USE OF THESSES

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PIERCING THE SKY, CUTTING THE EARTH:
THE POETICS OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE PARADOX OF POWER AMONG THE WOLOGAI OF CENTRAL FLORES

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

April 1996
Except as cited in the text, this work is the result of research carried out by the author

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Dedicated to my parents
With my admiration to the speculative imagination of the Wologai
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines belief in the power of *ola mbé'o* (knowledge in poetic form) among the Wologai of central Flores in eastern Indonesia. Its goal is to elucidate the social epistemology of these people.

After portraying the general background of the Wologai, the introduction analytically reviews various theories of poetic language in order to show the direction and the goal of this thesis. This exploration is worthwhile because they are theories with which the anthropologist is, at least partly, familiar, and they provide me with a framework for the analysis of *ola mbé'o* which is carried out in the last chapter.

Chapter 1 considers how the category of Wologai is socially constructed as an encompassing collective identity. It examines people's contentions made on the basis of the framework of the ritual-village (*nua*) as a shared reference point.

While Chapter 1 explores the Wologai ritual-village (*nua*) externally, Chapter 2 elucidates the Wologai ritual-village internally. It examines how the Wologai refer to the ritual-village and its components in their speculation about the world and in their discourse about an ideological social world. The second half of this chapter considers the rationale for the authority of the Wologai ritual-village and its relation to the differentiation of the Wologai according to their ritual positions. The speculation, discourse and rationale presented in this chapter constitute *ola mbé'o*.

Chapter 3 explores the great-ritual (*nggua ria*), one of the most important village-rituals. After describing a scenario of the great-ritual, this chapter considers how people play out the patterns embedded in the ritual-village, the social structure implied in Wologai social theory, and how the acting and experiencing of the great-ritual relate to personal interpretations of it. These personal interpretations of the great-ritual are an important part of *ola mbé'o*.

Chapter 4 explores the semantics and pragmatics of *tana*, a word which constitutes a pivotal theme of *ola mbé'o*. The meanings of *tana* form a spectrum arranged along an axis in relation to alienability, past time and ritual importance.

Chapter 5 discusses narratives about the past transformation of the world, which are based on the Wologai concept of *ngée wa'u* (procreate/develop/move away, go out/descend), the other pivotal theme of *ola mbé'o*. These narratives are as crucial as those about *tana* in terms of construction of *ola mbé'o*. 
Chapter 6 provides an initial exploration of the concept of *bhisa* (mystically powerful and/or awe-inspiring) which informs not only Wologai belief in the power of *ola mbé'o* but also the paradox involved in the Wologai concepts of power and human existence.

Chapter 7 deals with social situations among Wologai people, in which the belief in the power of *ola mbé'o* comes into play. It examines two modes of precedence coexisting among the Wologai.

Chapter 8 explores *ola mbé'o* in terms of its linguistic features. In order to elucidate what these linguistic features do in Wologai beliefs about the power of *ola mbé'o*, I also describe examples of customary verbal forms, which have linguistic features common to *ola mbé'o*. In doing so *ola mbé'o* can be situated in its customary verbal environment, fostering a sensibility to *ola mbé'o* that is rich in particular linguistic features.

Chapter 9 is the concluding chapter. Referring to my review of the theories about poetic language in Western scholarly tradition, I analyse the social epistemology of *ola mbé'o* among the Wologai. I then consider the Western scholarly tradition from a Wologai viewpoint.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing a PhD thesis is often said to be an initiation to become an anthropologist. However, I started my course in anthropology more than twenty years ago, started my first fieldwork in Flores of eastern Indonesia more than fifteen years ago, started publishing anthropological papers ten years ago, and started teaching anthropology eight years ago. I have been, I think, acknowledged as a more or less 'professional' anthropologist at least in Japan for quite a few years. I was an old student even when I started writing my PhD thesis at The Australian National University, although I tried to be as fresh as younger students. While writing this thesis was not an initiation in a strict sense, it was one of the hardest and most important trials in my career as an anthropologist.

Before starting the doctoral course at The Australian National University I was offered a permanent teaching job by a Japanese university. In Japan a PhD degree is not usually required in order to get a job as an anthropologist nor does a PhD degree from a foreign country sometimes count even for promotion. I was motivated to write a thesis at The Australian National University for several reasons. I wanted first of all to have more readers than I would have if I wrote it in Japanese. I also wanted to reflect on what I had done and was doing as an anthropologist through the experience of writing my thesis in English. The actual writing struggle that I experienced motivated me to examine what is going on in the process in which a person whose mother tongue is Japanese writes on the Lionese-speaking people in English. This process itself is quite anthropological.

In 1993 several Japanese anthropologists organised a session entitled 'The Dynamics of Identity Fabrication: the Interplay of Local, National and Global Perspective' at the 92nd conference of American Anthropologists. Although that session did not focus on Japanese culture, some listeners expected a 'Japanese twist' to it (Yamashita 1994). Although I do not know whether my supervisor, advisers and other readers of my draft expected a 'Japanese twist' to my thesis, I am quite sure that they found my English twisted à la Japanese all too often.

First of all my thanks should be to the people in Flores who helped me in various ways during my fieldwork for three years, especially to those who spent a long time answering my stupid questions and who allowed me to live among them.

I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. James J. Fox for his patience in supervising me. While I struggled with writing a thesis in English, Jim must have
struggled as a first reader of my drafts. Being a good story teller, he made me relax even in the middle of my hardest writing process. One of the stories he told us was like this. When he is in Jakarta, he often stays in his friend's house, where several young girls, who come from rural areas in Java, work as housemaids. He can know by teasing them whether they have recently left their village or whether they have already adapted themselves to the life in that metropolis and are ready to go out to the wider world. New girls react to his teasing with serious faces and walk away quickly. If girls jokingly fight back at his teasing, he knows that they are ready to go out into the wider world. Although I am not good enough to respond to his teasing yet, now I must leave this cozy place, hoping to come back.

I admire Dr. Penelope Graham for her accuracy and heartedness in advising me. When I first met her, Penny had just started her MA course and I already had my master's degree. However, in the time I finished this one PhD thesis, she has written three theses and one book. Although our courses of life are so different, I am glad that I could have her not only as an adviser but also as an indispensable friend during the writing of my thesis.

I acknowledge Dr. Amanda Scott's, Dr. Barbara Holloway's and Dr. Katy Bellingham's help in correcting my English. Without their help, I could not finish my PhD thesis.

I also heartily thank all the staff and the colleagues in the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.

And last I would like to express my great thanks to my partner, Satoshi and our two children, Kai and Kyara. I am quite sure that this thesis is part of my lifework, which must be influenced by them in a subtle and essential way.
Introduction

AIM OF THE THESIS

This thesis examines belief in the power of knowledge in poetic form among a people in central Flores, eastern Indonesia. Its goal is to elucidate the social epistemology of these people.

Anthropology is regarded as an integrated corpus of knowledge about 'human beings' as is self-explanatory in its Greek-derived name. It used to be taken for granted that anthropological knowledge was 'value-free' or free from any ideology which is specific only to a particular group of people. This assumed that the categories with which anthropology dealt could be 'ideology-free' in two ways: in terms of exploring native categories and in terms of setting analytic categories. This assumption about categories has been criticised. As is epitomised in criticisms of Lévi-Strauss's analytical categories of 'culture' and 'nature', analytical categories can be charged with an ideology which is specific to a particular people. Since van Wouden's *Sociale structuurtypen in de Groote Oost* (1935), the study of eastern Indonesian cultures has had a strong interest in native categories and dealt with them as something ordering people's life rather than as something that people or individuals operate and even create. Living among people in central Flores soon taught me that categories were not waiting for me to write down but that they were enmeshed in people's discourse, which Malinowski would call a long conversation.\(^1\) If those categories shape or influence people's life, it never happens without the subtle practice of contentious long discourse. This thesis is a result of my long struggle with how to deal with native categories presented in contentious discourse on the one hand and how to deal with analytical categories on the other. This thesis involves a reflection on anthropological knowledge.

FIELDWORK

This thesis is mainly about people referred to as the Wologai who inhabit an area in Kabupaten Ende, on Flores Island, in the Province of Nusa Tenggara Timur, Indonesia. I did my fieldwork in Kabupaten Ende for thirty-six months in total: August 1979 to March 1981, November 1982 to December 1983, and June 1984.

\(^1\) Malinowski 1922.
to November 1984. I also visited there in 1987, 1989 and 1992. During my first period in the field, with my husband, I lived mainly in the West-Ende-speaking area, where we were adopted by an old couple whose eldest son was married to a woman from the West-Lio-speaking area. We visited the area of the Wologai people for the first time on 23 August, 1980, when we accompanied our adopted parents, bringing mortuary gifts for their eldest son’s wife’s father, who had died two days before. We spent two days and one sleepless night, during which I was impressed by some Wologai men demonstrating their abilities to speak in parallelism. We were informed of rituals referred to as the great-ritual (nggua ria) in that area. We came back in November in order to attend two great-rituals, one in the Wologai ritual-village and the other in the Wolondopo ritual-village. It was easy for me to understand conversations in West-Lio language, since at that time I was fluent in the Ende language. The correspondence between the basic vocabularies of the Ende and Lio languages is high, and the Lio sounds are much more articulated than those in Ende.²

I spent most of the second and the third periods of my fieldwork among Wologai people. My first impression about societies in the West-Lio-speaking area was that they are clearer and more articulated than societies in the East-Ende-speaking area. However, this impression gradually changed and I came to appreciate that the societies in the West-Lio-speaking area had their complexities and opacity in their own way. People's great enthusiasm for powerful knowledge puzzled me. A person often spent a long time sitting with a knowledgeable man in order to acquire powerful knowledge or clues to such knowledge. They spoke secretly. This puzzling enthusiasm led me to explore the complexity and opacities of the societies by examining the activities surrounding their powerful knowledge.

I spent most of the time in Ekoléta in Desa Wologai, Desusoko district, which was traversed by the only asphalt road in central Flores. I usually slept in Bapak Andrea's house and ate a meal in Om Hanis's house in Ekoléta. Om Hanis was Bapak Andrea's son. Their houses were located on opposite sides of the road. Although they were father and son, they had never lived together. There were always serious tensions between them, as well as some attachment. They were my main teachers in understanding esoteric knowledge.

² Based on the data collected during the first period of my fieldwork, I wrote a monograph entitled 'The Endenese way of dealing with death' in Japanese, which was submitted to the University of Tokyo in 1982.
LANGUAGE

The language dealt with in this thesis is one dialect of the Lionese language which belongs to the Bima-Sumba group of Austronesian. The Lionese-speaking area borders on the Endenese language to the west, the Sikkanese language to the east. The Flores sea is to the north, and the Savu sea to the south. Significant dialect variation is found in the Lionese language, especially between western and eastern Lio (Greuter 1946). The main feature distinguishing East Lio from West Lio is the systematic alternation between h and k. Haki (husband), heda (ritual hut), and kéu (areca nut) in East Lio are pronounced kaki, keda, and kéu respectively in West Lio.

The language spoken by the people I studied is the western dialect. The western dialect is used by people living in kecamatan Detsoko, kecamatan Ma’u Rolé, part of kecamatan Ndona and part of kecamatan Wolowaru. Although further study is needed to determine the exact number of the West-Lio-speaking people, the approximate number is around forty to fifty thousand. While even within West Lio some variation can be found in terms of vocabulary and intonation, it is important to note that large number of people can communicate with each other almost without any difficulty in West Lio dialect. People speaking West Lio say that they can imitate East Lio and roughly understand the Endenese language, although they cannot imitate it.

The phonemes of the West Lio comprise six vowels /i, é, e, a, u, o/, three nasal consonants, /m, n, ng/ eleven stops /mb, b, p, nd, d, t, nng, k, ’(glottal stop)/ and two implosives /bh, dh/, five fricatives /w, f, s, gh, h/, one affricative /j/, one lateral consonant /l/, and one trill /r/. The phonetic description of the orthography adopted in this thesis is shown below.

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3 According to Blust (1978) languages in Flores are categorised as Central-Malayo-Polynesian. Verheijen suggests the Ngadha-Lio subgroup as one subcategory of the Bima-Sumba language group (Verheijen 1977). On the basis of his study on the Ngada language, Djawanai questions this subcategorisation and says that further extensive studies are needed (Djawanai 1983).

4 While the Endenese language belongs to the Ngadha-Lio subgroup of the Bima-Sumba group, the Sikkanese language belongs to the Timor area group (Wurm and Hattori 1981:40).


6 Sawardo et al. classifies the Lionese language into five dialects: Aku, Tana Kunu Lima, Mbu, Mbengu and Mego (Sawardo et al. 1987). According to the limited information this book gives, Aku dialect seems to be what I refer to as West Lio, and Tana Kunu Lima dialect is East Lio. However, what kind of data this classification is based on is not mentioned. Further extensive research is needed to clarify dialect variation of the language.
### TABLE 0-1. THE PHONEMES OF THE WEST LIO

**VOWELS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium</td>
<td>é</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CONSONANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Phonetic Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>bilabial nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>alveolar nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ng/</td>
<td>velar nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mb/</td>
<td>prenasalised bilabial voiced stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>bilabial voiced stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>bilabial voiceless stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>alveolar voiced stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nd/</td>
<td>prenasalised voiced alveolar stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ngg/</td>
<td>prenasalised voiced velar stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>glottal stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bh/</td>
<td>bilabial voiced implosive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dh/</td>
<td>alveolar voiced implosive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>labio-dental voiced fricative/semiconsonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>labio-dental voiceless fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>alveolar voiceless fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>palatal voiceless fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gh/</td>
<td>alveolar voiced fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>alveolar voiced affricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>alveolar lateral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>alveolar trill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The syllable structure of West Lio is open and of the form (C)V. Most of words are formed of two syllables in the form (C)V(C)V. (C)VV words are composed of two syllables. Monosyllabic words can occur in a contracted form of two-syllable words. *Ku* (my), for example, is a contraction of *aku*. Three-syllable words are rare. Vowels may occur in either syllable of a disyllable word except that shwa does not occur in final syllable of a word or in a syllable followed by another vowel or by a glottal stop. Any of the consonants may occur in either syllable except that glottal stop is not phonemically distinctive in initial position.

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7 These structures seem to be common to the Ngada-Lio subgroup.
MAP 2  LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS IN CENTRAL FLORES
GEORAPHY AND CLIMATE

The people I am writing this thesis on live in the central part of Flores Island, eastern Indonesia (MAP 1). Flores Island covers an area of 14,504 square kilometres, and is mountainous and volcanic. The people live at the southern foot of Mount Lepémbusu. With a height of 1881 metres, this is one of the highest mountains in Flores and the highest mountain in that regency.

The climate in Flores is that of a typical monsoon area. It has a marked dry season, which is most pronounced in the eastern area. The coastal regions are more arid than the interior, and those in the north are drier than those in the south. The year can be roughly divided into two seasons. The period of the northwest monsoon lasts from December to April, with the prevailing winds from the west or northwest so that most of the moisture is carried over the coastal areas to the mountains. During the period of the southeast monsoon, June to September/October, comparatively drier currents of air reach the southern flanks of the central mountains where the moisture is again dropped leaving the coastal area on the leeward side of the mountains (i.e. the north coast) with hardly any rainfall (Anson 1957:11, Metzner 1982:36). Note that the people I have studied live in a relatively moist area compared with the surrounding regions, especially the coastal regions. Also note that Flores is located in an area in which moderate and predictable winds and seas are favourable to maritime activity, especially trade (Reid 1988:2).

PEOPLE

Data I use in this thesis, unless noted otherwise, derive from my fieldwork among the people in kecamatan Detusoko in Kabupaten Ende, who speak West Lio. This thesis focuses on people who identify themselves as ata Wologai (Wologai people). They are affiliated with or attached to the Wologai ritual-village (nuu Wologai). Wologai people number about 2,000. Ritual-villages (nuu) are the

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8 This figure is quoted from Prior's book (Prior 1988:58). According to Anson, the area covers about 17,530 square kilometres (Anson 1957:11). If coming to Ende, the capital town of Ende regency on the south coast, by boat, the smoking brown ground of Mount Ia, an active volcano, can be seen.

9 The most extensive geographic map of central Flores was published in 1918 and copies of the map are still available at Nusa Indah, a book shop owned by a Catholic missionary in Ende, capital of Ende regency.

10 'Ata means 'people or person' in West Lio. I use bold and italic letters for languages of Flores and italic letters for other non-English words.
most encompassing social units in the West-Lio-speaking area. The reason I use the phrase 'ritual-village' as a translation for *nua* is that the structure of *nua* is centred on authority, which is established on the basis of rituals. These rituals are mainly performed in the ritual-centre, which is also known as *nua*, to which I also apply the phrase 'ritual-village'.

While the way the boundary between the West-Lio and East-Lio speaking areas is related to socio-cultural boundaries needs further research, Lisé people in the East-Lio speaking area are different from most West-Lio speaking people, at least from Wologai people and peoples in the vicinity, in terms of ritual-political organisation. According to Sugishima, in the East-Lio-speaking area, several *nua* are politico-ritually integrated into a *maki*, several *maki* into a *tana*, and several *tana* into a higher level of *tana*, known as Tana Lisé which may contain 15,000 of people.

Before the introduction of wet-rice cultivation in the 1930s, Wologai people seem to have lived mainly by swidden agriculture and husbandry. Many Wologai people now work wet-rice fields along a river called Lowo Ria (literally meaning 'big river') as well as in dry fields on the hillsides. They sow rice (*paré*), maize (*jawa*), several kinds of beans (*buè*), eggplants (*mberi*), chili (*koro*) and cucumber (*timu*) in dry fields. Rice is the most important grain as a gift, which is referred to as *paré lolo* (rice and sorghum), although the gift consists only of rice. This suggests that sorghum (*lolo*) may have once been sown on a large scale,

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11 This estimation is based on Sensus Kecamatan Detuso in 1983 (unpublished). According to this census the population and the households of Desa Wologai number 2515 and 566 respectively. Desa Wologai is one of the lowest administrative units, *desa*. When people say *ata* Wologai, it does not refer to the people of this administrative unit but people affiliated with or attached to the ritual-village of Wologai. Desa Wologai embraces the Wologai ritual-village and five other ritual-villages. The definition whether or not one is a Wologai (*ata* Wologai) much depends on whether one regards oneself as such. This self-definition may vary according to contexts. Some people declare oneself affiliated with two or three ritual-villages. There are quite a few people who live outside Desa Wologai but regard themselves as Wologai people (*ata* Wologai). Therefore this figure of 2,000 is only an approximation in order to indicate the scale of the population with whom this thesis is concerned.

12 It is probable that even in the West-Lio-speaking area social units can be quite diverse. According to Howell, who has carried out research in the north-central part of Flores:'They live in ancient villages, clusters of which are centred upon a 'trunk' village and constitute independent socio/political/ritual entities' (1995:154). This is included in the West-Lio-speaking area. The social units which she refers to as 'ancient villages' might be *nua*, and a 'trunk village' might be *nua pu'u*. In some contexts or at some diachronic stage, the alliance of *nua* (ancient villages) centred on *nua pu'u* ('trunk village') may be intensified. As she clarified in another article, this alliance fluctuates because of the pervasive quest of each *nua* for autonomy (1992). Even in this area, *nua* seem to be the most encompassing autonomous social unit, which can be involved in alliance with other *nua* in some contexts. According to my research, *nua* in the East-Ende-speaking area are social units similar to that in the West-Lio-speaking area. People in the southern part of West-Lio speaking area use the phrase *nua pu'u* ('trunk *nua*) in order to claim their own ritual-village's prestige.

13 Sugishima 1990.
although few people grow it today. Yams, cassava, and sweet potato are planted. Potatoes, carrots, Chinese cabbage and cabbages were introduced quite recently. Banana, sugarcane and papaya are also common crops.

People pick several kinds of ferns, mushrooms and bamboo shoots for side dishes. It is said that it is forbidden to say, 'it's delicious' when eating wild vegetables and if one does so, one becomes sick.

People may raise chickens, pigs, cattle, goats, horses and water buffalo. People say that until the 1950s many half-wild water buffaloes used to be kept on grasslands. During my stay, only four water buffaloes were kept among the people. While people maintain that a water buffalo must be killed on ritual occasions, especially for building or repairing the temple in the ritual-village, during my stay no water buffalo was killed. Instead, pigs were killed on ritual occasions and feasts. Cattle were recently introduced. Some people keep sapi Bali (Balinese cattle). Horses and dogs are also killed for meat. Chickens are often killed for making offerings to ancestors, as well as for meat.

People hunt wild boars, deer, monkeys, bats, and a kind of rat known as dhéké. While hunting is becoming difficult, catching eels, fish and shrimps in the river is a popular recreation. Some people eat fish from the water of the wet-rice fields. Since one couplet pairs 'making palm wine' (kewi aë) with 'making fields', 'tapping palm wine' must have once been an important economic activity. However, today only a few people occasionally tap palm wine.

While making earthen pots and weaving are important economic activities in the south coast area and the area downstream, these activities are forbidden in the Wologai area and areas in the vicinity.

Wologai people have tried to plant cash-crop trees. Some planted coffee trees in the early 1970s on a small scale. People planted clove trees experimentally in early 1980s. However, no one lives mainly on cash-crops.

The Wologai ritual-village is located in Desa Wologai of Detusoko district in Ende regency. The capital of Destusoko district is located downstream of the Wologai area. A market is regularly held there every Wednesday and Saturday. Most Wologai people sell rice or other crops and buy various things at this market.

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14 For the structure of the ritual-village see chapter 2.
15 According to Kennedy, in 1949 and 1950 no cattle were kept in Roworeke area, seven kilometres to the northeast from Ende, the capital town of the regency (Kennedy 1955).
16 People in central Flores make wine from the arenga palm.
PREHISTORIC AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

GENERAL VIEW

Historical documents on the particular area in which the Wologai people live are extremely restricted. No historical document seems to be available before the early years of this century. A map in a book entitled *Endeh* (Suchtelen 1921) shows the dearth of Dutch knowledge about central Flores apart from the coastal regions, in 1890. The caption of the map states that this blank state continued until 1907, when the first Dutch expedition into the interior of central Flores was carried out. However, lack of documents does not mean that the interior region of central Flores had not been in contact with the outside world.

The favourable weather for maritime activities, crops introduced in different periods (sorghum, maize, chili, cassava and so on), the technique of *ikat* weaving, some Portuguese remains, and villages of seafaring people in the coastal areas point to Flores, at least its coastal areas, being open to the influence of the outside world. Within the West-Lio-speaking area, dialect variation is relatively small, which indicates continuous movement and/or interaction within the area, including between the coastal area and the interior.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC DATA ON THE PAST

Little archaeological research has been done in Flores. Knowledge about its prehistory is restricted to only a general outline. All the languages in Flores belong to the Austronesian family, which originated from the south coast of China and/or Formosa, and then spread widely for 6000-7000 years (Fox 1993:6). According to Bellwood, part of these Austronesian speaking people reached the Lesser Sundas by about 2500 BC (Bellwood 1985:233).

Bellwood maintains that some contact between India and east Indonesia can be traced back to 200 BC or even earlier (1985:307). He also suggests that there was indigenous cultural development and exchange in the Indonesian archipelago from late in the first millennium BC independent of Indian influence (Bellwood 1985:316-317). Archaeological and linguistic studies indicate that eastern Indonesia, including Flores, was open to the outside world and influenced by trade and migration over a long period of time.
MAP 3 DE ONDERAFDEELING ENDEH OMTREUKS 1890

[the state of geographical knowledge about the Onderafdeeling Endeh about the year 1890 (virtually unchanged until 1907)] (Suchtelen 1921)
SKETCH OF THE EARLY PAST

Only in the thirteenth century did the Lesser Sunda Islands appear in historical documents. The Chinese inspector of Overseas Trade, Chau Ju-Kua, refers in 1225 to Tiwu (Timor) as rich in sandalwood and owing allegiance to the Hindu-Javanese realm of Kadiri (Krom 1931, Ormeling 1956). A Chinese "Description of the Barbarians of the Isles," dated 1349, mentions ports on the coast of Timor where silver, iron, porcelain, and cloth were traded for sandalwood (Hamilton 1994:29-30; Rockhill 1915:257-258). The Nagarakartagama, a Majapahit chronicle in the middle of the fourteenth century, contains a list of dependencies of Majapahit which includes some of the Lesser Sundas including Sumba, Timor and an island called Solot, which might be Solor, Lembata or the general area including Flores.17 Leur (1934) assumes that Indian trade had already reached as far as the Indonesian archipelago by about the beginning of the Christian era. It also might have reached the Lesser Sundas (Ormeling 1956:94).

With the rise of Islam in the Java sea and throughout the archipelago, Majapahit collapsed. Hamilton maintains that in the fifteen century and until 1511 when the Islamic sultanate of Malacca on the Malay peninsula fell to the Portuguese, the wide trading system based at Malacca encompassed Sumba and Timor, and sandalwood was exchanged for textiles of Indian and Javanese manufacture (Hamilton 1994:30). In the eastern part of the archipelago the rise of Islam was succeeded by the Islamic sultanates of Goa in southern Sulawasi and of Ternate in the northern Moluccas. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Flores became a colony of these two sultanates: western Flores under Goa, and eastern Flores, Solor and Alor under Ternate (Metzner 1982:65, LeRoux 1929:14). A maritime code of the kingdom of Malaka dating from about the middle of the fifteenth century mentions traders from South Sulawesi sailing to Sumbawa, Singapore, Johor, Melaka, Perak, Aceh, and Timor (Andaya 1981). As early as 1400 AD, and possibly earlier, the Lesser Sundas was regularly visited by traders from the harbours of East Java, where Muslim traders from India settled around 1400 AD and made their way into the already existing sea lanes

17 The Nagarakertagama also includes in a list of dependencies an island called Galiyao, which might be Pantar. Concerning the interpretation of these names, see LeRoux 1929, Fraassen 1976, Barnes 1982 and Dietrich 1984. According to Vatter, the term Solot was used by the Dutch in the seventeenth century (Vatter 1932:23, Metzner 1982:65). Suchelen states that the year of this historical document was 1287 (1921:8) and Ormeling and Metzner state it was 1365 (1956:95). According to Hamilton, an expeditionary force from the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit reached Flores in 1357 (1994:30). Some authors state that vestiges of that Hindu period are found throughout the island, and even in its languages (Metzner 1982:65, Vroklage 1941, LeRoux 1942, Amdt 1938:34ff.).
(Ormeling 1956). The trade of *patola*, double-ikat silks from Gujerat, was involved in the Timor sandalwood trade and is believed to have pre-dated the arrival of the Europeans in the Lesser Sundas (Hamilton 1994:31). It would seem that the traders from Malacca used the straits between the Solor islands as well as the strait between Sumbawa and Flores (Dietrich 1984:320-321).

Early in the sixteenth century the Portuguese found their way to the Moluccas and Lesser Sundas by following local and Chinese traders (Hamilton 1994:31, Ormeling 1956:96). While the main purpose of their visit to the Lesser Sundas was the sandalwood in Timor, they also visited various coastal regions in the Lesser Sundas, including central Flores. It seems that the Portuguese Antonio de Abreu was the first European who passed Flores and mentioned it on his way to the Moluccas in 1512 (Metzner 1982:67). As is apparent from the fact that the 'Victoria', the first Spanish vessel to traverse the Flores sea, was guided by two Tidorese pilots (Barnes 1982:408-409; 1987:217), the maritime activity by Europeans in the Malay archipelago was not an innovation but followed an existing system, especially in terms of the sea lanes. The Solor islands provided a shelter against the strong storms to the Portuguese merchants participating in the lucrative trade in sandalwood from Timor (Barnes 1982:409, 1987:219; Dietrich 184:318-319; Metzner 1982:67; Hamilton 1994:31).

Along with Portuguese merchants, Catholic missionaries started to take part in the world of the Malay archipelago in the sixteenth century. The diocese of Malacca governed the Church in Nusa Tenggara, of which Solor, Timor and Flores were the more important islands (Prior 1988:7). In 1556 a Dominican priest, Antonio de Taveira, baptized about 5,000 people on the island of Timor and many on Ende Island, off the south coast of Flores in Ende Bay (Prior 1988:7). A Jesuit priest, who visited Solor in 1559, discovered that the merchants had already made converts on Solor and Lewonama near Larantuka, Flores. On Solor there were many Muslims, and many Chinese visited Solor (Barnes 1987:219). In 1561 the Bishop of Malacca sent three Dominican missionaries to Solor to establish a mission (Rouffaer 1922:40; Barnes 1987:19; Prior 1988:7; Metzner 1982:67). The Portuguese founded fortresses on Solor in 1566 and on

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18 Many ikats of patola-inspired patterns are woven in various parts of the Lesser Sundas including Lio.

19 A nautical manual compiled prior to 1515 by a Portuguese pilot contains a drawing of the village of Mausambi (Hamilton 1994:32,31), the location of which is probably Ma’usambi on Ma’usambi bay on the north coast of the Lionese speaking area. Ma’usambi is within one or two days walking distance of the place I did my fieldwork for this thesis.

20 This is one of the points Tsurumi has stressed in all his works.
Ende Island around 1570 (Barnes 1987:210; Metzner 1982:67; Hamilton 1994:31). From Solor, Dominican missionaries evangelised along the coast of eastern and central Flores, where by 1575 they had founded twenty missions, including those at Dondo and Paga, which are located on the north and south coast in eastern part of Lionese-speaking area respectively (Metzner 1982:67).21 Both Dondo and Paga are about one or two days walking distance from the place I did my fieldwork.

What the Portuguese established over Flores was far from control. Solor and Flores were never the main focus of Portuguese interest in Asia. However, setbacks in the Moluccas and Macassar enhanced the importance of these islands for them (Barnes 1987:220). In the Moluccas two local sultanates, Tidore and Ternate, and two European powers, Portugal and Spain, were drawn into a four-way struggle in the sixteenth century. It is not surprising that the Portuguese activity did not remain unchallenged in Solor, Flores and the islands in the vicinity. The Portuguese enterprise on these islands were continually threatened by other powers such as Javanese Muslims, local powers, Ternate, Goa/Macassar, Buton, pirates and the Dutch (Barnes 1987, Metzner 1982:67, Prior 1988:7).

In 1602, the Netherlands incorporated the United East India Company, known as the VOC. In 1605 the Dutch took the Portuguese fortress on Ambon in order to monopolise the trade in spice, and the Portuguese left the Moluccas. In 1613 the Dutch took the fortresses on Tidore from the Spanish and on Solor from the Portuguese. Portuguese priests fled to Larantuka in eastern Flores. In 1637 the Portuguese fortress on Ende Island was taken by Muslims. In 1641 Malacca fell to the Dutch and many Portuguese resettled in Macassar and Flores (Barnes 1987:231, Metzner 1982:69). In 1618, the Dutch concluded a treaty with local leaders on Solor, which was renewed in 1646 (Metzner 1982:69, Prior 1988:7). This treaty stipulated that all goods earmarked for export had to be sold to the VOC, (Metzner 1982:69) and it acknowledged that parts of Solor belonged to the Sultan of Ternate and promised to exclude the ruler of Macassar (Barnes 1987:230). However, in 1683 the Sultan of Ternate was forced to sign a treaty in which he renounced all his rights on Solor (Barnes 1987:232, Metzner 1982:69). In 1667 the VOC concluded a permanent treaty with the King of Goa/Macassar, which stipulated that Bima was brought under the VOC's control, and acknowledged the VOC's authority over Flores, apart from the Portuguese

21 In 1606 a church was built in Dondo, and in 1621 a Malaka-born Dominican priest was stationed in Paga. However, he was soon beheaded by local Muslims on his way to Larantuka (Prior 1988:7).
possessions of Larantuka, Sikka and Paga. In 1669 the VOC concluded a treaty with Bima for the exclusive purchase of sappan wood from Manggarai in western Flores (Metzner 1982:69). The Dutch then gradually took over the position of the Portuguese in Flores. By the Lisbon treaty of 1839, some Portuguese colonies in Flores, Larantuka, Sikka and Paga, were ceded to the Dutch government (Bruyne 1947a:6). In 1859 the Dutch and Portuguese signed an agreement by which the Portuguese finally ceded all its claims in Flores to the Dutch (Prior 1988:17).

However, these treaties do not mean that the VOC managed to monopolise trade and to establish its authority in Flores. To the contrary, the Dutch government's effort was not successful for a long time, although it tried to establish its authority in central Flores through contracting treaties with the local authorities and by physical force.

A Dutch postholder was placed at Braai near Ende in 1691, VOC and the Dutch colonial government which replaced VOC in 1799 placed its headquarters for central Flores in the Ende area (Suchtelen 1921:11, de Bryune 1947:5). While before 1907, Dutch government policy was one of non-interference in native affairs, the Dutch government could not but be involved in conflicts with the local population in Ende and the vicinity (Dietrich 1983; Bryune 1947:5-7). Two factors for these conflicts can be pointed out. One is that, partly because of the policy of non-interference, the local leaders were never submissive to the Dutch government (de Vries 1910:47; Dietrich 1983). The other is that the Dutch government, which intended to monopolise the slave trade, was confronted by Endenese traders who had long been engaged in slave trade (Needham 1983; Bryune 1947:6-7; Reid 1983:33).

Because of this situation, the population inland in the central Lio-speaking area, where Wologai is located, never drew the attention of the Dutch government. As Map 3 suggests, the inland of central Flores was not known to the Dutch until 1890 and this state of affairs did not change until 1907.

**DUTCH INTERFERENCE AND AFTER**

In 1906 the Dutch government sent A. Couvreur to Ende as the first controleur of Flores. This showed its concern to involve itself in the affairs of Flores (Winokan 1960:71; Suchtelen 1921:12). In July 1907 the town of Ende, the capital of colonial government in Flores, was burnt down and plundered by mountain
Endenese villagers. The controleur fought back against these villagers. The government's artillery and man-power induced many Ende headmen to submit to the government (de Vries 1910:49). In August, military reinforcements came from Kupang, and the pacification by military force started throughout Flores (Winokan 1960:11-3).

In October 1907, during Christoffel's absence, Rapo Oja and Mari Longa, two men from Watunggéré in the Puu area, to the north of Mt Lépémbusu, attacked the town of Ende but were defeated by the Dutch force which remained (Suchtelen 1921:13). This is the first documented incident which involved people from the central West-Lio-speaking area. This incident suggests that, although the Dutch were completely ignorant about that area, the people there knew about the headquarters of the Dutch government and the pacification expedition. This means that there were social networks through which that information was conveyed. It also suggests that the social situation allowed Rapo Oja and Mari Longa to walk through the areas of various ritual-villages to reach the town of Ende from Watunggéré. At the end of 1907, the pacification also reached the central mountains of the West-Lio-speaking area.

The number of people killed on the 'enemy' side during the pacification from 1907 to 1909 was reported as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year</th>
<th>number of killed people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(total)</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of confiscated rifles was reported as 5385 (de Vries 1910:74-75).

In 1910 as a preliminary step towards the total political/administrative integration of Flores, 63 petty kingdoms ('miniatuurrijjes') in onderafdeeling Ende were incorporated into the following 10 landschaps: Tanah Rea, Endeh,

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22 The town inhabitants and Chinese merchants fled to Ende Island off the shore from Ende. Fifty people were reported to have died (de Vries 1910:48).

23 Wologai people are proud that they fought the Dutch army and prevented them from penetrating inland.
Ndona, Wolodjita, Nggela, Mboeli, Ndori, Lise, Poe and a four part group consisting of Sooi, Moke Asa, Wolo Gai and Wena Ria (Bruyne 1947a:11). In 1915 Lisé, Mbuli, Ngéla, Wolojita, and Nori were combined to form one landschape Tanah Kunu Lima, and Rasi Wanggé was chosen as the *raja* of Tanah Kunu Lima. Mbaki Mbani was chosen as the *raja* of the landschape of Ndona, comprising the former landschaps, Ndona, Poe and the quatrangle (Bruyne 1947a:9-10). This reformation was confirmed in 1917 (Bruyne 1947a:10).

According to Suchtelen, these two landschaps in the Lio-speaking area were subdivided into districts, which were in turn divided into complexes, which comprised kampong.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landschap</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Complex</th>
<th>number of Kampong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ndona</td>
<td>Ndona</td>
<td>Roga</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wolotopo</td>
<td>Sokoria</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wologai</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wolotolo</td>
<td>Poe</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poe</td>
<td>Nida</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wumbuu</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ndondô</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tana Kunu Lima</td>
<td>Nggéla</td>
<td>Moni</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wolojita</td>
<td>Mbuli</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mbuli Lau</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ndori</td>
<td>Lisè Detu</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lisè</td>
<td>Lisè Lowo Bora</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kuru Landé</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1923 Tanah Rea was dissolved and the two former landschaps, Tanah Rea and Endeh, were combined under the name of landschap Endeh. In 1924

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24 This Wolo Gai may refer to Worhogai, inland of the Ende-speaking area, since the place name Mokêasa can be found near Worhogai on the map in *Endeh* (Suchtelen 1921). In many cases, 'T' in Lio words correpsonds to 'th' (retroflex) in Ende words. However, Sooi and Wenaria cannot be identified. Wena Ria could be a place name in the Lio-speaking area, since 'ria' is not an Ende term but a Lio term.

25 According to Suchtelen, Pius Rasi Wangge was declared to be the *raja* of Tanah Kunu Lima in 1914 (1921:14).
landschap Ndona and Tanah Kunu Lima were combined under the name of landschap Lio, and this reformation was confirmed in 1925.

It seems that through these administrative formations and reformations, central Flores gradually came under the influence of the Dutch and the power relations among local people were transformed. These processes seem to have been advanced, and to have started to involve the inland mountain people through the formation of gemeentes and kampong, the lowest administrative units, from 1923 to 1927 (Bruyne 1947a:12):

The landschap Lio was divided into twenty three gemeentes, each with their appointed head, entitled kapitan (Bruyne 1947a:13). Table 0-4 give the names of the gemeentes and their heads' positions in their respective traditional societies (Bruyne 1947a:17). This table based on Bruyne's table shows that except for gemeente Dondo, the heads of the gemeente were related to people with traditionally important positions but not themselves in those positions. In the case of gemeente Wologai, current Wologai people say that Ghêta Pada was not a son of the great-ritual-leader. It should be noted that Bruyne writes that some gemeentes, that is to say, Wologai, Lisé Landé, Saga and Wolotopo were not based on old genealogical units but on units recently formed out of parts of original units (Bruyne 1947a:13).

According to Bruyne, Pius Rasi Wanggé took advantage of, or even abused, his position for his own gain and to increase his power. One of the ways he did this was by establishing alliances through arranging marriages between the heads of gemeentes and his own sisters, daughters or other kinswomen. Thus, Pius became the wife-giver to several heads of gemeente, that is to say, Wologai, Puu, Sokoria, Boaféo, Nida, Ndori and Mbuli Wera Lau. According to Wologai people today, Ghêta Pada, the head of gemeente Wologai, married one of Pius's sisters.

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26 Gemeente is also known as kapitanschap (Kennedy 1955:28).

27 Bruyne's table implies that except for the head of Lisé Landé and that of Dondo, all the gemeente heads already had Christian names (1947a:17,18). An anonymous typescript dated November 1947 and kept in a monastery in Ende gives us the following information concerning gemeente Wologai. The head, Getá Pada was the great-ritual-leader and was appointed by the raja or zelfbestuurder of Lio in 1919. According to this typescript, there were twenty-two gemeente in landschap Lio (gemeente Roga was not listed) and the head of a gemeente was either appointed by the zelfbestuurder or chosen by the people. In six gemeente, Wologai, Lisékuru, Lisélandé, Ndori, Wolotopo and Moni, the head was appointed. The remainder were chosen by the people.
TABLE 0-4. THE NAMES OF GEMEENTES AND THEIR HEADS’ POSITIONS

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Lisé Detu</td>
<td>descendant of the origin-ritual-leader of Lisé Detu(^{28})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Lisé Lowo Bora</td>
<td>descendant of the ritual-leader’s clan of Lisé(^{29})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Lié Gondé Ria</td>
<td>descendant of the ritual-leader’s clan of Lié</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Lisé Kuru</td>
<td>descendant of the ritual-leader’s clan of Lisé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Lisé Landé</td>
<td>descendant of the ritual-leader’s clan of Lisé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ndori</td>
<td>son of the great-ritual-leader’s clan of Ndori(^{30})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mbuli Wera Lau</td>
<td>son of the great-ritual-leader of Mbuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Mbuli Wera Ghéta</td>
<td>descendant of an origin-ritual-leader of Mbuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Moni</td>
<td>son of the origin-ritual-leader of Ko’anara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Wolojita</td>
<td>son of an ordinary ritual-leader of Wolojita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Nggéla</td>
<td>son of the great-ritual-leader of Nggéla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Roga</td>
<td>(not filled yet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Wolotopo</td>
<td>son of the great-ritual-leader of three Lisé.(^{31})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Ndana</td>
<td>son of an origin-ritual-leader of Rada Ara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Sokoria</td>
<td>son of the great-ritual-leader of Sokoria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Saga</td>
<td>son of the origin-ritual-leader of the kampong Saga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Wologai</td>
<td>son of the great-ritual-leader of Wologai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Puu</td>
<td>son of a common ritual-leader of Detukéli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Nida</td>
<td>son of the origin-ritual-leader of Nuamuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Dondo</td>
<td>the origin-ritual-leader of Dondo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Ma’uténda</td>
<td>son of the origin-ritual-leader of kampong Detukajawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Boaféo</td>
<td>son of the origin-ritual-leader of kampong Boaféo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The introduction of this administrative organisation, especially the introduction of *gemeente*, together with Pius Rasi Wanggé’s efforts to gain power seem to have transformed the power structure in Lio. Wologai people were also involved in this historical transformation.

Because of the abuse of his position, the exploitation of people and other criminal offences, including murder, Pius Rasi Wanggé was exiled (Bryne 1947a:16-7).\(^{32}\) In 1942 the Japanese army arrived in Kupang and began the Japanese occupation. The Japanese government used the Dutch colonial

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\(^{28}\) Origin-ritual-leader is a translation for *mosa laki pu’u*, which is one of the most important titles in traditional society in the Lio-speaking area. The phrase *mosa laki* or its cognate phrase, *mosa rhaki* or *mosa laki* is used to indicate an important social position from the Lio-speaking area to the Ngada-speaking area (Nakagawa 1989; Sugishima 1990; Howell 1992b; Molnar 1994). In Pru’ë the ritual-leaders are called *laki mosa*.

\(^{29}\) ‘Ritual-leader’ is a translation for *mosa laki*. ‘Clan’ is a translation for a Dutch word *geslacht*.

\(^{30}\) ‘Great-ritual-leader’ is a translation for *ria béwa*, which indicates a distinctive ritual status.

\(^{31}\) The original is ‘zoon van de Ria Bewa de drie Lise’s’. What ‘drie Lise’s’ means is not clear.

\(^{32}\) Sugishima writes that, according to notes owned by a man in Lisé and oral history there, Pius Rasi Wanggé was arrested by the Dutch in 1935 because the Dutch claimed that he murdered three people in Moni in order to have a good harvest. However people today in Lisé insist that this accusation of murder was a political conspiracy on the part of the Dutch (Sugishima 1990:603).
administration system, only changing the names of units and the titles of their heads. *Raja* was replaced by a Japanese title *syuutyou*. In 1945 the Dutch government returned to Flores. In December 1946 at the conference of Denpasar, Negara Indonesia Timur (State of Eastern Indonesia), comprising present day Bali, Nusa Tenggara Timur, Nusa Tenggara Barat, and Sulawesi was established (Prior 1988:22). In December 1949 Indonesia's independence was acknowledged by international treaty at the Round Table Conference in the Hague. In 1962 new administrative divisions were introduced, and most of the former landschap Endeh and landschap Lio were combined to form kabupaten Ende. The first bupati, head of the kabupaten, was Hasan Arubusman, the former *raja* of landschap Endeh. Most Wologai people currently inhabit desa Wologai, kecamatan Detusoko in kabupaten Ende.

**A REVIEW OF ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES IN THE LIO-SPEAKING AREA AND ITS VICINITIES**

The first description of the Lio-speaking people in a published form was *Endeh* (1921) by Suchtelen. This book includes information on the Lio-speaking people. Its extensive descriptions helped me to grasp the general background and the understanding that the Dutch had of that area at that time.

I must also appreciate Arndt's meticulous work on the Lio-speaking area, which was first exemplified as a comprehensive dictionary *Li'onesisch-Deutsches Wördenbook* (1933). Since data for this dictionary were collected in the East-Lio-speaking area, I often consulted it for comparison. While there is some unclarity in terms of orthography, this dictionary helped me acquire an understanding of the West-Lio dialect. Arndt also published two papers on the Lio-speaking people, 'Dua Nggae, das Höchste Wesen im Lio Gebiet (Mittel-Flores)' (1939) and 'Der Kult der Lionesen (Mittel-Flores)' (1944). These two articles are interesting in that they show not only regional but also personal diversity among the Lio-speaking people in their understanding of certain native categories. While as a Catholic priest Arndt's interests seem to have been in issues related to the Catholic mission, these articles contain stimulating information.

After Arndt and until trained anthropologists started to do fieldwork in the mid 1970s, no foreign scholars published ethnographic studies on the Lio-speaking people. Quite a few local intellectuals, however, were interested in the

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33 Pius Rasi Wanggé came back to Lio and became a *syuutyou* during the Japanese occupation. However, he was killed either at the end of or just after World War II (Bruyne 1947a:17; Sugishita 1990:604).
Lio tradition. One of the ethnographic works by these intellectuals is *Nusa Nipa: Nama Pribumi Nusa Flores* (1969) by Father Piet Petu. While mainly because of the style of description, it is difficult to use the ethnographic data contained in this book, it provides good examples of Lio poetic language. Father Piet Petu has been enthusiastic in studying the cultural heritage among the Lio. This is exemplified by several publications.34

In order to know the general condition of Flores around 1950 it is useful to read *Field Notes on Indonesia, 1949-1950. Part III* (1955) by Kennedy, although he did his field research only in the East-Ende-speaking area, in Manggarai and in Larantuka. His field notes are extremely interesting because they reveal raw materials, his confusion and his honest impression of the people he studied, which usually do not appear in a completed ethnography. It is apparent that he felt extremely irritated and confused by the East-Ende-speaking people. In the East-Ende-speaking area his fieldwork was done in Roworeke about seven kilometres upstream of Ende, the capital town of Ende regency, and about 25 kilometres downstream from Wologai.35 Among those three peoples on whom Kennedy did his fieldwork, Roworeke people are the closest to Wologai people geographically, linguistically and culturally. Kennedy felt confused because the statements by Roworeke people were much less clear than the statements by Manggarai and Larantuka people about their social organisation. He apparently suspected dishonesty and even a lack of intelligence among the Roworeke people. He also frequently complained that Roworeke people were greedy. According to my experience in the East-Ende-speaking area and the West-Lio speaking area, the population there are highly intelligent, contentious and status-conscious. I was often almost ordered to give them certain things as tributes or as offerings in order to acknowledge their superiority over me. It is reasonable to infer that Kennedy was confused by these people's contentious statements and irritated by their highly superiority-conscious attitudes.36

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34 See Bibliography.

35 According to my orthography, Roworeke should be written as Rhoworhéké. ‘Rh’ indicates retroflex. I also visited Roworeke several times in the early 1980s.

36 These characteristics of the people can make fieldwork psychologically difficult. In 1980 a student from Oxford University started his fieldwork in a West-Lio-speaking village near Mt Lepémbusu. He told us that the people there were extremely demanding and unfriendly. After six months he was too depressed to continue his fieldwork and left for his home country. Signe Howell, who has studied the population in the northern part of the West-Lio-speaking area also made a comment that because those people were superiority-conscious a fieldwork there is more difficult than among the Chewong, the people she had studied before he started to study in Lio (personal communication).
The first trained anthropologist who did fieldwork in the Lio-speaking area was Masao Yamaguchi, a Japanese anthropologist. He published three articles based on his fieldwork which was done in the mid 1970s in various places in the Lio-speaking area.\(^{37}\) He analysed the data from a cultural-semantic point of view.

The period of fieldwork by Sugishima, Howell and myself partly overlapped, while Sugishima did his fieldwork among the Lisé people in the East-Lio-speaking area and Howell in the northern part of the West-Lio-speaking area. We spent a night with my host family and had chance to talk together during our fieldwork. Sugishima has published a number of articles based on his fieldwork. All his works are meticulous and the long article 'Description and Interpretation of Lionese Agricultural Rituals' (1990 in Japanese) contains a comprehensive description of agricultural rituals of the Lisé people. Howell has also published quite a few articles based on her fieldwork in the northern part of the West-Lio-speaking area. These excellent articles helped me to acquire a comparative insight, although a comparison is sometimes difficult because of our different perspectives.

Prior, a Catholic priest living in the Sikka regency for a long time, published a book on a Lio-speaking people in the Sikka regency titled *Church and Marriage in an Indonesian Village: a Study of Customary and Church Marriage among the Ata Lio of Central Flores, Indonesia, as a Paradigm of the Ecclesiastical Interrelationship between Village and Institutional Catholicism*. This book gives a detailed historical sketch of Catholicism and data for comparison.

Hamilton, who submitted a MA thesis titled *Textiles of Ende-Lio Region of Flores Island, Indonesia*, did a field survey on ikat textiles in the Ende and Lio area recently. He edited an interesting book looking at the peoples lives in Flores in relation to local textiles. Waterson did a field survey on houses and other built forms through the Lio-speaking area and she included the data in her book *Living House*. Works on specific topics gives me different perspectives on Lio.

**HOW THE THEMES OF THIS THESIS CAME TO ME**

This thesis focused on *ola mbé'o* (mysterically powerful knowledge). Anthropologists often end up in their fieldwork with topics different from those which they planned to study. This is partly because only by living together with a

\(^{37}\) He was based in Ekolèta in the Wologai ritual area. I heartily acknowledge his generosity allowing me to do fieldwork in Wologai area.
people can anthropologists become aware of what fascinates those people. Enthusiasm for acquiring *ola mbé'o*, that is to say, *ola mbé'o* or *bhisa* (mystically powerful) knowledge in Wologai is an example of such a topic.

When I first visited the Wologai area, I was struck and impressed by a man displaying his knowledge of poetic form. I was not allowed to tape-record it. It was too fast to write down, although I was well acquainted with the Ende language, a language closely related to the Lio language. His knowledge seemed to be about the 'world' in general, that is to say, about spirits, mountains, ancestors, the ritual-village, the ritual-leaders, the village-rituals and so on. What impressed me further was that he implied that what he displayed was only a small part of his knowledge. I did not know at that time that I would have many similar experiences in the course of my fieldwork nor that the verbal arts displayed by that man was part of his *ola mbé'o*, which I spent much time studying.

*Ola mbé'o* is a category of personal knowledge which makes its owner powerful. In other words, *ola mbé'o* is regarded as a source of personal power. In a way we also believe in the power of knowledge. We take it for granted that a highly educated people have authority over less-educated people. However do we believe that holding certain knowledge helps us to fight back an invisible silent attack by others as Wologai people do? Certainly this conceptualisation of *ola mbé'o*, the power of *ola mbé'o* and this invisible silent attack by others and the experience in accordance with this conceptualisation are not universal but specific to the Wologai, that is, it is their socio-cultural construction.

By this phrase 'socio-cultural construction' I do not mean that I draw on the Durkheimian concept of society and culture, but rather on Schutz or Berger and Luckman's perspective of society and culture. Society is a form of human collectivity which one regards as given, which integrates individuals and which is at the same time the outcome of individuals' intersubjective perception and interaction. Culture is a set of modalities which influence the state of subjectivity and mediate among the individuals in order to make the intersubjective perception and interaction possible. Since these modalities are embedded in individuals' practice of perceptions and interactions, they do not entirely precede individuals' practice.

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38 Schutz 1962; Berger and Luckman 1967.
THREE PERSPECTIVES

This thesis, which explores the Wologai belief in the power of *ola mbé'o*, is done with three perspectives.

Attention is given to describing how the Wologai socio-culturally construct arenas, various concepts, assumptions and their relations which are entailed by the Wologai belief in power of *ola mbé'o*. This exploration aims at elucidating these issues which are specific to the Wologai.

In the course of this description I also pay attention to the wider linguistic-cultural environment in which the Wologai people live. This wider linguistic-cultural environment comprises two levels: the West-Lio and the Austronesian. In terms of language, the Wologai live in an objectively given world. While languages change and varies for various reasons, at least concerning the Wologai it can be said that the language they speak has been the most stable, invariant and objectively observable sphere of their life. However, my attention to this wider linguistic-cultural environment does not mean that I believe that this wider environment determines Wologai life and thought at the collective as well as individual level.

Jakobson observes that in the combination of linguistic units there is an ascending scale of freedom. An individual speaker does not have freedom either in choosing distinctive features or in the combination of distinctive features into phonemes. Freedom to combine phonemes into words is circumscribed. Forming sentences with words is less constrained. And the freedom of any individual speaker to create utterances with sentences increases. Jakobson also maintains that the numerous stereotyped utterances are not to be overlooked.\(^\text{39}\)

The Wologai have freedom to create propositions and clusters of propositions with which their thought and experience are concerned. So my interest is in how the Wologai draw on the signifiers which can be regarded as given by the wider linguistic environment. If the freedom to create utterances is taken into consideration, it is reasonable to think that most of the stereotyped utterances of Wologai people are specific to the Wologai or the West-Lio-speaking people. It should not, however, be overlooked that those stereotyped utterances may derive from a wider Austronesian cultural-linguistic environment. Examination of *ola mbé'o* indicates that the Wologai often create words. I deal with this issue, especially in relation to sound ordering in *ola mbé'o*. In ordinary life we are unconscious about the phonemes we are using. However, Wologai

people are sometimes aware of the phonemes in their own analysis of *ola mbé' o*. I also explore this issue.

The third perspective I draw on is a universal point of view. That is to say, how can we understand the Wologai belief in the power of *ola mbé' o* in relation to universal human nature. While in several chapters I refer to various theories for this purpose, in the following I analytically review various theories of poetic language because this review can show the direction and the goal of this thesis. This exploration is worthwhile because they are theories with which anthropology is, at least partly, familiar, and they give me a framework for analysis of *ola mbé' o* of Wologai, which will be done in the last chapter.

**AN ANALYTICAL REVIEW OF THEORIES ON POETIC LANGUAGE**

Poetry has been an issue in linguistics and in philosophy as well as in literature. However, while poetry currently has a recognised place in literature and used to enjoy such a status in early Greek philosophy, it now seems to occupy only a peripheral place in philosophy as it does in linguistics.

For the early Greeks, philosophy and poetry were intimately connected. There was no sharp distinction for a Heraclitus or a Parmenides between reason providing the ultimate standards of philosophy and imagination guiding the endeavours of poetry. This tradition underwent a slow struggling death. ..... Time has changed. In the contemporary philosophical community, the activity of poetry is generally banished to the darker regions of aesthetics, its problems debated only by the few who deem them worthy of consideration. Ordinary language and the discourse of science provide more respectable fields for philosophical discussion. The distinction between philosophy and poetry is now so rigidly drawn that a philosopher may absorb all the poetry he wants, but need not (perhaps ought not) integrate any of it into his work---and still be considered a philosopher. To the Greek mind, this state of affairs would have been naive, perhaps even unthinkable. To the modern mind, such discrimination is a symbol of progress in rigorous thinking (White 1978:ix).

Heidegger is one of the few who deem poetry worthy of consideration. White writes (1978:10):

Heidegger himself provides a methodological distinction to describe the tenor of his technique. An "exposition" (*Auslegung*) possesses some, perhaps all, of those factors considered necessary to "lay out" the elements of a poetic text in the accepted scholarly sense. An
"illumination" (*Erläuterung*) is the development of an exposition so that the language of poetry yields insights into problems which belong to the special province of thinking.

I think, as Heidegger does, that the problems of 'poetic language' are not only those of literature but also those of philosophy and thinking. By the term 'poetic language', I do not mean a certain category in literature or aesthetics but certain modes of language, which are realised as 'metaphor', 'parallelism', 'rhythm', 'rhyme', 'repetition', and so on. They might work in any speech or writing, while in some folk categories of verbal arts these modes work intensively. 'Poetry' and *ola mbé‘o* are such folk categories among English-speaking people and in Wologai respectively. In the following sections I endeavour to elucidate what poetic language is and what poetic language does in human experience and in social life.

**POETIC LANGUAGE**

Jakobson, among other scholars, considers that the issue of poetry should be analysed as a general linguistic issue.

...the analysis of verse is entirely within the competence of poetics, and the latter may be defined as that of linguistics which treats the poetic function in its relationship to the other functions of language (Jakobson 1981:28).

In order to elucidate the features and functions of poetic language, let me refer to Jakobson's model which delineates six basic aspects -- ADDRESSER, MESSAGE,

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40 'Poetic language' in my definition agrees with Jakobson's definition of poetics and poetic function in the wider sense of the word. Jakobson writes, "Poetics in the wider sense of the word deals with the poetic function not only in poetry, where this function is superimposed upon the other functions of language, but also outside of poetry, when some other function is superimposed upon the poetic function" (Jakobson 1981:28-9). He also says, "when dealing with poetic function, linguistics cannot limit itself to the field of poetry (Jakobson 1981:25) [as] any attempt to limit the domain of the poetic function to poetry, or to restrict poetry to the poetic function would only amount to an excessive and misleading simplification" (Jakobson 1963:218, cited in Roudiez 1984:2).

41 It can be said that 'poetry' is a folk category where poetic modes work intensively. Jakobson pointed this out by referring to Hymes, "poetry is not the only area where sound symbolism makes itself felt but it is a province where the internal nexus between sound and meaning changes from latent into patent and manifests itself most palpably and intensely, as was noted in Hymes' stimulating paper" (Hymes 1960:123-6; Jakobson 1981a:44).

42 Heidegger is one such scholar (White 1978). The scholars of the Prague school and of Russian formalism, to which Jakobson was closely related, deal with problems of poetics as those of linguistics (Erlich 1955; Bann and Bowit 1973; Matejka and Titunik 1976; Garvin 1964; Tynjanov 1924).
ADDRESSEE, CONTEXT, CODE, CONTACT -- and six functions -- emotive, poetic, conative, referential, metalingual, phatic.

The ADDRESSEEE sends a MESSAGE to the ADDRESSEE. To be operative the message requires a CONTEXT referred to (the "referent" in another, somewhat ambiguous, nomenclature), graspable by the addressee, and either verbal or capable of being verbalised; a CODE fully, or at least partially, common to the addressee and addressee (or in other words, to the encoder and decoder of the message); and finally, a CONTACT, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and stay in communication (Jakobson 1981a:21-2; 1985:113).

Each of these six basic aspects determines a different function of language.

...an orientation toward the CONTEXT -- briefly, so-called REFERENCE, "denotive", "cognitive" function -- is the leading task of numerous messages, ... (Jakobson 1981a:22)

The so-called EMOTIVE or "expressive" function, focused on the ADDRESSEE, aims a direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he is speaking about. ... The purely emotive stratum in language is presented by the interjections (1981a:22).

Orientation toward the ADDRESSEE, the CONATIVE function, finds its purest grammatical expression in the vocative and imperative, which syntactically, morphologically and often even phonemically deviate from other nominal and verbal categories (Jakobson 1981a:23).

There are messages primarily serving to establish, to prolong, or to discontinue communication, to check whether the channel works ("Hello, do you hear me?"); to attract the attention of the interlocutor or to confirm his continued attention.... This set for CONTACT, or in Malinowski's terms PHATIC function, may be displayed by a profuse exchange of ritualised formulas, by entire dialogues with the mere purport of prolonging communication (Jakobson 1981a:24).43

Whenever the addresser and/or the addressee need to check up whether they use the same code, speech is focused on the CODE: it performs a METALINGUAL function. ... Any process of language learning, in particular child acquisition of the mother tongue, makes wide use of

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43 Jakobson writes, "It is also the first verbal function acquired by infants; they are prone to communicate before being able to send or receive informative communication." While he does not further investigate the hierarchical structure of these linguistic aspects and features, this statement suggests the hierarchical structures.
such metalingual operations; and aphasia may often be defined as a loss of ability for metalingual operation (Jakobson 1981a:25).

The set (Einstellung) toward the message as such, focus on the message for its own sake, is the poetic function of language. This function cannot be productively studied out of touch with the general problems of language, and, on the other hand, the scrutiny of language requires a thorough consideration of its poetic function (Jakobson 1981a:25).44

Jakobson schematises these six different functions, determined by these six factors as follows:

CONTEXT
(referential)

MESSAGE
(poetic)

ADDRESSER (emotive)---------- ADDRESSSEE (conative)

CONTACT
(phatic)

CODE
(metalingual)

Actual verbal events are not restricted to only one function. Jakobson writes:

Although we distinguish six basic aspects of language, we could, however, hardly find verbal messages that would fulfil only one function. The diversity lies not in a monopoly of some one of these several functions but in a different hierarchical order of functions (1981a:22).

According to Jakobson's schematisation, if message is focused on, poetic function is stressed. In other words, focusing on the message for its own sake causes poetisation. In addition to suggesting this schematisation, he investigates the features of poetry in order to set up a deductive model of poetisation in terms of the internal structure of discourse. He also suggests that poetisation or poetic function is not linguistically restricted to poetry and vice versa.

44 Jakobson's view of poetic function is basically the same as that found in the Theses of the Prague Linguistic Circle published in 1928. According to the Theses, the practical function of language is primarily directed toward what is denoted in the external world while the poetic function arises when language is directed toward the sign itself (Matejka 1976:268).
This schematisation involves the following general implications. First, study of language must not be restricted to its referential function. Although this function might be the leading task of numerous messages, it is just one of a variety of functions. While the referential function assumes extra-linguistic existence, the other functions do not necessarily require it. Second, through this schematisation, language can be examined in the dynamics of discourse. Third, probing into each of these functions may advance the study not only of language but also of human experience.

POETISATION AND THE WORLD

This schematisation is similar to Ricoeur's account of discourse. According to Ricoeur, discourse is a language-event or linguistic usage. In distinguishing discourse from language, Ricoeur points out four traits of discourse which make it an event. The first is temporality: discourse is always realised temporally. The second is a subject: discourse refers back to its speaker. The third is the world: while the signs in language only refer to other signs within the same system, discourse is always about something: it refers to a world which it claims to describe, to express or represent. It is in discourse that the symbolic function of language is actualised. The fourth trait is an interlocutor: whereas language is only the condition for communication, for which it provides the necessary codes, it is in discourse that all messages are exchanged. Discourse has an interlocutor to whom it is addressed (Ricoeur 1979:74-5).

If it is taken into consideration that Jakobson also tries to investigate language-events, the similarity between his and Ricoeur's formula becomes obvious. As is also apparent in his description of an interlocutor, code is a prerequisite of discourse. If we consider referential function and poetic function as two different ways to 'refer' to a world, Ricoeur's formula looks nearly identical to Jakobson's, except that Ricoeur's stresses temporality and does not regard it as important to name 'contact' between a speaker and an interlocutor as a trait of discourse.45

45 Bühler, one of the contributors to the journal of the Prague Linguistic Circle, positions the speech act (Sprechakt) in its relationship to the language system (Sprachgebilde) as well as (1) to the thing spoken about, (2) to the speaker, and (3) to the listener (Bühler 1933; Matejka 1976:275). This formulation might have been a basis for Jakobson's formulation (Matejka 1979:276). The similarity between Ricoeur's and Bühler's formulation of speech acts may demonstrate that Ricoeur belongs to the flow of European linguistics including the Geneva School, Russian Formalism and the Prague Linguistic Circle.
Interestingly, in relation to the world or a world, the contrast that Ricoeur finds between written texts or entextualised discourse and spoken discourse seems to be similar to the contrast that Jakobson finds between poetic function and referential function. Ricoeur writes (1979:79):

...it [the text] frees its reference from the limits of ostensive reference. .... It is this enlarging of the Umwelt into the World which permits us to speak of the references opened up by the text --- it would be better to say that the references open up the world. Here again the spirituality of discourse manifests itself through writing, which frees us from the visibility and limitation of situations by opening up a world for us, that is, new dimensions of our being-in-the-world.

What is common to entextualisation and poetisation, which focuses on the message for its own sake, is detachment from immediate references in the 'here and now'. In a nonliterate language, poetisation can play an important role in entextualisation.

By defining entextualisation as a process in which the speech event is marked by increasing thoroughness of poetic and rhetorical patterning and growing levels of (apparent) detachment from the immediate pragmatic context, Kuipers points out the role poetic language or poetisation plays in entextualisation in the ritual speeches of the Weyewa, in Sumba, in eastern Indonesia (Kuipers 1990:4):

The Weyewa ritual process of recovering and restoring the 'words of the ancestors' offers a particularly clear example in which to explore the process of extracting, objectifying, and incorporating words in its sociocultural context. As a way of calling attention to the relation between social practices and discourse structures, I refer to it as entextualization, by which I mean a process in which a speech event (or series of speech events) is marked by increasing thoroughness of poetic and rhetorical patterning and growing levels of (apparent) detachment from the immediate pragmatic context. The end result is a relatively coherent text conceived "inter-textually" as an authoritative version of one that existed before, or elsewhere. It is not regarded as merely a novel, spontaneous creation by an individual performer in the "here and now," even though in many ways it is. Drawing on a variety of rhetorical disclaimers, poetic allusions, and cohesive devices, such textualized performances deny their situated character.

Ritual speeches of the Weyewa involve entextualisation in the form of poetic language. Entextualisation is fixation of discourse or events. Poetisation is
focusing on message for its own sake in discourse. In literate language, the most
common form of entextualisation is writing. Even in nonliterate languages,
poetisation does not necessarily accompany entextualisation and vice versa. They
can work independently. In other cases entextualisation and poetisation might
accompany each other. Therefore they need to be studied separately.

In the course of his investigation of poetisation, Jakobson formulates poetic
function as follows:

The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis
of selection into the axis of combination (1981a:27).

That means:

Equivalence is promoted to the constitutive device of the sequence.

As for equation and sequence, poetry, that is to say poeticised discourse, and
metalanguage mirror each other.

... metalanguage also makes a sequential use of equivalent units when
combining synonymic expression into an equational sentence: A = A
("Mare is the female of the horse"). Poetry and metalanguage, however,
are in diametrical opposition to each other: in metalanguage the
sequence is used to build an equation, whereas in poetry the equation is
used to build a sequence (Jakobson 1981a:27).

While this unique relation between sequence and similarity in poetry induces
multivocality and ambiguity, these can be produced in other ways.46 As is
especially apparent in lyrical poetry, multivocality and ambiguity in poetised
discourse are produced through ambiguity of an addressee and an addressee.47
Multivocality and ambiguity are also produced by using words in distinctive
ways, for example, parallel words, metaphors, metonymies, similes, tropes,
foreign words, proper nouns, unintelligible words and so on (Tynjanov 1924
[1985:145-166]). The distinctive relation or collision between meaning and
sounds and/or the outstanding features of sound equivalence or sound ordering in

46 Ambiguity is an intrinsic, inalienable characteristic of any self-focused message, briefly, a corollary
feature of poetry (Jakobson 1981a:42). In addition to Jakobson, many scholars regard ambiguity as an
important and almost intrinsic feature of poetry (cf. Empson 1955, Tynjanov 1924).

47 Jakobson writes, "Besides the author and the reader, there is the "I" of the lyrical hero or of the fictitious
storyteller and the "you" or "thou" of the alleged addressee of dramatic monologues, supplication, and
epistles. .... Virtually any poetic message is a quasi-quoted discourse with all those peculiar, intricate
problems which "speech within speech" offers to the linguist" (Jakobson 1981a:42).
poetry also tend to produce multivocality and ambiguity. Poetisation can detach discourse from the immediate reference and the production of multivocality and ambiguity. Such detachment creates unintelligibility on the one hand and the unique reality of a world on the other. This is epitomised in poetry.

SOME FORMS OF POETIC LANGUAGE

A focus on the message for its own sake manifests itself pervasively in Wologai discourse in such linguistic forms as metaphor, parallelism and/or sound orderings.

METAPHOR

In order to clarify the significance of *ola mbé'o* among the Wologai through an analysis of poetic language, I must review certain arguments about 'metaphor'. In doing so, it is necessary to differentiate the three questions involved in these arguments: "What is metaphor?", a question of how to define 'metaphor'; "What does metaphor do?", a question about its effects; and "How does metaphor work?". While these questions are related to each other, they should not be confused.

WHAT DOES METAPHOR DO AND HOW DOES METAPHOR WORK?: BLACK'S ARGUMENT

Davidson points out that most arguments about metaphor are based on 'the idea that a metaphor has, in addition to its literal sense or meaning, another sense or meaning':

This idea is found in the works of literary critics like Richards, Empson, and Winters; philosophers from Aristotle to Max Black; psychologists from Freud and earlier to Skinner and later; and linguists from Plato to Uriel Weinreich and George Lakoff (Davidson 1978:30).

This idea develops into several different views of metaphor. How to classify these views varies from one scholar to another. Black, for example, classifies them into three types: a 'substitution view', a 'comparison view', and an

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'interaction view' (Black 1962). Black defines a 'substitution view of metaphor' as follows:

Any view which holds that a metaphorical expression is used in place of some equivalent literal expression, I shall call a *substitution view of metaphor* [original emphasis] (1962:31).

Until recently, some form of a substitution view has been accepted by most writers. The entry for metaphor in the Oxford English Dictionary is not much different from this view, suggesting that a 'substitution view' might also be the most popular view of metaphor in everyday life. It can also be found in Aristotle's well-known definition of metaphor:

Metaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else; the transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on analogy.

A substitution view, Black observes, supposes that a metaphor is made as follows:

...the focus of metaphor, the word or expression having a distinctively metaphorical use within a literal form, is used to communicate a meaning that might have been expressed literally. The author substitutes $M$ (metaphorical meaning) for $L$; it is the reader's task to invert the substitution, by using the literal meaning of $M$ as a clue to the intended literal meaning of $L$ (1962:32).

Black defines a 'comparison view of metaphor' as follows:

If a writer holds that a metaphor consists in the *presentation* of the underlying analogy or similarity, he will be taking what I shall call a *comparison view* of metaphor. ... This is a view of metaphor as a

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49 Beardsley classifies them into two types: 'object-comparison theory' and 'verbal-opposition theory'. The former roughly encompasses Black's 'substitution view' and 'comparison view', and the latter corresponds to his 'interaction view' (Beardsley 1962). I spend rather a lot of time on Black's theory of metaphor for three reasons. The first reason is that his argument enables me to take the first step in objectifying metaphor, which is so pervasive, even in everyday life. The second is that Black's theory is a standard variant of the theories on metaphor. Understanding his theory makes it easy to understand other theories such as those by Beardsley and the authors Davidson names. The third is that in his argument I can see the fundamental problem of metaphor with which Heidegger, Wittgenstein, Paul Valéry and others have also struggled.

50 As an example of this view, Black quotes Whateley's definition of metaphor as "a word substituted for another on account of the Resemblance or Analogy between their significations." (Whateley 1846:280 cited in Black 1962:31)

51 Aristotle's *Poetics* (1457 b-69, Cited in Ricoeur 1977:13[1975]).
condensed or elliptical simile. It will be noticed that a "comparison view" is a special case of a "substitution view." For it holds that the metaphorical statement might be replaced by an equivalent literal comparison (1962:35).

This view of metaphor has also been popular. These two accounts differ in their focus. A 'substitution view' mainly investigates how metaphors are made, while a 'comparison view' concentrates mainly on how metaphors work. Therefore it is not surprising that one author can hold these two views at the same time. They often appear to support each other in a single author's theory of metaphor.

Black points out defects in the 'substitution view' and the 'comparison view'. After investigating the reader's possible response to a metaphor according to the 'substitution view', he writes:

> Whatever the merits of such speculations about the reader's response, they agree in making metaphor a decoration. ... the purpose of metaphor is to entertain and divert. Its use, on this view, always constitutes a deviation from the "plain and strictly appropriate style" (1962:34).

He criticises a 'comparison view' because it does not explain the effectiveness of metaphors.53

> There is some temptation to think of similarities as "objectively given," so that a question of the form, "Is A like B in respect of P?" has a definite and predetermined answer. If this were so, similes might be governed by rules as strict as those controlling the statements of physics. But likeness always admits of degrees, so that a truly "objective" question would need to take some such form as "Is A more like B than C on such and such a scale of degrees of P?" Yet, in proportion as we approach such forms, metaphorical statements lose their effectiveness and their point (1962:37).

Black recommends an 'interaction view of metaphor' because it is free of the main defects of substitution and comparison views and offers some important insights into the uses and limitations of metaphor. In order to clarify what an 'interaction view of metaphor' is, Black quotes Richards' statement as a good example:

[52] While Whately espouses the 'substitution view', he also says 'The Simile or Comparison may be considered as differing in form only from a Metaphor; the resemblance being in that case stated, which in the Metaphor is implied' (cited in Black 1962:36).

[53] Another possible objection against substitution and comparison views would be that they contain circular reasoning.
In the simplest formulation, when we use a metaphor we have two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word, or phrase, whose meaning is a resultant of their interaction.54

Black asserts that an 'interaction view' is committed to the following seven claims (1962:44-45):

(1) A metaphorical statement has two distinct subjects---a "principal" subject and a "subsidiary" one.55

(2) These subjects are often best regarded as "systems of things," rather than "things."

(3) The metaphor works by applying to the principal subject a system of "associated implications" characteristic of the subsidiary subject.

(4) These implications usually consist of "commonplaces" about the subsidiary subject, but may, in suitable cases, consist of deviant implications established ad hoc by the writer.

(5) The metaphor selects, emphasizes, suppresses, and organizes features of the principal subject by implying statements about it that normally apply to the subsidiary subject.

(6) This involves shifts in meaning of words belonging to the same family or system as the metaphorical expression; and some of these shifts, though not all, may be metaphorical transfer.

(7) There is, in general, no simple "ground" for the necessary shifts of meaning--- no blanket reason why some metaphors work and others fail.

If only those examples satisfying all these seven claims were allowed as 'genuine' metaphors, the use of the word 'metaphor' would be restricted to a very small number of cases and the more trivial cases would lose a convenient label.56 At this last stage of his argument, Black cannot therefore help but admit the usefulness of substitution and comparison views and the limits of an interaction view of metaphor:

... it is in just such trivial cases that "substitution" and "comparison" views sometimes seem nearer the mark than "interaction" views. The


55 In the metaphorical sentence, 'Man is a wolf', 'man' is the principal subject, and 'wolf' is the subsidiary subject.
point might be met by classifying metaphors as instances of substitution, comparison, or interaction. Only the last kind are of importance in philosophy (1962:45).

Black's primary concerns with metaphor is what a metaphor does in philosophy. He argues that in spite of the condemnation and ignorance of using metaphor in philosophy, a metaphor (interaction-metaphor) can give insight that 'plain language' cannot.

Suppose we try to state the cognitive content of an interaction-metaphor in "plain language." Up to a point, we may succeed in stating a number of the relevant relations between the two subjects. ... But the set of literal statements so obtained will not have the same power to inform and enlighten as the original. ... One of the points I most wish to stress is that the loss in such cases is a loss in cognitive content; ... it fails to be a translation because it fails to give the insight that the metaphor did (1962:46).

In order to assert the importance of metaphors in philosophy, Black classifies metaphors into two categories: genuine and trivial. A genuine metaphor gives an insight, but a trivial one does not. The latter may be a simple deviation or only make things ambiguous. Black assumes that genuine and trivial metaphors are different in their effects. But what is the criterion to differentiate these two categories? Is the only criterion that a genuine metaphor gives an insight? When Black claims that 'there is, in general, no simple "ground" for the necessary shifts of meaning---no blanket reason why some metaphors work and others fail', does he mean that even an interaction view cannot clarify how genuine metaphors work? If so, readers' responses need to be awaited to assess whether a metaphor is genuine or not. Naturally, readers may have different responses. Does all this mean that the difference between genuine and trivial is analytically useless? Instead of raising these questions, Black makes the statement that 'no doubt metaphors are dangerous--and perhaps especially so in philosophy'.

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56 Black 1962:45.

57 Apparently Black assumes that there are two categories of metaphor: genuine and trivial. The former should be investigated according to an interaction view, and the latter according to substitution and comparison views. This kind of dichotomy of metaphors is found in other theories on metaphor. Wheelwright, for example, observes that metaphors are classified into two categories: diaphor and epiphor (Wheelwright 1968). The former is similar to 'genuine metaphor' and the latter to 'trivial metaphor'.
In the traditions of Western philosophy, as Black also points out, there has been condemnation or ignorance of metaphor and its study. So, for example, Hobbes rejects metaphors as 'deception of thoughts', while Locke condemns all the arts of rhetoric as perfect cheats. Overall, Cohen points out that many works in Western philosophy deny metaphors have (1) any capacity to contain or transmit knowledge; (2) any direct connection with facts; or (3) any genuine meanings (1979:3).

As far as metaphor is concerned, Heidegger's statements and practices look contradictory at first glance. On the one hand he makes negative statements about using 'metaphors' in philosophy. On the other hand many words, especially key words, in his later works are metaphorical to a considerable extent (Kume 1992:81-2).

In his attempt to innovate and to transcend the limits of Western philosophy, Heidegger tries to redefine the words of Greek origin in the Western philosophical tradition by resorting to their original meaning and usage in ancient pre-Socratic Greek. He accuses Western philosophy of being a metaphysics, which has been alienated from 'physics', and in which 'thinking' and 'being' are opposed to each other. Since logos, as the language of reason and mind, has been the core of this 'meta-physics', Heidegger tries to deconstruct logos by returning to its original meaning and usage. In ancient Greek, logos meant words, speech and language, and its verbal infinitive legein meant to speak. He stresses that logos and legein originally meant 'collect'. Following Heidegger, in this original meaning, logos accords with physis, which he understands as 'being'. Thus he says, 'for the Greek, saying is to make open, to

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58 Ted Cohen writes: There has been a very strong line in Western philosophy, especially in that strain running from British empiricism through Vienna positivism, which has denied to metaphors and their study any philosophical seriousness of the first order. (Cohen 1979:1)

59 He writes in Leviathan: The general use of speech, is to transfer our mental discourse into verbal. ..... there are four ... abuses. First, when men register their thoughts wrong, by the inconstancy of the signification of their words; by which they register for their conception, that which they never conceived, and so deceive themselves. Secondly, when they used words metaphorically; that is, in other senses than that they are ordained for; and so and thereby deceive others. ..... And therefore such [inconstant] names can never be true grounds of any ratiocination. No more can metaphors, and tropes of speech... (Hobbes pt.1, chap.4)

60 He writes in Essay: if we would speak of things as they are, we must allow that all the art of rhetoric, besides order and clearness, all the artificial and figurative application of words eloquence hath invented, are for nothing else but to insinuate wrong ideas, move the passions, and thereby mislead the judgment, and so indeed are perfect cheats and, therefore, however laudable of allowable oratory may render them in harangues and popular addresses, they are certainly, in all discourse that pretend to inform or instruct, wholly to be avoided. (Locke bk.3, chap. 10)
let appear, namely the appearing and the essence [of things)] (Heidegger 1961:6): 'being is collection [Versammlung]---logos' (Heidegger 1956:13).61

Just as he returns to the original meaning of logos, so too in relation to 'metaphor'. In *The Principle of Reason*, Heidegger argues about metaphor or transposition (Übertragen) in the following way.

Because our hearing and seeing is never a mere sensible registering it is therefore also off the mark to insist that thinking as listening and bringing-into-view are only meant as a transposition of meaning, namely as transposing the supposedly sensible into the nonsensible. The idea of "transposing" and of metaphor is based upon the distinguishing, if not complete separation, of the sensible and the nonsensible as two realms that subsist on their own. The setting up of this partition between the sensible and nonsensible, between the physical and non physical is a basic trait of what is called metaphysics and which normatively determines Western thinking.

When one gains the insight into the limitations of metaphysics, "metaphor" as a normative conception also becomes untenable --- that is to say that metaphor is the norm for our conception of the essence of language. Thus metaphor serves as a handy crutch in the interpretation of works of poetry and of artistic production in general. The metaphorical exists only within metaphysics (1991:48).

On the one hand, he condemns 'metaphor' because the idea according to which 'metaphor' transposes the sensible into the nonsensible establishes the separation of physics and meta-physics, and on the other his texts can be called highly metaphorical in their use of poetic language, as epitomized in his expression 'language is the house of being'.62

Heidegger's argument here might be taken to imply that he is negative about 'metaphor', although clearly for reasons quite apart from those put forward by Hobbes and Locke. In spite of their superficial differences in dealing with 'metaphor', Heidegger's view agrees with Black's in its basic tenets. Disagreement centres on the application of the word 'metaphor': while Heidegger, following the Greek use of the term, limits it to the expression inimical to an insight, Black uses the word 'metaphor' in a broad sense and is concerned about 'important metaphors' which illuminate a philosophical insight. Heidegger nevertheless values highly the use of poetic language in thinking, as well as the

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creative usage of words by great poets. He considers that genuine poetic language, not unlike what Black called 'genuine metaphor', is the ideal language of philosophy.\textsuperscript{63}

It is not surprising to find a view similar to Heidegger's among some poets. Mallarmé, for example, differentiates between 'everyday language' and 'poetic language'. The former is enough to communicate information by indicating immediate raw reality. The latter is the 'ideal language' which makes a world come into being without indicating objects existing in the immediate world (Mallarmé 1962). Valéry also conceived of ideal language in the form of 'pure poetry'. It does not depend on the immediate world, but exists like things and arouses a poetic world detached from the immediate world through deep impression (Valéry 1955).

Heidegger's perspective differs from that of the poets, Mallarmé and Valéry in several ways. While Heidegger believes that 'poetic language' encompasses the world which the Western tradition of philosophy has divided into two, the nonsensible meta-physical and the sensible physical immediate world\textsuperscript{64}, the poets believe that 'poetic language' realises a poetic world detached from the immediate world. Another difference is that, while Heidegger does not seem to take into consideration phonological aspects in respect of poetic language, sounds always have a great significance in the poetic language of both Mallarmé and Valéry.

While these two poets try to attain ideal language by freeing it from the need to indicate objects, the early Wittgenstein, in contrast, considers that a requisite of an 'ideal language' would be that there should be one name for every simple, and never the same name for two different simples (Russell 1961:x). He requires an ideal language free from multivocality or ambiguity, that is to say, free from being nonsensical. He positions language in the way shown below:\textsuperscript{65}

The world is all that is the case.

The world is the totality of facts, not of things.

What is the case—a fact—is the existence of states of affairs.


\textsuperscript{64} Heidegger 1991:48.

\textsuperscript{65} Tractatus 1, 1.1, 2, 2.01, 2.1, 2.2, 3.1, 3.3, 3.2, 4, 4.001, 4.112, 4.116, 4.2, 7
A state of affairs (a state of things) is a combination of objects (things).

We picture facts to ourselves.

A picture has logico-pictorial form in common with what it depicts.

A logical picture of facts is a thought.

In a proposition a thought finds an expression that can be perceived by the senses.

In a proposition a thought can be expressed in such a way that elements of the propositional sign correspond to the objects of the thought.

Only propositions have sense; only in the nexus of a proposition does a name have meaning.

A thought is a proposition with a sense.

The totality of propositions is language.

Philosophy aims at the logical clarification of thoughts.

Everything that can be thought at all can be thought clearly. Everything that can be put into words can be put clearly

What we cannot speak about we must pass over in silence.

Thus, in the Tractatus, Wittgenstein clarifies what he considers to be the limits of language and philosophy. In contrast to the poets' idea that an 'ideal language' should have infinite possibility in signification, Wittgenstein holds that the 'ideal language' has rules of syntax which prevent nonsense, and has single symbols which always have a definite and unique meaning (Russell 1961:x).66 This view has a basic affinity with the concept of 'word proper' used by Hobbes, which excludes 'metaphors' from philosophy. In the Tractatus, Wittgenstein criticises so-called 'philosophical works' as follows:

Most of the propositions and questions to be found in philosophical works are not false but nonsensical. Consequently we cannot give any answer to questions of this kind, but can only point out that they are

66 My argument here depends largely on other philosophers' interpretations such as those Black 1964, Kume 1992, and Russell 1961.
nonsensical. And it is not surprising that the deepest problems are in fact no problems at all.67

According to Wittgenstein's Tractatus, a thought is a sensical proposition, which is true or false. Wittgenstein argues that philosophy, which should use logically perfect language, must keep silent about what cannot be said and should not produce nonsensical propositions that are outside any judgement of whether they are true or false. It does not seem that in the Tractatus there is room for metaphors, which are outside truth-value.

Based on this brief review of concepts related to the notion of 'ideal language', two models of an 'ideal language' can be drawn. One model is that a word in the 'ideal language' signifies an object, and a proposition composed of words has truth-value in relation to the world. The other model is that the 'ideal language' can realise the 'genuine' world. Common to both these models is the point that being ideal is defined in relation to the world. However, the relation assumed between world and language in these two models is critically different. In the former model, the world is already there and what the 'ideal language' can do is represent the world in order for man to reach the reality. In other words, the world is already internally differentiated and what the 'ideal language' does is to 'picture' the world in a form which is logically common to the form the world has. In the latter model, the 'ideal language' creates the reality of the world. In other words, the 'ideal language' allows man to reach the 'genuine world' lying beyond the immediate world which reveals only trivial differentiations.68 There is another point common to these models: they posit that ordinary language is incomplete.

PRAGMATIC EXPLANATION: SEARLE, LEVIN AND DAVIDSON

In contrast with early Wittgenstein, the later Wittgenstein was interested in the everyday use of language instead of the logically perfect language.

When I talk about language, (words, sentences, etc.) I must speak the language of every day. Is this language somehow too coarse and material for what we want? Then how is another one to be constructed?----And how strange that we should be able to do anything

67 Tractatus 4.003.

68 Ortony also points out this basic difference in theories on metaphor. He refers to these opposing conceptions as 'nonconstructivism' and 'constructivism' (1993:2).
at all with the one we have! In giving explanations I already have to use language full-blown (not some sort of preparatory, provisional one); this by itself shews that I can adduce only exterior facts about language. Yes, but then how can these explanations satisfy us?—Well, your very questions were framed in this language; they had to be expressed in this language, if there was anything to ask! (1953, no.120).

Although metaphor is not a major topic of his philosophical investigations, his view there that 'the meaning of a word is its use in language' coincides with the theories of metaphor that stem from pragmatics or a focus on speech acts (1953, no.43).

Concerning metaphor, scholars interested in the pragmatics of language or in speech acts investigate this phenomenon in a different way from those scholars, such as Black, who try to find the meaning of metaphors in the words or the sentences themselves. I would like to consider several arguments that derive from this perspective for my analysis of *ola mbé'o*.

Searle's theory of metaphor focuses on how metaphor works in speech. He holds that metaphor is a specific case of the more general problem of how it is possible to say one thing to mean another. He maintains that since people can communicate with each other by saying something to mean another, there must be a systematic underlying principle.

He differentiates between 'speaker's utterance meaning' and 'word or sentence meaning', observing that metaphorical meaning is always speaker's utterance meaning (1993[1979]:84).⁶⁹ In terms of the relation between saying and meaning, two kinds of utterances, 'literal' and 'metaphorical', can be differentiated. Sentence meaning and speaker's utterance meaning are the same in a literal utterance, while they are different in a metaphorical utterance (1993:87). Although most authors are not interested in analysing how literal utterances work, taking it as all too self-evident, Searle examines the features of a literal utterance in order to clarify the nature of metaphorical utterance. From this examination, it follows that:

even in literal utterances, ... the speaker must contribute more to the literal utterance than just the semantic content of the sentence, because that semantic content only determines a set of truth conditions relative to a set of assumptions made by the speaker, and if communication is to

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⁶⁹ He writes: To have a brief way of distinguishing what a speaker means by uttering words, sentences, and expressions, on the one hand, and what the words, sentences, and expressions mean, on the other, I shall call the former speaker's utterance meaning, and the latter, word or sentence meaning. Metaphorical meaning is always speaker's utterance meaning (1993[1979]:84).
be successful, his assumptions must be shared by the hearer (Searle 1993:86).

These assumptions are not explicitly realised in the semantic structure of the sentence. For example, a literal utterance 'Sally is tall' is understood against a background of assumptions according to which a woman can correctly be described as 'tall' even though she is shorter than a giraffe that could correctly be described as 'short' (Searle 1993:86).

Metaphor operates on the basis of these general features of utterances. Searle maintains that metaphor works on the following principle:

The basic principle on which all metaphor works is that the utterance of an expression with its literal meaning and corresponding truth conditions can, in various ways that are specific to metaphor, call to mind another meaning and corresponding set of truth conditions (1993[1979]:88,89).

To enable speaker and hearer to communicate, the following conditions are individually necessary and collectively sufficient for a speaker to form and for a hearer to comprehend a metaphorical utterance. There must be some shared strategies on the basis of which the hearer can recognise that the utterance is not intended literally, most commonly he can recognise that it is defective if taken literally. The speaker and the hearer must share assumptions which associate the literal meaning and corresponding truth conditions of the utterance with another, namely metaphorical, meaning and set of truth conditions (1993:108).

Starting from a critique of Searle's analysis, Levin develops the theory that metaphor realises a possible world (1993:121).

Implicit in Searle's account of metaphor (and in other accounts as well) is the assumption that, given an incompatibility between the utterance and conditions in the world, the conditions are to be taken as fixed, and it is the utterance that must be construed. Now this is not a logically necessary position. We may, if we like, in the face of an incompatibility between what is asserted in an utterance and conditions as they obtain in the world, regard the utterance as fixed and construe the world. Instead, that is, of construing the utterance so that it makes sense in the world, we construe the world so as to make sense of the utterance. On this account, "defectiveness" is located in the world (i.e., the actual world),

70 I simplify Searle's argument by rephrasing and summarising it. For his own phrasing, see Searle 1993:88, 108.
not in the utterance. "Deviant" utterances are taken literally; they mean what they say -- what gives is the world.

In some approaches to metaphor, including Searle's, uttered or written metaphorical sentences are first regarded as deviant and then construed into a non-deviant meaning that can be mapped against conditions in the actual world. In Levin's approach, uttered or written sentences are understood literally and then mapped onto a possible world. In other words, through searching for conditions in which sentences, otherwise defective, make sense, a new world is realised.71

Davidson's article on metaphor 'What metaphors mean' (1979) also draws on a viewpoint from pragmatics. He says, 'I think metaphor belongs exclusively to the domain of use' (p.31) and 'a metaphor doesn't say anything beyond its literal meaning (nor does its maker say anything, in using the metaphor, beyond the literal)' (p.30). He argues against the most popular view that 'a metaphor has, in addition to its literal sense or meaning, another sense or meaning' (p. 30). However, he agrees with other authors about the effects of metaphor (p.31, 43):

Metaphor is a legitimate device not only in literature but in science, philosophy, and the law; it is effective in praise and abuse, prayer and promotion, description and prescription.

No doubt metaphors often make us notice aspects of things we did not notice before; no doubt they bring surprising analogies and similarities to our attention; they do provide a kind of lens or lattice, as Black says, through which we view the relevant phenomena.

Contrary to Searle, Davidson claims that there is no meaning except for sentence meaning, which is the truth-conditions of the sentence. The utterance does not have a meaning different from the sentence meaning. Therefore, sentences taken as metaphor are first recognised as fals:

Generally it is only when a sentence is taken to be false that we accept it as a metaphor and start to hunt out the hidden implication. Absurdity or contradiction in a metaphorical sentence guarantees we won't believe

71 The article 'Standard approaches to metaphor and a proposal for literary metaphor' was published in Metaphor and thought in 1979. In the second edition of the book in 1993, Levin revised the paper and also changed the title into 'Language, concept, and worlds: three domains of metaphor'. He has modified his theory on metaphor under the influence by Davidson (1979) and, Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Their influence is also found in his book Metaphoric worlds (1988).
it and invites us, under proper circumstances, to take the sentence metaphorically (1979:40).\textsuperscript{72}

In spite of his claim that an utterance does not have meaning other than sentence meaning, if Davidson's phrase 'hidden implication' above is replaced with 'speaker's utterance meaning' or 'metaphorical meaning', his argument on how metaphor works is similar to Searle's and even to other arguments with which he disagrees.\textsuperscript{73}

While Searle posits that the meaning of a sentence paraphrasing a metaphorical utterance is the meaning of the utterance, Davidson maintains that there is no meaning except for sentence meaning since what metaphor caused us to notice is not propositional in character. Referring to Wittgenstein's duck-rabbit, he states that 'metaphor makes us see one thing as another by making some literal statement that inspires or prompts the insight' (1979:45).

In spite of the fact that many authors, including Black, Searle, Levin and Davidson, build their argument from a critique of other accounts, they all seem to agree that metaphor does something important. Their disagreements centre on how to schematise the way metaphor works. Thus the question, 'what is metaphor', seems to be contingent on discussions of 'what does metaphor do?' or 'how does metaphor work?' Without explicitly asking the question 'what is metaphor', Black divides metaphor into two categories; important/genuine and trivial. Searle pays attention to the fundamental question, independently of the other two questions to some extent. He says that metaphor, together with irony and indirect speech acts, belong to one category. He writes:

It [The problem of explaining how metaphors work] is a special case, that is, of the problem of how it is possible to say one thing and mean something else where one succeeds in communicating what one means even though both the speaker and the hearer know that the meanings of the words uttered by the speaker do not exactly and literally express what the speaker meant. Some other instances .... are irony and indirect speech acts (1993:84).

\textsuperscript{72} Weinrich used to define metaphor as windersprüchliche Prädikation (contradictory predication). It is interesting that he changed the definition of metaphor to a word placed in a 'contradeterminate' context. 'Contradetermination' is determination of the meaning of a word by a context outside, instead of inside, the circle of the literal meaning of the word (Weinrich 1967).

\textsuperscript{73} In his revised version of the article on metaphor, Levin also points out the resemblance between Searle's and Davidson's theories on metaphor (Levin 1993). Ortony also says: 'Perhaps the semantic and pragmatic views of metaphor need not be quite so antithetical as their strongest proponents imply' (1993:10).
Searle deals with metonymy and synecdoche as special cases of metaphor (1993:101). Davidson points out the similarity between metaphor and assertion, hinting, lying, promising, or criticizing (1978:41).

The parallel between making a metaphor and telling a lie is emphasized by the fact that the same sentence can be used, with meaning unchanged, for either purpose.

What distinguishes metaphor is not meaning but use—in this it is like assertion, hinting, lying, promising, or criticizing.

Beyond these sketches, the question of what metaphor is does not seem to have been fully explored. Through positioning metaphor linguistically, I would like to explore this issue further; the exploration is relevant here because this question is related to how meaning and world are constructed.

**What is metaphor?**

Jakobson's work bears on the question of 'what is metaphor?' He approaches the issue in the following manner. To begin with, he elucidates the twofold character of language. Then he analyses two types of aphasic disturbances. Finally, he defines what metaphor is in relation to metonymy. Let me summarise his argument briefly. First, he clarifies that any linguistic sign involves two modes of arrangement: combination and selection. Contexture and substitution are the other faces of combination and selection. These two modes are identified with Saussure's two modes, *in presentia* and *in absentia*, or syntagmatic and paradigmatic. These two modes operate in understanding an utterance in the following way:

The constituents of a context are in a state of contiguity, while in a substitution set signs are linked by various degrees of similarity which fluctuate between the equivalence of synonyms and the common core of antonyms (1971:243-244).

According to this general feature of language, cases of aphasia are classified into two groups: selection deficiency and combination deficiency, or in other words similarity disorder and contiguity disorder.

In the former, selection deficiency or similarity disorder, the context is the indispensable and decisive factor. Aphasics of this type cannot understand a word without context. For such patients two occurrences of the same word in two
different contexts are mere homonyms. While metalanguage is necessary both for the acquisition of language and for its normal functioning, such patients lack ability in metalinguistic operations. In the latter, combination deficiency or contiguity disorder, the syntactic rules for organising words into higher units are lost. This loss causes the degeneration of a sentence into a mere word heap. The varieties of aphasia are numerous and diverse, but all of them lie somewhere between these two polar types.

Metaphor and metonymy are clearly seen in the light of the two general modes of language and the two types of aphasia. Patients with similarity disorder grasp the words in their literal meaning but cannot understand the metaphorical character of the same words, while they widely employ metonymy (249, 250). Patients with contiguity disorder are alien to metonymy and are inclined to produce expressions of a metaphorical nature. These views illuminate metaphor and metonymy as a general linguistic issue. Jakobson writes:

The development of a discourse may take place along two different semantic lines: one topic may lead to another either through their similarity or through their contiguity. The metaphorical way would be the most appropriate term for the first case and metonymic way for the second, since they find their most condensed expression in metaphor and metonymy respectively (1971:254).

Jakobson points out that the interaction of these two elements is especially pronounced in verbal arts, such as verses which require a compulsory parallelism between adjacent lines, as for example in Biblical poetry or in Finnic oral traditions. Metaphorical constructions predominate in certain verbal arts and literatures, for example, in Russian lyrical songs, literatures of romanticism and symbolism. Metonymy is predominant in Russian heroic epics and realistic trends. The same oscillation also occurs in sign systems other than language. In general, metaphor is predominant in poetry, while metonymy is predominant in prose.

We owe it to Jakobson that, based on his observations of aphasia, we recognise operations along two modes of arrangement in order to speak as well as to understand. It is confusing, however, as is often pointed out, to equate the principles of 'metaphor' and 'metonymy' with the two modes of linguistic arrangement, similarity/substitution and contiguity/combination, respectively.74

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74 Ricoeur criticises Jakobson on the grounds that his scheme cannot explain metaphor in discourse, which puts metaphor in contiguous relations (Ricoeur 1977).
Confusion arises in at least two respects. One source of confusion is that a word or series of words cannot be metaphorical without contiguous relations. The other is that metonymy can 'substitute' one word or phrase for another, although they are related to each other contiguously in some sentences. The White House, for example, can 'substitute' for the US president and his advisers, although they are 'combined contiguously' in the sentence 'the US president and his advisers work in the White House'. Thus, the opposition and the relation between the two linguistic modes do not correspond to those between metaphor and metonymy.

One significant result of Jakobson's study is that the question of 'what metaphor is' can be freed from the analytical dichotomy of 'a literal and a metaphorical meaning', which often leads the analysis to a dead end since any proposed criterion for the difference between 'literal' versus 'a metaphorical meaning' can be shown to break down under certain circumstances (Black 1993). Jakobson's study implies that metaphor is a product of operations in two linguistic modes. The meaning of a metaphorical utterance emerges in its relationship to other words along these two linguistic modes. How metaphor works can thus be understood linguistically. Metaphor, like all other forms of speech, results from the selection of a word or words in a certain sequential relation with other words. From this it follows that the difference between 'ideal language' and everyday language, whether 'ideal language' free from metaphor as conceived of by Hobbes, Locke and early Wittgenstein or 'ideal language' full of metaphor as proposed by the poets, is not absolute but relative.

According to Saussure, language is arbitrary in two regards (Saussure 1959). First, the bond between the signifier and signified is arbitrary. Second, the value of each word is purely differential. If Jakobson's view of metaphor, and these two types of arbitrariness are taken into consideration, it can be said that speech is more or less metaphorical in nature, since, if grammatical conditions are satisfied, any word has the possibility of being in a substitutive relation to any other word.

However, if speech is in essence metaphorical, what makes us usually consider that 'Sally is an ice block' is a 'metaphorical' utterance, while 'Sally is

75 'Language is a system of interdependent terms in which the value of each term results solely from the simultaneous presence of other words...' (Saussure 1959:114). 'When they [values] are said to correspond to concepts, it is understood that the concepts are purely differential and defined not by their positive content but negatively by their relations with the other terms of the system. Their most precise characteristic is in being what the others are not' (Saussure 1959:117).

tall' is not? Or, what leads us to judge that 'Sally is an ice block' and some other utterance, for example 'colourless green ideas sleep furiously', are different kinds of metaphor? In order to answer these questions, conventions, or assumptions shared by the speaker and the hearer in Searle's terms, must be taken into consideration. While words on the one hand have the possibility to be in a substitutive relation to other words, they are, on the other hand, caught in conventions in which certain differential relations are more articulated and stable than others. So, for instance, the differential relation between 'up' and 'down' is more articulated and stable than that between, say, 'sadness' and 'coffee'. These more articulated and stable differential relations aggregate certain words into groups that are open-ended and overlapping. This aggregation is constructed according to cultural conventions and influenced by the contexts in which speech takes place.\textsuperscript{77}

Metaphor can be defined in this model. Metaphor is a use of words which articulates the relations of the words whose differential relations are not otherwise articulated in conventions. Thus, metaphor is use of words which relate two aggregations that are otherwise remote. Dead metaphors, such as 'foot of a mountain', are based on the idiosyncratic articulation of relation between mountain and foot. Lakoff and Johnson observe that 'conventionally alive metaphors' are pervasive in our everyday life (1980). 'Conventionally alive metaphors' are metaphors which we live by, and which are conventionally fixed (1980:55). 'Time is money' is one such metaphor. This conventional metaphor articulates the differential relation not otherwise articulated of these two words. A conventionally alive metaphor establishes a secondary articulation of relation between words which are in articulated relations at the primary level with other words. However, since all the values of words are relational and relative, whether articulation of a differential relation is primary or not can vary contextually and diachronically. Against this nature of values of words there is room for non-conventional metaphor to come into play.

This model also elucidates how metaphor works and what metaphor does. Non-conventional metaphors, such as 'colourless green ideas sleep furiously', may lead to a rearrangement of the conventional map/field of articulation. If they

\textsuperscript{77} Kuipers points out that 'The notion of "context" has been so widely used in so many different senses by scholars from different backgrounds and interests that it is in danger of losing its meaning unless it is defined in each case.'(1990:62) As he maintains, 'context is not an abstract independent variable in a hypotheses ..., but a resource in the construction of meaning.'(1990:62) I mean by context a set of variables that the speaker and/or the listener assume to make the current speech relevent and specific and that they assume the current speech is modifying.
are successful, then they illuminate a unique new map/field of articulation. If they cannot lead to such a rearrangement of the conventional field, then they prove unsuccessful. If they are either totally rejected by, or totally obedient to the conventional map/field, then they are simply incomprehensible or commonplace respectively, and fail as metaphor. According to this view, successful metaphors allow us to see and experience a hitherto unique world.78

SEMANTIC PARALLELISM

The term 'parallelism' means a form of speech in which two, and sometimes more than two, linguistic units correspond to each other in certain respects.79 Parallelism is built up at various linguistic levels.

Pervasive parallelism inevitably activates all the levels of language: the distinctive features, inherent and prosaic, the morphologic and syntactic categories and forms, the lexical units and their semantic classes in both their convergences and divergences acquire an autonomous poetic value (Jakobson 1981c:129).

It is rather easy to state what parallelism is, but, it is not easy to clarify what it does or how it works. Parallelism may produce verbal polyphony, stereophonic effect, or visual stereoscopy, a fusion of separate images (Jakobson 1981c:127,129; Fox 1977:72). Parallelism may produce "the satisfaction of re-experiencing the build-up step-by-step, first viewing the panorama presented by the poet from one syntactical angle, then from another, and fully savoring the stereoscopic after-sensation or afterimage" (Boodberg 1954-55:17, cited in Fox 1977:72).

Like metaphor, semantic parallelism is concerned with effects related to meaning, yet semantic parallelism has not been argued about as much as

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78 A view similar to mine is found in an article by Sternberg, Tourangeau, and Nigro. Instead of 'aggregation', they employ the term 'semantic feature spaces'. According to them, a good metaphor utilises regions in two remote conceptual spaces that occupy similar positions within each space. From this, it follows: 'that the better the metaphor, the less comprehensible it is (to some extent) (Sternberg, Tourangeau, and Nigro 1993, Ortony 1993). Sapir uses 'semantic domain' to indicate a concept similar to 'semantic feature space' (Sapir 1977).

79 The term 'parallelism' as an analytical category was introduced into poetics by Lowth in the eighteenth century. Concerning the history of the term, parallelism, as an analytical category, Fox, referring to Jakobson, writes as follows: 'The term "parallelism" dates back to the eighteenth century and derives from the studies of Robert Lowth, who first used the term in a series of lectures on Hebrew Poetry in 1753 to indicate the major principles of composition in much of the Old Testament, a carefully contrived paired line, phrase, and verse, and who later set forth a terminology for what he called Parallelismus Membrorum in "The Preliminary Dissertation" in 1778' (Fox 1977:60-61; Jakobson 1981c:99; Lowth:1753; 1778).
metaphor. To examine semantic parallelism in terms of the effects related to meaning, Jakobson's observation is suggestive. He regards metaphor as a special type of parallelism: parallelism reduced to a point (Jakobson 1973:21). He writes:

Such a monostich [surrounded by paralleled distichs] may reflect either a simile reduced to a bare metaphorical expression with the complete omission of its guessable, usually familiar clue, or a double formula which is reiterated with an elliptic suppression of one of its members (Jakobson 1981c:134-5).

The metaphorical image of "orphan lines" is a contrivance of a detached onlooker to whom the verbal art of continuous correspondences remains aesthetically alien. ... When seen from the inside of the parallelistic system, the supposed orphanhood, like any other componential status, turn into a network of multifarious compelling affinities (Jakobson 1981c:135).

In order to elucidate what semantic parallelism does and how it works, let me compare parallelism with metaphor. If the effect of semantic parallelism can be compared to stereophony, that of metaphor can be compared to resonance in rearticulating the shared assumptions. While a line of metaphor inspires insight by imparting a new articulation into a conventional field of meaning, semantic parallelism produces a stereoscopic image through oscillation between two lines of a couplet. Both metaphor and semantic parallelism work on the basis of the differential and negative nature of language (Saussure 1959). The relative differentials between two lines can be described as synonymous, antithetical, or complementary. While it can be said that language is metaphorical in nature, it cannot be said that any two lines can produce semantic parallelism because, to be parallel, two lines must share syntactic structure to a certain extent.

While unsuccessful metaphor is incomprehensible, unsuccessful parallelism is redundant or overexpressive. Seen from the indicative/referential point of view, any semantic parallelism would be redundant. However, it can be said that from the view point of semantic parallelism, single words or sentences are less complete than couplets.
SOUND ORDERINGS

Sound correspondence is a general feature of poetic language. Jakobson writes:

Poetic language consists of an elementary operation: the bringing together of two elements ... The euphonic variants of this process of juxtaposition are: rhyme, assonance, and alliteration (Jakobson 1973:21, cited in Fox 1977:59).

