both were paid according to their rank. The Maromak Oan, entitled Keser was paid an annual wage of 1200 guilder, while his deputy received 480 guilder per annum (Overakker 1926: 34-35).

The crowning of Seran Nahak as the sole Keser of Belu did not benefit the policy of amalgamation initiated by the Dutch. On the contrary, as noted by Francillon (1980: 254-255), various resentments arose both from the north Tetun domains and the Lamaknen area of the Bunak-speaking people. To appease these groups, the Dutch proposed a re-division of the Belu regency into three self governing political domains (swapraja). In a letter dated the 12 February 1941, the Resident of Timor, Nieboer, sent a letter to the governor of the groote-Oost in Makassar asking his agreement to abolish the single swapraja of Belu and re-establish the three former swapraja of Tasifeto, Malaka and Lamaknen (de Haan 1947: 17). In this letter, Nieboer also listed the domains that represented the Belu regency (Bere Tallo 1957: 21). Unfortunately, the Japanese took over the government in 1942 before this plan could be implemented.

During the three years of the Japanese occupation, the regency of Belu was re-divided into two halves, and each part had its own ruler. One half was called Tasifeto. Its area covered the former Tasifeto swapraja and also Harneno, which in the preceding Dutch times had belonged to the North Central Timor sub-division. Its first ruler was Nikolas Manek, who shortly afterwards was replaced by Hendrikus Besin Siri, known as Manek da Costa (de Haan 1947: 17). The other half was called Tasimane and covered the former swapraja of Malaka in the Dutch period. Its first ruler was Arnoldus Klau, the son of Bere Nahak, the great ruler of Wewiku. He was, however soon replaced by Edmundus Tei Seran, the ruler of Fatuaruin, a petty domain within Wehali’s jurisdiction.

In this short period of Japanese occupation, two significant things can be noted. First, the inclusion of one Dawan-speaking area, Harneno, under the swapraja of Tasifeto. Second, the renaming of the former swapraja of Malaka as Tasimane. The name Malaka had presumably been chosen to concur with the origin myth recorded by Grijsen. However, the Japanese did not replace that historical name with a strange and unknown name. Tasimane (male sea) physically refers to the rough southern sea of Timor. Culturally, the south Tetun look to this sea as the place from which people and wealth came to the area and so many taboos are associated with it. The name Tasimane also signifies its contrast to the Tasifeto (female sea) of the northern part of the regency. My Tetun Indonesian speaking friends were pleased with this contrast, as they repeatedly told me that ‘the patriarchal region is
demarcated by the female sea, while the matriarchal region is demarcated by the male sea' (*daerah hak bapak dibatasi oleh laut perempuan sedangkan daerah hak ibu dibatasi oleh laut lelaki*).

Just before the Japanese surrendered, a public meeting was held in Kewar, on 5 August 1945. The meeting was chaired by the ruler of Bauho, Hendrikus Besin Siri da Costa. In that meeting it was decided that the domain of Lamaknen, predominantly occupied by Bunak-speaking people, had to be “freed” from Tasifeto and its Tetun-speakers and become an independent *swapraja*. It was also decided that the ruler of Kewar (A.A. Bere Tallo) be appointed as the supreme ruler of Lamaknen to replace the old Bau Liku. He would rule 8 domains, namely, 1. Kewar, 2. Lakmaras, 3. Nualain, 4. Makir, 5. Leowalu, 6. Lamaksanulu, 7. Dirun, 8. Lo’o Nuna (Bere Tallo 1957: 21).

Thus, the scheme for tri-partition of *swapraja* (Lamaknen, Tasifeto and Malaka) proposed by the Dutch at the end of colonial era was revived under the Indonesian government. This tri-partition was hailed by the first *Bupati* of the Belu regency as “a system of government native to Belu” (*sistem pemerintahan asli di Belu*). This ‘system’ comprised three ethnic groups: Lamaknen with *Bein hot* (literally, ‘respected sun’) as its supreme ruler, Tasifeto with *Astanara* (literally, ‘the high anvil’) as its supreme ruler and Malaka with the *Maromak Oan* (literally, ‘the small bright one) as its supreme ruler’.

At present there are seven administrative districts (*kecamatan*) constituting the Belu regency (*kabupaten*) as shown in Map 4: 1. Lamaknen, 2. Tasifeto Timur, 3. Tasifeto Barat, 4. Malaka Timur, 5. Malaka Tengah, 6. Malaka Barat and 7. Koba Lima. This last district (*Koba Lima* = the five betel-nut containers) was established at the end of 1992. The structure of the regency of Belu was previously composed of six districts. Formerly, what is now the *Kecamatan* of Koba Lima was part of the *Kecamatan* of Malaka Timur. This new arrangement was considered suited to the ethnic composition of the area because people of this newly founded district are related to the Suai-Kova Lima who are part of the East Timor province.

What is missing in this so called ‘indigenous system of government’ described by A.A. Bere Tallo is any acknowledgment of the Ema people (*Atmas Ema*) as an autonomous political unit. Although the Dutch government mentioned in their reports the existence of this particular ethnic group, they were never included in political discourse on the region. Even in the recent reshuffle of districts in the Belu regency, the Ema were not recognised as a separate district.
Map 4. Districts (kecamatan) in the Regency of Belu
The District *(Kecamatan)* of Malaka Tengah

### 1. The Demographic aspects

The capital of the district of Malaka Tengah is Betun. This district was established in 1964 with Luis Sanaka Tei Seran as its head officer. The district represents an amalgam of four domains known as *kena’ian*, namely Wehali, Kakaniuk, Manulea and Bani Bani. According to Bere Tallo, the hamlet of Laran, the traditional centre of Wehali was initially chosen to be the capital of the newly established district. However, since this hamlet could not accommodate the standard necessities needed for a district capital, the government preferred Betun, which is located less than a kilometre from Laran.⁶

Under the new system of administration (see the decree issued by the head of the regency no.6/Pem/1966), the district is made up of 11 *desa* (villages). The delineation of the eleven villages was based on the extent of territory and the relative density of population within the territory, with some adjustment for traditional divisions of society based on common derivation. Current population figures for the district and the size of each village are represented in Table 2.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Household</th>
<th>Size in sq km</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kakaniuk</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>2225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kateri</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>3431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Umakatahan</td>
<td>1142</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>6592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Fahiluka</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>3549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kamanasa</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kletek</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>17.65</td>
<td>2547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Manulea</td>
<td>1329</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>6488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Bani Bani</td>
<td>1107</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>5555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Fatuaruin</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>2940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Kereana</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>14.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4 Villages: size and population

The villages mentioned above are called *desa gaya baru* (the new style villages). This form of village was promoted by the government to create an administrative homogeneity and at the same time to avoid the influence of *adat* in the new system of bureaucracy. The main difference between *desa gaya baru* and
the traditional village is that the former constitute a primary unit of administration while the later is an ‘origin unit’, i.e., a group of people who claim to have some sort of common origin. This origin unit is called leo. The amalgamation of leo into new style villages is represent in Table 2.5 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Hamlet</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Hamlet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naimana</td>
<td>Manumutin</td>
<td>Kateri</td>
<td>Bi’uduk Fehan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Koba Di’in</td>
<td></td>
<td>Basadebu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natra’en</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kateri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Na’i Lera</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lolobot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fahiluka</td>
<td>Bolan</td>
<td>Kamanasa</td>
<td>Sukabihanawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Umakatahan Ain Tasi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Labarai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fahiluka</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fatisin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lo’o Sina</td>
<td></td>
<td>Leklaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natra’en Fahiluka</td>
<td></td>
<td>Liurai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Naekasak</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fohoterin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tete Bani</td>
<td>Teletk</td>
<td>Maniliman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manekin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kletek Suai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umakatahan</td>
<td>Umakatahan Foho</td>
<td>Kletek</td>
<td>Kletek Rai Na’in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brama</td>
<td>Kakaniuk</td>
<td>Toolaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Batane</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kakaniuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bakateu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matali</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lalu’an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tabene</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hali Oan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laran</td>
<td></td>
<td>Benahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manumutin Banai</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nimu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toohun</td>
<td>Fatuaruin</td>
<td>Builaran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.5 Hamlets in Wehali

Ironically, in this amalgamation Laran, the centre of the traditional domain of Wehali, has been grouped within Desa Umakatahan, a village that in Tetun’s ideology symbolically represents only a ‘trunk of the house step/trunk of the garden ladder’ (tetek hun//knuba hun) of Wehali. With this new arrangement, the village chief is located in the hamlet of Brama, a hamlet that represents a ‘female door’ (odamatan rae) in Wehali’s ideology.

In contrast to the general physical morphology of Timor island, most of the people that I worked with occupy one part of the southern plain of Belu. This plain, which constitutes 1/6 of the Belu regency, is also known as Wehali-Wewiku plain. Five out of the eleven villages listed in Table 2.4 (namely, Umakatahan, Fahiluka, Kamanasa, Naimana and Kletek) are located in this plain. Statistically, more than half of the population (19,871 out of 38,665 people) lives in this plain which
constitutes considerably less than half of the territory of the district (133 out of 341 sq kilometres). By Timor standards or even Belu standards, this plain is densely populated.\textsuperscript{7}

2. The Environmental aspects

a. Climate

Rainfall is the most important factor in the climate of the Lesser Sunda islands because it determines the cycle of agricultural activity. Generally speaking, the district of Malaka Tengah follows the climatic pattern of the Lesser Sunda islands as a typical monsoon area. However, being surrounded by a range of hills and mountains located in the south of Timor, the plain of Wehali-Wewiku and the district of Malaka Tengah in particular experience minor climatic variations.

To give some picture of the climatic variations, I deliberately chose the earliest available data sets as reported by Dutch officers and the latest official reports available at regency level. As far as I know, the earliest report which contains such data is a \textit{Memorie van overgave} written by J.R.Agerbeek in 1916, recording data for 1914 and 15, while the latest is official data for 1991. Using these three sets of data (see Figure 2.1) as a general guide, we have some picture of the uneven distribution of rainfall between the northern and the southern parts of the regency.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{rainfall_data.png}
\caption{Rainfall data recorded in Besikama and Atapupu}
\end{figure}
In 1915 and 1991, the heaviest rains were recorded during the wet monsoon in both parts of the regency. Both north and south Tetun people call this period of rain ‘annual rain’ (*udan tinan*). This phrase indicates that it is a ‘regular’ period of rain. The first heavy fall of *udan tinan* marks the commencement of the planting season. Agricultural rituals concerning the activity of planting begin at that very moment. In 1915 these rains ended at about the same time in February and started again quite early (October). In 1991 these rains set in October - November in both parts of the regency, but the rain had not terminated at the same time earlier in the year. The 1914 report of rainfall shows an exceptional character in which both parts of the regency experienced a rainy season of longer duration. This suggests the possibility of considerable variation in rainfall from year to year.

Using Schmidt and Fergusen’s classification of rainfall, in which 60 to 100 mm of rain in a month is considered ‘moist’ (as quoted in Metzner 1977: 37), we can delineate a variation in rainfall between the two parts of the regency. Data available in the years concerned reveal that the rainless period falls in between April and October in most parts of the north Belu region. During this period the east monsoon brings a dry season, which is not further distinguished by the Tetun people. On the other hand, during the same period of time, the east monsoon brings rain to the southern plain of Wehali-Wewiku. This period of rain is called ‘the seaside rain’ (*udan lor*) by the plains people and ‘the pig’s rain’ (*udan fahi*) by the hill people. Thus there are two principal rainy seasons in the district of Malaka Tengah, namely *udan tinan* (west monsoon) and *udan lor* (east monsoon). These seasons are further classified by the Tetun following the names of rain and wind as described in Table 2.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Name of rain</th>
<th>Name of wind</th>
<th>Ritual affiliated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The first fall in</td>
<td><em>udan narodan ai tahan</em> (rain to set off leaves)</td>
<td><em>anin dadurus</em> (hurricane)</td>
<td><em>husu udan</em> (rain making)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td><em>udan namate ahu kresan</em> (rain to kill hot ashes)</td>
<td><em>anin dadurus</em> (hurricane)</td>
<td><em>husu udan</em> (rain making)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual rain (<em>udan tinan</em>)</td>
<td><em>udan kokor botu</em> (rain with thunder)</td>
<td><em>anin Bere Bauk</em> (Bere Bauk wind)</td>
<td><em>soe at</em> (to discard misfortune)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitional period</td>
<td><em>udan kakait</em> (light drizzle)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>hamiis</em> (first harvest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in April</td>
<td><em>udan menas</em> (hot rain)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The heavy rain that sets in during October, such as that recorded in 1915, is not considered as the beginning of the planting season. This type of rain is called *udan narodan ai tahan* (‘rain to shed leaves’) and is said only to last for three days. Therefore it is described accordingly as *udan we toluk* (literally, rain water three). The period after this rain is marked by the coming out of new tamarind leaves. For the Tetun people, these are a sign that the beginning of the planting season is near.

The commencement of the planting season is indicated by the setting in of subsequent heavy rain about the middle of December. This type of rain is called *udan namate ahu kresan* (literally, rain that kills the hot ashes). The average of 111 mm of rain recorded in Figure 2.1 is considered to bring sufficient moisture to the land to encourage seeds to grow. Now the ‘cooked’ soil (*tasak*) has become ‘raw’ (*matak*), a favourable condition for growing. Like the soil, seeds must also be ritually cooled, through a ritual called *hisik fini* (sprinkle the seeds). In ritual terms, the ritual cooling of the earth and the seeds guarantees successful crops. In March, the rain is expected to decrease enormously. Any unexpected rain that sets in during this month will be harmful for the ripening crops. Such unexpected rain is called *udan menas*. *Menas* is probably a disguised form of *manas* - ‘hot’. This type of rain can be stopped by presenting betel-nut offerings (*haksera mama*) to the ancestors. The harvesting of the first crops is done after executing a particular ritual to make the crops have a ‘plain taste’ (*miis*). This ritual is called *hamiis*, ie. to make something *miis*.

The second planting season begins in April. Rains blown by the east monsoon are considered sufficient for cultivating the ‘second maize’ (*batar knau*) and mung
beans (fore Wehali). This rain is called *udan lor* (rain that sets in from the seaside). The coming of the rain is indicated by the beating of the surf on the coast. Ormeling, in his short visit to Betun, the capital district of Malaka Tengah which is located about 14 kilometres from the coast line, for some unknown reason noted that he actually heard the beating of the surf from his bivouac (1957: 42, n.1). For the Wehali the beating of the surf heard by Ormeling is imagined as the male voice of the sea calling for women of the hill.

The south Tetun also recognize two types of drizzle that must be avoided because they are believed to bring diseases. Drizzle by itself is called *udan kakait*, whereas a drizzle that sets in together with the appearance of a rainbow is called *udan baur* (the rainbow rain).

b. Soil

This 30,000 hectares of plain has been the subject of various studies. Soil scientists such as Mohr and van Baren identified the margalitic soils found in Timor’s hills and plains as vulnerable to erosion. During the rainy season, these soils are carried away from the hills to the plains. Thus the river of Benenai that divides the plain into two halves is responsible for the accumulation of fertile soil in the plain. This study was later confirmed by Hondius (as quoted in Ormeling 1957: 49-51) who examined the varied composition of deposited materials originating in the mountains of central Timor. This variability in type of soil, as well as in its structure, encourages yields from a variety of crops in the plain. Ormeling reported that the South Belu plain had a greater variety of crops than elsewhere in Timor (1957: 49).

c. Tree and Crops in the Hillside

It is true that there is no ‘school competition’ held in this area to test the school children’s knowledge of the diversity of local trees, shrubs (and animals) as was conducted by Schulte Nordholt in 1947 in North Central Timor (1971: 33). But from market observations, daily conversations and origin myths one can detect the intimacy of the south Belu with the variety of trees and crops in their area. As a district whose territory covers part of both the hills and the plains, Malaka Tengah is the home for trees, shrubs and crops suited to each of these environments.
In the origin myth narrated by an *adat* historian from Kateri, a village situated in the hill part of the district, he refers to two types of shrubs growing in the area, namely *ktuik* and *kleik*. These belong to vine tree species which in the origin myth are described as a ‘ladder’ that linked the sky to the earth. These species mostly grow in the hill part of the area. The strength, length and straight nature of their vines make these trees suitable for part of the roof construction of south Tetun houses. The elasticity of the vines is useful for joining the ‘chest’ part of the house to its ‘ribs’. In addition to its vines, the *kleik’s* fruits are collected for various purposes. The ripe fruits are boiled to be eaten as snacks. Women and children sell them on market days for extra cash. Candle-nut trees (*kmii*) also grow abundantly in the hills. The main posts of Wehali house are chosen from the strong branches of the candle nut tree.

The hill region is suitable for various species of root crops. While root crops are classified as *ubi-ubian* in Indonesian (tuber plants), this translation often causes confusion among the Tetun who recognize two kinds of *ubi-ubian*, ie. *uhi* and *fehuk*. The annual official report published by the government deals only with root crops that are inter-planted in conjunction with maize, rice or sorghum such as cassava (*ai fehuk*) and sweet potatoes (*fehuk malae*). In reality, however, there are other root crops inter-planted with different cultigens. For documentation’s sake, I list below the root crops not mentioned in the official reports, but nevertheless available during market days:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultivated root</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Uncultivated root</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>fehuk ema</em></td>
<td>people tuber</td>
<td><em>uhi rama</em></td>
<td>bow (for shooting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fehuk samea</em></td>
<td>snake tuber</td>
<td><em>uhi laku</em></td>
<td>root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fehuk nona metan</em></td>
<td>black woman tuber</td>
<td><em>maek</em></td>
<td>charming root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fehuk nona muti</em></td>
<td>white woman tuber</td>
<td><em>fia</em></td>
<td>itchy root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fehuk safiur</em></td>
<td>quail tuber</td>
<td></td>
<td>yam with small leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fehuk lambo</em></td>
<td>lambo tuber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.7 Root crops

Thus, the difference between *uhi* and *fehuk* is in the nature of cultivation. The newer introduced root crops (such as cassava and sweet potatoes) and the root crops that are inter-planted in conjunction with other staples are called *fehuk*, while ‘the native tubers’ are called *uhi*. 
In association with the root crops mentioned above, a number of subsidiary plants which have been classified as *kacang-kacangan* (beans) are also known to the area. Again, this category causes some confusion. The Tetun use two words to describe *kacang-kacangan*. Beans that grow wild in jungles are called *ahan*, while cultivated beans are called *fore*.

However, there are not many bean varieties growing in the area. Under the category of *ahan* two types are still important for people’s diet, *ahan alas* (the forest bean) and *iskoma*. Various types of *fore* grown in the area are *fore rai* (peanut), *fore tali* (kidney bean) and *fore Wehali* (mung bean).

It is interesting also to note that no *uhi* and *fehuk* are mentioned in the origin myths nor are they included in the agricultural rituals. In response to my query about this evidence, *adat* historians stated that when the first people were born onto the earth, these *uhi* already existed. The first *uhi* which grew in the first dry land that emerged out of the sea was called *fia kalo raek*, a small type of yam. Like other ‘native’ plants mentioned above, this yam has also ritual importance. When a leper dies, the mourners cover their faces with the leaves of this plant to avoid being infected by that disease.

Other crops that are associated with the hill region are fox-tail millet (*tora*), sometimes called *asu ikun* (the dog-tail) and *lena* (sesame). Every market day, the hill people bring various kinds of *uhi*, *tora* and *lena* to market and on their return they bring back products of the plains such as sago powder, wet-rice and mung bean as well as products of the sea villages, such as salt and fish. Although fox-tail millet and sesame are regarded as products of the hills, this does not necessarily mean that the plains people are not accustomed to these species. As a matter of fact, these crops still occupy an important place in the south Tetun culture. A few kinds of minor diseases such as flu, fever and cough are said to be cured by drinking water mixed with fox-tail millet powder. In certain agricultural rituals, farmers prepare small buckets of these seeds to be ritually cooled. For these reasons, both fox-tail millet and Job’s tears are also planted in the plain, although in small quantities. There are various kinds of millet recognized in the area according to their physical appearance. Some millets produce one tail, others produce two or three tails. So they name them accordingly as *asu ikun* (dog-tail millet), *asu ikun knasak rua* (two dog-tailed millet) and *asu ikun knasak tolu* (three dog-tailed millet).

Another inter-planted cultigen that still has ritual and economic importance is a variety of bean commonly known throughout the region as *turis* (cow pea). Maize boiled with *turis* is a delicacy for the people. In ‘war ritual’ a man will be offered *turis* powder to drink in order to conceal him from his enemies.
d. Trees and Crops on the Plains Region

The springs located on the hillsides make the plain suitable for irrigated wet rice cultivation. Yet a recent survey conducted by the Agricultural Department of the Belu Regency indicates that only about 58% of the potentially irrigated land is cultivated (see Ketaren 1991: 33).

Historical data available on the area reveal that wet rice cultivation was first introduced there by the Dutch nearly eighty years ago. Gezaghebber Agerbeek in his Memorie van overgave reports that wet rice cultivation was introduced to the plain of Wehali-Wewiku in 1916. At that time a complex of 100 ha was irrigated from the spring of We Liman. In 1927 another experiment was held during the period of the Controleur Seijne Kok, when 18 blocks (bouw) of land were cultivated, particularly in the village of Kamanasa. In the same year, under Gezaghebber Agerbeek (who was later promoted to Controleur), another 20 blocks of land were developed for cultivation. Francillon (1967: 168) noted that land under wet rice cultivation increased by roughly 300% in a period of 49 years (1914 to 1963), while over the same period average yield decreased by 150% (from 2.5 t/ha to 1 t/ha). Francillon related the evident lack of interest in developing wet rice cultivation to the Japanese policy of using the plain of Wehali-Wewiku as the food store for the Japanese army. From it the Wehali people were forced to feed some 5000 Japanese troops. Since then, wet rice cultivation has been considered forced labour (Francillon 1967: 168).

Nowadays, it is not lack of interest from the farmers in developing wet rice cultivation so much as the decreasing amount of water available for irrigation that is a major hindrance. Some government officers hesitantly pointed at the erosion due to new road constructions alongside natural springs and the conversion of 415 ha of natural forest into teak or tamarind plantations since 1950 as factors that are contributing to a decreasing supply of water for irrigation. Table 2.8 documents the conversion of natural forest in the district of Malaka Tengah into stands of so-called ‘economic trees’ or plantation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Size in ha</th>
<th>Names of trees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>teak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>teak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>teak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>teak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>teak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>28.25</td>
<td>teak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>teak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.8 The conversion of natural forest

When asked the reasons for lack of success in wet rice cultivation, however, some elders do relate the problem only to the *adat*. I was told that according to the *adat* of Wesei Wehali, it is forbidden to include wet rice in planting and harvesting rituals. Those rituals are only concerned with dry rice. Thus, the failure of water distribution through a newly built canal from the spring of We Liman is seen by the ruler of Le’un Klot, A. Klau as due to this *adat* stipulation. He simply said, "Wet rice cultivation is not the way of our ancestors". This opinion is also shared by many of his nobles in the domain of Wewiku. Their long acquaintance with dry upland rice (*hare leten*) cultivation can be deduced from the mention of dry rice in myths and the varieties of rice known to them as listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of rice-paddy</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hare sukabi</em></td>
<td>the oak (tree) rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hare kwa metan</em></td>
<td>the black crow rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hare Bauk Morin</em></td>
<td>the fragrant Bauk rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hare busa ni’an</em></td>
<td>the dog teeth rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hare marahuk</em></td>
<td>the furry rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hare ekekero</em></td>
<td>the taily rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hare babelik</em></td>
<td>the sticky rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.9 Names of dry rice varieties

The other principal crops of the plains area are maize and sorghum. The term for maize in Tetun is *batar malaes* (the foreign maize), while sorghum is called *batar ai naruk* (the long stalk maize) in daily speech and *batar na’an tasi* (maize that derives from a fish) in ritual language. It is also called *batar tasi* (maize that came from the sea).

A myth well-known in the area describes how the first seed of sorghum was discovered in the head of a *knase* fish. This seed was then planted in a sacred garden called *to’os etu kukun* which is situated in the eastern part of the village of Laran. Sorghum cultivated in the area is regarded as originating from this particular seed. In rituals, people treat sorghum as higher than maize and therefore the *to’os etu kukun* is planted with sorghum only. Locally, there are various kinds of sorghum
named according to the size of its seed, its colours, its taste and its mythical origin. I recorded the varieties of sorghum known to the south Tetun as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of sorghum</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>batar mean lakulot</td>
<td>red charming sorghum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batar bua funan</td>
<td>areca-nut blossom sorghum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batar na'i katuas</td>
<td>respected man’s sorghum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batar laka bela</td>
<td>flat flame sorghum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batar mean</td>
<td>red sorghum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batar na’an tasi</td>
<td>fish sorghum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.10 Varieties of sorghum

Maize (batar malae) is planted twice a year in most of the plains area and three times a year by the river bank. Maize planted during the west monsoon is called batar tinan (annual maize). This kind of maize is planted along with other crops in the annual planting season. The rainy season caused by the east monsoon is the second planting season for the south Tetun. In this season, farmers grow mung bean (fore Wehali) and the ‘second’ crop of maize (batar knau). The ‘third’ crop of maize (batar au kale’an) is planted particularly by the river bank.

Two other kinds of trees that are ritually and economically important for the south Tetun are coconut and palm trees. There are four varieties of palm trees known to the people: akar bone (enau), akar lisa (Corypha Utan), akaria (Sago palm) and tuak (Borassus Sundaica). The palm most used for house construction and food is akar lisa (garlic palm), simply known as akar. Compared with other varieties of palm trees, akar bone has less economic importance for the people. It does, however, suit ritual purposes. The toxic nature of its leaves is regarded as potentially useful in warfare. Every warrior once carried a small tip of its leaf in his pouch (kakaluk) to intoxicate (halanu) enemies. The large number of gebang palm growing in the area causes the south Tetun associate this kind of palm especially with commoners, while a small number of sago palms still preserved in the sacred forest of the hamlet of Umakatahan are considered the food of nobles. Like other native crops, these varieties of palm are not cited in the origin myth.

In the myth that narrates the origin of edible crops (see Reference Text 7), coconut is cited as deriving from the head of a ruler called Liurai Barehi. Among the kinds of tribute delivered by people as gifts of homage to their supreme ruler at the end of the harvest ritual, coconuts occupy the highest status. The association of the coconut with ‘noble products’ was strengthened by the economic policy of the
Dutch period, which indirectly created differential ownership of coconut trees. On discovering that the plain of Wehali-Wewiku was suitable for coconut plantations, the colonial government regulated the growing of large numbers of coconut trees. Those who wanted to cultivate more than 1000 coconut trees had to have a concession from the government. Consequently, only a small number of nobles and wealthy Chinese were able to run small plantations. The south Tetun themselves only plant a small number of coconut trees to mark a garden’s border, a practice continued up until now. Government efforts to help people run their own coconut plantations to generate cash income also ended unsuccessfully.

Most poor farmers’ cash income and alternative food supply during periods of famine derives from the gebang palm. The dependency upon gebang palm for house construction, household utensils, alternative food and the rearing of pigs meant that the cutting down of 200 hectares of dense gebang palm in the district of Malaka Tengah in 1993 for a cocoa plantation gave rise to serious protest from the people.

The Language

It took me a few months living with the south Tetun to realise that they have inherited a rich oral poetry and elevated speech in various forms. My endeavour to learn these forms of speech was kindly received by the people. Once I indicated that I wanted to know more about this ‘rich culture’, I was literally flooded with oral compositions in a binary mode. Almost every single thing that I asked was answered with either couplet(s) of parallel lines or dyadic words. The more I heard this mode of speech, the more confused I became. For the people themselves, my confusion was amusing, because it proved that they possess a language that is difficult for an outsider to learn. For those who travel to the northern part of Belu, this type of language becomes a ‘secret’ language for communication among themselves. As I slowly mastered this elevated speech, I was considered an ‘insider’ (ema itak - our people) in contrast to those who could not master it, who are referred as ema matak (raw people). Rumours soon spread around the villages that studying adat equals learning elevated speech which make sense for them. The description of oral tradition in this section then corresponds to local perceptions of learning adat. Fox in his “To Speak in Pairs” emphasises the importance of understanding oral poetry and elevated speech because in many eastern Indonesian societies this dyadic language has become “the primary vehicle for the preservation and transmission of cultural knowledge” (1988a: 2).
The south Tetun in general are well-known for their elegant and rhythmic language. This is evident not only in formal communal and ceremonial meetings, but also in their daily life. So heavy is the emphasis on this elevated language that they value others in terms of how someone expresses his/her feelings and opinions in “beautiful language”. When a young man courts a young woman (hanimak), he has to display his ability to attract the woman using oral poetry (knanuk) and elevated language (lia na’in). Even parents included this factor (to express oneself in poetic language and in a proper manner) in considering every marriage proposal. Many city dwellers know that those who master this language will have the advantage of marrying south Tetun women. For the south Tetun, politeness, good behaviour and good manners are reflected through language. Obviously, by ‘language’ they mean the using of the right words in the right place at the right time.

The Tetun word for ‘language’ is lia, which also means ‘word’, ‘phrase’ or ‘news’ (Morris 1984: 130). It can also denote ‘some serious business’. A person engaged in a court case is said to kona lia (in colloquial Indonesian: kena perkara), while the actual court or adat meeting is called tuur lia (colloquial Indonesian: duduk perkara). The citing of a story, poetry or a myth is called de’an lia. It is interesting to note that the word de’an also means ‘to swear’ or ‘be angry’. The compound word lia fuan (fuan=fruit) refers ‘to a definite conversation’, ‘a message’ or ‘a mandate’. So, there is a kind of moral obligation attached to the word lia. Like the word dedea in Rotinese, lia is not just chatting to pass the time (for which the Tetun employ the term dale), it contains messages to be learned or something worthwhile to be considered.

Some of my Indonesian friends suggested that there are three dialek in south Tetun, namely, Wehali, Wewiku and Kamanasa. Asking a Tetun opinion on this matter, they would reply that a south Tetun can differentiate the way a Kamanasa person speaks from language users in the other two domains. Apart from the use of particular words or kin terms by the Kamanasa, there are also phonological and rhythmic differences in a small number of words, phrases and sentences pronounced by people of those three domains. The Tetun word for ‘rhythm’ is sasere. (Tasi sere = the beating of surf on the beach).

As far as oral poetry and elevated language are concerned, there is one main principle underlying them, that is the use of lia sasaluk. The word sasaluk refers to a shroud obscuring or disguising the conditions of something. Lia sasaluk is then translated into Indonesian as bahasa bungkus (language which wraps up or enfolds). The expression ‘language wraps up’ immediately suggests that the oral poetry and elevated speech consist of many metaphors. These metaphors are expressed in
dyadic language, known in Tetun as *knauk*. The word *knauk* is related to the verb *hananu* (to sing). So, a fine *knauk* can be chanted and sung by a poet. Table 2.11 below is my attempt to classify the varieties of Tetun oral poetry and elevated speech based on the person who recites them, the occasions or events suitable for their recitation and the degree of dyadic language within a narration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elevated speech</th>
<th>Everyday speech</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Gloss translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ai knoik</em></td>
<td>folk tale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ai ksasik</em> (ai laknaik)</td>
<td>riddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ai khabelek</em></td>
<td>heroic stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>lia tete bai</em></td>
<td>proverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>soe lia</em></td>
<td>cynicism, critique, slander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceremonial speech</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>rai lian</em></td>
<td>origin myth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>lia tebes</em></td>
<td>true tale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>hasee hawaka</em></td>
<td>greetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>tanis nodi sura</em></td>
<td>lament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taboo language</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>lia na’in</em></td>
<td>respect register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>lia tasi</em></td>
<td>sea language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetry (<em>knauk</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>knauk aka belu</em></td>
<td>songs (while pounding sago)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>knauk makerek</em></td>
<td>cynical poems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>knauk rai lian</em></td>
<td>poems (concerning myths of origin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>knauk tatean</em></td>
<td>advice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>knauk ai tahan</em></td>
<td>humour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>knauk bermalu</em></td>
<td>love poems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>knauk fa’e malu</em></td>
<td>farewell songs/poems</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.11 Types of oral language

There are difficulties in classifying oral poetry on the basis of status of the narrator or chanter, because there is no fixed rule about this. For example *knauk aka belu*, usually chanted by young women and men, may also be sung by old women. This relative nature of classification also prevails in respect of elevated speech. *An ai knoik* or a *rai lian* can also be cited as *lia tebes*. When I asked Johanis Seran Kehik, a famous chanter of the Manumutin clan to narrate an account of the founder of his clan, Ho’ar Nahak Samane oan, he told me that this constituted a *lia tebes* (true story), while other Manumutin who narrated the same story classified it as *ai knoik* (folk tale). When I recorded a heroic account of fighting between their hero (Nahak Maroe Rai) and the Dutch as an *ai knoik*, while their *adat* historian narrated it as a *lia tebes*. In the domain of *rai lian*, there are also divergent classifications. When I recorded an origin myth in the village of Builaran, the official *adat* historian of
Liurai, Bau Fahik, included a folk tale about the seven princesses (*feto hitus*), which his audience claimed was a *rai lian*. Then again, the *adat* historian of Wehali, Piet Tahuk, narrated the coming of the first retainers (Mau Leki and Mau Mauk) to the earth as *lia tebes* and not *rai lian*.

I suggest that the relative nature of this classification is closely connected with the degree of responsibility someone has to bear when reciting particular stories. As a rule, a *rai lian*, narrating the origin of human beings and the earth, can only be recited by an *adat* historian (*mako‘an*). But saying this does not necessarily mean that only the *mako‘an* possess the knowledge of *rai lian*. As a matter of fact, this origin myth was frequently narrated in front of many people on many formal occasions. Very often some couplets and dyadic words cited in this myth are a well-known piece of poetry that can be sung or chanted in other genres of the oral tradition. What makes an origin myth *lulik* (forbidden) to be narrated by common people is the consequence of narrating it. People believe that an origin myth is a sacred history told by their ancestors. It is therefore recognized as their ancestor’s path (*bein dalan*). Failing to narrate the ancestor’s path correctly will bring disaster for the chanter and the community at large. A *mako‘an* is believed to gain the knowledge of the ancestor’s path in dreams and therefore he alone has the right to narrate it. Perhaps for this reason, well known stories such as ‘the seven princesses’ (*feto hitus*) and the story concerning the first retainers (Mau Leki and Mau Mauk) are regarded only as *lia tebes* and *ai knoik* by famous *mako‘an* such as Bau Fahik and Piet Tahuk, but for other elders they are sacred myths.

_Hakse hawaka* (‘greetings’, literally ‘to salute/to counsel’) or *lia riiik* (literally, the stand up language) are often chanted by *adat* historians (*mako‘an*). These performative speeches are marked by their extended pairing of couplets and dyadic words (see Reference Text 1). In the actual performance of these speeches, a chanter is expected to display his ability by reciting the poem in musical beat as smoothly and fluently as he can. Certainly, a *mako‘an*, as an expert in this field, is recommended to execute the task. On many occasions, however, other skilful chanters are also asked to perform it. Not surprisingly, the art of chanting these speeches is desired by many people as it increases their social status. School teachers and *kepala desa* (village administrators) are particularly fond of learning it. Names such as Ferdy Seran (the school teacher in Kletek), Sam Kehik (the school teacher in Besikama and the village head of Uma To’os and Julius Bria Seran* (a government civil servant) are well-known as skilful chanters throughout the region. People often consider them (and they even consider themselves) more skilful than the *adat* historians.
Compared with the varieties of elevated speech and oral poetry, 'taboo language' belongs to a different genre. The Tetun word for 'taboo' in this context is *lulik*. By 'taboo language' I mean the use of a number of euphemistic words and phrases in front of respectable persons and in particular places. Linguists label this as 'taboo wording' (Grimes and Maryott 1991: 5). There are two types of taboo language recognized in south Tetun. Firstly, *lia na'in* (the main, the respectable, the noble language) sometimes called *lia hun* (the trunk language) and secondly, *lia tasi* (language of the sea).

*Lia na'in* or *lia hun* is frequently used to narrate an origin myth, to translate the Christian bible, to preach in church, for discourses in formal meetings or even in daily conversations with a respected person (nobles) or a loved one. To show their love and respect to others, a number of words are re-phrased in certain ways so that the speakers place themselves in a 'humble' or 'lower' position compared to the addressees. Very often, for instance, 'house idioms' are used to describe some actions. The verandah of a house consists of two levels, the higher level (*labis leten*) and the lower level (*labis kraiik*). The polite way of moving down the levels is by creeping like a baby (*nakdobos*). So, an order or speech from nobles to the people is imaged as *nakdobos* to the people. In the same manner, asking permission 'to go home', which is normally 'fila', becomes *hakraik* (lower oneself down from the raised verandah to the lower ground) or *hola tehen* (to take the roof off the house). There are also a number of phrases which are common in Indonesia including 'to walk' as 'to enlighten oneself' (*hamaan*), 'to sit' as 'to make oneself heavy' (*hatodan*), 'to sleep' as 'to stretch one's body' (*haknotak*). The Wehali people insist that their domain is the centre of all petty domains. Therefore, they have to speak in a manner suited to nobles. There is no special 'punishment' for those who fail to observe this *lia na'in* except social disparagement as *adat lalek* (literally, having no *adat*). For the Tetun people and elsewhere in Indonesia, to refer to someone as without *adat* (*tak punya adat*) is regarded as a serious insult or even a curse. I often heard parents warn their children, if they happened to pronounce something “wrong” that, “it is *lulik* (forbidden, taboo) to say such a word”.

Compared with *lia na'in*, there are special words or phrases that have to be used when someone is on the seashore. The use of special vocabularies by everyone who is fishing, gathering sea-food, or simply travelling on the seashore is called *lia tasi* (sea language). This type of 'language' is carefully observed by both women and men, young and old to avoid any unanticipated or unintended result such as the sudden rising of waves, attack by sharks, being 'speared' by mangrove spikes or merely having a poor catch of fish.
Ideally, women are not permitted to come to the seashore because it is the domain of men. The rough south sea of Timor, known as the male sea (*tasi mane*), is believed to be threatening to women. In order to go safely to the shore, women should cover themselves right to the toes. If their thighs are exposed to the ‘male sea’, they are thought to be in danger of being drawn into the sea by the ‘male wave’ (*mane lor*). This expectation then becomes a favourite game for the young women. When they approach the sea, they deliberately raise their sarongs up to their thighs and seduce the ‘male sea’, saying:

| *kelen mutin kelen mutin* | white thigh, white thigh |
| *se ma at modi mai* | who will come to take us |
| *na’i mane lor* | the handsome male sea |
| *mai modi ami* | come and take us away |

When I attempted to pursue a deeper analysis of *lia tasi*, I was urged to visit the village nearest to the south Timor sea (*tasi mane = male sea*), the hamlet of Lo’o Sina. There are few named houses in this village, but the most sacred and therefore uninhabited is called *uma Tasi* (the Sea house). In Wehali cosmology, this hamlet is considered the first harbour, through which people and wealth came to the area. According to a myth narrated in this hamlet, a man by the name of Seran Di’ak was once carried away by a dove from Marlilu Haholek (the first dry land in Wehali) to China. On his return, he brought along a water buffalo called *mane lor* (the man of the seaside). One day when a boy was herding, the buffalo went down toward the sea. The boy, accompanied by his dog, followed the buffalo until the three of them were drawn into the middle of the sea. A few days afterwards they returned to the village. To the villagers surprise, the fur of the buffalo had turned into gold. Every time the buffalo shook himself, gold fell to the ground. To show their appreciation to the sea, the villagers built a house called *uma Tasi* (the Sea house).

Because the sea is the source of wealth, those who come to the sea ought to wear ‘old used sarongs’ (*tais at* literally, ‘ugly sarongs’). Jewellery should be left at home. In this way, people indicate to the “the source of wealth” that they are poor. All the fishing activities are then symbolised as an act of praying for prosperity. Based on this, the south Tetun use the same word for ‘to go fishing’, ‘to gather sea-food’ and ‘to pray’ or ‘to plea’, that is, *haloon/hakmasin* (literally, to make straight/to salinise). The word for ‘to go home’ after fishing is *hakraik* which literally means ‘to lower oneself’ or ‘to humble one self’. By using this word, in this context the image of descending from a house is also obvious. In Table 2.12, I provide some words that are frequently used on the seashore:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sea term</th>
<th>Everyday meaning</th>
<th>Sea meaning</th>
<th>Normal term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. General things</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai maran abut</td>
<td>root of dry plant</td>
<td>cassava</td>
<td>fehuk ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katar</td>
<td>itches</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>tabako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taha lotuk</td>
<td>narrow knife</td>
<td>betel fruit</td>
<td>furuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badut</td>
<td>wick lamp</td>
<td>sun, moon</td>
<td>loro, fulan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fukun bua</td>
<td>joint of areca nut</td>
<td>young coconut</td>
<td>nunak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>funa meak</td>
<td>red flower</td>
<td>maize</td>
<td>batar malae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tilun</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>tasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fishing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kesak na 'in</td>
<td>lord of the fish trap</td>
<td>crocodile</td>
<td>lafaek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klelek</td>
<td>to float</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>ro, bidu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asu</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>fish trap</td>
<td>kesak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knase rahun</td>
<td>small fish</td>
<td>fish, eels</td>
<td>na’an tasi, tuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biku tahan</td>
<td>the Biku leaves</td>
<td>prawn, shrimp</td>
<td>boek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. People/animals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabuar</td>
<td>water melon</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>kabau malae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kbelak</td>
<td>flat</td>
<td>buffalo</td>
<td>kabau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knaban oan</td>
<td>basket for liquids</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>oan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metan</td>
<td>dark colour</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>feto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Actions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadi’ a kbonan sia</td>
<td>to firm the sarong</td>
<td>pack up to go home</td>
<td>fila, fali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kbonan tali sia</td>
<td>belt is broken</td>
<td>there are lots of fish</td>
<td>na’an tasi wa’in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kou</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakmoo</td>
<td>to gargle</td>
<td>wash</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ooe</td>
<td>call to cow</td>
<td>call to women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>booe</td>
<td>call to buffalo</td>
<td>call to men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakraik</td>
<td>to lower oneself</td>
<td>to go home</td>
<td>fila hikar uma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuda</td>
<td>to sow</td>
<td>walk, go</td>
<td>la’o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.12 Taboo wording

Most Austronesian societies evince some sort of taboo language. This type of language is used to disguise reference to the items mentioned. The likely purpose of ‘disguising things’ here is to deceive the spirit of the sea. The Tetun words listed in Table 2.12 may also be considered as deception language used to trick the source of wealth in the sea.

From the Wehali people’s perspective, both lia na’in (the noble language) and lia tasi evoke the same ‘force’. In dealing with the noble language, they broach the mahaa toba mahemu toba (the one who eats reclining drinks reclining), their source of life and fertility. In the case of lia tasi they are facing mane lor (the man of the
wave), the source of wealth and property. Linguistic avoidances relating to these two languages can then be considered as efforts to maintain the flow of wealth from outside into the community.
Endnotes

There are also other names given to this extensive plain such as the Besikama plain and the Benain plain.


Sources for Table 2.2 and Table 2.3: Overakker 1926: 37-44; 1927: 37-39; *Militaire Memorie van Timor* 1932: 80-83, 119-123.

Source: Overakker 1926: 38; 1927: 39.

This remark is quoted from a minute held in Betun (1958) regarding an *adat* court case to settle a dispute between Edmundus Tei Seran and Luis Sanaka Tei Seran.

NTT: 70/sq km; Belu 83/sq km. The plains region within the district of Malaka Tengah is 147/sq km.

*Gezagheber* Overakker (1926) in his ‘Explanatory notes for the annual report on Belu territory’ mentions the names of Chinese traders who received such concessions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of owner</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>The number of trees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lay Djin Poh</td>
<td>Tobaki</td>
<td>2800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leong Eng Djoen</td>
<td>Sali</td>
<td>1700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tan Kang Long</td>
<td>We Fatuk</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lay Djin Pong</td>
<td>Kletek</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Thanks to Catharina van Klinken who allowed me to use most of her data in producing this table.

This table is offered as a contribution to future comparative studies of Austronesian-speaking peoples. Further research by specialists is needed to understand the linguistic features of this taboo register. What interests me here is the existence of taboo language as a social phenomena.
Photograph 6. The late Maromak Oan’s sacred paraphernalia. These items are kept in the *tafatik* Leko, the hamlet of Laran.

Photograph 7. *Ferik Lulik*: the female holder of sacred regalia in the Ai Lotuk
Chapter Three

TWO PERSPECTIVES ON WEHALI

Introduction

In this chapter I endeavour to view Wehali from two angles: Wehali as perceived through historical documents and as perceived by the people themselves in various forms of oral tradition.

These two approaches correspond with two levels of analysis. In accordance with historical accounts, in the pre-European era the many domains in Timor (62 according to one Portuguese source) were ruled by just two or three 'emperors'. An impression one might gain in reading the historical documents is that these emperors, or at least the emperor of Wehali, ruled the realm with coercive power. Therefore, when the subjects’ opportunity came to free themselves from the grip of Wehali, “it was seized with festivity” (Leitao 1948: 207). In this interpretation a number of terms repeatedly occur, such as ‘coercion’, ‘subdue’ and ‘hegemony’ in the sense of ‘dominance’. By contrast, in the latter part of the chapter I move to a mode of analysis in which I rely on various cultural categories used by the south Tetun in general and the Wehali in particular for describing their notion of centrality and superiority.

To provide some background on the coming of the earliest Asian and European traders, I begin with highlighting the importance of the sandalwood trade in Asia at that time.

An Historical Account of Wehali’s Hegemony

Little is known of Timor’s history prior to the arrival of European traders. The Chinese traders who had for centuries made voyages to Timor, where they could obtain sandalwood (Santalum album L) for preparing perfumes and incense left
hardly any information concerning names for the kings of their trading partners' domains or the nature of any alliances prevailing among those domains.

One of the earliest sources, dated 1436 (Groeneveldt 1960: 116), only informs us that the island of Timor, which was pronounced as Ti-mun by the Chinese traders, "was covered with sandal trees". These traders brought gold, silver, iron, porcelain, textiles and coloured silks to exchange for the products of the island. The same source reveals that there were twelve trading ports throughout the island, without explicitly naming each of them. A later source, dated 1618, gives more information particularly concerning people's subjection toward their rulers. It was noted that "the natives continually bring sandalwood for bartering with the merchants, but they may not come when the king is not present, for fear of disturbances. Therefore the king is always requested to come first" (Groeneveldt 1960: 117).

There are controversies, however, concerning whether the Chinese traders did come to fetch sandalwood in Timor or whether they obtained it from elsewhere. Meilink-Roelofsz (1962: 102), drawing on a Chinese source from the mid 14th century (Wang Ta Yuan, compiled by Rockhill), suggests that the Chinese traders obtained their sandalwood from the Malacca market and not directly from Timor. This suggestion seems peculiar in the light of data elaborated by many other writers, including the prominent historian, Boxer (1948: 175) and later, Schulte Nordholt (1971: 165) who wrote brilliantly on the pre-colonial history of domains in Timor based on Portuguese and Dutch archives. The coming of these traders to Timor is also a theme that can be discerned in the Wehali myth concerning Sina Mutin Malaka (the white Chinese of Malacca).

1. Antonio Pigafetta's account

Mentions of the abundance of sandalwood trees on the island of Timor led Europeans to involve themselves in sandalwood trading. With a monopoly on sandalwood, a commodity most needed in China and India, the Europeans expected to enter lucrative markets in the so called "Asiatic net-work" trading areas (Telkamp 1979: 71). The importance of sandalwood trading at that time is indicated in Portuguese and Dutch figures. Van Leur (1955: 209) estimates that in 1614, around three thousand picul of sandalwood were brought on the market each year.
months after their conquest of Malacca (1511), the Portuguese began to prepare their way to Timor.

In November 1511 Alburquerque dispatched an expedition of three ships to seek the spice islands in eastern Indonesia under his captain, Antonio d’Abreu. Antonio d’Abreu himself was the commandant in the ship *Santa Catarina*, Francisco Serrao was the commandant in the ship *Sabaia*, while the third vessel, a caravel, was commanded by Simao Afonso Bisagudo, with Francisco Rodrigues as pilot. Concerning Francisco Rodrigues, Albuquerque mentioned his name several times in his letter to the king of Portugal (Manuel) praising him as “a young man who has always been here, with very good knowledge and able to make maps” (Cortesao 1967, vol. I: lxxix). Obviously, one reason for Albuquerque sending this talented cartographer was to make maps of the spice islands. Upon their arrival in Timor, Rodrigues drew a map of the island and wrote above it “the island of Timor where the sandalwood grows” (Cortesao 1967, vol. I: 203). A report made by the commandant of this expedition was summarized by Cortesao (1967: 204) as follows:

The island of Timor has heathen kings. There is a great deal of white sandalwood in these two islands (Timor and Sumba). It is very cheap because there is no other wood in the forests. The Malay merchants say that God made Timor for sandalwood and Banda for mace and the Moluccas for cloves, and that this merchandise is not known anywhere else in the world except in these places.

Here, not much is said about the existence of domains in Timor, except that they were *cafres*, a Portuguese term for ‘heathens’. Based on this exaggerated information, Rui de Brito Patalim, captain of Malacca wrote a letter dated 6 January 1514 to the king of the Portuguese asking for ships to fetch sandalwoods, honey, wax and priests to baptize those heathens.

Little short of a decade afterward, on Sunday, January 26, 1522, Magellan’s men, including Antonio Pigafetta, on their voyage around the world landed on the north coast of Timor, in Batugade (Nowell 1962: 243-246). In his report, Pigafetta gave further information concerning the nature of inter-domain alliances in Timor. He wrote:

On the other side of the island are four brothers, who are the kings of that island. Where we were, there were cities and some of their chiefs. The
names of the four settlements of the kings are as follows: Oibich, Lichsana, Suai, and Cabanaza. Oibich is the largest (Nowell 1962: 245).

The domain of Oibich mentioned in that account clearly refers to the domain of Wewiku (see Schulte Nordholt 1971: 233), ritually one of Wehali’s ‘posts’ whose ruler therefore has a right to hold the title of Liurai. In the myth narrated in Wewiku (see Reference Text 4), the three domains in the plain of Wehali-Wewiku (Wewiku, Haitimuk and Wehali) originated from three sisters. Thus, when Pigafetta’s informants mentioned the four ‘brothers’ who ruled Timor, they must have thought the sibling relation applied between Wewiku and Wehali.

The names Suai and Cabanaza without doubt refer to the domain of Suai-Kamanasa, part of the present East Timor province. Myths narrated in south Tetun depict the Suai-Kamanasa as descendants from one Liurai, Suri Nurak, who left Wehali. The myth owned by the people of the hamlet of Fatisin, one origin group in the village of Kamanasa, relates how a long time ago their ruler, known as Loro Akar Lau Da’ok, lived in Wehali. He lived in a ‘fortress’ called Fatisin Kota. This site is located on the peak of a rocky hill next to Marlilu Haholek, the first site of Maromak Oan of Wehali. Due to the tension between those two rulers, the ruler of Fatisin escaped to Suai-Kamanasa. The return of these people to Wehali around 1910 was then represented as returning to the laps of ‘Wehali the mother and father’ (ina no ama Wehali).

Concerning the name Lichsana in Pigafetta’s account, there are two possible explanations. According to Schulte Nordholt (1971: 160 n.5a), etymologically Lichsana derives from Likusaen³, a region 30 km west of Dili, the present provincial capital of East Timor. This region was named by the Portuguese as Liquica. This suggestion fits the Wehali’s system of government where one of its executive rulers, entitled liurai, resides in Likusaen. He is then known as Liurai Likusaen, the ruler of Wehali’s domains toward the sunrise (Liurai loro sa’e). However, the difficulty with this association (Lichsana as Likusaen or Liquica) is the location involved. Pigafetta clearly pointed out that this particular domain was located on the south coast, while Likusaen is on the north coast. Pigafetta, who landed at Batugade some 30 km west of Likusaen, must have learned from his informants that Lichsana (in the sense of Likusaen) is on the north coast. Therefore, the association of Lichsana with Likusaen is doubtful.
The second possibility is that the domain of Lichsana mentioned by Pigaffetta refers to the present domain of Insana. Regarding this second suggestion, Schulte Nordholt warns that although linguistically it is improbable to confuse Lichsana with Insana, this association is a possible one. Le Roux, who was also puzzled by the exact location of Lichsana, mentioned that in V.O.C sources “the names Lixsan, Loksa and Lioksang recur sometimes in connection with Insana; normally this is situated on the north coast of Portuguese Timor between Dili and Maubara. Here indeed is found Liquica” (Francillon 1967: 68). Although the central hamlet of Insana is located in the interior of Timor, this quotation refers to Insana’s important port (Mena) which is located on the north coast. Perhaps based on the same sources, Middlekoop (1960: 20) associated Lichsana with the present domain of Insana.

With reference to ‘brotherly domains’ as mentioned by Pigafetta in his account, both historical documents and oral history in the region depict these domains as related in some way or another. Whether Lichsana is Likusaen or Insana, for the Wehali both domains are ritually considered as Wehali’s protectors. The domain of Likusaen in origin myths narrated in south Tetun is ruled by Liurai loro sa’e, the ruler of the domains toward the sunrise. He is the guardian from the eastern part of the realm of Wesei Wehali. In contrast, domains toward the sunset (loro toba) are ruled by Liurai Sonba’i, Liurai loro toba. Here, the domains of Insana and Amanuban, Amanatun, Amarasi, Biboki were founded by Wehali’s men, respectively Sana Taek, Nuba Taek, Natu Taek and Rasi Taek and Boki Taek. In the Wehali view, the Insana are the Wehali’s children and therefore ritually they are also immediate protectors of the ina no ama Wehali (the mother and father of Wehali). So far, then, we recognize that Pigafetta’s information concerning the ‘brotherhood’ within the political communities prevailing in 1522 is acceptable as far as it goes.

The omission of the name Wehali from the list provided by Pigaffetta, however, is crucial for students of Wehali since in many later documents and origin myths recorded in the region, Wehali is the greatest ‘empire’, whose dependents cover most of the domains in Timor. Francillon (1967: 70) proposes two alternatives regarding the omission of the name of Wehali either ‘Wehali had not come into existence yet’ or Wehali did not exist in political terms, seeing it as ‘more an ideal than an effectively political state’. Thus in his view, “Wehali belongs to a different sphere, a mystical and occult one”. Regarding the first proposal, it is hard to determine
whether, in 1522, Wehali had already come to exist or not. In my opinion, this is a most ambiguous proposal, questioning Wehali’s existence based on the single account of one traveller. Although the second proposal offers the more likely solution, the distinction involved between an ‘effectively political state and a mystical state’ tends to be an outsider’s paradigm which distinguishes domains as either spiritual or secular states. Unlike the Tetun of East Timor, who have a word for ‘secular’ (saun) in contrast to ‘sacred’ (lilik) (Hicks 1984: 3,6), and therefore distinguish rai lilik (sacred land or domain) and rai saun (secular land or domain), the south Tetun only recognize the term lilik, which in many instances can be translated as ‘forbidden’. To articulate the relations between domains, the south Tetun prefer the categories of male/female, inside/outside, centre/periphery or parent/children. So, with regard to the information received from Pigafetta, the four brotherly domains mentioned in his list can be seen as male domains, who ritually functioned as protectors of Wehali the female domain. They are outsiders, compared to Wehali the insiders, and perhaps more likely to come to Pigafetta’s attention for that reason.

2. Sarzedas document

Another document that can be treated as informative in shedding light on the political communities in Timor prior to the Europeans is the so-called documento Sarzedas. This document is the reference most cited by Portuguese historians such as Alfonso De Castro (1867), Faria de Morais (1944), Lietao (1948) and Helio A. Esteves Felgas (1956). As noted in article 52 of the text, this document reveals the situation of domains in Timor from 1722 to 1725 and as it is still found in 1777 (Schulte Nordholt 1971: 162; De Castro 1867: 202). The document covers extensive areas of interest, from religion and administrations to civil, military and political matters. Regarding the latter, the document reveals that prior to the arrival of Europeans, Timor was inhabited by the Bellos and the Vaiquenos:

who differ a great deal from each other, making up as it were two provinces and two peoples, the eastern part being inhabited by the Bellos, who live in the province dominated by the Bellos, and the western part by the Vaiquenos in the province called Serviao (Schulte Nordholt 1971: 161).
Schulte Nordholt regards the name Serviao as derived from Sorbian, an important trading port situated in north-east Amfo’an. In the Paravicini contract discussed below, Sousale was named as ruler of Sorbian. Undoubtedly, Serviao or Sorbian designates the realm of Sonba’i. Vaiquenos is a term used widely in East Timor even until now to designate both the people and the language of the Dawan (De Castro 1867: 328; Thomaz 1981: 57). Thus, as stated in the Sarzedas document, the province located in the western part of the island was ruled by Sonba’i as the supreme ruler, who bore the title imperator. This province was said to consist of 16 reinos (domains). Of these 16 domains, at least three lie in Belu, namely Drima (Dirma), Vaibico (Wewiku) and Ocan (Akani). Ascambeloe, an unknown domain, probably also lies in Belu. There are four domains mentioned in the list which Schulte Nordholt (1971: 163) could not locate, i.e. Mossy, Vaigame, Sacunoba and Amassuax. However, by looking at the domains listed as under Wehali authority in the great contract of Paravicini in which Sucunaba was mentioned together with Baybohie (Sakoenaba Baybohie), I would locate this domain together with Biboki under the regent of North Central Timor in the present system of government.

In the Sarzedas document, the so-called Bellos province, which covered the eastern part of the island was said to be made up of 46 domains. These domains of varying power were reported to be all free and independent of each other prior to their submission to the Portuguese Crown. The most important among their rulers was Suray de Uzalle. Like Sonba’i, he was also entitled ‘emperor’.

The names Bellos, Belos or Belo in other Portuguese sources refer to both people and language in areas where Tetun is spoken outside the Portuguese territory. Luis Filipe F.R. Thomaz in his paper on the formation of the Tetun language suggests that prior to the coming of the Europeans, in the “whole eastern half of the island people speak the lingua dos Belos-Belo being the name of the second Tetun-speaking region, i.e. the zone stretching from coast to coast near the frontier” (1981: 55). Obviously Bellos here refers to Belu, then and now part of west Timor while, its supreme ruler, described as Suray de Uzalle, unmistakably refers to the Liurai of Wehali.

As listed in the Sarzedas document par. 52, the 46 domains making the Bellos province that was under Portuguese sovereignty were as follows: Sarau, Mattarufa, Faturo, Bibiluto, Vimasse, Viqueque, Laga, Manattuto, Lacluta, Layloa, Luca,
Laclo, Locury Ayfoam, Somoro, Calacodo, Lacloddott, Alay, Barcola, Titulur Mouves, Mutael, Lequica, Manufai, Lityluli, Sanir, Codaco, Maubara, Laquero, Fatuburo, Boibau, Nassudilly, Girivat, Cutubaba, Balibo, Lamacana, Moguery, Boraramia, Aratassava, Lamiao, Ficlara, Cova, Suailamanaca, Tulufar, Tamiao, Doculo, Luqueo Tafaquy and Juvanilho (De Castro 1867: 202). The names of these 46 domains can be found in a map attached to De Castro’s book. However, the accuracy of that map is doubtful, since the 46 domains mentioned above were literally fitted into the available space as part of Bellos province. In that map, Wehali which is located to the west of the domain of Lakekun, was situated to its east. It seems to me this misplacement was meant to emphasise that Wehali was logically part of the Provincia dos Bellos and, therefore, it was placed among these domains.

Despite the mapping inaccuracy and a few unidentifiable names, the Sarzedas document provides invaluable information concerning the political communities in the pre-colonial period, suggesting there was once a degree of unity. Based on the same document, Thomaz (1981: 58) goes further claiming that before the coming of the Europeans, Tetun, lingua dos Belos, had become the “vehicular” language of most of the eastern part of the island:

In my opinion, the use of Tetun as a vehicular language is related to the conquest of the eastern half of the island by a military Tetun-speaking aristocracy, the datos Belos - dato meaning ‘noble’ and Belo, as we have seen, a Tetun-speaking people. The predominance of this nobility was probably a cause - or a consequence - of the hegemony of two Tetun-speaking kingdoms over the whole eastern part of the island (called Provincia dos Belos in Portuguese sources): Luca, near Viqueque and Behali...

This later information suggests that prior to the coming of the Europeans there was a degree of unity amongst the 62 domains in Timor. These domains were mutually ‘free and independent’ (as phrased in the document), but at the same time they all recognized particular supreme rulers in their regions. Domains in the eastern part of the island were under the ‘emperor’ of Luca, domains to the west were under the ‘emperor’ of Sonba’i and those in the middle part were under the ‘emperor’ of Wehali.
Unfortunately, the Sarzedas document does not specify the names of domains considered to be under the ‘emperor’ of Wehali. For that reason the following account of the ‘hegemony’, to use the term applied by Thomaz, relies solely on oral traditions. Luna De Oliveira (1949: 35-36) in his History of Timor quoted a myth concerning the first coming of ‘the four tribes’ (hutun rai hat), known as Sina Mutin Malaka (literally, the white Chinese of Malacca) (Grijsen 1904: 18-19). On their arrival in Tae Berek (part of Wewiku domain), they planted a banyan tree (ai hali) which produced three branches, representing three domains. The trunk of the tree was the hali tree which represents the domain of Wehali (see Reference Text 4). After chasing away the aborigines of the island (the Melus), the domain of Wehali expanded its power to the western and to the eastern parts of the island. Myths concerning the expansion of Wehali hegemony to the western half of the island have been recorded primarily by Middelkoop (Schulte Nordholt 1971: 162). Accounts of the expansion of Wehali to the east were also recorded by Oliveira. He mentioned the names of domains claimed to be under Wehali as follows: Suai and Camenasse (Suai-Kamanasa), Derma (Dirma), Laguecon (Lakekun), Voho Tehem (Fohoterin), Beboque (Biboki), Insana, Vohorem (Fohoren), Fatumean, Atsabe, Cassa Bank (Kasa Bauk), Leimean, Diruate (Diribate), Marobo, Leten Talo (Leten-teloe), Boebau (Boibau), Balibo and Maubara. Of this list of 17 domains, 4 lie in west Timor while the rest are located in the western part of the present East Timor province, mainly within at the present regencies of Kova Lima and Liquica.

The hegemony of Wehali in west Timor, particularly among petty domains (see Chapter Two) spread throughout the present Belu regency, also cannot be established with certainty. A.A. Bere Tallo (1957: 4-5) depicts the spread of Wehali’s power through marriage alliance. ‘The four tribes’ mentioned above, according to myths narrated in north Tetun and Lamaknen, having landed in Tae Berek continued their journey to Halileon Lumamar. From there they moved to Lasiolat. The head of these ‘four tribes’ was later married to a princess who resided on the peak of Laka’an. The first alliance between Laka’an as umamane (wife-giving house) and Wehali as fetosawa (wife-taking house) was established with this marriage. This Wehali man was then entitled loro foho leten//loro tauk dikin (literally, sun mountain peak//sun rock edge). He resided with his wife and became ‘the owner of the rocky mountain’. This marriage produced two children, a boy and a girl. Later the boy
took his sister as his wife and she gave birth to two boys (Atok Laka’an and Taek Laka’an) and two girls (Balok Loa Loro and Elok Loa Loro). Like their parents, Atok took his sister Elok as his wife becoming genitor of the people of Naitimu. Taek took his sister Balok as his wife and she later gave birth to 10 children: 5 of them went to the western part of the island, while 4 went to the eastern part of the island and later founded the domain of Maukatar or Okes Foho Rua, which is situated at the present East Timor. The youngest child, named Dasi Mauk, who remained in Laka’an (Lamaknen) and married Maromak Oan of Wehali’s daughter, was thereafter entitled loro (Grijsen 1904: 26,27). With this marriage alliance, Wehali had some sort of relations with most domains in Belu regency, but a special study would be needed to focus on patterns of relation among domains in the Belu regency alone, which cannot be covered in this present work.

Based on mythic material summarized above, the north Belu, particularly the Lamaknen, claim their superiority over Wehali because they are the wife-giving house (Bere Tallo 1957: 4). Parera (1971: 36) states that when Grijsen wrote his monograph, Bauho was under the sovereignty of Wehali; therefore the Bauho could not inform Grijsen that their ancestors also came from Sina Mutin Malaka, just as Wehali’s ancestors did, although they came via different routes. The ancestors of Wehali came to Timor via Kusu, Kae, Api, Loe and Larantuka Bauboin (Grijsen 1904: 19). The ancestors of Bauho came to Laka’an via Titaborok, Tiborok, Lakaderu, Sinaderu, Budibais, Badabais, Danileo and Tarmutu (Bere Tallo 1957: 3). Not only the Tetun, but two of the six origin groups that make up the Lamaknen (the Bunak-speaking area) also claim that their ancestors came from Sina Mutin Malaka (Bere Tallo 1957: 4). “Now the political climate has changed. Bauho and Wehali are equal and therefore the Bauho can relate that their ancestors also came from Sina Mutin Malaka” (Parera 1971: 36).

From Wehali’s perspective, however, their region was the first to dry when the earth emerged from the primordial sea and, therefore, the domain of Wehali takes precedence over other domains. Thus, although non-Wehali and Wehali claim their origin from ‘outside’, Wehali notion of ‘inside’ derives from this piece of origin myth where their area was ‘the first to dry’ (maran uluk). There are various ways of explaining this centrality and these form the focus of the coming chapters.
Using the myth of Sina Mutin Malaka as a basis for explaining Wehali’s hegemony, Parera (1971: 94) divides the domains under Wehali into three categories: 1. territories where Maromak Oan allegedly ruled or had direct power, namely the domains of Wehali, Wewiku, Haitimuk, Fatuaruin, Suai, Kamanasa, Dirma, Lakekun and Fohoterin (to which can be added the domain of Likusaen); 2. domains where Maromak Oan is regarded as the supreme though not necessarily direct ruler, namely Fialaran, Jenilu, Silawan, Naitimu, Mande’u, Biboki, Harneno, Insana, Nenometan, Lamaknen, Lamaksanulu, Makir, Maukatar, Tahakay, Foltafaik, Fatumea, Dakolo, Fohren, Kasabauk, Kowa, Balibo, Maubara and few more petty domains as listed by Luna De Oliveira (1949); and 3. domains ruled by his brother, Sonba’i, as listed by Schulte Nordholt (1971: 162,163).

Relying on these oral traditions as a source of information, one gets only a vague idea of how far the hegemony of Wehali extended. For that reason, I now turn to a historical document dated 1756 and known as the contract of Paravicini.

3. The general contract of Paravicini

By the beginning of the 18th century, the Portuguese had been ousted from the entire archipelago with the exception of Timor. Relations between the Portuguese and the Dutch on the island were always tense. In collaboration with native rulers and the Larantuqueiros, whom the Dutch called Black Portuguese, a term to put down the latter impolitely (Boxer 1948: 185), the Portuguese endeavoured to expel the Dutch from Timor. Realising the need to consolidate Dutch authority on the island and in its vicinity, the Dutch East India Company sent an official, named Paravicini, “to conclude fresh treaties with the principal chiefs of Timor, Roti, Solor and Sumba” (de Klerch 1938: 318).

Compared with the earliest contracts or ‘one-sided commitments’ demanded by the Company from native rulers, the contract of Paravicini dated the 9 June 1756 (Corpus Diplomaticum CMXCVII) contained a mutual obligation from both sides (see Fox 1977: 71,72). In that contract, “Hiacijntoe Corea, the supreme ruler of the Belunese kingdom, the sovereign king of Wywiko Bahale” signed on behalf of the local populations who occupied 29 domains as follows: Bahale, Wywiko, Bany Bany, Dirman, Lakeko, Loabaly, Tehalara, Lamakne, Maubara, Lakoeloe, Samoro,
Satoletie, Letitoely, Botoborooy, Lankero, Samayottasabe, Layonea, Diroewaty, Maboro, Lidacdoaliloe, Sakoenaba Baybohie, Junysama, Laymea, Mamefay, Soeway, Reymea, Thieris, Alasluca, and Corora. I shall endeavour to plot where these domains are situated.

However, before that can be done, there are basic questions that need to be considered. Who is Hiacijntoe Corea? Do the 29 domains listed above all fall within 'the kingdom of the Belonese'. Regarding the first question, Rogge (1865: 2) in his *Memorie van overgave* explained that the Tetun name of Hiacijntoe Corea was Tee Serang or Tei Seran in more recent spelling. According to the political ideology prevailing in the Wehali-Sonba'i empire, a political community is ruled by two men. The first is a man who is ritually regarded as an 'old woman' (*iferik*). He is the supreme ruler of that community. The second is an 'old man' (*katuas*), who executes the orders of the 'old woman'. Thus, before the coming of Europeans, according to *adat* historians (*mako'an*), this great 'kingdom' of Wehali was ruled by two men, *Liurai feto* (a man who ritually regarded as female *Liurai*) and *Liurai mane* (male *Liurai*). The office of the male *Liurai* was held by the house of Tei Seran. Thus, without doubt we can ascertain that Hiacijntoe Corea was a *Liurai mane*, more simply be known as *Liurai*. Whether Hiacijntoe Corea signed the contract by order of his 'superior' is impossible to determine. But one thing is clear, that according to the ritual function of those rulers, Hiacijntoe Corea had every right to sign the contract on behalf of his domain and other domains 'directly' under his rule.

As regards the second question, concerning his right to represent the 29 domains, it is hard to answer with any certainty. As has been mentioned before, we can categorize domains under Wehali's hegemony into three groups. The first group are regions where the female *Liurai* (later known as Maromak Oan) is believed to rule directly. Within the Tetun-speaking areas, before the separation of the island into two halves, this group would consist of the domains of Wehali, Wewiku, Haitimuk, Fatuaruin, Dirma, Lakekun, Likusaen, Suai, Kamanasa and Fohoterin. The last four are part of the present East Timor province. Beside this group, there are also two other groups in which the authority of Maromak Oan is recognized. The second group consists mostly of other Tetun-speaking areas, most of the domains which lie in the present Belu regency as well as some located in the present East Timor territory. The third group consists of some domains which lie in
Sonba’i’s empire, excluding Insana, Manulea, Harmeno and Biboki which are politically closer to Maromak Oan than to Sonba’i (Schulte Nordholt 1971: 232ff). Furthermore, the principal domains in the realm of Sonba’i (such as Amabi, Amfoa’n, Amanatun, Amarasi) were represented in that contract by their own rulers.

