Inner States and Constituents of the Person in Kedang, Lembata

R. H. Barnes
(Oxford University)

Abstrak

Khazanah Bahasa Kedang mengenal variasi istilah yang berhubungan dengan 'keadaan batin seseorang' (inner states) yang disebabkan oleh faktor jasmani dan rohani (disebut dengan >atan). Tulisan ini menyajikan pembedaan antara manusia, hewan dan roh-roh; anggota badan manusia; hubungan antara tubuh dan roh; berbagai macam keadaan emosi, baik dan buruk, serta hal-hal sehubungan dengan pikiran. Dibahas pula, bagaimana roh-roh tertentu mempengaruhi latar belakang hidup seseorang. Representasi inner states sebetulnya lazim ditemukan dalam bahasa-bahasa lain di Indonesia, namun karena keterbatasan ruang maka tulisan ini hanya melihat kasus dalam Bahasa Kedang saja.

From my various trips to eastern Indonesia, I recorded a good deal of information incidentally about inner states and emotions, which would tend to confirm both that the Kedang classification of intellectual and emotional states is of a kind with those of other Southeast Asian cultures speaking languages of the Austronesian family and that certain of the states they distinguish pertain to that set which appears to accord with 'pan cultural expectations' and indeed which are accepted as innate emotional responses shared by humans as part of their animal heritage (Lewis 1977:116 117; Heider 1991: 77 78; 203 214; Marks 1969: 34). Ursula Samely, A. Sio Amuntoda, M. Suda Apelabi and I have been collaborating on a dictionary of the Kedang language, which has permitted correcting, confirming or elaborating material which had previously been available to me from this, until recently, totally unreported language.1 In this paper, I would like to take advantage of these circumstances to provide a selective account of what makes a person according to Kedang language and culture. My avenue to the Kedang language was through the medium of Bahasa Indonesia, which I had to learn first. At no time in the field had I fully mastered the rich resources of that language for discussing these matters, but the cooperative work on the dictionary has given me the opportunity to strengthen my knowledge in this area as well. The fact that I have used Bahasa Indonesia to get to the Kedang language has meant that the work has been a three way comparative project, in which two of the languages are related (if remotely) and share many resources.

Location

Kedang is a group of some 30,000 people speaking the 'language of the mountain', tutuq

1 Part of the work has involved establishing the precise spelling of words according to a system established by Samely (1991:56).
The Kedang regard themselves as among those beings which have soul and are subject to spiritual influence. Spirits, men and animals are creatures, murun or murun eqong. Animals in general are ewang nawang, as opposed to human beings who are >ate diqen (ate, numeral coefficient for humans, diqen, good), a word which is translated exactly by the Malay word of Sanskrit derivation manusia and with which it is paired in ritual speech, as in the phrase:

murun nore >ate diqen
creature and human being

>anaq nore manusia
child and human being

This phrase may be compared with another:

huraq murun >ate diqen >anaq manusia
create creature human being a human child

Men and animals have souls tuber or tuber nawaq. Possible images of the soul are suggested by the phrase tuber nawaq, uluq udang, where uluq means seed, and udang is a pigeon or dove. Another image is provided by the phrase tuber nawaq, ai ongaq. Ai ongaq refers to a way of constraining a prisoner where he is bound at the throat and trusted up with heavy wood staves to confined the movement of the hands and feet. The picture suggests the need to bind the soul in or to the body. The soul does leave the body in dreams or illness. A not uncommon example concerns dreaming of the dead. When they dream of the dead they may meet with them, sitting and talking or eating just as normally. Such dreams can be premonitions of death and may require ceremonial steps for protection. Some say that food crops have souls and that the souls of the various items including food and clothing given a dead person at a funeral accompany him to the land of the dead where they are shared among his dead relatives there, the ancestors, tuan wog. The first stalk of maize cut in the harvest is the soul of the maize, watar tuber. Grains from this stalk are the first to be planted in the following year. There is a tradition that animals and spirits derived from brothers belonging to a set of seven, the remaining brothers having founded the various branches of mankind (Barnes 1974: 29-30).

Body

Human beings consist of soul and body, wëq. There are supposed to be seven souls, although these are not particularly localized or named. The inner part of the wrist at the pulse, however, is called soul of the arm (ling tuber). The equivalent part of the foot is the soul of the leg (lèi tuber). A person’s soul is like the shoot of a plant. When one is born, it is there, and when it rises then one’s arms and legs become strong and one can crawl around and later walk (Barnes 1974:156).