As far as everyday consciousness is concerned, sound is the most basic feature of language.

Thus, in the combination of linguistic units there is an ascending scale of freedom. In the combination of distinctive features into phonemes, the freedom of the individual speaker is zero: the code has already established as the possibilities which may be utilized in the given language. Freedom to combine phonemes into words is circumscribed; it is limited to the marginal situation of word coinage. In forming sentences with words the speaker is less constrained. And finally, in the combination of sentences into utterances, the action of compulsory syntactical rules ceases, and the freedom of any individual speaker to create novel contexts increased substantially, although again the numerous stereotyped utterances are not to be overlooked (Jakobson 1971:242-243).

Thus, 'poetic' modes which work on the basis of phonological correspondence are built on the most stable ground of language. Sound correspondence often works more rigidly than other parallelism.

Rhyme has been repeatedly characterized as a condensed parallelism, but rigorous comparison of rhyme and pervasive parallelism shows that there is a fundamental difference. The PHONEMIC equivalence of rhyming words is compulsory, whereas the linguistic level of any correspondence between two paralleled terms is subject to a free choice (Jakobson 1981c:133).

What Jakobson says about rhyme may hold true of other 'phonemic equivalence'. The difference he points out between 'semantic variant' and 'euphonic variant' in terms of parallelism sheds light on the basic issue of the relation between meaning and euphonic image.

Sound in language is directly concerned with signifiers, that is to say, with the message itself. Jakobson writes that poetry is organised violence committed on ordinary speech (Jakobson 1923:16 cited in Erlich1955:189). Following this
view, it can be said that sound correspondence is organised imposition on sound. In sound correspondence, signifiers take priority over signifieds. Since meaning is constructed on the nexus between signifiers and signifieds and between signs in a contiguous relation, imposition on signifiers is necessarily accompanied by reconfiguration of meaning.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

*Ola mbé'o* is a verbal form of knowledge which is characteristic in three aspects: sociologically, thematically and linguistically. *Ola mbé'o* is believed to be a personal source of power (*bhisa*) to influence social relations and is jealously kept secret. It is related to the earth (*tana watu*), human procreation (*ngéé wa'u*) and/or ancestors (*embu mama*). It reveals notable linguistic characteristics. All the chapters in this thesis explore these issues to some extent.

Chapter 1 considers how the category of Wologai is socially constructed as the most encompassing collective identity by examining people's contentions made on the basis of the framework of the ritual-village (*nuá*) as a shared reference point. While Wologai people are superiority-conscious and think that other people always try to precede them, it does not mean that the Wologai social world is a world in which individuals contend each other without any rules. Wologai social battles are conducted along lines which are also socially constructed. For this social construction, the ritual-village (*nuá*) plays an important role.

While chapter 1 explores the Wologai ritual-village (*nuá*) externally, chapter 2 elucidates the Wologai ritual-village internally. The ritual-village (*nuá*), as a social category, has its ritual centre, which is also called *nuá* (ritual-village). The ritual-village as a set of physical constructions has importance in three aspects. It is referred to by Wologai people for clues to understand the world speculatively and for schemes to organise and differentiate people in terms of the ritual-village as a social category. It is the main arena for the village-rituals. Chapter 2 examines how the Wologai refer to the ritual-village and its components in their speculation about the world and in their discourse about a ideological social world. The second half of this chapter considers the rationale for the authority of the Wologai ritual-village in relation to differentiation of the people within Wologai according to their ritual significance. The speculation, discourse and rationale presented in chapter 2 constitute *ola mbé'o* among the Wologai.
Chapter 3 explores the great-ritual (nggua ria), one of the most important village-rituals. After describing a scenario of the great-ritual, it considers how people play out the patterns embedded in the ritual-village, the social structure in the Wologai social theory,\textsuperscript{80} and how the acting and experiencing of the great-ritual relate to personal interpretations of it. These personal interpretations of the great-ritual are an important part of ola mbé'o.

Chapter 4 explores the semantics and pragmatics of tana, a word which constitutes a pivotal theme of ola mbé'o. The meanings of tana form a spectrum arranged along an axis in relation to alienability, past time and ritual importance. At the one end of this spectrum tana is a subject sustaining and controlling 'us, human beings' and at the other end it is only an object to be exchanged for money. The narratives concerning tana are important part of ola mbé'o. The conceptualisation of tana as a subject which is a source of power and well-being will be further discussed in chapter 6.

Chapter 5 discusses narratives about the past transformation of the world, which are based on the Wologai concept of ngéé wa'uu (procreate/develop/move away, go out/descend), the other pivotal theme of ola mbé'o. While tana describes a static concept, ngéé wa'uu describes movement. The metaphor of 'cutting' plays an essential role as a motif of the transformation of the world, in which speakers' political and philosophical intentions are interlocked. These narratives are an important part of ola mbé'o.

Chapter 6 first of all explores the concept of bhisa, which informs the Wologai belief in the power of ola mbé'o. The mechanism of this belief is analysed. This chapter focuses the discussion in the preceding chapters and links this discussion to the consideration of ola mbé'o.

Chapter 7 deals with the social situations of Wologai, in which the belief in the power of ola mbé'o comes into play. It examines two modes of precedence coexisting among Wologai people.

Chapter 8 explores ola mbé'o especially in terms of its linguistic features. The discourse by the Wologai, discussed in the early chapters, was mainly concerned with particular topics. I label this as thematic ola mbé'o. This is mystically powerful knowledge which is concerned with some topics deeply associated with Wologai ontological themes, that is to say tana watu (the earth/world) and ngéé wa'uu, (procreation and descendant). This chapter describes ola mbé'o in which these themes are taken-for-granted. I label this type of ola

\textsuperscript{80} Bloch 1977a:286.
mbé'o as performative ola mbé'o. This type of ola mbé'o comprises spells, chants and other verbal arts, which usually reveal poetic forms, that is to say, particular linguistic features. I present examples enmeshed in Wologai life. In order to elucidate what these linguistic features do in Wologai belief about the power of ola mbé'o, I also describe examples of customary verbal forms, which have linguistic features common to ola mbé'o. In doing so ola mbé'o can be situated in its customary verbal environment which fosters a sensibility to ola mbé'o rich in particular linguistic features. I refer to this customary verbal environment as a speech soundscape. It is important to locate ola mbé'o in its speech soundscape, since the belief in the power of ola mbé'o does not come into play so pervasively as among the Wologai without shared sensibility and ability to recognise and produce verbal forms with particular linguistic features. This sensibility and ability can be, to a great extent, advanced through the practice of everyday speech rich in particular linguistic features.

Chapter 9 is the concluding chapter. Referring to my analytical review above of the theories on poetic language in Western scholarly traditions, I analyse the social epistemology of ola mbé'o among the Wologai. I then consider Western scholarly tradition from a Wologai viewpoint.
Chapter 1

ARGUING FOR COLLECTIVE SUPERIORITY

INTRODUCTION

The nua is the most encompassing politico-ritual category in the West-Lio-speaking area. To translate nua I use the phrase 'ritual-village' rather than simply 'village' because nua emerges as a social category mainly through rituals. Each ritual-village has a ritual centre, which is also called nua, and I also use the phrase 'ritual-village' to indicate this ritual centre as a physical construction.1 Drawing on the ritual-village as the most encompassing framework for the collective subjectivity of autonomy, West-Lio-speaking people put forward various arguments to demonstrate their ritual-village's superiority over others.2 This chapter explores the basic rationale in these arguments in order to locate Wologai in the West-Lio-speaking area, which in turn is located in a region comprising other related Austronesian cultures. The chapter goes on to describe the concerns of the Wologai to claim superiority over people of ritual-villages in the immediate vicinity.

RITUAL-VILLAGES IN THE WEST-LIO-SPEAKING AREA

The Wologai are a population living in the West-Lio-speaking area. There is no overarching traditional political organisation for all this area. The ritual-village (nua) is the most encompassing ritual-political category. A ritual-village

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1 In other areas of Central Flores the word nua signifies a social unit and the space related to it. But what the word nua means varies significantly (Molnar 1994; Nakagawa 1989; Sugishima 1990; Vischer 1992). Translation of key native words is critical to writing an ethnography. Careless translations chosen to conform with anthropological conventions or those of east Indonesian studies might easily lead us to anthropological fallacies. I try to choose English translations so as to avoid such fallacies, by expressing native meanings as precisely as possible. Nua has cognates in many Austronesian languages (Fox 1993a: 12). *Bamu is the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian reconstruction (Blust 1987:100). Just like parai ngu in East Sumba, niniaiam in Huaul in Northern Seram and also negari (capital city and kingdom) in Java (Adams 1970, 1974; Anderson 1972; Forth 1981; Koike 1985; Valeri 1990a: 58), the term nua signifies a social unit and its ritual or religious cum political centre marked with some built forms. Anderson wrote: "Moerino and others have pointed out the almost invariable rule both in Javanese waung stories and in the historical tradition that the names of the well-known Empire and Kingdoms are those of the capital cities...Indeed Javanese language makes no clear etymological distinction between the idea of capital city and that of kingdom. In the word negari both are included" (Anderson 1972:28).

2 In most contexts in this thesis the word 'subjectivity' and 'identity' are interchangeable. In other words 'identity' is not determined by observers but is always associated with self.
centralises authority through rituals performed at its ritual centre, which is also referred to as *nuə*. There are a large number of such ritual-villages. The number of people affiliated with a ritual-village may vary from less than one hundred to several thousand. Not only is there great socio-cultural similarity but also considerable diversity among these ritual-villages.

Their similarity is constructed on the basis of common language. Within the West-Lio-speaking area people seldom fail to make themselves understood especially on everyday matters. Various significant concepts are circulated and exchanged within this area. Some important personages are known to people at least of the adjacent ritual-villages. Although the structures of the ritual-villages not only as politico-ritual units but also as physical constructions are similar to a large extent, intra-regional differences occur in these structures, as do village-rituals, the alleged norms of marital alliance, prestation and affiliation. While people tend to marry a person of the same ritual-village, marriage between people of different ritual-villages is not uncommon. It means not only that supposed norms concerning marriage are always under negotiation but also that against the great similarity, great diversity is constructed and socio-cultural negotiation has been going on for a long time among the people of these ritual-villages.

**COLLECTIVE IDENTITY AS A MIRROR IMAGE**

The ritual-villages are the most encompassing and distinguished framework for the construction of collective identity. People in the West-Lio-speaking area are themselves aware of the socio-cultural diversity amidst the similarity of such ritual-villages. People take differences between the ritual-villages to be signals of identity. Based on these differences, people of each ritual-village easily construct a collective self-image against the backdrop of their image of other ritual-villages. Thus, people in the West-Lio-speaking area frequently articulate their collective images of themselves by comparing themselves with similar but distinct others. People in the West-Lio-speaking area can establish distinct

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3 For the exact number of ritual-villages, further extensive research must be done. In the Dutch administrative terminology *kampung* seems basically to correspond to *nuə* in the West-Lio-speaking area. The ritual-villages in the West-Lio-speaking area numbered about 180 in 1921 (Suchtelen 1921:450-501).

4 This social milieu contrasts with that of Baktaman in Papua New Guinea: ‘The community has been highly isolated and not confronted with members of contrastive ethnic groups. This absence of any systematic alternative to their own way of life has absolved them from the need to question features of their customs and premisses, and entails a very incomplete and unfocused self-image’ (Barth 1975:255).
collective identities based on the systematic alternatives they construct around the shared concepts of the various ritual-villages in the area.

NARRATING THE ORIGIN

The collective identity constructed on the basis of the ritual-village is not a neutral nor value-free labelling, but is related to prestige. People are keen to assert their own ritual-village's superiority over all others. One of the main means of achieving this is through narrating the origin of the ritual-village.

There are two types of narratives about the origin of a ritual-village. According to the first, the ritual-village originated in a primordial time and this link to a primordial time has never been severed. This type of narrative assumes that this link guarantees the legitimacy of the ritual-village and the legitimacy in turn guarantees the superiority of the ritual-village in relation to all others. The legitimacy of the ritual-village does not involve the exercise of violence of any kind, neither political, military nor sexual power over others.5

According to the second type of narrative, the founder of the ritual-village possessed distinguished powers which were deserving of legitimate authority over others. Since the link between the founder and the present ritual-village has never been severed, the ritual-village remains superior to others on the grounds of the legitimate authority of the founder. This type of narrative can be further classified into two types. In one subtype the founding ancestor derived from overseas. In the other type the founding ancestor derived from a different place within Flores Island, usually in the West-Lio-speaking area.

LINKING A RITUAL-VILLAGE WITH PRIMORDIAL TIME

Mt Lépémbsu is the highest mountain in the West-Lio-speaking area. People of the ritual-villages near Mt Lépémbsu, such as Wologai, Wolondo, Wolojita and Faunaka, maintain that they are superior to the other ritual-villages and even to all other human beings. This insistence on their superiority is embedded in a myth which recounts the origin of the world and the development of human beings.

According to the myth, in primordial time the world was covered by the sea and the summit of Mt Lépémbsu, the only land, was where the first human

5 Wologai conceptualise that physical violence, sexual intercourse, and eloquence are associated with each other and that eloquence is equivalent to 'political' power. See chapter 5 and 6.
being lived. This first human being is referred to as Anakalo, which literally means 'orphan'. The sky was close to the earth. One liana linked the earth and the sky. At the moment the first human being cut the liana, the sky flew upwards and the sea receded. After generations, the descendants of the first human being slid down from Mt Lépémbusu to the places surrounding Mt Lépémbusu, and from there people spread further over the world.

People living near Mt Lépémbusu insist that they are the legitimate successors of the people who slid down from Mt Lépémbusu in primordial time. The people in primordial time and also people who claim to be their successors are known as sliding-offspring (ana nggoro). They argue that they are superior to any other people because they are the sliding-offspring. The statement 'we are the sliding-offspring (ana nggoro)' alone can imply 'we are superior to any other people'. People rephrase this statement in various ways. For example, they also say "we are the trunk-root (pu'u kamu) of all other people", "we are progenitors (iné amé) of all other people", "all other people came from here (mai ghaa mi)" and "all other people originated from us (ngéé wa'u leka kami)". Their insistence on their superiority over all other people presupposes that being the source of others makes people superior to others.

What defines the present sliding-offspring, that is to say, the legitimate successors of the primordial sliding-offspring is not their genealogical link with the primordial sliding-offspring, but the relation between their ritual-village and its land. Sliding-offspring is not a category applied to an individual, but to the people of a ritual-village collectively. The land over which the ritual-village of sliding-offspring have ritual rights is categorised as a sliding-land (tana nggoro). According to the narratives that the current sliding-offspring tell, when the primordial sliding-offspring slid down there were no inhabitants in the world except them. Since that time, the ritual rights to the sliding-land have been handed down to the successors of the primordial sliding-offspring. They emphasise that no violence or usurping power has been involved in this successions of rights. The present sliding-offspring (the category of people) and the sliding-land (the category of the ritual land) define each other.

6 In some stories the first human beings are a brother-sister pair.

7 I use the word progenitor as the translation for iné amé. While in contrast to the word progenitrix, 'progenitor' is male, it can be gender neutral as an unmarked category. Iné amé is usually gender neutral with a connotation shared with the word iné (mother). Since I could not find a more adequate word, I adopt this word.
According to the current sliding-offspring, being the legitimate successors of the primordial sliding-offspring is embodied in the fact that their ritual-village originated from the primordial ritual-village, and that their ritual-village and its people are awe-inspiring and mystically powerful (bhisa), because they are the source of well-being and power of the people of all other ritual-villages. 8

The same rationale applied to a different geographical area is found in other parts of the West-Lio-speaking area. While people of the ritual-villages near Mt Lépémbsu assert that they are superior because they are the sliding-offspring from Mt Lépémbsu, the people of Ndito insist on their own superiority because they are the sliding-offspring (ana nggoro) from Mt Kélimutu. Ndito is a ritual-village located upstream on a tributary of the Loworia river about ten kilometres to the south-west of Wologai. Mt Kélimutu, a 1,494-metre high mountain, is located about eight kilometres to the east of Ndito. 9

The Ndito people recognise that Mount Kélimutu is significantly lower than Mt Lépémbsu (1,881 km) or even Mt Kélibara (1,731 km), which is located three kilometres to the south of Mt Kélimutu. They seem well aware that the people of the ritual-villages around Mount Lépémbsu insist that Mount Lépémbsu was, and still is, the origin point of the world. However, the Ndito people claim that the origin point of the world was Mt Kélimutu, supporting their argument by the following narrative of genesis:

In the beginning, the world was covered by water. The only exception was the top of Mount Kélimutu, where Anakalo, the only human being at that time, lived. There was a liana (koba lékè) which connected the earth (tana) and the sky (liru). The sky was near to the earth (liru kebé liba). That is why the top of bamboo bends down even now. One day Anakalo cut the liana with a bamboo (wulu or au) knife as we cut umbilical cords, so the world was born (ngai sia), namely 'the sky flew away, the sea receded' (liru léla sedo // aé mesi deso). As a result of the cutting, the three lakes appeared on Mount Kélimutu and Mount Lépémbsu and Mount Kélibara arose.

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8 Both meanings, mystically powerful and awe-inspiring, are expressed by a single word bhisa. Bhisa is one of the most important words for understanding the perception and the activities of people in the West-Lio-speaking area, at least for the Wologai people. It is dealt with in chapter 6.

9 Kélimutu is probably known to all the West-Lionese-speaking people as the destination of the dead. The parallel phrases 'Mt Kélimutu roars, Mt Ia calls' (mutu guu // ia pai) and 'the head reaches Mt Kélimutu, the feet step on Mt Ia' (kolo duu mutu // ha'í seda ia) are used to indicate death. Mount Ia is an active volcano on Cape Ipi near Ende. There are three lakes, each having a distinctive colour, on the top of Mt Kélimutu. Since the Dutch colonial times, Mt Kélimutu has been regarded as something to be noted and also as a possible tourist spot (Suchtelen 1921; Sprock 1927; Cornelissen 1929; Bruyne 1947b).
The foregoing examples show that from an observers' point of view the Wologai's rationale related to the origin of the world is just one variation of a similar rationale possible in the West-Lio-speaking area.

CELEBRATING THE FOUNDOING ANCESTORS

People in the West-Lio-speaking area are likely to speak proudly of the prominence of their ancestors. People of some ritual-villages assert that their ritual-village owes its origin to their prominent founding ancestors. Woloféo is a typical example of such ritual-villages.  

The ritual-village of Woloféo is located about eight kilometres downstream from the Wologai ritual-village. Woloféo people trace their origin not to the time of genesis, but to two founding ancestors, Sipi and Jéna, in a 'historical' time, which appears less mystical than the time of genesis or the time of the primordial sliding-offspring. They position their time of origin by reciting the present ritual-leaders' (mosa laki) genealogies, which link them to Sipi and Jéna through about twenty male names. Woloféo people think that these genealogies are generally patrilineal with some exceptions. The following story recounts the origin of Woloféo.

Sipi and Jéna were brothers. Sipi was older. They lived in Sokoria. They were very prosperous and full of mystic power (bhisa). When they cleared forests to make fields, it was enough to fell a single tree to clear an entire hill of forest, because the felled tree became the starting point of all the trees falling down one upon another. They could clear seven hills in a day. They could grow crops even in their house or on its roof. Since the other people of Sokoria were envious of Sipi and Jéna, they accused Sipi and Jéna of being witches. Of course Sipi and Jéna were not witches, but they felt ashamed and left Sokoria. They came here (Woloféo) and they found that many people already lived here. They pondered how to defeat so many people to acquire the land. They made many torches and tied them, side by side, to a long bar with a holder. They prepared several of these devices. At night, they lit the torches at the foot of a hill so that the inhabitants could see them and then carried the devices up to the top. Sipi and Jéna extinguished the torches and returned to the foot of the hill. They repeated this process many times so that the inhabitants thought that a great number of enemies were ready

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10 Lisé people in the East-Lio-speaking area seem to have rationales similar to Woloféo's. (Sugishima 1990)

11 They have a custom of adoption of the sister's son or the sister's son and daughter by mother's brother. The adopted man becomes the successor of his mother's brother.
to raid them. They were so frightened that they fled in all directions, and Sipi and Jéna then founded Woloféo.

Like the people identifying themselves as the sliding-offspring, the Woloféo people proclaim their superiority over others, including overseas people, with similar statements: "We are the mother-father (iné ema) to all other people", "we are the progenitors (iné amé)", "all other people came from here (mai ghaa mi)", and "we are the trunk-root (pu' u kamu)". The Woloféo's claims unquestionably assume that being the source of others makes one superior to them.

In contrast to the sliding-offspring, the Woloféo people declare their superiority, not by recounting the genesis of the world, but by telling of events which reveal that they are the source of power and prosperity over others and which further imply their being the source of others' existence. They proudly tell, for example, the following narrative to imply that they are the source of, that is to say, superior to, the state, which is foreign to them:  

When we make our temple or ritual houses, or replace the old roof with a new one, we raise on the roof a sort of flag made of a piece of red cloth and a white lontar palm leaf. The red and white flag of Indonesia derives from this.

Many Chinese people live in Ende, the capital of Ende regency, maintaining their separate identity from that of the indigenous peoples. Woloféo people are also proud to recount an event they consider proves their prestige over these Chinese, whom Woloféo people regard as foreign people:

A quite wealthy Chinese man in Ende came to one of our ritual-leaders and asked him to give the innate power to his car.

They also proudly talk about a Catholic priest, Father Piet Petu, who visited them to write his book entitled Nusa Nipa. They think that he and his book because famous just because he visited the Woloféo and asked them to talk as mother-father (iné ema) or progenitors (iné amé). They also told me proudly that a young seminarian had visited them to write his thesis and that he had successfully passed the examination because their ancestors blessed him. I was also accepted

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12 Just like the Atoni (Cunningham 1965) and the Buru (Grimes 1990:22), many peoples in central Flores regard the state as being foreign to them, although there seems to be a process of incorporating 'national symbols' into their indigenous culture as in some other areas in Flores (Forth 1994).

13 Piet Petu is regarded as a prominent authority on central Flores by local intellectuals. See the Bibliography for his work.
by them very warmly since they understood that I came to them in order to ask
them to make me successful, that is to say, I regarded them as my 'source'.

Although the peoples around Mount Lépémbusu and the Woloféo people use
the same statement ("we are the source of all others" (kami iné amé éo ebé, kami
pu‘u kamu éo ebé, ebé mai leka kami, ebé ngéé wa‘u leka kami) to declare the
superiority of their ritual-village, the two groups tend to use contrasting methods
to prove their claim. The Wologai and other peoples around Lépémbusu tend to
seek the primal 'truth' (éo dema) to prove their claim, which is to a great extent
detached from their everyday experience. The Woloféo people, on the other hand,
tend to seek to substantiate their claim through various events which are part of
their daily experiences or are readily understood from the viewpoint of daily
experience.

SEKO LENGO: POWERS FROM OVERSEAS

Sokoria is a ritual-village which is located upstream of the Sokoria river, 13
kilometres from Wologai and 7 kilometres from Woloféo to the south. Sokoria is
known as the ritual-village of Séko Léngo, at least to most people in the central
and southern part of the West-Lionese-speaking area.\(^{14}\) According to the Sokoria
people, Séko Léngo was a mystic and supreme culture-hero of ancient times. The
outline of the story is as follows:

Séko Léngo came from overseas with some other men.\(^{15}\) They were
seven in all, among whom were Séko Lénda, Séko Umbi, Séko Titi and
so on.\(^{16}\) They saw Mount Lépémbusu and landed on Wewaria.\(^{17}\) They

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\(^{14}\) Bryne classifies the people in landschap Lio into two groups: the Lisé-Mbuli group in the southern area
and Séko Léngo group in the northern area. He also adds that in the Lisé-Mbuli area the temple is \textit{keda} and
in Séko Léngo \textit{keda} (Bryne 1947a:22-23). He seems to have tried to relate the dialectical division to
categories of people. It is improbable that even in the 1940s people in the landschap Lio were divided into
two social groups. However, supposing that Bryne's classification is based, directly or indirectly, on people's
statements, Séko Léngo seems to have been as important as, or probably more important than, today among
the people in landschap Lio. Prior states: 'The \textit{Ata Lio} consist of four major clans, Ungga in the north, Seko
in the south, Siga Ria in the west and Lise in the east' (Prior 1988: 61). It is not clear what he means by the
word 'clan'. Whatever he means by the term, it is irrelevant to regard the contemporary Lio-speaking people
as four social groups. If his statement on 'clans' is based on information from the East-Lio-speaking people in
the Sikka regency, about whom his book was written, it is appropriate to understand that some of those
people consider that the Lio-speaking people are divided into four groups under these names. It is worth
paying attention also to the fact that among East-Lio-speaking people in the Sikka Regency, the name Séko
has significance as a proper name which is related to the categorisation of people.

\(^{15}\) One prominent Sokoria man says that they came from the Indian hinterland. Some other men say that
they came from 'the deep pool and the green reed' (\textit{tiwu béwa kela meta}), which they paraphrase as
'overseas'.

\(^{16}\) They
reached Sokoria through Mount Lépémbusu and other areas. He and his brothers were powerful and able in various respects. After reaching Sokoria, Séko Léngo with his brothers travelled to the head of the earth (ulu tana) in the direction where the sun rises in order to obtain the knowledge (ola mbe’o), which makes its owner mystically powerful (bhisa). He established his authority in most of the West-Lio-speaking area by various means: by marrying autochthonous women, by fighting with the autochthonous people, by controlling the source of water with his mystic power, or by displaying his mystic power itself to the autochthonous people. He was 'virile in body, strong in torso' (tego no'o tebo // mulé no'o loo). 18

Séko Léngo is depicted as a cultural innovator: he introduced machetes and guns, and the custom of exchanging bridewealth.

The Sokoria people are convinced that as the successors of Séko Léngo, their ritual-village holds authority over many other ritual-villages. They declare that they are the progenitors (iné amé), the parents (iné ema), the 'mother' (iné), trunk (pu'u) or trunk-root (pu'u kamu) of other peoples. The phrase iné amé is used to describe wife-giving people in discourse about marriage and marital alliance. Although their claim of being iné amé or iné may sound contradictory alongside the fact that Séko Léngo was a man who married indigenous women, they do not regard this as a contradiction. The people's understanding is that because Séko Léngo was powerful over these indigenous peoples and became the source of others' power and prosperity he deserved to be known as a 'mother' (iné) or a 'progenitor' (iné amé). In this contexts a connotation, being a source, of these words are given priority over other connotations, being female in case of iné and being wife-giving people in case of iné amé. The Sokoria people insist that Séko Léngo established his authority over various ritual-villages in a vast area in West-Lio.

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16 If names of other men in Séko Léngo's party are mentioned, these are the ones usually given. Some say these were the other names of one man, that is to say, Séko Léngo. Others say that these seven men were 'brothers' (aji no'o ka'é) and that Séko was their family name (Indonesian: nama fam). This latter interpretation stresses Séko Léngo's characteristic as a stranger, since people in the West-Lio-speaking area do not have a family name and even in the case of the 'brothers' sharing one father their father's name is not put before their personal name but after it.

17 Wewaria is a plain on the north coast of the West-Lio-speaking area.

18 This couplet can be paraphrased as 'powerful in nature'.
VARIED CONTENTIONS AND SHARED ASSUMPTIONS

WOLOFÉO

The Woloféo people are confident that they are prosperous compared with other peoples, especially the unsophisticated mountain people, including the Wologai people. The latter claim, on the contrary, that they are superior to the Woloféo on the grounds that they are the current sliding-offspring, the legitimate successors of primordial sliding-offspring. The Woloféo people do not accept the idea that their prosperity owes anything to the people declaring themselves to be the sliding-offspring. They assert that their prosperity is due to their founding ancestors, Sipi and Jéna.

The Woloféo people relate that Sipi and Jéna came from Sokoria. The Sokoria people and other people regard the Woloféo as inferior to the Sokoria because they came from (mai) Sokoria. Woloféo people, however, are convinced that their ritual-village is superior to Sokoria and tell the following story:

When Sipi and Jéna left Sokoria, they turned a nabé (flat stone in the ritual field) upside down and talked to it "If they sow seeds, may the crops not grow. If they sprinkle seeds, may they not sprout". After Sipi and Jéna left Sokoria, the Sokoria people experienced famine: 'so thirsty that we hold our throat, so hungry that we support our abdomen'. So they came to Woloféo and asked their mother-father (iné ema), Sipi and Jéna, to come back to Sokoria. The Sokoria people asked so eagerly that Sipi and Jéna decided that Jéna, the younger brother, should go back to Sokoria to restore the Sokoria's fertility. But Sipi, the elder brother, never left Woloféo. Owing to their mother-father (iné ema), Sipi and Jéna, the Sokoria people were able to restore their well-being, namely, 'yield good harvests and obtain the flourishing palm wine' and 'the abdomen procreates and the belly becomes fertile'.

Until today, one ritual-leader of Woloféo titled the great-ritual-leader (ria béwa) must bring ritual rice to the village-ritual called the great-ritual (nggua ria) of Sokoria as their 'mother-father' (iné ema) and as 'progenitors' (iné amé). He attends that ritual in order to restore the Sokoria's well-being, namely, in order to 'bring back the contentment, lead back the satisfaction'.

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19 The original text is: 'Demi ebé teto // ma’ë tembu. Demi ebé tedo, ma’ë wela'.

20 The original text is: 'baré léro ngadé // lowa tégé tuka' ve 'moa siké foka // lowa tégé tuka'.

21 The original text is: 'kema bo’o // kéwi aë and ‘tuka ngéë // kambu beka’.

22 Ria béwa literally means 'big and long' or 'great and high'. 
them fertility and protection. It is described as 'allowing them to suck the breasts and to get the nourishment from the womb'. The Wolofé are 'the breasts to be sucked, and the womb to protect'.

In other contexts, the Wolofé use the statement that 'they derived from us (ebé mai leka kami) or 'they derived from here' (ebé mai ghaa mi) in order to assert that they are the source of, therefore superior to, others. So this narrative could be used to support the Sokoria's insistence that Sokoria is superior to Wolofé, Wolofé people do not regard their claims as inconsistent.

SOKORIA

Some Sokoria ritual-leaders regularly attend village rituals of other ritual-villages such as Wologeri. The Sokoria people interpret this as indicating Sokoria's superiority. However, people of the other ritual-villages do not seem to interpret this in the same way. A ritual-leader of Wologeri, for example, interprets it only as revealing some relations with Sokoria.

The Sokoria people usually position Wologai as inferior to Sokoria, by saying that the Wologai people came from Sokoria or that Wologai was under Séko Léno's authority. This is expressed in various parallel phrases as 'land of Séko, rock of Léno' (tana Séko // watu Léno) or as 'ridge of Séko's snare, path of Léno's trap' (wololiu Séko // jala senda Léno). The Sokoria people position Wolofé as inferior to Sokoria, saying that Wolofé 'guards the tip of the ferns, watches the river of ferns' (da tolo lelu // énga lowo soso). They recount a narrative in which Wolofé's founding ancestors were the children of Séko Léno and Obo, a woman of Ndito. Many Sokoria people regard it as unimportant that a ritual-leader of Wolofé attends the village ritual of Sokoria because the ritual house of Sokoria with which he is affiliated is the least important among the ritual houses of Sokoria. Sokoria people are proud of being

24 The original text is: 'pio musu susu // tamé kambu' and 'susu tau musu // kambu tau temi'. Temi is not used except in parallel phrases. Temi means to hold and protect as in a phrase 'iné manu temi ana k1' (a hen protects her chicks under her wings).

25 Wologeri is a small ritual-village in Desa Detsoko in the Detsoko district of Ende regency.

26 In some discourse against a third party, the Sokoria assert that Sokoria and Wologai share their origin by using a couplet, 'sharing the standing-stone-altar, partaking in the ritual-courtyard' (tubusé // kanga bela).

27 Lelu and soso are ferns growing near water. People regard them as unimportant vegetables.
the successors of Séko Léngo and declare their superiority by recounting various episodes of Séko Léngo's life.

NDITO

While being sliding-offspring is the Ndito's fundamental ground for their contention that they are superior to all others, they use other arguments to insist on their superiority.

There is a ritual alliance among five ritual-villages: Ndito, Dilé, Ratéroru, Wolomoni and Bu'ungénda. These ritual-villages perform, in this order, their annual village rituals called *sibé*. Ndito people insist that Ndito is superior to the other four ritual-villages.

While the Ndito people admit that Sokoria is superior to many other ritual-villages including Woloféo and Wologai, they claim that since Séko Léngo married a sister of the ancestor of Ndito, Ndito is the progenitor of Sokoria, that is to say, it is superior to Sokoria. Based on these premises, they further claim that Ndito is superior to all other ritual-villages including Sokoria.

SHARED ASSUMPTIONS AND BASIC DIFFERENCES IN THE RATIONALES

The foregoing account describes the narratives told in the West-Lionese-speaking area to argue for the superiority of the narrator's own ritual-village over all other ritual-villages or even over all other human beings. These narratives are constituted on the basis of 'mythical' or 'historical' events, the authenticity of which is challenged but which can never be proven or shown to be false. Although the rationale involved in these narratives is concerned with superiority, the formation of any social hierarchy is precluded because of the contested nature of all claims to superiority.

These contentions are different from each other, but there are some shared features:

1) people insist on their superiority in relation to past time
2) superiority is thought to be somehow reflected in present village-rituals (*sibé* in Ndito's case and *nggua ria* (great ritual) in the cases of the other ritual-villages)
3) people claim that their village-ritual is the source of existence or the source of well-being and power of other peoples.

In these contentions 'being the source of others makes one superior to them' works as the unquestionable ultimate dogma, which is expressed in various ways.
1) by the terms (*iné, iné ema* or *iné amé*) which are also used to indicate kinship categories
2) or by spatial metaphor, *mai ghaa mi* (come from here) and *ngée wa'u leka* (move away and go out from)
3) or by botanic metaphor, *pu'u* (trunk, base of tree) or *pu'u kamu* (trunk-root).

In some cases, in order to declare that one's own ritual-village is the source of other villages, it is claimed that their ancestors were the wife-givers of the ancestors of other ritual villages.

Fox argues that the concept of origin is crucial among Austronesian-speaking people. In so doing, he maintains that in many Austronesian societies ancestors and/or places from where some people are supposed to have originated are important as points of origin to group people as an origin group (Fox 1990a: 3). He also observes that many Austronesian-speaking people conceptualise wife-givers or mother-givers as a source of flow of life and this concept is expressed by the botanical metaphor ‘trunk’ (1980a). Recently he developed these observations into a concept of 'origin structure' (Fox 1995).

The dogma concerning source among people in the West-Lio-speaking area could be considered one variation of this Austronesian cultural obsession. In West Lio, the concept of origin applied to the distant past and that of source applied to the contemporary people merge together in terms of existence, power and prosperity.28 The dogma is applied to any asymmetric relation regardless of temporality. In West Lio, people eclectically use idioms expressing the dogma concerning the source in their claims for superiority.

The people of these ritual-villages share the principle that no usurpation is allowed in the succession to authority within a ritual-village. That is to say, the legitimacy of the ritual-leaders is secured only by excluding usurpation. The usurpation to create authority by the founding ancestor(s), Séko Léngo or Sipi and Jéna in case of Sokoria or Woloféo, is the only exception.29 The rationales of sliding-offspring are critically different from other rationales since they never allow any violence, even among the founding ancestors.

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28 Barraud observes that for the Tanebar-Evav in Kei the concept of wife-givers and that of ancestors merge together (Barraud 1990a). Like the term for wife-givers used by the Tanebar-Evav, the Endenese word, *ka'ë embu* for wife-givers contains a word for grandparent (*embu*). This is also the case in other eastern cultures.

29 It is interesting to compare Hawaii, Fiji and Maori in terms of how usurpation is described in their respective orthodoxies. In Hawaii, authority needs ritual usurpation. In Fiji, successful usurpation means the manifestation of the 'true' authority, as was the case when Christianity established its authority among the Fijians. In Maori, authority is based on cosmology, and power obtained through usurpation is totally illegitimate (Sahlins 1981, 1985). While usurpation is an interesting anthropological topic in relation to the concept of violence, it is an issue beyond my current thesis.
In terms of geographical metaphors in arguing for their own superiority over others, the rationales of the sliding-offspring and those of Séko Léngo contrast. In the former, the origin point of existence is on a mountain in their area, while in the latter the origin point of the power and well-being embodied as machetes, guns and valuables for bridewealth, is overseas.

No matter which rationale is used for asserting superiority, contemporary circumstances recognised by people never contradict these rationales. If people recognise that their ritual-village is more powerful and prosperous than others, they argue that this reveals that their ritual-village has a legitimate link to the 'true' source in the past and that they are in turn qualified to be the source of others in the contemporary world. If people recognise that their ritual-village is less powerful and less prosperous, this fact reveals that as a source their ritual-village is giving away power and prosperity to others or that others have usurped their power and prosperity. People demand others' respect, or they are ready to curse others.  

WOLOGAI'S IMMEDIATE CONCERNS

COEXISTENCE OF TWO TYPES OF RATIONALES

The Wologai people, at least the knowledgeable among them, are more or less aware of the diversity of these rationales. They are also aware that foreign rationales taught in the Catholic Church and in schools may be different from theirs. In discussing this diversity, they often refer to sayings such as 'herds of monkeys are different from mountain to mountain, groups of shrimps are different from river to river' (ro'a loka no'o kéli kéli // kura fajo no'o lowo lowo) or 'shrouding fog is different from ridge to ridge, drifting mist is different from river to river' (rubu wóé no'o wolo wolo // taa lepi no'o lowo lowo). In other words, thoughts and customs are different from place to place and from people to people.

The Wologai people are not worried about the diversity of the rationales in other ritual-villages, but they are concerned about the unreconciled coexistence  

30 People often blame others for forgetting the 'fact' that they are the source of others, using a coupled saying 'forgetting to think, being ignorant to consider (kira keko // séwo bébo).

31 The Katekismus written in Lionese starts Genesis with long narratives about Anakalo. This indicates that Catholic Church seems to compromise the Catholic doctrine (Ende Bishopric 1977).
of two incompatible rationales within Wologai: those of the sliding-offspring and those of Séko Léngo. While the Wologai often claim their superiority on the basis of sliding-offspring, claims based on the rationale of Séko Léngo are also heard in some contexts. Furthermore, a considerable number of people declare themselves to be Séko Léngo’s successors in order to enhance their prestige, usually on the level of individual identity. The coexistence of these two rationales within the same ritual-village not only makes the Wologai’s claims eclectic, but also weakens their authenticity.

Some knowledgeable people recognise that compared with the rationales of sliding-offspring from Mt Lépémbusu, the rationales of Séko Léngo have the following weaknesses:

1) they make it difficult to argue against Sokoria.
2) they are not compatible with the rationale of the internal authority of the Wologai ritual-village, which does not allow any usurpation.
3) the geographical range to which they can be applied is much more limited than those of the sliding-offspring. (In other words, with these rationales it is difficult to assert Wologai’s superiority over people far away or abroad.)
4) they do not logically undermine the power of others, especially foreign and/or violent power, over Wologai given that Séko Léngo came from abroad and used his powers to establish his authority.
5) they do not explain anything about the time before Séko Léngo, that is, they do not give their claims the ontologically widest scope that is related to the origin of the world.

The coexistence of these two rationales is not only manifested but also reconciled and hierarchically structured to some extent in terms of the ritual land (tana) of Wologai. This is classified into the Small land (tana lo’o) and the Great Land (tana ria). Although ‘the small land’ is smaller than ‘the great land’, what is important to the Wologai people about the difference between these two categories is not their size, but rather when and how the link between the Wologai people and the land was established. While ‘the small land’ dates back to primordial time (sii du’a ra’i), ‘the great land’ was gained with ‘power’ (tebo, mulé no’o loo) after that time. The former is also called the sliding-land (tana nggoro), and the latter the land of Séko Léngo (tana Séko Léngo). The former has precedence over the latter in terms of ritual importance.32

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32 The Lisé people, in the East-Lionese-speaking area, divide their land into two categories also named tana lo’o and tana ria. However, this distinction has different significance among them (Sugishima 1990).
IMMEDIATE OPPONENT RITUAL-VILLAGES

Like Wologai, Wolonippo and Wolojita are located at the southern foot of Mount Lépémbusu. The people of these three ritual-villages are eager to tell narratives based on the rationale of the sliding-offspring to show the superiority of their own ritual-village. The people of Wolonippo and Wolojita deny that the Wologai are qualified to be sliding-offspring. They assert that Wologai is only the land of Séko Lén go (tana séko lén go). They keep asserting that the Wologai have forgotten to recognise Wolonippo and Wolojita as their source, while they resentfully admit that Wologai has been more powerful and prosperous than Wolonippo and Wolojita in recent times.

The people of Wolonippo and Wolojita tend to regard Wologai as their common opponent. Wolojita and Wolonippo form an administrative unit, Desa Nuaoné, which is named after the initial ritual-village following 'the sliding down from Mount Lépémbusu' that was abandoned for a long time. The close ties between Wolonippo and Wolojita are mutually recognised at various levels. When people of Wolonippo and Wolojita focus on the existence of Wologai as their common opponent, they tend to emphasise these close ties. They assert that their ritual lands that the 'head' is one bunch, the 'tail' is one bundle (ulu se uju // éko se pongo); that is, they share the ritual land.33 Intermarriage between people of Wolonippo and Wolojita is not uncommon. Some people are affiliated with and attend the rituals of both ritual-villages. Several ritual-leaders play important roles in the rituals of both ritual-villages. Wolonippo and Wolojita perform one annual ritual together called 'driving away the evils' (joka juu).34 They also assert that Wolonippo and Wolojita are the legitimate successors of Nuaoné, the first ritual-village in this world. It is said that the important ancestors of both ritual-villages were in such a close relation that they are regarded as one person and this close relation has passed down to the present people of both villages.35

Wologai forms another administrative unit, Desa Wologai, with the other small ritual-villages of Faunaka, Wolokota, Pé’ibénga, Mukuréku and Wobiléwa. The relationship between Wologai and the other constituent ritual-villages of

33 The nua, Nuangénda and Lindi, to the northwest share this ideology. It is said that in the past Nuaoné and Nuangénda were related as ulu se uju // éko se pongo, ndoo s’o // deku paté (the 'head' is one bunch, the 'tail' is one bundle, snap what hangs, cut what bends). However, Wolonippo and Wolojita do not have close relations with these nua except in the ideology expressed in these phrases.

34 See chapter 6 for joka juu.

35 This relation is called 'exchange the names mutually, replace the name reciprocally' (naja gélu // tamé bhalé). This relation is regarded as the strongest alliance possible.
Desa Wologai differs from that between Wolondopo and Wolojita, the constituent ritual-villages of Désa Nuaoné.

The Wologai people, especially the ritual-leaders, categorise the first four of these ritual-villages as the 'enclosure and fence' (kopo kasa; kopo literally means fenced enclosure, kasa means a fence) of Wologai. They categorise Wolobéwa as an 'enclosure and fence' of a ritual-village in the Unggu area, which is located to the north and is remote from Wologai not only in terms of geography, but also in terms of social contacts. Kopo kasa is a subcategory of a nua (ritual-village). An 'enclosure and fence' is usually said to be subordinate to a ritual-village and sometimes several ritual-villages. The Wologai people claim that there are many 'enclosure and fences' of Wologai, including Faunaka, Wolokota, Pé'ibénga and Mukuréku.

The Wologai people say that Wolobéwa is subordinate to Wologai and must come to its communal ritual because Wologai and Unggu are in a ritual alliance. This is expressed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tubu séé</th>
<th>sharing a standing-stone-altar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanga sama</td>
<td>partaking in a ritual-courtyard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bara kaa sama</td>
<td>eating together what is white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mina pesa bela</td>
<td>relishing together the lard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangi leka repa nai</td>
<td>climbing each others' stairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tênda leka repa tika</td>
<td>sitting on each others' veranda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demi tubu bai bêu, pai tubu</td>
<td>if the standing-stone-altar is too</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éo wêé</td>
<td>far, call the one in the vicinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demi kanga bai bêwa, niu</td>
<td>if the ritual-courtyard is too</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanga éo dhongo</td>
<td>distant, announce the one that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>is near</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Faunaka is geographically and sociologically the closest ritual-village to Wologai. Faunaka people admit that Faunaka does not have its own ritual land and is located in the land of Wologai. Until 1980, Faunaka used to carry out ritual obligations to Wologai, which Wologai understood as expressing Faunaka’s subordination and which Faunaka regarded as their ritual right. However, since 1981 Faunaka has not carried out these obligations and rights.\(^{36}\)

According to some Wologai people, Wolokota derives from a sister of an ancestor of the most important ritual-leader of Wologai. Wolokota is a place for 'breeding chicken, raising pigs' (peni manu // wesi wawi) and a place for catching chicken for the Wologai village rituals, or 'catching a nori-bird, pull out a

\(^{36}\) In 1983, the Faunaka people seemed to demonstrate their autonomy from Wologai by beating gongs loudly and proudly. On hearing the sounds of gongs, one Wologai ritual-leader said in a humiliated tone Faunaka at last has become a nua (instead of kopo kasa).
dhédu-bird (poi nori // lesu dhédu). Chicken may be caught there for the Wologai village rituals, although no chickens were caught during my stay. Wolokota has its own ritual land (tana no’o ulu éko). A man of Wolokota is supposed to play the role of selecting wood for the temple (kedha) of Wologai. Pé’ibénga also has its own ritual land. In the communal ritual of Wologai, Pé’ibénga people are expected to come to one of the ritual-houses in the Wologai ritual-village. Mukuréku people should also visit Wologai at the time of the village rituals. Mukuréku’s ritual land is categorised as a land acquired by some form of violence. It is depicted as ‘the soil of stamina, the rock of power’ (tana negi // watu mulé) and/or a ‘land acquired as a reward for war chants’ (tana weli kadha).

Faunaka, Wolokota, Pé’ibénga and Mukuréku do not have a village ritual in which areca nuts and yams play a crucial part. People of many ritual-villages, including Wologai, Wolondopo, Wolojita, Woloféo and Sokoria, assert that this is the most important village ritual.

It is doubtful whether the alleged subordination to Wologai is recognised by people of these other four ritual-villages. The ritual-leaders of Faunaka and those of Wolobéwa, at least, resolutely deny their subordination to Wologai and neither of these ritual-villages fulfils the ritual obligations asserted by the Wologai people. People of these ritual-villages, except those of Faunaka, have little interest in Wologai.

People of Wolondopo and Wolojita form a common front against Wologai. Wologai people are aware of their assertion that Wologai people are not sliding-offspring, since this assertion is often made by knowledgeable men in Wolondopo and Wolojita in the presence of the Wologai. The Wologai people’s reactions are varied. On the one hand, they adhere to the rationale of the sliding-offspring. They insist that they are legitimate sliding-offspring and denigrate the status of the Wolondopo and Wolojita by pointing to the ambiguity of Wolondopo and Wolojita people’s derivation. On the other hand, they detach themselves from the rationale of the sliding-offspring. They maintain that the fact that Wologai is more powerful and prosperous than Wolondopo and Wolojita shows that Wologai, not Wolondopo or Wolojita, has the legitimate link with the true source, whatever it may be. They belittle Wolondopo and Wolojita with the rhymed phrase ‘poor, poor, Nuoné’ (noé noé nua oné). They seem to waver between these ways of thinking, intentionally or unintentionally.
Chapter 2

CONSTRUCTING AUTHORITY

INTRODUCTION

Each ritual-village has a ritual centre in which rituals for the ritual-village are performed. A ritual centre is also called *nua*. In the West-Lio-speaking area, ritual-villages as physical forms play a significant role in socially constructing collective identity. Just as the English word 'village' means not only a visible construction but also a social unit, so does *nua*. However, a *nua* differs from a 'village' in that it is only during rituals that the visible construction of a *nua* is inhabited and the organisation of people of the ritual-village becomes activated. Most of the time, people live in a dwelling-house near their fields and in their personal networks, they are not bounded by ritual-villages.

This chapter discusses how Wologai people construct knowledge about human existence, drawing on the physical ritual-village and its components, as well as how they socially construct the ritual-village as a politico-ritual unit based on the physical ritual-village as a visual model. It then explores the rationales underlying the authority of the Wologai ritual-village.

RITUAL-VILLAGE

A ritual-village (*nua*) in the West-Lio-speaking area, including that of Wologai, is built on the basis of two principles: concentric and dyadic. It stands on a round foundation, sustained and bordered by piled stones which constitute the outermost circle of this concentric structure. At the centre of the concentric structure is a standing-stone-altar (*tubu musu* or *musu masé*), which is surrounded by a flat piled-stone-altar (*lodo ndaa*). The standing-stone-altar and the piled-stone-altar are located at the centre of an elevated ritual-courtyard (*koja kanga*), which is bordered by a circle of piled stones.¹ There are several ritual-houses (*sa'o nggua*) around this ritual-courtyard.

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¹ *Koja* means central part, body part around waist and hip, and a kind of pandanus tree. *Kanga* means place where water buffaloes rest and sleep.
A ritual-village usually stands on a ridge, the line of which is supposed to run along the centre of the ritual-village.\textsuperscript{2} In many cases a ritual-village is referred to by the name of the ridge on which it is located.\textsuperscript{3} There are two formal entrances to the ritual-village. These are located at the points where the border of the ritual-village and the line of the ridge cross. The upper entrance is called the 'head' (ulu) of the ritual-village and the lower is called the 'tail' (eko).\textsuperscript{4} At the edge of or outside the ritual-courtyard there is a temple (keda).\textsuperscript{5}

On the one hand, ritual-villages in the West-Lio-speaking area share some similar features. On the other, each ritual-village reveals its own specific features.\textsuperscript{6} For example, the number and the names of ritual-houses differ from one ritual-village to another. In the ritual-village of Wologai there stand six

\textsuperscript{2} Some Dutch documents and some present West-Lio-speaking people comment that the ritual-villages are located on ridges because of the former frequency of wars between ritual-villages (Sprook 1927: 23).

\textsuperscript{3} Wolo means 'ridge'. Woloféo, Wologai, Wolojita and Wolondopo are examples. The second half of each term is a plant name.

\textsuperscript{4} The word ulu is only used to indicate one border point of a ritual-village (nuu) or tana (ritual-land, the island or the earth). The other border point is called eko, literally a 'tail'. People know that Endeneses urhu literally means 'head'. Even though people use the word kolo to indicate the 'head' of animals or human beings, they understand that ulu is equivalent to kolo in relation to ritual-villages (nuu) and tana.

\textsuperscript{5} In central Flores including some of Ende-speaking, West-Lio-speaking and East-Lio-speaking areas, visitors might be impressed by the similar appearance of the ritual-villages (nuu). Visually, the most salient characteristics of a ritual-village are a courtyard (hangga in East-Lio, kanga or koja kanga in West-Lio, and ora natu in Ende), standing altar stones (musu masé in East-Lio and tubu musu in West-Lio and Ende) in the centre of the courtyard, a temple with a steep roof (keda in East Lio, keda in West Lio and enda in Ende) on the periphery of the courtyard, and houses with a high roof (oné in East Lio and sa’o in West Lio and Ende) surrounding the courtyard. According to elderly people in the western part of the Endeneses-speaking area where no such constructions can be found at present, the basic form of a village in that area used to be similar.

\textsuperscript{6} The ritual-villages of Sokoria and Woloféo contrast with those of Wologai, Wolondopo and Wolojita in some aspects of composition. Each ritual-village of Wologai, Wolondopo, Wolojita, Woloféo and Sokoria has a small standing-stone-altar called tubu lo’o. This small-standing-stone-altar is much smaller than the standing-stone-altar (tubu musu). While the standing-stone-altar is at the centre of the ritual-courtyard (koja kanga), the small-standing-stone-altar is located at the periphery of or outside the ritual-courtyard. It is visually less salient than the standing-stone-altar. The people of each ritual-village regard the small-standing-stone-altar as less important than the standing-stone-altar. These features concerning the small-standing-stone-altar vis-à-vis the standing-stone-altar are common to all these ritual-villages. However, other features of the small-standing-stone-altar differ between Sokoria and Woloféo on the one hand and Wologai, Wolondopo and Wolojita on the other. In Sokoria and Woloféo the small-standing-stone-altar is called the 'standing-stone of Anakalo' (tubu ana kalo), who was the first human being. It has the function of cooling. In Wologai, Wolondopo and Wolojita the small-stone-altar is called the 'standing-stone of the moon and the sun' (tubu wula leja). It is associated with warlike and male sexual powers, which are regarded as hot. This is compatible with the contrast between the types of rationales on which people base the superiority of their own ritual-village. Sokoria and the Woloféo celebrate the mystic power of their founding ancestor(s) which they think confers superiority, while the Wologai, the Wolojita and the Wolondopo insist that their superiority is based on their legitimate connection to primordial time, which has continued without violence over others. In order to find out the extent to which composition of a ritual-village corresponds to the people' rationales in the West-Lio-speaking area, further research needs to be done.
ritual-houses and seven subsidiary-ritual-houses (*sa'o dhémbi lulu* or *sa'o nai paré*).\(^7\)

There are two dimensions along which the ritual-village and its constituent components have significance for the Wologai people:

1) epistemic significance: people consider that the ritual-village is a given that provides them with clues or hints to develop ontological images of human development in the world or personal esoteric knowledge
2) sociological significance: the ritual-village is supposed to provide a scheme to differentiate and to organise people.

The ritual-village is also the arena for village rituals. These two dimensions of significance are related to each other. This relationship becomes manifest especially in a village-ritual called the great-ritual (*nggua ria*).

Wologai people share with other people in the West-Lio-speaking area the perspective that their superiority over other ritual-villages and the authority over people within a ritual-village should be manifested in the construction of the ritual-village.\(^8\) They claim that their ritual-village radiates mystic power and is awe-inspiring since it is the source of other ritual-villages. However, the Wologai's evaluation of their own ritual-village is ambivalent. While they are convinced that their ritual-village is mystically powerful and awe-inspiring given that its foundations, the standing-stone-altar, the piled-stone-altar, the ritual-courtyard and some of the ritual-houses are well-constructed, they are aware that their poorly-constructed temple and the lack of authentic components such as carvings on the ritual-houses allow other ritual-villages to make claims against them.\(^9\)

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\(^7\) *Dhémbi* means the sections at both sides in a house and *lulu* means the sections at the backside. *Nai paré*, entering rice, indicates the ritual role of the subsidiary-ritual-houses. In the great-ritual (*nggua ria*) the most important village ritual, ritual rice is brought to these subsidiary houses.

\(^8\) They also assume that the village-ritual should be mystically powerful and awe-inspiring as a manifestation of the authority of their ritual-village.

\(^9\) A pair of statues called 'Amé Naka Iné Naju', which looked antique, used to be one of the strong points of their insistence. They were stolen during my stay (Aoki 1988). Whether or not the ritual-village has a temple (*kedu*) as a criterion for the prestige of the ritual-village is stressed among the people Howell studied (Howell 1992a). The Wologai ritual leaders are interested in rebuilding their temple. In 1980 when a temple was built in a ritual-village, which the Wologai had considered as subordinate to Wologai, some ritual-leaders of Wologai regarded it as a challenge to them. The people of other ritual-villages refer to the temple of Wologai as *kuwu*, which means a secondary temple. The Wologai people sometimes become very defensive about the flaws of their ritual-village. When, for example, I asked some questions about their temple, they became defensive and began to point out the defects of certain rival ritual-villages.
THE WOLOGAI RITUAL-VILLAGE AS OBJECT FOR SPECULATION ABOUT HUMAN EXISTENCE

Wologai people assert that their ritual-village is mystically powerful, awe-inspiring, and a source of their power and well-being. For Wologai people, the ritual-village and its components are meaningful. They are objects with verbal labels, based on which the Wologai people try to develop their esoteric knowledge. Although there are no master narratives explicating the ritual-village, this does not necessarily mean that there are no common features among personal interpretations. On the contrary, it seems that basic images and themes of interpretation are shared by Wologai people.\textsuperscript{10} However, the level of interest in such speculation and the extent of coherence within the resulting interpretations differ markedly from person to person. Ambitious men usually have more interest in interpreting and attaining coherence in their accounts. However, they are only ready to allude to the tip of their understandings in public.\textsuperscript{11} Such allusions seem to contribute to the construction of commonly held images and interpretations, and also to stimulation of the efforts of other ambitious people.\textsuperscript{12}

In the following discussion, the images of the ritual-village generally shared by the Wologai people are described. The themes of sexuality, fertility and life are dominant in these interpretations and in the images of the ritual-village and its components. This is not surprising since the ritual-village is regarded as a source of the people's well-being and power including the life force, and is regarded as meaningful in terms of human existence.

Any person speculating on the meaning of the standing-stone-altar and the ritual-courtyard, for example, seems to conclude that they are a phallus and a womb. Ambitious and able men may link their interpretations coherently with other topics. These interpretations are often expressed in the style of poetic

\textsuperscript{10} These basic images and interpretations about a ritual-village and its components are also shared by people of at least some other ritual-villages, for example Wolondopo, Wolojita and Faunaka.

\textsuperscript{11} This attitude, called \textit{me'u}, is one of the key attitudes which socially animates the Wologai knowledge system.

\textsuperscript{12} See chapter 8 for the details related to this 'knowledge'.
language.\textsuperscript{13}

The Wologai people assume that there is an association between the ritual-houses and human life. Some people say, for example, that an umbilical cord should be severed with a knife (wo'ì) cut from the bamboo pillars of the hearths of the ritual-houses and that snot from those hearths should be smeared on the newborn baby's navel.

This association is reinforced by the fact that several parts of a ritual-house are referred to by the same terms as for parts of the human body. A component known as what-hangs (ola téo) is regarded as one of the most important components in terms of the association between ritual-houses and life.\textsuperscript{14} A what-hangs is composed of a part referred to as a heart-liver (pusu até) and a part referred to as a string-of-breath (tali ngai). A heart-liver (pusu até) is made of a wooden disk and deer's horn (rangga rusa) and hangs from the highest beam with a rope, which is known as a string-of-breath (tali ngai).

\textsuperscript{13} One Wologai man, for example, revealed an interpretation of the meaning of the standing-stone-altar (tubu musu) and the piled-stone-altar (lodo ndaa) in a simple rhymed couplet:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
  tubu musu maté & shining standing-stone-altar \\
  lodo ndaa daé & well-set piled-stone-altar \\
  tubu musu méra & red standing-stone-altar \\
  lodo ndaa wéra & piled-stone-altar of gold \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Finding me perplexed at the couplet, he kindly explained that this verse implied copulation: the standing-stone-altar (tubu musu) is a man's genitalia and the piled-stone-altar (lodo ndaa) is a woman's. Another man revealed another interpretation in a longer rhymed verse:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
  mangu gugu begu & a mast is erect and strong \\
  sai ata endu ? & who is sailing ? \\
  mangu gugu begu & a mast which is erect and strong \\
  nip a ria relu & is a large hard snake \\
  laja buli bira & a sail swells widely, \\
  sai ata wira ? & who tears it ? \\
  laja buli bira & a sail swells widely, \\
  angi ria wira & big wind tears it \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

According to the informant, this verse hints at copulation between the standing-stone-altar (tubu musu) and the ritual-courtyard (koja kanga). The former implies an erect penis and the latter implies either a vagina or a womb which will 'procreate many, generate thickly' (ngee bhondo // bheka kapa). In this case, the piled-stone-altar is considered to be a part of the standing-stone-altar in contrast with the ritual-courtyard. For the analysis of the poetic language in chapter 8, I would like to draw the reader's attention to the following points. If we regard two consecutive vowels not as a diphthong but as two syllables, almost all Lionese terms comprise two syllables. In formalised speeches, the sameness of sound can occur either between vowels or between consonants. In the examples here, the last words of the phrases have the same vowels.

\textsuperscript{14} Plank-of-bone (bénga toko), the name of a vertical plank, is also compatible with this association. Some knowledgeable people develop an interpretation in which the components of a ritual-house correspond to parts of a human body, especially a woman's body.
People say that a string-of-breath as well as a heart and a liver are critical parts of the human body. I was told that the branched shape of the deer's horn symbolises the distribution of blood. In their mourning songs, women often describe death as cutting the string-of-breath, regardless of the cause of the death. If I asked people what a string-of-breath was, some would answer, pointing to their own chest, that it is the path of breath. Others gave me an abstract answer, saying that it is an invisible string which keeps a person alive.

It is said that the best death is that which occurs under the what-hangs in one's own ritual house.15 If a sick person becomes critically ill, that person should be carried and laid under the string-of-breath in the ritual-house with which the person is affiliated. If the ritual-house does not desire the person's death yet, s/he soon will become well. If it desires the death, s/he will die the best death.

Knowledgeable people share the image of a ritual-house as a woman. One vertical plank of the Bhusu Koja ritual-house has a hemisphere carved on it, which is interpreted as a breast. The darkness inside the ritual-house is usually compared to that in a womb.

There are various motifs associated with birth and fertility in the village-ritual performed in ritual-houses. The following ritual scene, for example, takes place in the ritual-houses. Certain ritual-leaders sit on their buttocks with their thighs drawn up to their chest. This ritual is followed by a process that predicts the births for the following year. Some knowledgeable people interpret the sitting posture as that of an unborn child in its mother's womb. Whoever enters a ritual-house for the first time has to sit in this posture, just like an unborn baby supported by its mother in her womb so that s/he can be accepted not only by the people of the ritual-house but also by the ritual-house itself.

In contrast with the ritual-houses, the temple is interpreted metaphorically as male. There are several ritual-houses but only one temple in a ritual-village. Many people interpret the relation between the temple and the ritual-houses as a polygamous marriage. In addition to the paradigmatic association, the temple also has a syntagmatic association with men. According to a middle-aged man, men often used to gather in the temple at night a generation ago.16 In Wologai, as in Wolondopo and Wolojita, the distribution of ritual rice takes place in the temple.

15 People usually express this death as mata leka oia téo (death at what-hangs).

16 In some narratives about the past, men slept in the keda and women slept in the sa'o or the kebo (barn) in the ritual-village.
and women are prohibited from receiving it there.\textsuperscript{17} Some say that women should be excluded from the temple. Others think that the temple is a more appropriate place for men than for women, even though women are not prohibited from entering and men may not enter the temple arbitrarily.\textsuperscript{18}

While they are similarly distinctive from ordinary dwelling houses in that both are supposed to have a high and steep roof made of alang-alang with fringes reaching as low as the floor, the temple and the ritual-houses can be contrasted in many other respects. Some people may dwell in the ritual-houses, but not in the temple. Their construction also differs in several ways. The ritual-houses have walls, several hearths and additional rooms on the periphery. The temple does not have any walls; it has only one hearth and no partitions for additional rooms. These additional rooms in a ritual-house are called \textit{dhémbi lulu}, and they are supposed to increase in number according to the number of members of a ritual-house. The ritual-houses are procreative, while the temple is not. An increase in members is supposed to result in subsidiary-ritual-houses being built in addition to the ritual-house. These houses are called a 'house of additional rooms' (\textit{sa'o dhémbi lulu}). In principle ritual-houses are quite dark inside. In contrast, it is not dark inside a temple. The floor of the ritual-houses, called \textit{ndawa}, is made of pounded bamboo which is just laid onto the beams without any fastening device, while that of the temple, called \textit{maga}, is made of split bamboo tied to beams with split rattan strings.\textsuperscript{19}

Most Wologai people do not seem to be interested in developing their knowledge about celestial beings based on the components of the ritual-houses and their verbal labels. One ritual-house, for example, has a small flat and oval stone on top of its roof. That is called 'stone of moon and sun' (\textit{watu wula leja}). There is a small offering board called 'verandah of moon and sun' (\textit{tënda wula leja}) above a box containing valuables called 'gold items of earth and stone' (\textit{wëa tana watu}). Although it is easy for observers to see a binary opposition of 'sky' and 'earth' or to interpret the house as a microcosm, I was not given these interpretations by Wologai people.

\textsuperscript{17} This ritual distribution of food is called \textit{nggëra aré tego bani} (see chapter 3 for details). The same conditions are also applied to the ritual of the same name in Wolondopo and Wolojita.

\textsuperscript{18} During my stay I never witnessed a woman entering or men gathering in the temple of Wologai.

\textsuperscript{19} The flexible structure of the \textit{ndawa}-floor is required for the great-ritual, the most important of rituals for the ritual-village (see chapter 3 for details).
RITUAL-VILLAGE AS A NATIVE MODEL FOR SOCIAL ORGANISATION

A ritual-village is imagined as a localised community. People often assert that the ritual-village is the ideal place of residence, although most of the Wologai people dwell outside the ritual-village and it is left almost uninhabited except during the village-rituals. There are many settlements outside the Wologai ritual-village. The word *nuə* cannot be used to refer to these settlements. Although relatively permanent, these settlements are regarded as temporary residences and are differentiated from the ritual-village by referring to them as *deko nuə* (outside, or satellite of, the ritual-village) or in parallelism, 'belly of a field, upper part of a garden' (*tuka uma // wawo rema*), '(place for) breeding chickens, feeding pigs' (*penu manu // wesi wawi*). No significant village-rituals of Wologai take place in these settlements.

The ritual-houses provide Wologai with a visual model for the social organisation of their ritual-village. People usually say that the ritual-houses constitute the ritual-village (*nuə*) or that the ritual-village is subdivided into the ritual-houses. Not only the ritual-houses, but also the subsidiary-ritual-houses have their own names. Among the ritual-houses Bhisu Koja is notable for its size and it is often referred to as a great house (*sə'o ria*). All the subsidiary-ritual-houses belong to Bhisu Koja.

Narratives concerning how the social organisation of the ritual-village should be are diverse. That no master narrative either 'historically' or 'structurally' accounts for this social organisation, allows Wologai people to speculate widely on the ideal form of this organisation. The physical construction of ritual-village and the verbal labels attached to its components are the only public forms which give people reference points for their discourse concerning the social organisation of their ritual-village.

Wologai people share the perspective that the physical construction of the ritual-village manifests not only the unity of, but also the separateness of, the

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20 As Waterson points out, the ritually important villages are left uninhabited in Sumba, in Mambai, in Kédang and also in Merina (Adams 1974, Barnes 1974, Bloch 1971, Forth 1981, Traube 1986, Waterson 1990).

21 Valeri writes "In contrast to myths which account for the parts by the breaking apart of an originally undifferentiated whole ..., the origin myth of Huaulu society puts the parts ontologically before the whole and views the latter as a reversible result, not as a primary, and therefore unchangeable, condition. Thus the myth is less a charter ... for the established hierarchal order than an expression of (and a means of perpetuating) the ambiguous relationship between the conflicting values of autonomy and heteronomy ..." (Valeri 1990a: 61) As Valeri maintains, what kind of narratives is shared is significant for the native accounts of the social organisation. It is also significant to what extent certain narratives are shared, a factor that definitely influences native accounts.
FIGURE 2-1 LAYOUT OF THE RITUAL-VILLAGE OF WOLOGAI

Directions inside a ritual-village

RITUAL-HOUSES

I. Bhisu Koja
II. Ata Wolo Ghalé
III. Nua Róa
IV. Ata Wolo Mena
V. Ata Rini
VI. Soko Ria

SUBSIDIARY-ritual-HOUSES

1. Labo
2. Léwa Béwa
3. Nua Guta
4. Bhéna
5. Renggi Wogé/ Rero Mbelo
6. Ana Lamba
7. Bénga

a. temple
b. standing-stone-altar
c. piled-stone-altar
d. ritual-courtyard
e. 'head' of the ritual-village
f. 'tail' of the ritual-village
components of the ritual-village. On the one hand, as a visual model of social organisation, the ritual-village represents the unity of the Wologai ritual-village since the ritual-village itself, its foundation, the temple, the ritual-courtyard, the piled-stone-altar or the standing-stone-altar is one. On the other hand, it represents the separateness of the components of the ritual-village in that there are several ritual-houses and subsidiary-ritual-houses.

People assume that the unity of the ritual-village is achieved and maintained under the ritual leadership of the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja and by the complementary relationships of the ritual-houses. The fact that the ritual-leaders of Bhisu Koja play the most important parts in the village-rituals and that the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja is distinctively large, indeed referred to as Great House (sa' o ria), are understood as the manifestation of the ritual leadership of Bhisu Koja. People assume that in addition to the ritual leadership of Bhisu Koja, the cooperation, at least in the village-rituals, of all the ritual-houses is necessary for the unity of the ritual-village. In the light of this complementary principle, Bhisu Koja is regarded as only one component of the ritual-village.

While cooperation among the ritual-houses for the unity of the ritual-village is given a high value, Wologai assume each ritual-house is autonomous. Should ritual prerogatives or prestige be ignored, it is considered reasonable for a ritual-house to remain uncooperative until it is sufficiently placated. It is further assumed that should the village-rituals not be carried out for some reason, each ritual-house can independently perform rituals solely for its own well-being.

In the discourse concerning identity based on the ritual-village, genealogies do not play a significant role in the case of Wologai. However, in the discourse concerning identity based on the ritual-house, the genealogies of its ritual-leaders or lines of predecessors, especially of those in the ancient past, have significance. These genealogies are usually secret. Furthermore it is assumed that true genealogies (especially the names of the primordial ancestors or predecessors) are only revealed through dreaming (nipi téi). These genealogies imply that each ritual-house has a unique origin and is not related to the other ritual-houses. In knowing or telling a genealogy, the speaker usually intends to emphasise the prestige of his/her ritual house rather than its complementary relationship with other ritual-houses or the unity of the ritual-village as a whole.

The names of the ritual-houses are, however, supposed to hint at their derivation and their relationship with ritual-houses of other ritual-villages. All the names of the ritual-houses of Wologai are found in other ritual-villages in the vicinity (see Table 2-1). The Wologai people understand that their ritual-houses
might be related to those in other ritual-villages and that these relationships might crosscut the unity of the Wologai ritual-village.

TABLE 2-1. RITUAL-HOUSES IN WOLOGAI AND IN OTHER RITUAL-VILLAGES IN THE VICINITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WOLOGAI</th>
<th>WOLONDOPO</th>
<th>WOLOFEO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhisu Koja</td>
<td>Nua Ro’a</td>
<td>Embu Koja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soko Ria</td>
<td>Limbu</td>
<td>Embu Ro’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ata Wolo Ghale</td>
<td>Kéu Doa</td>
<td>Embu Loko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ata Wolo Mena</td>
<td>Wolo Ria</td>
<td>Embu Nggéla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ata Rini</td>
<td>Wolo Lo’o</td>
<td>Embu Rini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nua Ro’a</td>
<td>Bhisu Koja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wula Leja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Renge Nunu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Songgo Dala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kela</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nitu</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAUNAKA</th>
<th>WOLOJITA</th>
<th>NDU’ARIA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soko Ria</td>
<td>Soko Ria</td>
<td>Bénga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maté</td>
<td>Ata Wolo</td>
<td>Rini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limbu</td>
<td>Bhisu Koja</td>
<td>Bhisu Koja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ata Lio</td>
<td>Soko Ria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moni Maté</td>
<td>Rini Lau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaba Gana</td>
<td>Ro’a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Referring to the names and the ritual roles of the ritual-houses, people put forward various claims and develop a discourse about the derivation of and the relations between the ritual-houses of Wologai. These narratives are told selectively depending on the situation and the speaker’s intentions. When the unity of the ritual-village needs to be stressed, usually because of the existence of an outsider, people offer various narratives which insist on the legitimacy of the leadership of Bhisu Koja and the complementary relationships of the ritual-houses. When the autonomy of a ritual-house needs to be emphasised, people offer various narratives that throw sceptical light on the legitimacy of the leadership of Bhisu Koja and the complementary relationships of the ritual-houses.

The following section describes some of the discourse concerning the ritual-houses of Wologai.
BHISU KOJA

If the legitimacy of the leadership of Bhusu Koja is not being questioned, people take its legitimacy as self-evident given Bhusu Koja's role in the village rituals, its large well-constructed house and its epithet, the Great House. The name bhisu koja (central section) itself may be interpreted as epitomising its central status in the ritual-village.\(^{22}\) If the legitimacy of Bhusu Koja needs to be questioned, people usually say that Bhusu Koja usurped its ritual sovereignty from some other people. One man affiliated with Nua Ro'a, for example, told the following story.

Bhusu Koja usurped the ritual leadership from Nua Ro'a. There are houses named Bhusu Koja in many other ritual-villages. The existence of the house of Bhusu Koja means that Séko Léngo influenced that ritual-village. But he hardly influenced Wolondopo, where Nua Ro'a holds the ritual leadership and is the Mother of Bhusu Koja. Bhusu Koja of Wologai usurped the ritual leadership from Nua Ro'a by taking advantage of Séko Léngo's influence.

Some genealogies of the succession of ritual-leaders of Bhusu Koja feature the name Séko as their earliest or second earliest ancestor. Given that the ritual-leaders concerned never agree about who this Séko was, the name Séko here is mystified. Since other parts of these genealogies are not coherent, reciting or knowing a genealogy is not to organise the people of Bhusu Koja, but to mystify an origin, often in order to claim one's own legitimacy and to dispute others' claims to illegitimacy. One ritual-leader of Bhusu Koja told me the following story about Séko and the origin of Bhusu Koja.

Séko was raja tana (king of the earth).\(^{23}\) He was only sitting all the time. Food was always brought to him and his faeces was taken away from him. He had four sons, to whose position the present four prominent ritual-leaders of Bhusu Koja, including myself, succeeded. Two elder brothers had prerogatives on the land, and two younger brothers in the house.

\(^{22}\) Bhisu literally means 'section' and koja means 'centre', 'body part around waist and hip', and 'a kind of pandanus tree'.

\(^{23}\) The word raja is not used except for a man's name. He means by this word an authoritative person.
NUA RO'A

Nua Ro'a's epithet is the House of Progenitor or House of Origin Progenitor (sa'o iné amé or sa'o iné amé pu'u). This name having connotations associated with human existence is interpreted as implying that Nua Ro'a is a 'progenitor' of Bhisu Koja, or of the ritual-village as a whole since Bhisu Koja is regarded as the representative of the ritual-village. That is to say, this epithet implies that Nua Ro'a is the source of Bhisu Koja or of Wologai. People think that this name, House of Progenitor, corresponds to the indispensable role played by Nua Ro'a in the great-ritual (nggua ria), the most important village-ritual. This ritual role entails bestowing a small lidded-basket (nggala), with rice in it, on Bhisu Koja. This basket is named soul basket (nggala maë) and the rice is named soul rice (aré maë). These names imply that this ritual role is a life-giving role. If Bhisu Koja does not receive the soul basket, it may not start its ritual. People also consider other ritual roles played by Nua Ro'a in the great-ritual show its ritual precedence over Bhisu Koja or over the ritual-village itself.

The people affiliated with Nua Ro'a tend to quote genealogies of their ancestors of origin in order to emphasise the ontological importance of Nua Ro'a, which in turn guarantees its prestige as well as its autonomy. One knowledgeable man affiliated with Nua Ro'a cited the following genealogy of ancestors of origin and commented.

Our ancestors of origin are like this, Leja-Wula, Wula-Kiwa, Kiwa-Leja, Leja-Wula, Wula-Kiwa and so on. Our ancestors are endless like the day/sun, the month/moon and the year.24

If the unity of the ritual-village needs to be emphasised, people tell stories about the complementary relationship between Nua Ro'a and Bhisu Koja. If the autonomy and prestige of Nua Ro'a is given priority over unity, the ritual leadership of Bhisu Koja is belittled. If the autonomy and prestige of Bhisu Koja needs to be emphasised, Nua Ro'a's status is recounted as insignificant.

The relationship between Nua Ro'a and Bhisu Koja does not depend on marital alliance but only on ritual activities and discourse. Although the phrase, progenitor (iné amé) may indicate wife-giver, there is no marital prescription or preference between Bhisu Koja and Nua Ro'a.

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24 The literal meanings of these three words, leja, wula and kiwa, are 'day or sun', 'month or moon' and 'year' respectively.
ATA RINI

People assume vaguely that the phrase *ata rini* (people of *rini*) means a category of people who share an origin. Rini is usually considered to be an ancestor's name. The epithet of Ata Rini is 'a child who carried, great-grandchild who brought' (*ana pou // embu pago*). Stories about Ata Rini are recounted with humour and depict them as people who brought not only wealth, but also filthy things such as rats (*télé*), lice (*kutu*), mites (*tuma*), fleas (*mela*) and dog fleas (*nisi*).

The following short genealogy involving the name Rini seems to be known to many knowledgeable people as the ancient and primordial genealogy of Ata Rini.\(^\text{25}\) The genealogy is Séko Titi, Titi Rini, Rini Kalo.\(^\text{26}\) One of the current ritual-leaders of Ata Rini, depending on the social context, variously insists on his link either to Séko Léngo (on the basis of the name Séko), or to the sliding-offspring (on the basis of the name Kalo which people interpret as Anakalo, the first human being). The association with Séko Léngo expressed in this genealogy may give grounds for others to marginalise the status of Ata Rini as people from overseas. One ritual-leader of Bhisu Koja marginalised the status of Ata Rini by making the following statement.

They say Rini Kalo, that is, Séko Titi, Titi Rini, Rini Kalo. Kalo might mean Ana Kalo, the first human being. But the origin of Ata Rini is narrated as 'the yacht was cracked on Wewaria' (*joo mbi'a ghété wewa ria*).\(^\text{27}\) It means that they came from abroad.

In a war, the people of Ata Rini are supposed to beat a gong in the front row of the warriors. Even though there is no war these days, bravery is supposed to be their characteristic.\(^\text{28}\) According to some ritual-leaders (*mosa laki*) of Bhisu Koja, Bhisu Koja is the progenitor of Ata Rini because a priest of Bhisu Koja

\(^{25}\) This knowledge is regarded as a personal secret, although many knowledgeable people seem to know it. Genealogies in West Lio usually start from current people.

\(^{26}\) In some versions of the Séko Léngo story told by the Sokoria people, Séko Titi is the name of a man who came with Séko Léngo.

\(^{27}\) Wewaria is a place on the north coast. In Sokoria versions of the Séko Léngo story, Séko Léngo landed on Wewaria.

\(^{28}\) The ritual-leader (*mosa laki*) of *sa'a*o Ata Rini shows his bravery by eating the raw liver from a dog killed for divination before legal suits with other ritual-villages. He did this, for example, in the case of the theft of the statues called Amé Naka Iné Naju (Aoki 1988).
bestows some ritual food on the priests of Ata Rini in one village-ritual named picking-vegetables (*keti uta*) or eating-vegetable (*pesa uta*).

**SOKO RIA**

Some people, including the ritual-leaders of the ritual-house of Sokoria, say that Sokoria is in a nonhierarchical close relationship with Bhisu Koja. This relationship is expressed in one canonical couplet, 'common standing-stone-altar, shared ritual-courtyard' (*tubu séé // kanga bela*) or in another, 'descending together, ascending in company' (*wa'u sama // nai bela*). People may understand the first couplet to depict the relationship in which the concerned parties share ritual rights to the standing-stone-altar and/or the relationship which was established because the concerned parties originated from one ritual-village. They may understand the second couplet to designate the relationship in which the concerned parties share rights to each other's ritual-house and/or the relationship which was established because the concerned parties originated from one ritual-village.

The relations depicted in these couplets are regarded as corresponding to the rights shared by Bhisu Koja and Sokoria in the 'making-offering-ritual' (*tua tua*), one of the village rituals. Close relations between Sokoria and Bhisu Koja are usually limited to this ritual and to discourse. It is probable that when two persons affiliated with Sokoria and Bhisu Koja respectively need to form a political alliance, this kind of discourse might be used to justify actual relations.