The evidence would suggest that Hiacijntoe Corea can be regarded as fully representing the ten domains of the first group. We can not say with certainty concerning these other domains which are not part of this group, whether, Hiacijntoe was justified in formally acting on their behalf. With a few amendments to suit present spelling, I list again the names and locations of the 29 domains as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domains in the contract</th>
<th>Recent spelling</th>
<th>Present location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bahale</td>
<td>Wehali</td>
<td>district of Malaka Tengah (west Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bany Bany</td>
<td>Bani Bani</td>
<td>district of Malaka Tengah (west Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Wywiko</td>
<td>Wewiku</td>
<td>district of Malaka Barat (west Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dirman</td>
<td>Dirma</td>
<td>district of Malaka Timur (west Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Lakeko</td>
<td>Lakekun</td>
<td>district of Koba Lima (west Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tehalar</td>
<td>Fehanlaran (Fialaran)</td>
<td>district of Tasifeto Timur (west Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Lidacodoalilu</td>
<td>Lidak, Jenilu</td>
<td>district of Tasifeto Tengah (west Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Lamkne</td>
<td>Lamaknen</td>
<td>district of Lamaknen (west Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sakoenaba Baybohie</td>
<td>Biboki</td>
<td>regency of North Central Timor (west Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Maubara</td>
<td>Maubara</td>
<td>regency of Liquica (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Satoletie</td>
<td>Daro Lete</td>
<td>regency of Liquica (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Letitioely</td>
<td>Leten Telu (note a)</td>
<td>regency of Liquica (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Botobororo</td>
<td>Boibau (note a)</td>
<td>regency of Liquica (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Lakeloel</td>
<td>Laclo (Lakulo)</td>
<td>regency of Manatuto (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Samoro</td>
<td>Samoro</td>
<td>regency of Manatuto (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Lankero</td>
<td>Laicore (note b), Loceu</td>
<td>regency of Kova Lima (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Soeway</td>
<td>Suai</td>
<td>regency of Kova Lima (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Reymea</td>
<td>Raimean</td>
<td>regency of Kova Lima (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Samayottasabe</td>
<td>Same Atsabe</td>
<td>regency of Same (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Alasluca</td>
<td>Alas Luca</td>
<td>regency of Same (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Corora</td>
<td>Kowa</td>
<td>regency of Bobonaro (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Maboro</td>
<td>Marobo (note c)</td>
<td>regency of Bobonaro (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Layonea</td>
<td>Ailomea</td>
<td>regency of Bobonaro (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Laymea</td>
<td>Leimea</td>
<td>regency of Ermera (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Diroewaty</td>
<td>Deribate (note d)</td>
<td>unknown (east Timor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Loabaly</td>
<td>Loa Bali</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Junysama</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Mamefay</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Thieries</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: (a). Grijsen (1904: 23) considered these two domains (Leten Telu and Boibau) as under Maubara, but he was not sure of their exact locations. At present Maubara is part of Liquica. (b). Laicore is a name listed in the Sarzedas document. (c). see Grijsen 1904; Clamagirand 1980: 140. (d). As listed in the Sarzedas document (see De Castro 1896: map no.1).

**Table 3.1 Domains under Wehali as listed in Paravicini’s contract**
The Decline of Wehali Power

With many traditional domains, we may not know when the domain rises to power, but we do know when its power declines. In the case of most eastern Indonesian domains, their appearance in European history also marks the beginning of their decline.

As far as the history of Wehali is concerned, the gradual decline of its unity and therefore the authority of its supreme ruler over other domains has something to do with the involvement of these domains in trading activities with the Portuguese. Schulte Nordholt (1971: 165) sees this hypothesis as an acceptable one. It starts from a presumption that at the height of its power, Wehali controlled trading activities which made it rich and powerful. When its former dependents engaged in trading separate from Wehali, the central authority, however, they also become richer and more powerful. This encouraged them to be more independent politically from the central power. This hypothesis fits the information given to me that in olden times, when annual tributes of homage were still observed by Wehali's dependents, the far-away domains brought silver and gold to the hamlet of Laran. The present material poverty, which can be seen by even a casual observer, was, according to the same source of information, related to two things. First, there was one Liurai named Don Beur[^6], who escaped from Wehali with much gold and silver. Second, there were thieves who stole the valuables installed in the sacred house of Ai Lotuk. The above claims, however, are difficult to verify historically. If the trading hypothesis is an acceptable one, I propose that the competition in trade between the Portuguese, the Topasses, the Makassar and later with the Dutch Company was only the prime cause of the gradual decline in unity among the domains. This declining unity went even faster once 'religion' was raised as an issue within this trading competition. The Portuguese (and the Topasses) were associated with Catholicism, the Makassar with Islam and the Dutch with Calvinism, a term commonly employed by Dutch Catholic missionary sources for Protestantism, while Timor was only 'a big island of cafres (heathen)' (Teixeira 1961 vol.II: 82). Thus, the competition not only in trade but also in promoting faith must be considered.

1. Trading strategies

When the Portuguese began their trading mission in Southeast Asia, they began it mainly as a maritime enterprise, focusing on the dominance of shipping lanes that
link islands within this vast archipelago and not as a power that sought controls over areas of land and their populations. In islands where their presence was based, they began to establish ‘trading posts’ (*feitorias*) by negotiating with the natives and as far as possible avoiding any forceful engagement. With the purpose of protecting their trade and the people involved, ‘fortified strongholds’ (*fortalezas*) were also built in every trading post which was considered vulnerable from either their trading rivals outside the island or the disputing rulers within the island. Their first *feitoria* in South or Southeast Asia was set up in Calcutta, India, in 1500 (Villiers 1986: 38).

As a maritime enterprise, initially the Portuguese were more interested in making profit by expanding their commercial networks, rather than becoming involved in domestic political affairs. The main precondition for this approach was to establish friendships with indigenous populations and cooperate with native rulers. It is clear from the history of the Lesser Sundas, for example, that initially the Portuguese not only maintained good relations, but actually went further by intermarrying with native women. Apparently, the Portuguese adopted the practice of commercial expansion without territorial dominance from their contemporary trading rivals, the Makassarese and the Javanese.

The practice of establishing *feitorias* and *fortalezas*, originally meant to provide protection for their enterprises in certain areas, turned out however to amount to establishing a ghetto within an island consisting of the Portuguese traders, the missionary who accompanied the traders, the Christian converts and other segments within the society who admitted their loyalty to the Portuguese.

This situation changed when the Portuguese began to play a role in eastern Indonesian trade. At the time they had to confront the Dutch, who in their commercial activities began unlike the Portuguese and soon built up their power to control land and populations. A Makassarese ruler who lost in trading competition due to the territorial claims made by the Dutch, was once reported as protesting to the Dutch that God created the land in order that all could share the benefit of it without claiming ownership over it. Similarly, with the practice of establishing *feitorias-fortalezas*, the Portuguese also shifted from the idea of maritime dominance to territorial occupation. The Lesser Sunda islands were claimed as the first and only area outside the *estado* of India where their trading ports were developed to accommodate the idea of territorial dominance (Villiers 1986: 57). This change in
their trading policy suited the contemporary spirit of territorial dominance promoted by their rivals. The Portuguese were encouraged by their claim of precedence in the area since 1511, and the continuing presence of missionaries since that time.

2. Trading and religious competitions

Although the Portuguese frequented Timor for years following the initial sandalwood shipping in 1515, their first proper settlement (feitoria-fortaleza) in the area was not founded on Timor but rather on Solor, the island called on by Albuquerque's men when they were sent to look at Timor in 1511. The choosing of Solor as the first harbour relates to its strategic location and later to the success in the evangelistic mission conducted there by Catholic Dominicans. Being protected by the calm Solor Strait, its harbour provided safe anchorage for their vessels.

Following the report that Timor was covered not only with sandalwood trees but also occupied by heathens, "who worship nothing nor have any idols" (Texeira 1961 vol. I : 390), the Catholic Dominicans began their evangelical missions. On Solor island, by the year 1559 there were already 200 Christians converted by Joao Soares. In 1562 as a refuge against outside intruders, a palisade of lontar palms was built around the dwelling area which was burnt down by Javanese Muslims a year after its construction (Barnes 1987: 209). With help from Goa and alms from Malacca, the Dominican friar Antonio da Cruz, in the year 1566, built a more permanent fort of lime and stone.

This Dominican stronghold was plundered and partly burnt by the natives in 1598 (Boxer 1948: 176), later attacked by the Dutch, the Makassar and Javanese traders. Dominican sources reveal that more than 200 Javanese Muslims went to destroy the mission, which at the time of attack contained only eight Portuguese, including priests. The raiders, who laid siege to the fort, asked the Portuguese to surrender the priests if they wanted the attackers to withdraw. This condition was resisted by the Portuguese, who said they would not even give them a dog but the sword. Assistance soon came from Banda with a junk of 30 men. These men gave battle to the Javanese, who fled leaving many dead:

When the Christians and pagans saw such a big victory, they understood that God was on the side of the Portuguese and so those whom we converted were confirmed in their faith and many thousands of pagans
asked to be baptized. And not only these but also the people of the neighbouring islands, hearing of the victory asked to be baptized and thus a great door for Christianity was opened there (Teixeira 1961 vol.I : 392,393).

But the establishment of the mission fort in Solor and later two more churches, by the name of the Madre de Deus (Mother of God) and the Casa da Misericordia (House of Mercy), provoked more ‘religious’ conflicts which claimed the lives of at least 3 Dominican friars between 1581 and 1590.

With the arrival of Appolonius Scotte in 1613, the Portuguese were not only confronted with the Muslims from Makassar and Java, but also with the Dutch, the majority of whom were Protestants. On 18 April 1613, Scotte besieged the fort of Solor when most of its residents were in Timor collecting sandalwood. Scotte then appointed van de Velde as captain of the fort, which was renamed “Henricus”. Van de Velde razed the main church (Madre de Deus) to the ground and also the major part of the other church (Casa da Misericordia). These holy places were reported to have been converted into stables for animals.

The attack by the Makassarese on Solor fort (1602) and the occupations of the Solor fort by the Dutch (first in 1613, then in 1618 and later in February 1646) forced the Portuguese to Larantuka and later to settle more permanently in Timor. On Timor, the Portuguese initially established a temporary post in Lifau. One of the reasons for choosing Lifau as a trading and religious post was the warm reception displayed by the native rulers of the area towards the traders, officials and clergy. Unmistakably, this warm reception was connected with the long association between Dominicans and the native rulers of the island. Fr. Manuel Teixeira (Teixeira 1961, vol.II : 88,89) wrote:

In 1590 Fr. Melchior da Luz or de Antas converted the son of the king of Timor, heir apparent to the throne. He took him to Malacca, where he was welcomed by the Captain of the Fortress, the Bishop Baio and the people; he was baptized by the Bishop and returned to Timor with Fr. Melchior; he was well received by his father, who revered Fr. Melchior very much.

With the re-appointment of Father Miguel da Crus Rangel along with his 12 friars to Solor in 1630, he intended to continue winning the hearts of the Timorese rulers. He sent Father Antonio de S. Jacinto there, and he tried to convert the queen
of Mena, but without success (Teixeira 1961, vol.II : 95). Another friar named Cristovao Rangel succeeded in baptizing the King of Silabao, who received the name Cristavo. Father Rafael da Veiga baptized the rulers of Amabi and Amarasi.

The conversion of the Timorese rulers was seen as a threat to the long-standing and frequent trade with Makassar which considered the Lesser Sundas within its sphere of hegemony (Reid 1981: 17). In January 1641, Kraeng of Tello, perhaps with the consent of the Dutch, in a single blow, reduced Mena to ashes and took captives as slaves to Makassar. The rulers of this domain escaped to the mountains for safety. The defeat of Mena was then used by the Portuguese as a pretext to establish themselves in Timor. In June 1641, Father Antonio de S. Jacinto was sent back to Mena, together with two other Dominican friars and 70 musketeers. The Portuguese offered their protection against the Makassarese. On 24 June 1641, on the feast of St. John the Baptist, Father Jacinto baptized the Queen, the nobles and many people (Teixeira 1961, vol.II : 97). Thus, the defeat of the rulers of Mena opened the door for the Portuguese to extend their hegemony inland. In July 1641, Captain-Major Ambrosio Dias, with 150 musketeers and Fr. Bento Serrao and Fr. Pedro de St. Jose as chaplains and with the help of the rulers of Mena, Lifau and Amanuban, defeated Liurai Sonba'i. The defeat of Sonba'i was followed by his baptism by Fr. Bento Serrao.

3. The attack on Wehali

The news of the defeat of Liurai Sonba'i must have been heard by his brother, the Liurai of Wehali. The more staggering news heard in Wehali, perhaps, was that of the conversion of rulers of its former domains to Christianity and their subjugations to the Portuguese. The King of Wehali reacted by embracing Islam, “as the Makassarese and the Bugijhese were the powerful opponents of the Portuguese” (Schulte Nordholt 1971: 164). News spread in Larantuka on Flores that the king had already accepted a ‘hat’ (Indonesian kopiah) granted by the Kraeng of Makassar. The acceptance of the hat indicated that the king had promised to become a Moslem (Muskens 1974: 394). As a consequence, a punitive expedition was prepared by the Portuguese to strike Wehali. They set out on 20 May 1642. This expedition was led by Captain-Major Francisco Fernandez. Accompanying this expedition were Father
Lucas da Cruz, another three Dominican friars (Antonio Cabral, Bento Serrao and Pedro Manso) and 90 musketeers. On their way to Wehali, the Dominicans baptized the widowed queen of Batimao (Timau, Amfoa'n) and a new king, who was still a boy, with the name D. Pedro. The convoy also baptized nobles of Amarasi. This expedition was then assisted by warriors of these newly converted domains. Leitao (1948: 207) noted that “after reducing everything to ashes there (in Wehali), he (Francisco Fernandez) withdrew to Batimao”.

The defeat of the great empire of Wehali-Sonba’i marks the end of a hegemony with Wehali as its central power. Leitao thus describes the defeat of Wehali as freedom for other domains:

The news of the destruction of the mighty potentate of Belos spread rapidly through the other kingdoms in the neighbourhood; the people of these kingdoms seized the opportunity to indulge in festive manifestations, and the kings of the other realms also asked the priests to instruct them in the teachings of Christianity (as translated by Schulte Nordholt 1971: 164).

The Centrality of Wehali as Revealed in Oral Tradition

Using elevated speech (lia na’in), Wehali ritualists like to present the authoritative ‘words of the ancestors’ which they call ‘the old path, the old track’ (inuk tuan, dalan tuan) concerning the emergence of dry land from primordial sea, the birth of their first ancestors and the founding of the ‘land’, ‘domain’ (rai) of Wehali. Asking an adat historian to reveal the ‘history’ of Wehali, he definitely begins with the narration concerning the emergence of the first dry land. The Wehali firmly believe that their domain is the centre of all domains because in primordial time, when the earth was still covered with water, their land was first to appear. Thus, the centrality and hence the superiority of Wehali, as told in origin myths, is based on the notions of ‘the first to dry’ (maran uluk) and ‘the last to dry’ (maran ikus). Wehali was the first land to appear and therefore it is the centre of the ‘lands’.

In oral tradition, the centrality of Wehali is described in various metaphors. In botanical idioms, Wehali is the ‘trunk, root’ (hun, abut) of all the land; it is the place of ‘the first garden, the first palm tree’ (to’os ai fatik/tua ai fatik). In
corporeal metaphors, it is ‘the navel land’, ‘the umbilical cord land’ (rai husar//rai binan). In house metaphors, Wehali is the inner part of the house while others are its platforms, posts, ladders, or simply huts in gardens.

The centrality of Wehali as analysed in oral tradition in this present work is based on four types of elevated language material (as cited in Reference Texts 1 to 8 in the appendix). Following the Wehali way of classification, Reference Text: 1 is a form of ‘greeting’ (hasee hawaka) which is classified as ‘honour language’ (lia riik); Texts 2 to 6 are regarded as ‘language of the earth’ (rai lian); Text 7 is ‘the true language’ (lia tebes) concerning the path of Liurai; and Text 8 is a ‘story to be remembered’ (ai knanoik or ai knoik).

In the following chapters, those eight texts will be considered in conjunction with separate themes discussed in successive chapters. Therefore it is not the purpose of this present section to discuss in detail the substance of each individual text but rather to highlight different cultural categories used in different texts in addressing the notion of Wehali’s centrality.

Reference Text 2 is an origin myth often referred to throughout this work and therefore deserving of further comment. One reason to quote this myth is that it claims to represent the territory of Wehali as a whole. As a comparison, the myth recorded in the hamlet of Fatuaruin, known as the hamlet of Liurai (Reference Text 3), emphasises more the role of Liurai who rules the land toward the rising sun and the setting sun. The myth narrated in Wewiku (Reference Text 4) emphasises the founding of the three ‘sisterly’ domains (Wehali, Wewiku and Haitimuk). Narrators of the two myths cited in Reference Texts 5 and 6 clearly stated that their narratives concern the founding of the land of Bakiruk, the other name for the village of Kateri, whose people are culturally considered as the guardians of Marlilu Haholek, the first dry land.

The myth cited in Reference Text 2 was narrated by Petrus Tahu Nahak who is regarded as the adat historian (mako ‘an) of Wehali. Like most origin myths narrated in the region, this myth also starts with the primordial condition, when the earth was still dark and covered with water, the emergence of the first dry land, followed by the expanding of the dry land to cover territories considered as under Wehali’s authority. The distinctive features of this myth lie in its detailed elaboration of the order of precedence of leo (clans, hamlets) which make up the inner Wehali
territory, the narrative of the spread of the sons of Wehali, the ‘male Liurai’ (*liurai mane*), who occupy and rule the land toward the rising sun and the land toward the setting sun. It concludes with the story concerning the last born woman, named Ho’ar, who stayed in Wehali. It was she (Ho’ar) who had the right to appoint those Liurai to rule land(s) to the east and west. Due to this function, she was entitled, *Ho’ar Makbalin, Balin Liurai*, which can be glossed as Ho’ar the Liurai adviser. Despite this title, she was not the supreme ruler of the realm of Wehali. It was her husband who ruled on behalf of his wife, and therefore, ritually he was considered as the ‘female Liurai’ (*Liurai feto*). Another significant aspect of this myth lies in its description of the division in the political system between male and female rulers, a common political feature which can be discovered in other parts of the island, particularly in Tetun’s immediate neighbour, the Dawan.

Beside the emphasis on the ‘first to dry’-‘last to dry’ and ‘trunk root’-‘edge foot’ categories to communicate the centrality and hence the superiority of Wehali, the myth in Reference Text 2 also employs the idiom of a tree. Accordingly, once Ho’ar was born and her umbilical cord turned into the first dry land, a banyan tree (*ai hali*) grew on this ‘first dry land’. Drawing on the analogy of a tree, the myth depicts how the whole empire of Wesei Wehali is just like a tree. Thus, the trunk was planted in the domain of Wehali, while its leaves expanded to cover the surrounding territories. The dense leaves of this tree provided shade (*leon*) for people who were grouped into *leo feto* (female clans, hamlets) and *leo mane* (male clans, hamlets). Wehali’s relations with other domains then developed, based on the order of precedence of trunk and leaves. In this scheme, Wehali is the trunk and therefore superior, while others are the leaves and therefore the inferior.

Other categories used in the oral tradition to describe the centrality of Wehali are ‘first-born/last-born’, ‘male/female’ and ‘inside/outside’. In Reference Text 4, the domains of Wewiku, Haitimuk and Wehali are described as being founded by three sisters. In Reference Text 2, the founders of the land are always depicted as the last born women, who determine to stay behind in the land of their birth. The last-born, the insider and the female are considered physically vulnerable and susceptible to outside intrusion. Therefore, those who are in the categories of first-born, outsider and male are ritually regarded as their protectors. Various metaphors applied to the protectors, such as ‘door’, ‘fence’ and ‘post’ reveal this function.
explicitly. What is interesting to note in regard to the traditional notion of superiority is that Wehali was female, the last born and the weak who needed to be protected by the first-born and the outsider men. As Fox remarks, it is "a kind of receptive powerlessness that left it open to protection and vulnerable to intrusion" (1982: 23).

Reference Text 1 deals with a form of ritual speech called *hasee hawaka* (to greet to counsel). It is a custom in the region to receive a distinguished guest who is officially visiting the area, with welcoming greetings. In Dawan, this type of greeting is called *natoni*. There is a saying that to be an Atoni (Dawan) one needs to be skilful in *natoni*. In *natoni* and *hasee hawaka*, speakers use parallelistic poetic forms to narrate the journey of their guests as a mythical journey from 'outside' (the origin places of the guests) to 'inside' (those who accept the guests). When the Catholic bishop officially visited Wehali, he was also received with *hasee hawaka* (Reference Text 1). In this ritual poem, the bishop was described as having crossed mountains, rivers, gardens, forests, huts, granaries, eating wild fruits, climbing every fence in order to get into Wehali, the place to live and rest, the source of heat and flame. What is significant in this 'greeting' is that the speaker clearly distinguishes the 'outside' domains from Wehali, the 'inside' domain. The 'outside' domains are places to work and to accumulate wealth. This 'inside' domain is the place to live and rest, a place where knowledge can be found. The superiority of Wehali lies in the fact that, as 'insider', Wehali is categorised as a 'resting' place, while 'outsider' places are associated with places to work. Thus the cultural category of 'rest/work' articulates the superiority of the domain.

Reference Text 8 recounts how the weak and vulnerable Wehali must rely for their authority not on physical strength, but on their cunning and their spiritual knowledge. Various tricks displayed by Ho'ar Samanek Oan to free her brothers from their opponent, Lakuleik, a nobleman from the sunrise land prove the superiority of cleverness (Indonesian, *akal*) and spiritual knowledge (*matenek*) over physical strength. Wehali cleverness, which is represented by Ho'ar Samanek Oan proves to be superior due to cunning, nous and knowledge.

The last corpus of categories that need to be highlighted are 'heat' (*manas*), 'cooked' (*tasak*) and 'forbidden' and 'sacred' (*lulik*). In Chapter Eight, I discuss in detail the contexts where these categories are fully expressed, namely in the rituals
that follow the trajectory of human life and the cycle of agriculture. These categories are also beneficial for comprehending the pattern of relations between Wehali and other domains, since these categories are used to identify the domain of Wehali as a whole, the hamlet of Laran in particular, and the ‘female Liurai’, as the supreme ruler of Wehali. Take, for example, the childbirth ritual. Following the birth of child, the baby’s mother is expected to observe a seclusion rite, where she and the baby are separated from the rest of community. For a certain period of time, the mother has to ‘roast’ her back over the fire (hatuka ha’i). The ‘heat’ that she acquires from the roasting, like the ‘heat’ that she has accumulated in her body during the pregnancy is potentially life-threatening. In this condition, she is depicted as culturally to be cooked, a danger and forbidden. The association between femininity, heat, danger and forbidden is explicitly revealed in ritual language in regard to the betel-nut offering, where betel-nut prepared by a woman in front of the hearth is called:

fuik tolu, bua tolu
haa tasan, hemu tasan

the three betel leaves, the three areca nuts
the cooked food, the cooked drink

In contrast, when this ‘cooked’, ‘heated’ and ‘forbidden’ offering prepared by the woman is received by a man, the ritual designation of the offering is changed, as follows:

fuik hitu, bua hitu
haa matak, hemu matak

the seven betel leaves, the seven areca nuts
the raw food, the raw drink

By analogy with a woman, Wehali (the hamlet of Laran and the supreme ruler of the realm of Wehali) is categorically a ‘heated’, ‘cooked’, and ‘forbidden’ domain. These qualities are not something to be avoided. On the contrary, these are the qualities that every person wants to achieve because they are associated with superiority. Thus, Wehali is superior among other domains because she is female, heated, cooked and forbidden. In this condition, Wehali is vulnerable. She is life-threatening, not only for others but also for herself. Her ‘safety’ depends on the outside man, who is able to change the ‘the cooked food, the cooked drink’ into ‘the raw food, the raw drink’. Raw (matak) and cool (malirin) are the two words used to translate the Christian notion of ‘blessing’. Thus, Wehali’s superiority is measured by her dependence on ‘blessings’ shown by other domains.
Concluding Remarks

Both historical documents and oral traditions discussed here reveal that Wehali was once, and still is a great empire. Yet the two kinds of sources start from different paradigms and, therefore, articulate different forms of discourse. While the historical sources speak about the concentration of power and mode of production associated with it, the oral traditions are based on cultural categories that speak about the superiority of the weak.

European traders and colonial governments learned that Wehali was a great empire, whose power subordinated most domains in the middle part of Timor. Efforts to separate other powerful domains from Wehali, to subdue or to incorporate it culminated in the physical attack on Wehali in 1642. These efforts represent a coercive approach to control the mode of production.

Beside this coercive approach, foreign forces also applied a model of hegemony in the Gramscian sense of political and cultural leadership in transforming local customs and culture. This model was particularly developed by the Dutch, but only at a later stage of the colonial era. Intensive studies of the society and political administrative arrangements of the Belu regency began when the Dutch established their first post in Atapupu in 1862, followed by the founding of the Catholic Mission. In Chapter Two I discussed how the Belu regency in which the Dutch registered 20 swapraja in 1904 was reduced to a single ‘kingdom’ of Belu in 1924.

Another achievement of the Dutch colonialists was the publishing of a much-cited monograph written by Grijsen, the controleur of Belu. This excellent piece of work covered social and political issues in detail and was, therefore, presumably used by the government in their socio-political transformations of that time. It was in this monograph that the phrase Maromak Oan was recorded and introduced as an alternative for the colonial title Keser. The status and function of the Maromak Oan were described in that monograph as follows:

The highest authority was in the hand of Maromak Oan...He is the son of God who is too high to involve in political matters; he only sits, drinks and sleeps. His faithful subjects (servants) will take care of other matters. The highest servant was the Liurai...(Grijsen 1904: 22).

As clearly highlighted in this quotation, Maromak Oan was not only a supreme ruler, he had been understood in Christian terminology as the son of God. The culmination of this arbitrary conclusion comes when Seran Nahak, the Maromak
Oan of Wehali, was installed as Keser of the kingdom of Belu on 10 May 1926. The transformation that was started in 1862 finally achieved its result: all of the domains in Belu had been united under a single power. But following his installation, Seran Nahak could not resist the pressure brought to bear on him by rulers of other domains. In 1930 Seran Nahak was officially terminated from his new role in disgrace. He went back to his hamlet (Laran) and resumed his traditional office as Maromak Oan of Wehali, a title he that carried to the end of his life.
Endnotes

1 The term _kota_ is a Portuguese loan word meaning ‘fort’.

2 According to myth, Maromak Oan of Wehali was displeased with the ruler of Fatisin for two reasons: 1. Loro Fatisin had proved that his ‘knowledge’ of cultivating and harvesting a particular rice known as _hare kake_ (literally, the cockatoo rice) was superior to that of the Maromak Oan. 2. A proposal by one of the Wehali rulers to marry the daughter of the _loro_ of Fatisin was rejected.

3 The word _likusaen_ in Tetun means ‘python’.

4 Pareira’s unpublished monograph has just recently been edited by Gregor Neonbasu and was published under the title “Sejarah Pemerintahan Raja-Raja di Timor: Suatu kajian atas peta politik pemerintahan kerajaan-kerajaan di Timor sebelum kemerdekaan Republik Indonesia”. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan dan Yanense Mitra Sejati, 1994.

5 Dominikus Tei Seran (commonly known as Na’i Kloit), direct descendant of Hiaciijtoe Corea mentioned that prior to the last Liurai Tei Seran, all Tei Seran used the spelling Tere Seran. Unfortunately, there is no further explanation of this change.

6 Father Mathijsen in his first trip to Wehali (1892) was informed that the name of that Liurai was Don Pedro (Laan 1969, translated by Embuiru 1993: 313)

7 The Portuguese word _feitoria_ was frequently translated as ‘factory’ which could lead one to associate it with the modern sense of ‘manufactory’. In Portuguese, this word refers to an enclosed trading post in which there is also a parish church and a burial place. Every _feitoria_ is headed by a _feitor_ (factor) which in this case can be understood as a royal business agent or commercial liaison officer (see Diffie and Winius 1977, vol.I: 311-317).

8 There is uncertainty as to whether the Makassar took along slaves from Timor or not. Two European sources contradict each other. In _Daghregister_ 13 May, 1649, there is no mention of the capture of people, whereas Biermann mentions 4000 slaves (Schulte Nordholt 1971: 164). Dominican sources give the same figure as Biermann (Texeira 1961, vol.II: 97).

9 Bauho and Lamaknen believe that the mountain of Laka’an, which is located in their area, was the first dry land to appear. This claim, as mentioned before, relates to their view that their domains are equally as great as Wehali.

10 The concept of hegemony was the central idea in Gramsci’s social theory. In his ‘Selections from the Prison Notebooks’ (1971) he developed three models of hegemony. One of these models is hegemony in the sense of political and cultural leadership. The key term used in this model is ‘reform’ with the strong meaning of ‘a transformation of customs and culture’ (Bobbio 1979: 39; Bocock 1986: 28,29).
In the early stage of the Catholic Mission, the colonial government made it a 'rule' that a mission could only be established in a place where there was already a military post.

The Bible in the Tetun language maintained this translation of Maromak Oan as the son of God. Otherwise, the Tetun maromak oan can be translated as the 'small bright one'. Francillon translates it as the 'luminous one' (1967: 24). Literally, the word ma-roma-k derives from roman or kroman meaning 'bright' while oan means 'small' and 'child'.
Photograph 8. *Uma Bei Nufa. Le’un Klot, Leo Laran.*

Photograph 9. *Houses in the hamlet of Umakatahan.*
Photograph 10.  *Uma* Marii Lia in the hamlet of Umato’os. Cobs of maize on the lower platform have been brought to the house for the first harvest ritual.

Photograph 11.  *Fukun* Katuas of Fatisin. He is leading a procession to the ‘fort’ of Fatisin (*Fatisin kota*).
Chapter Four

SOCIAL RELATIONS: GIVING AWAY THE CENTRE TO THE PERIPHERY

Introduction

This chapter deals with the Wehali's use of dual categories to organize social relations at the house, hamlet and domain levels.

Since the inspiring work of van Wouden, dual symbolic classification has been recognized as an important conceptual mechanism in eastern Indonesian societies. The accumulated ethnographic studies of this vast region reveal similarities and differences in its cultural application as well as its social implications. For some time Canberra-based anthropologists have been concerned with dual categories which inform the ethnic identity of people within the eastern Indonesian region. Fox, Lewis, Traube, McWilliam, Vischer, Graham and Grimes to name but a few, have explored a theory of precedence in analysing various patterns of relations that result from the application of dual categories among the people of the region in defining the nature of their social relations. Fox (1990, 1993b) argues that a system of precedence is found not only in eastern Indonesian societies but can also be detected in most Austronesian societies.

In an effort to explore this in the Wehali situation, I focus on the notion of 'centre-periphery' that Wehali use continually to describe their differences from others. To do so, I begin with origin myths and other kinds of oral tradition which describe Wehali as the centre of all societies. My aim is to discover other cultural categories built around this key contrast. These cultural categories in turn become a stepping stone to understanding the nature of Wehali relations at the levels of domain, village, hamlet and house.
The phrase ‘giving away’ (*fo baa*) in this chapter’s title is taken from an origin myth that narrates the dispersal of Wehali men to neighbouring regions where they established new communities. This phrase is used by the Wehali to argue that they are the origin of all societies. Thus the notion of ‘centre-periphery’ begins at this point.

**Ideological Construction of Centre-Periphery**

1. **Centre**

The Wehali people elaborate the concepts of centre and periphery in various idiomatic expressions. Underlying these idioms is a core network of terms that imply the notions of centre and inside. These include the botanical *hun* (source, trunk, origin), the anthropomorphic *husar binan* (umbilical cord) and the house idioms of *laran* (inside) and *klaran* (interior, inner side, centre).

According to their origin myths, the first dry land was located in the region of Wehali. At that time the size of this land was only as small as ‘a chicken’s eye, a slice of areca nut’ (*rai manu matan // rai bua klaras*). Since this small piece of land was the first to emerge from the primordial sea, it gained the names *rai hun* (the original land) and *rai husar // rai binan* (the navel land, the umbilical cord land). Out of the primordial sea grew a banyan tree (*ai hali*). It was in this primordial sea that ‘the Only Woman on Earth’ (*Ferik Ha’in Raikklaran*) gave birth to a daughter called Ho’ar Na’i Haholek (literally, ‘the squirming Ho’ar’). Her umbilical cord was twisted within the roots of the banyan tree and eventually ‘grew’ (*tubu*), or turned into that first dry land. So, according to folk interpretation, the name Wehali (or in ritual language ‘Wesei Wehali’) derives from this portion of the origin myth. It implies the notion of the primeval land.

As time went by, Ho’ar Na’i Haholek produced more *funan* (literal meaning: ‘flowers’; metaphorical meaning: ‘daughters’) and more *klaut* (literal meaning: ‘fruits’; metaphorical meaning: ‘sons’). As more people were born, the dry land spread further and so did the banyan tree. The shade (*leon*) of the banyan tree provided shelter for the ‘sons’ and ‘daughters’ of Ho’ar Na’i Haholek. The folk
etymology of the word for ‘hamlet’ (leo) also draws on lines in this portion of the origin myth. The Tetun word leon means ‘the shade of a tree’. My informants insist that the word for ‘hamlet’ (leo) came from this botanical idiom: leon. Thus, in Reference Text 2, there are the following lines:

ka’an ne’e tubu ti’an baa hali aa
foin ha’ak:                          the umbilical cord grew into a banyan tree
"Maromak nahomu hali leon di’ak   and so the saying goes: The Bright One has provided a good dense
soe nahon la sar, karas hat ne’e     banyan tree
soe nahon la sa.r kbelan hat ne’e   its shade provides shelter to the four
sei Bere Lelo Babesi hali leon di’ak ‘cheasts’ (of the house)
sorin balu leo feto, balu leo mane   its shade provides shelter to the four ‘ribs’
leo feto leo mane, balu la sasin”.  (of the house)

This portion of the narrative provides the Wehali people with an ideology, based on the imagery of a tree, that they are the trunk (hun) of all societies. The tree produces shade (leon) to provide shelter. Such shelters take the form of hamlet (leo). Wehali is the trunk, while other hamlets (leo) makes up its shade (leon). As stated in the origin myth, the shade (leon) produced by the ‘Wehali tree’ is of two kinds: female shade (leon feto) and male shade (leon mane). It is a cultural premise in Wehali that women belong to the inner part of a dwelling, while men belong to the outer part. So, considering the leon produced by ‘Wehali’s tree’ divides into female hamlets (leo feto) and male hamlets (leo mane), the female can be designated inner hamlets (leo laran), while the male become contrasting outer hamlets (leo molin).

Beside these botanical idioms, the Wehali people also employ anthropomorphic terms to elaborate their ‘originality’ and ‘centrality’. There are two ways of expressing this notion of centrality, as illustrated in Figure 4.1. The first is by linking their land as the centre of the earth to the vertical axis of north-south. This mode of expression is used to mark the difference between the central and the peripheral clans of inner Wehali. The second method of expressing centrality is by linking their land to the horizontal axis of east-west. This mode of expression is used to indicate the difference between the inner Wehali and other domains or societies.

To designate the status differences between hamlets within Wehali, the Wehali people constantly use the dyadic terms ‘navel’, ‘umbilical cord’ (husar, binan) /
'edge' (tehen), and 'trunk' (hun) / 'foot' (ain). So, hamlets which are classified as 'navel' are categorically female, centre and trunk of Wehali society. In contrast, hamlets which are classified as 'foot' are categorically male and outside. To contrast Wehali with societies outside Wehali, they employ a different terminology, namely 'head' (ulun) and 'tail' (ikun). In this case, Wehali is put at the centre as the 'trunk land' (rai hun) and the 'navel of the earth' (rai husar binan). In this spatial orientation, areas spreading to the east are labelled as the 'head land' or 'the sun rise land' (rai ulun or rai loro sa'e), while areas lying toward the west are called the 'tail land' or 'the sunset land' (rai ikun or rai loro toba) (see Figure 4.1 below):

Thus far I have dealt with the notion of origin as based on the argument of the birth order of the world, which is developed from Wehali's own explanation of how the world came into existence. Asked why they claim that their region is the centre of all societies, adat elders will respond: 'because the earth was first born here' (tan rai ne'e moris uluk iha ne'e). The phrase 'first born' (moris uluk) is contrasted to 'last born' (moris ikus). According to Wehali cosmogeny, before the earth came into being, water covered the land. In turn, this statement provides a basis on which to contrast the 'first dry' (maran uluk) and the 'last dry' (maran ikus) or, simply, to contrast the 'dry land' (rai maran) and the 'land still covered with water' (rai sei we). Consequently 'first born' and 'dry' are categorized as being in the centre (trunk), as opposed to 'last born' and 'wet' (water) which are classified as periphery.
But the tracing of 'centre' draws further on birth order terms expressed through the cognate forms: *ulun* and *uluk* in contrast to *ikun* and *ikus*. Here I want to emphasise the multi-dimensionality of these categories. Although the form *ikun* (noun) is cognate with *ikus* (adjective, 'last') they are valued differently in contrasting applications, for while *ikus* may be classified with 'periphery' as in the 'last dry land', *ikun* may be classified with 'centre' when it refers to the last-born daughter (*ikun*) who stayed and minded Wehali, while her older brothers (*ulun*) left the area. Thus, *ikun* here is valued as centre, while *ikus* is associated with periphery. So, on the one hand 'last born' may be associated with the 'trunk' or 'centre', while on the other hand it is related to the notion of 'periphery'. The bi-function of terms like 'last born' should not be construed as an inconsistency in the symbolism of dual classification since for the Wehali, it is the result of a logical analogy. In the context of creation history, the Wehali region was the first dry land to appear. They phrase this as 'first to dry' (*maran uluk*). Within this context 'first' (*uluk*) is valued 'higher' than 'last' (*ikus*): it occupies a privileged status because it has existed 'longer'. In the context of birth order, where *ulun* = first born; *ikun* = last born, it is *ikun* that attracts a more privileged status than the 'head' (*ulun*). The valuation of this 'privilege' is, however, based on the same logic: the last born, remains 'longer' in Wehali. Therefore the last born deserves a higher status.

2. Periphery

In comparison to the variety of terms used to denote the notion of 'centre', terms associated with the notion of 'periphery' are limited. The terms most commonly used are *molin* and *tehen*. The word *molin* denotes space outside a house, village or domain. Given the structure of a village, a farmer's gardens are located 'outside' the village, in the realm of *molin*. So, when a person speaks about *molin*, the connotation is the outside, peripheral space used for cultivation or animal husbandry. Based on this usage I take 'outside' and 'periphery' as the appropriate English translations for the Tetun word *molin*.

The word *tehen* is mostly found in the compound form *tasi tehen*, which means 'the edge of the sea'. The words *molin* and *tehen* are applied in different contexts. As mentioned earlier, the word *tehen* is used in conjunction with the division of
clans or hamlets within the Wehali. So, in Wehali, one encounters clans which are designated as the ‘trunk hill clans’ (*leo foho hun*) and ‘the sea edge clans’ (*leo tasi tehen*) or the ‘sea feet clans’ (*leo ain tasi*). To differentiate between the society of Wehali and societies outside Wehali, however, the word *molin* is used.

The most distinctive imagery applied to describe societies outside Wehali incorporates what I call garden idioms. The Wehali imagine that their domain is a residential realm. Areas outside this realm belong to *molin* (cultivation space). This idiom finds elaboration in a kind of ritual language termed *hasee hawaka* (greeting poems). To examine one instance, I draw on that from a procession held in October each year in which the statue of the Virgin Mary is carried from one village to another and finally, to the cave of Lourdes, a place on a hill that according to the origin myth was the location of the first dry land. In Indonesian this activity is called *Perarakan Bunda Maria* (the procession of Mother Mary). Prior to this annual procession, the Catholic bishop who resides in Atambua is invited to lead the ceremony. It is customary in the region to welcome a distinguished guest with a *hasee hawaka* ritual poem. At this particular welcoming ceremony, the bishop was greeted by an *adat* historian entitled *mako ’an* (literally the one who cuts (*ko ’a*) the words). What is of interest in this context are the cultural labels used by the *adat* historian (Petrus Tahu Nahak) to designate various domains and regions outside the Wehali territory.

In the greetings poem, he describes the bishop’s trip from Atambua (the capital of the regency) to Betun (the capital of the district) as a mythical journey from the main harbour (*namon matan*) to the spring of the Bright One (*we matan Maromak*), the owner of fire, the owner of heat (*malaka na’in // amanas na’in*), the place to lie down, the place to dwell (*hoku fatik // natar fatik*), the place to sit, the place to strengthen oneself (*hatodan fatik // habesi fatik*). What appears unusual in this formulation is the description of Atambua as ‘the main harbour’, when, for the Wehali, Atambua is only a ‘garden’, a cultivation space. This is, however, due to the status of the bishop as the Catholic leader in the regency, so that Atambua as his place of residence is referred to as ‘the main harbour’. The bishop’s status may be understood through the titles given to Catholic clergy. In Tetun a priest is called Na’i Lulik (master of the forbidden), while the bishop in the greetings poem is described as holder of the great taboo, holder of the mighty heat (*makaer lulik bot* //
"makaer manas bot". This title refers to the Wehali political structure in which the function of the ritual ruler is delineated as constituting the source of all heat and taboo. In Chapter Two I mentioned that in Wehali ritual language the first dry land is called 'the old harbour' (namon tuan). Both the terms tuan and matan denote notions of primacy. The shift in the designation afforded Atambua (from the notion of 'garden' to the notion of 'centre') should not then be interpreted as introducing a new or unusual concept. Rather, it reflects the norm that every periphery is potentially a centre in itself. In this sense, the 'periphery' is a dynamic category, while the 'centre' is a relatively static category.

In his journey from 'the main harbour' to 'the old harbour' the bishop was described as having crossed rivers and forests, climbed every fence, and stopped over in granaries of various gardens so as to reach the central area conceptualised as the Wehali's residential territory. This 'journey' was described in ritual poetry of strict parallelism. In order to elucidate the notion of 'periphery', in Table 4.1 I have summarized the cultural labels given to people and places mentioned in that part of the poem depicting how the bishop makes his way through Wehali's periphery:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People and Places</th>
<th>Cultural Labels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wesei Wehali</td>
<td>the source of the flame, the source of the heat (malaka na'in // mamanas na'in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgin Mary</td>
<td>mother Mary, suckling Mary (ina Maria // susu Maria)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus Christ</td>
<td>the Only Son (Oan Mane Kmesak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop</td>
<td>the holder of the great taboo, the holder of the great heat (makaer lulik bot // makaer manas bot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>the black bright house, the red (gold) bright house (uma metan Maromak // uma mean Maromak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atambua</td>
<td>the main harbour, the main spring (namon matan // we matan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukuneno</td>
<td>the rooster (manu aman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dafala</td>
<td>the stony fort of Dafala, the black house of Dafala (fatuk baki Dafala // uma metan Dafala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lelowai</td>
<td>the ladder of the granary, the supporting step of the post (klobor matetek // hisa riin matetek)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halikelen</td>
<td>the granary of Halikelen, the hut of Halikelen (klobor Halikelen // laen halikelen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halilulik</td>
<td>the boiling water, the strong post</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mande'U

the younger dato, the elder dato - the younger loro, the elder loro
(dato alin ida // dato maun ida - loro alin ida // loro maun ida)

Eturafoun

the granary of the tame rooster, the hut of the tame rooster
(klobor manu maus // laen manu maus)
the small black rope, the big black rope
(tali metan ki’ik // tali metan kwa’ik)

Seon

the junction of the river, the black stone
(mota sorun // fatuk metan)
the ahan fruit, civetcat dog, civetcat pig
(bua ahan // asu kmeda // fahi kmeda)

Table 4.1 Wehali’s periphery as cultivation space

As the bishop came closer to the centre that is conceptualised as Wehali residential territory, the idiom changes from ‘garden’ to ‘stable’ or ‘fence’. In the old stronghold of Maibiku, which is located in the domain of Dirma, he was greeted by ‘the children of the four enclosures, the children of the four stables’ (oa natar hat // oa lalu ‘an hat) who escorted him to the hamlet of Sulit Anemeta, the border of Wehali’s inner territory. Being considered as the outer border, this hamlet is referred to as ‘guardian of Liurai’s stable’ (makdakar knokar Liurai). When he entered this hamlet (Sulit Anemeta) the Bishop was depicted in the poem as being on the edge of the Wehali residential space. Therefore he was regarded as having already entered via ‘the four posts’ that separate the centre of Wehali from her periphery. These four posts are guarded by the four male rulers entitled loro (literally meaning ‘sun’). In their status as guardians of Wehali they are referred to as ‘the strong posts, the valuable posts’ (rii besi hat // riin kmurak hat). These rulers are Loro Wewiku, Loro Haitimuk, Loro Lakekun and Loro Dirma. Only by passing through these guardians is one eligible to meet ‘the mother, the father’ who rest at the centre.

In summary, this mythical journey is delineated as a trip from:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>molin</th>
<th>to</th>
<th>laran</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>periphery</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cultivation space</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>dwelling space</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Sociological implications of 'centre-periphery'

The foregoing discussion of the notions of 'centre' and 'periphery' focused on their contrast. At this level of analysis every dual symbolic classification entails categories opposed to each other: centre versus periphery, trunk versus tips, flower versus fruit, navel versus foot, head versus tail, first-born versus last-born, elder versus younger, and so on.

These opposed categories certainly provide a basis for asymmetrical relations between persons and groups both within and outside Wehali. However, no single opposition (e.g. first-born versus last-born) can be taken as a 'ready-made recipe' for the construction of social hierarchy. I have indicated earlier the diverse applications and polyvalency of 'last-born' within the whole corpus of oppositional terms. Perhaps this polyvalency of particular oppositions is another reason to conclude with Fox that, "there is no one privileged opposition, but rather a complex of interactions of valent oppositions" (1990: 8). In the context of Wehali, both ikun and ikus belong with different valencies in the corpus of centre and periphery classifications. Thus, the discussion of the sociological implications of the notions of 'centre' and 'periphery' must be put in the framework of the interaction of 'valent oppositions' in all their complexity.

The Wehali claim that their domain is the centre of all societies. This claim is based on the origin myth that the first dry land was situated in their area. The same origin myth also narrates that the elder brothers left Wehali to occupy land to the east and west, while the younger brothers and the youngest daughter stayed 'to look after' (makdakar) the navel land. Quite clearly, this narrative is based on a set of complementary categories that includes first born/last born, elder/younger, male/female and centre/periphery. To pursue the notion of complementarity involved here, I must analyse further the distinction between centre and periphery as a contrast between residential space and cultivation space.

In the origin myth, the elder brothers were sent away (foo ba) to found new communities outside Wehali. Thus, according to Wehali's cosmic symbolism, they are depicted as living in Wehali's gardens. Their (cultural) functions were to till the land in order to produce food to feed their 'mother and father' living in the centre, whom they also protect. In their capacity as 'farmers', the elder brothers have the status of a male child in the family. However, in their function as protectors
(makdakar) they have the status of executive rulers of the central authority, therefore deserving of the titles *loro* (literally, sun) or *liurai* (literally, above the earth). In this way the division of spiritual and temporal authorities suggested by van Wouden (1968: 114-115) and later elaborated by Cunningham (1962: 63-67) and Schulte Nordholt (1971: 236-239) may also apply in Wehali. On the other hand, the Wehali attest that they are the source of life and, therefore, life flows from the centre to the periphery. On the other hand, the periphery, which is delineated as a ‘garden’, is the source of wealth. By giving away their elder sons to the periphery, the Wehali expect wealth to return to the centre. So, the flow of life runs in the opposite direction to the flow of wealth (see Table 4.2 below). In relation to the origin of life, the periphery becomes the life-taker and the wealth-giver.

The function of ‘protector’ in turn gives the outside societies some source of power. Being masculine in this society means having every right to talk in public. So it is the male Liurai (known as Liurai) who is authorised by the female Liurai (known as Maromak Oan) to do the speaking. According to the south Tetun political concept, then, the power of the Liurai to speak stems from Maromak Oan, in the silent ritual centre.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic dyadic set</th>
<th>Life giver</th>
<th>Life taker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender category</td>
<td>centre (<em>laran</em>)</td>
<td>periphery (<em>molin</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trunk (<em>hun</em>)</td>
<td>edge (<em>tehen</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hill (<em>foho</em>)</td>
<td>sea (<em>tasi</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sheath, rind (<em>kakun</em>)</td>
<td>content (<em>isin</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associated meaning</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>poverty</td>
<td>wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>static</td>
<td>dynamic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life giver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside</td>
<td>life and authority</td>
<td>=&gt;=&gt;=&gt;=&gt;=&gt;=&gt;=&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wealth and power</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 Flow of life and flow of wealth

The Wehali dual conceptual categories cited in Table 4.2 are not simply static in nature. Rather, these categories become guiding principles or in Fox’s term ‘operators’ for building up different relations and even creating new categories (Fox 1989a: 45). Using the imagery of a sword, by giving away their men to the
periphery the Wehali picture themselves as retaining the sheath (knua) and giving away the blade (isin = inwards). Using the imagery of a nut, Wehali is the shell (knua) while the periphery is the content (isin), implying that Wehali becomes poor and the periphery becomes rich, Wehali becomes weak and the periphery becomes strong.

**Centre-Periphery in Inter-Domain Relationship**

The idea that the present order of domain and clanship was founded in myth occurs in most eastern Indonesian societies and has been examined by anthropologists for the island of Timor and islands immediately surrounding it. Among these, Fox, Kana, Lewis, Traube, McWilliam and Graham especially also explore the use of botanical idioms in describing the nature of domain and clan relations.

The Tetun have no specific term for 'domain' or 'kingdom'. Rather, Tetun use a generic term rai which covers the meanings of earth, island, land, region, domain and dirt. So, the earth is designated rai klaran (the middle, inside world), heaven is rai leten (the above world), the island of Timor is rai Timor and the domain of Wehali is rai Wehali. They believe that the centre of the earth, or at least of Timor, is located in their region. Areas or regions surrounding it are regarded as 'peripheral'. These 'outside lands', or to use the Tetun phrase, molin, are divided into two halves: sunrise land (rai loro sa'e) and sunset land (rai loro toba = land of the setting sun) or land of the falling sun (rai loro monu). This cultural concept of spatial orientation can be observed in many forms of oral composition, such as the two forms cited below. From these, my aim is to delineate a set of symbolic co-ordinates which are the bases for social classification of land and clanship.

**Text 1: Ho'ar Nahak Samane Oan (The Manlike Ho'ar Nahak)**

The following is a summary of this well-known myth as recorded in the hamlet of Umanen (the whole narration of the myth is provided in Reference Text 8). One old respected mother (ferik) gave birth first to six sons and then to a daughter. They lived in the hamlet of Umanen, in the region of Wehali. The name of the only
daughter was Ati Batik. As a farming family, the six brothers had the responsibility 'to feed' the whole family. One day they thought that their gardens were not producing enough to feed them and therefore they needed additional income to support the family. They then decided to raise income by betting on cock fights. With that decision in mind, they left Wehali and went to 'the land of the flaming sun, the land of the glowing sun' (rai loro lakan // rai loro len). This land was called 'the head land' (rai ulun). Unfortunately, the six brothers lost in the matches and therefore became slaves in that land.

When the six brothers left their hamlet, their young sister was still a baby. One day when she came of age, she asked her mother if she had brothers. Her curiosity led her mother to reveal the truth that she actually had six brothers who were in slavery in 'the head land'. Knowing the reason for her brothers' slavery she then decided to go and free them by engaging in the same business of cock fights. Disguising herself as a prince, she set off to the head land accompanied by her men (hutun no renu = commoners). When they arrived at their destination, she found out that her brothers were tied in a pen at the back of a house. She then invited their 'owner' named Lakuleik to bet on cock fights. This time her opponent lost all the matches and so all his property. As a last bet, she asked her opponent to bet the six bound slaves in the backyard. From the very beginning her opponent had suspected that Ati Batik was not a man. Now he was even more convinced that she was his slaves' sister. With these convictions in mind Lakuleik invited Ati Batik to compete in other contests which would likely require Ati Batik to expose her body and so reveal that she was a woman. The first contest was to measure how far one could urinate and the second was to measure how long one could stand the cold water of the river while bathing nude. Ati Batik passed the first contest successfully by using a piece of bamboo. For the second contest, Ati Batik successfully evaded participating in the 'impossible' competition with another trick. Ati Batik arranged for her people to set fire to their huts immediately before the competition started. So when both contenders were in the water, Lakuleik started to take off his sarong. Ati Batik also did the same thing. However, since she wore more than one sarong, it took a while before her body was completely exposed. In the meantime her hut was consumed by fire. She took the opportunity to break from the contest and rescue her hut. This golden opportunity enabled her, along with her brothers and her men, to
escape from the head land (rai ulun) and return to her family. Soon after their arrival, according to the myth, ‘she promoted the six brothers to become heads of the regions’ (nia nasa’e nikar niakan naan mane nen sia nalo ba ulun), ‘so the land could have rulers’ (ne’e be rai ne’e no nikar ulun). Their promotion to rulers is recounted in the following lines of the oral poetry:

The foreign roosters have come (appeared) come and say that their head-cloths have already fallen appear and say that their head accessories have already fallen their head accessories fall on the stalk of Maubesi their head-cloths fall on the land of Maubesi then the head accessories are rescued and have been re-installed the younger brothers and the elder brothers have resumed their positions the younger brothers and the elder brothers were restored back to their places restored to the position of dato of the clans of Umanen Lawalu re-enthroned in their positions of loro of the clans of Umanen Lawalu.

The final episode of the myth narrates the coming of her opponent to Wehali. He came to propose marriage to Ati Batik, with the intention of taking her back to his own domain. Again another trick was performed to prevent her being taken away. A subsequent visit of her opponent was intended as revenge on Wehali, in the form of cock fights. In this match, both the land of Wehali (the navel land) and the land of the sunrise (the head land) were placed as bets. Ati Batik bet the navel land, Lakuleik, her opponent, bet ‘the head of the land’ (rai ulun). After hanging up the sheath of her sword in a tree that produced three branches (ai sorun tolu), she was ready to enter the contest. In this contest, Lakuleik lost his land. He said to Ati Batik, “Friend, I have lost everything. The land of the flaming sun is yours, the navel land is also yours. Wherever I go, I go to your land. Therefore allow me to stay here”. His plea was accepted and so Lakuleik was ‘taken into Wehali’ (hatama baa Wehali) and was charged with ‘looking after the young areca nuts of Wehali, the young betel leaves of Wehali’ (dakar bua kau Wehali // taken kau Wehali). Ati Batik was then called Ho’ar Nahak Samane Oan to mark her diligent performance as a man.
How do we interpret this myth? Hicks (1984: 2) suggests that there are various ways of interpreting Tetun myths: As a sacred charter, as a structural tract, as history or as an imaginative creation of oral art. In order to do justice to the text itself, and the literary context from which this text comes, I would begin with a note on Wehali’s classification of oral poetry. This piece of literary art is classified by some as *ai knoik* (a folk tale) and by others as *lia tebes* (a true tale). This may be because, according to the Wehali system of classification it is not a sacred charter or *rai lian* (language of the earth) but neither is it simply an entertaining story or an aetiological myth. Rather, the story of Ho’ar Nahak Samane Oan contains all three elements and therefore it can only be narrated by a particular person. In the case of this text, it was narrated by Yohannes Seran Kehik, the head of Uma Katuas lineage in the hamlet of Umanen. Among the members of the hamlet, he is considered to be an *adat* spokesman (*mako’an*).

This story was narrated in front of many members of the hamlet. At the beginning the audience was very calm and quiet. But when the story reached its climax they started to giggle and laugh, even jumping in and persuading the narrator to retell ‘the amusing’ part of the story, as when the narrator used his body language to re-enact the tricks displayed by Ho’ar Nahak Samane Oan. When it came to the urination trick, he jokingly said “do not ask me how Ho’ar managed to install the bamboo so that she could appear to urinate further than Lakuleik”.

The point is that the ‘cleverness’, ‘tricks’ and ‘out-smarting’ (*matenek*) of Ho’ar are the entertaining parts of the myth. Ho’ar, even though she is a younger woman, can *mengakali* (out-smart) such an important man as Lakuleik. Furthermore the man’s name, Lakuleik, when related to the word ‘foolish’ (*beik*) can produce a rhyme ending with the same sound -*eik*, such as *Lakuleik beik* (the foolish Lakuleik). The opposition between clever and foolish in this part of the myth shows a resemblance to the Rotinese opposition of *lela* and *nggoa* as discussed by Fox. So, as with the Rotinese, the opposition between clever and foolish “provides a categorical basis for the glorification of the cunning and acumen of the trickster” (1990: 8). The other interesting part of the myth lies in the heroic efforts performed by a younger woman to rescue her elder brothers. These are the elements (i.e. cunning and bravery) most enjoyed by the audience. For the nobles of Umanen the importance of the myth lies in the political aspect of it: it is the house of Umanen
Lawalu which bravely rescued and re-appointed the rulers in the Wesei Wehali territory. To highlight this the narrator of the myth felt it necessary to add a concluding statement: *tan lia ne’e, rai ne’e foijn halo no ukur* (based on this story, now we have government in our land). For most Wehali audiences, this story proves the superiority of the Wehali insiders over her inferior outsiders. But the audience that came to hear the myth found the acumen and amusing tricks of Ho’ar of most interest.

Linguistically, this myth is organized around basic oppositional categories of centre-periphery, inside-outside, and female-male. These fundamental categories are then used as ‘operators’ to define a set of related categories as shown in Table 4.3 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inside</th>
<th>laran</th>
<th>molin</th>
<th>outside</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>laran</td>
<td>molin</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3  Basic oppositional categories

Taking these linguistic categories together, we can build up a set of cultural oppositional categories based on gender contrast, age contrast, spatial contrast, and ranking contrast:

Gender contrast: female - male
Age contrast: elder - younger
Generation contrast: parent - children
Spatial contrast: inside - outside, centre - periphery, navel - head
Rank contrast: superior - inferior

In Wehali and in many parts of eastern Indonesia, cock fights and garden work typically belong in the world of men. In the text of Ho’ar Nahak Samane Oan these
two types of work are performed outside the village. This emphasis indicates that areas outside Wehali are considered as ‘working places’. In the myth concerning Ho’ar Nahak Samane Oan, the journey from the centre to the peripheral societies is described as a journey ‘to search for wealth’. The Tetun phrase used in this context is *buka sotir no ua* which can be translated literally as ‘to search for luck and money’. In that story, this idea applies to the six brothers who engage in cock fights to search for wealth. Since this is man’s work, Ho’ar Nahak Samane Oan later has to disguise herself in order to engage in such work. In this myth, Ho’ar leaving the ‘mother’ at the ‘centre’ manifests the knowledgeable inside compared to the foolish outside. So, the myth permits not only the contrasts between female inside and male outside, but also the wealth outside and the source of life and knowledge inside.

This myth further reveals notions of female ‘superordination’ and male ‘subordination’. These terms can easily mislead people into developing a notion of coercive power in the sense of the physical superiority of the inside and the inferiority of the outside. Nowhere in the myth is there an indication of this type of relation. The text speaks about the superiority of the inside, not based on coercion, but based on ritual rights. As is stated in the final episode of the text, before commencing the cock fight “Ho’ar hangs up the sheath of her sword in a tree which has three branches”. This sentence is concerned with ritual symbols. Being the centre, Wehali is metaphorically considered to be the ‘sheath of the sword’ (*knua*). According to the Wehali, the sword has been given away to the outside people who act as Wehali’s protectors. In this analogy, the sheath is the mother and the sword is the son. Thus in the myth Lakuleik represents the son and Ho’ar the mother. The defeat of Lakuleik can then be interpreted as the obligation of a son to surrender to his mother.

**Text 2. The giving away of men**

In Reference Text 2, the story concerning the departure of the Wehali’s men ‘to sit’ in territories toward the sunrise and sunset began when the marriage between Ho’ar Na’i Haholek gave birth to six boys and one girl.

*Na’i Taek Malaka nola ti’an Ho’ar Na’i Haholek, foin te baa mane na’im nen, feto na’in ida.*

*Mane ulun Na’i Saku Mataus, Na’i Bara Mataus, Na’i Ura Mataus, Na’i Meti Mataus, Na’i Neno*
Mataus, Na’i Leki Mataus.

Ikun aa feta naran Ho’ar Mataus, Ho’ar Makbalin Balin Liurai

Meti Mataus, Na’i Neno Mataus, Na’i Leki Mataus.
The last born was a girl named Ho’ar Mataus, entitled Ho’ar Makbalin Balin Liurai (lit. Ho’ar, the one who was in charge of appointing Liurai.

The narrator then went on to describe the marriage between Ho’ar Mataus, the youngest daughter and a man from the seaside without commenting on the remaining six sons. In response to my query, he explained:

Na’i Saku Mataus no Na’i Bara Mataus ami fo ba tuur iha rai loro sa’e
Na’i Ura Mataus no Meti Mataus ami fo ba tuur iha rai loro monu
Na’i Leki Mataus no Na’i Neno Mataus hela ba Wehali
Ho’ar Mataus, Ho’ar makbalin balin Liurai ne’e nia maktuur iha Uma rai lale’an nodi titu ba Wesei Wehali

Na’i Saku Mataus and Na’i Bara Mataus were given away to sit in the land of the rising sun
Na’i Ura Mataus and Meti Mataus were given away to sit in the land of the setting sun
Na’i Leki Mataus and Na’i Neno Mataus were left in Wehali
Ho’ar Mataus, the one who appointed the liurai sits in the house of earth and sky to look after Wesei Wehali.

This origin myth is regarded as ‘the trunk language’ (lia hun) shared by all members of Wesei Wehali. Being the trunk narrative, this myth provides a sacred charter that establishes the order of creation of the earth and human beings. As a ‘sacred history’, this myth can only be told by an adat historian (mako’an). Francillon during his research in Wehali was given a copy of a similar kind of origin myth. The text of his myth, as he noted, was taken from the notebook of a schoolboy in Suai. Comparing the myth that I recorded and the one reported by Francillon, it seems to me that this ‘sacred charter’ has been preserved by the Wehali in such a manner that its structure has not changed. The names of the six sons written in Francillon’s text are the same as those in my text but in a different order. What is significant for Wehali is who goes where and who stays where. This ‘ordered structure’ is maintained by the Wehali. Both Francillon’s and my texts reveal that the elder brothers were given away ‘to sit’ (tur) in the land towards the sunrise and the land toward the sunset. The youngest stayed in Wehali.

Although the word ‘to sit’ does not explicitly relate to notions of ‘centre’ and periphery, it must be considered in this light because it denotes a political aspect, a theme that is built into the entire discourse. In Tetun, the term ‘palace’ is translated as ‘a sitting place’ (tuur fatik). So, according to Wehali ideology, the four brothers were not only sent to dwell: they were sent to rule the eastern and western regions on either side of Wehali. Since they were sent from the centre to the periphery, the
sender occupies the position with superior status. In this case the notion of superiority is not based on the pattern of relations between bride-giver and bride-taker clans, as is common throughout eastern Indonesian societies. Rather, their asymmetrical relation is based on the notion of origin (*hun*). Wehali is the trunk and other societies are its ‘flower’ (*funan*) and ‘fruit’ (*klaut*). As the trunk, Wehali is the source of life and therefore deserves to be called ‘mother and father’ (*ina no ama*) while other peripheral societies are its daughters (*funan* = flower) and sons (*klaut* = fruit).\(^5\)

**Text 3: The departure of the rulers (loro)**

The myth narrated in the village of Builaran also concerns the departure of men (in this case the Liurai of Wehali) to the ‘outside’ domains. According to this myth, when the earth had completely dried, a group of ten men (*mane sanulu*) came from the sun above to Wehali:

\[
\text{Hat tuur iha Wehali, nen la'o} \\
\text{Loro mane kwaik aa baa iha Likusaen Baboen,} \\
\text{ida baa iha Biboki, ida baa iha Insana, ida baa iha Amanuban, ida baa iha Amanatun, ida baa iha Amarasi} \\
\text{hat hela baa Haitimuk, Wewiku, Dirma, Lakekun}
\]

Four of them remained in Wehali, six went on. The elder *loro* went to Likusaen Baboen, one went to Biboki, one went to Insana, one went to Amanuban, one went to Amanatun and one went to Amarasi. Four men were left in Haitimuk, Wewiku, Dirma and Lakekun.

This myth has a slightly different emphasis. Unlike the myth from the inner Wehali region, which focuses on the founding of Laran as the centre and the trunk of society and as a seat for the *ina no ama* (mother and father of Wehali), the myth preserved by the hamlet of Builaran concerns the ordering of the ‘border’ between the centre and the peripheral domains. Builaran, which is known as the hamlet of the Liurai (*leo Liurai*) naturally engages in ‘outside’ affairs. One of the ceremonial functions of ‘outside’ rulers is to protect the centre. In line with this function, the myth preserved in this hamlet concerns the drawing of borders between the inner protectors and the outer protectors. Based on an order of precedence, the domains of Wewiku, Haitimuk, Lakekun and Dirma are regarded as inner protectors, while other domains toward the sunrise and sunset are regarded as outer protectors. It is also interesting to note that *adat* historians who are in charge of narrating the inner Wehali history usually limit themselves to narrating only the central ‘evidence’, such
as the emergence of the first dry land and the birth of the first human beings. The Liurai adat historian’s emphasis, however, is more on the ‘distribution’ of Wehali’s men to peripheral societies and less on the notion of ‘the beginnings’.

Like the narrative cited in text 2, the Builaran myth is also regarded as a lia hun (trunk language). This myth reveals that the ‘ten men’ (mane sanulu) of Wehali were called lorio (literally ‘Sun’). Six lorio were sent to rule domains in the west and east. The first born ruled the areas towards the sunrise (Likusaen Baboen), while the rest ruled the areas toward the sunset (Biboki, Insana, Amanuban, Amanatun and Amarasi). The four youngest men stayed and ruled the four domains surrounding Wehali. Like the first six rulers, they were also called lorio. In relation to the notion of protecting the centre, these lorio play different roles. The first six lorio are considered ‘outside or peripheral rulers’ (loro molin). In this capacity they are referred to as ‘the lord of granaries, the lord of huts’ (klobor na ‘in // laen na ‘in). The second four lorio are called ‘the inside rulers’ (loro laran). In house and garden imagery, these inside rulers are regarded as the guardians of four valuable posts, four iron posts (rin kmurak hat // rin besi hat).

The pattern of inter-domain relations, as depicted in the three examples of oral tradition discussed above, evinces a principle of precedence. Both the second and the third myths, narrated in the hamlets of Laran and Builaran, indicate that domains outside Wehali originated from Wehali. The new communities built up outside Wehali are the ‘fruit’ of Wehali’s tree. In other words, their origin groups based on a genitor in each case have their derivation in a source in the progenetrix line of Wehali. Here we are faced with the reckoning of genitor lines emanating from a progenetrix line. The five sons who married women from outer domains in the second myth would refer to their origin house as uma hun (the trunk house) and the house they lived in as uma tuur fatik (the sitting place house). According to the marriage customs, the five sons could take up residence only in their wives’ houses. So, the descendant of the five sons who lived in peripheral domains trace their origin group to five different genitors. The asymmetrical relations between the origin groups based on genitor lines and the ‘trunk’ progenetrix line are defined as relations between tree trunk/fruit, parents/children, life giver/life taker, centre/periphery and female/male.
The pattern of relation based on these criteria of precedence are further replicated at the levels of village, hamlet and house. However, at the hamlet and house levels, the role of these criteria is significantly reduced. They are replaced to some extent by other criteria of precedence, namely, first-born/last-born or elder/younger. To say this does not necessarily mean that criteria used for the inter-domain level are irrelevant at the village, hamlet and house levels. Rather, the lower the level (e.g. house), the more important the age category becomes. Conversely, the broader the level (e.g. inter-domain), the more important the spatial and rank categories remain. These assumptions are manifest also in the first and third myths quoted above, with slightly different emphases in each. In the first myth, the emphases are on the knowledgeable inside compared to the foolish outside; the superiority of inside compared to the inferiority of outside; and the outside as the place to accumulate wealth, but the inside as the source of life. The emphasis in the third myth is on the rank of rulers who act as protectors of the ritual centre.

**Centre-Periphery at the Village and Hamlet Levels**

The distinction between centre and periphery, inside and outside can be observed further in village structure. To demonstrate this distinction, I have chosen to describe a grouping of hamlets which, culturally, belong to outer Wehali and a grouping of hamlets of the inner Wehali. The former will be represented by the village (desa) of Kamanasa, and the latter by the villages of Kateri, Umakatahan, Kletek and Fahiluka. These villages are situated in the district of Malaka Tengah.

1. **Outer Wehali**

The present village (desa) of Kamanasa consists of seven hamlets (leo). With the aim of consolidating diverse hamlets into larger administrative units called desa, the present Indonesian government encompassed the seven hamlets into what is known as desa Kamanasa. The seven hamlets are: Fatisin (derives from fatu isin, literally ‘flesh of the stone’), Liurai (derives from liu = to surpass and rai = land. Liurai = to rule the land’), Manliman (derives from mane liman, literally ‘men’s arms’), Leklaran (derives from leo klaran, literally ‘middle clan or hamlet’), Sukabi
(Australian oak tree), Sukabihanawa (sukabi + hanawa = to rest) and Labarai (the hamlet of Bunak-speaking people).

According to oral history narrated in the area, the people of these hamlets were originally refugees from the Portuguese colony in the eastern part of Timor. Indeed, the name of the village is often mentioned as Suai Kamanasa. The term Suai denotes a domain of origin in as much as the Kamanasa people claim that originally they came from Suai, a Tetun-speaking area across the former international border between east and west Timor. This identification of Kamanasa with the Tetun people of Suai goes against the complex structure of the present-day village because included within this single administrative unit are people of a different ethnic origin, namely the Bunak, who migrated to the area along with the Suai Kamanasa people some 90 years ago. Although administratively, their hamlet of Labarai is part of the village of Kamanasa, it is ritually distinct as they do not participate in an important agricultural rite, called 'delivering the head maize' (hatama batar ulun), celebrated annually by the former Suai people. From among the six hamlets of the former Suai people, the hamlets of Fatisin, Manliman, Leklaran and Liurai claim to come from the same place in Suai-Kamanasa and to constitute a single origin group. This origin group, on which I focus my analysis, is called Kamanasa. As a symbol of unity, these four hamlets treat one sacred house located at the ritual centre of the village as their ancestral house. This house is then regarded as the most sacred house of the people of Kamanasa. Reflecting the physical appearance of this sacred house, they refer to it as uma Ai As (the high posts house) or uma Ro Malae (the foreign ship house).