Some people assert that Sokoria is related to the ritual-village of the same name, Sokoria. Other people deny a close relation between the Sokoria ritual-house of Wologai and the Sokoria ritual-village. Some people speculate that the enigmatic phrase 'ata ra'i soko' (people from *soko*, unknown place) implies Sokoria's mystic origin, which is described in the following parallel phrases:

```
ngoo doko  carrying the gong
lamba wangga  shouldering the drum
ngoo leka wiwi  the gong at the mouth
lamba leka lema  the drum at the tongue
sogé magé lamba dadi  *sogé magé lamba dadi*29
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29 None could give me an interpretation of this phrase. *Magé* means *Tamarindus indica*, and *lamba* means drum. People say that they have never heard the words, *sogé* and *dadi* except in this phrase.
ATA WOLO

There are two ritual-houses in Wologai named Ata Wolo, namely (Ata) Wolo Ghalé and (Ata) Wolo Mena. The words *ghalé* and *mena* are directionals, which indicate the locations where these ritual-houses are constructed in the ritual-village.

There is a vague but pervasive conception among the West-Lio-speaking people that the phrase *ata wolo* (ridge-people) designates a category of people who may share an origin, whatever it means. In some discourse, *ata wolo* (ridge-people) are seen as autochthons who already lived at the place concerned before the other peoples arrived. In contrast with the sea, the image of ridge (*woło*) plays an important role in making this conception persuasive, since the sea is always associated with people from outside. By this kind of discourse people imply that the ridge-people were the givers of ritual-political authority to the other peoples and so they remain the 'source' of the others. This implication is explicitly expressed by the rhyming couplet; 'divide the legitimacy, distribute the ritual-leadership' (*bagi laki // wogha ongga*). A general interpretation of this couplet is that the ridge-people (*ata wolo*) used to have the authority that ritual-leaders deserve, but that they gave it away to others, probably the predecessors of the present ritual-leaders.

This image of the ridge-people as a source of others also influences the discourse about the Ata Wolo of Wologai. If the context is not specified, the two ritual-houses of Ata Wolo are likely to be described as the givers of authority. Although neither of the Ata Wolo is generally referred to as a House of Progenitor (*sa'o iné amé*), there is a shared recognition among some knowledgeable men who are affiliated with either Wolo Ghalé or Bhisu Koja, that Wolo Ghalé is a progenitor (*iné amé*) or Mother (*iné*) of Bhisu Koja.

Some knowledgeable people maintain that this conception is manifested in the following ritual role played by one female ritual-leader of Wolo Ghalé for Bhisu Koja. When maize and vegetables become ripe, a village-ritual named 'picking-vegetables' (*keti uta*) is performed. In each ritual-house some vegetables are given to some of its ritual-leaders, who are not allowed to eat them before finishing this ritual. In the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja, one female ritual-leader of Wolo Ghalé plays the role of giving the vegetables to the ritual-leaders of Bhisu Koja.

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30 The word *ata*, literally meaning people, is often abbreviated.

31 The general category of ridge-people is dealt with in detail in chapter 6.
Some people consider that the people of Ata Wolo bestowed on Bhisu Koja the ritual authority for leading the Wologai ritual-village. Others maintain that only Wolo Ghalé did. Wolo Mena is not dyadically related to the other ritual-houses in terms of rituals, not even to Wolo Ghalé. Some say that Wolo Mena joined Wologai later than the other ritual-houses, but others disagree with this idea. The relationship between Wolo Mena and Wolo Ghalé is not recounted clearly. Many knowledgeable people seem to speculate about why there are two ritual-houses of Ata Wolo. After some thought, one knowledgeable man told me the following story to explain the existence of the two Ata Wolo:

Once upon a time there were two households (sa'o) living next to each other. They were related as 'older brother and younger brother' (ka'ê no'o ajë). There was a little child in one of the households who could not speak clearly yet. One day a man in the other household died. His name was Béké. After the burial, the people of the little child's household caught a dhéké (a kind of rat) and chopped it up at night. The next day, a man of the other household asked the little child, "What did you chop last night?" Since the little child was too small to pronounce the word dhéké properly, it answered, "We chopped and ate kéké." The men felt suspicious. "Kéké?" "Yes, kéké. We chopped and ate kéké." "Kéké? It may be Béké." "Yes, béké. We chopped and ate béké." Consequently the people of the man's household accused the people of the little child's household of being witches (ata polo) and the sa'o subsequently split into two.

FRAGILITY OF WOLOGAI

The foregoing description of the discourse about the ritual-houses of Wologai shows how the image of unity and separateness, or of interdependence and of autonomy, are conjured up. On the one hand, discourse about the relationships between Bhisu Koja and the other ritual-houses shows the Wologai ritual-village as a complementary whole. On the other hand, discourse about the autonomy and prestige of each ritual-house serves to undermine the image of the unity of Wologai.

32 This incident is often paraphrased as Ata Wolo gave the village-rituals (nggua) to Bhisu Koja.
33 Dhéké is their favourite game meat.
34 A narrator commented: "This probably happened in Nuaoné. And ata wolo originated from Nuaoné. But some people of Ata Wolo disagree with it."
Schematically speaking, two kinds of contexts can be distinguished for the discourses in which these two images of Wologai are produced. When people want to claim Wologai's prestige over other ritual-villages, they emphasise the complementary wholeness of their ritual-village. When a person feels that the autonomy and prestige of his/her ritual-house is endangered, he/she tends to regard the coexistence of the ritual-houses in Wologai as a mere coincidence. For people who critically reflect on the nature of the Wologai ritual-village in general, the coexistence remains an opaque, inexplicably given 'fact'.

I found a similar tension between the unity and separateness of the ritual-village in all the ritual-villages on which I carried out research. The extent to which the unity is constantly threatened varies from one ritual-village to another. People regard the village-rituals as manifestations of the unity of the ritual-village and failure to perform the village-rituals for some internal reason as indicating separateness. Wologai is outstanding in that the people often failed to perform the village rituals because of internal conflicts. From this, it can be deduced that the image of unity in Wologai is more fragile than that in other ritual-villages which manage to perform their village rituals regularly.35

Another characteristic of the Wologai ritual-village is that the complementary relations between the ritual-houses are not explicated in idioms of marriage. In other words, the complementarity of the ritual-houses is not held together by marital alliance. The ritual-houses are not regarded as exogamous groups. There is neither marital prescription nor preference between any ritual-houses. In contrast with Wologai, the complementarity of the ritual-houses is accommodated in marital alliance, to some extent, in Wolondopo and to considerable extent in Woloféo.

There seems to be a ritual-house of the progenitor (sa'o iné amé) in each village in West Lio. In Wolondopo as in Wologai, the ritual-house holding the ritual leadership of Wolondopo may not start their ritual until the ritual-house of the progenitor-people brings the soul rice in the soul basket. There is an ideology

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35 A knowledgeable man deplored the present state of Wologai, "As a result of unity, Wologai should be,

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
nuka ghaa nua & \text{enter the ritual-village here} \\
sé'a ghaa kéka & \text{come to the ritual-village} \\
bebe ngére mbiri seru & \text{bustling as mbiri-parrots singing} \\
kéka ngére wéka nuka & \text{noisy as wéka-parrots coming}
\end{array}
\]

However, as a result of separateness, the actual state of Wologai is pathetic,

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
nua mbura & \text{the village was burnt} \\
kéka mbéra & \text{the village collapsed} \\
fu a ngére Nora kuru & \text{the hair is like burnt weed} \\
longgo ngére wawi koi & \text{the back is like burnt and scratched pigs}
\end{array}
\]
according to which women of the ritual-house of the progenitor should marry men of the ritual-house holding the ritual leadership.

In Woloféo, the flow of women among the ritual-houses or the subdivisions of the ritual-houses is prescribed. The prescription is rather strictly applied to marriages of the ritual-leaders. If a marriage deviates from the prescribed flow, the woman is ritually adopted by an appropriate ritual-house or subdivision.

LESSER REFERENCE POINTS OF IDENTITY

People in the West-Lio-speaking area assume that a ritual-village is the most inclusive reference point of collective identity and is composed of lesser reference points of collective identity, namely ritual-houses, each of which in turn comprises points of affiliation at another, lesser, level which are represented as ritual-baskets (mbola nggala). Each ritual-house of Wologai contains several ritual-baskets. One or several ritual-leaders take care of these ritual-baskets.

Bhisu Koja is distinctive in terms of its internal articulation. It comprises three ritual-baskets, one of which is associated with a hearth called the 'hearth of legitimate people' (waja ata laki) or the 'hearth of pera' (waja pera). In the discourse about the construction of a ritual-house, pera marks the superior side in terms of ritual and significance in terms of human existence. This hearth is the one at the front and on the right, when sitting inside and facing towards the entrance. The ritual-basket is referred to the 'ritual-basket of the legitimate people' (mbola nggala ata laki). The ritual-leaders who are affiliated with this ritual-basket are referred to as the 'ritual-leaders at the side of the legitimate people' (mosa laki papa ata laki) or simply the 'legitimate people' (ata laki). Each of the other two are referred to as the 'ritual-basket of the great people' (mbola nggala ata ria). These two baskets are associated with the hearth called the 'hearth of great people' (waja ata ria), which is at the front and on the left. This is an unmarked hearth. The ritual-leaders affiliated with these ritual-baskets are referred to as the 'ritual-leaders of the great people' (mosa laki papa ata ria) or simply the 'great people' (ata ria).

All of these three ritual-baskets comprise several ritual-baskets at a lower level, each of which is often called after an ancestor's name. The present ritual-

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36 If asked, Wologai people say that the hearth of the legitimate people is on the right side. They say that for ritual-houses the right and the left are determined according to the setting as one leaves (nebu wa’u), while for dwelling houses, they are determined as one enters (nebu nai).
FIGURE 2-2 LAYOUT OF THE FLOOR OF BHISU KOJA

Directions inside a house

a. the hearth of the legitimate people, the *pera* hearth
b. the hearth of the great people
c. *koja ndawa* (central floor)
d. *dhémbi* (additional side room)
e. *lulu* (additional back room)
f. the *lulu* hearth
g. Du’a Ria
h. *benga toko* (plank-of-bone)
i. *tënda* (veranda)
leader who takes care of a ritual-basket is supposed to have succeeded to the position of the ancestor after whom the basket is named.

There are seven subsidiary-ritual-houses (*sa’o dhémbi lulu*) of Bhisu Koja in the Wologai ritual-village. Two of them, Bhéna and Nua Guta, are affiliated with the 'side of the legitimate people' (*papa ata laki*) and the other five, Bénga, Labo, Léwa Béwa, Ana Lamba, Rénggi Wogé, with the 'side of the great people' (*papa ata ria*). One or several ritual-leaders are responsible for and have rights to a subsidiary-ritual-house. The number of and the state of the subsidiary-ritual-houses may fluctuate. One subsidiary house, Ana Lamba, was built in the late seventies. According to the ritual-leader responsible for it, the subsidiary-ritual-house was rebuilt after several decades of ruin. There used to be two other subsidiary-ritual-houses, Panggo and Mari Songgo, in the Wologai ritual-village. Ritual-leaders of Panggo were affiliated with the 'side of the great people' and those of Mari Songgo with the 'side of the legitimate people'. These two subsidiary-ritual-houses decayed and disappeared recently because the ritual-leaders who were responsible for them and had rights over them did not take care of them.

The names applied to subsidiary-ritual-houses are supposed to be specific to Wologai. In contrast with the names of the ritual-houses, which are always at issue in terms of derivation and/or interpretation, those of the subsidiary-ritual-houses are rarely at issue. Subsidiary-ritual-houses are named after ancestors (Bhéna, Ana Lamba [offspring of Lamba], Rénggi Wogé and Mari Songgo), their roles (Nua Guta [*nuia* of raiding], Léwa Béwa [high cooking house] and Panggo [watchhouse]) or the features of the building (Bénga [plank] and Labo [bamboo roof]).\(^{37}\) The subsidiary house of Rénggi Wogé is also referred to as Lero Mbelo [conciliator].

The tensions and balances in the unity and separateness of a ritual-house are similar to those in a ritual-village. The ritual-leaders of a ritual-house cooperate to carry out certain rituals, while insisting on their own autonomy and prestige vis-à-vis each other. While each ritual-house may face a lack of cohesion, Bhisu Koja does so much more than any other ritual-house because it involves an outstanding number of ritual-leaders and they are allowed to demonstrate their prestige by having subsidiary-ritual-houses. Having a ritual-basket and having a

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\(^{37}\) Since there is no war these days, the name Nua Guta is regarded as memorial to its role in the past. While in the last night of the great-ritual it is prohibited to light a lamp in houses in the ritual-village, the subsidiary-ritual-house of Nua Guta is an exceptional. Some people interpret this exemption to the ritual prohibition as a representation of Nua Guta's responsibility for war.
subsidiary-ritual-house differ in the degree to which they demonstrate prestige. Even ritual-leaders usually do not know about the ritual-leaders and the ritual-baskets of other ritual houses, since such knowledge is regarded as an internal matter. However all the ritual-leaders and most other people recognise not only the prestige but also the ritual significance of a ritual-leader who is responsible for and has rights to a subsidiary-ritual-house.

The ritual-village, its ritual-houses and their ritual-baskets as physical objects give people a visible scheme of and for the Wologai ritual-village and its subcategories as social units. However, it does not mean that Wologai people are clearly segmented into 'subgroups'. It is more appropriate to say that these categories provide reference points which give people scope for collective identities. In this logical framework of inclusive segmentation, the subsidiary-ritual-houses are either deviant or redundant for the following reasons. They may easily lead to a category-mistake.\(^{38}\)

They are redundant in that each subsidiary-ritual-house corresponds to one ritual-basket at a lower level. They can be deviant in that they hold a position more similar to that of the ritual-houses than ritual-baskets in terms of social function and ontological images. They can become a meeting place for affiliated people. The subsidiary-ritual-houses share the basic structures of the ritual-houses. Just as the ritual-houses conjure up the image of a woman's body, so do the subsidiary-ritual-houses. That a ritual-basket is a womb (\textit{tuka ata fai}) is a widely shared image. The 'ritual-basket of the legitimate people' (\textit{mbola nggala at a laki}) and the 'ritual-baskets of the great people' (\textit{mbola nggala ata ria}) of Bhisu Koja are kept in the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja. Each ritual-leader of Bhisu Koja keeps the basket at the lower level in his dwelling-house or in his subsidiary-ritual-house if he has one. In the course of the great-ritual, the ritual-basket kept in a subsidiary-ritual-house is set at the centre of the subsidiary-ritual-house. In a similar way, ritual-baskets kept in the ritual-houses are set at the centre of their respective ritual-houses. Just as the relation between the ritual-basket and the ritual-houses is interpreted as that between the womb and a woman's body, so is that between the ritual-baskets and subsidiary-ritual-houses.

In addition to this kind of visible scheme of and for the Wologai ritual-village, names of ancestors or predecessors and their relationships might give the

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\(^{38}\) I use the phrase 'category-mistake' as Ryle explicates it. He writes: "A foreigner visiting Oxford or Cambridge for the first time is shown a number of colleges, libraries, playing fields, museums, scientific departments and administrative offices. He then asks 'But where is the University? ...' He was mistakenly allocating the University to the same category as that to which the other institutions belong" (Ryle 1978[1949]: 17-18).
people a scheme of and for the structure of the ritual-village. Names attached to
the ritual-baskets and some of the subsidiary-ritual-houses usually mediate these
two structuring schemes, one drawing on the visible forms and the other on
ancestors or predecessors' names. The names attached to the ritual-baskets and
the subsidiary-ritual-houses are supposed to be ancestors' or predecessors' names,
although the links between those predecessors and the present ritual-leaders are
not necessarily explicated.

Genealogies are usually a part of secret knowledge. Genealogies start from
living people and trace to ancestors, whose names can become objects of
speculation. People consider that their genealogies are genealogies of succession
rather than those of 'biological' linking. Two adjacent names in a line are thought
to be possibly those of a son and his father, of a sister's son and his mother's
brother or of two men in other relations because the succession (dari nia) can be
determined by the predecessor's arbitrary intention or by a divination. They are
not so much a scheme to structure or to organise people as they are a device to
exemplify the narrator's individual prestige and legitimacy.\(^{39}\) The reason these
genealogies are kept secret is that they are directly concerned with justifying
legitimacy and that they can be the basis for contentious claims against current
successors (ata dari nia) to the status of a ritual-leader or of an admired
ancestor.\(^ {40}\) Not all people are necessarily interested in genealogies. The ritual-
leaders (mosa laki), knowledgeable people and/or ambitious people, are
interested in genealogies. They do not constitute a neutral lists of ancestors'
names, but rather allegedly legitimate succession lines (dari nia) which bestow
value and prestige. It is not uncommon for people to claim that the genealogies of
others, especially rivals, are false or counterfeit.

**RATIONALS FOR THE AUTHORITY OF THE RITUAL-VILLAGE**

**RITUAL-LEADERS AND WIDOW-ORPHAN-PEOPLE**

In terms of authority in the ritual-village, Wologai people are classified into two
categories, the ritual-leaders and the others. This distinction depends on whether
or not they have distinctive roles in the village-rituals (*nggua tana watu*).

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\(^ {39}\) Sahlin observes that in Hawaii genealogies were devices for political games rather than charts for
structuring a society (1985:20).

\(^ {40}\) To connect one's own name to a predecessor's name as one wants is called *dago réwo* (link arbitrarily).
Ritual-leaders are those who are responsible for playing distinctive roles in the village-rituals, including the performance of ritual acts concerning the ritual-baskets. The native terms for ritual-leader are mosa laki, ata laki or simply laki. Mosa signifies 'adult male', particularly in reference to animals as, for example, lako mosa (adult male dog), kamba mosa (adult male water buffalo). Mosa is often used to signify adult men with an emphasis on masculinity, especially sexuality, and with a nuance of humour and/or offence. Ata means 'person' or 'people'. Laki signifies 'legitimate'. We can see the meaning in the coupled expression 'nduu no'o wolo wai // tendu jala laki' (literally: nduu, follow, obey; no'o, with; wolo, ridge; wai, right; tendu, follow, run after; jala, path). People could not give me the literal translation of the word laki, but they are sure that the whole the couplet means 'to follow the right way through generations' and that the word laki has a meaning similar to wai.\[^{41}\] People explained to me that laki as a term for 'ritual-leader' is simply an abbreviated form of mosa laki or ata laki.\[^{42}\] There are some female ritual-leaders in each ritual-house. They are referred to either as mother-ritual-leaders (iné mosa laki) or as mother-people (ata iné). It is they who take care of the ritual-baskets: repairing them or making new ritual-baskets. They are responsible for the cooking in rituals.

The people other than ritual-leaders are called fai walu // ana kalo (widow, orphan), fai walu (widow), ana kalo // fai walu (orphan, widow), or tebo fai walu // loo ana kalo (body of widow, torso of orphan). I substitute the phrase 'widow-orphan-people' for this category. The widow-orphan-people are a category of people who do not have a distinctive role in the village rituals.

These phrases, widow (fai walu), orphan (ana kalo) and their combination, are also used to express the vulnerable and fragile state of human beings in general, whether they are ritual-leaders or widow-orphan-people.\[^{43}\] However, if fai walu ana kalo or any alternative phrase to mean this category of people is used in contrast with mosa laki (ritual-leaders), powerlessness and uncertainty of the former and the powerfulness and certainty of the latter are mutually

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\[^{41}\] Wai has several meanings in other contexts: 'circular flat piece', as in 'mbako se wai' (one circular flat piece of tobacco); 'be about to' as in 'wai sia' (nearly dawn); 'just and right' as in 'molo wai' (just and right). Wai laki, which can be understood as the contraction of this couplet, means marital alliance.

\[^{42}\] As in the contrast between the two hearths, the two categories of ritual-leaders, and the two categories of ritual-baskets within Bhisu Koja, the word laki may contrast with the word ria. Ata ria may refer to a wealthy and influential person whose status is not institutionalised in terms of the ritual-village.

\[^{43}\] People say that we, human beings, are all widows and orphans (fai walu ana kalo). The conception of human beings as orphans is found in other eastern Indonesian cultures (Fox 1982a: 317, 1988b, Lewis 1982: 418, 1988:267); In Weyewa, orphanhood is 'one of the most terrifying experiences a child can have and a major preoccupation of ... myths and folktales' (Kuipers 1990: 81)
emphasised. The widow-orphan-people's insecurity and submissiveness to the ritual-leaders are expressed as follows:

- *mbou ria laki* (if you usurp the greatness of the ritual-leaders)
- *ramba béwa ongga* (if you rob the exaltedness of the ritual-leaders)
- *to'i gosi* you will be dug out as an obstacle
- *woga gora* you will be dug away as a hindrance
- *rago ngéré lako* you will be expelled like a dog
- *hoa ngéré koka* you will be dispersed like a *koka*-bird

These couplets are invoked in order to assert the authority of the ritual-leaders as representatives of the ritual-village over the widow-orphan-people. In actuality, no ritual-leader can ever expel anybody at will, and even a ritual-leader can be expelled if general opinion and the situation allow it.\(^4\)\(^5\) The authority of the ritual-leaders is often compared to that of parents (*inen ema*). It is also compared to that of the ancestors.

Ritual-leaders and widow-orphan-people are not hereditary groups. Having succeeded to the position of a ritual leader, a person remains a ritual leader all her/his life. Before succeeding to the position, every ritual-priest was one of the widow-orphan-people.

There is no absolute rule for governing the determination of successors. Appointment of a successor by a present ritual-leader is the most usual way of deciding the successor. It is preferable that the decision not seem arbitrary. Some justification is needed. Being a son or a sister's son of the present ritual leader is one of the best reasons. Being somehow affiliated with the present ritual-leader can be a reason. Adoption (*wii kawé*) can also be a justification. In some cases, a male ritual-leader adopts his sister's daughter as well as his sister's son. This type of adoption is called *wii kawé se weta se nara*, 'to pull and draw a sister brother

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\(^{44}\) In contrast with *ata ria*, the phrase *ata laki* tends to be used to indicate the ritual-leaders as an institutionalised status in terms of the ritual-village. In opposition to *fai walu ana kalo* (widow-orphan-people), the phrase *mosa laki* tends to be used.

\(^{45}\) There have been informal fissions among the Wologai people. No one is allowed to open a box of heirlooms set at the corner of the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja. In mid 60s, the origin-ritual-leader was accused of having opened it by a group of Wologai people, who were the opponents of the faction with which the origin-ritual-leader was involved. Those opponents successfully involved the local governments. Eventually, in spite of his pleading with tears in his eyes in front of some Wologai people, the origin-ritual-leader was sent to prison for about five months in Ende, the capital town of the Ende regency.
pair'. If a formal marital alliance was established or maintained, marriage with a prescribed woman may count as justification for succession.

The influential power (waka ngaa or senggu waka) of either the person who is succeeded or the successor is the most important factor in causing the succession to be accepted. There is a traditionally approved form of inauguration known as 'hand-washing' (pamo lima). The new successor invites the other ritual-leaders to his/her hand-washing. That person slaughters a big animal and washes her/his hands with its blood. No current female ritual-leaders underwent 'hand-washing'. Among the forty or so current male ritual-leaders, only one ritual-leader underwent it. While performance of hand-washing may legitimate succession, this general ignoring of washing-hands implies that in terms of succession to ritual-leadership a traditionally approved procedure is not necessary in practice.

No one, even the most knowledgeable people, can or will name all the present ritual-leaders. This is because, apart from some ritual-leaders who are well known in their ritual roles, qualification as a ritual-leader depends in principle on self-declaration. As long as one's own prestige is not undermined by the self-declaration of others, a person feels obliged not to contradict the self-declaration of others, or even to say in public who is a ritual-leader, apart from that person and some well-known ritual-leaders.

In 1981 the great-ritual (nggua ria), the most important village ritual, was not performed because of some conflicts within the Wologai ritual-village. The Wologai called upon the Kepala Desa (head of the administrative unit) and some officers of the subdistrict in order to restore sufficient cooperation to perform the great-ritual. It is said that forty-four men declared themselves to be ritual-leaders for the Kepala Desa to record. When I visited in 1982, however, no record was left.

In everyday life no marks, such as dress, behaviour, address or reference, are institutionalised to distinguish the ritual-leaders from others. Since the roles of some ritual-leaders are publicly visible in the course of annual village-rituals, they are usually publicly recognised to be ritual-leaders. Two ritual-leaders, respectively titled origin-ritual-leader and great-ritual-leader, for example, are recognised by almost all the people since their roles are publicly most visible.

46 Some occasionally say that this norm of adoption is not their own custom but that of people downstream.

47 The Kepala Desa is a man of Faunaka, which belongs to Desa Wologai. He did not remember this meeting clearly.
However, some self-declared ritual-leaders' ritual roles are hard for a public audience to recognise. One man, for example, declares himself to be a ritual-leader whose role is to look for a tree to build the temple. Since a proper temple has not been built and he has not played this role for such a long time, many people tend not to recognise him as a ritual-leader.

**THE AUTHORITY OF THE RITUAL-VILLAGE**

The ritual-leaders are regarded as agents of the authority of the ritual-village. While being a ritual-leader is prestigious, outside the contexts related to the ritual-village they cannot behave authoritatively. Ideological discourse states that the ritual-leaders exercise the authority of the ritual-village in the form of a decree known as 'catching' (poi).

Two kinds of 'catching' are distinguished. One is a decree to make people offer an animal to the ritual-village as a fine if they have ignored its authority. This decree is specified as 'catching an animal' (poi éko, literally meaning 'catching a tail'). While used as warning or a threat, the catching-fine is rarely executed. If children, for example, cut the ground (teka tana) with any sharp object while playing, their parents warn them to stop it by saying 'the ritual-leaders will catch you' (ata laki poi so). When the ritual-basket of a ritual-leader disappeared in the middle of the great-ritual in 1980, he shouted 'whoever took away my basket will be fined (poi)'. The ritual-basket seems to have been taken by mistake and was soon found again. In spite of the resolute tone of the ritual-leader in declaring the catching-fine, no search was made for the culprit. In March 1983, one ritual-leader charged a man a catching-fine for adultery because during a village-ritual he was found hugging a young woman who was not his wife. The next month the ritual-leader took a small pig from the man as a catching-fine to make an offering for changing the thatch of the house for Amé Naka Iné Naju. At the time people gossiped that this man would assault this ritual-leader and after this incident informal debate continued.

It is said that the last big catching-fine was executed in the 1950s. One man, who is sympathetic to the person who paid that catching-fine, told me the following story:

It was the time after the harvest of the wet-rice fields in the dry season and before the ritual-sowing by the origin-priest. A woman, who was quite insane, winnowed rice and threw the husks into her wet-rice field, which contained some unhusked paddy. Accidentally, some rice sprouted. Since sowing preceding the ritual-sowing by the origin-priest
was prohibited (*piré*), some people insisted on charging her with a
catching-fine. Since the woman herself could not understand the
situation or afford the fine, the people related to her tried to defend her.
However, those ritual-leaders insisted so strongly that those related to
her felt ashamed and one man among them gave away a water buffalo
as a catching-fine. Since then he has kept his dissatisfaction and hidden
anger against those who insisted on the catching-fine. When Amé Naka
Iné Naju disappeared, one of those people was suspected of stealing
them. The man who paid the catching-fine suggested charging the
suspect with a catching-fine as revenge.

This suggestion did not seem to attract support among the people.

The only case during my stay in which a catching-fine was actually paid was
as follows:

A young man came with a friend into the Wologai ritual-village during
the great-ritual in 1980 mainly in order to attend the *gawí* (circle dance).
In the great-ritual in 1980, the sense of unity of the Wologai, especially
among the ritual-leaders, was highly aroused. During an interval in the
ritual activities, the young man and his friend, both dressed up in
trousers, went up to the standing-stone-altar with a camera they
borrowed beforehand from somebody. The young man asked his friend
to take a picture of him leaning on the standing-stone-altar. Seeing this
scene, some ritual-leaders charged him with a catching-fine. Being
worried he came to one of the ritual-leaders for help. The young man
regarded him as closely related to him. The ritual-leader accepted his
plea and, without arguing with other ritual-leaders, gave away a dog to
the ritual-village as a catching-fine. By doing this, that ritual-leader
seemed to gain the appreciation of the other ritual-leaders and to
increase his influence over the young man.

In the discourse for demonstrating the authority of the ritual-village or the ritual-
leaders, a catching-fine is said to be a powerful sanction. However, as a matter of
fact, a catching-fine is rarely executed and even if it is, its significance seems to
depend largely on the intentions of the person giving away the animal and the
situation, including the balance of influence among the people charging the
catching-fine and the people defending the charged person.

The other type of catching (*poi*) is expressed in the following couplets.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{poi leka podi} & \text{catching at the headdress} \\
\text{tepú leka jopu} & \text{holding at the crown} \\
\text{kéa kii} & \text{rustle the alang-alang of the thatch}
\end{array}
\]

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48 Amé Naka Iné Naju are a pair of statues regarded as an heirloom of the ritual-village. They disappeared in 1983.
nger kebi
réku nebu éru
waké nebu nandé

scratch the bamboo wall
awaken the sleeping person
arouse the slumbering person

This 'catching' is executed in order to get a talented person to work for the ritual-village. A person who is not affiliated with Wologai may be 'caught'. It is said that in former days in waging war the ritual-leaders 'caught' (poi) a person talented in war chants (kadha) in exchange for valuables such as rice, gold items, and even a parcel of land. Nowadays a person talented in war chants (ata kadha) might be 'caught' (poi) for debating against other ritual-villages at the offices of the local government. In the case of conflicts endangering the unity of the ritual-village, a person talented for reconciling was 'caught'. This role is designated in the following couplet.

késo besi
lero mbelo

step on to squash
weigh on to sag

No conciliator was 'caught' on any occasion of conflict during my stay. Instead, one ritual-leader of Bhisu Koja declared himself as a conciliator 'késo besi lero mbelo' and made an effort, which unfortunately turned out to be unsuccessful although he was regarded as having influential power (senggu waka). While in private some people, including some ritual leaders, criticised him for not being qualified as a conciliator, nobody contradicted his self-declaration in public. In rebuilding a temple, a person talented at building is 'caught' (poi) by the ritual-leaders. Since the temporary temple has not been replaced with a proper one, the 'catching' (poi) of a talented builder has not been executed for a long time. The 'catching' carried out rather regularly is 'catching' a person talented for singing improvisational songs for the circle dance (gawli) in the great-ritual. In 1983, the origin priest approached one Faunaka man well-known for his talent for singing in order to 'catch' (poi) him. Since this man did not accept the 'catching', the origin-priest approached one Wologai man and 'caught' him as a singer. Unlike the imposing tone in the couplet 'catching at the head dress, holding at the crown',

49 These couplets are used to mean that widow-orphan-people (fai walu ana kalo) ask ritual-leaders to reconcile conflicts. They are followed by the following couplets.

foko roo
lema bewa
moké bheto niitu
du'a tau minu
éko nggari soko
du'a tau mogo

sore throat
cracked tongue
palm wine in a niitu-bheto bamboo tube
for him to drink
an animal in a soko-grass land
for him to eat

50 People told me that this couplet as a whole means to reconcile. They were not sure how this couplet refers to that meaning. Some people say that this role of reconciliation is also designated as ndéto péto puu // au boo olo (ndéto-grass flourishing since primordial time, au-bamboo thriving since primeval time). Others say that this couplet designates a role which is passed down from generation to generation.
the 'catching' of a talented person is not by compulsion but is accomplished by negotiation.

In the discourse affirming the authority of the ritual-village, people assert that the Wologai ritual-village has absolute power. However as a matter of fact, the ritual-village does not have any means of enforcing its authority over people except by cursing. Although the village-rituals are indispensable for the authority of the ritual-village and participation in the village-rituals is said to be obligatory in the discourse affirming the orthodoxy of the ritual-village, attendance at the village rituals is not obligatory at all. Authority is, rather, sustained by performing the village-rituals and by the incessant discourse about the village-rituals, the ritual-village not only as a social category but also as a physical construction, and the ritual-leaders. 51

THREE DISTINCTIVE TITLES OF RITUAL-LEADERS

In terms of the institution of the Wologai ritual-village, there are three significantly distinctive titles of ritual-leaders: the origin-ritual-leader (*mosa laki pu'u*), the great-ritual-leaders (*mosa laki ria béwa*) and the mother-ritual-leaders (*iné mosa laki*). 52 The origin-ritual-leader and the great-ritual-leader belong to Bhsu Koja.

The origin-ritual-leader (*mosa laki pu'u*) is often stated to be the most important among all the ritual-leaders. People consider that the word *pu'u* (trunk or stem of tree, cause, or origin) in the title implies its importance. 53 The great-

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51 Authority of the ritual-village is exercised by enforcing prohibitions on work in fields in relation to the village-rituals. What ritual-activities are qualified to cause these prohibitions is often neither decided nor agreed by all the ritual leaders in advance, as the following example shows:

On the morning on the 30th of April in 1983, some ritual-leaders of Bhsu Koja announced that the 'prohibitions on changing the decayed (thatch)' (*piré gélu mewu*) must be applied to that day, and that people must refrain from collecting firewood as well as from work in the fields. According to them, replacing the thatch of the shrine of a pair of statues, Amé Naka and Iné Naju, on the day before was sufficient to cause the ban under the name of authority of the Wologai ritual-village. A ritual-leader, who did not join in replacing the thatch, claimed that since Amé Naka and Iné Naju had been objects of worship of Giu, an ancestor of a particular people, they were not of importance to the Wologai ritual-village as a whole and the renewal of the thatch did not qualify to cause the ban called 'prohibition on changing the decayed (thatch)' (*piré gélu mewu*).

52 In the West-Lio-speaking area, the number and the actual organisation of the ritual-leaders differ from one ritual-village to another. But most ritual-villages seem to share the basic model for the organisation of the ritual-leaders in that the most important ritual-leader in ritual-villages is known as 'origin-ritual-leader' (*mosa laki pu'u* or *laki pu'u*).

53 *Pu'u* is a crucial word sociologically as well as ontologically, not only in these ritual-villages but also in central Flores. A word for 'trunk of tree' is important in many areas in eastern Indonesia, cf. Fox 1971c,
ritual-leader, *mosa laki ria béwa*, is often simply called *ria béwa*. *Ria* means 'big or great' and *béwa* means 'long, deep or high'.

The characteristics of these marked categories of ritual-leaders are depicted in couplets. A well-known couplet among knowledgeable people about the origin-ritual-leader is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mosa laki pu'u} & \quad \text{the origin ritual-leader} \\
\text{koré liru mboré} & \quad \text{pierces the sky to make a gap} \\
\text{teka tana bega} & \quad \text{cuts the earth to make a hole}
\end{align*}
\]

These short parallel phrases evoke various interpretations in Wologai people’s minds. They may be taken to indicate the ritual sowing by the origin-ritual-leader. This has cosmological meanings as shown by the word *liru* 'the sky'. According to other interpretations linked to another field of human experience, these phrases imply that the ritual sowing is cosmological sexual intercourse by the origin-ritual-leader. This interpretation accords with the everyday use of the words *mosa* and *bega*. *Mosa* usually signifies mature male animals. If it is used to indicate a man, it has a strong connotation of male sexuality. The word *bega* signifies not only 'hole' but also 'vagina'. These phrases, especially the words *bega* (hole) and *mboré* (gap) may also evoke the image of emptiness or void of the origin-ritual-leader. This image corresponds to the general notion that the origin-ritual-leader may 'lack' eloquence, weightiness, warlike powers and other explicit powers and abilities.

In contrast with the origin-ritual-leader’s emptiness, it is supposed that the great-ritual-leader (*mosa laki ria béwa*) should be eloquent, wealthy and full of other explicit powers and abilities.

It is said that the origin-ritual-leader only needs to perform rituals (*mosa laki pu'u menga tau nggua*). The activeness and mobility of the great-ritual-leader (*mosa laki ria béwa* or *ria béwa*) are contrasted with the inactiveness and the

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54 I have heard *laki pu'u* used to indicate the institutionalised status of the origin-ritual-leader but I never heard the phrases as *laki ria béwa* or *ata laki ria béwa*. In formal contexts, *ria béwa* does not have any connotation of sexuality, but in joking conversations the phrase followed by a possessive noun means 'penis' as in *'ria béwa kaf* (his (big and long) penis) or as in *'ria béwa éo fero* (Fera's (big and long) penis).

55 Since people think of this word as one of sexual abuse towards women, they avoid uttering it publicly, especially, in the presence of women. Women do not use the word *bega*. Men often utter it as an interjection to be put at the end of a sentence, but only in informal conversations with other men.

56 This image of *mosa laki pu'u* can be understood as an example of the attribute of authority in eastern Indonesia, which Fox called 'the powerlessness in the centre' (Fox 1982. See also Hoskins 1984, 1993). The cultures to which this attribute of supreme authority is common are not limited to eastern Indonesia.
immobility of the origin-ritual-leader (*mosa laki pu’u*) in the coupled phrases below:

\[
\begin{align*}
se \ kélé \ iwa \ ngée & \quad \text{do not move even a bit} \\
se \ la’ê \ iwa \ laké & \quad \text{do not leave the place}
\end{align*}
\]

In contrast with such brief depictions of the attributes of the origin-ritual-leader in parallelism, those of the great-ritual-leader are depicted in long verses such as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
ria \ béwa & \quad \text{great and high} \\
pai \ ria & \quad \text{call in a great voice} \\
niu \ béwa & \quad \text{announce in a high tone} \\
wiwi \ kau \ ria & \quad \text{your mouth is big} \\
mosa \ laki \ wira & \quad \text{just because the *mosa laki* tears} \\
lema \ béwa & \quad \text{your tongue is long} \\
mosa \ laki \ esa & \quad \text{just because the *mosa laki* pulls} \\
pidi \ wiwi \ laki & \quad \text{assist the mouth of the *laki*} \\
lapi \ lema \ ongga & \quad \text{support the tongue of the *ongga*} \\
ma’ê \ nara \ ngai & \quad \text{do not be arbitrary} \\
ma’ê \ uku \ lubu & \quad \text{do not make selfish decisions} \\
soro \ mbako \ woro & \quad \text{treat guests with a roll of tobacco} \\
pada \ nata \ ma’á & \quad \text{serve guests with a quid of betel} \\
gepa \ gena & \quad \text{do be able to reach} \\
ngawi \ sai & \quad \text{do be competent to gain} \\
talu \ repa \ sambu & \quad \text{answer to people} \\
tewa \ repa \ rega & \quad \text{meet with people} \\
wiwi \ ma’ê \ bidi & \quad \text{do not let your mouth shiver} \\
lema \ ma’ê \ leli & \quad \text{do not let your tongue tremble} \\
laki \ néa \ kaa & \quad \text{while the *laki* eats} \\
& \quad \text{do not sit with your side to him} \\
iwa \ rewa \ kiri \ kemo & \quad \text{while the *laki* relishes} \\
laki \ néa \ pesa & \quad \text{do not sit with your back to him} \\
iwa \ rewa \ péké \ longgo & \quad \text{carry things on your head without} \\
su’u \ ma’ê \ sélé \ kolo & \quad \text{inclining your head} \\
& \quad \text{carry things on your shoulder} \\
& \quad \text{without bending your shoulder} \\
wangga \ ma’ê \ bénga \ wara & \\
kolo \ detu & \quad \text{level head} \\
warà ndéna & \quad \text{flat shoulder} \\
su’u \ sélé \ rewa \ kolo & \quad \text{if your head is inclined} \\
wangga \ bénga \ rewa \ wara & \quad \text{if your shoulder is bent} \\
wiki \ wola & \quad \text{(the *laki*) will get your power} \\
& \quad \text{back} \\
medi \ walo & \quad \text{(the *laki*) will take your status} \\
& \quad \text{back} \\
kau \ wiwi \ ria \ iwa & \quad \text{your mouth is not big} \\
kau \ lema \ béwa \ la’ê & \quad \text{your tongue is not long}
\end{align*}
\]

Concerning these orthodox couples, a man gave me the following comment:

The great-ritual-leader’s role is to act as spokesman for the origin-ritual-leader’s statements. The great-ritual-leader is inferior to the origin-ritual-leader. He can be influential only because the *laki* allows it. He
must behave respectfully to the origin-ritual-leader. The great-ritual-leader must be eloquent to support the mouth and the tongue of the laki. He must be wealthy and brave to treat guests and meet with enemies. He must be responsible and impartial. He must respect the laki and he can be deprived of his status by the laki.

To dignify the status of the great-ritual-leader, it is said that the words ria béwa in the title designate his 'great and high' status. However, these couplets suggest that the words ria béwa in the title indicate the great-ritual-leader's role as the spokesman to announce the origin-ritual-leader's statements in a loud voice and high tones.

While some people interpret mosa laki, laki and ongga in the couplets as the origin-ritual-leader (mosa laki pu‘u), others interpret them simply to mean the ritual-leaders.57 The great-ritual-leader (mosa laki ria béwa) is one of the publicly visible ritual-leaders. It is apparent to anybody that the great-ritual-leader is one of the ritual-leaders. So the second interpretation does not mean that the great-ritual-leader is not qualified as a ritual-leader. These different interpretations suggest not only that asymmetry is involved in the relation of the great-ritual-leader to the other ritual-leaders or the origin-ritual-leader, but also that the relation represented by the contrast of the words pu‘u (trunk or origin) and ria béwa (great-high) is also represented by the contrast of the words laki (legitimate) and ria béwa (great-high). 58

The relationship expressed in these couplets is also paraphrased in other types of narratives by using the same pairs of words, namely laki (legitimate) and ria béwa (great-high), or pu‘u (trunk or origin) and ria béwa (great-high). People, for example, maintain that the laki (ritual-leader) or the mosa laki pu‘u (origin-ritual-leader), must be indigenous. They also emphasise the legitimacy of succession of the laki (legitimate ritual-leader) or the mosa laki pu‘u (origin-ritual-leader) from generation to generation without interruption from the outside. They sometimes say that a person from outside can become a ria béwa (great-high or great-ritual-leader). This view is evinced in the story below.

In primordial times, Anakalo lived on the summit of Mt Lépémbusu, which was surrounded by water. Anakalo lived with his sister. They

57 Ongga literally means corn-cob. Ongga is often paired with laki in couplets. According to some people, ongga evokes the male sexuality of laki, given the similarity between the erect penis and the shape of a corn-cob.

58 The great-ritual-leader of Wolondopo apparently carries out a role like a subordinate messenger between the ritual-leaders.
married each other and gave birth to a girl. One day a man sailed from abroad to the summit of Mt Lépémbusu. He married Anakalo's daughter. He was appointed a ria béwa (the great-ritual-leader) by Anakalo, who was ata laki (legitimate ritual-leader). This is the origin of laki (legitimate ritual-leader) and ria béwa (the great-ritual-leader).

There are several versions of this story. Some say that Anakalo is not a single male person but 'a sister and brother pair' (se weta se nara). Others say that the man from abroad married Anakalo's sister or Anakalo's daughter. Some add that the summit of Mt Lépémbusu was the only dry land, and that Anakalo and his sister (or Anakalo as a sister and brother pair) were the first human beings in the world in primordial times. Others add that the foreign man sailed from 'Jawa' and landed on the summit of Mt Lépémbusu because he saw a light. Some may add that he became stranded on the summit of Mt Lépémbusu and he was rich.

Three complementary oppositions occur in the various versions of this story, namely, indigenousness (ana tana) to foreignness (ata mai), wife-giver (iné amé) to wife-taker, and legitimacy (mosa laki pu'u) to influential power (ria béwa) represented by wealth. Since these three complementary oppositions explain each other or are related to each other, the stories convey messages not only about the two types of ritual-leaders, but also about the concepts expressed by the opposition of indigenousness (ana tana) to foreignness (ata mai), wife-giver (iné amé) to wife-taker, and legitimacy (laki) to influential powers (ria béwa).

The relation between the origin-ritual-leader and the great-ritual-leader is manifested in the normative manner of distributing meat, usually that of a pig or
a water buffalo. When an animal is killed for the ritual-village, the head part (weri) must given to the origin-ritual-leader and the loin part (éko) to the great-ritual-leader. When an animal must be killed by the great-ritual-leader, all the other ritual-leaders, especially the origin-ritual-leader, must touch the machete before the killing. In this ritual killing, the great-ritual-leader plays the role of executioner, while the origin-ritual-leader authorises it.63 In this practice, (or the discourse about this practice), the relation expressed by the opposition of kolo (head) and éko (tail or loin) and by that of the authoriser of the killing of an animal and the executioner is made in some sense equal to that expressed by the various oppositions mentioned above.64

In each ritual-house there are some women who play a particular role in the village rituals. These women are called ine mosa laki (mother-ritual-leaders) or ata iné (mother-people). Since only the mother-ritual-leaders of Bhisu Koja apparently play a role for the whole ritual-village, some say that only they are qualified to be called ine mosa laki and that the others should be called ata iné. The mother-ritual-leaders, especially those of Bhisu Koja, are denoted by the following couplets, which are well-known among knowledgeable people:

seré aré tana
nasu uta watu
boil the rice of soil
cook the vegetables of rock

This predication accords with the mother-ritual-leaders' main roles in village-rituals. If contrasted with watu (rock, stone) in everyday conversation, tana means soil. The paired words tana (soil) and watu (rock) in parallel form mean the earth as a complete whole. This parallel phrase expresses the close connection between the mother-ritual-leaders and the earth as an entity to which human beings owe their life.65 Like the origin-ritual-leader, mother-ritual-leaders are often designated as earth-people (ana tana). If people use the term earth-people (ana tana) instead of mother-ritual-leader (ine mosa laki), they put emphasis on an intrinsic relationship with the earth. It is often said that earth-people (ana tana) may not or cannot marry out.

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63 It is also said that the other ritual-leaders can be distinguished into two categories, big-piece (bogé ría) and small-piece (boge lo'o) according to the size of the meat they have the prerogative to receive. The big-piece is thought to be more prestigious than the small-piece. However, as an animal has not been slaughtered in this way for a long time, the actual distinction is unclear and their assertion of being big-piece (bogé ría) is mainly a matter of contention.

64 These oppositions are not fully equivalent to each other. The sort of rationale underlying these complementary oppositions can often be found in people's narratives. This kind of rationale may relate to various spheres of human experience, with which these complementary oppositions are concerned.

65 See chapters 4 and 6.
There are four mother-ritual-leaders in Bhisu Koja. They cook the most important ritual rice for the ritual-village, the rice which some ritual-leaders use to perform rituals at the temple and in the ritual-courtyard.

They are conceptualised as 'mothers' of the male ritual-leaders. However, in some contexts, they may be regarded as a sister of a male ritual-leader. Each of these mother-ritual-leaders is affiliated with one of the four subsidiary-ritual-houses, namely, Nua Guta, Bhéna, Panggo and Lamba, with which the four male ritual-leaders are respectively affiliated. The decisions about the succession of the mother-ritual-leaders seems to be contextual. The mother ritual-leader and the male ritual-leader affiliated with Panggo are a sister and brother (weta no'o nara) from the same parents. The other pairs of mother-ritual-leader and male ritual-leader are conceptualised as sister and brother regardless of their genealogical relationships.

The mother-ritual-leaders as well as the origin-ritual-leader are considered to be immobile. The origin-ritual-leader's immobility is manifested as his close association with the earth as well as with ancestors and spirits. In some discourse, his immobility is described as his indigenousness and inactivity in contrast with the foreignness and activeness of the great-ritual-leader. The mother-ritual-leaders' image of immobility is described in terms of her close association with the earth and with social immobility. This image of the mother-ritual-leaders is also expressed by the following couplets, the first lines of which are common to the normative characteristic of the origin-ritual-leader.

\[
\begin{align*}
se \ k\tilde{e}l\hat{e} & \ iwa \ ng\hat{e}\hat{e}e \\
se \ la\acute{e} & \ iwa \ lak\acute{e} \\
banga \ waja & \\
jinga \ lika & \\
b\acute{e}l \ bu\acute{u} & \\
dhaa \ ndawa & \\
lodo \ ma\acute{e} \ to\acute{o} & \\
mbak\acute{e} \ ma\acute{e} \ mbana & \\
da\acute{i} \ lia \ lek\acute{e} & \\
\acute{e}nga \ la\acute{e} \ sa\acute{o} & \\
duu \ pa'\acute{a} \ pii & \\
raka \ pab\acute{e} \ rap\acute{e} & \\
do \ not \ move \ even \ a \ bit & \\
do \ not \ leave \ the \ place & \\
fire \ the \ hearth & \\
flame \ the \ hearth \ stones & \\
lean \ at \ the \ hearth \ area & \\
sit \ with \ the \ legs \ stretched & \\
keep \ sitting \ on \ the \ buttocks & \\
keep \ sitting \ on \ the \ back \ thigh & \\
take \ care \ of \ the \ pillar \ hole & \\
watch \ the \ house \ site & \\
to \ add \ generations & \\
to \ pile \ up \ generations & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The word iné (mother) is one of the key terms necessary to understand the world of the Wologai people. Various discourses show that the word, iné, in iné

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66 There used to be another mother-ritual-leader, but she died several years ago. No one has succeeded her.

67 In parallel expressions the word iné is coupled with ema (father), amé (honorific address for men) and ana (child). People concede that iné encompasses ema or amé in relation to the concept of ana, while it is ontologically superior to ana. The pair of iné/ema and that of iné/amé are latently coupled with ana, but
mosa laki or ata iné (mother-ritual-leader) marks not only the gender, but also the ontological superiority of the mother-ritual-leaders to the male ritual-leaders.

RATIONALES WHICH CONSTRUCT THE AUTHORITY OF THE RITUAL-VILLAGE

The proposition 'being the source of others makes one superior to them' also functions as an ultimate unquestionable dogma in constructing encompassing authority within the ritual-village. 'Being the source' is phrased as iné ema, ana tana, iné amé, pu'u and iné, all of which are used in claiming the superiority of one's own ritual-village over others. However, in contrast with these claims against other ritual-villages, in the discourse of encompassing authority within the ritual-village, de facto powers and prosperity are definitely marginalised as subordinate to the powerless centre and never constitute grounds for authority within the ritual-village. This is exemplified in the following couplets and the comments about them. The relationships between the ritual-leaders and the widow-orphan-people are depicted in another set of couplets.

besu fai walu tuu ria laki
The prosperity of the widow-people is brought to the greatness of the ritual-leaders

bhanda ana kalo nawu béwa ongga
The richness of the orphan-people is offered to the exaltedness of the ritual-leaders

ata laki menga
What the ritual-leaders only do is

mii leka wiwi
to feel the pleasant taste on the lips

besa leka lema
to relish the taste on the tongue

A man interprets these lines as follows:

The word nawu means making offering to spirits (nitu pa'i) or to ancestors. The widow-orphan-people give some of the harvest to the ritual-leaders not to make them rich, but only to make them enjoy the taste on the lips and tongue. The widow-orphan-people can be rich by working hard with their ability and power (negi mulé). But they must not forget the ritual-leaders, because they are just like ancestors (embu mamo) or spirits (nitu pa'i). The ritual-leaders need not be rich. If people slaughter big animals to make a feast, namely, 'shoot a water buffalo with horns, kill a pig with teeth' (poké kamba dui // wéla wawi ngí), they must invite and treat the ritual-leaders.

neither ema nor amé by itself is coupled with ana. Iné is a summarising or encompassing category of the pairs in relation to ana. People explain that iné is superior to ana because ana originates from iné.
The authority of the ritual-leaders over the widow-orphan-people is thus understood to be just like that of the ancestors and spirits over human beings.
Chapter 3

PERFORMING THE GREAT HERITAGE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores one of the most important village-rituals. From an observer’s point of view, village-rituals can be classified into three categories. The first category comprises annual rituals emmeshed in agricultural cycles. The second comprises rituals related to buildings in the ritual-village, especially the temple: mainly renewal or reconstruction. The third category comprises rituals at times of emergency for the ritual-village. People refer to the first and second categories as ‘rituals of the earth/world’ (nggua tana watu),¹ and the second alone as ‘installing the ridge, carrying the mountain’ (poto wolo // rénggi kéli). The third category does not have a native label. It includes divination rituals concerned with the ritual-village and war dances and chants against other ritual-villages.² This chapter deals with one series of rituals of Wologai called the ‘great-ritual’ (nggua ria). The great-ritual belongs to the first category of village-rituals and is the most distinguished of all rituals in this category in terms of its length, the number of people engaged in it, the articulation of acts and roles involved, and also people’s interests.

During fieldwork, just as anthropologists are interested in the people they are studying as ‘others’, the people themselves may often try to convey to an anthropologist the preferred political understanding of their world, especially before personal rapport has been built up. Some seem to regard an anthropologist as a typical ‘other’ who can act as a neutral judge of their prestige within their vicinity, and/or can be a spokesperson to proclaim their prestige to the more distant world to which they suppose he/she belongs. During the first stage of fieldwork an anthropologist may feel annoyed by such political intentions and may overlook the fact that the people’s assertions may contain hints to understanding their lives and thoughts.

¹ The word nggua in West Lio might denote a wide category of prescribed activities inherited from ancestors. It includes some rites of passage. Tana watu literally means ‘earth and rock/stone’.

² The ordeal ritual held at the time of the theft of a pair of statues in 1983 can be classified in this category. For this ordeal, see Aoki 1988. The definition of ‘ritual’ has been problematic in anthropology. While I do not discuss the definition of ritual in this thesis, these activities that I call village-rituals contain features which Bloch indicates as distinguishing marks of ritual (1989: 21).
When I visited the villages of Wologai, Wolondopo and Wolojita at the southern foot of Mt. Lépembusu and talked for the first time to the knowledgeable men in each village, they all reacted in similar ways. They showed reserved but strong interest in my research. They asserted that their ritual-village was the most prestigious and that the great-ritual of their ritual-village provided the clearest evidence of this. They insisted that their ritual was older, more splendid and awe-inspiring (bhisa) than that of any other ritual-village, although they did not know much about the great-rituals in other ritual-villages. In spite of such assertions, when I tried to probe into their rituals, they were reluctant to answer my questions.

I thought at the time that their attitude was only an initial obstacle that I could overcome by establishing good relations with them. I did not realise that I was already witnessing the core of their life and thought from a particular angle. As my research proceeded, I found that understanding their attitude could lead me to the key points for understanding their lives.

On the one hand, the great-ritual gives Wologai people's discourse a point of reference in order to establish the superiority of their ritual-village over others. On the other hand the great-ritual is an arena for mutual engagement in a particularly articulated way. This mutual engagement is played out on the basis of a supposedly invariant scenario.

In the next section, I describe the outline of the great-ritual. This is based on my participation in the ritual in 1980 and 1983 and people's descriptions.

**OUTLINE OF THE GREAT-RITUAL**

The great-ritual of Wologai takes about a month, and is divided into three stages. The first stage is a period of preparation. The only ritual prescription for the preparation is that the origin-ritual-leader should precede other people in performing each act. The second stage consists of a series of highly prescribed and proscribed acts, to which the anthropological tradition may apply the term 'ritual'. The last stage is a period of prohibition on some acts.

After finishing preparation for sowing, usually at the end of October or at the beginning of November, the origin-ritual-leader together with one ritual-leader of Bhisu Koja decides the schedule of the great-ritual. This ritual-leader plays an indispensable role in the great-ritual, although he does not have a particular title. Just for convenience I refer to this ritual-leader as the ritual-practitioner. He is affiliated not only with Bénga but also with Labo of Bhisu Koja.
The preparation for the great-ritual is initiated by the origin-ritual-leader. First, he collects firewood for the great-ritual. The day after he collects his firewood other ritual-leaders and widow-orphan-people begin to collect their firewood. About a week later the origin-ritual-leader announces the day for drying rice. The day after he dries his rice, other people begin to dry their rice. The process continues in the same way for pounding the rice and for making the roast-pounded rice (kibi).

Before starting the second stage of the great-ritual, ritual-leaders of Sa'o Bhisu Koja must prepare monkey meat, the meat of another wild animal (usually wild boar) and an ocean fish. The origin-ritual-leader takes final responsibility for preparing these items. He sends someone to buy a dried ocean fish at the market in Detusoko, the capital of the district, which is open twice weekly. He encourages men to hunt for a monkey and for the other wild animals. However, since it has become difficult to hunt wild animals in the forest, these days he often buys those meats. In 1983, the hunt was unsuccessful and the origin-ritual-leader bought dried wild boar meat in the market and a live monkey from a policeman in Detusoko.

The ritual-practitioner is in charge of preparing the monkey and the other wild animal for the great-ritual. This monkey meat is referred to as loka bara (literally meaning 'white place' or 'spilt white thing'), and the other wild animal meat nake se'a (literally meaning 'meat which came'). Nake se'a is just a lump of meat but loka bara should be prepared as a number of small pieces pierced with a finely split bamboo string or a palm leaf rib. After processing the monkey meat, the ritual-practitioner murmurs the following spell, making a circle above the processed meat with a burning piece of wood:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{loka mii} & \quad \text{sweet place} \\
\text{kara menge} & \quad \text{fragrant charcoal} \\
\text{mbana dubu} & \quad \text{if you go, you cannot get through} \\
\text{lora soi} & \quad \text{if you pass, you are trapped}
\end{align*}
\]

After the preparation, more articulated ritual processes start. The scenario of the second stage of the great-ritual is as follows.

THE FIRST NIGHT

At the origin-ritual-leader's announcement, the mother-ritual-leaders of Bhisu Koja, the great-ritual-leader, the ritual-practitioner and volunteers gather in the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja. These volunteers are not necessarily affiliated with Bisu Koja. The ritual process begins at night after commonplace talk without any
clear articulation of its commencement. Only relative silence marks the beginning of the process.

The mother-ritual-leaders pour rice into a flat basket (kaka) on a plaited bamboo tray (kidhe) from several round baskets (wati) and then pour it into big baskets (mbola). The ritual-leaders send a person to gather any six women who are available in the ritual-village. 'Six' is the preferred number, but it often happens, for various reasons, that fewer than six women might be available. These women bring out one big basket full of rice from the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja. This rice is referred to as 'virile and aggressive rice' (aré tego bani). They spread it out to dry on the wide, plaited mat in the ritual courtyard for several minutes. Then they gather up the rice, putting it back into the big basket, which they then place on the veranda of the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja.

The origin-ritual-leader, the great-ritual-leader and another ritual-leader set the wooden mortar and make a fire on the ground just in front of the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja. The ritual-leader hands over a pestle to the women. One mother-ritual-leader, 'sister' of origin-ritual-leader, sitting on the veranda, passes them the rice to pound, receives the pounded rice from them and winnows it. The origin-ritual-leader, the great-ritual-leader and the other ritual-leader protect the women pounding the rice. During pounding, the women are forbidden to cough, break wind, or to go alone to defecate or urinate.

The other mother-ritual-leaders cook rice for the commensal meal eaten after the pounding of the 'virile and aggressive rice' and its winnowing. Later, at midnight, this process of drying and pounding rice is repeated.

THE SECOND NIGHT

The night after 'pounding virile and aggressive rice', 'squeezing rice into a basket' (rasé majo) is performed. Rasé means to fill tightly a container with something. Majo means a basket, in which valuables are put. Rasé majo is a ritual act of pouring rice from one basket into another and using a wooden stick, called ko'u, to ensure it is tightly filled.

While ritual-leaders of each ritual-house perform their own rasé majo in their respective ritual-houses, the rasé majo of Bhisu Koja is the longest and

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3 In 1983, only two women were available.

4 In everyday life people never dry rice in the ritual courtyard at night.
most complex. People, especially those attached to Bhisu Koja, depict the rasé majo of other ritual-houses as versions lacking many of the constituents of the rasé majo of Bhisu Koja. The ritual process of the rasé majo of Bhisu Koja is as follows.

A ritual-leader of Nua Ro'a, the ritual-house of Progenitor (sa'o iné amé), brings a small basket filled with rice to Sa'o Bhisu Koja early in the evening. This basket is referred to as nggala maé (soul basket), and the rice as aré maé (soul rice). Ritual-leaders of Bhisu Koja may not start their rasé majo before receiving 'the soul basket' from Sa'o Nua Ro'a.⁵

Each ritual-leader of Bhisu Koja brings a basketful of rice and a basketful of roasted and pounded rice into the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja. If ritual-leaders are attached to a subsidiary-ritual-house (sa'o nai paré), they prepare the rice there. If they are not, they prepare the rice in their personal dwellings. These baskets (nggala) of rice are classified into two categories: those containing raw rice and those containing roast-pounded rice (kibi). The baskets of raw rice are further classified into two categories: baskets named after ancestors or current ritual-leaders and unnamed baskets. The unnamed baskets are in turn classified into three categories: 'virile and aggressive basket' (nggala tego bani), 'woman basket' (nggala ata fai) and 'fresh rice basket' (nggala are muri). There are three 'virile and aggressive baskets', seven 'woman baskets' and seven 'fresh rice baskets'. The origin-ritual-leader and the great-ritual-leader are in charge of preparing 'virile and aggressive rice', of performing rasé majo with the rice, and of keeping those baskets. The mother-ritual-leaders are in charge of preparing the 'woman baskets' and the 'fresh rice baskets', of performing rasé majo with them, and of keeping them. The unnamed 'baskets are kept in the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja.

The baskets named after ancestors are prepared by the ritual-leaders who succeeded to their positions.⁶ These ritual-leaders keep the baskets in their subsidiary ritual-houses or in their dwellings if they are not attached to one of them. These ritual-leaders are also in charge of performing the rasé majo with these named baskets.⁷

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⁵ For a discussion of the ritual-houses and the subsidiary ritual-houses, see chapter 2.

⁶ Succession to the position of an ancestor is described as dari nia // pasé la'té (standing as replacement, occupying the site).

⁷ Succession to the position of an ancestor is also described as pama nggala mbola (supporting/holding a basket). Nggala is a basket with a lid, and mbola is one without a lid. Pama nggala mbola also implies supporting the authority of the ancestors.
One basket is placed on a plaited tray at the 'side of the legitimate people'. The ritual-leaders of the side of the legitimate people perform the rasé majo with this basket. Two baskets on two plait trays are placed at the 'side of the great people' for the rasé majo. The ritual-leaders of the side of the great people perform the rasé majo with these two baskets.

While raw rice is collected and dealt with ritually in all the ritual-houses of Wologai, roast-pounded rice (kibi) is collected only in the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja. The baskets of roast-pounded rice are classified into three categories. The first category comprises baskets prepared by ritual-leaders of Bhisu Koja. The second is made up of baskets brought by the other four ritual-houses. In addition to these, there should be a third category, baskets of roast-pound rice brought in by other ritual-villages that are supposed to have been allied with Wologai. However, such alliances have broken down and those ritual-villages no longer bring baskets of roast-pounded rice. The roast-pounded rice is redistributed at the last stage of the great-ritual.

The rasé majo is performed in a prescribed order. First, the origin-ritual-leader performs rasé majo with the 'virile and aggressive rice'. The great-ritual-leader assists the performance. Second, ritual-leaders perform rasé majo with rice from the named baskets of rice. They pour the rice into three baskets: one at the 'hearth of the legitimate people' and two at the 'hearth of the great people'. The names of the baskets and the order of pouring the rice from these named basket into each of the three baskets are shown in the table. Third, the mother-ritual-leaders perform the rasé majo with rice from the 'woman baskets' and the 'baskets of fresh rice'. The mother-ritual-leaders of the 'legitimate people' do this at the 'hearth of the legitimate people' and those of the 'great people' at the 'hearth of the great people'. Fourth, ritual-leaders perform the rasé majo with roasted rice in the same way as for raw rice from the named baskets. Hence the rasé majo comprises four stages. In the first stage, the superiority of the origin-ritual-leader over the great-ritual-leader is expressed in the ritual acts. In the other stages, ritual-leaders of the 'side of the legitimate people' precede those of the 'side of the great people'.

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8 Ritual-leaders of Bhisu Koja are differentiated into two categories: 'ritual-leaders at the side of the legitimate people' (mosa laki papa ata laki) and 'ritual-leaders at the side of the great people' (mosa laki papa ata ria). The former are attached to the 'hearth of the legitimate people', and the latter to the 'hearth of the great people'. See chapter 2.
a. the hearth of the legitimate people, the *pera* hearth
b. the hearth of the great people

1. the ritual-basket of the legitimate people

2. the ritual-baskets of the great people
TABLE 3-1. NAMED BASKETS AND THE ORDER OF THE RASE MAJO

THE LEGITIMATE PEOPLE          THE GREAT PEOPLE

raw rice
1 Wolo Sambi                   the left side
2 Sepu Sambi                   1 Amé Giu
3 Wowa Ndewi                   2 Mité Lamba
4 Laki Dala                    3 Moré Lopi
5 Nggawi Mari                  the right side
6 Ndewi Kaki                   1 Sato Jopu
                                  2 Amé Rangga

roast-pounded rice
1 Wolo Sambi                   the left side
2 Sepu Sambi                   1 Amé Giu
3 Wawo Ndéwi                   2 Mité Lamba
4 Laki Dala                    3 Moré Lopi
5 Nggawi Mari                  4 Mari Ndéo
6 Ndéwi Kaki                   5 Moré Wogé
7 Loba Nggiri                  the right side
                                  1 Sato Jopu
                                  2 Digo Gado
                                  3 Tibo Du'a
                                  4 Moda busu
                                  5 Bata Golu
                                  6 Waké Lengo
                                  7 Amé Rangga

The rasé majo are not performed in a solemn atmosphere, but rather, in a cheerful, friendly, joking, laughing manner. Especially in performing rasé majo with raw and roast-pounded rice from the named baskets, ritual-leaders throw rice at each other and put a handful of rice from their own baskets into those of others. This act is referred to as 'filling each other' (repa penu), and is regarded as a friendly act.

After finishing the rasé majo, the participants eat some roast-pounded rice. This act signals relief from the prohibition on eating the roast-pounded rice.

The origin-ritual-leader places the baskets on the floor, and moves the monkey meat (loka bara), the dried ocean fish, the wild boar meat (naké sé’a) and an item called baku lako (dog's supply) back and forth above them four times. This act is referred to as lu’u and is explicated as an act of giving (pati).
He hangs the monkey meat, the wild boar meat and the dried ocean fish at the ‘what-hangs’ (ola téo) and places baku lako on one of the baskets.

Ritual-leaders fill two big baskets with rice. The rice in one of these baskets is referred to as aré kaa petu (rice for eating hot). This will be cooked and distributed to people at the time of the circle dance, gawi, which takes place during the later stage of the great-ritual. The rice of the other basket is known as aré nai keu (rice for climbing up an areca nut tree), which will be cooked and given to the people who will perform ritual tasks, including that of ‘climbing up an areca nut tree’, after the performance.

The origin-ritual-leader makes offerings to Du'a Ria on a wooden box at the corner of the 'legitimate people' and to Wula Leja on an offering place above the wooden box.\(^9\) One ritual-leader announces loudly that we will be "climbing an areca tree tomorrow, coming back tomorrow" (nai keu wai sia, bhole wai sia). This ritual-leader is affiliated with Panggo subsidiary-ritual-house and holds a ritual-basket known as Amé Giu.

THE THIRD DAY

In the afternoon the origin-ritual-leader, together with some other people, goes to dig yam tubers and to pick areca nuts and coconuts in his field or ngebo. He carries a small basket called kiko containing mystically powerful rice (paré bara). He makes the way safe by throwing the rice.

After they have dug up the tubers and have picked two coconuts and a branch of areca nuts, they go to the dwelling house of one ritual-leader of the 'legitimate people' and dance a circle dance, gawi.\(^10\) The ritual-leader treats them to a meal.\(^11\)

While the origin-ritual-leader and the others are away collecting the yam tubers, the coconuts and the areca nuts, one ritual-leader who is affiliated with Rénggi Wogé subsidiary-ritual-house makes an instrument called a gera on which to hang the tubers, the coconuts and the areca nuts. He places it under a

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\(^9\) People regard Du'a Ria (literally meaning 'great oldness') and Wula Leja (literally meaning 'moon/season, sun/day') as sources of power and prosperity. Du'a Ria is thought to be associated with the earth and Wula Leja with the sky. Nua Guta subsidiary-ritual-house is called Wula Leja. The stone set on that house is called standing-stone of Wula Leja. Some people regard Du'a Ria as a mystic being in the image of an old woman. Du'a Ria is also referred to as Du'a Bapu.

\(^10\) People omit the circle dance these days.

\(^11\) They used to go to the area of an allied ritual-village to dig up the tubers and pick the coconuts and areca nuts. However, since the alliances have broken up they do these activities in their own area.
banyan tree at the head of the ritual-village. This ritual-leader is in charge of 'making gera'. No one else may do this.

Late in the afternoon, the mother-ritual-leaders go to a pond called Tiwu Fai Kaki (literally meaning 'pond of copulation') to wash the ritual instruments which are reserved only for the great-ritual. These comprise the following items:

**TABLE 3-2. RITUAL INSTRUMENTS WASHED AT TIWU FAI KAKI**

1. Three containers for 'virile and aggressive rice'
2. One container for cooked rice called *aré réro* or *aré kembo*
3. A container for water, residues including saliva after chewing areca nuts, betel leaf and lime
4. A container for monkey meat soup
5. A coconut shell for pouring water into a pot for ritual cooking

In the late evening of the same day, the people who went to get yams, coconuts and areca nuts come back to the ritual-village. They decorate these with leaves of arenga palm. They call this decoration *kando nago*. Out of ritual context this phrase means to dress up and is only used for human beings. The ritual-practitioner receives the decorated tubers, the coconuts and the branch of areca nuts and hangs them on the hanger (*gera*) under the banyan tree.

**THE FOURTH DAY**

In the daytime, a ritual-leader affiliated with the 'side of the legitimate people' cuts down a *junu*-tree. Another ritual-leader, who is affiliated with the Nua Guta subsidiary-ritual-house makes a big spoon (*jobi*) for cooking the 'virile and aggressive rice'.

In the evening, mother-ritual-leaders of Bhisu Koja perform 'going out for refining rice' (*wa'u tosa*) in the front yard of the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja. They each wear a black garment, a traditional *ikat* cloth, and special gold ear ornaments; their hair is tied in a pony-tail, a style reserved exclusively for this occasion. They bring a tiny basket of husked rice out of the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja down to the front yard and the origin-ritual-leader hands them pestles. In refining the rice from the tiny basket, the mother-ritual-leaders move very slowly. They do not speak. The origin-ritual-leader, the great-ritual-leader and the ritual-practitioner protect them from any possible danger. When they have finished the

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12 *Tosa* means the second pounding of rice.
performance of 'refining rice', the mother-ritual-leaders put the rice into the tiny basket and take it back into the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja. After a while, they start to cook the three kinds of ritual rice and the monkey meat soup.

Late in the evening, the origin-ritual-leader, the great-ritual-leader, the ritual-practitioner, five ritual-leaders of the side of the legitimate people and three ritual-leaders of the side of the great people carry the yam tubers, the coconuts and the areca nuts from under the banyan tree into the ritual-village. These ritual-leaders perform the 'primordial and still ritual' later. They stop at the 'small-standing-stone-altar' (tubu lo'o) in the front yard of the subsidiary-ritual-house of Nua Guta. They take off the decorations, and wait there until the mother-ritual-leaders finish cooking the three kinds of ritual rice and monkey meat soup. During cooking, the door of the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja is closed and nobody may go in or out. The mother-ritual-leaders cook the 'virile and aggressive rice' (half cooked hard rice) and kembo-rice (over cooked soft rice), aré kobho (ordinarily cooked rice) and the monkey meat soup (uta loka bara).\textsuperscript{13} This cooking performance is referred to as seré aré tana // nasu uta watu 'boiling the rice of the earth, cooking the soup of the rock'.

After the cooking is finished, the door is opened. The ritual-leaders who have waited at the 'small-standing-stone-altar' carry the coconuts into the temple and place them at one corner called wisu pera. They carry the tubers and the areca nuts into the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja and place them at one corner called wisu lulu (the back-corner).

At midnight, the ritual-practitioner cuts the flesh from one of the coconuts into several strips, which are referred to as nio kéké (kéké - coconut).\textsuperscript{14} The great-ritual-leader loudly calls people of the other five ritual-houses to eat the coconut flesh.

THE FIFTH DAY

In the daytime a ritual-leader of Nua Ro'a, holding an unlit torch of bamboo, leads the group of ritual-leaders of Bhisu Koja who bring the 'virile and aggressive rice', the kembo-rice, the monkey meat soup into the temple.

\textsuperscript{13} People do not give a literal translation for kembo, but according to some knowledgeable people, aré kembo means 'rice of old people'.

\textsuperscript{14} The word kéké does not have a meaning and is regarded as an esoteric word, the meaning of which is beyond our reach except through mystic revelation or dreaming. According to a man knowledgeable in esoteric knowledge kéké réé means hermaphrodite or two persons who share the body part below the waist.
2-1. Pounding roast rice

2-2. The mother-ritual-leaders repairing the ritual-baskets

2-3. The ritual-practitioner performing a ritual in the temple

2-4. The original-ritual-leader making an offering at the standing-stone-altar
The ritual-practitioner cuts flesh of the other coconut into several strips (nio kéké) and decorates the kembo-rice with them. Finishing the decoration, he suddenly throws the kembo-rice, together with its decoration, onto the ground, that is to say, onto the ritual-courtyard.

Almost at the same time as these ritual acts are performed, another ritual scene takes place in the ritual courtyard called 'snatching the fish' (mbou ika). It is a kind of divination as well as a competition that anyone can participate in. The person who captures the fish while a ritual-leader is moving the fish to and fro will have a good harvest, or good fortune in general, in the coming year.

After the kembo-rice is thrown away, ritual-leaders of all the ritual-houses eat the 'virile and aggressive rice' and the monkey meat in the temple. Then the great-ritual-leader announces loudly, "Come on. Eat the 'virile and aggressive rice', relish monkey meat. Any man can then go to the temple and eat the 'virile and aggressive rice' and the monkey meat". Women are prohibited from eating the rice and meat at the temple or in the ritual courtyard, but they may eat a portion of the rice the men bring to each house.

In the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja 'eating the invincible rice' (kaa kobho) is performed at the same time as the distribution of the 'virile and aggressive rice' and the monkey meat. The mother-ritual-leaders place the 'invincible rice', which they cooked the night before, in front of several men who are willing to eat it. Any man can participate on the condition that if he attends once, he must attend for two more years. The mother-ritual-leaders and another ritual-leader accompany them, sitting around the 'invincible rice'. While eating the 'invincible rice', participants are forbidden to cough, break wind, scratch, talk, defecate or urinate. They must sit on their bottoms with their knees drawn up to their chests, keeping their body as motionless as possible. The only motion is that of their right arms as they stretch to grasp a bit of rice. Even that motion should be done slowly. Infringement of the prohibition leads to premature death, terrible skin disease, adultery or theft. The ritual-leader gives a noisy cough to signal the time to stop eating.

In the afternoon or evening, two ritual-leaders affiliated with the side of the great people cut the strings of the big basket of rice in preparation for the distribution of the cooked rice.\(^{15}\)

\(^{15}\) Some people say that they do not deserve the name of ritual-leader and that their role is called 'scooping and spooning' (kago kao).
At night, some ritual-leaders chant the following chant, called *ia keu*, in the ritual courtyard:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ia ooa ia, ia ooa ia, ia ooa ia,} & \quad \text{ia ooa ia, ia ooa ia, ia ooa ia,} \\
\text{kaa xiwi oo xiwi, nata xeu} & \quad \text{oo areca nuts} \\
\text{oo xeu} & \quad \text{eat yam oo yam, chew areca nuts} \\
\text{kaa xiwi oo xiwi, nata xeu} & \quad \text{oo areca nuts} \\
\text{oo xeu} & \quad \text{eat yam oo yam, chew areca nuts}
\end{align*}
\]

After *ia keu* is finished, people, especially young people, gradually gather at the banyan tree at the 'head' of the ritual-village. There they start to dance the circle dance (*gawi*), while singing a song called *lai* in chorus.\(^\text{16}\)

When there are enough participants, they move to the ritual courtyard and continue dancing there, singing *lai* until the solo singer, called *ata sodha*, appears in the centre of the circle of the dance and begins to sing *sodha*, his own improvised songs. The *sodha*-songs contain verses of admiration for the ritual-leaders and euphistic verses about sexual intercourse.\(^\text{17}\)

A *sodha*-singer is usually a middle-aged man, although this is not prescribed. Ritual-leaders, mainly the origin-ritual-leader, are responsible for appointing a talented man as a *sodha*-singer, for treating him satisfactorily, and for rewarding him with some raw rice and gold items, or, more recently, cash.

The *sodha*-singer's responsibility is substantial, partly because he has to continue improvising as long as there are people dancing, which might be until the next evening. In addition to bearing such physical and creative burdens, he is also very vulnerable. If he makes any improper utterance, it will bring him a bad destiny. In addition, many men may challenge him with their invisible power.

The sensual verses, the voice of the solo singer and the responding chorus, the sound of dance steps and the vivid motion of the circle dance produce an orgiastic scene. Even though the coil of dancing men is separated from that of the women (which encompasses that of the men), the dancing men enjoy their chance to touch women's bodies with their swinging arms and twisting bodies. Since the orgiastic atmosphere spreads beyond the ritual courtyard, a man may approach a woman to ask for sexual intercourse. If this approach is successful, the couple sneak out of the crowd into a deserted place to make love. Sexual licence for the great-ritual reaches a climax at the time of the circle dance, which can continue until the next day or even the next evening.

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\(^{16}\) See chapter 8.
\(^{17}\) See chapter 8.
The circle dance (*Gawi*)

3-1. The *sodha* singer

3-2. Men dancing the circle dance

3-3. Women dancing the circle dance
THE SIXTH DAY AND NIGHT

The ritual-leaders of Bhsu Koja distribute cooked rice to the people present in the ritual-village. This kind of distribution is done twice during the day of dancing. It is known as the 'distribution of hot rice' (nggéra aré petu); the first is called the 'distribution of the upper part of rice' (nggéra aré tolo) and the second the 'distribution for the crowded offspring' (nggéra ana riwu).

At night, a ritual called puu maru (primordial and still) takes place in the ritual-house of Bhsu Koja. The basic theme of this ritual is the release of some ritual-leaders from the prohibition against eating yams and chewing areca nuts by giving these to the ritual-leaders. Each ritual-house has its own ritual of giving yams and areca nuts. Just like the rasé majo, the ritual of Bhsu Koja is the most complex and takes a long time. People of Bhsu Koja maintain that only their ritual is entitled to the name 'primordial and still'. The ritual process of puu maru of Bhsu Koja is as follows.

The origin-ritual-leader, the great-ritual-leader, the ritual-practitioner, the assitant of the great ritual-leader and ritual-leaders referred to as laki puu maru (primordial-still-ritual-leaders) sit at their prescribed places respectively (see the figure below).18 The laki puu maru sit on their bottoms with their thighs drawn up to their chests in the prescribed position. They may not move or speak. The ritual-practitioner closes and bars the door. During the primordial-still ritual nobody can go in or out. A mother-ritual-leader, who is known as a 'sister' (weta) of the origin-ritual-leader, brings to the scene ritual utensils washed on the fourth day at Tiwu Fai Kaki. The ritual-practitioner places them near the 'pera hearth'. He carries a little basket of mystically powerful (bhisa) rice, the branch of areca nuts and three yams from the back corner and places them onto a plaited bamboo tray placed near the 'pera hearth'. He must act quietly. These ritual items must not fall onto the tray. He then sprinkles some mystically powerful rice on the tray. He examines the yams carefully to ensure they have no cut (neka). The tubers should not have any cut. He chooses some mystically powerful rice and puts it on a yam tuber. He cuts off the hard, upper part and the vine stalk after making a gesture of cutting three times.19 He then hands the yam to the great-ritual-leader, who roasts it. The ritual-practitioner slices the tuber that the great-ritual-leader roasted.

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18 These ritual-leaders carry the yam tubers, the coconuts and the areca nuts on the fourth day.

19 This act is called lu'u. This part of a yam is called kulu. The primordial-still-ritual of Bhsu Koja prescribes that the ritual yams should have the kulu, and the areca nuts the branch (kinga) when they are brought into the ritual-house. Some other ritual-houses also hold this prescription. For some people this prescription reveals the ritual superiority over the ritual-houses which do not have it. It is notable that among
The ritual-practitioner chooses some other mystically powerful rice for the other yam tubers, which he peels and slices with a knife after cutting off their upper parts in the same way as before. He must peel without stopping. Each strip of peel must not be broken half way. He puts the sliced tuber into an earthenware pot, pours water into the pot and then places the pot onto the fire to cook the tubers. He blows the fire without using a bamboo tube, since it is forbidden to do so.

After the tuber is boiled, he takes the pot off the fire and pours the boiled water into a container. He puts his hands in cold water and takes out the boiled tuber from the pot. All these ritual acts should be done carefully with special ritual utensils. The residue is kept in a ritual bowl.

The ritual-practitioner cuts a piece of dried water-buffalo meat (dhula kamba) and gives it to the origin-ritual-leader, who offers it to Du'a Ria. The ritual-practitioner cuts pieces of the meat and gives one piece to each of the primordial-still-ritual-leaders, after giving it to the origin-ritual-leader. Each time he gives out a piece of meat, the ritual-practitioner says, "Bite a strip. Wiping away the prohibition, erasing the inhibition" (oo toki si se tiri, puli piré séwa gara). After that, the ritual-practitioner receives the residues from each primordial-still-ritual-leader'.

The same ritual acts are performed with ginger, roasted tuber, boiled tuber and palm wine, in this order. The phrases uttered on giving these foods are similar to those mentioned above. The ritual-practitioner must pronounce the word 'uwi' (yam) without an initial glottal stop, in contrast to the way it is usually pronounced.20

The ritual-practitioner chews areca nuts with betel leaf, spits and mixes the saliva with lime, which makes the mixture red. The primordial-still-ritual-leaderss hold their chins in the palm of their right hand. Lagu draws a line with the red mixture on each of these ritual-leaders, starting from the elbow, to the arm, to the hand, to the cheek, to the nose and to the forehead. While drawing a line, he mumbles the following phrases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>siku méko</td>
<td>moving elbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima lama</td>
<td>quick hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbou fai</td>
<td>rob one of his wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wologai people not only in the great-ritual, the most important village ritual but also in other rituals sacrifice or cutting of an animal is neither emphasised nor articulated as much as in many other societies in eastern Indonesia. However, the notion of cutting is extremely important in Wologai. See chapter 4, chapter 5 and chapter 6.

20 Initial vowels are preceded by a glottal stop in West Lio.
The primordial-still-ritual

4-1. The primordial-still-ritual-leaders in the ritual

4-2. The ritual-practitioner performing the ritual

4-3. The great-ritual-leader performing the ritual
a. the hearth of the legitimate people, the *pera* hearth
b. the hearth of the great people
c. Du’a Ria

1. the ritual leader assisting the great-ritual-leader in this scene.
2. the legitimate people related to Bhéna subsidiary-ritual-house
3. the ritual-practitioner
4. *laki puu maru*, affiliated with Nua Guta subsidiary-ritual-house
5. *laki puu maru*, affiliated with Panggo subsidiary-ritual-house
6. *laki puu maru*, related to Bhéna subsidiary-ritual-house
7. *laki puu maru*, affiliated with Bénga subsidiary-ritual-house
8. the origin-ritual-leader
9. *laki puu maru*, related to Mari Songgo subsidiary-ritual-house
10. *laki puu maru*, affiliated with Ana Lamba subsidiary-ritual-house
11. *laki puu maru*, affiliated with Mari Songgo subsidiary-ritual-house
ramba ana    defraud one of his children
gaga bo'o    cultivate fields to become full
kéwi ae       tap arenga palm to get juice
peni ngee    feed chickens and they procreate
wesi nuwa      well
sobo wolo lo'o  feed pigs and they become fertile
wuu watu mite    follow the small ridge
cut the black stone

He also puts the mixture on the left cheek of each ritual-leader.

The ritual-practitioner picks another areca nut and gives a piece to each primordial-still-ritual-leader in the same order, while mumbling "Oo, chew the areca nut, wiping away the prohibition, erasing the inhibition (oo nata si xéu, puli piré // séwa gara)". He must pronounce the word indicating 'areca nut' as éu without the initial glottal stop, while the West Lio word for areca nut is kéu. After the primordial-still-ritual-leaders' chew the areca nut, he receives the residue. The ritual-practitioner then picks more areca nuts from the branch and gives two to each primordial-still-ritual-leader.

The ritual-practitioner opens up the bamboo floor and stands ready to throw down the branch of areca nuts, the knife and the residue in the bowl. The great-ritual-leader and another ritual-leader hit a beam with burnt pieces of firewood to make rhythmic sounds to accompany a song called oro keu (ritual chant of areca nuts) sung by another ritual-leader.21 After that, the singer throws two areca nuts in opposite directions: one to the hearth at the 'side of the great people' and the other to the back, chanting two lines of enigmatic words, 'suu poké nggesa ronggi rengga' and 'suu soło mbako lolo'. Then he chants the word 'loo lama lama' (come down soon) several times.

As soon as he has finished chanting, the ritual-leaders shout and the ritual-practitioner releases the branch of areca nuts, the knife and the residue in the ritual bowl. The ritual-leaders ask "lying on its back or lying on its stomach (kéngə ta nggubhé)?"22 The great-ritual-leader, assisted by a ritual-leader, examines the position of the branch of areca nuts. If the branch lies on the convex side, they answer "kéngə", which means more girls will be born in the coming year. If it lands on the concave side, they answer "nggubhé", meaning more boys will be born in the coming year. If the branch stops in another position, they

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21 A text of oro kéu is given in chapter 6. According to the prescription this ritual chant should be sung by the ritual-leader assisting the great-ritual-leader. Since this ritual leader is not confident enough to sing, the primordial-still-ritual-leader affiliated with Ana Lamba subsidiary-ritual-house has performed this role recently.

22 According to their usual position in sexual intercourse, the words 'kéngə' (lying on the back) and 'nggubhé' (lying on the stomach) mean 'woman' and 'man' respectively.
answer "tuka géré", meaning fewer babies will be born in the coming year. The ritual-practitioner gives the areca nuts and pieces of the yam tubers to the audience, who rush to get them.

All the attending ritual-leaders eat a meal of dried wild boar meat (naké sé'a) soup. The mother-ritual-leaders eat the meat, after the male ritual-leaders have finished their meal.

This ritual process as a whole is also referred to as oro kéu. After the oro kéu, usually early in the morning, a ritual known as oro kéu ata fai (woman's oro kéu) is performed. The process is similar to that of oro kéu. The ritual-practitioner again gives the same kinds of ritual items. The origin-ritual-leader makes offerings to Du'a Ria and the great-ritual-leader assists him. The mother-ritual-leaders of the 'legitimate people' and those of the 'great people' sit at the side of the legitimate people or the side of the great people, respectively.

THE SEVENTH DAY

This day carries the prohibition referred to as piré bara uwi (prohibition of whiteness of yam) or piré aé uwi (prohibition of yam water). People are prohibited from working in the fields.

In the daytime three ritual-leaders -- the great-ritual-leader, one ritual-leader of the legitimate people and the other affiliated with Nua Guta subsidiary-ritual-house -- prepare ritual utensils called meko, which look like tiny mortars.23

A mother-ritual-leader attached to the subsidiary ritual-house of Bhéna, 'sister' of the origin-ritual-leader, cooks rice called aré wuli lando (rice of wuli lando amulet) and chicken soup, uta wuli lando (soup of the wuli lando amulet) at the pera hearth of Bhisu Koja.24 Wologai ritual-leaders assert that the origin-ritual-leader may shoot with an arrow any chicken in the area of the Wologai people or their partners in alliance (poré jačj) for the soup. If the owner of the chicken prevents the origin-ritual-leader from shooting the chicken, he/she will be fined (popi). These days the origin-ritual-leader catches his own chicken for this purpose. The soup must be seasoned only with salt and ginger, and not with chilli, which is always used in everyday meals.

23 Wologai people are proud of having meko in their great-ritual, because they think that no other ritual-villages have this constituent and that this 'fact' indicates their superiority over others. It is interesting that meko are similar to moko in Alor in both shape and phonologically.

24 Wuli lando are amulets for war.
The origin-ritual-leader distributes the cooked rice and the soup to people and makes offerings of these foods at the standing-stone-altar. After the origin-ritual-leader finishes the offering, the great-ritual-leader and a ritual-leader cook rice and chicken in two bamboos tubes. This ritual act is called po'o jara angi (po'o literally means to cook food in a bamboo tube, jara horse, and angi wind). Just as for the soup of the wuli lando amulet, the great-ritual-leader may shoot any chicken in the village for po'o jara angi, and the owner of the chicken cannot prevent this without incurring a fine. The origin-ritual-leader makes an offering of these foods at the standing-altar-stone. The origin-ritual-leader and a ritual-leader affiliated with Panggo subsidiary-ritual-house eat the cooked rice and meat of po'o jara angi.

At night, together with other voluntary participants two ritual-leaders, one affiliated with Nua Guta subsidiary-ritual-house and the other affiliated with the side of the great people, carry meko and paddy husks to a place outside of the village called Poke Meko or Rega Meko.25 There they perform a ritual called 'feeding Poloria (pati kaa Poloria).26 On arrival, they set the meko on the ground and hang a bag of paddy husks above the meko and call Poloria loudly as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{oopoloria} & \quad \text{oo Poloria} \\
\text{ghawa pu'u mai} & \quad \text{from the trunk of the world down there} \\
\text{kinga mu ria ngéré wunu wira} & \quad \text{your ears are as big as torn leaves} \\
\text{ngi'i mu béwa ngéré bhoka nio} & \quad \text{your teeth are as long as young shoots of coconut} \\
\text{maia mu bhula bhala ngéré wula jaa} & \quad \text{your eyes are as enormous as the bright moon} \\
\text{kolo mbéngu mbéé ngéré watu ria} & \quad \text{your head is as huge as a big stone} \\
\text{belé bhabhé bhaé ngéré pepa béwa} & \quad \text{your wings are swinging continuously like branches of arenga palm trees} \\
\text{tuka dada dowi ngéré kamba bhétu ria} & \quad \text{your belly is as fat as a pregnant water-buffalo} \\
\text{ana koa kau ria ngéré nggubha nggabha ngéré këna kaa} & \quad \text{your big cunt is as huge and enormous as a container of rice}
\end{align*}
\]

25 These ritual-leaders are referred to as the laki tuu meko (ritual-leader carrying meko). Poké meko and rega meko mean 'throwing meko' and 'encountering meko'.

26 Poloria is an anthropomorphic being who lives at the 'trunk of the world' (pu'u tana). I deal with a story of the origin of Poloria in chapter 5.
lasé kau béwa ngéré débo
léo ngéré kaju tembu leka
wolo béwa
tebé lebé lebé ngéré laba
éró
tutu funu funu ngéré nua funa
nggeku nggoé nggoé ngéré
éko kamba kélá
teju leju leju ngéré kusi fau
au
mbépa mbéé mbéé ngéré gai
mapa wolo
ndua la’é ghélé mai
leka wolo éo molo
nuka la’é ghawa mai
leka jala éo masa
palé la’é ghalé mai
leka wesa éo pawé
tebi la’é mena mai
leka roé éo ji’é
poloria ra’i
xea
poloria ra’i
xea
poloria ra’i
xea

growing on the high mountain
tebé lebé lebé like a bee hive

tutu funu funu like a village of
wasps
nggeku nggoé nggoé like a spotty
water buffalo’s anus
teju leju leju like kusi in a shade
of bamboo
mbépa mbéé mbéé like gai-grass
lying across the ridge

come down from uphill there
on the right ridge
come up from downhill there
on the clean road
come around from the right
on the good track
come around from the left
on the nice pass
Poloria come
xea
Poloria come
xea
Poloria come
xea

After calling Poloria, the participants rush back to the ritual-village. They are prohibited from looking backwards.

While ‘carrying meko’ and ‘feeding Poloria’ are being performed, the mother-ritual-leaders of Bhsus Koja cook rice called ‘meko rice’ (aré meko) in an earthen pot at the pera-hearth in Sa’o Bhsus Koja. After the participants of ‘feeding Poloria’ come back to the ritual-house of Bhsus Koja, the origin-ritual-leader makes offerings of the ‘rice of meko’ at the standing altar stone. Then the mother-ritual-leaders treat the participants of ‘feeding Poloria’ to the ‘rice of meko’.

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27 People understand ‘tebé lebé lebé’, ‘tutu funu funu’, ‘nggeku nggoé nggoé’, ‘teju leju leju’, and ‘mbépa mbéé mbéé’ as mystically powerful words. According to one knowledgeable man, lebé and leju have lexical meaning, while tebé, nggoé, teju, mbépa and mbéé have meanings in other contexts, which are irrelevant in this context. Tebé, tutu, funu, nggeku, mbépa, and mbéé may respectively mean ‘concave’, ‘husk of coconut’, ‘crunchy’, ‘inclining’ and ‘shaking’. Nggoé means to rub the anus of a water-buffalo. It is said that if a person nggoé a water-buffalo, it feels good and raises its tail gradually. Teju is an adjective meaning ‘long’, usually applied only to ‘face: nia teju (long face). It seems to me that the correspondence between vowels and/or consonants in a cluster of words is significant. In ‘tebé lebé lebé’, for example, each component word contains the sound ‘ebé’. I discuss the issue of the relation between sound correspondence and mystically powerful words in chapter 8.

28 I was not given the interpretation of the word kusi.

29 Gai is a kind of grass.

30 Ghélé, ghawa, ghalé and mena are directionals. Chapter 5 discusses directionals.
THE EIGHTH DAY

Early in the morning, a mother-ritual-leader, 'sister' of origin-ritual-leader, cooks rice called *aré lai api* (rice of taking-away-fire) or *aré sewu api* (rice of extinguishing-fire) at the *pera* hearth in the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja.

The origin-ritual-leader takes water in a bowl of coconut shell, 'rice of taking-away-fire' and three burning pieces of firewood to the banyan tree at the outside of the 'tail' of the village. Facing toward the river, he puts the three pieces of firewood, touching each other, on the ground, puts the rice on them, and then pours water over them. People understand that if the pieces of wood become detached from each other, *ulé api* will not eat the paddy and they will have a good harvest in the coming year. If the firewood stays together, however, *ulé api* will damage the harvest. Coming back to the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja, the origin-ritual-leader brings 'rice of taking away fire' to the ritual-courtyard and distributes it to the people.

Four ritual-leaders, two attached to the side of the legitimate people and the other two to the side of the great people of Bhisu Koja, under the leadership of a ritual-leader affiliated with Nua Guta, distribute the roast-pounded rice to the ritual-leaders of Wologai and honourable visitors. This distribution is called *nggéra kibi* (distribution of the roast-pounded rice).

On the initiative of a ritual-leader of Nua Guta, people make rattles of bamboo, called *gaku*, which are used in a ritual for sweeping away rats.

On the eighth night there is a prohibition on lighting and burning fires, and from speaking loudly except in the subsidiary ritual-house of Nua Guta. This prohibition is in effect in the Wologai area, especially in the ritual-village. A mother-ritual-leader, who is affiliated to Nua Guta, cooks rice called 'rice of cut-off teeth of rats' (*aré seté ngí'i té'u*) in Sa'o Nua Guta. The ritual-practitioner goes down to the river to perform a ritual called 'to cut-off the teeth of rats' (*seté ngí'i té'u*). He searches for a shrimp in the river, and cuts off its front legs, saying 'these are the teeth of rats' (*ina ngí'i té'u*), and puts them on a piece of wood, which represents a boat. After he comes back to Nua Guta subsidiary-ritual-house, a ritual-leader and a mother-ritual-leader, both affiliated to Nua Guta, give him the cooked 'rice of cut-off teeth of rats' (*are seté ngí'i té'u*).

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31 *Ulé api* literally means 'fire worm' or 'fire animal', indicating a kind of insect harmful to paddy.
THE NINTH DAY

Before dawn, while it is still dark, volunteers perform a ritual know as 'rattling gaku' (*régo gaku*), led by a ritual-leader of Nua Guta or his representative. They walk clockwise around the ritual-courtyard four times, shaking the bamboo rattles and chanting a song called *oro gaku*. Then they go out of the ritual-village through the 'tail', down to the place called Ekowolo and throw the rattles away. Before throwing away the *gaku*, they may dance the circle dance (*gawi*), although this is rarely done nowadays. They then go back to the subsidiary-ritual-house of Nua Guta and are treated with tobacco, areca nuts, betel leaves and lime.

The mother-ritual-leaders cook the rice and the chicken called 'rice of Amé Naka and Iné Naju' (*aré amé naka iné naju*) and 'soup of Amé Naka and Iné Naju' (*uta amé naka iné naju*) respectively. Although the shrine is empty, people still perform rituals for Amé Naka and Iné Naju there.

Ritual-leaders can shoot any chicken in the Wologai area, as is the case with the chicken for 'soup of the *wuli lando* amulets', for 'bamboo cooking of *jara angi*' and for other ritual cooking. The origin-ritual-leader, the great-ritual-leader and the ritual-practitioner together with other two ritual-leaders, one attached to the side of the legitimate people and the other affiliated with Panggo subsidiary-ritual-house, make offerings of the rice and the meat to Amé Naka and Iné Naju, chanting the verses as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>simo si aré</th>
<th>receive the rice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amé naka iné naju</td>
<td>Amé Naka Iné Naju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si mosi manu</td>
<td>receive the chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amé naka iné naju</td>
<td>Amé Naka Iné Naju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amé naka iné naju</td>
<td>Amé Naka Iné Naju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sepu ngguia ina</td>
<td>it is the end of all nggua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pati kaa miu</td>
<td>here we give you rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawe rewa ina</td>
<td>all is finished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pati kaa miu</td>
<td>here we give you food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kami poto bo’o</td>
<td>we get a good harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rénggi bhanda</td>
<td>we bring the richness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teđo tembu</td>
<td>(we) sow paddy and it grows well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wésa wela</td>
<td>(we) sprinkle seeds and they grow well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peni ngée</td>
<td>(we) feed chickens and they procreate well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wesi nuwa</td>
<td>(we) feed pigs and they become fertile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kobé ma’e ngoé</td>
<td>may nights not be too hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leja ma’e rapa</td>
<td>may days not be too hot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

32 A text of *oro gaku* is in chapter 8.

33 Ekowolo literally means the 'tail of the ridge'.
ana kee ma’e kana may sparrows not hang around
meta ngere lelu kela as green as lelu kela
koba ngere lēkē londa as prosperous as lēkē londa
ana kēé mai gheta mi (if) sparrows come from upstream
amē naka rago de ghēta Amē Naka, sweep them back upstream
ana kēé mai lau mi (if) sparrows come from downstream
inē naju rago de lau Inē Naju, send them back downstream
joka walo send back
sumba walo drive away again
de lau upstream
de ghēta no buru at all
buru ma’e puu no kaka in the least
kaka ma’e bogé may our body not be feeble
tebo ma’e dhego may our trunk not be bent
loo ma’e lēko may the quaking not affect us
wēru ma’e nggęndu (if) nitu pa’i come along the river
nitu mai lai lowo Amē Naka and Inē Naju
amē naka inē naju you send them back
mitu joka walo drive them again
sumba walo sai

While these ritual-leaders are making offerings to Amē Naka and Inē Naju, other ritual-leaders and widow-orphan-people merrily go down to the place called Po’o té’u near the river and cook rice in bamboo tubes. This special cooking is also called po’o té’u. Except for bamboo tubes, other utensils for cooking and eating are prohibited. During this special cooking, participants must publicly engage in acts of sexual licence. The old men encourage young men to touch women’s loins. The women who are touched on their loins by the men may not reject them nor even scream. If they do, they are fined (poi) by ritual-leaders. Those ritual-leaders who made offerings to Amē Naka and Inē Naju join in the 'bamboo-tube-cooking'. Each ritual-leader receives two tubes of cooked rice. It is prohibited to take this rice into either ritual-houses or dwelling-houses.

This day carries prohibitions called 'prohibition of the teeth of rats' (piré ngi’i té’u), which forbid many kinds of everyday activities, especially productive work such as entering and working in fields, feeding domestic animals, combing hair, sewing, plaiting, carrying water into houses, sweeping litter with a broom, polishing lontar palm leaves, pounding rice and carrying fire wood into houses.

34 Lelu and kela are kinds of grasses growing near water. They are regarded as always fresh and green.
35 Lēkē londa is a kind of liana (lēkē) whose vines are like londa (gold chains).
36 Buru as well as kaka are skin diseases.
37 Po’o Té’u literally means 'bamboo-tube-cooking of rats'.
Quarrelling and accusing are also forbidden. However, working in the forest, such as collecting firewood is allowed. People spend their time sitting, chatting and playing outside their houses. The same prohibitions are applied for four more days. This period of prohibitions is referred to variously as *piré aé uwi* (prohibition of the water of yam), *piré bara kibi* (prohibition of the white of roasted rice), *piré po'o té'u* (prohibition of the bamboo-tube-cooking of rats), *piré ta'i té'u* (prohibition of the excrement of rats), *piré wuli lando* (prohibition of the *wuli lando* amulet), *piré lai api* (prohibition of taking fire), *piré meko mao* (prohibition of the paired *meko*), *piré meko mité* (prohibition of the black *meko*), *piré meko méra* (prohibition of the red *meko*) and *piré jara angi* (prohibition of the *jara angi*).

People emphasise that these prohibitions used to be extremely strict and were applied for seven days, during which nobody was allowed to come into the Wologai area. Even buses were forbidden to pass the road through the Wologai area. Adjusting to recent changes, people have made the term of the prohibition shorter and less strict.

**ANALYSIS OF GREAT-RITUAL**

The great-ritual is complex and rich in activities. This section examines the great-ritual from two points of view: the first focuses on people and the second on ritual acts.

**THE GREAT-RITUAL AS AN ARENA FOR MUTUAL ENGAGEMENT**

Participation in the great-ritual means not only mutual engagement with other participants but also engagement in playing out the patterns embedded in the ritual-village.\(^{38}\) The degree of engagement differs from person to person. Ritual-leaders are usually more engaged than widow-orphan-people because the former are responsible for prescribed ritual roles. Some ritual-leaders such as the origin-ritual-leader, the great-ritual-leader, the ritual-practitioner, the ritual-leaders of Nu'a Ro'a and the primordial-still-ritual-leaders are more engaged than other ritual-leaders because of their important roles in the great-ritual. Widow-orphan-people can be engaged in various ways. They may assist a ritual-leader to whom they are attached by providing some rice and roasted rice for *rasé majo*, although

\(^{38}\) It would be irrelevant to postulate that the great-ritual integrates the ritual-village because the great-ritual comprises privileged activities which make the ritual-village come into existence.
ritual-leaders cannot force widow-orphan-people to contribute. They may also assist ritual-leaders in the preparation and enactment of rituals such as 'climbing the areca nut tree', 'carrying meko', and 'rattling gaku'. Attending rituals, such as 'eating virile and aggressive rice', 'eating invincible rice' and 'snatching the fish', or even as mere audience, is also a way of engagement for widow-orphan-people. In addition they may participate in a circle-dance, eat cooked rice distributed (aré nggéra) by ritual-leaders, participate in 'bamboo-tube-cooking', practice sexual licence, or submit to prohibition, all of which are types of engagement.

People usually decode some prescribed ritual activities as signifying differentiations and/or relationships between categories of people. Prescribed responsibility for ritual activities differentiates between ritual-leaders and widow-orphan-people. Precedence in a process of activities is usually understood as signifying ontological superiority of the preceding people. Thus, the origin-ritual-leader always precedes others in preparation. The ritual-leader of Nua Ro'a as a progenitor (iné amé) must precede the ritual-leaders of Bhisu Koja when they enter the ritual courtyard for the 'distribution of virile and aggressive rice'. The ritual acts performed exclusively by some ritual-leaders of Bhisu Koja in the temple, ritual-courtyard and the standing-altar-stone are understood as Bhisu Koja's ritual sovereignty, while the autonomy of each ritual-house is shown by the fact that it performs its own rasé majo and 'eating yam'. People understand that Bhisu Koja's exclusive leadership or performance of some rituals, such as 'rattling gaku', 'refining virile and aggressive rice' 'extinguishing fire' as Bhisu Koja's ritual sovereignty. Giving particular ritual food is understood as signifying ontological superiority of the giver over the receiver. People usually understand the giving 'soul rice' to Bhisu Koja by Nua Ro'a as Nu'a Ro'a's superiority over Bhisu Koja; giving 'virile and aggressive rice', monkey meat, 'invincible rice', cooked rice, and so on as the superiority of ritual-leaders of Bhisu Koja; the distribution of 'kéké coconut' to the other five ritual-houses by Bhisu Koja as its superiority over the others. However, some people do not agree that the giver in oro kéu is superior to the receiver. People usually understand reciprocal attendance or reciprocal contribution to indicate symmetrical friendly relationships.

Two ritual-villages or two ritual-houses in different ritual-villages in symmetrical and friendly relationship reciprocally participate in the great-ritual.

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39 For a widow-orphan person to contribute rice or some other food to the village-rituals is referred to as 'filling ritual' (penu nggua). See chapter 2.
Wologai people tell me that the Wologai ritual-village used to have many partners for such reciprocal participation. People usually take the prescribed precedence in starting the great-ritual as superiority of the preceding over the preceded. According to Wologai people, Wologai must precede Detukéli, which may not start its great-ritual without the attendance of one of the ritual-leaders of Wologai. Faunaka used to start their great-ritual after the great-ritual of Wologai. Wologai people describe the great-ritual of Faunaka as the residue water (aé genu) of Wologai.

Wologai people recognise that the status of their ritual-village has been challenged and contested by other ritual-villages, and that it is no longer as invincible as it used to be or should be. In spite of, and/or even because of this realisation, they insist on their supreme status in the world by producing a discourse which explains this supreme status. Some of this discourse concerns their great-ritual.

They liked to tell me how the people of other villages feel awed-inspired during the period of the great-ritual of Wologai. However, I have never found that people of other ritual-villages such as Wolondopo and Wolojita expressed any awe toward the great-ritual of Wologai. As far as I know, it is true that the great-ritual of Wologai takes the longest of all the great-rituals. It is also clear, however, that the great-ritual of other ritual-villages contains components that the great-ritual of Wologai does not have. Wologai people, however, are not interested in what they do not have.

ACTING AND EXPERIENCING THE GREAT-RI TUAL

Rituals in general look meaningful. Most anthropologists at one stage in their research on rituals may ask 'What does that ritual or its component mean?' As a matter of fact, many analyses of rituals have been presented as appropriate interpretations, products of linking up seemingly meaningful points. At the next stage, however, anthropologists become dissatisfied with that kind of interpretation. Leach postulates the complexity of the message that a ritual produces as follows:

what actually happens is that the participants in a ritual are sharing communicative experiences through many different sensory channels simultaneously; ... But the analyst must take each dimension by itself, one at a time, and it then becomes almost impossible to give a really
convincing account of how the different superimposed dimensions fit together to produce a single combined message (1976:41).

Turner tries to mediate the naive question 'what does a ritual mean?' and the opacity of rituals by maintaining that symbols used in rituals are multi-vocal (1967:50).

It is surprising for anthropologists who are tempted to elucidate the meaning of rituals that the participants themselves are not interested in the meanings of the rituals. They answer to anthropologists 'it's our custom' or 'we do what our parents did'. In order to deal with this fact, several suggestions have been presented. Geertz maintains that some societies stress orthopraxy, while other societies stress orthodoxy (1973:177). Some scholars postulate that rituals are performative rather than informative (Bloch 1989; Tambiah 1979; Gardner 1983; Schieffelin 1985; Hamamoto 1989).40

The great-ritual, like other rituals, comprises acts, objects, words and speeches which tempt anthropologists to interpretation. To the people themselves, what is of overriding importance, however, is to perform it. The people emphasise, by reciting the coupled phrases below, that the great-ritual is, first of all, a heritage from primordial time and that its performance is imperative:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{susu nggua} & \quad \text{accomplish the ritual} \\
\text{nama bapu} & \quad \text{perform the ceremony} \\
\text{susu nggua puu} & \quad \text{accomplish the ritual of primordial time} \\
\text{nama bapu olo} & \quad \text{perform the ceremony of ancient age} \\
\text{usu nggua ma'e du'u} & \quad \text{do not stop accomplishing the ritual} \\
\text{nama bapu ma'e duté} & \quad \text{do not cease performing the ceremony}
\end{align*}
\]

In the midst of performance of the great-ritual, people are exclusively concerned with performing the acts originating from primordial time. Performance does not require that the rituals be symbols, or that those symbols and their relations be a set of cognitive classifications with which to order the world, or a set of evocative devices for rousing, chanelling, and domesticating or tame powerful emotions (Turner 1969:42-43). Neither 'displacement of attention or focalisation', nor 'a search in the memory or evocation' necessarily occurs in the minds of performers of the great-ritual (Sperber 1974:119). Although participants, that is

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40 Hamamoto postulates that rituals are acts following 'constitutive rules', and that ritual acts which seem meaningful to anthropologists are beyond validation because the participants themselves live out the rituals without interpreting them (1989. See also Searle 1969).
to say performers and audience, share the space of experience, they do not necessarily share 'communicative experiences through many different sensory channels' (Leach 1976:41). Neither is it sufficient explanation to postulate that Wologai people stress orthopraxy.

Wologai people think that their great-ritual is the source of their collective power and prosperity. Performing the great-ritual not only recreates the mystically powerful (bhisa) source for the ritual-village but also engages people with each other as people of the ritual-village every year. The ritual-village is the most encompassing subjectivity. Performing the great-ritual is one of the most effective ways of demonstrating the dominance, or at least the autonomy, of the people of the ritual-village over others. In addition, the great-ritual is significant in relation to personal knowledge, which is believed to be the source of personal power and prosperity.

While some parts of the great-ritual may conjure up the imagery of being the source of power and prosperity in the minds of participants, it is possible to perform the great-ritual without any interpretation or even propositional description of the process. In the public arena of the ritual-village, especially in the midst of the performance of the great-ritual, the great-ritual is not an object of interpretation but of performance. There is no common or even master-interpretation of the great-ritual. As Mambai, among Wologai ritual is apprehended by all participants as an experience charged with hermeneutic potential, based on which individuals bring forth various interpretations (Traube 1986:335). Individuals compete with each other. They try to acquire powerful (bhisa) knowledge by interpreting acts, objects, words and speeches contained in the great-ritual. By performing the great-ritual people, themselves (re)create objects of interpretation for themselves, which they can interpret only partially. The great-ritual, tempting interpretation, remains a given which people cannot interpret completely. Wologai people often try to acquire powerful knowledge by interpreting cultural-geographical givens, for example, proper names given to mountains, rocks and other places. Thus, it can be said that the performance of the great-ritual is a collective act to (re)create shared givens for personal interpretation by the people of the ritual-village.
Chapter 4

A VIEW OF TANA AS WORLD AND COMMODITY

INTRODUCTION

The word tana may be translated as earth, ground, territory, area, land and soil. By examining the semantics and the pragmatics of the word tana, this chapter elucidates how the Wologai synthesize the multiple range of meanings that the concept of tana encompasses. To the Wologai people tana is always 'others' to human beings or 'us', that is to say, something to which 'we' cannot assimilate as 'ourselves'. At the one extreme tana is personal property which can even be exchanged like a commodity and at the other extreme tana is the world exclusive of 'ourselves' and something which controls and transcends 'us', and consequently makes 'us' live.¹

ONTLOGICAL NOTION OF TANA

While modern physics presumes the extremely dense state of the world before the Big Bang, the Wologai people presume an unarticulated state of the world before the 'Big Cutting' of the cosmic liana by Anakalo.² The world before the Big Cutting is depicted as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tana se paga} & \quad \text{the earth is a span wide} \\
\text{liru se siku} & \quad \text{the sky is an elbow high}
\end{align*}
\]

The emergence of human existence which necessitates the current world is depicted as a drastic change of the state of the earth (tana).

The cosmological feature of tana is highlighted when it is coupled with liru (sky). In couplets prefaced of the origin-ritual-leader, tana is also coupled with liru.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{koré liru mboré} & \quad \text{pierce the sky to make a gap} \\
\text{teka tana bega} & \quad \text{cut the earth to make a hole}
\end{align*}
\]

It is asserted that this role of the origin-ritual-leader is indispensable for human life.

---

¹ It can be said that in this sense, tana is similar to the idea of God to Christians.

² Fox points out that the origin as shattering, severing and breaking the primordial unity is a common motif of Austronesian myths (Fox 1995).
Tana is also coupled with wula in the parallel phrases below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{du'a ghalé wena tana} & \quad \text{the oldness down below the earth} \\
\text{ngga'é ghéta lulu wula} & \quad \text{the highness up around the moon}
\end{align*}
\]

Catholic prayer books written in a dialect of Lio, which is not the dialect in the study area,\(^3\) contain the crisscrossed parallel phrases:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{du'a ghéta lulu wula} & \quad \text{the oldness up around the moon} \\
\text{ngga'é ghalé wena tana} & \quad \text{the highness down below the earth}
\end{align*}
\]

Even though people in Wologai do not know these prayer books, this couplet is well known among them. Knowledgeable men comment:

They usually say 'the oldness up around the moon, the highness down below the earth' (\text{du'a ghéta lulu wula} // \text{ngga'é ghalé wena tana}). But what is true is 'the oldness down below the earth, the highness up around the moon (\text{du'a ghalé wena tana} // \text{ngga'é ghéta lulu wula}) because things should proceed from below to above.

In these prayer books and also in oral prayers, the shortened couplet \text{du'a ngga'é} (oldness highness) is used to indicate the Christian God. Catholic missionaries, Catholic scholars and Indonesian scholars describe \text{du'a ngga'é} as meaning the Supreme Being in 'Lio' (Prior 1988, Arndt 1939, Hassan et al. 1985: 129). In Wologai, however, people regard the phrase \text{du'a ngga'é} as one used mainly in Church and in the Bible.\(^4\) They seem to set it apart from their own deeply constructed semantic field. The word \text{ngga'é} is used only when coupled with \text{du'a}, or in the phrase \text{ata ngga'é}, which is the word used to refer to the Raja of Lio.\(^5\) When I asked the meaning of \text{ngga'é}, people answered "it probably means

---

\(^3\) Publication of Catholic missionaries' works started in 1926 at Arndordus Publisher in Ende, the capital or main town of Ende regency (Uran 1982). As far as I know, five missionary books in 'Lionese' were published by Arndordus (Ende Bishopric 1956, 1966, 1977, 1983, 1984). In all these books, the couplet \text{du'a ngga'é} is used to express the idea of the Christian God.

\(^4\) This is also the case with Wolondopo and Wolojita.

\(^5\) I have found the phrase \text{ata ngga'é} only in stories told solely for entertainment, the characters of which seem to be Muslim Endeneese. I have found the phrase in a song in praise of the Raja of Lio. The song is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ema kami} & \quad \text{our father} \\
\text{waké raja} & \quad \text{the approved raja} \\
\text{ata ngga'é} & \quad \text{the supreme man} \\
\text{ria tana} & \quad \text{the greatness on the earth} \\
\text{o mera Wolowaru mena} & \quad \text{who lives in Wolowaru over there} \\
\text{nua puu} & \quad \text{the primordial village} \\
\text{tana lo} & \quad \text{the Lio land}
\end{align*}
\]

Taking the prosaic composition of the poem and the Europeanised tune, this song was apparently composed for the propagation of the authority of the administrative Raja. Wolobèwa women sang this song for me. I have never heard Wologai people sing it.
'rich'". They understand *ata ngga'té* as a social category or a social status which is relevant only outside their world, in areas such as those of the Endenese and the eastern Lio, where the Raja of Lio originated. They do not use *ata ngga'té* to indicate 'rich persons' in their world but use *ata ria* (great people) or *ata besu bhanda* (rich people). That the word *du'a* itself is thick with meaning contrasts with the thinness of the meaning of *ngga'té*. The contrast of *tana* (earth) to *liru* (sky) or *wula* (moon) is just like that of *du'a to ngga'té*.5 For Wologai people the sky is only peripherally related to human existence. What concerns them in terms of human existence is *tana* (earth).

Their agricultural rituals are primarily concerned with *tana* (earth). The authority of ritual-leaders, especially the origin ritual-leader, is constructed on his prerogative to 'cut' (*teka*) the earth. People are prohibited from digging or cutting the earth (*tana*) arbitrarily. If children dig during play, parents would scold them by saying "the ritual-leader may arrest and fine you (*mosa laki poi so*)".

The earth is regarded as the source of beneficial powers as well as punishing powers. People describe an influential man as being carried by the earth on its shoulder (*tana wangga kai*) or as going with the earth (*tana mbanà sama*). It is also said that the earth may punish people who do wrong.

The protective powers of the earth can be used. A witch (*polo*), who lives as a normal human being among people, can make people ill or kill them with his/her innate power. Three nights after the victim's burial, the witch who killed him/her comes to eat the body. To learn who the witch is, one must go alone to the grave that night and wait for the witch to come. If the witch becomes aware that someone is there, the observer will die. The only way to avoid the witch's detection is to hold onto the earth (*dèo tana*). Even if the witch touches the observer's legs, he/she thinks the observer is a tree. People explain that the powers of witches cannot exceed those of the earth.

Some ambivalent or malignant anthropomorphic beings are attributed to the earth (*tana*). For example, *Iné Léké* (*iné*, mother, *léké*, gigantic liana), one of those anthropomorphic beings, usually appears as a beautiful woman. She approaches men and seduces them into having sexual intercourse. Those who do become ill that night, vomit earth and die. Some people understand this seduction as the challenge by the earth (*tana*) towards people's control of their desire.

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5 While Traube writes of the remoteness of Father Sky and the intimacy of Mother Earth in terms of human existence in Mambai in Timor (Traube 1986), Father Sky occupies an indispensable position in the cosmology. Sugishima observes that in contrast with thick connotation of *du'a ngga'té*, that of *wula leja* is thin also among Lisé people, in the East-Lio-speaking area (Sugishima 1990:615).
The image of the earth as a source of well-being is conjured up in a complicated way. According to the Wologai people’s esoteric knowledge, the base of the earth (pu’u tana) exists deep below, perhaps under the sea. A monstrous being called Poloria, who used to be Anakalo’s mother lives there. Polo ria can mean a big witch. In agricultural rituals, Poloria is evoked and fed.\(^7\) Some say that Poloria eats human beings just like witches (polo). Whether or not Poloria is a man-eater, Poloria is supposed to be associated with good harvests. In everyday conversations, Poloria and the base of the earth (pu’u tana) are seldom mentioned. But in speculative reality, Poloria has great significance in order to understand the world and human beings.

**ORIENTATING THE WORLD**

**BASIC DIRECTIONALS**

The basic bodily directionals are composed of *repa nia* (the front side), *repa longgo* (the back side), *repa nggana* (the right side), *repa nggéu* (the left side), *ghéta tolo* (above) and *ghalé wena* (below).

Two kinds of topography, slope and river, are decisive for orientation in a relatively confined geographic area. *Ghélé* (uphill direction) and *ghawa* (downhill direction) apply to a slope. If one faces the downhill or downstream, *ghalé* and *mena* are applied to the right and left side respectively. Instead of *ghalé* and *mena, nggana* (the right side) and *nggéu* (the left side) are often used. The only pair of directionals based on celestial movement are *ghéta* and *ghalé*. It is explicated that *ghéta* is the direction of sunrise and *ghalé* that of sunset.

This represents only the basic framework. The actual applications of the directionals to geographical places depend much on conventions. It could be misleading to introduce the idea of cardinal points to understand the Wologai people’s perception of orientation.

If the people of Wologai mention a place on Flores Island, they use the prepositional adverbs for direction, given below, in Table 4-1.

\(^7\) See chapter 3.
TABLE 4-1 PREPOSITIONAL ADVERBS OF DIRECTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ghéta / ghalé</th>
<th>in the direction of sunrise / in the direction of sunset</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ghéta / lau</td>
<td>upstream / downstream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghélé / ghawa</td>
<td>uphill / downhill, in the direction of the mountainous area and the north coast / in the direction of the (south) coast, relatively near to the north coast / relatively near to the south coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghalé / mena</td>
<td>to the right side / to the left side (looking downstream or downhill)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three significant opposed pairs are composed of five of the above prepositional adverbs. The exception is *mena*, which only composes a secondary opposition with *ghalé* in relation to the direction of a river and slope.\(^8\) Each of the three oppositions is impregnated with specific connotations.

The opposed pair of *ghéta* and *ghalé* are approximately congruent with the opposition of east and west. They say *de ghéta geju leja* (in the direction where the sun rises) and *de ghalé leja mesé* (in the direction where the sun sets). *Ghéta* is applied not only to places directly related to people's life but also to places on the island, which are supposed to be in the direction of sunrise regardless of their precise geographical direction: *ghéta* Larantuka, *ghéta* Sika, *ghéta* Ma’uméré etc.\(^9\) *Ghalé* is applied similarly in the direction of sunset regardless of precise geographical direction: *ghalé* Manggarai, *ghalé* Inérié etc.\(^10\)

The island of Flores is also called *tana*, but the extent is imagined rather than experienced. This *tana* has a 'head' (*ulu*) and a 'tail' (*éko*). *Ghéta* (the direction of sunrise) is applied to the former, and *ghalé* (the direction of sunset) to the latter. An informant told me the names of the head and the tail as follows:

- *ulu ghéta* Kowé Jawa
- *éko ghalé* Naga Kéo
  
  the 'head' is Kowé Jawa
  the tail is Naga Kéo

---

\(^8\) *Mena* is an irregular directional. It is occasionally used to indicate the left-hand side of a river and slope. *Mena* is only applied to places near Kélímutu, including Kélímutu itself. This usage of *mena* is conventional. If asked about the meaning, some people answer that *mena* indicates distant places. *Mena lau* means somewhere far away from here.

\(^9\) Larantuka is the capital town of East Flores regency. Sikka is the name of the regency to the east of Ende regency, in which Wologai is located. Ma’uméré is the capital town of Sikka regency.

\(^10\) Manggarai is the name of regency and Inérié is the name of a mountain.
He does not know where these places are. Some say that the island is like a snake (nipa) with its head lying in ghéta and its tail in ghalé.\(^{11}\)

The second opposed pair, ghéta (upstream) and lau (downstream), articulates the axis in accordance with the direction of a river.

The system of directions defined according to the flow of a river does not correspond to one defined by a compass. There is only one main stream in the Wologai area. It starts flowing approximately from east-north-east to west-south-west, winding continuously and accepting many tributaries in midstream. Further downstream it flows from north to south and finally flows into the Savu Sea. Even downstream the river is too shallow for boats. Several tributaries flow into the main stream in the Wologai area. The streams in this area, including the main streams and the tributaries, flow in many directions. Lau also indicates the direction towards the river. Lau also means the direction to the sea or overseas, as in the coupled phrase ata mangu lau // ata laja ghawa (people of the mast overseas, people of the sail abroad). This phrase designates 'outsiders' from abroad, such as Indonesian officials, missionaries, tourists and probably anthropologists. The point from which a river starts to flow is referred to as 'head' (ulu), to which ghéta is applied. The mouth of a river is referred to as 'tail' (éko), to which lau is applied. When speaking about the 'head' (ulu) and the 'tail' (éko) of the Wologai ritual-village, people can also apply the terms ghéta and lau respectively.

The third opposed pair, ghélé and ghawa, contains two different principles, which I call the micro-principle and the macro-principle respectively. The micro-principle is applied to a relatively narrow area, for example, to point to two places on a slope, or to places which are supposed to be on the slope on which the speaker is standing. In the former case, ghélé is used to indicate one place higher than another, while the lower place is termed ghawa. In the latter case, if the place is supposed to be higher than where the speaker is, he/she uses ghélé to indicate it. If the place is supposed to be lower, he/she uses ghawa. When referring to ngebo (land of permanent usufruct) or uma (field), the upper boundary is referred to as ra'i and the lower boundary as éko or wena. Ghélé is applied to the upper boundary and ghawa to the lower boundary.

The macro-principle is applied to a relatively wide area. It is not a relational principle but a static one. It is place oriented rather than speaker oriented. The

---

\(^{11}\) This notion might have been constructed because of the influence of a book titled 'Nusa Nipa', which tries to establish the unity of the peoples on Flores Island rather than to present an ethnography of Flores Island.
macro-principle of ghélé and ghawa sets the Flores Sea and the Savu Sea as the two extremes.\textsuperscript{12} Ghélé is applied to the former and ghawa to the latter. If places are supposed to be relatively near to the Flores Sea and rather far from Wologai, then ghélé is applied to describe their location. If they are supposed to be relatively near to Mesi Kaki (the Savu Sea) and far from Wologai, then ghawa is applied to locate them. When talking about the ulu ('head end') and éko ('tail end') of tana (Flores Island), people sometimes add ulu and éko of tana along the ghélé-ghawa axis as follows:

\begin{align*}
\text{ulu ghélé Mesi Fai} & \quad \text{the 'head end' in the direction of} \\
\text{éko ghawa Mesi Kaki} & \quad \text{the 'tail end' in the direction of} \\
\end{align*}

The prepositional adverb chosen to apply to a certain place name is much determined by convention. The following story implies that Wologai people themselves are aware that the usage of these prepositional adverbs is related to conventions as well as the topography and that these conventions, and needless to say their topography, vary from area to area. When I asked people to talk about the usage, they told me it is different from place to place:

When we go to Moni area, we are so confused. If we talk about locations of places with Moni people, we are disoriented. What most confuses us is the way to use the word lau because there are two rivers there.

A Moni man came to the Wologai area. He walked alone and came across a Wologai man on the path. The Wologai man warned him not to go in a certain direction because there was an untamed water buffalo there. The Wologai man indicated the direction only verbally. The Moni man said "all right", but because the usage of the directional word was different he went in the direction which he was warned not to go in and he was gored to death by the furious water buffalo.

In contrast with the complex articulation of the directionals applied to places within the tana contiguous to where they live, roughly identical to Flores Island, Wologai people do not articulate the directions of places outside that tana. They use the term ghawa to refer to any places which are supposed to be outside their tana, for example, ghawa Jawa, ghawa Kupa (Kupang in Timor), ghawa Jepa

\textsuperscript{12} People in Central Flores refer to the Flores Sea as Mesi Fai (literally meaning 'the sea of women') and the Savu Sea as Mesi Kaki (literally meaning 'the sea of men'). They comment that it is because Flores Sea is calm and Savu Sea is rough.
(Japan). *Ghawa* is also used to indicate places beyond people's daily experience, such as in *ghawa Pu'u Tana* (literally meaning the trunk of *tana*).¹³ A couplet *ghawa leka soko éo saga boko // ghawa leka kii éo deré méra* (at the place down there where the short *soko*-grass exists, at the place down there where the forks of *kii*-grass are red) means somewhere beyond people's knowledge. They say that there is no *soko*-grass which is short or no *kii*-grass whose forks are red in any place they know. *Ghawa aé mesi* (*aé* literally means water, and *mesi* means sea, salt) means the sea in general. In some usages, *lau* is used to imply the sea in general. One example consists of the coupled phrases, *ata mangu lau // ata laja ghawa* (people of the mast overseas, people of the sail abroad). Another example is a chant which is sung in the great-ritual to drive out rats in the direction indicated as *lau*, which seems to designate the sea in general as the destination of the river flow. The term *ghéta ghawa* is used on its own, not combined with place names to indicate unknown places extremely far from the *tana* contiguous to where the Wologai people live. The only example of *ghélé* applied to the sea is *ghélé* Mesi Fai (Flores Sea). In this case, Mesi Fai seems to refer to an unknown sea but it is more likely that what is meant is a known shore at one extreme of the axis of *ghélé-ghawa*.

**POLARITY: 'HEAD' AND 'TAIL'**

The foregoing description shows that there are three opposed pairs of directionals: *ghéta // ghalé, ghéta // lau*, and *ghélé // ghawa*, which are concordant with the other opposed pair, *ulu // éko*. *Ulu* (head) and *éko* (tail) are not directional but positional. The three pairs of directionals are syntagmatically combined with the pair *ulu // éko*. In addition to this shared feature in relation to *ulu* and *éko*, these three pairs of directionals share another feature: they are related to vertical position and the first component of each pair is related with 'high' and the second with 'low'. These pairs of directionals and positionals are not fully interchangeable, but are somewhat equivalent.

While people set one pair of opposed regions, namely the head region (*ulu*) and tail region (*éko*) on the *tana* (Flores Island) by the opposition of *ghéta* (the direction of sunrise) and *ghalé* (the direction of sunset), they set another regional opposition, the 'head' and the 'tail' on the *tana* (Flores Island) by another opposed pair, *ghélé* (to the north coast) and *ghawa* (to the south coast). Some connotations

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¹³ See chapter 3, 5 and 8.
accompany the 'head' and 'tail' of the tana (Flores Island). These connotations are discussed below.

The 'head' in the direction of sunrise (ghéta ulu) is associated with a good harvest. Some Wologai people, for example, keep a small black stone called watu bo'o (a stone of fullness) in their dwelling house. Those stones are said to be heavier than usual stones and to have been brought back from the 'head' in the direction of sunrise (ghéta ulu) by ancient ancestors.

People talk about the populations at the 'head' in the direction of sunrise (ghéta ulu) and the 'tail' in the direction of sunset (ghalé ulu) as follows:

The populations in the 'head' of tana eat blood and relish raw meat (kaa raa // pesa meta). They hunt human heads so there are many human skulls around their tubu musu (standing-stone-altar). To the contrary, the populations in the 'tail' of the tana operate by cunning and stealthy magic, such as teké ruku (negotiable sorcery) or polo (witchcraft or uncontrollable sorcery) or poisoning to harm others. They are full of the dirty things of nature just as a tail is related to dirty and mixed-up things. There used to be no cunning and stealthy magic or poisoning here but now there are many persons who conduct such things among us as a result of the influence by the people in the 'tail'.

Wologai people associate the 'head' of the tana with the heads of human beings, and with clear and visible brutality. In contrast they associate the 'tail' of the tana with the loins of the human body, with dirty, stealthy and invisible wickedness. These associations also correspond to social dimensions, that is to say, human heads are associated with public visibility and human loins with private invisibility. In contrast with the human head, the loins should not be exposed publicly and the activities related to the loins, excretion and especially copulation, should not be seen publicly. The terms piré gara (prohibition) or ana méa (child of shamefulness) are used to refer to the genitals.

People's image of the inhabitants at the 'head' and of the people at the 'tail' are differently related to their current daily experience. They often come across Ende-speaking people (ata éndé) at the weekly market nearby and sometimes in Ende, the town of Ende regency. Although the Ende-speaking area is in the central part of Flores, Wologai people regard the Ende-speaking people as one of people at the 'tail' region (ata ghalé éko) of the island. Wologai people find the Endenese-speaking people tricky, untrustworthy and slippery. Daily experience supports their image of the people at the 'tail'. However, as for the people in the 'head', Wologai people never come across them.
This imbalance between the two images in relation to daily experience makes sense in light of Wologai historiography. In other words, their historiography and geographical space reflect each other. Their history is spatialised and geographical space is temporalised. People say that a long time ago they used to hunt others' heads for ritual purposes such as building the standing-stone-altar (tubu musu), but now they kill animals instead. While the habit of head-hunting belongs to their ancient past, and the people at the 'head' do not confront them at present, the bad influence of stealthy magic, they think, started rather more recently and still continues. While the ancient past is projected onto the head region in the direction of sunrise (ghéta ulu), the present and the more recent past are projected onto the tail region in the direction of sunset (ghalé éko). The Ende area, which people think is located at the tail in the direction of sunset, has been the headquarters of an alien and overwhelming power: colonial, missionary, state power. Wologai people do not usually go further west than Ende. Wologai narratives depict the people at the 'tail' as being inferior to them and those at the 'head' as being awe-inspiring. However, their concern is not with the people at the 'head' but with those at the 'tail'. While the people at the 'tail' are others in recent time and today, those at the 'head' are others in the ancient past.

The opposition of 'head region' in the direction of the north coast (ghélé ulu) and the 'tail region' in the direction of the south coast (ghawa éko) constitutes a alternative connotation of the opposition of 'head region' in the direction of sunrise (ghéta ulu) and 'tail region' in the direction of sunset (ghalé éko). Wologai people regard themselves as superior to the population at ghawa (in the area relatively near to the south coast) because Wologai people are the source people of those people relatively near the south coast. Wologai people know that those at ghawa (in the direction to the south coast) talk of their foreign derivation. The area at ghawa (in the direction to the south coast) is called lio in general, while the area at ghélé (in the direction to the central mountain area and to the north coast) is called ndu'a. The word ndu'a can be used as a term of insult, with the connotation of unsophistication. Wologai people think the

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14 According to some knowledgeable people, a man was hunted for the great-ritual, while a monkey is hunted instead.

15 Those people do not seem to be interested in Lépémbusu as an origin place. See Sugishima 1990.

16 The word lio is not necessarily associated with sophistication. A word éndé is used to signify 'sophisticated people' in a proverb ndu'a ndoné éndé (mountain people mimic coast people). In using this proverb, Wologai people identify themselves as ndu'a, and éndé vaguely means sophisticated coast people.
culture-heroes, such as Séko Léngo and Demu Laka, came from overseas, landed and established their powers at the south coast, from where they expanded their powers. Wologai people consider the raja in colonial times and the two recent regents after the independence of Indonesia to be foreign. Their natal villages are at the 'tail region' in the south coastal (ghawa) area. Wologai people consider the south coastal (ghawa) area as a place where cloth and earthen cooking pots are produced. These items are still important and foreign to Wologai people, because they do not know the technologies and it is prohibited to make them in the Wologai area. This close connection between weaving and making earthen pots with the south coast (ghawa) area is expressed in the following popular song:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ata Lisé gaga bo'o} & \quad \text{Lisé people make fields in order} \\
\text{kema tana tau mbalé podo} & \quad \text{to become full} \\
\text{kema tana tau mbalé podo} & \quad \text{knead earth in order to make} \\
\text{kami geti tau tabha lolo} & \quad \text{cooking pots} \\
\text{ata Mbuli seda mbé’o} & \quad \text{knead earth in order to make} \\
\text{seda lawo no' o ragi} & \quad \text{cooking pots} \\
\text{seda lawo no' o ragi} & \quad \text{we buy them in order to cook} \\
\text{kami geti tau dhama kami} & \quad \text{sorghum} \\
\text{Mbuli people know how to weave} \\
\text{weave women’s cloth and men’s} \\
\text{weave women’s cloth and men’s} \\
\text{cloth} \\
\text{cloth} \\
\text{we buy them in order to wear}\text{17}
\end{align*}
\]

In contrast with their strong concern about the people in the south coastal (ghawa) area, their concern about the people in the north mountainous and coastal (ghélé) area is not articulated. Wologai people may describe or insult them as ndu’a (unsophisticated and mountainous), but they do not seem to go any further than that.

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The same proverb is used with the same meaning by West-Ende speaking people. They use endé to signify the people on the south coast and rhio the people on the north coast.

17 The latter half of this song is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mbé’o mbé’o ana mboo} & \quad \text{mboo-fish is very clever} \\
\text{palé watu ngéré aé} & \quad \text{swimming around stones as lightly as water} \\
\text{palé watu ngéré aé} & \quad \text{swimming around stones as lightly as water} \\
\text{lau notu ngéré dhofu} & \quad \text{caught by a notu-trap downstream} \\
\text{sia sia ana ika} & \quad \text{small fish are very smart} \\
\text{joro joso wora bata} & \quad \text{swimming between heavy swells} \\
\text{joro joso wora bata} & \quad \text{swimming between heavy swells} \\
\text{lau ndala ngéré dhofa} & \quad \text{caught by a net downstream}
\end{align*}
\]

Wologai people may sing this song in order to mock or to curse Lisé and Mbuli people.
CENTRALITY: 'NAVEL'

The cultural geography constructed with the pairs ghétva // ghálé, ghélé // ghawa, ulu // éko and ndu'a // lio are based on the principle of binary opposition, with basic spatial differentiation into high and low. Wologai people have also developed a cultural geography based on another principle, that of 'centrality'.

As the following narrative epitomises, the principle of centrality always takes priority over that of polarity in narratives concerning the Wologai people's authority:

The crater of Mt Lépémbusu opened to the west. When it erupted, Mt Inérié and Mt Ebulobo were thrown there. The real name of our place is Mbotu Paré (Mount of Rice) and Mbotu Lolo (Mount of Sorghum). One who guards the 'head' of the tana is Iné Jawa (Mother Maize), one who guards the 'tail' is Iné Béjo. Béjo is a person's name, Jawa is also a person's name. Iné Jawa lives in the direction of sunrise (ghétva) at the 'head' of the tana (Flores Island), Iné Béjo Ego lives in the direction of sunset (ghálé) at the water at the 'tail'. We do not know if Iné Jawa and Iné Béjo are human beings like us. Iné Jawa Rangga, whose father is Rangga, is in the direction of sunrise (ghétva) at the 'head' of the tana (Flores Island). Iné Béjo Ego, whose father is Ego, is in the direction of sunset (ghálé) at the water of the 'tail'. It is most important that the navel of the tana (the world) is here. You must not ignore it.

When I asked about tana in general, people in Wologai liked to emphasise that they are positioned at the navel of the tana (kami leka pusé tana). The narrator of this story uses the term tana to mean Flores Island or all of the land which is contiguous to where the Wologai people live. But by uttering the last sentence "you must not ignore it", he seems to have shifted the usage of the term tana to mean the whole geographic 'world', including my country. Wologai people insist in various narratives that their place is the navel of the world and that all human beings originated from their place or from Mount Lépémbusu. Some say that the remains of the tubu musu (standing-stone-altars) of the peoples who later spread over the world are there. The view that they are at the centre of the world is embedded in the narratives of the origin of the world. According to these narratives, in primordial time there was no tana (land, earth and/or world) except for the crown of Mount Lépémbusu which was connected to the sky by a liana (léké). The world appeared when the liana was cut, just as the life of a baby starts at the time the umbilical cord is cut.
The people of Wologai insist that since they are the legitimate successors of the primordial people, they are positioned at the navel of the world where the cosmological liana, the umbilical cord of *tana* (land, earth, and/or world) used to be. Some people affirm that all *tubu musu* (standing-stone-altars) in the world are arranged so as to surround that of Wologai as the centre.

**LAND (TANA) OF WOLOGAI AND VILLAGE- RITUALS**

When talking about the 'land' (*tana*) of Wologai, the Wologai people are likely to refer to an immense area. The following phrases are examples.

- **tana Wologai**: the land of Wologai
- **ulu béu éko béwa**: the far 'head', the long tail
- **ulu Mbuju Bima**: the 'head' is Mbuju Bima
- **éko Ma'u Au**: the tail is Ma'u Au
- **ria ghé ghéta Lowo Ndondo**: so great up to Lowo Ndondo
- **béwa ghé ghawa Lowo Ria**: so long down to Lowo Ria

or,

- **tana Wologai**: the land of Wologai
- **ulu ghéta Kowé Jawa**: the 'head' is Kowé Jawa
- **éko ghalé Naga Kéo**: the tail is Naga Kéo

It is not of much importance for them to locate the boundaries of the area or even the 'heads' and 'tails'. People seem to consider Ma'u Au as a place on the south coast, Lowo Ndondo as a big river which flows through the Ndondo area into the Flores Sea, and Lowo Ria as a river which flows into the Savu Sea. They think of Mbuju Bima as being somewhere on the north coast, but do not locate it geographically. They infer that 'Kowé Jawa' and 'Naga Kéo' are somewhere far east and far west respectively, but they are not sure where these places are. People think that Kowé Jawa and Naga Kéo are the head and the tail of all the land which is continuous to where they live, which is roughly identical to Flores Island. This means that they think and insist that Wologai has authority over the whole of Flores Island.

Thus the alleged land (*tana*) of Wologai is far more immense than the land to which the regulations of the Wologai village-rituals (*nggua tana watu*) are applied. People also refer to this land of Wologai as *tana* of Wologai. For analytical convenience, I refer to this as the ritual land of Wologai. It is also the land for which people of Wologai, especially ritual-leaders, might be ready to fight against other ritual-villages that infringe upon it. They claim that this immense area is the 'true' area of Wologai, or the area which used to belong to Wologai in the past. People tend to imply that Wologai, in spite of its legitimacy,
lost most of its land. However, they are not interested in how or why Wologai lost it. Rather they are eager to emphasise that their influence as the source should radiate over the 'true' immense area, even in the present day.

Ritual-leaders perform annual rituals in order to promote a good harvest and fertility, prosperity and well-being for the people. These rituals are referred to as 'rituals of earth and stone' (nggua tana watu). They are interwoven with the agricultural labours and regulate agricultural cycles in the ritual area of Wologai.

Village-rituals highlight sowing and harvesting, of which sowing is regarded as the more significant. The cultural preoccupation with the concept of source is seen in this evaluation. People emphasise that the paki ha'i ritual performed by the origin-ritual-leader is a manifestation of his exclusive prerogative to cut the tana (land, earth, and/or world). Two points are emphasised in the discourse about the paki ha'i ritual.

1) The origin-ritual-leader precedes other people in sowing
2) Sowing is an activity of cutting tana (land, earth and/or world)

In the discourse about the paki ha'i, the following adage is often referred to in order to illustrate the importance of the first point.

\[ \text{mboko sutu ata laki mulu} \quad \text{four grains, ata laki precedes} \\
\text{mboko telu ata laki welu} \quad \text{three grains, ata laki places}^{19} \]

The following couplet is referred to in relation to the second point. Sowing is considered as cosmological cutting:

\[ \text{koré mboré liru} \quad \text{pierce the sky to make a gap} \\
\text{teka tana bega} \quad \text{cut the earth to make a hole} \]

The ritual land of Wologai consists of two different kinds of ritual lands, Small Land (tana lo'o) and Great Land (tana ria). The place names identifying Small Land and Great Land are not known to many people. The information I was given by several knowledgeable men is slightly discrepant. According to the present origin-ritual-leader, Small Land consists of three ridges with respective 'heads' and 'tails'; Great Land also consists of three ridges.

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18 Paki means 'cutting out a piece of wood' and ha'i means 'leg' or 'foot' in everyday conversation.

19 Attention should be paid to the sound ordering. Another version of the coupled phrases is as follows: mboko sutu du'a neku mulu // mboko telu du'a neku welu. Du'a neku literally means 'myself'. These phrases are supposed to be uttered by the origin-ritual-leader. Kopo kasa, by contrast, lacks the ritual authority of paki. It is said that kopo kasa is 'uja ra'i wasi // angi sé'a wésa, tubu teko // kopo tembu, kanga wésa // kasa wela, sia teko // masa pasé (sprinkle when the rain comes, throw when the wind arrives, sow at tubu (standing stones or the standing-stone-altar), grow at the garden, throw at kanga (resting place of water buffalo or the ritual-court-yard), sprout at the fence, clear and sow, clean and plant).
While the Small Land and the Great Land are different in some points, people think that the most important difference concerns the way rights are established over the lands. Rights over Small Land derive from primordial time, 'original' (*sii du'a ra'i*; since the beginning); while Great Land was acquired by driving away the previous inhabitants at some stage in the past. 'Since primordial time' (*sii du'a ra'i*) may mean either that the people of Wologai are autochthonous to the land or that there were no inhabitants when they arrived there. The Great Land is designated as 'tego no' o tebo // mulé no' o loo' (virile in body, strong in torso). It is also said that Wologai ancestors worked with weapons alongside them in the 'big land'. The term *tego*, often coupled with *bani*, means strong in terms of male sexual warlike power. The term *mulé*, often coupled with *negi*, means strong in terms of labour, economically solid for treating people, and politically powerful to organise people. People think that Small Land is ontologically superior to Great Land. The logic supporting this notion is the same as that supporting the superiority of the origin-ritual-leader to the great-ritual-leader. That is to say, while the great ritual-leader should be powerful and active, the origin-ritual-leader is superior to him in terms of human existence. This is manifested as the ritual precedence of the origin-ritual-leader.

The ontological superiority of Small Land over the 'big land' is manifested in 'making offering rituals' (*tuu tau*). Two kinds of 'making offering rituals' are differentiated in terms of time of performance: 'making offerings after sowing' (*tuu tau tedo*) and 'making offerings before harvesting' (*tuu tau keti*).

The origin-ritual-leader performs a 'making offering ritual after sowing' first in Small Land and two days later in Great Land. Sowing is prohibited in Small Land after the ritual in Small Land. Sowing is prohibited in Great Land after the ritual in Great Land. The 'offering ritual after sowing' articulates the time of sowing in the whole ritual land of Wologai.

Annual rituals performed by ritual-leaders are referred to as the 'rituals of earth and stone' (*nggua tana watu*). Among the 'rituals of earth and stone' only 'making offering rituals' are concerned with the subdivision of Wologai ritual land. In discourse about 'cutting out ritual' (*paki ha'i*) as well as about other rituals such as the great-ritual (*nggua ria*), the 'picking vegetable ritual' (*keti uta*) and so on, this subdivision of the ritual land of Wologai is not of concern. Those rituals are said to be performed for an unspecified *tana* Wologai.
USUFRUCT AND RITUAL AUTHORITY

Clearing virgin forests and forests which have not been cleared for a long time is designated as 'cut off hanging vines, cut down trees with plank roots' (paté ajé molé // towa kaju libi) or 'cut off hanging vines, cut down banyan with hanging roots' (paté ajé molé // towa lélé kumi). Upon clearing one of these forests the ritual-leaders allot land to the people. In principle, the ritual-leaders can allot land to whoever asks for it, including an outsider. No person or group of people can seek a larger allotment than their labour capacity can cover because if they abandon the field or part of it, it is said that they will be fined or expelled by the ritual-leaders. Proposals for land to ritual-leaders are referred to as 'border the partition, ask for the parcel' (dari langi // ono tobo). The act of allotting land by the ritual-leader is known as 'giving a vine string (pati ajé, or pati ura ajé: pati meaning to give, ura meaning string, and ajé meaning string or vine). Each piece of land allotted to its user is referred to as a 'vine string' (ura ajé or ajé). Users' rights to their 'vine string' are not permanent. Once they stop using their 'vine', they lose their rights. The users should, or are supposed to, offer rice and meat to the ritual-leaders in rituals (penu nggua), such as the great-ritual (nggua ria), picking-vegetable-ritual (keti uta), and making-offering-ritual (tuu tau). However, ritual-leaders cannot demand it or even punish disobedience.

In contrast with a 'vine string', there is a category of land to which the user has permanent usufruct. This category of land is referred to as ngebo. Ngebo is usually inherited from one's mother or father. While each child has equal rights to inherit his/her parents' ngebo, when one marries into one's spouse's household usually one gives away rights to the parents' ngebo and works together with one's spouse's parents on ngebo to which one's spouse has usufruct.

A ngebo is referred to as 'given piece, granted part' (pati wai // ti'i liri). While they may not plant long-living crop trees, such as coffee, coconut, and candle nuts in vine-string (ajé), people can in their ngebo.

Users' rights to ngebo are restricted. To abandon the field halfway in ngebo is referred to as 'liana supports, au-bamboo prevails' (léké pémba // au ila). This behaviour is regarded as rebellion against the ritual-leaders and is expressed in the couplet: 'big objection to the ritual-leaders, high rebellion to the ritual-leaders' or 'objection to the greatness of the ritual-leaders, rebellion to the highness of the ritual-leaders' (bhéo ria laki // bhato béwa ongga). It is punishable by a fine of an animal (poi or poi éko: poi meaning literally to catch or grasp, éko meaning tail or domestic animal), or by banishment, described as 'to be dispersed like a
monkey, to be expelled like a dog' (ho'a ngéré ro'a // rago ngéré lako). Work on ngebo, as well as on ajé, must follow the agricultural cycle regulated by the ritual-leaders especially by the origin-ritual-leader. To violate the ritual regulation is also regarded as rebellion against the ritual-leaders and the authority of the ritual-village.

For Wologai people, neither vine-string nor ngebo is property in the capitalist sense. Even though the rights to ngebo are more similar to property rights than those to vine-string are, ngebo are also under the control of rituals which are performed by ritual-leaders for the whole ritual land of Wologai. Wologai people do not think of the capacity of agricultural labour or ngebo as a commodity. So it is inappropriate for anyone or any group to keep the rights to ngebo beyond their labour capacity. People do not regard the rights to ngebo as capital to pursue the recursive goal of an accumulation of surplus.

The rights to ngebo are de facto rather than de jure. As long as a person keeps working on a ngebo, the usufruct is not usually denied. Just as the rights to ngebo are de facto, so are the borders between ngebo. As long as ngebo is kept in use with only a few years of fallow, the borders are recognised clearly. People do not mark the border lines with endurable things nor do they make maps, even though they often regard big trees or big rocks as points to mark the borders.

Whether the secondary forests appearing after longer fallows are regarded as ngebo or a forest for allotment by ritual-leaders (paté ajé molé // towa kaju libi) seems to depend on the balance between the people's credibility and confidence in claiming the rights of succession, and the authority of the ritual-leaders. It seems that if the former is stronger, the secondary forest is dealt with as ngebo, while if the latter is stronger it is dealt with as a forest for allotment by the ritual-leaders (paté ajé molé // towa kaju libi). The following examples epitomise the tug of war between the strength of people's claims and the ritual-leaders' authority.

In 1983, ritual-leaders planned to allot vine-strings in the name of the origin-ritual-leader on a secondary forest. Many people regarded the forest as ngebo and insisted on their rights to ngebo there. The ritual-leaders' authority was not strong enough and the plan was not executed.
In 1984, another second forest, Wolondopo, was cleared after a long fallow period. It was allotted by a ritual-leader as vine-strings to people. But the actual allotments were based roughly on people's declaration of the approximate place where their respective ancestors had worked. One man protested the allotment because he thought that the land as the ngebo of his ancestor had been much bigger than the land he was allotted this time. The ritual-leader responded to the protest with ritual language called kadha. The protester became ill that night. People gossiped that the ritual-leader’s kadha had caused the protester's illness. After this incident, all the people seemed to accept the allotment of land as giving-vine-strings (pati ajê).

TANA AND PRESTIGE

PRESTIGE OVER OTHER RITUAL-VILLAGES

Just as the rights to and the borders of ngebo (land of usufruct) are de facto rather than de jure, so are ritual rights of a ritual-village over a particular area. In other words, the peripheral range of the ritual land (tana) of Wologai is only defined by working and performing rituals there.

Wolondopo Forest, which was cleared in 1984 after a long fallow, is a mountain near the main road, the only road connecting the two biggest towns on Flores: Ende and Mauméré. Before the clearing, it was covered with dense forest. Every passenger on the main road could witness the drastic change of landscape effected by the slash-and-burn. The regent of Ende regency actually saw the change and was very upset because he was currently promoting the government's greening policy. The ritual-leader who has the ritual rights to Wolondopo Forest is a primary school teacher. He, as a civil servant, knew well the government's greening policy. Not only he but also other Wologai people also seemed to be aware that the slash-and-burn of Wolondopo Forest could provoke an adverse evaluation by the government. Wologai people usually avoid unnecessary antagonism from the government. One ritual-leader of Wologai confided that the reason the school teacher nevertheless decided (or that other Wologai people encouraged him to decide) to clear Wolondopo Forest is that the

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20 Wolondopo is the name of tana which belongs to tana Wologai. Even though it is the same as the name of the Wolondopo ritual-village, people do not think there is any relation between the nua and this Wolondopo.
Wologai people were afraid that Faunaka people, who had recently become very eager to deny their subordination to Wologai, might clear Wolondopo Forest and establish ritual rights there. After the slash-and-burn, the ritual rights of Wologai over Wolondopo land were established and Faunaka people could not make any claims.

Wolondopo Forest is very close to the Wologai ritual-village and is adjacent to the area where many Wologai people work. The Faunaka people are closely related to the Wologai people. They often marry each other. There is a considerable number of people who maintain affiliation not only to Wologai but also to Faunaka, though they usually commit themselves more to one than to the other. Most of the Faunaka people make fields in the area, which Wologai people proudly call, and which Faunaka people bitterly admit is, the ritual land of Wologai. The Faunaka people fulfilled ritual obligations to the Wologai people until a couple of years ago, which both peoples regarded as an expression of the Faunaka people's subordination to the Wologai people. Recently, Faunaka people seem to have begun to think that their subordination to Wologai was imposed unjustly in the past. The Faunaka people, especially their ritual-leaders, are trying to discover the 'true history'. This would prove their legitimate authority over Wologai, which was usurped by Wologai. Since the Wologai people, especially the ritual-leaders, have a great concern for the Wolondopo Forest and for their authority and prestige over Faunaka, they supported the clearing of Wolondopo. It is not that they opened Wolondopo Forest because it is unassailably a part of the ritual land of Wologai, but that it became a part of the ritual land of Wologai because they cleared it. Wologai's ritual rights were established as de facto rights by working and performing rituals there.

I do not have the relevant statistical data to discuss the relation between the shortage of land and claims to land rights, but Wologai people do not think that there is a land shortage among them. Rather they think there is a shortage of labour to make use of their land. At least in their thinking, establishing the rights to land is concerned with authority and prestige rather than with land shortage or other practical reasons.

21 He is not the origin-ritual-leader but a ritual-leader of Bénga, a subsidiary-ritual-house, at the side of the great people. He politely rejected my questions about how his ancestor gained Wolondopo or how he was related to that ancestor etc.

22 They criticise the government's birth control policy, saying it is not appropriate for them.
Wolondopo Forest is close to the Wologai ritual-village. However, geographical closeness does not necessarily determine the commitment to a certain land, as the following incident shows:

In September 1984, I accompanied several Wologai people walking back from their fields, when they saw a group of people who were working in the newly opened field on a slope close to those that Wologai people were working in. They were people of the Nuapuu ritual-village, which is located near Lépémbusu to the north. My companions and the Nuapuu people working there knew each other but were not closely related. The Nuapuu people greeted my companions, who returned the greeting. They chatted with each other for a while, smiling. As soon as the Nuapuu people were out of sight, one of my companions told me in a confidential tone that the land the Nuapuu people were working now was legitimately a part of the ritual land (tana) of Wologai. Even though a considerable number of Wologai people seemed to regard the land as belonging to Wologai, they left the Nuapuu people to work on the land and did not show any further reaction.

Nuapuu is to the north (ghélé) beyond Mount Lépémbusu. Wologai people do not pay much attention to the people who are hill-billy people (ndu'a) to the north (ghélé). As far as I know, Nuapuu people do not play a role which concerns the life and thought of the Wologai people.

In contrast, Wologai people have concerns about Lisé people, who are in the direction of the south coast (ghawa). Wologai people have a different attitude toward tana Wolomapa from the one they have toward Wolondopo land. Wologai people insist that Wolomapa is also a part of the ritual land (tana) of Wologai. It is located in the Lisé area, where the eastern dialects of Lionese are spoken. It is clear to Wologai people that the Lisé people are inferior to them. Wologai is at the source of Lisé. Lisé people are only of secondary importance in Wologai theories of authority and prestige, which position Wologai people at the top or at the centre. This is because the ancestors of Lisé people’s were later settlers (ata mai, 'people who came') or they were of inferior Lépémbusu origin. The ritual-leaders of Wologai insist that even though Lisé people cultivate Wolomapa now, Wolomapa belongs to the ritual land of Wologai. In spite of this insistence, Wologai people do nothing about Wolomapa land, except tell stories such as follows:
Wolomapa is:

ulu Telorawa  
the 'head' is Telorawa

éko Woiwulu  
the 'tail' is Woiwulu

The 'history' is as follows. Lamba Séko and Dangé Béké, ancestors of Wologai people five or six generations ago, went to help Wanggé Mbété, a ritual-leader of Lise. He waged war against Sédé Lé'u (Lé'u Wadhi), a ritual-leader of Mbuliweralau (the south coast of the East-Lio-speaking area). The Mbuliweralau people got help from people of Buu (in the far east of the East-Lio-speaking area). Wanggé Mbété won the war and gave Wolomapa land to Wologai people as compensation. This is referred to as 'bone and abdomen' (toko tuka) or as 'bone with the earth, abdomen with rock' (toko no'o tana // tuka no'o watu) of the Wologai people who died in the war. Lise and Wologai people established the alliance treaty (poré jajji) by spilling palm wine from a bamboo container (loka moké bhoku).

There is now no actual relation between Wologai people and the alleged descendants of Wanggé Mbété. They do not even know who the descendants of Wanggé Mbété are. Despite this, they insist that there is still a relation of alliance treaty (poré jajji) between Wologai people and Lisé people as described in the following verse:

\[
\begin{align*}
tana leka ola mbaa kaa & \quad \text{the land where we may freely eat when passing} \\
watu leka ola mbaa minu & \quad \text{the rock where we may drink when stepping forth} \\
'iwa jaga ngéré jii jawa & \quad \text{we do not guard as if against foreign spirits} \\
'iwa jeri ngéré nanga mesi & \quad \text{we do not ambush as if at a river's mouth} \\
ma'ë ngeta lesu usu wuni & \quad \text{only we may not unlock the barn} \\
ma'ë ngeta kai kebo laba & \quad \text{only we may not open the granary} \\
kita leka ola béwa bo'i & \quad \text{we may snap each other's long thing (sugar cane)} \\
kita leka ola besu poka & \quad \text{we may fell each other's rich thing (banana)} \\
tëë ma'ë béké & \quad \text{do not be angry even if your things are touched} \\
kema ma'ë bheja & \quad \text{do not threaten even if your things are handled} \\
demi tëë miu béké & \quad \text{if you become angry at touching (if) you threaten us because of handling} \\
kema miu bheja & \\
kita mo'o woga wola moka & \quad \text{we shall dig up worms} \\
koë wola kati & \quad \text{we shall dig out earth worms}
\end{align*}
\]

23 In Wologai, ancestors' names are a controversial subject rather than a subject that makes possible a consensus about the mutual relationships of present day people.
Many Wologai people do not know where Wolomapa is. No Wologai people are interested in making fields on Wolomapa. Just as the relation with the 'Lisé people' is richly imagined, so Wologai’s rights to Wolomapa land, which exists in the mind rather than being located in geographic space, are also richly imagined.

It is improbable that Wologai people would act in a way which could let Lisé people know Wologai’s rights to Wolomapa land, as they did in relation to Wolondopo land in order to establish the prestige of Wologai over another ritual-village. Wologai people regard it as enough to tell ‘true’ histories because it is indisputable that they have authority over, and have more prestige than Lisé people. Wolomapa is far from Wologai, but distance does not necessarily determine lack of commitment to a portion of land, as the following example involving Wongga land shows.

PRESTIGE WITHIN THE WOLOGAI RITUAL-VILLAGE

Wongga land is near the north coast. Even though it is quite far from Wologai, some people of Wologai still show their ritual rights over it by making the offering-ritual (tuu tau) there every year.

A man told me the following narrative about Wongga:

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24 Kii is a kind of long grass which is used for thatch. (Indonesian term; alang-alang, Imperata cylindrica) (Verheijen 1984:58). Deré, which I translate as ‘fork’, means the part of the grass where the leaf blade becomes the sheath and joins the stem. This word also means the crotch of animals. According to an informant’s explanation, ‘ghawa leka soko éo saga boko, ghawa leka kii éo deré méra’ means the place beyond our knowing, because there is neither soko (reed-like grass on the dry land), which is short, nor kii whose fork is red.

25 The words of aé seru and aé nunu can be translated as aé, water; seru, voice or to voice; nunu, a kind of banyan tree (Ficus benjamina, Verheijen 1984: 56). In this case, both phrases mean words or what was said. Neither phrase, especially the latter, is used in informal speech.
Wongga was the land (tana) of Wumbu Api, the ritual-leader in Wumbu, a north coast area. Wumbu Api married Gara, who came from Waka, an island off Kaburea, the north coast area at the border between Ende and Ngada regency now.26 Some problem arose, and Gara fled back to Waka. Wumbu Api asked Séko Du'a and Ngénda Mbéké, both ancestors of Wologai people of eight or nine generations back, to bring Gara back to him.27 Since there were no boats (kowa) in those days, Séko Du'a thrust a sword like a branch of a coconut palm sundu into the sea.28 The water then parted letting Séko Du'a and Ngénda Mbéké go to Waka Island on foot. When they arrived there, Gara was bound by the people of Waka. Since Séko Du'a was an inspired person (ata nipi, literally a person of dreams), he made all the people of Waka fall asleep. Séko Du'a and Ngénda Mbéké cut an ear off (poro) eleven Waka people (sembulu setoki) as markings.29 Since they brought Gara back to Wumbu Api, they were given Wongga land. While Wongga land had been virgin forest for a long time, it was cleared for the first time several decades ago, under the supervision of kapita Ghéta. Now a ritual-leader of Labo, a subsidiary-ritual-house, performs making-offering-ritual (tuu tau) on Wongga land. About ten years after the first slash and burning, many Wologai people lived and made fields there, but now few Wologai people make fields and many Nida people live and make fields there.

According to this 'history', neither kapita Ghéta nor the ritual-leader of Labo is a legitimate successor to ritual rights over Wongga land. While Ghéta belonged to the ritual-house of Labo, he was not a ritual-leader but a kapita (the head of a gemeente, the lowest administrative unit in Dutch colonial time) of gemeente Wologai, as was his father, Pada Mbusu.30 While many people affiliated to Labo proudly praise Ghéta as a great and powerful person (ata ria), many Wologai people are opposed to Ghéta, Pada Mbusu and their present supporters and regard

26 I do not have the data to identify the island called Waka. The informant who told this 'history' does not have geographical knowledge concerning Waka Island except through this 'history'. There is a place called Waka on the north coast of Detusoko sub-regency (map by P.U. Kabupaten Ende cited in Bertha Lena Hassan et al. 1985)

27 The informant noted: Ngénda Mbéké was the ritual-leader of Wologhalé. Séko Du'a was succeeded by Mbo's Dosi, a current ritual-leader. Mbo's Dosi is not only the ritual-leader of Mari Songgo, a subsidiary-ritual-house at 'the hearth of the legitimate people' of Bhuru Koja in the Wologai ritual-village but also a ritual-leader of the Wolondopo ritual-village. But he is old and in a state of semility and is not active as a ritual-leader in either ritual-village.

28 According to an informant a sundu is like a kris.

29 Poro kinga (to cut off a part of an ear) is a way to mark domestic animals.

30 According to Bryune (1947a: 18), Ghéta Pada was described as son of 'Ria Béwa', or according to another Dutch document (Anon 1947) he was 'Ria Béwa'. But according to Wologai people, the great-ritual-leader (ria bêwo) was Ngolé at that time.
their de facto power as illegitimate and a result of usurpation. The 'history' above was told me by an opponent of Ghéta's supporters, from whom I did not have the opportunity to hear the alternative 'history' of Wongga.

There are no relevant documents which discuss how Pada and Ghéta's becoming *kapita* influenced the power structure in Wologai. Bryune (1947a: 47) writes that after the formation of Landschap Lio in 1927, Wologai built a temple with sculptured transverse planks, which Soko Ria, as the encompassing authority over a wide area including Wologai,31 claimed as its exclusive right to build. He also describes that by building the temple, Wologai declared its independence from Soko Ria and nullified the power and the authority of Soko Ria. It is plausible that Wologai increased its power almost concurrently with the establishment of the Dutch colonial administration in this area. Wolondopo and Wolojita people claim the illegitimacy of Wologai's de facto power by telling the following 'history':

The true candidate for *kapita* was Pada Bata Laki of Wolondopo. Raja Lio came and asked who Pada Bata Laki was. Pada Bata Mbusu of Wologai answered, "It's me". By accident, Pada Bata Laki had not yet come. This is how the *kapita* came to belong to Wologai.

We might interpret Bryune's description and the oral 'history' above as meaning that Wologai increased its power not in the traditional way but in relation to the Dutch colonial power. People of other ritual-villages, such as Wolondopo and Wolojita, also recognise this. But Wologai people, who regard their power as legitimate, never say that Dutch colonial power increased their power. They usually say that Wologai acquired the *kapitanship* because they had legitimate authority to do so, even though they accuse Lisé people of having usurped the *rajaship*.32 Wologai people feel that the Dutch colonial government was, or should be, peripheral in the 'world', in which Wologai stands at the centre. Those on Ghéta's side believe that nobody else in Wologai became the *kapita* because Ghéta already had power originating from his ancestor Giu, several generations back. Those against Ghéta consider his *kapitanship* as a repetition of the

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31 Bryune identifies this area as the area of the Séko Léngo clan (Bryune 1947a: 44).

32 The Wologai people describe this recent historical situation as *pomba wadho lélé* (a *pomba*-weed pushes down a banyan tree) or *ko'o mbalé ngga'è* (a slave becomes a master). It is exceptional to use the word *ngga'è* either: without a coupled word or with the meaning of a master. The rhyme between *mbalé* and *ngga'è* seems to be important.
usurpation of power originating with Giu. This conflict within the Wologai ritual-village is mentioned indirectly in the 'history' of the rights over Wongga land and seems to be congruent with long-lasting factions in Wologai, which are more clearly apparent in the conflicts concerning Woloroga land.

This conflict involved not only Wologai people but also people of Roga (Desa Roga, kecamatan Ndana) and Wolondopo people. This conflict was taken to the subregency office. The 'history' told by a leading person of Wologai for the lawsuit in October 1983 is as follows:

Séko Du'a was 'pierce the sky to make a gap, cut the earth to make a hole' (koré mboré liru // teka tana bega). Ngura, daughter of Séko, married Ndo'i Bata, a Roga man, who lived at Roga 'to defend the strong earth, to watch the powerful rock' (dai tana negi // énga watu mulé) in the ritual land of Wologai. They participated in the village-rituals of the Wologai ritual-village. Ngura asked Séko for land to use, as 'allow to make fresh vegetables, admit to make nice rice' (poa tau uta ngura // paso tau aré ngemo). Séko allowed the land for 'picking sprouts with nails, pulling off grown leaves' (tigo lobo // rabé rara), on condition that you shall fulfil the primordial ritual up at the base of the standing-stone-altar, perform the primeval ritual up at the vessel of courtyard' (mo'o susu puu ghéta pu'u tubu // tama nala ghéta fi'i kanga).

According to the descendants of Ndo'i Bata, the land is:

toko no'o tana  
tuka no'o watu  
ngobo ria  
gélé béwa  
éo ulu wuu  
éko beta  
sobé téo leka téo tubu kaju  
nngala welu leka biri watu

bones with land  
abdomen with rock  
great land of usufruct  
long site for making palm wine of independent rights  
the 'head' is cut off  
the 'tail' is cut apart  
container of soup hung on a stump of a tree  
basket of rice put at the cliff of rocks

33 Narratives concerning Giu are dealt with in chapter 5.

34 In this narrative, the informant used paso instead of pasé. According to him, paso and poa have the meaning of 'giving but not yet the full right (pemberian yang belum jadi hak penuh)', even though in daily conversation neither word is used to indicate this meaning.

35 The teller of this story gave me the following comment: Gélé may mean géle maké (a site for making palm wine) or a kind of plant which usually grows in or near ngobo (land of usufruct).

36 The first coupled phrase means that the land was given as a reward for the bravery of a warrior who had died in the war waged by the giver of the land. The second couplet means that the user of the land possesses full rights. The third one means the land was detached from the former owner on the basis of an exchange of
But what they tell is not true. At that time, Ngura and Ndo'i asked Séko to make a part of Woloroga land 'cut apart from the land-giver for valuables' so that the land could become the 'head' is cut off, the 'tail' is cut apart (ulu wuu // éko beta). Séko demanded from them a gun, a female water buffalo and three sets of gold items (liwu telu) in exchange for the land. But because they could not give him what he demanded (bosu talo), the land did not become 'the head' is cut off, the 'tail' is cut apart (ulu wuu // éko beta). Roga people describe the state of the land and that of Ngura, who was 'the head is cut off, the tail is cut apart' (kolo wuu // éko beta)\textsuperscript{37} according to them. While Ngura might have been 'the head is cut off, the tail is cut apart' (kolo wuu // éko beta), the land was, and still is, not cut apart from Wologai, 'the head has not been cut off yet, the tail has not been cut apart yet' (ulu la'ë wuu // éko la'ë beta).

The point of the dispute between Roga people and Wologai people is as follows. Roga people assert that the disputed land was only formerly under the ritual authority of Wologai, but was already transferred to Roga. Wologai people claim that it is still under the ritual authority of Wologai.

In November 1984, I was told another version of the 'history' concerning Woloroga:

A long time ago, Séko Du’a and Pedi Béda belonged to one house (sa’o). This is Séko Du’a’s line: Tiro Tiwu, Tiwu Nggawi, Nggawi Mari, Mari Songgo, Songgo Séko, Séko Du’a. Tiro has died already. Pedi Béda’s line is like this: Pandé Sambu, Sambu Lopi, Lopi Pedi, Pedi Béda. Pandé belongs to Bhisu Koja of the Wolondopo ritual-village and he does not have rights in Wologai, because he has the status of ‘already crossed the water, already beyond the river’ (dagé rewa æ // baka rewa lowo), namely, having left Wologai. There was a woman whose name was Ngura. She also belonged to that house (sa’o). Her father might be Séko Du’a or Dala Lélé. Anyway Séko was the person who was responsible and authoritative in matters concerning Ngura and Woloroga land. There were two Roga men, Ndo’i Bata and Ba’i Mau. Ba’i Mau married Ngura. Séko allowed Ngura to use a part of Woloroga land, whose head upstream is Lowo Maja Meti and whose tail downstream is Aé Mbara. Her field was from the upper boundary at Lia Gaka to the lower boundary at Lowo Ria. The allowance concerning the land is:

\textsuperscript{37} This couplet means that the ritual affiliation of the woman has changed from her natal group to her husband’s group. See chapter 7.
poo\textsuperscript{38} tau uta ngura
pasé tau aré ngemo

allowance for young vegetables
planting for a handful of grains of rice

So the land was

pati la'é wai
ti'ī la'é liri\textsuperscript{39}
given but not freely
conferred but not definitely

because Ngura's status was

kolo la'é wuu
eko la'é beta

the head is not cut off yet
the tail is not cut apart yet.

This means she was still affiliated with Wologai in terms of rituals (nggua). So the users of the land, including Ngura and her husband must

tigo lobo
rabhē rara
sobē dobē
nggala naba
tau nggua ghēta
pu'u tubu

pick sprouts with nails
pull off grown leaves
place the container of soup
set the basket of rice
to make ritual up at
the trunk of the standing-stone-altar

fi'i kanga
the vessel of the ritual courtyard

Until about two generations ago, Wara Kébé, a Roga man, kept fulfilling the obligation for the ancestral ritual (nggua) of Séko Du'a. But after he killed Nggawi, one of the successors of Séko Du'a,\textsuperscript{40} the relation between Wologai and Roga stopped. Roga people still worked on Ngura's ngebo (land of usufruct). Experiencing futility, Roga people, Bai's descendants (ana embu o Ba'i), came to Tiro's house (sa'o) in 1970, and asked for mercy and blessings, saying that they regarded Tiro's house as the place from which they had originated:

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{38} In daily use, poo does not usually have the meaning of allowance. Ordinary usages and meaning are: 1) to promise to give something, ebé poo ngawu dhau, 'they promise to give valuable items.' 2) to go from one tree to another. ro'a poo koba, 'a monkey goes from one vine to another.'
\textsuperscript{39} Wai usually means 'a flat piece', and liri 'to cut and make the end flat' or 'a piece with flat ends'.
\textsuperscript{40} I was given two versions of the narrative explaining why Wara Kébé killed Nggawi Mari. One version, which also describes the successors to Mari Songo, is as follows: The line of Nggawi is Nggawi Mari, Mari Songo. The line of Tiro is Tiro Tiwu, Tiwu Bengé, Bengé Léngo, Léngo Rangga, Rangga Lopi. Nggawi adopted wii kawé Tiwu. Wara Kébé and Nggawi belonged to the same sa'o. One day Wara's mother died. Nggawi and others buried her like a dog. That's why Wara killed Nggawi." Another version was told by an informant to show his relation to Mari Songgo. "My mother's mother was one of the daughters of Nggawi Mari, the successor to Mari Songgo. He had three daughters and two sons. One day Nggawi's children accused Wara, a Roga man, of being a witch. That's why Wara killed Nggawi.
\end{footnotesize}
rina mina               beg you with oiled body
oso masa               ask you with clean body
ana tuka lowa          your children are hungry
embu gaden moa         your great grandchildren are thirsty
joga kau               enter again the hatchery
joru jebu              go back to the nest
musu susu              suck the breasts
tame ndelo             suck the chest
nai walo sa'o          get up into the house again
nika wola tenda         sit on the veranda again
ji'ë no'o sa'o li'ë     good with the house of genitalia
pawë no'o tenda toko    well with the veranda of bone

Tiro received from the Roga people a pair of gold items (ngawu setenga) and one male water buffalo. Ndëwi Rega and Laka Rado received from them a pair of gold items for acting as mediators. Tiro told the Roga people, "I have not given you the land yet. I received these valuables, just because you should know again your house of women's genitalia and your veranda of bones (Aku la'ë pati tana. Simo ngawu ina, miu mo mbë'o wola tau ji'ë sa'o li'ë pawë téda toko)". They invited all ritual-leaders of Wologai to announce the revitalised relationship with Roga people. But the people of the subsidiary-ritual-house (sa'o) of Labo did not agree with the process, insisting that Labo should have the rights over the land at issue because Wologai acquired it owing to the bravery of an ancestor of Labo, Mité Lamba. Tiro retorted, "That land was gained because of the bravery (soké wuli pénu lando) of Pedi Bëda, the wisdom (tuu nopo tugë tunë) of Séko Du'a and the vigilance (dai wau énga jenga) of Mité Laka. So the process should be through sa'o Séko Du'a". Mité Laka was Ata Lowo. There were no legitimate successors of Pedi Bëda and Mité Laka. Roga people never went to sa'o Labo. They said that they were only related to the house of Séko Du'a, whose successor is Tiro.

Gradually Roga people expanded their fields at Woloroga beyond the land where Wologai people allowed them to work. They began to live at Woloroga. In 1972, Tiro petitioned the head of the district (camai) to stop the usurpation. This case aroused conflict between people affiliated to Labo and people affiliated to the house of Séko Du'a. Rédé, a man affiliated to Labo house whose role in village-rituals is to apportion rice and meat (kago kao), said to Tiro "Tiro is not a great ritual-leader. It is I

41 Ndëwi Rega is a ritual-leader of Rënggi Wogë (a subsidiary-ritual-house), which is affiliated with Bhisu Koja. Laka Rado is affiliated with Ata Wolo Ghalë. See chapter 2.

42 This kind of mediator is referred to by the coupled phrases; bheto meta // tali nao ('young bamboo, string of arenga fibre'), or pada // teta ('a small construction for putting meat etc., laid out horizontally for people to walk on'). Split young bamboo and strings of arenga fibre are used to tie things.

43 Ata lowo literally means 'people of the river'. In this case, however, it indicates a social category of people. Wologai people usually talk about Ata Lowo in confidential tones.
who decides the size of meat he can get". But as a matter of fact, 'scooping and spooning' (*kago kao*) is only a server of meat and rice in ritual occasions. Many on both sides, including Tiro, died young (*mata ribo*), and the two sides were reconciled. The head of the district criticised the fact that Ndéwi was not powerful enough as a mediator, saying, "your machete is not sharp, your chisel is not hard (*topo iwa lé'lé // taka iwa ngaa*)". The people of Roga and the people of Wologai were reconciled. People of Roga conceded.

In 1978, Roga people planted coconut palms at Woloroga, in the fields of the Wologai people, who lived at Kebo Bou. Many of these were people of Labo house. They got angry. The Roga people fled to Tiro's house (*sa'o*), which people living at Kebo Bou attacked by throwing stones. People of Roga took action against Wologai through the Ende regency. Several Wolondopo people became witnesses in the litigation. They testified that the land belonged to the people of Roga.

The informant finished the 'history' told to me in September 1984 as if there were nothing to add. People of Wologai do not say that they lost the last case concerning Woloroga land, but according to a Wolondopo witness, Wologai was defeated.

At the end of October 1980, when I attended the great-ritual of Wologai, Wologai people, especially some ritual-leaders, seemed to unite together in preparation for the legal case against Roga people. They said "*kita perkara no'o Roga*" (we make legal action against Roga). The ritual-leaders performed a war dance called *wogé* and chanted an inspiring poem called *bhéa*. The sense of unity of Wologai was exalted to its highest level against the outside enemy, and this seemed to quell internal conflict. At that time, the land at Woloroga was treated as that of the Wologai ritual-village.

Two years later, in November 1982, I started my second term of field work, which lasted until November 1984. I also stayed briefly at Wologai again in 1987. After 1982 I never again encountered such exaltation of unity among Wologai people as I found during the great-ritual of 1980. The great-ritual was not performed in 1982 because of covert internal conflict in the Wologai ritual-village. Consequently, the origin-ritual-leader summoned Wologai people to the office of the *desa* and asked the advice of 'outsiders' (*ata laja ghawa // mangu lau* 'people of the sail down there, the mast on the sea'), namely the *kepala desa* (the head of the *desa*) and several district officials. This meeting did not seem to

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44 Kebo Bou is a place along the Lowo Ria river.

45 See chapter 8.
effect a solution to the conflict. At the meeting, some forty men declared themselves to be ritual-leaders. The origin-ritual-leader could not interrupt these declarations, which were made by men whom he did not consider qualified.

People's concern with this land debate during my second period of field work (1982-1984) was based on the conflict between two factions linked to different ancestors, for example, Séko Du'a and Mité Lamba. In August 1983, a pair of statues called amé naka iné naju (literally amé, honorific address for men, a word coupled with iné in couplets; naka, jack fruit or to steal; iné, mother; naju, a kind of grass-hopper) disappeared from a shrine.\(^{46}\) According to some informants, they were the raju (fetishes, things from which certain people can get inspiration or power) of Giu, one of the ancestors about whom many narratives are told. But according to other informants, they were heirlooms of the Wologai ritual-village. The ritual-leaders searched for the statues as stolen communal heirlooms although some Wologai people, including ritual-leaders, suspected each other of the theft.

If the land is attributed to an ancestor, it is referred to not only as tana but also as ngebo or ngebo gélé.\(^{47}\) Wolondopo land (tana) can be referred to as the ngebo of an ancient ancestor. The current ritual-leader who performs the offering-ritual for the land is usually supposed to be the successor. Wolomapa can be called the ngebo of Lamba Séko. Both Wongga land and Woloroga land are referred to as the ngebo of Séko Du'a by the people on Tiro's side and the ngebo of Mité Lamba by those on Ghéta's side. Some people say that tana Wologai or Great Land of Wologai is the ngebo of Séko Léngo.

Ngebo which is attributed to an ancient ancestor whose link to living people is generally uncertain, is usually large in scale. Ngebo, over which there exist clear rights of usufruct, is small in scale. While small-scale ngebo are thought to have been acquired and kept as a result of the users' labour power, large-scale ngebo are thought to have been acquired not only through labour power but also through the warlike power and political economic power (tego bani and mulé negi). The nature of rights over this kind of ngebo is expressed with the following couplets.

\[
\begin{align*}
da'i ra'i & \quad \text{guard the upper border} \\
énnga singi & \quad \text{protect the side borders} \\
ra'i ata ma'el reté & \quad \text{so that others may not invade the upper border}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{46}\) See Eriko Aoki 1988

\(^{47}\) Gélé means a site for tapping palm wine. Moké gélé means a arenga palm which has been already tapped.
**singi ata ma’é pii**  so that others may not intrude the
side borders

**ro’a ma’é ruwi**  so that monkeys may not sever
(the harvest)

**dhéké ma’é paki**  so that dhéké may not cut (the
land)\(^{48}\)

**da’i dua raka pa’a pii**  guard it from generation to
generation

**éngga raka pabé rapé**  protect it for generations

Rights which successors of the ancestor hold to large-scale *nagebo* are not
usufruct but ritual rights. The concern that leads people to insist on being the
successors to the ritual rights over the large-scale *nagebo* is a matter of authority
and prestige.

The notion of land and the notion of people are interdependent. As long as a
certain land is claimed to belong to Wologai, the land is treated as a part of the
ritual land of Wologai, and unity of the ritual-village is emphasised. However,
should the land become the focus of conflict between people within the Wologai
ritual-village, people argue by attributing the land to a certain ancestor and
oppose rivals by claiming to be the legitimate successor to that ancestor.

**RECENT TRANSFORMATIONS**

According to the orthodoxy of the ritual-village, the origin-ritual-leader has the
sole right to cut the earth (*tekā tana*). So the origin-ritual-leader must precede
before others cut the earth (*tana*). People say that there are three kinds of 'cutting
the earth'. These are sowing, building houses and digging graves. All are thought
to be indispensable for human life. The orthodoxy of the ritual-village says that
anybody who builds a house or digs a grave in the ritual land of Wologai must
invite the ritual-leaders, especially the origin-ritual-leader. Actually, however, the
origin-ritual-leader is not always invited to the building of houses and seldom to
the digging of graves.

As for sowing, there have been critical modifications since the introduction
of wet rice cultivation during the Dutch colonial period. Some of the wet-rice
fields can yield crops twice yearly. People differentiate two kinds of wet rice
according to the seasons: that of the dry season (*paré leja*), and that of the rainy
season (*paré baké*). While the households that own wet-rice fields are numerous,
there are many households that do not own wet-rice fields. All households
cultivate dry fields. The time of sowing and harvesting the rainy-season wet rice

\(^{48}\) *Dhéké* is a kind of animal in forests.
is regulated in accord with the ritual cycle for growing dry rice. Growing wet rice in the dry season is less articulated in terms of rituals.

While the name for wet rice fields, *uma rano*, has the marking term *rano* (swamp) added to *uma* (dry fields), the difference between wet rice fields and dry fields is more than the difference indicated literally by the marker *rano*. Although there are no historical data to chart precisely how the introduction of wet rice cultivation has transformed the life of Wologai people, it can be said that the introduction of twice-yearly harvests and the shift from slash-burn agriculture based on multi-crops and husbandry to intensive agriculture based on rice have influenced people's life. The Wologai people themselves recognize that wet-rice cultivation was recently introduced. Their evaluation of this introduction is ambivalent. Although those who do not have wet-rice fields envy those who have, and owners of wet-rice fields are eager to keep them to themselves, Wologai people do not necessarily evaluate the introduction of wet rice fields positively. They do not think that it was good innovation for their total well-being. They often complain that their life became hard after the introduction of wet-rice cultivation, contrasting it with the well-being of life before its introduction. They regard it as part of an irresistible 'historical' transformation, which they think introduced a novel relationship between people and *tana*. A narrative concerning the first rice field in the Wologai area is as follows:

The first wet-rice field in the Wologai area was made by Pius Rasi Wanggé, raja of Landschap Lio, in 1938. A lawsuit (*perkara*) arose between Nanga and people in Detusoko concerning gold items. Nanga was a very influential person. Pius Rasi Wanggé passed judgement that the people in Detusoko must return the gold items Nanga had given to them. They gave him the gold items but they were not as high in quality as those Nanga had given to them. Answering Nanga's claim, Pius said "If so, I will keep these gold items for a while until the people in Detusoko return the proper items to you". Although Nanga waited for long time, his gold items were not returned. So when he met Pius on a road, he asked him resolutely, "Where are my gold items?"49 Feeling ashamed, Pius got angry and said, "I will kick you with my shoe".50 Andrea Sai, husband of Nanga's sister, felt ashamed (*méa éja*) by Pius's insulting deed. Nanga and Sai took action against Pius and won. Finally Nanga got the wet-rice field from Pius as compensation.

49 It is thought to be humiliating to make demands on a road.
50 Shoes often represent foreign power.
The wet-rice fields in the Wologai area are located only along a big river called Lowo Ria (literally 'big/great river'). The river is marginal not in geographic terms but in terms of cultural space. Anyone, even an outsider, can catch fish in the river. The Wologai people state that the river links them with the sea, which is a representation of the outside world. The Wologai people say that area near the river was considered to be a communal area and whoever was related to the Wologai ritual-village could make and own his/her wet-rice fields in that area if the person was able to do so. Many Wologai people regard the fact that the raja Pius Rasi Wanggé made a wet-rice field in Wologai area as an illegitimate use of his power. They describe the incident as that of an outsider with temporal power intruding into the Wologai area. In contrast to Pius Rasi Wanggé, Nanga is regarded, especially by people attached to him, as a person who prevented Pius's intrusion by acquiring the wet-rice field.

Wologai people say that the number of rice fields increased gradually. The range of wet-rice fields now seems to have reached its limit. The owners of wet-rice fields received, for a fee, certificates from the office of the desa. Owners of wet-rice fields, including ritual-leaders, seemed to be happy to get the certificates to establish their right to their own wet-rice fields.

Buying and selling of wet-rice fields does not seem to have occurred up to the end of my field work, November 1984. But it is quite probable that this will happen as the issuing of the certificates has created the conditions for buying and selling fields as personal property. Even though certificates for land other than wet-rice fields were not issued, and ritual-leaders as agents of the ritual-village strongly insist that land may not be bought or sold in the ritual land of Wologai, two parcels of land which are near the river were recently sold to outsiders. In each case, the vendors are influential. They had connections with officials who facilitated the sale of the parcels of land to outsiders, 'people of the sail down there, the mast on the sea' (ata laja ghawa // mangu lau). The process was made possible not because these parcels were the property of the vendors. Rather the sale of the parcels proved that they had been the vendors' rightful property. The ritual-leaders, including the origin-ritual-leader, could not, or did not, prevent or cancel the sale.

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51 Wologai people told me that the labourers (kuli) who constructed wet-rice-fields were Sokoria people. This statement is interesting in two respects. If Sokoria used to have authority over Wologai, it means that the shift of the relation concerning the authority between Sokoria and Wologai might have already happened at that time. Wologai people are aware of the significance of making this statement, which makes Sokoria people subordinate to Wologai people, because the Indonesian word kuli is thought to be a humiliating word.
Wet-rice cultivation and the penetration of the cash economy have introduced a novel relation between Wologai people and their tana.

A VIEW OF TANA AS THE WORLD AND AS A COMMODITY

Relations between Wologai people and tana are diverse.\textsuperscript{52} While in any actual discourse during the course of their life, people’s concerns are usually concentrated on one sphere of tana, sometimes they glide from one to another. Even though there are many subcategories of tana (tana watu, tana lo’o, tana ria, ngebo, ajé, uma and uma rano) and tana encompasses diverse meanings, these diverse subcategories and meanings are synthesised as tana. Wologai people can include any sphere of tana in their discourse on the basis of this synthesis, either consciously or unconsciously. What is important for Wologai people, even for knowledgeable people, is not to elucidate the synthesis but to produce successful discourse on the basis of the synthesis. It is the anthropologist’s work to elucidate the synthesis so as to depict the diversity and dynamics of this discourse.

These relations comprise a spectrum, along which tana transforms itself. At the one end of the spectrum, tana is the container of human beings, that is to say, the world, in which human life exists. It is a subject which either blesses or punishes its object, human beings. It may appear as personified figures, that is to say, various types of spirits. In relation to this subjectified and personified tana, human beings are not only objects to which tana, the subject, acts, but also thing-like. Human beings can be eaten or be carried on its shoulders by tana. Ritual-leaders, especially the origin-ritual-leader, can appeal to this tana by performing ‘rituals of earth and rock’ (ngguu tana watu) for people. Just as nobody dreams about exchanging the world, neither does anybody think about exchanging this tana.

At the other end of the spectrum, tana is, or is ready to be, a property or even a commodity. This tana is never personified nor subjectified. It is merely a thing and an object exchanged by people for cash. The concept of tana as commodity is a new aspect to the word tana. In other words, this kind of relation between people and tana has been newly added to the spectrum of the relations between Wologai people and tana. This concept is correlated with the transformation of other spheres of life. In the newly organised cooperating groups

\textsuperscript{52} The diversity and the importance of the concept of tana can be compared to that of vanua in Fiji. (Toren 1989; Willik-en-Bakker 1990).
for working in a field, especially in a wet-rice field, the length of labour is measured by a clock. The host gives each person a simple and standardised meal and refreshment and five hundred Rupiahs.\textsuperscript{53} Reciprocity is accurately measured. If one does not come to work in another member's field, the latter does not need to come to the former's field next time. The mode of time involved here is different from the one which Evans-Prichard found among the Nuer.

Although I have spoken of time and units of time the Nuer have no expression equivalent to "time" in our language, and they cannot, therefore, as we can, speak of time as though it were something actual, which passes, can be wasted, can be saved, and so forth. I do not think that they ever experience the same feeling of fighting against time or having to coordinate activities with an abstract passage of time, because their points of reference are not controlled by an abstract system, their being no autonomous points of reference to which activities have to conform with precision.\textsuperscript{54}

Some Wologai people have integrated a new mode of time into their works in the fields, which surely transforms the way of experiencing and comprehending the world.

In these newly organised cooperative groups, labour is measured by clock time, money and standardised food, which is not lavish but economical. This sphere of Wologai life has already started to be saturated with so-called commodity fetishism.\textsuperscript{55} Some Wologai people have started to live in a new mode, that is to say, the mode of the market economy, which controls not only time and labour but also land. Just as time becomes a substance which can be divided into units and an 'autonomous point of reference to which activities have to conform with precision', labour has become an entity measurable by the clock, and land has become divisible into parcels which can be commodified. It can be said that Wologai people have currently started to become involved in a historical process which brings forth several kinds of alienation. Taussig (1980), referring

\textsuperscript{53} The refreshment is a glass of coffee and pieces of boiled cassava or cookies. The meal is cooked rice and vegetable soup. In former times, if one wanted to invite people to work in one's field, one had to treat them with a lavish meal by killing a big animal. This was called \textit{risi paka}. Five hundred Rupiahs was the amount of money with which one could buy two packs of the cheapest cigarettes.

\textsuperscript{54} Evans-Prichard 1940: 103. It is interesting to compare Wologai people's adaptation to the recently introduced life style with that of West-Ende-speaking people in the mountainous area in Kecamatan Nangapanda, Kabupaten Ende. In labour exchange among the latter, one must invite people to help and treat them to a lavish meal. They never use clock time. While they are really fond of wearing a watch as a fashionable ornament, they never adjust it or mind whether or not it works.

to Polanyi, observes that this process transforms the mode of operating and comprehending the world:

Karl Polanyi berated the market mentality and the market way of seeing the world in his concept of the commodity fiction. It is a fiction, he states, that land and labour are things produced for sale. "Labour is only another name for a human activity that goes with life itself," and "land is only another name for nature, which is not produced by man". Yet in a market organized society this fiction becomes reality, and the system of names that Polanyi draws upon loses its meaning. In its market form society engenders this fictional reality, and it is with these abstractions or symbols that we are forced to operate and comprehend the world.\textsuperscript{56}

In relation to the ontological concept of \textit{tana}, people are united into a group labelled human beings. In relation to parcels of land for sale or certificated wet-rice fields people can be divided into individuals.

Along the spectrum between these two ends, that is to say, between one in which \textit{tana} (world) is a personified, subjectified, unmeasurable and continuous whole, and the other in which \textit{tana} (parcel of land) is becoming a piece and a commodity, other relations of people and \textit{tana} are deployed.

Similar to a wet-rice field, a dry field (\textit{uma}), in which people are currently working, is a parcel of land with a clear boundary and is not disturbed by anybody else. A small-scale \textit{ngebo} is close to a household property, although the owner only has usufruct. The recent introduction of cash crops has reinforced the property-like characteristic of small-scale \textit{ngebo}. The difference between a small-scale \textit{ngebo} and a wet-rice field is that a small-scale \textit{ngebo} is not considered to be either alienable or a commodity. A \textit{ngebo}, like a woman, can normatively be given to wife-taking people by wife-giving people in exchange for valuables which are the same as bridewealth.\textsuperscript{57} The \textit{ngebo} exchanged in this way is also called 'land of women's cloth and blouse, a women's cloth that never tears, a blouse that is never worn' (\textit{tana lawo lambu, lawo iwa rewa beta // lambu iwa rewa mou}). Just as a woman can be 'the head is cut off, the tail is cut apart' (\textit{kolo wuu, éko beta}) and become free from the ritual affiliations with the wife-giving people, so can a \textit{ngebo} be 'the head is cut off, the tail is cut apart' (\textit{ulu wuu // éko beta}) and be detached from its former ritual affiliation. Nowadays people do not seem to exchange \textit{ngebo} in this way. However, at least normatively it is possible

\textsuperscript{56} Polanyi 1957:72, Taussig 1980:9.

\textsuperscript{57} See chapter 7.
to exchange a *ngebo* in a way similar to the one for the exchange of a woman. A *ngebo* is associated with a woman metaphorically as well as metonymically. It is alienable or inalienable to the extent that a woman is in a normative marriage type, 'the head is cut off, the tail is cut apart' (*kolo wuu // éko beta*). A *ngebo* is sometimes called after an ancestor’s name, which gives people a reference point for their identity. The ancestors attributed to *ngebo* are often depicted in narratives as influential leaders of *sa’o*, unbounded units of marital exchange.

*Tana* (land) attributed to an ancient ancestor is said to have been given for help in a war, especially for loss of life in a war (*tana toko // watu tuka*) or for an war chant (*tana weli kadha*). This kind of *tana* (land) is usually a hill (*wolo*) with its 'head' and 'tail' as boundary points. What is at stake in this kind of *tana* are prerogatives to the making-offering-ritual (*ituu tau*). This kind of *tana* can be a reference point of identity, in a similar way as the name of an ancestor can. These ritual prerogatives established in ancient times are considered to be inalienable. The relation between this kind of *tana* and people is mediated by a ritual-leader who is supposed to be the current successor of the ancestor whose name is attributed to it. An ancestor’s name attributed to this kind of *tana* can give people, especially ritual-leaders, a reference point for identity. This may become an issue for claiming superiority over other people within Wologai. The ritual prerogatives over this kind of *tana* are attributed to a ritual-house (*sa’o nggua*) or to a subsidiary-ritual-house (*sa’o nai paré*).

Similar to this kind of *tana*, Great Land and Small Land are considered to be inalienable. However, in contrast, they do not give a reference point for identity in order to claim one’s superiority over others within the ritual-village. The relationship between the land and people is mediated by certain ritual-leaders, especially the origin-ritual-leader. The contrast in rituals and discourse between the Great Land and the Small Land clarifies the people’s basic rationale: that only succession without violence can link people to primordial times and can be a source of power and well-being. People can be related to *tana* through many kinds of village-rituals, which are designated as the ‘rituals of the world’ (*nggua tana watu*), literally meaning rituals of earth and rock). The most important ritual relation to *tana* is established by the cutting-ritual performed by the origin-ritual-leader. These rituals are considered to produce unity within the ritual-village, to link it to primordial times and express the centrality of Wologai in the world. This kind of *tana* is related to the ritual-village (*nuu*) as a whole.

Not only ritually but also in discourse, *tana* gives people frameworks for their differentiation as well as identification and for their claims of superiority
over others in the world: *kita se tana*, 'we, of the same land (approximately Flores Island)' versus *tana laja ghawa mangu lau*, people at the 'head' in the direction of sunrise (*ghéta*) versus people at the 'tail' in the direction of sunset (*ghalé*), people at the 'head' in the direction to the north coast (*ghélê*) versus people at 'tail' in the direction to the south coast (*ghawa*), we at the 'navel' versus others at the periphery.

The foregoing exploration of the relationship between *tana* and people shows that to the Wologai people *tana* is not only similar to but is also different from *nua* (ritual-village) and *sa'o* (house) in terms of its relationship to people. *Tana* (land, earth, and the world), *nua* (ritual-village) and *sa'o* (house) are similar to each other in that they are containers of people and their life and in that they may be animated or personified. However, *tana* is different from *nua* (ritual-village) and *sa'o* (house) in that people assimilate themselves to *nua* and *sa'o*, and *nua* and *sa'o* become a collective self, while *tana* never becomes a collective self at any point of the spectrum of meanings that the concept of *tana* encompasses. At one end *tana* is the other subject controlling 'us, human being' and on the other end it is only a thing.

From the perspective of the ritual-village, *tana* as the other subject controlling human beings is the most significant, while *tana* as commodity is the least significant. This spectrum is arranged along an axis in relation to alienability, past time and ritual importance. *Tana* as the source and sustainer of human life is beyond alienability, is related to primordial time and is ritually most important. *Tana* as commodity, such as wet-rice fields and parcels of land for sale, is alienable, is only linked to recent times and is ritually unimportant. This new category is a recent innovation. From the viewpoint of Wologai philosophy of human existence, since it is added just at the periphery of the spectrum, the whole spectrum of *tana* remains coherent. However, this innovation has transformed lived-in experiences in everyday life, which might influence Wologai philosophy.
Chapter 5

NARRATING THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE WORLD

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores Wologai people's narratives about the transformations of the world. Such narratives show what they think happened in the past and how they explain the state of the present world, not only ontologically but also sociopolitically. While those narratives are diverse and even mutually incompatible, they share themes and modalities that relate to people's socio-political and epistemological intentions.

LOCATING THE WOLOGAI NARRATIVES ANTHROPOLOGICALLY

Wologai narratives about the past form a distinct group of the general category of stories called nuunangé or nungunangé (story).¹ Wologai people refer to this subcategory as 'stories of the ancestors' (nuunangé embu mamo) or 'stories of procreation and descent' (nuunangé ngée wau'u), or refer to each story of this subcategory by its main protagonist's name. They are stories which the speaker asserts as 'true' (dema).² Some of these also relate to tana watu (the earth-stone or the world) and are called 'stories of tana watu'. The stories dealt with in this chapter are concerned with transformations of the world, the 'natural' and 'social' world. The process of this transformation is summarised by West Lionese words ngée wau'u (to originate) and ngée (to grow, to develop, to generate, to move and so on). It could be said that these narratives about the past are 'world histories' by Wologai people. In the following section, I elucidate the relevance of these Wologai narratives as a possible form of 'world history'.

The word 'history' is used in various ways in the English-speaking world depending on the context and the author. In contrast with the word 'anthropology', 'history' has been used in everyday life and has been treated as an indispensable

¹ The verbs of the West-Lionese language do not conjugate like in those in other languages of central Flores. Adjectives, adverbs and contexts indicate the past tense. According to folk etymology, nungunangé means to 'link up', since nungu means to link.

² In Roti, historical narratives are also referred to as 'true tales' (tutui teeteek). It is, however, a category distinct from 'poems or chants' (bini) which are concerned to relate a special repertoire of mythological narratives (Fox 1979b: 15).
subject of general or middle education in modern educational institutions. According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, history is:

1 (a) study of past events, esp. the political, social and economic development of a country, a continent or the world: (b) this as a subject at school or university: 2 past events, esp. when considered as a whole:
3 systematic description of past events: 4 series of past events or experiences connected with an object, a person or a place: 5 fact, event, etc. that is no longer relevant or important.³

In addition to these meanings, the word history also means 'a past worthy of record or out of the ordinary'.⁴ Just as the fifth meaning is irrelevant to significant history in the English-speaking world, so it is to Wologai narratives about the past transformation of the world. These narratives are as significant to Wologai people as 'history' is to people in the English-speaking world. These Wologai narratives are systematic descriptions of the past development of the world (tana), which were connected with some objects, people or places, which are worthy of knowing and telling. Thus these Wologai narratives qualify as histories according to the definition in the English-speaking world except that they are neither taught at school or university, nor have ever been written by the Wologai.

Against these everyday connotations, 'history' is an institutionalised area of knowledge in the English-speaking world. While many works on specific topics in this area can be understood without examining what history is, this issue has been analysed by philosophers or philosophically oriented historians. Carr, for example, makes the following observations about what history is, negating positivistic perceptions of history to a considerable extent.

History ... is a process of selection in terms of historical significance. To borrow Talcott Parson's phrase once more, history is 'a selective system' not only of cognitive, but of causal, orientations to reality. Just as from the infinite ocean of facts the historian selects those which are significant for his purpose, so from the multiplicity of sequences of cause and effect he extracts those, and only those, which are historically significant; and the standard of historical significance is his ability to fit them into his pattern of rational explanation and interpretation. Other sequences of cause and effect have to be rejected as accidental, not

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because the relation between cause and effect is different, but because
the sequence itself is irrelevant (1964: 105).5

While Carr believes that rationality shapes the historical selection of facts, White
regards history as similar to literature, in which rationality plays a less important
role. According to him, historical narratives are:

verbal fictions, the contents of which are as much invented as found and
the forms of which have more in common with their counterparts in
literature than they have with those in the social sciences (1978: 82).

History's lack of objectivity is exemplified by differing conceptions of the same
sets of events in various historical narratives. White writes:

The consistent elaboration of a number of equally comprehensive and
plausible, yet apparently mutually exclusive, conceptions of the same
sets of events was enough to undermine confidence in history’s claim to

As far as scholarly history is concerned, it is assumed that these conceptions are
not contradictory to written or material 'evidence' pinned to chronological time if
they are worthy of the name 'history'. This assumption is common to 'historians',
although the extent to which these kinds of evidence are valued differs much
between positivistic historians and those who follow the methodology of Annales
school.6 As Ginzburg observes, 'evidence' is a crucial word for both historians
and judges. History and law have been closely related in Europe since the
beginning of the literary genre 'history' or 'historia' in ancient Greece (Ginsburg
1991). Contemporary scholarship of history at least in European languages,
including English, is embedded in a specific tradition which embraces the
concept of 'evidence' based on a specific conceptualisation of time and space.7

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5 His postulation of history is tautological or obscure in several respects. Although he posits that history is a
process, a system, and also an outcome of the selection of facts, he does not explicate the relation between
them. According to his postulation, as a selective system history determines what is of historical
significance, while as a process and an outcome of selection, on the contrary, history is formed according to
a standard of historical significance. He seems to consider that rationality gives grounds for historical
significance. Since he does not clarify 'what rationality is', his postulation remains obscure.

6 The Annales school is associated with the journal, Annales d'histoire économique et sociale, started by
Marc Bloch and Lucian Febvre in 1929. Historians of this school reject the so-called histoire événementielle,
putting less emphasis an evidence but more on deeply significant historical phenomena. The Annales school
gives priority to understanding over judgement (Ginzburg 1991: 82; Biersack 1991: 2).

7 While this tradition has influenced historical scholarship in the non-Western world, this issue is too vast for
me to deal with.
My point here is that Western historical scholarship is also a specific conceptualisation which is common to other institutions in the Western world such as the juridical institution.

As recent anthropological works indicate, spacio-temporal schemes are culturally specific. Some scholars try to find in non-literate cultures alternative frameworks to the spacio-temporal scheme in the Western scholarly tradition for the pegging of past events. One of those perspectives is that named places or landscape play this alternative role in non-literate cultures. The other alternative framework often proposed relates to genealogy. However, in Wologai narratives about the past, especially those dealt with in this chapter, neither geographical places nor genealogies are used as a framework for people to order historical events. On the contrary, among Wologai, a certain sense of space and time is (re)created in telling events in the past. This specific sense can be learnt by exploring the Wologai narratives of the past development of the world.

While the scholarly histories in the English-speaking world presume a spacio-temporal framework as indispensable and universal, the Wologai narratives take for granted different internal modalities. It is one of the aims of this chapter to elucidate these modalities.

Many scholars maintain that historiography is culturally specific even if producing narratives of the past is a human universal. Parmentier, for example, writes that history is:

a universal cultural category differently manifest in societies, in which the relationship between past, present and future states of a society is

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8 See Basso 1984, 1988; Cruikshank 1981, 1988, 1989, 1990; Jorgensen 1985, 1990; Parmentier 1987; Rosaldo 1980a, 1980b. While for convenience sake I use the word 'culture', it does not mean a static system but a 'discourse community'.


10 Bohannan 1952; Evans-Pritchard 1939, 1940; Fox 1971a, 1979b; Sahlins 1981, 1983, 1985. Fox points out that genealogies are inherently selective and the selectivity is related to structures of societies. He observes that 'in segmentary societies like the Nuer and Tiv, there appears to be a relatively constant rate of information loss in the form of ancestral names among all segments of the society. ... In status societies, like the Rotinese, genealogical information loss is not constant throughout the entire society. Many commoners evidence acute 'genealogical amnesia' (Fox 1971a: 69-70). I think, however, that it is more appropriate to regard actual genealogies as a creation of knowledge about the past than to deal with them as a result of information loss in order to explore the significance of people's narrative about the past for their own sake. Sahlins deals with the issue of genealogy as that of historical consciousness rather than that of temporal framework (Sahlins 1983: 524).
expressed by signs in various media which are organised by locally valorised schemes of classification (1987: 4-5).

Dening, holding a similar stance,\textsuperscript{11} maintains that even based on the same objects, people produce culturally specific historiography.

[T]he relics of the past are always cargo to the present. Things that cross cultural boundaries lose the meaning encapsulated in them and are reconstituted in meaning by the cultures that receive them (1991: 354).

Thus 'histories' told by Wologai are specific to Wologai. On the one hand Wologai narratives about the past reveal a type of historicism. Many Wologai are often strongly conscious of the past and maintain that the present situation results from events in the past. They have a sense of predestination, feeling that since primordial time the degree of alienation from the state of origin has increased and will become even more in the future.\textsuperscript{12} On the other hand Wologai often see structural similarity between different historical transformations of the world. Wologai histories dealt with in this chapter are not only impregnated with their historicism but also relate to certain structuring principles, that is, internal modalities.

These narratives represent Wologai consciousness of the relationship between what has already happened and what is happening at present, that is, a form of historical consciousness.\textsuperscript{13} Not all Wologai have the same degree of historical consciousness. One's historical consciousness may change contextually. As is often indicated, histories are related to political distinctions,\textsuperscript{14} which result in an uneven distribution of history especially in a non-literate society. It should be recognised that there are two issues involved in the uneven distribution of

\textsuperscript{11} Dening writes: 'History is a human universal. Knowledge of the past is expressed by all human beings according to their different cultural and social systems' (1991: 348-349).

\textsuperscript{12} The word 'historicism' has been principally used in English in two different ways (Gould and Kolb eds. 1964: 305). The one 'can be defined as the attempt to see all the categories of social life and of the experience of the individual as belonging essentially to the land of history which penetrates, whether we will it or not, into all acts' (Gould and Kolb eds. 1964: 305). By contrast, according to Popper, 'historicism implies the attempt to subsume all the social sciences under history and to take as their principal object the prediction of the future through the assertion of universal historical laws. Ultimately, in this sense, historicism is a theory of social predestination' (Gould and Kolb eds. 1964: 305). Carr decides to avoid using the word 'historicism' because of the confusion brought forth by Popper's widely read books: The Open society and Its Enemies and The Poverty of Historicism (Carr 1964: 91). It can be said that among Wologai these two kinds of historicism coexist.

\textsuperscript{13} See Dening 1988: 33.

\textsuperscript{14} Feeley-Harnik, for example, writes that 'history is not evenly distributed because to have it is a sign of politico-religious power and authority' (1978: 402, cited in Sahlins 1983: 524).
history in a society. One relates to historical consciousness, and the other to the
relations between the historical protagonists and the living people. In a status
society, the history of a man of power and authority not only gives reference
points for commoners' personal histories but also stands for the history of the
society or the world, which thus manifests itself as the history of heroes. In most
cases, people of a high rank also have a stronger sense of historical consciousness
and a closer connection to historical protagonists than those of lower rank.\(^{15}\)

While the histories dealt with in this chapter are the histories of the world or
the society by Wologai, they do not reveal a form of heroic history. Except for
those of Anakalo and the sliding-offspring, they are histories of usurpers, in
which the speaker's concern is his/her rivals' close link to the usurpers. Since
Wologai do not construct a status society in a sociological sense, the distribution
of historical consciousness is not as structured among Wologai as in a status
society. Anybody may have a strong historical consciousness and this may be
enhanced in certain contexts. The more ambitious one is, politically and/or
intellectually, the stronger one's historical consciousness may be. While Hill and
Turner postulate historical consciousness as social consciousness, it seems to me
historical consciousness also involves philosophical consciousness. Among
Wologai, historical consciousness is part of consciousness of the world, the
'natural' as well as 'social' world.

While the Wologai narratives about the past transformation of the world deal
with 'historical' change, how they should be positioned vis-à-vis a perspective of
historical anthropology? In anthropology, 'historical' inquiries have received
various evaluations.\(^{16}\) Until recently, at least before the 1970s, histories or
diachronic changes were peripheral topics in 'traditional' anthropological studies.
They had their own problems with respect to history. They often presented us
with a thin chapter on "historical background" at the beginning and an inadequate

\(^{15}\) In some societies, such as Samoa, ancient Japan and some ritual-villages in the Endenese-speaking area in
Flores, however, while people of the highest rank have the closest link to the historical protagonists and may
have a strong historical consciousness, those who articulate it in narratives are not in the highest rank
(Duranti 1981; Yamamoto 1985).

\(^{16}\) As generally postulated, if Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown's early works can be regarded as marking
the beginning of anthropology, as a distinct discipline, it established itself by rejecting historical inquiries
and by distinguishing itself from its predecessor, cultural evolutionism, whose theoretical as well as
methodological framework was based on that of European history or world history from a European point of
view. While in British anthropology the general tendency of avoiding historical inquiries started in the
1920s, in American anthropology they played a significant role in the study of the history of indigenous
cultures. In 1950 Evans-Pritchard defended 'history' against its general rejection by anthropologists, writing
that 'what social anthropologists have in fact chiefly been doing is to write cross-sections of history,
integrative descriptive accounts ... at a moment of time' (1950: 122).
chapter on "social change" at the end (Ortner 1984: 143). Since the 1970s, political economy or world-system theory has focused on 'historical' changes as a main topic of its investigations. This approach has taken its inspiration primarily from world-system and dependency theory in political sociology, and concentrates on the reactions of local units to the global system, questioning the assumption pervasive in anthropology based on Durkheimian and Parsonian models which depict local units as autonomous, self-contained, static and self-reproductive (Wallerstein 1976; Gunter Frank 1967; Ortner 1984: 141; Biersack 1991: 11).

There can be many criticisms of perspectives based on world-system theory.\textsuperscript{17} In relation to this chapter I focus my argument on an epistemological point. The first point is what 'world' means in world-system theory. This 'world' is taken for granted not only by anthropologists agreeing with world-system theory but also by those who argue against it. This 'world' means the earth with all the countries and peoples as indicated by the 'world'-map,\textsuperscript{18} and is roughly divided into two sub-categories, Western, saturated by capitalism, and non-Western. Marcus and Fischer maintain that world-system theory places ethnographical studies into 'world'-'historical' framework of political economy. By doing this it can elucidate people's 'historical' consciousness in response to 'world-history' (Marcus and Fischer 1986).\textsuperscript{19} These concepts, 'world', 'history' and 'world-history' are only specific to Western scholarly traditions. Epistemologically my objection is mainly that in spite of being specific, world-system theory regards these concepts as universal. Since the aim of this chapter is to elucidate a 'world-history' based on a world view, historicity and historical consciousness specific to Wologai people, an analysis from the viewpoint of world-system theory would be irrelevant here.

By arguing that these Wologai narratives are a possible form of world history, I am not insisting on a cultural relativism of history which leads us to a cultural apartheid. My point is that the implication these Wologai narratives offer should be considered on their own.

\textsuperscript{17} See Ortner 1984.

\textsuperscript{18} This perspective is apparent in Kennedy's following statement about Roworeke (Rhowohéke) population in the East-Ende-speaking area: 'Perhaps only five percent know the general arrangement of Flores. ... Perhaps only one percent know very much about the arrangement of Indonesia, geographically. ... Practically nothing is known of world geography. They know at least the names of Japan, Holland, the United States, Australia, China, India was a bit beyond their ken, and they knew nothing of other countries' (1955: 141).

\textsuperscript{19} See also Marcus 1988.
Vansina proposes a methodology based on his study of African oral traditions in order to deal with the narratives of the past of an illiterate society (1965, 1985). Vansina argues that oral traditions can be used, like written documents, as a source of 'historical' materials in order to reconstruct the past of that non-literate society. However, with this perspective, those narratives in this chapter would offer almost nothing and their most important implication would be missed. While Vansina criticised structural studies of oral traditions for reducing them only to the timeless present, he was criticised for ignoring the structural dimension of oral traditions.

In order to reconcile these kinds of polaristic arguments, some anthropologists propose to distinguish the narratives of the past into 'myth' and 'history'. This distinction has been maintained more or less in relation to experience and events. Turner, for example, defines this distinction as follows:

Myth is an attempt to formulate the essential properties of social experience in terms of a series of "generic events," at a level transcending any particular context of historical relations or events; history, by contrast, is concerned precisely with the level of particular relations among particular events (1988: 252).

Hill proposes an analytical distinction according to the different weightings given to the relations between structure and agency. Mythic consciousness gives priority to structure and historical consciousness to agency and social action (Hill 1988: 6). The histories dealt with in this chapter can be divided into two categories: origin stories and others. Neither Turner's nor Hill's distinction is relevant to the distinction between these two categories to any great extent. Experiences, agency, and/or actions are not relevant to distinguishing between the two categories of Wologai histories. For Wologai, stories worthy of telling as stories of the transformations of the world seem to be detached from personal experiences. Wologai people seem to suspend the historical evaluation of personal experiences or events which have a living witness. Wologai people do not tell the narratives of the past transformation of the world on the basis of their immediate experiences of events but rather on the basis of other discourse they heard and their speculation.

Rosaldo maintains: 'Doing oral history involves telling stories about stories people tell about themselves. Method in this discipline should therefore attend to 'our' stories, 'their' stories, and the connections between them' (1989a: 89). In this section I have examined several principles of 'our' stories concerning history. The
aim of this chapter is to elucidate the internal modalities of the Wologai histories ('their' stories) so that we can learn the implication that they offer.

THE WOLOGAI WAY OF TELLING HISTORIES

The various histories that Wologai people tell are not placed in a chronological sequence. On the contrary, the names of the historical characters concerned might indicate contemporaneity among some of the narratives. Furthermore, nobody recites the narratives of past events chronologically, that is, they do not begin with primordial time and progress to the present time. In other words, people never try to depict the whole past within a temporal perspective, although they do seem to comply roughly with the temporal order of the main 'historical' characters. It is generally agreed, for example, that Anakalo, the sliding-offspring (*ana nggoro*), Séko Léngo and Giu are important characters in the past, and that the 'historical' events concerning each of them occurred in this order. However, it is not important for people to place these narratives in a linear sequence.20

There are neither institutionalised nor orthodox versions of the histories among Wologai people. All the narratives seem to be secretive and elusive, not only for me but also for Wologai people. They share historical themes and the modes of the historiography. People seek hidden 'true' histories by asking the knowledgeable elders who have affection for them, by speculating about historical information, and through revelatory dreams. They do so in order to attest to their own legitimacy at various social levels. They believe that knowing the 'true' histories makes them powerful.21 On the one hand, they never stop telling and asking histories in intimate circles, which are often contextually formed. On the other hand, their ethic makes them eschew telling histories in public which might upset the present asymmetric social differentiation represented in the structure of the ritual-village, since they think that they must accept it. This ethic is expressed in the following esoteric poetic form:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{woga moka} & \text{excavate caterpillars} \\
\text{koë kati} & \text{dig earthworms} \\
\text{ta'ifaka lupa} & \text{excrement of earthworm covers} \\
\text{menu kit tembu} & \text{sharp sprouts of }\text{k}i\text{t}\text{ grow}
\end{array}
\]

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20 While Wologai people are not concerned about the past as a sequence of events, some peoples in eastern Indonesia are. Thus Fox and McWilliam can corroborate events told in a Rotinese and Atoin Meto oral history respectively by examining the relevant Dutch records (Fox 1979, McWilliam 1989).

21 The true histories are regarded as the thematic *ola mbé'o*, mystically powerful knowledge with specific themes. See chapter 8.
garé ma‘e mbé‘o  do not know (be clever with) the speech
kéko ma‘e téi  do not find the language
temu si bhisi no‘o koba wiwi  stop making noise at the front of mouth

 temu si bhesa no‘o ngalu  stop making noise at the tongue’s tip
 lema
 dowa rewa ghawa soko éo
 saga boko
 sawé dowa ghawa kii éo
 deré méra
 wiwi se bega gewo
 lema setoko lasé
 dowa rewa no‘o aë hoga 22

 sawé rewa no‘o aë ndoë

People also refrain from telling the histories in public because of the rationale that others can acquire power if they know the histories, while if kept secret, the histories can make only their holder powerful.

Although this rationale prevents people from establishing authorised accounts, it also gives them the impetus to continue producing various versions of histories in intimate and contextual circles dealing with the same themes, using the same modes of historiography and having the same philosophy. It also serves to keep these histories continuously circulating among the Wologai people and beyond.

ORIGIN STORIES

ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

Wologai people in general are interested in the origin of the world. For them, the time of genesis is that of Anakalo, the first human being(s) in the world, who feature in many stories as the main character(s). 24 A brief well-known description of the genesis is as follows:

22 While the word hoga is not used in ordinary speech in Wologai, in some regions such as Moni in the Lio-speaking area, hoga is in everyday use, meaning ‘urinate’ and ‘urine’.

23 According to a knowledgeable man, this verse implies that we should not probe into, or talk about, what has already happened.

24 Anakalo literally means ‘orphan’. This word neither specifies gender nor number.

In the beginning, there was no land at all. But only sea everywhere. The only dry land was on Mt Lépémbusu. The sky was an elbow high/the land was a span wide. There was a liana reaching the sky. Anakalo lived there. No other human being lived. And then Anakalo severed the vine of the liana. The sky flew high up, the sea withdrew far.

Catholic missionaries in the area in recent times do not seem eager to negate the Anakalo genesis or to impose the Catholic version of genesis. During my fieldwork, a German priest was stationed at the church at Detusoko, the capital of the Detusoko subregency. He was interested in teaching the Catholic ethic rather than the Catholic cosmogony. The catechism in Lionese accepts the Lionese cosmogony to a considerable extent (Ende Bishopric 1977).

To’o sai nuwa du’a, sai tana la’ë mii, watu la’ë ndéna, sai ata mangu lau la’ë ra’i, laja ghawa la’ë së’a, tau péra pati agama leka nusa kita, embumamo kita latu dowa no’o ola piki, soli no’o ola nara, latu dowa no’o ola mbahbo-garé eo gena leka Du’a ghéta lulu-wula, Ngga’ë ghalé wena tana. Kai éo latu dowai kai liru la’ë léra, mesi la’ë deso. No’o nungu-nangé ebé suka-sia dowa aénaru aénaru éo gena leka manusia, tana watu, wula-dala no’o is aé kai léi sawé. Ebé nungu-nangé leka Anakalo éo paté koba léké, wé’i liru ngéé da ghéta no’o mesi deso da lau(p.3)....Leka Sura Santo ina lau di ngeni nungu-nangé-nungu-nangé, ngéré kita leka ina nungu-nangé Anakalo(p.5).

Since primordial times, since the time the soil was not yet sweet and the stones were not yet flat, since the time the vast overseas had not yet come and the sail abroad had not yet come in order to teach religion on our island, our ancestors already had an idea as well as a thought and already had words concerning Du’a being high surrounding the moon, Ngga’ë down below the earth. He/she was already (here) since the time when the sky had not flown away yet and the sea had not withdrawn yet. Telling stories, they clarified completely meanings concerning human beings, the earth-stones, the moon-stars. They talked about Anakalo who severed the liana vine and then the sky moved away upwards and the sea withdrew downwards ... The Bible also contains the stories just like our Anakalo stories.

Many West-Lio people are able to compose songs. In the 1960s or in the 1970s a song titled Anakalo was composed and it is still popular in Wologai.
ndéo roo léé ndéo roo léé
ndéo sai nebu toa léé
let us sing, let us sing
sing the time of severing the
banyan tree
ndéo roo léé ndéo roo léé
ndéo sai nebu paté léké
sing the time of cutting the liana
nebu liru ghéta kai nggebhé
when the sky was hanging over
de ghaa
the earth
kami soo dhuu so’o duga
if we pounded, the pestle hit the
daga
sky and made noise
walo àé mesi so’o timbi wiwi
and also the sea was so close and
full
kami so’o mbana palé nggili
if we walked, we could not but go
around one place
ola kaa kami
what we ate were
menga watu mbani
only black shiny stones
tau pa’u keku
mixed with
no’o kaju mewu
decayed wood
ola énggé bhango
we were covered and tied
no’o taé tanggo
with bark cloth
tau nggubhu tégé
covering our bodies and
[Anakalo] found a big bush of
with banyan bark
ola kaa kami
vines
menga watu mbani
they were the vines of sweet
tau pa’u keku
potatoes
no’o kaju mewu
he/she picked the leaves to eat
ola énggé bhango
them
no’o taé tanggo
then he/she found the tubers under
tau nggubhu tégé
the earth
wula rua telu si la’é kai
it was not before two or three
langga
months passed,
koba lulu dowa tana gowu
that the vines were all rolled up
bhaka
and the earth was dug
ulé agé apa kai ngéré nna
throughout
deki nddu gaé sawé tiko
what kind of animals did this?
tana
and he/she traced and searched
nduu nduu diu leka koba
everywhere
léké
traced and traced until he/she
oko no’o la’é kai nai doo léé
found at the vine of liana
kai nara noné tau ngéré
the track and the footprints it
emba
made when climbing up
deki wiki taka tau ngéré teka
he/she considered and thought
kai nara noné tau ngéré
what to do
emba
teka déé dega doo mesé no’o
then took an axe and cut into the
leja
liana
léké ghéa beru tau kedhi
after cutting and beating all day
no’o beta
long
deki liru beru léra de ghéta
then the liana was severed and cut
béwa
apart
deki tél liru kai so’o lera de
then the sky flew high up
ghéta
and also the sea flowed away
soli tana watu so'o waa se'a
mësa pau kami lée èo mera
pau tendu ghëa
and also the world became flat
we who lived at that place became
truly alone

In this genesis, Anakalo (Orphan) is often supposed to be a sister-brother pair (se weta se nara). In this song, the word 'Anakalo' refers to a person of unspecified sex and is interchangeable with 'we' or human beings in general, as the last lines show.

Versions of the Anakalo story fall into two types. According to the first, Anakalo lived by eating tana (soil or earth) and watu (stones). According to the second, Anakalo grew some crops and severed the liana to prevent a harmful animal using it to come from the sky to eat these crops. In the song Anakalo, both types are combined. Anakalo's motivation for severing the liana is easily understood in the second type, by comparing Anakalo's experience to people's everyday experience. But the motif of 'eating soil and stones' is more appropriate for an existentially different state of the primordial world expressed as 'the sky was an elbow high, the earth was a span wide'. While in some versions Anakalo severed the liana with a bamboo knife used for cutting an umbilical cord, this motif is also appropriate for the existentially different state of the primordial world, which is beyond everyday experience.