The overall layout of the village shows a clear distinction between areas used for dwellings and areas used for cultivation (see Figure 4.2 ).
In this figure, the dwelling space is termed 'inside', 'interior' (laran), which I gloss as 'centre' and the cultivation space is termed 'outside, 'periphery' (molin). In the cultivation space, each household has its own gardens. Some gardens have a permanent hut (laen); others have only a temporary hut for ritual purposes during harvest. According to folk etymology, the word laen (hut) is related to the word la 'en (husband). One of my informants said that the “hut is the garden’s husband” (to'os ne'e nala 'en baa laen). In any case laen, which are located in the cultivation space, are without doubt male domains. (There are, for example, various restrictions on unmarried women entering someone’s garden hut). In contrast, a residential house (uma) which is located in the dwelling space, is associated with females. The phrase uma na'in (literally, the lord of the house) is a term that refers to a man’s wife. Thus the categories of inside, female, dwelling place and source of life as against outside, male, cultivation space and source of wealth are also used in describing the physical structure of the village.

The pattern of relations among hamlets reveals its similarity to the pattern of relations among domains. Being one ritual community, the form of relations among these four hamlets of Kamanasa is understood as that between parents and male children and between female and male. Based on the origin myth of Kamanasa, the
hamlet of Liurai (see Figure 4.2, hamlet 3) is regarded as the seat of Liurai Suri Nurak. The hamlet of Leklaran (literally ‘inner side hamlet’ - see Figure 4.2, hamlet 2) is the seat of the Liurai’s sister. In the house symbolism, the hamlet of Leklaran represents the inner house while the hamlet of Liurai is the platform. In rituals, people of the hamlets of Fatisin and Manliman refer to people of the hamlets of Leklaran and Liurai as ‘mother’ (ina) and ‘father’ (ama) respectively. Reciprocally, the latter two designate the former two hamlets as their sons (oan). So, within this origin group, the hamlets of Liurai and Leklaran are depicted as located at the centre of the Kamanasa and therefore deserving of being called the central hamlets. By contrast, the hamlet of Manliman (Figure 4.2, hamlet 4), which is located to the east of the centre, is considered to be a male first-born child; and the hamlet of Fatisin (Figure 4.2 hamlet 1) located to the west of the centre, is considered to be a male last-born child. In an indication of how categorical distinctions are replicated at different levels, in respect of Liurai and Leklaran both Fatisin and Manliman (hamlets 1 and 4) are now depicted as located ‘outside’ the residential space and so, categorically, they are peripheral (molin). Culturally they are considered to be male children who have an obligation to till the land in order to feed their mother and father, who rest in the centre. During the harvest ritual, members of these two hamlets (1 and 4) give a tribute of seven cobs of corn to the centre hamlet to symbolise the feeding of the centre by the periphery. This offering of tribute also acts as an acknowledgement that the descendants of these two hamlets recognize the hamlets of Liurai and Leklaran as their origin hamlets. Thus, the pattern of relations among this origin group is also regulated by the dual category of centre/periphery. This opposition is further developed in botanical terms of trunk/tips. The hamlets of Leklaran and Liurai are the trunk, while the hamlets of Fatisin and Manliman are their tips.

The distinction between centre and periphery is further replicated down to the level of relations between houses within a hamlet. In order to explore further the dual symbolic classification, I concentrate here on two hamlets, namely Fatisin and Liurai. A common feature of hamlets in south Tetun, including these two hamlets, is the importance of the orientation of the houses, which may be toward empty spaces or more often toward the sacred houses of the hamlets. In the origin group of Kamanasa, a sacred house is called uma metan (the black house) and is uninhabited.
While in Wehali in general, a sacred house is called *uma lulik* and is uninhabited. Named houses within a hamlet are arranged to face this sacred house. The exact genealogical relations between the members of named houses with the ancestors of the sacred house is never clear. Asking about these genealogical ties, informants would only refer to the sacred house as the founder of the hamlet. So, the identity of people within a hamlet is bound to the original founding ancestor of the hamlet.

Structurally speaking, every hamlet has its own identity in respect of its history and ritual function within a larger entity. This is evidenced by the layout of the hamlets as shown here in the examples of Fatisin and Liurai (Figures 4.3 and 4.4). Houses in the hamlet of Fatisin (and also in the hamlet of Manliman) are organized in a concentric pattern, mostly facing inwards. These two hamlets are categorically male children. By contrast, the hamlets of ‘mother and father’ (Leklaran and Liurai) are likewise organized in a circular pattern but most of the houses exhibit a parallel orientation (see Figure 4.4). While this distinction may be observed to be typical, my Tetun informants saw these arrangements as different realizations of a single principle. Thus, comparing the orientation of houses in the so-called ‘central hamlets’ with the orientation of houses in hamlets ritually considered as peripheral throughout the plain of south Tetun, one can deduce that houses in the former exhibit parallel orientation while those in the latter show a concentric arrangement. When this fact was pointed out, the Tetun explained that basically every named house must be oriented toward the house that represents the founder of the clan. Consequently, houses of every clan are organized in a concentric pattern. However, there is also another way of meeting this requirement in respect of sacred houses in which the front half is built oriented toward the direction of the coming of their mythical male ancestor, while the back half is oriented toward the direction of the coming of their mythical female ancestor. These houses, which represent the houses of ‘mother and father’, constitute the trunk houses in an origin group. In a higher order origin group, such as the cluster of four hamlets discussed above, the hamlets ritually considered as ‘trunk hamlets’ are therefore set out with houses in parallel orientation. With this arrangement, according to native considerations, every hamlet or clan that constitutes an origin group ‘supports’ to trunk hamlet, the hamlet of the mother and father.
In the hamlet of Fatisin (see Figure 4.3), the front doors (*oda matan lor*) of every house are built 'to face' the sacred 'black house' (*uma metan*) in the middle (house 11).

Facing the southern sea, and located in the northern part of the hamlet (house 8) is *uma Katuas* (the house of the respectable man or the old man house). As its name suggests, this house is categorically male. Decisions regarding agricultural activities, the ritual obligations of each house within the hamlet or matters concerning the welfare of the hamlet in general have to be discussed in this house. The front verandah of a house is usually covered by mat-walls. These mats are called the 'female mats' (*kleni feteto*). During the day, these mats are removed to give the impression of an open space. The front verandah, which is the space of men, is thus characterized by its 'openness'. Consistent with this notion of openness, the front verandah of Uma Katuas has no such wall.

On the opposite side of the hamlet the *uma Ferik* (the house of the respectable woman or the old woman’s house) (house 2) is located. Its name suggests that this house is female and therefore, in many senses a contrast to the *uma Katuas*. Most
houses have a front platform or verandah that is the sleeping space of the male members of the household. Thus, the platform is associated with maleness. In contrast, the lack of a platform in the uma Ferik denotes its status as a female house. The most important function of women in rituals is to prepare sacrificial betel-nut. Based on this analogy, the house functions as a place to prepare betel-nut during certain rituals held in the hamlet.

These three, uma Metan (11), uma Katuas (8) and uma Ferik (2) make up the centre of the hamlet. They are surrounded by named houses, namely, uma Kwa’ik (3), uma La’e Tua (4), uma Badaen (5), uma Dahu Bauk (6), uma Dao Kata (7) to the west and uma Hali Hun (9) and uma Ai Hun (1) to the east. This group of houses constitutes a ‘mother elder-younger sister’ (inan bi alin) bond. Within this bond, every house has its ritual function. At the hamlet or origin group level, these houses occupy the realm of the periphery (molin). They are regarded as the male protectors of ina no ama (mother and father) who rest in the centre. Uma Falus (10) deserves special explanation. The word falus in Tetun means ‘widower’. My informants described the house as ‘like a man without wife or a woman without husband’ (nu’u mane la no fen, feto la no la’en). In ritual language this house is called the ‘house to dry one’s sweat’ (uma hanawa kosar) or as expressed in a ritual poem:

| Uma dala oi sia                       | The house at the front of the road          |
| uma tur tuli                          | the house to sit and to call upon           |
| tur tuli hamara kosar                 | to sit, to call on and to dry one’s sweat  |
| hamara kosar foin liu                 | dry sweat before continuing (the journey). |

Its name suggests that this house is sexually indeterminate. Every outsider is called ema matak no let (literally translated as ‘the raw and gap person’) and is expected to ‘dry his sweat’ in this house before proceeding into the centre of the hamlet, which is regarded as ‘the origin of heat and origin of sacredness’ (manas hun // lulik hun). So, this house plays the role of front gate or front house of the hamlet. In this front house, one is conceptually prepared to face ‘the source of heat’ (manas hun), which can harm ‘the raw people’. To avoid this danger, one needs to rest in a ‘liminal space’ located in between the inside (conceptually ‘residence’) and the outside (conceptually ‘gardens’). This is the place of uma Falus.

By contrast, houses in the hamlets of Liurai (see Figure 4.4) and Leklaran are organized in a more parallel pattern, in the sense that the named houses are oriented
in one direction, namely towards the seaside (lor). The only exception is the orientation of the uma Amanas (the heat house). It is oriented toward the ksadan, the ritual centre of every hamlet or conglomeration of hamlets. In Kamanasa, this ritual empty space is located at the centre of the hamlet, while in inner Wehali territory, it is situated outside the hamlet.

With the exception of uma Amanas, every house mentioned in this figure is delineated as facing the most sacred house, namely the uma Ro Malae (the house of the foreign ship). According to the myth of origin of the Kamanasa people, the first ruler who came from Suai Kamanasa (in the present east Timor region) was called Liurai Suri Nurak. He arrived with his followers who became founders of the four hamlets that at present are part of the village of Kamanasa. To commemorate the coming of Liurai Suri Nurak as the founder of the Kamanasa, a sacred house was built at the ritual centre of Kamanasa, located in the hamlet of Liurai. This house is called uma Ro Malae. Compared to other sacred houses (uma Metan), each of which represents the founder of an origin group at the hamlet level, the uma Ro Malae is built distinctively on higher posts. Thus, people call this house, the ‘high post house’ (uma Ai As). As the most sacred house in Kamanasa, this house becomes the centre of the annual maize harvest ritual.
Compared to the hamlet of Fatisin, for example, in which one can observe the difference in construction between a male house (*uma Katuas*), which has a platform and a female house (*uma Ferik*) which has no platform, within the hamlet of Liurai (Figure 4.4) all houses have platforms. Here, even the most sacred houses in Kamanasa have platforms. This unusual aspect of their construction follows the myth concerning the founding of Kamanasa, where it is narrated that these hamlets of refugees were founded by a man called Liurai Suri Nurak, and are therefore considered male. Within this cluster of named male houses there is a female house called *uma Amanas* (heat house). This is the place to prepare sacrificial betel-nut. The orientation of this Amanas house is somewhat surprising. In a parallel pattern one expects every named house to face the same direction as the sacred house. In the case of the Amanas house, however, it faces the *ksadan*, the ritual space at the centre of the hamlet. Unlike *uma Ferik* in Fatisin, this house has a platform. The same construction is observable in the hamlet of Leklaran. Although it is considered to be a ‘mother’ hamlet, every named house there has a platform. In these instances, the distinction between *uma Ferik* and *uma Katuas* rests on the arrangement of the walls. The platform of the *uma Ferik* is enclosed by plaited screens. By contrast, no screens are hung around the platform of *uma Katuas*.

2. Inner Wehali

The area that I gloss as inner Wehali primarily comprises five hamlets, namely Kateri, Umakatahan, Kletek, Fahiluka and Laran. At present, these five hamlets still play an important role in ritual, although they are not part of the contemporary administrative centre. In Chapter 2, Table 2.5, I listed the names of hamlets that have been amalgamated to compose administrative units designated ‘villages’ (*desa*). In this amalgamation policy, these five hamlets are included in the present-day villages of Kateri, Umakatahan, Kletek and Fahiluka. In this arrangement the hamlet of Laran is included in the village of Umakatahan. Thus, administratively, the hamlet of Laran is now only one *dusun* (an administrative designation for hamlet) among the nine *dusun* that make up the ‘village’ of Umakatahan. Ironically, the name of Laran, the ritual centre of Wehali is not used as the village name.

In ritual language these four-plus-one hamlets compose a single territory called ‘the four corner land, the four elbow land’ (*rai lidun hat, rai sikun hat*) which in this
thesis is referred to as 'the four corner land'. The ‘four’ in this phrase refers to the four hamlets of Kateri, Umakatahan, Kletek and Fahiluka. These four hamlets regard the fifth hamlet (Laran), which in Tetun means ‘inside’ or ‘interior’, as their central hamlet. This designation is based on origin myths. In the myth cited as Reference Text 2, people of this ‘four corner land’ acknowledge their origin from a common genetrix called Ho’ar Na’i Haholek. Her house is called the house of Earth-Sky (uma Rai Lale’an). To symbolise their unity, the people of this ‘four corner land’ erected a sacred house in the hamlet of Laran as their common ancestral house. This house is conceptually the house of Earth-Sky. However, since the Earth-Sky is a mythical house, the new house erected in the hamlet of Laran represents that mythical house. This ‘new’ house is called Ai Lotuk (‘slender tree’ - see Figure 4.5, House 1).

Given the presence of this sacred house, the hamlet of Laran is categorically considered the most sacred hamlet. Members of the other four hamlets treat the hamlet of Laran as their ‘mother’ hamlet. Reciprocally, members of the Laran hamlet designate those four hamlets as their children. Thus, an order of precedence based on the categories of parent-child is employed by the Wehali to explain the hierarchical contrast between Laran as the centre hamlet and the others as peripheral hamlets. The botanical idioms of ‘trunk of tree’ (hun) versus ‘flower’ (funan) and fruit (klaut) are also important categories used to explain the nature of relations between these hamlets. Since the hamlet of Laran is associated with the genetrix Ho’ar Nai Haholek it is the ‘trunk’, while the hamlets of Kateri and Umakatahan are the ‘flowers’ and the hamlets of Kletek and Umakatahan are the ‘fruit’. The metaphors ‘flower’ and ‘fruit’ designate the gender qualification of ‘female’ and ‘male’ children respectively.

The Ai Lotuk was originally fenced in a square shape with mangroves (ai tasi) obtained from the seaside. At present one can still observe traces of the old structure. The area inside this fence is called Ai Lotuk Laran (interior of the Ai Lotuk). So, in the hamlet of Laran, which in itself means ‘inside’ or ‘interior’, there is also a particular place called ‘interior’. I, therefore, gloss it as the ‘centre of the centre’. All sacred houses in each hamlet which comprises the territory of ‘the four corner land’ have to be built supporting this particular ‘centre’. Literally, it means that these sacred houses are built facing towards the area of Ai Lotuk Laran.

The centrality of the hamlet of Laran within the so-called territory of ‘the four corner land’ may be delineated in another ways by using idioms of house symbolism. In ritual language, the four hamlets of Kateri, Umakatahan, Kletek and Fahiluka are symbolized as the four corner posts of a house and therefore they are referred to as
‘the four iron posts, the four valuable posts’ (*rin besi hat // rin kmurak hat*). The two posts at the back of this symbolic house are represented by the hamlets of Kateri and Umakatahan. As these posts are labelled female posts, these two hamlets are also designated female hamlets. In the same way, the hamlets of Kletek and Fahiluka are designated male hamlets. Being labelled ‘posts’, the four hamlets are conceptually and physically ‘supporters’ (*maktane*) of the centre hamlet of Laran. The physical orientation of those hamlets reflects the notion of ‘support’ or *tane* as it is termed.

The centrality of Laran is also commonly described by using the dichotomy of dwelling and cultivation areas. Just like the overall layout of the four hamlets in Kamanasa, ‘the four corner land’ may be viewed in terms of this dual division in which the hamlet of Laran is a dwelling space or rather, a resting space. While the four hamlets are categorically a cultivation space or the place to work. Asking people of these four hamlets about their ritual function and obligations as members of this higher order origin group in ‘the four corner land’, one would be given a fixed response: “It is our duty to feed the mother and father who rest in the centre” (cf. Reference Text 8). This response is an application of the concept of ‘rest’ and ‘work’. Laran is a resting place. ‘Mother and father’ in this hamlet only ‘eat reclining, drink reclining’ (*maha toba // mahemu toba*) and it is the job of their ‘children’, who occupy the cultivation space, to till gardens in order to feed the reclining parent.

This conceptual division between dwelling and cultivation, reclining and working is said to be replicated in the orientation of the hamlets and named houses within each hamlet. Thus, houses in the cultivation area must support houses in the dwelling area. With this notion in mind, the ancestral house which symbolises the unity of named houses in each hamlet must be erected facing toward the Laran Hamlet and, more particularly, facing the centre of the centre (*Ai Lotuk Laran*). Orienting their named houses in this direction implies that the houses physically ‘support’ (*tane*) the *Ai Lotuk* and, therefore, it is an acknowledgement of the superiority of *Ai Lotuk* over their own ancestral houses. The notion of superiority is encapsulated in the ‘working’ and ‘reclining’ categories. It is the superior who reclines and the inferior who works. Thus, ancestral houses in the hamlets of Kateri, Kletek and Fahiluka are built to support the *Ai Lotuk*. The only exception is the orientation of the named houses in the hamlet of Umakatahan. Its ancestral house is built parallel to the *Ai Lotuk*. Both of them face the ‘seaside’ (*lor*). This exception is understandable if one realises that this hamlet has two functions in regard to Laran. Using the same house symbolism, Umakatahan is a ‘post’. Being a post, its houses have to support the *Ai Lotuk*. But the second function of Umakatahan as ‘the
trunk step, the trunk ladder' (*tetek hun // knuba hun*) of a house restrains it from organizing its houses facing the centre of Laran. Because of this function, Umakatahan is no longer a cultivation space. It is part of the dwelling space, even though only as its ‘ladder’.

Due to the importance of Laran as the central hamlet, the arrangement of named houses in this hamlet are of particularly significant. As shown in Figure 4.5 below, the named houses in this hamlet are organized in a parallel pattern to face the Ai Lotuk (House 1), the ‘sacred jungle’ (*alas lulik*)9 or ‘ritual centre’ (*ksadan*). These named houses are located in four areas within the hamlet, each called a *le'un*. The Tetun word *le'un* literally means ‘a small section of narrow inhabited plain’ (cf. Mathijsen 1906: 77); Morris (1984: 130) interprets it as a (populated) plain. The Wehali used these original meanings to designate sub-groups of people who inhabited a section of a *leo*. Each *le'un* contains one or more named houses. Every named house within a *le'un* is related as a group of *uma inan bin alin* (mother elder sister younger sister houses). With reference to Figure 4.5 below, *le'un* Klot consists of Houses 2, 3 and 4; *le'un* Tatinis Lolon consists of Houses 5, 6 and 7; *le'un* Akar Laran consists of Houses 8, 9 and 10; and *le'un* Loro Monu consists of Houses 11, 12, 13 and 14. Each *le'un* is headed by a female *fukun* and a male *fukun*. Since heads of hamlets are also called *fukun*, these heads of hamlets are designated as *fukun bot* (the chief *fukun*). In daily conversation, however, people do not differentiate the *fukun bot* and the *fukun*. Everybody is called *fukun*.

![Figure 4.5](image.png)
Being the ritual centre of Wehali, where the Maromak Oan resides, the named houses within the hamlet are referred to in two ways. Houses 8 and 9 are referred to as *tafatik*, a compound word of *tur* (to sit) and *fatik* (place). The term *tafatik* is commonly translated into Indonesian as 'istana' (palace). The rest are simply called ‘named houses’ (*uma mahoo naran*). Both *tafatik* and named houses are built facing the ancestral House 1.

There are two reasons why those two particular houses (*tafatik* Leko, House 8 and *tafatik* Mako’a Rai, House 9) are called *tafatik*. According to the Haitimuk and other nobles in Wehali, the Leko house is a *tafatik* because it is a place where the Maromak Oan resides. This means that this house supplies a woman as wife to the Maromak Oan. But according to nobles in Laran, the Leko house is a *tafatik* because the Maromak Oan is chosen matrilaterally from among male members of this house. *Tafatik* Leko is therefore the natal house of the Maromak Oan. Since Leko and Mako’a Rai are the houses of two sisters, both are called *tafatik*. Until now it is still contested whether the Leko house is the house that supplies the Maromak Oan, or the house where Maromak Oan resides. The latest contest between the house of Leko in the hamlet of Laran that supports Agustinus Klau and the house of Makbalin in the hamlet of Haitimuk that supports Agustinus Nahak Seran as the proper Maromak Oan of Wehali reflects the constant disputes between nobles of these two hamlets.

Despite this competition, no one disputes the primacy of the hamlet of Laran as the central domain, the Leko as a house is closely associated with the ruler of Wehali, and Ai Lotuk as the centre of the centre. As shown in Figure 4.5, the named houses in this hamlet are organized with a parallel orientation facing outwards.

The named Houses 2 (*uma Bei Nufa*), 3 (*uma Ai As*) and 4 (*uma Kwa’ik*) are located in *le un* Klot. Founders of these three houses were the sisters: *yZ*, *mZ* and *eZ* respectively. At present members of House 3 no longer live in Laran. This house has collapsed, leaving only its male pillar (*kakuluk lor*). The name *klot* (narrow) given to this *le un* is said to be related to a space inside a house referred to as *we klot*. This is the quarter to store water jars, firewood and other household utensils. My Tetun friends explained that just as the *we klot* stores household needs, people who live in *le un* Klot are obliged to serve the needs of the Maromak Oan, the lord of the ‘slender tree house’. Bei Nufa, the male guardian of House 2, pointed to the walls of his house saying: “My house looks uglier than the ‘slender tree house’. The wall panels in my house are squeezed with three pieces of bamboo slivers, while in the ‘slender tree house’ has four bamboo slivers”. In arranging wall panels, the more squeezers used the better the result. There are still more detailed construction
differences between the guardians’ houses and their master’s house which point to the hierarchical nature of the relation between these two groups of houses. Thus, using the house metaphor of *we klot*, members of Houses 2 and 4 are “servants”\(^{12}\) of the Maromak Oan. Houses 2 and 4 provide women who regularly go every night into the Ai Lotuk in order to light the firewood in the hearth and to light the lamp made of candle-nut called *badut*. As an Ai Lotuk servant, Bei Nufa, the male guardian of House 2, also functions as the Maromak Oan’s messenger to the people who live in hamlets toward the sunrise including the hamlets of Umakatahan, Kletek and Fahiluka. *Uma Kwa’ik* (House 4) is regarded as a ‘gate’ to the Ai Lotuk Laran. Thus House 4 marks the border of *le’un* Klot. Once we step into this territory, we are at the edge of Ai Lotuk Laran. In former times, there were a number of prohibitions one needed to observe when entering this territory.

The area where *uma* Marii Lia (House 5), *uma* Tabutak (House 6) and *uma* Manekin (House 7) are situated is called *le’un* Tatinis Lolon (*le’un* at the edge of the river). The name of this *le’un* is claimed to be taken from a *tafatik* in the hamlet of Laran Ain Tasi. The guardians of House 5 (Ho’ar Nahak and Na’i Bo’uk) trace their origin to this hamlet (Laran Ain Tasi). Guardians of Houses 6 and 7 have left Laran and therefore people only count this *le’un* consisting of one named house (House 5).

In the hamlet of Laran, House 5 functions as the last gate that links Laran, as a space for humans and Ai lotuk Laran, as an ancestral space. Once this border is crossed, people are already in between the territory of humans and that of the ancestors. Thus *uma* Marii Lia functions as a connecting point. In the annual tribute of homage, for example, when those who deliver the seven cobs of maize are on their way to Ai Lotuk Laran, they cry out as soon as they pass the *uma* Marii Lia.

*Tafatik* Leko (House 8), *tafatik* Mako’a Rai (House 9) and *uma* Fore Asa (House 9) are located in the *le’un* of Akar Laran. The latter house is called the ‘supporting house’ (*uma sasi’an tatane*) of the former two sisters’ *tafatik*. At present, the office of female guardians of these two *tafatik* are, respectively, in the hands of Theresia Telik Seran, known as Na’i Nis and Welhelmina Ho’ar Seran, known as Na’i Mea. Whether these two nobles are the rightful guardians of these two most important houses is a delicate matter.

The fourth *le’un* is called Loro Monu (sunset). The most important named house in this *le’un* is *uma* Ai Tou (House 12). Just as *uma* Bei Nufa in the *le’un* Klot serves as the connecting point between hamlets toward the sunrise and the central hamlet of Laran, *uma* Ai Tou is the connecting point between hamlets toward the sunset and the central hamlet of Laran. The hamlets toward the sunset include the four hamlets within the present village of Kateri and other peripheral hamlets.
In fact, the positions of House 2 and House 12 as connecting points between hamlets toward the sunrise and toward the sunset emphasises the hamlet of Laran a central hamlet. In Chapter 8 (Figure 8.2), I depict the centrality of the hamlets of Laran by illustrating the passing of a rope of command, called *kbabukar*, from the centre to the periphery. In regard to the territorial alliances discussed in this chapter, Figure 4.6 helps us to depict schematically the central location of the hamlet of Laran within the organization of hamlets in this ‘four corner land’.

From the Laran point of view, the four hamlets depicted above are cultivation space: the people of these four hamlets are children who till gardens in order to feed ‘the one who eats reclining, drinks reclining’ (*mahaa toba // mahemu toba*) in the centre. But as one moves outward to the hamlet level, it is the *fukun bot* who is the reclining ones. They are surrounded by *fukun* as their workers. In turn the *fukun* also becomes the reclining ones, surrounded by the ‘old women’ (*ferik*) and ‘old men’ (*katuas*) of each named house. At the ‘house’ level, it is the *ferik* and *katuas* who are the reclining parents, while members of the lineage are the cultivators. The names of the four-plus-one hamlets and their *fukun bot* that are conceptually regarded as surrounding the central hamlet of Laran, are provided in the following
Table 4.4. Every *fukun bot* is identified by the name of his house. Therefore in the column for Fukun below there are list of named houses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village (<em>Desa</em>)</th>
<th>Hamlet (<em>Leo</em>)</th>
<th>Clan head (<em>Fukun Bot</em>)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Umakatahan</td>
<td>Umakatahan</td>
<td>Uma Katuas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Batane</td>
<td>Uma Katuas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brama</td>
<td>Uma Mamulak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tabene</td>
<td>Uma Kliduk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uma Marii Lia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kateri</td>
<td>Kateri</td>
<td>Uma Bei Rai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uma Bei Tema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Umasukaer</td>
<td>Uma La’e Tua Klolok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bi’uduk</td>
<td>U. Hanematan Babenik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kletek</td>
<td>Kletek</td>
<td>U. Foho Bot Manas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabiluka</td>
<td>Wedare</td>
<td>Uma Lo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fabiluka</td>
<td>Uma Mamulak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uma Katuas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lo’osina</td>
<td>Uma Lo’o Aknotak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natra’en</td>
<td>Uma Mamulak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manumuti</td>
<td>Uma Ferik Katuas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uma Katuas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uma Katuas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uma Katuas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4 Assembly of the Four *Ferik*, Four *Katuas*

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I have attempted to show the consistent application in Wehali of notions of centre and periphery from the cosmological level down to the level of the house within a hamlet. Along this continuum I also pointed out the different patterns of relations based on diverse criteria constitutive of precedence at each level of social organization. Among other things, these patterns are based on the various oral traditions on which my analysis drew, especially in respect of relations between domains. Within a domain, the higher order origin groups, such as the four hamlets discussed in relation to Kamanasa acknowledge a particular ancestral house as representing their founder. Similarly, at the lower level, members of named houses...
all acknowledge a particular sacred house as that of a founding ancestor of the hamlet. Yet the pattern of relations among hamlets within a higher order origin group and the pattern of relations among named houses within a hamlet are subject to different characterizations of precedence. The former (within the group of related hamlets) is based on parent-child criteria of precedence, while the latter (within a hamlet) is expressed in terms of elder-younger sibling relations of precedence.

The same pattern of relations prevails also among the higher order origin group of ‘the four corner land’. However, there is a significant difference between Kamanasa, an outer Wehali origin group, and ‘the four corner land’, an inner Wehali origin group.

The Kamanasa trace their origin to a genitor named Liurai Suri Nurak. This genitor structure has its implications in the organization of the hamlets within the higher order origin group. Within this structure, the hamlets of Fatisin and Manliman are the male hamlets. In the generational categories, the central hamlets are the ‘parent’ while the peripheral hamlets are the ‘sons’. In comparison, members of the higher order origin group of ‘the four corner land’ trace their origin to the genetrix, Ho’ar Na’i Haholek. The genetrix structure of this origin group permits the division of peripheral hamlets into male and female gender. So, the hamlets of Kateri and Umakatahan are categorically female while the hamlets of Kletek and Fahiluka are categorically male. If we pursue this further, there is a tendency to feminise gender. Therefore, although in the higher order a fukun that represents a hamlet is categorically male, at the hamlet level the fukun boi is categorically female, surrounded by male and female fukun in the le ‘un level. The changing of cultivation to dwelling space, transforming working categories to reclining categories aligns with this changing of gender.
Endnotes

1 It is not the custom of the people to discuss sexual organs publicly. When this narrator came to this part of the trick, he explained and re-enacted how cunningly Ati Batik put a bamboo under her sarong. His audience, which consisted of men and women, young and old laughed and at the same time were 'proud' of his ability to describe the trickiest part of the story.

2 The word matenek in Tetun also implies the know-how in magic.

3 As a disguised person she is not an anomaly sexually. It is true that Ho’ar is a common woman’s name, but the prefix sa- in samanek indicates that she is a woman pretending to be a man. There is no indication in the text that would lead to any conclusion that the fight between Ho’ar and Lakuleik is a fight between an unambiguous male versus an ambiguous female. Here Ho’ar simply had to disguise herself in the form of a prince so she could engage in a male activity (see Viqueque text elaborated by Hicks 1984: 12).

4 Francillon (1967: 78) mentions that his text of the origin myth was copied from the notebook of a schoolboy who was instructed by his maternal grandfather to preserve this ‘sacred language’.

5 This issue arises in respect of Schulte Nordholt’s argument concerning the superiority of Maromak Oan over the As Tanara of the Fialaran domain as based on the myth cited in Grijsen (1904: 129). In this myth it was said that one daughter of Maromak Oan married a prince of Fialaran. Schulte Nordholt then concluded that ‘the Maromak oan is recognized as superior ruler because he is the bride giver’ (1971: 256. The emphasis is mine). The superiority claimed is, however, based on the view that the mountain of Laka’an in the Fialaran territory was the first dry land to emerge and therefore constitutes the trunk (hun) of all societies. The Wehali, on the contrary, believe that their sacred hill of Marlilu was the first to dry and therefore that they are the trunk of all societies. Thus, the notion of origin (hun) plays the preeminent role in the claim to superiority.

6 The title Loro refers to a male ruler, the second rank of nobility in the structure of the Liurai’s government.

7 As noted by Francillon, these people fled from East Timor during the battle of Manufahi (hatuda Manufahi), in which the local people fought against the Portuguese. My estimate of some 90 years derives from information provided by the clan head of Labarai, who told me that his own father was among those young refugees. I gathered the same information as Francillon concerning this battle and I am not as yet aware of any written documents concerning it. However, information given to me describing the people’s refusal to pay tax to the Portuguese as one reason for their escaping from their homeland provides a clue to the historical dating of their migration. The
The introduction of tax came along side the establishment between 1885 and 1914 of the international border separating the then Portuguese Timor and Dutch Timor. This migration must have occurred during that period.

The word used for 'to face' is *tane*, which literally means 'to hold up from underneath', 'to support'. So these houses are delineated as supporting the 'important house' in the centre.

Every 'sacred jungle' is considered as a *ksadan* (ritual centre).

Nobles of Houses 8 and 9 refuse to call House 5 a 'palace' (*tafatik*). One of them told me that members of House 5 are not nobles. They are commoners who have the obligation to serve the nobles who sit in Houses 8 and 9. Therefore, they refer to that house simply as a 'named house'. However, members of the house concerned refer to their named house as a *tafatik*.

Haitimuk is a domain located in between Wehali and Wewiku. Traditionally, this hamlet provides the Maromak Oan for Wehali.

The Tetun terms that I translate as 'servants' are *feto ra* (female "servant") and *klosan* (male "servant"). In fact these terms mean much more than that. The terms go beyond our English word "servant" to indicate a relationship of confidence. People are proud to be *feto ra* and *klosan* of their masters.
Chapter Five

MARRIAGE AND ALLIANCE

Introduction

Any discussion of marriage and alliance in Wehali involves at least three topics: (1) the type of marriage, (2) the issue of bridewealth and (3) the nature of marriage arrangements. These three areas are important components within what is termed *adat sabete saladi* (literally, 'the custom of sitting cross-legged'). The Wehali claim that there are marked differences between the plains Tetun of the southern region and the hill Tetun of the northern region in terms of their *adat*. Ask a south Tetun the difference between *adat* of the hill and *adat* of the plains people and he or she will explain that the south Tetun 'eat while sitting, drink while sitting' (*mahaa tur // mahemu tur*); while their hill neighbours 'eat while standing, drink while standing' (*mahaa rik // mahemu rik*).

This chapter elaborates on the distinguishing features of the *adat sabete saladi* of the south Tetun. Rai Dais, a former head of the district of Malaka Barat, in the attempt to describe the distinctiveness of this *adat sabete saladi* draws an analogy between the expression used to denote what constitutes an *adat sabete saladi* (namely, ‘eat while sitting, drink while sitting’) and the cultural title given to the Maromak Oan, the central authority of Wehali who ‘eats reclining, drinks reclining’ (*mahaa toba // mahemu toba*). Although Rai Dais does not explore the nature of this analogy, both *adat sabete saladi* and the political structure in Wehali reveal a common ‘female focus’ within south Tetun culture.

Concerning the ideology of marriage, reports by government officials and accounts by Belunese students describe marriage in Wehali as *kawen tama* (literally, ‘entering marriage’), although this expression may be a literal translation from the Indonesian *kawin masuk*, the expression according to the Wehali, it suggests a rule of uxorilocal post-marital residence, i.e. the man leaves his natal place after marriage.
and resides in his wife’s house. This *adat sabete saladi*, as they phrase it, stands in contrast to the hill Tetun-speakers, whose post-marital residence is virilocal.

Another difference stressed by the Wehali is the ideology of bridewealth. The Wehali make clear in various levels of discussion that they do not recognize bridewealth. Some of them proudly and philosophically argue that in any practice of bridewealth payments, women are degraded and treated as objects. “We place a high value on women, so we do not ask for bridewealth” claim most Wehali elders. Other people express a different view by saying that marriage in Wehali is as easy as buying betel-nut: “Once you have betel-nut to offer, the woman is yours.” Of course both these versions are exaggerated accounts in order to praise or criticise the Wehali system of marriage. Whatever their differential assessments, these expressions reveal that for marriage in Wehali the exchange of bridewealth is not significant. Rather, what is important in this system of marriage is the exchange of a man for a woman. So, in giving a man to take up residence in his wife’s house, the man’s house expects a woman, entitled *mata musan* (literally, ‘source seed’), to be planted in their own house in the next generation. The alliance between these two houses is not completed by this exchange of a man for a woman who is metaphorically symbolised as ‘seed’, because in the following generation that woman’s house, having sent out a ‘seed’, expects repayment in the form of another woman returned to them as ‘banana head’ (*hudi ulun*).

More often, we hear the south Tetun talk about marriage as an alliance between *uma* (houses). The husband refers to his wife’s house as *uma tur fatik* (literally, ‘the sitting place house’), in the sense that he is only a ‘guest’ in that house, and to his own natal house as his *uma moris fatik* (literally, ‘the birth place house’) or *uma hun* (‘the origin house’). What is important in marriage for the south Tetun is that it establishes alliances which can guarantee the perpetuation of the kinship group, i.e. the house and the conglomeration of houses that share the same original sacred ancestral house. In Wehali discourse, without female children the kinship group will perish (*ha’i mate*, literally ‘the fire will die’). Whereas by retaining women within their natal house, the woman’s own kinship group will always have someone ‘to light the fire, boil the water in their house’ (*nalaka ha’i, hamanas we*). For the man’s kinship group, this form of marital alliance guarantees them someone in return ‘to light the fire and boil the water’ in their own house in the next generation. Given
these intentions, one might expect a symmetrical marriage practice in which houses are reciprocally both husband-taking and husband-giving houses to one another. This type of alliance, however, is not widely practised. Yet marriage is regarded as renewing alliances between two houses. By ‘renewing’ the alliance the Wehali mean perpetuating an already established alliance by repeating the pattern of previous marriages. This continuation of marriage links is called kadain talin\(^1\), which for convenience sake can be translated as ‘chain marriage’.

**Marriage Stages**

The first step towards marriage in Wehali is when a young couple express to their parents their intention to marry. The marriage is completed in various stages, the final one being the husband residing in his wife’s house. The whole process is regulated in *adat* and, therefore, each stage of marriage has its own name or term. According to Wehali descriptions, there are three stages in the arrangement of marriage: (1) ‘the front door betel-nut’ (*fuik bua oda matan*), (2) ‘the verandah prohibition betel leaves’ (*fuik badu labis*), and (3) ‘the true betel leaves, the true areca nut’ (*fuik tebes, bua tebes*).

1. *The front door betel-nut* (*Fuik bua oda matan*)

The Wehali marriage process is preceded by a period of courtship, which in Tetun is called *hanimak*, meaning literally ‘to play around’ and ‘to stop for a while’. As the term suggests, a young man is free to choose whichever woman he is going to court or to stop there for a while. During the courtship, a man tries to impress a woman by reciting love poems. In response, the woman must compete with the man’s skill in chanting poems. If during ‘the playing around’ they decide that they have met the right person, then the first stage of marriage begins. However, if one of them decides to the contrary, the relationship may end without any sanctions whatsoever. During the courtship period, a woman can receive more than one young man at a time, and the man also can visit a number of women.

Those who initiate the first stage of the marriage process are the woman’s parents. After several instances of his courting, the woman’s parents ask their
daughter the reason for the young man’s visits. Learning of his serious intention they then choose a close relative (usually a woman) to become their mediator (*ai kletek* literally, ‘bridge’). Together with the woman’s mother, she makes some cake and sends it to the man’s parents. The sending of cake(s) indicates to the man’s parents that their son has frequented the home (‘played around’) with the cake-sender’s daughter.

Now it is the turn of the young man’s parents to act. They then choose their own female mediator. For the purpose of mediating between the man’s house and the woman’s house it is important to choose a mediator who lives in the same hamlet as the woman. The mediator’s function is to take some betel leaves and areca nuts to the woman’s house. This betel-nut termed *fuik bua oda matan* (‘the front door betel-nut’), is put in a pyramid-shaped basket called *hane matan*). When the mediator is taking the betel-nut to the woman’s house, she has to hide under her shoulder cloth (*hafu ut*). The way she carries it, mimics the carrying of a baby under one’s arm. It is important for the mediator to take this gift in silence and to hide it from others’ attention.

Upon arrival at the girl’s house, the mediator offers the gift (*sasolok*) to the mother and mentions that it is a small token from the boy’s family. This betel-nut is termed ‘front door betel-nut’ because it symbolises the official coming of the boy to the house. Some informants mention that the betel-nut also symbolises the man himself, who shows his good intentions in courting by sitting on the open platform of the house. This betel-nut is then distributed to the girl’s MB (*tua na ‘i*) and other members of her house group, as a kind of invitation to discuss the formal ‘knocking at the door’. In this discussion the girl’s mother’s brother acts as spokesman for the girl’s house. If the ‘formal visit’ of the young man is accepted, the betel-nut is then chewed together. However, if the woman’s house rejects the idea of the boy coming into their daughter’s house, the mediator will return the gift to the boy’s parents. Formulation of these messages varies from person to person. Communicating that an official ‘knocking at the door’ has been accepted is often phrased as follows:

\[
\text{Oa feto no } \text{kida ti ‘an no kfina ti ‘an} \\
\text{ soru natene ti ‘an te ‘in natene ti ‘an}
\]

The daughter already has weaving equipment and rolls of thread (She) knows how to weave and to cook
Having received this message the boy’s house will begin to prepare for the second stage of the marriage process.

2. Betel leaves to restrict the verandah (Fuik badu labis)

The second stage is called ‘platform prohibition betel leaves’. There are also other terms referring to this stage, such as ‘prohibition betel leaves’ (fuik horak), ‘to hang up the prohibition’ (tara horak) or, in ritual language the ‘named betel leaves, the named areca nuts’ (fuik maho naran // bua maho naran). These terms all indicate the same thing, namely, that the platform of the house used for ‘playing around’ has been occupied by a particular man. Now the woman is restricted from receiving other male guests.

As in the first stage, the woman’s house takes the initiative in the second stage. The woman’s mediator (ai klete) goes to the man’s house to negotiate the appropriate time for them to come and ‘lift the prohibition’ (hasa ‘e horak). To lift the prohibition, the man’s family must prepare certain necessary items: one silver coin (murak tomak ida), one woven cloth made of local cotton (tais lima rasan), one knife (tudik), two bundles of betel leaves (fuik sasoka rua), seven times seven dried and sliced areca nuts (bua klaras butuk hitu), one and a half metres of white cloth, one bottle of palm gin (tua botir ida) and one chicken (manu ida). I have been told that these ‘gifts’ (sasolok) imply certain meanings. The silver coin together with the betel-nut, when placed in the family’s forbidden pyramid-shaped plaited basket (hanematan lulik), informs the ancestors (bein) of the woman’s house that their child (bein oan) has become engaged to marry. The engagement itself is implied in the offering of the woven sarong and the white cloth. The palm gin, chicken and knife are used to communicate the message to the entire hamlet that ‘the platform already has its occupant’ (labis no na’in ti’an). What is important in the arrangement of these gifts is that the gifts for the ancestors, the ‘dark people’ (ema kukun), must be separated from the gifts for human beings, the ‘bright people’ (ema roman).

After all the gifts have been presented, the young woman and the young man are considered to have changed status. The young man is no longer an outsider of the house, even though he has not really become one of the insiders. He is in the stage of becoming a son in-law. In this ‘liminal phase’, he is referred to as one who
is not yet fully a ‘new man’ (son-in-law) of the house. The Tetun term for the man in this ‘in-between stage’ is balu mane foun, which translated literally means, ‘half new man’. It should be noted that the phrase balu mane foun is used only as a term of reference, particularly when the addressee is not around. Otherwise, he will be referred to simply as ‘child’ by the woman’s parents. The young woman is also referred to as balu feto foun (literally, ‘half new woman’) to indicate that she is not yet fully a true daughter-in-law for the man’s house. According to my informants, to address someone directly as ‘half new man’ or ‘half new woman’ is insulting. In this transitional phase, the couple have to go through a ‘trying out period’ called sasadin. The future son-in-law is expected to visit his fiance more often, working in her garden and, most importantly, showing good manners while talking to members of the house. The future daughter-in-law is expected to show her skill in weaving. A gift of a hand-made sarong for the man is a token that she is capable of doing women’s jobs. In contrast to the man, she only comes to the man’s house on the man’s invitation. Even then, she cannot walk alone to her love’s house. During harvest, for example, the man’s sister will bring her to help with harvesting in the garden. In Wehali, it has become a custom that only a married woman can go alone to her husband’s garden.3

During the ‘trying out’ period, if the man decides that this woman is not suited to him, he can ask his family to ‘dismiss the prohibition’ (kasu horak). The gifts given by the man’s house at the first stage of marriage will then be returned. The man cannot be ‘prosecuted’ for his decision not to marry the woman, and the amount of the gifts he brought in will be fully returned. However, if the woman refuses to marry the man because she has already found a more suitable man, the woman’s house must return all the man’s gifts and pay a fine consisting of a woven cloth (not necessarily made of local cotton) to ‘cover the shame’ caused by the woman. In every fine, it is also necessary to include the offering of palm gin and a chicken or pig, depending on the size of the wrong-doing.

3. The true betel, true areca (Fuik tebes, bua tebes).

This stage of marriage is considered, particularly by the churches (both Catholic and Protestant), as nikah adat (adat’s marriage). In contrast to the first two stages,
in this stage the initiative is taken by the man's house. In principle, the gifts offered by the man are the same as those offered during the second stage. Apart from these compulsory gifts, there are also added gifts in terms of money and *taha tur* (lit. weeding equipment). Regarding the 'money', my Wehali friends emphasise that the amount is not important. In contrast to the practice of bridewealth observed among the north Tetun, they phrase the giving of money in the south Tetun regions as 'to respect and to praise the woman' (*hakneter hakaek oa feto*). People only mention that, when it comes to 'money', the Wehali recognise the principle of *tama soi // sai seti* (which I gloss as: 'easy to put in, but hard to take out'). This phrase implies that whatever the amount of money the man's house decides to give, the woman's house cannot reject nor dispute it. The second implication is that once it is offered, it cannot be taken back. Other non-compulsory gifts usually come in the form of horse(s), cow(s) or buffalo(s). These gifts are termed 'weeding equipment' (*taha tur*) because they are considered to be the man's helpers in the field. It should be noted that these non-compulsory gifts must be returned to the man's natal house on his death.

Apart from those gifts, there is still another gift usually brought by the man's house: rice and pigs needed for the feast. These gifts are also mentioned in the formal discussion between the two houses prior to the marriage ceremony. In that discussion, these gifts are termed as 'gifts that accompany the new woman' (*sasolok hohela feto foun*). The context of this phrase can only be understood if we recall that during the 'trying out period', the woman was expected to help the man's house in the field during harvest time. So, these gifts of rice and pigs are reckoned as a return for the woman's work. The implication of the designation is that the material things brought by the man's house (whether they are enough for the feast or not) are not important, but rather that the helping hands of the bride are most valuable. All of the additional gifts are carried in the sacred baskets by young women (*feto ra*) and young men (*klosan*), but gifts to be offered to the ancestors are carried by a married woman, usually the man's MBW (*ina fetok*).

In the process of delivering the gifts, certain rules must be observed. The man's party should not go straight to the woman's house, but should first visit the mediator's house. In regard to the spatial symbolism of the hamlet, this house is referred to as 'the closest house' (*uma kre'is*) of the bridegroom. This house is
considered to be a place ‘to sit and rest one’s sweat’ (*uma tur hanawa kosar*) before the bridegroom’s party continues its trip to the bride’s house. Due to this function, some people refer to the mediator’s house as the ‘camp site’ (*batane*). Those who are in charge of bringing the obligatory gifts, (*mama lulik*) must then walk in silence to the woman’s house. Neither those who come nor those who wait for them can greet each other. The hostess pretends that no one is entering the house. Members of the house go on sitting and chatting without interruption. Those who come to the house go straight into the house and lay the gifts beside the hearth, next to the female post (*kakuluk feto*) of the house. After laying down the gifts they leave and join their party which is waiting in the ‘closest house’. The reason for going in silence is that the women in charge of the gifts for the dark people thereby partake of the ‘dark’ existence, and consequently are categorically ‘hot’ and ‘dangerous’. Human beings who are categorically ‘cold’ are endangered if they improperly greet or are greeted by these ‘dark, hot’ beings. Several hours after the dark people (*ema kukun*) are believed to have entered the woman’s house, the entire man’s party go together to the woman’s house. This time, the rule of ‘silence’ is no longer observed. As is the custom in south Tetun generally, the hosts first greet the guest by saying: “*Haman mai ti’ an?*” (literally, “Are you making light your steps here?”). The guests politely respond: “*He’e. Fafudi hein tian?*” (“Yes. Are you waiting while chatting?”). The greeting is followed by exchanging betel-nut and an informal chat.

Meanwhile, the girl’s MBW (*ina fetok*) prepares betel leaves and dried areca nuts to be offered to the ancestors. Betel leaves (*fuik*) brought by the man’s family are grouped into seven piles. Each pile consists of seven leaves. Three dried, sliced nuts (*bua klaras*) are then laid in the middle of each of these sacred piles. These seven piles of betel-nut are then laid down at the base of the ‘male post’ (*kakuluk mane*) which is located at the front part of the inner house. Now it is the girl’s MB’s turn to offer the betel-nut (*sera mama*) to the dark people. The seven piles of betel-nut prepared by the MBW are rearranged to suit the number of sacred baskets and pouches hanging on that male pillar. Each basket represents a female ancestor and each pouch represents a male ancestor. The baskets are called *koba lulik*, while the pouches are called (*kakaluk lulik*). This ritual offering is accompanied by a short plea to the ancestors. In Tetun the action of ‘praying’ is called *hakro’an hakmasin* (literally, ‘to plead and to make oneself salty’).
After a meal is served, the young couple are called forward to receive advice 
(sadan) from the elders of the husband-giver’s house and the husband-taker’s house. 
Usually this occasion is when the advisers from both parties demonstrate their ability 
to use dyadic pairs in speech. Advice given to young couple is called sadan uma 
kain foun, ha ‘i kain foun (literally, ‘to make a place for the new stalk of the house, 
the new hearth of the house’). The aim of the advice is to prepare the young couple 
for life as a family. In Wehali this aim is referred to as ‘to lay betel-nut in the 
female child’s basket and in the male child’s pouch’ (hahida bua baa oan feto no 
oan mane sia kabinan, sia kakaluk). The common metaphors used (horse and 
gardener) explicitly refer to men’s jobs. The giving of advice starts after the 
husband-giver’s house formally ‘hands over’ the young man to the husband-taker’s 
house, saying:

| Ami tutur ata hasan mamfatik | We present the slave to you the ruler |
| hakabit hola | please accept him |
| haliku hola | take care of him |
| kahun fuan ran | (your own) foetus bbd |
| tan nia emi naha na’in ti’an | because he is already your baggage carrier |
| emi klateban na’in ti’an | he is already your baggage taker |
| emi batar musan ti’an | he is already your seed of maize |
| batar sasuran ti’an | he is already your own maize |
| emi renu onan | your own subject |
| emi hutun onan | your own people |
| emi tota ba | train him |
| emi hanorin ba | teach him |

Sometimes the bridegroom’s father is also asked to give more advice to his son. 
Here is an example of the advice given by a father to his own son and to the girl’s 
family:

| Oan mane, ohin loron ha ‘u hasei ti’an uma kain baa o | Son, today I entrust a household into your hands |
| ha ‘u la solok sa ida tuir o | I do not endow you with (material) things |
| ha ‘u no tua na’i ama etuk hosum uma ok | your MB from your house and me |
| hodi kmukit no susar ha ‘u latan ti’an baa uma feto | our destitution and poverty are known to the |
| oe kmurak ha ‘u latan ti’an | female house |
| nu ‘u osak kabau rin di’ak, ha ‘u latan ti’an baa uma feto | a valuable whip has been entrusted (to the |
| Nahuu baa ohin loron hosu uma feto | female house) |
| nu ‘u kabau di’ak ida, tula naha ba ona | a good horse with fine feet has been |
| tau sela bee tula naha | entrusted to the female house. |
| la tau sela bee, tula naha baa | You, female house. From now on |
| kotuk kanee bee, tula naha | mount your food supplies on this horse’s back |
| la kotuk kanee bee, tula naha baa | When it has a saddle, mount them on his back |
| | when it has no saddle, keep raising them on |
| | keep mounting the supplies even though it |
| | has blisters on its back |
| | keep mounting the supplies when it has no |
| | blisters. |
The advice given by the husband-giver's elder is as follows:

*Ohini loron ha' u latan kusin latan fareu*

Today I entrust you (the wife) the horse saddle and the string cord

*Tula naha se' en naha ba*
*To'un ida be okan ona kmalar moris be okan ona*

(You may) ride and load your baggage on (You may) ride and load your baggage on

*La'o di' ak be fareu ne'e o tone ti'an la'o di' ak ha'i be fareu ne'e o tone ti'an*

Whether it is limp or lively, (the horse) is If it walks well, the string cord is already in your hand. If it walks badly, the string cord is also in your hand

*Atu malolo be nia o ona, atu mabit be nia o ona*

To make it run slow is your business. To make it run fast is also your business.

The advice given by the husband-taker's elder is as follows:

*Ohini loron uma ne'e ami latan ona, to'os mos ami latan ona*

Today we entrust you the house and the garden

*Atu malolo be nia o ona, atu ma-at be nia o ona*

Whether to make them good or bad, they are yours

*Atu mafou be nia o ona atu mabusik los be nia o ona*

Whether to repair it or to leave it (the house) as it is, it is laid in your hand

*Atu sesu teni maluan teni be nia o ona*

Whether to enlarge or broaden (the garden), it is laid in your hand

Having received their advice, the bridegroom changes status to become the new man (*mane foun*) and the bride becomes the new woman (*felo foun*). The man is no longer referred to as *oan mane* (as in the first and second stages) by his parents-in-law, for he has become *oa la' en* (child husband). His wife's elder brother will call him *meo*, which literally means 'hero', because by his marrying in, he (the new man) has conceptually forced the brother to leave the house. So, the new man is also referred to as 'man who enters the house' (*mane maktama uma*) while the wife's brothers are referred to as 'men who leave the house' (*mane maksai uma*).

If during married life there is conflict between husband and wife, it is the task of the MB and FZH of both sides to settle the dispute. The meeting to settle the dispute is called *hamanas hikar ukun badu* (to re-heat the *adat* law). The conflict makes the *adat* law become inactive and cool. ‘To re-heat the law’, the couple must prepare *tua* (palm juice) and *etu* (food) to be served during the meeting of their elders. The amount of *tua* and *etu* needed depends on the level of the meeting. Many couples whom I interviewed explained that if there is a dispute between them, they always ‘lose’ and the *tua na'i, ama etuk* (the term for MB and FZH) always ‘win’ because they have been served with *tua* and *etu*. They also explained that their parents always remind them to maintain a good married life if they do not want their *tua na'i, ama etuk* to eat their ‘sweat’. However, the MB and FZH claim their right to eat and drink. One elder in the village of Kamanasa jokingly asked, “What is the
name for, if they do not eat pig’s head and drink palm gin?” Perhaps based on this custom of ‘eating’ and ‘drinking’ when settling a dispute, the term of reference tua na’i for MB and FZH has been extended to become tua na’i ama etuk.8

The purpose of such a meeting is to settle the marital dispute. However, if the dispute cannot be settled and both sides agree to divorce, then they discuss the possibility of ‘lowering the prohibition’ (kasu horak). Thus the prohibition hung up (tara horak) in the second stage of marriage is now lowered. If the wife agrees to divorce because of her husband’s wrong-doings, the compulsory gifts and other materials, including the additional gifts called taha tur brought by the man’s house in the third stage of marriage, cannot be taken back and so the man simply leaves his wife’s house empty-handed. In the case where the woman is accused of being unfaithful, and both sides agree to divorce, the woman’s house must return all the gifts brought by the man and must pay an amount that the man’s house feels will compensate for the time and energy that their man spent working to feed the woman’s house. Such cases cannot be solved by an overnight meeting.9

Idiom and Mediation

The Tetun have no specific term for ‘marriage’. The most common words used to describe marriage are kawen,10 hola malu (hola= to take; malu= to reciprocate) and tur (to sit). These words are used mainly in daily conversations. But the language used in origin myths, folklore and the poetry of the region relies on the ‘betel-chewing’ idiom to refer to marriage as well as sexual intercourse.11 One origin myth (see Reference Text 2) narrates that a man who lived in the world above asked the only woman who lived in the world below to stretch out her hands in order to receive ‘betel quids’ (kmusan) sent down to the earth. At that time she could not catch the kmusan sent down to her because there was no dry place for her to rest her feet. The kmusan thus fell into the sea and turned into a knase (mullet) fish. Another myth regarding the origin of food narrates that the first seed of sorghum was derived from the head of the knase fish. It is important in this regard to understand the play on the similar sound of the words kmusan (betel quids) and musan (seed). Thus, using a word with almost the same sound can suggest a different meaning, as
when this myth goes on to narrate that a man from *loro leten* (the sun above) came and ‘threw the *kmusan*’ to a princess in Wehali with the result that she became pregnant. In this part of the story, the *kmusan* that is mentioned explicitly can also be understood implicitly as a metaphor for male sperm.\(^\text{12}\)

The use of betel-nut or betel-chewing language as an idiom is also prominent in Wehali descriptions of the stages of marriage. The betel-nut given by the man during his courtship period is referred to as ‘the empty (literally, ‘gap’) betel leaves, the empty areca nut’ (*fuik let // bua let*). The Tetun word *let* (empty) can also be translated as ‘gap’ or ‘space’. Thus gaps between bamboo slats laid down as flooring in the Wehali house are termed *let*. In ritual language the idea of ‘gap’ (*let*) is always paired with ‘raw’ (*matak*). So the pairing of ‘gap’ and ‘raw’ in ritual language to mean stranger (e.g *ema matak no let* = the raw and gap people, means ‘stranger’) provides another clue to translating this stage of marriage as the strange, unmarked betel-nut. In the second stage, the betel-nut offered has changed status from being unmarked to marked. In this stage of marriage the betel-nut is referred to as ‘named betel leaves, named areca nuts’ (*fuik maho naran, bua maho naran*). In the last stage of the marriage process, the marked betel-nut becomes ‘true betel leaves, true areca nuts’ (*fuik tebes, bua tebes*).

The changing status of the betel-nut reveals the shifting status of the couple expressed in the changes in the terms used. In the initial stage of the marriage process, both members of the couple are still regarded as ‘children’ and therefore they are called *oan mane* (male child) and *oan feto* (female child). In the next stage they are no longer ‘children’, but have become adults. Adulthood, in many societies and in Wehali as well, is associated with marriage. For this young couple, who have become ‘engaged’ and are waiting to be married, the appropriate terms of reference for the young woman and young man respectively are *balu feto foun* (literally, ‘half new woman’) and *balu mane foun* (literally, ‘half new man’). In the final stage of the marriage process, their status is raised to become ‘new man’ (*mane foun*) and ‘new woman’ (*feto foun*) respectively. These changes in status at each stage of the marriage process also bring changes to rules, restrictions and prohibitions that must be observed by the couple.

In this way the marriage rituals and arrangements serve as a gradual process in shaping a young woman and a young man to become mature adults. In Wehali, the
concept of ‘adulthood’ refers to the married status of a person. The analogy of a ‘journey’ is common in Wehali culture, and the three stages of marriage also delineate a journey of people from childhood to adulthood. Table 5.1 below summarises the three stages of marriage by highlighting components whose qualities are transformed from unmarked status to marked status, from a raw and unshaped condition to a shaped condition, and from the stage of childhood to the stage of adulthood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component Elements</th>
<th>Transformative Stages of Marriage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betel-nut offered</td>
<td>Empty (gap) betel-nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple’s status</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiating house</td>
<td>woman’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifts from man and</td>
<td>betel-nut for the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man’s house</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifts from woman and</td>
<td>betel leaves for the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman’s house</td>
<td>man, cakes for the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitions</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1 The stages in the marriage process in Wehali

The critical stage is the second stage of marriage. In this stage, the young man is no longer a lad but neither is he an adult. He is regarded as balu mane foun by his potential wife-giver’s house. In the same way the woman is considered as balu feto foun by her potential husband-giver’s house. In these circumstances both the woman and the man are restricted from behaviour commonly observed by every unattached young man or woman and even by married couples. Thus, the balu feto foun cannot go unaccompanied even when she is invited to attend some sort of ceremony in her man’s house. The man has somewhat more freedom than the woman. When he visits the woman’s house, the parents (and other members of the house) always find an excuse to go out and stay overnight in the field. The main restriction on them as a
couple is that they cannot go alone together to the man’s field, since only a married woman should go to her husband’s field.

The distinction between ‘silence’ and ‘speaking’ observed during the deposition of the gifts also deserves comment. In Wehali, ‘speaking’ or ‘chatting’ is regarded as a measure of good behaviour. The Wehali could not imagine life without ‘chatting’. Among everyday greetings commonly heard in Wehali is one for responding to a host’s greeting in which the guest will say “Are you chatting (fafudi) while waiting?”12 In one of the origin myths, it is narrated that ‘the only woman on earth’ went up to the world above to complain of being left alone without anyone to talk to (fafudi). Again, in the story of Liurai Suri Nurak, the hero killing all of his enemies is distressed because there was no longer anyone with whom he can talk (fafudi an). However, for certain periods during particular rituals, this talkative society is obliged to observe silent moments. For example, those who bring the gifts to the ancestors (referred to as ‘the dark gift’) during the third stage of marriage must refrain from fafudi in order to avoid danger. For the Wehali, ‘dark’, ‘heat’, ‘danger’, and ‘silence’ belong to the same category and characterize the feeling of sacredness. Therefore in approaching the woman’s house, which is regarded as the source of dark and heat, silence must be observed.

The choice of a mediator between houses is significant not only for practical reasons, but especially for symbolic reasons. It is important that the man’s mediator’s house be located within the same hamlet as the bride. This house is called uma tur hanawa kosar (‘the house to rest one’s sweat’). To avoid the danger that might befall them, the bridegroom’s party must not enter the bride’s house directly. They have to prepare themselves in the mediator’s house before entering the bride’s house, which in this circumstance has become the house of heat and dark.13 These houses have become the border and liminal space between the outside world of men and the inside world of women. By marriage, a man who is delineated as occupying the peripheral realm is brought into the centre world of women through this ‘liminal’ house.
The Perpetuation of Alliance

In Wehali one often hears people speak about a form of marriage called *kadain talin*. This phrase is frequently paired with *tanasak talin*. Thus, the dyadic set for this form of marriage is *tanasak talin // kadain talin*. *Tanasak* is a general term for plaited palm-leaf baskets for storing goods, particularly food. Due to its small size, a *tanasak* is usually carried by women on their heads. *Kadain* is a large netbag used for carrying goods, particularly by men. *Talin* literally means ‘rope’, ‘cord’ or ‘string’. Thus, the terms *tanasak* and *kadain* refers to baskets for storing goods, *tanasak* being associated with women and *kadain* being associated with men. However, when the word *talin* is added, it refers to two or three baskets that have been linked together by cord chains. These baskets are hung above the hearth and are used as a place to store cooked food. These storage baskets provide the Wehali with their imagery for marriage alliances. If two houses contract a marriage more than once, these houses become linked by a ‘cord’ just like the *tanasak talin // kadain talin*. The first marriage alliance that takes place between two houses is regarded as having laid down *tanasak* and *kadain*. The second marriage is regarded as linking the first *tanasak* and *kadain* to the second *tanasak* and *kadain*. With this metaphor, the Wehali claim that the alliance between the two houses that was established by the first marriage is perpetuated by the second marriage. The perpetuation of alliance between two houses is expressed as follows:

\[
\text{Ita uma rua nuu tanasak talin kadain talin} \\
\text{mate kela la kotu kadain talin} \\
\text{ita uma rua nuu lilin fui mutu} \\
\text{kamadadak fui mutu lilin fui mutu}
\]

These two houses are like those baskets even death cannot set us apart these two houses are like wax that has been melted together to form a wax candle

To elaborate on this practice for the ‘perpetuation of alliance’, I base the following discussion on genealogical data from the house of Leko (*uma* Leko), in the hamlet of Laran (*leo* Laran) (see Figure 5.1)
There are three noble houses in this hamlet. The first house is tafatik Leko, the house of the Maromak Oan. My informants said that when a Maromak Oan is appointed, he will reside (tur) in this house. This implies that a Maromak Oan is chosen among those who reside in this house as a new man. The second house is called tafatik Mako'a Rai (literally, the one who 'cuts' the matters of the land). This is a house where matters pertaining to adat are discussed. The third house is called uma Marii Lia. During an adat ritual, Wehali nobles must call on this house before proceeding to the most sacred house in the realm of Wehali, called Ai Lotuk (literally, the slender tree), because the guardians of uma Marii Lia are considered the gate-keepers for this sacred house.

The founder of the house of Leko was a woman from Insana in the Dawan speaking-region. She was called Na’i Us Bano of ‘the respected Insana’ (Insana tuan). She married a man from the Makbalin house (uma Makbalin) in the domain of Haitimuk called Lesu Berek (others called him Seran Berek). So, from the beginning, the house of Leko in the hamlet of Laran was founded by people from outside Wehali: a woman from Insana and a man from Haitimuk. One daughter of Na’i Us Bano (Iba Berek) married her father’s sister’s son from Makbalin house called Luruk Berek. Following the path of his mother’s brother, Na’i Katuas Leki...
from the Makbalin house married Luruk Seran, the daughter of Iba Berek. Later Bria Berek, the loro of Haitimuk from the same house of Makbalin married the granddaughter of Luruk Seran of tafatik Leko. This pattern of marriage, in which a son follows the path of his mother's brother might represent a case of asymmetric alliance between these two houses as illustrated in Figure 5.2 below.

In this figure, the house of Makbalin represents a husband-giving group, while the house of Leko is the husband-taking group. It should be added that out of five generations of marriages recorded between these two houses, uma Makbalin of Haitimuk always provided the men.

Within the asymmetrical scheme just mentioned, genealogical data from the house of Leko also reveals another category of preferential marriage in which a younger brother follows the path of his elder brother. (see Figure 5.3 below).
In this case the two brothers Na’i Samara and Na’i Katuas Makerek from uma Katuas, in the hamlet of Liurai, Kamanasa, married the two sisters Ho’ar Bria and Se’uk Bria from uma Leko. With the marriage of Ho’ar Bria to Na’i Samara, the Katuas house had already laid down their basket (tanasak) in the house of Leko. Therefore, the marriage between Se’uk Bria to Na’i Katuas Makerek was no longer considered as the laying down of tanasak but rather as linking (hatalin) the first tanasak brought in the first marriage to the second tanasak brought in the later marriage. The purpose of linking the tanasak is to perpetuate the alliance between these two houses. The kadain talin marriage was also established between uma Marii Lia and tafatik Fehan Laran. Two brothers from Fehan Laran, Taek Manehat Kwa’ik and Taek Manehat Ki’ik, married to Bete Kwa’ik and Bete Ki’ik of Marii lia, respectively.

A third form of kadain talin marriage is bilateral cross-cousin marriage, which I mentioned previously in relation to ‘giving back a seed’ (mata musan) between the houses concerned, and discuss in more detail below.

**Giving Back a Seed and Returning a Banana Head**

While bridewealth is not important in Wehali marriage arrangements, what is significant is the giving back of a ‘seed’ in the next generation and the returning of a ‘banana head’ in the following generation. In accordance with Wehali uxorilocal postmarital residence, a husband is obliged to leave his natal house and reside in his wife’s house. But the sending of one man out from a house then generates the coming of a woman into the house in the following generation, for the house that receives the man is then obliged to give back a ‘seed’ to the husband-giving house. This seed is termed mata musan. In south Tetun in general, a mata musan can be a male or a female. When the mata musan has children in his/her father’s sister’s house, this house is in turn obliged to return the eldest daughter of the mata musan to the initial husband-receiving house. This woman is then termed the banana head (hudi ulun).

As in most Austronesian languages (Wurm and Wilson 1975: 71), the word mata(n) has several meanings in Tetun. Hicks has listed its meanings such as: eye,
any eye-like feature, focus, centre, orifice, spring, origin and source (Hicks 1978: 199; cf. Barnes 1977: 300-317). The word musan literally means ‘seed’. This phrase mata musan is translated by Francillon as “the pupil of the eye” (1967: 351) in the sense of a substitute for the father. Certainly, the Tetun phrase mata musan can be translated into Indonesian as biji mata which means the ‘(father’s) beloved’. However, to translate the phrase mata musan in this way distorts the botanical idiom communicated in the Tetun expression. In an effort to capture all the nuances of its expression in English, I prefer to translate it as ‘source seed’. This translation accommodates the notion of a house exchanging a brother, expressed in botanical idioms as a process of exchanging ‘betel-quids’ (kmusan).

Compared with the term mata musan, the term hudi ulun does not present such difficulties in translation because it can be rendered literally as ‘banana head’. The schematic Figure 5.4 below illustrates the alliance between two houses based on a single marriage.

![Figure 5.4: Giving back Seed and returning Banana Head](image)

Here houses, rather than individuals are the basic contracting units. In Figure 5.4, houses A and B have engaged in a marriage contract. House B supplies House A with a man. Using the conventional metaphors, this man is symbolised as ‘betel quids’ (kmusan). As a kmusan, he is expected to fertilize House A by marrying a woman of that house, so that she can produce offspring. When House A is fecund enough, the wife’s kin give back a child from their house to the husband’s natal House B. I have been informed that according to adat, in respect of a marriage between people of different clans that have not intermarried previously, the mata
musan must be appointed from the middle or most often the youngest child. In the case where previous marriages have already occurred between two houses within the same clan, theoretically all children (married and unmarried, male and female) are potential candidates for selection as mata musan. However, in order to avoid future difficulties that would arise through choosing an already married person, the husband’s kin generally prefer an unmarried mata musan. Considering also that a mata musan is expected to ensure the continual existence of the recipient house, the husband’s natal house prefer to receive a female mata musan. In the case where only one daughter has been born into the family and therefore the wife’s kin are reluctant to give her up, then the husband’s natal house can negotiate with his wife’s house to postpone the sending of mata musan until this girl marries and has children herself. But what usually happens in the negotiation(s) is that House A tries to keep the female child in their own house and to persuade House B to take a male child instead. The person that has been appointed, or to use the Tetun word marak (a Dutch loan word), is then transferred to House B. If the mata musan is a male, he is expected to marry his talain feto (FZD). In the case of a female mata musan, she is expected to marry her talain mane (FZS). When this mata musan has proved to be fecund enough in House B, his/her eldest daughter has to be returned to House A. This eldest daughter is called the banana head (hudi ulun). With the returning of the banana head the obligations on both houses in the marriage contract have been fulfilled.

But this schematic procedure seldom happens in practice. The reality is usually more complex simply because there is no obligation for the mata musan to marry his/her own cross-cousin, whom he or she has likely earlier treated as a brother or sister. To elaborate on this marriage exchange as it is practised in Wehali, I offer a description of the process of asking for and giving mata musan and the returning of hudi ulun.

A formal discussion on mata musan starts when the sad news of the death of a husband is conveyed to his natal house. A polite way to convey condolences to the husband’s kin is to say: “We come to let you know that your daughter in-law suffers from fever and headache” (Ami mai fo hatene ba emi tan oa feto isin manas ulun moras). This sad news is then conveyed among the man’s kin. Together with other members of the hamlet they form a lamentation group. When this lamentation group
comes to pay respects to the dead, they do not go straight to the mourning house. They must wait in a ‘closest house’ (*uma kre’is*) until a candidate for *mata musan* chosen by the wife’s kin comes to pick them up. If the chosen *mata musan* is not suitable, the husband’s kin will wait until all the deceased’s children are presented to them. This process can take days or even weeks, while in the meantime the corpse becomes rotten. In these circumstances the wife’s kin usually surrender to the demands of the husband’s kin.