Many people point out that parallel relations between the cosmological change and birth are depicted in the Anakalo genesis. The motif of 'cutting the liana with a bamboo knife' above all expresses these parallel relations. People recognise the parallel between the birth process of a human being and the growing process of a vine. The same word kala is used for both: ana kala ('a baby is coming out of the birth canal') and koba kala ('a vine grows ahead'). Knowledgeable people paraphrase the cosmological change caused by severing the liana as ngai sia (ngai literally means breath or feeling; sia means daytime or open place). The phrase ngai sia means 'birth' and 'state of knowing well'. So this paraphrase evokes multiple images and meanings: bodily experience concerning brightness and spaciousness, an image of birth and an image of the experience of knowing.

25 Yamaguchi, who did his field work in the mid 70's, reported another type of Anakalo story (1983, 1989). According to him, Anakalo came from overseas. Yamaguchi did not specify the region where he was told this version. I have never been told this type of Anakalo story.

26 Another possible subject for kala is nipa, 'snake'. Nipa kala means 'a snake crawls ahead'. Kala also refers to a specific kind of vine plant.

27 Many myths explain the origin of the world as intercourse between Mother Earth and Father Sky. The associated images of childbirth, of the origin of the world, and of daylight among the Wologai people are more similar to those of some modern abstract art than to the concrete images that the myths of Mother Earth
The mystery of the birth of the world, which is beyond people's everyday experience, and that of the birth of a human being, which is an everyday experience, reflect each other. In both cases the state of being changes instantaneously by cutting the cord - the vine or the umbilical cord. People regard the ritual-houses as women's body and their dim inside as like that inside a womb. The ritual-houses (sa'o nggua) may be understood as an institutionalised device by which people can experience bodily, as well as speculatively, the state before the 'cosmological' or 'biological' birth, both of which are beyond people's everyday experience.

There is no formal or institutionalised occasion for relating the Anakalo genesis. What knowledgeable people do concerning the Anakalo genesis is to elaborate on the details of the story in order to understand the origin of the world and the existence of human beings.

**OTHER ORIGIN STORIES**

The protagonists of other origin stories are also Anakalo in most cases. These stories are usually brief.

Wologai people consider, if they consider the matter at all, that originally human beings did not have language. The following story, for example, informs us how language came to Anakalo, namely to human beings.

In the beginning of the world, Anakalo was (were) the only human being(s). Anakalo lived on Mt Lépémbusu. Anakalo did not know how to speak because Anakalo did not have a mouth. Anakalo ate food through the armpit. One day Anakalo made a fire. The fire made the bamboo explode, which made Anakalo laugh, which made the mouth open.

Another version of the origin of language attributes a different cause to Anakalo's laugh: without a mouth Anakalo tried to blow the fire so desperately that Anakalo's face became funny, which caused laughing. In this version, Anakalo is presumed to be a sister-brother pair. In either version, a mouth is regarded as an opening on a continuous surface.

The origin of sexual intercourse and procreation is depicted as follows:

_and Father Sky present. The Kei people also conceive of the associated images of childbirth, of the origin of the island, and of daylight in an abstract way, but yet in a different mode. They describe the Mother-Earth as the spouse of the god (Barraud 1990b: 218-221, 229)._

_28 See chapter 2._
In the beginning of the world, Anakalo were the only human beings. Anakalo lived on Mt Lépémbusu. Anakalo, a sister-brother pair, did not know how to have sexual intercourse, so no procreation occurred. But one day they saw grasshoppers copulating in a séko bush. Seeing this they came to know how to have sexual intercourse and then human beings started to procreate.

In another version Anakalo saw flies copulating. That Anakalo was a sister-brother pair is emphasised in the origin story of sexual intercourse, while it is not necessarily mentioned in other origin stories. People suggest that the origin of procreation was an incestuous relation between sister and brother. The parallel phrase, poi nosi // nombi péra (the poi-grasshopper taught, the nombi-grasshopper showed), often used in poetic speech, refers to primordial time of Anakalo. Most adults seem to know a version of these stories.

It is widely known that people did not know how to give birth properly at the time of Anakalo. The origin of the present form of normal birth, death and reproduction is recounted as follows:

At the time of Anakalo, a baby was born by breaking through its mother’s tummy. Because a baby got its life but the mother lost hers, human beings did not increase in number. One day Kondé came from Kélimutu, riding on a dog to Lépémbusu and crossing the primeval water. Kondé demonstrated how to give birth: a mother must sit on a gana (split bamboo) and the umbilical cord must be cut with a woli (bamboo knife) and so on. Since then mothers have been able to live after giving birth to a baby. Birth and death and reproduction (ngéé) in their present form started.

Death through childbirth is regarded as premature death (mata ribo). Kondé is a deity who controls death and the afterworld and who stands guard at Mt Kélimutu, which is the destination of the dead. It is said that Kondé does not accept those who died young. Dogs are appropriate to slaughter for the vigil at the time of death or for occasions related to a war and a conflict.

The Wologai people explain the origin of agriculture with two types of stories. One is about the origin of the separation from the feeding source. The other is the origin of crops. To the best of my knowledge the former is specific to the Wologai people. The latter is a so-called Hainuwetele-type myth and is widely

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29 Séko is kacang kecipir in Indonesia. Séko is regarded as one of the most commonplace plants found around dwellings.

30 A couplet poi nosi // nombi péra represents primordial time, since it implies this incident.
found throughout central Flores.\textsuperscript{31} Both are categorised as \textit{nuunangé tana watu} (stories of the earth-stone or of the world). But the former is more secretive than the latter among Wologai people. Both are related to agricultural rituals.

The origin of separation from the feeding source is related to and explains the agricultural ritual called \textit{pai Poloria} (calling Poloria) or \textit{pati kaa Poloria} (feeding Poloria). Poloria is an anomalous deity living in the Pu’utana (literally the base of the earth) in the deep sea (\textit{ghawa aé mesi béwa}), who is associated with the success of a harvest. \textit{Polo ria} can literally mean 'great witch'. The people, however, do not conceive of any similarity between Poloria and witches (\textit{polo} or \textit{ata polo}) except that some witches eat human beings and so might Poloria.\textsuperscript{32} The origin of Poloria and the reason for her ritual feeding are explicated as follows:

Once upon a time Anakalo lived with the Mother. The Mother suckled Anakalo. Anakalo had some \textit{séko}-peas on the shelf above the hearth (\textit{kæ}). One day while Anakalo was out, the Mother became hungry and ate Anakalo's \textit{séko}-peas. Then Anakalo came home and asked the Mother "Where are my \textit{séko}-peas?" The Mother answered 'I roasted them and ate them'. The child, Anakalo, cried and said to the Mother "Compensate me for the \textit{séko}-peas". The Mother tried to give Anakalo other \textit{séko}-peas but Anakalo rejected the offer, crying "Give back the \textit{séko}-peas I put there". The Mother's efforts to soothe Anakalo were in vain. Anakalo kept crying "Give back the \textit{séko}-peas I put there. The \textit{séko}-peas which are hanging and dangling, the \textit{séko}-peas which make the stake bend (\textit{séko éo ndéko déo \ll séko éo ndoru onu})". Despite the Mother's soothing, Anakalo kept crying "Give back the \textit{séko}-peas I put there. The \textit{séko}-peas which are hanging and dangling, the \textit{séko}-peas which make the stake bend (\textit{séko éo ndéko ndéo \ll séko éo ndoru onu})". Finally the Mother felt so ashamed that she went out of the house and started to run away toward the sea. Anakalo followed her, crying "Mother, come back to me!" Since Mother felt pity for Anakalo, she stopped and came back to Anakalo and suckled Anakalo. But after suckling, the Mother started to run away again. Anakalo followed her, crying "Mother, come back to me!" Since the Mother felt pity for Anakalo, again she stopped and came back to Anakalo and suckled Anakalo. But after suckling, the Mother started to run away again. This process was repeated seven times. Finally the Mother reached a

\textsuperscript{31} The name \textit{Hainuwele} derives from that of a heroine in a myth in Seram of eastern Indonesia, which tells how crops originated from the body of murdered Hainuwele. Jensen, a German anthropologist, pointed out the importance of this type of myth and named it after the myth he collected in his fieldwork in Seram (Jensen and Niggemeyer 1939; Jensen 1977(1966)). Sugishima and Yamaguchi reported several versions of this type of stories (Sugishima 1987, 1990; Yamaguchi 1989).

\textsuperscript{32} In some stories, categorised as \textit{nuunangé ana to'o} (children's stories), \textit{polo ria} is an 'ogre'.

precipitous bluff and threw herself into the sea. Anakalo cried "Mother, come back to me!" The Mother barely answered "I want to return but it's impossible, I want to come back but I cannot. The water here comes up to the mouth, the sea here fills up to the neck (aku wola wola goma // aku walo walo talo. aê ghhaa timbi rewa wiwi // mesi ghhaa benu rewa tengu). Then the Mother sank deep into the sea to Pu'utana and became Poloria. Poloria was originally our Mother, the Mother of human beings. But since then, she became Poloria and has lived in Pu'utana. Every year, at the time of sowing and the great-ritual, we must give Poloria food to remember this event.

As shown in chapter three, the chant 'calling Poloria' evokes a monstrous but blurred image of Poloria.

Another type of origin story of agriculture is about the origin of crops. Knowledgeable people draw an association between the origin of crops and the ritual called nangi paré (lament of rice), which is performed immediately after sowing.33 While the foregoing origin of agriculture is esoteric, the brief description of the origin of crops given below is well known throughout central Flores.

Once upon a time a person was chopped into pieces on Mt Kélindota. Then various kinds of crops came out of the different parts of the body.

When the sex of the person is specified in this story, it is female. Mt Kélindota is a mountain located to the northeast of Wologai. Kéli ndota literally means 'mountain of chopping into pieces'. One version of the origin of the crops among Wologai people, for example, is as follows:

Once upon a time a woman called Mbuu lived with her husband, Mbusu, and her child, Rébo, on Mt Lépémbusu. They made a field on Mt Kélindota. After clearing and burning the forest, the child asked its mother "Mother, what shall we plant?" She told her child to bring a machete and a cutting board, and to chop her into pieces. Her child killed her and her husband chopped her into pieces. Next morning her child and husband did not find her body but various kinds of crops: rice (paré), maize (jawa), sorghum (lolo), Job's tears (ké'o), cassava (uwi kafu) and so on. The limbs became cassava, the eyes became Job's tears, the teeth became maize, and the blood became rice and sorghum. The mystically powerful rice (paré éo bhisa), such as laka rice (paré laka) and iku rice (paré iku) came out of the taboo (piré or piré gara)

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33 See chapter 8.
parts. That is to say, laka rice came out of the breasts and iku rice came out of the genitalia.

The details of these stories are significant to knowledgeable people in Wologai. The characters, that is to say their names and their relationships, might vary from one story to another. In some stories the characters are Anakalo, the sister-brother pair, and in these versions the brother chopped his sister into pieces. In other versions only the woman is named and it is not specified who chopped her up. Many Wologai people are interested mainly in the name(s) of the woman chopped up and with the motif that the most important crops, rice or some kinds of rice emerged from the sexual parts of the woman's body. The name of the woman is usually prefaced with iné, for example, iné Mbuu or iné Ndálé. This reference could indicate people's respect for this woman and also characterises the woman as a mother. The ritual of nangi paré (lament of rice) is not a part of the village rituals. Only knowledgeable traditionalists perform nangi paré at the time of sowing. The names sung in the 'lament of rice' are said to be those of the women (woman) chopped up on Mt Këlindota and/or iné paré (the mother(s) of rice), the source of crops.³⁴

PHYSICAL METAPHORS IN THE WOLOGAI METAPHYSICS

All these origin stories, including the account of genesis, relate how the attributes of present human life came into existence. Each story explains the origin of certain attributes that are common to all human beings. They do not relate to asymmetric differentiation among the people. The table below summarises the events described in these stories and the attributes to which they gave rise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVENTS</th>
<th>ATTRIBUTES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. cutting the liana</td>
<td>space, world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. opening mouth</td>
<td>language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sexual intercourse by Anakalo</td>
<td>sexual intercourse, procreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. cutting umbilical cord</td>
<td>reproduction, normal birth and death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. severing the link with Mother</td>
<td>agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. chopping up a woman's body</td>
<td>crops</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³⁴ This knowledge constitutes an important part of ola mbé'o, mystically powerful knowledge.
Reading down the right-hand column shows how the Wologai people depict the fundamentals of human life. Space, world, language, sexual intercourse, procreation, reproduction, normal birth and death, agriculture and crops, in the form as they currently are, are fundamental to human life. Reading down the left-hand column illuminates Wologai people's ontology.

The cutting (teka or paté) of the universal liana and the cutting (poro) of umbilical cords are assumed to be synonymous. The cutting motif is also found in accounts relating to the cause of the origin of crops. The theme of severing the link with the mother in the origin story of agriculture is metaphorically associated with the cutting of an umbilical cord. These stories are impregnated with the theme of discontinuity.

Opening the mouth is also regarded as a discontinuity, although it is a discontinuity in two dimensions. People consider a mouth to be a hole on a face. In divination, for example, natural openings in the heart of a pig are also called mouths (wiwi). If the hole is big, it can be understood that the people can be eloquent and influential. If there are many holes, it can be understood to indicate too many kinds of opinions. If one would like to drive away the bad effect of others' speech, one says to oneself silently, "wiwi kau ngéré bega butu (your mouth is like the hole of a bead)". In poetic speech, as shown at the beginning of this chapter, the mouth is described as "one hole of vagina" in the phrase, wiwi se bega gewo. Both bega and gewo mean a hole as well as a vagina. This phrase is coupled with another phrase lema se toko lasé (the tongue is one stick of penis). As these coupled phrases show, sexual intercourse is metaphorically associated with both speaking and cutting. In songs of the circle dance (gawi), the couplet teka éo tema // ndéndé éo géné (cut what is brand-new, beat what is round) means to have sexual intercourse with a virgin girl with round breasts. Teka (cut, injure) euphemistically means having sexual intercourse as in the coupled phrases, koré líru mboré // teka tana bega (pierce the sky to make a gap, cut the earth to make a hole).35 In summary, the Wologai people's philosophy describes the making of discontinuity (cutting, opening, severing and chopping) as having brought about the fundamentals of human life.

In the origin stories, acts associated with discontinuity such as cutting, speaking, having sexual intercourse and severing a relation are paradigmatically related to this ontological transformation.36

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35 See chapters 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8.
36 As Lewis points out, 'cutting' is a crucial metaphor also in Tana 'Ai (Lewis 1988: 207, 269, 308).
FURTHER TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE WORLD

SLIDING DOWN FROM MT LEPEMBUSU AND DISPERSAL FROM NUAOKE

Many Wologai people told me that human beings had slid down from Mt Lépémbusu. Prior to that, no human beings lived on Earth except on Mt Lépémbusu. The following is almost common knowledge:

*Ghélé Lépémbusu, ngéé bhondo beka kapa rewa, ebé nggoro ghélé du'u ghalé Nuaone.*

People increased and were procreated on Mt Lépémbusu and then they slid down from the mountain and stopped at Nuaone.

Knowledgeable people usually express this process with the following coupled phrases, which are regarded as esoteric and secret knowledge.37

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kala ghélé kéli tendu} & \quad \text{wound ahead from up the mountain and reached Nuaoné}^38 \\
\quad \text{Nuaoné} & \\
\text{nggoro ghélé wolo tendu} & \quad \text{slid down from up on the ridge and reached Woloila}^39 \\
\quad \text{Woloila} & \\
\text{or} & \\
\text{nggoro du'u} & \quad \text{slid down and stopped} \\
\quad \text{kala duté} & \quad \text{crawled out and ceased} \\
\text{ngoro no'o fi'i joo} & \quad \text{slid down on a raft} \\
\quad \text{kala no'o nopo néta} & \quad \text{crawled out as a stick of néta vine}^40 \\
\text{or} & \\
\text{mbéra ngéré goré tendu} & \quad \text{broken like an old jar and reached Nuaoné} \\
\quad \text{Nuaoné} & \\
\text{mbi'a ngéré pinga tendu} & \quad \text{cracked like an old plate and reached Woloila} \\
\quad \text{Woloila} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

37 These phrases are regarded as Ola mbé'o, mystically powerful knowledge. See chapters 6 and 8.
38 Nuaoné is said to be the first village after sliding down Mt Lépémbusu.
39 Woloila is a place near the remains of Nuaoné.
40 Néta is a kind of vine.
The dispersal is depicted as the centrifugal movement of a raft or a néta vine from the ‘havel’ of the world (puse tana), that is, Mt Lépémbusu. Wologai people do not have any sailing experience. The words joo (raft), kowa (ship), sapa (boat), laja (sail) and mangu (mast) are used as symbols for foreignness, or for a vehicle connecting this world and other worlds. Kala (crawl out) and nopo néta (stick of néta-vine) evoke another image of birth, a vine and cutting. According to the third set of coupled phrases above, the dispersal from Mt Lépémbusu is depicted as a transformation from the primordial wholeness to its shattering or division.

The human beings who thus left Lépémbusu and their descendants and successors are both called sliding-offspring (ana nggoro).

Concerning the sliding-offspring what is most important to Wologai people is to know a set of their names and the ritual-villages they established. Examples of such a set of the names I was told are paired, as are those given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Séga no'o Sega</th>
<th>Séga and Sega</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngénda no'o Senda</td>
<td>Ngénda and Senda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unggu no'o Nggesa</td>
<td>Unggu and Nggesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papo no'o Pera</td>
<td>Papo and Pera</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some informants recite these paired names without no'o (‘and’). If no'o is not used, the two connected names can indicate a person. These names are mysterious even to the speakers. None of these names, except Séga, are used as personal names. Sénda and Papu can be used as personal names, but not Senda or Papo. There is a ritual-village called Nuangénda to the northwest of Mt Lépémbusu. Unggu Nggesa is the name of an area between Lépémbusu and the north coast. In daily speech senda means a kind of animal trap, nggesa means upper arm, and pera means to attack with wings as in manu repa pera (roosters attack each other). Apart from the everyday usage, the Wologai people regard the word pera as important in terms of rituals and esoteric knowledge: it is used to indicate the right-front pillar (leké pera), the right-front hearth (waja pera) or the right-front hearth stone (lika pera), and expresses the existential pre-eminence of these constructions. Some say that word pera has the same meaning as pu’u

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41 The temple (kedo) of Wolondopo has a fine relief of vines (koba). A knowledgeable man provided an exegesis in which the vine motif represents how the nua (ritual-villages) have increased in number and spread throughout the world.

42 As shown in the previous chapters, ata mangu lau // ata laja ghawa (people of the mast overseas // people of the sail abroad) means foreigners. The funeral songs by a man, bhoo bhéwa, depict sending away the dead (joka ata mata) to the other world with the phrase nai no'o kowa // wesa no'o sapa (embark on a ship // row a boat). In the great-ritual all bad things are symbolically driven away on a piece of wood standing for a ship (kowa).
(trunk, origin, source). Thus the sliding-offspring’s names are puzzling and many knowledgeable people seem to try endlessly to devise a speculative exegesis based on these names.

Knowledgeable people in Wologai often presume that the sliding-offspring were all men and that they were related to each other as ka’e no’o aji (same sex elder and young siblings). Wologai people emphasise that Papo and Pera were superior to the others, in that they stopped sliding down the mountains to live at Nuaoné, while the others slid further down. These speakers are concerned to clarify the non-violent distribution of the sliding-offspring and the pre-eminence of Nuaoné among the ritual-villages, being the first ritual-village after sliding down Mt Lépémbsusu. The process of forming Nuaoné is described like a natural phenomenon: growth of a vine, crawling of a snake or sliding-down of a raft. It is usually emphasised that there were no other people when the sliding-offspring reached there. It is presumed that no one was driven away. The pre-eminence of Nuaoné is described in two ways: first, the founding ancestor(s) of Nuaoné is (are) pre-eminent among the sliding-offspring and second, Nuaoné had spatial precedence in the centrifugal spread of human beings in establishing the ritual-villages. The pre-eminence of the founding ancestor(s) of Nuaoné is explained in two ways: the ancestor(s) was (were) the eldest among the sliding-offspring, and/or Pera was pre-eminent among the sliding-offspring, because of the meaning that the word pera has.

Some Wologai people told me that many events that explain the present situation in the Wologai ritual-village had happened in Nuaoné: how the many named ritual-houses were generated, how the ritual-houses and the temple took their form, how the ritual-house of Ata Wolo split and how ata wolo (people of the ridge) gave away their pre-eminence and their ritual prerogatives.

Some knowledgeable Wologai people told me that the village of Nuaoné had been abandoned because it had not been located on a ridge and people could not see its enemies. It is interesting that, in contrast with the process of reaching Nuaoné, which is depicted as being non-violent and like a natural phenomenon, the reason for abandoning Nuaoné is related to intentional human activities, especially violent ones, that is to say, war. According to the people of Wolondopo and the Wolojita, these two ritual-villages were founded by the people who were the last to leave Nuaoné and this is why these two ritual-villages are superior to the others. However, the Wologai people do not accept

43 Some Wolondopo and Wolojita people also explained the abandonment of Nuaoné for the same reason.
this assertion as right. Wologai people consider that only Nuaoné has been superior to, and indeed was the origin of, Wologai. A Wologai man told me the following story to make this point:

Once upon a time, Iné Bewu Rano came here from Nuaoné. She came here in order to késo petu // lita rango (step on what is hot, walk on what is feverish). Rano means swamp. The name, Bewu Rano, explains her role, léki peru // reba rango (sprinkle water on what is hot, cool with water what is feverish). She came here in order to cool the area which was hot because people had been making war. She sprinkled water and the area became swampy. She came here in order to dai kolo ilu // éngā jala senda (guard the head of the snare, watch the path of the trap). Bewu Rano had an elder sister, Dhedhu, who remained in Nuaoné.

Several Wologai people told me stories similar to this. Those stories have two versions for their ending. According to one version, "This is how the nua (ritual-village) of Wologai started". According to the other, "Wologai already existed when Iné Bewu came, and she married Séko, the ritual-leader of Wologai", that is, Nuaoné gave a wife to Wologai.

SEKO LENGO

Although the sliding-offspring each have names, no particular episodes are recounted, nor are their characteristics described. What is important about the sliding-offspring is not to know what they did or how they were but to know their names and their relation to the present ritual-villages. To Wologai people, what is important about Séko Léngō, a historical character is, by contrast, to know the episodes of his life. There might be an infinite number of variations of episodes, but the number of basic themes is limited.44

ARRIVAL OF SEKO LENGO

The following brief story of Séko Léngō's arrival is generally known among Wologai people:

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44 It is interesting to compare Séko Léngō stories told by the Wologai people with those told by other people, especially by the Sokoria people. Some themes are shared and others are not. It is more accurate to say that some themes of Séko Léngō stories interest the Wologai people but others do not. How Wologai versions differ from the versions of other people indicates Wologai people's concerns and the way they manoeuvre to declare their pre-eminence.
Séko Léngo came from overseas and landed at Ngalupolo because Séko 'viewed the red monolith, saw the glowing au-bamboo' (néni musu méra // téi au wula). The monolith and the bamboo were in Sokoria. He came to Sokoria and lived there.45

This brief description does not have much significance unless it is seen in relation to other stories. This is significant as relatively common knowledge which not only contrasts with the hidden 'true' (dema) stories, but also provides a rough framework for them. This story presumes that Séko Léngo originated abroad. However some 'true' stories told by some knowledgeable people in Wologai and in other ritual-villages, such as Wolojita and Wolondopo, hold that Séko Léngo originated from Nuaoné, sailed abroad and eventually came back. Those 'true' stories place Séko Léngo and his successors under the authority of Nuaoné, namely that of the primal and present sliding-offspring. The 'true' stories follow.

DEPARTURE AND RETURN OF SEKO LENGO

Séko Léngo was a man here, in Nuaoné. He had many 'brothers' (ka'é aji). He did not want his prerogatives to be limited. He wanted the ritual-leadership and prerogatives to the land for himself. He found that the land here was not good, because it was mountainous. He thought that the land somewhere overseas must be larger and that no people were living there.

Séko rona kowa
Séko rawi rajo
Séko gaé pita tana wa
Séko pita watu weka
Séko gaé tana godo
Séko pita watu ngangé
deki ngai ghaa
leka tana êo nggoo nggura
leka watu êo logo kuga

Séko made a boat
Séko plaited a raft
Séko looked for a flat and good land
Séko searched for a flat and good rock
Séko looked for his own land
Séko searched for a rock to himself
because here,
the land is narrow
the rock is confining

Then he sailed away to 'Jawa', only to find many people living there.

ghawa ata mera dowá
ndi'i sawé
there people already lived
already inhabited

45 Some versions depict musu méra/au wula as near Sokoria but different from Sokoria.
He came back here.

Séko mai wola
ra'î walo
joga wola kuu
joru wola jebu

Séko came back
returned again
entered again the cast-off skin
came back into the sty

He landed at Wolotopo Ngalupolo because:

Séko nêni musu mëra
Séko têi au wula

Séko viewed the red monolith
Séko saw the glowing au-

What he saw was the ritual-village of Sokoria. He lived there. Séko Léngo thus came to Sokoria.

While this version was told by a Wologai man, not only other knowledgeable Wologai people but also Wolojita, Wolondopo and Faunaka people recounted stories of similar motifs and with similar couplets.

The same speaker told me the following stories. The first story below tells how Séko Léngo acquired rights to the Great Land (*tana ria*) of Wologai. The second tells how he acquired the ritual-leadership of Wologai, and consequently some prerogatives to the Small Land (*tana lo'o*) of Wologai. The last one tells of his unrealised ambitions to the ritual-leadership of Nuaoné and of his death in Nuaoné.

**ACQUIRING RIGHTS TO THE GREAT LAND**

Séko Léngo had been living in Sokoria since he came back from abroad. He had 'good-brother-relationship' (*aji jî'te / ka'ê pawê*47 with Mboka Kanga, who was the ritual-leader of Wolopa'u.48 One day they made a plan to go hunting (*mbaa lako / lê'a lowo* 'going with a dog, going along a river'). Séko Léngo told Mboka Kanga, "*wengi lima rua* (seven days from now) we will hunt together, and if you arrive first at Wutubursegésu,49 you must make a mark so that I will know that you have already arrived". But Séko Léngo went there *wengi rua* (two days later). He made a mark (*seba*). Mboka Kangga arrived there *wengi lima rua* (seven days later) only to learn that Séko Léngo had arrived before him and had hunted all the game.50 Mboka Kanga arrived with his

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46 Another version is: *nêni tubu musu masé/têi odo ndaa doè, tubu musu mëra / lodo ndaa wës* (shiny standing-stone-altar, beautiful piled- stone-altar, red standing-stone-altar, piled-stone-altar of gold).

47 A literal translation would be 'good younger same-sex-siblings, nice elder same-sex-siblings'.

48 Wolopa'u is a ritual-village to the south of Wologai.
followers (*aji ana*), Rau and Rata.\(^{51}\) When they arrived near Wologai, Koloilujalasenda,\(^{52}\) they saw smoke from a fire. It was a 'place for smoking the meat' (*remba géga*), where Séko Léngo was smoking the meat. Late that afternoon Mboka Kanga told Rau and Rata to fetch some fire. They approached the fire Séko Léngo made. Séko Léngo was not there. They stole the meat and came back. Séko Léngo came back to his fire to find that the meat had disappeared. He asked Mboka Kanga, "Brother (*aji ka’ê*)! You have the fire smoking there. Who did you order to fetch fire here? I have something missing here". Mboka Kanga answered, "I don't know what is missing there, but it is Rau and Rata who fetched the fire". Séko Léngo answered, "I see, Brother. If his name is Rau, I will *rau* (pull and lift) as I *rau* the guts of the deer, if his name is Rata, I will *rata* (chop with a machete) as I *rata* the bone of the meat (*demi naja kai rau aku mo'o rau ngéré rau tuka rusa // demi naja kai rata aku mo'o rata ngéré rata toko nakê*).\(^{53}\) After these events, Séko Léngo acquired the land which had been Mboka Kanga's hunting place (*mbaa lako // lé’a lowo*). This area is now called the Great Land (*tana ria*).

**ACQUIRING THE MOSA LAKI-SHIP AND RITUAL RIGHTS TO THE SMALL LAND OF WOLOGAI**

After the events in relation to Mboka Kanga, when he went hunting in the Great Land, Séko Léngo shot Fai Lanu's pig by mistake. Fai Lanu\(^{54}\) lived in Nuarianijopiré,\(^{54}\) close to Nuaria, which was previously a ritual-village of the Wologai people. Fai Lanu was a very old woman and she was the great *ata laki* (ritual-leader and/or legitimate person) of Wologai. She was full of mystic power (*bhisa gia*).\(^{55}\) Her pig had been out of its enclosure to look for food. It didn't die. It was still alive and went to its owner (*du’a ngeta*), Fai Lanu. It went back to the *nuu* (ritual-village) and back into its enclosure. She found her pig wounded. Then she asked around and learned that Séko Léngo had shot it. She

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49 A place in the Great Land of Wologai.

50 *Lima, rua,* and *lima rua* mean five, two and seven respectively. This verbal trick of *rua* and *lima rua* seems to be a common motif in various stories of Wologai.

51 While *aji* means younger same-sex-sibling and *ana* means children, *aji ana* only means followers. In other languages of Indonesia, followers are referred to by kinship terms to indicate inferiority in terms of relative age or generation (Reid 1983:162).

52 Koloilujalasenda is a place. *Kolo ilu jala senda* literally means 'the head of a snare, the path of a trap'.

53 *'Fai lanu'* may literally mean 'a wife of lanu-disease'. *Lanu* is a kind of venereal disease which causes rough skin.

54 *'Nuu ria nijo piré'* may literally mean 'great ritual-village where it is prohibited to spit'.

demanded compensation from him. He said, "I cannot pay", and he made himself a 'body slave' (*ko'o weki*) of Fai Lanu. Since he was a very rich man, he could easily have paid for the pig, but he became 'body slave' on purpose. He began to live with Fai Lanu, saying, "I'll make myself your slave and live together with you (*ko'o weki du'a neku, mera no'o kau*)." Fai Lanu did not have a husband. Consequently they married (had sexual intercourse). Séko Léngo married in and kept living with Fai Lanu. Fai Lanu was the ritual-leader of Wologai. Consequently Séko Léngo also became a ritual-leader of Wologai.

**RETURN TO NUAONE AND SEKO LENGO'S DEATH**

Séko Léngo came back to Nuaoné.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Séko mai wola</th>
<th>Séko came back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ra'i walo</td>
<td>returned again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joga wola kuu</td>
<td>entered again the cast-off skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joru wola jebu</td>
<td>came back into the sty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leka kuu éo muu</td>
<td>to the cast-off skin which is warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leka jebu éo maja</td>
<td>to the sty which is dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musu wola susu iné</td>
<td>suck Mother's breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamé wola ndalo amé</td>
<td>suck Father's chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musu susu éo mii</td>
<td>suck the milk which is sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamé ndalo éo mani</td>
<td>suck the chest which is fragrant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He also married there. Coming back from overseas, he was very rich and influential. He demanded his proper prerogatives. But there were none left for him. He kept demanding in vain. It was he who was wrong, because he had left Nuaoné. He kept living there and demanding prerogatives. Finally he usurped the *mosa lakí*-ship. When he became old, the people Nuaoné beat him to death. This murder is:

| tama lako hua nua     | the dog enters into a honeycomb and the bark of sugar palm |
| tama lako ghaa mbasi sa'o | the dog enters here the periphery of the house |
| dhindi niki ghaa ngi'i ki'i | beat the bat here at the inner side of the roof |

These phrases may imply that they murdered Séko Léngo inside the house while they pretended to kill wild animals for the great-ritual (*nggua ria*) at a distant place.

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55 *Bhisa gia* or *bhisa* is often translated as *sakí* (Indonesian). The concept of *bhisa gia* or *bhisa* is explored in chapter 6.
In telling this, the speaker, a Wologai, seemed not only to denigrate Séko Léngo’s authority but also to accuse the people of Nuaoné, that is to say, the people of Wolondopo and Wolojita in this context.

SEKO LENGO OR SLIDING-OFFSPRING

Perceptions of Wologai’s connections with Séko Léngo might vary from one Wologai person to another and also vary according to context. While I more frequently heard people asserting that Wologai were sliding-offspring, some assert that Séko Léngo is an ancestor of the Wologai people. They proudly declare that they are the successors of Séko Léngo. Others say that Wologai’s connection with Séko Léngo was historically emphasised for political reasons because Wologai people of some generations ago did not want to be subordinate to Wolondopo and Wolojita people who asserted their superiority over other ritual-villages only because they were the purest and most legitimate successor to Nuaoné and the primal sliding-offspring. Wologai people therefore strategically declared their connection with Séko Léngo. During that time, it is said, the following war chant called *khada*\(^{56}\) was exchanged between Wologai and Wolondopo:

The Wologai people made this speech:

- *mamo Séko Léngo*    grandparent, Séko Léngo
- *ulu bëu*        the distant head
- *éko bëwa*       the long tail
- *ulu leka Bajobima*    the head is at the Bajobima
- *éko Ma’ualu*    the tail at the Ma’ualu
- *ulu ria ngéré kolo kamba*    the head is as big as that of a water buffalo
- *éko bëwa ngéré éko jara*    the tail is as long as that of a horse
- *ulu leka ola waju*    the head is for pounding
- *éko leka ola wéjo*    the tail is for swinging

The Wolondopo people replied:

- *Séko ria nara ngai*    Séko is great because of arbitrary desire
- *Séko bëwa uku lubu*    Séko is high because of selfish thoughts
- *Séko dau nosi ji’ë no’o iné éo nggoro ghélé wolo*    Séko must talk nicely to the Mother who slid down from the ridge

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\(^{56}\) Concerning *kadha*, see chapter 8.
Séko dau garé pawé no’o
amé éo kala ghélé kéli

Séko ina éo joga wola kuu
éo joru wola jebu
éo musu wola susu iné

tamé wola ndelo amé

iné éo ulu boko
éo dhongo
ulu lisé laka
éo moru saa
ulu neku béu ghéta sindé réndu
éo neku béwa ghalé nanga néné

Séko must speak sincerely to the Father who crawled down from the mountain
this Séko who entered again into the cast-off skin
who returned to the old sty
who sucked again the Mother’s breasts
who sucked again the Father’s chest
the Mother whose head is short
the Father whose tail is stumpy
the head is Lisélaka
the tail is Morusaa
my head is distant at sindé réndu
(cockscomb)
my tail is long at nanga nénú
(river mouth of mirror)

It is said that Wologai was defeated by Wolondopo because Wolondopo’s war chant, especially the most enigmatic last couplet, nullified the power of Wologai.57

NARRATIVES CONCERNING GIU

Giu, another prominent historical character, is one of the foci of Wologai historiography. People trace the genealogical connection between the present people and Giu, while a genealogical connection with Séko Léngo is not usually conceptualised. Some of those affiliated with the subsidiary-ritual-houses of Panggo, Labo and Léwa Béwa usually regard themselves as affiliated to Giu and admire his power, while other Wologai people, especially the people of Bhisu Koja affiliated with subsidiary-ritual-houses other than Panggo, Labo and Léwa Béwa, usually regard him as having usurped the legitimate authority of their ancestors.58 Giu is not only an important topic, but also a sensitive one,

57 Concerning power of words, see chapter 8.

58 Concerning the names of the subsidiary-ritual-houses of the Bhisu Koja ritual-house see chapter 2. A ritual-leader of Panggo succeeded to the ritual-basket known as Amé Giu (Father Giu). He and the mother-ritual-leader of Panggo admire Giu. Those attached to Panggo, Labo and Léwa Béwa tend to admire Giu. Those affiliated with the ritual-houses other than Bhisu Koja seem to regard Giu as a typical personage of Bhisu Koja. Some told me that Amé Naka Iné Naju, a pair of statues, had been Giu’s raju (a source of revelatory power), to which kapitan Ghéta had succeeded. It seems that kapitan Ghéta emphasised his link with Giu in order to enhance his power. However, while the ritual-practitioner (see chapter 3), who is affiliated not only with Labo but also with Bénga, succeeded to Amé Naka Iné Naju, he neither stresses his link with Giu or admires Giu. He usually emphasises his link with Séko Raja Tana, an ancient mystical ancestor. One of those asserting that Giu was a usurper is the ritual-leader of Ana Lamba, who succeeded to the status of his mother’s father, who seems to have been a rival of kapitan Ghéta and his father, and who left Wologai because he was not satisfied with his position in Wologai.
especially to those who regard him as a usurper. They are eager to speak about Giu confidentially. I could not get detailed historical narratives about Giu from his admirers; not only, it seems, because I tended to be involved with the opponents of Giu but also because the admirers felt no need to tell me historical narratives to justify themselves.

I heard the following story from several people:

Giu came from outside and married a sister of a ritual-leader (*ata laki*), who herself was a mother-ritual-leader (*iné mosa laki*) and a child of the earth (*ana tana*), and he then became prosperous and powerful (*ria*) in Wologai. It is just like the man who came from abroad (*jawa*) and married the Anakalo's sister.

In another version of this narrative, Giu and the husband of the Anakalo's sister are described as already being influential and wealthy when they arrived 'here', in Wologai and on Mt Lépémbusu.

Giu is also depicted as having mystic power, which his admirers express with the phrase, *no'o raju* (of revelatory power) and his opponents with the word *polo* (witch). Amé Naka Iné Naju, a pair of statues were Giu's source of revelatory power (*raju*). It is said that he could fly and disappear suddenly. According to his opponents, he was a *polo* and he declared this himself. It is said that Giu usurped prerogatives by using his power as a *polo* (witch). The following story tells how Giu acquired the prerogatives of Wolondopo:59

Wolondopo used to belong to Songgo Mbelu.60 When Songgo dried his gold items, Giu's female slave, who was a powerful witch, defecated at a banyan tree close to where Songgo's gold items were drying. Songgo abused Giu, saying "*ko'o polo* (slave witch)". Songgo and Giu fought using mystic powers. Giu told the female slave to enter Songgo's water buffalo through its anus. When Songgo tried to move the water buffalo, it killed Songgo with its horns. Because of this event, the people of Songgo fled and Giu acquired the prerogatives of Wolondopo.

A ritual-leader of Ana Lamba, a subsidiary-ritual-house of Bhisu Koja, recounted the following story. This story insists that by taking advantage of the following events, Giu acquired the great-ritual-leadership of Wologai:

59 This Wolondopo is not the *nua* (ritual-village), but an area which belongs to Wologai (see chapter 4).
60 I could not get explanation who Songgo Mbelu was.
At the time of Lamba, the people of Ndito raided Wologai.\textsuperscript{61} The people of Ndito were reconstructing their temple (\textit{poto wolo // rênggi kēlī} 'installing the ridge, carrying the mountain'). Ndito was the 'trunk-root' (\textit{pu'u kamu}) of Wologai. So Wologai was the place for them to catch a chicken, that is to say, the place for 'watching to touch, crawling to shoot; for catching a nori-bird, pulling out a tamed one; hitting wings, shaking tails (\textit{kodho koo // raga pana, tau nori // lesu dhēdho, betē belē // wējo wē'o}). The people of Ndito sent Ndēta to catch a chicken in Wologai. Ndēta asked Wologai people for a chicken. Since his request was rejected, Ndēta caught a chicken for himself. The Wologai people captured Ndēta, announcing loudly "Ndēta stole the chicken". They kept Ndēta in stocks at Kogondēta.\textsuperscript{62} After three months, Ndēta finally escaped. At that time Lamba lived with his mother Bewu, who is described as "Mother Bewu stepped on what was hot, walked on what was feverish, guarding the head of the snare, watching the path of the trap". When Ndēta arrived at Ndito, the Ndito people were angry at Ndēta, saying "What have you been doing for three months?". Ndēta appealed (\textit{seru}) to them, "Wologai is the place to catch a chicken. But as soon as I caught a chicken there, they hit me badly, they beat me cruelly". Then the Ndito people made divinations by burning candle nuts (\textit{bui fēo}), roasting young bamboo (\textit{soo bhoka au}) and by spanning the length of a arm (\textit{paga péro}). The divinations indicated that the Ndito people should raid Wologai after seven nights. The night of the raid, Ndēta led the troops to show the way. They came at night. The moon was bright. They carried \textit{sura}-traps made of sharpened bamboo sticks and banana stalks. When they arrived at Wologai, the Wologai people were about to sleep. The dogs barked, the pigs grunted (\textit{lako poru // wawi busa}). The men slept together in the ritual hut. The women slept in their respective barns or houses. Hearing the dogs barking, the pigs grunting, the women asked "\textit{puki gewo}!\textsuperscript{63} Did you hear the dogs barking, the pigs grunting?" The men answered "\textit{puki gewo}! Don't be noisy, the dogs barked because they saw the women's pubic hair (\textit{tottu}), the pigs grunted because they saw the pubic hair (\textit{bua})". The Ndito people were then placing the \textit{sura}-traps at the entrances of the houses, the barns and the ritual hut. Ndēta knew the places exactly. After that the Ndito people set fire to the \textit{nua} of Wologai. Being in a panic, the people jumped out and were stabbed by the \textit{sura}-traps. Many of them died. Those who could escape were the people of Ana Lamba. Many people of the side of the legitimate people (\textit{ata laki}) died. Kemba Du'a, the mother-ritual-leader, and Giu's wife, 

\textsuperscript{61} Lamba was the ancestor after whom the subsidiary-ritual-house, Ana Lamba, is named.

\textsuperscript{62} \textit{Kogo ndēta} literally means 'put Ndēta in the stocks'.

\textsuperscript{63} According to the speaker's comment, \textit{puki gewo} is a swear word, but in daily conversation, neither \textit{puki gewo}, \textit{puki nor gewo} is used. However, \textit{puki} is used as a swear word in Endense-speaking areas and other Lionese-speaking areas, and \textit{gewo} is said to have been used in Wologai a generation ago. In this story, \textit{puki gewo} is meant to be a term for sexual abuse. It is interesting that while sexual intercourse, which is
were also wounded and died. Giu was wounded in the armpit but did not die. The Wologai people suspected the people of Ana Lamba. After this event, called the 'raid of the Ndito people' (*ata Ndito wika*), relations with Ndito were severed. Legitimately, Ana Lamba should have rights as the great-ritual-leader to receive the 'tail' of slaughtered animals for rituals in Wologai ritual-village. Giu usurped this prerogative of Ana Lamba.64

Quite a few ritual-leaders seem to support, in private conversation, the assertion by this ritual-leader of Ana Lamba that Giu usurped the great-ritual-leadership of Lamba.

HISTORIES AFTER THE ENCOUNTER WITH THE DUTCH

Just as the coming of Séko Léngo is described as 'returning' to the origin (*joga kuu // joru jebu* 'entering the cast-off skin, getting into the old sty'), so is the coming of the Dutch.65 A knowledgeable old man of Ata Wolo recounted the following story.

Once upon a time there were seven *nua* (ritual-villages) on Mt Léphimbusu, aside from which the world was covered by water. Goa people, Tidhu people, Buto people, Melaka people, Jawa people and other peoples lived in their respective *nua*.66 When Buto people felled the *buto* tree, the water withdrew. The people dispersed. In separating from each other at Watuwatawanda, those seven peoples made an alliance-treaty (*poré jaji*) by slaughtering a tiny male buffalo (*kamba mosa panda*) and a tiny male pig (*wawi mosa folé*). But the white people forgot the alliance-treaty (*poré jaji*) and attacked us. When they first attacked us, we defeated them by making the following *kadha* (war chant) against them.67

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64 This incident referred to as the raid of the Ndito people was recounted differently by some Faunaka knowledgeable people in order to insist on Faunak's superiority over Wologai.

65 The Mambai in Timor also regard the coming of the colonial government as 'returning to the origin' (Traube 1985).

66 The speaker told me that he could not name seven people.

67 Watuwatawanda is near the north coast. *Kamba mosa panda* or *wawi mosa folé* is a water buffalo or a pig which is a mature male (*mosa*) but very small and of mystic power (*bhisa*). *Kamba mosa panda* and *wawi mosa folé* no longer exist, according to the Wologai people.
nebu se leja ina, kita mera
ghaa Lépembusu se papa
kita sama sama
néa wi’a waa
miu ata bara de ghawa
kami de ghaa
miu tau too, aru loka ana
kami tau dhawé uma, bo’o
gaga
miu de ghawa
kami de ghaa
bagi wi’a kita lau
Watuwatawanda
tag a no’o kamba éo mosa
panda, jaji kita iwa papa
langga
roré no’o wawi éo mosa
folé, poré kita iwa papa
ndoré
nebu naa miu mo’o gaé wola
kami
iwa alé
iwa tanga
saé sa’o
séngga sara
beja kengu
béké gaa
gen gho ana

once upon a time we lived
together here on Mt
Lépembusu at the same place
then we separated and divided
you white people overseas
we remained here
you made gunpowder, molded
bullets
we cultivated the fields, cleared
the forest to be replete
you overseas
we here
we separated from each other
down at Watuwatatwanda
cut a tiny male water buffalo, our
alliance not to be broken
slaughtered a tiny male pig, our
treaty not to be infringed
now you are looking for us again
you do not ask
you do not reflect
take apart the houses
break the nest
our roaring makes you scared
our threatening makes you fearful
may the bullet hit you

The gun was fired after this war chant. While only one bullet was shot,
it killed a Dutch soldier and made all the Dutch flee with fear. Although
the Dutch fired, the bullets never hit us. For three years the Dutch could
not invade us.

People tell very proudly that the Dutch finally withdrew because they had
ignored the ‘truth’ that Wologai people were their own source people or because
they ignored the alliance-treaty (poré jaji). Wologai people believe that they are
the source of the Dutch people and of other foreign people, although they bitterly
admit that the ‘white people’ (ata bara) dominated them for some time. They
blame internal betrayal for having made possible the Dutch usurpation. They call
the traitors manu ha’i (literally ‘chicken and leg’).68 Manu ha’i worked for the
Dutch as spies or as interpreters because the Dutch gave them plenty of money.
People relate the death of Mari Longa, a famous character of resistance against
the Dutch, as follows:

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68 People did not explain how this literal meaning is related to that role.
Mari Longa’s source of revelatory power (raju) was the rainbow (nipa moa, literally ‘thirsty snake’). Everyday at sunrise he gave it food on the roof. When he offered food, the ‘thirsty snake’ came down. The Dutch spy (manu haʻi) assaulted and killed him when he was making an offering to the rainbow.

While Wologai people know that Mari Longa was not a Wologai man, in relation to the Dutch they regard him as a representative of their collective self.69

Many people assert that during the Dutch time confusion arose about the legitimacy of the Wologai ritual-village. The first head of the Wologai gemeente was Pada, who was succeeded in that position by his son Ghéta. Ghéta married a sister of Pius Rasi Wannge, who was the raja of Swapraja Tana Kunu Lima and later became the raja of Swapraja Lio. It is said that Pada and Ghéta used to belong to Sa’o Panggo and then formed Sa’o Labo and Sa’o Léwa Béwa during the time of the Dutch colonial government. It is probable that the Dutch colonial government influenced the Wologai ritual-village in terms of relations not only between ritual-villages but also within the ritual-village. Some people blame Sa’o Labo and Sa’o Léwa Béwa for the disorder of the Wologai ritual-village and regard Pada and Ghéta as usurpers allied with the foreign powers. The great ritual was not performed for seven years from 1949 to 1955. This hiatus was, opponents of Ghéta assert, caused by the confusion within Labo and Léwa Béwa.

People consider the Japanese occupation to have had less political impact than Dutch colonialism.70 The Wologai people generally consider that the Japanese invasion was naturally in vain because they tried to harm their

69 In relation to the establishment of Indonesian national history, people in the West-Lio-speaking area are eager to admire Mari Longa as a national hero (pahlawan) of resistance against the colonial government. The following song, for example, was recorded on cassette and was available in shops in Ende, the capital town of regency.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mari Longa</th>
<th>Mari Longa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>éo topo doga</td>
<td>who is invincible to machete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aé bélé</td>
<td>when there is a flood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai iwa sélé</td>
<td>he does not mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>élé nagsasu</td>
<td>Against hundreds of enemies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai iwa paru</td>
<td>he does not flee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapi riuw</td>
<td>Against thousands of enemies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai menga nggiu</td>
<td>he only looks around</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

70 For fun and as an expression of hospitality toward me, old people liked to talk to me about the Japanese soldiers. They vividly told me their experiences with the Japanese soldiers and those experiences they had at the school, where they were instructed in Japanese. People say that the only noticeable remaining impact the Japanese occupation left in the area is a decrease in the number of water buffalos. According to old people, there used to be a large number of water buffalos in the area. However, Japanese soldiers killed and ate many of them.
progenitors (iné amé) or break the alliance-treaty (poré jañi), that is to say, 'infringe the alliance, trespass the treaty' (ndoré poré // langga jañi). It is said that the ancestors of the Japanese also lived on Mt Lépémbsu before the sliding down in primordial time. Some people say that the standing-stone-altar (tubu musu) of the Japanese nua (ritual-village) remains there now.

While at present the political influence of the Indonesian state cannot be ignored, the Wologai people do not talk much about recent history since independence. People often complain that the present situation is pomba wadho lélé or léké (a little pomba-weed pushing down a big banyan tree or liana): illegitimate people enjoying power and prosperity.71

THE PAST IN THE PRESENT AND THE PRESENT IN THE PAST

DIVERSITY

Histories told by Wologai people as a whole are continuous on-going process.72 Knowledgeable and/or ambitious people are enthusiastic in their search for the 'true' histories and always have a word or two to say about the history of any people in Flores or even about any part of the world in relation to their past.

They do not tell the histories only to know the past, but also to tell about the present. One of the main purposes of telling a history is to explain the present asymmetric differentiation experienced by people. In some societies in which institutionalised histories are told, the explanations the histories put forward may serve to justify present social differentiations. But in Wologai, where the histories are private and secret, the explanations often assert the 'true' asymmetric social differentiations which contradict the de facto asymmetric social differentiations. The notion that the 'true' histories contradict the de facto situation accords with the Wologai preoccupation that the 'truth' is covered and unknown to us until it becomes uncovered, so the 'truth' is different from what is already publicly known. Anybody who is not satisfied with the asymmetric differentiation experienced at present, would seek to discover the 'true' histories to explain the 'true' asymmetric differentiations. In other words, they would uncover the

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71 People describe how pomba-weeds return to the soil quickly while, by contrast, a lélé (banyan tree) or a léké (liana) lives a long time.

72 A variety of histories are also told depending on the speaker's specific concerns. Some examples of these specific histories are also presented in other chapters, especially chapter 4.
illegitimacy of the *de facto* successors to certain prerogatives, which are supposed to induce the asymmetric differentiations among the people.

Wologai people like to speculate about common historical topics such as Anakalo, sliding-offspring, Nuaoné and Séko Léngo. Speculation makes the histories fluid. That Giu was Séko Léngo, that Séko Du'a is Séko Léngo, that there were two Séko Léngos - father and son, whose true name is Daa - or that there are nine sets of intriguing names each of which has Séko as a component are a few examples of people's speculations.

Stories about a certain historical character, like Séko Léngo or Giu, do not form a distinct corpus. Depending on the speaker's concerns, two or more historical characters, who otherwise are regarded as unrelated, may appear in one story as related characters.

Compare the story about the original relation between Wologai and Nuaoné, and the story about 'the raid of the Ndito people'. These stories are told by the same speaker. The comparison shows that one may relate the same historical characters to each other, depending on one's concerns. In the first story, Iné Bewu plays the most important part in explaining the original relation between Nuaoné and Wologai, and neither Giu nor Lamba appear. The speaker is not concerned with how characters other than those in the story are related to Iné Bewu. But Iné Bewu is Lamba's mother in the second story, which is told mainly to assert Lamba's legitimacy and Giu's usurpation concerning the great-ritual-leadership. Because of the speaker's motivation, it is advantageous to present Bewu as Lamba's mother.73

While the relations and compatibility between the 'true' histories are sometimes beyond the speaker's concern, the rationale concerning the true histories and the present facts are likely to be maintained. A ritual-leader of Ana Lamba, who tells the histories to explain Ana Lamba's 'true' legitimate claim to the ritual-leadership, told three 'true' histories on three different occasions. His story about Giu's usurpation of the great-ritual-leadership has been given above. On another occasion, he talked about Mité's usurpation of the great-ritual-leadership as follows:

They say "Mité Lamba, Mité Lamba". But what is true is Mité Giu. Mité was Giu's son. Mité was the spokesman of the ritual-leader Lodo,  

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73 A man who is affiliated with Faunaka also recounted 'the raid of the Ndito', which is presented in the appendix 2. Rabu Du'a, who is not mentioned in the story by this Wologai man, plays an important role. Rabu Du'a is one of the most important ancestors of the Faunaka. This Faunaka speaker's concern was to represent Faunaka as the guardian of Wologai. Bewu and her relation to Lamba are beyond his concern.
who was deaf: *pidi wiwi // lapi lema éo Lodo, ngai Lodo wiwi bai lo'ol//lema bai boko* (assist the mouth, support the tongue of Lodo, because Lodo's mouth was too small, his tongue was too short). Mité took advantage of Lodo's inability and consequently usurped the great-ritual-leadership. Mité arbitrarily connected his name with Lamba.

He also asserts that Ana Lamba's 'true' rights to the ritual-leadership were usurped by Sa'o Labo and Sa'o Léwa Béwa recently during the period of Dutch colonialism. These three histories are redundant as explanations and their redundancy could undermine the authenticity of the stories, but that is totally beyond his concern.

**COMMON MODALITY**

Even from the limited number of examples shown above, it is apparent that the accounts of 'true' histories are diverse and may contradict each other. However, common modes of historiography can be found.

Many Wologai people find similarities between Séko Léngo and Giu. Both are usually depicted as originating from the foreign or outside world and as being powerful mystically and politically, although Giu is depicted as foreign only to the Wologai ritual-village and the narratives about Giu concern only the Wologai ritual-village. People usually consider that Giu came from somewhere on Flores and also that he 'originated' (*ngéé wa'u*) from Lépémbusu. Some even speculate that the names, Séko Léngo and Giu, signify the same 'historical' personage. Just as Séko Léngo is depicted as having established his power in certain areas by marrying an indigenous woman, so too Giu. The people also point to the similarity between the ancient historical characters, Séko Léngo and Giu, and two more recent historical characters, Pada and Ghéta. Pada and Ghéta are described as being associated with foreignness, just like Séko Léngo and Giu. According to the true histories shown above, although Pada and Ghéta were peripheral to the legitimacy of the Wologai ritual-village, Pada and Ghéta usurped this by establishing the alliance with the foreign power, especially through marriage.

The rationale on which the Wologai people base the 'true' histories can be illustrated by the following Wologai spatial metaphor. Legitimacy should be at the centre and the centre should be higher than (superior to) the periphery, but the fact is that the legitimacy of the centre has been usurped by the periphery. Legitimate influential power should emanate centrifugally but the illegitimate usurping power has invaded centripetally. This spatial metaphor is explicit in the
narratives about Anakalo, the sliding-offspring, Séko Léngo, the Dutch and the Japanese, but it is latent in those about Giu and Ghéta Pada.

**ONTOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES AND POLITICAL INTENTION**

While the Wologai people recount these narratives about the past for political reasons, they also search for the 'true' stories of the past in order to achieve a deeper understanding of the world. Thus, people often talk about the past for both political and philosophical reasons. So-called origin stories are told mainly for philosophical reasons. The story about the genesis of Anakalo is an exception. It can be told not only as a political statement, but also for ontological understanding of the world.

The stories of how Séko Léngo established his prerogatives in the lands (*tana*) and ritual-villages (*nuu*) can be read as stories about how the world was transformed. While the origin stories relate the fundamental ontological transformation of the world for human beings, the stories of Séko Léngo account for the secondary politico-ritual transformation. The means by which the transformations were caused in the stories of Séko Léngo are as follows: speaking, namely, using the tricky phrases, *wengi lima rua* (seven days later) for *wengi rua* (two days later); having sexual intercourse, for example, with Fai Lanu; cutting Rata, Rau. Giu also transformed the Wologai people's world by marrying a woman or stabbing a rival. People say that his eloquence made it possible for him to establish his power in Wologai. Pada and Ghéta also transformed the Wologai people's world through marriage. People consider that their influential power also derived from their eloquence. These means for the transformation of the world in stories of Séko Léngo, Giu, and Pada and Ghéta, that is to say, speaking, marrying and cutting are all related to the fundamental ontological transformation of the world recounted in the origin stories.

Wologai people narrate histories with their own specific political intentions in a form concordant with their ontology.⁷⁴ Thus on the one hand, the 'true histories' told and sought after because of political intentions are also based on ontological principles. On the other, acquiring the origin stories are motivated not only by philosophical intentions but also by political intentions, intentions related

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⁷⁴ While the colonial and post-colonial influence on Wologai people cannot be ignored, it is almost impossible to see how that influence has changed the Wologai people's philosophy of history. It seems to me that while the recent and present experiences might have influenced Wologai people's historiography, their philosophy of history cannot be the product of these limited experiences.
to domination over others, because people believe that acquiring secret knowledge makes its owner powerful. As such, philosophy and politics are interlocked.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{75} In exploring the friction between political-economy and culturalist perspectives in studies of Pacific societies, Biersack observes:

The kingship literature makes abundantly clear ... that Pacific symbolism is saturated with political values and that at least some Pacific societies are organized in the first instance as polities---suggesting not only the inadequacy of the dichotomization but the place for political-cum-symbolic analysis in ethnography (1991: 17).

If 'symbolic' can be understood as 'ontological', Pacific societies may indicate the same features that Wologai histories do.
Chapter 6

THE SOURCE AS OTHERS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the Wologai rationale of power and prosperity, which constitutes their politico-ontology and informs their activities. On the one hand Wologai perceive and manage their relationships with other people, with other beings and the world as a whole, according to this rationale. On the other hand it is (re)created in their speculation, discourse and conduct. Wologai people are people who are engaged with each other not only because of their attachment to the Wologai ritual-village but also because of their shared modes and themes of perception, of experience and of activities. The degree of attachment to the ritual-village varies from person to person and also according to contexts. Those shared modes are always communicated and negotiated through activities. This chapter also explores the basic principles underlying the Wologai rationale of power and prosperity in terms of two modes of differentiation: objective and subjective differentiation.

In relation to other chapters, the role of this chapter is twofold. It gives a perspective to link the foregoing chapters together and it allows the following chapters to be put into the same perspective.

The ethnographic warp-thread of this chapter is provided by clarifying the notion of bhisa, a word which describes the quality inherent in a source of power, prosperity, well-being and life. Wologai people describe certain asymmetric relations between people with idioms such as iné (mother), iné ema (mother father), iné amé (progenitors), pu’u kamu (trunk and root), ngéé wa’u (originated and descended), and mai (came). These idioms designate the ontological superiority of people of the source over people who originated from it or over people who owe their power, prosperity and/or life to the source. The asymmetric relations expressed by these idioms can be described with the term bhisa. In other words, the superiority idiomatised in these phrases is experienced as a kind of power described as bhisa. This asymmetry cannot be reversed.

Not only other people but also other beings can be ontologically superior to people. If other beings are the sources of people's power, prosperity, well-being and life, while those idioms such as iné (mother), iné ema (mother father), iné
amé (progenitors), pu’u kamu (trunk and root), ngéé wa’u (originated and descended), and mai (came) are not used to describe those other beings, they are predicated as bhisa.

WHAT IS BHISA?

It is difficult to translate bhisa into one English concept. In an unspecified context bhisa can be translated as 'mystically-powerful'. When referring to certain contexts, such as those described below, different translations --- 'mystically efficacious', 'being a source of power and and well-being' and 'awe-inspiring' --- can be applied. Some medicines, spells or rituals are described as bhisa, which may be translated as 'mystically-efficacious'. Some rituals, ritual-leaders and the ritual-village can be 'a source of power and well-being'. The village-rituals, the ritual-village and even the ritual-leaders can be 'awe-inspiring' because they can be a 'source of destructive as well as beneficial power' as can certain places, especially in forests and places related to the spirits. If gia, which is never used without being preceded by bhisa, is coupled with bhisa, the awe-inspiring attribute is emphasised.

Power, strength, faculty or ability favourable to one's own life are distinguished with various words in West Lio. If one is physically strong, especially in working in a field, one is negi. If one is an able and responsible person in social matters, one is mulé, negi mulé. Like negi, mulé also describes physical strength, while negi means ability to be socially responsible. An influential person is described as having senggu waka, heavy in senggu waka, or full of senggu waka. Some people consider that senggu waka or waka is some invisible material in the human body. If one is invincible against any attack, one must have kobho. If one has the ability to make one's attackers miss, one must have séla. The mystic power of kobho and séla is usually attained by wearing a piece of wood, bamboo, stones or a bundle of these items, which are considered to be distinctive. They are also called kobho or séla, or the combined form,

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1 Similarity is found between the Malay word bisa and the West Lio word bhisa not only phonologically but also semantically. Bisa in Malay cannot be translated into one English concept either. It can mean both poisonous and powerful, in the sense of a magically effective charm (Laderman 1983).

2 In the phrase bhisa gia, bhisa can be said to be the 'main' word and gia the 'additional' word. There are many conventional phrases composed of a 'main' word and a 'additional' word. It is also worth noting that bhisa and gia have the same vowels in the same order. There is no West-Lio word which is equivalent to the English word 'power'. The West-Lio concept related to power consists of various categories.

3 Senggu waka also refer to a category of spells. See chapter 8.
**kobho séla.** If one is invincible against any weapons, one is *doga.* If one is virile in terms of sexual and warlike power, one is *tego.* If one is aggressive and brave in war, in confrontation and in danger, or if one can make others fearful by getting furious at them, one is *bani.* If one can organise many people, can exercise leadership, and is influential, weighty and wealthy, one is described as *ria* (big, great) (See Table 6-1). Since *mbé’o* means not only 'to know' but also 'to be able', *mbé’o* also denotes some ability, faculty or power.

**TABLE 6-1. MEANINGS AND USAGE OF WORDS CONCERNING OVERT POWERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANINGS</th>
<th>Usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mulé</em></td>
<td>able, responsible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>negi</em></td>
<td>physically persevering,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strong, robust,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>socially responsible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tego</em></td>
<td>vigorous, aggressive,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>offensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>virile, sexually potent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strongly erected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bani</em></td>
<td>brave, bold, aggressive,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fierce, furious, violent,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>angry, offensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kobho</em></td>
<td>invincible, invulnerable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>defensive, protective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngala</em></td>
<td>possible, able, can, to win</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>doga</em></td>
<td>invulnerable to weapons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>defensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>waka</em></td>
<td>influential power implicitly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>combined with wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ria</em></td>
<td>politically influential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and economically prosperous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mbé’o</em></td>
<td>to know, to be informed,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to know the way to do something,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to be able to do something</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

especially power in a war  
most commonly used to mean 'being able to do'  
*topo doga*; immune to attack by machete  
interchangeable with *waka ngangga* or *senggu* *waka*; similar to but not interchangeable with *ria*; describing a person as well as the nature of the power itself  
similar to but not interchangeable with *waka*; only describing a person whose political power is publicly recognised, often in forms of official status such as in the colonial or state government  
if the object of *mbé’o* is not specified, it can mean 'to have special knowledge people usually do not have'; *ata* *mbé’o* means 'person of healing power' or 'person of clairvoyance'  

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4 *Bani* also means 'angry'.

All these kinds of power, strength and ability are overt, in contrast with the covertness of bhisa. People consider that any overt power originates from a source, which is bhisa. Well-being is the goal of the Wologai people. They think that well-being also originates from a bhisa source, often being mediated by some overt power.

Wologai do not consider that a person can be totally detached from that person's source of power and well-being. Even for minimal well-being or overt power, one must relate to something or somebody who is bhisa. Thus bhisa not only indicates a source of power and well-being but also implies the irreversible asymmetric relation between people and their source of power, prosperity, well-being and life.

BHISA AND THE WOLOGAI RITUAL-VILLAGE

CONCEPT OF BHISA FOR INSISTING ON SUPERIORITY OF THE WOLOGAI

During my stay in Wologai, the position people allocated to me varied depending on the situation and context, the degree of interaction with me, and probably various other personal tendencies. During the first stage of my stay, however, people usually categorised me as a 'foreigner', which is phrased as tua aë (master of the sea), ata laja ghawa // ata mangu lau (people of the sail abroad, people of the mast overseas). Whenever they allocated to me the position of 'foreigner', they tried to draw my attention to how they were important and prestigious in comparison to others, including me, in various ways. One of these ways was to illustrate that the Wologai people, especially their ritual-leaders, their great-ritual, and their ritual-village are bhisa (awe-inspiring and the source of power and well-being) to outsiders. The following story exemplifies this:

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5 It can be misleading to summarise the difference between a West Lionese word, for example bhisa, and the English word 'power' in order to figure out the difference between the West Lionese rationale and English rationale, as Anderson did with the Javanese word kesakten and 'power' (1972). While Koentjaraningrat (1980) criticises Anderson's view, the criticism does not seem successful. One of the main reasons for the failure is that he basically uses the same methodology as Anderson. In one article Anderson summarises the modern European concept of 'power' as follows: Power is abstract. Strictly speaking, it does not "exist." Power is a word commonly used to describe a relationship or relationships (1972: 5). However, in a later article he argues that 'power' is a universal or analytical category, "...power,..., in any culture, is fundamentally a metaphor for causality. From the Javanese data it seemed plausible to argue that all human societies at one time or another had had a substantive view of power as an emanation of the cosmic or divine; but each culture had probably developed its own idiosyncratic diagnostic of this power (1990: 79)". By presenting this argument, Anderson, eventually, seems to cancel the schematic contrast between the Javanese idea of power and the modern European concept of power in the former article, at least partly.
Our great-ritual is really awe-inspiring. It can influence all the people in the world. During our great-ritual, if outsiders pass our area and see our ritual-leaders on the road, outsiders cannot help hiding themselves, because our ritual-leaders are bhisa to them. It is quite natural, since we, Wologai, are their source.

The concept of bhisa is important for Wologai to live out a self-centred world view vis-à-vis outsiders to their ritual-village.

STRUCTURING AND EXPERIENCING THE RITUAL-VILLAGE

The concept bhisa plays an important part in internally structuring the ritual-village. This concept mediates the dialectic relationship between the structure of the ritual-village and people’s experience and activities concerned with the ritual-village. According to the orthodoxy of the ritual-village, the ritual-village is extremely bhisa. This idea is manifested in terms of socio-space, categories of people, and activities.

The ritual-village as a social category has its physical ritual-village as its bhisa centre. The ritual-village is bhisa to the outside. While settlements and other constructions outside the ritual-village are not bhisa, the ritual-village as well as its buildings and constructions are bhisa. They are a source of the Wologai’s power and well-being, and are also awe-inspiring. People stress that wrong behaviour towards the ritual-village and its components might affect the perpetrator destructively. In other words, even without any institutionalised sanctions, people’s acts in the ritual-village ought to be structured by recognising it as bhisa.

The village-rituals are the source of the collective power and well-being of Wologai. Most bhisa village-rituals are performed at the ritual-village. Village-rituals are a set of prescriptive and/or proscriptive acts. If one breaks these prescriptions and proscriptions, one falls into misery.

With the concept bhisa, ontologically asymmetric relations between different categories of people in the ritual-village are structured and experienced. Ritual-leaders are bhisa (source of power and well-being as well as awe-inspiring) to widow-orphan people, at least in the context of village-rituals. Even outside these, it is said, the curse cast by ritual-leaders over widow-orphan people is mystically efficacious (bhisa).6

6 See the conflict concerning Wolondopo land in chapter 5.
Being bhisa is constructed relatively. According to the orthodoxy of the ritual-village the origin-ritual-leaders are bhisa to the great-ritual-leader, as are the mother-ritual-leaders to the male ritual-leaders as a 'mother' (iné) of the male ritual-leaders.

Some attributes of power emanating from the centre of the ritual-village are verbally specified. The title ria béwa denotes the great-ritual-leader's attribute as 'great and high', while the title of the origin-ritual-leader, pu'u, denotes his attribute as 'trunk', that is to say, source and/or origin. The orthodox speech of the ritual-village indicates that the origin-ritual-leader is the giver of the great-ritual-leader's power, which is referred to as ria béwa (great high) or more concretely as 'calling in a big voice, summoning in a high tone' (pai ria // niu béwa) or as 'big mouth, long tongue' (wiwi ria // lema béwa). The ideal attributes of the great-ritual-leader are also described as negi mulé (robust and able) or in metaphor as persevering in carrying things on the head, persevering in carrying things on the shoulder (su'u si negi, wangga si negi). People paraphrase this power of the great-ritual-leader as his 'ability to work hard, to deal with outsiders, and to lead people to work on behalf of the ritual-village'. He must be strong, eloquent, influential, and wealthy in order to deal with people on behalf of the ritual-village and ritual-leaders, especially the origin-ritual-leader. The orthodoxy of the ritual-village depicts the socio-politico-economic ability of the great-ritual-leader as granted by, and able to be taken away by, the other ritual-leaders, especially the origin-ritual-leader as the following couplets indicate.

wiwi kau ria, mosa laki wir
lema kau béwa, mosa laki esa
pidi wiwi laki
lapi lema ongga

your mouth is big, because the ritual-leaders tear [it]
your tongue is long, because the ritual-leaders pull [it]
assist the mouth of the legitimate-leaders
support the tongue of the ritual-leaders

In correspondence with the structure of the origin-ritual-leader and the great-ritual-leader, the different nature of power is structured. Thus, just as the great-

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7 See chapter 2. Mulé is paired with negi in a couplet such as tana negi // watu mulé (land gained because of one's ability, literally 'robust land, able stone'). Mulé means 'able' and 'responsible'. Negi means 'physically persevering, strong and robust' as well as 'socially responsible'. Mulé is paired with kana in the couplet, mulé iwa talo // kana iwa mona (able enough to make anything possible). It is said that the great-ritual-leader should be mulé iwa talo // kana iwa mona. Kana alone means 'husk'. Mona is not used in daily conversation. Mona is a word meaning 'not', 'not exist' or 'not have' in the language in the area at the border of kabupaten Ende and kabupaten Ngada.

8 In these verses eloquence, symbolised by a 'mouth' and a 'tongue', represent 'leading power'. The long version of the verses is in chapter 2.
ritual-leader is submissive to the origin-ritual-leader, so is socio-politico-economic ability (negi // mulé, ria // béwa) to mystic power (bhisa).

That widow-orphan people are ritually secondary to ritual-leaders is manifested not only in the prescriptions of ritual roles but also in some component rituals of the great-ritual. Many people consider that the ritual-leaders vouchsafe to widow-orphan people specific overt powers, such as sexual, warlike or agile power in these component rituals. In two of these rituals, known as 'distributing virile and aggressive rice'\(^9\) and 'eating invincible rice'\(^10\), it is believed that the power indicated by the verbal labels of the component rituals are granted by ritual-leaders to widow-orphan people.

In 'distributing virile and aggressive rice', half-cooked ritual rice known as *aré tego bani* ('virile aggressive rice') is distributed by the ritual-leaders to any men at the temple to be eaten there. It is said that the rice makes the men, 'virile, aggressive', especially in terms of sexual and warlike power. Women may not receive rice at the temple, but the men who receive the rice there can give it to women later. The rice has a moderate effect on the women who eat it.

In the 'eating invincible rice' ritual (*kaa aré kobho*) three male widow-orphan people eat cooked rice referred to as 'invincible rice' (*aré kobho*) served by ritual-leaders in the ritual-house of Bhisu Koja.\(^11\) It is said that this makes the men eating the rice invincible.

The 'virile, aggressive' (*tego // bani*) power and 'invincible' (*kobho*) power can be rephrased as 'warlike' power generally, since the former means offensive power and the latter defensive power. The idea is that the warlike power is given by ritual-leaders to widow-orphan people, that is to say, the former is a source of the latter's power. The 'mystic-origin' (*bhisa*) power has precedence over the 'virile, aggressive' (*tego // bani*) in terms of the structure of the concepts of power.

According to the orthodoxy of the ritual-village, sources of power are structured in a relatively centripetal manner. This structure should be reproduced

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9 According to Arndt, who collected data mainly in the East-Lio speaking area, *negi* means 'sexually potent' (1933). In Wologai, while in euphemistic expressions *negi* might possibly mean 'sexually potent', it does not usually have this meaning. In contrast an Endenesene term *tenggo*, a cognate of Lioense *tego*, does not have sexual connotations but means strong in working or walking.

10 Native words are *kaa kobho* or *kaa aré kobho*.

11 *Kobho* also refers to a container, which is used in this ritual. *Kobho* is a pun in this ritual. This kind of pun is also applied to organise activities. A goat (*ruso*), for example, may not slaughtered on the occasion of building or repairing the ritual-houses or the temple, since they can be *ruso rambi* (destroyed and demolished).
through the legitimate succession of ritual-leaders, keeping the ritual-village and performing the village-rituals without any change.

As the ritual-village centrifugally distributes explicit power to promote people's overt power and prosperity, so it also emanates punitive power. The ritual-village gives the ritual-leaders the prerogative to punish rebels against its authority by fining them or driving them away. Punitive power affects people who infringe the rules of village-rituals. It is asserted, for example, that if participants infringe the prescription for 'eating invincible rice' (kaa aré kobho), which states that the participants must not speak, cough, urinate, excrete, break wind or spit, they will punished and are destined to commit adultery and/or theft, to suffer a terrible skin disease (neka raa) or to die a premature death. In the case of the stolen statues in 1983, a ritual-leader sang a lament for the earth (nangi tana watu) in the temple to invoke nitu pa'i spirits to punish the thief. The divination for the theft was carried out by the ritual-leaders at the ritual-courtyard, and the soil (tana) and stone powder cut out from the standing stone altar (tubu musu) were given to the accused.

COLLECTIVE WELL-BEING

Wologai people consider that power, ability and strength result in well-being. Well-being takes various forms, which can be generated in terms of production, reproduction, health, manpower and wealth.

According to its own orthodoxy, the ritual-village guarantees the prosperity of the whole society especially through the performance of rituals. 'Robust, able' (negi // mulé), 'virile, aggressive' (tego // bani) or 'invincible' (kobho) power is given by the person at the centre of the ritual-village to those who are more peripheral. One of the chants in the great-ritual makes manifest the purpose of the

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12 In translating other cultures the use of metaphorical descriptions seems almost inevitable. These metaphors often help one to understand other cultures as well as to make clear the analysis. 'Flow' is one of the "brilliant" metaphors which is often used to describe and to analyse the ontology in eastern Indonesia. The more brilliant the metaphor is, the more it might undermine the accuracy of the description and analysis of a specific society. Needham points out that 'soul substance', a metaphor used by Dutch scholars in order to understand headhunting in Indonesia, is an anthropological invention which eventually distorted the data. Keeseing argues that the Codrintonian concept of mana as an invisible medium of power is merely European invention (Keeseing 1984). I use 'emanate' rather than 'flow' because Wologai people do not conceive of substantivzied power as flow, and because 'emanate' is less likely to distort the underlying meaning.

13 See chapter 2.

ritual and the images of well-being and prosperity that village-rituals produce for the people.

susu nggua
nama bapu
susu nggua puu
nama bapu olo
susu nggua ma'ë du'u
nama bapu ma'ë dutë
tuka ngée
kambu wonga
bhondo ma'ë lo'o
kapa ma'ë mbéré
ngée se riwu rési
beka selaka saa
ngée a'a kaki
ria tau dari nia
béwa tau pasé la'ë
ngée a'a fai
tau pedo pewo
tau leki wesa
buru ma'ë pu'u
kaka ma'ë bogë
kélé ma'ë ngénggé
taga ma'ë rara
teko tu'u ngéré su'a nua
loo maku ngéré watu lowo
teko keta
loo nggaa
keta ngéré kobé aë
nggaa ngéré aë koo
ata ta'u ngéré nipa ria
gaa ngéré bara bani
nira ngéré fila
ngara ngéré ngaba
tedo tembu
wesa wela
gaga bo'o
kéwi aë

accomplish the ritual
perform the ceremony
accomplish the primordial ritual
perform the primeval ceremony
do not stop accomplishing the ritual
do not cease performing the ceremony
the abdomen bears (life)
the belly brings forth (life)
many, do not decrease
thick, do not diminish
bear more than a thousand
flourish to a million
bear men,
great enough to replace their predecessors
high enough to occupy their positions
bear women,
to replace the gap
to close the crevice
may buru-skin disease not stick with us at all
may kaka-skin disease not stick with us even a bit
may our armpits not be loosened
may our calves not be ulcerated
bodies as strong as iron sticks in the village
trunks as hard as stones in the river
cool bodies
refreshed trunks
cool like midnight
refreshed like a murmuring stream
people fear us as if we were pythons
they shudder at us as if we were fierce snakes
they look out on us as if they look out on a precipice
they look up to us as if they look up at a cliff
sow grains and they grow well
scatter seeds and they flourish
we work in the field and have a good harvest
we tap arenga palms and get juice
bo'o duu ténga boo a good harvest, enough to break the beams
beka duu dalo bewa a satisfying harvest, enough to crack the lower beam
peni ngéré feed chickens to breed
wesi nuwa nourish pigs to proliferate
kamba ngéré mboko nio water buffaloes as many as stones
manu ngéré nggaké léla chickens as many as flying butterflies
wavi ngéré gana rési pigs more than the troughs
lako ngéré woé waja dogs surround all over the hearths
jara ngéré welé wara horses proliferate as many as wara blossoms
wea ngéré mbola loa gold ornaments overflow from the baskets
gbé ngéré nggebhi rési gold pendants more than the containers
sué ngéré mangu rajo elephant tusks as long as the mast of a raft15

The chant starts by asserting that the supreme imperative is to perform regularly the village-rituals as a heritage from primordial time. Then follows a prayer for prosperity in terms of reproduction and legitimate succession, health and bodily strength. Next is a prayer for power over others, and then for prosperity in terms of production: making fields, tapping palms, and feeding chickens and pigs. Finally there is a prayer for the accumulation of wealth.

MULTIPLE BHISA-SOURCES AND RECURSIVE MEDIATIONS

By means of the relative concept of bhisa // gia, primordial time, spirits, ancestors, the earth, the village-rituals, other activities and prosperity are dynamically structured. On the one hand, the village-rituals are a device for the ritual-village to have access to spirits, ancestors and the earth (tana // watu), which are of 'mystic origin power' (bhisa // gia), by invoking and making offerings to them. This promotes the collective prosperity of people, manifested as success in various activities. On the other hand, the village-rituals are themselves mystically powerful (bhisa // gia) because they are primordial rituals. Performing them thus promotes people's collective prosperity, as implied in the chant.

The ritual-leaders play a role similar to the village-rituals. Like the village-rituals, ritual-leaders are themselves bhisa // gia. Ritual-leaders also link people

15 In West Lionese grammar, the declarative and imperative are not differentiated except in negative sentences. In the chant above, all the negative sentences are imperative, so it is more appropriate to translate it in the form of a prayer.
with the sources of power and well-being (*bhisa*), namely, spirits, ancestors, the earth (*tana // watu*) and through village-rituals.

The ritual-leaders, like spirits or ancestors, are *bhisa // gia* to widow-orphan-people. By performing the village-rituals, the ritual-leaders promote people's life, well-being and prosperity in terms of success in various activities. People understand the following verses as revealing an image of the ritual-leaders similar to spirits or ancestors to whom they make offerings of a little portion of rice and meat:

\[
\begin{align*}
besu fai walu tuu ria laki & \quad \text{the prosperity of 'widow people' is brought to the great legitimacy} \\
bhanda ana kalo nawu béwa ongga & \quad \text{the richness of 'orphan people' is offered to the high ritual-leadership} \\
atia laki menga & \quad \text{what the ritual-leaders do is only} \\
mii leka wiwi & \quad \text{to feel the pleasant taste on the lips} \\
besa leka lema & \quad \text{to relish the taste on the tongue}
\end{align*}
\]

The ritual-leaders are mediators between people and the spirits, the ancestors and the earth. The ritual-leaders have access to these in order to make the ritual-village and the people powerful and prosperous by performing the village-rituals. This does not mean that the ritual-leaders 'control' *bhisa // gia* through the rituals. The village-rituals as well as the ritual-leaders are mediators who are transcended by spirits, ancestors and the world (*tana // watu*). Prophetic ritual acts contained in the village-rituals indicate that the ritual-leaders' 'control' of *bhisa // gia* is not complete. Let me refer to two examples of prophetic rituals in which this implication is clear. The first example is a prophetic ritual act performed in the middle stage and the second-to-last stage of the great-ritual.

A branch of areca nuts is dropped to the ground and the great-ritual-leader looks at the position of the branch. If it is lying on its concave side, it means many girls will be born in the coming year. If it is on its convex side, many boys will be born. If it is in any other position, not many babies will be born.

The origin-ritual-leader takes three pieces of burning wood from the hearth of the house of Bhsu Koja to just outside the tail gate. He puts them close together on the ground and pours water on them. If they come apart, insects called *ulé api*\(^{16}\) will not attack the paddy in the

\(^{16}\) *Ulé api* is translated as *werang* in Indonesian. This might refer to brown plant hoppers (*brown rice delphacids*) (Kalshoven 1981: 130).
coming year and the harvest will be good. If they do not come apart, ulé api will attack and the harvest will not be good.

The sources of power and prosperity of the ritual-village are multiple. They are sources to which the ritual-leaders make offerings or which the ritual-leaders invoke. The most fundamental source seems to be the 'earth' (tana or tana // watu). The village-rituals are also called nggua tana watu (rituals of the 'earth'). Offerings are made to the valuables referred to as Wéa Tana Watu (literally 'gold of the earth and rock'), which is placed in a wooden box at the back right hand corner of the floor of a ritual-house. Nobody may ever open the box of Wéa Tana Watu. Wéa Tana Watu can be understood as a manifestation of the 'earth' (tana // watu). Ancestors to whom the ritual-leaders make offerings and invocations in the village-rituals are considered to be the ancestral collectivity of the ritual-village rather than personal ancestors. Wéa Tana Watu is also called Du'a Ria, which literally means 'very old'. It is regarded as a collective ancestor. By means of Du'a Ria/Wéa Tana Watu the 'earth' and the ancestral collectivity are merged together.

The ritual-leaders also make offerings to other spiritual beings such as nitu // pa'i, Polo Ria, Wula Leja (literally 'moon and sun') and Mewa Rani. Offerings to nitu // pa'i spirits are made at the standing-stone-altar (tubu musu) and in the fields. People seem to regard nitu // pa'i as an anthropomorphic manifestation of the 'earth' (tana // watu). Prayers and offerings are made to nitu // pa'i in the village-rituals. Before clearing the forest to make fields, the ritual-leaders ask a 'man of mystic origin power' (ata bhisa) to move nitu // pa'i to a secure place and then to make offerings to the nitu // pa'i. In bringing materials for the ritual-houses or the temple from the forests, the ritual-leaders must block nitu // pa'i from coming into the ritual-village by making offerings and casting spells. Nitu // pa'i as an anthropomorphic manifestation of the 'earth' is a source of the punitive power of the ritual-village. The ritual-leaders might invoke the nitu // pa'i to punish the people who infringe the authority of the ritual-village. When the hereditary statues were stolen, for example, a ritual-leader invoked the nitu // pa'i to kill the thief. Then people saw nitu // pa'i coming and flying in the form of a red flame.

Polo Ria is a monstrous being living down at Pu'u Tana (literally 'the base of the earth').¹⁷ Polo Ria can also be understood as a manifestation of the 'earth'.

¹⁷ The origin story of Poloria is in chapter 5.
No concrete image is attached to Wula Leja. Offerings to Wula Leja are put on the 'veranda (ténda) of Wula Leja' hanging above Wéa Tana Watu. According to some people, the relative positions of the 'veranda of Wula Leja' and Wéa Tana Watu imply that the 'earth' is superior to Wula Leja because the base is superior to the tip. Offerings to Mewa Rani are thrown up in the great-ritual. The only explanation about Mewa Rani I was given is that it is the morning star. Mewa Rani also seems to be a peripheral spirit in contrast with those related to the 'earth'.

CONCEPT OF POWER INDEPENDENT FROM THE ORTHODOXY TO THE RITUAL-VILLAGE

According to the orthodoxy of the ritual-village, the 'power structure' of the people in relation to the sources is well ordered in a centripetal way. Some power or ability, however, can appear accidentally, producing a random array of power and ability among the people that is independent of the 'power structure' of the ritual-village. Examples include the following:

If one is born covered by the amnion (mboku taé), one becomes clairvoyant (mboko mata jedhé). If one's birth was a difficult breech birth (ka'o saké), one becomes a person of revelations through dreaming (ata nipi, literally a person of dreams).

Some can attain personal sources of power by chance. Places and such animals as snakes (nipa), eels (kéba), crocodiles (mori), and lizards (degi) can be personal sources of revelatory power. Some say that these animals or places are the means through which revelatory power is given and that the source of this power is spirits. It is also said that the sources of the revelatory power offer certain kinds of objects such as a stone, a piece of wood or a piece of bamboo which makes the bearer strong. One man, for example, always carries with him a peculiarly shaped stone which was given him by his source of revelatory power. He told me that he had stopped the attack of an untamed water buffalo simply by holding the stone still in front of him. An ata bhisa (person of mystic power who can cure and deal with natural spirits) or ata nipi (person of dreams) has a source of revelatory power.

Some people have the gift of being able quickly to see danger, such as poisonous snakes. These people are called mata lédhé (clear eyes). Some people have a gift of being able to see spirits. These people are

18 In an entertaining story, Mewa Rani is an old man with a very long beard.
called *mata lélé* (sharp eye). Some people have been given the ability to see the personal source of revelatory power of others, to predict death or to know the cause of death, although they cannot necessarily prevent the death. These people are called *ata maé mbéré* (people of transparent soul), *mata bega* (piercing eyes) or *ata bega* (piercing people).

An ability for building or for carving is also thought of as a gift. People with such gifts are called *ata ngesa* (people of art) or *ata rawi mali* (people who know how to build). These people acquire their knowledge or inspiration through dreaming.

PERSONAL ACCESS TO BHISA-SOURCES

While the collective prosperity and power of the ritual-village are promoted through the mediation of the ritual-leaders and the village-rituals, people endeavour to have personal access to *bhisa*-sources. They believe that they can dominate others, or avoid being dominated by others, by acquiring power and prosperity from *bhisa*-sources.

VOLUNTARY ACCESS TO BHISA-SOURCES OF THE RITUAL-VILLAGE

While the ritual-village, the ritual-leaders and the village-rituals focus mainly on promoting collective prosperity and power and no one, including the ritual-leaders, transgresses the restrictions on access to *bhisa* sources for the whole ritual-village, some roles and participation in the great-ritual are open to any Wologai people, even to visitors.

In the great-ritual, the ritual-leaders give the residual yams and the areca nuts to the audience, who compete with each other to receive these. People understand that acquiring them is auspicious, bringing prosperity and power. While prosperity and power are not usually specified especially in public, some people might interpret the meaning of the yams and the areca nuts. An old man, for example, gave me one of the areca nuts, saying, "Although married for a long time, you have not got a child. But this areca nut will bring you a baby".19

People's participation in the village-rituals not only assists in producing collective prosperity and power for the ritual-village, but also brings them personal prosperity and power. Participating in 'eating invincible rice' (*kaa aré*

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19 I gave birth in 1986 and visited this old man in 1987. He was very happy to hear that I finally had a child and proudly said, "Now you know what I told you is true".
kobho) brings the participants 'invincibility'. In loka bara ('spilling out white things'), a component ritual of the great-ritual, any man can receive 'virile and aggressive' rice (aré tego // bani) and monkey meat, which promote virile-sexual, agile and aggressive power.\(^{20}\)

After 'spilling white' (loka bara), a ritual competition called dhao ika aé mesi ('grasping a sea fish') is performed. It is said that the person who grasps the fish in this ritual competition will have influential power (waka) and high productivity, which is expressed in the couplets: gaga bo'o // kéwi aé, 'work in the field to have good harvest, tap arenga palms to get juice', peni ngée // wesi nuwa, 'feed chickens to breed, nourish pigs to proliferate'.

Swearing at the ritual-leaders using noka (terms of sexual abuse) is strictly prohibited. Those who do so must be driven away from the ritual-village. But when people sow seeds such as egg-plant and tomato, swearing at the ritual-leaders is allowed and is believed to result in a good harvest.\(^{21}\)

While these chances of personal access to bhisa-sources in the ritual-village are institutionalised, there are non-institutionalised ways to access a bhisa-source. People seem to consider the latter more effective than the former in making oneself distinctive in terms of personal power and prosperity. To know the meanings of the ritual-village, the village-rituals and their components is one way to gain personal power and prosperity. To have sexual intercourse with the ritual-courtyard is another.\(^{22}\) This sexual intercourse is considered to be sexual intercourse with the earth (tana watu). Both gaining the knowledge and performing this sexual act are privately and secretly accomplished. One may know the meanings of the ritual-village, the village-rituals and their components by integrating that which the knowledgeable people say with one's own experience through one's own speculation and revelation.

**INE, INE AME AND EMBU MAMO**

Any person inevitably owes his/her existence to other people, who can also be a current source of explicit powers and well-being. Parents (iné ema), ancestors

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20 Since loka can also mean a leader of monkeys, the phrase loka bara can mean a 'white leader monkey'.

21 People in the Ende-speaking area swear at the ritual owner of land in sowing.

22 I have never witnessed this type of sexual intercourse. Some people implied that a man had such sexual intercourse by ejaculating in the ritual-courtyard.
(embo mamo) and progenitors (iné amé) are three important categories of people related to one's source.

Parents (iné ema) are living people of one's source. Their curse or blessing is mystically efficacious (bhisa) to their children. People maintain that iné (mother) is more important than anyone else because everyone originates from his/her mother and all a father (ema) does is to stimulate the process, which is described as dédé ngée // paka beka (hit to procreate, beat to increase).23 They regard animals as similar to human beings in relation to their off-spring. They say that just as the mother (iné) is much more important than the father for animals, so it is for human beings. The curses or blessings of one's own mother are most effective. Since being on bad terms with one's own mother is very critical to one's life, one must strive to appease her.

Iné amé is a category of people from whom one originated (ngée // wa'u). Iné amé (progenitor) can be living people as well as dead people. If iné amé is applied to dead people, the term is hardly distinguishable from ancestors. If it is applied to living people, they are not necessarily regarded as a source. Genealogy or social conventions such as exchanges or affiliations with the ritual-houses (sa'o) do not necessarily determine who are one's iné amé as a source of one's power, well-being and prosperity. At a time of crisis, especially famine, barrenness or disease, people may seriously search for their living iné amé as an ontological source. At crucial stages of life, such as building a new house, marriage and rites of passage, some people may ask their iné amé to bless them.24 The iné amé on such occasions are chosen from a wide range of people. The person who is chosen as iné amé is then free to ignore the invitation or to accept it.25

23 Iné (mother) is important not only as a kin category but also as a more general category. See chapters 1, 2 and 8.

24 While traditional rites of passage are rarely performed, many parents allow their children to undergo the Catholic ceremony of passage, the first communion, when they invite their own or their children's iné amé to bless the children. The iné amé usually give the children luka (a shawl of ikat cloth) and the parents give the iné amé some meat.

25 The range of choices include the following. A man may choose his wife's nara ('brother', women speaking), his mother's nara or his father's other wife's nara, or his mother's mother's nara. If he is involved in a sa'o at any level and he has succeeded to the leadership of sa'o, a man may choose his predecessor's wife's nara's successor or his predecessor's mother's nara's successor. A woman may choose her mother's nara, her mother's mother's nara or his successor, her nara's predecessor's wife's nara's successor, or her nara's predecessor's mother's nara's successor. Nara ('brother') is the term used by a woman to indicate a categorical brother. The factors, including genealogical relations, behind the application of the term nara and hence identification of iné amé are often obscure. Some events concerning reproduction may establish one's iné amé retrospectively. A woman, for example, regarded a man as her mother's nara and hence her own iné amé because her mother, previously sterile, had become fertile after she and her husband had come to live in
Ancestors (*embu mamo*) are dead people regarded as one's ontological source. After their death, parents are regarded as ancestors. The genealogical relationship to one’s ancestors need not be clear. People say that they originated (*ngéé wa'u*) from their ancestors. People make offerings and invocations to their own ancestors for good results at crucial stages of life or agricultural cycle such as at sowing and harvesting. Offerings are usually made at a particular ancestor's tomb, including that of a dead parent, but prayers are used to invoke one's ancestors in general.

SPIRITS

People talk about many kinds of spirits, anthropomorphic beings occupying or roaming around forests, ridges, mountains, rivers, big trees, big rocks, paths and fields and other unpopulated places. All these spirits are ambivalent or malicious towards human beings. People name and differentiate such spirits with the following verbal labels: *iné léké* (mother liana), *susu deba* (swinging breasts), *susu bëwa* (long breasts), *longgo benga* (hollow back), *fénggè ré’è*, *tisi feri*, *saga boko* (short stature) and *nitu pa’i*.

People seem to understand 'swinging breasts' (*susu deba*) and 'long breasts' (*susu bëwa*) as different names for identical beings which have long breasts. People seem to regard 'mother liana' (*iné léké*) and 'swinging breasts' as almost identical beings, though 'mother liana' is mentioned more often than 'swinging breasts'. Both are said to originate from a woman who died in childbirth. Both can transform themselves into a man or into a woman. It is often said that a man, walking or working alone, is likely to come across 'mother liana' or 'swinging breasts' in the form of a beautiful woman. If he has sexual intercourse with her, he will soon die. People consider that 'mother liana' and 'swinging breasts' are somehow related to the earth (*tana watu*). 26 While it is usually said that 'mother liana' and 'swinging breasts' are malicious, some say that they may give revelatory medical knowledge.

'Hollow backs' (*longgo benga*) are also considered to be related to the earth. As the name indicates, they have a big hollow in their backs, so that all the inside of their body can be seen. Walking or working alone, one might meet a 'hollow back'. If it shows its back, the victim dies of fear. If it does not want to cause

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26 See chapter 4.

the man's house. People believe that the identity of their true *iné amé* is often unknown, unless some events, such as removal of barrenness, famine and disease, reveal the true *iné amé* as an ontological source.
harm, it passes without showing its back. This spirit usually appears as a beautiful woman with long hair covering the hollow in her back.

Differences between tisi feri (tisi, split; feri, voice of owls, a kind of grasshopper) and fënggë réé (fënggë, no meaning; réé, bad) are not clear. Some say that they are similar beings. Both are ugly and scary. Some say that they are related to the earth. They are usually regarded as malicious, but their effects are not as fatal as those of 'mother liana', 'swinging breasts' and 'hollow back'. Tisi feri and fënggë réé might give one revelatory power which affects others badly.

While encounters with 'mother liana', 'swinging breasts', 'hollow back', tisi feri and fënggë réé are rare, people quite often come across 'short stature' (saga boko). People of 'clear eyes' (mata lédhé) can see them clearly. Some say that 'short stature' usually appear in groups. As the name implies, they are short like a child. The sex of 'short stature' is not specified and they have fangs. They do not usually do any harm, if they are not disturbed. If disturbed, they will attack and kill or make one sick. They might give revelatory power, especially to ritual-leaders. A sound like 'shshsh.....' in a bush indicates the presence of 'short stature'. If 'short stature' come to an inhabited area, it is understood as a bad omen. It indicates that a person in that area will die soon. Some people also consider there to be associations between 'short statures' and the earth.

The spiritual beings most often spoken about are nitu // pa'i. While people sometimes deal with nitu // pa'i as a single kind of spirit and refer to them by the contraction nitu, they also regard nitu and pa'i as different spirits. They say nitu iju kipu // pa'i gela ngawi (the nitu has no nose // the pa'i has a harelip).

Nitu // pa'i are concerned in various phases of peoples' experience. People often deal with nitu // pa'i as if they encompassed all the spirits in the 'other' world, to which people are related but can hardly know. While narratives about Anakalo may explain the distinction between this world and the 'other' world temporarily, narratives about nitu // pa'i may distinguish this human world and

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27 Some people translate saga boko into Indonesian as orang pendek (short people).

28 When I walked at night together with Wologai people, they often pointed at the place from where the 'shh...' sound came saying 'there are some 'short statures'.

29 One night when I was chatting with a man in his house, his wife, who had 'clear eyes', screamed, seeing the feet of 'short stature' under the door. The other people in the house could not see them.

30 In many societies in eastern Indonesia, nitu refers to ancestors or spirits which are transformable into ancestors (Molnar 1994; Hoskins 1984; McWilliam 1989) or to a category encompassing both ancestors and other spirits (Fox 1971c). Wologai people, and probably other people in the vicinity, do not conceive of nitu in this way. In the Endeneese-speaking area, nitu is coupled with jimu and in Ngä'oneese-speaking area to the west of the Fndeneese-speaking area it is coupled with cimu. In Nagé nitu is identical with bapu (Forth 1991).
the 'other' world spatially: Nitu // pa'i are said to live in forests, at big trees, overseas, on the mountains, and to fly around in the sky. At the time of Anakalo, human beings and nitu // pa'i lived together, but now we live in separate worlds. Otherwise unexplained misfortunes are often considered to be caused by nitu // pa'i. The nitu // pa'i's world is a reverse of this world. Nitu // pa'i talk in a reversed way (bhalé bhitu) and their faeces are gold. On the one hand, nitu // pa'i are said to live on a remote island; on the other hand, the space of nitu // pa'i and that of human beings are adjacent. People come across nitu // pa'i quite often, although ordinary people cannot see them.

Much of our prosperity originates from nitu // pa'i. Forests, which human beings clear to make fields, in which we cut branches for firewood and from which we acquire materials for buildings, ought to be nitu // pa'i's. Animals in the forests are said to belong nitu // pa'i. Deer and wild pigs, the main game, are called 'nitu // pa'i's deer/goats' (rusa nitu // pa'i) and nitu // pa'i's pigs (wawi nitu // pa'i), or 'mountain-area deer/goats' (rusa ndu'a) and 'mountain-area pigs' (wawi ndu'a). Domestic goats and pigs on the other hand are called simply rusa and wawi or rusa nua (goat of nua) and wawi nua (pig of nua).

People consider that prosperity acquired from nitu // pa'i entails certain modes of transaction. When hunting, people must offer 'nitu // pa'i's gold' (wéa nitu pa'i) made of pandanus leaf and 'nitu // pa'i's animal' made of an eggplant to nitu // pa'i. If hunters kill an animal, its hair should be burnt in that place and a bit of the meat must be offered to nitu // pa'i.

While nitu // pa'i are a source of prosperity, they are also a source of disturbance and misfortune. By hiding or bending the paths nitu // pa'i often cause people to become lost. They also make people sick or insane. People who go to places they have never been to before, often become sick. This is the nitu // pa'i's way of indicating their presence. The sickness is a discontinuous fever: fever for several days, followed by recovery, but often developing a fever again. This kind of sickness is called 'nitu // pa'i greet' (nitu // pa'i mega; mega, to ask where to go, greet). To prevent this sickness, we have to talk to nitu pa'i before they 'greet' us saying 'Don't greet me. I have seen you before you greet me' (maé mega goo, aku tēi mulu). Sometimes nitu // pa'i cause serious disease or insanity, especially if one touches phantom valuables known as 'nitu // pa'i's valuables' (ngawu nitu // pa'i), which one may come across in forests. If the

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31 Whenever I got sick, the first explanation people gave me was that I had been greeted by nitu pa'i of the places I had recently visited.
disease or mental disturbance is serious, the patient or his family must offer 'nitu // pa'i's gold', 'nitu // pa'i's animal' made of a eggplant and 'substitute' (gêlu bhalé), a small doll made of lontar leaf, to the nitu // pa'i usually at the place where it is thought that the patient has met the nitu // pa'i.

Another spirit-like category is juu angi. In poetic language, juu angi is coupled with nitu // pa'i. Juu angi is contracted to juu. Juu angi are sometimes considered to be anthropomorphic beings similar to nitu // pa'i but otherwise to be a meteorological phenomenon, described as being like wind (angi), mist, fog or cloud. Some say that they usually remain on mountains, while nitu // pa'i in contrast remain around rivers. Once they arrive, they affect people indiscriminately like an epidemic. These effects are often fatal. If people consider the juu angi as anthropomorphic beings similar to nitu // pa'i, they regard the juu angi as able to communicate in some way somehow and as a source of the punitive power of the ritual-village. If people consider juu angi as a meteorological substance, they regard the juu angi as unable to communicate. In the latter case they consider the fatal effects of juu angi as punishment which is far beyond the powers of mediation of the ritual-village, probably by the earth (tana watu).

PLACES

Places can be bhisa. Places related to ancestors, nitu pa'i spirits and other spirits can be regarded as bhisa. Places can also be regarded as bhisa without an association with ancestors or spirits. Places associated with commonly known names, locations and stories are not regarded as bhisa. People think that to know the names, exact locations and/or the stories of certain places which are not commonly known, can be a source of personal power. Such places and knowledge are considered as bhisa or bhisa // gia. Any ambitious person might seek knowledge of bhisa-places through dreams, speculation and sessions with old knowledgeable people. Through a 'dream', a certain place can be regarded as a personal bhisa-place.

Names are the most indispensable among the three components of the knowledge of bhisa-places. It is unlikely that the knowledge-owner would not know the place name, although that person might not know locations and relevant stories. However, if a person is given revelatory power at a certain place, it becomes his/her bhisa-place and its location becomes the most important aspect, rather than its name or the story about it. To know locations does not necessarily
mean that one has ever been there; it often means that one can think about or imagine the place clearly.32

The ritual-village has generally accepted significance as a bhisa-place. Mt Lépémbusu has a shared importance among the people, although it is not referred to in village-rituals. At a personal level, it has diverse significance. Many people, usually through dreams and speculation, seek the locations of the primordial village (nuu) of various peoples or the names of the spots that people regard as the remains of the primordial village (nuu). A man told me he knew the exact place where there was a rock that a big snake had turned into in ancient times because, eating too much, its overflowing saliva had prevented it from moving. Through a dream he came to know the exact location and the exact name, although he had never visited the place. Some people who find the exact location of a bhisa-place may make offerings secretly.

DEEDS

In contrast with knowledge, certain deeds seeking for prosperity and power are usually overt and not secretive, as long as they do not impinge on the morality or virtue of the society. These deeds are not as obsessive as the search for knowledge to attain prosperity and power. They are more of a personal option. Indeed most traditional rituals or ritual acts, except those for the ritual-village, are a personal option and are only occasionally performed today, although they might have been more or less obligatory in former generations. Not only indigenous rituals, such as rituals for life cycles, building a dwelling house and agricultural rituals not for the ritual-village, but also newly-introduced Catholic life cycle rituals such as First Communion (sambut baru), and Catholic ritual acts like making the sign of the cross, are personal options. Deeds to promote health or to prevent disease, such as making or drinking medicine made of plants, massaging the body with mixtures of plants, as well as getting treatment in clinics or taking medicine sold in shops in the capital of the regency or the district are optional and not secretive. The following ritual act is an example.

32 What does it mean for us to know the location of a place? It might mean that we can point out the location on a map or that we can go to the location if it is in walking, riding or driving distance. However even in the latter case, maps might be a mediation. To know a location should be different in societies in which thinking with maps is pervasive from those societies in which it is not relevant. In the former type of societies people's thinking or imagination stops at maps. But in the latter type of societies, people's thinking and imagination are much more important. In either society, 'the real is as imagined as the imaginary' or the imaginary is as real as the real. The pervasive mediation of maps makes knowing the location different in these two types of societies (Geertz 1980:136).
In order to call the soul (*mae*) of rice, in other words, to call in proper prosperity, one might pronounce "krrrr..." while moving one's right hand towards oneself. This can be done at any critical stage of dealing with the rice such as at harvest, placing the rice into a barn, threshing. One might thresh the rice in the following way, to obtain prosperity.

Put the *lugé* of a mat to *ghéta*, the direction of the sunrise and put *watu bo'o* (stone of full stomach) under the *lugé*. Face in the direction of sunrise and pour the rice politely from a basket on the mat with its mouth in the direction of sunrise. Leave the basket with its mouth in the direction of sunrise.

*Lugé* means the edge of a mat from which the mat was rolled. *Watu bo'o* (*watu*, stone, rock; *bo'o*, feel full) is a kind of stone which looks like an ordinary stone but is much heavier. It is said that *watu bo'o* were brought back from *ghéta*, the direction of the sunrise at the time of the ancestors.

The foregoing deeds do not infringe the morality or the virtue of the society. However, some deeds which are believed to promote the actor's power and prosperity do so. These deeds are, or are thought to be, done secretly. The knowledge that such a deed encourages the actor's power and prosperity is usually secret and given in a dream, or through speculation or revelation. The enthusiasm and intensity shown when people talk about these deeds are not seen when they talk about beneficial deeds which are overt and optional.

*Waka* or *senggu waka* is thought to be invisible material in the body of a person. The more a person has a *waka*, the more influential that person can be. People presume that there are several ways to acquire influential power, *waka*. Eating a human liver is one way because a substance also called *waka* is contained in the human liver and a person can gain 'influential power' by ingesting it.33 Let me give some examples.

In order to acquire 'influential power' (*senggu waka*), one asks a witch to kill a baby. On the night of a full moon, the actor together with the witch bring the dead body to a *bhisa*-place. Then one makes the baby stand and tickles it to make it laugh and dance. When the baby comes back to life, the actor kills the baby again with one cut and eats the liver.

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33 Among the Endenese and the East-Lionese, *waka* is a transparent liquid which is secreted from the nose not long after death. See also Arndt 1933.
According to another man, to acquire *waka* one only needs to obtain the dead body of a newborn baby. It is said that a person is full of *waka*, if the earth (*tana watu*) carries that person on its shoulder.

A certain man’s secret knowledge about how a husband helps his wife’s difficult delivery follows:

If a woman is experiencing a difficult delivery, her husband should soak his penis in a cup of water and make his wife drink the water. The action must not be seen by or known to anybody, including his wife.

This man is proud that he did not lose any of his nine children at birth because he treated his wife like this whenever she had a difficult delivery.

Another man, who is famous for being knowledgeable, demands the following conditions if one asks him to transmit his knowledge.

If you want me to tell you my *bhisa*-knowledge, you and I must become *boka modha // lai lala* to keep the knowledge.

*Boka modha // lai lala* literally means ‘lungs stick together into one // spleens melt to mix together’ and is used usually to express an inseparable intimate relation, especially that of a husband and wife. His condition, then, demands performing a kind of sexual intercourse with him regardless of the sex of the person asking him for the knowledge.

**REVELATORY POWER**

Certain kinds of wild animals, the rainbow, places and so on can become the sources of personal revelatory powers or personal guardians. The animals can be a particular species or a certain individual animal. The sources are called *raju* or *saké sera*, which also mean ‘to be inspired with personal revelatory power’.  

People sometimes use the words *raju* and *saké sera* interchangeably. The difference in these two concepts is as follows. The word *raju* might imply the innate link between *raju* and the receiver or the proper nature of the person to

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34 *Raju nggapa* is an allomorph of *raju*, while *saka* and *saka sera* are allomorphs of *saké sera*. To simplify, I use *raju* and *saké sera* in texts, as these seem to be used more frequently than their allomorphs. The concept of *raju* and *saké sera* are similar to that of animal guardianship among Aboriginal Australian and among indigenous Americans. The crucial difference is that only a limited number of people have *raju* or *saké sera*. In discussing totemism, Lévi-Strauss clarifies four types of relations between people and animals: a group of people and a species of animal, a group of people and an individual animal, a person and a species of animal, and a person and an individual animal (Lévi-Strauss 1973). The relation between people and animals, in the case of *raju* or *saké sera* corresponds to the third and fourth types.
receive the *raju*, while the innate link is not necessarily assumed between the *saké sera*. The receiver's willingness to gain *raju* might make it easy to gain it. The powerful protagonists in histories such as Séko Léngo, Giu, Mari Longa and Ghéta had *raju*.\(^{35}\)

The way to keep personal revelatory power emanating is to present offerings to the given source of power, summoning it properly. Some say that the receiver must give the blood of a domestic animal to his/her personal source of power (*raju*). While making offerings, he/she must talk to the source politely in the following poetic form:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pupu leka wuwu} & \quad \text{blow into the fontanelle} \\
\text{reté leka redé} & \quad \text{touch at the upper abdomen} \\
\text{demi duna} & \quad \text{if I lack} \\
\text{demi kura} & \quad \text{if I want} \\
\text{nosi wola} & \quad \text{tell again} \\
\text{péra walo} & \quad \text{show again}
\end{align*}
\]

*Raju* is *bhisa* to that person who receives power and prosperity.

**MATERIAL OBJECTS: WUNU KAJU AND KOBHO SELA**

Certain material objects can be personal sources of power and prosperity because of their origin and the way they are acquired, or for other reasons.

It is said that a kind of red rice called *paré laka* originated from the blood of a man called Laka.\(^{36}\) The story about the origin of *paré laka* is secret. *Paré laka* is thought to protect those who carry it, and people say that it is *bhisa*-rice (*paré bhisa*). Someone might throw *paré laka* to prevent the harmful influence of what others say about him/her.\(^{37}\) Thus one might always carry some red rice to protect oneself in this way. One might also put a bit of *paré laka* in the four corners of the field to protect it.\(^{38}\)

*Wunu kaju*, literally meaning 'leaf and tree', can mean some object or combination of object, acts and spells. When the objects are ingested together with acts and spells, they impart some kind of power.

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\(^{35}\) See chapter 5.

\(^{36}\) I could not obtain a long story concerning the origin of *paré laka*. Sugishima collected stories of *paré laka* among the East Lio speaking people (Sugishima 1990).

\(^{37}\) Any envious words by others, called *wii riwu // lema ngasu* (thousands of lips, hundreds of tongues), are regarded as being harmful to the person to whom the words refer.

\(^{38}\) As *paré laka* can be destructive, only a small amount should be sowed.
A male dog's genitalia are, for example, called wunu kaju lako (dog's leaf and tree) and give power when eaten as follows:

Go naked to a male dog and cut off its genitalia, without letting others see. By 'dog's leaf and tree' (wunu kaju lako) one can scare others and one's body becomes hot. But it might have bad influences too. It might give a man too much sexual power, which makes his wife exhausted or which makes him commit adultery. Although he commits adultery, nobody, even the woman's husband, father or brother, can accuse him. They cannot help but be silent.