When both parties agree on the appointment of a candidate as *mata musan*, then the husband’s kin wrap a cloth around the *mata musan*’s body to indicate that he or she has been transferred from his/her mother’s house to his/her father’s sister’s house. The *mata musan* then leads his/her ‘new house’ to pay respects to the dead.

This custom (i.e. the selection of a *mata musan* prior to the burial ceremony) is regarded by the local government and the church as inhumane and a health risk. The local government has issued a regulation that the duration of a wake is limited to three days only. The impact of this new regulation on the practice of giving back the *mata musan* is that it curtails any extension of the pre-burial period. Consequently, agreement on a *mata musan* may be postponed until the burial ceremony is over. This regulation has certainly helped to solve the health risk of concern to authorities, but it effectively prolongs the period of negotiations over the designation of a *mata musan*.

In the past the woman’s house usually surrendered to the demands of the man’s house in order to avoid delaying burial. Now, with the appointment of *mata musan* taking place even after the burial, the wife’s kin have a better chance of forcing their decision on the husband’s kin. In many cases nowadays the husband’s kin might decide to accept the *mata musan* proposed by the wife’s kin rather than take the risk of not receiving any. In a case where the husband and wife have no children, then a *mata musan* can be chosen from among the wife’s nearest female kin: her sister’s daughters or her classificatory sister’s daughters. In the absence of maternal nieces, the husband’s kin may ask that the property obtained by the couple during their marriage be divided between the two houses. This division of property is called *hafu’ut kabala*. The noun *hafu’ut* derives from the root verb *fu’ut* meaning ‘to twist’. It refers to the way a man ‘twisted’ his upper cloth around his shoulder. Later this verb became a noun meaning a man’s shoulder cloth, or in Indonesian,
**selendang.** Concerning the word *kabala*, there are two possible meanings: (1) a wrapping cloth used by men (Indonesian: *sarong*) or (2) a loin cloth (Indonesian *sabuk*). By *hafu’ut kabala* they mean to divide the man’s belongings into two halves: one half for the wife’s kin and the other half for the husband’s kin.

The returning of the ‘banana head’ (*hudi ulun*) is a less complex matter than the giving of *mata musan*. As a general rule a *hudi ulun* is chosen from the eldest daughters of the *mata musan*. However, there are also restrictions on who can become a ‘banana head’. In the case where there are no previous marriages between the two houses or clans, then a ‘banana head’ has to be an eldest daughter of the *mata musan*. If the *mata musan* begets only sons, than the *mata musan*’s natal house has to wait until one of these children begets a female child. If the *mata musan* is childless, however, then there is no obligation for the house to return a ‘banana head’ at all. In the case where there have been previous marriages between the two houses, then a son is also permitted to become a banana head. However, it must be added that to agree on a decision to return a male banana head, the negotiations very often run for quite some period of time.

Figure 5.5 illustrates the practices of giving back *mata musan* and returning *hudi ulun* between houses (*uma*) within the same hamlet or clan (*leo*), and between houses of different hamlets or clans (*leo*). The description is based on a named house in the hamlet of Uma To’os (literally, ‘the garden house), i.e Uma Marii Lia.

The hamlet of Uma To’os is divided into five sub-clans (*le’ un*) namely *le’ un Babira* (Leo Balu), *le’un Loro Monu*, *le’un Uma We Hun*, *le’un Uma Dato* and *le’un Uma Klolok*. Uma Marii Lia belongs to *le’un Loro Monu* (the sunset *le’un*). The name *marii lia* (literally, to erect words, the house that has the authority to decide *adat* matters) suggests that this house is ceremonially a male house. Being a male house, men born into this house are potentially heirs to head of the hamlet of Uma To’os (*fukun*). As shown in Figure 5.5, this house was occupied by Fore Bria (3). She was a female head of the clan, entitled *fukun ferik* (literally, ‘old woman *fukun’*). Those born in this house refer to this house as their *uma moris fatik* (the ‘birth place house’). Among these people, only women who belong to an *inan bin alin* (literally, mother, elder and younger sisters) group have a right to inherit and become the guardian (*makdakar*) of this ancestral house.
Fore Bria’s brother, Leki Bria (2) was her counterpart in the office of clan head, and was entitled *fukun katuas* (literally, ‘old man *fukun*’) or was referred to simply as *fukun*. He married a woman, Luruk Bei Na’i (1) from the le’un of We Hun and therefore he became ‘the man that entered the house’ (*mane maktama uma*) and was not considered to belong to the house in his wife’s le’un. In accordance with the rule of postmarital residence, this house was only his ‘sitting place house’ (*uma turfatik*). Although he was a clan head within the hamlet, his status as *oan la’en* (daughter’s husband) prevented him from holding the title of *katuas* in his wife’s house. When he died, the We Hun people sent his daughter to Uma Marii Lia, the natal house of Leki Bria. This girl, Se’u Leki Bria (5) was then called *mala musan*. Fore Bria (3) herself married a man named Tae Lekik (4) from the le’un of Babira. They had four daughters and one son. Before Tae Lekik (4) died, the house of Marii Lia managed to send the youngest daughter, Udu Tae Lekik, who was known as Bua Lala (10) to her father’s natal house as a *mata musan* in respect of an earlier marriage that had taken place between a man from the le’un of Babira and a woman from the le’un of Loro monu. So, Bua Lala (10) was not sent to the le’un of Babira to replace her actual father, but rather to replace somebody else there.

When Tae Lekik (4) died the house of Marii lia asked the Babira people to postpone the taking of a *mata musan* until the next youngest daughter Udu Tae

---

**Figure 5.5 Genealogy of the house of Marii Lia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leo Rabasa</th>
<th>Le’un We Hun</th>
<th>Le’un Uma Dato</th>
<th>Uma Marii Lia - Le’un Loro Monu</th>
<th>Le’un Babira (Leo Balu)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lekik, known as Na'i Ki’ik (8)\(^{20}\) proved to be fecund for their house. When the time eventually came, the house of Marii Lia sent the youngest daughter of Udu Tae Lekik, named Luruk Bria (22), to replace Udu Tae Lekik’s father as a mata musan in the le’un of Babira. Another of Tae Lekik’s daughters (Rika Tae Lekik - 7) was married to Tae Nahak Bria (11), a man from the le’un of Babira. Even though the genealogical connection between Tae Nahak Bria (11) and Tae Lekik (4) is unknown, the fact that they came from the same le’un suffices for the Wehali to categorise them as ‘father’ and ‘son’. So in their reckonings, two men from the same le’un had married into and resided in the house of Marii Lia. At the same time Rika Tae Lekik’s (7) brother named Seran Tae Lekik (9) from the house of Marii Lia married a woman, Ho’ar Tae Tetik (12) of the le’un of Babira. After this marriage Seran Tae Lekik (9) was than appointed as the clan head (fukun) of the hamlet to replace his MB (Leki Bria).

The fact that three marriages had already occurred between people of the house of Marii Lia and others from a single le’un (even without their having definite genealogical ties) is enough for the Wehali to regard these marriages as ‘chain marriages’ (kadain talin). What is important for the people in the Marii Lia house of le’un Loro Monu is that those three spouses derive from a single birth place (le’un Babira). What binds the three people together is their derivation from the ‘place’ in which they were born. These three people refer to their natal le’un as le’un moris fatik (the birth place le’un).

When Seran Tae Lekik (9) died, Bano Seran (17) was sent back as a mata musan to the house of Marii Lia and eventually married her FZS, Klau Bria (16) who was the male guardian of the Marii Lia house. After the marriage, Klau Bria was appointed to replace his MMB and his MB as the clan head (fukun) of the hamlet as well as the head (fukun) of the le’un Loro Monu. When Klau Bria died, the house of Marii Lia returned Luruk Klau Bria (25) as a banana head (hudi ulun) to the le’un of Babira. Once the banana head had been returned, the marriage obligations, in terms of the giving back of the seed and the returning of the banana head stemming from the marriage between Seran Tae Lekik (9) and Ho’ar Tae Tetik (12), had been accomplished. Their mata musan (Bano Seran Tae Lekik - 17) has become the title holder of ferik (old woman) of the Marii Lia house. As a ferik, she
is regarded as the female guardian of the house. Coincidentally, the one who acted as the *katuas* (old man) of the house was her husband who was her FZS. Her husband died several years ago, so the office of clan head (*fukun*) as well as the offices of *fukun* in the *le’un* Loro Monu and ‘the old man’ (*katuas*) in the Marii Lia house was transferred to her sister’s son, Seran Tae Nahak (18), the son of Rika Tae Lekik (7). So now, the offices of old man and old woman in the house of Marii Lia are in the hands of Seran Tae Nahak and Bano Seran Tae Lekik.

So far we have been dealing with the marriage of a female *mata musan* to her FZS. This type of marriage is preferable, but not obligatory. Many *mata musan* that have been living for years with their FZC psychologically treat this ‘cross-cousin’ as their own ‘sibling’ and vice versa. In these circumstances both choose to marry people ‘outside’ their house. This case is also evident in Figure 5.5 above. The *mata musan* Ho’ar Tae Nahak (21) married a man (Klau Bria - 14) from another hamlet (leo Rabasa). With the marriage of Tae Nahak Bria (11) to Udu Tae Lekik (8), and the coming of *mata musan* Ho’ar Tae Nahak into their house, the *le’un* of Babira was obliged to return a banana head to the house of Marii lia. However, because this *mata musan* Ho’ar Tae Nahak is married to a man who is not her FZS (*talain*), at some time in the future the *le’un* of Babira must give back a *mata musan* to the hamlet of Rabasa, when Ho’ar Tae Nahak’s husband dies. The matter becomes even more complicated because there have been no previous marriages between the *le’un* of Babira and the hamlet of Rabasa. Therefore, when it comes to the returning of a banana head, the *le’un* of Babira will definitely insist that the banana head must be chosen from the eldest daughter of their *mata musan*. The same is true for the marriage of Seran Klau of Rabasa (15) to Se’uk Tae Nahak of Marii lia (19). The house of Marii lia will insist on having an eldest daughter as their banana head.

Equally important in understanding the matrilineal social organization of the south Tetun people is a knowledge of the transmission of ritual and political offices. In South Tetun in general, and Wehali in particular, both women and men are entrusted as custodians of named houses. As ritual officers, they are entitled to be called *ferik makaer lulik* (literally, ‘the old woman who guards the forbidden objects’) and *katuas makaer lulik* (literally, ‘the old man who guards the forbidden objects’). For short they are called *ferik* (the old woman) and *katuas* (the old man).
In this capacity, as the terms suggest, the safety and continuation of the named house and its sacred objects that symbolise its unity are entrusted to their care. The task of caring for these symbols of unity (house and sacred objects) is transmitted matrilaterally. Due to the prominent status of Uma Marii Lia within the clan of Uma To’os, the offices of ritual leader and clan leader are vested in the same person. As leaders of the clan they are called the male fukun (*fukun katuas*) and the female fukun (*fukun ferik*).

As a general rule, the office of *ferik* is transmitted through women, that is from mother to daughter. Using Figure 5.5 above as an example, this model is represented in the transmission of the title from Fore Bria (3) to her eldest daughter, Udu Tae Lekik (6). A second model is represented in the transmission of office from Udu Tae Lekik (6) to her brother’s daughter, Bano Seran (17). Currently, the office of *ferik* within the Marii lia house is in the hand of Bano Seran. She was encharged with the custodianship of her named house simply because she is a *mata musan* to that house. Assuming that she were not a *mata musan*, she would belong to the named house of the *le’un* of Babira and could not receive the *ferik* title in *uma* Marii Lia. Thus, the title passes through women. However, it can pass through men if the recipient has ‘returned’ to the natal house of the man concerned. Using these models as guide-lines, hypothetically, when the current *ferik* dies, the title could be transmitted in various possible ways. The strongest possibility is that the title for the house will be transferred to Se’u Leki Bria (5), the *mata musan* of Leki Bria (2). Another possibility is that the title will be transferred to Luruk Tae Nahak (19) or her sister (20) the daughters of Se’uk Tae Nahak (8). The third alternative is that the title will go to the banana head (24). If there is no consensus as to whom the title will be entrusted, a shaman (*matdok*) is called upon to perform a spear divination (*afuan*). Like the office of *ferik*, the transmission of the ritual office of *katuas* is also ideally passed through the female line, even though it is held by men. Based on Figure 5.5 above, this transmission passed to ZS or MZS. Thus, the office of *fukun katuas* held by Leki Bria (2) was not transmitted to his own son but to his matrilineal heir, that is a son of his sister, i.e Seran Tae Lekik (9). When Seran Tae Lekik died, this office was passed to his sister’s son, Klau Bria (16). Since Klau Bria did not have a sister, when he died, the office went to his MZS, Seran Tae Nahak (18).
Marriage and Politics

On several occasions I indicated that the Tetun word *tur* meaning ‘to sit’ is used as an idiom to denote ‘marriage’. For example, the sentence *mane aa tur ti’an iha uma nabaa* (the man sits in that house) must be translated as ‘the man is married to a woman in that house’. Besides the word *tur*, the Tetun also employ the word *tara kakaluk* (‘to hang up the pouch’) meaning something similar. These two terms are especially significant in distinguishing a ‘legal’ wife from an ‘illegal’ one. When a man marries more than one wife, he ‘sits’ in one house, but ‘hangs up his pouch’ in the other house(s). Perhaps the usage of these two expressions originated from the rule of uxorilocal post-marital residence. In marriage a man resides (*tur*) in one house, but he may also ‘hang up his pouches’ in more than one house. Nowadays, the Tetun Indonesian-speakers translate marriage in terms of *tur* as *kawin syah* (legal marriage) and *tara kakaluk* as *kawin tak syah* (illegal marriage). These translations are relevant only in relation to the transmission of office. According to custom, children from a *tara kakaluk* marriage are not able to hold title as ‘old woman’ or ‘old man’ of a named house. But otherwise children from both *tur* and *tara kakaluk* marriages have the same status and any one may be chosen to return ‘seed’ (*mata musan*) to his or her father’s natal house when the latter dies. These terms also do not affect inheritance, given that it is based on matrilateral transmission. But *tur* and *tara kakaluk* marriages are politically significant, because they can determine the validity of a particular person’s claim to hold office in a house or clan.

To elaborate on the distinction between *tur* and *tara kakaluk* in the local political sphere, I analyse an *adat* court case dated 9 to 13 of May, 1958. This *adat* court case was chaired by A.A. Bere Tallo, the first regent of Belu, who at that time was acting as Ketua Dewan Pemerintah Daerah Sementara, Swapradja Belu (Chairman, Board of Government for the Interim Territory Swapraja Belu). Present at this meeting were Liurai Malaka (Luis Sanaka Tei Seran), the former Maromak Oan of Wehali (H. Seran Nahak) and seven petty rulers within the realm of Wehali. Each ruler was accompanied by his own *adat* historian (*mako’an*). The purpose of this meeting was, among others, to settle a dispute within the house of Liurai. Edmundus Tei Seran, the ruler of Fatuaruin claimed that his step-grandfather (Luis Sanaka Tei Seran, known as Na’i Bo’uk - see Figure 5.6 below) was a person who
could not inherit the office of Liurai from Edmundus’ great grandparent, Liurai Tei Seran. Edmundus Tei Seran also claimed publicly on several occasions that, according to the custom in Wesel Wehali, he was the rightful Liurai. By ‘custom’ he meant that the former Liurai tur in Edmundus’ own house, but tara kakaluk in the house of Luis Sanaka.

My discussion of this case here is intended to provide material for firstly, an understanding of the concept of tur and tara kakaluk in marriage alliance, and secondly, consideration in the next chapter of how the south Tetun trace their origin.

In order to decide whether Luis Sanaka Tei Seran was the right person for the office of Liurai, adat historians (mako’an) from both parties were invited to narrate the origin of the two persons concerned. Seran Dasi Bria, the mako’an of Wehali, residing in the hamlet of Kletek, commenced his testimony with an origin myth. According to the myth, formerly the land of Timor was governed by two rulers: a man who was categorized as ‘female ruler’, commonly known as Liurai feto, and a ‘male ruler’ known as Liurai mane. Both lived in the hamlet of Laran. The female Liurai lived in a house called ‘the high shield’ (knua as) and the male Liurai lived in the ‘low shield’ (knua kraik). Later, the female Liurai was popularly known as Maromak Oan (literally, ‘the small bright one’) and the male Liurai was simply known as Liurai. One day people from the domains of Lakekun, Diruma (Dirma), Wewiku and Haimuk chased the male Liurai away from Laran. The whole house of the male Liurai, including its ‘protectors’ (Taroi Metan and Taroi Mutin) escaped from Laran to take refuge in Dawan’s territory. On their way to this destination, they came across Dawan people from the domain of Insana. With help from Insana
heroes, the Liurai’s enemies were driven back. The Liurai house was then built in the hamlet of Builaran. To acknowledge the helping hands of the Insana, the hamlet of Builaran is ritually called ‘edge of the gebang palm of Insana, edge of the tuber of Insana’ (akar Insana rohan // maek Insana rohan). With this nickname, according to the mako’an, Insana is considered to have every right to become involved in affairs within the Liurai house.

Not long after their stay in Builaran, people of this hamlet became disappointed with the Liurai’s behaviour. Once again the Liurai house was forced to leave the hamlet of Builaran. This time they went up north to Fatubesi in the Dawan domain of Manlea on the border of the regency of Belu. In this domain they built their own houses. One of these houses is called called uim Riso. It was occupied by Luru Muti Ki’ik, the female ancestor of the future successors to the office of Liurai because a man who married into this house was the first Liurai of Wehali who lived outside Wehali. Therefore, the legitimate Liurai of Wehali can be traced from the origin house -uim Riso- in Manlea to the genetrix, Luru Muti Ki’ik.

---

**Figure 5.7** Genealogy of the house of Liurai (Luis Sanaka is the Liurai of Malaka)
Luru Muti Ki’ik married the highest ruler of Manlea called Usi Fia Ro. Following a rule of uxorilocal residence, Usi Fia Ro resided in her house. They had three daughters. Kolo Bian married Seran Okneo and lived with her husband in Babotin. Ho’ar Bian lived with her husband in Nintesa (Kusa). The youngest Ae Bian lived in the uim Riso with her husband, Tae Bian of Banhae. Ae Bian gave birth to Usi Fore Tuna, who married Seran Tae, becoming the second wife to the first Liurai of Wehali, entitled Liurai Sasita, which literally means ‘Liurai the red calico’. In ritual language he is called Seran Tae baboto makerek // rui makerek, sui Likusaen // sui Wehali, ro’a Likusaen // ro’a Wehali (Seran Tae the soft skilful bones, the hard skilful bones, who fought Likusaen with horns, who fought Wehali with horns, who stretched arms to reach Likusaen, who stretched arms to reach Wehali). Kolo Bian gave birth to Dasin Bano Taen, who became the third wife of Liurai Sasita Mean. When the latter died, Usi Fore Tuna married Luis Ta’olin, the ruler of Insana. Dasi Bano Taen, the third wife of Liurai Sasita Mean had one son, who later replaced his father as Liurai. He was known as Liurai Mane Kmesak (the only son of Liurai). He married seven wives. One of these was Abu Lolon. The crucial part in determining the status of Abu Lolon, which created many disputes, is whether Liurai Mane Kmesak actually ‘sat’ in her house or he simply ‘hung up his pouch’ there. The present Liurai of Malaka, Luis Sanaka Tei Seran, holds the view, along with many Wehali nobles and other elite in the village, that Abu Lolon was an invalid wife (tara kakaluk). As an invalid wife she was known as maktukun literally meaning ‘an inedible fruit’. Therefore, any claim to the office of Liurai by members of her house is considered as invalid.

The point of reckoning to be sought should come from the marriage between Usi Fore Tuna and the Insana ruler, Luis Ta’olin. This marriage produced three daughters and two sons. Kolo Bian lived with her husband in Babotin. Ae Bian lived with her husband Sako Atiut Leu, the ruler of Nunponi. Kahalasi Ta’olin resided with his wife (with the nick name Tai) in the uma Klaran in Builaran. The youngest son (Fatin Luis Ta’olin) replaced his father to became the second ruler of Insana in the line of the house of Ta’olin. The youngest daughter, Ho’ar Bian was returned to Uim Riso to continue this house because her mother lived with her husband in Insana. Ho’ar Bian married Tae Bian from Banhae, her classificatory father’s sister son. Thus, the valid Liurai is traced through the line of Ho’ar Bian.
She had one son and three daughters. One of the three daughters, Usi Eno, married Usi Nikin, a Banhae man. She gave birth to Kolo Bian, the third wife of Liurai Tei Seran, the third woman from the house of Riso to marry a Liurai. Liurai Tei Seran’s first wife was Kabosu Senu, a commoner from We Tatunu. People regard this marriage as ‘hanging up the pouch’ and therefore members of her house have no right to the office of Liurai. There is no report of members of the We Tatunu house ever claiming to be a valid successor to the office of Liurai. It can be assumed, then, that the people of Tatunu acknowledge Kabosu Senu as maktukun. From this marriage a daughter called Uduk was returned to uma Klaran, the natal house of Liurai Tei Seran in Builaran, as mata musan. The second wife was Teli Taek of the house of Lawalu, Kakaniuk. The marriage status of the third wife, Kolo Bian, and the second wife Teli Taek were the major issues which culminated in the adat court case.

To establish whether Kolo Bian or Teli Taek was the valid wife, adat historians (mako’an) from both parties had to testify as to which one actually ‘ascended’ (hasa’e) to the house of Liurai. With the custom of marriage where a man resides in his wife’s house, the Liurai can, in turn, reside in both houses. But when the house of Liurai moved back from Manlea to Builaran, only Kolo Bian, according to these mako’an, brought her house’s sacred regalia. Following the south Tetun way of arguing, Kolo Bian thus ascended (along with her sacred regalia) to the house of Liurai. In this way, the Liurai is regarded as having conceptually resided in his wife’s house.

The three adat historians (mako’an) from the house of Lawalu, Kakaniuk, could not give a definite answer and evaded the issue by saying that as young mako’an they did not know whether or not Teli Taek ascended to the Liurai’s house. Mako’an Baria Seran Fahik of Tualaran in the first hearing testified that both Teli Taek and Kolo Bian ascended to the house.26 However, at the second hearing he changed his mind by saying that only Kolo Bian ascended to the house of Liurai. This testimony that only Kolo Bian was the valid wife of the Liurai supported the claim made by the mako’an of Wehali, Seran Dasi Bria, from the hamlet of Kletek and was therefore regarded as conclusive. The implication of this conclusion is that only a member of her house is entitled to the Liurai office. Luis Sanaka Tei Seran
listed the sacred regalia that his mother (Kolo Bian) brought from Manleca to Builaran. 27

The meeting in 1958 came to the conclusion that Kolo Bian was the valid wife and therefore Luis Sanaka Tei Seran was the rightful Liurai. Then, another claim to the office of Liurai was raised by a member of Abu Lolon house (Dominicus Tei Seran. See Figure 5.7). This claim was also based on the tur and tara kakaluk ideology. It is thus true to say that marriage is a political affair.

The acknowledgment that marriage is a political affair has further implications. As far as alliance between houses is concerned, two forms of alliance are commonly practised. There is, first, asymmetric alliance. The husband-taking house endeavours to maintain its superiority by continuing to provide women for the husband-giving house. There is also, symmetric alliance where a house can become both a husband-taking house and husband-giving house at once. The application of these forms of alliance is closely related to the importance and the greatness of a domain in the area. The house of the Liurai has employed both these forms of alliance. In relation to the tiny domains of Manlea and Banhae, the house of Liurai more often plays the superior role by providing women for these domains. However, in relation to the mighty domain of Insana, the house of Liurai provides women for them and, at the same time, takes wives from them.

**Concluding Remarks**

In this chapter I have attempted to show that the betel-chewing culture common throughout the Southeast Asian region plays a particular role in articulating relations among the Tetun. The concept of *sera mama* (betel-nut offering) reveals that betel-nut served as intermediary between the living and the dead. The various names given to the stages in the arrangement of marriage also reveal that betel-nut is used as a means to establish relations among people. The south Tetun, particularly, measure the degree of a person’s good behaviour from his/her conduct in offering betel-nut to others. It is fair to say, therefore, that betel-nut is instrumental in establishing communications not only between the living and the dead, but also among the living themselves. Regarding the latter, sexual relationships between a
man and a woman are symbolised by the sending of betel-nut, back and forth, between two individuals and their houses. The importance of betel-nut as an idiom for marriage affects every stage of marriage arrangements, signified by specific names for these betel-nut gifts. The different terms given to the betel-nut gifts indicate the changing stages of marriage and the changing status of the man and woman concerned. What is most significant, however, in the series of marriage stages is that the process of uniting the man and woman in marriage is delineated as a ‘path’ or ‘journey’ from the outside man to the inside woman.

The notion of ‘path’, which is common in many eastern Indonesian societies and in south Tetun in particular is further elaborated in a form of marriage which the south Tetun call kadain talin marriage. Marriage between persons of two houses means establishing a ‘path’ between these houses. The first path is established when a man resides in his wife house. The second path occurs when the husband-taking house returns a ‘seed’ (mata musan) to the man’s natal house. This relation is then perpetuated by the sending of a ‘banana head’ (hudi ulun) to the mata musan’s house.

When it comes to the transmission of offices, the matter becomes even more complicated. In the above discussions I have deliberately chosen two examples: first, from the transmission of office of fukun within the hamlet level and second, from the transmission of office of Liurai, the executive ruler of the domain of Wehali. At the hamlet level, the transmission is through sisters. In the case of the house of Liurai there is a tendency that the transmission is through a man to his own son provided the offspring is from a tur marriage. When Liurai Sasita Mean died (see Figure 5.7) he was replaced by his ‘adopted’ son, Liurai Mane Kmesak. The latter was claimed to be Sasita Mean’s sister’s son. But when Liurai Tei Seran died he was replaced by his own son, Luis Sanaka Tei Seran. The deviation from the matrilateral transmission of office means that Luis Sanaka Tei Seran is not regarded as Liurai according to custom (Liurai adat or Liurai ukun badu). He is designated by his opponents only as Liurai promoted by government (Liurai ukun rai).
ENDNOTES

1 The noun *kadain* in north and east Tetun refers to a kind of net sack (cf. Mathijsen 1906: 57; Morris 1984: 93). In Wehali ritual language, the word *kadain* is paired with *tanasak* (a plaited palm leaf sack). So, the parallel of *tanasak talin // kadain talin* puts emphasis on the links that connect the plaited baskets. Marriage alliances established between two houses are portrayed as ropes or chains (*talin*) that connect the two net sacks (*kadain*). Based on this notion I translated *kadain talin* marriage as 'chain marriage'.

2 Vroklage (1953: 141) once saw a silver bracelet given as part of the gifts brought by the man's house. Based on the presumption that bride price or dowry is the mark of difference between the south and the north Tetun, he suggests that by bringing the silver gift, the south Tetun imitated the 'patriarchal' marriage custom of the north.

3 The Wehali consider their gardens to be wives and the huts (*laen*) in the gardens to be husbands (*la'en*).

4 An example of the plea *halon hakmasin bodik uma kain foun ha'i kain foun* (to bow and to salinise for the new house and the new fire) is as follows:

   Aa bei sia
tua no nurak, ata no na'in
ohin loron funan no klaui sia at halo uma kain
ha'i kain
tan nia bee uma ruas tur ti'an, libur ti'an
   at husu bei sia iha kukan kalan
fo mai matak no malirin
ne'e be dikin befo kmurak
   ma abut fo matak

   Oh ancestors
old and young, commoners and nobles
today the flower and the fruit are going to
found a new stalk of house, a new stalk of fire
for that reason the two houses have gathered
to gether
to ask (you) ancestors in the dark and night
send down the raw and the cool
so the tips (of the plant) may produce valuables
and roots produce raw

5 Judging from the two marriage ceremonies that I attended during my stay in Wehali, and from various discussions on this matter, it seems to me that the advice is directed more toward the 'new man' than toward the 'new woman'.

6 Unlike virilocal societies where a bride is expected to cry because she has to leave her house and live with her husband, in the marriages that I attended in south Tetun, it was the bridegroom who cried bitterly after receiving advice from both his own MB and his wife's MB, not only because he had to leave his natal house but because in his wife's house he is symbolised as a horse. Another marriage advice session that I recorded dramatically describes how being a horse to his wife's house, the husband has to carry burdens without complaining, even if his back has been wounded because of those burdens.
7 If the dispute is settled by MB (*tua na‘i*), to reheat the *adat* the couple concerned are obliged to serve those who participated in that meeting with: (1) *tua sangkir ida* (a cup of palm gin), referring to several bottles of palm gin, (2) *kelek ksoik ida* (one chicken drumstick, meaning the couple must prepare either a chicken or a pig, and (3) several bundles of betel leaves and several bunches of areca nuts. If the dispute is settled at the clan head level (*fukun*), the couple concerned are obliged to serve: (1) *tua kusi ida* (one jar of palm gin), (2) *dikur ro‘a ida* (a full arm span of buffalo’s horn) or *nea ksuik ida* (a long boar’s tusk) and (3) several bundles of betel leaves and several bunches of areca nuts.

8 The indigenous translation given to this term is ‘the lord of palm gin and the father of food’, to suit these customs. Linguistically, the lack of the phoneme -n, a marker of genitive construction, in the word *na‘i* makes the translation ‘the lord of the palm gin’ misleading. In Tetun the word *tua(n)* also means ‘old’ and ‘respected’. So, the phrase *lia tuan*, for example, means ‘an old, highly valued story’. Therefore the kin term *tua na‘i* must be translated as ‘the most respected person’. The folk interpretation given by the Wehali to articulate the meaning of *tua na‘i* has to be treated as an effort to stress the privileged status of the MB and FZH within a house.

9 During my stay in Wehali there was no opportunity to attend this sort of meeting. So, my description of divorce is based solely on informants’ accounts.

10 According to Wurm and Wilson, the word *kawen* probably originated from the Proto-Polynesian *qa(a)wana* meaning ‘marriage’ (cf. 1975: 128).

11 The ‘Betel-chewing traditions in South-East Asia’ explored by Rooney (1993) show a variety of practices and symbols manifested in the offering of betel-nut.

12 Hicks mentions that the Tetun of east Timor used the same word (*kuda*) to translate the verbs ‘to plant’ and ‘to copulate’. In Wehali it carries only one meaning: ‘to plant’. However, the word most commonly used in Wehali to indicate the meaning of ‘to plant’ is *taman*, which is probably a corruption or a metathesis from the Indonesian *tanam*.

13 The function of this ‘mediating’ house can be compared to the function of the mediating house in the hamlet of Fatisin.

14 The term *tafatik* derives from two words: *tur* = to sit; *fatik* = place. *Tafatik* may then be glossed as ‘palace’.

15 Francillon mentions that the word *musan* is also a euphemism for the ‘clitoris’ (1967: 433). Unfortunately, various people in Wehali that I interviewed could not verify this second meaning.

16 Folk etymology relates the Tetun word *leo* to a shady (*leon*) populated place under a tree. Based on this folk etymology, the term *leo* is used to designate a ‘settlement’ or a ‘hamlet’. Those who live under the same shade (*leon*) are members of a name group who are related matrilaterally to the same female ancestor. Therefore the term *leo* also means ‘clan’.
In south Tetun, there are two ways of naming a house. In the first, the name of a house follows the name of the male genitor of the house. For example, if the genitor of the house was Bei Kaku, the house will be called uma Bei Kaku. In the second, the name of a house follows the ceremonial function of the house. So, Uma Marii Lia indicates that the function of the house is to settle *adat* matters for the member houses of this origin house; Uma Makbukar denotes its function as mediator between the central named houses and peripheral named houses; Uma Ferik is a place to prepare for betel-nut (*halo mama*) to be sacrificed for ancestors; Uma Katuas is a place to offer the betel-nut (*sera mama*) to the ancestors.

There are various ways of naming a *le’un*. In the hamlet of Uma To’os, the names of its *le’un* are given in accordance with: (1) location: *le’un* Loro Monu means it is located in the east part of the hamlet, (2) history of establishment: *le’un* Leo Balu refers to the fact that half of its named houses had moved to another place and had become a separate origin group, and (3) cultural function: *le’un* We Hun denotes that the named houses within this *le’un* are playing roles as female houses of the hamlet.

The use of ‘male house’ in this context refers solely to the ritual function of the house concerned. A female house is a place to prepare for offering; a male house is a place where the offering takes place.

The Tetun have a naming system in which two sisters or two brothers might share the same name. In Figure 5.3, one name - Udu Tae Lekik- is shared by two people. This name is called *naran mata bian* (ancestral names). To distinguish these two people, they are given another name called *naran babaur* (nickname). So the first Udu Tae Lekik is called Bua Lala, while the second and youngest Udu Tae Lekik is called Na’i Ki’ik.

I obtained minutes of this meeting from the personal archives of Mr. Blasius L. Manek in Atambua.

The *mako’an* of Wehali from Kletek, Seran Dasi Bria, based his account of how the four peripheral rulers rose in revolt against the central power (*Liurai mane*) on a story concerning two wanderers named Ati and Bere, who were treated badly by the Liurai. The same revolt is also reported by Cunningham based on information given to him by the ruling house of Insana (1962: 59).

According to the myth, the Liurai accused the Builaran people of stealing one of his favourite horses called *ain kalete*.

The Manlea are bilingual speakers of both Dawan and Tetun. Schulte Nordholt mentions that half of them speak Tetun and the other half speak Dawan (1971: 240). As a matter of fact, the house built by the Liurai was given a Dawan name -*uim Riso*. *Uem* (pronounced as *uim* by the Tetun) is a metathesis from *ume* meaning ‘house’.
25 Sasita is a Portuguese loan word, from chita, meaning 'calico', which also gave rise to the Indonesian term kain cita.

26 For their historical interest, I must here quote reports written by a Catholic priest, Father Jansen, during his first visit to Wehali in 1892 (Laan 1993: 309-310). At that time, apparently the house of Riso in Manlea had been moved to Builaran. But contrary to the conclusion of the Betun meeting in 1958, Jansen mentioned that he actually visited the Liurai's house in Builaran and was accepted by the Liurai's mother, Teli Taek (Jansen referred to her as Teli Seran). He also mentioned that at that time the young Liurai called Na'i kin was not home. Since the death of his father Liurai Dominggus, his mother was in charge of the government on behalf of this 10 year old Liurai. This latter information is rather bizzare since it goes against the political system in Wehali.

27 The sacred regalia cited as brought by Kolo Bian were:
   a. 2 swords (surik lulik Liurai)
   b. 1 golden staff (oe mean). The name of the original owner of this staff is engraved in its holder: Don Aalesoe Fernando de Wayhale.
   c. 1 silver staff.
   d. 1 knife with silver holder (badi lulik mutin). This knife was used to divide up the whole of Timor. It is a symbol of the Liurai's power over the Timorese domains. Schulte Nordholt also mentions this knife and its function (1971: 243).
   e. 1 dagger.
   f. 1 bronze betel-nut container, inherited from Liurai Mane Kmesak.
   g. 1 bamboo container inherited from Liurai Tei Seran.
   9. 1 saddle made of Amarasi woven cloth.

Concerning this last item, L.S. Tei Seran explained that the mention of Amarasi cloth is important to prove that Sonba'i, the ruler of the Dawan, originated from the house of Liurai and that he was the younger brother of Liurai. Most of these items were presented to me for inspection by a member of the Abu Lolon house.
Chapter Six

PATHS AND BORDERS: RELATIONS OF ORIGIN, CONSANGUINITY AND AFFINITY

Introduction

In the preceding chapter I have attempted to show that the notion of ‘path’ is crucial in understanding south Tetun social relations. The Tetun idiom of marriage as ‘path’ is clearly stated in the notion of incest, in which committing incest is understood as ‘walking the wrong path’ (la’o sala dalan). The idea of ‘path’ in turn forms a basis for understanding the south Tetun concept of origin. Between houses, marriage alliances that have been established by a particular ancestor of a named house become a ‘path’ for the later generation.

In this chapter I deal with two related topics: first, how the Wehali conceive of their origins and second, how people organize their relationships at the house and clan levels.

Relations of Origin

The dispute between the two Tei Seran described in the previous chapter deals with one key issue that turns on the notion of ‘origin’. Thus, to settle the dispute, adat historians were asked to narrate the origin of the opposed persons. The Tetun word for ‘origin’ is hun. So, the adat historians were literally asked to reveal the hun of Edmundus Tei Seran and Luis Sanaka Tei Seran.¹ In Tetun, narrating the origin of a clan or a house is phrased as describing ‘the path and the track’. With this phrasing, the founding ancestor of a particular clan or house is imagined as having made a lengthy journey, establishing along the way relations with people from other houses and clans. Narrating the origin is meant to reveal the starting
point of the journey that led to present conditions, as well as revealing the nature of the relationships established by those ancestors.

The dispute in the Liurai house, then, provides the ideal point of departure for an analysis of what Fox calls ‘origin structure’ (1988b: 8). It is common for the people to consider that the further a person is from his/her hun, the more distant he/she is from the group. These genealogical distances are based on the place of birth of a person. Depending on the purpose of reckoning, a person’s origin can be traced to a particular founding ancestor of a named clan or to a named house. These distances are conceived of in three terms, i.e: ten, besik and uma kain.

Membership of a person within a named house is distinguished according to whether that person was born from the same ‘intestine’ (ten) or from a different ‘intestine’. Those who are born from the same ten are regarded as sharing the same blood transferred from their mother. Therefore, marriage among members born of the same ten is regarded as incestuous and in south Tetun is called hakur biti kluni (literally, ‘to cross mat and pillow’). The ideology of ‘incest’ is also expressed in terms of ‘path’. A person who has committed incest is described as one who ‘walks in the wrong path’ (la’o sala dalan). With this concept in mind I have translated the phrase hakur biti kluni as ‘crossing the established path’.

According to the ‘path’ reckoning, parents refer to their biological children as oan ten, while the children refer to their biological father and mother respectively as aman ten and inan ten. While siblings of both sexes refer to each other as maun/bin/alin ten (eB/eZ/yB, yZ by birth). The term ten cannot be extended to collateral relations; its usage is limited to people who are born of the same womb.

Those who are born of a different womb are referred to with the terms besik and uma kain. Thus, a person’s MBC and FZC are referred to as talain besik (the true cousins) and never as talain ten. In the same way, a person’s FB, for example, is referred to as aman besik (the true father) and not as aman ten. Those who are removed by collateral reckoning traced through different genealogical levels are referred to with the term uma kain. A person’s MZeS and FBeS, for example, are referred to as maun uma kain. In the same manner, the person’s MMBSC and FFZSC, for example, are referred to as talain uma kain. The term uma kain (literally, ‘stalk of the house’) signifies that the people concerned were not born in the same house but they are related collaterally. Thus, the Wehali possess a
particular term that can be translated as 'classificatory', namely *uma kain*. This term is usually applied to those who are removed by genealogical levels to collateral relationships. In considering marriage the first choice of a man is with a woman who is categorically his 'true cross-cousin' (*talain besik*). An alternative choice is from among those who are categorically his classificatory cross-cousins *talain uma kain*.

In reckoning the 'path' of a person, there are two central figures with whom this person relates him/herself, namely the old woman (*ferik*) and the old man (*katuas*) who are chosen from the maternal line to become the guardians of the house's sacred objects. For a son, it means he must relate himself to his mother or mother's sisters and his mother's brother. These two central figures within a named house represent two kinds of relations. Relating oneself to the female figure means tracing the path to the sacred centre of the house. Relating oneself to the male figure means tracing the path to the power who rules the named house. Since the male figure represents this power, he is considered the most respected person in a named house. In a named house, this male figure is represented by the mother's brother, the one that holds the title 'old man' (*katuas*). He is addressed as *tuak*, which also literally means 'the respected one'. Although the father's sister's husband is also referred to as *tua na'i* (and is also addressed as *tuak*), only the mother's brother enjoys the privileged status and the full reference of *tua na'i ama etuk*. In his function as the one who determines the continuation of a named house by appointing some one 'to light the fire in the house', as they phrase it, he is the leading figure of the house. Reference to this principle figure is expressed in the following poem.

*Tua tahan ba dedon keta masee*
*tua tahan nakbohar keta masee*
*keta masee na'i baba tuak Lekik*
*na'i loro tuak Lekik, tuak makton hori leten sia mai*
*na'i baba tua Lekik baba makton hori as sia mai*
*tun to'o raiklaran filar naree*
*tun to'o rai tenan falu naree*
*falu naree ha'i lakan oan ida*
*fila naree ha'i len oan ida*
*ha'i laka len ne'e Marlilu haholek leten sia baa*

do not greet (someone) when the palm leaves are rustling
do not greet (someone) when the palm leaves make a noise
do not greet Lekik² the maternal brother³ and Lekik the mother's brother⁴ lord, the *tuak* that comes down from above
do not greet (someone) when the palm leaves are rustling

descends to the earth, returning to inspect
descends to the wide earth to watch
returns to inspect the little flame
returns to watch the little glow
this flame and glow is in the sacred place
that was first to dry (Marlilu haholek), the place above
The *tua na'i* who has been charged with guarding the house’s sacred objects (*lulik*) is addressed by members of the house as *katuas* (old man). His counterpart, the female guardian is called *ferik* (old woman). Both *ferik* and *katuas* from every house within a hamlet constitute an origin group called *leo* (clan). This origin group lives together to comprise a hamlet. Thus the word *leo* can be translated either as ‘clan’ or ‘hamlet’. A *leo* comprises all persons who share the same sacred house, called *uma metan* (black house) in some hamlets or *uma lulik* (sacred house) in others. Usually a senior *katuas*, called *fukun bot* is chosen to be the head of the *leo*. His counterpart automatically becomes the female *fukun*. Both *fukun ferik* and *fukun katuas* are charged with guarding the clan’s sacred objects which are stored in the house of the male *fukun*.

There is a possibility that in former times, each set of four clans or hamlets constituted a larger origin group. In the domain of Wewiku, for instance, four clans constitute a community of ‘four of the plains area’ (*Le'un Has*) made up of the clans of Uma Lor, Uma La Wa'in, Rabasa and Le’un Klot. These four clans claim to have originated from a fifth clan, namely *leo* La Sa’en, the clan which provides a leader for this higher order origin group. This leader is referred to as ‘the one that eats reclining, drinks reclining’ (*mahaa toba 1 1 mahemu toba*). Similarly, inner Wehali is composed of four clans, namely Kateri, Umakatahan, Kletek and Fahiluka. These four clans constitute an origin group called ‘the four comer land’. The old men and the old women from the four clans form a council called *ferik hat, katuas hat* (the four old men, the four old women). However, this is not a permanent council with a governing body. Based on their origin myth, people from these four clans acknowledge that they stem from a fifth clan, namely *leo* Laran and more particularly from one great named house called *Ai Lotuk* (literally, ‘the slender tree’). This is a symbol of their unity as people of one origin. Consequently, the hamlet of Laran is considered a place where the *ina no ama* (mother and father) of the whole four comer territory resided. This ‘mother’ and ‘father’ are the supreme rulers of the realm of Wesei Wehali. The mother is represented by a man called *Liurai feto*, who is categorised as a female ruler. This ruler is referred to as Maromak Oan. The father is represented by a man commonly known as *Liurai mane*.
or simply as Liurai (literally, ‘to surpass the earth’). As mother and father of the whole community, they are referred to as ‘those who eat reclining and drink reclining’ (*mahaa toba mahemu toba*).

The cluster of four plus one clans also becomes an economic unit, as they share one official who is charged with matters pertaining to the fertility of gardens. This official is called *lalawar*. The *lalawar* of Kamanasa, who resides in the hamlet of Liurai and the *lalawar* of Wehali, who resides in his wife’s house in the hamlet of Lo’o Sina proudly claim that when it comes to garden work, they are the kings. When gardens are prepared, for example, people only join forces together if the *lalawar* issues an invitation. A notice for villagers not to harvest their coconuts for a certain period of time only becomes effective if it is issued by a *lalawar*. In former times, the planting and the harvesting could only begin if the *lalawar* had already planted and harvested in a small square garden next to the hamlet of Laran called *to’os etu kukun* (literally, the dark noble garden). Nowadays, the villagers plant their gardens and harvest without waiting until the *lalawar* has performed this duty, even though the *lalawar* still faithfully performs his task.

**Relationship Terms**

Tracing of the ‘path’ is manifested in Tetun kin terms. Regarding these, however, a few comments are necessary on birth order terms and gender qualifiers that are distinctive features in Wehali, compared to the use of terms in North Tetun. Based on a list of 51 terms published by Vroklage in 1953 and an article published by Brandewie and Asten in 1976, which has kin terms scattered throughout it, Hicks (1990: 49, 55) gathers, rearranges and revises Tetun relationship terms according to a general convention suitable for analysis. In the introduction to his analysis, he quotes Vroklage as saying that among Tetun, the south Tetun have more variations on these kin terms. Vroklage himself noted 19 dialectal variations occurring in the neighbour domains of Lasiolat (the place where Vroklage collected his kin terms), out of which 15 are found in the south Tetun region (1953: 421). Interestingly, most of the variations concern birth order and gender qualifier terms, as well as terms for the third ascending genealogical level upwards.
The terms for birth order are *kwa'ik* (eldest), *klaran* (middle) and *ikun* (youngest) and the gender qualifiers are *mane* (male) and *feto* (female). In general, the north Tetun also use these terms with these meanings. At the same time, some variations can be found in Wehali, particularly regarding the term *kwa'ik*. When a Wehali addresses a first-born male or female person, the term he or she uses is *ulun* (literally, head) and not *kwa'ik*. This term in turn becomes the nickname of the person concerned. So, for example, a woman named Fouk who is the eldest sibling would be called *Ulu Fouk*; or a father who is the eldest in his family would be called *ama ulu*. Fouk would be referred to as *kwa'ik*, but addressed as *ulu*. Unlike the situation in north Tetun, the south Tetun distinguish here between terms of address and reference. Based on this practice, I list terms used for reference separately from terms for address:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms of Reference</th>
<th>Terms of Address</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kwa'ik</em></td>
<td><em>ulu</em></td>
<td>head, first-born or eldest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>klaran</em></td>
<td><em>klara</em></td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ikun</em></td>
<td><em>iku</em></td>
<td>tail, last-born or youngest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1 Birth order terms

The gender qualifiers of *mane* (male) and *feto* (female) are used to denote the sex of persons at the second ascending and first descending genealogical levels. Thus, the term for someone at the second genealogical level is *bei* and to specify the sexual identity of the person concerned, *mane* or *feto* is attached to that term. So *bei mane* signifies a male PP and *bei feto* denotes a female PP. Similarly, in the first descending genealogical level the gender qualifiers signify the sexual distinction between a female child (*oan feto*) and a male child (*oan mane*). So, too, as gender qualifiers these terms distinguish female cross-cousin (*feto talain*) from male cross-cousin (*mane talain*). In such contexts the words *feto* and *mane* are what I call 'general' qualifying terms. There are, however, instances when the same gender qualifier, *feto*, has different connotations. As listed in Table 6.2 below, the terms *ina fetok* (MBW, FZ, WM, HM) and *feton oan* (ZC) do not simply denote a person's sexual identity, but act instead as a marker of affinal status. When I asked why a male ego called his FZ and MBW *ina fetok*, the response was that their daughters are
in a preferential marriage group. “You cannot marry someone whose mother you call *ina,*” is a standard answer one might hear in the field. So too, with the difference between the terms *oan feto* and *feton oan* where the former term literally means a ‘female child’, such as the speaker’s own daughter or brother’s daughter, while the latter term designates a marriageable group, that is those who are categorised by a male speaker as sister’s children whom his own children might marry. Thus, the qualifier *feto* may mark an affinal category and not merely a gendered individual.

In the following Table 6.2, I present a list of kin terms used by the south Tetun in general, and more particularly by the Wehali. Within this list I have included certain specifications that may be useful in understanding the south Tetun kinship system.

| 1. bei ut | PPPP
beiku’ok (bei ala, bei klutis) | PPPP (In the hamlet of Fatu Isin - bei klutis)
bei ubu | PPP
bei mane | FF, MF
bei feto | FM, MM
2. ama | F, FB, MZH, WMB, HFZH
3. ina | M, MZ, FBW, HFZ, WMBW
ina fetok | MBW, FZ, WM (m.s.), HM (w.s.)
4. tua na’i | MB, FZH, WF
   tua na’i ama etuk | address: Tuak: MB, FZH, WF, HFZH, HF (w.s.)
   tua na’i | MB
5. banin mane | WF, FZH, MB
banin feto | WM, FZ, MBW
6. maun | eB, FBeS, MZeS
7. bin | cZ, FBeD, MZeD
8. alin | yB, yZ, FByC, MZYC
9. nan mane (naan) | B (w.s.)
nan mane uma kain | FBS, MZS (w.s.)
mane malun | yB, eB, WZH
10. fetosawa | Z (m.s.)
feto malun | Z (w.s.)
feto sawa uma kain | FBD, MZD (w.s.)
11. talain mane | MBS, FZS (w.s.)
talain feto | FZD, MBD (m.s.)
Consanguineal Relations

Not all social ties between members of a house can be explained based on the meanings carried in these terms. However, to describe the pattern of relations in a house, wherever possible I start with folk interpretations carried by the terms.

Terms for the third, fourth, and fifth ascending levels are seldom used in Wehali. In a society in which an accurate genealogical record is not really an important issue, I found that terms used for the third genealogical level up were ambiguous and sometimes used inconsistently. When I asked for the Tetun terms for these genealogical levels my informant, a woman from the hamlet of Umanen, had to discuss and debate with others, regarding not only the terms themselves but also the levels at which these terms apply. The terms for the third genealogical level upwards provided in Table 6.2 are the result of this short ‘consultation’. There is also a subsidiary term for the fourth genealogical level, namely bei ala (literally, ‘an accountable grandparent’) or bei klutis (literally, ‘iguana grandparents’) according to the people from the hamlet of Fatu Isin. My informants could not give further explanation or interpretation of these two terms. Similarly, I have no folk
interpretations for the term bei ubu (PPP), but the terms bei kla’ok (PPPP) and bei ut (PPPPP) given to these genealogical levels, according to my informant, are related to the physical appearance of people in those generations. The root word of kla’ok (=klala’ok) is la’o meaning ‘to walk’. As an adjective, the word klala’ok means ‘behaviour’ or ‘conduct’. So, this term is said to indicate that those who are in this generation physically can no longer walk upright. Regarding the fifth genealogical level a short explanation was given to me. The word ut according to some informants refers to a kind of insect. So, someone at the fifth genealogical level not only cannot walk upright but creeps like insects do. Based on the second meaning of ut as ‘powder’, ‘residue’, ‘waste’ (e.g. batar ut = maize powder), other informants explained bei ut as the one who is already worn out. It has to be added that many people frankly acknowledge that they do not know the specific terms for the third genealogical level upwards. The most common general term used for those levels is bei sia (literally, ‘they, the PP’). This term implicitly covers the third genealogical level upwards.

Terms for maternal grandparents are the same as terms for paternal grandparents. The sexual distinction is marked by the terms mane for ‘male’ and feto for ‘female’. So, the term bei feto refers to MM and FM while the term bei mane refers to FF and MF. When grandparents die, they become ancestors. In invocation sexual distinction is no longer important. The ancestors are addressed with a general term bei sia. Thus, every invocation starts with the phrase ah bei sia (oh, ancestors).

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is marked by affection, intimacy and most of all by familiarity. A grandchild addresses his/her grandparent with the term bei. Grandparents also address their grandchildren with the same term bei, or oan bein. To show their affection, sometimes grandparents address their grandchildren with the term na’i which in this context can be translated as ‘love’. The familiarity between grandparents and grandchildren is, perhaps, related to the sleeping arrangement in houses. Grandchildren, in their childhood, sleep and spend more time with their grandparents than with their biological fathers. In order to give more private time for the mother and father in the house, grandparents often take their grandchildren to the gardens and spend a few nights there. The familiarity between members of these alternate generations make the
grandchildren feel closer to their grandparents than to their actual father. When grandchildren need something, they first turn to their grandparents for help. When grandchildren make jokes, they feel free to touch and jab their grandparents, behaviour which is uncommon between children and father.

As a kin term, *ama* refers only to one’s father or father’s brother. As a polite address, the term *ama* or *ama na’i* is used to greet all male seniors, just like the usage of the term *bapak* in Indonesian. If the family lives in their own home (separated from the wife’s parents), both parents and children sleep together in the inner house. This is the time when both the father and the mother show their warm affection to their children. Only when the children are 10 to 15 years old do the warm relations gradually change. A son will no longer sleep with his parents. He is expected to sleep on the verandah and spend more time with other men outside the house. For a girl of that age, her father will build a temporary compartment within the house, called *loka laran*, as her sleeping space. From then on relations between a father and his son and daughter are marked by distance. A son gradually builds up a formal relation with his father. He still learns from his father all sorts of things, such as how to make traps for game catching, tools, and all sorts of garden work. But in contrast to the relation between a grandfather and a grandson, the relation between a father and a son is a kind of instructional relationship, like the relation between a teacher with his pupil. The phrase ‘I instruct my son strictly so that he can become a good person’ (*ha’u knorin oan kodi kbit ne’e be nia bele dadi ema*) is not an uncommon expression heard from a father.

In contrast to the changing attitude of a father, *ina*, the mother is more constant in her relation with her children. The warm relationship between a mother and her children in their childhood develops into a mutual trust. Children are more open to their mother than their father. A daughter in particular has more intimate relations with her mother. The skill of weaving, which is considered a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood, is transferred from mother to daughter.

Just as *ama* is the term for FB, *ina* also is the term for MZ. The explanation given for addressing ego’s mother and ego’s MZ with the same term (*ina*), and ego’s father and ego’s FB with *ama* is quite simple: “...because our ‘mothers are sisters’ (*inan bin alin*) and our ‘fathers are brothers’ (*aman maun alin*)”. The implication of
this expression is that the parallel cousins are like true brothers and sisters. Marriage among them is incestuous.6

Among persons whose fathers are brothers (aman maun alin) the relationship is not always harmonious. Without citing statistics, a member of the district police gave his impression that disputes among sisters are fewer than among brothers.

Since there are a few terms used to denote individuals of the same generation who consider themselves as siblings, some clarification is necessary here. The terms of address for eB, yB, eZ, yZ respectively are maun, alin, bin and alin. Brothers who were born from the same womb (maun alin ten) express their consanguinity as mane malun. In the same manner, sisters who are bin alin ten express their consanguinity as feto malun. The mane malun group refer to their sisters as feto sawa, while the feto malun group refer to their brothers as naan. Those who are related as feto sawa and nan mane express their common consanguinity as feto nanaan.

When a south Tetun is asked how he/she would describe the relation between feto sawa (sisters) and nanaan (brothers), a definite answer would be given: distance. To justify the answer, very often the phrase is quoted:

\[
\begin{align*}
Taman hudi lua lotuk & \text{(Like) planting the Luan banana garden} \\
nalai kladik & \text{as borders (of the field)} \\
feto sawa ta balu & \text{sisters are on the one side} \\
nan mane ta balu & \text{brothers are on the other side}
\end{align*}
\]

The background of this short saying can be explained in the light of agricultural activities. In this fertile plain of Wehali Wewiku, bananas are one of the agricultural products and a source of income for the people. Because banana trees consume more space in gardens, they are not planted in the middle of the garden. Instead they are planted (along with coconut trees) around the garden. Therefore, banana trees mark the limit or border of one’s own garden. The word used for ‘border’ is kladik. So, banana trees are used as kladik, to separate one garden from the other. Folk interpretation given to this poem was “just like banana trees mark the separation between gardens, they also mark the separation between siblings of the opposite sex”. Unmistakably, the emphasis given in this phrase relates to marriage alliance in which the rule of incest prohibits marriage between brothers and sisters and therefore every brother and sister must know the limit of their ‘path’. ‘Crossing the established paths’ (hakur bitti kluni) means committing incest.
Relations between brothers and sisters can be depicted also as the relation between a protector and the protected. This notion of ‘protection’ is developed in marital, political and economical relations. The emphasis on ‘brothers are protectors’ in the sense that they provide protection to sisters is manifested in marriage arrangements. Parents seek opinion and approval from the elder brothers concerning the men who want to marry the sisters. In political terms, Maromak Oan, the supreme ruler of Wehali is categorically female. Being a female he is depicted as resting inside Wehali while his executive, the male Liurai, protects him from outside. Using the pattern of relations between brothers and sisters as an analogy, the Liurai is ritually considered as the Maromak Oan’s protector. However, it is not the protector who is the superordinate, but rather the one who is protected who is the superior.

The concept of ‘protector’ is also applied for economic reasons. In economic terms it means a brother is expected, as far as possible, to help his sisters when they are in economic crisis; more particularly, a brother is obliged to assist his sister’s children (*feton oan*). With the increasing number of men working in cities, we increasingly encounter the *feton oan* lodging (freely) in their MB houses. After all, the brother is the *tuak* (MB) of his sister’s children, the most respected person in his sister’s house. Therefore, help to his sister’s children in this way is regarded as a small token of his responsibility.

The relationship between elder brother (*maun*) and younger brother (*alin*) is marked by an order of precedence. This *maun-alin* group (called *mane malun*) is referred to as *nan mane* by their sister. The relationship among the *maun-alin* is phrased by the people as *hakneter haktaek*. *Kneter* is a small ladder erected in the front gate of a garden used as access to the garden. *Taek* is a small step in front of a house that provides access to the verandah. The concept of ‘precedence’ can be understood from the notion of *hakneter haktaek* as explained by the Wehali. The terms of address among the *maun-alin* group reveal this notion of *hakneter haktaek* in which the younger brother (*alin*) gives precedence to the elder brother (*maun*). The elder brother is addressed as *ulu(n)* literally meaning ‘head’, while the younger is addressed as *iku(n)* literally means ‘tail’. When their father dies, the elder son potentially inherits the office of the ‘old man’ in their named house.
This order of precedence in which the elder brother is superior to the younger brother is reversed among the sisters who constitute a bin-alin (eZ-yZ) group (called feto malun). They are referred to as feto sawa by their brothers. On the death of a woman who was the title holder ‘old woman’ in the named house, the elder sister gives precedence to the younger sister to replace the deceased woman as ferik (old woman) of their house. In this case, although she is younger than her sister and possibly younger than everybody else within the named house, she is respected as an ‘old woman’ who is responsible for the continuation of their named house.

Affinal Relations

The notions of ‘border’ and ‘protection’ that mark the pattern of relations among people who share the same blood to some extent can be observed in affinal relations.

The term used to communicate the notion of ‘border’ in affinal relations is banin meaning ‘ditch’. In the plain of Wehali Wewiku, a small amount of rain is enough to make hamlets overflow with water. In order to protect houses from the overflowing water, every household digs ditches (banin) around their houses. Thus a ditch marks a border between two houses. Based on this practice, a ‘ditch’ also becomes a metaphorical border between domains. In ritual language the word banin is paired with the word satan meaning ‘to close’ or ‘enclosure’. So to delineate the limit of the realm of Wehali from other peripheral domains, a chanter usually employs the dyadic pair of banin Wehali // satan Wehali which can be translated as ‘the border of Wehali, the enclosure of Wehali’. As an affinal term, banin denotes affines of the first ascending generation. When a man from house A marries a woman from house B, he refers to members of the older generation in house B as his banin. In a narrow sense, banin is translated as ‘father- or mother-in-law’ (Morris 1984: 10). Thus, in the imagery of ditches (banin) that demarcate house and domains, the parents-in-law are called banin in the sense that they become ‘ditches’ between the husband and wife. The sex of the banin is marked by the gender qualifiers mane and feto. The mother-in-law and her sisters are referred to as banin feto while the father-in-law and his brothers are referred to as banin mane. Since the
ideal marriage directs the marriage of a man to his MBD or FZD, a *banin mane* is also potentially a *tuak*. In the status as *banin Mane* and *tuak*, he is the most respected member in his child’s house.

In accordance with the preferential system of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, one’s *tua na’i* (MB, FZH) and *ina fetok* (MBW, FZ) are potentially one’s *banin* (parents-in-law). Here the Wehali differentiate between the affinal term (*banin*) and the consanguineal terms (*tua na’i* and *ina fetok*). However, since there is no obligation for cross-cousins to marry, a parent in-law can be a person who is not necessarily one’s own *tua na’i* or *ina fetok*. In the case where a person’s parent-in-law is his/her *tua na’i* or *ina fetok*, then he/she can use either the affinal or the consanguineal term in reference. Teknonyms are also used for reference.

Affines in the first ascending generation (*banin*) refer to the married-in man and persons in his generation as *nababan*. The Tetun word *baban* literally means ‘to attach’. So, the *nababan* are those who are attached to the *banin*’s house. The implication is, therefore, that they are not regarded as members of the house. By referring to someone as *nababan*, according to the Wehali, he/she is excluded from membership of the house concerned. Those who are members of a house are those who are born in the house and therefore are called *uma na’ in* (literally, the owner of the house). In contrast, *nababan* is someone who is attached to the house. In a narrow sense, a *nababan* also means either son-in-law or daughter-in-law. However, as I noted earlier, this term refers to ego’s generation in contrast to *banin* of the preceding generation.

Concerning son-in-law and daughter-in-law, the Tetun populations of west and east Timor use the same terms, *mane foun* and *feto foun* respectively. These terms are also used in many conversations in the south Tetun regions. But, due to the uxorilocal pattern of residence, the south Tetun commonly refer to the married-in man as *oan la’en* (literally, the child’s husband). Many informants insist that the term *mane foun* for the in-married man is appropriate for the ‘hill’ people of North Tetun, whereas to emphasise their own identity, the south Tetun say: “we the plains people refer to our sons-in-law as *oan la’en*”. Another term commonly used to refer to a son-in-law is *mane maktama uma* (literally, man that enters the house). The opposite term is *mane maksai uma* (literally, men that go out of the house) to denote the wife’s brother. Like the term *nababan* mentioned above, these two terms (oan
la’en and mane maktama uma) emphasise that the in-married man is not a member of his wife’s house.

These terms of reference imply that an in-married man has no authority within his wife’s house. As the ‘child’s husband’, he submits himself to his wife’s father’s authority, whom in a prescriptive marriage he respects as tuak. Even as a husband (la’en), he is not permitted to join his wife (fen) inside the house. His space is limited to the verandah of the house, where he spends most of his nights. The sexual relationship as husband and wife is limited to the opportunities offered by his parents-in-law. Parents always find excuses to visit families or spend a few nights in the garden in order to give more privacy for the husband and wife alone in the house. An in-married man has more freedom to govern his own household only when his father-in-law dies or if he and his family move to his new house.

In the initial period of marriage, the banin avoid as far as possible addressing their oan la’en directly. It is common among the Tetun, as well as among other people in the region, to address a married couple by the name of their child. So, for example, a man whose son is called Berek will be addressed as Berek aman and his wife as Berek inan. For a recently married couple, the husband will be addressed as rahaman and the wife as rahinan. According to folk interpretation, these compound words derive from the word rahuk (body hair), aman (father) and inan (mother). Addressing a person as rahaman or rahinan has the connotation of putting the person down because the man and the woman are treated as an ‘imperfect’ mother and father.

Among husband and wife, there is also a degree of hesitation in addressing one another. Francillon rightly observed the existence of indirect address, from the husband toward his wife and vice versa by using an available third person as intermediator. In the presence of his wife’s brother (ria), for example, the husband will ask: “Ria, would you tell your sister to give me this” (1967: 430).

The avoidance by the banin and the wife of greeting directly the young son-in-law and husband with the alternative teknonym (rahaman) is due to their trying to avoid making him feel inferior in the house. From other perspectives, the avoidance is also related to the responsibility of the in-married man within the house. As long as he has the status ‘child’s husband’, he will still be considered as a ‘child’ regardless of how old he is and how many children and grandchildren he has. When
his wife’s house conducts a ceremony, a marriage ceremony for example, sons-in-law of the named house cannot even sit on the step of the verandah. The young ones will stand on the ground, while the old ones sit on mats spread out on the ground. The only exception is for the bride’s father. As a married-in man his place is outside the house. However, as the bride’s father, he is permitted to sit ‘quietly’ on the upper verandah together with other senior members of the named house. The rest of the in-married men, who are standing and sitting on the ground, are referred to as mane lais (literally, quick men, helpers) by members of the named house (uma na’in). Orders given by uma na’in will be quickly executed by mane lais.

Unlike the situation among the north Tetun where only one term of address is used for WZ (ka’a), the south Tetun have different terms of address for WyZ from WeZ. The term for WyZ is tua and the term for WeZ is ki’i. The term of address tuak (MB, FZH) denotes a privileged status of a particular person. Related to this term, tua is also the term used by an in-married man to address his wife’s younger sister. It is said that by addressing the WyZ with this term, the man actually elevates her from his generation level to a parental level, such that a ‘border’ has been created between the ‘new man’ and his younger sisters-in-law, so he cannot marry any of these women while his own wife is alive. This changing of genealogical level from ego’s generation to the preceding generation also seems to accord with the custom for the transmission of inheritance, in which the youngest daughter potentially will inherit her mother’s house and eventually will become the title holder of ferik (old woman) of the house. Being a ferik she will also become the central figure for ritual performances within her named house. By the same analogy, with the coming of the ‘new man’ to reside in the house, the wife’s youngest sister becomes the fluid element, moving up to the parental level.

It is said that the different terms applied to the younger and elder sisters derive from the practice of sororate marriage. According to this custom, when a wife dies her husband can choose either to go back to his natal house or to continue to stay in his wife’s house and marry one of his late wife’s sisters. In the case of the second option, he will choose to marry the younger sister. In order to prevent the marriage taking place before the wife dies, it was said that a term that can be regarded as ‘border’ must be laid between these two people. This ‘border’ is signified by the term tua addressed to the wife’s younger sister. “By addressing one’s wife’s
younger sister as *tua* one automatically respects her as one’s own *tuak* (MB)” was the sort of explanation given to me.

*Ria* is a term of address applied reciprocally by a person to denote all male affines of the same generation. This reciprocal term suggests that there is an equal relation between male members of the husband-taking house and husband-giving house in the ego’s generation. However, the relation between an in-married man and his wife’s brothers is asymmetrically marked by the changing of the term of reference. With the entry to the house of the new man, the wife’s brothers will be referred to as ‘men that leave the house’ (*mane maksai uma*), in contrast to the new man who is the ‘man that comes into the house’ (*mane maktama uma*). The phrase *mane maksai uma* attached to the wife’s brothers is regarded as a privileged reference, since the holder of the title ‘old man’ of a named house is chosen from those who ‘leave’ the house and not from those who ‘enter’ the house. The difference between ‘leave’ and ‘come in’ is interpreted in political terms as between the one who has the right to rule the house and the one who has no right to rule the house. As *mane maksai uma*, the eldest brother will rule his natal house although residing ‘outside’ the house. He will then be the title holder (*katuas*) of the house. Like his youngest sister, he will also become a central figure in all ritual performances of the house.

A change in the term of address also occurs in the cross-cousin (*talain*) group. When a woman marries her own *talain* (MBS or FZS), she will maintain the term of reference for her husband’s brothers as *talain mane* and her husband’s sisters as *talain feto*. But the term of address is changed from the common usage of teknonymm to a new term - *baen*. A woman will address her husband’s sisters with this term. She will also address her brother’s wife as *baen* if the latter belongs to the *talain group* in addition to all women in the *talain* group (MBD, FZD). The word *baen* in Tetun indicates old age. *Hudi baen*, for example, refers to “the oldest fruit in a banana bunch” (Morris 1984: 8). By addressing them as *baen*, she re-acknowledges their privileged status as their respected *tuak’s* children.

The south Tetun distinguish between the general term ‘children’ (*oan*) and the marked term ‘sister’s children’ (*feton oan*). Sisters call their brothers’ children *oan* (child), but brothers call their sisters’ children *feton oan* (sister’s child). *Oan* and *feton oan* define preferential marriage groups. Marriage between people who are
classified as oan and feton oan, according to my informants, guarantees a successful marriage because the husband and the wife, to quote a popular saying, will hakneter malu, hakmoe malu ("mutually respect and honour each other"). This phrase is interpreted as follows: "because their parents are people who belong to the same natal house, their children cannot easily get divorced". It is interesting to note that the descendants of brothers and sisters who are separated from their common natal house by marriage to others, comprise preferential marriage groups. So, in the initial generation (that is among siblings of opposite sex) marriage is prohibited, but in the subsequent genealogical level (that is among cross-cousins of opposite sex) marriage is preferential. The directed marriage between members of these two groups is expressed in the consanguineal terms oan and feton oan.

Concluding Remarks

The relationship terms, equivalences and distinctions as observed from Table 6.2 reveal certain key features. In the second to fifth ascending genealogical levels, there is no distinction, for example, between mother's father and father's father. Both are addressed by the same term bei. In invocations, the different terms used to denote people of the third, fourth and fifth ascending levels are irrelevant. They are addressed with a general term bei sia (bei=grandparent; sia=they). In the first ascending genealogical level, there is no distinction between the uterine and the affinal groups. The equations in this genealogical level reveal a symmetric terminology, as also reported by Cunningham (1967: 203-204) among the Dawan and Hicks (1990: 48-56) among the north Tetun. This rule of symmetry is indicated by the following equations: MB=FZH, WF (m.s), HF (w.s) while FZ=MBW, HM (w.s), WM (m.s). In the ego's generation, brothers refer to their sisters and parallel cousins of the opposite sex as fetosawa, and sisters refer to their brothers and parallel cousins of the opposite sex as naan. Those who are categorically fetosawa and naan mane are forbidden to marry one another. Cross-cousins refer to each other as talain. The men are talain mane and the women are talain feto. Marriage between talain mane and talain feto is preferential.
In the first descending generation the terms suggest an asymmetrical pattern in which the term for BC (oan) is distinguished from SC (feton oan). The distinction made between sister’s children and brother’s children can be understood in relation to affinal alliances. Firstly, the distinction emphasises that the mother and her sisters have primary rights over the children. The continuation of a named house more or less depends on the sisters’ children. Secondly, it emphasises also the power of brothers over their named houses. After all, these brothers are the feton oan’s MB, the most ‘respected’ figure (tuak) in a named house.

Hicks, based on ethnographies written on north Tetun and his own work in East Tetun, concludes that “terms used by both Tetum populations are in almost every case identical” (1990: 48) despite a few exceptions used in one area but unheard of in another area. Vroklage, who spent some time in south Tetun, regarded the different kin terms employed by the people mainly as dialectical variations. In my view, however, they are more than simply dialectical variations. The different terms of address and terms of reference relate to the custom of uxorilocal post-marital residence so heavily emphasised by the south Tetun.