Some influential men are suspected of having taken wunu kaju lako.

Some material objects of protective power are called kobho or kobho séla. These are revealed in various guises, such as a stone, a piece of wood, a piece of iron or a little bundle of strange things. One usually acquires such protective objects through revelation. These protective items give protective power, not only in a war but also in other situations, including everyday life. A person might carry his/her own protective item with him/her, or soak it in a cup of water and drink the water in order to acquire the protective power.39

Proper attire (paké saré // kando nago) might give one protective power not only in a war but also in other situations. Clothes, especially traditional clothes such as luka (ikat shawl), lawo (women's ikat cloth) or ragi (men's indigo dyed cloth) can be protective. Garments given by one's progenitors (iné amé) or inherited from one's ancestors are protective. Valuables, gold ornaments and big ivory bracelets (seké), make the owner and the wearer powerful. When he found that his valuables had been stolen, the immediate reaction of one of my hosts to the disappearance was to feel weak. Participants in ritual war dances and chants, or in verbal combat, wear big ivory bracelets in order to protect themselves against enemies.

Canine teeth of the dead might give one protective power especially against attack by witches. People explain this as due to the teeth going in front of the holder like protective warriors.

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39 Ancient foreign objects can serve as kobho séla-items. It is alleged that one man keeps a Portuguese marble as his kobho séla-item.
BHISA KNOWLEDGE (OLA MBÉ'O)

The personal source of power that fascinates the Wologai people most is bhisa-knowledge (ola mbé'o). People use many kinds of spells for various purposes. While spells themselves are bhisa (mystically efficacious), knowing these mystically efficacious spells gives the owner of the knowledge overt power and well-being. Knowing the world and true histories also give the owner power and well-being. Such spells and knowledge are referred to as ola mbé'o. Ola mbé'o, that is to say, bhisa knowledge, is not just one of the means to acquire explicit powers and well-being. It is at a higher cognitive level than other means because it contains knowing all these means, including getting ola mbé'o. While the previous chapters present various examples of ola mbé'o, chapter eight further explores ola mbé'o.

DIVERSE PRACTICES OF ACQUIRING POWER, PROSPERITY AND WELL-BEING

In contrast to the rather clear structure of the ritual-village in terms of the emanation of power, prosperity and well-being, Wologai people's practices of acquiring power, prosperity and well-being are discursive. They try to acquire them in whatever way possible. Wologai people, especially middle-aged men, are eager to be powerful and to talk about how to access bhisa-sources in order to acquire 'power' of various kinds.

People in the West Lio-speaking area are competitive with each other. As seen in the first three chapters, in claiming one's superiority in relation to the collective identity, especially based on the ritual-village, an individual draws on categories and idioms to express asymmetric differentiation. As an individual, one seeks autonomy and further domination not only by claiming superiority by drawing on these shared categories and idioms but also by various practices of acquiring power and prosperity.

While the punitive power of the ritual-village is believed to affect a person, the actual misfortunes, diseases, or deaths people experience are usually not attributed to this punitive power but rather to the malignant power of spirits, to witches or to other causes which are independent of the ritual-village orthodoxy but dependent on personal incidents.
POLO: ANTI-SOCIAL POWER

While power produced through the legitimate power structure of the ritual-village is beneficial to the whole society, the power of witches (*polo*) is unquestionably anti-social and anti-human. What is common in diverse statements about witches is that they are held to be anti-social.

People become witches in three ways: by birth (*welu ana*), by eating special food provided by a witch (*kesu*) or by voluntarily becoming an apprentice of a witch (*jou*). People assert that one will inevitably become a witch if one has a parent who is a witch. However, the children of a person who is regarded as a witch are not necessarily regarded as witches. People never accuse a child of being a witch; just like other powers, those of a witch are manifested only after maturity. According to the second method (eating special foods), one might unknowingly become a witch. It is said that witches try to recruit new witches in this way. Thirdly, if one wants to harm people in order to benefit oneself, one might try to acquire such power by becoming an apprentice of a witch.

There are two categories of witches in terms of social status: witches of wealth and influence (*polo ata ria*), and slave-witches (*polo ata ko’o*). People like to name certain men of high status in the colonial or Indonesian government as witches. Giu, a historical character, is said to have been a witch of wealth and influence. It is said that rich people used to buy a powerful witch as a slave to guard them. The following is a story about a powerful slave-witch.

A slave, the father of a woman who is probably in her fifties now, was an extremely strong witch. He went out of control, people tried to kill him. Even after being killed, he came back to life several times. A strong man, for example, killed him and then was sharpening his machete there. But the witch soon came back to life and asked the man what he was doing. The witch instructed his daughter not to bury his body for seven days if people killed him, so that he could revive. But since people killed him, cut off his genitalia and buried him immediately, he could not revive. 40

Some say that there are more female witches than male witches. However, since actual accusations are usually covert, it is difficult to verify whether women are accused of being witches more frequently than men. Regardless of their gender, witches live as ordinary people. Two indicators distinguish witch women. Firstly, food cooked by witch women is not tasty, even if plenty of good ingredients and

40 The story was told using personal names. However I omit these.
spices are used. Secondly, women who ask men for sexual intercourse are witches.\textsuperscript{41} A middle aged man told me that, when he was young, a Wologai woman, a witch, came to him without wearing anything and asked him to have sexual intercourse with her. While we cannot tell witches by their appearance, they have an active substance called \textit{wera} inside their bodies.\textsuperscript{42} It is said that \textit{wera} comes out from the witch’s body through the anus and can eat the heart of the victim. \textit{Wera} is sometimes beyond the witch’s control, and the witch is unaware of being a witch. As \textit{mañé} (soul) is indispensable for ordinary people’s life, so is \textit{wera} for witches. A man told me the following story:

There was a witch man. He himself did not know he was a witch. But other people knew that he was since they saw his \textit{wera} coming out every night. While his \textit{wera} was away, he was unconscious like a dead person. One day they decided to stop him from being a witch. After his \textit{wera} went out, they completely wrapped him with a sarong. Finally they prevented his \textit{wera} from coming back into his body, and he himself died.

Witches have abilities ordinary people do not have, such as flying, disappearing, changing into any animal, and entering into an animal’s body.

Even aside from their eating of human bodies, witches are morally distorted. It is said that the initiation for witches involves killing their close kin by witchcraft. It is said that witches cannot control their desire and envy (\textit{até nara // lura rambo} ‘the liver desires // the saliva overflows’). For example, if someone has something no one else has, one must hide it from others so that witches may not find out and become greedy for it. If the owner does not give it to witches, they will harm him/her by witchcraft. People seem to perceive witches as incestuous. An informant told me the following story:

Sombo\textsuperscript{43} gave birth to a baby as a result of sexual intercourse with her own father several decades ago. She as well as her father were witches. The baby soon died.

\textsuperscript{41} This does not apply in the case of sexual intercourse between a wife and her husband. Some men liked to tell me jokingly that wives are usually more eager to have sexual intercourse than husbands, and that it is wives who make approaches to their husbands at night.

\textsuperscript{42} A couplet, \textit{pama polo // wini wera} (sustaining witches, seedlings of \textit{wera}-substance) means being a witch.

\textsuperscript{43} I use a pseudonym. This woman was in her 50s. she looked rather nice. Her current husband looked much older than he really was. Some people told me that he looked old because of his wife’s bad influence.
Witches are reversed beings. It is said that domestic animals which attack people must be killed because they have been entered by a witch. The meat of such animals is not tasty. These animals must be killed with the blunt side of a machete. In order to cut a witch, the machete must be used upside-down. If a witch appears at one's front, the witch is actually at one's back. A machete used upside-down can kill the witch at one's back. When a witch appears at one's front, looking backwards under one's arm one will see the witch sneering.

While the foregoing shows the differences between witches and ordinary people, witches and ordinary people share a common attribute: they cannot transcend the power of the earth/world (*tana // watu*). The following narrative illustrates this shared attribute:

When a person dies and we want to know whether a witch killed him/her or identify the witch that killed him/her, we must go to the grave four nights after the burial, when the witch comes to 'connect the bones' (*turé toko*) to eat. We have to step on the grave and stand still. If we remain still, the witch takes our legs for trees. If we move, the witch discovers us and takes us away. The secret to preventing the witch from taking us away is holding soil (*tana*) in our hands, because the soil (*tana*) is the same as the earth (*tana*) and witches can never take away the earth.

It is said that the main part of the spell (*iné ki*) to prevent witches from attacking is a metaphorical couplet of the earth/world (*tana // watu*). One example I was taught is the couplet: 'the standing-stone-altar, the ritual-courtyard', which metaphorically means the whole earth/world.

It seems to be regarded that witches need the consent of their victims' ancestors. This belief is exemplified in the following couplet, which knowledgeable people use in their prayer to their ancestors or in a mourning lament.

\[\text{polo sogo ma'ë ho'o} \quad \text{if witches ask you the loan (of your descendants' body), do not say yes}\]

\[\text{wera ngaro ma'ë nganga} \quad \text{if witches ask you the contract, do not accept}\]

Some accidental powers can be anti-social. Some healers with revelatory power make use of their mystic ability to harm people in order to get rewards from the patient or the family of the patient. It is said that if one acquires

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44 Lise people in the East-Lio-speaking area believe that witches are servants of the earth deity (Sugishima 1986).
revelatory power from a kind of spirit called *tisi feri*, one becomes envious of others (*até lo'o*, 'little liver*'). Those who acquire prosperity from *tisi feri* might become prosperous at the cost of the prosperity of others. But these people are not thought to eat human bodies like witches.

Anti-social power is distributed independently of the ritual-village. Moreover, it does not affect the ritual-village because the ritual-village monopolises the prerogative of the earth/world (*tana // watu*), which transcends anti-social power, at least in people's theory.

In historical narratives, witchcraft accusation (*péé polo*) leads to a split in a group or to expulsion of the accused. Such narratives typically depict those accused as so extraordinarily able and prosperous that others become envious and accuse them. In current daily life, people seem to accuse closely related people as witches (*polo*). When people accuse others in this way, there are usually some conflicts and tensions between them, and accusers point out the ambiguous derivation or 'otherness' of the accused. The accusation is usually kept secret in a household. Rich and influential people tend to be gossiped about as witches (*polo*). An accusation of witchcraft is a negation of others, especially rivals as it stigmatises them as anti-social. Such accusations are concordant with people's strong intention to acquire powers and prosperity in order to be autonomous or to dominate others.

THE PARADOX AND DYNAMICS OF POWER AND PROSPERITY

This section examines the paradoxical dynamics of the Wologai notion of power and prosperity. To start with, I describe the void of the source people: a void of power and prosperity is attributed to source people or givers of power and prosperity. Then I discuss Wologai people's root metaphors which are essential to understanding their notion of power and prosperity. The last part of this section sheds analytical light on the data submitted in this chapter by placing them in a general theoretical framework.

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*45 The story of Sipi and Jena in chapter 1 is an example of these kinds of historical narratives.*
THE EMPTINESS OF THE SOURCE PEOPLE

ATA WOLO: THE RIDGE PEOPLE

The people who are affiliated with the Ata Wolo House are teased as being 'stupid Ata Wolo' (ata wolo bhongo), yet they are also respected as knowledgeable. It is usually said that Ata Wolo used to have sovereignty, which was given away to other people because of Ata Wolo's stupidity.46 This stupidity is epitomised in several funny stories such as those below.

Story 1.

One Ata Wolo tapped sugar palm juice. Bats (niki) and civet cats (bheku) usually like to come to sugar palm trees. One day he found a trace on a sugar palm tree. The trace was a civet cat's or bat's. Then he put a trap on the top of the sugar palm tree. After he put the trap on the top of the sugar palm tree, one morning when he arrived there and was about to cut the sugar palm, he found an animal caught in the trap. It was a kind of bat called 'dog bat' (niki lako), which has a tail. He could not tell what kind of bat it was. He could not tell. He could not tell what kind of civet cat it was. Then he examined it closely, turning it over again and again. (At that time the bat had not yet died. According to old people, in the early morning the wings of this kind of bat are usually still soft and weak.) And then he kept looking at it and turning it over again and again in his hands. Looking, looking and looking, he said, "Dear! What ever is this? If it is a civet cat, a civet cat with wings? If a vat (iki), a vat (iki) with a tail?"47 What ever is this?" Ata Wolo could not speak properly, so he said vat (iki) instead of bat (niki). He continued to turn it over and look at it carefully. He spoke to himself again, "Dear! What ever is this? If it is a civet cat, a civet cat with wings? If a vat (iki), a vat (iki) with a tail? What ever is this?" Then he threw it away, whereupon the bat flew away. He exclaimed, "Oh, vat (iki), vat (iki), vat (iki)!"

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46 A ritual-house known as the Ata Wolo exists in many ritual-villages but, as far as I know, there is no ritual-village in the West-Lionese speaking area in which Ata Wolo House holds the ritual-leadership of the ritual-village.

47 Initial vowels in everyday spoken Lio are preceded by a glottal stop. But in this story the Ata Wolo man pronounced iki without the glottal stop instead of the proper term, niki, for bats. Using 'vat' instead of bat is my device to render this in translation.
Story 2.

Once upon a time, there was an Ata Wolo man. One day he went to call on one of his friends *(aji ka'ē)* named Bata (*bata* means 'wave'). Instead of going to Bata's house, he went to the seashore, where he cried aloud "Bata éél!". After a while, waves (*bata*) lapped against him and he found his legs wet. He got angry at the wave (*bata*) and spoke to the wave (*bata*), "why didn't you come sooner? Look! My legs are drenched now." Saying this, he took out his machete and cut at the waves near his legs. Naturally enough he hurt himself on the knee. Seriously wounded, he barely managed to get home.

The next morning, he went to tap palm juice. Finding himself unable to walk, he asked his wife to carry him on her back. Then they started for the palm tree. On his wife's back, the Ata Wolo man pointed out the way. On arriving at the foot of the tree, she began to climb up the tree. Looking up from under the tree, the Ata Wolo man saw the inside of his wife's sarong. Mistaking his wife's vagina as a wound, he immediately cried out, "Come down! Come down! you are severely wounded // seriously hurt *(Wa'u wa'u kau. Kau na, neka ria // bhari béwa)*". (Perhaps his wife was menstruating.) Without having any idea about what he was saying, she climbed down. In spite of his own serious wound, he carried her home, feeling so sorry for his wife.

Once home he put medicine on her 'wound', but her 'wound' did not seem to heal at all. He would not listen to her saying that it was not a wound, and that every woman had that. Finally he decided to look for a healer (*ata mbé'o*, literally a man of knowledge). A healer/man of knowledge came and asked him what part of her body was wounded. He pointed out the part. The healer/man of knowledge told him to go out of the house. Having gone out, he peeped inside. He found that they were doing strange sorts of things.

Another day, he went hunting. Shooting a wild boar, he smoked the game in the forest. After a long wait, his wife went out to search for her husband. She found him sound asleep in the forest. She took the meat and hid it. Then she cut the hide into the form of female genitalia, and put it on his penis. After a moment, he woke up to find that the meat was gone. Wondering who had stolen the meat, he found the hide on his sexual organ. He got angry at it and cut it off. He died.

His wife married the healer, and the healer/man of knowledge became rich, because he also acquired what Ata Wolo man had had.
Story 3.

Once, perhaps planning to perform the ritual (*nggua*), two Ata Wolo brothers (*ajj ka'te*) went hunting. They caught three rats (*dhéktَ*). They did not know how to divide the game. One said, "This one is for you, and this one is for me, and now then who is this for? (*ina aku, ina kau, ina sai?*)". They pondered and finally they threw the three rats away. But they went and picked them up again and tried to divide them again. "This one is for you, and this one is for me, and now then who is this for?" And they threw them away and then picked them up again. They repeatedly tried to divide up the rats, but in vain. Then they threw them away and picked them up again.

Then along came their *éja* (brother-in-law, acquaintance). The Ata Wolo brothers called him, "Come here!" They asked him to divide the rats. He divided them, saying, "This one is for you, and this one is for you and then this one is for me (*ina kau, ina kau, ina aku*)". The *ata wolo* brothers said happily, "Oh, how smart of you! Why didn't you come sooner?" They thanked him very much. Perhaps from that time Ata Wolo lost the prerogatives to the ritual.

In all the foregoing stories, the stupidity of Ata Wolo is expressed as a lack of ability to differentiate things properly.

In the first story, the Ata Wolo did not know how to classify 'dog bat' (*niki lako*) and he could not even pronounce the word, *niki*, properly. He failed to differentiate properly, not only in terms of classifying animals but also in terms of articulating verbal sounds. Because of his own stupidity (*bhongo*), he lost his catch.

In the second story, the Ata Wolo mistook the seashore for his friend's house because he failed to differentiate a person's name from a common noun. In the second section of the story he could not differentiate a vagina from a wound, or the natural bleeding of a vagina from the bleeding of a wound. He also could not recognise proper acts toward a vagina: having sexual intercourse. In the last section, he mistook his penis for a thief of the meat: failing to differentiate a part of his own body from the agent of an act of theft. Because of his stupidity, he lost his life, wife and other valuable things, which fell into the hands of the healer/ma of knowledge.

In the third story, the Ata Wolo brothers were unable to determine how to divide the animals so as to correspond to the number of people, that is to say, they could not put discontinuity into the catch properly. Consequently a mere
passer-by, but one, who knew how to divide, acquired a part of the catch, which represents a ritual prerogative.

Wologai people understand these stories as metaphorical archetypes of the alienation of the sovereignty of Ata Wolo and its acquisition by others such as the people of Bhisu Koja House in Wologai, who enjoy the sovereignty at present. This archetypical event is summarised in a couplet as bagi laki // woga ongga (confer the legitimacy, assign the sovereignty).

Those who have an intimate relation with a person affiliated with Ata Wolo House make fun of him/her, saying "ata wolo bhongo (stupid Ata Wolo)" to his/her face. But it is also said that Ata Wolo are knowledgeable, as they have esoteric knowledge. Many old men with Ata Wolo identity regard themselves, and are regarded generally, as having a great deal of such knowledge.

Ata Wolo are said to have cosmological connections with the world. They can either invoke or stop rain. They are described as:

\[
\begin{align*}
dhoa no'o dora & \quad \text{fell with dew} \\
wau no'o apu & \quad \text{descended with dew drop} \\
\text{éja kéra leka regu bêla} & \quad \text{affines of thunder and lightning} \\
\text{wuru wai leka uja angi} & \quad \text{affines of rain and wind} \\
laki nggoro ghélé wolo & \quad \text{the legitimate slid down from the ridge} \\
kala ghélé alo & \quad \text{crawled down from the valley}
\end{align*}
\]

It is said that when the Wolojita people experienced famine (dhupa buja // lando ngando, moa siké foko // lowa tuké tuka, 'the ear of corn is empty, the ear of rice is thin, hold the throat because of thirst, hold the stomach because of starvation'), the people called back the Ata Wolo and asked them to proceede to sow (welu wola mboko telu // welu wola mboko sutu, 'put again three grains, put again four grains'), because Ata Wolo are the legitimate people who 'slid down from the ridge, crawled down from the valley' (laki nggoro ghélé wolo // kala ghélé alo).

It can be said that Ata Wolo gave away their sovereignty but maintain the prestige of being the givers of sovereignty and the holders of esoteric knowledge. The people who identify themselves as Ata Wolo usually seem to be satisfied with this paradoxical role of keeping-while-giving or of being stupid-while-being knowledgeable.

An old man who is affiliated with Ata Wolo is regarded as a typical Ata Wolo, and behaves accordingly. He acts as if he does not know etiquette, or as if he is not interested in political matters, or as if for him there is no social
boundary either at the level of the household, at the level of the House or at the level of the ritual-village. Like anthropologists, he attends any rituals in any ritual-village he is interested in. The ritual-leaders usually allow him to attend. People say that he does not know how to have sexual intercourse and he does not deny what they say. He recently married a young widow and they had a baby. People say that the baby is not his child. He is zealous in keeping the 'ancestors' way'. He wears only traditional garments. He never eats from a ceramic dish or with a metal spoon, which are considered foreign and new, but rather from a coconut-shell or a little basket and with a coconut-shell spoon, which are regarded as primordial. It is said that he worked harder than anyone else to build the ritual hut of Wolojita, but he was fined by the ritual-leaders of Wolojita because he encroached on the ritual-leaders' prerogatives. He insists on speaking and understanding the language of the nitu // pa‘i spirits and showed me how to speak this language. He has much esoteric knowledge concerning the world. When somebody told him that Apollo had reached the moon, he commented that the place Apollo had reached was not the moon itself but the surrounding part of the moon (ltulu wula).

ORIGIN-RITUAL-LEADER, PRIMORDIAL-STILL-RITUAL-LEADERS, MOTHER-RITUAL-LEADERS

The great-ritual (nggua ria) is also called the 'ritual of yams' (nggua uwi). As the name indicates, the ritual scene in which a piece of yam is given to certain ritual-leaders is thought to be the core component of the great-ritual. This component scene is called 'primordiality and stillness' (puu maru) and the ritual-leaders are called 'primordial and still ritual-leaders' (mosa laki puu maru). They must sit still during this ritual scene. They are prohibited from eating yams and chewing areca nuts before this scene and again after the first sowing by the origin-ritual-leaders. The first sowing usually takes place several days after the great-ritual. So, in fact, the primordial-still-ritual is almost the only occasion for the primordial-still-ritual-leaders to take yams and areca nuts. The ritual role of primordial-still-ritual-leaders is regarded as the most prestigious among the ritual roles in the great-ritual. The 'primordiality and stillness' is regarded as one of the most bhisa parts of the great-ritual, which as a whole is regarded as bhisa.
The origin-ritual-leader and the mother-ritual-leaders are at the centre of the ritual-village and should stay still.48 Bhisa is arrayed centripetally in the ritual-village. The most bhisa human activities at the centre of the ritual-village are described as void and as a lack of action.

In historical narratives, the mother-ritual-leaders (iné mosa laki) are generally depicted as old, unmarried and barren. Sawu Du'a and Fai Lanu are good examples.49 Mother-ritual-leaders often do not marry or only marry in their old age. Since the mother-ritual-leaders are bhisa to the other people of the ritual-village, they are the most important to the fertility of the ritual-village as a whole. However they themselves are given an image of infertility.

NUAONE, INÉ AMÉ AND ATA DU'A

The theme that the source of power and prosperity, which is described as bhisa, lacks prosperity is also found in the popular view that the people of Nuaoné are, or were, not prosperous. This viewpoint is clearly expressed in the following idiomatic phrase: 'wanting like Nuaoné, lacking like the navel of the earth' (noé ngéré nua oné // duna ngéré pusé tana).

People say, 'we originate from iné amé'. Iné amé can signify not only a certain category of living people but also a certain category of the dead. People describe the true source of their existence as 'Mother of primordial trunk, Father of primordial root' (iné pu'u puu // amé kamu lema). To entreat one's iné amé for protection or help is expressed as follows:

| musu susu, susu iné | suck the breasts, the breasts of Mother |
| tamé ndalo, ndalo amé | lick the chest, the chest of Father |
| susu iné éo mii | the breasts which are sweet |
| ndalo amé éo mani | the chest which is fragrant |

The iné amé are paraphrased as ngéé wa'u (procreate and exit) or ola ngéé (ola, [nominaliser]), which means one originated from the iné amé or that the iné amé are the source of one's existence.

To entreat one's iné amé for protection is also expressed as joga kuu // joru jebu (enter again the cast-off skin, go back to the old sty).50 Literally kuu means the cast-off peel of a tuber, the cast-off skin of a snake, or thin and barren; and

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48 See chapter 2.
49 See chapter 5.
50 See the narrative about the land of Wolondopo in chapter 4.
jębu means a place where animals produce and keep their young. Kuu /// jębu is also paraphrased as ngée wa'u or ola ngée. Kuu /// jębu can also mean ancestors.

The phrase embu mamo is commonly used to indicate ancestors. Embu is explained as 'great-grandparent' or 'great-grandchild'. However embu does not seem to be used either for address or for reference.\textsuperscript{51} Mamo literally means 'grandparent' or 'grandchild' or people in the second ascending or descending generation.\textsuperscript{52} Mamo is used as a respectful form of address address for old people or as a respectful prefix of an old person's name. Mamo alone can mean ancestors. While embu mamo indicates ancestors in general, mamo is often used to indicate specific ancestors.

People conceive of ancestors as sources of their existence. People recite a set of words, mamo embu kuu jębu mesa ngée, presuming each word to be a kin term which indicates people in the generations ascending in this order. Ngée is, for example, presumed to be a kin term for people in the seventh ascending generation. However kuu, jębu, mesa, or ngée are not understood as kinship terms except in this set of words. Mesa literally means to hatch. The importance of this set of words is that it provides people with a figurative idea of the ancestors. By interpreting this set of words, people understand that ancestors are 'a cast-off skin, an old sty' (kuu /// jębu), from which the living people originated (mesa /// ngée).

Thus the category, iné amé fuses with the category of ancestors, embu mamo. Both categories are described not only as the origin of one's existence (ngée wa'u, ola ngée or mesa ngée), but also as 'cast-off skin, old sty' (kuu /// jębu), which is not prosperous. The fusion of iné amé and embu mamo reduces iné amé to 'others' like embu mamo.\textsuperscript{53} When people consider iné amé to be the true origin of their existence and prosperity, they seem to regard iné amé as ancestors rather than living people. Iné amé is a category of people to whom one has ontological debt. Unlike what occurs in some other societies, Wologai are not likely to feel that they have ontological debts to any living people but to dead people like ancestors, who are of a different form of existence and who are not prosperous.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{51} Embu means 'grandparent' or 'grandchild' in Endenese.

\textsuperscript{52} In a narrow sense, mamo means 'grandmother' or a woman in the second ascending generation, while babo means a male counterpart.

\textsuperscript{53} The association of a category which can mean wife-giving people with the category of ancestors is found in other societies in eastern Indonesia (Barraud 1990a; Barnes 1979).

\textsuperscript{54} I use the phrase 'ontological debts' as used by Errington and Gewertz (Errington and Gewertz 1987).
Ata du'a 'old people' are also significant in the Wologai concept of power and prosperity. Ata du'a is a category of people which encompasses ancestors and living old people. People start their talk with the phrase 'ata du'a said' (ata du'a nosi so) to make their talk authentic and authoritative. People have access to the old as well as their ancestors for power and prosperity. The old are usually regarded as sources of knowledge, which may bring power and prosperity. Extremely old people themselves are believed to be a source of power and they are described as bhisa // gia while they are physically immobile, infertile and powerless. They must be respected and cared for. Such old people are said to grow a tail.\(^{55}\) In talking about a mystically powerful old person, people emphasise how old the person is, how severely his/her back is bent, and how long his/her tail is. Old women especially are thought to be associated with the earth. The stories below epitomise that extremely old people, especially women, are bhisa:

Once upon a time there was an old woman. She was really old and miserable. Her back was severely bent. People did not care for her. They gave her rice bran. But since it was not mixed with water, she could not eat quickly. They were angry at her, "Hei! What's taking you so much time?" She said, "There is no other way than eating slowly because you did not mix it with water". And soon the area sank and was covered with water.

Once upon a time an extremely old woman lived in a village. She was so old that she grew a tail. Her back was severely bent. She could not walk. She looked really miserable. The villagers did not respect her. They treated her badly. They frequently abused her. Finally one day, she crawled out from her house with a winnowing tray. When she reached the ground she started winnowing soil and stones, calling out the names of mountains, and soon the village sank and became a lake.

\(^{55}\) 'Growing a tail' mean long life in blessing, \textit{umu béwa éko tembu} (long life until you grow a tail). People like to talk about old people who had a tail as long as 20 cm. I have not witnessed old people with a tail. It is interesting to note that the Mugwe of Meru is also described as having a tail (Bernardi 1959).
THE PARADOX AND DYNAMICS OF NGÉÉ

The paradox of the emptiness of the source is epitomised in the word ngéé.\(^6\) In such phrases like ngéé wa'u (originate, generate from), tuka ngéé (the abdomen procreates), ngéé bhondo (procreate many) and kema ngéé (the work progresses), ngéé means 'to generate', 'to thrive', 'to progress' or 'to develop'. Ngéé also means 'to move centrifugally', 'to extend', 'to expand' or 'to move'. The sentence *manusia ngéé wa'u leka Lépémbusu* can be translated either as 'human beings originated from Lépémbusu' or 'human beings moved (centrifugally) from Lépémbusu'. The following verses about the origin-ritual-leader and the mother-ritual-leaders indicate that they are not ngéé.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se kélé iwa ngéé} & \quad \text{do not move a bit} \\
\text{se la'ê iwa laké} & \quad \text{do not leave the place}
\end{align*}
\]

In these verses ngéé is better translated as 'to move' but also has the connotation of 'to generate' or 'being prosperous'. While the origin-ritual-leader and the mother-ritual-leaders are sources and givers of prosperity and power, they neither move nor are they supposed to be prosperous.

CUTTING AND VINES: METAPHORS OF DISCONTINUITY AND CONTINUITY

'CUTTING' AND 'VINE' IN NARRATIVES

'Cutting', 'severing' or 'opening', which are concrete metaphors of discontinuity, relate to a root metaphor of ontological transformation in the origin stories by the Wologai.\(^7\) These origin stories illuminate the paradigmatic relation of 'cutting' and/or discontinuity with the birth of the present world, the beginning of language, the beginning of sexual intercourse, the beginning of 'normal' birth and death, and the origin of crops. Continuity, which is the precondition of discontinuity, is symbolised by the vine of liana in the genesis, and probably by the umbilical cord in the origin story of birth and death. In other stories, continuity is retrospectively recognised after establishing the 'discontinuity' on

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\(^6\) The cognates of ngéé have significance in the ontologies in other eastern Indonesian societies such as Tana 'Ai (Lewis 1982: 78; 1988: 52).

\(^7\) See chapter 5.
the skin, the body or the relation between a mother and her suckling child. The following verses about the primordial sliding-offspring illuminate 'cutting' and 'vine' as metaphors of 'making discontinuity' and 'continuity':

\begin{align*}
  & kala ghélé kéli tendu \\
  & \quad \text{Nuaoné} \\
  & \text{wound ahead (like a vine) from up} \\
  & \text{the mountain and reached} \\
  & \text{Nuaoné} \\
  & \text{nggoro ghélé wolo tendu} \\
  & \quad \text{Woloila} \\
  & \text{slid down from up on the ridge} \\
  & \text{and reached Woloila}^{59} \\
  & \text{nggoro du'u} \\
  & \quad \text{kala duté} \\
  & \quad \text{ngoro no'o fi'i joo} \\
  & \quad \text{kala no'o nopo néta} \\
  & \text{slid down and stopped} \\
  & \text{crawled out and ceased} \\
  & \text{slid down with a raft as vessel} \\
  & \text{crawled out with a cane of néta} \\
  & \text{vine}^{60} \\
  & \text{mbéra ngéré goré tendu} \\
  & \quad \text{Nuaoné} \\
  & \quad \text{broken like an old jar and reached} \\
  & \quad \text{Nuaoné} \\
  & \text{mbi'a ngéré pinga tendu} \\
  & \quad \text{Woloila} \\
  & \quad \text{cracked like an old plate and} \\
  & \quad \text{reached Woloila}
\end{align*}

While other metaphors of continuity emerge retrospectively and only in contrast to discontinuity, the vine emerges as a metaphor for continuity. The origin story of the world provides an archetypical example of 'vine as a metaphor of continuity'. In some entertaining stories the protagonist goes to the distant sea, which is described as \textit{aé mesi koba} (the sea of vines) or \textit{aé mesi taki} (the sticky sea), and must cut the sea in order to advance because the sea twines around to take him in.

In some ritual-villages, such as Wolondopo and Woloféo, the ritual-houses or the temple have a plank on which vines are carved in relief. According to some people the ritual-houses and ritual hut in Wologai used to and should have such a plank. Some explain that the carved vine symbolises the procreation, development and consequent connection of the \textit{nua} in the world.\textsuperscript{61} The Wologai think that their temple should have a relief of vines.

\textsuperscript{58} See chapter 5. This native model concerning ontological transformation is similar to Lévi-Strauss's model of culture and nature in that both are logical models to some extent. The former differs from the latter in that it is metaphorical, imaginative and sustained by concrete experience.

\textsuperscript{59} Woloila is a place near the remains of Nuaoné.

\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Néta} is a kind of vine.

\textsuperscript{61} 'Vine' and 'cutting' play important metaphorical roles in other cultures (Lewis 1982:421; 1988:207, 267, 269, 332, 338; McWilliam 1989:82). In Kei, for example, 'a knife is put in an earthen pot then bound by all sorts of vines' during the term of pregnancy, while binding and severing are ritual actions observed at many rituals (Barraud 1990b:220, 229).
The metaphors of 'cutting' or 'vine' are also found in the discourse and practices of agriculture. Clearing virgin forests, and forests which have not been cleared for a long time, is designated as paté ajé molé // towa kaju libi (cut hanging vines, fell trees with plank root) or paté ajé molé // towa lélé kumi (cut hanging vines, fell banyan with hanging roots). Ajé means 'string' in a broad sense and 'vines' in a narrow sense. The allocation of newly cleared forest by the ritual-leader is called pati ajé (giving vines). Parcels of land to be allotted should be measured with cut vines. Thus the allocation of the land, which is also an act of creating discontinuity, is associated with cutting vines. If cultivators abandon their field halfway through the season, this is called 'léké pémba // au ila' (liana holds, au-bamboo grows thick). This metaphor, together with those related to the clearing of forests and the allocation of land illuminates the image that agriculture is realised as a balance between the 'cutting' and the 'growth of vines', that is to say, between the human act of creating 'discontinuity' and the ahuman phenomenon of creating 'continuity'.

In the histories, language, sexual intercourse and physical violence, which are described as 'cutting' in the origin stories, signify the historical transformation of the world.62

METAPHORS OF 'VINE' AND 'CUTTING' IN VILLAGE-RITUALS

Metaphors of 'cutting' or 'vine' are pervasive in the village-rituals. The metaphor of 'cutting' is significant in the rituals performed in fields for the whole ritual-village. Taking priority in cutting/injuring (teka) the earth (tana) is the origin-ritual-leader's exclusive prerogative in the ritual-village. Nobody may precede the sowing by the origin-ritual-leader, which is called paki tana (carving off the earth) and which is regarded as 'cutting/injuring the earth'. In the ritual called tau uma mopó 'making a mopó-field', the origin-ritual-leader stabbs a long stone (tubu) and offering-stands (saga) in his field. These ritual acts are also regarded as cutting the earth. In the ritual called tuu tau (take and make), the main ritual component is to 'cut' (roré) the neck of a chicken. The last part of this ritual is to cut the neck, the wings and the tail of the chicken in order to take them in the four directions of the field.

The most important village-ritual is the great-ritual, also called the 'yam ritual' (ngguwa uwí). It is outstanding in terms of its scale. The village-ritual called

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62 See chapter 5.
the 'ritual for picking vegetables' (*nggua keti uta*) is next in importance after the 'yam ritual'. The vegetables dealt with in 'ritual for picking vegetables' are *timu* (cucumber) and *bué* (long bean). Together with *uwi* (yam), these vegetables have no significance in terms of exchange and wealth, but they have great significance in terms of rituals, which people consider deeply rooted in ontology. In the 'yam ritual' yams are called 'root' (*kamu*). The 'yam ritual' and the 'ritual for picking vegetables' articulate the cycle of agriculture. The former articulates the terms of sowing and the latter harvesting. On the one hand yams contrast with cucumbers and long beans in that yams are 'root' (*kamu*) and origin, while cucumber and long bean are 'tip' and result. On the other hand they are similar in that they each have vines. What is necessary for, and a leitmotif of, both rituals is cutting vines.⁶³

**THE PARADOX AND DYNAMICS OF POWER AND PROSPERITY**

In the following section, I want to analyse the basic principles underlying Wologai people’s notions of power and prosperity, which inform their perception, experience and activities. To do this, I draw on two modes of differentiation, objective and subjective. These modes are summarised in two logically heterogeneous oppositions; continuity:discontinuity and 'otherness':‘ourselves’. By doing so, the data specific to Wologai people can be understood in relation to the basic issues of universal human nature and mind.

Lévi-Strauss’s works centre on the objective mode of differentiation, which transforms the meaningless world to the meaningful world. This objective mode of differentiation is not only necessary for communication but also to make any human life possible. He postulates that in terms of the function of differentiation logically heterogeneous oppositions are significant, and that they can be summarised by the opposition 'continuity and discontinuity'.⁶⁴ Lévi-Strauss maintains:

> ...sometimes we find a different symbolism, in which the opposition is drawn between terms which are logically heterogeneous, such as:

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⁶³ Rituals involving the eating of yams, cucumbers or long beans are widespread throughout many societies, at least in central Flores. The importance of these rituals varies from one area to another. The people of Wologai and surrounding areas are keenly concerned with these rituals, but the West-Endenese speaking people in the mountainous area are less so, and do not articulate their ontology in the way the Wologai people do.

⁶⁴ Logically heterogeneous oppositions are those in which the components are necessary and sufficient to each other to establish themselves as categories.
stability and change, state (or act) and process, being and becoming, synchronic and diachronic, simple and ambiguous, unequivocal and equivocal. All these forms of opposition can be subsumed under a single category --- the opposition between continuous and discontinuous (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 153).

This view is basic to his analytical model of 'culture and nature' and it has been adopted by other anthropologists.

The idea can be traced back at least to Saussure's model of language (Saussure 1959:111-2).

Philosophers and linguists have always agreed in recognizing that without the help of signs we would be unable to make a clear-cut, consistent distinction between two ideas. .... There are no pre-existing ideas and nothing is distinct before the appearance of language. .... Phonic substance is neither more fixed nor more rigid than thought; it is not a mold into which thought must of necessity fit but a plastic substance divided in turn into distinct parts to furnish the signifiers in its totality---i.e. language---as a series of contiguous subdivisions marked off on both the indefinite plane of jumbled ideas and the equally vague plane of sounds.

Although it seems to me that so called structuralists, including Lévi-Strauss and Saussure, tried to take into consideration the dialectic between practice and structure, they have left out the subjective mode of differentiation, which is summarised by another logically heterogeneous opposition 'otherness/others' and 'we-ness/ourselves'.

'Otherness' is a main theoretical issue, not only in anthropology but also in social sciences and humanities. The common recognition in any field of study is that the construction of the 'other' always accompanies the construction of a 'self'. In anthropology, writing an ethnography is more or less a process of constructing an 'other' and a 'self'. As Clifford observes,

It has become clear that every version of an "other," wherever found, is also the construction of a "self," and the making of ethnographic texts ..... has always involved a process of "self-fashioning"(1986:23-4).

'Otherness' is also an important issue in psychoanalysis. Lacan maintains that the constitution of oneself is a 'mirroring' process through others who possess a fuller picture of our body (Lacan 1977).

It is only through interaction that the self is constituted. Every interaction means the explicit establishment of different selves, whether in an individual
sense or in a collective sense. Althusser explicates the relational identity of self by giving a concrete example.

...when we recognise somebody of our (previous) acquaintance ((re-)connaissance) in the street, we show him that we have recognized him (and have recognized that he has recognized us) by saying to him 'Hello, my friend', and shaking his hand (a material ritual practice of ideological recognition in everyday life...) ...the rituals of ideological recognition ...guarantee for us that we are indeed concrete, individual, distinguishable and...irreplaceable subjects (1971:161-2).

People also establish themselves in distinction from non-human 'others'. Althusser maintains that in a Christian society individual selves are constructed in contrast with a Unique, Absolute, Other Subject, i.e. God, and that this Absolute Other is located at the centre of the society and ideology (1971:166-8). It is clear that each society or culture has specific non-human 'others'. If human 'selves' are established in contrast with non-human 'others', the concept of human beings is different from one society to another, since the concept of non-human 'others' is presumably different from one society to another.

To the Wologai people, non-human 'others' and human 'others' are somehow merged. In the course of clarifying their concept of power, I would like to depict their concept of 'self' vis-à-vis 'other' beings, which comprises both 'other' people and non-humans.

Even if Descartes's proposition, 'I think therefore I am', is accepted, one needs language in order to think, and language needs a community which, in turn, entails 'others'. Thus, one has 'others' even at the core of 'oneself'. It is surprising that a 'self', whether individual or collective, necessitates and is dependent on 'others' at various levels because one usually feels one's own 'self' as an a priori given, as independent from anything else, as self-evident and as primordial. It can be said that any individual and any group lives this paradoxical dynamic: the more solidly the 'self' is constructed, the more 'others' are entailed. In exploring the Wologai concept of power and prosperity, I explore how the Wologai people live out the dynamics of this paradox.

On the one hand, in order for people to communicate with each other and to be social beings, the objective mode of differentiation renders each subjective self an objective category. On the other hand, in order for objective categories to survive, they are repeatedly recreated in the subjective practice of perception, experience and activities. I would like to elucidate how Wologai people live the
dialectic paradox between the objective mode and subjective mode of
differentiation.

Let me first locate the theme of the emptiness at the centre ethnographically
and analytically. Such a void of power and prosperity at the centre is found in the
power dynamics in various societies of eastern Indonesia as well as in other
areas. Stillness, a concrete metaphor of nothingness, at the centre contrasts with
activity at the periphery in some societies of Indonesia. Errington observes:

In Luwu, for instance, the Opu Pa'Bicara (the Lord Orator) stood as the
active speaking periphery of the still center defined by the ruler (1990:
47).

In some ritual-villages, or at some level of some societies in eastern Indonesia, so
called political superiority and spiritual superiority are complementarily
juxtaposed at the centre to establish a social whole (Fox 1971a, 1980a;
Cunningham 1965, 1973; Schulete Nordholt 1980). Fox remarks:

A common feature of many of the political systems of the Timor area is
dual sovereignty—a division between a person endowed with spiritual
authority and one or more persons who exercise political power on
behalf of this spiritual authority (1977:68).

There are two kinds of logical model capable of representing any encompassment
of social values in terms of the objective mode of differentiation. In one model,
the totaliser represents all the qualities differentiated in representations of the
system of values present in the society. Dyadic polities in eastern Indonesia can
be understood in terms of this model. It is also the case with the widespread
symbolic system in which each cardinal point is associated with a different
colour, and the centre contains a combination or mixture of all the colours. In the
other model the totaliser lacks the principle qualities that symbolise the
differentiation of values, which Lévi-Strauss might describe as zero value (Lévi-
Strauss 1963: 159, 1950:xli-lii). The ethnographic data of the void at the centre
can be understood with this model.

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65 The Wehali in Timor are a well-known example of the void at the centre of the ritual-village. Traube
found this principle among the Mambai. Graham pointed out the same principle in eastern Flores. Hoskins
observes that in Kodi the immovable authority at the centre is opposed to the locus of action at the periphery.
However, other societies of eastern Indonesia set violence at the centre of their power dynamics. According
to Valeri fundamental manifestations of the ability to be superior to others in Huailu are physical: violence
and superior procreative power (Francillon 1980; Fox 1982b; Graham 1993; Hoskins 1993; Traube 1986,
Even if this logical model fits the theme of the void at the centre of the ritual-village, it leaves aside other aspects concerning Wologai notions of power and prosperity, which I would like to consider in turn. First, how does the objective mode of differentiation mesh with the concept of power and prosperity? Second, why is the void of the source people also pervasive outside discourse concerning the ritual-village, as is the case with Ata Wolo, du'a, iné amé and Nuaoné? Third, how do we reconcile the fact that people also acquire power and prosperity through other sources, such as ancestors, spirits, places, and performing certain deeds which are independent of the principle of the void? Fourth, how do we explain that Ata Wolo House as a void source of sovereignty fits together with the void at the centre of the ritual-village?

The first of these issues can be explored through the people's theory of genesis, which is represented in their origin stories: this world and the fundamentals in this world -- language, reproduction, production -- emerged by a 'Big Cutting' which established discontinuity. In other words, the emergence of fundamentals occurs as a change from the continuous to the discontinuous. Prosperity, explicit powers and life come into existence through differentiation. These ideas are represented by the root metaphors, 'cutting' and 'vine' in the village-rituals and in the narratives.

The second question is related to the first. The 'phylogeny' explained by the origin stories repeats itself in the 'ontogeny' in the present world. This genetic theory of values, which is diachronic, is projected onto the synchronic categorisation of people. That is to say, the concept of diachronic origin corresponds to the concept of the synchronic source people. According to this theory, the 'ontogenic' as well as 'phylogenetic' source must lack differentiation in contrast with what originates from the source. The encompassing continuity thus replaces the encompassing emptiness. The encompassing void of the source of power and prosperity at the centre of the ritual-village is only one way in which this genetic theory manifests itself. Ata Wolo, iné amé, ata du'a (old people) and Nuaoné are other examples of the emptiness of the source people.

The third question can be explored by examining the logical relation between 'otherness' and power, and the fourth by considering how to construct 'otherness' among 'ourselves', or a dialectic of 'otherness' and 'ourselves'. The concept of 'otherness' first needs clarification.

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66 See chapter 5.
The differentiation which produces 'others' produces 'we' or 'ourselves' in opposition to 'others'. Such differentiation may involve beings other than human beings. There are many kinds of differentiation. The rule of exogamy, for example, can be understood as such differentiation. On the one hand, it produces the category of people called 'we' or 'ourselves' among whom marriage may not happen, and on the other hand, it produces the category of 'others'. Exchange in general also entails such a differentiation. Any rule, activity or concepts producing groups such as clans constitute such differentiation. Making offerings to ancestors or to spirits also involves such differentiation.

Attributing 'otherness' is active differentiation. It fixes characteristics to define what constitutes ourselves.

Ancestors and spirits are apparently 'other' kinds of beings to 'us'. Witches also have attributes of 'otherness' in that they transgress 'our' morals or norms of life.

Revelatory power is given in ways beyond 'our' knowledge and control. Some deeds, places or objects are shown to be sources of power through revelations or dreams. Some deeds or objects which fascinate the people are related to transgressions of 'our' norms or morals.

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67 Their state of being is obviously different. Ancestors are not corporeal beings like 'us'. Wologai people's experience concerning life and death seems to be persuasive enough to establish the 'otherness' of ancestors, although people's descriptions of spirits as other beings are more concrete than their description of ancestors. All the spirits live in different places from where 'we' live. In addition, 'mother lianas' (indé léké), 'swinging breasts' (susu déba), 'long breasts' (susu bëva) and 'hollow backs' (longgo mbenga) can transform themselves, unlike 'us', into extraordinarily attractive women or men, the likes of whom cannot be found among 'us'. 'Swinging breasts' (Susu déba) and 'long breasts' (Susu bëva) have extraordinarily long breasts, 'hollow backs' (Longgo mbenga) have a hollow in the back and tisti feri and fënggë rëdë are extraordinarily ugly. 'Short statures' (saga boko) never grow up. They have fangs and make a strange noise. Nitu pa'i consistently contrast with 'us' in various ways. Nitu pa'i's world is a reversal of this world. Their faces are gold. They speak in a reversed way (bald bhitu). They own wild pigs (wawi ndu'a) and deer (rusa ndu'a, literally meaning 'goats of the mountain area'), while 'we' have domestic pigs (wawi nua) and goats (rusa nua). Nitu do not have noses. Pa'i have harelips.

68 They eat human bodies. They kill their close kin. They are incestuous. They are extraordinarily envious and jealous. They cannot cook tasty food even with good ingredients. Female witches ask men for sexual intercourse, which non-witch women do not. Witches have extraordinary abilities which 'we' do not have, such as flying, transforming themselves into animals or entering animals' bodies. Extraordinary social attributes of rich and influential men, as well as slaves, are also associated with witches.

69 These transgressions involve such as alliance with witches or eating the liver of dead babies as witches do; acquiring a part of a dead body (e.g. canine teeth), like witches; walking without clothes, thus exposing genitalia; eating a dog's genitalia; having sexual intercourse with a person who is not a spouse; drinking water in which genitalia have been soaked, and so on. Secrecy is also associated with 'otherness' from the viewpoint of 'our' public world. I deal with secrecy and knowledge in chapter 9. Here I wish to draw attention to the fact that secrecy and knowledge are crucial issues in discussions about social differentiation and power, as many other works show. Traube also deals with the issue of secret knowledge and social differentiation (Traube 1989).
Features of 'other' beings are emphasised when people describe iné amé and ata du'a as sources of 'our' power and prosperity.\(^{70}\)

Wologai people presume that the 'self' needs 'others' for its prosperity. However in contrast with many societies in eastern Indonesia, those sources of power and prosperity are not specific categories of people, like wife-givers, but non-human 'other' beings.

That 'otherness' is a source of power is evinced in the institutions of the ritual-village. Non-human 'other beings', nitu pa'i, ancestors and other spirits, are thought to be sources of the prosperity and power for the ritual-village. It is believed that Du'a Ria/Wéa Tana Watu, to which offerings are made for prosperity of the ritual-village, comprises gold items from abroad or from the world of nitu pa'i. Some say that while monkey meat is used for 'spilling out white things' (loka bara) in the great-ritual, human meat was once used, and that the monkey meat now represents this human meat. It is also said that a human used to be sacrificed for building the tubu musu, the temple and the ritual-houses. Eating a human body and sacrificing humans are attributes of others, such as witches, people at the head of the earth and Japanese.

Abusing the ritual-leaders is a transgression of 'our' norms and would usually bring the abuser critical punishment by the ritual-village. However abusing the ritual-leaders when sowing seeds is said to bring a good harvest. The period for the village-rituals is designated as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{leja ata laki} & \quad \text{the day of the ritual-leaders} \\
\text{péla iwa kéa} & \quad \text{adultery is not accused} \\
\text{naka iwa nosi} & \quad \text{theft is not announced}
\end{align*}
\]

During this time adultery and theft, apparent transgressions of 'our' norms, are allowed, even encouraged. If somebody dies during the great-ritual, the body should be carried down through the floor and be buried immediately. Laments should not be sung. The death should be described as 'a leaf has fallen' in the case of a widow-orphan-person's death, and 'a tree has fallen down' in the case of a ritual-leader's. A prohibition on working in the fields is a part of the ritual-village-rituals. This prohibition contrasts with 'our' norms that encourage hard work in the fields, which is expressed in an adage such as the following:

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\(^{70}\) The concept of iné amé fuses with that of embu mamo, different beings from 'us'. Ata du'a are described as different from 'us': they cannot move, are bent and even have a tail.
kema ngéré ata ko'o
kaa ngéré ata ria
dau kuku bubu
lima jinga
dau no'o renga raa
beru téi kaa
if you work like a slave
you can eat like great people
your nails must be worn
your hand must be hurt
if you work with blood-sweat
then you can eat

Stillness at the centre of the ritual-village, represented by the origin-ritual-leader, the mother-ritual-leaders, the primordial-still-ritual-leaders and the primordial-still-ritual contrasts with 'our' daily social norm of activeness. Thus, 'otherness' is also attributed to the source of prosperity and power of the ritual-village. The Wologai people place 'otherness' at the core of the ritual-village.

Let me explore the fourth as yet unexplained aspect of the Wologai notion of the source of power and prosperity: whether the emptiness of the Ata Wolo as a source of prosperity and power for the ritual-village might be redundant and even undermine the totality of the ritual-village, given that the emptiness at the centre of the ritual-village through the zero value model explains the principle of social unification for the ritual-village.

This can be explored through examining the construction of 'otherness' among 'us'. From the viewpoint of sovereignty in the ritual-village, all the ritual-houses except Bhisu Koja are 'others'. But from the viewpoint of the unity of the ritual-village in relation to other ritual-villages or to the world outside the Wologai ritual-village, these 'other' ritual-houses as well as Bhisu Koja belong to 'us'. So the ritual-houses other than Bhisu Koja can be 'we' as well as 'others', or 'others' among 'us'. While some rituals and discourse imply that Bhisu Koja House is a source and a giver of power and prosperity to the other ritual-houses, others imply the reverse. The relative position of these 'other' ritual-houses manifests itself in ritual acts in the great-ritual and sporadically and cumulatively in discursive accounts such as the following:

It is supposed that all the Houses should follow the schedule of the village-rituals, including the prohibition on working in the fields, and the arranged time for sowing and harvesting.

At one stage of the great ritual, the great-ritual-leader calls out to the 'other' Houses to come and eat the coconut Bhisu Koja has prepared.

In ritual contexts Nua Ro'a plays a role of iné amé and people also describe it as such.

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71 As sovereignty in Wologai is executed mainly in ritual contexts, the phrase 'ritual sovereignty' might best describe sovereignty, but since there is no other sovereignty in Wologai, I omit the word ritual.
Some people say that the people of Nua Ro'a are knowledgeable although they do not appear to be. In that discourse, the cosmological or enigmatic features of Nua Ro'a are emphasised. A Nua Ro'a elder in Wologai, for example said "Our apical ancestors are 'Day' and 'Night'. Day's parent is Night, whose parent is Day, whose parent is Night and so on. Since they are alternate with each other, our genealogy is endless".

Some Ata Rini men allude to their association with Anakalo by mentioning that their apical ancestor is Rini Kalo. This allusion means that Ata Rini was the original holder of the sovereignty.

Some mystify the origin of the Soko Ria ritual-house as the people of ra'i soko (people from an unknown place called Soko). The verses about the people of ra'i soko are the same as those about Ata Wolo. Their similarity to Ata Wolo can be alluded to in this mystification.

Although the relevant discourse is not as articulate as that relating to Ata Wolo, nevertheless Nu'a Ro'a, Ata Rini and Soko Ria can be understood as givers of sovereignty as well as 'others' in 'our' ritual-village. Just as Ata Wolo retain prestige as the givers of sovereignty, so do these 'other' Houses. Since bhisa-people and 'others' among 'us' in the ritual-village are relative categories, the notion that the 'other' Houses, including Ata Wolo Houses, are bhisa is neither redundant nor contradictory. Rather these dynamic notions outline the nature of the ritual-village.72

If the Wologai people live according to the rationale that power and prosperity should be given or transferred by 'others', what does it mean to consider these 'others' as a part of 'us'? The orthodoxy of the Wologai ritual-village assumes that the ritual-village is self-contained as regards its own power and prosperity, and does not need the assistance of 'others' outside the ritual-village.

Against this orthodoxy, the histories depict de facto power as usurpation that is heterogeneously opposed to the legitimacy found at the centre of the ritual-village in three respects. First, the usurpers move centripetally, while the source of legitimate power, which emanates centrifugally, stays at the centre. Secondly, the power of usurpation is full of action including violence, eloquence and wealth, associated with the metaphor of 'cutting', while what is legitimate at the centre of the ritual-village lacks these attributes. Thirdly, the power of usurpation

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72 The relation between the Bhisu Koja House and each of these other Houses can be understood as a variation of the diachronic relations in eastern Indonesia. It differs from these in that the relation is multiple and that the opposition of religious and political, or that of sacred or profane, is not applicable.
creates discontinuity in the 'world' in terms of social-time and social-space, while
legitimacy emphasises its continuity from primordial time.

This logic gives foundation to the histories which marginalise de facto
power as usurpation, 'cutting' its own ultimate source, and by describing its
affinity with eloquence, sexual intercourse, wealth and violence, which are
symbolised by 'cutting'. It is said that those historical invaders have been
ontologically punished. Séko Léngo did not have any children and died a
miserable death. The white people and the Japanese withdrew. None of Ghéta's
children were prosperous. There is no room to install the foreign power at the
centre according to the historical narratives, probably except for Bhisu Koja,
which is often described as having usurped Ata Wolo's sovereignty.

This peripheralisation of de facto power is found also at the individual level.
People tend to understand misfortunes of influential people as retribution. People,
for example, gossip about one apparently influential and eloquent man as
follows:

He must have taken 'leaf and wood of dogs'. He tries to make
approaches to any woman, no matter whether she is married or not. It is
natural that his wife is unhealthy and that his seventeen year-old
daughter died recently.

When he was crying at his daughter's death, throwing himself on the floor, people
felt pity for him, but they thought it natural for him to have lost his grown-up
daughter. Any influential man may endanger his own source of existence.

Wologai ideology thus peripheralises de facto power as 'cutting' its own
source. Similarly Wologai ideology sets up an image of human beings as
predisposed to cut/injure their own source of existence. The inevitability of this
predisposition is brought out in both origin stories and village-rituals. Wologai
ideology does not synthesise this paradox, but leaves people to live it. In contrast
with what many anthropologists have found in societies of eastern Indonesia,
Wologai people do not live, in my view, either in a coherent, socio-cosmic whole
or within an encompassing order. Rather, the basic constitutive feature of
Wologai society is the elaborated representation of this paradox.

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73 See chapter 5.

74 Concerning arguments about the foreign power installed at the centre of a society, see Fox 1994b, Sahlins
Chapter 7

MODES OF PRECEDENCE AND THE SOCIAL ARENA FOR
OLA MB'EO

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the social arena in which the belief in the power of ola mbë'o comes into play. After discussing two modes of precedence, a mode of institutionalised authority and that of contentious precedence, this chapter turns to everyday life, in which the mode of contentious personal precedence works. It is necessary to attend to everyday life, since my anthropological subject matter is a 'long conversation' conducted among the people with whom I lived during my fieldwork. In discussing social categories, especially normative types of marriage, some examples of practice and discourse concerning these social categories, and the pragmatics of the word sa'o, this chapter furthers its exploration of the relations between modes of precedence in Wologai. Finally this chapter considers those social situations which seems to fuel the enthusiasm for acquiring ola mbë'o.

TWO MODES OF PRECEDENCE

Bourdieu observes that, schematically speaking, there are two modes of domination. One mode of domination produces 'social universes in which relations of domination are made, unmade, and remade in and by the interactions between persons' (1977:184). The other mode of domination produces 'social formations in which, mediated by objective, institutionalized mechanisms, such as those producing and guaranteeing the distribution of "titles", ..., relations of domination have the opacity and permanence of things and escape the grasp of individual consciousness and power' (1977:184).

These two modes, one based on interactions between persons and the other based on objective institutionalised mechanisms, coexist in the life of Wologai people. However, the word 'domination' may not be appropriate to describe asymmetric social relations or ideology of these in Wologai. I use the word precedence in order to express the relativity and contentious nature of the

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1 See Malinowski 1922; Bloch 1977.
asymmetric social relations of the Wologai. In Wologai depending on a context or discourse, either of two modes emerges or is stressed.

On the one hand, Wologai people assume that collective power and prosperity originate from the institutionalised and centralised authority, that is to say, the ritual-village, its ritual-leaders and its rituals. They are a collective source of power and prosperity. It is assumed that the structure of this authority --- the superiority of the ritual-leaders over the widow-orphan-people and the asymmetric differentiation among ritual-houses and ritual-leaders --- is reproduced from generation to generation and is manifested in the course of the village-rituals. On the other hand, Wologai people attempt to gain access to personal sources of power and prosperity. They incessantly and personally seek their own precedence over, or at least their own autonomy from, others by gaining power and well-being. Acquiring ola mbé'o, bhisa knowledge, is believed to be one of the most important ways to realise personal precedence or autonomy.

'PRECEDENCE' OR 'HIERARCHY'

In this section, from the viewpoint of these two modes, I comment on the concept of 'precedence' as put forward by Fox and that of 'hierarchy' as presented by the Dumontians in relation to the cultures in eastern Indonesia.

Eastern Indonesia has been regarded as a storehouse of symbolic classification, at least since van Wouden's famous book. After a period of fascination with structural analysis, some scholars of eastern Indonesia started exploring the analytical frameworks to describe the dynamics in eastern Indonesian cultures. For this purpose, Fox introduced the concept 'precedence',

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2 It should be noted that I use this word in a broader sense than Fox defines. According to Fox's definition, 'precedence ... is based on the notion of opposition. ... These oppositions are culturally-given linguistic categories' (Fox 1994a: 96). Precedence in my usage is not necessarily based on the notion of 'opposition'. It involves any social asymmetry which the Wologai describe with verbs related to derivation such as mai (come) and ngéé wa'u (originate from) and/or by distinguishing the superior one with particular words, including botanic metaphors (pu'u, pu'u kamu), relationship terms (iné, iné amé) and adjectives relating to power and prosperity (bhisa, ria, mulé, negi and so on). So it can be said that my definition differs from Fox's only in that according to mine precedence is based on distinction rather than opposition. However, it seems to me that this difference is more significant than it looks. Notwithstanding a confusing aspect, from a comparative point of view it is worth using the word precedence instead of domination, as Fox observes: 'Similarities among such categories in Austronesian societies reflect, at one level, a common linguistic heritage as well as shared historical influences and, at another level, a general proclivity to focus upon certain salient oppositions' (Fox 1994a: 96).

3 van Wouden 1935 (1967).
and the Dumontians adopted Dumont's notion of 'hierarchy', coined as analytical terms to become currency in the study of eastern Indonesian cultures.  

As Reuter points out, the differences between Fox's precedence and the Dumontians' hierarchy is difficult to specify (Reuter 1992). There seem to be several reasons for this difficulty. As Fox implies, formation of his theoretical framework of precedence is still in process (Fox 1994). The difficulty also seems to arise from connotations of the terms, 'precedence' and 'hierarchy', or their equivalent words in French and Dutch. While 'hierarchy' has been a significant term in social science, 'precedence' has never been given such significance. Fox seems to choose the word precedence strategically, partly because of its being intact in social science. For the Dumontians as well as Dumont, however, the word precedence is only sufficient for a basic description, but is inappropriate for composing a theoretical model to understand cultural dynamics. Fox and the Dumontians highlight different contents of the word 'hierarchy'. The Dumontians use 'hierarchy' as an abstract logical notion which can be summarised by Dumont's definition of hierarchy as 'a relation that can succinctly be called "the encompassing of the contrary"'. In contrast, Fox uses the word to indicate a sociological concept, which is, for example, apparent in his concluding statement about the relation between precedence and hierarchy; 'precedence can be used for the creation of hierarchy or it can be used to undermine hierarchy' (1994a: 88). The difference in anthropological concerns


5 These phenomena are interesting in order to reflect on 'academic traditions or circles' in the Western academic world. While Fox seems to invite colleagues and students to criticise and to improve his theory of precedence, a division of labour, of refining theories and applying them to data, seems to exist in this French academic circle.

6 Dumont refers to hierarchy as the existence of an order of precedence (Dumont 1980a: 75).

7 Platenkamp defends Dumont's theory of hierarchy against Fox's criticism. He distinguishes Dumont's theory of hierarchy into a 'specific theory' and a 'general theory': the former deals with the description and analysis of specific cultural forms, for Dumont, in Indian society, and the latter, developed from the specific theory, is a universal logical model applicable to any society (Platenkamp 1990: 1-2). He argues that Fox's basic criticism that Dumont's theory of hierarchy takes on significance in its application to Indian society, but not necessarily to Indonesian society, does not refute Dumont's general theory. Fox's understanding of hierarchy depends much on its general meaning in English, such as 'system with grades of authority' (Cowie 1989: 586). Yamaguchi, who is familiar with French literature as well as English literature, points out that 'hierarchie' in French is a word more widely applicable to asymmetric differentiation than 'hierarchy' in English or 'hieraruki' in Japanese, imported from German (1982). My inference is that it is partly because of the difference between the connotations of 'hierarchie' and 'hierarchy' that Fox's and the Dumontians arguments are out of mesh.
between the Dumontians and Fox makes it difficult to compare these theoretical frameworks.

On the one hand, Fox and the Dumontians share an interest in the dynamic relationships of asymmetric differentiation produced by various binary categories. On the other hand they differ in their basic depiction of eastern Indonesian societies. Fox's interest has been how Austronesian, including eastern Indonesian, cultures have internalised the influence from outside in 'historical' process with a set of symbolic tools which are culturally given. By contrast, Dumont's concern has been to understand 'traditional societies' in a framework in which there is fundamental difference between 'their traditional societies' and 'our modern societies' where, in the former, society has priority over individuals, and in the latter, this relation is reversed. Scholars influenced by Dumont stress the society as ultimate value, or socio-cosmic wholeness in eastern Indonesian societies. Dynamics of 'traditional societies' the Dumontians depict are not 'historical' but 'logical', and are impregnated with 'logical' paradox. While Fox's concern is to develop a concept of precedence mainly for analytical understanding of Austronesian societies, the Dumontians' are interested in eastern Indonesian societies in order to understand universal features of value systems.

In spite of the difficulty in comparison, Fox's and the Dumontian's theories contrast with each other in the following respect: while Fox asserts that precedence is always a matter for social contention, the Dumontians maintain that different hierarchical values, which may look contradictory, are configured into a socio-cosmic whole, in other words, a logical paradox among values is totalised by the ultimate value, society.

As chapter one shows, in Wologai discourse about the superiority of their ritual-village idioms for making asymmetric differentiations are used for endless contention without paying attention to logical incompatibility. In this respect, Fox's concept of precedence is more appropriate than Dumont's hierarchy. It is also the case with the discourse on everyday life of individuals.

As chapter two shows, Wologai orthodoxy concerning the ritual-village holds that asymmetric differentiations are encompassed by the transcendental value of the ritual-village, which is 'the society' in its orthodoxy. This does not necessarily mean that Dumont's theory of hierarchy is analytically valid to

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8 Fox defines precedence as follows: 'Precedence, like hierarchy, is based on the notion of opposition. The concept of precedence, however, recognizes a plurality of oppositions. These oppositions are culturally-given linguistic categories. Similarities among such categories in Austronesian societies reflect, at one level, a common linguistic heritage as well as shared historical influences and, at another level, a general proclivity to focus upon certain salient oppositions' (Fox 1994a: 96).
understand Wologai people’s life as a whole in a 'long conversation', but it means that Wologai people imagine the society as Dumont and the Dumontians do. Hierarchy in the ritual-village, however, is not at all located 'at the heart of the unthought' (Dumont 1980: xvi). On the contrary, it is the focus of people's conscious reflection.

In relation to the argument between Fox and the Dumontians, my data about Wologai people indicate the following points. On the one hand, in discourse or contexts in which no encompassing authority is assumed over subjects, when one claims the superiority of one's own ritual-village over other ritual-villages or one's own superiority over other individuals, 'precedence' is claimed. On the other hand, in discourse or contexts in which an encompassing authority is assumed over the subjects concerned, as in orthodox speech of the ritual village, 'the principle by which the elements of a whole are ranked in the relation to the whole' (Dumont 1970: 66) emerges. If contexts of the former kind are highlighted, Fox's theoretical framework fits well. If contexts of the latter kind are highlighted, it is Dumont's theoretical framework that fits. As far as Wologai are concerned, Fox's 'precedence' and Dumont's 'hierarchy' are complementary concepts.

THE RITUAL-VILLAGE AS THE 'SOCIAL STRUCTURE' IN THE WOLOGAI THEORY OF SOCIETY

In order to explore the relation between the two modes of precedence, it seems to me useful to look at an argument presented by Bloch.

In order to consider the problem of how to account for social change theoretically, Bloch (1977a) puts forward an analytical framework which divides a 'long conversation' into ritual communication and non-ritual communication. He criticises Radcliffe-Brown that the social structure he presented is far from society because the kind of empirical phenomenon he is referring to is not the

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9 Fox 1994a: 106.
10 Varèse delineates the dynamics between the social authority and the autonomy of individuals with the words 'heteronomy' and 'autonomy' (1990a).
11 According to him, ritual and non-ritual communications are organised by ritual and mundane cognitive systems respectively, which are manifested as cyclical and static ritual time and as durative and dynamic non-ritual time. He postulates that while ritual communication, cognition and time are culturally specific, non-ritual communication, cognition and time are universal. He uses the word 'ritual' in the broad sense: kinship terms, greetings, fixed politeness formula, formal or institutionalised behaviour, above all rituals, whether social, religious or state.
whole of the 'long conversation', but only certain, relatively occasional, parts of it, parts which are almost entirely in the ritual mode. Bloch argues that social structure is only extracted from ritual communication and is the folk theory expressed in this type of communication. He points out that Geertz's observation that Balinese social life 'takes place in a motionless time' could be a highly elegant description of the theory of 'social structure' in temporal terms.\(^\text{12}\)

Bloch suggests hypothetically that the amount of social structure varies from case to case according to the amount of institutionalised hierarchy, a legitimate order of inequality in an imaginary world which we call social structure and this is done by the creation of a mystified 'nature' consisting of concepts and categories of time and persons divorced from everyday experience. It can be said that the institutionalised hierarchy thus defined by Bloch is equivalent to 'domination based on institutionalised mechanism' defined by Bourdieu and to 'hierarchy' by the Dumontians.

With this viewpoint by Bloch, it is easy to observe that Wologai people's discourse concerning the ritual-village is their social theory of the social structure in which depersonification of personhood and detemporalisation of time happen as in Geertz's Balinese society.\(^\text{13}\) If the characteristics of social structure --- ritual communication --- vary from one society to another as Bloch maintains, it is reasonable to assume that those of everyday communication also vary.\(^\text{14}\) In relation to Wologai it is relevant to define 'ritual communication' as the orthodox practice and discourse of the ritual-village and non-ritual communication as the practice and discourse which can be independent of the ritual-communication.

Since the Wologai 'ritual communication' was explored in the early chapters, I now turn to everyday life in order to examine the relation between the two modes of precedence, in order to consider the relation between the ritual and non-ritual communications in Wologai and in order to explore the 'long conversation' as a whole.\(^\text{15}\) This examination of nature of everyday life constitutes an important

\(^{12}\) Geertz 1973b.

\(^{13}\) See chapter 2.

\(^{14}\) According to Bloch's definition, everyday life, or non-ritual communication, is a residue category of 'ritual life'. Although he assumes that everyday life is given \(a\ priori\) and he maintains that it is universal, if everyday life is a residue category, it is more appropriate to assume that everyday life is defined in relation to ritual life. The difference between everyday life and ritual life is more flexible, relational and even vague.

\(^{15}\) One of the implicit points I make in the following is that the ritual communication and the non-ritual communication in Wologai are not unmediated as Bloch delineates but mediated. In other words Bloch's argument that ritual communication is culture specific and non-ritual communication is universal is too simple.
part since everyday life is the main arena for the Wologai belief in power of ola mbé'o comes into play.

FEATURES OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN WOLOGAI

Wologai people regard everyday life as open to achievement. Whether or not one is a ritual-leader, or affiliated with any particular ritual-house hardly counts in everyday life. In everyday life no marks, such as dress, behaviour, form of address and reference, are institutionalised to distinguish ritual-leaders from widow-orphan people. Everybody considers themselves autonomous and feels qualified to become influential. The basic principle of everyday life is that the harder a person works, the more prosperous that person should become. People are competitive with each other in everyday life. Against this background, people are eager to increase their potency, strength and influence by various means, one of which is the acquisition of secret knowledge (ola mbé'o).

A household constitutes a special social space in which production, consumption and intimate experience are shared and within which competition is discouraged. This contrasts with the strong competition between the people of different households.17

Most people live in their dry rice field or near their wet-rice field in unbounded settlements. The largest settlement is near wet-rice fields along the Lowo Ria river. This settlement has grown because of the recent introduction and development of these wet-rice fields.18 This new mode of agriculture, together with the prohibition of polygamy by the missionaries and the introduction of new modes of housing, has led to great changes in the condition of households. By the beginning of the 1970s most Wologai people had been baptised by Catholic missionaries.19 Men who had more than one wife officially gave up polygamy.

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16 From a different viewpoint, everyday life of the Wologai will be explored in chapter 8.

17 While a married couple is the core of a household among the Wologai, it can be the focus of tension between respective households of origin (see Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995:8). Most marriages among the Wologai are a matter concerning two households, which are not enduring social units and inevitably change according to their members' marriage, growth and death. The tension is therefore not enduring either. Relations between a married couple are regarded as the most intimate. This is expressed in a couplet: lai repa lala, boka repa moda (spleens melt into each other, lungs cohere with each other). This couplet can mean the ecstasy of sexual intercourse. It is used to express extraordinarily intimate relations, which probably accompany sexual relations.

18 It is said that the first wet-rice field was developed in 1938. See chapter 5.

19 People say that many people were baptised since they were afraid to be identified as communists by the government. In 1965 and 1966 Wologai people were also influenced by the 30th September Movement (cf
Except for cement houses, most dwelling-houses are simple and small. Many people regard building a cement house as a way of demonstrating their precedence. Because of the enduring structure of cement houses, the nature of dwelling-houses as properties and the relationship between the residents and the site are undergoing transformation.  

Members of a household usually work together in their fields and crops are stored in a granary. Many households comprise a core couple and other related people, including unmarried children, a married child and his/her spouse, unmarried grandchildren, and/or an old parent. In principle all the children have rights to inherit the usufruct of land and property that their parents hold.

There are a considerable number of old or middle aged couples who do not have children. Some of them live together with an adopted child. Figure 7-1 shows two examples.

An adopted person will inherit property and rights from his/her adopted parents. Apart from adoption, a household sometimes 'fosters' (paga) a child or young person, usually man, who is not necessarily closely related. Influential men in the previous generation fostered boys, some of whom are now influential men. 'Fostering' establishes an enduring credit-debt relationship between foster parents and foster child. 'Fostering' a promising boy from a relatively poor household is an investment for the future. One couple, who are the only people to own a small automobile, are fostering several young men.

In addition to increasing potency, strength and influence by acquiring secret knowledge, people also strengthen their social position by establishing and securing social ties through various forms of exchange.

Helping each other in everyday life, especially with work in the fields, builds up social ties. This assistance for work in fields is referred to as ghulu. Some households have organised working groups in the early 1980s. There are two such groups among Wologai people. Some men have recently organised a credit

Clancy 1992: 145). According to Wologai people, the primary school was founded by Catholic missionary in Wologai area in 1920s. Catholic baptism also started in 1920s. It is said that only four Wologai people are not baptised.

20 See chapter 4.

21 I do not know any household which comprises four generations of people. I know two households which comprise a sister and brother pair, their spouses and their unmarried children. Unfortunately I could not make a survey of many households in Wologai area for several reasons, one of which is that a considerable number of people were afraid to be asked their names because it reminded them of what members of the Communist Party of Indonesia did.

22 Adoption is referred to as wil kawe, which literally means 'pull and draw'.

23 See chapter 4.
Figure 1
group for cement. This group comprises eleven men, three of who are Wolobéwa men. These groups can be formed independently of affiliations with the ritual-houses. They are organised on a voluntary basis and contain some households whose members are not Wologai.

While there is no place which can be recognised as the husband’s area, a hearth space in a dwelling-house, usually separate from other parts of the house, is the wife’s area. A woman visits another woman directly at her hearth space. Much significant information and gossip are exchanged at hearth spaces.

Women manage the consumption of a household. Women say it is easy for a woman to control her husband and men admit that this is true. Feeding a man well makes him obedient to his wife. Some Wologai women organise a sort of credit union of rice referred to as pa‘u are (passing rice). Women of the same ‘passing rice’ group gather once each half year and all contribute a basketful of rice. The women take turns being the hostess, who is entitled to all the rice contributed. The gatherings are held on a Sunday. Members cook together and enjoy chatting for the whole day. The members belong to different households located in vicinity.

VERBAL CATEGORIES FOR EVERYDAY SOCIAL RELATIONS

The Most part of everyday life goes without naming the actual relations and interactions. The Wologai sometimes apply given verbal categories to these relations and interactions. While these verbal categories could be included in ritual-communication or formalisation in Bloch’s sense, they are independent from the authority of the ritual-village, which is the privileged topic of ritual discourse in Wologai and the arena to which one mode of precedence is to be applied. If formalisation can be regarded as a way of institutionalisation, applying these given verbal category to the actual relations and interactions may crisscross the ‘social structure’ and overshadow the privilege of the ritual-village as the ‘social structure’.

Marriage is most important in terms of social relations, which are usually free from the orthodoxy of the ritual village. While marriage within a household or between people whose mothers are sisters or whose fathers are brothers is unthinkable, people otherwise may marry any range of people. Two affinal

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24 See chapter 1.
25 For some examples of these given categories, see Appendix 5.
Households are expected to help each other, although exchanges of goods between affinal households are not obligatory. In societies in which affinal obligations constitute a basic social institution, ignoring exchange with affines is anti-social or a challenge to the whole social system. Among the Wologai people, however, such neglect is not anti-social unless it results in totally severing or abandoning the tie with the affinal households.

At present, marital alliances in Wologai are not privileged as much as in other ritual-villages in the West-Lio-speaking or probably as in the past. In Wologai people's discourse, however, normative types of marriage play an important role.

**NORMATIVE TYPES OF MARRIAGE AND AFFINAL RELATIONS**

The normative types of marriage are described in couplets. These normative types do not constitute rules to regulate actual marriages, but points of reference for negotiation between concerned parties. The following section deals with four normative types, that is to say, 'legitimate alliance', 'marriage of desire', 'marriage by enslaving oneself', and 'prohibited marriage'.

**LEGITIMATE ALLIANCE: FOLLOWING THE RIGHT RIDGE, TRACING THE LEGITIMATE PATH (Ndūu no'ō Wolo Wai // Tendu Jala Laki)**

In order to establish marital alliance between unrelated people, usually of a different ritual-village, an exchange of bridewealth and a counter gift must take place. This type of marriage is called 'great negotiation' (mbabho ria). A knowledgeable man recounted the outline of the process as follows:

The would-be wife-takers send mediators to offer their proposal to the would-be wife-givers. These mediators are designated as 'the foot of the path' (ha'i jala) and/or 'the young beto-bamboo, the string of the arenga palm fibre' (beto meta/tali nao). The relation between the affines is called jala (path, road, way). If the proposal is accepted, the would-be wife-takers visit the would-be wife-givers with the mediators and with a prestation called ruti nata (asking to chew betel nuts). This prestation is

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26 In the West-Lio-speaking area whether or not there is a social category known as embu (literally meaning 'great-grandparent') is associated with such affinal relations. This category can be translated as a clan or an origin group with a patrilineal ideology. Populations living downstream of the Lowo Ria river, including the East-Ende speaking area, have this social category, while the people of Wologai, Wolondopo, Wolojita and Faunak do not use the word embu to indicate this such social category.
given to the bride’s parents. If the prestation is accepted, both sides decide the date to negotiate the bridewealth. The items of the bridewealth are called *majo hagé* (basket of share). The contents and the receivers are as shown in TABLE 7-1. Sometime after the ‘great negotiation’ the bridegroom goes to live in the bride’s house. Girls usually sleep with their mother, but after the bridegroom comes into the bride’s house the bride starts to sleep not with her mother but with the bridegroom. For the first four nights and days of this separation from the mother, the bride and bridegroom must eat their meals together and also from the same plate. After four nights, they wash their heads with coconut milk (*semu kolo*), which has a cooling effect. After this stage, the prestations of bridewealth called ‘sleeping separately’ (*roké wi’a*) and ‘rolling up the mat // oiling the head with coconut milk’ (*luru te’e // semu kolo*) are made. The former is to the bride’s mother and the latter to the bride’s parents.

Some time after this, the wife-givers visit the wife-takers with a counter-gift. This prestation of a counter-gift is called ‘bringing the load’ (*tuu regu*). Later, the wife-givers take the bride and the bridegroom to the bridegroom’s parents’ house. After this process of prestation and counter-prestation is completed, it is said that ‘the path is established’ (*jala mbalé*). If the people of one side host a feast, they must let the people of the other side know. This relationship is described as ‘fitted to the haft of a machete, hung by a hook’ (*dua leka sual/soi leka saja*).

### TABLE 7-1 BRIDEWALHE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>name of gifts</th>
<th>receiver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>ruti nata</em></td>
<td>WM,WF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'asking to chew betels'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>ngawu léwa</em></td>
<td>WM,WF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'passing valuables'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>pati majo hagé</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'giving a basket of share'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 Young *beto*-bamboo and string of arenga bark fibre are used to tie things such as stakes for fences. In other areas in eastern Indonesia, marital alliance is also represented by a word meaning path.

28 The consonant *h* rarely appears in words in West Lio. Indeed, the word *hagé* does not seem to be used in West-Lio dialect. *Hagé* means ‘a share’ in East-Lio, while *hagé* does so in West-Lio. These data might suggest that the discourse concerning normative types of marriage is likely to accept influences from outside.

29 This couplet can be interpreted as ‘being engaged’.
name of gifts

*kura monga*
'prawn and crab'

*pijé pu'u, reté kamu*
'holding the trunk, pressing the root'

*ngara liru méra, pesé lika momo*  WM
'looking up the red sky, pressing the soft hearth stone'

*ata godo*
'people who are exhausted'

*bendi sau*
'gun and machete'

*fu'u aé*
'husk and water'

4. *roké wi'a*
'sleeping separately'

5. *lulu té'ë, semu kolo*
'rolling up the mat, oiling the head'

6. *tuu regu*
'bringing the load'

7. *tuu kolo*
'bringing the head'

The norm says that each named part of the prestation made by the bridegroom's side should be 'one domestic animal and one set of gold items' (*se éko se liwu*). The domestic animal should be a water buffalo; one set of gold items comprises four pieces of ear ornaments. But the actual amount of the prestation is negotiated. The bride's side gives a large quantity of rice, sarongs and other clothes and pandanus mats. The gift of rice is known as 'rice and sorghum' (*paré lolo*). The other gifts are referred to as 'women's sarong and blouse' (*lawo lambu*) or 'load of sheets' (*regu pata*). The wife-givers and the wife-takers may make challenging demands. The wife-givers often make difficult demands in terms of the amount of or nature of the item required --- such as a water buffalo with one horn pointing upward and the other downward. This can cause extreme difficulty.

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30 *Liwu* is a numeral unit for gold ornaments. One *liwu* comprises four pieces. *Tenga* is another numeral unit. One *tenga* comprises two pieces.

31 People say that *lolo* (sorghum) used to be given together with rice. *Pata* is a numeral classifier to count sarongs.
to the wife-takers. The wife-takers might appraise the counter-prestation and will sometimes reject what is offered and demand a gift of higher quality.

The in-marrying woman becomes a member of her husband's *sa'o* (house) and becomes affiliated with his ritual-house thereafter. A woman thus married is described in parallelism as 'the head is cut off, the tail is cut apart' (*kolo wuu // éko beta*).

If a woman of the wife-givers is given to their wife-takers in the next generation together with the procedure of prestation and counter-prestation, she is also referred to as 'the head is cut off, the tail is cut apart'. This woman is also described as 'leading and following, tracing and lining up' (*mulu pe nduu // déko pe jéjo*) or 'hold the end of the female sarong, hold the rattan string' (*déo sepu lawo // kogi ajé médê*). A woman who is 'the head is cut off, the tail is cut apart' is referred to as *tu'a* (mistress) of the wife-taking group or previous *tu'a* of the leader of the group. If the woman is 'leading and following, tracing and lining up', she is also referred to as *tu'a* of the woman who was the *tu'a* and came into the wife-taking group from the same wife-giving group in the previous generation.32 If there are several *tu'a* in the group, the most prestigious *tu'a* is called *tu'a pu'u* (trunk mistress). In the case of 'the head is cut off, the tail is cut apart' (*kolo wuu // éko beta*), the woman and her children of the marriage follow the husband's ritual affiliation.

In order to carry out a 'great negotiation' the two parties concerned must not only be wealthy; their leaders must be influential in order to organise many people. This normative type of marriage, that is to say, a 'great negotiation' gives social backing to the marital alliance between wealthy and influential men, and announces in public that these two men are wealthy and influential enough to be qualified as leaders (*ata ria*). By the process of 'great negotiation' two groups emerge under the leadership of two influential men, rather than marital exchange being arranged by two bounded groups which existed before the exchange. On the one hand, the marriage involving large scale gift exchange and consequent change of affiliation of the woman allows the two influential men to establish a political alliance. Since the 'great negotiation' is done between two men often in two distant areas, their renown is widely announced beyond their own ritual-village. On the other hand, it shapes a system of legitimate succession to the leadership within the wife-taking group.

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32 *Tu'a* is a kinship term. See Appendix 3.
Establishment of 'great negotiation' encourages the two parties concerned to renew the alliance through exchange of a woman in the same direction in the next generation. This type of marital alliance is characterised by the prescription of marriage, the irreversible flow of women, the exchange of bridewealth, and the legitimacy of succession in the woman-taking group. While these features might be compatible with the reproduction of patrilineal groups, the patrilineal principle is not necessarily involved. Nor does it necessarily involve an ideology of the wife-giving group's superiority.

An in-coming woman (tu'a) is expected to become the wife of the leader or his successor. In other words, the candidate for leadership in the next generation is expected to marry that woman. If the candidate successor to the leadership of his group does not marry the woman prescribed as his partner (tu'a), he may lose out on the position of leader and the marital alliance usually breaks up. If he marries her, that marriage is described as 'following the right ridge, tracing the legitimate path' (nduu no'o wolo wall/tendu jala laki). For the sake of simplicity, I substitute 'legitimate alliance' for this normative type of marriage. As this phrase shows, this type of marriage confers the leader with legitimacy. The woman becomes the supervisory woman entitled 'mother' (iné) of the wife-taking group, while the leader of the group is entitled 'father' (ema). If the leader holds the rights to succession as a ritual-leader, the woman takes care of the ritual-basket as a mother-ritual-leader (ata iné). Most of the narratives relate that this type of marital alliance was formed by two prominent men in different ritual-villages who may have been in a specific alliance-treaty as well. This type of marital alliance seems to have been ephemeral.

If a marriage is regarded as a restoration of a lost marital alliance between two parties, it is described as 'scenting the smell, sniffing the odour' (tatu wau/ngeru ngesa). Since it also qualifies as a 'legitimate alliance', the marital prestation and the counter-prestation should be made for this type of marriage, and the in-marrying woman and her children from this marriage should follow their father's ritual affiliation.

While a 'legitimate alliance' may establish legitimacy for succession to leadership in the wife-taking group, adoption (wii kawé, pulling and drawing) of a son of the in-marrying woman by her brother may establish the legitimacy for the succession to the leadership in the wife-giving group. While it is supposed that this kind of adoption does not necessarily accompany 'legitimate alliance', a

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33 This couplet can mean any 'restoration' of relationship.
'legitimate alliance' or 'big negotiation' must have been carried out in the previous generation. The in-marrying woman in a 'legitimate alliance' is classified as weta (sister, man speaking) of the leader of the woman-giving group. Consequently, the son of the in-marrying woman is classified as a 'child of his sister' (ana weta). Even in the discourse of normative types, the kind of conditions which induce this type of adoption is not clarified. What is asserted is that the adopted man is the legitimate successor to the leader of the wife-giving group. There is also a normative type of adoption named 'adoption of a sister brother pair' (wii kawé se weta se nara). In this type of adoption, a daughter and a son of the in-marrying woman are adopted by the leader of the wife-giving group. They become the female leader and the male leader in the next generation.

MARRIAGE OF DESIRE: FOLLOWING A RIPE CHEST, TRACING WHITE CALVES (NDUU NO'O KASA ERE // TENDU TAGA BARA)

One type of marriage other than that of 'following the right ridge, tracing the legitimate path' is known as 'following a ripe chest, tracing white calves (nduu no'o kasa éré // tendu taga bara), 'satisfying the desire, comforting the heart' (déi ngai // pawé até), 'satisfaction at firewood, comfort at water (déi leka kaju // pawé leka aë).'34 'Ripe chest' and 'white calves' are understood as features of female sexual attractiveness. This type of marriage does not establish a political alliance, nor announce the renown of the people involved to a wider public, nor construct legitimate succession. For simplicity, I use the phrase 'marriage of desire' for this normative type. The coupled phrase nduu no'o kasa éré // tendu taga bara is a parody of the 'legitimate alliance' nduu no'o wolo wai tendu jala laki (following the right ridge, tracing the legitimate path).

In the case of a 'marriage of desire', the two households concerned help each other as necessary. The daughter's husband is usually expected to help the wife's parents in times of need, if at all possible. These loose normative social relations are expressed as 'getting and giving, lacking and apologising' (téi pati // duna méa). This couplet can be paraphrased as 'if I get some, I give it to you; if empty, I apologise'. The two concerned parties might give gifts and counter-gifts voluntarily to an extent that is within their means and ability. While the 'great negotiation' involves a number of people on both sides in the prestations and the counter-prestations, the 'marriage of desire' might involve only the bridegroom,

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34 The last couplet is explained as 'a love affair in collecting firewood in the forest or on the way to get water'. It can designate adultery as well.
the bride's parents and the persons closely related to them. Neither side demands a gift or counter-gift and these gifts are not specified. If either side hosts a feast, they let the other side know. The side of the wife's parents is then expected to give rice and sarongs to the husband's side, and the husband's side is then expected to give the wife's parents domestic animals and gold items or cash.

A 'marriage of desire' is regarded as beginning when a man spends a night with a woman in her house for the first time. The start of the marriage is usually decided upon with the agreement of both sides, but sometimes the woman and/or her parents force the start by coercing the man to spend a night at their house. This process is called dubé (to confine). Even after the marriage begins, the woman often continues to live with her parents. Concerning residences, the man has a wide range of choices. He may live together with his wife in her parents' house and visit his parents freely and frequently. He might stay either at his parents' house or at his wife's house. He may also build a new house for his wife and himself. The man's social status, his personal good relationship with his wife's parents and the amount of the bridewealth may influence his choice of residence.

When the woman's parents admit that the man has made sufficient contributions to them, they allow their daughter to leave in order to live with her husband. This change of residence is described by the parallel phrase: 'if it happens to become night there, it is all right to sleep there, if it happens to become evening there, it is all right to lie there' (kobé sai roké // leja boko ba'a). Thereafter the woman may move from her parents' house and live in her husband's house. However, as the phrase indicates, the change of residence is supposed to be temporary in the way it is sanctioned, even though the residence lasts a long time in practice.

Regardless of the locality of the residence and the amount of the bridewealth, neither the woman nor the man are supposed to change their respective ritual affiliation. The children from this category of marriage live with their mother. In terms of ritual affiliation they should be evenly assigned to their mother's and father's sides. This allotment is described as 'dividing children' (bagi ana) or 'dividing mice, allotting crabs' (bagi té'u // wogha mongga). The allotment should be equal in terms of the number and the gender of the children. Some children may be given plural ritual affiliations. They are described as 'a child who is chopped into two, a great grandchild who is torn into three' (ana kela rua embu wisa telu) or 'a child whose legs are wide apart, whose arms are stretched to reach both sides' (ha'i séka nggéka // lima repa denga).
MARRIAGE BY ENSLAVING ONESELF: EATING THE CHAFF, CRUNCHING THE BAD MAIZE (*kaa kana // ru'e nggewu*)

A man who is regarded as unable to make any prestation or any contribution to his wife's parents is described as 'eating the chaff, crunching the bad maize' (*kaa kana ru'é nggewu*) or 'slavish body' (*ko'o weki*). 'Chaff of rice' (*kana*) and 'maize which has become untasty and powdery' (*nggewu*) are given to pigs. So these phrases imply that the man is degraded like a pig or a slave. He must live in his wife's household and cannot go to his natal household freely. He must work for his wife's parents. His ritual affiliation, if any, should be given up. He is severed from his own kin and assimilated into his wife's household as a subordinate.

These phrases are used to humiliate a man who lives with his wife's parents and who looks as if he has lost his autonomy, regardless of the amount of his prestation and practical contribution. A man who accepts this situation is evaluated not only as a poor man, but also as a man who does not have any social ties to generate the prestation. He is suspected of being a slave (*ko'o*) or a witch (*polo*) by nature. Even though the man in this kind of marriage bears a social stigma, his wife and children are not similarly marked. All the children of this marriage should follow their mother's affiliation.

PROHIBITED MARRIAGE: DARKENED FOREHEAD, LOST VOICE (*nia mila // seru bera*)

It is asserted that marriage is prohibited between a man and a woman who are in the following categories:

1) affiliated with the same *sa'ō*  
2) affiliated with the same *kunu* (a group of people sharing some matrilineally inherited qualities)  
3) having the same *raa nana* ('blood and mucus', bodily material inherited from one's father)  
4) a woman of a wife-taking group (*weta amē*) and a man of wife-giving group (*inē amē*)

A man and a woman in these relations are classified as *nara* (brother, female speaking) and *weta* (sister, male speaking), and *ana* (child) *inē* (mother), or *ema* (father) and *ana* (child). People warn that if they marry, 'the thunder would chop, Mount Ia would tear' (*béla kela // ia sisa*). This kind of marriage is described as 'darkened forehead, lost voice' (*nia mila // seru bera*).
The range of prohibited people seems to be clearly specified in the above statement. However, because actual application of these social categories, namely; sa'o, kunu, raa nana or weta ané and iné amé is ad hoc, these prohibitions are not significant or coercive in choosing a spouse.

In discourse insisting on the authority of the ritual-village, a social category sa'o signifies a ritual-house (or subsidiary-ritual-house in the case of Bhisu Koja), which is depicted as an undivisible unity. The statement that marriage within a sa'o is prohibited is paraphrased as follows: that the men and the women of the same generation of a sa'o are categorised as nara (brother, women speaking) and weta (sister, man speaking). It is also recognised, however, that in actuality a man might marry a woman affiliated within the same ritual-house and this does not usually cause conflicts. While I was never told that marriage between people affiliated with Bhisu Koja, quite a few marriages occurred in this way. These statements together with this recognition suggest that the assertion of sa'o exogamy is aimed at stressing the ideal image of the sa'o as a unity. In everyday life, undivisible social unity is exemplified only as households, also termed sa'o. People of the same household share everyday life, such as agricultural work, consumption and exchange, although households are regarded as temporary.

In the discourse of 'legitimate alliance', the two parties concerned are often referred to as sa'o. In this case the sa'o signifies a group of people under the leadership of an influential man. People state that the marriage of these people was to some extent arranged by their leader. At present, de facto leadership is not articulated in this way, that is to say, a group signified as sa'o does not emerge through marital alliance but in discourse concerning 'legitimate alliance' in previous generations.

In its pragmatics, then, the word sa'o has at least three applicants depending on the context. In all of these cases, however, the statement 'the people within a sa'o may not marry' does not have significance as a regulation of marriage to structure the whole society.

Some people say that a person inherits taboos concerning a particular object, animal or plant (tebu) from his or her mother.35 Those who inherit the same tebu (totemic taboo) are described se kunu (one kunu). Each kunu is named. However, other people say that a person may inherit tebu from a father, as well as a mother, and that not all people inherit tebu. Actually, a considerable number

35 See Appendix 5.
of people neither have tebu, nor are affiliated with a kunu. To them the kunu means simply 'related people'.

Those who conceptualise kunu in the former 'totemic' manner often assert that kunu is so intrinsic and essential that people of the same kunu may not marry each other. At the same time, they may comment that in order to become extremely prosperous and fertile a marriage of people of the same kunu should be arranged. In practice, even those who conceive of the kunu as a group of people sharing a matrilineally transmitted quality, seem to reduce kunu exogamy to avoidance of marriage between people sharing a maternal grandmother, or sharing a mother's mother's mother.36

Some say that people inherit raa nana (blood and mucus) from their father. Raa nana is neither named nor further specified. People do not care about the sharing of the same raa nana beyond two generations. Thus, raa nana exogamy is reduced to avoidance of marriage between people who share a father's father in practice. Finally, for most people, applying the categories of wife-giving people and wife-taking people is hardly relevant beyond households, most of which are nuclear families. To summarise, therefore, any of the four alleged marriage prohibitions do not exclude people as marriage partners except in the case of a much more limited range of people.

NORMATIVE TYPES IN PRACTICE

The normative type of 'legitimate alliance' is logically compatible with the model of generalised exchange. However, it is apparent that neither 'legitimate alliance' nor the normative proscription of marriage, that is to say, 'darkened forehead, lost voice' (nia mila // seru bera) works to divide society into exogamous groups or to maintain exogamous groups which make up a society through marital alliance. It is said that in the present generation 'legitimate alliance' does not have as much significance as in the generations of the past. In the past, especially in the recent past, influential men established 'legitimate alliance' to institutionalise their

36 The concept of kunu varies from one area to another in central Flores. Sugishima reports kunu as matrilineal clan in Lisé in the East-Lio-speaking area. In the Ende-speaking area kunu is a social category indicating an unbounded group of people: 'group' as in 'ebé mai se kunu' (they came in a group), 'fellows' as in 'noré Nangapanda kami kunu iwa, ata mésa (we do not have our fellows in Nangapanda, we only find others', or 'related people' as in 'ebé na kunu ko Mia (they are people related to Mia)'. In the West-Lio-speaking area, in addition to regional difference, the concept of kunu may vary from person to person. The concepts of kunu and tebu are often not differentiated. Furthermore one person may have different concepts of kunu from time to time, since they regard kunu as an esoteric word to be interpreted.
personal de facto status as the legitimate authority. People usually refer to the normative types of marriage in relation to succession (dari nia) to leadership, including ritual leadership (mosa laki). In 'legitimate alliance' or 'great negotiation' the man responsible for the exchange of a woman and the bridewealth is qualified to have a successor (ata dari nia). The legitimacy of the leadership may be further reinforced by continuing a prescribed alliance in the following generations.

People say that all marriages these days are 'giving what was found, apologising for lacking' in terms of bridewealth, and 'pleasing one's own breath, delighting one's own liver' in terms of prescription. That is to say, these marriages do not carry the obligation of marital prestation nor the prescription of choice of partner. Historical narratives describe how, in the past, prominent men made effective use of their marital alliances to extend their political influence within and without their own ritual-village. Some people also suggest that prominent men still possibly make use of such alliances. Current affinal relations are different from each other in terms of prestation. Some affinal relations involve more affinal prestation than others. It is possible that in the future those involving relatively large scale marital prestation will be seen as formal alliances. Recent historical situations tend to make people think about other means of ensuring their social security: educating the younger generations so as to make connections with the Indonesian government or Catholic mission.

The normative typology of marriage is important in the discourse which usually justifies one's own legitimacy and argues against the legitimacy of others. However, it might be the case that in the present generation this normative typology does not articulate the marital relations of the Wologai people to the extent it did in the past.

SOCIAL CATEGORIES IN PRACTICE AND DISCOURSE

EXCHANGES BETWEEN HOUSEHOLDS

For Wologai people death makes a privileged occasion for interaction. When a person dies, people related to that person interact with the bereft members of the

37 According to an informant the last and only marriage with big negotiations (mbabho ria) was that of kapita Ghéta, which was several decades ago during the Dutch colonial time.

38 In the following section, I partly use pseudonyms.
household intensively. People's relationships to the dead person's household in principle fall into three categories. The first is a relationship in which a related household or person is referred to as *ana wuru* (child of an affine), *ana weta* (child of sister) and/or *weta ané* (wife-taker, or mother-taker), and the household of the deceased person as *iné amé*.

The second is an inverse relationship of the first. The third is a relationship in which the two households concerned refer to each other as *aji ka'ë* (same-sex siblings) and/or *tuka bela* (sharing an abdomen). In other words there are only two principles: a household principle of difference and a principle of the sameness or sharing. In practice, who is related in which way is decided by various factors and there is often a degree of overlap, which is not usually regarded as confusion.

A household related as *weta ané* to the household of the deceased person brings *èko* (animals) or valuables (*ngawu*) such as gold items or cash. A household related as *iné amé* gives rice referred to as *paré lolo* (rice and sorghum) and/or cloths referred to as *regu pata* (load of sheets). A household related as *aji ka'ë* (younger and elder same-sex siblings) may give an animal, rice or palm wine.

Many people came together when one influential old man, a widow-orphan man, whose name was Andrea, died in 1984. People of households in the vicinity came with a pack of sugar or coffee, a small basketful of rice, firewood, or a bottle of palm wine. Such gifts are regarded as part of mutual assistance at the time of the death of a neighbour. A number of people gave larger gifts to the household of the dead man according to their recognised relationship with the deceased and their sense of reciprocity or debt. No demand was made for these gifts by the members of the dead man's household. What should be given was decided by the giver. Pélo, a widow-orphan man of Wolojita, brought five baskets-full of rice, recognising his relation to the dead man as follows:

The relation between me and Andrea is traced back to the time of Dhiki through our mothers. According to this relation I call him *aji ka'ë doa bela* (intimate and sharing younger and elder brother). Through my wife, I call him *iné amé* (progenitor). Andrea helped Wolo and me to pay the bridewealth for our wives (See Figure 7-2a).
The relationship between a foster parent and a fostered person may endure for life. One man in his fifties had been fostered (paga) by Andrea since he was little. He brought one pig, while none of his full siblings came because they did not regard themselves as related to Andrea.

Hénéd and her husband's relationship with Andrea was described with an idiom: 'turning around four corners of a hearth' (nggélé ha'u kaè). In other words, they are iné amé as well as ana wuru. This overlapping relationship is not uncommon. While they recognised this overlapping relationship, they brought one sheet of man's cloth, one ikat shawl and one basketful of rice for Andrea's funeral.

The range of people who interact with each other can be wide, and the rule about gifts is loose. Andrea, for example, referred to Linu, a Moni man, as ana (child) and the latter who brought one sheet of man's cloth. Their relation was explicated as shown in Figure 7-2c. Sénda and Séwa were related as 'sharing abdomen' through their great-grandmothers.

As the interactions involved in the case of Andrea's death epitomise, the range of selection of people for interaction is wide and flexible. However, two general organising factors can be found: a household is a unit for these interactions and preceding interactions direct current interactions.

AFFILIATION AND INHERITANCE

Inheritance of property is a result or even a process of negotiation not only through discourse about legitimate inheritance but also through acts or discourse about what was done before. The main object of inheritance has been usufruct of dry land. Basic principles for inheritance are as follows: any person can use the land his/her parents used. Adoption and fostering are another path for inheritance. Working on the land constantly is the ordinary way of sustaining usufruct. Making palm wine is a way of announcing usufruct on the land during a long fallow period.42

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41 See Figure 7-2b.

42 Transformation and innovation regarding the objects of inheritance have been occurring. Several factors have contributed to this change. Since wet-rice cultivation has been introduced for several decades, wet-rice fields have become an important object of inheritance. Cash-crop plants have been introduced recently. Some people own coffee trees which yield every year. Although nobody exclusively lives on the income from coffee crops, planting coffee trees has led to an innovation in the relationship between the people and the land. Not only coffee trees but also parcels of land marked by coffee trees have become objects of inheritance. During my stay, people started planting clove trees. This new crop may push people in the same direction as coffee has done.
Figure 7-2a

Figure 7-2b

Figure 7-2c
In theory, types of affiliation are decided according to types of marriage. People whose parents married through 'legitimate alliance' are affiliated to their father's ritual-house or basket. People whose father underwent 'marriage of enslaving oneself' are affiliated to their mother's ritual-house or basket. People born from 'marriage of desire' are affiliated to the ritual-house or basket either of their mother or father or both. Affiliation of a ritual-leader manifests itself as 'performing rituals' (tau ngguva) in village-rituals. Affiliation of widow-orphan people is manifested as 'filling rituals' (penu ngguva), that is to say, bringing some rice, palm wine and/or a chicken for village-rituals. Affiliation and inheritance often correspond to each other. A widow-orphan person 'fills rituals' for the ritual-basket with which the person, from whom the former inherited usufruct of land or a wet-rice field, was affiliated. 'Filling ritual' is not obligatory. People usually explicate the reason for 'filling rituals' as 'avoiding headache', which is expressed by the following couplet.

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\begin{align*}
kolo ma'ë roo & \quad \text{may the head not be aching} \\
ôtë ma'ë nodë & \quad \text{may the brain not be sore}
\end{align*}
\]

However, 'filling rituals' also serve to justify an inheritance, especially if the inheritance is threatened. The following case epitomises the relation between the justification of inheritance, 'filling ritual' and affiliation:

A is now an old widow-orphan man. He was born as a son of B, who was affiliated to Ata Limbu (a ritual-house) of Faunaka. When A was little, B stole C's horse. This theft was soon revealed. C demanded that B must pay a set of gold items (se liwu) and one animal (se éko). B's sister, D was married out to a man who was affiliated to Wolo Ghalé of Wologai. B could not pay, so asked his sister to help. D and her husband helped B. In this kind of situation, B must give his daughter to D. But B did not have a daughter, so he gave A to D, which is referred to as 'putting into an abdomen' (pusi tuka). A became rich later because he lived with kapita Ghéta. He financially helped E, who was affiliated with Ata Limbu of Faunaka and much older than A. Because of this, he inherited E's wet-rice field. From then until now, A has 'filled rituals' of Ata Limbu of Faunaka by contributing a small basket of rice.

This story was told by a man affiliated to Wolo Ghalé, who feels competitive toward A. A proudly talks about his double affiliation both to Wolo Ghalé of Wologai and Ata Limbu of Faunaka, that is to say, being 'a child who is chopped into two, a great-grandchild who is torn into three'. According to him, he was not 'put into abdomen' (pusi tuka) but adopted (wii kawé) by D. Although many Faunaka men regard his inheritance of E's wet-rice field as illegitimate, they
cannot take the wet-rice field away from him because he has already used it for a long time, he has 'filled rituals' of Ata Limbu of Faunaka, and he is still influential in many respects.

THE CASE OF LAU

The following story exemplifies how the normative types of marriage and succession are woven into people's discourse in order to justify their legitimacy. This story was told by Lau, a ritual-leader of Ana Lamba, one of the subsidiary-ritual-house.

My grandfather (mamo), Léngo, succeeded to the ritual-leadership of Digo, his father, and became the ritual-leader of Ana Lamba. However, since the Wologai people tried to slight (reté) Léngo, he was not happy with living in Wologai and with being a ritual-leader of Wologai. One of his wives was Goba, a daughter of Rangga Ndolu, the powerful ritual-leader of Sa'o Soko Ria in Wolojita. Rangga Ndolu was adopted (wii kawé) by Ndolu and succeeded to (dari nia) the ritual-leadership of Ndolu. Rangga Ndolu adopted (wii kawé) Léngo. Léngo succeeded to the ritual-leadership of Rangga Ndolu. When he became the ritual-leader of Soko Ria in Wolojita, he also became the head (kepala) of Tana Nggoro.43 He allocated the ritual-leadership of Ana Lamba to his full younger brother (aji doa), Roga, although Léngo remained the head of the family (ema oné sa'o kai).44 Nanga, Léngo's son, married Dhiki, Goba's tu'a pu'u (trunk in-marrying woman). Dhiki was Ndolu's daughter (ana). When Roga died, Béké, Nanga's younger brother succeeded to the ritual-leadership of Ana Lamba under Léngo's supervision. When Léngo died, Nanga, succeeded to Léngo's position, namely the ritual-leadership of Soko Ria in Wolojita and the head of the family (ema oné sa'o kai). Ulé Rangga, a daughter of Rangga (a ritual-leader of Detusoko) was a tu'a pu'u (in-marry trunk woman) of Digo, so the ritual-leadership of Digo should be passed to a child of Ulé Rangga. Nanga was a son of Ulé. After Nanga had been the ritual-leader of Soko Ria in Wolojita for nine years, he stopped being the ritual-leader of Soko Ria in Wolojita and gave back the valuables (ngawu) and the residence in Wolojita, because of some conflict with some people of Wolojita. He said, "It's enough being a ritual-leader. I don't want it any longer. (temu si laki. aku ngangé)." He was resolute and obstinate (kolo ria, literally meaning 'big headed'). When Béké died, Nanga allotted the ritual-leadership of Ana Lamba to Rénggi, Léngo's

43 The speaker commented that Tana Nggoro had been the name of a vast administrative area in the time of the Dutch. However I have not been able to find such a name in Dutch documents so far.
brother, by declaring "Rénggi is the ritual-leader". Nanga, however, remained the head of the family (ema oné sa'o) and appointed Rénggi as 'legs and hands' (ha'i lima), even though he calls Rénggi 'father' (ema). When Rénggi died, Nanga declared, "I adopt (wii kawé) Lau and appoint him the ritual-leader of Ana Lamba". He adopted (wii kawé) me and my sister, thus, this adoption is 'an adoption of a sister brother pair' (wii kawé se weta se nara). In 1957 I became the ritual-leader and performed the great-ritual for the first time. When Nanga died, I succeeded Nanga as the head of the family (ema oné sa'o). This is the way of adoption in Wolooné, people who are our pu'u kamu. Although he had six wives, he did not beget any children. He did not want to appoint his ana, that is to say, his brother's son either as the ritual-leader or as his successor to the head of the family. He chose his sister's children.

The narrator of this story, Lau, seems here to try to justify in an eclectic manner the legitimacy of his line of succession to the ritual-leadership as well as to the status of Nanga, his mother's brother, as the head of the family, the group which was organised through marital exchange, which is described as sa'o in this story. Léngo's succession to Digo's status is justified only by pointing to the father-son link. Léngo's succession to the status of Rangga Ndolu of Wolojita is justified by adoption (wii kawé), which is further supported by the fact that Rangga Ndolu's succession to the ritual-leadership of Ndolu was also justified by Rangga Ndolu's adoption by Ndolu. His status as the head of his 'sa'o' and his authority and power over the ritual-leader, Roga, is justified by being Digo's son and being elder brother of the ritual-leader. Nanga's succession to the ritual-leadership of Soko Ria in Wolojita is justified by being Léngo's son, and by marrying Dhiki, tu'a pu'u of Goba, daughter of Rangga Ndolu. Nanga's succession to the status of Léngo as the head of his 'family' (sa'o) and his authority and power over the ritual-leadership of Ana Lamba in Wologai is justified by being Léngo's son, and by being a son of Ulé Rangga, the tu'a pu'u of Digo, who was the ritual-leader of Ana Lamba. His freeing himself from the ritual-leadership of Soko Ria in Wolojita is justified by paying back the valuables. Lau's succession to the ritual-leadership of Ana Lamba and to the leadership of the 'family' (sa'o) are justified by the fact that it was Nanga's decision and that he, together with his sister, were adopted (wii kawé se weta se nara) by Nanga.

44 The speaker rephrase 'ema oné sa'o (father in a house) as an indonesian phrase 'kepala keluarga' (head of a family).

45 Wolooné is a ritual-village located in Denusoko area.
Lau often stated that Léngo and Nanga had been really influential personages (*senggu waka benu*). He explained this in his narrative by saying that Léngo had become the head of Tana Nggoro and by mentioning in a humorous tone that Nanga had been resolute and obstinate (*kolo ria*; big headed). Along with the justification that variously refers to normative types, the rationale that Léngo's and Nanga's influential powers deserved legitimacy runs as an undertone through the whole narrative. It is said that in order to realise their influence as much as possible, Léngo and Nanga manipulated the integration of the two ritual-houses and two 'families' (*sa'o*), de facto congregations of people. The following narrative recounts that in previous generations controlling the flow of valuables worked to congregate people under one's influence.

Timbu was the *tu'a pu'u* of Goba. When Timbu was old enough to marry, Nanga was still a child. So Léngo married Timbu, though marrying a *tu'a* is in principle prohibited (*ola molo piré*). Rangga Ndolu gave another *tu'a*, Dhiki, to Léngo. Timbu was Ndéwi's daughter and Dhiki was Raja's. Probably Raja and Ndéwi were affiliated with Rangga's family (*sa'o*) and the bridewealth (*ngawu*) of Goba was used for Raja's wife and Ndéwi's (*gena leka Raja no'o Ndéwi*). That's why their daughters were given as *tu'a*. The reason Ndolu's daughter was not given would be that the bridewealth of another of Ndolu's sisters was used for his wife. Nanga married Dhiki and Magé, Dhiki's brother and also Ndéwi's son, gave Lawi to Nanga as Goba's *tu'a pu'u*. But since Nanga's relation with Wolozita was broken, Lawi was no longer a *tu'a pu'u*. Nanga had six wives but no children.

These narratives indicate how ephemeral marital alliance was, even in past generations, and how prescription and proscription depended on the situation.

There is no social sanction in regard to infringing the proscription of marriage partner. The assumed sanction is 'Mt Ia would tear, the thunder would chop' (*ia sisa // béla kela*). If one disagrees with another's marriage on the grounds of normative proscription, the only thing one can do is to utter a curse that the marriage may become infertile. However, the couple cursed defend themselves by spells. The following words are an example:

- *doga menga weta doa* what is impossible is marriage with a full sister
- *talo molo iné ka'o* what is unable is marriage with a mother of birth
- *demi éo sibi* If she is not a full one
- *ngala dhiki* I can gain
- *ngala wiki* I can take
Along with hidden battles by the curse and defensive words, the resulting relations between the accusing and accused people are contextual.

Fera is an influential old man. He has never lost a chance to become influential. Although his childhood seems to have been unfavourable, in his youth he somehow had a chance to follow the Dutch forestry officers. He claims that he was so brave that he was never scared of the foreigners and he could ride around the forests throughout Flores. He was eloquent and knowledgeable. He was and still is regarded as full of sexual power. He married daughters/sisters of influential people. He married Riwu, a sister of Nanga, and begot Lau and his elder sister. He married another woman who was also a sister of an influential ritual-leader of Wologai. Then, finally, he robbed Agus of his attractive wife. This marriage was accused of being 'darkened face, lost voice' not only because it was adultery, but also because Agus was another son of Léngo and Nanga's half-brother. Fera was confident of defending himself by defensive words. He was influential. Nanga did not support Agus's accusation. Eventually Agus felt ashamed and left for the north coast.

In contrast with the fact that Fera did not suffer from Agus's accusation, his son, Lau suffered much from the accusations of others towards his present marriage.

After his first wife's death, he fell in love with a young widow, Sisi. They started to live together as husband and wife. His elder sister, Gina, had already married a man, Tinu, whom Sisi called eda (a kin category including one's mother's brother) and who insisted that he and Sisi belong to the same 'family'. Gina and Tinu felt insulted by Lau's marriage. They cursed Lau's marriage to be infertile by pronouncing the words: 'May it be swept away with the bad blood'. They involved Fera and Béke's sons on their side and confronted Lau. Not until Lau and Sisi had many children, which indicates their marriage is fertile, did Lau and Sisi's suffering cease.

Lau is not as resolute and obstinate (kolo ria) as his mother's brother, Nanga. He admits that he is not as influential as Nanga. Instead of trying to be resolute, he makes a great effort to learn about the normative types of marriage, affiliation and succession in order to make his claims to his position justifiable.

It seems that his acts and discourse are supported by what he has learnt. He is trying not to miss a chance to behave as a ritual-leader of Ana Lamba. He asserts that as 'a child who is chopped into two, a great-grandchild who is torn into three' (ana kela ria // embu wisa telu) he is affiliated not only with Ana Lamba but also with Wolo Ghalé, with which his father asserts himself to be
affiliated. In order to make his assertion persuasive, he performs the ritual obligation known as 'filling the ritual' (*penu nggua*) by sending a basketful of rice to Wolo Ghalé.

Instead of establishing a 'legitimate alliance', he makes an effort to expand his influence by becoming an organiser of a group for agricultural work or by becoming an informal mediator of foreign information that finds its way to the framework of traditional knowledge.

The case of Lau exemplifies how 'legitimate alliance (following the right ridge, tracing the legitimate path)' is referred to in order to justify the legitimacy of succession. People often describe another person's marriage as a 'marriage of desire (satisfying the desire, comforting the heart)' or as a 'marriage of enslaving oneself (eating the chaff, crunching the bad maize)' in order to cast doubt on that person's succession or in order to humiliate that person. People may curse the marriage of others by denouncing it as a 'prohibited marriage' (darkened forehead, lost voice).

**SA’O (HOUSE) AND THE TWO MODES OF PRECEDENCE**

This section explores how the concept of *sa’o* is related to the two modes of precedence and how it mediates them.

In Wologai, as in many other societies not only in eastern Indonesia but also in other areas of the world, a category which can be translated as 'house' in English provides a scheme for the differentiation and the sameness of people. This category is *sa’o*. As built forms, there are three kinds of *sa’o* (houses) in Wologai: ritual-house, subsidiary-ritual-house and dwelling-house. Of these three kinds of houses (*sa’o*), ritual-houses and dwelling-houses contrast with each other.

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CONTRAST BETWEEN THE DWELLING/HOUSEHOLD AND THE RITUAL-HOUSE

The ritual-houses, constituents of the ritual-village, are the main arena for the mode of centralised authority, one mode of precedence. A ritual-house is not a bounded social group, but rather a reference point of a collective subjectivity which is manifested by a ritual-house as a built form, by ritual-leaders as agents, and by village-rituals as its main activities. The extent to which one is affiliated with a ritual-house varies from person to person and also contextually. A ritual-leader, for example, at the time of the great-ritual is most closely attached to her/his ritual-house. A ritual-house is not a unit for exchange except for ritual exchange in village-rituals, in which individuals' engagement in one mode of precedence is assumed to be embodied.

In contrast with a ritual-house, a household is a unit for various kinds of exchanges, including marital exchanges. Everyday life centred on dwelling-houses is the main arena in which the personal contentious mode of precedence comes into play.

A household is not a subdivision of a ritual-house, since it is usual that a husband and a wife are affiliated with different ritual-houses, and it is not uncommon that one person has double affiliation. In terms of ritual and symbolism, a dwelling and a household are not as much articulated as a ritual-house building and the social category it represents. In terms of ritual and symbolic articulation, a subsidiary-ritual-house has a position between a ritual-house and a dwelling.

The orthodoxy of the ritual-village marginalises dwelling-houses in contrast with ritual-houses. Talking about sa'o from the orthodox perspective of a ritual-village, people assert that what deserves to be called a sa'o is a ritual-house and that a dwelling-house may not be called sa'o but maro (a lodge). In this context, they assert that houses built with cement walls and a corrugated iron roof, which have been introduced recently and are thought to be more durable than traditional wooden houses, must be called maro. In contrast to a ritual-house in the ritual-village, a dwelling-house is referred to as 'belly of a field, upper part of a garden',


'(place for) breeding chickens, feeding pigs' (*tuka uma // wawo rema, peni manu // wesl wawi*).\(^{47}\)

However, everyday experience distinguishes ritual-houses as a marked category *sa'o ngguna* in contrast with dwelling-houses as an unmarked category *sa'o*. When free from the orthodoxy of a ritual-village, it is taken for granted that the word *sa'o* can be applied to a dwelling-house and a household.\(^{48}\) In this context, a dwelling-house of cement walls or corrugated iron roof is called *sa'o watu* (stone house), *sa'o semi* (cement house) or *sa'o séé* (zinc house), but never called *maro watu* (stone lodge), *maro semi* (cement lodge) or *maro séé* (zinc lodge).

In terms of temporality, dwelling-houses and ritual-houses contrast with each other. While dwelling-houses are manifestations of the ongoing present, ritual-houses are those of primordial time. Everyday life centres on dwelling-houses, where there is acceptance of almost all the modes of life at hand without scrutinising the compatibility of their principles. In contrast, according to the orthodoxy of the ritual-village, rituals at the ritual-village and the ritual-houses have not undergone any changes since primordial time.

Dwelling-houses and ritual-houses contrast with each other in terms of values. Pursuing riches, delight, pleasure and desire, while encouraged in life centred on a dwelling, is excluded from ritual life centred on ritual-houses.

Dwelling-houses are not symbolically articulated. No one is interested in speculating about dwelling-houses. In contrast with the ritual-village (*nuap*) and its constituents including the ritual-houses (*sa'o ngguna*), dwellings are not forms to be interpreted through speculation, but objects which are taken for granted to such an extent that people are almost always absorbed into their lived-in experience in their dwelling.

\(^{47}\) In Toraja dwelling-houses are similiar rankd lower than the ritual house (*tongkonan*) by being referred to as huts (*lantang-lantang*) (Waterson 1990).

\(^{48}\) This taken-for-granted usage is observed in a verbal game called *nai sa'o* (enter 'houses') which is played as a pastime such as during times such as harvesting paddy. The way to play is as follows:

One of the players choose two households which contain persons of the same name. Households must be chosen from the areas well-known to all the players. The others try to guess the name common to the two persons. The first person who gives the right answer takes his/her turn to ask a question. For example, the game goes like this: one utters, "*nai sa'o nai sa'o, lau Ekolēta nai sa'o Igi, ghaa Bēlakela nai sa'o Mitē* (enter a house, enter a house, Igi's house at Ekolēta in the downstream, Mitē's house here in Bēlakela)."

"Tina, Tina". Ekolēta and Bēlakela are place names. Igi is the name of the member of the former household, and Mitē is of the latter household. Tina is the name of the two persons in these different households.

People never call this game *nai maro* or say "*nai maro* (enter a lodge)" in the game.
The Wologai people's dwellings are basically composed of three parts: a part for receiving guests, a part for sleeping and a part for cooking. Other than these basic features there is no scheme specific and common to Wologai dwellings. A dwelling-house is an arena for lived experience: cooking, having meals, sleeping, having sexual intercourse with a spouse, taking care of children, being taken care of by the older household members, holding daily conversation, feeling warmth inside, feeling secure and so on. People do not speculate about a dwelling-house, they just live in it. Children learn about their immediate social world through their dwelling-house. They learn who feeds them, whom they sleep with, who lives there, who visits them very often, who can enter the sleeping area and the like.

In contrast, ritual-houses provoke speculation, which people consider distant from the viewpoint of the lived-in experience in a dwelling-house. However, through speculation about the world, the speculative truth may become more essential than the lived-in experience.\textsuperscript{49}

SYNTHESIS

Apart from these contrasts, ritual-houses and dwelling-houses share certain images. Members of a household regard their dwelling-house as a sheltering place and a proper place to die. Dwelling-houses play an alternative role to ritual-houses in terms of protection of life. A newborn baby is kept in its dwelling-house for protection.\textsuperscript{50} When a member of a household becomes ill, that person is kept in her/his dwelling-house with the door closed. As long as one dies in one's dwelling-house, the death is not regarded as a bad death.\textsuperscript{51}

Speculative truth and lived experience are dialectically related and synthesised in the word sa'\textsuperscript{o}. In order for the speculative truth to be real, it needs lived experience in a household. At a time of difficulty such as at the illness or death of a member, difficulty in child birth, attack by a witch and so on, people

\textsuperscript{49} Geertz introduced a methodological framework made of two complementary concepts, 'experience-distant' and 'experience-near', for anthropological understanding of others' worlds (Geertz 1983). He does not mention whether producing 'experience-distant' and 'experience-near' concepts is a universal human ability or whether people understand the 'world' in this way. It is appropriate to introduce a similar methodological framework to understand how the Wologai people understand the world.

\textsuperscript{50} Nowadays Wologai people do not normally use a bamboo knife cut from the bamboo pillars of the hearths of a ritual-house, nor soot from those hearths on the umbilical cord of the newborn.

\textsuperscript{51} Not many sick people in a critical condition are carried and laid under the what-hangs of their ritual-house.
start to reflect on their lived experience in relation to the world. In this process, lived experience needs speculative truth.

With this encompassing concept of sa'o, people understand the origin of 'society', namely a ritual-village.

In the primordial time the human beings slid down the Mount Lépémbusu and stopped at Nuaoné to live. They lived together in a sa'o (house). There was no sa'o (house) in the world except the one in Nuaoné at first. Then gradually people procreated and the sa'o (house) split. As a result of procreation there are many sa'o (houses) with their respective names.

At the first stage of this story, the concept of dwelling-sa'o and that of sa'o ngguwa merge in the word sa'o. The emergence of the named sa'o, namely sa'o ngguwa, is explained as a result of 'natural' procreation.

The following narrative even depicts the emergence of sa'o ngguwa as a 'natural' evolution from maro (dwelling-house).

In ancient times the human beings slid down from Mount Lépémbusu and stopped at Nuaoné. There were only one maro and one lepa (hut without walls) in Nuaoné at first. Gradually maro became sa'o and lepa became keda.

If people constrast sa'o (house) with keda (temple), sa'o does not mean dwelling-sa'o but sa'o ngguwa (ritual-house). On the one hand, these two narratives endow dwelling-houses with speculative meaning and on the other hand they inspire a lived sense into a 'society', that is to say, a ritual-village symbolised by ritual-houses and a temple.

'LEGITIMATE ALLIANCE' AND SA'O: MEDIATION BETWEEN DE FACTO POWER AND LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY

Subsidiary-ritual-houses, another category of built forms to which the word sa'o is applied, in a sense mediate between dwelling-houses and ritual-houses. While dwelling-houses are supposed to be an arena for achievement, ritual-houses are linked to the legitimate authority given since primordial time. On the one hand,

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52 The term lepa can be understood as one term among several Austronesian words for different kinds of houses (Fox 1993a).

53 Knowledge about the ancient past belongs to esoteric knowledge. Attention should be paid to the fact that maro rhymes with sa'o and lepa with keda in relation to the theme of this thesis.
subsidiary-ritual-houses like ritual-houses, are linked to the legitimate authority; on the other hand, like dwelling-houses, building subsidiary-ritual-houses depends on the de facto powers of the ritual-leaders responsible for them. The number and the state of subsidiary-ritual-houses fluctuate. People understand that according to this fluctuation, the structure of authority in the ritual-village, which should be unchanging, has changed. Some people, for example, told the following story:

In the Dutch colonial time Ghéta, head of the Gemeente Wologai, became influential by taking advantage of his status in relation to the Dutch. He appealed to the origin-priest and was finally allowed to establish the subsidiary-ritual-house of Léwa Béwa.

Since he was affiliated with the subsidiary-ritual-house of Labo, it seems that he was the actual leader controlling the ritual-leaderships of these two subsidiary-ritual-houses. Thus, among Wologai, subsidiary-houses provide an effective instrument in legitimating the enterprises or de facto power of influential and rich people (ata ria) without upsetting authority in the ritual-village.

In historical narratives sa'o has a connotation different from that of a dwelling, of a ritual-house, or of a subsidiary-ritual-house. In narratives about the ancient past, sa'o is depicted as a dwelling for people affiliated with it, as a unit for marital exchange, and as a ritual unit. As the narratives about Lau's legitimacy exemplify, in narratives concerning the recent past, sa'o represents a different concept from dwelling-house, ritual-house, or subsidiary-ritual-house. A speaker who is acquainted with Indonesian often translates this concept of sa'o as keluarga (family in a broad sense). The sa'o in this sense usually bears the name of an ancestor who was the leader of the people of the sa'o. People consider that this concept of sa'o was a group of people under the control of an influential ancestor and that they were grouped together because of the factual influential power of this ancestor. As Nanga's case exemplifies, a man of influence might have manoeuvred the legitimate ritual authority through his de facto power.

54 See chapter 2.
55 Waterson points out that in Toraja, South Nias, and Sumba the 'house' provided an effective instrument in legitimating the 'enterprises of the great' (Waterson 1995). Subsidiary-ritual-houses in Wologai have a similar position to the 'house' in Toraja, South Nias, and Sumba.
56 See the narratives concerning the conflicts with Roga people in chapter 4.
57 The dialectic between de facto power and structural leadership is found in a different topology in Huulu. Valeri writes: 'only a big man with real influence, rather than a structural chief, can actually attract people to
SCEPTICISM ABOUT THE CENTRALISED AUTHORITY

Most Wologai people, especially middle-aged and older men, are zealous in their acquisition of ola mbé’o, which is bhisa. The personal nature of ola mbé’o contrasts with the great-ritual which is for the whole Wologai society. At the same time, both are bhisa, namely, a source of power and well-being. According to the institutionalised rationale built around the concept of the ritual-village, power and well-being of the Wologai people emanate from the centre of the ritual-village. This rationale is based on the legitimacy of the ritual-village, the village rituals and the ritual-leaders. These can link the people to the primordial time, which is described as puu and olo (both mean old) in the chant in the communal ritual and is the source of the present time.

In spite of the strong insistence on the legitimacy of the Wologai ritual-village toward the outsider, it is interesting that Wologai people can be sceptical about the legitimacy of their ritual-village and its ritual-leaders. This scepticism about the centralised authority, which is related to one mode of precedence, seems to fuel enthusiasm for the other mode of precedence, especially for acquiring ola mbé’o. While the scepticism may decrease or increase according to social contexts, during my stay it seems that the scepticism was increasing.

SCEPTICISM ABOUT THE LEGITIMACY OF THE RITUAL-VILLAGE

The ritual-village is one of the most significant loci of authority with which people are affiliated in order to establish their identity. Among the Wologai people, as among neighbouring peoples, authority must be legitimated through connection with the past. People near Mt Lépémbusu claim that the origin of their ritual-village can be traced back to an unknowable past, which a chant in the 'great ritual' describes as puu // olo (primordial // primeval). These ritual-villages are rivals to each other. Their people try to assert that their ritual-village is superior to other ritual-villages. They do this by authenticating the legitimacy of their ritual-village on the one hand and by falsifying the legitimacy of rival ritual-villages on the other.

In the context of rivalry with other ritual-villages, the Wologai people express no doubt in the legitimacy of the Wologai ritual-village. However, in the context of rivalry within the Wologai ritual-village itself, mutual contention eventually leads people to be sceptical about the origin and the legitimacy of their

the feast and persuade them to manifest in this guise their continuing identification with the larger society' (Valeri 1990a: 69).
own ritual-village. When discussing their origins with other ritual-villages, Wologai people assert that they originated directly from Nuaoné, the first nua (ritual-village). This becomes questionable when an event such as Ndito Wika is considered and can lead to the questioning of one of the basic tenets of the legitimacy of some important ritual-leaders in Wologai. Thus many Wologai people say that Wologai used to be located to the north and was called Nuaria. The move from Nuaria to Wologai is usually depicted as only a matter of change of location. However, histories of Rau and Rata, Fai Lanu, and Ndito Wika reveal that relocating involved changes to basic structures concerning the legitimacy of the ritual-leaders and the ritual-village. The picture these alternative histories draw is not compatible with the dogma that Wologai is a legitimate successor of Nuaoné.

In fact, there is no 'master story' about the original form of Wologai or how Wologai originated. Wologai people do not expect to share one authentic history. On the contrary, they think authentic history must not be shared. Their never ending efforts to know the authentic history eventually lead to many mutually incompatible versions of these histories concerning the same themes, as is the case with the original form of Wologai.

SCEPTICISM ABOUT THE LEGITIMACY OF THE RITUAL-LEADERS

Wologai people are sometimes deeply sceptical about the legitimacy of the ritual-leaders. They suspect that the legitimate succession of the ritual-leaders must have been corrupted through usurpation in the course of time from an unknowable past. They consider that a recent case of illegitimate succession of the origin-ritual-leader epitomises the corruption which must have occurred repeatedly in the succession of the ritual-leaders.

In 1960 when Wolo Sambi, the origin-ritual-leader, died, Dhédho, an ex-Dutch soldier usurped the ritual-leadership. When Dhédho died, his father, Wora declared "It is I who am a legitimate person to succeed (ola molo leka aku)." He died soon after he usurped the ritual-leadership. The congregation of ritual-leaders declared "Because they, Dhédho and Wora, usurped, they died young. It is Sambi who is the legitimate successor. (ebé, Dhédho no'o Wora, mbou wé'é, ebé umu iwa bëwa. Ola molo leka Sambi.)"

When I ask the present origin-ritual-leader to tell me the succession of the 'ritual-villages ritual-leader', he does not include the names Dhédho and Wora. In this
recent case, people seem to consider that the influence of the usurpation was removed and legitimacy was restored. As the statement by the congregation of the ritual-leaders illustrates, there is a tenet that a usurper is punished with early death and is removed naturally. On the other hand, they seem to suspect that some effects of usurped succession must have survived.

This suspicion is inevitable partly because of the lack of rigid rules of succession or criteria to decide who is the successor. People usually claim the following as criteria for deciding who will be a successor.

being the former ritual-leader's son
being the former ritual-leader's sister's son
being affiliated with the former ritual-leader's sa'o
being appointed by former ritual-leaders
being backed up by all the ritual-leaders

In the case of the last two criteria, anyone, even an outsider or an unrelated person, is able to become a ritual-leader. There is no definite order of priority among these criteria. People claim that the final procedure in the decision-making should involve divination. There are three kinds of divination: bui feo 'baking a candle nut', soo boka au 'heating a young bamboo over a fire' and paga 'spanning'. These divination procedures are believed to indicate the 'truth' (ēo dema) beyond people's control. Knowledgeable people claim that every divination has its Mother (inē), and a performer of divination must know it so that the divination can reach the 'truth'. However, it is also thought that some other powerful personal knowledge (ola mbé'o) may influence the divination. A ritual called pamo lima 'washing the hands' should be performed for every new ritual-leader's inauguration. In pamo lima all the ritual-leaders are invited and the new ritual-leader washes his hands with the blood of a slaughtered domestic animal, buffalo or pig. But these divination procedures and 'washing the hands' inauguration are usually omitted in practice.58

SOCIAL ARENA FOR OLA MBÉ'O

'Legitimate alliance', one of the normative types of marriage, can be a mediator between two modes of precedence. It may link de facto power, a temporal result of contentious personal interactions, to the centralised authority of the ritual-village. At the same time 'legitimate alliance' can be adverse to the centralised

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58 I do not have quantitive data about divination, but only one ritual-leader, the present ritual-practitioner, of all the ritual-leaders underwent pamo lima.
authority of the ritual-village, since it may allow men of de facto power to announce their leadership which can be independent of the authority of the ritual-polity. In non-ritual contexts, discourse based on the norms of marriage, adoption, succession and affiliation plays a role in legitimating a speaker's own status and denigrating the status of a speaker's rivals, who are the target of attack in a social arena in which the mode of contentious precedence works. By having various concepts, the category of sa'o mediates between the ritual-village, a social arena for the mode of institutionalised precedence, and everyday life, a social arena for the mode of contentious personal precedence.

According to some Wologai people's discourse, in previous generations men of de facto power acquired the status acknowledged not only by the public but also by the centralised authority of the ritual-village by manoeuvering marital alliances and constructing a subsidiary-ritual-house. However, it does not seem that this means for precedence works as well as before. This present social situation and the scepticism of the authority of the ritual-village seem to fuel Wologai people's enthusiasm for ola mbé'o.
Chapter 8

OLA MBÉ’O IN WOLOGAI LIVES

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses many examples of ola mbé’o in order to draw attention to epistemological aspects as well as linguistic features of ola mbé’o, and in order to point out that ola mbé’o is pervasive in the lives of the Wologai. Ola mbé’o is characterised sociologically, thematically and linguistically. However, the final determination about whether or not certain words are ola mbé’o depends on whether they are regarded as such. Hence I also include in this description some verbal arts which may or may not be ola mbé’o. Wologai people have particular customary verbal practices which share some linguistic features that ola mbé’o reveals. By describing customary verbal practices, I approach the subtle way in which sensibility and ability to use the arts of ola mbé’o are fostered and learned and in which ola mbé’o is articulated.

CATEGORIES OF OLA MBÉ’O

THEMATIC AND PERFORMATIVE OLA MBÉ’O

Ola mbé’o consists of bhisa words, namely, words which are mystically efficacious and/or a source of explicit power and well-being. Ola mbé’o can be classified into two analytical types according to whether it is simply a source of its owner’s explicit power and well-being or whether it is also mystically efficacious in addition to being a source.

Ola mbé’o that is a source of power and well-being but is not mystically efficacious for any specific purpose is usually knowledge explicating some topic. This category of ola mbé’o encompasses 'histories', that is to say, knowledge about certain characters, places, and events in the past, the interpretation of buildings and constructions in the ritual-village and of ritual acts, chants and paraphernalia of the great-ritual, knowledge about spirits and knowledge about acquiring power and acquiring ola mbé’o. This kind of knowledge concerns topics which are related to the primal themes of Wologai ontology, that is to say, tana watu ('world') or ngéé wa’u (procreation and descendence). I refer to this
type of *ola mbé’o* as 'thematic *ola mbé’o*. Thematic *ola mbé’o* is a source of explicit power and well-being but the knowledge itself is not efficacious. In contrast with efficacious *ola mbé’o*, it usually contains more prose narratives.

While it is believed that thematic *ola mbé’o*, just like other *ola mbé’o*, is given through a 'dream', an outline of thematic *ola mbé’o* can be acquired through private sessions with a knowledgeable elder or through watching others’ performance of showing off (*ngama*) a part of their *ola mbé’o*.

Spells, prayers, and other ritual speeches are not only a source of the owner's explicit power and well-being but are also mystically efficacious. I refer to this type of *ola mbé’o* as performative *ola mbé’o*. It is usually not knowledge explicating some topic. In performative *ola mbé’o* the topics and the primal themes of the Wologai ontology are dealt with as given and taken for granted. While this analytical typology is useful to understand what *ola mbé’o* is, all the examples of *ola mbé’o* cannot be classified into one or the other type without overlap.

**DEGREE OF POETIC FEATURES**

*Ola mbé’o* can also be loosely classified according to another analytical criterion: linguistic features. *Ola mbé’o* as a whole is rich in certain linguistic features: parallelism, sound ordering, metaphor, rhythm and so on. These features are also characteristic of poetry. Interestingly, most *ola mbé’o* meant to be mystically efficacious is characterised by particular linguistic features.

Since *ola mbé’o*, which is *bhisa*, is believed to increase an owner's power and well-being in general, people try to acquire *ola mbé’o* not only for its specific efficacies, but also to augment personal power and well-being.

**INTERNAL DIFFERENTIATION**

*Ola mbé’o* can be differentiated internally. Within any particular piece of *ola mbé’o*, the *iné* (mother) part is regarded as most important and kept secret most jealously. The *ine* is regarded the core of *ola mbé’o*.\(^1\) The most important and the most secret part of a spell is called *iné* or *iné ki*. While all spells and prayers are also kept as a personal secret, the degree of this secrecy is usually less than

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\(^1\) Among other people the term for 'mother' is used to describe the relation between different types of knowledge or the corpus of knowledge. In Wana, the *molawo*, a highly esoteric ritual chant, is regarded as 'the mother' (*indo*) of popular shamanic rituals (Atkinson 1989: 34, 211).
that related to *iné*. The other part is called *jaghu, jagu ki, nggeto*, or *nggeto ki*. The *jaghu ki* is generally much longer than the *iné ki*. Neither part of a spell is usually pronounced. While the *iné ki* must not be heard by others at all, the *jaghu ki* may be overheard. The *iné ki* which forms the last part of a spell is believed to be the part that is most important in making the spell effective. Immediately before pronouncing it in one’s mind, one must silently ask and answer oneself: *iné ki leka apa? iné ki leka ....* (what is its mother? Its mother is ....).²

**NATIVE CATEGORIES OF OLA MBE’O**

There are many native categories of *ola mbé’o* marked by linguistic features (see Table 8-1 below). This categorisation may differ to a considerable extent from one person to another. Some categories may overlap. There are also a number of spells which cannot be placed within the categories in the table. They are often called by specific names according to their purpose or the sentences they start with, rather than being given a general label such as *nijo bura*. These categories cannot be reduced to a coherent structure. Some of these verbal labels describe the purpose of an item of *ola mbé’o* while others describe the actions accompanying performance of *ola mbé’o*.

Knowing ritual chants and ritual songs, rich in these linguistic features, can also be a source of potency. Ritual chants are usually meant to be heard in performance.³ People insist that chants in the great-ritual and those to 'install the ridge/carry the mountain' (*poto wolo/rénggi kéli*), rituals of making or repairing the ritual-houses (*sa’o nggua*) or the temple (*kedá*) must not be changed. However, they recognise that these chants vary to some extent from one performance to another. While the role of performing these chants is institutionally allocated to certain ritual-leaders, many other people are interested in knowing the 'true' versions of chants. Such knowledge is considered to raise an owner's general potency. Whether or not they are already performed, 'true' versions and their interpretation are kept as personal secrets.

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² The key terms of spells are referred to as *iné* among the Lisé, the East-Lio-speaking area (Sugishima 1990, 1994)

³ I use the terms 'chant' and 'song' in the sense that songs are more musical than chants, however, the boundary between songs and chants is not clear.
TABLE 8.1. OLA MBE’O MARKED BY LINGUISTIC FEATURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORIES</th>
<th>EXPLANATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nijo/nijo bura</td>
<td>spell for a specific purpose with spitting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunu kaju</td>
<td>spell to benefit oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poru dhemba</td>
<td>spell to sweep away evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhaé</td>
<td>spell for sweeping away danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa’é</td>
<td>spell for protecting oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waka ngangga/senggu waka</td>
<td>spell in order to be influential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sua</td>
<td>spell to confuse reality to escape from danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rina tau tipo pama/</td>
<td>prayer for ancestral favour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipo ji’é pama pawé</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somba mara</td>
<td>prayer in making an offering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keri</td>
<td>spell with utterance ‘kerrrr’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somba/sua sasa/oa somba</td>
<td>cursing spell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadha/kadha seru/kadha pé’o</td>
<td>chant against enemies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sua seru</td>
<td>reciprocal chant to reach agreement or a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tau seru/seru</td>
<td>harmonious state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nangi tana</td>
<td>chant to persuade others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhéa/bhéa wogé/wogé bhéa</td>
<td>lament to appeal to tana watu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sodha</td>
<td>chant to express oneself before wogé dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nangi/nangi ata mata</td>
<td>solo song in gawi dance in the great-ritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhoø bhéwa</td>
<td>mourning lament by women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nangi paré</td>
<td>funeral song by men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oro</td>
<td>ritual lament in sowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oro kéu</td>
<td>ritual chant in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oro té’u</td>
<td>a chant in the great-ritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pati kéu uwi</td>
<td>a ritual chant to drive away rats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia kéu uwi</td>
<td>a ritual speech in the great-ritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néku wénggu waé wari</td>
<td>chant to call out areca nuts and yam in the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>great-ritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chant to ‘install the ridge/carry the mountain’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SPEECH SOUNDSCAPE OF OLA MBE’O

In this section, I will discuss examples of ola mbé’o, which I did not have the chance to discuss in the previous chapters, pointing out their linguistic features. I describe examples in a way that situates them in Wologai people’s lives rather than in an encyclopaedic order. In doing so I try to depict Wologai lives and the customary verbal environment into which ola mbé’o is meshed. I refer to this

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4 Kadha, kadha seru und kadha pé’o seem to indicate the same category of verbal arts. I use the word kadha in order to indicate this category for the sake of simplicity. People explain that kadha is used in facing difficulty, especially facing enemies. I have cited several examples of kadha in the previous chapters.
customary verbal environment as speech soundscape. I also describe word games and customary verbal practice because they together with *ola mbé’o* form the Wologai speech soundscape, which fosters a sensibility to and ability in the art of *ola mbé’o* and plays an important role in articulating *ola mbé’o*.

**LIFE IN THE HOUSEHOLD**

A dwelling-house is the most important arena for daily life. If a member of a household becomes ill, other adult members try to cure the illness. Parents or elderly people feel responsible for curing their children’s illness. They try to acquire knowledge concerning disease and remedies, including spells for curing disease.

*Nijo bura* or *nijo* is a general category of spells which involve the act of spitting. *Nijo* means to ‘spit’, and *bura* means to ‘spray out saliva’. Each *nijo bura* has its specific purpose. Whether spitting is involved or not, a spell for a specific purpose tends to be called *nijo bura* or *nijo*, unless it is called by a specific name. Typical *nijo bura* or *nijo* are spells for curing certain diseases categorised according to symptoms. *Ru’u bélá* (magic of thunder) is such a disease. Its symptom is headache so strong that it is like being hit by thunder (*bélá*). A spell (*nijo bura*) for curing this kind of headache is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tana ria</td>
<td>a big domain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tana lo’o</td>
<td>a small domain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghawa mai</td>
<td>coming from down there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joka ghawa</td>
<td>(I) drive (you) back down there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumba ghawa</td>
<td>(I) send (you) back down there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuu no’o rugu</td>
<td>(you) come with cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai no’o ngé</td>
<td>(you) come with wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aku mo’o</td>
<td>I will drive (you) back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joka wola</td>
<td>I will send (you) back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumba walo</td>
<td>go to your big house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbaa leka sa’o ria</td>
<td>to your long veranda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tènda bèwa kau</td>
<td>you fear (me) like a big snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau ta’u ngé nipa ria</td>
<td>(you) are scared (of me) like a furious <em>bara</em>-snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaa ngé ngé bera bani</td>
<td>may the spell be good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nijo ji’è</td>
<td>may the spitting be fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bura pawé</td>
<td>what is its mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iné ki leka apa</td>
<td>its mother is:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iné ki leka</td>
<td>lightning and flashing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>[no’o o]oli</strong></td>
<td>flame and blaze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[no’o lo]6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

5 The concept of speech soundscape is developed from the concept of soundscape by Feld (Feld 1982).

6 In order to keep Wologai people’s *ola mbé’o* secret to a necessary extent, I will use a device which is fair not only to the Wologai people but also to readers. In this case I cover four words by using eight asterisks for eight letters.
Semantic parallelism is clearly seen throughout this spell. Some couplets contain repetition. One example of metathesis is found: *wola/walo*. Some sound correspondence within a line is found: *nuu/rugu, mai/angi, joka/wola, ténda/béwa, gaa/bara*, and *bara/bani*. The whole has a certain rhythm. All the couplets except for the *iné* part are often used in other spells. Sound correspondence can also be found in the *iné* part. The spell as a whole and especially the *iné* part are metaphorical rather than referential.

People who feel responsible for members of their household seem to know a number of *nijo bura* of this kind. Households are basically autonomous as far as curing illness is concerned. However, if the illness is critical and the recovery delayed, a person outside the household might be sought. The decision to call on an outsider and who this person should be is also made within a household. People who know a lot about the cause and cure of illness are called *ata mbé'o* (people who know) or *ata nipi* (people who dream). People often talk about *ata nipi* and *ata mbé'o* in general terms. However, they are not apt to point to specific people as *ata mbé'o* or *ata nipi*. An informant said:

> It can be said everyone is *ata mbé'o*. Even if one knows (*mbé'o*) well, one won't say, 'I am an *ata mbé'o*'. We just observe carefully and find out who knows better. If we feel we need help, we approach that person.

Short spells are uttered, usually mumbled, to oneself or by other members of a household in certain moments in everyday life. If one happens to sneeze or cough, especially on going out from one's dwelling-house, a short spell, *'paru boré // légé méké* (run away, flu, coil up, cough') and/or *'fena rega // sidi wiki* (sneeze to be fought, an obstacle to be removed') are uttered. These spells are a kind of *bhaé*, a spell for sweeping away danger. In these spells both vowel correspondence within the line and parallelism are found.

If dust gets into an eye, a spell, *'ghula mboko mata rusa // ghala mboko mata kamba* (open as wide as a goat's eyes, open as wide as a water buffalo's eyes) may be uttered. This is because dust is said not to get into a goat's or a water buffalo's eyes although they live in weedy places. These two sentences are metaphorical. Parallelism and vowel correspondences within the line are found: *ghula/rusa* and *ghala/kamba*. Another spell related to dust in the eyes *'mesu beku* (fall the dust') is repeated with clicking. In this second spell, vowels

---

7 *Légé* usually means (for a snake or a dog) to coil up and to remain inactive. I was told that in this sentence *légé* is the same as *paru*. 
correspond. Similar forms of these short spells seem to be shared by many people.

If a member of a household becomes sick or a bad event happens in a household, witchcraft from outside the household tends to be suspected. Witches attack persons in households other than their own.

Getting up in the morning, Tina realised her sarong had been bitten by a mouse during the night. Immediately she knew that it was caused by witchcraft, because the day before she had quarrelled with a woman in her neighbourhood, who must be a witch. Her attack was apparently not successful.

In this kind of situation, spells such as the one that follows are uttered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spell</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>polo ata ko'o</td>
<td>slave witches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polo ata ria</td>
<td>influential-rich man witches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polo éo bëu</td>
<td>witches being distant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polo éo wé'é</td>
<td>witches being close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polo nua ngata</td>
<td>witches in other nua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polo nua du'a</td>
<td>witches in our own nua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iné ki leka apa</td>
<td>what is its mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iné ki leka</td>
<td>its mother is:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**** **** no'o **** ****</td>
<td>the stone-altar and the ritual-courtyard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Semantic parallelism is clearly found in this spell. The iné part is metaphorical. Spells to drive away or prevent witches' attacks are usually called bhaé. An informant commented that the iné for driving away a witch must be related to tana watu.

If a baby is born, its parents utter a spell 'ngai sia // redé dara (bright breath, clear spleen)' or 'nia sia // mata dara (bright forehead, clear eye)'. These are life-giving or life-promoting spells. Both of them are composed of couplets. They are metaphors for life, wisdom, or health. Sound correspondences are clearly seen in the second couplet.

While an older sister or brother usually baby-sits, many parents like to spend their time cradling a baby, if they are not busy. Some lullabies, réro ana (cradling a child) or tao ana (talking to a child), may be sung. Here is an example:
ana wawo
wawo bheti dhengi
pusi ghalé oné peti
peti tété turi
ana gupi rupi supi
gubi Bima Wewa ria
tolo jila nira bhia
ghélé wolo tori mboro
soo no'o gela kogo
gela kogo pêu pębé
rendo ghawa wunu éndé

wunu éndé ndepu ndana
funga panda rada ana
pena lau ola kapa

koli lau ola toa
itàwu loja aë loa
detu mota ndu'a wola
ndi'i dema amé roga
ji'ë jadhi ara Wologai
néa téi beru pati
mò'o pati tété bhato
wá'é naja jira ndao

The words of this song evoke elusive images. Many words can be taken as either common nouns or as proper nouns. Wawo can be a name of a man and can also mean 'up'. Wewa ria, éndé, funga panda, rada ara, itìwu loja, aë loa, detu mota, and ndu'a wola can either be understood as place names or can mean respectively 'big doorway', 'a kind of tree', 'a kind of tree', 'branch of ara-tree', 'long and narrow lake', 'spring', 'plane of betel', and 'village again'. Tori mboro can be understood as a personal name, as a kind of bird, or as a (tebu) totem. Some words, rendo, ndepu and ndana, are not used in everyday life. People understand that these place names indicate places near Wewaria. People do not know to whom the personal names, Wawo, Roga and Jira Ndao, refer. Even with the permutations of what is signified, this song does not make exact sense and remains puzzling even for Wologai people, while this is regarded as inspiring.

Sometimes the last word or phrase in a line is repeated as the first word or phrase in the next line: for example, wawo, peti, gela kogo, and wunu éndé. Vowel correspondence in a line and between lines is notable. The first correspondence appears in the form of *e*i. It moves in turn to *u*i, to *i*a, to *o*o, to *ê*ě, to *a*a, to *o*a, to *a*i, and to *a*o.

The following lullaby is also sung while cradling a baby.
I was told that this song as a whole evoked an image of the origin and growth (ngée wa’u) of a human being, starting with the emergence of the embryo and probably extending to marriage. Mudé Séré, Dhiki Gaga and Bhubhu Wasa are women’s names, while they do not indicate specific women. Mudé Séré might mean the first human being and ‘ngéré ngéré mudé séré’ (like like Mudé Séré)’ implies ‘becoming the shape of a human being’. This song expresses the idea that people have a child thanks to their ancestors’ support. Other parts are puzzling even for people singing. Various sound correspondences are seen.

These two songs are regarded as part of the heritage of the ancestors. They sometimes stimulate people to speculate on the ‘truth’ in them. These songs themselves are not kept secret and are not ola mbé’o, but their interpretations can become ola mbé’o or a key to ola mbé’o.9

The dwelling-house is the place in which morals are taught to children. These lessons are called na’u nena, involving many proverbs and sayings. These

---

8 ‘Lété na’ is additional meaningless sound.

9 If it is not too hot or it does not rain, people like to enjoy their spare time sitting outside their dwelling-houses. Close neighbours might join them. People who are good at singing might sing various songs. The usual songs, repeatedly sung outside strict ritual contexts supposedly without any change, are called ndé’o. Ndé’o is not ola mbé’o nor predicated on dhisa. It is, however, considered to have an indirect relation to ola mbé’o. Ndé’o is usually not kept secret. It can be circulated freely. Some people are good at composing or remembering ndé’o. They are admired and respected for two reasons. They can be admired on the one hand for their ability to compose and remember and on the other hand because this ability implies ola mbé’o. Some linguistic features in ndé’o, metaphors and sound correspondences, are common to ola mbé’o. Some examples are in the appendix 4.
are considered as part of the heritage from the ancestors and are composed of conventional expressions, which are abundant in parallelism, metaphor and sound correspondence. The following proverb extols hard work in the fields:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kema ngéré ata ko'ō} & \quad \text{if you work like a slave,} \\
\text{kaa ngéré ata ria} & \quad \text{you can eat like great people.} \\
\text{dau kuku bubu} & \quad \text{your nails must be worn} \\
\text{lima jinga} & \quad \text{your hand must be hurt} \\
\text{dau no'o renga raa} & \quad \text{if you work with blood-sweat,} \\
\text{beru tēi kaa} & \quad \text{then you can eat}
\end{align*}
\]

A dwelling-house is the most probable place for a session concerning ola mbé'o between an elderly person and a younger person to take place.

**LIFE IN THE FIELDS**

A good harvest depends on rituals performed by the ritual-leaders and on the hard work of the individual as expressed in the previous adage. However, some people also perform private ritual acts. Verbal acts, that is, spells, prayers, and chants, play an important part in these ritual acts.

A set of ritual acts called tau ripo uma (make the field narrow) can be performed in cultivating and getting rid of weeds, so that work can be completed with little effort. Before starting work, a square is made with four wooden sticks on the upper part of a field (ra'l uma). This enclosed area is called tana waja. Then mystically powerful rice (paré bara) is thrown in the tana waja and a weed is pulled from the tana waja. Finally, the following spell is mumbled. This spell is called nijo tau ripo uma or simply tau ripo uma.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aku la'é dawé} & \quad \text{(although) I have not cultivated yet} \\
\text{pu'u so'o bhoi bhalé} & \quad \text{the stem becomes overturned} \\
\text{aku la'é kema} & \quad \text{(although) I have not worked yet} \\
\text{pu'u so'o ngala mbeja} & \quad \text{the stem can be finished} \\
\text{iné ku leka apa} & \quad \text{what is its mother?} \\
\text{iné ki leka} & \quad \text{its mother is:} \\
**** a*ē & \quad \text{a horse stepping around and a} \\
no'o **** e*a & \quad \text{water buffalo kicking}
\end{align*}
\]

Since extraordinary efficiency or success in agriculture may arouse suspicion of being a witch, people seem to be cautious about using this kind of ritual act, especially its spells.\(^{10}\) The following is another negative evaluation of this spell:

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\(^{10}\) I was told some ‘histories’ with the plot being that the speakers’ ancestors left their village because, by having ola mbé'o, they had been too efficient and successful in agriculture and other villagers accused them
If this kind of spell is used, we can become rich soon, but lose soon too. Those who use this kind of spell are usually unhealthy or their family is unhealthy. So we are afraid to use it.

The mystic power (bhisa power) of this kind of ritual act and spell is twofold. In addition to their efficacy, possessing knowledge of this kind of ritual act and this kind of spell is believed to be a source of the owner's explicit power and well-being. Parallelism and vowel harmony, *a*é and *e*a, are found. The iné part is metaphorical.11

Some may perform a nangi paré (lament for rice) when sowing their fields. The following things are put at pëso ngawu ('to place valuables', place to put seed) at the ra'i uma (upper side of the field): a bësi (kind of pumpkin), a vine of léké, a nilu (lime, citrus fruit), a lelu (a kind of fern) and kela (plant growing near water). Coconut flesh and candlenuts are chewed and spat on the seed. Coconut flesh is used for 'cooling' a new born child and a newly built house and also for curing illness. Mashed candlenut is packed on the face or body as a treatment for illness or to promote health. Some people give the interpretation that a bësi-pumpkin and a vine of léké signify fertility and vitality, that a nilu (lime) makes rats' teeth 'sour (nilu)' so as not to bite, and that lelu (a kind of fern) and kela (a plant growing near water) signify being fresh and green.

When sowing, a nangi paré (lament for rice) such as the following is sung:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jomba uli Ndalé</th>
<th>Jomba, Ndalé's friend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhoka ma'é nggaké</td>
<td>may sprouts not get the white spot disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'o meta ngéré lelu kela</td>
<td>as green-blue as lelu-fern and kela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koba ngéré léké londa</td>
<td>vines like that of liana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhoka ngéré watu wo'a</td>
<td>may sprouts push up stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tembu tana tela</td>
<td>may growing make the land crack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téé ma'é léé</td>
<td>may touching not sway it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wëru ma'é nngéndu</td>
<td>may shaking not swing it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo'o ténga bo'o</td>
<td>may fullness smash the upper beam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>besu dalo bewa</td>
<td>may richness crack the lower beam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndalé uli Rébo</td>
<td>Ndalé, friend of Rébo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaku wora léndo</td>
<td>may boiling foam be full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lisa loo léndo</td>
<td>may leaves and stalks be full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kou gabi gégo</td>
<td>bamboo spoon and coconut shell spoon mix (rice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima bhalé ghélo</td>
<td>hand is turned around</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of being witches. The story about Sipi and Jéna, founding ancestors of Wolofé, is one instance (See chapter 1).

11 A traditional song is usually sung in cultivating. It is metaphorical, rhythmic and not referential. See the appendix 4.
Rébo uli Jomba
ata bara rora
tembu dora doa
bhoka watu wo’a
Rébo uli Ndalé
bara nggemudhembu
nggaëidhäe
tungga tau keku até
tegu ngguu nggééké
jo’ë kota kébë
tegu béla boo
jo’ë koë lowo
tedo leka paré
bhoka ma’ë nggaké
tedo leka jawa
tungga tau paga ana
kalé ma’ë rara
muna ma’ë taka

Rébo, friend of Jomba
people white and beautiful
may all grow up
may sprouts push up stones
Rébo, friend of Ndalé
white and pure

enough to soften liver
thunder rolling and rumbling
order to make terrace
thunder flashing and exploding
order to dig a ditch
sowing paddy
may sprouts not get the white spot
disease
sowing maize
enough to feed children
may flies not make them yellow
may the drying disease not infect

After finishing sowing, people come back to the péso ngawu (the place the seed was put). The person, usually a man, who performed the nangi paré shouts ‘to’o paré (get up, rice), while hitting the ground. He then pronounces a chant such as:

to’o paré
bo’o ténga bo’o
tedо dalo bewa
bhoka watu wo’a
tembu tana tela
kobé ma’ë ngoé
leja ma’ë kana
tutu funu funu ngéré fua nua
tebe lebe lebe ngéré laba
caro
get up rice!
may fullness smash the upper beam
may richness crack the lower beam
may sprouts push up stones
may growing crack land
may no creature dig up at night
may no bird peel
tutu funu funu ngéré fua nua
tebe lebe lebe ngéré laba éro

There are various metaphors and similes found in these lines. Jomba, Ndalé and Rébo are names of rice. According to an esoteric interpretation, they are names of the woman or women who were chopped up and turned into rice and other cultivated plants. Nangi paré is performed as a rather free combination of these names together with conventional couplets which depict or pray for prosperity and the prevention of pests. The conventional couplets contain syntactic and semantic parallelism, and vowel correspondence within a line as demonstrated in the following example:

---

12 Ndalé and Rébo as names of rice are also found in Sikka (Metzner 1982:125).
mefia ngéré lelu kela
koba ngéré léké londa

as green as lelu-fern and kela
vines like that of liana

The rule governing the coupling of the names of rice and the conventional phrases seem to be based, at least in this version, on vowel correspondence of the final word as demonstrated in the following examples:

Jomba uli Ndalié
bhoka maé’ ngaká

jomba is ndalié’s friend
may sprouts not get disease of white spots

kou gabi gégo
lima bhali ghélo

bamboo spoon and coconut shell spoon mix (rice)
hand is turned around

Like nangi, nangi paré has a wide range of variation in terms of words and melody. However, several features seem to be common to the versions I collected. The main constituents of nangi paré are proper nouns and conventional/traditional parallel sentences. Vowel correspondence plays an important role. Proper nouns in nangi paré are supposed to be the names of women whose dead bodies turned into various crops, while those in a mourning lament (nangi) are names of the dead, the dead’s relatives and ancestors. People find a similarity between burial and sowing, since sowing is an act of burying seeds and also because the origin story depicts the death of a woman as the origin of crops. The last two sentences in the preceding example are unintelligible even to the performer. Surprisingly, these sentences seem to be common to all the versions and also are found in other spells related to agriculture.

People may use spells for weeding. The following, which is called joka ingga gai (drive away ingga-weed and gai-weed) is an example:

sae unu
langga sega
langga mbera
ine kai
moka m*r*
moka m*r*
moka *é*a
moka *é*a
moka ****
ine ki leka
r*k* no’o d*k*

break and wash away
sweep away itch
sweep away urge\(^{13}\)
its mother is:
green worm
black worm
yellow worm
red worm
white worm
its mother is:
r*k* and d*k*

\(^{13}\) Both sega and mbera mean itchy hair or powder of plants, especially bamboo. They also express the restless sexual desire as well as the itch caused by the hair or powder of plants.
This spell has two kinds of iné. According to the owner of the spell, the last iné is the most important. He explains that \( t^*k^* \) and \( d^*k^* \) are things nobody has ever seen, and that they are iné tana watu mbera sega (mother of the world and sexual urge-itch). Then moss (kumi lamu) on the rock in the field is thrown away, together with husked rice (paré bara), at the river. The owner of this spell interprets the spell, and this act as a whole, as making the field productive in a proper way by sweeping away its excessive sexual urge like that of unmarried women and men. It prevents the crops from withering (rara nai). By doing this, he continues, the field and crops become:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{meta ngéré lelu kela} & \quad \text{as green as fern and kela} \\
\text{fée ngéré léké lélé} & \quad \text{as stable as liana and banyan} \\
\text{bhoo ngéré loka rosé} & \quad \text{as vital as a clump of taro} \\
\text{koba ngéré léké londa} & \quad \text{as flourishing as londa-liana} \\
\text{loo ngéré loja lowo} & \quad \text{as budding as loja at a river}^{14}
\end{align*}
\]

In these spells and ritual acts weed (ingga gai), moss, the itchy hairs of plants and the sexual urge are taken as similar in that they prevent proper fertility.\(^{15}\) The owner of the spell comments that in general spells are related to copulation.

In these spells metaphors are abundant. Sound correspondence is found to a considerable extent. Unintelligibility is a characteristic of the iné part.

At any critical stage in dealing with grains of rice, for example, at the harvest, placing the rice into a storehouse, or threshing, a spell called keri paré may be uttered, to call in (the soul of) the rice and thus to call in well-being. The following is an example:

\[
\begin{align*}
kerrrrrr & \quad kerrrrrr^{16} \\
aré mai ghélé Mbotupare & \quad \text{rice coming from Mbotuparé in} \\
Aumasi & \quad \text{the west} \\
Mbotundati & \quad \text{rice coming from Mbotundota} \\
Mboturoka & \quad \text{Aumasi} \\
Kélindota & \quad \text{Mbotundati} \\
Lépémbusu & \quad \text{Mboturoka} \\
Mbu'usuru & \quad \text{Kélindota} \\
ghélé Ndota mai mai tuu & \quad \text{Lépémbusu} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{ghélé Ndota mai mai tuu} \)

\[\text{up from Ndota coming to bring}\]

---

\(^{14}\) Kela, léké londa, and loja are plant names.

\(^{15}\) Some people say that several decades ago young people before marriage underwent a ritualised sexual licence called loru mbera (taking off the itch).

\(^{16}\) *Kerrrr* is uttered also in calling souls of little children and in calling chickens in central Flores, while the utterance in calling pigs differs from place to place. It is interesting that in Luwu in Sulawesi 'kuru' is
Proper nouns in these spells are all considered to be names of mountains in Flores. The owner of the spell commented that the soul of rice may come from or through these mountains. The holder of this spell refused to tell me the mother part but only suggested that the mother part of this spell was composed of names of the rice or people related to the origin of crops, and a kind of grasshopper which is supposed to be a sign of a good harvest. This spell attracts rice or its soul by saying 'here at the cast-off skin which is warm/here at the sty which is dry'. The sentences 'tutu funu funu ngéré fua nua // tebi lebi lebi ngéré laba éro' are also important in this spell. These lines are puzzling. The phonological shift between 'tebe lebé lebe' in the preceding version of nangi paré and 'tebi lebi lebi' in this version of keri paré is systematic. This consistent sound shift suggests that the Wologai people's sensitivity to sound correspondences is embedded in their practice.

I was told that some may use certain spells to steal rice or its soul from others' fields. People negatively evaluate such spells for the same reason as they do for the 'spell to make a field narrow (tau ripo uma)'.
LIFE IN THE FORESTS

Forests are of a great importance to the Wologue people. While few people tap arenga palm to get palm juice nowadays, tapping and spells for it are regarded as important.

Spells for tapping palm juice are usually categorised as nijo bura or nijo. A spell for tapping palm juice, organised according to the process, is as follows:

On making the first step on the ladder of bamboo (gera), the tapper says:¹⁹

aku nai tangi  I step up the ladder

On sitting on a branch, he says:²⁰

aku dhajo rewa tênda  I sit on the veranda

On cutting off the fibre bark, he says;

aku teté rewa nao  I cut off the fibre bark
sama ngérê iko lawo just like turning up a woman’s sarong

On cutting into a branch, he says;

aku wêla rewa pepa  I cut into the branch
sama ngérê kagê kega just like parting the thighs

On shaking a shoot, he says;

aku wêru rewa tengu  I shake the shoot
sama ngérê koo susu just like grasping the breasts²¹

According to the man who taught me this spell, it also has its iné (mother part), which is related to the human body and procreation. He explained it as follows;

We must treat arenga trees (mokê) just like women. A mokê gêlé (an arenga tree that has already been tapped) is a woman with children. A mokê tema (arenga tree) is a virgin. If a mother’s milk does not come

¹⁹ A gera is made of bamboo by cutting off its soft branches. It is used for climbing a tree and for hanging something.

²⁰ Although women are not prohibited, it is unusual for a woman to tap palm juice.

²¹ Many people, not only in Wologue but also in Central Flores in general, might keep similar spells for tapping palm juice. I was taught similar spells by Endenese-speaking people.
out after giving birth, she must drink moké, either moké mii (arenga palm juice) or moké ba'i (arenga palm wine), so that it can come out. If we cut (teka) a moké tema, we must use this. This is just like asking for a woman (rina ata fai).

This spell depicts the process of tapping as a process analogous to that of entering a house and having sexual intercourse with a woman. Certain notable linguistic features are found. The first two sentences are metaphors. The other three are similes. The third and fourth sentence might have vowel rhyme, nao/lawo and pepa/kega.

Hunting is another important activity in forests. It is said that anyone, including women who can run fast, can go hunting. Since people find it extremely difficult to get game, hunting is seldom done nowadays. However, knowledge about and spells for hunting are considered important, because it is bhisa (a source of explicit power and well-being). The following is an example:

If 'the dream is good/the vision is nice at night' (kobé nipi ji'él/baro pawé), we go hunting.

Before starting the hunt, offerings (pa'a) are made at bhisa places such as at big rocks and big trees, where nitu pa'i live. The offerings can be raw rice or cooked rice. On making offerings, the following spell is uttered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rina mina</th>
<th>ask with oiled body</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oso masa</td>
<td>plead with cleansed body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>até nara</td>
<td>liver is desiring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lura bhoo</td>
<td>saliva is bursting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lura ba'i</td>
<td>saliva is bitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foko ngonggo</td>
<td>throat is longing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbaa ma'è bëu</td>
<td>do not go far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lora ma'è bëwa</td>
<td>do not leave long</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After making the offering, the following spell is uttered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wawi ghéta mi kolo tana</th>
<th>a pig comes from the head of the earth at the east</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wawi ghalé mi éko tana</td>
<td>a pig comes from the tail of the earth at the west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai de ghaa</td>
<td>come here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghaa leka ro'è ji'è</td>
<td>the place here is a good path</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghaa leka wesa pawé</td>
<td>the place here is a nice route</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghaa leka kuu muu</td>
<td>the place here is a warm cast-off skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghaa leka jebu maja</td>
<td>the place here is a dry sty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When an animal is hunted, its hair must be burnt off in the forest. Pronouncing 'shhhhhh', the hunter turns a burning piece of wood on the fire and utters the following spell to ensure success in the next hunt.

ghaa leka
loka o mii
kara o mengé
mata wi'i sia sia
ré'é wengi rua wengi rua
here is
the site which is sweet
the seat which is fragrant
die, tomorrow, tomorrow
perish, the day after tomorrow, the
day after tomorrow

I was not taught the mother part of these spells. The owner of this spell hinted that the mother is related to male and female wild boars, their copulation and their procreation (ngéé wa'u).

Semantic parallelism is notable in all these spells. It is interesting that various strategies such as pleading, cheating, and cursing are involved.

LIFE WITH OTHER PEOPLE

A household is not a closed unit. The exchange between affines as well as feasts (duka daka) on the occasion of exchange can be a contest with wealth (sesu besu). At the time of the feast it is shameful if the master of the feast cannot satisfy his guests. He may use the following ola mbé'o to make the guests feel full before eating much:

Put pulu (a kind of weed) and dogs' droppings at the bottom of the basket. Then put a flat stone and put rice or meat on it.

Or he may utter the following spell to make the rice and the meat endless.

bhubhu ngéré aé ulu
ngaa ngéré meta ngati
spring out like water at a spring
ooze out like an evergreen plant

When a member of a household dies, some neighbours and some related people pay a visit with a basketful of rice or an animal. Some women, usually old

---

22 Duka pulu or pulu means feast.

23 This short spell is composed in a parallelism. Sound correspondence within the line can also be found.
and confident in performing, perform a mourning lament (nangi ata mata). One performance takes about half an hour. Melody and words are improvised. The performance is accompanied by wailing and touching the dead body or the floor. Both wailing and the movement are more or less formalised. The movement is called ngoma ngëé or ngëé ngoma. The following is part of a mourning lament performed by an old woman who is admired because of her moving performance.

my tears are just like dewdrops
and a waterfall
you go down to Doodetu
oo you darling look like wrapping
yourself to go out
for mass in Detusoko to the
downstream
or for Ekolèta to the upstream
oo younger one
if only you did not go away so
soon
recently a fellow vanished
oo beloved brother éé
oo Léo Bai éé
just went back and forth
if only
you would take over our speech
to praise (us)
o little darling
I here feel weak
or my breath is exhausted
throughout my body
oo Jéa, beloved grandparent
oo you may not stand in the path
at the deep valley over there
Léo who does not have broods
wants to announce his fertility
wants to count his broods
é, it is awful to hinder and
obstruct
up at the edge of the path
o close child
misery is not the same
oo child éé miserable

24 Doodetu is a plain through which a dead person is supposed to go on the way to Mt Kélímuntu, the destination of the dead.

25 Detusoko is located downstream from the place where the 'mourning lament' was performed.

26 Ekolèta is located upstream.

27 Léo is the father of the dead child. Bai is his mother.

28 Jéa is the dead child's father's mother's mother.
ré'é ngéré o iwa ghé ji'é
so baja boré tungga ghé o
ngguu riwu
baja ghé tungga angi ngasu

nia ma'é tobé tana
oo an maka
ré'é si ngéré o iwa sama
o embu mamo
no'o kuu kajo
tungga sumba walo

deki tuka até iwa po ghai
ghiro gharo
oo iné no'o ema
ée miu o mulu rowa mena
tungga sogo si ma'é ho'o
bou si tungga ma'é dowa
lando mo'o tau nuwa bhoka
ée
tungga ma'é reté mona
ée ngéé mo'o tau bhondo
soli rendo wola ghé de
ghalé boko

misery does not look like
becoming good
getting ill, if only she had got well
like thousands of people
getting ill, if only she had got well
like hundreds of people
do not turn your face into the earth
oo close child
misery is not the same
o great grandparent, grandparent
and ancestors
if only you had had driven away
(the evil)
then stomach and liver would not
worry
oo mother and father
ée you have been over there
before us
if only you had not accepted
witches' loan
if only you had not been
unanimous (for witches)
darling wants to grow up éé
if only witches had not pressed
her down
ée it was hoped to procreate and
increase
instead, reduced down to the
bottom

The factors important for a good performance relate to voice, melody and
composition. People ridicule poor performance. A performance in which
conventional expressions are repeated again and again is regarded as poor. Good
performance is evocative and allusive. This text above, which is regarded as one
of the best, wanders from one reality to another: recent and ongoing actual
events, visible but false reality, invisible reality, unfulfilled wishes related to
visible reality and unrealised pleas related to invisible reality. It hints at a great
knowledge of conventional expressions but does not depend much on them or
repeat them. Ngguu riwu//angi ngasu (a thousand rumbles, a hundred winds) is a
conventional and rather highbrow couplet, which may mean that although many
people become ill, they get well. This couplet is woven into the text above. Some
lines hint at the performer's knowledge of a conventional and rather highbrow
couplet polo sogo ma'é ho'o//wera ngaro ma'é nganga (even if witches offer a
loan, do not accept/even if witches promise, do not agree). Parallelism and sound correspondence are notable.29

The performance of 'mourning laments' is the exclusive province of women and gives them a chance to demonstrate indirectly their ola mbé'o to a considerable audience.

At the time of, or before, burial, a funeral song called bhoo béwa (long burst) may be sung by a man. The purpose of a 'long burst' is to send away the dead. The singer is not allowed to shed tears while singing. He sings loudly with an upright posture. The words are partly conventional and partly improvised.30

Four nights after death, a ritual act called 'wiping-and-shaking-off' (poru dhemba) may be performed in the evening. At the front doorway of the house, an ata nipi mumbles a spell such as follows:

| joka       | drive away    |
| pa'o no'o kowa | make a boat  |
| sumba      | sweep away    |
| pa'o no'o raja | make a raft |
| joka temu bhalé wola | driven away and stop coming back |
| sumba temu bhalé walo | swept away and stop coming again |
| mbaa si kau | do go, you    |
| mbaa de ghéa | go there     |
| mera de gharu | stay there   |
| iné joka mata | mother of driving death |
| iné ki leka apa | what is its mother |
| iné ki leka | its mother is: |
| m*** m*** no'o | rotten banana and slipping down |
| m*** m*** | and running out |

The owner of this spell said that the mother part spoke of rotten banana which would fall naturally and disappear forever (léwa liba). Parallelism is notable. Metaphor and sound correspondence are significant in the mother part.

The 'dreamer' (ata nipi) wipes (poru) the members of the household with tapi (a kind of weed), gai (kind of weed), paré bara (magic husked rice) and a bamboo tube filled with ash from all the hearths where rice and meat are cooked after death. These items are prepared by the 'dreamer'. It is said that tapi and gai

29 In a previous paper I analysed the symbolic function of nangi ata mata as mediation of the specificity of each dying and a socially shared concept of death. By doing that I clarified the importance of functions other than the referential and glossing (Aoki 1990, See Jakobson 1981a).

30 While every death is followed by performance of a 'mourning lament', the 'long burst' is often not performed. I recorded two performances of 'long burst'. Unfortunately, neither recording was clear enough to be transcribed and analysed as a text.

*31 In the part marked with ----, the name of the dead person is uttered.
are used because they are light, and that the bamboo tube must be made with the
tip as bottom, that is, in an inverted way. Following their wiping, each person
stamps once to shake off (dhemba) whatever is bad. After that, the members of
the household cook and eat rice and one chicken. Everything must be eaten
without leaving any leftovers. The ‘dreamer’ takes the things used in the wiping-
shaking-off-ritual (poru dhemba) to the river and mumbles a spell such as the
following:

\[ \textit{béré moru no'o aé} \]
\[ \textit{mesé no'o leja} \]

flow and fall down with water
disappear with the sun

While every death, marriage or birth transforms a household, transformations like
losing or recruiting members can happen for some other reason. People may also
be involved in conflict within the household or with others outside the household.
A knowledgeable person can describe social events, such as the transformation of
households and internal conflicts, expressing the process in elaborate coupled
sentences such as those below.

\[ \textit{gelî pado} \]
\[ \textit{tangé naké} \]

anguish of earthen pot
fight for meat

\[ \textit{ulu ghélé lulu} \]
\[ \textit{éko ghawa loro} \]

the head at the section at the
backside of a house
the tail at the section between
hearth

\[ \textit{wira kuni} \]

tear a placenta

\[ \textit{ngéù ngii} \]
\[ \textit{ngeda pepa} \]

split a sprout
fallen leaf

The first couplet implies a conflict between a husband and his wife who is in the
status of ‘the head is cut off/the tail is cut apart’. The second couplet refers to a
conflict between a father and his child or children. The third sentence refers to a
conflict between same-sex siblings of the same mother. The fourth couplet
implies a conflict and split within the sa'o at any level.

These sentences are basically conventional with some personal innovation.
While most actual social events may go without description by elaborate
sentences, such description and the faculty to so describe are highly valued
socially.

Some people choose to curse opponents rather than to resolve conflicts by
accusing them publicly. The following is an example of curses known as somba,
oa somba, or sua sasa.
mbaa mbaa mata
lora lora mbopa
demi nai kowa
kowa kebhé
demi nai rajo
rajo melé
ia sisa
béla kela
mbaa leka kamba
kamba jenu
nai leka kasa
kasa osé
polo pesa
rota boka
raia até
su’i ha’i
rego lima
mata wai sia wai sia
ré’é wengi rua wengi rua

go and go to die
walk and walk to vanish
if (you) embark on a boat
the boat is upset
if (you) embark on a raft
the raft sinks
Mt Ia tears you
the thunder chops you
go to a water buffalo
the water buffalo stabs
climb up a fence
the fence stabs
witches eat (you)
(your) lung is cut into pieces
(your) liver is chopped off
(your) leg/foot is bent
(your) arm/hand is broken
die tomorrow tomorrow
be miserable the day after, the day after

This curse depicts the desired misfortune of the opponent. Some depictions can be said to be metaphorical, given that those such as 'embarking on a boat' and 'cutting a lung into pieces' are most unlikely.\(^{32}\) Curses seem to be regarded as *ola mbé’o* and knowledgeable people seem to know curses very well.\(^ {33}\)

Some spells, which people may call 'bhaé', are used to repel (*joka wola // suma walo*) curses cast by others. Another kind of spell, which people may call *wa’é*, are used to nullify curses by justifying oneself. The following is an example:

béwa laru éré
jala singi ghélé
kami la’ë kema téé
besu pusu mesa
jala singi mena
kami la’ë téé kema
kami sala iwa ria
kami léko iwa béwa

the long one of ripe stalk\(^ {34}\)
at the upper side of the path
we have not handled or touched yet
the matured one of finished hear\(^ {35}\)
at the one side of the path
we have not touched or handled yet
our wrongdoing is not big
our misdeed is not long\(^ {36}\)

---

\(^{32}\) Parallelism and sound correspondence are notable features in the curse.

\(^{33}\) A knowledgeable man refused to teach me curses, asserting that a man of good origin like him does not know curses well, although he taught me a long version of a curse on another occasion.

\(^{34}\) This phrase signifies ripe sugar-cane.

\(^{35}\) This phrase signifies ripe bananas.

\(^{36}\) Parallelism and sound correspondence are again notable.
Even in situations in which conflicts are not overt, people take it for granted that 'other people' are challenging them in an invisible way. For this reason, they are well prepared to defend themselves or overcome other peoples' challenges by means of ola mbé'o. One strategy is to utter various spells according to the supposed challenge. Another one is to acquire ola mbé'o to raise one's potency. People consider that, without ola mbé'o, the challenges of others can affect them. The notion that challenges from others are pervasive is well expressed in the concept of 'thousands of mouths, hundreds of tongues' (wiwi riwu // lema ngasu). An informant illustrated:

There is no doubt that 'other people' must talk about us in one way or another. They may speak critically of us. It may affect us. When they pass by our field and see our maize grow well, they may say 'How well it grows!' usually with envy. It affects us. Thus we are always confronted by 'thousands of mouths/hundreds of tongues'.

The curses and protective spells are uttered or acquired in order to overcome the challenges of others. Instead of only being defensive, people try to beat other people by uttering spells such as the following:

- wiwi kau ngéré bega butu
  your mouth is like the hole of a bead
- nggumi kau ngéré moto manu
  your mouth is like the bottom of a chicken
- aku béké kau ké'é
  I bluster, then you are mute
- aku beja kau kengu
  I hector, then you are overcome
- ngemi kau ngemi
  mute you are mute
- kau lema ngemi
  you are only mute
- kau ta'u aku ngéré nipa ria
  you fear me like a big snake
- kau gaa aku ngéré bara bani
  you are scared of me like an aggressive bara-snake
- kau ria wiwi iwa
  you do not have a big mouth
- kau bêwa lema la'ê
  you do not yet have a long tongue
- demi kau wiwi ria
  if your mouth is big
- lema bêwa
  your tongue is long
- ruwi wiwi
  twist off your mouth
- reda lema
  pull off your tongue

This spell concentrates on overcoming other people's speech, which implies their influential power. People may refer to spells to overcome 'other people' as senggu waka, or waka nganga (influential power).37

In critical stages of life, such as when involved in a conflict, threatened by other peoples' strong challenge, experiencing misfortune or during rites of

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37 See chapter 6.
passage and during critical stages of agriculture, people may use spells such as the following to invoke their ancestors. The spell starts by making an offering and giving an evocation:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{embu mamo} & \quad \text{grandparents, great grandparents} \\
\text{kuu kajo} & \quad \text{older ancestors} \\
\text{la'è ghèta la'è lau} & \quad \text{at the upstream, at the} \\
\text{downstream} & \quad \text{at one side, at the other side} \\
\text{la'è mena la'è ghalé} & \quad \text{uphill, downhill} \\
\text{la'è ghèlè la'è ghawa} & \quad \text{come throughout} \\
\text{mai dowa} & \quad \text{arrive all} \\
\text{sè'a sawè} & \quad \text{come to eat one handful} \\
\text{mai kaa kegu} & \quad \text{to relish one piece} \\
\text{pesa geto} & \quad \text{come to eat white rice} \\
\text{mai kaa aré bara} & \quad \text{to relish delicious pork} \\
\text{pesa wawi mii} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Then an invocation such as follows is made:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rina mina} & \quad \text{request with an oiled (body)} \\
\text{oso masa} & \quad \text{entreat with a clean (body)} \\
\text{embu mamo} & \quad \text{great grandparent, grandparent} \\
\text{kuu kajo} & \quad \text{grandparent of great grandparent,} \\
& \quad \text{parent of great grandparent} \\
\text{o mata j eru mulu} & \quad \text{who died earlier} \\
\text{mata wa' u muri} & \quad \text{(who) died later} \\
\text{èlé miu ngéré kami iwa lélè} & \quad \text{even if you speak we do not hear} \\
\text{taa kami ngéré miu lélè} & \quad \text{but (if) we speak you hear} \\
\text{tipo kami gnéré nio} & \quad \text{sustain us like a palm (tree)} \\
\text{pama kami ngéré naka} & \quad \text{support us like a jackfruit (tree)} \\
\text{buru ma'è pu'u} & \quad \text{(may) buru-skin disease not (stick to us) at all} \\
\text{kaka ma'è bogé} & \quad \text{(may) kaka-skin disease not (stick to us) even a bit} \\
\text{kélè ma'è ngénggé} & \quad \text{(may our) armpits not be loosened} \\
\text{taga m'è rara} & \quad \text{(may our) calves not be ulcerated} \\
\text{sebo tu'a ngéré su'a nua} & \quad \text{(our) bodies as strong as iron} \\
\text{loo kami ngéré watu lowo} & \quad \text{sticks in the village} \\
\text{ata ta'u kami ngéré nipa ria} & \quad \text{(our) trunks as hard as stones in the river} \\
\text{ata gaa kami ngéré bara bani} & \quad \text{people fear us as if we were pythons} \\
\text{nira kami ngéré fili} & \quad \text{people shudder at us as if we were} \\
\text{ngara kami ngéré ngaba} & \quad \text{fierce snakes} \\
\text{sebo keta} & \quad \text{(they) look out on us as if they} \\
\text{loo nggaa} & \quad \text{look out on a precipice} \\
\text{keta ngéré kobé oné} & \quad \text{(they) look up to us as if they look} \\
\text{nggaa ngéré aé koo} & \quad \text{up at a cliff} \\
\text{aku ria dari nia} & \quad \text{cool bodies} \\
\text{refreshed trunks} & \\
\text{cool like midnight} & \\
\text{refreshed like a murmuring stream} & \\
\end{align*}
\]
aku béwa pasé la'é
garé naja
kéko tané
dai balé
ngaki raté
susu nggua
nama bapu
tuka ngéé
kambu wonga
gupa gena
ngawi sai
polo sogo ma'é ho'o

I am high to replace you
pronounce (your) names
utter (your) epithets
care for (your) tomb-huts
weed (your) tombs
accomplish the ritual
perform the ceremony
the abdomen bears (life)
the belly brings forth (life)
grope to reach
grasp to attain
even if witches ask a loan, do not accept
even if witches promise, do not agree
go far away, far away
walk a long way, a long way
witches fly up in the red sky
witches go under the earth
sink with the sea
go down with the sun
good life
beautiful body
bright face
clear eyes
fertile like a kéé
fertile like a kéé
may our dream be good
may our vision be fine
if (I) lack
if (I) want
you tell again
show again
blow onto the fontanelle
touch at the upper abdomen

The purposes of such an invocation to the ancestors can be multiple. The proceeding invocation aims at asking the ancestors for general protection. Specific phrases are uttered, for a specific purpose. To cure one's illness, the sentences 'may the sickness get better/may the pain get softer' (roo ji'él/baja keku) may be uttered. The last part of the spell is almost identical to the invocation to a revelatory source of power and well-being (raju). People sometimes include phrases such as tana watu (the earth/world) or éko ulu (the tail and the head [of the earth]). The addition of these evocations may imply that tana watu is closely associated with the ancestors in certain respects.

---

38 Pawé is an Endeneese word.
39 Parallelism, similes and metaphors are notable.
40 See chapter 6.
Curses, defensive spells, and invocations to the ancestors are used to attack, to overcome, to protect from or defend against other people, or to make oneself vital and strong. In order to deal with other people in order to maintain one's own autonomy, there are diverse strategies apart from strengthening oneself or weakening other people. One strategy is to appease or to flatter other people. People consider that a treat with good food and drink or a small present may affect their resolution. Such a treat or a present entertains one for a moment, but leads to one's disadvantage in the long run. To guard against this, people warn themselves with a couplet, *kaa leka ta'i/minu leka singi* (eat faeces, drink urine). They interpret this couplet as follows:

When we are treated with good food and drink, the better the food and the drink, the more we have to tell ourselves that we are just eating faeces and drinking urine. By doing this we prevent the good food and drink from affecting our resolution and strength.

Sexual appeal, including the attractiveness of sexual parts of a body and of sexual intercourse, is also said to melt one's strength. The following episode was recounted to epitomise the way sexual parts melt other people's strength:

In a war, the enemies were arrayed and about to attack us. One old woman of ours walked by herself to the place where the enemies could see her. Then she showed her genitalia to them. Seeing it, they became weak and could not attack us.

This kind of knowledge which softens the strength of others is *bhisa* (a source of powers and well-being).

Spells may also be used to attract in order to control other people. These spells are usually called *wunu kaju kuku* (soft leaf and wood, or softening magic). If 'softening magic' is used, the targeted person cannot go away because they feel anxious (*até ghilo ghalo*). They cannot but come and stay. The following is an example:

---

41 *Wunu* literally means 'leaf' and *kaju* 'tree or wood'. While *wunu kaju* may mean herbal medicine, it usually means a certain magic whether or not it involves herbal medicine.
kota ma'ë dhoa
do not go beyond the piled stones
kasa ma'ë langga
do not pass the hedge
bé'i leka iné
lean on Mother
ngéré bé'i lipé
just as you lean on lipé
mbaké leka amé
lean on Father
ngéré mbaké mapé
just as lean on mapé
mbaa ma'ë bèu
do not go far
lora ma'ë bèwa
do not leave
se kélé ma'ë ngéé
do not move from one point
se la'ë ma'ë laké
do not go away from one place
lodo ma'ë to'o
keep sitting and do not stand up
mbaké ma'ë mbana
keep leaning and do not go
ghaa leka loka o mii
here is the site which is sweet
ghaa leka kara o mengé
here is the seat which is fragrant
iné ki leka apa
what is its mother:42

Some words, such as lipé, mbaké and mapé, are not used in daily life and were puzzling to the speaker. However, based on the rule of parallelism, he inferred that lipé must have a meaning equivalent to mapé and mbaké to bé'i.

Some spells are believed to nullify accusation or the efficacy of ordeal by rearranging or redefining facts. These spells are called sua. The following is an example of the use of sua:

About three generations ago there was a man called Sato Jopu. He was a very wily person because of his great knowledge of magical speech, especially sua. At one time a woman accused him of rape. He and the woman underwent a traditional ordeal called kepó su'a, 'holding the iron', in which a red-hot iron stick is put in the hands of the accused and the accuser. If anyone has lied, his hand will be burnt; if not, the iron stick will become cool. Though Sato Jopu had raped the women, he walked around holding the red-hot iron stick in his hand, but the women’s hand was badly burnt as soon as the stick was put in it. To bring about this result, Sato Jopu is said to have spoken a sua as follows:

se toko léda sii nggoro fli' joo
one stick fitted in since the time a
mboko rua tura tuka sii
raft slid down
tuwa atu du'a
two balls riding on a belly since
when a flea rapes you, you do not
kuma péla kau iwa kéa
the age of old people
koté péla kau iwa kéa
when a flea rapes you, you
do not accuse loudly

42 Here, parallelism, inversion and sound correspondence within and between lines can be seen.
lima kau péla kau iwa kéa
when your hand rapes you, you do not accuse loudly
kau menga kéa téta kai aku
you only accuse in order to shame me
mésa
red or green,
méra no'o meta
I am not sure yet
aku la'e dema
if it can be any,
demi éo réwo
it is me perhaps
aku se mbé'o
cool down, you, the iron
keta gho su'a

People say that sua is inverted (bhalé bhitu) language. In terms of meaning, the strategy of saying one thing to mean something else is adopted to confound reality.

**LIFE WITHIN THE RITUAL-VILLAGE**

The village-rituals are opportunities for people to hear some elaborate esoteric chants and enigmatic ritual words and to see enigmatic ritual acts. Knowledgeable and/or ambitious people try to learnt 'true' chants and to interpret those enigmatic ritual acts and words. The 'true' chants and interpretations are regarded as one of the most important ola mbé'o.

Enigmatic ritual speeches are made in the primordial-still-ritual (puu maru) in the great-ritual. On smearing a red mixture of lime and chewed areca nut on some parts of the bodies of the primordial-still-ritual-leaders, a ritual-leader mumbles formulae in turn as follows. On smearing the mixture from elbow to wrist, he mumbles 'siku méko/lima lama (moving elbow/quick arm)'. On smearing one spot on their right cheek, he mumbles 'sobo watu mité (cut off a black stone)'. On drawing a line from the nose to the forehead and two spots on the left cheek, he mumbles 'wuu wolo lo'o (cut a little ridge)'. Some regard the two formulae, sobo watu mité and wuu wolo lo'o as making a couplet. This puzzles even Wologai people. Then a chanter of oro kéu utters two puzzling formulae, suu poké nggesa ronggi rengga and suu soro todo mbako lodo, while throwing two areca nuts in opposite directions. The meanings of these words are cryptic even to the Wologai people. It was hinted that they imply the names of ancestors.

During the last part of the great-ritual, a ritual called régo gaku (beating the bamboo rattle) or joka té'u (driving away rats) is performed. This ritual is mainly composed of a ritual chant called oro gaku accompanied by beating bamboo rattles. Oro gaku, for example, goes as follows:

---

43 In terms of linguistic forms, parallelism, sound correspondence and metaphorical expression are seen. See Aoki 1988.
joka kami joka wola
sumba kami sumba walo
joka kami ji'ê ji'ê
sumba kami pawé pawé
mbaa si leka lia leké mu
mbaa si leka la'ê sa'o mu
lau leka kuu muu

lau leka jebu maja
lau leka loka mi

lau leka kara mengé

lau lau lau

lau leka soko saga boko

lau leka kii deré méra

lau leka nggoka joka goma

lau leka ndére mélé mére

lau leka lia ria

lau leka bema béwa
lau leka denu deku

lau leka lélé rada sénga

biku ojo iju boko
téu to'a té'u toa
biwu éja iju béwa
moko lobé lobo moké
ré'u to'a té'u ro'a
péru ta'ê té'u paré
mëngu ta'ê té'u mengé
joka kami ji'ê ji'ê
sumba kami pawé pawé
mbaa si lama lama
légu si béu béu
lau leka sa'o ria

lau leka ténda béwa

mera si ké'ê ké'ê
ndi'i si kii kii

gharu leka loka mi
gharu leka kara mengé

drive away, drive away back
sweep away, sweep away again
we drive away well well
we sweep away nicely nicely
do go to your pillar hole
do go to your house site
downstream, where the warm
cast-off skin is
downstream, where the dry sty is
downstream, where the sweet site is
downstream, where the fragrant seat is
downstream, downstream,
downstream

downstream, where the short soko is\n

downstream, where the kii of red forks is\n

downstream, where a nggoka-snake cannot enter
downstream, too narrow a place
for a ndéré-ant to pass
downstream, where a large hollow is
downstream, where a long path is
downstream, where a denu-tree flourishes
downstream, where a banyan tree has forked branches

\textit{biku ojo}, short nose
\textit{téu to'a}, cut rat
\textit{biwu éja}, long nose
\textit{moko lobé}, sprout of arenga palm
\textit{ré'u to'a}, rat, monkey
\textit{péru ta'ê}, rice rat
\textit{mëngu ta'ê}, fragrant rat
we drive away well well
we sweep away nicely nicely
go quickly quickly
hurry away away
downstream, where the great house is
downstream, where the long
veranda is
do live (there) still still
do stay (there) tranquilly
tranquilly
there, where the sweet site is
there, where the fragrant seat is

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Soko} is a kind of plant.

\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Kii} is a kind of plant.
Verbal deceit is the important trick in driving away rats. It is interesting that this trick is similar to that noted in spells for calling rice, hunting, and attracting people.

On the one hand the institutionalised structure of the ritual-village manifests itself in solemn, quiet and still ritual acts such as in the primordial-still-ritual of the great-ritual. On the other hand the great-ritual has communitas-like aspects, which are emphasised in scenes such as the gawi, a dance in double spirals: a spiral of men surrounded by a spiral of women. While the primordial-still-ritual depicts the scene before human development (ngéé wa’u), the gawi-dance celebrates attained human development.

A solo singer (ata shodha) for the gawi-dance is appointed by the ritual-leaders each year, usually just before the great-ritual. The solo singer is usually a man who has a good reputation as a solo singer for sodha (song for gawi). He can be a man of a different ritual-village, even a far-away ritual-village. Anyone can join the gawi. A successful gawi involves as many people as possible, and is as bustling and as lively as possible. Although men and women dance in different spirals, bodies touch each other indiscriminately in the crowd of the gawi-dance.47 The interpretation of the sodha-songs and the gawi-dance can be part of ola mbé’o.

Gawi-dance starts with a chant called ia kéu which is composed of the following formulae.

\[
\begin{align*}
ia \, oo \, ia \\
ia \, oo \, ia \\
ia \, oo \, ia \\
kaa \, uwi \, oo \, uwi \\
nata \, éu \, oo \, éu \\
kaa \, uwi \, oo \, uwi \\
nata \, éu \, oo \, éu \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ia \, oo \, ia & \quad iaa \, oo \, ia \\
& \quad iaa \, oo \, ia \\
& \quad eat \, yam \, oo \, yam \\
& \quad chew \, areca \, nuts \, oo \, areca \, nuts \\
& \quad eat \, yam \, oo \, yam \\
& \quad chew \, areca \, nuts \, oo \, areca \, nuts
\end{align*}
\]

---

46 Parallelism and sound correspondence are notable. Metathesis is found from the line biku ojo iju boko to the line mēngu ta‘et té‘u mengé. Biku ojo and té‘u to’a, for example, are anagrams of iju boko (short nose) and toa té‘u (cut a rat) respectively.

47 One man jokingly told me that one of the greatest pleasures of gawi was to touch women’s bodies.
In *ia kēu*, areca nuts (*kēu*) should be pronounced as *ēu* pronouncing é without initial glottal stop.\(^{48}\) The unusual pronunciation of *ēu* seems to stimulate some to speculate on why that should be so.

The solo singer improvises or combines conventional and improvised phrases. He leads the dancers and controls the tempo of *gawi* so that it will become lively and those attending will be delighted. *Gawi* starts at night and keeps going until the next afternoon. The topics of the songs may be related to the great-ritual, the ritual-leaders, fertility, prosperity, sexuality, and so on. The aims of the songs can be to praise, mock, tease, hint or be sexually stimulating. Some words do not have meanings. Some are cryptic. Some well-known conventional couplets such as the following are used to lead the harmonious performance.

\[
\begin{align*}
  kēwi & \text{ moké } \text{ aé} \\
  gaga & \text{ uma } \text{ bo’o} \\
  peni & \text{ manu } \text{ ngéé} \\
  wesi & \text{ wawi } \text{ nuwa} \\
  dhéndé & \text{ walo } \text{ éo } \text{ géné} \\
  teka & \text{ walo } \text{ éo } \text{ tema}
\end{align*}
\]

- *tap arenga palms to get juice*
- *make fields to have a good harvest*
- *feed chicken to breed*
- *nourish pigs to proliferate*
- *beat again a round one*
- *injure again an unused one*

The last couplet implies having sexual intercourse with a girl with round breasts or with a virgin girl. Euphemistic metaphors, especially related to sexuality, are abundant. The following is an example:

\[
\begin{align*}
  bësi & \text{ moso} \\
  ghēta & \text{ oto } \text{ lowo} \\
  la’ë & \text{ peka } \text{ koo}^{49} \\
  ëë & \text{ ngéré } \text{ woo}
\end{align*}
\]

- *overmature pumpkin*
- *at a river in a forest to the east*
- *has not been touched yet*
- *the water overflows*

As this set of phrases epitomises, sound correspondence is notable in *sodha*.

A solo singer must have a good knowledge of conventional phrases, talent to improvise songs, skills to combine these two, as well as stamina and an impressive voice. Apart from these abilities, which are usually considered to be related to *ola mbé’o*, he needs extra strength based on *ola mbé’o* and other sources of power, since other people challenge him in an invisible way.

---

\(^{48}\) *Eu* pronounced in this way means areca nuts in Endenese. *Ia* and *uwi* are also pronounced in this way in *ia kēu*. *Ia* does not have meaning. *Uwi* pronounced in this way would be regarded as allophonic. Repetition and parallelism are seen.

\(^{49}\) *Peka* is not usually used in Wologai but means ‘already’ in Endenese.
Some rituals are performed in constructing or repairing the buildings in the ritual-village. The thatch of the temple should be renewed ideally every three years. On carrying in the alang-alang to thatch the temple, a ritual called néku wénggu waé wali is performed. Ritual-leaders dressed in women's red clothes perform a dance, wanda pala and carry the alang-alang to the ritual courtyard as if they were holding a baby (ngéré pala ana). Then they perform a dance called wanda keri néré and carry alang-alang to the ritual hut as if they were supporting a baby (ngéré pama ana). Then people perform a gawi dance. They throw water at the ritual-leaders while singing the following phrases.

néku wénggu
waé wali
béké embu nggéré
kajo laka wawo
embu nggéwa rewa
koja nopi namba

These phrases are puzzling and stimulate people's speculation. They are significant in terms of ola mbé'o, although this ritual has not been performed recently. Néku means to 'do something as strongly as possible'. Wénggu means to 'rock one's hip'. Therefore the phrase néku wénggu is usually understood as describing the movement of dancing. Embu and kajo mean great-grandparent and parent of great-grandparent respectively. The other words are presumed to be cryptic. Many people seem to understand most of them as ancestors' names. This interpretation stimulates further speculation as to what kind of ancestors. Some speculate about hidden words. One middle-aged man interpreted these phrases as follows.

I have never heard of waé and wali except in this ritual. Waé wali probably means 'àé mai'. Béké, Laka, Nopi, Namba and Nggéwa are probably ancestors' names. Nggéré, wawo, and rewa may depict these ancestors respectively. Nggéré may mean to 'sit still with one's back bent', although it is not used in daily life. Wawo indicates that Laka is on high. Rewa means to 'stretch out wings'. It depicts Nggewa. Nggewa, as a common noun, means a kind of hawk. The 'true ancestors' names' Lopi Lamba are hidden in Nopi Namba. These ancestors may have

---

50 Pala means to 'receive something on one's palms'.

51 Wanda means 'dance'. Keri means to 'call chicken, rice, or a child's soul by uttering 'kerrrr'. Néré means to 'stretch arms forward with the palms upwards'.

52 He did not make it clear why the true names of ancestors were not Nopi Namba but Lopi Lamba. One of the reasons for this interpretation might be that he considers himself related to the ancestors whose names are Lopi and Lamba.
preceded in time, and therefore are more important than the ancestors who slid down from Mt Lépémbusu.

Vowel correspondence plays a critical part in such speculation, for example in waé wail and ãé mai as well as Nopi Namba and Lopi Lamba. Another man taught me the 'true' meaning of these words:

Nggéré means to 'erect' and nggéwa means to 'open' or 'to blossom'. These words imply the secret of procreation.

The ritual-village is a privileged arena for people to show off (ngama) part of their personal ola mbé'o.

After finishing thatching, wogé bhéa should be performed. Bhéa refers to a category of verbal arts which allows one to express oneself. Since one usually plays bhéa while doing a dance called wogé, it is also called wogé bhéa and bhéa wogé. People might play bhéa wogé to the accompaniment of a drum and a gong in the ritual courtyard during the village-rituals, as for example when building or repairing the ritual hut or ritual houses (poto wolo rènggi kéli) or else during crises which involve the ritual-village. Some examples follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kikuyu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>éé kuu ana mau</td>
<td>ee kuu Mau's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana mau maku meno</td>
<td>Mau's child is frolicsome and troublesome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maku no'o téé lara tebo</td>
<td>frolicsome and I am anxious to move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wogé no'o rii lara wedho</td>
<td>wogé-dance and I cannot help hopping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wedho wélé wogé</td>
<td>hopping, turning, dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tubu ria kanga kondé</td>
<td>big stone-altar and Kondé's ritual courtyard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kondé waé bhälé tangé</td>
<td>Kondé expresses himself and exchanges his name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mojo mbé'o déo maé</td>
<td>move to be able to hold the soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maé mbé'o déo</td>
<td>to be able to hold the soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paga mogé molo péro</td>
<td>the spanning divination is auspicious, right and just</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bui ha'i jengi féo</td>
<td>roasting legs and burning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>féo lema loli</td>
<td>candlenuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndua lau tana moni</td>
<td>going down to Moni area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tana moni lau</td>
<td>Moni area downstream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nua lau kota no'o watu</td>
<td>the ritual-village downstream with foundation of stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nua lau kébé no'o kaju</td>
<td>the ritual-village downstream with fence of wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaju dari ghéta</td>
<td>a tree standing up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raka liru méra</td>
<td>reaching the red sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liru méra meta</td>
<td>the sky being red and blue-green</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
looking up at a person wearing brass wire ornaments
cutting and twisting brass wire
to reach Nondo and Landé
down at the waist, belt with fringe
looking up the distant echo
the fame reaches far
reaching Kowé Jawa
Jawa the people of Kowé
Lisé the people of Ngondé
Ngondé the people of Lisé
making kopa-baskets and ripé-baskets of lontar
ripré-baskets and kopa-baskets placed on the foundation
a male ritual-leader
climbing up the areca tree and betel tree
beating the centre of a drum at a path
drinking bitter and harsh water
damming and making the water flow
a grasshopper stretching the hand and being severed
reaching the ritual-village of Wio going out of the ritual-village of Wio
going to chop a stone
a beautiful thin stone
as high as a sprout of a banyan tree
the sprout of a banyan tree and a uwa-rattan
a rattan taga-rattan
good-shaped storehouse
good-shaped and beautiful
only one leaf
among a school of mboo-fish
it is enough only to sprinkle water
water is cold and cool
a place for a child to sleep
the beautifully flat monolith
being noisy at the path
making a line to ask for areca nuts
start the drum

Bhéa aims to impress and sometimes to entertain people. This is achieved through boasting, humbling oneself, or by showing excellent improvisation. While improvisation is important to bhéa, some phrases are prepared in advance and seem to be repeated in every performance. For example, a man who is proud
of his power, including his sexual power is famous for the following phrases which are repeated in every performance:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fai leka fai du'a kobé telu} & \quad \text{copulating with my own wife for three nights} \\
\text{fai leka koja kanga kobé telu} & \quad \text{copulating with koja kanga for three nights} \\
\text{fai leka tana watu kobé telu} & \quad \text{copulating with tubu musu for three nights} \\
\text{fai leka iné léké kobé telu} & \quad \text{copulating with iné léké for three nights}
\end{align*}
\]

Another man boasts by uttering the following phrases:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nipa no'o kiku} & \quad \text{snake and kiku-snake} \\
\text{leka ola uli imu} & \quad \text{are my friends} \\
\text{se ngasu iwa ta'u} & \quad \text{even a hundred I do not fear} \\
\text{se nganga iwa gaa} & \quad \text{even a thousand I am not scared of} \\
\text{leké seré} & \quad \text{I am as sound as a pillar on a flat stone} \\
\text{ténga léda} & \quad \text{I am as stable as a beam}
\end{align*}
\]

An elder person might compose phrases of bhéa for a younger person. For example, a father composed the following short bhéa for his son:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aku Mus Wolo} & \quad \text{I am Mus Wolo} \\
\text{nía iju ngéré jawa mbombo} & \quad \text{my face is just like boiled maize} \\
\text{ké'a kolo ngéré nio moso} & \quad \text{my skull is just like a rotten coconut} \\
\text{tama koja kanga} & \quad \text{entering the ritual courtyard} \\
\text{naja aku Nanga} & \quad \text{my name is Nanga} \\
\text{ata nosi kamba} & \quad \text{people say I am a water buffalo} \\
\text{ngai kaa ria bai raka} & \quad \text{because I eat too much} \\
\text{dáai kaa raka kobé sala} & \quad \text{watching food until midnight} \\
\text{waké si lamba} & \quad \text{start the drum!}
\end{align*}
\]

Sound correspondence is a notable feature in bhéa. A good performance of bhéa wogé is supposed to indicate that the performer is rich in ola mbé'o. Performing bhéa wogé is a good opportunity to show off (ngama) one’s possession of ola mbé'o.

During the breaks between rituals or work on the village-rituals at the nua, people like to spend their time sitting together. Tales (nuu nangé) are told. Songs (ndé’o) are sung. Other verbal arts are displayed. While people enjoy all these, they also constitute an informal competition in terms of ola mbé'o. Verbal games are played on these kinds of occasions. The following are examples of a verbal game called séna wangga (euphemism of wangga):
A: *kau fonga piso ta topo*

B: *topo*
   A: *demi topo, topo rona lééé, lééé pana niki, niki kesa, kisi neka*
   B: *piso*
   A: *demi piso, piso ngelu, ngilo pesu*

A: *which do you like, a knife or machete?*
B: *a machete*
A: *if machete, machete pointed sharp, an arrow shoots a bat, bats increase, bite and be injured*
B: *a knife*
A: *if knife, slippery knife, watch out fart*

A: *kau fonga ndawa ta gara*

B: *ndawa*
   A: *demi ndawa, ndawa wénggi, wangga Ndéwi*
   B: *gara*
   A: *demi gara, gara wenggu, wangga Geru*

A: *which do you like, floor or prohibition*
B: *floor*
A: *if floor, floor wénggi, carry Ndéwi on the shoulder*
B: *prohibition*
A: *if prohibition, amusing prohibition, carry Geru on the shoulder*

This game aims to show one's skill at shifting the sounds of phrases and accordingly shifting the signified. A longer answer seems to be better, if the shifting of the sounds is proper. By means of *séna wangga*, the main player not only puzzles and amuses his or her audience but also demonstrates his or her verbal art. The latter example may be a basic form of *séna wangga* since the word *wangga* is used in the game. Homonyms and metathesis are key features in this verbal play.

Drinking palm wine (*moké*) can stimulate the competitiveness or increase the level of boasting as depicted below.

- *aé denu degu*
- *ngama teá wegu*
- *aé denu nai*
- *ngama toto ngali*

palm wine stimulates\(^{55}\)
the boast starts moving
palm wine goes up
the boast is also spurred

Some might start verbal competition, whether they get drunk or not. Such words may fire competitive speech, which is described as *tau seru* (make voice). Since dangerous power emanates from a person's *ola mbé'o*, other people,

---

\(^{53}\) According to the person who led this word game, the word 'wénggi' is not used in conversation and 'wenggu' is used only in the phrase *woa wenggu* (amusing brag).

\(^{54}\) Ndéwi and Geru are personal names.

\(^{55}\) Palm wine is described as *aé denu* (water of *denu*-tree), because a piece of *denu*-wood is used to give flavour to palm wine.
especially people unarmed with *ola mbé'o*, should not be near them while they are performing *tau seru*.

During a crisis of the ritual-village *nangi tana* (lament for *tana*) or *nangi tana watu* (lament for *tana watu*) may be voluntarily performed by any knowledgeable person.\(^{56}\)

**AFFAIRS BETWEEN RITUAL-VILLAGES**

One of the verbal arts which is involved in affairs between ritual-villages is the 'war chant' (*kadha*). In former times *kadha* was used in war. Nowadays the speech involved in legal trials (*I:perkara*) is regarded as a kind of *kadha* or 'making voice' (*tau seru*). *Kadha* said to have been performed in former times is appreciated as *ola mbé'o*. It is said that in the time of the present generation's great-grandparents (*embu*), the Wologai people and Wolondopo people fought with the following *kadha* performed by a Wologai man and a Wolondopo woman on behalf of their respective ritual-villages.

The Wologai man first spoke out this *kadha*:

\[
\begin{align*}
gai ara lé'e mola & \quad \text{the stalk of the long round arrow} \\
gena ma'é sala soa & \quad \text{hit not chaotically} \\
gena ma'é sala soa & \quad \text{hit not chaotically} \\
gena tuti méma leka ana koa & \quad \text{hit exactly at the vagina}
\end{align*}
\]

Then the Wolondopo woman spoke back a *kadha*:

\[
\begin{align*}
lé'e mola gai ara & \quad \text{round long arrow of stalk} \\
gena ma'é moło sala & \quad \text{hit not uncertainly} \\
gena ma'é moło sala & \quad \text{hit not uncertainly} \\
gena tuti méma leka lasé & \quad \text{hit exactly at the penis and} \\
ndanda & \quad \text{testicles}
\end{align*}
\]

These *kadha* were equally strong.

Here repetition, sound correspondence, and words of sexual abuse all feature. It is said that a war was also fought in the form of mutual teasing (*repa songi*). The following is an example.

\[56\text{ See Aoki 1988.}\]
The Wologai people teased the Detusoko people:

\textit{ata Soko} \quad \textit{the Detusoko people}\textsuperscript{57}  \\
\textit{dhédhé podo} \quad \textit{hold an earthen cooking pot}  \\
\textit{podo logé bega} \quad \textit{the bottom of the earthen cooking pot has a hole}  \\
\textit{soko seka} \quad \textit{soko} \textsuperscript{58} \quad \textit{stabs}  \\
\textit{seka leka kodo} \quad \textit{stabs at the hollow}  \\
\textit{keda ata Soko} \quad \textit{of the ritual hut of the Detusoko people}  \\

The Detusoko people teased the Wologai people as follows:

\textit{wiki léké} \quad \textit{getting a stone for léké}\textsuperscript{59}  \\
\textit{léké jiri léwa} \quad \textit{the stone is stroked already}  \\
\textit{jiri waa} \quad \textit{stroking and making it flat}  \\
\textit{wii jara} \quad \textit{drawing a horse}  \\
\textit{jara gio} \quad \textit{the horse whinnying}  \\
\textit{gio nii} \quad \textit{whinnying and leaking}  \\
\textit{nio gii} \quad \textit{coconut yields}  \\
\textit{giid gédo} \quad \textit{loud and noisy}  \\
\textit{gidi géo} \quad \textit{inviting loudly}  \\
\textit{géo roja} \quad \textit{drawing a circle}  \\
\textit{raja Goa} \quad \textit{raja of Goa}  \\
\textit{goa bhaki} \quad \textit{calling a piece}  \\
\textit{bhoka gai} \quad \textit{sprout of gai}\textsuperscript{60}  \\
\textit{gai paé} \quad \textit{gai pushed down}  \\
\textit{pai gaé} \quad \textit{calling and searching}  \\
\textit{gaé aru} \quad \textit{searching soot}  \\
\textit{aré gau} \quad \textit{rice cake}  \\
\textit{gau ta'a} \quad \textit{rice cake of Ta'a}  \\
\textit{ta'u gaa} \quad \textit{afraid and scared}  \\
\textit{gaa wolo kali} \quad \textit{scared of the ridge of kadi}\textsuperscript{61}  \\
\textit{keda Wologai} \quad \textit{the ritual hut of Wologai}  \\

Vowel harmony works to link all the words in both these teasing chants.

Changing vowels of the name of the opponent ritual-village was used as an important teasing strategy.

Wologai: \textit{seka} instead of \textit{soko}

Detusoko: \textit{gio, gii, géo, goa, gaé, gau} and \textit{gaa} instead of \textit{gai}.

\textsuperscript{57} The Detusoko people are often called \textit{ata soko}.

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Soko} is a plant name.

\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Léké} is a kind of game in which flat stones are used.

\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Gai} is a kind of plant.

\textsuperscript{61} \textit{Kadi} does not have any meaning. People do not think of it as a name.
Complex metathesis, attained by exchanging the consonants of two words, features in both teasing chants.

**Wologai:** *seka (leka) kodo* and *kedá (ata) soko*

**Detusoko:** *jiri waa* and *wii jara, gio niir* and *nio gii, gii gédo* and *gidi géo, géo roja* and *raja goa, goa bhaki* and *bhoka gai, gai paé* and *pai gaé, gaé aru* and *aré gau, gau ta'a* and *ta'u gaa, gaa (woło) kadi* and *kedá (woło) gai*

These two teasing chants emphasise different strategies. The Wologai people used 'sexual or obscene allusions', which are still a common way of teasing or insulting in daily life, while the Detusoko people made use of more complex metathesis. On the one hand, these speeches were, and probably still are, effective in themselves. On the other hand, they constitute *ola mbé'o*, because knowing these teasing chants is a source of power and well-being.

An alliance between two ritual-villages is called *poré jaji*. General *poré jaji* is a relationship described as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wologai</th>
<th>Detusoko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>tana leka ola mbaa kaa</strong></td>
<td>land to go on and to eat on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>watu leka ola mbaa minu</strong></td>
<td>land not guarded like a foreign spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tana iwa jaga ngéré jii jawa</strong></td>
<td>rock not watched sharply as at the river mouth near the sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>watu iwa jeri ngéré nanga mesi</strong></td>
<td>only do not remove the bolt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>maé ngeta lseu usu wuni</strong></td>
<td>only do not open the barn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>maé ngeta kai kebo laba</strong></td>
<td>we can break the long one (eat each other's sugar cane)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kita leka éo béwa bo'i</strong></td>
<td>we can fell the fallen one (eat each other's banana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kita leka éo besu poka</strong></td>
<td>do not threaten touching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>téé maé béké</strong></td>
<td>do not roar at handling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kema maé bejá</strong></td>
<td>if you threaten (our) touching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>demi téé béké</strong></td>
<td>if you roar at (our) handling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kema miu bejá</strong></td>
<td>we will again excavate earthworms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kita mo'o woga wola kati</strong></td>
<td>we will again dig earthworm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>koé wola kati</strong></td>
<td>what is right is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ola mao kai</strong></td>
<td>we completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kita dowa rewa</strong></td>
<td>down there where <em>soko</em> is short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ghawa leka soko éo saga boko</strong></td>
<td>down there where <em>kii</em> has a red fork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ghawa leka kii éo deré méra</strong></td>
<td>finished with water of voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sawé rewa no'o aé seru</strong></td>
<td>completed with water of speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dowa rewa no'o aé nunu</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

62 Sexual and obscene allusion or metaphor is also used to express or initiate intimate relations.
ta’i faka lupa
memu kii tembu
kojo ola kóe lia
mbungé ola tembu lewu
siso siso ngéré wé’o sésé
daú ata riwu réwo kita lowo
nggo
sori sori ngéré koé kamu
kutu
daú ata ngasu pésa kita ewi
tebi

faeces of earthworm lump
buds of kii grow
a kojo-crab would dig a hole
a mbungé-mushroom would grow
under the floor
climb up and up to reach the
hanging roof edge
we must guard thousands of others
by making a moat
follow and follow to dig a root
like a porcupine
we must defend hundreds of
others by making a cliff

This description is made esoteric by the use of inversion, abridgement and
unusual words. The last four sentences can be interpreted to mean that if we try to
reach a point we should not reach, others might separate us by a moat or a cliff.
According to various stories about specific poré jaji, some poré jaji relationships
were led by two influential men. The poré jaji relationship between Rada of
Wolojita and Léngo of Wologai about half a century ago was an important factor
in the alliance between the two ritual-villages.

naja gélu
tamé bhalé
garé iwa mbé’o
kéko iwa téti
aé seru iwa
aé nunu la’é
pélá iwa kéa
naka iwa nosí
Rada ghaa
Léngo ghalé

exchanged name
reversed appellation
words should not be known
speech should not be found
there is no water of voice
there is no water of speech yet
adultery is not accused
theft is not reported
Rada here
Léngo to the west

This poré jaji includes sharing women sexually and reciprocal access to property
between Léngo and Rada. This is symbolised by swapping names. People
suppose this sharing relation was applied not only to Léngo and Rada but also to
the two ritual-villages to which they belonged. People like to talk about how
splendid poré jaji used to be and how it should be. People rarely talk about
specific events between people in a poré jaji relation. Poré jaji does not overtly

---

63 These two sentences imply bad omens.
64 Parallelism and sound correspondence are seen here.
65 One middle-aged man told me that when he was young, men of a ritual-village which was in poré jaji
relation with Wologai were invited to Wologai nua. The Wologai men left the guests with their own wives
so that their guests could have sexual intercourse with the hosts’ wives. However all the Wologai women,
except one very old woman, left the ritual-village of Wologai because they did not want to have intercourse
with the guests.
come into play nowadays. However, it is probable that if Wologai were involved in conflict with other ritual-villages, these speeches might be pronounced as in the form of *kadha* or *tau seru*. It is said that a *kadha* pointing out the *poré jaji* relationship between white men and the Lionese was pronounced on confronting the white men's attack. The words of *poré jaji* are *bhisa*, not only because knowing them is a source of powers and well-being but also because pronouncing them emanates mystically efficacious power if necessary.

**VERBAL CRADLE OF OLA MBÉ'O**

The thematic and linguistic features similar to those of *ola mbé'o* are found in customary verbal practice.

**WORDS OF SEXUAL ABUSE**

While words indicating sexuality and copulation play an important role in *ola mbé'o*, words signifying sexual organs are used to abuse or to express intimacy. Such words and their use are called *noka* or *noka oa*. Some of these words are also used as expletives. Some words are used to abuse women and men. The following is the list of basic *noka* words.

Among these, the word heard most frequently is *bega*, since many men add this word at the end of a sentence as a meaningless affix or expletive in everyday life. Men also often pronounce *bega* or *bega raa* (bloody vagina) independently as an expletive particle. Women do not use the word in this way. The words which have the strongest impact if pronounced seem to be *koa* and *loko*.

About a generation ago, *gewo* was used in the same way as *bega* is used nowadays. At present *gewo* is used in poetic language and is not as effective or as common a term of abuse in everyday life as *bega*, although in certain contexts or when used in a particular way *gewo* can still be effective as a term of abuse. Recently people have started to use the word *bosa*. An informant suggested that *bosa* derives from the Indonesian term *bosela*. To a considerable extent the vocabulary of abuse thus changes.
| TO ABUSE A WOMAN | bega : hole, vagina |
| TO ABUSE A MAN | loko : men's genitalia |
| | mboko : fruit, testicle |
| | lasu : penis |
| | lasé : penis |
| | loso : penis |
| | wilé : peeled, glans |
| | ndanda : scrotum |
| | bosa : scrotum |
| | toko : bone, erect penis |
| | bua : pubic hair |
| | ana memu:'sharp part', penis |

**VOWEL REPLACEMENT**

To pronounce the name of another person, replacing its vowels with different ones, is insulting.\(^{67}\) In other words, one can insult someone on purpose by pronouncing words which can be made by changing the vowels of that person's name, for example, if one pronounces the word *mata* (eye or death) in front of a person whose name is Mité. This general process of transformation from a name to a word through *nggé'u* is schematised as follows.