The last point that I need to raise here concerns the lack of terms for husband-giving and husband-taking houses in Wehali. The Wehali repeatedly mention the significance of the metaphor of ‘border’ (banin) laid between a woman and a man, the woman’s house and the man’s house. Despite this repetitive emphasis, there are no terms used to distinguish these two affinal groups. There are no terms used to differentiate the husband-taking house from the husband-giving house. This lack of terms supports the fact that both patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins (talain) are marriageable. This may give some grounds to claim that the asymmetric, circulating connubium suggested by van Wouden based on the north Tetun data simply does not work in Wehali. As a matter of comparison, in north Tetun, the division between these two houses is spelt out as the division between uma mane (the wife-giving group) and feto sawa (the wife-taking group). A house that has been categorised as feto sawa can never provide a woman to her uma mane. The asymmetrical alliance between these two houses is correctly expressed by Brandewie and Asten as: “the flow of the water is always from the source, going down-stream, never upstream. Brides should come from the uma mane and never from the feto sawa” (1976: 21).
The south Tetun do not develop this distinction as the north Tetun do. However, in marriage arrangements, one often hears the husband-taking house identified as the female house (*uma feto*), while the husband-giving house is addressed as the male house (*uma mane*). In marriage arrangements, a moderate number of gifts of ‘betel-nut’ are transferred from the male house to the female house. During the marriage ceremony, members of the woman’s house sit on the upper platform while members of the man’s house sit on the lower platform. Advice given to the married couple also recognises that the woman’s house has a privileged status. Thus, there is some degree of asymmetry between the husband-taking house and the husband-giving house. But it does not provide enough of a basis for speaking about an asymmetrical alliance. This distinction is important to understand the present organization of houses in a hamlet where some houses are categorised as male houses and some as female houses. At present this organization into male and female houses is understood solely in ritual terms. A female house is a place where the offerings are prepared (*halo mama*), while a male house is for the actual offering itself (*sera mama*). The asymmetric relation between these two houses is also expressed in ritual terms. A female house is regarded as more sacred than a male house. Therefore, any discussion or meeting in the hamlet is held in the male house and never in the female house. In this way, the female house will remain superior to the male house, just as the *uma mane* is superior to the *feto sawa* in north Tetun. The lack of fixed terms for the husband-taking and husband-giving houses and the ritual organization of houses in hamlets into female and male houses suggests that formerly a hamlet (*leo*) was an endogamous unit, in contrast to a house (*uma*) which, still remains a unit of exogamy.
ENDNOTES

1 Although most of the discussion in that meeting took place in Tetun, as an archive the minutes were written in Indonesian. In this context the Tetun word hun was translated in the minutes into Indonesian, asal usul (origin, derivation).

2 Lekik is a common name given to men.

3 Term used only in north Tetun.

4 Term used only in south Tetun.

5 In north Tetun the noun lalawar means ‘orchard’; the associated verb is knawar meaning work.

6 Relations between persons whose mothers are sisters is intimate and trusting, even when they share the same husband. The latter statement refers to a sororate marriage, which is not widely practised and therefore this observation is based on only a single example, where the two sisters (Bi Fouk and Bi Bete) were married to the same man. Not only the women themselves, but the children of these two sisters seemed to develop a healthy relationship, just like children of a single mother.

7 Francillon (1967: 361) cites the terms kalisama and kalisina which, according to my informants, are used mainly by the Kamanasa and the Kletek people.
Photograph 13. Ai Lotuk. The sacred jungle (*alas lulik*) is in the background.

Photograph 14. *Na‘i* Nona (left) and *Na‘i* Niis. They are sitting inside the Ai Lotuk during the harvest of the sacred sorghum.
Chapter Seven

ANCESTRAL PATH IN THE WEHALI HOUSE

Introduction

Analyses of traditional dwellings and settlements are not new in anthropology, where the foundation for such studies is traced to the pioneering work of Lewis Henry Morgan in his ‘Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines’ (Morgan 1881, reprinted 1965). In his Introduction to the 1965 reprint, Bohannan summarizes the main aim of this book as follows:

What does domestic architecture show anthropologists - either ethnologists or archaeologists - about social organization, and how does social organization combine with a system of production technology and ecological adjustment to influence domestic and public architecture? (1965: x)

Despite Bohannan’s indications of some weakness and emendations necessary, the theoretical points made in this book are still fascinating and instructive even today.

Marcel Mauss contributes another perspective to the early study of domestic organization. His ecological approach is beneficial in understanding not only the structure of the Eskimo house, but also the structure of Eskimo ideas and their mode of gaining a livelihood. Concerning these two pioneering works (Morgan and Mauss), Fox (1993a: 7-8) remarks:

These two major studies, although developed from differing theoretical perspectives, established the initial foundation for the anthropological study of houses and their relation to social life.

Morgan’s and Mauss’s studies also constitute the basis of Lévi-Strauss’s often-cited works on ‘house societies’. In her monograph ‘The Living House’, Waterson (1991: xv-xvii) acknowledges that the intermittent interest in the ‘house’ following the pioneering works of Morgan (and Mauss) was substantially rekindled by Lévi-
Strauss. Waterson sees the development of structuralism in the 1960s and 1970s as "stimulating a new spate" of studies treating the 'house' as a focus. However, the renewed attention to the notion of 'house' cannot be regarded as simply a continuation of a kind of study that had been neglected since the time of Morgan and the era of Mauss. Various new emphases have been put forward by later researchers. Ellen (1986: 4) analysed studies on the "symbolic organization of lived-in structure" according to their focus, and found there are studies which emphasize "rules governing the structure of space", as in the work of Pierre Clement; the "archeometry of symbolism" as dealt with by Rassers (1982); a focus on the "symbolic concordance between the house and other collective representations" in the works of Cunningham (1962, 1964), Barnes (1974) and Kana (1978); as well as Forth (1991), who regards the Sumba house as "a symbolic microcosm" and Fox (1993a) who emphasizes the "symbolic pre-eminence of the house".

Another issue concerns the terminology and approach appropriate to this topic of study. With their emphasis on the physical structure and the materials used to construct a building, the so-called 'traditional architects' commonly employ terms like 'vernacular', 'indigenous', 'primitive' or 'traditional' houses. None of these terms, however, reveal what Bourdieu and Alsayyad (1984:7) describe as "the enduring values of their builders and symbols that signify deeper structures of society". To avoid imposing 'outside' categories onto local knowledge, I prefer to use the term 'house' as the translation of *uma* without adding other attributes such as 'traditional' or 'indigenous'. The same is true of my account of the main structural elements, as well as the metaphors used by Wehali in explaining the symbolic meanings of these elements. My emphasis is on what the Wehali say about their house", rather than idealized, formalized exogenous interpretations.

In this respect, I must point out that following intense promotion by government at the regional and district levels of a new style of house based on 'health standards', the Tetun people now classify their own houses in terms of *rumah sehat* (healthier house) and *rumah adat* (adat house). The villagers refer to the first type of house as *uma malae*. The word *malae* literally means 'malay', an attribute given to objects and persons introduced to the area from outside. Therefore the word *malae* can be translated as 'foreign'. Thus, *uma malae* means 'foreign house': 'foreign' in terms of its structure, materials, orientation and most of all the lack of any ritual necessary for its construction. By contrast, this chapter deals only with the so-called *rumah adat*. The term *rumah adat* is not, however, the locals' own way of referring to their houses, but rather a designation given by 'outsiders' to mean the opposite of *rumah*
sehat (literally, healthy house). The Tetun people in general call their own style of house simply uma.

Types of House

There are two types of uma recognized in the Tetun area: uma roman and uma kukun. The uma roman, literally, bright house, is designed as a residence and comes in two varieties. On the one hand a ‘named house’ (uma maho naran) contains ancestral relics passed through the female line and guarded by a woman and a man from that line. Thus, uma in this sense can be glossed as an ancestral or a lineage house. On the other hand, there are houses which have no ancestral relics and are, therefore, termed ‘unnamed house’ (uma maho naran ha’i). I also heard owners of this kind of house refer to it as ‘an ugly house’ (uma at ida). The latter houses are residences for other members of the lineage. Thus, a named house is lived in by a female guardian of the lineage, while other members of the lineage reside in unnamed houses.

The uma kukun, literally, dark house, is not designed as a residence and also comes in two varieties. First, there is ‘the forbidden house’ (uma lulik) or ‘the black house’ (uma metan) as it is known in south Tetun and among the Kamanasa-Suai people respectively. This kind of house represents the clan because the clan’s ancestral relics are kept inside the house. Second, there is uma kakaluk (amulet house) named for the kakaluk pouch carried by a man wherever he goes. Formerly, when a man engaged in tribal warfare, his amulets were stored in this pouch. From this habitual practice, the word kakaluk has come to mean ‘amulet’. Nowadays, uma kakaluk is popularly known as ‘the medicine house’. People with broken legs, for example, were taken into the house and stayed there for three, five or some other uneven number of days. As an amulet house, uma kakaluk is categorically a male house because originally it was constructed as a place where men came to seek strength and immunity in time of warfare. For this reason, it is said that no women are permitted to enter this particular house. School teachers and other government officials introduce it as ‘house of defence’ in the sense that the security of the clan is understood to rely on how well the people preserve the house.

All these houses are built following the same basic design. The difference between the two types of house rests mainly on the fact that uma roman is designed as a residential unit while uma kukun is not. As a residential unit, a house always has an outer section or verandah ‘attached’ (labis) to the main building. By contrast,
the lack of *labis* in a house construction suggests that it is not a residential unit. The basic design just mentioned, according to the Wehali, imitates the ‘first house’ as depicted in their origin myth. Therefore, in the next section I begin with the cultural design of the Wehali house as narrated in this type of myth.

The House of Earth-Sky

The myth concerning the ‘first house’ cannot be separated from the myth concerning the emerging of the first dry land. Narrated in a figurative way, its meanings are expressed in metaphorical terms. In this sort of myth one cannot expect to find a detailed description of the physical elements of that first house. The most important information the myth reveals is the ordered structure of the house and the living space of the first human being. Accordingly, the first house as narrated in the myth was called *uma Rai Lale an* (the house of Earth-Sky) occupied by Ho’ar Na’i Haholek. In this myth Ho’ar is delineated not as an ordinary living human being of the kind Wehali refer to as ‘bright people’ (*ema roman*), but rather, as a ‘dark person’ (*ema kukun*). Her house is also regarded as a dark house (*uma kukun*) in contrast to those ordinary houses subsequently termed bright houses (*uma roman*). Because the dark house is a sacred house, its existence can only be revealed by means of ‘disguised language’ (*lia sasaluk*):

```
uma niak aa, uma Rai Lale’an
lale’an ne’ee hodi knanuk naak ee:
“Hali ne’e nahako kraik oan basuk
hali ne’e naiaha kraik oan basuk
morin kodi kato’o rai Malaka

bosok nola dei na’i Taek Malaka
beur nola dei na’i Taek Malaka
mai ee tiha hali hun aa
```

her house is called, the house of Earth-Sky
the sky is described in verse as follows:
“The banyan tree produces a lot of branches
the banyan tree produces lot of leaves
its aromatic flavour reaches the land of Malaka
it tricks the lord of Malaka
it deceives the lord of Malaka
to come and cast his fishing net under the trunk of the tree”.

To understand more of the sacred nature of this house, one must recall the myth of origin (Reference Text 2) that recounts the emergence of the first dry land from the primordial sea. Accordingly the first dry land, which in ritual language is called *rai manu matan, rai bua klaras* (the land as a chicken’s eye, the land as a slice of areca nut) formed from the umbilical cord of Ho’ar. It was on this first dry land, that the first house of Ho’ar stood. Therefore this house is identical with the first dry land and the navel of the first woman. They are described in the myth as:
The exegesis I was given of this passage pointed out that in former times there were no ‘ordinary’ houses because there was no dry land. The earth was still covered with water. Out of this primordial sea, grew a banyan tree. Ho’ar, the daughter of the first woman, lived on top of this tree. The living space on top of the tree was called ‘sky’ (lale’an) and constituted her house. At that time, the distance between sky and earth was only as tall as a banyan tree. Therefore, this very first house is called ‘the house of Earth-Sky’ (uma Rai Lale’an).

This name suggests that the first mythical house can be considered as consisting of two parts. The upper part is called lale’an and the lower part is called rai. However, only the upper part constituted the living space and therefore the ‘hearth’ as a symbol of the living house was located in this true upper part. The fire that shone from this hearth attracted a man from far away, named Taek Malaka. The myth then goes on to say that after a period of courtship, Taek took Ho’ar as his wife and resided in her house.

Another version of the origin myth (cf. Reference Text 5) does not mention the name of the house as the house of earth-sky, but its description fits the dichotomous structure of the primordial house. In his description, the narrator called this primordial house natar knese uma rua. Natar in south Tetun refers to an open space in a field or in the middle of a village. Knese is a species of tree commonly found at the seaside. Uma rua literally means ‘two houses’. Both these versions of the origin myth state that the two parts of the house were linked by a ladder-door made of vines from the Ktuhak and Kleik trees. Emphasizing the closeness of the upper part and the lower part, a version of the myth recorded in the domain of Wewiku describes these sections as linked by a spider web. So, access to the ‘earth’ section was through this spider web that functioned as a vulnerable ladder:

- tobu tuir laliran kaban (step on the spider saliva thread)
- sama tuir labadain kaban (trample on the spider web)
- sama nikar ain atu kotu la kotu (trample again without breaking it)
- tobu nikar ain atu kotu la kotu (step again without breaking it)

The dichotomous structure of the house, in terms of sky:earth and upper:lower, such that the upper-sky part was occupied by women and the lower-earth part by men, is a popular theme among story-tellers and can be observed in many forms of
oral tradition in Wehali. The story of the 'Seven Princesses' (*feto hitus*) is one of these. In this folk-tale (*ai knoik*), seven princesses who lived in the sky often 'flew' down to earth to pick betel-nut from an orchard guarded by a man. This man noted 'the stealing' of the betel-nut, since the beating of the wings worn by these princesses always made a noise. Using a 'classic' tactic, also well-known in the story of Retna Nawang Sih of the Babad Tanah Jawi (Fox 1995), of stealing the 'wings' of this heavenly nymph, this man finally married the youngest sister of the seven princesses. This folk-tale is more specific in describing the hidden design of that mythical house. As well as the dichotomous structure and the hearth, it mentions the location of a 'female attic' (*kahak me*) above the hearth, *loka laran*, as the sleeping place of those princesses and also the front platform as a space for their father to sit while chewing his betel-nut. Based on these myths, the Wehali claim that the structure and internal organization of their houses are copied and further developed from that first mythical house.

**Orientation of Houses**

When it comes to the 'orientation of Tetun houses', Grijsen (1904: 43-47) is quite ambiguous as to whether the Tetun regard it as an important topic or not. On the one hand he indicates that Tetun society does not pay much attention to the orientation of the houses, while at the same time he also noted that houses in the domain of Fialaran were built facing the mountain of Laka’an, while houses in the domain of Jenilu were built facing the sea. This apparent contradiction actually indicates that ‘orientation’ is one among many topics discussed by the Tetun when a house is going to be built. The significance of house orientation in Tetun society is emphasised by Cunningham when he says that the houses of the Belunese (the Tetun), like those of the Dawan (Atoni), are directed toward the land of origin of their ancestors (Cunningham 1959: 162). It is this link between house orientation and the paths of ancestors, suggested by Cunningham, that I explore here.

Since the paths of ancestors are narrated in the origin myth, knowledge of the orientation of a house must be sought from this myth. According to the myth, the house of earth-sky was located in the mountain region which in Tetun is termed *rae*. But the *rae* mentioned in this myth does not refer to a high place generally in the mountain regions. It refers to a particular place which is now situated at the village of Kateri. This place is considered by the Wehali as the first dry land on earth and therefore they named it Marlilu Haholek, which means the first sacred dry land. It
was in this sacred region that the first female ancestor called Ho’ar Na’i Haholek lived. So, for the Wehali the word *rae* is associated with ‘mountain’, ‘high’ (place), ‘sacred’, ‘dark’, life and ‘female’.

When Ho’ar reached her marriageable age, a noble man from ‘seaside’ (which in Tetun is termed *lor*) came to marry her. Although there are various accounts of this recorded by previous researchers (see Grijsen 1904: 18-20; Vroklage 1953: 148-149; Francillon 1967: 78-82), these versions converge on one ultimate point, namely that a group of outsiders came to Wehali by way of the sea. The origin myth recorded by Grijsen even specifies the names of places that these ‘outsiders’ call at before reaching Wehali, ie: “Poeloe Koesoe, Poeloe Kae, Poeloe Api, Poeloe Loe and Larantoeka-Baobeoin” (1904: 19). Francillon noted the way these people came ashore: “They arrived from the great land suspended by the hands from the branches of a floating Ficus (tree) named Hali Barlele” (1967: 78). The myth that I recorded does not specify which ‘land’ these outsiders came from nor how they came to Wehali. The most important point for my *adat* historian is that a man from the sea came to Wehali. He came because he was attracted by a light shining from the hill of Marlilu. This man was called Taek Malaka.

Another folk-tale that I recorded in the hamlet of Lo’o Sina (literally, the Chinese garden house) also narrated the coming of a man from the sea. In this tale, when a man and his buffalo called *mane lor* emerged out of the deep sea, the fur of the buffalo was covered with gold. Every time he shook his body, the gold fell to the ground. The story teller concluded his tale by saying that it was the man from the seaside (*lor*) that brought wealth to Wehali. Thus, for the Wehali, *lor* is associated with low, front, wealth and male.

The marriage between Ho’ar who lived in *rae*, and Taek who came from *lor* produced six sons and one youngest daughter. These seven children were later spread out following the gradual expanding of the dry land. The first two sons lived in the area toward the rising sun and the next two sons lived in the area toward the setting sun, while the last two sons and the youngest daughter remained in Wehali. People who are now living in these eastern and western territories in the island of Timor are considered by the Wehali as descendants from this ‘mountain woman ancestor’ and the ‘seaside man ancestor’.

To commemorate the mythical house of earth-sky, another house called *Ai Lotuk* (literally, slender tree) was built in the hamlet of Laran as the origin house of the Wesei Wehali people. The front half of the house is oriented toward the seaside (*lor*) and the back part of the house is oriented toward the high region in the mountain (*rae*). As a sacred house, it is also popularly known as *Uma Maromak* (the
house of the Bright One). In ritual language this house is called ‘the sheath of Wesei, the sheath of Wehali (knua Wesei, knua Wehali). The ritual name indicates that this sacred house is categorically a female house. Ferdi Seran, a school teacher and a respected adat elder in Wehali, explains that using the metaphor of a sword: ‘The sheath is the house of the sword. So, the sheath is categorically female, while the sword is male’. By mentioning this ritual name, emphasis is placed on the nature of the ‘femininity’ of this sacred house. As a female house, this house (and other clan houses) has no front platform (labis) of the kind that serves as men’s sleeping verandah. As the most sacred house in the whole realm of Wesei Wehali, the direction or orientation of this sacred house becomes a ‘standard direction’ for understanding the orientation of other clan houses and lineage houses within the inner Wehali territory.

There are three doors which are located in different segments of the outer walls of the house. The first is oda matan lor, often described as the male door. This door is located in the front half of the house. The other two doors are located in the back half of the house. Neither one is directly opposite the front door. One of these two doors is called oda matan rae. If we use the sacred Ai Lotuk house as a point of reckoning, this door is located at the right side of the back of the house where it faces the setting sun. In daily conversation this door is referred to as a female door. Water, fire wood, food and other daily needs are brought into the house through this door. Women and children also use this door for access into the house. Directly opposite this door is a third door called oda matan la sa’en with which no gender category is associated. Regarding the designation of this door (oda matan la sa’en), there are different proposals as to how to it should be translated. Some people refer to this door as the ‘door of the rising sun’ (oda matan loro sa’en) since together oda matan la sa’en and oda matan rae comprise an axis of the path of the sun. Other people simply translate it literally as ‘the unclimbed door’ because there is no access into the house through this door. It remains closed until a particular ritual event is observed in the house.

The orientation of a Wehali house may be explained in two ways. The first is based on the orientation of the front half and back half of the house. Using the metaphor of the human body, the front half is called karas (chest) and the back half is called kidun (buttock). The former is facing the seaside (lor) while the latter is facing the high place in the mountain (rae). Within this human analogy, a Wehali house is depicted as a person facing the south sea with her back turned to the mountain. In this lay-out, a long axis that runs from ‘buttock’ to ‘chest’, from back to front, from north to south is imagined as running from mountain to sea, from the
high place (*rae*) to the low place (*lor*). In ritual language this axis is termed *foho hun, ain tasi* in which the mountain (*foho*) is described as the source and origin (*hun*) and the sea (*tasi*) is the ‘foot’ (*ain*).

In many Austronesian societies, ‘trunk’ is usually paired with ‘tips’ and not with ‘foot’. However, the pairing of ‘trunk’ (*hun*) with ‘foot’ (*ain*) in Wehali, I would argue, cannot be seen as a deviation from the common Austronesian paradigm. In the phrase *foho hun-ain tasi*, we encounter double pairs: 1. *foho-tasi* and 2. *hun-ain*. The first pair (*foho-tasi*) reveals the ancestral path mentioned above. This pair is of paramount importance in explaining the orientation of the house. Concerning the second pair, *hun* usually comes in a pair with *dikin* or *lain* (tips), while *ain* is normally paired with *ulun* (head). However, *dikin* is incompatible with *tasi*. So, one cannot say for example, *tasi dikin* but one can say *mota dikin* (tips of a river). On the other hand, *ain* is compatible with *tasi* as well as with *dikin*. Given these associations, the long axis of *foho hun ain tasi* can be translated as ‘the trunk of the mountain and the tips (instead of ‘foot’) of the sea’. With this notion a Wehali house, like most other Austronesian houses, is imagined as growing up like a tree from the trunk to the tips (Ellen 1982:26, Waterson 1991: 124-129; Fox 1993a: 17).

The second way of looking at the directionality of a house is by observing the orientation of its doors. Although conceptually the notion of *lor* stands in the opposite direction from the notion of *rae*, the actual positioning of these doors within a house is not a direct opposition, since the female door which is called *oda matan rae* is not located in the back wall as a contrast to the front male door (*oda matan lor*), but rather merely placed at the rear of the house. Therefore one cannot speak of an axis of *oda matan lor* and *oda matan rae*. Instead, one can speak of the sunrise and sunset axis represented by *oda matan la sa’en* and *oda matan rae*. As noted above, *oda matan la sa’en* is only opened when certain rituals are observed within the house. So, during harvest, birth or burial rituals, when this door is opened, these two doors (*oda matan la sa’en* and *odamatran rae*) conceptually delineate the sunrise-sunset and hence east-west axis. The former is considered the east door, while the latter is the west door. Given the ‘ritual’ importance of the east door, which is only opened during birth (including first harvest) and death rituals, the east-west axis also implies the path of life-death.

Yet the orientation of a house is only partly accounted for on the basis of these directional and oppositional coordinates (mountain-seaside, buttock-chest; sunrise-sunset), for house orientation also expresses the nature of the Wehali social relations. In other words, by seeing a named house one can make a good guess as to
the order of precedence of that house within a grouping of houses as illustrated below:

With reference to the types of houses outlined above, in this sketch House A represents the dark house (*uma kukun*). It is the forbidden house of the clan. Houses B to E are named houses (*uma mahoo naran*). In this figure, the front half of House A, represented by door 1 is directed towards the southern sea (*lor*). The other lineage houses are arranged differently around the clan house. Within the concentric pattern of a settlement, the front doors of the lineage Houses (B to E) must be constructed ‘facing’ the clan house. The Tetun word for ‘facing’ is *sasi’an // tatane*, which can be translated as uphold // support. In daily conversations people will say that ‘the front door supports the black house’ (*oda matan lor si’a baa uma metan*). In the Tetun concept, the supporter is considered as smaller than the one that is supported. Thus, in the expression above, people have acknowledged an order of precedence between the clan house, which is supported by the lineage houses, according to which the lineage houses (B to E) give precedence to the clan house A.

With regard to the lateral axis, there are also different arrangements applying to these four lineage houses. From the location of their ‘female doors’ (*oda matan rae*) it is clear that Houses B and C belong to the same mother-sister, *inan bin alin* group (literally, M-eZ-yZ group). As a consequence, the exchange of men in marriage between these two houses is prohibited. Being related as elder-younger sisters (*bin-*)
alin eZ-yZ), their female doors have 'to support' to each other, as Wehali people phrase it. In accordance with the system of inheritance, the yZ sister has priority rights over their named house. So, it is the elder sister who 'supports' the youngest sister. In Figure 7.1 above, the female doors (2) of Houses B and C are 'supporting' each other. Conceptually, these two houses are regarded as 'sharing' the same female door'. In the case where C is supporting B, then C will be called uma maksian maktane (the up-holding, the supporting house). Although Houses B and C are both named houses, the fact that their female doors are 'supporting' each other indicates that one house is a bigger named house than the other. If, for example, House B is supporting House C, then the people of House C will refer to House B as uma maksian maktane, and so House C has precedence over House B. In most cases, a supporting named house (B) is occupied by an elder sister who conceptually 'supports' her youngest sister who resides in the named house C.

Houses D and E are not related in terms of a mother-sister (inan bin alin) group and therefore marriages between these houses are permitted. Men can be circulated not only between these two lineage houses, but also between them and other lineages within the clan because Houses D and E do not share a female door with any other lineage houses. In these circumstances, the order of precedence of these houses is not based on relative age, but rather on gender categorization. A female house gives birth to the male house, so that the latter gives precedence to the former. For these reasons, discussion of the spatial orientation of a house, a hamlet or a domain in Wehali leads us back to their origin myths, since a prior knowledge of the 'paths of the houses' is needed in order to understand the order of precedence of houses within a hamlet or the order of precedence of hamlets at the territory level.

The Four Corner House

The south Tetun houses of inner and outer Wehali are a rectangular shape built on slender posts, with the posts supporting the inner section being longer than those supporting the outer section that functions as a platform or verandah. This construction makes the back part of the Wehali house higher than the front part. For the Wehali, the rectangular shape and the higher-lower structure of their houses have cultural significance as encoded in origin myths and various forms of ritual language.

Their rectangular houses are called uma lidun hat (the four corner house). In order to fix the rectangular shape when erecting a new house, those who are
'knowledgeable' in house construction consider in detail where the four corner posts should be situated because the rectangular shape of the house is determined by the precise position of these posts. These 'four corner posts' are called ri(n) lidun hat. The strength of a house depends on the strength of its four corner posts. So, these posts are symbolised as guardians of the house and in ritual language are called rin monas rin tos (literally, the strong post, the hard-durable post).

Using the rectangular shape of the house as an analogy, the inner Wehali people delineate their territory as a 'four corner land'. Within this 'four corner land', the four posts of the house are represented by the four hamlets: Kateri, Umakatahan, Kletek and Fahiluka. In their function as 'posts', these four hamlets are ritually regarded as 'the stronghold of Wehali, the fortress of Wehali' (besi Wehali, baki Wehali). The first two hamlets are 'the female posts' of the Wehali house, while the latter two hamlets which are located close to the seaside, are considered 'the male posts'. Still drawing on the house ideology, these four hamlets are portrayed as the backbones of the Wehali house. Being classified as posts, these hamlets are reckoned as the immediate protectors of the seat of Maromak Oan (the Bright One) located in the hamlet of Laran. This is the seat of central authority in Wehali. Drawing on the imagery of a 'hearth' located inside a house, the hamlet of Laran (which itself means 'centre') is described in ritual language as manas ha'in // klak ha'in (the only heat, the only burning charcoal).

This concept of 'house society' can be traced down to the clan and lineage levels. When a clan house is built, its four posts must be provided by particular lineages (uma) that ritually play the role of 'guardians' of the clan. Following the same pattern, when a lineage house is constructed its four corner posts are provided by the particular named houses that act as 'guardians' (makdakar) of the lineage house. So, when Uma Loro Fulan (literally, the house of sun and moon) in the hamlet of Le'un Klot was rebuilt, the four posts were provided by the Haitimuk people. According to their myth of origin, the people of Le'un Klot derive from Haitimuk. Therefore, the Le'un Klot people recognize the Haitimuk as their guardians. In ritual language, the Haitimuk are referred to as:

- mahein nanokar: the watchers of the stable
- mahein dadasan: the watchers of the fence
- makdakar inuk tuan: the guardians of the old track
- makdakar dalan tuan: the guardians of the old path

These four corner posts were then taken to Le'un Klot by four minor male rulers (dato), namely Dato Mota, Dato Tamiru, Dato Kalete and Dato Bulu As. These are the immediate 'protectors' of the Le'un Klot. The same set of
arrangements can also be observed in the domain of Wehali. I have been informed that if the most sacred house within the realm of Wesei Wehali, known as Ai Lotuk (literally, a slender tree) and situated in the hamlet of Laran, had to be renovated, then its four posts would have to be gained from the hamlet of Sulit Anemeta, 'the guardians of the stable of Wehali' (makkadar knokar Wehali). These posts would be brought down by the four clan heads (fukun) who represent the four hamlets in Wehali, namely those of Kateri, Umakatahan, Kletek and Fahiluka.

The rectangular form of the Wehali house, marked by its four corners and other ordered structural elements, is fundamental to Wehali social relations. In summary, this rectangular house is called uma lidun hat and the four corner posts are rin lidun hat. Based on the imagery of a rectangular house, the Wehali portray their territory as 'the four corner land' (rai lidun hat), 'the four elbow land' (rai lidun hat). The four posts can be further distinguished in terms of gender classification: the two front posts are male posts, while the two back posts are female posts. In ritual, the four hamlets mentioned above are also categorized as male and female hamlets. The hamlet of Kateri, located in the mountain region, and the hamlet of Umakatahan, located in the plain but ritually regarded as part of the inner Wehali house, play the role of female hamlets. These hamlets are called leo foho hun (hamlets on the trunk of the hill). By contrast, the hamlets of Kletek and Fahiluka which are located close to the seaside play the role of male hamlets. These hamlets are called leo ain tasi (literally, hamlets on the leg of the sea). Again, the cultural associations of woman:men as mountain:sea is maintained here.

Ritual Posts

There are no fixed rules on how big a named house has to be. On average, the ratio between the longer and the shorter sides of the house is about 5:4 outstretched arms (ro'a). In general, the height of the inner house floor is about one metre above the ground, while the front platform is about ten to twenty centimetres lower than the inner house. The difference in height between the floor of the inner house and the floor of the highest platform (labis leten) depends on the size of the floor beams. The same differences in height can be applied to the floor of the higher platform and that of lower platform (labis kraik). The step (tetek) to the lower platform is built some 20 centimetres above the ground. Silt deposited by annual flooding in the area has raised the level of the ground so that it now almost touches the lower platform of many houses. In these circumstances, a tetek is not needed for practical purposes.
However, the *tetek* serves not only a practical purpose, but primarily it symbolises the different status of those who occupy it during an *adat* gathering. Therefore a *tetek* is considered an integral part of the three layers of the floor. In the house of a clan head (*uma fukun*), the *tetek* is wider than in other named houses. This *tetek* can then be called the lower platform (*labis kraik*). In this case, what serves as the lower platform in most houses becomes the middle platform (*labis klaran*) of the *fukun* house. Thus, the platforms of Wehali houses can be considered as a trichotomy if the ladder is reckoned as the lowest platform. On the other hand, it can also be treated as a dichotomy if the ladder is not treated as a sitting place.

In erecting a house, concentration is focused on where this new house is to be constructed, towards which direction it must be oriented and who is responsible for providing the main building elements that serve as the focus of ritual for the house. So, when Uma Ha’e Bot from the hamlet of Fatu Isin was to be ‘reunited’ with its mother (*Uma Tanani*) in the hamlet of Leklaran, the guardians of the Tanani house invited the guardians of two other houses (*Uma Bei Fahik Bere Bauk* and *Uma Bei Kabu*) to negotiate on the location and the orientation of this forthcoming house. These latter two houses are the ‘supporting’ houses of the former one. These were important issues to discuss, particularly the orientation of the forthcoming house, because the house to be ‘reunited’ was a male house, while the three houses mentioned above (*uma Tanani, Uma Bei Fahik Bere Bauk* and *Uma Bei Kabu*) were categorically female houses. The aim of the discussion is phrased as ‘to tie the trunks together’ (*hun beli meti*). Since, according to the myth, those three houses were related in a mother-sister group (*uma inan bin alin*), and therefore conceptually shared the same female door, they had particularly to negotiate the orientation of the relocated house’s female door so it would not ‘share’ the same female door as they themselves do. The second concern of this meeting was to decide who was going to provide the main building elements, namely the posts (*rii* or *rin*). As has been mentioned, the four corner posts and the two main pillars of a house represent different *uma* within a clan. So, in this meeting the guardians of these *uma* were reminded of their ritual requirement to provide these ‘ritual’ posts, referred to as *riin makerek* // *riin mean* (literally, the engraved post, the golden post).

In general one can distinguish three kinds of posts (see Figure 7.2 below): 1. the four corner posts (*rin lidun hat* - a1 to a4 and *ksaes* - b1 to b9); 2. the two pillars (*kakuluk lor* and *kakuluk rae* - c1 and c2); and 3. the twelve peripheral ‘orphan’ posts (*riin kiak* - d1 to d12). When the first two posts are ‘planted’, the *katuas* performs a short ritual.
Sequentially, the four corner posts are the first to be planted. These posts are divided into two categories: the male corner posts and the female corner posts. The male posts are located at the front half of the house called *karas* (chest), while the female posts are at the back half of the house called *kidun* (buttock). When these posts are going to be planted, those who are symbolically represented by the posts should be the first to dig the ground. In practice, these people are merely present at the scene. The actual digging is conducted by those who are categorized as *liman lais aïn kmaan* (fast arms, light feet), the helpers in house construction. From my observation, there is no definite regulation on the sequence of digging, although some people said that the holes for the two female posts should be prepared first. Once the four corner holes are ready, the living space is considered as having been determined and for a moment every one is cleared from this site.

In the middle of this rectangular-shaped ground, a female mat (*kleni feteto*) is spread out and the preparation for the rite of ‘feeding the earth’ (*hahaan rai*) is begun. The guardians of the house (*ferik-katuas*) come forward with *mama lulik*...
(forbidden betel-nut). These *mama lulik*, translated for me as ‘offerings’, consist of a small bundle of cotton, a silver coin (*kmurak*) or sometimes a golden chest plate (*kbelak*) worn by men, a knife, seven betel leaves, seven dried sliced areca nuts and a mixture of coconut juice and pig’s blood. The male guardian (*katuas*) carries the juiceblood in a palm leaf basket called *knaban*. This is a male object and therefore carried by a man. The rest of the items are placed in a square palm-leaf container (*koba*). This *koba* is then put inside a pyramidal-shaped palm leaf basket (*hane matan*) and carried by the female guardian (*ferik*). Again gender categories are applied to these baskets. *Koba* is categorically female, because it is a woman’s betel-nut container. On the other hand *hane matan* is categorically male because in the marriage ceremony, the male gifts are placed in this type of basket. When this ‘sacred betel-nut’ has been laid in the middle of the female mat, then work can continue because a guarantee of the safety of the work has been properly installed.

A slight variation was observed in the hamlet of Le’un Klot. Prior to the preparation of the corner post holes, a short ritual of ‘cooling down the earth’ (*halirin rai*) was performed. For this task the title holder of *katuas* fetched a bucket of water from the sacred spring situated in the eastern part of the village. With this water in hand, he watered the spots that had been marked for ‘planting’ the four corner posts and the two main pillars.

The second step is erecting the *ksa’es* of which there are nine in all. Of the *ksa’es* posts, six are located mid-way between the four corner posts and the remaining three are along the edge of the platform. These posts support structures of the house. The trunk part is ‘planted’ in the ground, while the tips take the beams that support the middle of the rafters. As intermediate posts, no ritual event is observed when they are erected. Once the four corner posts and the nine rafter supporter posts (*ksa’es*) have been erected, the rectangular shape of the house is complete and so the third step can be commenced.

The third set of posts to be erected are the two main pillars of the house. One is located in the front half of the house, which is conceptually oriented toward the seaside (*lor*), and is therefore known as *kakuluk lor*. This pillar is also given another name, male pillar (*kakuluk mane*), because it is a place where a man invokes his ancestors. The second pillar is located in the back half of the house, which is conceptually seen as oriented toward the high place in the mountain (*rae*). For this reason, the pillar is named *kakuluk rae*. When a woman prepares betel-nut sacrifice, she is delineated as preparing them in front of the *kakuluk rae*. Therefore this pillar is also known as the female pillar (*kakuluk feto*). Both the male and the female pillars are described as sacrificial pillars in Figure 7.3 below to emphasis the ritual
significance of these pillars. They are the most important posts in a Wehali house and this importance is signified, firstly by the name kakuluk itself and secondly by rituals performed in connection with their erection. Tetun Indonesian speakers translate the Tetun word kakuluk as ‘grand post’ (tiang agung). In Tetun, the term kakuluk is related to the noun ulun (‘head’), adjective ulu (first born) and adverb uluk (‘before’, ‘former’ or simply ‘first’ in time). So, the term kakuluk denotes the prior and thus superior existence of these pillars compared to other posts. Physically, one can distinguish a male pillar from a female pillar as shown in Figure 7.3 below. The top end of the male pillar is carved in a pointed shape. This top end is called amak. The top end of the female pillar is cut in a V-shape simply called hasan which means ‘junction’. These two pillars are then linked by a ridge pole called laho dalan (path of rats). The hole that joined amak with the ridge pole is called inak.

When a named house is no longer safe to be inhabited, all parts of the building can be dismantled except its male pillar. This remains in its place until a new house is erected. If the pillar is considered strong enough, the new house will reuse the old male pillar. The ritual importance of the male pillar is revealed in the following saying:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ita hotu hotu hahina baa nia, hahama baa nia} & \quad \text{all of us treat it as our parent} \\
\text{nia mak tane baa maromak} & \quad \text{it is the one that supports the bright one} \\
\text{nia mak simu lia simu ibun} & \quad \text{it is the one that receives the language and the}
\end{align*}
\]
This male pillar is crucial to a Wehali house. Clan relics such as swords, pouches and betel-nut baskets are hung on it. In every harvest ritual, one whole maize plant is tied to it. Offerings for the ancestors are laid on the floor right underneath this pillar. The male guardian of the house also offers his prayer facing this pillar. Compared to the focal position of the male pillar, the female pillar in the Wehali house is hidden behind the hearth and the two to three layers of storage racks above the hearth. It is located in the buttocks (kidun) part of the house and therefore it gains the nickname kakuluk uma kidun. Although situated in a ‘hidden’ place, it does not necessarily lack ritual importance. If the male post is the place where offerings of betel-nut are laid, the preparation of these offerings is done by a ferik (old woman) in front of the female pillar and the three cooking stones (lali’an). The betel-nut offerings prepared by the ‘old woman’ are described in ritual language as:

fuik tolu b ua tolu
hatasan hemu tasan

the three betel leaves the three areca nuts
the cooked food the cooked drink

In this ‘cooked’ condition, not only the betel-nut offerings but also the woman who prepared them are categorically hot, sacred and therefore potentially can be harmful to human beings. To denote the ‘sacred’ nature of this female pillar, it is also called kakuluk ha’i which can be translated literally as the ‘fire post’. The association with ‘heat’ makes this pillar not a place to ask for blessings (raw and cool). When the offering has been prepared, the woman hands it over to a man who is waiting at the male pillar. Now, the offering changes its status from the source of ‘danger’ to the source of ‘blessings’:

fuik hitu b ua hitu
hamatak hemu matak

the seven betel leaves the seven areca nuts
the raw food the raw drink

The fourth and final step is indicated by the erection of the twelve ‘orphan posts’ (rin kiak) that support the rafters at the periphery. My informants explained that posts erected in the three steps described above represent members of the household and therefore they are the first to be erected. The orphan posts represent ‘others’, therefore they are last to be erected. Like the nine ksa’es posts above, no ritual event is associated with these orphan posts.

With the completion of the orphan posts, the essential building elements that have ritual significance have been erected in the correct place. The posts that
represent various segments of society have been erected in the right order. But the owners of the land (rai na'in) have not yet been informed that ‘human beings’ (represented by the posts) have already intruded into their realm. The ritual to inform the rai na'in is also called hahaan rai (to feed the earth). The old man (katuas) moves again into the middle of the rectangular house ground toward the sacred betel-nut that has been laid there when the space was marked out. Using the knife set apart for this purpose, the old man scratches the edge of the silver coin so that its dust falls on the small cotton ball prepared for it. Together with one betel leaf and one slice of dried areca nut, this cotton ball is then slipped into the trunk of the post. Then a small amount of pig’s blood is dropped on this ‘sacred betel-nut’. The same activity is repeated for every ritual post beginning with the front right corner post and moving anti-clockwise ending up on the male pillar. As has been mentioned, this ritual is observed specifically for the six ritual posts, namely: the four corner posts (riin lidun hat) and the two main pillars (kakuluk). The information given to me, as to Francillon is that the “failure to carry out this ritual...would result in the earth taking the life of one of the house members” (Francillon 1967: 222).

There are still other rituals performed before and after the completion of the house as noted by Francillon, such as “ceremony of the walls” (1967: 236-243), “feeding the house” (1967: 243-248) and “the introduction of fire into the new house” (1967: 248-249). I was told that formerly in the hamlet of Manumutin before the tips of the roof of a new house are trimmed into a nice tidy look, a short ritual must be conducted. This custom is based on a myth possessed only by the Manumutin people. According to this myth, when the house of Maromak Oan was built, the clan of Lawalu (the male servants of Maromak Oan) had the task of trimming the tips of the roof. The Lawalu could not execute the job well and therefore proved their lack of knowledge. So, Maromak Oan called on the clan of Umanen (the female servants). Umanen took advantage of this to show off their ‘divine knowledge’. Instead of trimming the tips off using scissors, the Umanen trimmed using fire for a faster and better result.

**Inner House and Platform**

The Wehali house is conceptualized as divided into two spaces. The first space is the ‘inner house’ (uma laran) and the other is the platform or verandah. The Tetun word for platform is labis, which literally means ‘layer’. Although the inner
house and the platform are under the same roof, the difference in the terms applied to these two areas of the house creates the impression that the former is the 'true' living space, while the latter is only another space attached to the living space. This impression is strengthened by the way walls are installed in both parts of the house. Walls encircling the inner house are 'properly' attached to the main building elements, while walls surrounding the platform are only 'temporarily' installed. The difference between 'permanently installed' and 'temporarily installed' is quite significant, so that a technical explanation concerning this type of 'wall' is unavoidable here.

The walls are made of gebang palm leaves which are plaited coarsely to form leaf mats. The size of each mat depends on the length of the leaves. There are two types of wall mat known in the region:

![Kleni Mane](image1.png) ![Kleni Feto](image2.png)

Figure 7.4 Male and female wall mats

The first type is called *kleni mane* ('male mat'). This type of mat is plaited (by women or men) using whole leaves which are not split from their original stalk. So, the original stalk becomes the base of the mat, while the tips form its periphery. The tips of the leaves are plaited to make up an oval-looking mat. These shaped mats are arranged neatly to comprise a wall panel of 8 to 10 centimetres thick on average. Just like planting a tree, the trunk part of the mats are arranged at the bottom of the
panel, while the tips are at the upper part. These wall panels, which consist of hundreds of *kleni mane*, are used to enclose the inner section of the house.

The second type of wall mat is called *kleni feto* (female mat). This mat is plaited using palm leaves that have been split from their stalk. These leaves are interlaced into a rectangular shape like ordinary sleeping mats. Like the male mat, the female mat is also coarsely plaited by women. To encircle a platform one only needs an average of 18 to 20 mats. The way a *kleni feto* is installed to become the enclosure of the platform indicates that it is not a permanent wall. Two pieces of cord are tied at the two edges of each screen. To install the 'wall', these cords are hung on a stick of wood added to the main building elements. This construction suggests a temporary installation of 'walls' surrounding the platform. The temporary nature of this 'wall' is also indicated by the common usage of this type of mat in daily life. Apart from its function as 'moveable' walls, these (female) mats are also used for different purposes: during rainy days, they are used as umbrellas; and in various social gatherings, these mats are laid on the ground as sitting mats. It must be noted that in a social gathering members of the named house have a right to sit on the platforms, while the 'new man', the sons-in-law who reside in their wives' houses, sit on the mats spread on the ground. So, the right to sit on the platform for an *adat* meeting or to sit on the mat signifies a man's status with respect to the named house concerned.

My informants particularly drew my attention (without elaborating further) to two implications raised by the distinction between the male and female wall mats: first, the male mats are used to encircle the inner house, the living space of women, and the female mats are used to encircle the platform, the sleeping space of men; second, the male mats are installed properly to form solid, 'permanent' walls, while the female mats are hung loosely as to suggest a 'temporary' walls.

The 'permanent' and 'temporary' construction of these two types of walls relates to a more complex ideology concerning the nature of masculinity and femininity. Accordingly, women are associated with 'immobility', since they are surrounded by permanent walls, in contrast to men who are mobile just like the 'temporary' construction of the walls of their platforms. Women are also associated with 'cooked' and 'heat', while men are 'raw' and 'cool'. The lack of ventilation within the inner house, the thick wall established around it and the 'unclimbed' door that remains closed make this section darker than it would otherwise be. Natural light does not get access to the house. Thus, the only light is from the hearth burning inside the house. From this perspective, the house associates women with 'dark', 'fire' and 'heat'. Together with the ritual function of a woman to prepare sacred
betel-nut, these associations articulate the sacred nature of women. As noted above, the forbidden betel-nut (*mama lulik*) prepared by women is in ritual language termed ‘the cooked food, the cooked drink’.

By contrast, platforms as men’s spaces are only surrounded by the ‘temporary’ walls that give an impression of a coolness. ‘The cooked food, the cooked drink’ (*haa tasas*, *hemu tasas*) prepared by the woman inside the house becomes ‘the raw food, the raw drink’ (*haa matak*, *hemu matak*) in the hands of the men. According to this analysis, the female in Wehali is associated with fire, dark, heat, cooked, sacred and immobility. Not all of these categories are in contrast to those associated with men. But the notions of outside, bright, cool and blessing in terms of wealth are closely associated with the masculine.

The marked difference between the inner house and its outer area (verandah or platform) is also evident in the different terms of reference applied to members of the household. The inner house is a space restricted to women, children and parents. When a boy is considered eligible to carry betel-nut pouches, an indication of adulthood, he will join his father on the platform. Even a son-in-law has limited access to join his wife in the inner section of the house. By contrast, the platform is the realm of men. Male guests are entertained only in this section of the house. ‘To enter the inner house’ is another metaphor for having sexual intercourse. When a man marries a woman of this house, he resides in his wife’s house as a ‘new man’. An honorific term of reference for this new man is ‘platform master’ (*labis na’ in*). By contrast his wife (and their children) are referred to as the ‘house master’ (*uma na’ in*). The difference in these terms of reference suggests that even a son in-law is not part of the inner house. This space is reserved for the new man’s wife, her mother and the younger children.

The space of the inner house as the realm of women and the platform as the realm of men is demarcated by a floor beam called *kotan*. When Wehali draw on this *kotan* for metaphor, they refer not only to a spatial boundary, but as I describe below, also to a social boundary within their society.

**Social Boundary**

In general, a *kotan* is a floor beam which runs in a lateral direction and functions as a borderline between two spaces. In the Wehali house, these beams are part of the building elements of the inner house.²⁰ There are two types of *kotan*
within a house, and there are often mentioned by the Wehali when notions of 'boundary' are discussed (See Figure 7.5 below).

The outside cross-beam (*kotan lor*) is physically observable because it is located above the floor level. Its physical appearance evokes the impression that the *kotan lor* is the threshold of the front male door (Morris 1984: 117). However, more than just a threshold, it serves as a border-line between the inner house and the space of the platform. From various discussions concerning the cultural function of this beam, I become aware that for the south Tetun the *kotan lor* separates the outsiders from the insiders: as a demarcation line between the realm of women inside the house and the realm of men outside the house, it serves to separate the *uma na'in* (literally, 'house masters') from the *labis na'in* (literally, 'platform masters'). When a young man comes to court a young woman in the house, neither the man nor the woman are permitted to cross over this beam. So, the woman stays inside the house, while the man sits on the platform. 'Crossing the beam' (*hakur kotan*) is thus a phrase to denote misconduct. The other cross-beam, called *kotan uma laran*, is not physically observable since it is located under and functions as support for the house floor. However, as this beam joins the 'unclimbed' door to the female door, one could locate it simply by looking at the position of these doors. This *kotan* marks
the separation between the adult women’s section (consisting of quarter 1 - delivery room; quarter 2 - hearth; quarter 3, for the storing of water jar) and the space available for other members of the household (quarter 4 - parents and children; quarter 5 - young women). In the next chapter, I discuss the ritual significance of this beam as a demarcation line that separates a mother during the rite of seclusion after childbirth, from the rest of the household.

In keeping with the notion of *kotan* as a boundary that demarcates between both spaces and people, Wehali origin myths draw on idiom to mark other social boundaries as well. So, just as a *kotan* separates outsiders from insiders and men from women in a Wehali ‘house’, there is an imaginary boundary demarcating insider clans from outsider clans and clans that are ritually regarded as male from those that are regarded as female.

Engaging this house metaphor, Wehali conceive of the present ordering of their society as rendered in and derived from the origin myth (Reference Text 2). There, it is narrated that when Ho’ar Makbalin Balin Liurai was of marriageable age, ‘a man from the sun above’, Na’i Loro Leten also known as Na’i Luru Mea, ‘spat or flung down betel spittle’ towards her. This phrase is a literal translation from the text of the myth, *tuda kmusan*, referring to sexual intercourse between nobles. As a result, Ho’ar became pregnant and gave birth to Bano Ha’in Liurai. The relations between Ho’ar and Na’i Luru Mea are depicted in a romantic poem as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anin nakis onan</th>
<th>Anin nakis onan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nakis onan</td>
<td>Nakis onan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anin nadais onan</td>
<td>Nakis onan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadais onan</td>
<td>Nadais namodok fui no bua sia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadais namodok fui no bua sia</td>
<td>Nadais namodok fui no bua sia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na’i maromak na’i maromak</td>
<td>Na’i maromak na’i maromak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matuun kmaun baa takan Wesei</td>
<td>Matuun kmaun baa takan Wesei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buu Wesei ami tahan bea ida</td>
<td>Buu Wesei ami tahan bea ida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takak Wesei ami tuun leo ida</td>
<td>Takak Wesei ami tuun leo ida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa’e be ku’u hodi basu liu onan</td>
<td>Sa’e be ku’u hodi basu liu onan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa’e hikar baa fatin inan maromak</td>
<td>Sa’e hikar baa fatin inan maromak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa’e hikar baa fatin aman maromak</td>
<td>Sa’e hikar baa fatin aman maromak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After quoting this poem, the *adat* historian added that ‘with this birth, Wehali then had a Maromak Oan and a Liurai’. This birth, therefore, marks the opening of the era of Wehali’s earlier inhabitants and their system of government. Among the inhabitants of that earlier era were two female ancestors Balok Liurai and Se’uk Liurai, from whom the present inhabitants of inner Wehali who occupy the ‘trunk of the hill’ and ‘the feet of the sea’ are said to originate. It was Se’uk Liurai who gave
birth to Dini Kotan and Luruk Kotan. Concerning the birth of Dini Kotan and Luruk Kotan, the myth recounts as follows:

Se'uk Liurai nahoris baa Dini Kotan Luruk Kotan
Dini Kotan Dini Liurai
Luruk Kotan Luruk Liurai
hodi kotan leien katak raiklaran

Se'uk Liurai gave birth to Dini Kotan and Luruk Kotan
Dini Kotan (entitled) Dini Liurai
Luruk Kotan (entitled) Luruk Liurai
(they come) to demarcate the world above, to tell the world below

Dini and Luruk are common men’s and women’s names respectively, while kotan refers to the floor-beam that delineates spaces in a house. So, according to folk exegesis, with the birth of Dini and Luruk, a kotan has been laid to demarcate women the insiders from men the outsiders. The descendants of Dini Kotan, the male ancestor, are the present ‘periphery people’ (ema molin), while the descendants of Luruk Kotan, the female ancestor, are the present ‘centre people’ (ema laran). Thus, the division of Wehali society into male clans and female clans, centre and periphery began with the birth of Dini Kotan and Luruk Kotan, who laid a ‘cross beam’ between these societal segments.

The notion of kotan that marks the physical boundary within the house between the realm of men and the realm of women is employed by the Wehali to create a social boundary and distinction within their society. So, in Wehali people speak about inner or centre clans which are ritually considered female, versus outer or periphery clans which are ritually considered male. Here the insiders have precedence over the outsiders, the centre over the periphery. The claim made by the Wehali that their society is the centre, the female, and therefore has precedence over other societies is justified in the same origin myth which recounted the laying of the ‘crossbeam’ between eras. This origin myth, which I sketch in Figure 7.6 below, uses the dual categories of male/female, first to dry/last to dry and first born/last born to proclaim Wehali’s superiority over other societies.
The claim made by the Wehali that their society is a female society is based on the origin myth I sketch above. The first four female ancestors lived in what is now Wehali. Three of them married ‘outside’ men. These men each resided in their wife’s houses. The origin myth always places emphasis on the phenomenon of ‘outsider’ men coming to marry the ‘insider’ women. These women, who lived in present-day Wehali, were the prime cause of the first dry land emerging and the present order of the earth. The claim that the first dry land to emerge is in Wehali derives from this part of the myth. Therefore, the asymmetrical relation between Wehali and other territories is based on the notion of maran uluk (literally, ‘first to dry’) and maran ikus (literally, ‘last to dry’). The territory described as the ‘first to dry’ was occupied by female ancestors, so this territory constituted a female territory or female society.

A dyadic structure of government is narrated in the myth in conjunction with the expanding of the dry land when the earth was fully populated. This era is marked by the birth of Balok Liurai and Se’uk Liurai. It was the descendants of Balok Liurai who were entitled to the offices of Maromak oan (the ritual ruler) and Liurai (the executive ruler). The descendants of Se’uk Liurai then become the guardians of these two rulers who are portrayed as ‘those who eat reclining, drink reclining’. The ‘guardian people’ are further divided into the ‘centre people’ and the ‘periphery people’. The line of demarcation between centre and periphery is marked by the conceptual crossbeam (kotan). Those who belong to the centre are categorically female societies and those who are on the periphery are categorically
male. Just like the division of male and female in a house, these societies also inhabit different localities. The descendants of Dini Kotan (the periphery people) live at the ‘feet of the sea’, the present hamlets of Kletek and Fahiluka, while the descendants of Luruk Kotan (the centre people) live at the ‘trunk of the mountain’, the present hamlets of Kateri and Umakatahan.

Such oppositional categories provide a basis for understanding the hierarchical nature of Wehali society. In daily discourse, Wehali claim superiority over other societies based on two things. First, Wehali is the origin place of the dry land (maran hun). Second, in this maran hun lived the female ancestors of all human kind. Thus, these two categories (gender and temporality) are associated with Wehali.

Although as a whole Wehali is considered as female, within the inner Wehali herself, one finds the division into male and female societies. The pattern of asymmetrical relation between the female Wehali and the male Wehali is also organized as an order of precedence. The male gives precedence to the female because the latter gives birth to the former. The first born (female) takes precedence over the last born (male). These categories define an order of precedence, as Fox (1989a: 52) has suggested, through their recursive application:

```
| female | --- | male |
| female | --- | male |
```

Figure 7.7 Order of precedence

In Wehali representations, this process itself recurs, both temporally and spatially as I have tried to demonstrate here, at all levels of social and ritual organization.
Concluding Remarks

This chapter has analysed how a Wehali house serves as a representation of the cosmos and human society. This representation is articulated through a set of opposed categories. The categories used most frequently to express the cosmological ideas encoded in a house are those of sky/earth, upper/lower and mountain/sea. The inner house, which is built higher than the platform, thus becomes symbolic of sky above. By contrast, the platform, which is constructed lower than the inner house, is associated with the flat lowland of the seaside. This lowland is further associated with the gender category of male because in the origin myth the male ancestors came from that direction. The primordial marriage between the mistress of the inner house and the master of the platform produced the inhabitants of the earth.

These cosmic categories of vertical relations are projected into the horizontal categories of centre/periphery, inside/outside and male/female. So, when Wehali speak about social division, they contrast the centre with the periphery, the inside with the outside and the male with the female in societies.

The two idioms Wehali use to describe their houses suggest that these physical habitations are alive. Like a tree, a Wehali house is growing from the trunk to the tips; like a human being, the Wehali house is facing the southern sea of Timor while its back is against the trunk of the mountains in the northern part of Timor.

More than simply a place to dwell, the Wehali house provides a model for their political organization. The mother who ‘sits’ in the inner house and the father who is on the platform become perfect symbols of power and authority. She who dwells at the centre, is the one who eats reclining, drinks reclining. The highest authority is entrusted into her hands. She is the source of life and fertility, while the peripheral man becomes the protector of the central authority. To him is entrusted the physical well-being, in terms of wealth and security, for the whole house of Wehali.

Last but not least, the Wehali house is an ancestral house. Like most Austronesian houses, it is a place to commemorate the ancestral paths of a particular origin group. It is a ‘memory palace’ (Fox 1993c: 141).
1 It is common knowledge that government officials identify the *rumah adat* with *rumah tidak sehat* (unhealthy house). Confronted with this stereotyped identification, the head of Kamanasa village, Nicolaus Teti, could find only one reason to label the *rumah adat* as ‘unhealthy’, namely, its lack of ventilation. However, with the typical ‘healthy house’ having a low corrugated iron roof and walls (made of dried midribs of gebang palm) touching the ground, those who live in this type of ‘healthier house’ tend to be ‘unhealthy’ in the dry climate of summer and the annual flooding of rainy seasons.

2 The Wehali relate uneven numbers to *kukun* (ancestral spirits, dark) and even numbers to *roman* (living human beings, bright). So, to ask for *monas* (strength and invulnerability) from ancestors one ought to stay for an odd number of nights inside the house.

3 In east Tetun, *natar* means ‘a rice paddy field’ (Morris 1984: 152, Metzner 1977: 46,126)

4 In Babad Tanah Jawi, Jaka Tarub was narrated as stolen the clothes of Retna Nawang Sih when she was swimming in a lake.

5 Vroklage regards the word *rae* as synonymous with *rai* meaning ‘land’ or ‘earth’ (1953: 512). The same assumption is made by Francillon, although he acknowledges that the Wehali ignore this translation. Actually, for the Wehali, *rae* refers to a living space in the mountains or, as Morris puts it, ‘high regions on the mountains’ (Morris 1984: 158).

6 Compared to the meaning of *rae*, the translation of the word *lor* is straightforward. Morris translates the noun *lor* as ‘low-lying ground’, ‘the tidal regions’, ‘seaside’. As an adjective it means ‘low, towards the bottom’. Thus, *uma lor* means ‘a low house’. Morris also suggests the meaning of *lor* as ‘south’ (Morris 1984: 133). Francillon gives the translation of *lor* as ‘horizon’. Probably this translation comes from the way the Wehali explain the meaning of *lor* by pointing to the large open horizon at the south sea, as they did with me. It is necessary also to add that the reduplication of *lor*, *loloran* means the ‘rolling waves’.

7 The common word used for ‘door’ is *oda malan*. In ritual language, *oda matan* is paired with *heli matan*. *Heli* means ‘to conceal’, ‘to cover up’, but, the word is not commonly used. The word *odan* refers to branches of bamboo. A bamboo with strong branches will make a good ladder. So, *odan* can also be translated as ‘ladder’.

8 *La sa’en* is supposed to be derived from *la*=not (negation) and *sa’en*=to climb. So, *oda matan la sa’en* can be translated as ‘the unclimbed door’.

9 There is a marked difference between *dikin* and *lain* which I gloss as ‘tips’. *Lain* refers to the tips of a tree as a whole, while *dikin* refers to the pointed end of the crown of the tree.
Morris translates sasi’an as a noun, meaning ‘a counsellor’, the dignitaries who accompany and support the liurai (ruler) (1984: 168). While the noun tatane is translated as ‘a woven serving tray’. The verb tane means ‘to support’, ‘to hold up from below’ (1984: 180, 181).

Celio Ferreira reports that the same concept prevails also in Palauan society. The difference is only in the terms used: the Palauan share the same blai (kitchen), while the Wehali share the same oda matan rae (female door) (1987: 81, 82).

Like the Rotinese (cf. Fox 1993c: 143-145), the South Tetun recognize two forms of knowledgeable person, i.e. makerek and badaen. The latter word refers to a person who is known as skilful in using his hands in creating something. My informant gave examples of these two forms of knowledge as follows. A carpenter is a badaen man who uses his hands in carving the house posts. By contrast an adat and ritual expert is a makerek man because he carves the posts with words (lia). Gender categories can also be added: badaen denotes a male category, while makerek denotes a female category. Those who are experts in planning and constructing, as well as narrating are the makerek badaen people. Another thing that needs to be emphasized is that the knowledge of makerek badaen is not something that can be gained. Rather, it is inherited. So, in a clan (leo), the knowledgeable persons constitute a lineage, called uma makerek badaen.

It was said that the guardians of the Uma Ha’e Bot in the hamlet of Fatisin have returned to their domain of origin in Suai (the present East Timor territory) and therefore this house had to be returned to its mother, Uma Leklaran Tanani (or simply Uma Tanani) in the hamlet of Leklaran. This house was then considered to be reunited with its mothers and sisters. In this ‘new settlement’ Uma Ha’e Bot was designated Uma Makbalin so as to take the place of the named house they had previously “supported”.

The Kamanasa people are originally Suai people of East Timor. They migrated to the Wehali territory (or using their phrase, returned to the lap of Wehali) some 80 to 90 years ago. Among the migrants were members of Uma Makbalin origin group and Uma Tanani origin group. These two houses originated from male and female siblings. The former is the male origin group, while the latter is the female origin group. Uma Ha’e Bot discussed here is a ‘supporting house’ of Uma Makbalin and therefore is considered as Uma Makbalin’s son. Thus, Uma Ha’e Bot is a male house like Uma Makbalin whose name and status it subsequently acquired.

I participated in the erection of a named house in the hamlet of Leklaran, in the village of Kamanasa. The posts of this house were not ‘planted’ into the ground, but rather installed on top of stones. Some other houses have even used concrete as the bases of the posts. The villagers informed me that the ‘planted’ posts easily become rotten in the plain of south Tetun because of the annual flooding. Considering that nowadays the wood used for posts is not easily obtained, many posts of new named house are no longer planted into the ground. However, for the forbidden house (uma lulik), planting the posts is still considered necessary.
The common term for 'to dig the ground' is *ke' e rai* (to cut the earth). However, in the context of house construction, the Tetun use the phrase *hakane rai* which literally means 'to wound the earth'.

The literal meanings of 'language' and 'mouth' can be rendered as 'order' and 'message'.

One of the differences between Kamanasa and Wehali type of houses is the location of the female pillar. In the Kamanasa house, the female pillar is located in front of the hearth and therefore it is also called the 'fire pillar' (see also Francillon 1967: 270-271).

The wall screen (*kleni*) is plaited in the same way as an ordinary sleeping mat (*biti*). The differences between these two items are due to their functions. As a sleeping mat, a *biti* is made longer than a *kleni*; the leaves used for the screen are divided into small strips; and before plaiting, those strips of leaf are refined, so as to produce a smooth surface. By contrast, a *kleni* is shorter than a *biti*; its size depends on the length of a palm leaf; and the leaves are plaited without prior refinements. Therefore a *kleni* is rougher than a *biti*.

In the Kamanasa type, *kotan* also occurs in the platform section, where it runs in a north-south direction (cf. Francillon 1967: 254-257).

In another version of the myth, the name Kotan is replaced with Katan. In Tetun the word *katan* means 'to sew' or 'to close'. Despite the change of terms used in the two versions of the myth, the notions of 'border' and 'enclosure' are also reflected in this name.
Photograph 15. A bunch of the seven cobs of maize. Note the symbolic arrangement of the maize as a tribute to the Maromak Oan.
Photograph 16. “Dark Food”. Cobs of maize from the first harvest and pork are offered, along with prayers, in front of the male pillar (kakuluk lor).

Photograph 17. Eating in front of the female door (odamatan rae). Women enjoying the young maize during the first harvest.
Chapter Eight

LIFE-GIVING RITUALS

Introduction

Tetun believe that life can be maintained or even promoted if certain prohibitions are carefully observed. So heavy is the emphasis on ‘prohibitions’ that a casual observer may come to the conclusion that the Tetun ‘religion’ or worldview focuses on prohibition. To underline the importance of observing prohibitions as a means to achieving a successful life, this chapter includes an analysis of the Tetun concept of lulik, which can be translated as ‘prohibition’ and ‘sacred’ with reference to ‘avoidance ritual’. The bulk of the chapter, however, explores a variety of dual categories used in south Tetun society as expressed in ritual, particularly two complex series of rituals: first, rituals for childbirth and second, rituals that follow agricultural activities. Regarding the first series, I focus on rituals observed for pre-childbirth, childbirth and post-childbirth. Regarding the second series, the emphasis is on rituals held during pre-planting and planting, harvest and post-harvest seasons.

Both series of rituals or even each ritual observed in these two cycles of ritual, rely on somewhat different symbolic ‘operators’ (Fox 1989: 45). Collectively, however, they express the same notion concerning the flowing of life from women to men and from inside to outside. The quality of life-giving inherent in these separate rituals is manifested in the Tetun word hahoris (halo=to make, moris=life). Following the Tetun description, the function of a midwife to ‘give life’ (hahoris) to a pregnant woman and the function of ‘an old man’ (katsuas) is to ‘give life’ (hahoris) to a seed. Hahoris then becomes a key term in understanding both childbirth and agricultural rituals. Thus, ritual in Tetun society is, to use Traube’s expression (1986: 12), considered as a technique of life-giving or promotion of life.

The Tetun recognize only two kinds of rituals which they symbolically name using terms related to temperature; halirin (to make cool) that can be associated with
cool (malirin) and hamanas (to make hot) that can be associated with heat (manas). These two categories of ritual employ certain symbolic oppositions, for example, cool/heat, raw/cooked, tasteless/salty, and life/death.

Rituals that are associated with ‘heat’ are observed in order to redress a broken rule. For example, when a couple finds the solution to a serious dispute that might have led to their divorce, or a person has failed to observe a prohibition agreed upon previously, such as the restriction on harvesting coconuts during a certain period of time, they are obliged to ‘re-heat the adat rule’ (hamanas ukun badu). In other cases, rituals that are associated with ‘heat’ aim to change a person metaphysically. A person who has been endowed with ‘heat’ is potentially a source of danger to people’s lives and at the same time is immune from every possible threat. Rituals associated with heat are therefore needed when someone engages in warfare. The ritual to heat up a person is called hamanas kakaluk hatuda (to make heated the war pouch) or hasa’e kakaluk hatuda (to ascend the war pouch). When the war is over pouches have to be cooled off in another ritual called halirin kakaluk hatuda or ‘to descend the war pouch’ (kasu kakaluk hatuda). In principle this rite deals with the preserving of the lives of those who partake in the ritual and not with the death of others, although it does potentially threaten the lives of others. On the other hand, rituals that are associated with ‘cool’ aim to give life, well-being and fertility, both to those who take part in them and to the community at large. Conceptually then, rituals that are associated with both ‘heat’ and ‘cool’ deal with the importance of life-maintaining and life-giving symbols.

In this respect, I need to clarify a few technical terms that are used throughout the chapter, particularly the terms for ‘ritual’ and ‘harvest’. In everyday speech the Tetun use only one word, ukur, to refer to the notions of both ‘rites’ and ‘ceremony’. Literally, the noun ukur refers to cords or threads that link the edges of a rectangular loom. In ritual language this word is paired with lahan, which also means ‘threads’ as in kabas lahan meaning ‘a length of cotton thread’. But the word lahan also has another meaning, ‘a block of land used for cultivation’. With reference to this latter meaning, the phrase kabas no lahan means ‘rite’ or ‘ceremony’. No longer associated merely with ‘cotton’ and ‘thread’, instead it relates to the classical sexual division of labour: women are the weavers and men
are the farmers. Similarly the work of weaving is represented in the word *ukur*, whereas the work of farming is represented in the word *lahan*. Thus, when a Tetun speaks of a rite or ceremony, the emphasis is given to activities which involve both women and men. In a ritual, it is the task of a woman to prepare an offering of betel-nut (*halo mama*) and the task of a man to invoke the ancestors through it (*sera mama*). When it comes to rituals, women are the workers, men are the talkers.

Tetun does not have a generic term for 'harvest'. Concerning the harvest of maize, the Tetun employ two descriptive phrases: 1. *silu batar* (literally, to break off maize cobs) and 2. *haa batar nurak* (literally, to eat baby maize). The phrase *silu batar* is only used to ‘harvest’ maize cobs when they are ripe. People will not use this term to imply the harvesting of young edible maize. They refer to the latter simply as *haa batar nurak*. The different terms used to denote the two stages of harvest have different connotations in ritual. When people harvest young maize, a small part of the harvest is given to the man’s natal house. When people harvest ripe maize, seven cobs are delivered to Maromak Oan as a gift of homage. Different names are also given to the two rituals that accompany these two stages of maize harvest. The ritual in the first stage is called *hamiis*, which for convenience sake can be glossed as ritual to make maize edible. The ritual observed at the second stage of harvest is called *batar mana*i, literally translated as ‘maize of homage’. Due to the different connotations of these two phrases, I refer to the first stage of harvest as ‘first harvest’ and the second stage of harvest simply as ‘harvest’.

Myth, Ritual and Polity

In this section, I consider the reasons for observing particular rites as they relate to origin myths. To examine the relationship between myth, ritual and social life in this respect I focus on two sets of myths according to their indigenous classification. First, myths that deal with the origin of the earth and human beings, which are called ‘language of the earth’ (*rai lian*). Second, ‘true tales’ (*lia tebes*) which concern the origin of food. This latter type of myth was called ‘the path of Liurai’ by the narrator. Myths concerning the origin of food, according to this classification, are not part of *rai lian*, even though they are still considered to be sacred charters and
are therefore treated as 'old and respected language' (lia tuan) or 'the source of all languages' (lia na'in) as some prefer to call it. In accordance with their nature and function as origin myths, these two complex sets of myths depict two types of rites. Rites narrated in 'language of the earth' deal with people in supplication toward 'the man above' (ema leten), who was later known as Maromak (the bright one) for granting them dry land on which to live. On the other hand, lia tuan or lia na'in deal with rituals that follow the trajectory of human life and the agricultural cycle.

1. 'Language of the earth'

The myth cited in Reference Text 1 reveals that in the beginning people did not yet know how to prepare a sacrificial offering. The 'mytheme' concerning the first-ever ritual starts with a supplication from Ferik Ha'i Raiklaran (Ho'ar's mother) to Maromak, who lived in the sky above. In her appeal she asks Maromak to widen the origin land, which at that time was only as big as a chicken's eye and a slice of areca nut. In accordance with the Tetun custom in which every plea toward a noble must be accompanied with a 'gift' as a sign for submission, in the plea to widen the living space Ferik Ha'in Raiklaran mentions the importance of bringing an offering as a gift. However, since at that time the earth was still unformed and therefore had yet not produced anything, people on earth could not provide 'gifts' to Maromak. Instead Ferik Ha'in Raiklaran asked Maromak to send down birds so that she could roast them to become a sacrificial meal (lamak hatetu/lamak harani) for him. So, the initial ritual as narrated in the myth is related to the plea of the first woman on earth to expand the inhabited place. As narrated in the myth, Ferik Ha'in Raiklaran asked the man above to provide a place with edges. She pleads to the Maromak:

\[
lolo liman la to'ó
\]

\[
bi'í ai la dai
\]

\[
husu nataun mantaran' mai
\]

\[
lamak hatetu. lamak harani'
\]

\[
aiu hodi halo rai husar, rai binan
\]

\[
luan no kblean
\]

\[
aiu hodi haluan, atu hodi sesu.
\]

\[
Maromak na'ak: sa'e mai. ko'i atu fo tone, atu hodi haluan rai ne'e.
\]

that cannot be reached by stretching out hands
that cannot be reached by standing on tiptoes
to send down his sign of power
the sacrificial meal, the offering meal
to make the navel land, the umbilical cord
land
wide and broad
to widen and expand.

The bright one said: come up here. On your return I will give a sharp sword, a sharp machete to widen the land.
As common in Tetun ritual speech, the communication between the woman and the man constitutes 'a ritual dialogue' (Fox 1988:21,22). In this formalised verbal communication the man invited the woman to approach him. In the text the man is called Maromak (the bright one). On her return, she was accompanied by two male retainers called Mau Leki and Mau Mauk. The retainers carried things conferred by the man above, namely 'a valuable blow pipe' (hahuuk kmurak ida) and 'a wild pigeon bird' (manu do 'u, in Indonesian burung dara). The latter is to be considered as nourishment for royalty and is therefore described in the verse above as lamak hatetu lamak harani. This bird made a nest on the only banyan tree that grew there and was left to eat fruits from the tree. Not long afterwards the birds began to multiply.

In order to prepare for gifts of offering, Mau Leki and Mau Mauk were ordered to hunt a bird with the blow pipe. This first act of hunting is also sealed in the myth in the form of a short poem (knanuk), as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mau Leki Mau Mauk la 'o ruu manu} & \quad \text{Mau Leki Mau Mauk went to blow down the} \\
\text{ruu manu la sala, do 'u laluuk ida} & \quad \text{bird} \\
\text{do 'u laluuk ne 'e tunu ba saa} & \quad \text{they did not miss the target, it was a wild} \\
\text{do 'u laluuk ne 'e taka ba saa} & \quad \text{pigeon laluuk} \\
\text{but they did not know where it could be} & \quad \text{roasted} \\
\text{but they did not know where it could be} & \quad \text{placed.}
\end{align*}
\]

The heroic hunting performed by Mau Leki and Mau Mauk is still repeatedly chanted and sung by women during many ceremonial events. But despite their success as hunters, they failed to perform the obligatory rite. Another version of the myth narrates that Mau Leki and Mau Mauk brought the dead bird as an offering to Maromak without even roasting it. Consequently the offering rotted. The bright one was so displeased that he ordered them to take the uncooked meat back to the earth and exchange it for cooked meat. Both versions of the myth states that Mau Leki and Mau Mauk failed to perform their duty in preparing a correct offering because at that time the land was still watery. There was as yet no dry place to lay down the bird, and, on top of that, there was no fire to roast the bird. When they raised the matter with Ferik Ha'in Raiklaran, she ordered them to fetch fire from the man above. Upon their arrival the man above said he no longer had any fire since, when Ferik Ha'in Raiklaran descended to the earth, she took the fire with her. With this
answer, Mau Leki and Mau Mauk returned to the earth and somehow managed to roast the bird.

The sacrificial meat which consists of roasted bird is called in the myth lamak hatetu, lamak harani. The dyadic pair hatetu/harani in ritual language is also paired with hana‘in (literally, to acknowledge someone as a ruler, homage) and hahulu (to acknowledge someone as a leader). In other contexts, as when gifts of homage consisting of seven cobs of maize were taken to the hamlet of Laran to be presented to Maromak Oan, the adat historian from the hamlet of Kateri explained this tribute of maize as a sign of submission. He humbly revealed the people’s submission in the following way:

\[
\begin{align*}
hodi lama mai hatetu no harani & \\
hodi tama mai hana‘i no hahulu & \\
\end{align*}
\]

we come to offer gifts and presents
we come to praise the ruler and to acknowledge his leadership

In the context of the first harvest rite just mentioned, lamak hatetu, lamak harani became a symbol of submission by the people towards Maromak Oan, the guarantor of people’s well-being and fertility. The sign of submission is revealed in the dyadic pair: hana‘i//hahulu. The man above was offered food as a sign of submission in return for blessing.

Ritual offerings are also used by the people seeking an agreement from ancestors and/or the man above on their actions. This is explicitly expressed in the myth of origin narrated in the Wewiku region. According to this myth (see Reference Text 4), when the three female ancestors landed on the beach of Fatumea, they planted a banyan tree which produced three different species of branches. These three branches represent three domains. The branch of ai hali (banyan tree) represents the domain of Wehali, the branch of ai biku (biku tree) represents the domain of Wewiku, while the branch of ai katimun (katimun tree) represents the domain of Haitimuk. To establish the founding of these domains, the three female ancestors who planted this tree offered lamak hatetu lamak harani to the man above. The purpose of the offering is described as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
hodi halamak hodi haloon & \\
hodi hatebes hodi hametis & \\
\end{align*}
\]
to ask and to request
to establish and to make firm.

In summarizing the aims of the ritual form manifested in the myths above, I have attempted to highlight the purpose of giving as a mode of exchange. This
theme is also one of the significant concepts elaborated by Traube in her discussion of rituals among the Mambai. When she analyses their cultural conception of life, she points out that for the Mambai, life is a gift that requires a countergift (1986:11). The principle of ‘exchange’ is obvious in her statement. Life is not ‘free-floating vitality’ as she phrases it, but is a limited good that needs a countergift in exchange. As for the Tetun, Maromak, who grants life, demands a countergift of lamak hatetu, lamak harani from his people. One message communicated in this type of myth is that life granted by the authority must be countered with submission from the subjects. Such a notion of life as gift in exchange is further elaborated in the other type of myth to be discussed here entitled ‘the path of Liurai’.

2. ‘Path of Liurai’

In contrast to the myths discussed so far, in which the principle figure is the Maromak, this second set of myths (see Reference Text 7) deals with the Liurai, the executive rulers of the realm of Wehali Wewiku. Here, one of the Liurai is praised not only as a food-giver, but also as Wehali’s protector. As a food-giver, the myth depicts how various edible crops and fish that people consume derive from parts of the Liurai’s body. Even ‘gunpowder’ (kilat rahun) which people used to defend themselves was derived from a particular part of the Liurai’s body.

Another feature in this myth that needs to be highlighted is the emphasis on place names. Almost every crop, fish and even the gunpowder that came out from particular parts of the body are associated with certain regions. So, the myth contains descriptions of: 1. parts of the body; 2. edible crops and other items that stem from specific parts of the body; and 3. descriptions based on the names of the places associated with these edible and other items.

The Wehali adat historian, Piet Tahu Nahak, began his version of the myth concerning ‘the path of Liurai’ with a brief introduction which states that when Maromak sent people down to earth, he also sent along a rice called hare ekero and foxtail millet (tora). “When the earth came into being, these two kinds of food already existed”, stated Piet Tahuk Nahak. Due to this ‘history’, the foods hare ekero and tora are considered noble’s delicacies. As for the commoners, it was the responsibility of the Liurai to provide foodstuffs for them both to feed themselves
and to offer to Maromak Oan. In the myth, six Liurai ruled the realm of Wesei Wehali, namely, Tabein Liurai, Liurai Brehi, Liurai Seran Asa, Liurai Klan, Liurai Dasa and Liurai Lelek. Then, in order to provide food, one of the Liurai had to be sacrificed so that food could grow out of the parts of his body. It was decided that the second Liurai (Liurai Brehi) would be sacrificed.

According to the myth, the head of the Liurai gave rise to red and green coconuts. The red coconut (nu mea) was then planted in the area towards the sunset, in Fatumea Talama, a region which is located at the western end of the domain of Wewiku. In ritual language the name Fatumea is always paired with either the name Talama or Tunama. According to native exegesis, Talama is a disguised form of tunama, a compound word of tunu (to roast) and ama (father). Based on this name, the adat historian from Kateri claimed that the myth concerning the sacrificing of the ruler is a true story (lia tebes). The name proves that it was in Fatumea that the man’s head was ‘roasted’ (tunu).

The green coconut (nu modo) was planted in Fatumea Takolo, a region which is located in the land toward the rising sun. At present, this region is part of East Timor Province. From the left hand came the mung-bean, which was planted at Akani. To make the mung beans flourish, they were taken back to ‘the four corner land’ and were planted at the ‘junction of the Maubesi river’. Piet Tahu Nahak identified the area as located in the southern region. The flourishing mung-bean is praised in the myth as a source of nourishment and wealth for the people:

Fore kmodo Wehali nafua kmurak
nahabut besi, nafua kmurak.

The mung-beans of Wehali develop strong nodules, develop valuable beans.

From the right hand, came the luan banana and from the teeth, maize (batar malae). Banana and maize in this myth are not associated with particular regions. They are people’s food growing in every garden. His stomach (Latin: ventriculus) and intestine (Latin: intestinum tenu) were ‘bundled in Wehali’ (butuk baa rai Wehali). From the stomach came pumpkin and from his intestine, pumpkin vines. His blood was poured into the south sea and became a mullet fish. Later a man called Na’in Bakalo Na’in caught the fish. From the head of the fish came sorghum (batar tasi, literally ‘maize of the sea’). The feet were taken to Sulit Anemeta, a region located to the north. It was in this hamlet that these two feet were burned into ‘gunpowder’
(kilat rahun). Sulit Anemeta is ritually recognised as the gate and the fence of Wehali. The association between parts of the body, food and gunpowder and place names is summarised in Table 8.1 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of the body</th>
<th>Crops and others</th>
<th>Place name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>green coconut</td>
<td>Fatumea Talama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teeth</td>
<td>red coconut</td>
<td>Fatumea Takolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right hand</td>
<td>maize</td>
<td>not specified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stomach</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td>not specified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intestine</td>
<td>pumpkin</td>
<td>Wehali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>pumpkin vine</td>
<td>Wehali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legs</td>
<td>mullet fish</td>
<td>south sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gunpowder</td>
<td>Sulit Anemeta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.1 Vicarious death of Liurai Brehi

Regarding the fate of the other five Liurai, it was narrated that Liurai Lelek, the youngest, died in Lo’o Maten. From his bones came snakes. Therefore, according to the explanation given in the myth, the Sukabi Lulik and Busa Belo people will not plant their seeds until a snake perches in one of their sacrificial baskets (ksahat lulik), a place to store seeds. The same is true of the harvest of young maize. People will wait until a snake perches in the ksahat lulik before harvesting can be conducted. Tabein Liurai waged war against the Likusaen (the present Liquica regency in East Timor province) and died there. His head was buried in the land of Nanaet (the present Batugade of East Timor region) ‘to demarcate mountain, to demarcate sea’ (nanaet tasi kre’is, nanaet foho kre’is). Liurai Dasa went to the ‘trunk of the hill’ in Mande’u and died there. His head was taken back to Wehali and was buried next to a well (we knuk) in the hamlet of Batane. Liurai Klan died in Namfalus, Suai, in a place called Debu Klan. Liurai Seran Asa died in We Seran Asa in the village of Kamanasa.

According to the narrator of the myth, formerly, when the annual tribute was still delivered to Maromak Oan, the people of those regions mentioned in the myth were entitled to pay their tributes in the form of the crops specified for their regions. Others disagreed with this view. They suggested that during the delivery of the tributes, people from far-away domains brought gold and silver, regions to the south brought coconut and salt, while the rest delivered maize to Maromak Oan.
Numerous studies have been written on vicarious death, analysing myths concerning head-hunting or the murder or killing of someone. Needham, drawing on data from societies in Southeast Asia, emphasises "the association between the taking of heads and the acquisition of all forms of fertility and well-being" (1976: 24). Downs, using written records mainly from Indonesian societies, particularly the Bare’e-speaking Toraja of Central Sulawesi and the Ngaju Dayak of Borneo as well as written documents from the islands of Flores, Solor, Adonara, Lembata, Sabu and Timor concurs that there is a connection between head-hunting and fertility "because it represents a repetition of the cosmic cycle of life and death" (1983: 123).

In Timor island, old stories of head-hunting are still an effective tool for parents to ban children from going out at night. My encounters with people from Dawan in north Tetun as well as the Dirma of south Tetun suggest that narratives of head-hunting as told to Middelkoop (1963) are still current. In the two Tetun areas mentioned, people preserve *ksadan* as a place to ‘perform’ the trophy head. One logical reason given by the people, as to why they consider it important to maintain this kind of sacred site, is that the head-hunting ritual is only a small part of a complex set of agricultural rituals celebrated at such places. Thus, *ksadan* is not solely a place to perform the trophy heads, rather it is a place where rituals connected to planting and harvesting are concentrated. Indeed McWilliam (1994), in his recent paper on Dawan childbirth, head-hunting and circumcision also emphasises that the "affirmation of life" and the welfare of the community in terms of achieving 'coolness' (*mainikin*) are the main concerns of such rituals.

Unlike the Dawan and the north Tetun, the south Tetun (with the exception of the Dirma and the Mande’u) who occupy the plain of Wehali Wewiku do not have a tradition of head-hunting and therefore the classical interpretation of the severed head as containing soul substance is irrelevant to them. Besides, in the myth summarized above, the foodstuff and gunpowder came from various parts of the ruler’s body and not only from his head. Actually, this south Tetun myth is not peculiar to that area. In the context of eastern Indonesia, the myth that edible plants stem from various parts of a human body is also shared by peoples of other areas, including Seram (Downs 1983: 131-132). In the Timor region, however, this story is overridden by the more ‘spectacular’ story of head-hunting. Yet, both the myth
concerning head-hunting and the myth concerning the vicarious death of a person deal with the same concern, as phrased by McWilliam, the 'affirmation of life'. The connection between killing (death) and fertility (life) is evident in both myths.

What I do consider peculiar to the Wehali, though, is the association between particular crops and particular regions. Their persistence in relating specific plants to specific regions and their insistence that the fruits of those same plants were brought as tribute to the Maromak Oan prove that this myth is a political charter. So, in the context of the Wehali, it is not enough to analyse this myth solely in terms of which part of the body the crops symbolise, but also how this myth is used to chart political relationships. In accordance with the political ideology of the south Tetun, a supreme ruler is the one who 'eats reclining, drinks reclining'. For the Wehali, this figure is represented by Maromak Oan. His superiority is marked by his passivity. In contrast, other people's subordination is marked by their obligation 'to feed the one who is reclining' as phrased by the Tetun. So, subordination means work and activity. The myth concerning the path of Liurai 'reflects' this political ideology. Liurai, the ruler who is responsible for feeding the Maromak Oan, sacrificed himself so that there would always be food for the supreme. These 'foods' are cultivated by his subjects, who live in regions to the east, west, north and south. They are the children of Maromak Oan, who were appointed to live in those regions and work for him there.

In the Wehali diarchic political system, Maromak Oan is the supreme ritual ruler of a land called 'the four corner land'. As a ritual ruler he is not involved in daily political affairs, but the fertility and well-being of the land and its people are laid in his hands. In the myth, the status of this ritual ruler is elevated from political affairs to religious spheres. He is not simply the ruler of 'the four corner land', but also the ruler of the earth (raiklaran). A good agricultural season, for example, marked by an appropriate amount of rainfall at the right time and a successful harvest, is related to a function of Maromak Oan. By bringing the gift of homage to Maromak Oan, the ruler, people pay homage to Maromak Oan, the guarantor of life and fertility. In the same manner, the refusal to acknowledge the authority of Maromak Oan, the ruler, means the refusal to acknowledge the authority of Maromak Oan, the source of life and fertility.
Maromak Oan’s counterpart is the Liurai. They are responsible for executing Maromak Oan’s orders. So, the actual and practical government is in their hands. As an executive of Maromak Oan, they are responsible for ensuring that people bring tributes as gifts of homage to Maromak Oan. Due to this function, the second myth deals with the sacrificing of Liurai Brehi and not Maromak Oan. As described in myths and symbolically acted out in ritual, people owe their lives to Maromak Oan, but food, security and protection to the Liurai. The annual rite of ‘delivering maize of homage’ (*hatama batar mana’i*) to some extent re-enacts the conviction revealed in the two myths above that Maromak Oan is the source of life and the Liurai are the the source of security and protection.

**Ritual of Avoidance**

The Tetun, like many other traditional societies do not concern themselves with abstract ideas about the structure of the cosmos nor the extent to which it may be marked by any separation into realms of sacred and profane. What matters for them is how to deal with these two aspects of their own experience. In other words, the Tetun are more concerned with procedures which must be followed in order to attain a successful life. These procedures come in the form of ‘prohibitions’. This gives the impression that the Tetun belief system constitutes systems of rules and procedures or in Hoskins phrase “systems of prohibitions” (1987: 137). Such a system is clearly manifested in the concept of *lulik*.

*Lulik* is a Tetun word for: 1. ‘holy’ and ‘sacred’ and 2. ‘taboo’, ‘prohibition’ and ‘forbidden’. In some other Timorese societies, such as the Dawan, these two core meanings are represented by two words *le’u* and *nuni* respectively. Schulte Nordholt regards the Tetun word *lulik* as etymologically equivalent to the Dawan *nuni* (1971: 147). In addition to the word *lulik*, the Tetun also have the word *badu* which I translate as ‘ban’. Although the latter sense of *lulik* (taboo and forbidden) is closely related to the meaning of the word *badu*, these two terms are used in different contexts and for different purposes.

In marriage arrangements, a woman is considered to be betrothed when the man’s house presents betel-nut (*fuik badu labis*) to ‘ban’ the platform from other
men, as people phrased it. At a particular time of the year, the custodian of gardens or, following the Tetun description, ‘the inspector of gardens’ (lalawar) in a ceremony called tara horak announces an annual ‘ban’ (badu) on harvesting coconuts for a certain period of time. In both cases, those who break the agreed badu will be penalized by exacting a previously agreed form of penalty. For example, those who transgress the agricultural banning will be penalized by having to pay a fine of pigs or chickens. The difference between lulik and badu lies in the consequences of failing to follow their directives. Breaking a rule of prohibition agreed together (ukun badu) will result in penalties levied on the individuals concerned. But breaking a lulik, which is customarily recognized as a ‘rule of the earth’ (ukun rai), will harm not only the individual concerned but also the community at large as well as the earth. Even though the Tetun are close kin to the Mambai, who have the same word for ‘to ban’, the two societies apply it in different ways. The Mambai do not separate ukun rai from ukun badu. Instead they speak only of one ‘path’ or, in Traube translation, “walk of rule and ban - ukun nor badun ni lolain” (Traube 1986: 54-56).

My introduction to the concept of lulik came when I started learning to use the ‘right’ words and phrases for speaking to a noble or a respected elder. My language ‘tutors’ keep reminding me that it is lulik to say this word or to say that word. Instruction about observing lulik ‘language’ is evident if we notice interaction within the village. Often parents or older people remind the youngsters to say acceptable words when talking to older people. In an effort to understand the Tetun concept of lulik, I wrote in my fieldnotes that lulik has something to do with ‘people’.

Beside ‘people’, lulik is also associated with ‘places’. There is a consensus or rule that an adat meeting or discussion can only be held in a man’s house (uma katuas) and not in a woman’s house (uma ferik). People explain that it is lulik to conduct a meeting in a woman’s house. When one approaches the hamlet of Laran, the seat of Maromak Oan, certain lulik must be observed. It is lulik to make noises within the hamlet area; shoulder cloths must be tied around the hips; and when something is dropped, it cannot be picked up. These avoidances are also called lulik. So, it is not the place that must be avoided; rather certain rules (lulik) must be observed when one is in a sacred (lulik) place.
In relation to people, the Tetun emphasise the observance of *lulik* not only in their behaviour towards the nobles, older and respected people, but most of all to ancestors, the 'dark people' (*ema kukun*). In accordance with the Tetun concept of their social universe, the earth is populated with both living human beings (*ema roman*, literally, bright people, the clear ones, i.e those who are visible) and ancestors (*ema kukun*, literally, dark people i.e. those who are invisible). Social relations among the living are, to some extent, defined in terms of the status of their ancestors. The recruitment of lineages (*uma*) reflects a strong interest in the maternal group. For example in a hamlet (*leo*) originally consisting of houses of *inan bin alin, maun bin alin* (literally, M, eZ, yZ, eB, yB) groups, the sisters' houses make up a unit of female houses and the brothers' houses are the male houses. The power to govern the hamlet lies in the hands of the old women (*ferik*) and old men (*katuas*) of named houses. They constitute an informal council of *ferik katuas leo*. The *ferik* and *katuas* of the hamlet claim that the power they have to govern the hamlet derives from their ancestors. They are the human actors who rule the hamlet on behalf of the ancestors, the unseen actors. To symbolise their representativeness, these *ferik* and *katuas* are in charge of guarding the sacred betel-nut baskets and pouches which belong to the ancestors and other regalia of the house. So, just like their ancestors, who are categorically *lulik*, the rulers are also considered as *lulik*. The rulers and their descendants then form what Keesing called "an ancestral kin group" (1969: 157; cf. 1981: 248; 1992: 25,26).

At the named house level, the *ferik* and *katuas* of the house are the powerful figures that represent the male and female ancestors of the house. At the hamlet level, the powerful figures are the *ferik katuas leo*. At the domain level, the powerful figures are represented by Maromak Oan and the Liurai. Sacrifices to the entire community are only valid if they are made through these leading figures. In ritual language, these rulers are called *manas lulik wa’ik, klak lulik wa’ik* (the great sacred heat, the great sacred of burning charcoal). As for the ordinary people, success in gardening and, formerly, in warfare, and success in the accumulation of wealth and well-being in general are determined by their relation with the rulers and thereby the ancestors. When people follow proper agricultural rituals and observe *lulik* relating to these rites, the ancestors will grant them enough rain, healthy plants, protection from diseases and prey, as paths to success.
Lulik also has something to do with ‘space’ and ‘place’. Just as members of a clan, an ancestral origin group, share an array of common ancestors, they also share common sacred places. Take the hamlet of Laran as an example. Spaces and places which are considered to be sacred in this hamlet are the sacred banyan trees (ksadan lulik), the spring of Maromak (we matan maromak), the ‘royal dark garden’ (to’os etu kukun), sacrificial pillars in the middle of each garden (troman), the ‘dark burial grounds’ (rate kukun and fatu taman rik), ‘the cannon of Liurai’ (kilat inan liurai), the named houses (uma mahoo naran), the front male pillar (kakuluk lor) of each named house and the sacred paraphernalia that hang down on those pillars. Hicks argues that these places are considered as lulik because they function as transitional points between the sacred underworld and secular upperworld. They are the “thresholds between the two halves of the cosmos” (1987a: 37,38; 1990:89-95; cf. Capell A 1943: 211). As noted before, the division between the sacred underworld and the secular or profane upperworld which prevails among the east Tetun is unheard of in south Tetun. With the lack of vernacular to translate the meaning of ‘secular’ or ‘profane’ in south Tetun, the notion of ‘transitional points’ becomes irrelevant to understand their worldview. What matters for the south Tetun is that their obligation to look after these lulik persons and places guarantee the ‘raw and cool’ (matak no malirin) in their community.

Rituals Concerning Mother and Baby

Asking a Wehali about birth rites, one will get information not only concerning the baby, but also concerning the mother and the place where the birth will occur. This is consistent with my daily observations that a child is not the main focus of a family. When parents are receiving guests, children are forbidden to hang around the platform. They will be ordered to sit quietly inside the house or play somewhere else. I often heard the adults warn the children to be quiet because it is lulik (forbidden) for the children to make noise while the mature people are talking. But saying this does not necessarily mean that the Wehali do not love their children. Children are also the object of parents’ admiration. Girls are called the ‘flowers’ (funan) of the house and boys are its ‘young sliced areca nuts’ (klaut). From daily
conversations with many parents in the villages, I have the impression that mothers are more eager to talk about their own children than are the fathers. In contrast, fathers prefer to talk more about their sister's children than their own.

1. Rite of the cleaning up the path

The polite terms used to describe pregnancies are either netan (literally, begot) or ko'us (literally, to carry in the arms). These two words refer to both the existence of the mother and the forthcoming child. To promote the welfare of the expectant mother and the forthcoming baby, a shaman (matdok) is invited to perform the rite called kasu ai kanaer. In general, the verb kasu means 'to dismiss' or 'to acquit' (Morris 1984: 103). Ai knaer is a rope or string that has been joined at its two ends to form a circle. It is used by men to climb coconut trees or areca nut trees. Thus, the phrase kasu ai knaer literally means 'to untie the string'. The rite of kasu ai knaer is held for particular purposes, namely, to arrange the movements of the foetus, to secure a healthier pregnancy and to ensure a successful delivery.

According to belief, most unsuccessful pregnancies derive from a failure in social relations. A miscarriage, for example, is associated with the unsympathetic behaviour of the husband and his wife towards their ancestors and other people. In the case where a husband and his wife happen to know that there are people who dislike them for certain reasons, it is their job to seek pardon and plead for 'cleaning the path' (hasori dalan) of the coming baby. However, there are other possible factors that can hinder a successful pregnancy (and the future delivery), namely, the displeasure of ancestors and unheard curses cast by other people. To combat these 'enemies', a person with special knowledge of the 'unseen forces' needs to be invited, that is the shaman.

To invite a shaman, the family is expected to prepare certain items needed 'to clean the path of the baby'. These consist of either one pig or a chick, a small amount of dry-field rice, seven betel leaves, a knife, a white bowl and one sorghum blossom or one small branch of leaves used for sprinkling liquid. An expert with knowledge of medicine, the shaman is expected to free the expectant mother from curses and to shield her from other curses that might befall her. Using the knife prepared by the family, the shaman cuts one of the chick's right toes. Drops of
blood from the cut toe are mixed with water contained in the bowl. Then, the blossom of the sorghum (*knar batar tasi*) is immersed in that liquid. Having prepared the ‘cool blood’, the shaman then swings the betel leaves seven times around the mother’s head in an anti-clockwise direction to indicate that he is unbinding something. Using the same betel leaves, the shaman goes on rubbing the mother’s body, starting from the head and going down to the stomach. With these acts, the shaman uses his magic power to unbind the umbilical cord that is supposed to be twisted around the foetus as a result of curses which have befallen her. Having finished ‘the unbinding’ acts, the shaman discards the betel leaves in the direction of the sunset. To cool the mother’s body, the shaman picks up the blossom that has been immersed in the liquid and rubs the mother’s body from the head to the stomach. This blossom is also discarded to the west. Normally, no formula is cited following the rubbing of the woman’s body. However with the ‘new awareness’ that ‘*adat* and religion are one’, the following formula is often said nowadays as a prayer:

\[
\begin{align*}
Ah...matabian sia, tuan no nurak, na’in no ata & \quad \text{Oh ancestors, old and young, nobles and commoners} \\
Ami tama mai husu mai hakmasin & \quad \text{We humbly come in front of you} \\
Matak no malirin bodik funan no klaut & \quad \text{Asking for raw and cool for the flower and the nut} \\
Sara no lituk, banin no satan bodik funan no klaut ne’e & \quad \text{Close and protect, border and shut the flower and the nut} \\
Hosi anin no loro manas no krakat & \quad \text{From wind and sun, heat and anger} \\
Hosi lia at lia moras & \quad \text{From curse (lit. bad words) and condemnation (sick words)} \\
Bei sia iha kukun kalan, feto no mane, tua no nurak, na’in no ata & \quad \text{Grandparents in the dark and night, women and men, old and young, nobles and commoners} \\
hodi husu kmaan no muti mos baa funan no klaut ne’e & \quad \text{(We) plead for forgiveness (lit. light) and pardon (white) for this flower and nut.}
\end{align*}
\]

In this prayer, phrases related to forgiveness and pardon common in Christian discourse are translated into traditional terms. This combination produces an unusual form of prayer characterised by an idiosyncratic paired phrasing of *kmaan* (light) and *muti mos* (clean white).

The payment for the shaman depends on his reputation in curing all sorts of diseases. A well-known shaman such as Frans Tae Mauloko of the village of Kletek, a young man of 22 years old, deserves compensation up to a small pig for this sort of work. For other relatively unknown shaman, a chick or even a plate of food is enough. If the capability of a shaman is questioned, the family is free to call in
other shamans to 'clean up the baby's path'. Of course, the more rites that are performed the better the result will be.

Despite these efforts to guarantee the success of a pregnancy, the expectant mother herself must refrain from certain 'behaviours' that can be interpreted as resulting in the entangling of the umbilical cord around the baby's neck. For example, she is prohibited from sitting at the threshold of the door. 'Sitting in the middle of the door' as they phrase it means blocking the flowing of life from the inside of the house to the outside. The effect will be that the umbilical cord will become entangled around the baby's neck, which can cause death. To guard herself, everywhere she goes she has to take along the knife used by the shaman to cut a chick's toe to indicate her readiness to clean up the baby's path. During her pregnancy, she is not permitted to take a bath at dawn because that is the time when evil spirits come out to harm pregnant women. As far as food taboos are concerned, the expectant mother has to refrain from eating hot meals. She is also forbidden from eating goat meat because according to the Tetun's classification, goat belongs to the hot-blooded animal group. As for the husband, when his wife is in the advanced stage of pregnancy he cannot wear a belt or bracelets. These things are claimed to be the cause of a difficult birth.

2. Making the baby come alive (birth rite)

When the time for delivery is near, a midwife (called makaer kmi) is invited to the house. The literal translation of makaer kmi is the 'holder of candle-nut'. Following the Tetun description, her main task is 'to cause the baby to arrive' (nato'o oan), 'to take the baby out' (nasai oan) or to make the baby come alive (nahoris oan). The office of midwife is hereditary and is therefore associated with a particular lineage (uma makaer kmi). Using candle-nut powder mixed with coconut oil as primary medicine, she rubs the expectant mother's stomach to ensure that the head of the baby is facing downward. The following were listed as items needed for delivering a baby. Their importance is due to their practical purpose as well as their ritual significance:

1. Fire wood. For a childbirth, the husband has to prepare bundles of firewood. One log of wood is tied to the female pillar of the house. This log is called ai
kabuka (literally, the searching wood). This is because during parturition people who are waiting outside use this particular piece of wood as a medium to 'search for information' on the gender of the new-born baby.

2. One bunch of Luan banana. This kind of banana is commonly used as baby food, both by the Tetun and the Dawan peoples. When these people(s) make a trip away from home, they bring along the luan banana as their prime food provision.

3. A pottery bowl, which is a container used for boiling water, called omas.

4. A bigger pot used for water storage called knaras.

5. A small pot to store the umbilical cord (alin fatik).

6. A strong piece of string used in parturition.

7. A knife made from a specific bamboo, called fajulu, or the stalk of sorghum. People claim that this type of knife can be sharper than an ordinary blade knife. In many births, according to my informants, many infections derive from the using of an unclean blade knife.

8. One piece of black cotton thread, spun by the mother only for this purpose (tais lima rasan).

9. One black hand-made sarong used only for parturition (tais hahoris). This 'birth sarong' is also transmitted from mother to daughter. When this sarong is no longer used because it has worn out, it becomes a sacred item and is stored together with other regalia of the house.

When the time for delivery arrives, the expectant mother lies on a mat spread on the floor in a particular space within the house which is used only for a mother to give birth. This place is called ai lala 'ok. It is located between the east door and the hearth. During parturition, the women holds a string hung especially for this purpose. Men are not allowed to stay in the house. The parturition is only assisted by a midwife and the woman's mother and other female relatives. Once the first crying of the baby is heard by men who are waiting outside, a young man rushes to the female pillar where the piece of fire wood (ai kabuka) has been tied to its trunk. The midwife takes the knife and pretends to cut the umbilical cord. At the same time, the young man takes his sword and pretends that he is going to cut the cord binding the wood to the female pillar. The midwife starts counting from one to seven loudly, so her voice can be heard outside. Every time the midwife counts a number, that young man also counts that same number. When the midwife and the young man reach seven, they both cut the cords. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord that joins the mother and the baby, while the young man cuts the string that joins the wood to the female pillar. If the baby is a boy, the midwife klalak (shouting, imitating a man calling for a friend or the shouting when men go out
hunting). Upon hearing the *klalak*, the young man who was asked to chop the cord in front of the female pillar mimics the shouting. If the baby is a girl, the midwife *hahaek* (giving out laughter, a typical women’s laugh)\(^5\). The young man would then mimic her.

Local custom dictates that the umbilical cord should be cut with a sliver of bamboo or a sliver of sorghum stalk. According to my informants, a straight sliver of bamboo or sorghum stalk gives the child a strong body, a soft heart and a just straightforward mind. When choosing a midwife and a young man to cut the umbilical cord of the baby and the string that binds the wood on the female pillar respectively, parents always consider choosing those who are physically strong but possess a soft heart and a just mind. The umbilical cord is cut a few inches above the baby’s navel. Then it is tied using the black cotton thread spun by the mother particularly for this purpose. Every day the remaining cord attached to the baby’s stomach is rubbed with warm coconut oil until it falls off. This usually takes four to five days. When the remaining cord has dropped off, it is hidden under the upper part of the mother’s sarong (*kabonan*) until an appropriate time to take it outside the house. It is worthwhile noticing that the Tetun distinguish the terms for umbilical cord (*ka'an* or *alin*) from the remaining cord attached to the baby’s navel (*husar*), but they do not use different terms for the ‘placenta’ and ‘the adjacent cord’ as we do. Thus, for the Tetun the term *ka'an* means both the ‘placenta’ and the ‘umbilical cord’. People refer to this *ka'an*\(^6\) as *alin* which literally means ‘younger brother/sister’. The pot to store the *alin* is called *alin fatik* (the younger brother/sister place). Before the afterbirth is placed in it, the pot is broken into two pieces. Only one half is used as a storing place. The other half is left behind to symbolize ‘the elder brother/sister place’.

Before the child’s remaining umbilical cord (*husar*) drops off, the woman goes back to the place where she gave birth (*ai lala’o*) ‘to heat and cleanse her body with her back to the fire’. The Tetun term for heating the body after giving birth is *hatuka ha'i*. So, while the baby’s navel is heated with coconut oil, the mother’s back is ‘roasted’ over the fire. The mother cannot stop cleansing her body until the baby’s *husar* has dropped off. The importance of *hatuka ha'i* for the mother is clearly pointed out by the people as a way to cleanse the dead blood left in her body and for other health reasons, such as restoring the mother’s strength lost in labour, ‘re-
shaping' the mother's body and preparing enough breast-milk for the baby. Although the symbolic importance of hatuka ha'i is not always clear, my adat informants attempted to explain it in relation to the origin myth. According to the myth, after Ho'ar Na'i Haholek was born, her mother took her:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{baa hatuka ha'i iha lolo \text{ leten baa}} & \quad \text{(they) go to heat her body over the fire in the world above} \\
\text{wai matan natene, wai oan natene} & \quad \text{(that is) to be nurtured and become knowledgeable}
\end{align*}
\]

In this myth, it is narrated that both mother and baby went to the world above to warm the mother's back over the fire. Both of them were secluded for a period of time 'to be nurtured and receive knowledge about life'. To elaborate on the symbolic purpose of this ritual heating, I was told that, after the birth, both the mother and the baby are ritually 'hot' and 'wild'. The ritual heating is then a liminal phase between ritual heated/wild and cool/tame. Being 'heated' and 'wild' persons, they represent a danger to life and therefore must be isolated. During the period of seclusion, the heat of the fire will turn them ritually into 'cool' and 'tame', that is 'to be nurtured and to become knowledgeable' as stated in the myth. Thus, both the mother and the baby are described as going through a domestication process during which they change from wild and ignorant persons to tame and knowledgeable persons.

Similar to the notion of domestication mentioned in the myth, the mother enters a period of seclusion after giving birth. She goes back to the place where she gave birth to heat her back over the fire. The place to heat her back in a house is called ai lala'ok, which literally means 'behaviour' or 'custom'. Here in this place, the 'wild' mother is ritually 'tamed' to be a 'civilised' person who will not harm the community at large. Thus, in addition to the practical reasons for cleansing one's body, heating oneself is also a category of rite that marks the passage of a woman from wild to tame person. As for the baby, the period of seclusion is also a liminal phase between the physical birth of the child inside the house and the social birth of the child outside the house, as I discuss in the following section.

This liminal phase is indicated by 'rules' that must be observed by both the mother and the child. These rules place more emphasis on what a woman (and her child) cannot do than on what she can do, on what their obligations are rather than what their rights are. The commonest rule discussed by people is that the mother
cannot leave the house at any time unless it is necessary. If for certain reasons she has to go outside, she must make sure that no one will recognize her by disguising herself. In this case, she has to wear a pyramid shaped plaited basket (hanematan) to cover her head and face. The only time she feels free to go outside is at night time. Even then she has to walk in silence so that she will not attract people’s attention. If she happens to come across other people, she is not allowed to greet or even to respond to the greetings of those people. The only access to the outside is through the female door.

Her space within the house is also limited to the three blocks located at the back of the house, namely the place to give birth (ai lala 'ok), the hearth (ha 'i matan) and the place to store water (we klot). There is a floor beam within the inner house which divides these three places from the parents’ and young women’s sleeping quarters. This beam (kotan uma laran) marks the demarcation line between the other members of the household and the young mother. Members of the household can cross the beam, for example from the main sleeping area to the hearth and vice versa. But the young mother is not permitted to cross the beam at any time. In practice this means she cannot even go into her room to get her own clothes. Her needs are supplied by the rest of the household. Regarding the child, only one rule applies to him/her. The child can be carried by members of the household inside the house, but not to the outside. There is a time for the child to be introduced to the outside world. Prior to this time he/she must not be taken outside. People say that the ‘bad wind’ and the heat of the sun will harm the baby. How long this restriction is observed varies between the first child and the following children. For a first born child, the mother and the baby must stay in the house for at least two weeks, but the subsequent children are not expected to stay secluded any longer than a week.

d. The rite of taking out the hot ashes

If the heating ritual may be described as a rite of seclusion, the rite of taking out hot ashes may be analysed as a rite of incorporation, in which the mother and the baby are incorporated into society. This rite is also called hasai naran (taking out name). This ritual marks the end of a series of rituals concerning childbirth.
The process of the ritual is as follows. A young man who is related to the mother as a marriageable cousin (*talain*) is designated to pick a coconut. The coconut is preferably selected from one of the trees planted by her mother's brothers (*tua na'i*). There are also 'rules' that must be observed by the one who is designated to pick the coconut. The coconut cannot be dropped from the tree. He has to carry it with his own hands down to the ground. When he removes the husk of the coconut, he must make sure that the whole husk remains joined together and is not broken into pieces. The coconut is then divided into two halves. The half towards the eyes of the coconut is chopped smaller than the other. When he removes the flesh of the coconut, he must also make sure that the flesh is not broken into pieces but rather joins together to comprise a 'cord' of coconut flesh. The young mother then burns the husk (together with the rind of *luan* banana) in order to get ashes which she keeps in one half of the coconut shell.

The flesh of the coconut, which she keeps in a pyramid shaped plaited basket (*hanematan*), is used to rinse the young mother's hair. The ashes are used to shave the child's hair. The actual shaving of the child's hair is the task of the woman's mother's brother (*tua na'i*). Sometimes this task is executed by the head of a particular lineage within the clan who is known as *la'e tua* (literally, 'the respected husband'). The prepared ashes are then mixed with water, and used as a shaving rinse. When the *tua na'i* shaves the child's hair, he does it extra carefully so that the hair will not drop to the ground. The hair of the baby is kept in the smaller half of the coconut shell toward its eyes. The storing of hair in this half of the coconut shell is a symbol of life since a new plant grows from this part of a coconut.

After shaving the child's head the *tua na'i* takes advantage of his position as a respected elder of the husband-taking group to impose his superordinate power by taking that dirty water and unexpectedly watering the son-in-law's feet. The Tetun call this action *habasak we* (throwing of water). This unexpected throwing of water creates the impression that the thrower is playing a practical joke. Everybody laughs at the son-in-law who is being teased by his WMB. In relation to the pouring of water during an agricultural ritual observed by the Dawan, Schulte Nordholt states that "the fact that the water is dirty and that an element of teasing is involved is a result of the superordinate position of the bride-giver group in respect of the bride-receiving group" (1971: 62). While the same notion may be observed during Tetun
childbirth rituals, the splashing of water is also a re-enactment of the birth of the child into the community.

The remaining mud in the water is used 'to rub' (*kose*) the forehead, neck, shoulders, elbows, wrists and knees of the baby. According to the Tetun, these parts are the weak spots in the human body. By rubbing them, the child becomes invulnerable to any outside 'attacks'. The remaining water is taken outside to splash the waiting audience and the mud is used to 'give invulnerability' to those people. My informants enthusiastically told me the joyful experiences they had when they were attending this rite. Laughing, teasing and putting down others by splashing them with dirty water are attractive elements remembered by those who participated in this rite. Although the flinging of dirty water at the men who are waiting outside the house is considered only a practical joke, this noisy event has similar symbolic significance to the solemn rite of 'sprinkling the seeds'. Society needs to be cooled off to keep the new-born baby alive. On the same principle, the earth needs to be cooled off so that the seeds can grow and promise a good harvest.

In the meantime, the 'dark food' (*lamak kukun*) is prepared. 'Dark food' is an eating ceremony, where those who participate in the ritual eat a sacrificial meal. By doing this they inform the 'ancestors' (*kukun*, literally, dark') that their grandchild is going to be taken outside the house (*hasai naran*). The 'dark food' consists of 7 piles of grilled fish (*na'an knase*) and sorghum. This food is then distributed to those who took part in the birth of the baby: the midwife gets three plates of meat and three plates of rice; the young man who chopped the cord off the fire wood gets one plate of meat and one plate of rice. Some meat and rice is put in coconut shells and divided amongst the children to eat. The mother's brother (*tua na'i*) who helped with shaving the child's hair is entitled to be served separately. Beside this 'dark food', his status as the most respected elder of the house (*tua na'i ama etuk*) obliges others to serve him with the head of a pig which has been slaughtered especially for this purpose. Usually the pig's head is then shared with the head of the clan (*fukun katuas*) and other senior members of the hamlet. Accomplishing the 'dark food' eating ceremony indicates that the ancestors have been informed and, therefore, that the hot ashes from the hearth can be cleansed.

When the ashes are about to be carried out of the house, the midwife opens the door which is conceptually regarded as facing the sunrise (*oda matan la sa'en*). The
young mother comes out from the female door which is conceptually regarded as facing the sunset (oda matan rae). Her child and the pot with the umbilical cord (ka'an or aliri) are cradled in her sarong. She is accompanied by the midwife who brings along the sarong worn by the woman during her delivery. When they reach the ground, the young mother lets drop the remaining umbilical cord that she has hidden in the upper part of her sarong, called kbonan. The women’s party then go to a type of shrub called ai kalaan. There is no particular kalaan shrub chosen for the whole clan as a ‘placental shrub’, such as is evident in some other societies (cf. Graham 1991: 62,63). Each house or even each member of the household may designate their own shrubs for the temporary installation of the umbilical cord. This kind of shrub is chosen because the name kalaan is associated with another Tetun word -lalaan- which means ‘warmly wrapped up’ or ‘warmly protected’. For example, when a sister walks between her two brothers, she is said to be ‘warmly protected’ (lalaan) by the two men. So, when the mother carefully lays down the ‘younger brother/sister’ (the pot with umbilical cord), she whispers to the shrub (kalaan) to warmly protect (lalaan) the baby:

\[\textit{Lalaan oan nu 'u inan naneras} \quad \text{Shelter the baby warmly, like a mother wrapping her baby}\]

With the placement of the umbilical cord and the afterbirth, the young mother has completed her work. She has given birth to the child in the house and also born the child into the community. Now it is the task of the young man who picked the coconut to take the coconut shell containing the baby hair to a banyan tree which has been chosen by the clan of the mother as the sacred place of the clan. This place is called ksadan. He lays down the coconut shell at the foot of the banyan tree. After placing the hair, he goes to the kalaan shrub where the cord has been laid down. He removes the cord from the pot and brings it to a coconut tree. He chops the tree and permanently installs the umbilical cord into the cut. Having done so, he then climbs the coconut tree. When he reaches the peak of the tree he cuts one bunch of coconuts and a branch of leaves. He has to make sure that each is chopped with only one strike. People believe that failure to observe this ‘chopping rule’ will cause death to the new-born baby. When the man chops the coconuts and the leaves, the new mother should sit under the tree without any protection. However, this latter custom (sitting under the tree) is rarely practised now. The reason for avoiding this
rite, I assume, relates to ‘accidents’ that might have happened in the past. However, many old women explained that in their time, “when adat was still fully observed”, accidents never occurred.

In conclusion, the process of childbirth elaborated above reveals at least two symbolic meanings. First, it denotes that a child is not only born from the physical womb of a woman, but also from the symbolic womb of society. Second, with the birth of the baby, the mother’s and the father’s lineages are united.

The physical birth of a child from the womb of a woman is marked by the cutting of the baby’s umbilical cord. The symbolic birth of the child from the womb of society is symbolized by the cutting of the cord that ties the firewood to the trunk of the female pillar. The falling of the remaining part of the umbilical cord from the baby’s body is re-enacted by the mother when she, for the first time after the birth, ‘officially’ descends from the house with the baby. She drops the umbilical cord to the ground in front of the members of her husband’s house.

The splashing with water further emphasises that the symbolic birth has taken place in the community. Concerning this, David Hicks rightly suggests that the splashing of water symbolises the political union between the father’s group and the mother’s group (1984: 48). The two houses, of which the husband-taker is superior to the husband-giver, are then united with the birth of the child.

Agricultural Rites

The two principle times of the year for agricultural rituals are at planting and at first harvest time. When the annual planting season arrives, but there is still no rain, the ancestors are informed by people visiting their places of origin. Every hamlet has its own ‘old hamlet’. For the Kamanasa people, ‘the fortress of Fatisin’ (kota Fatisin) is the original hamlet. For the Kareana people, their place of origin is the ‘old hamlet of Anemeta’ (leo tuan Anemeta). In this ‘old hamlet’, there are five named houses. The plea for rain is conducted in uma Fore Na’ in (the Mung-bean house), the plea to stop a whirlwind is made in uma Rai (the Earth house), while the plea for good sunlight is conducted in uma Loro Tuan (the Old Sun house). Other
hamlets recognise sacred forests (*alas lulik*) as their places of origin. But for the people of Wehali as a whole, their place of origin is located in Marliliu Haholek, the mythical place where the first dry land emerged and the first human beings lived. These places of origin are where people assemble to make a plea for rain.\(^1\) The same is true of the harvest time. When the harvest is due but rain keeps falling, the ancestors have to be informed by visiting the sacred places. In the following sections, I focus on the three principle agricultural rituals celebrated by the Wehali, namely the ritual designed to ‘give life’ to the seeds, which is called *hisik fini*; the ritual designed to ‘make the fruits edible’, called *hamiis*; and the delivery of tributes to the Maromak Oan, which is known as ‘the delivery of seven cobs of maize’ (*hatama batar fulin hitu*) or ‘the bringing in of maize of homage’ (*hatama batar mana’i*).

1. To sprinkle the seeds (*hisik fini*)

The aim of this ritual as formulated by the people themselves is to ‘make the seeds live’. When the soil is considered moist enough after a heavy rain, preparations for the planting season begin. Every single mature man that has a garden is obliged to bring their seeds to be ‘cooled’ (*halirin*) in the *uma Fukun*, the house of the head of the clan. It should be noted that not all seeds or crops cultivated by the people are included in this ritual. Wet rice, for example, is not ‘ritual rice’. Only the rice cultivated on dry land (*hare leten*, literally the above rice) is ritual rice. In addition, no yam is part of the ritual. Seeds and fruits which are considered as ritually important are foxtail millet (*tora*), sesame (*lena*), sorghum (*batar tasi*), maize (*batar malae*), dry land rice (*hare leten*) and a few varieties of melon which grow wild in the jungle and are known as *babuar* (cognate with *kabuar* meaning ‘round’, ‘circular’). Maize, a relatively newly introduced crop is considered as ‘native’ to the area. I was told that only native plants can be ‘blessed’ (Indonesian, *diberkati*) in this ritual.

The day before, a young man is ordered to climb a coconut tree. He has to pick a young, unformed coconut (*nuu kalabuk*) and bring it down himself from the top of the tree. According to my informants, a coconut that has produced flesh inside it is considered ‘cooked’. A cooked coconut cannot do the job of cooling the seeds.
Only an unformed young nut (*nuu kalabuk*) is suitable. The top part of the nut is chopped carefully so that it does not separate from the rest of the nut. A few drops of the blood of a pig which has been slaughtered as sacrificial meat, are then put inside the nut to mix with the coconut juice. This nut is then hung on the rack above the hearth. The same young man is also asked to pick a small branch of leaves then known as *ai tahan malirin* (the cool leaves). This branch of leaves is later used to sprinkle the liquid from the nut onto the seeds and people who gather around the ritual place.

When all the seeds needing to be 'blessed' have been piled together in front of the front male pillar of the *fukun* house, the female guardian of the house (*ferik*) begins to prepare for the betel-nut offering (*halo mama*). Betel-nuts are used as a medium to communicate with the ancestors. The communicator is always a man, in this case the head of the hamlet. With the help of his female partner, he distributes the betel-nut into the betel-nut boxes and pouches hung on the male pillar of the house. One slice of areca nut covered with a betel leaf is carefully placed inside each of these paraphernalia. With the offering of betel-nut, the ancestors are informed of the purposes of the rite. In regard to the rite of cooling the seeds, the *fukun* will make a plea in front of the male pillar, asking for the seeds to flourish, for good rain, and for protection from pigs and other predators that might destroy the plants. On the plains of south Tetun, where gardens are not fenced, people firmly believe that if they do not participate in the rite of *hisik fini* their plants will be destroyed by pigs and other prey.

In the hamlet of Labarai, the Bunak-speaking people, who have occupied the village of Kamanasa for the last 90 years, incorporate dancing that runs the whole night into the rite of *hisik fini*. Both women and men hold hands around a sacrificial pillar (*ai toos*), located in front of the *Fukun* house, while dancing and singing. Early in the morning, when birds are considered as still in their nests and pigs yet sleep, men bring their seeds quietly into their gardens. Total silence is needed so the sleep of these predators is not disturbed. Consequently, the seeds can be safely planted. However, before planting begins, the owner of the garden has to cool the soil. Coconut juice from a young unformed nut is sprinkled in a small area in the middle of the garden called *troman*. A *troman* is made up of a post called *ai toos* (literally, the strong wood) on which to hang the coconut, and a few flat stones as
places to offer sacrificial meat. In response to my query, Piet Tahu Nahak recited for me the following invocation that he used to say in front of the male post.

\[
\begin{align*}
Aa \text{ bei sia ama sia} & \quad \text{Oh ancestors, fathers} \\
bei tuan bei nurak & \quad \text{old ancestors, young ancestors} \\
bei atan bei na' in & \quad \text{commoner ancestors, noble ancestors} \\
it\text{a hato 'o lai, basu lai, ita hato 'o liu lai} & \quad \text{please forward (this plea) on, please pass it, pass it on please} \\
amikan hakmasin, amikan hakro'an & \quad \text{our misery (literally, saltiness), our agony} \\
ba ama naran la kaka, ama naran la temi & \quad \text{to the father that can't be summoned by name, the father that can't be called by name} \\
\text{ba metin baa, iha as baa} & \quad \text{(that lives) in the low tide, in (the place) above} \\
iha lolo liman la to 'o, iha bi'i ai la dai & \quad \text{that cannot be reached by stretching out hands, by standing on tiptoes} \\
\text{natodan du'uk, nabest du'uk} & \quad \text{the one that only sits, only firmly sits} \\
\text{inha fitun fohon, iha fulan fohon} & \quad \text{on the top of a star, on the top of the moon} \\
\text{natuun matak mai, natuun malirin mai} & \quad \text{send down the raw, send down the cool} \\
\text{udan wen di'ak, loro wen di'ak} & \quad \text{a good rain, a good sunlight} \\
\text{ba te hutun raiklaran, hutan rai tenan} & \quad \text{for the people of the world, the people of the old world} \\
\text{ba hodi ko' o tua, ba hodi hafaho rai} & \quad \text{to tap the palms, to weed gardens} \\
\text{be to'os be no isin, tua be no wen} & \quad \text{so gardens to produce harvest, palms to give juices}
\end{align*}
\]

Oh ancestors, fathers
old ancestors, young ancestors
commoner ancestors, noble ancestors
please forward (this plea) on, please pass it, pass it on please
our misery (literally, saltiness), our agony
to the father that can't be summoned by name, the father that can't be called by name
(that lives) in the low tide, in (the place) above
that cannot be reached by stretching out hands, by standing on tiptoes
the one that only sits, only firmly sits
on the top of a star, on the top of the moon
send down the raw, send down the cool
a good rain, a good sunlight
for the people of the world, the people of the old world
to tap the palms, to weed gardens
so gardens to produce harvest, palms to give juices

Only when the seeds and the earth have been ritually cooled can the planting begin. Depending on the size of each garden, the planting is conducted by men and women, young and old. There is no further differentiation of who does what. With the completion of this rite, the seeds have been ritually born or become alive (moris).

No other rituals are needed to guarantee the continuation of the plants’ growth unless there is a disease or natural disaster that threatens the life of the plants. The south Tetun have only one word for all sorts of plant diseases and two kinds of ‘ordinary’ disaster namely: a prolonged dry season or the over-flowing of water due to excessive days of rainfall. The word for all these is klakar. If either of these two types of disaster occur, a ritual called soe at (literally, throwing out the bad) is performed at the western part of the gardens.

2. The first harvest rite (hamiis)

This ritual is mainly observed in relation to the first harvest of maize. When the maize is considered ready to be consumed, a rite for the first harvest needs to be prepared. My informants also said that this ritual is observed so that children who love to eat young maize can start eating it without waiting any longer for the maize to ripen.
Literally, the compound word -hamiis- derives from the word halo (to make) and miis. The latter word has two meanings. Fresh water is called we miis. The term miis in this context is paired with masin (salty). In myths, when a story-teller narrates the origin of the earth, we often hear the comment “at that time we did not know whether the sea was masin or miis”. In the Tetun mind, the opposite of miis is masin. Therefore, the word miis (in hamiis) can be translated as ‘unsalted’, ‘tasteless’, or ‘fresh’. The second meaning of hamiis is ‘to cool’. When a person’s talisman is still ‘active’, it is said that the talisman is ‘hot’. A hot talisman can endanger others. To domesticate or to tame this hot wild talisman, its owner has to cool it. Taking all the notions conveyed by the word miis just mentioned and the purpose of conducting this ritual, I suggest translating the term hamiis as ‘to make fresh’ or ‘to cool’.

Thus, although the maize is considered ready to eat, it is still in the stage of ‘heat’ and ‘salty’. Under these conditions, the maize is a potential danger to those who consume it. According to the people, eating it before performing hamiis will give the individual concerned a serious illness and his/her garden will not produce enough food for years to come. To this point, the maize is considered to contain heat because it is occupied by the spirit of ancestors (kmalar) which makes the maize and other plants flourish. To make this maize edible, the heat must be taken out of it by informing the ancestors of the people’s intention to consume the fruits.

Hamiis is a rite which attracts a large audience. Compared with the hisik fini rite, the hamiis involves not only people of the hamlet but also those who come from related hamlets. This rite is not centralized in the house of the head of the clan. Each named house conducts its own first harvest ritual. When a named house is conducting its rite, the word for an invitation or a ‘reminder’ (hamenon), as they call it, is delivered to the mother’s brother who is in charge as the ‘old man’ (katuas) of the named house and to every son of the named house who has married out and resides in his wife’s house. These sons are referred to as mane maksai uma (literally, men that go out from the house). The message is communicated by the sons-in-law, who are the married-in men and therefore are called mane maktama uma (literally, men that enter the house). Upon receiving the notice, those who are going to participate in the ritual go to their gardens. They pull out seven or eight ‘whole’ maize plants, that is to say, plants consisting of roots, cobs and blossoms. One plant
is erected inside the garden and tied to the post in the *troman* area. A few small pieces of cooked chicken or pig (depending on the size of the garden) are laid on the stones surrounding the post. To offer betel-nuts, four tiny sticks are erected beside the pillar with the tips pointing upward. The top end of the sticks are split into four strips. On top of these four strips, betel-nuts are offered. One stalk of maize is tied to the front post of the garden hut (*laen*). Four maize plants are erected at the four corners of the garden to feed the ‘owners of the land’ (*rai na’ in*), who usually get access to the garden through its four corners. I was told that if the owners of the land are not fed, the garden will not produce enough for the people. “We take one bunch, the owners of the land will take four or five bunches”, claimed the people. Having completed the garden ceremony, each man takes a bunch of maize cobs home, together with one or two whole maize plants. One plant is then erected in the place his wife or his mother-in-law uses to weave clothes. If the house raises cattle, one plant is erected on the gate of the stable.

One bunch of maize cobs is the man’s offering to his natal house. During the time of celebration, I encountered people carrying bunches of maize cobs to their natal house. Usually the man goes alone to his natal house, without his wife and children, who celebrate the first harvest ritual in their own house. For those who live in far-away hamlets, they are expected to arrive one or two days before the actual time of celebration. Those who live nearby arrive on the day of the celebration. Since the *hamiis* rite involves the eating of young maize, it is conducted in the middle of the day.

The time of the first harvest ritual is also a great time for ‘family reunion’. During this time, I noticed, some people who had achieved success in cities took the opportunity to come back to display their wealth. For ordinary farmers, the *adat* obligation of a bunch of maize cobs is sufficient tribute in homage to their natal houses. For the ‘city dwellers’, their contributions may consist of pigs, bundles of betel-nuts, coffee and sugar, cakes and other luxuries for the villagers. The attendance of successful sons raises the prestige of a named house in the village.

Like other rites, the *hamiis* rite also commences with ‘the preparing of betel-nut’ for the ancestors. In order to elaborate in detail on the process of *hamiis*, I will focus on a named house in the hamlet of Le’un Klot. Before commencing the rite, betel-nut was prepared in the house of Makde’an Rai. Bei Katuas Laran brought in
one whole maize plant. This whole plant was then erected in front of the male pillar. Meanwhile Ferik Rai distributed 7 betel leaves and 7 slices of areca nuts into the betel containers and the pouches. Having done so, Bei Maksia Rai recited the following ‘prayer’:

\[
\text{Ah bei sia iha kukkan kalan} \\
\text{bei feto bei mane,} \\
\text{ama Tiku bei Tiku’} \\
\text{Emi kre’is ama Maromak}
\]

\[
\text{inha leiten baa} \\
\text{inha as baa} \\
\text{Titi tuuan baa ami} \\
\text{hutun no renu} \\
\text{iha hoku fatik’} \\
\text{iha abut kakias} \\
\text{iha Le’un Klot} \\
\text{iha uma Makde’an.}
\]

\[
\text{Ohin loron ne’e ami at hakserak tinan foun} \\
\text{loron ami to’o mak ohin loron} \\
\text{dadi ohin loron ne’e ami ho’i hakne’an ne’e} \\
\text{ama Tiku bei Tiku} \\
\text{klaut no funan} \\
\text{atu rodi netik lilin oan ida} \\
\text{atu rodi netik batar oan ida} \\
\text{atu rai baa bei sia} \\
\text{iha tafatik} \\
\text{iha uma kukun} \\
\text{iha uma kalan} \\
\text{inha let} \\
\text{inha luan.} \\
\text{Dadi ha’ukan hakmasin bei sia inha leten inha as}
\]

\[
\text{ta’an tilu hanono} \\
\text{tan ohin loron ne’e} \\
\text{klaut no funan} \\
\text{atu rai netik manu oan ida baa emik tanasak, emi} \\
\text{kakaluk} \\
\text{no tenik batar oan ida fulin ida ka rua} \\
\text{atu rain baa emi rate sia inha uma kukun uma} \\
\text{kalan.} \\
\text{Dadi lia hau mak ne’e dei}
\]

Oh ancestors in the dark, in the night
female ancestors and male ancestors.
father Tiku and ancestor Tiku
You are the ones that live closer to Father,
the Maromak
(who lives) above
(who lives) in the height
Observe us from the above
(your) folk and people
(who live) in the muddy place
(who live) in the orphan roots
in Le’un Klot
in the house of Makde’an.
Today we offer the new year
our day is due today
so, today we want to kneel down
father Tiku, ancestor Tiku
the sliced nuts (boys) and flowers (girls)
are going to disturb you by lighting candles
disturb you by bringing maize
(they) want to offer them to you
in palaces
in dark houses
in night houses
in narrow (places)
in broad (places).
So, my plea, oh ancestors who live in the height above
open your ears and listen
because today
the sliced nuts and flowers
will disturb you by offering a chick in your baskets and your pouches
and also one or two cobs of maize
(they) will lay down those things on your graves, in the dark houses, the night houses.
That is all I want to say.

The invocation signifies that the first harvest of maize has officially commenced. The maize brought as tributes of homage was taken out to the graves. As soon as the maize was laid on the graves, children rushed forward to collect it and take it home. According to the explanations I received, other’s children gathered maize offered by their father's sister houses, while sister’s children collected from their mother’s brother houses. At the same time, some women lit candles on the graves.

In the meantime, the offering of meat was prepared in uma Kakaluk. Although a pig was slaughtered, in ritual language it is referred to as manu lamak oan ida (a
small nourishment of chicken). When the pork was ready to be taken inside the house, the east door (oda matan la sa'en), which always remains closed, was now opened. In contrast to ordinary practice, when food is taken inside the house through the female door (oda matan rae), in this ritual pork and maize were taken into the house through the male door (oda matan lor). The pork was then boiled, without adding any salt for flavour. Cobs of maize were also boiled, without salt, in separate cooking pots. The emphasis on 'without salt' is necessary to understand the whole concept of hamiss. When maize is ripe, it is considered 'cooked' (tasak). Cooked and salty (masin) items together with heat (manas) are categorically 'dangerous' and therefore harmful for human beings. So, in rites where the focus is on asking for 'raw' (matak) and 'cool' (malirin), food has to be offered 'plainly', 'without taste' and 'unsalted'. These terms are simply translated by one Tetun word, miiis. While the food was being cooked, the male and female guardians of the house brought out some foxtail millet (tora). They came out from the house through the normally closed east door (oda matan la sa'en), which was opened especially for this occasion, to pound millet. They call this activity fa'i tora lulik (pounding the sacred millet). It is important that while they were pounding, the pounders did not hit each other or it would be a bad omen for the entire house.

When the food was cooked, the head of the boiled pig and a few cobs of maize were brought to the male pillar. After a short plea asking for 'raw' and 'cool' for their future work in the gardens, the male guardian peeled a few cobs of maize and threw them backward over his shoulder. Similarly with the pieces of pork, he pinched small pieces of pork and threw them backward over his shoulder. The throwing behind him symbolises that the ancestors, who are the 'dark people' (ema kukun) have been fed by the living. Only then can the pork and maize be consumed. The eating of this food is called lamak kukun (nourishment for the dark). The male guardian of the named house, who is also a tuak (the most 'respected' figure in the house, a term of address for mother's brother) is entitled to have the pig's head. The rest of the food was shared equally by members of this named house.

On every occasion involving the ritual 'eating for the dark' (lamak kukun), the pig liver divination is considered an important part. 'Reading the liver' (leno aten) as they phrased it, involves the interpretation of the size, colour and other uncommon
features observed on the pig's liver (see Figure 8.1). Thus, hamis rite performed by the Le'un Klot people was also accompanied by a 'reading of the liver'.

![Diagram of pig liver divination](figure8_1.png)

**Figure 8.1 Pig liver divination**

Names given to specific parts of the liver are metaphorically related to house symbolism. To begin with, I will briefly recall the placement in a house of certain items whose names also designate the specific parts of the liver. The male pillar is one of the most sacred pillars within a named house. It is situated at the front part of the inner side of the house next to the male door (*oda matan lor*). As a matter of fact, this pillar is part of the door's frame. Among paraphernalia hung on this pillar are swords with a long curved shield called *surik samara*. These swords (and for a particular named house, a staff granted by the Dutch during the sandalwood trading of the colonial era) are important regalia for a named house or even a domain. Thus, *surik samara* and *oda matan lor* represent sacred paraphernalia located at the inner part of the house. In accordance with the south Tetun house design, the verandah or platform (*labis*) is not considered as part of the inner house. Rather, it is attached (*labis*) to the inner house, therefore it belongs to the outer part of the house.

The inside/outside symbolism communicated in a house design becomes a kind of standard classification for the pig liver divination. Although the anatomy of a pig liver is not divided into inside and outside, names given to the specific parts of the liver manifest this dual classification. Using the sketch of a pig liver provided by Popesko (as given in Kuipers 1990: 103. See Figure 8.1 above), the outside parts are
represented by different names given to specific parts of the liver. These names represent components commonly associated with outside such as ‘platform’ (labis), ‘human heart’ (aten ema), ‘mat’ (biti), ‘python’ (foho rai) and ‘candle made from candle-nut’ (badut). There are also other parts of the pig’s organ that need to be examined in a liver divination. These parts are not included in Popesko’s sketch. But for the Tetun, they are important parts within a liver divination, and comprise the liver’s milt (surik=sword) and the pork fat that links the liver and the milt called oda matan (door). The pork fat looks like a screen. A healthy pig, according to people’s exegesis, always has a small hole in the ‘screen’ which is associated with ‘door’. Both the ‘sword’ and ‘door’ in a liver divination represent the two sacred paraphernalia one commonly finds in a house. Unmistakably, names given to the specific parts of the liver symbolise the dual categories of inside/ouside discussed in the context of house symbolism. It should be added that this analogy does not harm the indigenous concept of ‘reading the liver’ (leno aten) since the Tetun themselves gave names to those parts of the liver according to the inside/outside arrangement within a house.

In a divination, the ‘sword’ and ‘door’ are the first parts of the organ to be examined. Normally, a sword has only one sharp edge. If both edges are sharp, it is a bad omen for the house. The same is true of the ‘door’. It must remain open, which is indicated by the existence of a hole in the ‘screen’, to allow fortune in terms of wealth to flow into the house. A closed door indicates the refusal of good fortune. The ‘outside’ parts of the liver are examined starting from the ‘platform’ and running anti-clockwise to the ‘human heart’. The surfaces of ‘platform’ and ‘python’ must appear smooth without any blemishes or holes, otherwise misfortune might befall the house. As for the bile sac or ‘kmii candle’, a good omen is indicated by the colour and volume of liquid contained in the sac. A good life for the house is indicated by light greenish liquid which fills three quarters of the sac. Using a kerosine lamp as an example, my ‘tutors’ explained that dirty kerosine fully filling the lamp will cause the house to catch fire. In contrast to the ‘platform’ and ‘python’, the ‘mat’ and ‘human heart’ should have blemishes. The ‘mat’ should have a rough surface while the ‘human heart’ should have curves. If in ‘reading the liver’, these two parts look smooth (in contrast to their normal condition), the house
will soon suffer great misfortune. In a divination, it is important that a diviner knows what is regarded as the 'natural condition' of these specific parts of the liver.

The mention of 'sword' as sacred regalia because it was owned by the founding fathers of the named house, and the mention of human heart, platform and other equipment which can be associated with outside, permit us to develop more categories within a symbolic classification as shown in Table 8.2 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inside</th>
<th>outside</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oda matan, surik</td>
<td>labis, aten ema, biti, foho rai, badut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacred paraphernalia</td>
<td>daily equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ancestral space</td>
<td>human space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.2 Liver omen categories

My last comment aims to address the goal of the ritual as manifested in invocations during the offering of betel-nuts. As clearly spelled out by Bei Maksia Rai in the invocation cited above, the purpose of conducting this first harvest ritual is to offer meat and maize to the ancestors as well as lighting candles on their graves. The offering of meat and maize to the ancestors is a common practice throughout the entire region. But lighting candles on graves is a new practice adopted from outside. If we look more carefully at the form and content of the above invocation, we will notice some peculiarities. The first concerns the addressee. Bei Rai summons the ancestors who are living 'in the dark/in the night' (iha kukun/Aalan). In traditional ritual discourse, the paired phrasing dark/night as the place where ancestors dwell is a common reference that can be found in any invocation or other ritual recitations of histories and genealogies. Some people would add more predicates to emphasise the origin place of the first human being, Fatumea//Marlilu Haholek. Others would mention the sacred house, the house of origin of a particular clan, such as 'the black house, the sacred house' (uma metan/uma lulik). These expressions are standard conventions in ritual discourse in the area. What is uncommon, however, is the expression emi kre'is ama Maromak, which I translate as 'you are the ones that live closer to Father, the Maromak'. The Tetun do not differentiate Maromak from ancestors. For them, their ancestors are the Maromak. Therefore one could invoke
the ancestors by summoning *ama maromak*, but at the same time this phrase must pair with the phrase *ina maromak*, as in the following:

```
Ah bei sia, tua no nurak
ah Fatumea ee Marlilu Haholek
uma metan sia ee uma lulik sia
bei sia iha kukun kalan
ah ina maromak ama maromak
```

```
Oh ancestors, young and old
oh Fatumea, Marlilu Haholek
oh the black houses, the sacred houses
ancestors who are in dark and night
oh mother maromak, father maromak
```

The peculiarity one discovers in the prayer summons by Bei Rai, as cited before, reveals a new element introduced by Christianity. The expression ‘you are the ones who live closer to the *ama Maromak*’ is a Christian theological conception concerning the existence of a mediator between humans and God. In the invocation cited above, Bei Rai, who is considered as an expert in *adat* matters, left this sentence without matching it with another parallel sentence. The same is true of the phrase *ama Maromak*. In the Christian bible, ‘God the father’ is translated as *ama Maromak*. This loaded phrase cannot simply be paired with *ina maromak* (God the mother), the paired phrasing found in many traditional ritual discourses. If he had matched the phrase *ama Maromak* with *ina maromak* he would have met the *adat*’s convention but not the Christian conception. Bei Rai’s solution is to leave the loaded sentence and phrases as they are which results in the creation of an unusual form of ‘prayer’.