\[
\text{C1 V1 C2 V2} \rightarrow \text{C1 V3 C2 V4}
\]

Example: L a k a \(\rightarrow\) l e k é (pillar)

---

\(^{66}\) According to Sugishima, *li'é* means clitoris in the East-Lio language (Sugishima 1990). In the Nga'oneese language in the border area between the district of Ende and the district of Ngada, the phonologically transformed word *di'é* means testicles and is used to abuse a man. In poetic language, *li'é nia* means forehead. This phrase is rarely pronounced and may make people, especially children, giggle.

\(^{67}\) In Malay séance, sound replacement, *tulang* (mackerel) for *polong* (a type of spirit) for example, is applied in order tolease spirits (Laderman 1991: 300).
COMBINATION OF SEXUAL ABUSE AND SOUND EXCHANGE

The combination of noka and metathesis produces an effect of insult or joking. Some examples are shown below.

woło lisé (Mt Lisé)  loso wilé (penis glans)
wolo kilé (the ridge is seen)  kolo kilé (head of glans)
woa kau (you lie)  koa wau (vagina smells)

Numerous combinations are possible.

ONOMATOPOEIA-LIKE WORDS OF SOUND CORRESPONDENCE

Apart from metathesis, sound correspondences are characteristic in expressive and emotional speech in Wologai. This is shown below.

CORRESPONDENCE OF TWO VOWELS

bhiso dhio: liar (each word has no meaning)
momi lo’t: naughty, (lako momi: a dog eats what the owner does not allow it to eat. lo’i: [no meaning])
maku la’u: obstinate (maku: hard, obstinate, la’u: [no meaning])
fori ngost: small and beautiful
bīta kia: very muddy (bīta: muddy, kia: [no meaning])
aru bau: full of soot (aru: stuck soot, bau: [no relevant meaning])
bo’o too: to feel quite full (bo’o: to feel full, too: [word to stress])
kebé lelé: to hinder others’ plan (kebé: to hinder, lelé: [no relevant meaning])

CORRESPONDENCE OF TWO VOWELS AND ONE CONSONANT

mbondé kondé: mischievous, disobedient (mbondé: mischievous, kondé: [no meaning])
fīngé ringé: bad appearance
kélo késo: restless, untrustworthy (kélo: [no meaning], késo: to step)
soghi loghi: very quick (soghi: quick, loghi: [no relevant meaning])
kéré kébé: run, in being apt to fall down
weⅡi kegi: very expensive (weⅡi: expensive, kegi: [no relevant meaning])
félo lélo: floating lightly (neither word has any relevant meaning)

CORRESPONDENCE OF ONE CONSONANT

fori féndo: big and ugly (about body)

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68 In Manggarai, assonance and metathesis play an important role (Gordon 1975:43-45).

69 Edgar Suter, a linguist, commented to me that features of these specific speech forms can be schematised not only as resemblance but also as mutation of sounds. This type of Wologai speech can be categorised as 'ideophone' (Kunene 1965; Samarin 1967), or 'derivatives' made of 'chameleon affixes' (Thompson 1984-5: 139).
ngisi ngabhé: bad appearance (alliteration)
rahi rombo: very dirty (rahi: dirt, dirty)
poé poso: rub (poso: rub fingers)
renga rodho: soaking wet (renga: sweat, rodho: move quickly without bothering about dizziness)
mai moo: attracted (mai: come, moo: be tired)
kiti kalé: make an effort
bhalé bhitu: to reverse (bhalé: to return, to reverse; bhitu: [no relevant meaning])
rodho mbidha: to walk without paying any attention to others (rodho: to move quickly without dizziness)

CORRESPONDENCE OF TWO CONSONANTS

tisi toso: ugly (neither word has any relevant meaning)
musu masa: fragrant and not strong tobacco (musu: to smoke, masa: clean)

CORRESPONDENCE OF TWO CONSONANTS AND ONE VOWEL

ila ala: restless, look around restlessly (ila: [no relevant meaning], ala: [no meaning])
dé'a da'a: walk like a crow or goose
dénga danga: walk like a crow or goose
ghilo ghala: being very anxious (neither word has relevant meaning)
niwo nawo: to move quickly

CORRESPONDENCE OF ONE CONSONANT AND ONE VOWEL

tisi tia: ugly, behaving or dressed in an ugly manner (neither word seems to have any relevant meaning)

These words are effective in terms of expressing the speakers' emotion and opinion. It is common to all of these phrases that sound plays an important role. Such phrases, that is, phrases containing sound correspondences and having emotional/expressive effects, are abundant. I cannot provide exhaustive examples, as it is probable that Lio people can create these kind of phrases themselves.

RIDDLES

Riddles (apa ratu or apa raja) are another form of word game. Here are some examples.
### Table 8-3 List of Riddles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ata polo nggeri kebi</em> (a witch scratching a wall)</td>
<td><em>ana solo</em> (match)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>manu lêla langga kasa</em> (a chicken flies over a fence)</td>
<td><em>aé lura</em> (saliva)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mbaa se wolo deki talo</em> (to go to one ridge, but cannot reach)</td>
<td><em>lema</em> (tongue)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mbaa mbaa ana, mbaa mbaa ana</em> (go and go to bear a baby, go and go to bear a baby)</td>
<td><em>ndora</em> (sweet potato)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uta ki’i tebu leka biri</em> (<em>ki’i</em>-mushroom grows at a cliff)</td>
<td><em>iju</em> (nose)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>polisi mai ghawa Belanda, paké nggobhé mité</em> (police man from Holland, wearing a black hat)</td>
<td><em>ana solo</em> (match)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lui ku’i téi isi, lui isi téi ku’i</em> (remove skin to see the content, remove the content to see the skin)</td>
<td><em>uta kool</em> (cabbage)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Word games with riddles are played during leisure time or during harvesting. They show how to see a thing differently or how to see a thing as something else. While there are many formulaic riddles, it seems that people can easily compose original riddles. These may survive and be circulated if they are impressive enough. Some of the cited riddles seem to be recent inventions.

In Wologai, people learn what ola mbé’o is by living in a speech soundscape. Before starting to acquire ola mbé’o, Wologai young people have already been exposed to the arts of the Lionese language, especially the Wologai version, which fosters ola mbé’o. They learn themes, linguistic features and attitudes relevant to ola mbé’o without any sense of learning. Through the practice of ordinary verbal arts and custom, they internalise how to produce metaphors, sound correspondence, parallelism and metathesis without attending to them for their own sake.\(^\text{70}\)

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\(^{70}\) In talking about the learning process, Bourdieu refers to Lord’s analysis of the way a Yugoslav bard acquires the capacity to improvise poems: “the capacity to improvise by combining "formulae", sequences of words "regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given idea", is acquired through sheer familiarization, "by hearing the poems", without the learner’s having any sense of learning and subsequently manipulating this or that formula or any set of formulae: the constraints of rhythm are internalised at the same time as melody and meaning, without being attended to for their own sake” (1977: 88).
Chapter 9

WOLOGAI EPISTEMOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I explore Wologai epistemology by analysing Wologai poetic language mainly by drawing on my analytical review of the theories related to poetic language in 'Western traditions', which is presented in the introduction. Then I consider the 'Western scholarly tradition' from a Wologai viewpoint.

POETIC LANGUAGE IN WOLOGAI

As shown in chapter eight, poeticised discourse is pervasive in Wologai life. Here I discuss its features in terms of metaphor, semantic parallelism and sound ordering.

METAPHOR

Séna néké refers to euphemism by means of metaphorical expression. Séna néké is frequently used in everyday speech especially in obscene jokes or conversations concerning sexuality. The pleasure of intercourse, for example, is expressed as the pleasure of eating delicious food. Séna néké is also used especially in songs such as ndé'o and sodha. In one of the sodha in chapter eight, the sexual desires of a middle-aged unmarried woman are expressed by describing the nature of an overmature pumpkin. In one of the ndé'o in Appendix 4, the process of a proposal of marriage and its rejection is expressed as unsuccessful lighting of tobacco and as an animal damaging bananas. Hearing these séna néké, people easily understand the intended meaning. Singing ndé'o containing séna néké, people enjoy or aim at the effect created through the interaction between the intended meaning and the concrete images depicted by the words.

As Davidson points out 'metaphor makes us see one thing as another by making some literal statement that inspires or prompts the insight'. The process of reaching the answer in apa raja riddles is the same as the process of reaching the

1 Séna néké is also called néké séna, séna, or sibi séna.
insight through metaphor.\textsuperscript{2} The question posed by one \textit{apa raja} is 'a witch scratching a wall' and the answer is 'match'. In this case, the question-master as well as the answerer see a match as a witch scratching a wall, not vice versa. People enjoy the temporary transformation of perspective involved in \textit{apa raja}.

When people talk about the formal, or ideal, institution of the ritual-village, such as the roles of ritual-leaders, the village-rituals, the ritual-houses, and the other \textit{nuu}-constructions, metaphor plays a significant role. The couplet \textit{'koré liru mboré // teka tana bega} (pierce the sky to make a gap, cut the earth to make a hole), for example, indicates the status of the origin-ritual-leader.\textsuperscript{3} The first phrase 'pierce the sky to make a gap' is 'contradictory' to everyday experience. The second phrase 'cut the earth to make a hole' is an absurd statement, because it states the obvious. The contradiction and absurdity invite people to 'hunt out the hidden implication'.\textsuperscript{4} Any person intending to search for the hidden implication may reach a certain image through speculation. When one is conscious of the contradiction and absurdity of this couplet, it becomes a floating signifier. Searching for the hidden implication is searching for a map of articulation for this floating signifier.

This kind of recognition of absurdity or contradiction is essential for certain signifiers to become floating, and consequently, to be comprehended as living metaphors. Let me refer to an example. The ritual entrance at the upper side of the \textit{nuu} is called \textit{ulu} and the one at the lower side is \textit{éko}. \textit{Eko} also signifies 'tail of an animal'. As long as people regard \textit{'eko} (of the \textit{nuu}) as an ordinary noun signifying the entrance at the lower side of the \textit{nuu}, or as a dead metaphor just like \textit{'foot} (of a mountain), \textit{éko} (of the \textit{nuu}) does not become the object of speculation. If it is regarded as contradictory that the same word, \textit{éko}, signifies 'different' objects: tail of an animal and the lower entrance of the \textit{nuu}, \textit{éko} becomes a floating signifier, that is to say, a living metaphor, and the search for the hidden implication starts.\textsuperscript{5}

Metaphors play a significant role in \textit{ola mbé'o}, especially in their Mother parts. Metaphors in \textit{ola mbé'o} produce different effects from those in \textit{séna néké} in everyday discourse and songs. Metaphors in \textit{séna néké} impress, move and

\textsuperscript{2} Aristotle points out the affinity between riddles and metaphors: "Good riddles do, in general, provide us with satisfactory metaphors: for metaphors imply riddles, and therefore a good riddle can furnish a good metaphor" (Rhetoric, III, 1405b, cited in Sapir 1977:32).

\textsuperscript{3} See chapter 1.

\textsuperscript{4} Davidson 1979:40.

\textsuperscript{5} Proper names in \textit{ola mbé'o} seem to activate people's speculation in a similar way.
agitate people, while metaphors in *ola mbé'o* lead the owner of *ola mbé'o* to a new perspective through unintelligibility. The Wologai people's perspective on *ola mbé'o* is similar to Aristotle's perspective on knowledge.

Midway between the unintelligible and the commonplace, it is a metaphor which most produces knowledge (*Rhetoric*, III, 1410b).

**SEMANTIC PARALLELISM**

It is obvious that parallelism is outstanding in Wologai verbal art. Wologai people themselves are clearly aware of the pervasiveness of parallelism composed of words, phrases and sentences. While this parallelism, usually semantic parallelism, is not often marked by a verbal label, if it is, it is called *'ola garé fai kaki* or *ola garé fai no'o kaki* (coupling speech)*. People regard semantic parallelism as a higher and more sophisticated form of speech, with deeper meaning than a form which lacks semantic parallelism. Let me review the social background in which semantic parallelism is used in Wologai.

When people speak about the formal, or ideal, institution of the ritual-polity, especially about the roles of ritual-leaders, people use parallelism. In other words, if parallelism is not used, the speech and the institution to which it refers lose authenticity. Normative types of marriage and the formal process of prestations are depicted in parallelism. In describing these normative types and the process involved in marriage, people indirectly reconfirm their shared ideas, including underlying ideas, about the marriage. When people (re)create or (re)define actual social relations, parallel forms tend to be used in order to give authenticity to the redefined social relations.

In relating 'histories', parallelism plays an important role. In telling the origin story of the world, knowledgeable people try to use as much parallelism as possible. In the history of the sliding-offspring, parallel names and parallel sentences are the most important esoteric knowledge. In the history about Séko Léngo and other historical stories concerned with present asymmetric social relations, the role of parallelism cannot be ignored. People claim that the history they tell is 'true'. It can be said that parallelism plays an important role in creating the authenticity of the narratives, whether it negates the de facto superiority of others or supports one's own superiority.

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6 Some people use the Indonesian phrase *'bahasa karwin* (marrying language) as the label for parallelism.
Chants and spells of the village-rituals are in the form of parallelism. Some parallel phrases are intelligible, although euphemistic. Others are cryptic. In either type of phrase, parallelism is indispensable. Some consider that parallelism is one of the factors which makes chants and spells effective. On the one hand, people assert that the village-rituals, including their chants and spells, have been unchanged since primordial time. On the other hand, they recognise that the performance of the village-rituals varies from one performance to another. One criterion of a good performance of chants and spells in the village-rituals is that they are pronounced in the high formality of parallelism.

In some entertaining stories, parallelism is also found. Songs in the entertaining stories usually consist of parallelism. A person who knows entertaining stories, especially those containing many paired phrases, is appreciated. Some people try to find esoteric knowledge in those paralleled phrases.

Notably, 'traditional' couplets in *ola mbé'o* contain unintelligible words and words borrowed from other languages or dialects. These unintelligible or borrowed words are not used in ordinary conversation among Wologai people. While the Weyewa people seem to be aware of, and the Rotinese are extremely conscious of, the provenance of borrowed words in the couplets of their ritual speeches (Fox 1974; Kuipers 1990), there are only a few words whose provenance the Wologai people point out. Canonical couplets or couplets given through dreams contain many incompressible words. When I asked the meaning of such a couplet, one of three types of answers was usually given. The informant left the couplet partly incomprehensible, giving the meaning of the couplet as a whole without clarifying the meaning of the incomprehensible word, or allocating to the incomprehensible word the meaning of the word which occupied the corresponding syntactic position in the other line of the couplet. In any case, it is significant to the Wologai that canonical couplets in authoritative discourse or couplets in *ola mbé'o* given in dreams contain incomprehensible words.

In Wologai, some couplets which are easy to comprehend may produce stereoscopic images. However, other couplets which contain incomprehensible words or puzzling metaphors may not produce stereoscopic images. Rather, they invite people to search for stereoscopic images. Only people who intend to comprehend may attain a stereoscopic image.
SOUND ORDERING

There is no verbal label for any rule of sound ordering in Wologai except for ngge'u: transformation of words by change of vowel. However, sound correspondence is pervasive in Wologai discourse including ola mbé'o and other verbal arts. Assonance is notable. Consonance plays an important role. Metathesis is a key part in some ola mbé'o and in speech.

Lio people are well known to other peoples in central Flores for their ability to compose songs. Lionese songs are wide-spread, even in Endenese-speaking areas. Cassettes of Lionese songs are sold in Ende, the capital of the regency. The younger generation likes to compose Lionese songs for electric guitar bands. As the song entitled 'umu la'è tungga (Not yet old enough) in Appendix 4 clearly shows, these songs do not often contain parallelism or metaphor. These trendy songs are, however, sensitive to assonance.

As shown in chapter eight, sound ordering is notable in ola mbé'o. One example of unintelligible ola mbé'o, rhymed and rhythmed, is a magic chant known as ana woda paru wola. It is believed that this ola mbé'o makes the owner powerful.

| ana woda     | a clapper of a bell |
| paru wola    | runs back           |
| wola paru    | back runs           |
| peni manu    | breeding a chicken  |
| manu peni    | a chicken bred      |
| wésa mberi   | sowing eggplants    |
| mberi wésa   | eggplants sown      |
| koé lea      | digging ginger      |
| léa koé      | ginger dug          |
| kewo kogé    | scooping pith       |
| kogé kewo    | pith scooped        |
| nggia leko   | opening a frog      |
| leko nggia   | frog opened         |
| pamo lima    | washing hands       |
| lima pamo    | hands washed        |
| karé mbako   | slicing tobacco     |
| mbako karé   | tobacco sliced      |
| dhuu paré    | pounding padi       |
| paré dhuu    | padi pounded        |
| ru'è huu     | eating bran         |
| hu'u ru'è    | bran eaten          |
| kaa bué      | eating beans        |
| bué kaa      | beans eaten         |
| dogo lamba   | beating a drum      |
| lamba dogo   | a drum beaten       |
| pu'i koro    | picking chili       |
| koro pu'i    | chili picked
bela bugi
bugi bela
to'i senda
senda to'i
gégé gobi
gobi gégé
koo éro
éro koo
paru poo
poo paru
nai wa'u
wa'u nai
pedé api
api pedé
lé'u pené
pené lé'u
tégé lésu
lésu tégé
getti émbè
émbè geti
api mesi
mesi api
Golu Mari
Mari Golu
lako dhou
dhou lako
Kemba Kalo
Kalo Kemba
Paré Rega
Rega Paré
Tibo Landé
Landé Tibo
Ulé Nio
Nio Ulé
Jawa Gué
Gué Jawa
Dégé Pa'a
Pa'a Dégé
Mo'a Sédho
Sédho Mo'a
Ratu Tola
Tola Ratu
Nggembé Pau
Pa'u Nggembé
Siku Bheké
Bheké Siku
Té'a Riwu

harsh taste of bugi-banana
bugi-banana being harsh
loosening a trap
a trap loosened
stirring with a spoon
a spoon stirred
buzzing bees
bees buzzing
running and preventing
preventing and running
ascending and descending
descending and ascending
making a fire
a fire made
closing a door
a door closed
wearing a headdress
a headdress worn
buying (cutting) and throwing away
throwing away and cutting
making salt
salt made
Golu Mari
Mari Golu
a dog and thick forest
a thick forest and a dog
Kemba Kalo
Kalo Kemba
Paré Rega
Rega Paré
Tibo Landé
Landé Tibo
Ulé Nio
Nio Ulé
Jawa Gué
Gué Jawa
Dégé Pa'a
Pa'a Dégé
Mo'a Sédho
Sédho Mo'a
Ratu Tola
Tola Ratu
Nggembé Pau
Pa'u Nggembé
Siku Bheké
Bheké Siku
Té'a Riwu

Each phrase is composed of two words, which are combined as simple anadiplose. From the beginning up to mesi api each phrase makes literal sense, except that nggia leko and leko nggia do not make any clear sense. Lako dhou

7 Bugi-banana is a short and thick type of banana.
and *dhou lako* do not make sense either. The man who sang this chant regards Golu Mari and Kemba Kalo as names of Wologai people in the past. He infers that Nggembé Pau and Siku Bheké are place names, although he did not know where they were located. He regards the rest as people's names. Apparently, sound rather than meaning is the crux of *ana woda paru wola.*

Poetic sound texture is constructed on the basis of the phonological structure of the given language (Jakobson 1981a: 45). In Weyewa, since there is a tradition of lexical borrowing in order to make word pairs of ritual speech, certain sounds that are absent in everyday 'plain speech' come into ritual speech (Kuipers 1990). In some Wologai cases, such as in *The story about stupid Ata Wolo* in chapter six and in *La Kéu* in chapter eight, sounds which are absent in the locally-given sound structure are pronounced. Wologai people regard this sound violation as essential to these significant stories and chants.

**POETISATION AND SOCIAL EPISTEMOLOGY AMONG THE WOLOGAI**

**POETISATION**

*Ola mbé'o* in Wologai is constructed in poetisation, through various organised violations of the message for its own sake. These organised violations reveal themselves as metaphors, parallelism and sound orderings. Poetisation detaches messages in *ola mbé'o* from the 'here and now', the immediate pragmatic context. By causing ambiguity, multivocality and even unintelligibility these poetised messages invite the owner of the *ola mbé'o* to speculate about the world (*Welt*) beyond the immediate pragmatic context (*Umwelt*).

In Wologai, poetisation is also pervasive in verbal arts other than *ola mbé'o.* What, then, differentiates *ola mbé'o* from these other verbal arts? It is labelling and conviction that a certain message is *ola mbé'o*. This kind of labelling and conviction is also necessary for 'poetry' in the English-speaking world. If a message is not taken as 'poetry', it can simply be regarded as ambiguous, redundant, absurd or unintelligible.

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8 The owner of this *ana woda paru wola* performed it with clear rhythm, tune and vigorous motion in a sitting position.

9 See chapter 8 and Appendix 4.
SOCIAL EPISTEMOLOGY AMONG WOLOGAI

The labelling of and conviction about *ola mbé'o* are sustained by other social conventions. In addition to poetisation, having themes concerning *tana watu* and *ngée wa'u* are other conventional conditions internal to *ola mbé'o*. While poetisation is an imposition on the message itself, restriction of themes is an imposition on the reference. The kinds of specific topics worth drawing on are adjusted in relation to these themes. Thematic *ola mbé'o* usually has themes related to *tana watu* or *ngée wa'u*. Performative *ola mbé'o* is constructed against the background of social consensus on the importance of these themes.

Sociological conditions external to *ola mbé'o* also define it. *Ola mbé'o* should be kept secret. It is kept away from 'sociological others'. Dreaming is a decisive factor in the acquisition of *ola mbé'o*. *Ola mbé'o* should be given from the uncontrollable realm. It should derive from 'cosmological others'.

THE OUTLINE OF WOLOGAI EPISTEMOLOGY OF *OLA MBÉ'O*

The Wologai are conscious about the significance of knowing, especially its significance. *Ngai sia*, for example, means not only being born or giving birth but also knowing well. They distinguish two kinds of knowing, depending on whether or not knowing something is significant. Although they use one word *mbé'o* for both kinds of 'knowing', when *mbé'o* is used as an intransitive verb, it has ontological significance.\(^{10}\)

*Mbé'o* is a word frequently used in every sphere of Wologai life. It can be translated as 'know', 'understand', 'be acquainted', 'be wise', 'be intelligent', 'be knowledgeable', 'be well', and 'be able'.\(^{11}\)

While *mbé'o* does not necessarily have connotations associated with *bhisa*, *ola mbé'o* always has significance related to *bhisa*.

*Ola* is a nominaliser. *Kaa*, for example, means 'eat' and *ola kaa* means 'what is eaten' or 'what to eat', that is to say, food. So, *ola mbé'o* means 'what is known' or 'what to know', in other words, 'knowledge'. *Ola mbé'o* is not mere information but knowledge which is *bhisa*, that is to say, mystically efficacious.

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\(^{10}\) A verb *tau* can be translated as 'do' or 'make'. If it is used without objects in its own right it has the specific meaning: exercising sorcery or witchcraft. However, *ola tau* means 'achievement'.

\(^{11}\) Affinity between 'to know' and 'to be able' is also found in Yolngu of Australia and in Maori. *Marnggi*, a Yolngu word, can be translated 'know', or 'knowledgeable' but it also has something of the sense of 'can' or 'be able' (Keen 1994:2, Parkin 1985:49).
and/or being a source of explicit powers and well-being. *Mbé'o* as an intransitive verb means almost the same as 'no'o ola mbé'o (having or with ola mbé'o).

Careful observation of the use of this phrase 'ola mbé'o' suggests that it denotes knowledge that, by being *bhisa*, makes its owner distinctive from others. If skill or information is considered to indicate that the owner is distinguished from others because of his/her *bhisa* knowledge, the owner may be described as having *ola mbé'o*.

If *mbé'o* is uttered with a special nuance, usually subtle stress and a slight pause after *mbé'o*, it means to know something ontologically important which ordinary people do not know.

When people talk about *ola mbé'o*, they often comment that *ola mbé'o no'o du'a du'a* (*ola mbé'o* may differ from one person to another). This means that *ola mbé'o* is personal and the content of *ola mbé'o* may differ from one person to another. When they talk about the discrepancy between versions of histories they avoid argument by saying 'ola mbé'o may differ from one person to another'. *Ola mbé'o* makes its owner powerful and may affect others destructively.

The following statement by a Wologai man shows the relation between *ola mbé'o*, power and *tana*. In 1983 a Javanese agricultural adviser came with his family. Since his wife was sick, a Wologai man advised him to see an *ata mbé'o* (literally, a person who knows: healer or adviser for healing). However the Javanese man did not accept the advice. The Wologai man commented as follows:

*ola mbé'o* may differ from one person to another. When people from abroad come here, they must follow the knowledge here. If the knowledge in Java exceeded that in our *tana*, we here would have died out when that Javanese man came here. But we did not die, which means that his knowledge does not exceed ours. So when he is here, he had better follow the *ola mbé'o* here.

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12 Atkinson writes that in Wana *pangansani*, the nominal form of *ansani* 'to know', does not apply to commonplace knowledge. Instead, it pertains both to the knowledge that characterizes that earlier golden age and to the knowledge of a person who controls powerful magic (*da'a*) deriving from hidden sources in the Wana world (Atkinson 1989:44). In Endenese, *erho mbé'o*, a nominal form of *mbé'o* 'to know', applies to special knowledge which is related to the special use of *mbé'o* without an object. If *mbé'o* is used in this special way among the Endenese, at least those in mountaneous areas in the district of Nagapanda, it means 'to know more or less sly magic working on other people in interaction'. People say *Kai mbé'o* with amazement and sigh when describing such a person at whom we cannot be angry although we know that person did something nasty to us. That is to say, he/she 'knows' magic which can soothe the anger of others toward him/her. It is not surprising that the special use of *mbé'o* in Wologai differs from that among the Endenese. For example the emphasis on interaction, exchange and marital alliance is much greater among the Endenese than in Wologai. On the other hand emphasis on the origin of the world and epistemology is much greater in Wologai than among the Endenese. Examining the uses of the verb 'to know' and its nominal form may clarify what people regard as significant.
This episode suggests that *ola mbé'o* is believed to be related to *tana*, which has an ontological connotation. Some *ola mbé'o* are regarded as more important and kept secret more jealously than others. What *ola mbé'o* should be treated as such depends much on the personal speculation and judgement of the owner of that *ola mbé'o*. This speculation and judgement must be based on Wologai ontology, in order to be persuasive.

*Ola mbé'o* can be differentiated internally. Within a piece of *ola mbé'o*, the *iné* (mother) part is regarded as most important and kept secret most jealously. *Iné* is regarded as the core of *ola mbé'o*. The most important and the most secret part of a spell is called *iné* or *iné ki*. It is usually said that every spell, prayer or even chant has an *iné* part. Some insist that everything in the world has an *iné*, composed of a word or words, which can make its owner invincible. *Iné ki* must be hidden from everyone else.

Although *iné* as such must be kept secret, people were ready to tell me about the importance of the *iné*. Confident men often hint to other people that they know many *iné*. One day when we were sitting and chatting together, an old man said:

Everything has its own *iné*. Giving birth has its *iné*. Death has its *iné*. Entering a house has its *iné*. A house has its *iné*. *Ola téo* has its own *iné*. *Koja ndawa* (bamboo floor) has its *iné*. Everything has its own *iné*.

On another occasion, during the days of the great-ritual when we were spending our time discussing it, one middle-aged man said with conviction in a confidential tone:

Everything in the great-ritual has its *iné*. Cutting the yam has its *iné*. Peeling the yam has its *iné*. Cooking it has its *iné*. Walking during the ritual performance in the great-ritual has its *iné*.

On another occasion, one middle-aged man, who was an *ata nggesu* (skilled builder of houses), said to me and several other people in a knowing and confidential manner:

Everything in the process of making a house has its *iné*. The machete has its *iné*. Choosing wood has its *iné*. Cutting the wood has its *iné*.

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13 See chapter 4.
Carrying it has its iné. Everything in the process up to finishing has its iné.

He taught me that the iné of the process of building a house is maa mitu, which is metathesis of mata miu (die, you).

Some people say that through iné ki we can be convinced of what is 'true' behind what is familiar or commonplace. One informant described the effect that an iné ki has on our understanding of the world as 'iné ki cut truly' (iné ki kela dema) and/or 'iné ki cut rightly' (iné ki kela molo). Another man said, 'All iné ki give us insight. An iné ki is 'given by night' (kobé pati). Being 'given by night' (kobé pati) is identical to 'seeing in a dream' (nipi tēi).

Because people are eager to keep iné ki secret, the number of iné ki I happened to be told was limited. As regards the linguistic features, however, I can point out that rhyme, parallelism and metaphor are prevalent in iné ki and that the iné ki is related to the themes of the whole spell or its object.

The word iné can be translated as the 'mother'. Just as in talking about the asymmetric relationships of people by using the word iné, 'being a source' is emphasised among its connotations, so is in talking about ola mbé'o. The iné of ola mbé'o is a source of ola mbé'o.

Examining data from Polynesia (Samoa, Maori, Hawaii, Tonga), Melanesia (Trobiands, Bimin-Kuskusmin, Melpa), Australian Aborigines (Pintupi and Aranda), and some other areas, Weiner observes that the inalienability of things, knowledge and women seems to corollate with sacred power or mystic potency. The more inalienable, the more sacred power or mystic potency is involved. In relation to Hawaii, Weiner writes,

in Hawaii, the most sacred cloth in which the power of gods was directly present had an ultimate authority that, from the beginning, never circulated (1992:95).

About Melpa, Strathern and Strathern write,

In the past, when shells were scarcer, especially bright pearl shells were withdrawn from circulation and kept privately inside the owner's men's house. It was thought that their gleam would attract other pearl shells to them and the owner consequently [would] be successful in moka (Strathern and Strathern 1971:140, quoted in Weiner 1992:119).

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14 See the early chapters.
In Wologai, inalienability and bhisa accompany each other. According to classification of marriage and affiliation, specific bridewealth must be given, if a marriage is to be regarded as the transmission of a woman from one group to another. The transmission of a woman is alluded to as 'cutting or severing' as expressed in the adage, kolo wuu // éko beta (the head is cut off, the tail is cut apart). In other words, if a marriage is regarded as the transmission of a woman, the woman is regarded as a value (weli) to be exchanged. The word weli means 'price', 'value' and 'expensive'.

It is often said that the mother-rite leaders' (iné mosa laki) cannot marry out because they are the 'children of the earth' (ana tana), who are bhisa. By being iné and being associated with tana, they are sociologically immobile and they are not articles of value to be exchanged.

Among all the crops, rice has the highest exchange value. Guests should be fed with cooked rice. As a counter-gift of bridewealth, a large amount of rice should be given to the wife-taking group. As the chants and ritual acts in the great-ritual and other prayers show, prosperity is expressed as a good harvest of rice. However, it is said that paré laka (a kind of red rice) and paré iku (another kind of red rice) cannot be exchanged because they are bhisa. These kinds of rice should not be sown on a large scale nor yield a good harvest.

Gold items are usually regarded as valuables to be exchanged. But the gold items which are kept in the ritual-houses are called the 'gold of the earth' (wéa tana watu) and the 'great oldness' (du'a ria) and must not be exchanged nor be moved from their proper place, that is to say, 'the hind corner' (wisu lulu) of the ritual-houses. These gold items are regarded as bhisa. Even personally-owned gold items are regarded as a source of power, bhisa to the owner, if they have been in the owner's hands for a long time.

Tana can have a different meanings at different levels. At the most encompassing level of understanding, tana or tana watu has the most unspecified meaning, which is approximately equivalent to 'world'. The 'sliding-land' (tana nggoro) is considered to be bhisa to other lands (tana), just because in relation to people the sliding-land (tana nggoro) has never been alienated.

Just as the word tana indicates a source of our existence, so does the word iné. As a source they both transcend us and make our life possible. Ontologically our life always depends on them. Just as tana watu is inalienable, so is iné.

^15 See chapter 2.
Inalienability is important in *ola mbé’o*. People stress that, to be *bhisa*, *ola mbé’o* must be kept secret and must not be circulated. If words are highly referential, they are highly communicative and exchangeable in terms of information, that is, alienable. *Ola mbé’o* is inalienable in two ways: it is a jealously kept secret and its language is poetic rather than referential so it resists exchanging information.\(^{16}\)

**TWO MODES OF PRECEDENCE AND OLA MBE’O**

Two modes of precedence coexist in Wologai: one is a mode in the form of presumably ascribed centralised authority and the other is a mode of contentious personal superiority.\(^{17}\)

**AUTHORITY AND POETIC SPEECH**

Poetic speeches are pervasive and important in the lives of both Weyewe and Wologai. Among Weyewe, poetic speeches on ritual occasions, especially in rites of atonement, seem to be a core of the people’s life.

With great passion and at considerable expense, Weyewe ritual spokesmen construct a textual image of their social and religious life. In their rite of atonement, they struggle to identify, re-affirm, and enact the *li’i* ‘words of the ancestors’ --- by which they mean a connected body of teachings, promise, and obligations set down --- fixed --- by the ancestors and expressed in narrative form (Kuipers 1990: 167).

According to the orthodoxy of the Wologai ritual-village, the authority of the ritual-village is constituted on the basis of the negation of individual desire and judgement, just as the institutionalised central authority of Weyewe is based on the non-exercise of individual judgement.

For Weyewe, adherence to spiritual authority presupposes the non-exercise of private, individual judgement in the production and exchange of communicative acts. In most contexts, to act and speak

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\(^{16}\) For further analysis, it is worth referring to what Morphy says about Yolngu paintings: “The most inside paintings are almost exclusively geometric, whereas the most outside ones have a high figurative content......The power of the geometric art lies in both its multivalency and its ability to express an order of relationships between things that figurative representations cannot.... Geometric art...establishes relationships between objects and events that at other levels seem unconnected” (Morphy 1991: 294, 295).

\(^{17}\) See chapters 2 and 7.
authoritatively is to perform under the auspices of someone else --- usually one's forebears --- as a delegated voice, bound by a 'sacred' (erri) commitment to the source. Deviance and insubordination are then construed as individually authored acts, as lonely, and solitary performances which are therefore vulnerable and susceptible to criticism, misunderstanding, and supernatural assault. Breaking a promise is constructed as an individualistic departure from a collective agreement (Kuipers 1990: 37).

Among Wologai, just as among Weyewa, some poetic speeches in ritual pageants of the ritual-village make a considerable contribution to fix and to share the understanding of the world (Kuipers 1990: 167, 171). However, in contrast with Weyewa, other poetic speeches in Wologai village-rituals are puzzling texts which act as shared starting points for diverse personal interpretations. While Weyewa ritual events are 'carefully orchestrated efforts to control meaning (Kuipers 1990: 167)', Wologai village-rituals can work as a source of diversity of meanings based on which individual knowledge, ola mbé'o, and judgement are developed.18 In Wologai, most ola mbé'o is private or personal and its interpretation, which is also ola mbé'o, is exclusively personal.

Most Wologai people, especially middle-aged and older men, are zealous in their acquisition of ola mbé'o, which is bhisa. The personal nature of ola mbé'o contrasts with the great-ritual which is for the whole Wologai ritual-village. At the same time, both are bhisa, namely, a source of power and well-being.

18 Of Weyewa, Kuipers observes: Since personal fortunes and individual reputations can rise or fall depending on how these 'words' of obligation are interpreted and enacted, the issue of how such meanings are established is not an intellectual and mystic one for Weyewa: it is a public spectacle in which power and authority are at stake (Kuipers 1990: 167). However in Wologai it is supposed that power and authority in the ritual-polity are never at stake in the public spectacle of ritual speeches, because, according to their ethical norms, power and authority in the ritual-polity are manifested in the polity rituals, and must not be questioned in public. The contrast which Weyewa and Wologai seem to show might be related to the contrast between their notions of language and authority and power. While Wologai people talk about the origin of language/speech, Weyewa people are concerned about the origin of silence: 'B]ack when the grass, earth, gongs, and drums still spoke .... everything expressed its own opinion. No one could agree. When it would come time to perform rituals of sacrifice, unity was impossible because gongs and drums would not agree to be beaten, and animals would not consent to be killed, and they would flee across the 'stone bridge' that connected Sumba with other islands. There was so much confusion .... So the Creator Spirit struck the earth with lightning, breaking the stone bridge to the other islands. Animals and trees were struck dumb by the sound of thunder so that sacrifices and forest clearings could take place without dispute' (Kuipers 1990: 108). In Wologai mosa luki, a category of ritualistically prestigious people, means one social category vis-à-vis the widow-orphan-people, ritually unimportant people. In Weyewa, however, rata, a category of ritually prestigious people, also means another distinct category of people, 'the resident or caretaker of one of the sacred houses in an ancestral village, and in the past people who lived in the dangerously holy temple houses in the centre of the villages were in the lowest status were called rata. They were agriculturally inactive hereditary slaves and were fattened to be sacrificed (Kuipers 1990: 20, 26). Keane points out the importance of language ideologies as encompassing social institutions, modes of action, and beliefs about the world (Keane 1995). While language ideologies can be a interesting topic for comparative studies, I cannot advance the study any further here.
According to the institutionalised rationale built around the concept of the ritual-village, power and well-being of the Wologai people emanate from the centre of the ritual-village. This rationale is based on the legitimacy of the ritual-village, its rituals and its ritual-leaders. These can link the people to the primordial time, which is described as puu and olo (both mean old) in the chant in the communal ritual and which is the source of the present time.

AUTHORITY AND SECRECY

In some societies secrecy is socially controlled, institutionally organised, and reproduces the structure of precedence. Barth describes secret ritual knowledge among the Baktaman of Papua New Guinea using the image of Chinese boxes, each layer of which corresponds to a certain grade of initiation:

The tradition of knowledge is structured like Chinese boxes precisely in that persons have different knowledge and different keys to interpret meaning (1975:265).

At the road's end, therefore, the senior adept and cult leader is the custodian of knowledge which has the highest authority in terms of the conventions shared by his group ... (1975:220).

Herdt criticises Barth's theory of secrecy as being a 'miserly theory of secrecy', a product of Western preconception about secrecy (1990:365). It is a theory that (social) reality is vested in society, not in the secret itself, which is characteristic of Simmel's work on secrecy.

A powerful consequence of the Western ontological perspective on secret collectives is to deny the legitimacy of their intents and meanings. The miserly theory sees the contents of secrecy as illusionary, mystical, irrational, or trivial, that is, the contents of the secret system are secondary in importance to some other higher-order rational goal or function (e.g., power) (Herdt 1990:368).

Disapproving of such a 'miserly theory', Herdt proposes an 'ontological theory of secrecy'.

Secrecy is particularly concerned with the ordering of social and psychological reality, that is, the nature of things (1990: 366).

19 According to Herdt's definition, 'ontology is the theory and metaphysics of reality, its universal and necessary requirements and characteristics' (1990:366).
While warning against 'Western' cognitive-rationalist views in the anthropological study of secrecy, he asserts that it is important to understand how secret collectives are systems which produce cultural meaning (1990:368, 371).

To be fair to Simmel, Barth and other scholars who focus on the sociological aspect of secrecy, I will call their theories the 'sociological theories of secrecy' in contrast to an 'ontological theory of secrecy'. Although a sociological theory of secrecy may not pay much attention to the reality that secrecy constructs, the two theories are complementary to each other, rather than contradictory. I would like to examine the secrecy of *ola mbé'o* from a sociological perspective before exploring it ontologically.

Just as the secrecy surrounding initiation rituals is socially constructed in a society such as the Baktaman society, so is the secrecy surrounding *ola mbé'o*. Myers writes of the Pintupi, an Australian Aboriginal people, 'Initiation is a step towards the possibility of exercising....autonomy'. In societies with initiation systems people acquire the rights to exercise autonomy by having access to secrecy in the initiation rituals. In Wologai, where an initiation system is lacking, it is socially accepted that secret knowledge is necessary for autonomy. The array of secrecy in Wologai contrasts with that in a society with an initiation system such as Baktaman and Pintupi. Secrecy in Wologai is not institutionally organised, while in Baktaman or Pintupi secrecy is institutionally arrayed toward the centre of the society. In Wologai one mode of precedence is institutionally manifested in the structure of the ritual-village and is animated in the village-rituals, which are not secret although they are given a mystic aura. 'Knowledge' (*ola mbé'o*) is secret, but it is not arrayed institutionally toward the centre of the society. In Wologai, every individual can be a centre of secret knowledge and attain autonomy without going through a series of rituals at the centre of society.

It is heuristically interesting to make a comparison between the Baktaman and the Wologai.

there is not only an inhibition against speaking about the revelations of Baktaman initiations, but a wariness and vagueness in *thinking* about them --- it is their secrecy and exclusiveness, not their potential for enlightenment, that give them value. In this sense, the ritual symbols of the Baktaman are *not* 'good to think'. Their credibility and conviction arise from the fact that they are 'good to act', in their proper setting:

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20 Barth observes that the sacred symbols in Baktaman rituals play an indispensable role in reality construction (1975:237).

there they are shaped so as to fit, so as to generate a vaguely conceived significance, confirmed in a mute fellowship of privileged participation (1975:220-221).

In contrast, the Wologai village-rituals are considered to be 'good to act' for the collective and 'good to think' for the individual. The following lines of a ritual chant declare that the village-rituals are first of all to be performed without discontinuity:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{susu nggua puu} & \quad \text{accomplish the primordial ritual} \\
\text{nama bapu olo} & \quad \text{perform the primeval ceremony} \\
\text{susu nggua ma'è du'u} & \quad \text{do not stop accomplishing the} \\
\text{nama bapu ma'è duïè} & \quad \text{ritual} \\
\end{align*}
\]

While the Baktaman lack an exegetical tradition, the Wologai people avoid sharing exegesis. While secrecy is an indispensable constituent of the Baktaman initiation ritual system, secrecy is assumed not to be involved in the performance of the Wologai village-rituals. It can be said that in Baktaman there is only one mode of precedence manifested as centralised authority which encompasses all the spheres of life, including the everyday life of women and children, while in Wologai two modes coexist. A Baktaman gradually approaches to the centre of authority by accumulating knowledge of the keys for experiencing the world through the initiation rituals. A Wologai publicly plays an allegedly ascribed ritual role in the ritual-village on the one hand and privately seeks autonomy or precedence by the acquisition of bhisa knowledge, ola mbé'o on the other hand.

**DISTRIBUTION AND TRANSMISSION OF OLA MBÉ'O**

Wologai people believe that the distribution of ola mbé'o is not homogeneous. The fact that some people take precedence over others in terms of political influence, production and reproduction may indicate a greater accumulation of ola mbé'o on their part.

The other indication of an accumulation of ola mbé'o is a long life, as old people are understood to have accumulated enough ola mbé'o in order to survive and become old. It is said that if one becomes really old (du'a), one becomes sufficiently invulnerable (tu'a) to pass on one's ola mbé'o to others. People like to talk about old people (ata du'a) who were so old that they were bhisa and had bent backs and long tails. But as a subject living life, no one is completely convinced that he or she is sufficiently old and invulnerable not to experience
disease. One cannot avoid death, a sign of one's own vulnerability. As long as one remains a subject of one's own life, one cannot become completely tu'a (inulnerable) and bhisa gia to others, however old one becomes physically. The exceedingly old person whose nature as tu'a and bhisa people like to talk about is no longer regarded as a subject of human activity and development (ngée). Such exceedingly old persons are rather 'others'. Their long tails and bent backs are marks of otherness.

Children are not regarded as eligible to hold ola mbé'o because they cannot understand what it is. They might mingle ola mbé'o with other verbal modalities, such as noka (words of sexual abuse), and endanger the mystic power of real ola mbé'o. So adults consider that children should be excluded from ola mbé'o. An informant instructed me:

In order to make the words bhisa, we must use such words as are prohibited for use in everyday life. They are just like noka (words of sexual abuse). If children overhear such words and use them in the course of playing, they stop being bhisa.

Gender also counts when it comes to attitudes toward ola mbé'o. Women are not excluded from having access to ola mbé'o. Some women, usually old women, are considered knowledgeable. Many women, however, seem to regard ola mé'o as men's concern. When I asked them about ola mbé'o, they usually named a man I should approach. So, too, the practices that display possession of ola mbé'o differ between men and women. The mourning lament is exclusive to women; bhéa is exclusive to men, while kadha, tau seru, and sodha are regarded as appropriate for men. I never found the same enthusiasm for ola mbé'o among women as among men. A man made a comment about this imbalance between men and women. In his view, since women were more bhisa than men, no matter whether they had ola mbé'o or not, women were not keen to acquire and use it.

If one is not old enough, one must not let anyone know one's ola mbé'o. It would be dangerous. According to some people, only sexual intercourse enables the transmission of ola mbé'o. In this way two people involved, regardless of their sex, melt together into one person, as expressed in the following couplet:

lai repa lala
boka repa modha
ngai se ngai
até se até

spleens melt into each other
lungs cohere with each other
the breath is one
the liver is one
One man added that sexual intercourse should occur in the ritual courtyard.22

It is said that when one is old enough, one can, without any loss or danger, teach one's ola mbé'o to whomever one loves. Yet, as I have indicated, no one seems completely confident of being old enough to transmit his/her ola mbé'o. A middle aged man described the process of transmission as follows:

Only when a man becomes very old, he can give his ola mbé'o to his children or whoever is nice to him. He can give ola mbé'o to whomever he loves. A man often gives ola mbé'o to one of his children, not to all of his children, only one. He might give ola mbé'o to his daughter. What is important is that he can give it to whomever he loves. Usually when old people who love us drink moké (wine of the arenga palm), they give their leftovers to us. Through their saliva in the leftovers, we are able to know their ola mbé'o. What they teach us thereafter is just additional. We feel that we already know what is taught. We can understand immediately, as understanding comes to us spontaneously. If we say (in our mind),

\[
\begin{align*}
demi duna & \quad \text{if lacking} \\
demi kura & \quad \text{if wanting} \\
miu nosi wola & \quad \text{you teach us again} \\
péra walo & \quad \text{(you) show us again} \\
nipi kami ji'e & \quad \text{may our dream be good} \\
bara kami pawé & \quad \text{may our vision be fine} \\
nipi kami ma'e réé' & \quad \text{may not our dream be bad} \\
bara kami pawé & \quad \text{may not our vision be bad}
\end{align*}
\]

Consequently, they come to teach us through dreams.

Although some consider that having sexual intercourse is a way to transmit ola mbé'o, it seems that people actually acquire the framework of their ola mbé'o through sessions with old people and through other verbal experience; they develop it through speculation and complete it through dreaming. A simple transmission of knowledge by copying is not at all the case with the Wologai people.

Morphy discusses the importance of inference in acquiring knowledge among Australian Aborigines. Referring to Keen's work, he says:

Keen (1978) has shown that inference is a legitimate way for men to acquire knowledge about the meaning of sacred designs, even though

\[22\text{In another area, I was told that gold items or cash should be given for ola mbé'o or that ola mbé'o must be taught while the giver and the receiver sat back to back.}\]
such knowledge has to be confirmed by men who are considered fully 
initiated -- men who already "know" it.\textsuperscript{23}

Such 'inference' is similar in meaning to what I call 'speculation' in describing the 
Wologai people's way of acquiring \textit{ola mbé'o}. What is definitely different from 
the societies Morphy or Keen studied, however, is that no confirmation is given 
by other social members in Wologai.

As in Wologai, dreaming plays a decisive role in the acquisition of magic in 
the Wana society in Sulawesi. For Wana, forests and graves are places to go in 
search of spirits for magic. A seeker is given magic by a benevolent spirit, if 
he/she is able to withstand the threats and challenges of the spirits:

...then a benevolent spirit will emerge at last and ask "for what are you 
suffering?" (\textit{saar rasosukar}). The spirit then reveals what the seeker 
asks. The experience at this point may not be entirely clear. Even if the 
knowledge imparted by the spirit is garbled, however, one should not 
tarry but return home to sleep. One will then \textit{dream} back the words 
correctly and remember them.\textsuperscript{24}

Keen describes the process of speculation and dreaming in Yolngu as follows:

The productivity of ceremony elements, together with cognitive 
processes of evocation and implicature, led men to say that they 'found 
the meanings in thought', attributing such discoveries to revelation 
through the agency of the spirits of human ancestors and explaining the 
process of innovation in a similar way. Spirits revealed new songs, 
dances, and designs, perhaps in a dream.\textsuperscript{25}

In Wologai revelation through 'dreaming' (\textit{nipi těi}) is also called \textit{kobé pati} (night 
giving). In order that a set of words become \textit{ola mbé'o} they need a finishing 
touch in an uncontrollable 'other' realm, that is, a dream. Acquiring \textit{ola mbé'o} is 
one of the intentional activities in order to have access to a source of power and

\textsuperscript{23} Morphy 1991:95, Keen 1978.

\textsuperscript{24} Atkinson 1989:55-56 (my italics).

\textsuperscript{25} Keen 1994:229.
well-being, that is to say what is bhisa. Just as other activities to acquire power depend on the paradox of self and otherness, so does acquiring ola mbé'o.26

Withholding ola mbé'o is justified behaviour in Wologai, although it can breed resentment as it does in Wana (Atkinson 1989:56). While ola mbé'o is basically a personal secret, there is apparent consensus on what constitutes ola mbé'o. Mé'u (withdraw) and ngama (show off) explain this paradox.

When people get together, someone might demonstrate his knowledge most likely by using poetic language. On the other hand, if another person tries to find out more about what has been said, the speaker overtly or covertly avoids answering. The former attitude, displaying or showing off, is described as ngama (generally meaning 'pride', 'to be proud of', 'to boast') and the latter attitude, rejecting or withdrawing, is described as mé'u. This dual attitude, concealing-while-displaying, seems to be necessary to construct ola mbé'o socially in order to be what it is.

Words and knowledge circulated through display (ngama) play a role like kitomu, less valued shells participating in kula, while highly valued shells are kept from circulation like ola mbé'o (Weiner 1992:131-148). Kitomu are alienable, build up the strength of a path of kula, and sustain a system of kula which keeps some shells from circulation and makes them highly valued. Circulating words and knowledge through display (ngama) sustains ola mbé'o as a communal verbal mode and is an important key to the construction of the social value of ola mbé'o.

Through hearing the elders' conversations about ola mbé'o, through private sessions with the elders, through mé'u (withdrawing) and ngama (showing off) of knowledgeable people, and through repeated self-instruction by means of speculation, people gradually not only acquire their own ola mbé'o but also learn what constitutes ola mbé'o.27

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26 See chapter 6.

27 Disagreeing with Barth's view that being secret is a major component in the creation of the power of knowledge, Morphy describes knowledge, secrecy and power in Yolngu as follows: 'Although secrecy is important in the creation of men's power, it is equally important that women and uninitiated men know something of what men are controlling. This is what creates the power of secrecy' (1991: 95). Yolngu men produce messenger forms of sacred objects which are carried in public. These messenger forms are very similar to restricted objects (Morphy 1991:80, Keen 1994:253).
TWO INTERLOCKED INTENTIONS

From the actors' point of view, they must, first of all, believe in the value of *ola mbé'o*. This value is socially constructed in the shared understanding of the principles of the world, including the social world. The two fundamental intentions of Wologai people, that is to say, the intention to 'know' the 'world' and the intention not to be dominated by social others, work together in the construction of *ola mbé'o* as a social phenomenon.

In Wologai, there are two prominent devices to construct the collective subjectivity: the ritual-village and the household. Both are articulated in terms of geographical space, construction, and corporate activity. However, the ritual-village and the household also contrast with each other. The ritual-village is the most encompassing framework of the collective subjectivity. Households are the smallest. While the village has the *nuak* construction as its manifestation, a household has a dwelling house. The *nuak* construction is regarded ideologically as the manifestation of primordial time and as unchangeable. It is articulated symbolically. A dwelling house is apparently recognised as changeable through time. It is not articulated symbolically. From the viewpoint of the ritual-village, a dwelling house is regarded as *maro*, a hut in a field, while the ritual-houses in the *nuak* are referred to as *sa'o*. From the viewpoint of everyday life, a dwelling house is referred to as *sa'o*, while, in contrast, the ritual-houses are a marked category, *sa'o nggua* (ritual-houses). A household is not regarded as a community in any sense, while the ritual-village is imagined as a complete self-reproductive community. A household is manifested in corporate activities: work in a field, sharing consumption, activity in exchanges, and sharing various other spheres of everyday life. The ritual-village is manifested in corporate ritual activities in which controlled sowing and harvest, and shared consumption, are ritually expressed. In life focused at the ritual-village level, asymmetric social differentiation is regarded as ascribed, while in life among households, it is regarded as fluctuating as a result of personal 'power' given by 'cosmological others'.

*Ola mbé'o* is socially constructed against this background and is also a part of this socially constructed 'world'. For most of the time, the people's lives are centred on their household. People usually do not reflect on their life in the midst of activities centred on the household. People are not supposed to reflect on the village-rituals in the midst of ritual activities, since it is assumed that the imperative about the village-rituals is its performance. However, the construction
of the ritual-village and the village-rituals are objects of speculation to attain *ola mbé'o*. They are necessary, not only as manifestations of the ascribed asymmetric differentiation but also as objects of speculation for *ola mbé'o*, which is believed crucial to achieve favourable social asymmetric relations. People think that the ritual-village is the crux of 'knowing' *tana watu* and *ngéé wa'u* and that without the ritual-village people cannot reach *ola mbé'o*, especially of *tana watu* and *ngéé wa'u*. People try to 'know' the 'world' through floating signifiers given as symbols surrounding the ritual-village. The institutions of the ritual-village and *ola mbé o* are interlocked in this way.

In *ngama* (showing off) and private sessions, a knowledgeable man produces speech full of floating signifiers: cryptic metaphors, couplets with unintelligible words, words with prominent sound ordering and/or personal names and place names without clear references. One extreme case I experienced was when one knowledgeable old man spoke in the *nitu pa'i*s language, which was totally puzzling not only to me but also to the Wologai man who was the other attendee of this session.

**KNOWING AND LANGUAGE**

While the Rotinese regard the dialectical differences in their language as indicators of their geographico-political divisions, Wologai people like to view language in relation to being in the 'world'. In dealing with the unintelligible words in couplets or the phonological violation in *la Kéu* and in *Stupid Atu Wolo*, Wologai people are not apt to search for geographical provenance but are apt to give them positive significance in terms of poetisation. Wologai people juxtapose the Big Cutting of the world, that is to say, the emergence of *tana watu*, and the origin of language, together with the origin of *ngéé wa'u* (sexual intercourse, procreation and also death) and the origin of agriculture. Interestingly, Lévi-Strauss and Wologai people both suppose that language and this meaningful world emerged all at once.

Whatever the moment or circumstances of its appearance on the evolutionary scale, language must have arisen all at once ... there was a sudden transition from one stage in which nothing had meaning to the next in which everything did (Lévi-Strauss 1950).
While Lévi-Strauss, following structural linguistics, posits language in the static spatial metaphor of discontinuity and continuity, Wologai people posit language in the dynamic metaphor of 'cutting'.

The status of language in relation to knowledge and rituals is remarkably different in the Baktaman and in Wologai. According to the Baktaman concept of 'knowledge', Barth depicts 'knowing' as a conventional form of experience in which language does not play an important role. He depicts 'knowing' through a series of initiation rituals as follows.

From that first, frightening early morning when initiations started, and through a series of subsequent stages, the novice develops a fearful awareness of vital, unknowable, and forbidden power behind the secret and cryptic symbols. He realizes the existence of veil behind veil, and how modest and largely incorrect his own understandings have been. He comes to recognize the futility -- and danger -- of speculation and curiosity about ritual knowledge, how his own ritual acts have meaning only by virtue of the deeper knowledge of the seniors, who provide him with a set of instructions for action and an (unknown) wider context which assures that these acts are not dangerous and destructive (1975:219).

For the Baktaman, 'knowing' is not to attain verbalised meanings of ritual symbols, but to experience their power in a way tuned to each grade of initiations. The sacred symbols revealed through a series of rituals allow Baktaman men to formulate an image of the world's construction and a program of human conduct that are mere reflexes of one another (Barth 1975:237, Geertz 1968:97).

Among Wologai people, the process of attaining the reality of the world is neither institutionally centralised nor given through a specific bodily experience. The veil hiding reality can be lifted only through narration in a form relevant to ola mbé'o, which, Wologai epistemology asserts, is different from a taken for granted way. An informant explained to me:

The standing-stone-altar and ritual-courtyard (tubu musu koja kanga), seen in everyday life, just look commonplace. But if they are seen once a year as husband and wife or as copulation, they are bhisa. Most bhisa words are similar to words of sexual abuse.

Thus, Wologai people make an effort to speculate about the world using culturally-given commonplace signs as keys, focusing on culturally-constructed themes and linguistic forms.
'WESTERN SCHOLARLY TRADITION' FROM A WOLOGAI PERSPECTIVE

Barthes makes a distinction between two sorts of writers: écrivant and écrivain (Barthes 1972). For an écrivant, language is the means to some extra-linguistic end. An écrivant is a transitive writer in that s/he has a direct object. An écrivain writes intransitively in so far as s/he devotes attention to the means instead of the end. S/he focuses on the message for its own sake. While an écrivant produces a readable (lisible) text, an écrivain produces a writable (scriptible) text. The readable text is merchandised to be consumed. The reader reaches the end without much creative effort. The writable text requires the production of meanings and, hence, the active participation of the reader. Barthes said that the goal of literary work is to make the reader no longer a consumer but a producer of the text (Barthes 1972: Sarup 1992).

By using an analogy based on this perspective, it can be said Wologai knowledgeable people (no'o ola mbé'o) are not écrivants but écrivains, and the speech they produce together with ola mbé'o itself is not a readable text but a writable text.28 In Kristeva's terminology, Wologai ola mbé'o may be a manifestation not of phenotext but of genotext, 'in which language becomes partly unintelligible, that is to say, an unmediated physical presence' (Kristeva 1984; Roudiez 1984; Sontag 1981: 25).

Sarup regards Lacan as an écrivain. In reading Ecrits, the reader can no longer be a passive consumer. S/he must contribute something: s/he must produce meaning. While the English intellectual tradition is reluctant to accept an écrivain or génotext except in the areas of poetry, it is easy to find écrivains not only among poets but also in area of social science, psychiatry and philosophy in the

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28 If one delineates the difference between orality and literacy as Ong did, this analogy could sound inadequate or even like the tyranny of literacy (Ong 1982). However, if one observes that orality and literacy share certain fundamental quality of sign as Derrida did by using the word archéécriture, this analogy is helpful to understand the significance of ola mbé'o. Based on my research in oral cultures I can criticise Ong's work in several respects. While Ong observes that the thought and expression based on orality are not analytical but aggregative, Wologai thought is analytical as is indicated in this thesis. While Ong does not pay attention to the difference among oral cultures or among literate cultures, such difference should not be overlooked. According to Ong the thought and expression based on orality are not conjunctive but additive. I did my fieldwork among the West-End speaking people and the West-Lio-speaking people, whose lives both depend on orality. Their languages are similar enough to be regarded as two dialects of one language. However, they differ from each other in several aspects which may be prime to those peoples' lives. While the West-Lio language has conjunctive words saa (but) and nqai (because), which are important for reasoning, the West-End language does not have equivalents of these. From this it follows that in terms of expression and thought the West-Lio-speaking people are different from the West-End-speaking people, and that the thought of the former may be conjunctive to a great extent.
French intellectual tradition. Lévinas, Lacan, Foucault, Derrida and Kristeva, to name only a few, can be called écrivains. 29

These authors make signifiers 'float' by coining new words or by using words in an innovative way. Derrida, for example, coins the word différence to understand how signs, especially language, can be meaningful. Différence means 'the operation of differing which at one and the same time both fissures and retards presence, submitting it simultaneously to primordial division and delay' (Derrida 1973a: 88). He derives the word différence from the French différence. As in the Latin 'differre', the French 'différer' bears two quite distinct significations, signified by two words 'to differ' and 'to defer' in English (Derrida 1973a: 82 translator's note). Derrida writes:

On the one hand, it [différer] indicates difference as distinction, inequality, or discernibility: on the other, it expresses the interposition of delay the intervals of a spacing and temporalizing that puts off until "later" what is presently denied, the possible that is presently impossible (Derrida 1973b: 129).

Derrida also uses in an innovative way the word déconstruction, which he found in Littré. According to Littré, déconstruction is an old word and means to take a machine apart to carry to another place, or to take a structure of words apart to rearrange them. Derrida uses déconstruction to 'signify a project of critical thought whose task is to locate and "take apart" those concepts which serve as the

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29 I have developed my argument by combining Bathes' and Kristeva's perspective, while Geertz constructs his argument on 'the authors and writers' by combining the ideas of Barthes' and Foucault's. Foucault writes: 'It is easy to see that in the sphere of discourse one can be the author of much more than a book --- one can be the author of a theory, tradition, or discipline in which other books and authors will in their turn find a place. These authors are in a position which we shall call "transdiscursive." ... Furthermore, in the course of the nineteenth century, there appeared in Europe, another, more uncommon, kind of author, whom one should confuse with neither the "great" literary authors, nor the authors of religious texts, nor the founders of science. In a somewhat arbitrary way we shall call those who belong in this last group "founders of discursivity." They are unique in that they are not just the authors of their own works. They have produced something else: the possibilities and the rules for the formation of other texts' (1977: 153-4). While Kristeva focuses on features of texts themselves, Foucault is concerned with the relations between texts and those between producers of texts in their intellectual circles. Applying Foucault's concerns to anthropological texts and the circle of anthropologists, Geertz takes for his 'cases in point four different figures, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Ruth Benedict, who, ... certainly are "authors" in the "intransitive" founders-of-discursivity sense' (1988: 20-21). The opposition I make between the English and French intellectual traditions is a strategical oversimplification in order to objectify, or deconstruct, anthropological discourse, in which the English tradition is dominant and to which this thesis is also supposed to contribute. Interestingly, Foucault, a French scholar, regards Freud and Marx as the exemplars of "authors" (1977: 154), and Kristeva also draws on German scholars, such as Frege, Husserl, Hegel and Marx for her work (1984). Although it is intriguing to explore relations of different intellectual traditions in Europe and other areas, it is beyond the range of my thesis.
axioms or rules for a period of thought, those concepts which command the unfolding of an entire epoch of metaphysics” (Allison 1973:xxxii).

In this respect, some French anthropologists are qualified as écrivains to some extent. Bourdieu coined some analytical words by focusing on the signifiers themselves, for example habitus, doxa, hexis. Lévi-Strauss shows qualities of an ecrivain, for example, in that he proposes to use the word bricolage. The concept of 'nature and culture' can be seen as his recoupage. I am not claiming that French scholarly traditions are identical to Wologai traditions of ola mbé’o, but that both traditions are similar in respect to the importance of poetisation. Some Wologai people are interested in anthropological analysis. A man asked me what I would do with the miscellaneous data I collected. At that moment, I did not know, so I struggled to tell him about Lévi-Strauss’s concept of nature and culture as an example of how to deal with the data. After hearing my talk, he said, 'Kai o ina nipi téi so mbé’o (That person must have 'dreamed'). It is probable that Wologai people would regard most English-speaking anthropologists as ata sekola (people of school) and many French anthropologists as ata nipi téi (seers of dreams).
Appendix 1

TEMPORAL SCHEME

TIME IN A DAY

expression

leja kolu wolo
leja ghalé
bewo
tanga sala nia ngata
kobé
mbewu
kobé bèwa bato
kobé bèwa
manu kako mulu
manu kako nduu
manu kako ndawi
bhaa jaja
wai sia
ola sia beta
sula ngingi
buga la'ê
buga
sia
ngara
ngara wadho
detu pembu
boko ria
boko lo'o

explanation

the sun starts setting behind the ridge
the sun sets
evening
too dark to tell a person's face
night
people not yet asleep
people start to sleep
midnight, people are usually asleep
roosters crow for the first time
roosters crow for the second time
roosters crow continuously
the morning star appears
nearly dawn
dawn
the sun starts to appear at the edge of the mountain
early in the morning
morning
the sun appears
we look up (ngara) at the sun
we look upwards to see the sun
the sun appears upright
early afternoon
late afternoon

LUNAR CYCLE

wula kesu nai
wula kesu detu
wula jaa sia/mata moda
wula perê
wula mata bapa
wula mata/bopa/mbana

the moon becomes bigger
half moon
full moon
the moon becomes smaller
half moon (half died)
new moon
SEASONS

réku riwu  'awake people'; slashing and burning trees; no rain
dero bangā 'flamboyants sprout'; sowing early maize; only a bit of rain
dero aē  'flamboyants blossom'; stop burning fields; starting to be a bit rainy
loru dero  'blossoms of flamboyants falling off'
rași dali  'washing grindstones'; making terraces; enough rain to wash grindstones
nggaka  'warming oneself at a fire'; lightning and thunder; rain is not too heavy
mapa  'blocking'; the Milky Way lying in the sky; starting sowing; rain becoming heavy
moré  'praising'; many people sowing together; singing songs to praise rice
nduru  'nduru'-fungi growing on trees; stopping sowing
léé fata moké  'swinging the dead arenga trees' or
kojo ndawi lowo  'crabs biting each other in a river'; weeding; heavy wind and rain
beké lo'o  'small beké'-fungi; raining continuously for three nights and three days
beké ria  'large beké'-fungi; raining continuously for seven nights and seven days
fowo lewu wau  'the ground under the floor smelling because of fungi caused by rain'; heavy wind and rain; people begin starving
balu ré'é  'bad balu'; starving badly; wind and rain decreasing
balu ji'é  'good balu'; starvation becomes better; start eating early maize; performing nugu-ritual and keti uta-ritual
basé ré'é  'bad base'; wind and rain stopping; rice becoming mature; maize already mature; cucumbers already mature
basé ji'é  'good base'; starting harvest of rice
leja ria  'big sun'; harvesting of rice; the water of the river decreasing

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1 Season is referred to as wulu, which also means moon, although seasons do not necessarily correspond to the lunar cycle.
2 Nduru-fungi are used as a side-dish.
3 Beké-fungi are used as a side-dish.
4 While balu is a kind of big tree to make planks, in this sentence balu seems to mean starvation. Balu does not have such a meaning in everyday conversation.
5 Basé is a kind of disease of rice.
### AGRICULTURAL LABOURS AND THE RITUALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LABOUR/RITUAL</th>
<th>OUTLINE (APPROXIMATE MONTH IN THE WESTERN CALENDAR)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngeti or ura ajé</td>
<td>the origin-ritual-leader allots fields to widow-orphan-people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lélo ogo</td>
<td>slashing trees (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poka</td>
<td>slashing big trees (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wary</td>
<td>drying (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jengi</td>
<td>burning (8,9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woga</td>
<td>digging up roots of big weeds such as ingga-grass (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngeso ngoro</td>
<td>burning the residue (9,10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kébé</td>
<td>making terraces with wood (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nggua ria</td>
<td>the great-ritual (see chapter 4) (10,11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakki ha'i</td>
<td>first sowing by the origin-ritual-leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tau uma mopo</td>
<td>ritual sowing by the origin-ritual-leader (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tau uma ria</td>
<td>ritual sowing by widow-orphan-people (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tado</td>
<td>sowing (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tao tao tado</td>
<td>making offering after sowing (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaki</td>
<td>weeding (1, 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nugu</td>
<td>a ritual preceding harvest (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tao tao keti</td>
<td>making offering before harvesting (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nggua keti uta</td>
<td>'ritual of picking vegetables' (3,4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keiti uai kage jawa</td>
<td>harvesting vegetables and maize (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aka aré baru</td>
<td>ritual eating of the first harvest of rice by ritual-leaders (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keti fai wallu ana kalo</td>
<td>usual harvest (5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2

OTHER VERSIONS OF THE SEKO LENGO STORY

VERSIONS TOLD BY A SOKORIA MAN

ARRIVAL

Séko Léngo came from overseas.1 There were seven men, among whom were Séko Léngo, Séko Umbi, Séko Lénda, Séko Titi and so on. They arrived at Wewaria.2 They came to Sokoria through Lépémbsusu, Wologai, Kélikiku, and Musumérauwula.

JOURNEY TO THE HEAD OF THE EARTH FOR ACQUIRING ‘KNOWLEDGE’

The seven aji ka'é (brothers) of Séko Léngo set out on a journey to ulu tana (the head of the earth) seeking ola mbé'o (knowledge). They came to Rangga Séé. They came across a Rangga Séé man. Séko Léngo asked the man to give them some moké (wine made from sugar palm), because they were thirsty. The man rejected their request, saying, "you must pay money for moké". Séko Léngo shook the sugar palm tree. The tree swung so violently that the man nearly dropped off. Finally he asked them to forgive him. This accounts for the alliance between Rangga Séé and Soko Ria. The alliance is: muku besu po'i // tewu bèwa boi; mbaa kaa // lora minu (ripe bananas can be snapped, long sugar canes can be cut; you can eat when going, you can drink when passing), namely they can eat and drink from the land of the partner ritual-village when they are passing there. Then they arrived at the ritual-village of Rangga Séé. The people of Rangga Séé were making a feast. The party of Séko Léngo slept in the temple. Since they became thirsty after dancing the gawi (circle dance), Séko Umbi, the elder brother of Séko Léngo, asked for some water from a woman with a bamboo full of water, saying, "Would you give us some water?" She refused to give him any because Séko Umbi had umbi (a kind of skin disease), saying, "How can a man with umbi ask us for water?" Séko Umbi and his brothers went to the ulu àé (the source of the water) and stopped the water. Without water for cooking and other things the people of Rangga Séé were in great trouble, because they were in the middle of a feast. The ritual-leaders called out for the ata mbé'o (knowledgeable people) to search for the cause by soo bhoka au (divination by heating a young

1 An informant added, 'Séko Léngo came from India Blakang (the Indian hinterland)'.

2 An informant added, 'Wewaria is the name of the place where the men went after arriving from overseas'.
bamboo) or by *paga* (divination by spanning the length of an arm). All the searches were in vain. Finally they decided to ask Séko Léngo and his brothers in the temple about the water. Séko Umbi said that he had stopped the water because of the woman’s wrong behaviour. The ritual-leaders offered seven plaited trays of gold so that they would agree to restore the water. But Séko Léngo and his brothers wanted to make an alliance rather than to receive the gold. The ritual-leaders were pleased to agree to such an alliance. Séko Umbi told the ritual-leaders to bring an axe. The ritual-leaders and the party of Séko Léngo went to the source of the water. As soon as Séko Umbi thrust the axe into the source, the water sprang up as before. Then the party went to Wolopau. In Wolopau the people were also busy making a feast and dancing the *gawi* (circle dance). The party stayed in the temple. After dancing the *gawi*, they became thirsty and asked a woman for some water. She rejected their request and told them to drink water at the spring. After drinking water at the water source, they stopped the water. After the same process as in Rangga Sée, the ritual-leaders came to Séko Léngo and his brothers. The ritual-leaders offered them one grassland-full of water buffalo and horses, and seven plaited trays of gold for restoring the water. Séko Léngo answered, "*Kami ulu latu ta éko la'é* (We already have the head of the domain, but we do not have the tail yet)". The ritual-leaders asked what they meant. Séko Léngo told the ritual-leaders to bring an *alu* (pestle). The party of Séko Léngo and the ritual-leaders went down to the coast with the pestle. When they arrived at the coast Séko Léngo said, "If Séko Léngo does not have revelatory power (*raju*), though I thrust this pestle in to the ground, it won’t sprout. If Séko Léngo has the great revelatory power, frightening like a big snake/feared like a furious *bara*-snake, it will sprout and have big branches (*Demi Séko Léngo raju iwa, alu ina kami jeju ripi iwa geju. Demi Séko Léngo raju ria, ta'u ngéré nipia ria, gaa ngéré bara bani, ripi geju lisa ria*)". No sooner did he thrust the pestle into the ground than sprouts and even branches came out and the pestle became a big bush. The place, Ma’u Alu Waju Wegho, became the tail of the domain. Then they went back to the *nuu* of Wolopau. Séko Léngo and his brothers restored the water on condition that they enter into a *poré jaji* (alliance-treaty).

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2 A place on the north coast.

3 *Ma’u* literally means ‘coast’, *waju* ‘to pound’, and *wegho* ‘to thrust to be stuck’ (need to be checked)
WAGING WAR ON THE PEOPLE OF NUABAPU

One day Séko Léngo waged war on the people of Nuabapu. Nuabapu was the ritual-village (nuá) of Bapu Du'a. Séko Léngo was captured. He was held in stocks and tied in the temple. An old woman, (ata du'a) watched him. One day an Ende man who was in ají ka'ë (younger and elder same sex sibling) alliance with Séko Léngo came to sell machetes and bullets (téka topo // naga aro). He gave thirty machetes to the people of Nuabapu. They all went away to their fields except the old woman. The Ende man sat at the temple and asked the old woman for some candle nuts. He said, "Give me some candle nuts. I want to rub them on my body, because I was bitten by mosquitoes all over". Receiving them, he started to rub Séko Léngo's legs which were feeble after being held in stocks for so long. He kept a knife out of sight and made the holes of the stocks bigger without being seen. Seven days passed. As soon as the Ende man climbed up on the roof of the temple and made sure that all the people of Nuabapu had gone to work, Séko Léngo fled. When the old woman came to find that Séko Léngo fled, she shouted loudly, "Séko Léngo has fled already!" The people Nuabapu all came back from their fields and chased Séko Léngo. His legs were still too feeble to run fast. When the people of Nuabapu were following close behind him, he came across Sawu Du'a, a sister of Bapu Du'a. Séko Léngo tried to persuade Sawu Du'a to help him, "If you help me, I will give you something good". Séko Du'a agreed and took off her blouse and sarong and covered Séko Léngo with them. When the pursuers came, Sawu Du'a shouted "Don't come close to me, I'm drying my clothes to look for fleas. I'm stark naked". Since she thus deterred the pursuers, Séko Léngo finally managed to free himself and come back to Sokoria. The Sokoria people were in the lodges in their fields guarding them with rattles. Going into one of the fields, he covered one of the rattles with his hands. Since his pulling on the string did not produce rattling, a Sokoria man went to check what was the matter with the rattle and found Séko Léngo had come back. The Sokoria man shouted, "our ka'ë (elder brother) has come back! Our ka'ë has come back!" The Sokoria people carried Séko Léngo on their shoulders to the nuá of Sokoria and held a feast to celebrate Séko Léngo's return. Sokoria then defeated Nuabapu and established his sovereignty. As Séko Léngo promised to Sawu Du'a, a part of land from the tubu (monolith) of Sokoria was given to Sawu Du'a.

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4 Nuabapu is now called Kurulimbu. It was called Nuabapu because it was the nuá of a mosa laki called Bapu. According to some versions of this story, the nuá was called Kurulimbu. Kurulimbu is located to the west of Sokoria.

5 According to some versions, Séko Léngo was captured when he went to Nuabapu to sell machetes and bullets (téka topo//nanga aro).
A VERSION TOLD BY A FAUNAKA MAN


At that time, Wologai, namely Nuaria, was to guard the head of the snare, to watch the path of the trap, the snare and the trap of Séko Lèngo. Séko Lèngo lived at Sokoria. Séko Lèngo originated from Mt Lèpèmbusu, originated from Anakalo. Séko Lèngo first lived at Wologai and went to Lidilowè and married there. He made friends with people from overseas places such as Wio, Sumatra and so on. He went to all the places overseas and came back. He came back to the south coast. He lived at Wolotopo and at Sokoria. Wologai and Sokoria shared the monolith. Wild meat for the ritual in Sokoria was brought from Wologai. If the hunting was successful at Wologai, the meat was brought to Detusoko to heat to make hard/smoke to make dry. People say that Detusoko was Séko's place to dry the wild meat.

A VERSION OF 'RAID BY THE NDITO PEOPLE' BY A WOLOGAI MAN (TRANSLATION IS IN CAHPTER 5)

ORIGINAL TEXT

A VERSION OF 'THE RAID OF THE NDITO PEOPLE' TOLD BY A FAUNAKA MAN

wa'u de ghalè wena lewu. Giu tiro, gena leka nggesa. O iwa jengi menga menga sa'o Ndangë Bëkë no'o Lamba Sëko. Ebë ghalë Wologai leka pu'u lèlë. Pu'u lèlë ina nebu ina ke'è. Nosi so leka Rabu Du'a, mosa laki Faunaka, "kaju mitë la'ë se tokoghalè lowo, aë bërë iwa sërë". Nai ghëta tolo kaju, pai Rabu Du'a "oo ajì ka'è, api oo, ajì ka'è". Rabu nosi "pèmè anà lo'o". Wa'u ghalè tana tèi api mena Nuaria. Deki kai nosi "ina néa. Lau nebu poto wolo/rrënggi këlë, ruba bwa bëlë, ta miu ndëë rè'ë/paka bafa ebe, ata inë ema (amè). Wa'u si ana lo'o. Regu no'o wo'o lèë, tumba sora, bòlë bhongga. tau de mena Kèliddo golë de mena Watuburu, tau de lau Ndito". Rago ata Ndito leka jala. Se bagi mata. Deki mena Watuburu bhalë wola de ghëa Nuaria mai tanë ata mata. Giu neka raa. ebë mo'o tau de ghëa Fuadéo, Wologai de mena. Rabu powi rasti Giu. Rabu sì'i "temu si mera leka ina. Tau de ghëa leka sa'o nekè, ta'u ebë ata Ndito ola nduu wola okô/leti wola la'ë". Giu no'o Kumba so "nëka ghaa barë roa, kami mo'o golë kami woloa mera kami leka bëu. Mo'o gaë tana godo/pìta watu ngangë, ghële Wongga. Gaë tana bho no ngaal/pìta walu ela keta. Rabu so "mâ'ë, aë ma'ë gadeë/lowo ma'ë baka, ha'i mawë rewa piki biri/lima mawë rewa käwe këli. Wolo si mawë rewa golë/këli si mawë rewa lepo. Kogë biji si mawë ro kisi/lèa rè'ë si mawë ro kaa. Ngai pu'u, inë lau mi pu'u pwu, néa së'a pai, iwa rewa talu, deki leka kolo ilu ela ola keta/amë lau mi kamu lema, néa ra'i niu, iwa rewa ooë, leka jala senda bho no ngaal sawë. Boo rowa no'o mboko/nnagaka rowa no'o lië. Ghële mi tendu ulu, ro'a iwa rewa ruwi/lau mi tendu éko, dhëkë iwa rewa paki". Giu talu leka Rabu "demi ngerë ina, kau wënggo si au. Kami so'o ngëddhi se lo'o". Au so molo deki ebë geso Mera ghëta Detununu. Mera so neka néa ji'ë/rasi néa masa/powi néa pila, Giu nosi no Rabu "aji ka'ë, kami mo'o golë wolo/kami mo'o lepo këli, kau sì si ma'ë. Menga jeju pati kami no maro leka wolo so ngëddhi se lo'o". Deki jeju savëwëki sau Mari Songgo no'o Rabu Du'a mo'o tau tabi gai leka lulu keda pa lau. Giu, Kumba, Bhëna mera ghële nuw Wologai. Giu nosi no Rabu "lepa mbalë roa, keda aji ka'ë, pati si kami no wawi se metu se mosa, wawi mo tau ii mesë leja/maro jàdî roa sa'o, aji ka'ë, pati si no'o manu, se metu se lau, manu tau kau sisa kobë, pati si no lako, se metu se mosa, lako tau polu ato kobë duu sia". Deki Rabu pati sawë, nuw mëmbalë, nuw tu'a rewa, Rabu pati Giu no'o nggou lamba. Pati no'o nggou//it'i no'o lamba, nggou lamba tau bebu nuw. 'Nua bebu ngërë mbiri seru/këka këa ngërë wëka nuka'. Giu nosi no Rabu "aji ka'ë, kau mera wëe'ë we'ë ghaa kemo péré, tau pidhi wiwi laki/ndì'i si dhengo dhengo ghaa kemo kasa, tau lape lema ongga". Rabu nosi no Giu "aji ka'ë, ta'u wi sia ana lo'o néa ngërë bhondo beka kapa, wiwi néa dotë doo, ola nosi nori//mera mera ana kalo néa beka kapa lema ola dotë detë". Giu "ana kalo èle ngëë bhondo, ria wiwi ìwa/fatë walu éle néa beka kapa, bèwa lema la'ë. Ria wiwi bèwa lema menga leka du'a kita. Demi, mbou ria ramba bèwa, hoë ngërë manu//rago ngërë lako". Ebë ata Faunaka mëu. Du'a ra'i Rabu titi libi/patë ajë, leka tana keta/bhoa nggaa, laki leka kati/ongga leka moka. Tipo talo kana (pama) mona Rabu ngendo tebo ngeta.
At Nuaria, in the beginning, lived Séko Ijo. Rabu Du'a lived at Sèpèsawu up there. People lived at Nuaria. The inè ema (parents) of Séko's wife originated from Obo Du'a. Obo Du'a came from Sokoria. Obo Du'a was Séko's wife's inè amè pu'u (origin progenitor). Obo Du'a lived at Ndito. They made the ritual hut. Obo Du'a said to Ndèta, a low ritual-leader, "Go to Séko Ijo at Nuaria and ask for a water buffalo and a horse. However, the people upstream would not give either of these. Ndèta remained there and asked again. The people upstream rejected his request. Ndèta caught a chicken laying in a basket. Then the people caught Ndèta and accused him of stealing it. Giu and his followers hit him. Giu told Bhéna that he would kill Ndèta. Bhéna objected, "Do not kill him. It is taboo. He is the origin and the progenitor (ngéè wa'u inè amè)." Giu ordered his follower (to go to Bhéna). The follower said, "Bhéna has agreed". Giu did not kill Ndèta. He showed mercy and left him. Kumba also said, "Don't kill him". Ndèta lived there for a week, carefully examined the situation of Nuaria and came back to Ndito. Obo Du'a asked him, "Why did you disappear for such a long time and come back with nothing?" Ndèta spoke back. He made an appeal. "You ordered me to go upstream to catch a nori-bird probably, but they hit me to exhaust me". Obo Du'a replied, "Well all right. They forgot to ignore, forgot to unlearn." They got together to discuss it. The Ndito people, the Wolomoni people, the Dilè people and all the people came together. They cut young banana stalks to make traps. At night they went to attack Nuaria them. They put traps in front of every house. While they were doing so, dogs barked. The women asked, "Guys! Guys! Did you hear dogs barking, pigs grunting?" The men were in the ritual hut. They spoke jokingly, "Dogs barked at women's pubic hair, pigs grunted at pubic hair". Soon they slept. The Ndito people set fire to every house. People in the houses jumped out to the ground and were stabbed by the traps. All died. Kumba Du'a came out through the floor. Giu jumped out through the floor and was wounded in the armpit. The houses which were not burnt were Ndangè Békè's and Lamba Séko's. They lived at Wologai, at the banyan tree. The banyan tree is still there. They told Rabu Du'a, ritual-leader of Faunaka, climbing up the top of the banyan, calling Rabu Du'a, "Oh, Brother! Fire! Brother!" Rabu said, "Go and look, lads". Then he came out and saw fire at Nuaria. Then he said "Look at this! The people downstream were bringing the ridge, carrying the mountain and came to ask for what is hairy. But you hit badly, beat cruelly, those who are the source. Come out, lads! Take the bows, arrows, spears, bamboo spears and clubs. Let's go to Kélingoo and go over to Watuburu and go to Ndito". They ambushed the Ndito
people. Some of the Ndito people died. Then they went to Watuburu and come back to Nuaria to bury the dead. Giu was wounded. They tried to go to Fuadéo to the east of Wologai. Rabu treated Giu's wound. Rabu said, "Stop living here. Live in a hiding house. The Ndito people might trace back to the site, search again the place". Giu and Kumba said, "When the wound becomes cured, we will go over the ridge and live at a distant place. We will look for a difficult (legitimate) land, find an unsatisfactory (right) rock, to the north in Wongga. Rabu said, "No. Do not cross the water, do not go over the river. Do not yet bite the starch of the sugar palm trunk, do not yet eat wild ginger. Because, Mother downstream, who has been the trunk since the primordial time, came and called, but you did not answer, then the saddle of the snare head became cold, Father downstream, who has been the root since the primeval time came and called, but you did not say yes, then the valley of the trap path had already become cool. You already shouted at the testicle, you already rebelled at the female pubic bone. To the head uphill the monkeys did not harvest any longer, to the tail downstream the rats did not sow any longer".\(^6\) Giu answered Rabu, "If such it is, please make bamboo divination, so that I can be a bit more secure". The bamboo divination said right, then Giu moved to live upstream at Detununu. After he lived for a while and his wound was cured, washing made the wound clean, treatment made it scar, Giu said to Rabu, "Brother! we tried to go over the ridge, we tried to reach the other side of the mountain, but you said, "no". You had better give us a lodge at the more secure ridge". Then after Rabu finished making the lodge, he held the ancient machete of Mari Songgo and Rabu Du'a, they tried to clear the gai-weed at the back of the ritual hut to the downstream. Giu, Kumba and Bhéna live at the uphill at the ritual-village of Wologai. Giu said to Rabu, "The hut has already become the ritual hut, brother, give us female and male pigs, pigs screaming until sunset, the lodge has already become a house, brother, give us female and male chickens, chickens crowing day and night, give us female and male dogs, dogs barking all the night". Then Rabu gave these to them and the ritual-village was complete, the ritual-village became invulnerable, and Rabu gave a gong and a drum to Giu, gave a gong, bestowed a drum, a gong and a drum to make the ritual-village cheerful. The ritual-village may be cheerful as mbiri-birds sing, the village may be noisy as wéka-birds come up. Giu said to Rabu, "Brother, you should live so near the gate that you can support the ritual-leader's mouth, you should dwell so close to the fence that you can sustain the ritual-leader's tongue". Rabu said to Giu, "Brother, I am afraid that in the future if the little children may increase abundantly, reproduce thickly and the mouth may become extended and speak arbitrarily, gradually the orphans reproduce thickly and the tongue may become expanded". Giu said, "Even if the orphans increase by many, they will never have a great mouth, even if the widows reproduce thickly, they will never have a long tongue. The

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\(^6\) Rabu described the whole event in poetic form of language.
great mouth, the long tongue belong only to ourselves. If they usurp the
greatness, encroach on the highness, they will be shooed away like a
courge, they will be driven away like a dog". The Faunaka people
hesitated. In the beginning Rabu crashed the cliff, cut the vines, at the
cold land, the cool valley and the ritual-leaders were the caterpillars in
the earth, the ritual-leaders were the earthworms. Finally Rabu could
not support, did not sustain, and he withdrew.

At that time, if a problem arose within Giu, Bhéna and Rabu, it was not
made to go down on the ground, it was not made to step on the rock,
whisper in a little voice, speak in a soft voice inside the house. The
sound should not reach far, the echo should not travel too long a
distance.⁷

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⁷ This paragraph means that all the conflicts and the problems were settled peacefully within them.
Appendix 3

KINSHIP TERMS

Among Wologai people the use of kinship terms, not only for forms of address but also for reference is limited in terms of the range of people indicated. Wologai people prefer foreign kinship terms which may transform the structure of the kinship terminology. They use the same terms as kinship terms for honorific addresses. In terms of categorisation of people there are three structuring principles, one of which was recently introduced. Wologai people apply these principles according to contexts. For all these reasons, the structure of kinship terminology cannot be delineated from the actual usage of kin terms inductively. However, based on people’s explanations about the actual usage three structuring principles can be portrayed deductively.

THE STRUCTURING PRINCIPLE 1 (DEFAULT PRINCIPLE)

If other structuring principles are not taken into consideration, the structuring principle expressed in the following terminology works.

APPENDIX 3. TABLE 1. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+3</td>
<td>embu</td>
<td>great grandparent &lt;br&gt; person in the generation of great grandparents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2</td>
<td>mamo</td>
<td>grandparent, person in the generation of grandparent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1</td>
<td>iné</td>
<td>mother &lt;br&gt; mother’s same-sex sibling &lt;br&gt; mother’s same-sex parallel-cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1</td>
<td>ema</td>
<td>father &lt;br&gt; father’s same-sex sibling &lt;br&gt; father’s same-sex parallel cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1</td>
<td>eda</td>
<td>mother’s different-sex sibling &lt;br&gt; mother’s different-sex parallel-cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1</td>
<td>eba</td>
<td>father’s different-sex sibling &lt;br&gt; father’s different-sex parallel-cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka’è</td>
<td>same-sex elder sibling &lt;br&gt; same-sex elder parallel-cousin &lt;br&gt; different-sex patrilateral elder cross-cousin (women speaking) &lt;br&gt; different-sex matrilateral elder cross-cousin (men speaking)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**aji** same-sex younger sibling  
same-sex younger parallel-cousin  
different-sex patrilateral younger cross-cousin (women speaking)  
different-sex matrilateral younger cross-cousin (men speaking)  

**nara** different-sex sibling (women speaking)  
different-sex parallel-cousin (women speaking)  
different-sex matrilateral cross-cousin (women speaking)  

**weta** different-sex sibling (men speaking)  
different-sex parallel-cousin (men speaking)  
different-sex patrilateral cross-cousin (men speaking)  

**éja** same-sex cross-cousin  

**ipé limé** patrilateral different-sex cross-cousin (women speaking)  
matrilateral different-sex cross-cousin (men speaking).

- **1 ana** child of **aji** or **ka' é**, that is to say  
child of same-sex sibling  
child of same-sex parallel-cousin  
child of different-sex patrilateral cross-cousin (women speaking)  
child of different-sex matrilateral cross-cousin (men speaking)  
child of **nara** (women speaking), that is to say,  
child of different-sex sibling (women speaking)  
child of different-sex parallel-cousin (women speaking)  
different-sex matrilateral cross-cousin (women speaking)

- **1 eda** child of **weta** (men speaking), that is to say,  
child of different-sex sibling (men speaking)  
child of different-sex parallel cousin (men speaking)

- **2 mamo** grandchild  
person in the grandchild's generation

- **3 embu** great grandchild  
person in the generation of grandchild

**NOTES:** **Eba** can be replaceable with **doa** or **iné eba. Eja** can be replaceable with **éja kéra** or **kéra** usually if a man speaks. **Eda** in the first descending generation can be replaceable with **ana wuru** or **ana weta. Babo** is used to address or refer to a man in the second ascending or descending generation. **Babo** is a marked category while **mamo** is an unmarked category.
In relation to marriage, the following terms should be applied.

APPENDIX 3. TABLE 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tu'a</td>
<td>wife's mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>husband's parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daughter's husband (women speaking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>son's wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eda</td>
<td>wife's father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana wuru</td>
<td>daughter's husband (men speaking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éja</td>
<td>wife's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>husband's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spouse of different-sex sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aji</td>
<td>spouse of same-sex younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'è</td>
<td>spouse of same-sex elder sibling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The asymmetry is seen in the first ascending generation, the speaker's generation and the first descending generation. According to some people the category of people referred to as *eba* in Table 1. is referred to as *iné*. In general *eba* is not as highlighted as *eda*. This terminology is logically compatible with matrilateral cross-cousin marriage in that *eda* is applied to wife's father and mother's brother (men speaking) and *ana wuru* is applied to sister's son and daughter's husband (men speaking). It is said that to marry a daughter of one's *eda* was preferred before the influence of Catholicism, which prohibits marriage between people who share a great grandparent. *Ipé limé* is explained as a category of people who were preferably to marry each other before the influence of Catholicism. Joking between them is encouraged.

THE STRUCTURING PRINCIPLE 2

In addition to the default principle there is another principle which may crisscross the default one. This is the principle of *sa'o*. According to this, people in the same generation who belong to the same *sa'o* --- a ritual-house, a subsidiary-ritual-house or a *sa'o* under the leadership of de facto power --- are all *nara weta* (different-sex sibling) or *aji ka'è* (the same-sex sibling). While all the women in the first ascending generation of the same *sa'o* are *iné*. *eda* in the first ascending and descending generation according to the default principle may be highlighted. According to the norms, unless 'legitimate alliance' or 'marriage by enslaving oneself' take place, children are divided between their mother's and father's *sa'o*. So this principle usually crisscrosses the default principle. People say, for
example, of the relation between a man and his mother's brother's daughter who is affiliated with the same sa'o that they are ipé limé but become nara weta because they belong to the same sa'o'. This kind of statement usually implies that they cannot marry each other.

THE STRUCTURING PRINCIPLE 3

The Wologai people have started to apply the other principle in relation to the prohibition of marriage by the Catholic missionary between people who share a great-grandparent. According to that principle all the people who share a grand parent are nara weta in case of different-sex people or aji ka'é. A woman, for example, explained the relation between a man who is her father's mother's sister's daughter's son that according to the traditional rule they were ipé limé, but they were nara weta now.

HONORIFIC USAGE

Iné is used as an honorific term to address a woman regardless of her age and is used as an honorific prefix for an old woman's name. Ema is used as an honorific address for a man, regardless of the addressee's age. The word amé is also used as an honorific address, usually for an old man and as an honorific prefix for an old man's name. Ka'é may be used as an honorific address for one's own mother. A man may use ka'é as an honorific address for his own elder sister.

BORROWED KINSHIP TERMS

The Wologai people tend to use borrowed kinship terms. Mama is a popular substitute for iné. Bapa, a derivative of an Indonesian word bapak, is used not only as a substitute for ema but also as an honorific term to address or refer to an older man in any relation, including mother's brother. Néné, a derivative of an Indonesian word nenek, is used to address or to refer to a person in the second ascending generation. Some people apply néné to a person in the second descending generation. Oo or oom, a derivative of a Dutch word Oom is a substitute for eda not only in the first ascending generation but also in the first descending generation. A few people use tata, a derivative of an Indonesianised Dutch word tanta, to address an older woman. Some young people use kaka, a derivative of an Indonesian word kakak, not only as a substitute for ka'é but also
as an address or reference to an older person in the same generation regardless of the relation. A few people use dédè, allegedly a borrowed word from the area on the south coast, to address their own father. While some usages of these borrowed words follow the structuring principles, other usages crisscross them.

ACTUAL USE OF KIN TERMS

People generally use kin terms as forms of address for their parents, mother's brother and grandparents. People in other relations are usually addressed to by their personal names, teknonyms or honorific terms.

While it is rare to hear nara and weta as forms of address, these terms are commonly used as such in mourning laments (nangi), songs (ndé'o) and various narratives (nungu nangè). Although in talking about the prohibition of marriage, nara weta are a man and a woman who must not marry each other or have sexual relations, in songs and stories these terms, nara and weta are used as forms of address between a wife and husband, sex partners or would-be sex partners. Addressing an unrelated person as weta or nara in everyday life is usually an expression of the speaker's sexual affection toward the addressee, without implying any incestuous relationship.
Appendix 4

SONGS (*NDE’O*)

Songs which are repeatedly sung outside strict ritual contexts without any change are generally called *ndé’o*.

EUPHEMISTIC SONGS (*NDE’O SENA NEKE*)

Euphemism is outstanding in some songs. People call these *ndé’o néké séna* or *ndé’o sibi séna* (euphemistic songs). Unlike 'traditional songs', for which people do not presuppose a composer, these songs are presumed to have been composed by somebody although the identity of the composer is seldom known. Some examples of euphemistic songs are as follows.

*Bobi Bobi Bobi Bobi*

nebu lo'o latu
ema simo ngawu
ghaa néa du’a sawé
nara até ngangé
é bosu Bobi ghaa
dau ngéré kepo aè

*Bobi Bobi Bobi Bobi*

Bobi nia kaki
leka kémbé no'o kati
Bobi nia ana
leka rawa no'o aa
Bobi nia nara
leka mbiri no'o jata

*Bobi Bobi Bobi Bobi*

ata ka'o ana
tau dedu naja
Bobi ka'o ana
mo'o tamba tana
até neku jedho
ngai kau kaja roo

*Bobi Bobi Bobi Bobi*

ata neku dhoa
ngai kau nggejé baja

Bobi is a woman's name often used in songs or stories. According to people, this name is not used in the actual world. Bobi can indicate any woman. This song implies that Bobi bore children whose father is not known, and Bobi lost, or
probably killed, them. *Koja roo* (hip-waist is aching) and *nggejé baja* (tummy is exhausted) are idiomatic expressions for labour and afterbirth. People sing this song just for fun and as well as to tease or warn of a hidden sexual relation they suspect. The following song is also sung in such way.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ko’o fai Mbémbé</th>
<th>a girl, Mbémbé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ata Ndona Endé</td>
<td>a person at Ndona Endé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbémbé ko’o fai</td>
<td>Mbémbé, a girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tau ruja uaa ba’i</td>
<td>makes salad of papaya leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruja kuré kuré</td>
<td>salad is tasty, tasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tau mbuju dué</td>
<td>people eat it bit by bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbuju ma’é éngé</td>
<td>do not eat just for fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbuju tau mbé’é</td>
<td>do eat seriously</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some songs are sung to depict actual incidents, experiences or a state of life. The following song was composed by a man who did his best to marry a girl but her brother never accepted his proposal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aa éé</th>
<th>aa éé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mulu lai sai mulu nala</td>
<td>since a long time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba kili rémbi no’o basa</td>
<td>father hung a man’s and a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nata</td>
<td>woman’s bag of betel at the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kéu mota oka</td>
<td>areca nuts, betel fruits, lime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolé molo dowa</td>
<td>getting together correctly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kéu néa gesi</td>
<td>areca nuts popped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mota néa wedhi</td>
<td>betel fruits sprang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pani ana lo’o</td>
<td>bad little child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tau lau wasi</td>
<td>grasped and threw away</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aa éé</th>
<th>aa éé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kupi no’o mbako so kola</td>
<td>peel of maize and tobacco has</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbeja</td>
<td>been rolled up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so’o lai api ta tungi bera</td>
<td>then bring a fire but it was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ré’é pau kaju éo uja gena</td>
<td>extinguished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so kití kití si ngangé bangá</td>
<td>the firewood was bad, being wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koi dudu laji si iwa gnala</td>
<td>with rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>then no effort could light it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>even robbing a fire-maker cannot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>light it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
aa éé
mula ku muku leka tana méra
beku lelé wau leka béu béwa
angi tonda tuu péré deki léwa
mula ku ndora ghéta alo béwa
réé pau ndolu tau tai léwa

I planted banana at a hidden place
a civet cat smelled it from far away
wind brought the smell and the banana was lost
I planted sweet potato at the valley to the east
ndolu-spider is so bad and shit all over it

The composer expresses his regret metaphorically. While it cannot be known whether each part corresponds to a specific experience of the composer, people understand that the whole song as an expression of the composer's regret.

TRADITIONAL SONGS

A SONG WHILE WORKING IN A FIELD

daamédé daamédé
ana rusa daamédé
aa oo daamédé

daamédé daamédé
an kid/fawn daamédé
aa oo daamédé

Daamédé or damédé is sung while beating time with the hands, and accompanies a dance referred to as wanda. This song is thought to express the light rhythmic motion of a dancing kid or fawn.

A SONG WHILE THRESHING

In threshing, the following song is sung.

woda ana nggoo
lii soro nggoro
pori ma’é poo
kami ana lo’o
nebu dego doo
ao dubélelaa oo
goa dhoga dédé léé
goa dhoga dédé léé
ao nanggoo
woda nanggoo

a bell, a child of a gong
sounding soro nggoro
do not prevent (a top from) spinning
we are little children
now rocking and swinging
ao dubé lééa oo
goa dhoga dédé léé
goa dhoga dédé léé
ao child of gong, bell child

The meaning of the song is not clear. Sound correspondence is notable. Most of pronunciation is onomatopoeic or just for the sake of accompanying the
movement. *Dégo doo* (rocking and swinging) depicts the movement of threshing.\(^1\)

**A SONG FOR AN ELECTRIC GUITAR BAND**\(^2\)

**TITLE: UMU LA’E TUNGGA (NOT YET OLD ENOUGH)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iné neku léé</th>
<th>my mother léé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aku ghaa ré'é</td>
<td>my life is miserable now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aku ghaa mété ké'é</td>
<td>I still look forward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nara kau dau paru légé(^3)</td>
<td>my lover, you left me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aku so ghawa ghélè</td>
<td>I am wandering around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mété ku menga no'o até léé</td>
<td>I am looking forward only with tears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tebo ku rusa rasa</td>
<td>my body is broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raka téi nia ana</td>
<td>I even bore a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aku so pai pala</td>
<td>when I called him for help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papé dau pangga mata</td>
<td>he threaten me to beat me to death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aku so ka'o ana</td>
<td>when I gave birth to a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nara wélé mbana</td>
<td>he left me alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umu ku la’è tungga</td>
<td>I am not yet old enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nara mai tau susa rundu</td>
<td>my lover came to throw me into despair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aku néa piki duga</td>
<td>I am suffering so much that I cannot even breathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so deki wula rua</td>
<td>when two months passed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nara rasa buja</td>
<td>my lover got bored</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^1\) It is said that threshing in this way is a lesson for *gawi* (circle dance), because the movement of threshing with this song is very similar to that of *gawi*.

\(^2\) Young men have organised a music band with self-made electric guitars and play music of their own composition. A few people, both in and outside Wologai, invite such a band to play music for their child’s wedding.

\(^3\) *Nara* in this context is used as a form of address for a lover.
Appendix 5

CATEGORIES FOR EVERYDAY SOCIAL RELATIONS

AJI JI'E KA'E PAWE: GOOD YOUNGER SAME-SEX-SIBLINGS, NICE ELDER SAME-SEX-SIBLINGS

The relation of people who often visit each other in day-to-day life is referred to as 'good younger same-sex-siblings, nice elder same-sex-siblings (aji ji’é // ka’é pawé)'. The social tie described as such is reciprocal and equal, and is usually with an otherwise unrelated person. While in 'historical' stories, men in this relationship address each other as 'aji ka’é (brothers)', I have never heard men whose relationship is referred to as aji ji’é // ka’é pawé addressing each other as such. They are neither related genealogically nor are affiliated with the same ritual-village. Having many 'good younger same-sex-siblings, nice elder same-sex-siblings' makes one's travel easier, since people in this relation help each other especially by offering free meals and a place to sleep. The ethic involved in this relation is described as follows. It is stressed that this relationship should not rely on words.

*iwa welu no'o sepu seru* (we) do not place the debt of
*iwa tembu no'o aé nunu* (we) do not grow the water of
*garé iwa mbé'o* (our) talk should not be known
*kéko iwa téi* (our) speech should not be found

My host had many 'good younger brothers, nice elder brothers', including Ende men. Some were East-Lio men, who walk around the central area selling ikat cloths from their areas. On their way, they often stopped at my host's house for a cup of coffee or a meal. He would buy a cloth of a good quality for a good price when he needed it.

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1 See Sëko Légo stories in chapter 5 and ndito wika story in Appendix 2.

2 The phrase *ad nunu* is understood as similar to *sepu seru* because they are parallel. *Nunu* means a kind of banyan. Someone inferred that *nunu* means 'to speak or speech' in another language, probably in the Ngada area.

3 People say that *kéko* is a word, meaning 'to speak or speech', in Lisé, where the eastern dialect of Lionese is spoken.
Namé is a relationship between two people, usually men, who share a secret about their own sexual behaviour or about a third person's sexual behaviour. Two men in namé relationship can be affiliated with different ritual-villages. This relationship is established in youth and continues for life. They call each other puzzling words that are related to their shared secret. Two men, whom I know well, are in a namé relationship. They call each other menge se ngai (only for a breath, only for a short time). I was told that many years ago they had been sexually attracted to the same woman, but her sexual attraction soon disappeared. Another two men in a namé relationship called each other wara, the name of a person several generations ago. Wara was ugly because he had uneven teeth. Wara's demonstration chant (bhéa) started with the following phrases.

Wara Sajo
ngi'i giso gaso
ata fai mbélo mbango
Wara Sajo
(my) teeth are uneven
women see me and turn away
He could not marry all his life. Wara was not only sexually unattractive, but also impotent. These two men seemed to tease each other about their failure in sexual activity.

KUNU (PEOPLE OF MATRILINEALLY TRANSMITTED NATURE)

According to some people, kunu refers to a group of people sharing a matrilineally transmitted nature. People of the same kunu share several kinds of prohibitions concerning some animal, plant or objects like containers of palm wine, which are generally called tebu. People of the cat-kunu (kunu méo), for example, must not eat or injure cats. Cats are their tebu. It is understood that a tebu is somehow related to the origin of the kunu. This concept of kunu is not shared by all Wologai people.

4 Sexual impotence is expressed as lai lowo (winding of a river) or ru'u ré'a (magic of spandanus), since the penis of an impotent man winds like or a river or hangs like leaves of the pandanus.

5 How a kunu originated is known through dream or speculation and is kept secret. The origin story of Wunusora-kunu, however, is fairly well known. Their tebu is the eel. The outline of the origin story is as follows. Similar stories are told in many places in central Flores:

Once upon a time there was a village at Tiwu Wunusora. One morning villagers found their field damaged by an unknown animal. They got together and decided to put some ash in the fields. In the morning after they put some ash, they found a huge eel trapped in the ash. They killed the eel and brought it into the village. Since the eel became heavier while carrying it, they had to cut it into several parts to carry it. They cooked the eel and made a feast. When they were dancing a circle dance, a strange woman came to the village and asked 'Are you eating my husband?' The villagers answered 'No'. After the question and answer were repeated several times, the woman pulled out her hairpin from her hair and said, 'If you are eating my
However, being the same *kunu* may motivate individual to establishing a social tie between those who consider *kunu* like this.

**TATU WAU // NGERU NGESa ‘FOLLOWING THE SMELL, SNIFFING THE ODOUR’**

Recognition of sharing an ancestor or of a social tie between mutual ancestors may also provide a reason for unrelated people to ‘restore’ the relation. This kind of restoration is called ‘following the smell, sniffing the odour (*tatu waU//ngeru ngesa*)’.

**TORE JAJI: PARTNERS OF ALLIANCE-TREATY**

People maintain that the Wologai ritual-village has an alliance-treaty, *poré jaji* (tie/treaty), with other ritual-villages. This alliance-treaty guarantees that Wologai people can pass freely into the land of the people of their partner ritual-village, can eat from their partner’s fields and drink from their arenga palm trees when they need to avoid hunger and thirst. On the one hand, the Wologai people seem to believe that Wologai has a alliance-treaty with all the other ritual-villages and even with all the peoples of the world. On the other hand, they tell a story about a specific alliance-treaty established in the past by one prominent Wologai man and one prominent man in another ritual-village. People say that this kind of alliance-treaty involves all the people of the two ritual-villages concerned. However, it seems that such an alliance-treaty initiated by prominent men are rarely maintained after their death. It is still important to talk about such *poré jaji*, which is described with verses in paralellism.\(^6\) A partner of *poré jaji* is addressed as *tore jaji*. Against this general understanding, one may address a friend who is affiliated with another ritual-village as *tore jaji*. Some Wologai people, for example, address me as *tore jaji*.

\(^6\) One example of these verses is presented in chapter 5 and another in chapter 8.
Appendix 6

A NOTE ON THE ANALYTICAL CATEGORY 'HOUSE'

Anthropological interest in the category 'house' has two foci, one is its symbolic, specifically cosmological values, and the other is sociological correlates. In the former, a house, as a built form, is dealt with in terms of symbolism by pointing to a concordance with other representations, or by maintaining that a house as a built form is a microcosm providing a presentation of orderly forms or relations, in other words, depending for its imagery on other symbolic fields.

In a sociological framework, a house as a built form or the category of 'house' is dealt with as a point of reference for social grouping. Fox writes:

Although a house has a physical referent, the category of 'house' may be used abstractly to distinguish, not just households, but social groups of varying sizes. The 'house' in this sense is a cultural category of fundamental importance. It defines a social group, which is not necessarily the same as the house's residential group (1993a: 1).

Lévi-Strauss has coined the analytical concept of 'house society' as an intermediate structure between his elementary and complex structures. By re-examining data from American Indians, Southeast Asia and Japan, he has tried to define a concept of 'house society', according to which 'house' is defined as follows:

A corporate body holding an estate made up of both material and immaterial wealth, which perpetuates itself through the transmission of its name, its goods, and its titles down a real or imaginary line, considered legitimate as long as this continuity can express itself in the language of kinship or of affinity and, most often, of both (1983: 174).¹

The concept of 'house society', according to Lévi-Strauss, may not only link elementary and complex structures in his evolutionary framework, but may also present an analytical model to understand many societies which appear wanting

¹ Lévi-Strauss 1983: 174. Carsten and Hugh-Jones use the phrase 'moral person' instead of 'corporate body' here for the reason that the former is closer than the latter to the original French phrase 'personne morale' (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995:1, 254).
from the viewpoint of descent and/or alliance theory. In these societies, the house reunifies principles which descent and alliance theory defines as mutually exclusive. Lévi-Strauss writes:

On all levels of social life from the family to the state, the house is therefore an institutional creation that permits compounding forces which, everywhere else, seem only destined to mutual exclusion because of their contradictory bends. Patrilineal descent and matrilineal descent, filiation and residence, hypergamy and hypogamy, close marriage and distant marriage, heredity and election (1983: 184).

Lévi-Strauss's previous accounts argue that the task of anthropologists is to seek logical deductive models which are universally applicable. He also maintains that native models could only be 'secondary rationalisations' (1963, 1969). However, in his account of 'house society', he observes that, since 'house' encompasses logically incompatible principles, logical deduction misleads anthropologists in analysing a 'house society'. He writes:

Anthropologists have therefore been mistaken in seeking, in this type of institution, a substratum which they have variously thought to find in descent, property and residence. We believe that, to the contrary, it is necessary to move on from the idea of objective substratum to that of objectification of a relation: the unstable relation of alliance which, as an institution, the role of the house is to solidify, if only in an illusory form (1987: 155).

In his analysis of 'house society', the possibility of a fundamental shift of perspective in Lévi-Strauss's work can be detected. However, he has chosen to posit his account of 'house society' in terms consistent with previous studies of descent and alliance. Instead of exploring the native perceptions as 'primary rationalisations', he postulates the house as illusion, equivalent to 'fetishism' as Marx applied the term to commodities (1987: 155). Lévi-Strauss' interest in the study of the house focuses on social groupings or social classification from an objective point of view. His account is, in a sense, complementary to that of

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2 Lévi-Strauss observes that the Yurok, a population from the north of California, comprise a 'house society'. He points out that since Kroeber paid attention only to what the Yurok lacked, he concluded that the Yurok had "no society as such, ... no social organization ... Government being wanting, there is no authority .... Such familiar terms as 'tribe,' 'village community,' 'chief,' 'government,' 'clan,' can therefore be used with reference to the Yurok only after extreme care ... in their current senses, they are wholly inapplicable" (Lévi-Strauss 1983: 172).
Bourdieu, who was also inspired by Marxist analogy and was much influenced by Lévi-Strauss.

Bourdieu tries to move beyond the fundamental opposition between subjectivism and objectivism by presenting the practical mode of knowledge, which is the basis of ordinary experience of the social world. Both objectivism and subjectivism are opposed to the practical mode of knowledge. He regards subjectivism, that is to say 'phenomenology' in Bourdieu's definition, objectivism and their relation as follows:

Objectivism, which sets out to establish objective regularities (structures, laws, systems of relationships, etc.) independent of individual consciousness and wills, introduces a radical discontinuity between theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge rejecting the more or less explicit representations with which the latter arms itself as 'rationalizations', 'preconceptions' or 'ideologies'. And, because it ignores the relationship between the experiential meaning which social phenomenology makes explicit and the objective meaning that is constructed by social physics or objective semiology, it is unable to analyse the conditions of the production and functioning of the feel for the social game that makes it possible to take for granted the meaning objectified in institutions (1990: 26-27).

Bourdieu adopts the word *illusio* for 'the feel for the social game', which objectivism might dismiss as illusion and in which phenomenology might find the truth of that experience, the 'lived' experience of the social world, immediate understanding, or practical experience of the familiar universe. Lévi-Strauss observes that the reality of the house is illusory and the use of kinship is fictitious in a house-society. He seems to recognise in this illusion or fiction only subsidiary and functional significance. In contrast, Bourdieu gives to *illusio* fundamental positive significance to move beyond the opposition between objectivism and subjectivism:

the 'feel for the game' is what gives the game a subjective sense --- a meaning and a *raison d'être*, but also a direction, an orientation, an impending outcome, for those who take part and therefore acknowledge what is at stake (this is the *illusio* in the sense of investment in the game and the outcome, interest in the game, commitment to the presuppositions --- *doxa* --- of the game). And it also gives the game an objective sense, because the sense of the probable outcome that is given by practical mastery of the specific regularities... (1990: 66).
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