The second peculiarity relates to the purpose of celebrating the first harvest rite. Bei Rai explicitly mentioned in his invocation that children of his village are gathering to offer meat and maize and to light candles. Even though these are common practices in a *hamiis* rite, it is not the main purpose of the rite. Some people said that the goal of conducting the first harvest rite is to inform the spirits of the ancestors (*kmalar*) to stay in the garden so that in the future the garden will keep producing a good harvest. The reason given by these people is as follows: “We believe that the presence of ancestors’ spirits (*kmalar*) caused the maize to flourish. If the maize is harvested without prior ‘information’ to the ancestors, their *kmalar* will leave the garden and so in the future the garden will not produce any more”. Although this answer is consistent with the practice of hiding a few seeds of sorghum under the *sarong* during harvest to prevent the escape of the *kmalar* contained within the seeds, this aim is not literally spelled out in the invocations. In the few invocations that I recorded, the aim of the first harvest ritual is clearly
spelled out: "We come to ask for 'raw' and 'cool'. This goal is expressed as follows:

natun matak mai, natun malirin mai
udan wen di'ak, loro wen di'ak
ba hutun raiklaran, renu rai tenan
rori ko’a tua, rori rafaho rai
bodik to’os bee no isin. tua bee no wen

grant us your raw, grant us your cool
a good rain and a good sun light
for your people in this inhabited earth, for
your folk in this eternal world
for them to tap palms, for them to clear
gardens
so that gardens can produce, palms give
juices.

3. Maize of homage (batar mana’i)

There are two consecutive activities related to this ritual. The first is the harvesting of sorghum planted in ‘the royal dark garden’ (to’os etu kukun) located in the eastern part of the hamlet of Laran, and the second is the bringing of the ‘seven cobs of maize’ (batar fulin hitu) as a gift of homage to the Maromak Oan, who resides in the hamlet of Laran. In the sequence of these two activities, we are dealing with an irreversible order of harvesting activities: first, the harvest of the ‘ancestors’ garden and second, the harvest of ‘living humans’ gardens. The former is marked by ‘silence’, while the latter is marked by ‘festivity’. The former involves only adat officials who are responsible for planting and harvesting the sorghum. The latter involves a large number of people who bring their gifts of homage. These differences in the two sequential rituals affect the amount of information one can obtain. Despite the number of people who participate in them, given the nature of these rituals, people are more eager to speak about the latter than the former. The difference in the symbols used in these two rituals also encourages me to discuss them separately in their chronological order.

Informants mentioned that in former times people could not harvest their maize if sorghum planted in the to’os etu kukun had not been harvested. It was the function of the ‘garden inspector’ (lalawar) to ensure that this rule was followed by everybody. Heavy fines of silver coins, pigs, jars of palm gin and bunches of betel-nut were levied on those who broke it. At present, although the injunction is no longer observed, the rites connected with harvesting the sorghum and the giving of the seven cobs of maize are still solemnly practised.
When the sorghum is considered ripe enough to be harvested, *lalawar*, the garden inspector, arranges for the preparation of harvesting the sorghum, which is called *koto batar etu kukun*. When I was in the field, the *lalawar*, a man whose natal house is in the hamlet of Batane but who resides in his wife’s house in the hamlet of Lo’o Sina, was not asked to perform his duty. At that time, the *lalawar* was replaced by Bei Ai Tou, a lineage head who lived in le’un Loro Monu, within the hamlet of Laran. He erected a small hut (*laen*) roofed with coconut leaves. In front of the hut, he spread a mat, called *biti ulun*, (literally ‘the head mat’). This mat was taken from the most sacred house in the whole realm of Wesei Wehali, called Ai Lotuk. He also prepared other items needed for the rites, such as: a small bamboo jar used as a drink container (*au kenu*); the shell of a kind of fruit used to gather the sorghum seeds (*kso’e*); a betel-nut container (*kabir inan*); a small pointed stick erected in front of the mat called *kaledik* to represent the male pillar of a house; a bottle of palm-gin tied with a slice of palm-leaf; two big hexagonal baskets (*baliki*) and two sorghum blossoms (*batar knaar*). These items are needed during the rite called *hahaan rai* (to feed the earth).

The person who was responsible for the ‘feeding of the earth’ was Bei Nufa, the guardian of the house of Ai Lotuk. He lives in Le’un Klot, within the hamlet of Laran. He was also in charge of the harvesting of the sorghum. When Bei Ai Tou had erected the temporary hut, Bei Nufa went to harvest the sorghum. The sorghum was then spread on the mat. The bottle of palm-gin was tied to the stick. The hexagonal baskets, the betel-nut container and the fruit shell used for gathering the seeds of the sorghum were placed upside down. I was told that by placing them upside down, the spirits of the ancestors (*kmalar*) who were occupying the ritual paraphernalia would not escape. The bamboo container was then filled with palm-gin together with a few drops of the blood of a pig slaughtered especially as a sacrifice. The sacrificial pork was put into two pyramidal baskets called *hane matan*. The meat was taken from particular parts of the pig known as *fahi lolon* (literally, the body of the pig). The parts consisted of the head, including the tongue (*nanaan*), the lungs (*afaak*) and the kidneys (*fuan*). These things were put into one of the pyramidal baskets. The other pyramidal basket was filled with liver (*aten*), liver’s milt (*surik*), the right leg (*kelen kwana*), right haunch (*kidan*) and ribs (*sorin balu*). The former basket was taken inside the garden to ‘feed the centre of the
garden' (hahaan troman). The latter basket was taken to ‘feed the mat’ (hahaan biti ulun). I was told that the feeding of the centre of the garden symbolizes the people’s thanksgiving to the ancestors, who brought sorghum as food for the people. The feeding of the mat symbolizes their thanksgiving toward Maromak Oan the guarantor of their livelihood.

Having finished the feeding of the earth, Bei Nufa carefully gathered the sorghum seeds and transferred them to the hexagonal baskets using the fruit shell (kso ‘e) as a scoop. Every time he scooped he took a few seeds and hid them under his sarong. After scooping up the sorghum, the scoop (kso ‘e) was laid upside down on top of the seeds before putting the lid on the basket. The sorghum was then taken by Bei Nufa’s sister (Maria Abuk Baria), the female guardian of the Ai Lotuk house. She walked in silence, carrying the sorghum on her head, to that ancestral house. The remaining food was then consumed by the participants in the harvesting of the sorghum, mainly women from le’un Klot. The eating of this sacrificial meal is called lamak kukun, ‘eating for the dark’. This marked the end of the rite.

In former times, when the sorghum had been installed in the ancestral house (Ai Lotuk), ‘royal gongs’ (tala etu) were beaten to inform people that they could start harvesting their gardens. A few days afterward, Maromak Oan called for a meeting with his assembly called ‘the four old women and the four old men’ (ferik hat, katuas hat) They came from the hamlets of Kateri, Umakatahan, Kletek and Fahiluka. The aim of this assembly was to negotiate the ‘time’ for delivering their gifts of homage to the Maromak Oan. The exact ‘date’ for the delivery is in the hands of Maromak Oan. Maromak Oan’s decision is conveyed by messengers (Bei Ai Touk and Bei Nufa). These men passed around a rope with knots called kbabukar, which signified how many days were left until the gifts would be delivered to the hamlet of Laran. Usually, the number of knots in a rope ranges from three to seven, since according to my sources, odd numbers are associated with sacred elements and ancestors, while even numbers belong to human beings. Every day a knot was untied. The remaining knots delineated the number of days left. The passing on of the rope follows an order of precedence. From the hamlet of Laran, the centre of Wesei Wehali, the rope was sent to the four surrounding hamlets. The rope was first passed to the hamlets of Kateri and Umakatahan. As discussed in earlier chapters, following the house metaphor these two hamlets are delineated as
the two corner posts located at the back of a house. These posts are therefore considered as female posts. As they are in the category of 'female' posts, they are considered as the trunk of the house. In ritual language these two hamlets are described as 'the trunk of the hip/the trunk of the ladder' (knuba hun/tetek hun). 

Fukun of these two hamlets are ritually known as 'the old women of the trunk of the mountain, the old men of the trunk of the mountain' (ferik foho hun, katuas foho hun). It was the task of the fukun of those two hamlets to pass the rope on to the next two hamlets, namely Kletek and Fahuiluka. In the house analogy, these two hamlets are delineated as the front corner posts. Being categorized as 'front' these posts are considered to be male posts. These two hamlets are ritually known as 'hamlets of the edge of the sea' (leo tasi tehen). Fukun of these two hamlets are referred to as 'the old women of the leg of the sea/the old men of the leg of the sea' (ferik ain tasi/katuas ain tasi). Thus, the passing of the rope symbolizes starting from the insiders to the outsiders, from centre to periphery, from mountain to sea, from trunk to edge, and from female to male. The actual passing of the rope is illustrated in Figure 8.2.

![Figure 8.2 Order of precedence in the passing of rope of announcement](image-url)
Bei Ai Tou who lives in the *le 'un Loro Monu* (plain areas towards the sunset') was charged with communicating the message to the clan heads who live in the hamlet of Kateri, the ‘trunk’ hamlet. From there, the message was passed on to the peripheral hamlets (*leo molin*), as far as Bi’uduk Fehan, Biuduk Foho and Kakaniuk. Bei Nufa was charged with communicating the message to the *fukun* of Umakatahan. It was the task of the *fukun* of those two hamlets, who are known as ‘the old women of the trunk of the mountain and the old men of the trunk of the mountain’ (*ferik foho hun, katuas foho hun*) to pass on the message of the *kbukar* rope to the *fukun* who live in the hamlets of Kletek and Fahiluka and other peripheral hamlets such as Manumutin, Tabene, Bakateu and Dirma. The *fukun* of the hamlets of Kletek and Fahiluka are known as ‘the old women of the edge of the sea, the old men of the edge of the sea’ (*ferik tasi tehen, katuas tasi tehen*).

On the chosen day, ‘old women and old men’ from these four hamlets assembled in the hamlet of Laran. When I was in the field the ritual was conducted on the 17th of July, 1993, almost four months after the assembly of ‘the four old women and the four old men’.

Compared with the harvesting of the sorghum, the delivery of gifts of homage was a joyous occasion. Women beat drums (*bibliku*) while dancing with snake-like movements (*likurai*). Men lead the women, dancing, while unsheathing their swords. Cock-fighting, a traditional game enjoyed by the people during this type of ritual, has long been banned by the government. With the confiscation of traditional guns (*kilat*), men can no longer show off to the women their skill in firing the guns. Despite these ‘handicaps’, the celebration was conducted as joyfully as ever. The taking of gifts of homage was accompanied, not by the firing of guns, but by shouting men (*kalalak*), just like in former times when trophy heads were taken into the hamlets.

The seven cobs of maize brought by people from various clan heads within the four corner land, were assembled in front of the three bigger named houses (*uma mahoo naran bot*). Since the hamlet of Laran is the seat of Maromak Oan, two named houses are referred to as ‘palaces’ (*tafatik*, literally ‘place to sit’), while the third one is simply called *uma mahoo naran*. Those clan heads (*fukun*) knew exactly in which *tafatik* and *uma* they had to assemble. In response to my query, Na’i Niis who sits in the *tafatik* Leko (the house of Maromak Oan), Na’i Mea who sits in the
tafatik Mako’a Rai, and Na’i Nona who sits in the uma Marii Lia (the house that is considered as the ‘gate’ to Ai Lotuk), together offered me a list of named houses and hamlets which are considered as ‘their subjects’ (see Table 8.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tafatik Leko</th>
<th>Tafatik Mako’a Rai</th>
<th>Uma Marii Lia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uma Bei Rai - Kateri</td>
<td>Uma Tema - Kateri</td>
<td>Uma Komu Han - Tabene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma La’e Tua Klolok - Bi’uduk Fehan</td>
<td>Uma Fukun Makwar - Bolan</td>
<td>Uma Manekin - Bolan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma La’e Tua - Bi’uduk</td>
<td>Uma Na’i Kasak - Bolan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Babonoe - Brama</td>
<td>Uma Makbukar - Brama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umasukaer Hanematan Babenik - Banibin</td>
<td>Uma Kaliduk - Tabene</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Atok Ama Klau Nahak - Umasukaer</td>
<td>Uma Katusa - Kletek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Atok Ama Klau Laran - Umasukaer</td>
<td>Uma Lo’o - Kletek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma La’e tua Lia Rian - Manumutin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Bei Muti Bei Katusa - Umanen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Katusas - Batane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Lalawar - Umakatahan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Lor - Umakatahan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma La’e Tua Hali Abut - Umakatahan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Bunuk Lo’o Latar - Umakatahan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Makte’en - Bakateu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Mamulak - Fahiluka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Badare - Fahiluka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Paki Besi Liurai - Fahiluka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Dato Has Ain - Fahiluka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Si’a Kaliduk - Kakaniuk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Tien Tua Mau Ra’e - Mande’u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uma Bau Mauk - Mande’u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.3 Distribution of fukun’s named houses

I was also told that when gifts of homage are taken to the centre (leo Laran), those who deliver the gifts are usually entitled to pick people’s coconuts or catch other people’s pigs along the way to the hamlet of Laran. They will then bring to Maromak Oan the ‘maize of homage’ as well as the produce that they have gathered along the way. The custom of collecting others’ property is called baboen. The custom of baboen is also observed by the people of We Oe in a similar rite of delivering gift of homages. But their ritual is called hanematan loro (gifts for ‘ruler’ -loro- which are offered in hanematan baskets). In the case of Wehali, in the meeting of the assembly of ‘the four old women and the four old men’ held on 22 March 1993, it had been decided that the custom of baboen would not be practised. One of the reasons given for the cancelling of baboen was that many people no
longer understood its value. The elders were concerned about the social tension that might occur due to the misunderstanding of the custom.

When the people had assembled in front of the noble houses and torches made of palm leaves (ai klunus) had been lit, a few bunches of maize were exchanged among the noble houses. People call this event hadomi malu // hatias malu (show love to each other // show affection to each other). Before the crowd proceeded to Ai Lotuk, the adat historian of Kateri, Benedictus Bere Seran, delivered a short speech that I recorded as follows:

Fukun sia
Ita hoi hukun no hanatar ne’e. emi ha ‘ak mana’ik
ha ‘ak fore lai dikin batar lai dikin
iha dato has ain dato has ulun
iha ferik hat katua hat
hodi tama mai hana’i
hodi tama mai hatetu no harani
hodi mai hana’i no hahulu
iha kwaur ha ’in aa as ha ’in aa
iha lolo liman la to’o. bi ’i ai la dai
bat hodi husu uda wen naketak loron wen naketak
bat hodi simu matak simu malirin.

All the fukun
The execution of rule and the hunting of food, which people call homage is the offering of tips of mung bean vines, tips of maize leaves from the four leg rulers, the four head rulers the four old women, the four old men We deliver (them) to pay homage we come to present and to offer we come to pay homage and honour to the exclusive one, to the supreme one to the one that cannot be reached by stretching out hands, by standing on tiptoe we come to plead for the boundary made for rain days separated from sun days we come to acquire raw, to acquire cool.

With this short speech the crowd proceeded to the Ai Lotuk. The party from the palace of Mako’a Rai called on the party who were waiting at the palace of Leko. Together they called on the house of Marii Lia. Although these houses are only located metres away from each other, the ‘call up event’ (haksee) is considered an important ritual. The crowd then went on shouting like people coming back from the battle field, while carrying the maize on their shoulders. The crowd consisted only of men because the delivery of the seven cobs of maize is a men’s event. This is the opposite to the delivery of the sorghum to the Ai Lotuk, which is considered to be a women’s event.

On arrival at the Ai Lotuk, people formed a square shape in front of the female door (odamatan rae) of the Ai Lotuk house, while maize was placed in the middle of the square. Maromak Oan30 took off his shoulder cloth and spread it in front of him. Betel leaves and areca nuts harvested from the sacred forest situated right in front of Ai Lotuk were carefully ordered on top of the cloth. A slice of areca nut, the symbol for man, was placed on one betel leaf, the symbol for woman. The number of betel-nuts represented the number of elders assembled. Young men collected betel-nut
containers from all the elders. The betel-nuts were then placed in those containers. This event is called simu kmusan, simu matak no malirin (acquiring betel-chew, acquiring raw and cool). This is the end of the ritual because the exchange of wealth and life have taken place. The subjects receive a guarantee of life (in the form of betel-chewing) and the hope of future well-being (raw and cool) in exchange for wealth in the form of products of their gardens. With the receiving of kmusan (betel-chew), the union of male (areca nut) and female (betel leaf) has occurred, fertility has been guaranteed. Thus, the flowing of life from centre to the periphery and the flowing of wealth from the periphery to the centre revealed in many ritual speeches discussed in earlier chapters are re-enacted in these rituals.

Concluding Remarks

It is evident from the above accounts that rituals relating to the process of childbirth and the agricultural cycle, two events observed separately by the Wehali, are constructed on the same cultural categories and therefore reveal the same symbolic meaning. The Tetun employ the same term for both rituals: hahoris batar (to make the maize alive) for the agricultural ritual and hahoris oan (to make the child alive) for childbirth. The key word in these two events is hahoris which derives from moris meaning ‘alive’.

Life, fertility, raw, tame and cool are necessary conditions one needs to achieve in order to make both people and plants ‘alive’. This is the reason why on every occasion during the two cycles of rituals, we hear people plead in a stereotypical formula:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{natuun matak mai} & \quad \text{send down the raw} \\
\text{natuun malirin mai} & \quad \text{send down the cool}
\end{align*}
\]

However, it is not valid to conclude that the opposite categories (death, cooked, salty, wild and heat) are conditions that need to be avoided. Actually, both categories are mutually interrelated. In order to achieve ‘cool’ one needs to pass through the ‘heating’ process. In the same manner, at a particular time in one’s life-history one needs to be heated from a ‘cool’ condition. The process of achieving the condition of either ‘cool’ or ‘heat’ involves the offering of betel-nut and animal’s blood. The red betel chew and the blood therefore act as a passage from cool to heat
and vice versa. They are considered as substances which "weaken the boundaries separating categories" as described by Hicks (1990: 92). Concerning animal blood, the Tetun believe that a goat's blood is necessary to achieve the 'heat' condition. In contrast, the blood of chicken and pigs is an agent for achieving 'cool'.

The three rituals described above in the process of childbirth and the agricultural cycle reflect the three stages in the life cycle introduced by van Gennep. The first stage, concerning rituals of separation, is represented by the rite of 'cleaning up the path' (hasori dalan) and the rite of 'sprinkling the seeds' (hisik fini). In cleaning up the path the expectant mother is 'separated' from every possibility that might threaten the life of the woman and the offspring. In this ritual of separation she is forbidden to eat foods that are traditionally considered as stimulating heat or to behave in a manner which is considered as inviting danger to her pregnancy. In the agriculture ritual, the separation between the dual categories of cool and heat is identified by a clear cut division between the cool seeds and the hot earth. In order to make the seeds alive the earth must be cooled early in the morning before getting hot. The earth is also cooled with juice from an unformed coconut. The unformed coconut is contrasted with the ripe coconut. The former is considered as having the 'cool' and 'raw' substances needed for a life-giving ritual.

The next stage, the liminal stage, is represented by the rite of seclusion (hatuka ha'i) and the first harvest rite (hamiis). In this stage both the young woman and the crops (particularly maize) are still in a transitional stage. The young woman has not yet become a mother and the edible maize is not yet suitable to be harvested. In this stage, the oppositional dual categories are re-ordered: the 'wild' woman is 'tamed' and the 'heat' maize is 'cooled'.

The last stage is that of re-incorporation. It is represented by the rite of 'to take out name' (hasai naran) and the 'delivery of the maize of homage' (hatama batar mana'i). After a period of seclusion the mother is considered 'cool' and 'tame' and able to be re-incorporated safely into the community. In this final stage of the life cycle, the mother is identified as having given birth to her child. The final stage of the agricultural cycle is marked by the delivery of the maize of homage to the Maromak Oan. Within the agricultural context this final ritual emphasises the notion of re-affirming the source of life. With the delivery of the maize of homage, the Tetun re-affirm Maromak Oan as the giver of their life.
Endnotes

1 Firth distinguishes a rite from a ceremony as follows: “A ceremony may be described as enforced by conventional sanctions, whereas a rite is enforced by mystical sanctions” (1967: 73)

2 Tetun has different words for ‘harvesting’ different plants, for example:

- silu batar - to break off maize cobs
- korui batar ai naruk - to strip sorghum
- ku’u hare - to harvest (literally, pinch) rice paddy
- taa hudi - to cut banana
- fokit li ‘is - to pull garlic
- sahit tabako - to pick tobacco leaves
- sau nuu - to pick up coconut

3 I emphasise the word ‘particular’ for two reasons. First, on pragmatic grounds, not all rituals observed by the Tetun can be traced to myths. Second, more theoretically, it aims to avoid the presumption that myths are developed to justify rites and therefore that every rite must be explained in myths. It is true that in some cases certain rites are justified in myths, but it does not prove the primacy of myths over rites or vice versa. Kluckholin in his analysis (Lessa and Vogt 1979: 66-78) argues that both are intricately interrelated because they reveal the social life of a particular people.

4 The compound word mantarun derives from manu (rooster) and tarun (to bet). So, mantarun literally means money received from cockfight gambling. In Tetun it means ‘king’s property’. The ruler of the petty domain, Le’un Klot, Na’i Klau, jokingly said that this word proves that the Tetun’s nobles are gamblers.

5 Literally the Tetun word lamak refers to ‘plates made of banana leaves’. But lamak is also a polite word to denote food as nourishment for nobles. The dyadic pair hatetu harani is translated as ‘gifts’ and ‘offerings’. Literally the word hatetu means ‘to lay s.t. on the ground’ while harani means ‘to lay s.t. above’, ‘to perch’.

6 Following Schulte Nordholt’s argument concerning the relationship between myth and social realities (1971:255), I also suggest that the myths summarized above ‘reflect’ political ideology as conceived by the south Tetun. This argument runs in contrast to van Wouden’s suggestion that the Tetun myths ‘embody’ political ideology (1964:41).

7 Apparently the Tetun of East Timor pronounce it as bandu. Morris regards bandu as a Portuguese loan word, bando, meaning ‘prohibit’, ‘forbid’ (1984:10).

8 The North Tetun call this official makle ‘at.
The phrase *matdok* consists of two words: *mata* = eye; *dok* = far, distant. So, a shaman is “one who can see ‘far’ into the future and ‘far’ into current inauspicious happenings” (Hicks 1984:98). As a term of address, a shaman is called *bei dok*.

When I was in the field, a cholera epidemic claimed many villagers’ lives. To cleanse the villages from this deadly disease, people performed a cleansing rite. In this rite each household took its disused household utensils (such as broken pottery, plaited screens and all sorts of plaited baskets) to the western part of the village.

This ‘prayer’ was recited for me by a protestant minister, the Reverend Gabriel Bria, who is himself a member of the Wewiku people, from the hamlet of Uma To’os Fatuk.

People question the shaman’s capability if the sickness persists, or when a member of the patient’s family has a bad dream.

My key informant on ‘*adat* language’, Piet Tahu Nahak, has a son who is considered by his parents and the villagers at large as a *bulak* (lunatic). Several shamans have been invited to cure him. So far, there has been no indication that has sickness is improving. For the parent, it is a matter of choosing the right shaman to clean up the boy’s path.

This type of list was also reproduced by a catholic priest, the Reverend Piet Manehat SVD, who happens to be a Tetun, when he wrote an article in the “Agenda Budaya Pulau Timor” (1) 1990:85

Tetun differentiates a woman’s laugh (*hahaek*) from a man’s laugh (*hanasa*).

Morris makes an interesting comment on the meaning of *ka’an* or *ka’a* as follows: “*ka’an, ka’a* n. sister-in-law, a name which indicates that the sisters-in-law are regarded as sisters, cf. *rian*; *ka’an mane* or *ka’an feto* - male or female placenta, also known as *mane malun* or *feto malun*” (1984:91).

The phrase *hasai naran* which literally means ‘to take the name out’ is understood to mean ‘make oneself famous’. In the context of the birth rite, I propose to translate *hasai naran* as ‘reborn in the community’.

This kind of shrub is known as *pohon buah tinta* in Indonesian because the liquid of its berries is like the colour of ink.

The *ksadan* of the Kamanasa are located in the centre of the hamlets. In contrast, the Wehali locate their *ksadan* either at the eastern part of the hamlet or at the southern part of the hamlet.

In Chapter Two I described the way the Tetun read ‘the signals of nature’ by observing the emergence of a particular star at a given time of the night, the sound of certain birds and the blossom of tamarind trees.

When I was in the field I had the opportunity to participate in the Kamanasa ritual for invoking rainfall.
The north Tetun spell *troman as toro uman* (Seran 1992:11). Unfortunately, Seran does not explain further the meaning of that phrase. I am not aware if the Tetun have the word *toro* in their vocabularies. For sure, the word *uman* is a possessive form of *uma* (house). By pronouncing ‘the centre of the garden’ as *toro uman*, Seran indicates that the garden is associated with ‘house’ (*uma*). The south Tetun, however, do not associate the centre of the garden with the notion of *uma*. For the south Tetun, *troman* is a compound word. The letter *t-* is derived from either *tur* (to sit) or *ta* (to cut). My informants are not certain about this. But they are certain that the word *roman* means ‘bright’. So, according to folk interpretation, a *troman* is the first spot in the garden that was ‘cleared off’ (*ta*) from shrubs when the garden was founded. Within this clear spot, ‘the bright people’ (*ema roman*) sit (*tur*) while offering their sacrifices to the ancestors, ‘the dark people’ (*ema kukun*).

*Aan klakar* is a phrase used for children of an invalid marriage.

*ama Tiku bei Tiku* is the founder of Le’un Klot. According to the history of the hamlet, this ancestor in the company of 4 other, came to Le’un Klot from Ua Hun, following the track of a dog. In ritual language the dog is called *asu mata balada oin balada*, *asu besin*, *asu kai sa*. This journey was narrated as crossing a sea. At one stage of the journey they came to a place called Kalisuk. In this place they discovered that water dripped from the legs of the dogs. They became excited, because it was an indication that they had arrived in a place suitable for habitation. Since this place is quite narrow, they call it Le’un Klot.

*Hoku fatik* is a muddy place where buffaloes lie down in the heat of the day.

A few months afterward, when I visited the hamlet of Lo’o Sina, I asked him about his absence in this important rite. He avoided mentioning the dispute that had been taking place in the hamlet of Laran concerning the appointment of the Maromak Oan, in which he was among those who opposed the nominee advanced by the Laran people.

Normally Bei Lulik, as the sacred holder of Maromak Oan’s sacred regalia is in charge of feeding the earth. But due to the current dispute, Bei Lulik was not present. He also informed me that he did not know the exact time for conducting the harvest of the sacred sorghum.

The meeting of the assembly of ‘the four old women and the four old men’ (*fukun ferik hat katuas hat*) was held on the 22 March 1993. This means that the delivery of the gift of homage occurred almost four months after the meeting. This postponement, according to official information, was related to the cholera epidemic that claimed many lives. Government officers and police, at that time, did not want to issue *Izin mengadakan keramaian* (Permission for conducting festivity) until the epidemic was regarded as over. However, there was another rumour. This was that the government was reluctant to give permission because, according to them, the gift of homage is a practice of feudalism. Celebrating it means reviving the old feudalism.
The people translate baboen into Indonesian as lelang (auction), but the way they explain the meaning of lelang suggests that it must be translated as 'to rob', a translation that they would certainly not recommend.

On this occasion, Na’i Muti, the nominee of the Laran people, acted as Maromak Oan.
Chapter Nine

CONCLUSION

In the course of this thesis I have been dealing with the use of dual categories by the south Tetun to order their social relations. Many of these Tetun local categories are related to the cultural expressions of other Austronesian-speaking peoples which thereby constitute a common reservoir of "metaphors for living" (Fox 1980: 333). As I have attempted to show in this thesis, the south Tetun continue to draw on these categories which are expressed vividly in myths and other forms of ritual language.

In this final chapter I expand my focus to include the Atoni or the Dawan, as the Tetun term this neighbouring ethnic group. There are two reasons for including these Dawan-speaking people. The first reason is based on historical considerations. Although Schulte Nordholdt (1971: 157) fails to use the support of oral tradition narrated by the Dawan specialists as a basis for comparing these two societies and therefore he has to rely on historical documents, nevertheless he also came to the conclusion that there was a historical tie between the south Tetun and Insana, Biboki, and, to a certain degree, with Molo (1971: 231, 276). While acknowledging the lack of any comprehensive research on oral traditions narrated in these two regions, the recorded myths available and informants' recapitulation of the past history led Cunningham (1962: 54) to conclude that, although Insana is culturally Dawan, past political allegiance was to the Liurai of south Belu rather than to Sonba'i. Ataupah (1990: 146-152) in his dissertation points to the south Tetun connection with Insana and Molo based on oral traditions narrated in those regions. A rather ambitious work is Parera's 1971 unpublished typescript (1994 published edition) that attempts to connect the south Tetun, and more particularly the Wehali, with all the Dawan-speaking people.

The second reason for making this comparison with the Dawan has to do with considerations in the literature on these societies. Within the last 30 years, an accumulation of ethnographic accounts based on substantial fieldwork has enriched our knowledge of the Dawan area. Among those who contributed to this build up of ethnographies are Cunningham, Schulte Nordholt, McWilliam and Ataupah.
I delimit this comparative exercise by focusing on three features of Wehali society, which are described in local categories: 1. Wehali - the ‘female’, 2. Wehali - the insider, 3. Wehali - the ‘trunk’, the ‘centre’ and the ‘first to dry’. As a background to this analysis, I begin with a short description on how the south Tetun perceive the Dawan as revealed in oral tradition and other symbolic representations.

Dawan as seen from south Tetun

Myths that I recorded in south Tetun provided mixed information on how much the south Tetun ‘know’ about the Dawan. In the following description of the Dawan, I do not mention all the ethnic groups that compose this ‘dry land people’ simply because I want to highlight how south Tetun myths reveal the relation between these two neighbouring peoples. From the first time I learned of the origin myths narrated both in Wehali and Wewiku I noticed the south Tetun regular emphasis on location and generational categories that distinguish themselves and the Dawan as an entity: the Dawan are the people of the setting sun; the south Tetun are the people of the navel land. Liurai Sonba’i was a son of Wehali sent by his ‘mother and father’ to protect them in this ‘trunk land’. Comparing the Liurai Wehali with the Liurai Sonba’i, the former is regarded as eldest brother. Reference Text 2, for example, has to be understood in terms of these kinds of dichotomies. It was narrated that when Ho’ar Na’i Haholek and Na’i Taek Malaka had sons, two were sent to the land of the rising sun, the next two were sent to the land of the setting sun and the last two sons remained in Wehali. The name ‘Mataus’ (literally, ‘to protect’) was given to these six sons, alluding to their cultural function as ‘protectors’ of their natal land.

Beside this general knowledge of the Dawan, there are also myths that connect the south Tetun to particular groups of the Dawan-speaking people. The myth cited in Reference Text 3 explicitly names five groups of Dawan, namely Biboki, Insana, Amanuban, Amanatun and Amarasi. According to this myth, when the land had already dried, a group of ten men (entitled Loro) came:

```
hat iha Wehali
nen la’o
loro mane kwa’ik aa baa iha Likusaen Bauboe
ida baa iha Biboki
ida baa iha Insana
ida baa iha Amanuban
ida baa iha Amanatun
ida baa iha Amarasi
```

four of them remained in Wehali
six went on
the elder loro went to Likusaen Bauboe
one went to Biboki
one went to Insana
one went to Amanuban
one went to Amanatun
one went to Amarasi
The mention of Amarasi in this myth is crucial since other myths narrated in Wewiku do not include this group. According to the Wewiku version the four brothers that went to the land of the setting sun were Natu Taek, Nuba Taek, Sana Taek and Boki Taek. These four brothers later became ancestors of the respective domains of Amanatun, Amanuban, Insana and Biboki. Wewiku elders informed me that in former times when the adat of ‘sending the food of Liurai’ (hatama liurai lamak), that is the annual delivery of the tribute of homage was still observed, these four domains were among those who were entitled to bring their products of the land. From the Wewiku perspective, Amanatun, Amanuban, Insana and Biboki are the ‘stables of Liurai, the paths of Liurai’ (knokar Liurai, inuk Liurai); they are the Liurai’s ‘cultivation’ area and therefore people of these domains are entitled to pay their tribute to the Liurai, the ‘one who eats reclining, drinks reclining’. The absence of Amarasi both in Wewiku’s version of the myth and in the agricultural rituals of homage celebrated both by the Wehali and Wewiku show that Amarasi is not considered Liurai’s ‘cultivation space’. The only explanation given to me concerning the relation between Amarasi and Wehali was in regard to the sacred regalia belonging to the house of Liurai (see Chapter Five, endnote 27). Included in the regalia registered as belonging to Liurai Luis Sanaka Tei Seran is a saddle made of Amarasi woven cloth. Luis Sanaka added, ‘it is a proof that Sonba’i originated from the house of Liurai’.

The mention of the domains of Amanatun and Amanuban as founded respectively by Natu Taek and Nuba Taek is also problematic. Living with the people in We Oe and Akani who share a border with Amanatun, I constantly heard stories concerning the dispute between the Wehali-Wewiku and Amanatun, which ended in tribal warfare. People in the hamlet of Uma To’os Fatuk even have an ‘amulet’ house (uma kakaluk) called Seran Fuik Luan Fuik where their warriors sought invulnerability when these two societies were in tribal war. Despite the intermarriage between the nobles of the domain of Amanuban with nobles from Uma Lor in the domain of Wewiku, the ‘language of the earth’ and other types of origin myths that I recorded both in Wehali and Wewiku do not reveal much about the relations between these two regions.

Another group of Dawan who need to be addressed are those of Molo. The ‘languages of the earth’ do not explicitly mention the name Molo although Liurai Sonba’i is considered as the younger brother of the Liurai Wehali. Myths recorded both in south Tetun and in the Dawan speaking-area reveal that when the first Sonba’i (named Na’i Laban in the Dawan myths) discovered empty space in which to dwell upstream of the river of Benenai, he sent this ‘good news’ to his elder
brother who lived in Wehali at the mouth of the river of Benenai. It is the Benenai river that links these two brothers. To send the message to his elder brother, Sonba’i filled a bamboo container (Dawan: *tukek*) with fresh water and floated it down the river of Benenai. Having received this ‘good news’ from his younger brother, the Liurai Wehali brought this bamboo container and planted it to the eastern part of the hamlet of Laran. This bamboo grew densely there. I was told that the location where this first shrub of bamboo grew was in the eastern part of the hamlet of Laran. This area had been sold by Laran nobles to the Catholic mission. My Tetun friends regretfully mentioned that the place where the first bamboo was planted had been converted into a dam.

Beside myths that I use as a means to depict relations between the south Tetun and various groups of Dawan, there are also names given to ancestral houses which indicate relations. With the focus on the ideology of Wehali as the origin place from which other societies including the Dawan originate, one would expect that there are named houses in Wehali that refer to this mythical origin of the Dawan. In this regard there are two hamlets that are worth noting, namely the hamlets of Batane and Laran. In Wehali symbolic organization of space, the hamlet of Batane (glossed as ‘camp-site’) is a resting place. I was told that in former times when people of domains under the hegemony of Wehali still brought their tribute to the Maromak Oan, who resides in the hamlet of Laran, they used the hamlet of Batane as a ‘camp-site’. Every ruler of a domain would stay overnight in a named house to which their ancestors originally belonged. Among the named houses in this hamlet there are three important houses inhabited by three female siblings, namely *uma* Makaer Lulik (elder sister), *uma* Bei Lunik (middle sister), and *uma* Tudik (younger sister). The first house symbolises the house that gave birth to the Maromak Oan; the second symbolises the house that gave birth to the Liurai; the last house gave birth to the Liurai Sonba’i, the *liurai* of the domains of the setting sun and the Liurai Likusaen, the *liurai* of the domains of the rising sun. Piet Tahu Nahak, the Wehali *adat* historian whose trunk house is the *uma* Makaer Lulik, explained that the name *uma* Tudik (Knife house) given to this house refers to the task given to Sonba’i (and the Liurai of Likusaen) as Maromak Oan’s workers who were in charge of ‘providing food as offering, food as gift’ (*koto lamak hatetu, lamak harani*) for the Maromak Oan.

As regards Sonba’i subjects, they came to deliver the tribute of homage following another procedure. I was told that they came to Laran via the domain of Haitimuk as their first camp-site. From there the procession went to the hamlet of Laran. In this hamlet they gathered in a named house called *uma* Insana (or *uma*
Sonba’i as referred to by others) which is located in the *le’un Loro Monu* (the *le’un* of the setting sun).

Based on the evidence in myths, ritual and named houses one is able to draw a sketch of how the south Tetun perceive people of the neighbouring Dawan regions. More often the Dawan are identified in general terms as the Sonba’i. In other instances they are referred to by their own identity. From among the ten groups that make up the Dawan, the south Tetun associate themselves more with Insana, Biboki, Molo and also Amanuban. Despite the different perceptions of the various groups of Dawan, the south Tetun have a common cultural conception that the Dawan territories are the Liurai’s cultivation areas.

**Major Features of Wehali**

1. *Wehali - the ‘female’.*

In a recent study comparing the Buru people with the Timorese Mambai, Grimes (1993: 286) notes that “much of the Mambai world is pre-gendered”. Throughout the thesis I have shown that the notion of gender is but one set of categories that is used in structuring the Tetun societies. It is true that in these societies gender is used to identify certain things such as parts of the house, sets of goods presented at marriage as bridewealth; two lines of ritual language or two dyadic words can also be grouped into gender categories. What is significant in these societies, however, is the dynamic nature of these gender categories. To limit the discussion in this comparative context, I focus on gender symbolism in political structure.

Most eastern Indonesian societies discuss their political organization based on the symbolic division of powers between male and female. Fox has defined this type of diarchic system as “a rigorous division between spiritual authority and temporal power predicated on a conceptual opposition between female and male” (1982: 25). This system of diarchy particularly resounds among Timorese societies.

Ethnographic accounts of the Dawan suggest that: (1) Dawan political organisation is encoded in a system of dual classification; (2) this system is based on the complementary opposition of gender categories; (3) the political structure is organized on quadripartition. To say this does not necessarily provide a ready-made
model to study the political structure of the Dawan. In fact, it is fair to say that this is not so. If one takes two groups of the Dawan (Insana and Amanuban), for example, one will realise that these two Dawan groups order their political structure according to different kinds of precedence.

The quadripartition of Insana political organization is based on the female principle. The central authority is in the hands of the Atupas, the one who reclines. He is conceptually female, holding ritual authority: “He had no secular duties and was required to remain in the court area (ba’af)” (Cunningham 1967: 65). This female ruler is surrounded by the palace chiefs, conceptually male, who act as his ‘mouth’ in executing his orders. Official positions in the polity are ascribed to the four great fathers (amaf naek) who represent the four houses (Cunningham 1967: 68, Schulte Nordholt 1971: 188).

The study conducted by McWilliam in southern Amanuban (among the Nabuasa origin group) shows the same principle of quadripartition as found in Insana and the rest of Dawan societies, but its political structure is based on a male principle. Comparing Nabuasa group and the Insana studied by Cunningham and Schulte Nordholt, McWilliam (1989: 108) draws the conclusion that,

...it is the male aspect which is given precedence and central priority in the structure. The meo naek Nabuasa, stands on the periphery of Amanuban as one of the ‘four males, the four bulls’. The essential ‘masculinity’ of the meo naek Nabuasa, results in the political centre of the domain, becoming conceptually male.

Based on McWilliams’ diagram (1989: 107) one could depict a political structure of the Nabuasa group where as a ‘great cat’ (meo naek) he was encircled by the four groups of ‘small cats’ (meo ana): Benu, Neonane, Sopaba and Toislaka. These ‘four fathers’ (atoin amaf) as the Dawan term these ‘small cats’ acted as “soldiers for Nabuasa and fought under his name with the ritual protection Nabuasa offered...”(1989: 89). Beside the ‘warfare’ idioms used to delineate the cultural function of these ‘four fathers’, they are also depicted as gardeners who are entitled to ‘feed’ the Nabuasa at the centre. Thus in agricultural idioms, the ‘four fathers’ are gardeners who ‘serve’ the central Nabuasa. These two idioms, as pointed out by McWilliams (1989: 90), have placed the ‘four fathers’ in a state which appears to be ambiguous. As warriors they are the male superior. As ‘servants’ they are the female inferior.
Discussing the notion of gender in the political structure of the south Tetun, the 'land of women' (rai feto) whose societies are described as 'matriarchic' by Francillon (1967), one would expect to begin with the female principle. The Wehali claim to be 'the land of the woman' is based on origin myths. Reference Texts 2, 5 and 6 recapitulate how 'the First Woman on Earth' (Ferik Ha'in Raiklaran) gave birth to the genetrix of Wehali. The name of this genetrix, as recorded in Reference Texts 2 and 6, is Ho’ar Na’i Haholek. The emphasis on female origin is significant in developing the notion of precedence. Although later Ho’ar married an 'outside' man and produced offspring, who are said to rule most domains on the island of Timor, it was Ho’ar that gave life and therefore Wehali must take precedence over other domains.

The emphasis on female origin is also replicated in their political organization. As a centre domain, the Maromak Oan is the supreme ruler. Although the Maromak Oan is a man, he is conceptually female. The female category applied to this figure is indicated, among others, by his ritual designation as 'the one who eats reclining, drinks reclining'. Thus the female, immobile and passive are categories relevant to this designation.

As the supreme ruler, he is not actually entitled to exercise power. This power is in the hands of the Liurai, his male subordinates. There are three Liurai who act as his executive rulers: Liurai Likusaen who represents domains toward the sunrise, Liurai Wehali who represents domains at the centre of the island (known as Wesei Wehali), and Liurai Sonba’i who represents domains toward the sunset. These Liurai are conceptually male rulers who act as gates and doors to inner Wehali, the domain of the Maromak Oan.

Within the territory of Wesei Wehali, the Liurai who is otherwise conceptually male, is also referred to as 'the one who eats reclining, drinks reclining'. With this female categorization, he is not then entitled to rule. The power to rule is delegated to his male subordinates with the title loro (sun). There are four loro representing four domains, namely, Wewiku, Haitimuk, Lakekun and Dirma respectively. These four domains are depicted as surrounding and protecting the fifth domain, known as 'the four corner land'. This is the centre domain where the Maromak Oan resides. This domain is glossed as 'inner Wehali', and therefore those four domains are regarded as 'outer Wehali'.

To encapsulate the political structure of the realm of Wesei Wehali, which in Tetun cosmology includes both the Liurai Likusaen (representing domains of the rising sun) and Liurai Sonba’i (representing domains of the setting sun), the territory of 'the four corner land' as the navel land is bordered by sets of 'pillars'. The outer
pillars are the Liurai Likusaen, Liurai Wehali and Liurai Sonba'i, each represents the east, central and west gates respectively. The second set of pillars are represented by Loro Wewiku, Loro Wehali, Loro Lakekun and Loro Dirma. These four Loro symbolically represent the four corner posts of a garden. In ‘garden’ symbolism, inner Wehali is delineated as situated in a fenced gaden. The access to Wehali is through a ‘ladder’ mount on the fence. This ‘ladder’ is represented by the hamlet of Sulit Anemeta. The third set of pillars which in this work I translate as ‘posts’ are represented by the male *fukun* of Kateri, Umakatahan, Kletek and Fahiluka. These four *fukun* symbolise the four corner posts of a house.

![Diagram](image_url)

**Figure 9.1 Conceptual structure of the Wesei Wehali polity**

In ‘the four corner land’, the Maromak Oan is assisted by his two nobles. One is called Na’i Umanen and the other is called Na’i Lawalu. The gender classifications of female and male respectively are also applied to these nobles. Na’i Umanen is chosen from male members in a house in the hamlet of Umanen and Na’i Lawalu is similarly chosen from a house in the hamlet of Bi’uduk Fehan. The Na’i Umanen is female; the Na’i Lawalu is male.

The Maromak Oan, Umanen and Lawalu are surrounded by the assembly of ‘the Four Old Women, the Four Old Men’ (*Ferik Hat, Katuas Hat*) who are chosen from
the four hamlets that make up the territory of 'the four corner land'. They are titled 'female fukun' (fukun ferik) and 'male fukun' (fukun katuas).

At this origin group level, these fukun are referred to as 'those who eat reclining, drink reclining'. They are surrounded by their male subordinates, i.e. the custodians or guardians of named houses. The latter are called 'old women' and 'old men'. This division of the male and female principle is replicated down to the level of the named houses, where the 'old women' and 'old men' are those who 'eat reclining, drink reclining'. In turn, members of these named houses serve as sons for these 'old women' and 'old men' who are categorically considered as 'those who eat reclining, drink reclining'. Thus the division between spiritual authority and temporal power is replicated down to this named house level.

What is significant in this political organization is not the structuring of gender itself, which is evident elsewhere in eastern Indonesia (Needham 1973, Fox 1980), nor the set of categories based on a system of precedence which is also observed among the Dawan, but rather it is the use of female categories to undermine the strength of the rulers of other predominantly patrilineal neighbouring domains.

Wehali has every right to be protected by these patrilineal domains because it has given away its men in marriage to its peripheral domains and retains only the vulnerable women; it has delegated the power to rule, but still maintains the privilege of conveying its life-giving force; it has 'emptied' itself in order to make others 'well-off'. In the analogy of a 'sword', the Wehali claim that they have given away the 'blade' and retain only its 'sheath' (mola isin mela knuan). This notion of 'giving' and 'retaining' developed by the Wehali generates a matrilineal society amongst the predominantly patrilineal societies of Timor.

2. Wehali - the 'insider'.

Inside/outside, inner/outer or interior/exterior as social categories are closely related to the symbolic organization of habitation space. Using the dichotomy of 'inside' and 'outside' in house design as metaphors, people develop asymmetrical relations among houses, hamlets and domains. Both the south Tetun and the Dawan employ these house metaphors to depict the inferior and superior relations in their own societies. The unmistakable importance of these house metaphors among the Dawan is reflected in the degree of concentration on the house provided by ethnographers who have worked in the region: Cunningham (1962: 54-84, 269-442), Schulte Nordholt 1971: 186-261, 428-432) and McWilliam (1989: 85-109, 165-176).
In comparing the political organization of Sonba’i and the Liurai of Wesei-Wehali, for example, Cunningham (1962: 55-56) quoted his Insana informants who grouped each realm into the so-called ‘inner rulers’ and ‘outer rulers’, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liurai</th>
<th>Sonba’i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inner Liurai</td>
<td>Inner Sonba’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer Liurai</td>
<td>Outer Sonba’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wewiku</td>
<td>Kono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haitimuk</td>
<td>Amanatun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirma</td>
<td>Insana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakekun</td>
<td>Biboki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beun Uf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oematan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Babu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lasi Uf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kune Uf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Afoan Uf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The superior/inferior relations revealed in the categories of inner (nanan)/outer (mone) were in fact recognized by Cunningham when he explained Amfoa’n’s way of grouping the outer Sonba’i domains into Ambenu, Amfoa’n, Amarasi and Amanuban. Rulers of these four domains are not the ‘outer’ Sonba’i but rather ‘outside’ Sonba’i, meaning that “they were never tribute-paying subjects of Sonba’i” (1962: 57). The ‘outer’ and ‘outside’ translation of the Dawan word mone is irrelevant in this comparative exercise. What is of interest, however, is the association between the categories of ‘inner’ or ‘inside’ with superiority and ‘outer’ or ‘outside’ with inferiority.

The term nanan is related to the space inside a fence that marks a boundary of a hamlet, which means both ‘inside’ and ‘centre’; it also refers to the interior of the house. The dyadic opposition to nanan is mone which refers to both the open space outside the fence of a hamlet as well as the exterior of a house. The interior of a hamlet and more particularly that of a house is conceived as female space in contrast to mone, which happens, literally to mean ‘male’. It is the gender associations attached to the concept of nanan and mone that are able to transform the ‘inside’ into that which is superior and the ‘outside’ into that which is inferior. By associating nanan with ‘female’, “it refers to the immobile, ritual centre by which orders are issued...”(Schulte Nordholt 1971: 221). McWilliam also arrives at the same conclusion that the “inner female area is relatively superior...”(1989: 168).

Linguistically, Tetun has separate words for ‘inside’ (laran), ‘centre’, ‘interior’ (klaran), and ‘source’, ‘trunk’ ‘origin’ (hun). Conceptually these terms share a similar focus of ‘centre’ and ‘inside’ and therefore sometimes they are used in a subtly related way. The dyadic opposition of laran both in the sense of ‘inside’ and ‘centre’ is molin, which in this thesis I gloss as ‘outside’ and ‘periphery’. However, the dyadic opposition of hun is never molin but tehen (edge). Using the house
symbolism of ‘inner house’ (uma laran) and ‘platform’ (labis), and the general habitation symbolism of laran (inside, centre) and molin (outside, periphery), both the uma laran and laran are conceived of as female. In contrast the labis and molin which are the areas ‘outside’ the inner house and immediately surrounding the hamlets are conceived of as male. Like the neighbouring Dawan, the gender categories attached to notions of inside/outside centre/periphery and trunk/edge contribute to the development of an ideology of superior/inferior.

This ideology of superior/inferior as developed by the Wehali and the south Tetun in general is expressed in two different contexts: marriage and affinal relations, and ritual. In marriage ceremony, the right of sitting on the two ‘storied’ platforms indicates social status. The higher platform (labis leten) is occupied by the bride’s mother’s brother and all respected members of his named house. This is the superordinate position in contrast to members of the husband-giving house who sit on the subordinate ‘lower platform’ (labis kraik). In ritual speech during the marriage ceremony, members of the husband-taking house are referred to as the ‘female house’ (uma feto), in contrast to the husband-giving house, the ‘male-house’ (uma mane). Members of the uma feto in the context of this marriage ceremony constitute the inner group who are treated by the outer male group as living in ‘darkness’, ‘heat’ ‘danger’ and ‘sacred’ circumstances, conditions related to superiority.

The superiority of the husband-taking (uma feto) is also expressed in a ritual context. As categorically male and outsider, the husband-giving house is relatively inferior because it provides the ‘workers’ who come to feed the ‘recliners’. The analogy of the husband-taking house as ‘those who eat reclining, drink reclining’ and the husband-giving house as ‘workers’ who feed the recliners is a theme that has been discussed in various contexts of the thesis. Thus, at this point, the south Tetun differ from the Dawan as depicted by Schulte Nordholt who sees the superiority in economic terms: the bride-givers “are economically superior because they ‘feed’ the ruler by bringing them the harvest of gifts...” (1971: 221). In south Tetun, it is the recliners who are superior because they are conceptually female.

3. Wehali - the trunk, the centre and the first to dry

Reading diagrams provided by Cunningham as a summary to what he calls “the picture of the Traditional Princedom” of Insana (1962: 152-157) and the comparative diagrams given by Schulte Nordholt, both about Insana (1971: 229; 1980: 240) and other petty domains in the Dawan-speaking area (1971: 246, 247)
one notices the concentric circles of the Dawan political system where the superior is located at the centre of the centre while the less superior are located at the "periphery of the centre" which, in turn, is enclosed by an outer circle termed as the "masculine exterior" (Schulte Nordholt 1971: 229). Circle after circle enclose a central authority which, in the case of Insana, is in the hands of Atupas and Us Bala. This encirclement provides the basis for the Dawan to talk about their political system using the concept of usan (navel) and eno-lalan (gate-path). Using the four cardinal points as a model, every movement from periphery to the centre (navel) must proceed through appropriate 'gates' and 'paths'. Both Cunningham and Schulte Nordholt describe in detail the names and functions of eno ma lalan associated with the cardinal points which are considered as encircling the navel of the realm. Whether Schulte Nordholt's diagram can be taken as a typical model of the Dawan political system has been seriously questioned by McWilliam (1989: 13), but this argument is not the concern of the present work. What is of interest in this regard is how the Dawan develop the concept of 'navel' (usan) versus gate (eno) and how the concepts of eno and lalan are used to express the social relationship.

Without pretension to be able to summarize in a few paragraphs the elaborate study produced by McWilliam (1989) who titled his thesis "Narrating the Gate and the Path", a few quotations directly from his work will, hopefully, represent what the Dawan mean by these metaphors:

The path is at once the historic journey of the ancestors and the personal journey of one's life...The notion of the path expresses the relationship between affines through marriage exchange, mortuary rituals and continuity of alliance. The number of affinal paths (lanan) of a name group is the measure of its social network (1989: 220-221).

Gates represent boundaries in a variety of contexts. Gates (eno) to political domains, community settlements and house yards are all thresholds which distinguish levels of social enclosure. Gates are markers of events and points of transition. They serve to limit and define the direction and extent of the connecting paths (1989: 221).

The conceptual categories of 'gate' and 'path' are also used by the south Tetun to express social and political relations. The social relations are revealed in terms of 'paths' while the political relations are expressed in terms of 'doors' (gates) and borders. However, unlike the Dawan, the Tetun do not pair 'gate' with 'path'. These two terms are separated in their usages as well as their functions. Concerning 'gate', the south Tetun employ different terms, which can be translated literally as "door" and conceptually as "border" or "boundary". They use three different words to
translate the notions of ‘gate’ as used by the Dawan. An access to a fenced garden or hamlet is thorough a ladder mounted on the fence. This ladder is called tetek. This is the first notion of ‘gate’. In ritual language the word tetek is paired with riin (post) in the sense of the corner posts of a fenced garden or hamlet and the four corner posts of a house. So a second notion, that of riin (post), is also conceptually linked in political terms to ‘gate’. The third meaning is ‘door’ of a house (oda matan). In ritual language, ladder, post and door are depicted as the ‘place to knock, place to tap’ (deku na in baa nia, dare na in baa nia). In the territory of ‘the four corner land’, for example, the Liurai is symbolised as the ‘male door’, the two fukun of the hamlets of Kateri, Umakatahan are depicted as the ‘female posts’, the two fukun of the hamlets of Kletek and Fahiluka are the ‘male posts’ while the fukun of the Sulit Anemeta is the ‘ladder’. These people function as ‘gate-keepers’ and ‘border-guards’ of the navel land. Using house symbolism, the order of precedence between them is expressed in terms of the degree of closeness to the ‘inner house’, the place where the Maromak Oan resides. Thus in political discourse people speak about the hierarchy of ‘door’, ‘post’ and ‘ladder’. Liurai in this house symbolism is depicted as ‘the male door’ (oda matan lor). Being relatively closer to the Maromak Oan he is depicted in ritual language as wearing the Maromak’s mark and becoming the Maromak’s fence and door. The Liurai is:

| babetan Maromak | the Maromak’s ankle ornaments |
| knokar Maromak | the Maromak’s fence |
| deku na in baa nia | the place to knock |
| dare na in baa nia | the place to tap |

People claim that the decision as to whether an origin group is a door, post or ladder within a higher order origin group has been established in myths that present historical narratives of that particular group. These narratives of the journey of the ancestors become the sacred history of the group concerned. It is their ‘old track, old path’ (inuk tuan, dalam tuan).

The Wehali claim to be the centre of all societies that originated from the ‘old path, old track’. In primordial time when the earth was covered with water, the first dry land emerged on a spot of a hill which at present is known as Marlilu Haholek. This dry land was formed from ‘the navel, the umbilical cord’ (husar, binan) of a woman named Ho’ar Nai Haholek. From this historical narrative, the Wehali gained a status as ‘the navel land, the umbilical cord land’ (rai husar, rai binan), the trunk land (rai hun) in the sense of the ‘centre’ of the universe.

When this first dry land was formed, it was quite small and so in ritual language it is depicted as ‘the land as a chicken’s eye, land as a sliced areca nut’ (rai manu
matan, rai bua klaras). The gradual expansion of the dry land from ‘the trunk land’ to its present reality provides Wehali with a form of discourse to speak about an order of precedence based on the categories ‘the first to dry’ (maran uluk), ‘the last to dry’ (maran ikus). Wehali as the region where the first dry land began is called the centre land. As the dry land expanded so did its people. The expansion of dry land to comprise the territory of ‘the four corner land’ and the people who occupy it is given in Figure 7.6. In that figure, those who occupied the subsequent dry land are depicted in terms of ‘borders’ and ‘gates’ to the navel land. So the Liurai is the ‘door’, Dini Kotan and Luruk Kotan, the ancestresses of ‘the four corner clans’ became peripheral because they occupied the relatively ‘last to dry’ regions. As the land continually expanding, the last to dry land became the trunk of the latest to dry land and so forth. Thus, we encounter layers of ‘first to dry’ (maran uluk) and ‘last to dry’ (maran ikus) regions encircling the trunk-center-female land of Wehali. The first ancestors who occupied these successive expanding dry lands are depicted as ‘border-guards’ and ‘gates-keepers’.

The categories of first to dry/last to dry also gave rise to the development of the division of the inhabited cosmos into ‘dwelling space’ and ‘cultivation space’. In the myth cited as Reference Text 5 for example, areas which are regarded as ‘dwelling space’ are the Bakiruk, the first to dry territory. As the dry land expanded one ancestress named Harek was sent:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{baa darek} & \quad \text{to dry up (herself)} \\
\text{fo ba furi no kada} & \quad \text{she was sent to scatter (the seeds) and to plant (seedlings)} \\
\text{ba loro karas no kbelan} & \quad \text{to the areas toward the chest and ribs} \\
\text{nodi nameti rai lidun hat} & \quad \text{to make firm the four corner land}
\end{align*}
\]

In house design, the front part of the house is called the ‘chest’ while the right and left sides are the ‘ribs’. Using this house symbolism, the ‘chest’ part of the territory of ‘the four corner land’ is represented by the hamlets of Kletek and Fahiluka. While the ‘ribs’ point to areas toward the sunrise and the sunset. These are the cultivation space, ‘to scatter (the seeds) and to plant (seedlings).

To summarize, the south Tetun do not simply use the metaphors of path, border and gate to reveal the political order of their society or the historic journey of ancestors, although these are also significant concepts for them. But more than that, they reveal the path of life that flows from the centre to periphery, from the first to dry land to the last to dry land and from dwelling space to cultivation space. Based on this paradigm the annual agricultural ritual called ‘delivering the maize of homage’ (hatama batar mana’i) or ‘delivering the seven cobs of maize’ (hatama
*batar fulin hitu* is delineated by the Wehali as the path of wealth that flows from the cultivation space to the dwelling space. Thus the flow of life is reciprocated by a flow of wealth.

In this present work I have attempted to describe the social cosmology and political ideology of Wehali based on local categories as expressed in myths and other forms of cultural representations. These primary categories serve as ‘operators’ in Wehali symbolic classification and therefore become a cultural marker which distinguishes Wehali from other societies. However, as the reference texts provided in the Appendix show that there are still more complex categories that need to be explored in future research.
APPENDIX

Reference Text 1.
Narrator: Piet Tahu Nahak.
Type: ‘Homage language’ (lia rik).

Halo tuir kkbukar
halo tuir mamemon
mamemon Liurai
kkbukar Liurai
ba uma Wesei na’in
Wehali na’in
malaka na’in
mamanas nain
mane Umanen
mane Lawalu
ro makaer lulik sia
makaer manas sia
ro sasian sia
ro tatanen sia
at rakerek rola tian
badaen rola tian
ba inan Maria
susu Maria
no oan manek kmesak na’i Jesus Kristus
nak at halo kdahur tan
halo klibur tan
at fafudi hola
at talara hola
at sei ba hakau lai
sei hamaan lai
makaer lulik bot
makaer manas bot
rak noit natodan du’uk oan
noi nabesi du’uk oan

In accordance with the ‘rope of order’
in accordance with the invitation
the invitation from the Liurai
the ‘rope of order’ issued by the Liurai
from the household of Wesei
the household of Wehali
the source of flame
the source of heat
the son of the Umanen
the son of Lawalu
together with custodians of the forbidden
(regalia)
guardians of the heat (paraphernalia)
together with all who assist them
together with all who support them
as have been informed
as have been brought to attention
concerning the mother of Mary
suckling Mary
and the only son Jesus Christ
that (we) are going to make festivity
making a great gathering
to come humbly into his (bishop) presence
to receive him with open arms
to lift him gently on (our) arms
to lighten his steps
holder of the great taboo
holder of the mighty heat
who is enthroned
who sits
iha uma metan maromak
riin mean maromak
iha namon matan
we matan Atambua
iha Lidak, ama Lawalu ne’e
Tukuneno ne’e. manu aman ne’e
Banmetan ne’e. Bankase ne’e
foin rak fafudi hola ti’an
tatane hola ti’an
foin sasi’an sia
tatanen sia
rakau ro mai
raman ro mai
tuir inuk tuan
tuir dalan tuan
inuk Liurai
dalan Liurai
ha’ak. mai la basu ha’i

mai la liu ha’i
Bautok ne’e. Taekto ne’e
lali’an tohe
karaen tohe
fatuk baki Dafala
uma metan Dafala
iha dero kmasin ne’e, Lelowai ne’e
iha klobor matetek
hisa riin matetek
ra’ak klobor Halikelen
laen Halikelen
foin basu mai
foin liu mai
mai buka nola
mai naktan nola
na’ak ee Kasulisu ne’e. Halilulik ne’e
Debuktetuk ne’e. Welaka ne’e
rin besi ne’e, nanaet ne’e
Tetikama ne’e. Labur ne’e

in the black bright house
in the red bright post
in the main harbour
the main spring of Atambua
in the domain of Lidak, the father of Lawalu
in Tukuneno, the rooster
the Banmetan, the Bankase
having been entertained
accepted him with open arms
then all the helpers
all the supporters
lift him in their arms
lighten his steps
tracing the old track
tracing the old path
the track of the Liurai
the path of the Liurai
he did come and not just simply passed through
he came and not passing by
to Bautok, Taekto
driving the fire from the hearth
chasing the fire away
the stony fort of Dafala
the black house of Dafala
at the salty orange, the Lelowai
at the ladder of the granary
the supporting step of the post
the granary of Halikelen
the hut of Halikelen
then he proceeds towards here
then he comes here
comes to search
comes to find
Kasulisu, Halilulik
Debuktetuk, Welaka
this strong posts, the separator
the Tetikama, the Labur
Bakus ne’e, Tulama ne’e  
ra’ak iha Wehali solat
inha Likusaen solat
foin titu nola
foin raree rola
dato alin ida, dato maun ida
loro alin ida, loro maun ida
ra’ak iha Mande’u, rai manas ne’e
Tintua ne’e, Maurae ne’e
sera we ne’e
sera mina ne’e
Etuwain ne’e, Rafou ne’e
inha klobor manu maus
inha laen manu maus
inha tali metan ki’ik
tali metan kwa’ik
inha Seon ne’e
mota sorun ne’e
fatuk metan ne’e
bua ahan ne’e
asu kmeda ne’e
fahi kmeda ne’e
foin ra’ak ee soe lerek mata ba nia

soe lerek oin ba nia
hakau liu dei
haman liu dei
tuir inuk tuan
tuir dalan tuan
inuk Liurai
dalan Liurai
mai la basu ha’i
mai la liu ha’i
ra’ak sikun manaran
tias manaran ida
ra’ak iha Bo’as ne’e, nanasa ne’e
s’i’a Tae ne’e
La’e Tua Taen

the Bakus, the Tulama
in Wehali, the place to live
in Likusaen, the place to live
he visits
he greets
the younger dato, the elder dato
the younger loro, the elder loro
(who live) in Mande’u, the heat land
in Tintua, Maurae
the place to offer water, the place to offer oil
the place to offer oil
Etuwain, Rafou
at the granary of the tame rooster
at the hut of the tame rooster
at the small black rope
big black rope
in Seon
the junction of the river
the black stone
the ahan fruit (of the forest)
the civetcat dog
the civetcat pig
(in those places), he simply casts down his eyes
casts down his face there
he is lifted to pass through
he is enlightened to pass through
tracing the old track
tracing the old path
the track of the Liurai
the path of the Liurai
come. don’t just pass by
come, don’t just go on
the named (important) corner
the exclusive place
in Bo’as, the place to laugh
the supporting house of Tae
the La’e Tua Taen house
in Maibiku, the place to listen
the four Maibiku
the split four
four on this side
four on the other side
the four children of the paddock
the four children of the stables
casts down his eyes there
casts down his face there
they lift him and pass by
they lighten his steps
to the place that cannot be by-passed
to the place that cannot be passed through
a big granary
a big hut
the granary of Liurai
the hut of Liurai
in Sulit Anemeta
the sacred kfan tree
the small hut on stilts
the place to lay small offering
the place to discard things
then he goes onward
then he passes by
tracing the old track
tracing the old path
the track of the Liurai
the path of the Liurai
the big half-ripe fruit
the big babasa fruit
the lord of the yam
the one who is bright
the Unani
the Tubaki
then they lift him to enter here
then they lighten his steps toward here
comes to this place to wallow
in the paddock
iha hatodan fatik
in the sitting place

iha habesi fatik
in the enthronement place

iha knua Wehali
in the shield of Wehali

iha knua Wesei
in the shield of Wesei

betun inan Wehali
mother betun (bamboo) of Wehali

au inan Wehali
mother bamboo of Wehali

ferik rua
two respected women (ferik)

katusa rua
two respected men (katusa)

na'i Akatahan
the lord of Akatahan

na'i Batane
the lord of Batane

ferik hali abut
ferik of the root of banyan tree

katusa hali abut
katusa of the root of banyan tree

feto ra tuan sia
the respected female retainers

klosan tuan sia
the respected male retainers

ro Wesei na'in
together with the household of Wesei

Wehali na'in
the household of Wehali

malaka na'in
the source of flame

amanas na'in
the source of heat

na'i mane Umanen
the lords of the Umanen house

mane Lawalu
the lords of the Lawalu house

ro sahutun sia
together with all the people

sarenu sia
all the subjects

iha maksatan hat
in the four enclosures

iha makdidin hat
in the four edges

iha loro Diruma
in the territories of the loro of Dirma

loro Lakekun
the loro of Lakekun

loro Wewiku
the loro of Wewiku

loro Haitimuk
the loro of Haitimuk

rodi kdahur rai tolus
to make festivities in the three land

klibur rai tolus
get together in the three land

bibliku lian di'ak
the beautiful sound of drums

tala lian di'ak
the beautiful sound of gongs

rakau tama ba
lift him on the arms to enter

raman tama ba
lighten the steps to enter

uma metan maromak
the black bright house

rin mean maromak
the red bright post

temi mama
pronounce the betel chewing

namoo mama
rinse out the betel chewing
nodi nakmasin
nodi hakro' an
ba ama naran la kaka

ama naran la temi
iha leten ba
iha as ba
iha lolo liman la to' o

kni'it ai la dai
ra'ak iha kfitun fohon
iha fulan fohon
at natun matak mai
natun malirin mai
udan wen di' ak
l oro wen di' ak
batu nahutun sia
narenu sia
 hutun raiklaran
renu raiklaran
rori ko' a tua
rafaho rai
to' os isin naksoran
tua wen naksoran

ask humbly
make a request
to the father whose name cannot be pronounced
to the father whose name cannot be called
in the height
in the above
to the (place) that cannot be reached by stretching out hands
cannot be reached by standing on tiptoes
the top of stars
the top of moon
to send down the raw
to send down the cool
good rains
good sunlight
for those who are (his) people
for those who are (his) subjects
all people of the earth
all subjects of the earth
to tap the palms
to weed the gardens
harvest of the gardens will multiply
palm juice overflow.
Reference Text 2.

Narrator : Piet Tahu Nahak
Type : ‘Language of the earth’ (rai lian).

The earth starts to emerge.
A long time ago the earth was still very dark
The light of the earth was not yet perfect
nor was the night complete
after that, people say that
the time had arrived
(he) asked your grandmother
known as the ‘Only Woman on Earth’
(she) carried the message in her hand
carried the message on top of her head
came to the top of the sea
the top of the tidal flats
she stood right on top of the sea
on top of the tidal flats
try to stretch out her hands, but she couldn’t reach
she returned to the land (above)
the order slipped down, saying:
“Receive this great order
receive with your two hands stretched out”.

She could not receive it
the order dropped further into the sea
the order that had just fallen into the sea
turned into a knase fish
(the fish) ascended to appear
so that grandmother stood on the small fin on the knase’s back
once she stood (on the fish’s back)
the man above said:
“Accept (this order) again very
The order descended again carefully.”
after accepting it
after carrying it on her arm
she became pregnant
days passed
nights passed
then she gave birth to the child: this
‘Small Bright One’ (Maromak Oan).
Nights passed
days passed
after giving birth she revealed her plea
to the person above
asking for female and male retainers to
come and rock this Maromak Oan
after that the Bright One (Maromak)
lowered down a woman and a man
after the woman and the man descended
they cut the umbilical cord of the
Maromak Oan
(after that) brought Maromak Oan (and
the woman) to heat body over the fire in
the world above
(that is), to be nurtured and become
knowledgeable
the umbilical cord was left behind in this
land:
“The land as a chicken’s eye
the land as a slice of areca nut”.
This land was called Marlilu Haholek
(the first to dry land)
the umbilical cord grew into a dense
banyan tree
and so the saying goes:
the Bright One has provided a good
dense banyan tree
its shade provides shelter to the chest of
the house
soe nahon la sar kbelan haat ne’e
its shade provides shelter to the ribs of
the house
nalo kbelan haat ne’e nahon tutuir
the four side branches grew into each
other
nalo karas haat ne’e nahon tutuir
the four front branches grew into each
other
Sei Bere Lelo Babesi halien di’ak
Sei Bere Lelo Babesi was a good leafy
banyan tree
sorin balu leo fet
one half of the shade is called the female
hamlet (clan)
balu leo mane
the other half is the male hamlet (clan)
leo fetoleo mane balu lasisin”.
the female hamlet (clan) and the male
hamlet (clan) were both in the shade”.
Nuu nia, ka’an tubu ti’an dadi ba hali
So the umbilical cord had grown into a
banyan tree
rai manu matan bua klaras mos moris ti’an
the land as a chicken’s eye, the land as a
slice of areca nut already existed
sia hariik ba nia
they (the land and the tree) were there
hali leon di’ak
the good leafy banyan tree
hodi hola ketetuk, hodi hola nesan
(the leaves of the tree) were spread
evenly.
foin mane no fetone’e sa’e hikar ba leten ba
then the two retainers went back to the
world above
iha ema bot lolo liman la to’o
went to the great man that could not be
reached by stretching out the hand
bi’i ai la dai
and by standing on tiptoes
husu natun mantarun mai
asked to send down his sign of power
(lit. money bet in cockfighting)
lamak hatetu, lamak harani
the sacrificial meal, the offering meal
atu halo rai husrarai binan
to make the navel land, the umbilical
cord land
luan no kbelan
wide and broad
atu hodi haluan atu hodi sesu.
to widen and expand.
Maromak na’ak:
The Bright One said:
“Sa’e mai ko’i atu fo tone. atu hodi haluan rai
ne’e. Nia ne’e surik kro’at. taha kro’at nia ne’e”.
The woman and the man brought back a
valuable blow pipe
together with food for sacrificing and an offering, which was a *do'u* bird
the bird made a nest in that banyan tree
ate the fruits of the banyan tree
the bird was called Do'u Laluuk
then Leki and Mauk (the two retainers) took the bird. It was said:
"Mau Leki Mau Mauk went to blow down the bird
they did not miss the target, it was a wild pigeon Laluuk
but they did not know where it could be roasted
but they did not know where it could be placed".
Then (they) were about to roast the bird
(as an offering)
to ask for expanding the land as a chicken's eye
the land as a slice of areca nut.
But there was no fire
therefore the woman asked the man, saying:
"go up there and ask the great man to send fire for us to roast the bird as sacrificial meal, offering meal, as preparation for expanding the land as a chicken's eye, the land as a slice of areca nut".
The man went up, but the man above said:
"No. When the woman descended (to the earth), she brought the fire along. I do not retain the fire here".
So she asked the woman retainer to go up again.
The Bright One said: "she has taken the
nodi ha'i ti'an. Ha'u atu fo sa ida tenik".

Feto na'ak: "Lale. Mamfatik hatebes ha briahan ne'e. ne'e be hahata tun hikar ba atu hodi katak mamfatika aa".

Feto ne'e tun nikar mai.

To' o mai ni nasara na'ak:

"Ina. Maromak na'ak mamfatik tun mai, hakroros mai, hodi kedan."

Nia nasa'e nawan, na'ak:

"Haruka Leki ba nu Mauk, haruka Mauk ba nu Leki".

Foin ema rua ne'e hanaran ha'ak Mau Leki Mau Mauk.

Knanuk na'ak:

"Tua tahan ba dedon keta masee

tua tahan nakbohar keta masee

keta masee na'i baba tuak Lekik

na'i loro tua Lekik, tuak maktun hori leten sia mai

na'i baba tua Lekik, baba maktun hori as sia mai

tun to'o raiklaran fila naree

tun to'o rai tenan falu naree

falu naree ha'i lakan oan ida

fila naree ha'i len oan ida

ha'i laka len ne'e Marlilu Haholek leten sia ba

ha'i laka len ne'e Marlilu Haholek as sia ba".

fire with her. What else can I offer you".

The woman (retainer) said: "I only ask your confirmation, so that when your servant goes back, she will inform that noble woman".

The woman (retainer) went back to the earth.

On her arrival she informed the noble woman, saying:

"Mother, according to the Bright One, when you descended, when you departed, you took the fire along".

She (the noble woman) held her breath, saying:

"Asking Leki is as bad as asking Mauk, asking Mauk is as bad as asking Leki".

That is why these two persons are called Mau Leki, Mau Mauk, as said in the poem:

"Do not greet (someone) when the palm leaves are rustling do not greet (someone) when the palm leaves make a noise do not greet Lekik, the maternal brother and Lekik the mother's brother lord, the tuak (MB) that comes down from above the binder, the baba that comes down from the heights descends to the earth, returning to inspect descends to the wide earth to watch returns to inspect a little flame returns to watch a little glowing the flame and glowing is in Marlilu Haholek, the place above the flame and glowing is in Marlilu
Haholek, in the heights”.

Sona Fahi flew down from the Bright One to the place to be nurtured and achieved knowledge then he made these springs and wells. one is called male spring one is called the female spring this is the source of upbringing. Then he asked The Bright One, saying: “By your waving command, Wehali exists trample the earth, with what did you trample to sanctify the earth, how did you descend sanctifying the earth, descend to the wide world descend to earth to nurture the betel leaves of Wesei descend to the wide world to nurture the areca nut of Wesei the leaves of Wesei, birds can not break through areca nut trees of Wesei grow night and day”. Then he nurtured the betel leaves of Wesei, the areca nut of Wesei in the land as a chicken’s eye, a slice of areca nut it is the place to nurture both women and men the betel leaves of Wesei covered the whole vines the areca nuts of Wesei hung all over to the ground it was said that birds could not force their way through asked people from the sun above to harvest
the people above were the lords of the stars
firstly, they came to pick the leaves of Wesei
the lords of the stars came down to fetch the betel leaves of Wesei, the areca nuts of Wesei, then took them up
when they chewed, it was sweet smelling
because of that aromatic flavour, the seven noble women above asked:
"Where did you get that which you are chewing?"
"Wait a minute" (came the reply), "these things are from the earth down there. However, they are forbidden. A noble man guards these things".
"That is fine" (the noble women replied).
Knowing this, the noble women descended to the earth.
They came to chew the young betel leaves and the soft areca nuts
they did this for two nights
one night they chewed the betelnuts until almost dawn. Then came the noble man and hid a pair of wings
because he had hidden the wings, in the morning when the noble women were about to fly back up, the wings were missing
because of this six returned, leaving one
then the noble man took her as his wife she became pregnant and gave birth to a girl named Ho’ar Na’i Haholek
When she had come of age

the people above were the lords of the stars
firstly, they came to pick the leaves of Wesei
the lords of the stars came down to fetch the betel leaves of Wesei, the areca nuts of Wesei, then took them up
when they chewed, it was sweet smelling
because of that aromatic flavour, the seven noble women above asked:
"Where did you get that which you are chewing?"
"Wait a minute" (came the reply), "these things are from the earth down there. However, they are forbidden. A noble man guards these things".
"That is fine" (the noble women replied).
Knowing this, the noble women descended to the earth.
They came to chew the young betel leaves and the soft areca nuts
they did this for two nights
one night they chewed the betelnuts until almost dawn. Then came the noble man and hid a pair of wings
because he had hidden the wings, in the morning when the noble women were about to fly back up, the wings were missing
because of this six returned, leaving one
then the noble man took her as his wife she became pregnant and gave birth to a girl named Ho’ar Na’i Haholek
When she had come of age

the people above were the lords of the stars
firstly, they came to pick the leaves of Wesei
the lords of the stars came down to fetch the betel leaves of Wesei, the areca nuts of Wesei, then took them up
when they chewed, it was sweet smelling
because of that aromatic flavour, the seven noble women above asked:
"Where did you get that which you are chewing?"
"Wait a minute" (came the reply), "these things are from the earth down there. However, they are forbidden. A noble man guards these things".
"That is fine" (the noble women replied).
Knowing this, the noble women descended to the earth.
They came to chew the young betel leaves and the soft areca nuts
they did this for two nights
one night they chewed the betelnuts until almost dawn. Then came the noble man and hid a pair of wings
because he had hidden the wings, in the morning when the noble women were about to fly back up, the wings were missing
because of this six returned, leaving one
then the noble man took her as his wife she became pregnant and gave birth to a girl named Ho’ar Na’i Haholek
When she had come of age

the people above were the lords of the stars
firstly, they came to pick the leaves of Wesei
the lords of the stars came down to fetch the betel leaves of Wesei, the areca nuts of Wesei, then took them up
when they chewed, it was sweet smelling
because of that aromatic flavour, the seven noble women above asked:
"Where did you get that which you are chewing?"
"Wait a minute" (came the reply), "these things are from the earth down there. However, they are forbidden. A noble man guards these things".
"That is fine" (the noble women replied).
Knowing this, the noble women descended to the earth.
They came to chew the young betel leaves and the soft areca nuts
they did this for two nights
one night they chewed the betelnuts until almost dawn. Then came the noble man and hid a pair of wings
because he had hidden the wings, in the morning when the noble women were about to fly back up, the wings were missing
because of this six returned, leaving one
then the noble man took her as his wife she became pregnant and gave birth to a girl named Ho’ar Na’i Haholek
When she had come of age

the people above were the lords of the stars
firstly, they came to pick the leaves of Wesei
the lords of the stars came down to fetch the betel leaves of Wesei, the areca nuts of Wesei, then took them up
when they chewed, it was sweet smelling
because of that aromatic flavour, the seven noble women above asked:
"Where did you get that which you are chewing?"
"Wait a minute" (came the reply), "these things are from the earth down there. However, they are forbidden. A noble man guards these things".
"That is fine" (the noble women replied).
Knowing this, the noble women descended to the earth.
They came to chew the young betel leaves and the soft areca nuts
they did this for two nights
one night they chewed the betelnuts until almost dawn. Then came the noble man and hid a pair of wings
because he had hidden the wings, in the morning when the noble women were about to fly back up, the wings were missing
because of this six returned, leaving one
then the noble man took her as his wife she became pregnant and gave birth to a girl named Ho’ar Na’i Haholek
When she had come of age
maklabu ne’e naran Taek Di’ak, Taek Ha’in Malaka.
Feto ne’e lorloron tuur iha Marlilu Haholek.
Uma niak aa uma Rai-Lale’an
lale’an ne’e nia knanuk na’ak ee:
“Hali ne’e nahako kraraik oan
hali ne’e natahan kraraik oan basuk
morin ne’e kato’o rai Malaka
di’ak ne’e kato’o rai Malaka
bosok nola dei na’i Taek Malaka
beur nola dei na’i Taek Malaka
mai tiha iha Marlilu hun aa
mai ee hali ne’ee hun aa”.
Mai tiha ne’e. nia nodi niak klosan na’in rua. Ida naran Bria Nahak, ida Bria Berek.
nia naruka nia klosan rua aa, na’ak ee:
“Emi tama kokos ba rai manu matan, rai bua klaras, hodi haree kokon iha uma Rai-Lale’an.
Ne’ebe ferik rai leten sa’e leten aa, nahusar talin rai iha nia. Ita sa’e bete ita ruas hodi haree”.

“So’in.”.
Ne’e. Ho’ar na’in Haholek nia feto ra tuan nia Se’u Harek. Ho’ar Harek.

To’o nia mai sia tama iha Rai-Lale’an
sia tama to’o Rai-Lale’an bete safudi
feto ra rua ne’e rasee ra’ak:

Taek Di’ak, Taek Ha’in Malaka.
This woman lived in Marlilu Haholek.
Her house was called the house of Earth-Sky
the ‘sky’ is described in verse as follows:
“The banyan tree produces a lot of branches
the banyan tree produces a lot of leaves
its aroma reaches the land of Malaka
its goodness reaches the land of Malaka
it tricks Taek Malaka
it deceives Taek Malaka
to come and cast his fishing net under the trunk of Marlilu
comes to the trunk of the banyan tree”.
When he came to fish, he brought along his two male retainers. One was called Bria Nahak, and the other Bria Berek
He (Taek Malaka) ordered his two retainers, saying:
“Go to the land as a chicken’s eye, the land as a slice of areca nut and have a look into the house of Earth-Sky. Try to find out if the woman from the world above left behind the umbilical cord when she ascended back to the world above”.
“All right”.
Ho’ar Na’i Haholek had two female retainers called Se’u Harek and Ho’ar Harek.
So the two male retainers entered the house of Earth-Sky
they came to the house of Earth-Sky to converse
the two women (retainers) greeted them
“Oh brother Baria Nahak, Baria Nahak
Oh brother Baria Berek, Baria Berek
visiting us this early morning
when the dew has not yet fallen
what news do you bring?
coming to us this early morning
when the dew has not yet dived
what news do you bring”?
They (the two male retainers) said:
“Sisters
if we tell you, you will die
if we do not tell you, you will die too
we carry orders on our heads from your honourable Taek Malaka. He ordered us
to come to this house of Earth-Sky and find out whether the honourable Ferik Ha’in Raiklaran left behind an umbilical cord, when she ascended back to the heights above”.
(The two female retainers) said:
“She actually left it here. However, if we tell you, we will be dead. If we do not tell you, we will be dead too”.
Then they said that the respected woman, the glowing one, when she ascended to the heights above, she left behind an umbilical cord. “We are in charge of looking after it”.
Then Bria Nahak and Bria Berek brought the news back to Taek Malaka.
After receiving the news, he (Taek Malaka) returned to court her (Ho’ar na’i Haholek).
During the courting, the two spoke the same language and so the man married the woman.
Na’i Taek Malaka married Ho’ar Nai
foin tee ba mane nai n nen, feto na in ida.

Mane ulun Na'i Saku Mataus, Na'i Bara Mataus. Na'i Ura Mataus, Na'i Meti Mataus, Na'i Leki Mataus, Na'i Neno Mataus.

Ikun aa feto naran Ho'ar Mataus Ho'ar Makbalin Balin Liurai.

Foin ne' e na'i Ho'ar Makbalin Bali liurai ohin ne' e, na'i Lurumea na'in nosi loro leten na mama ti'an, nodi kmusan mean tuda netan ti'an ba Bano Ha'in Liurai.

To'o nia knanuk na'ak ee:

“Anin nakis onan
nakis onan
anin nadais onan
nadais onan
nadais namodok
fuik no bua sia
nakis namodok
fuik no bua sia
ama Na'i Maromak, na'i Maromak
matun kma'un ba taken Wesei

matun kma'un ba bua Wesei
bua Wesei, ami tahan bea ida
taken Wesei, ami tun leo ida
sa'e be ku'u hodi basu liu onan
sa'e hikar ba fatin inan Maromak
sa'e hikar ba fatin aman Maromak”.

Nia foin ee Balok Liurai Se'uk Liurai moris ti an

Haholek and had six boys and one girl. The first born was Na'i Saku Mataus (Mataus - lit. the protector), and Na'i Bara Mataus, Ura Mataus, Meti Mataus, Leki Mataus, Neno Mataus. The last born was a girl named Ho'ar Mataus, entitled Ho'ar Makbalin Balin Liurai (lit. Ho'ar, the one who was in charge of appointing Liurai).

Then the noble of Lurumea from the sun above fed (threw) red betel chewing to Ho'ar Makbalin Balin Liurai then she became pregnant Balok Liurai. As said in poem (concerning this marriage):

“The gentle breeze is blowing (crying) is blowing
wind is sobbing is sobbing
gently blow to ripen betel leaves and areca nuts
gently blow to ripen betel leaves and areca nuts
The bright father, Na'i Maromak sends down dew to the betel leaves of Wesei
sends down dew to the areca nuts of Wesei
the areca nuts of Wesei, we are of one leaf
the leaves of Wesei, we descended from one hamlet (clan)
come up here, pick us up, take us away bring us back to the place of the glowing mother
bring us back to the place of the glowing father”.

Then the Balok Liurai, Se'uk Lirai were
Balok Liurai gave birth to the so called: Balok Liurai gave birth to the so called:
Hobuk the strange flower
Banasa the strange flower
Se'uk Liurai gave birth to Dini Kotan,
Luruk Kotan
Dini Kotan (entitled) Dini Liurai
Dini Kotan (entitled) Luruk Liurai
Luruk Kotan
Luruk Liurai
(L) (L)

(they come) to demarcate the world
above
to tell the earth.
Luruk Kotan gave birth to respected
women (ferik) at the edge of the sea
Balok Liurai, Se'uk Liurai were the ferik
of the trunk of the hill
the ferik of the trunk of the hill were:
the noble of Akatahan, the noble of
Batane
the ferik of Hali Abut (lit. roots of the
banyan tree)
the respected men (katuas) of Hali Abut
Ferik Rai (the respected woman of the
earth)
Katuas Rai (the respected man of the
earth).

Accommodating the language of the
navel, the language of the umbilical cord
it is said:

"The land of Wesei Wehali

the mother betun bamboo of Wehali
the mother bamboo of Wehali
in the territories of the two ferik, the two

katuas

the noble of Akatahan, noble of Batane
na’i Hali Abut ee, Katuas Hali Abut”.

Ila ha’ak:
“Rai husar ni ne’e, rai binan ni ne’e
lo’o lor Ida
lo’o rae ida”.

Ho’ar Bokis Saniri funan malae
nafunan ba loro Dirma, Loro Lakekun.

Bano Asa Sabu’a klaut malae
nafunan ba ferik tasi tehen, katuas tasi tehen.
No ti’an ferik tasi tehen, katuas tasi tehen,
bete emi ha’ak:
“Klara meti lia
tiri tasi lia”

the noble of Hali Abut, katuas of Hali Abut”.

We say:
“This is the navel land, this is the umbilical cord land
(it has only) one group of garden houses on the seaside
one group of garden houses on the hillside”.

Ho’ar Bokis Saniri, the strange flower flowered the loro of Dirma, the loro of Lakekun.
Bano Asa Sabu’a, pieces of the strange fruit
flowered ferik at the edge of the sea, katuas of the edge of sea.
The (offices) of ferik of the edge of sea, the katuas of the edge of sea have been founded
people say:
“The voice of crabs in tidal flats
the voice of small fish in the sea”.
Those who descended to the earth were Leki and Mauk, and Liurai Asa Ai Sorun. When they descended, they brought along a banyan tree called *hali Karlele* (lit. the floating banyan tree). When they brought this tree, the earth was still soft, still water.

Asa Ai Sorun asked Leki and Mauk to fetch Bria Bauk, the source of flame Bria Bauk brought along a banyan tree called *hali Tutulis* (lit. the erecting banyan tree) with this banyan tree, he made: firmed the head, firmed the food let sleep the ribs, let sleep the chest he asked again (the two retainers) to fetch his three brothers. With himself, there were already four people on earth. (So) there were already four people. They asked Mau Leki and Mau Mauk to fetch Bebelera the land had already dried. Then Bebelera went as far as Balibo Bebelera died there. When he resurrected, he travelled to Larantuka. On his arrival, he grew on stone and tree the land was already alive he died there, in Larantuka. When he grew alive, he went as far as India.
When Bebelera departed, a group of ten men (entitled *loro*) came four of them remained in Wehali, six went on. The elder *loro* went to Likusaen Bauboe, one went to Biboki, one went to Insana, one went to Amanuban, one went to Amanatun, one went to Amarasi four men were left in Haitimuk, Wewiku, Dirma and Lakekun. These four men departed from Wehali. So they are the *loro* of Wehali.

Then another group of ten people descended again entitled *Usi*. They were the ten men of Bereliku. these ten men were the last group of people descended to earth because the land had already its border and its edge the land was already dry and firm. These ten men left Wehali and went to Ambon Keser, Lautem, Mantutu, Tutuala, Fohoren, Kaladi, Maukari Tulakain, Maukari Tulakain, Laka’an, Mande’u. One went down to the sea at Suai.
Narrator : Sam Kehik Seran (Wewiku version).
Type : ‘Language of the earth’ (rai lian).

When the earth started to originate
the earth came into being
as it happened:

“Oh, in the hovering world above
in the smooth world below
the two of them consented
the two of them agreed
then below received above
above received below
above having received
below having received above
they turned to each other
whispered to each other
true to each other
faithful in the face of the one whose
name cannot be pronounced
whose name cannot be called
become a little clear
appear a little
then about to show
then about to cause to appear
then that which was hovering above was
called “the land above”.
that which was smooth on earth was
called “the land below”
the two of them having spoken together
having whispered to each other.
they were of one mouth
of one language.
then the two of them invoked
a little thicken liquid
a little liquid,
nu‘u dobar oan ida
wen oan ida
foin ra‘ak:
kmemetin ha‘in a
kmamaten ha‘in a
kmetis rola ti‘an foing ramaten
foin mate ba nia
kmetis ba nia
tan sia ha‘ak:
leok lema rai nakees nola ti‘an
kbetek lema rai nakees nola ti‘an

foin no kmetis no ktobar
foin sia haree ba
ktobar ti‘an kmetis ti‘an
tan kmetis ti‘an foing tadu
tadu ti‘an foing haree rai Wesei, rai Wehali

foin babaur, fatik kaka fatsin:
“mosu Maralilu, haree Fatumea”
Mosu Maralilu, Haree Fatumea du‘uk be sia rua
mosu a isin
be inan a mosu tebes
naran no kakaba Fatumea Talama.

Mosu ti‘an foing sia mosu ba mai kaka rola ema
tolu:
Ema ida naran Bi Lasai, ida naran Bi Kou, ida
naran Bi Mali
ema na‘in tolu ne‘e. raneo ralo raneo, ranoin ralo
ranoin
atu hodi ba hanaran ba sa:

like a little thicken liquid
a little liquid
then it was said:
the firming
the tightening
having made firm, then it was tightened
then it was tight there
firm there
because they said:
that which hovers above has spoken
that which is smooth on earth has spoken
then there was firmness, there was thicken
then they looked
it was thicken liquid already, it was firmness already
because only after it was firm, did it appear
only after it appeared did one see the land of Wesei, the land of Wehali
then the place was called, the place was pronounced:
“Maralilu appears, Fatumea is seen”
Although the names were ‘Marlilu appears’, ‘Fatumea is seen’, both places appeared at once
even though, it was the mother who fully appeared
it was called and pronounced Fatumea Talama.

Having appeared then they called three people (sisters):
One was called Bi Lasai, one was called Bi Kou and one was called Bi Mali
the three persons deeply contemplated and meditated
how to name these places:
"named them the land of Wesei
named them the land of Wewiku"
they called Wewiku oik meaning ‘elder’
they called Wehali hak meaning ‘younger’
they called Haitimuk la meaning ‘middle’
these three persons contemplated together without any success
the earth was still soft
after a while, it emerged
when it fully emerged, people saw Fatumea
only then (these places) were confirmed and pronounced:
“the land of Wewiku, the land of Wehali, the land of Haitimuk”.

the two of them honored Wewiku as their mother.
Why was Wewiku the mother?
because these three women were in Wewiku
the name is still there
the name grew in the track of Fatumea
the tree (as proof) is still there
one (branch) of the tree is the Biku branch, other branches are Katimun and Hali
the trunk is the Biku tree, (grows) in the land of Wehali, the land of Wewiku
it was from the domain of Wewiku, then it was called:
“father of Wesei
mother of Wesei
mother of Wesei, the unpronounceable name
father of Wesei, the unspeakable name
to offer sacrifice
hodi haloon
hodi hatebes
hodi hametis.
atu hodi sa hanaran
atu hodi sa hamemi?
hodi kaka duni ba
hodi temi duni ba
hana’i ho oan
haboot ho oan
ba naran la kaka
naran la temi”.

Foin ami temi no kaka ha’ak:
“itha dadoko fatin ka
tatuna fatik ka
hodi ha’ak hahaan du’uk ba
haroo du’uk ba
do’u oan sia
kawak oan sia”.

(Do’u oan no kawak oan ne’e tuir ami ema fehan ne’e ha’ak Maromak Oan)

Ulun ba Maromak Oan
Maromak Oan tadu
at se nahaan?
at se naroo?
at se naluku?
at se balu?
Mesti no ema mabalin

no ema maklituk iha uma laran
atu haree, atu titu ba Maromak Oan

hanesan ema maho beran bot

maho ukun bot.
Tan nia, foti rola ema na’in rua ne’e ha’ak
to invoke
to be true
to be firm.
how (Maromak Oan) would be named
how (he) would be pronounced?
just calling
just pronouncing
just pay the respect
just praise
to the name that can not be pronounced
the name that can not be called”.

Then we pronounce and call:
“(to the one) in the cradle
in the place where he was swinging
to feed him
to rock him
the little pigeon
the little crow”.

(For the plain people, Maromak Oan is just like a baby pigeon, a baby crow).

the head was Maromak Oan
Maromak Oan had appeared
(but) who is going to feed (him)?
who is going to rock (him)?
who is going to veil (him)?
who is going to cover (him)?
There must be someone to take care of him
there must be someone
to look after and to take care the Maromak Oan
there must be of someone who has great authority
who has power.
For that reason two people where appointed
the clan of eight-six, the clan of seven-six

Umanen and Lawalu take care and guard
the lord Maromak Oan
they are the ones that decide to the right
and to the left
on the bamboo floor and platform
So, now I am going to talk about the territory of Bakikak.

The person who guarded the Bakiruk region was called Ferik Ha’in Rai Klaran in Maralilu Haholek. (She lived in) Maraliluk Haholek Sona Fahi Atebes she was all alone in Maralilu Haholek being totally alone, she felt sad, felt it was not good.

Someone else was born (came into life) called Ho’ar Na’in Haholek Ho’ar Na’in Haholek lived in the small Maralilu she started to to squirm in the small Maralilu only when she squirmed there did the sea water and the dry land separate after the sea and the dry land separated there the dry land expanded a bit but it had not yet become light the moon did not exist the earth was still dark then the bright earth expanded a little again to a place called Natar Klese, Uma Rua it expanded again to Natar Klese Uma Rua; we people and buffalo were born together there formerly we people were buffalo these buffalo were us
buffalo turned into people because we people did not know how to eat grass, we turned into people, and people turned back into buffalo because buffalo know how to eat grass but we do not know how to eat grass these people had no name yet gradually the earth expanded again to a place called Ba’a Fetok in Ba’a Fetok, there was a woman and a man (there) the man was called Bei Kelu Toba the woman was called Lesek Toba the two of them were alone the brother was cutting wood, and said to the sister, "Go away!" it is taboo for the wood chips to hit you the sister did not believe so the wood chip hit his sister, his sister became pregnant when the wood chips touched her, she was pregnant after being pregnant, she gave birth firstly to a first son named Seran then they (mother and son) married each other there they, sister and brother married each other again, and gave birth to two more sons she gave birth to two more sons. The sons were all called Seran the oldest son was called Seran Tabada Boki Bakiruk the second son was called Seran Bei Rai the third son was called Seran Di’ak Sedi’a (when Seran Tabada Boki Bakiruk was born) the dry land was already wide and broad
he went to measure the land.
He went as far as Larantuka Baboi
when he returned, Seran Bei Rai
“ascended” to Liurai
the office of Liurai already existed
Seran Di’ak Sedi’a became Maromak Oan
in Wehali
then Seran Tabada Boki Bakirukecame/was called the mother loro of
Bakiruk
after that she also gave birth to six
daughters
one daughter was called Ae Ro, one
daughter was called Ae Bauk, this one was
called Tora Bauk
Ae Ro was sent to Wehali
Ae Bauk was sent to Haitimuk
Tora Bauk was sent to Wewiku
there remained Harek, Bui and Se’uk
Harek went to dry up (herself)
she was sent to scatter (the seeds) and to
plant (seedlings)
to the areas toward the chest and ribs
to make firm the four corner land
Bui and Se’uk remained in Bakiruk until
now.

That’s is all.
Reference Text 6.

Narrator: P. Seran Luan.
Type: ‘Language of the earth’ (rai lian).

"To'os ai fatik
tua ai fatik
Marlitu Hahelekt leten sia ba
Sona Fahi Latebes as sia ba”.

The (first) garden place
the (first) palm place
Marlitu Hahelekt above
Sona Fahi Latebes uphigh”.

Uluk foheon raiklaran ne’se sei makukun
tan lale’an ne’e no raiklaran ne’e sei maka malu
to’o mai lale’an ne’e no raiklaran ne’e nakloke
lale’an ne’e nakloke nela raiklaran ne’e no
kroman
no ti’an kroman foin klosan rua tun nosi leten
naran Mau Leki Mau Mauk

Maromak ha’in naruka tun mai matan raiklaran
ne’e
tun mai matan raiklaran ne’e, emi ha’ak:

"Tobu tuir lalirin kabu
sama tuir labadain kabu
sama nikar ain atu kotu la kotu”.
tobu nikar ain atu kotu la kotu”.
Mai naree raiklaran ne’e mesa we

no ha’i sa ida
sia sa’e rikar ba rasara ba Maromak ha’in a,
na’ak:
"Ema bot, raiklaran ne’e ami tun ba haree ti’an
be mesa we tanan

no ha’i sa ida”
Na’ak “so’in
metak metak oan lai kaneo

In the beginning the earth was still dark
as the sky and the earth still touched each
other
then the sky and the earth separated
when the sky and the earth separated, the
earth was left with light
after there was light two retainers
descended from above, named Mau Leki
and Mau Mauk
The Bright One ordered (them) to come
down to the source of the earth
(they) came down to the source of the
earth, just as the saying:
“Step on the spider saliva thread
trample on the spider web
trample again without breaking it
step again without breaking it”.
They came and saw that the earth was
(still) all water
there was not a thing
they ascended back to inform The Bright
One, saying:
“Your Greatness, we have gone down and
seen the earth already, but it is all just
water
there is not a thing”
(The Bright One) said “All right
wait a little, while I contemplate
matek matek oan lai kanoin
lai kaneo kola leten oan ida
lai kanoin kola maran oan ida”.
Rola kalan hitu Leki no Mauk tun nikar mai
no ai hali ida Karlele iha tasi wen foohon a
seduun no leten sedauk no maran
sa’e rikar ba ema bot a, ha’ak e:

“Ema bot, raiklaran ne’e no ha’i leten no
maran be no ai hun ida iha tasi wen laran”.

Na’ak “so’in,
loron hitu tun nikar ba, te nariik onan ka sei”.

Loron hitu ne’e to’o sia tun rikar mai, ohin ai
Barlele ai hun ne’e nariik ti’an
sia rua sa’e ba katak
“Maromak ami tun ti’an te ba, ai a nariik
ti’an”
Ai a bot ti’an, ma manu raiklaran ne’e nakomu
Leki no Mauk tun mai
mai be atu ru’u man do’u ba nia
to’o mai, ru’u rola ti’an atu tunu ba sa?
te raiklaran ne’e sei we
ai hun ne’e sei we
rodi hikar sa’e ba, buat ne’e dois
dois ti’an, sei kdok Maromak nusu na’ak

“Se mak hodi buat at ne’e?”
wait a little, while I think
let me contemplate how to make a small
surface
let me think about how to make a small
dry (land)”.

On the seventh night Leki and Mauk came back down
there was a banyan tree called Karlele, “floating” on the surface of the sea
there was no dry land yet
they ascended back to the honourable man, saying
“Your Greatness, this earth has no dry land yet, but there is a tree trunk in the sea”.

He said, “All right,
on the seventh day you descend again, and see whether it is already upright or not yet”.
When the seventh day arrived they came back down, and the “Barlele” tree trunk was already upright
the two of them ascended and told him
“Maromak, we have already gone down, and the tree is upright already”.
The tree is already large, it is full of birds
Leki and Mauk came down
they came down in order to “blow” shoot with a blowpipe a wild pigeon there
having arrived, and having shot one, how were they to roast it?
because the earth was still water
the base of the tree was still water
they brought it back up, and this thing smelled
because it already stank, when they were still far off Maromak asked
“Who is it that brought this bad thing?”
To'o nia ida tama nasaran na'ak:

"'Ami at hatasak lamak hodi hatetu bee buat ee at ti'an tan no ha'i leten no ha'i maran

ami at hatasak lamak a ba sa?"

"So'în,
kalan hitu fali ba hikar
nia no leten no maran ti'an".
Kalan hitu sia tun rikar mai, no leten no maran ti'an
hali hun aa ta'u mesak

ru'u rola do'u muk rodi sa'e e, tunu ba hali abut

rodi sa'e hikar ba. tasak, morin

no leten no maran ti'an bee. sei ta'u bee, tasi wen aa basak mesak.

Sa'e rikar ba sia ra'ak "no ha'i ema hein ami iha raiklaran ba ho dale".
Nia ti'an nia na'ak. "so'in kalan hitu ti'an ba hikar
sa ida iha nia".

Tun rikar mai. nu'u buat oan ida, nu'u bata musan ida kaa buat sa ida, sihak iha hali nian abut aa
rodi rikar rasa'e ba ema bot aa:

"Buat e nu'u rak ee nu'u sa ida bee sihak iha hali abut aa".

"So'în,
kalan hitu ne'e tun nikar ba".
Kalan hitu ti'an tun rikar ba, Ferik Ha'in Raiklaran ne'e moris ba nia.

(Confronted with that question), one went in to inform him, saying:

“We want to cook the sacrificial meat to offer, but this thing is bad already because there is no dry land

how are we to cook this sacrificial meat?”

“All right,
on the seventh night, go back
it will have become dry land”.

On the seventh night they went back down, and it was already dry land the base of the banyan tree was very muddy
they shot the squawking wild pigeon which they were to carry up, and roasted it at the banyan roots
they carried it back up, and it was cooked and sweet smelling
there was dry land already, but it was still muddy, and the sea was rough.

Ascending again, they said, “there is no one waiting on earth to talk with us”.
Then he said, “All right, on the seventh night you go back there will be something there”.

Having come back down, there was a small thing, like a corn seed or something, entangled in the roots of the banyan
they brought it back up to the Greatness one:

“This thing is like blood or something, but it was entangled in the roots of banyan roots”.

“All right, just go back on the seventh night”.

On the seventh night when they went down again, Ferik Ha’in Raiklaran (lit. the only woman on earth) was born there.
When she was born people did not have the right tools to cut her umbilical cord. The umbilical cord entangled inside the roots of the banyan tree. Fetched an iron blade to chop (?) they ascended back to ask “Cut with a sliver of bamboo” (came the reply) (The tradition) of cutting (the umbilical cord) using (sliver of) bamboo is related to this story. Who fed this child and who gave her drink, we do not know because that was Maromak’s power when this child was grown up, she crept away from the base of the banyan, because the dry land had already gradually expanded the poem says there was the place to lie down, to rest then she went further she came and was put in a household by herself she was just alone she had one breast but this person had two faces, one female and one male she came, came to the second house, and she gave birth there then she tightly covered the source of the sea, and she bathed the child with fresh water then adat began there then they married and gave birth to Ho’ar Na’i Haholek, and gave birth again to Ho’ar Samara Morin Samara Morin walked to explore the earth when he came back he saw a flame and
Marlilu Haholek

hola nikar Ho’ar Na’i Haholek.

Te nola sia na’in hitu: Na’i Ura Mataus, Saku Mataus, Neti Mataus, Bara Mataus, Neno Mataus, Leki Mataus, Ho’ar Nahak Makbalin

he married Ho’ar Na’i Haholek.

she gave birth to seven children: Ura Mataus, Saku Mataus, Neti Mataus, Bara Mataus, Neno Mataus, Leki Mataus and Ho’ar Nahak Makbalin
There were six Liurai
the first was called Tabein Liurai
the second was called Liurai Berehi
the third was called Liurai Dasa
the fourth was called Liurai Seran Asa
the fifth was called Liurai Kalaan
the sixth was called Liurai Lelek.

At that time, there was no food in Wehali
therefore they (the six Liurai) discussed amongst each other, saying:
“We have absolutely no food, no drink
how are we going to domesticate Wehali with food, to tame Wehali with drink”.

Then the second Liurai, called Barehi, said:
“Do not worry,
if you want to provide food for the people,
just kill me and turn parts of my body into food

Then the rest five Liurai accommodated his desire.
after they killed him, his head was turned into coconuts
the green coconut was sent to feed the land of Fatumea Takolo, to the land of the rising of the sun
the red coconut was sent to feed the land of Fatumea Talama, to the land of the setting of the sun
(that is why) after the gardens were cleared, rain fell; the people from (the land towards) the sunset fetched a red coconut
Kalau ema rai Wehali hola nuu modo ha'in (nuu kalabuk) be hodi hisik to 'os laran join furi
nia ti'a fokit ni'an aa halo ba batar malae, na'ak:

"Batar leki makerek
batar nakfoli
nakfoli nakabit
sorin no na'in
Nia foin foti ba to'os laran aa halo ba batar malae.

Nia ti'an foin hola liman kwana ne'e halo ba hudi luan, naak:

"Taman hudi luan(n) lotuk
nalai kladik
feto sawa taa balu
naan taa balu".

Ne'e be to'o mai feto nia natene na'ak niakan fetosawa, mane mos nia natene na'ak namane malun. Ne'e be keta hala'e(n) hikar malu, keta hafee(n) hikar malu.

Liman karuk ee halo ba fore, hodi ba furi iha rai Akani, naak:

"Fore nurak Akani
nurak Akani
la mea Akani
mea Akani".

To'o nia ma ema nosi Akani, Bei Liki Loku, nako'us nodi nikar mai, nartik ba rai Tatun, Bei Liki ne'e, foin bolu ema rai Wehali ne'e naak

"Fore kmudok Wehali ne'e la ber ha'i, la duun ha'i".

Be mai oras hikar be ema hodi ba furi seluk ba at hodi be huli hikar fini lok Wehali
ne'e huli hikar mai furi ba hamolik hola (iha) in order to sprinkle (the earth with coconut milk) before planting.

But the Wehali people took only the young green coconut to sprinkle the garden before planting his teeth turned into maize, as the saying goes:

"The beautiful and colorful maize is giving fruit it bears seed all over the cob".

The teeth, then, were planted in the garden and became maize. Then his right hand turned into luan bananas, as the saying goes:

"Plant thin luan bananas plant in rows to make border sisters are in one side brothers are in the other side".

The planting of bananas around borders of a garden warned brother and sister not to marriage each other.

The left hand turned into mung beans, to be planted at Akani, as is said:

"Young beans of Akani young ones of Akani not red Akani red Akani".

A person from Akani, called Bei Liki Loku, brought young beans to the land of Tatun, and called the people of Wehali, saying:

"These green beans of Wehali, (Wehali people) don't want (to plant)".

So the Akani people brought the seed back to replant it; in order to feed Wehali then they took (the beans) back and
rai mota hasan

fore knau Sanbei makasuk

foin fore nia haknau ba nia
haknau ba nia foin knanuk na'ak ee:

"Fore kmoodok Wehali
nahabut besi
nafua kmurak
nahabut besi nu nia
nafua kmurak ba nia
inha rai mota hasan
raifore knau Sanbei Lakasuk

inha baki Liurai
besi Liurai
inha natar besi
lalu'an besi
kakehen hat
lalidun hat
loku hasan makerek hat

riti hasan makerek hat

foin ha'ak. lifun isin manun isin".

Nataman be haak:

"Fore kmoodo Wehali
"Nahabut besi ti'an
nafua kmurak ti'an".

Teik aa no kawa'i aa butuk ba rai Wehali ne'e
fuan ne'e ninia. ne'e kmodo fuan ne'e
teik aa ninian kmodo kain ne'e sia.
Raan aa hodi kakin ba tasi laran dadi ba na'an
knase

planted them in the riverbed - at the junction of streams of water
the unexpected mung beans planted by Sanbei
then the beans grew unexpectedly there
when the beans germinated there, the saying goes
green beans of Wehali
develop strong nodules
develop valuable beans
develop strong nodules
develop valuable beans
in the junction of the river
the land of unexpected beans planted by Sanbei Lakasuk
at the stronghold of the Liurai
at the fort of the Liurai
at the rich of paddock
the productive animal pen
at the four flat plain areas
at the four corners
at the place where men wear male bracelets
at the place where women wear female bracelets
then it is said, all living things are fruitful".

Having planted (the mung beans), people say:
"The mung beans of Wehali
develop strong nodules
develop valuable beans".
the guts and the intestine piled up in Wehali
the intestine became pumpkin fruit
the guts became vines.
The blood poured into the sea and became a knase fish
na ‘in Bakalo na ‘in fola nola
na ‘in Bakalo caught the fish
dadi ti ‘an ba batar tasi musan
it turned into a sorghum seed
tan tasi no ema raiklanan nalo funu
because the sea fought with the people of the earth
ho ‘o hola na ‘an tasi nia ulun
some one caught the fish and cut off its head (lit. killed the fish’s head)
Bakalo na ‘in meti lor na ‘in ne ‘e baka ibun ulun
called Bakalo, Lord of the tidal flats, he
fatuk ne ‘e foin hataan hola na ‘an batar tasi
called Bakalo, Lord of the tidal flats, he
ne ‘e musan ida
and caught the small bone, the sorghum seed
nodi ba furi iha to ‘os etu kukun aa
he took it and planted it in the royal dark garden
ha ‘ak Maromak Oan niakan
the garden owned by Maromak Oan
foin haree dadaun to ‘o loron hat dadi ba batar
after four days it became sorghum plants.
tani ni ne ‘e.
the legs (looking like) Kanikur tree trunks
Ain aa ai Kanikur hodi ba hamotu iha rai Sulit
were burned in Sulit Anemeta Talobo
foin hodi halo ba kilat rahun
then they turned into gunpowder
hamotuk ti ‘an halo ra ‘ut hola ahu kesan aa
once the legs were burned to ashes
halo ba kilat rahun aa foin hodi halo funu
someone scooped ash in their hands to
hodi husi iha knuu halo ba rahun no juan bat ee
make gunpowder for warfare
hodi hasorufunu no ledo.
in order to wage war they made
Kilat rahun rai iha Uma Makbukar, Uma Akar
gunpowder and bullets, to wage war.
Tahan
The gunpowder was placed in the house of
“makbukar na ‘in Liurai, banin Liurai”.
Makbukar, the house of Akar Tahan
Hudi luan aa
“the righthand of Liurai, the border of Liurai”.
liman kwana niak halo hudi luan aa
Concerning luan bananas
tan bat nu e oras oan(n) ida ukur no manarain ee
it was the right hand that became luan bananas
hakoir to ‘o mai at hodi ukur halo los ba nuu
therefore according to adat one must eat
ohin ee ne ha ‘ak naa los hudi luan ne ‘e dei
only luan bananas for the occasions of childbirth, first haircut, and naming of a child
Ferik ida te nola ooa mane na’in ne’en no ooa feto ida
oo feto mak ikun.
Feto ne’e sia ki’ik, nia sei la natene sa ida,
mane na’in ne’en ne’e ba buka sotir ba buka
uan iha ema rain.

Mane ne’en ne’e nola to’os ko’a tua hodi
hahaan ina Wesei Ama Wesei.

Sia sei naahaan ina Wesei Ama Wesei, sia ha’ak
sei la di’ak, sei la kbit sia atu ba futu manu, ba
laka manu.

Sia na’in ne’en tene nola malu ha’ak nola malu,
ba futu manu, ba laka manu. iha rai loro lakan,
inha rai loro len, iha rai ulun.

Ba futu manu no Liurai Lakuleik.

Taru osan taru morteen. to’o mos, sia na’in
neen taru isi lolon.

Tan nia. mane kwa’ik taru uluk mane ki’ik na’in
lima. Mane ki’ik na’in lima ne’e Liurai
Lakuleik taru nola ti’an.
Mane Kawa’ik mos taru no isi lolon, nia mos
Lakileik taru nola no.
Tan nia, sia fila mai la bele. Na’in Lakuleik
na’in nalo sia ba niakan atan. Kesi sia iha
kidun uma kotuk

A woman gave birth to six sons and one
daughter
the girl was the youngest.
When the girl was still small, and still
knew nothing, the six men went to seek
their fortune, to seek their luck in other
people’s land.
The six men worked the gardens and
produced juice to feed the mother of
Wesei, the father of Wesei.
While they were still feeding the mother of
Wesei and the father of Wesei, they said it
was still not good, still not strong, they
would go cock-fighting.
The six of them arranged together to go
cock-fighting in the land of the sun’s glow,
the land of the sun’s flame, in the head
land.
They went cock-fighting with Liurai
Lakuleik.
They gambled precious metal and beads
until they were all gone. Then the six of
them gambled themselves.
So the oldest first gambled the youngest
five men. Liurai Lakuleik gambled and
took the youngest five.
The oldest also gambled himself, Lakuleik
gambled and took him too.
Because of this they couldn’t come back.
The noble of Lakuleik made them his
slaves. He tied them up at the back of the
house.
When the girl grew up, she knew what was going on.

She climbed onto the top of a shelf and saw her brothers’ bracelets. These bracelets were formed just like a blowgun and a kaleik vine because in the past people used to shoot kaleik.

Because of this, she asked her mother. Her mother concealed the truth, saying when we were born, we already saw these things. But she keep asking:

“Mother, when I was born did I have brothers, or not?”

Her mother said: “No, when you were born there was only you, you had no brothers”.

Then one day, she ordered her father to cut strips of palm leaves for twine having cut the strips of leaves, they joined them together, then she wove while she was still weaving, Bird Taun came and talked.

The girl’s name was Ho’a Nahak Samane Oan this was her last name. The first name was Sakadu; the second name Ati Batik. The last name was Ho’a Nahak Samane Oan because she was going to become a man, to go cock-fighting.

While she was still weaving, young Bird Tawk came with a message, saying:

“Ati Batik woman Ati Batik
Ati Batik who sits at the edge of the sea
Ati Batik who sits at the edge of the tidal flats
you would keep weaving, be quiet first
you would keep striking, be quiet now
silence your loom
silence your loom
be silent so that I will tell you
be silent so that I will speak to you”.
Because of this, Ati Batik said:
“What bird is this? and what is your
name?”
Bird Tauk said: “My name is Bird Tauk
Manu Tauk rocks the land of Wehali
Cradles and raises the land of Wehali”.
Ati Batik spoke to Bird Tauk saying
“All right. What is your message?”
Bird Tauk said: “when you were born you
had a father and also had brothers
your brothers were six men
they went cock-fighting and didn’t come back
Oh, they went cock-fighting in the sun’s
glow in the sun’s flame”
Ati Batik threw away her weaving stick
and went to ask her mother:
“Mother, that day when I went to ask you,
you concealed the truth
Manu Tauk came and told me that when I
was born I had a mother’s brother and had
brothers”.
Her mother said: “yes dear
when you were bom you had a mother’s
brother and had brothers
but your six brothers went cock-fighting
but the noble of Lakuleik gambled and
took all of them
because of that, they could not come back.
After that you had no brothers”.
Ati Batik said: “I must go and look for
them, go and fetch them back again”.
Her mother asked: “How will you fetch
them?”
Ati Batik asked: “Mother, do we have
subjects and commoners or not?”
"Ia ho hutun ho renu", ina na'ak.

Tan nia feto ne'e na'ak ina, di'ak liu katak hutun no renu sia mai ta rola ro ida bodik ha'u.

Ha'u atu tuir ha'ukan namane sia, ne'e be ha'u taru kola hikar".
Bolu hutun rai tolu, renu rai tolu mai ta ro.

Ta ti'a ro ne'e nale naktomak, bolu renu feto renu mane mai halo bakae

halo ti'an bakae hasa'e ba ro

hasa'e ai maran, hasa'e we
hasa'e saasa ne'e nakonu ro ti'an, nola niakan manu nasa'e ba to'o kakuluk leten

manu rani ti'an manu kokoreek kokoreko!
Ho'ar Nahak Samane Oan lele ai onan
Ho'ar Nahak Samane lori loit onan lori loit ba laka manu sia ona lori loit ba futu manu sia ona Ho'ar Nahak Samane la'o ba onan nia ba no Leki no Mauk bodik atu naruka

nia la'o to'o sikun ida nia nusil kilat

ema sai mai nusu nia, oh ro ne'e ro Ekekero e ro Kailaku?

Ho'ar Nahak Samane na'ak: "ha'u ne'e la Ekekero Kailaku"
ha'u la'o atu futu manu laka manu".
"Oh, atu futu manu sia la'o liu ba atu laka manu sia basu liu ba

Mother said "we have subjects and commoners".

Because of this the girl said: "Mother, it would be better if we asked our subjects to come and cut a canoe for me.

"I will follow my brothers, so that I will gamble them back".

they called the subjects from three lands, commoners from three lands to come and then cut a canoe.

Having cut the canoe and finished it, they called the female commoners and male commoners to come and prepare travelling food

having prepared the food for the journey, they put it up in the boat.

they put in dry wood, put in water

having put things in until the boat was full, she took her cock and put it into the top of the boat

once the cock had perched, it crowed kokoreko!

Ho'a Nahak Samane Oan floated the boat
Ho'a Nahak Samane brought money
brought money to go cock-fighting
brought money to go cock-fighting
Ho'ar Nahak Samane went
she went with Leki and Mauk to whom she could give orders

on her arrival on a comer, and she shot a firearm

people came out and asked her if the name of the boat was Ekekero or Kailaku

Ho'ar Nahak Samane said: "I am not Ekekero Kailaku
I am travelling for cock-fighting".

"Oh, to fight cocks, go further
to fight cocks, pass on further
Ho’ar Nahak Samane na’ak: “Ha’u ne’e la Ekekero Kailaku la’o futu manu la’o laka manu”.

Lakukeik na’in na’ak: 
“Atu futu manu sia, bara lai ona atu laka manu sia bara lai ona rai ne’e rai futu sia fatin rai ne’e rai laka sia fatin”.

Ho’ar Nahak Samane natene ti’an iha neon taran oh, ha’ukan namane sia iha ne’e. Lakukeik na’in musu: “O mai ne’e o mane ka o feto?” 
Ho’ar Nahak Samane na’ak: “Ha’u mane. Ha’u feto ha’u mai ha’i”.

Nia sa’e nosi tase wen, nia nalo batane ida iha hali bot ida leon

Hotu nia katak ba Lakuleik na’in, na’ak: “Ha’u kanawa kosar lai, awan foin ita hasoru malu, atu futu manu laka manu”.

Seisawan foin sia futu manu laka manu sia taru osan muti, osan mean to’o morten futu manu, Ho’ar Nahak Samane manaan terus Lakukeik na’in.

Dadaun Ho’ar Nahak Samane na’ak: “Kalu okan osan mos ti’an, ita rua taru ata dei this area is not a cock-fighting place this area is not a cock-fighting place”.

Thus said the people to Ho’ar Nahak Samane She kept going to the land of Lakuleik, and again shot a firearm.

Lakukeik came out to meet her, saying whether her boat was an Ekekero or Kailaku

Ho’ar Nahak Samane said: “I am not Ekekero Kailaku I am travelling for cock-fighting, travelling for cock-fighting”.

the Lakukeik said: 
“To fight cocks, stop now to fight cocks, stop now this area is the place for fighting cocks this area is the place for fighting cocks”.

Ho’ar Nahak Samane already knew in her heart oh, my brothers are here.
The noble of Lakuleik asked: “You who came here, are you a man or a woman?”

Ho’ar Nahak Samane said: “I am a man. If I were a woman I would not come”.

She ascended from the sea water, and made a temporary shelter in the shade of a banyan tree then she said to the noble of Lakuleik: “I will rest now. Tomorrow we’ll meet each other, to fight cocks”.

In the morning they did cock-fighting they gambled silver and gold, and then beads cock-fighting, Ho’ar Nahak Samane consistently defeated the noble of Lakukeik.

Eventually Ho’ar Nahak Samane said: “If your money is all gone, we two will
gamble slaves
because I have brought two slaves.
Do you have slaves or not?

The noble of Lakuleik replied my six
slaves are below.

he pointed to six men whom he had tied up
below.

Then they fought cocks
first they gambled two slaves against two
slaves
these four slaves sat together
the two of them fought cocks
Ho’ar Nahak won

Ho’a Nahak Samane again requested to
bring out another two
two slaves came and sat by Ho’ar Nahak’s two slaves
the two of them started again to fight cocks
Ho’ar Nahak won again

she brought these six brothers of hers to
bathe because they were very dirty
when they had bathed, Leki and Mauk
cooked rice and gave it to them to eat
then the noble of Lakuleik ordered Leki
and Mauk to go and tell Ho’ar Nahak
Samane that they would still test each
other
they first tested each other in a test of
urinating
whose would land further than whose?
only because this Ho’ar Nahak was a
woman, she was smart
she said: “I’ll go to my hut
I’ll go and drink water
because of itself urine will not come out”.
when she got to the huts, she took a long
Nia nodi tama ba hariis fatin
nia mos mi
mi sai, nia ta’an au fafulu ba niakan oin, mi sai
tuir au fafu nia sai kdok basuk, liu na’in
Lakuleik niakan.

Lakuleik na’in musu tenik atu sukat malu hodi
hariis mutu iha hariis fatin laran

Ho’ar Nahak Samane nata’uk tan feto

Keta Lakuleik na’in natene na’ak nia feto, hariis
mutu oin susun sai ona.

Nia fila ba batene, nia mos tanis tan nata’uk no
moe.

Nia sei tanis ba laho mai na’ak: “Tan sa o
tanis?”

Ho’ar Nahak na’ak: “Ha’u tanis tan ha’u mai
futu manu ha’u hodi ti’an
ami sukat malu hodi hariis (mii), ha’u hodi ti’an

Mais oras ne’e, ami sukat tenik malu hodi atu
hariis mutu
ami hariis mutu, Lakuleik na’in natene ha’u feto
onan”.

Laho na’ak: “O keta tanis. Fo mak o maruka
okan maun sia hasa’e hotu saasa nia ba ro
laran
hotu, o maruka Leki no Mauk ba sar no butuk
hali tahan ne’e sia halo butuk rua
ne’e be sunu hali tahan nia ne hak okan batane
ha’i na

O mos malai mela Lakuleik na’in ba sa’e ro

Lakuleik na’in niakan ro sia, ha’u mak ba’at

piece of bamboo
she took it with her entering bathing place
and she urinated

when the urine came out, she put the
bamboo in front of her. The urine came
out along the bamboo, and went very far,

further than the the noble Lakuleik’s.
The noble of Lakuleik asked again to test
each other by taking a bath together inside
the bathing place
Ho’ar Nahak Samane was afraid as she
was a woman.

She didn’t want the noble of Lakuleik to
know she was a woman. If they bathed
together, her breasts would show.

She returned to her hut. And she cried
because she was afraid and ashamed.

While she was still crying, a rat came and
said: “Why are you crying?”

Ho’a Nahak said: “I am crying because I
came to fight cocks and I’ve already won
we tested each other in urinating, and I
won

but now we are again testing each other by
bathing together

if we bathe together, the noble of Lakuleik
will know that I am a woman”.

The rat said: “Don’t cry. Order your older
brothers to put all the belongings up into
the boat
then, order Leki and Mauk to sweep and
pile up these banyan leaves into two piles
so that when these banyan leaves are

ignited it means you say fire is devouring
your campsite
then you run leaving the noble of the
Lakukeik and go up into the boat
as for the noble of Lakuleik’s boats, I will
Ho’a Nahak Samane acted according to the rat’s advice then she went to test with the noble of Lakuleik. He was bathing first, waiting 
Ho’a Nahak was still taking off clothes as she had seven layers of clothes 
Lakuleik said: “Come now, I am already bathing ahead of you”. 
Ho’a Nahak was still taking off clothes. 
The noble of Lakuleik had already seen that Ho’ar Nahak’s chest was rounded. 
Lakuleik laughed and called out 
Ho’a Nahak Samane said: “Wait. I’m still taking off these clothes”. 
Having taken off one layer she still inspected them, on purpose, saying the clothes had lice 
Ho’a Nahak acted like this while waiting for fire to consume the banyan leaves 
when the fire was already devouring the banyan leaves, she told Lakuleik: “You just wait for me because I am in difficulty. 
Fire is devouring my campsite”. 
She ran leaving Lakuleik and immediately went up into the boat and left. 
Having gotten up into the boat, she hit the drum saying: 
“Drum of the river of Benai, drum of Benai. A woman tricked a man and he did not know it”. 
When the noble of Lakuleik heard the sound of the drum he was surprised and understood, 
“Ah! This Liurai is a woman. She has run away”. 
The rat filed Lakuleik’s boats putting holes in all of them.
Lakuleik na' in rona bibiliku lian, nia nala'i tuir mai, mai nia la toma ti' an

The noble of Lakuleik heard the sound of the drum. He ran following her, but did not catch up

nia sa'e ba ro ida ro bon

he got up into one boat, and the boat had holes in it

sa'e teni ba ro ida ro bon

he went up again onto another boat, and the boat had holes in it

Ho'ar Nahak Samane la o ha nodi ta' e bibiliku:

Ho'a Nahak Samane went hitting the drum:

"Bibiliku benai, bibiliku benai, hodi feto oan ida talik mane oan ida la natene".

Lakuleik na' in na'ak: "Ho, so' in".

Fulan mosu

Ho'ar Nahak Samane Oan to' o mai nikar no niakan namane ne' en

The new moon appears

Fulan mosu

Ho'ar Nahak Samane Oan to' o mai nikar no niakan namane ne' en

Tan nia, nia nas'a e nikar niakan namane ne' en

then she raised up her six brothers again to make them heads, so that each land would again have a head, otherwise the land would not have rule

sia nalo ba ulun, ne e be rai ne' e no nikar ulun, lale rai ne' e no ha' i ukun badu.

Ho'ar Nahak Samane katak kananuk atu nodi

Ho'a Nahak Samane said a poem to raise her brothers to headship again in order to grasp the rule of this land. She said:

"Eh, manu aman malae nadu be nadu

"The foreign roosters have come (appeared)

nado nak nia heti ren sia monu

come and say that their head-cloths have already fallen

nado na'ak nia so' e ren sia monu

appear and say that their head accessories have already fallen

so' e ren sia monu kain Maubesi

their head accessories fall on the stalk of Maubesi

heti ren sia monu tenan Maubesi

their head-cloths fall on the wide land of Maubesi

foin atu ba foti le' u lai ulu

then the head-cloths are rescued and have been re-installed

foin at ba foti kaku rei ulu

the younger brothers and the elder brothers

mane alin mane maun, na'ak atu natetu nikar
the younger brother and elder brother were restored back to their places
restored to the position of dato of Umanen, Lawalu
Re-enthroned in their positions as loro of Umanen, Lawalu”

Only after that did this land have rule and measure.
then Ho’ar Nahak Samane Oan came to her mother: “Mother, ask the subjects and commoners to cut a tree. Carve the wood in my image, because Liurai Lakuleik will follow me to come and fetch me. Cut a statue so that when Liurai Lakuleik comes you can give it to him to take”.
They started to cut a tree/wood
they cut it in a place called Ai Makerek
(lit. patterned wood)
this name ‘patterned wood’ was because people cut a statue there
they cut this statue exactly like her body

So when the moon appeared, there was the sound of a firearm
they went out to greet, saying, Liurai Lakuleik has arrived.
Liurai Lakuleik came bringing money to pay (bridewealth) toward this noblewoman
they brought out a mat, spread it out at the door. Then Liurai Lakuleik came and scattered the money on it. They killed a beast to eat together with Liurai Lakuleik.

Liurai Lakuleik sat on the platform. Ho’ar Nahak Samane Oan sat inside the single girl’s room, but the statue sat at the front door.

When Liurai Lakuleik talked with Ho’a Nahak Samane the statue, she just agreed.

Liurai Lakuleik said: “If we go back to the domain of the flaming sun, the glowing sun, do you agree to or not? Because I would like to marry you”.

Ho’a Nahak Samane Oan nodded.

When they had finished eating, they shook hands with mother and father, raised themselves and their belongings, went to sea. When they were in the middle of the sea. Lakuleik talked (to her) but she did not answer.

Because she did not answer, Liurai Lakuleik slapped her on the head.

Because he hit the head, the head shattered, and the sugar palm juice spilled.

Liurai Lakuleik said:

“Hey! how come this Liurai’s head can shatter when we just hit it?”

Then he took the spilled ‘blood’ and licked it.

then he said:

“Hey! This Liurai’s blood is sweet because of that, now I can not marry this Liurai again. If I marry, I’ll die”.

Because of this story, the people of Umanen are prohibited to marry the (Lakulo) Lakuleik.
"Ami hola ha'i malu
tan ibu sala
tan Ho’a Nahak Samane Oan butar ti’an nia
nodi ai oi butar”.

Lakuleik na’in fila ti’an, Ho’ar Nahak Samane
Oan sa’e ba niakan tur fatin la hos iha rai ne’e.

Nia tur iha rai ida naran Tanebesi, Besi na’in

Nia potor ema hutun rai kotomok halo kadahur
ihai rai Basdebu
ta’e tala, he’uk, tulu, futu manu

futi manu nia, ema rai rai rona hotu

tan Liurai Lakuleik mos mai no.
Mai nikar futu manu nia iha rai Basadebu ne’e
tan rai Basadebu ne’e; ita kbasaba-nia
ha’ak kbasaba debu e kadadak, tula besi e tula lia
ba
lia futu kmetis e, lia rai kmetis
jadi. hotu hotu futu lia kesi lia, iha rai Basdebu
Kadadak.

Dadi Lakuleik na’in mai, nodi manu niakan
naran Falahok Loro Lakan
ho’a Nahak Samane Oan niakan naran Knase
Wesei Wahali
sia na’in rua hasoru nikar malu. iha kadahur no
klibar iha rai Basdebu
sia futu hikar manu iha nia
Lakuleik na’in nodi osan mean osan mutin

Ho’ar Nahak Samane ne’e taru nola nalo mos

nia menan
dadaun Lakuleik osan mos.

“We don’t marry each other
because our mouths wronged each other
because Ho’a Nahak Samane Oan deceived
him
deceived using a statue”.

When the noble of Lakuleik had returned,
Ho’ar Nahak Samane Oan ascended to her
dwelling place not in this land.
She lived in a place called Tanebesi,
master of iron
She got the populace to have a celebration
at Basdebu
they played gongs, did women’s dances
(using drums), and fought cocks
people everywhere heard about the cock-fighting
so, Liurai Lakuleik came too.

He came back to engage in cock-fighting
in this land of Basadebu
we named Basadebu, because in this land
we slap a muddy pool as sign of solemn
promise
words of promise, words of oath
So everybody make a promise, make a
vow in the land of Basedebu Kadadak

So, the noble of Lakuleik came, bringing
his cock called Falahok Loro Lakan
Ho’a Nahak Samane Oan’s was called
knase fish of Wesei Wehali
the two of them met each other again at the
festival at Basdebu
they engage in cock-fighting again
the noble of Lakuleik brought gold and
silver
Ho’ar Nahak Samane gambled and took all
of it
she won
eventually Lakuleik’s money was gone.
Ho’ar Nahak Samane katak ba Lakuleik na’ak:
“Belu, ita na’in rua taru rai bele ka lale?”
Lakuleik na’ak: “Bele”.
Sia taru rai
Ho’a Nahak Samane Oan taru niakan rai,
Lakuleik taru niakan rai.
Lakuleik na’in niakan rai iha rai ulan, Ho’ar
Nahak Samane Oan niakan rai iha rai husar rai
binan.
Hotu, sia na’in rua binoor
Ho’a Nahak Samane Oan nodi niakan rai
knuan ba sana iha Fatumea
nia sana ba ai ida naran Ai Sorun Tolu: hun
hali, sorin ba abiku, sorin katimun
nodi rai knuan ba sana iha nia, nia nabusik
manu iha rai Besinai
nia nameti ti’an rai iha nia, nodi rai knuan
ba sana, mai nikar join nodi manu ba nasori
Lakuleik na’in atu futu.
Na’ak: “Belu, ita hakotu, kalu ha’u manan o,
rai okan ha’u kola ba ha’u;
o manaa ha’u, rai ha’ukon o mola ba o”.
Lakuleik na’ak, “‘Bele’.
Sia rua futu
Ho’ar Nahak Samane Oan manan
manu Knase Wesei Wehali manaa manu
Falahok Loro Lakan.
Sia na’in rua ka’er liman.
Lakuleik na’in mos hotu. Nia na’ak: “Belu,
oras ne’e. ha’u mos hotu ti’an
rai loro lakan mos okan ti’an
rai husar binan mos rai okan
ha’u ba hikar rai loro lakan mos rai okan
ha’u tur iha rai ne’e mos rai okan
di’ak liu, ha’u tur kafatin ba ne’e”.

Ho’ar Nahak Samane said to Lakuleik:
“Friend, can we wage our land, or not?”
Lakuleik said: “All right”.
They went out and gambled their land
Ho’ar Nahak Samane Oan gambled her
land; Lakuleik gambled his land.
Lakuleik’s land was the head land; Ho’ar
Nahak Samane Oan’s land was the navel
land, the umbilical cord land.
Then the two of them competed
Ho’ar Nahak Samane Oan took the shield
of the blade (used in cock-fighting) to
Fatumea
she hung it on a tree called Tree of Three
Forks: the trunk was a banyan (hali), one
side abiku, the other side was katimun
she brought the blade to hang and released
her cock at Besinai
having secured the shield there, she
brought the blade back to face the noble of
Lakuleik in cock-fighting.
(She) said: “Friend, let us conclude our
bet. If I beat you, your land will be mine
if you defeat me, my land will be yours”.
Lakuleik said, “All right”.
The two of them fought cocks
Ho’ar Nahak Samane Oan won
cock called knase fish of Wesei Wehali
defeated Falahok Loro Lakan.
The two of them shook hands.
The noble of Lakuleik was finished. He
said, “Friend, now I am finished
the land of the sun’s flame is yours
the navel umbilical cord land is also yours
if I go back to the land of the sun’s flame,
it is yours also
if I stay in this land, it is your land too
what if I stay here”. 
Ho’a Nahak Samane Oan na’ak: “Belu, tebes di’ak liu o tur ba ne’e
o ba rai loro lakan, nia rai ha’uk

iha ne’e mos rau ha’uk
di’ak liu o tur ba ne’e”.

Dadi, Liurai Lakuleik ne’e, hatama ba iha Wehali na’in, fo ba dakar bua kau Wahali, takan kau Wehali

Dadi nia no Leki no Mauk sia, dakar bua kau Wahali, takan kau Wahali.

Ho’a Nahak Samane Oan said, “Friend, it is true it would be better if you stay here if you go to the land of the sun’s flame, it is my land here too is my land it is better if you stay here”.

So, this Liurai of Lakuleik was inserted into Wehali and was in charge of looking after the soft areca nut of Wehali, the young betel leaves of Wehali. So he accompanied Leki and Mauk in looking after the soft areca nut of Wehali, the young betel leaves of Wehali.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agerbeek, J.R.

Almagor, U.

Anrooij, Francien van.

Ataupah, H.

Barnes, R.H.

Bere Tallo, A.A

Bijlmer, H.J.T

Bobbio, N.

Bocock, R.

Bohannan, P.
Bork-Feltkamp, A.J. van
1951 *A contribution to the anthropology of Timor and Roti after data collected by Dr. W.L. Meyer.* Amsterdam: Uitgave Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen.

Bourdier, Jean-Paul & Alsayyad, Nezar. (eds.)

Boxer, C.R.

Brandewie, E. and Asten, S

Bria, J.S.
1985 *Pantun Bahasa Tetun Timor.* Kupang: Yayasan Oemata Moris

Bruijnis, J.K.

Capell, A.

Castro, A. de
1867 *As Possessoes Portuguezas na Oceania.* Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.

Catedra, M.

Childs, S.M.

Clamagirand, B.

Clarence-Smith, W.G.

*Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum*, pt. 6 (1753-1799).
Cortesão, A.

Cunningham, C.E.

Diffie, B.W. & Winius, G.D. (eds.)

Douglas, M.

Downs, R.E.

Durkheim, E. & Mauss, M.

Ellen, R.F.

Ellen, R.F. & Reason, D. (eds.)

Errington, S.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E.
Felgas, H.A.E.

Ferreira, C

Firth, R.

Forth, G.

Fox, J.J.
1990 *Arguments in a Theory of Precedence: “Sisters Since the Trunk of Heaven, Brothers Since the Rim of Earth”*: Progenitor Lines of Origin in


Fox, J.J. 1993a *Inside Austronesian Houses: Perspectives on Domestic Designs for Living.* Canberra: The Australian National University, Research School of Pacific Studies.


Granet, M.

Grijsen, H.J.
1904 *Mededeelingen Omtrent Beloe of Midden - Timor.* 'S Hage: M. Nijhoff

Grimes, B.D.

Grimes, C.E. and Maryott, K.

Groeneveldt, W.P.
1960 *Historical Notes in Indonesia and Malaya - compiled from Chinese Sources.* Djakarta: C.V.Bhratara.

Haan, H.C. de

Hertz, R.

Hicks, D.

Hoare, R. & Smith, G.N. (eds.)  

Hook, R.H. (ed.)  

Hoskin, J.A.  


Josselin de Jong, J.P.B  

Josselin de Jong, P.E. de  

Josselin de Jong, P.E. de (ed.)  

Kana, N.L.  


Keesing, R.M.  


Keesing, R.M. & Fifi I, J.  
Ketaren, P, et al

King, M.J.E.

Kipp, R.S. & Rodgers. S. (eds.)

Klerck, E.S. de

Klinken, C.L.van

Kluckhohn, C

Koentjaraningrat, R.M

Kuipers, J.C.

Lammers, H.J.
1948 De Physische Anthropologie van de Bevolking van Oost-Dawan (Noord-Midden-Timor). Nijmegen.

Laan P

Leitao, H.

Lessa, W.A. and Vogt, E.Z (eds)
Leur, J.C. van.

Lévi-Strauss, C.

Lewis, E.D

Locher, G.W.

Manehat, P. & Neonbasu, G. (eds)

Manehat, P

Mark, D.M. & Frank, A.U. (eds.).

Masinambouw, E.K.M.

Mathijsen, A
1906 *Tettum-Hollandsche Woordenlijst*. Batavia: Albrecht & Co

Mauss. M.

Maybury-Lewis, D.

Maybury-Lewis, D. & Almagor, U. (eds.)
McWilliam, A.R.

Meilink-Roelofsz, M.A.P.

Metzner, J.K.

Middlekoop, P.
1963 “Head hunting in Timor and its Historical Implications”. In: *Oceania Linguistic Monographs No. 8*. Sydney: University of Sydney.


*Monografi Kabupaten Belu* (date unknown)

Morais, A.F. de.
1944 *Solor e Timor*. Lisboa: Divisao de Publicacoes e Biblioteca, Agencia Geral das Colonias.

Morgan, L.H.

Morris, C.

Mouffe, C. (ed.)

Mubyarto.
1991 *East Timor, the Impact of Integration: an Indonesian Socio-anthropological Study*. Northcote, Victoria: Indonesia Resources and Information Program.
Muskens

Needham, R.
1979 Symbolic Classification. Santa Monica, California: Goodyear Publication.

Needham, R. (ed.).

Newitt, M. (ed.)

Nowell, C.E. (ed.)

Oliveira, Luna de.
1949 Timor na Historia de Portugal. Lisboa: Agencia Geral Das Colonias.

Ormeling, F.J.

Overakker, N.Th.
1926 “Nota van toelichting betreffende het landschap Beloe” (unpublished).

Parera, A.D.M.

Phillips, N. and Anwar, K. (eds.)

Rassers, W.H


*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie.*


Stapel, F.W. (ed).  

Suparlan, P  

Swetnam, J.J,  

Tambiah, S.J.  

Teixeira, M.  

Thomaz, L.F.F.R.  

Traube, E.G.  


Villiers, J.  

Vischer, M.  

Visser, B.J.J.  

Vroklage, B.  

Wade-Marshall, D. & Loveday, P. (eds.)
1988 Contemporary Issues in Development. Darwin: Australian National University, North Australia Research Unit.

Waterson, R.

Wortelboer, W.

Wouden, F.A.E. van.

Wurm, S.A. (ed.)

Wurm, S.A. & Wilson