The body consists of the familiar coverings, limbs, orifices and organs, as well as dadi dara, flesh and blood (used exclusively for human beings) and bones lurin. Its regions are differently evaluated in commonplace ways. Of greatest importance is the head (tubar), which in certain contexts is equatable with the right side of the body, as opposed to the left and the lower parts. By tradition, although not in current practice, if an enemy were killed in war and his entire body could not be taken, then his head or his right hand should
be brought back for burial in the village center. The brain, ُعجل, is not associated with thought or other inner states. Blowing and spitting on a patient are standard ways of curing. *Puq murun*, for example, is an act of blowing life into a creature, putting life/soul into it, giving the breath of life. Both breath and spittle are associated with spirit. In guardian spirit ceremonies the priest daubs masticated betel quid mixed with bits of food on the forehead and other parts of the body of the person for whom the ceremony is being held.

The bodily differences between men and women are associated with the creative potential of producing human beings, through intercourse, conception and birth. The creative powers are linked to semen and blood, and these fluids have symbolic resonances linking them to other spiritually potent fluids in the world. Decorum requires that the lower part of the body be kept covered. As with excrement, the genitalia are apt for obscenities and insults. In the case of genitalia, someone may insult another by saying that his penis or her vagina is deaf, stupid, a slave, a satan, an animal, abnormal, or a witch, all of which are of course negatively evaluated traits or beings. Children in particular enjoy exchanging insults of this kind.

The body is also a container. Before birth, *bua*, the womb, *nawal* contains the child (*nawal dawal >anaq*). It also hides the child, *nawal oni >anaq*. Around the foetus is the placenta, *kaboteq*. After birth is *ulaq*, filth. Attaching the mother and child is the navel cord, *tēm botin*. So too is *tēm dewaq*, which more significantly is the tie uniting members of a lineage, the ties among all who descend from a single womb, such as a set of siblings, members of a clan or group of clans or villages descended from a common ancestor, or any larger segment of mankind (Barnes 1974:149). One says of such a group, *tēm >udeq, ti dewaq >udeq*, one navel cord, one womb. The navel cord is severed with fingernails or a bamboo knife, never a metal one, and is left to dry and drop off by itself. Once is has done so it is preserved under the roof of the granary near the ritually significant right post.

Life is carried by blood, *dara, wēiq or wēiq dara*. Menstrual flow is bad blood *wēiq daten*; blood and pus, *wēiq nanan*; or filthy blood, *wēiq ulaq*. It is also the coming of the moon star, *ulaq male >adan*. The life giving fluids, semen and blood, are collectively *wēiq lalan*. To be alive, to grow, to thrive is *bita or bita mate*. To awaken is *hoko*. To wake up or come to life is *bita hoko*. In contrast, to die or be dead is *mate or mate bita*. To sleep is *bute, tēgël or tēgēl hoko*. To fall asleep is *toka, toka >adong*, *toka naduq* or *mato toka*.

**Inner states**

The body is a locus of spiritual and mental activities and potentials. Knowledge, perhaps also thought, appears to be in the head, *wau*, face or forehead. Someone who is *wau mato* (forehead and eyes) is insane. The face is specifically *ning mato* (nose eyes). The person is >atan. In response to a query about ceremonial restrictions and prescriptions, a friend commented that, 'the restrictions concerning >ahar are already in the forehead [at birth]' (>ahar bètè wau bahe doq). Emotions and dispositions are inside, presumably inside the body.

Kedang has a variety of words for expressing inner states. Among them are >aten, or liver. For the neighboring Lamaholot, Arndt (1937:14, 26, 85) translates *ate* variously as liver, inside, mind, opinion, way of thinking, wish; while Leemker (1893:425) renders *aten* as heart, mind, character, and liver. He also lists thirteen emotional states or dispositions named by adding a specific adjective to *aten*. I have not run across similarly wide ranging uses of *aten* in Kedang, perhaps only because I failed specifically to ask. It is related however to Malay *hati*, which Wilkinson (1932:...
401-402) describes as referring to the heart, core, seat of certain feelings, ‘anatomically the «blood eagle», made up of liver…, gall…and heart proper’. His detailed article on the word and its combinations shows that it may refer to dispositions as well as emotions and that some uses cross the line between thought and emotion.

Also used in Kédang are the words laleng (heart, emotions, disposition) and >oneq (heart, disposition, one’s innermost self), both of which mean inside, and which are thoroughly interchangeable. Lamaholot onā is interior, heart, bay (Keraf 1978:35), and according to Leemker (1893:450) also mind. Various emotions are named by modifying this word, such as >oneq digen, happiness, >oneq pana (hot heart), anger, >oneq pana pana, great anger, >oneq urang, (small interior) subdued feelings, shame, sadness. A predisposition or liking to eat is >oneq a. Laleng works in the same way: laleng buren, anger; laleng daten (bad interior), angry, distraught, evil, evilly disposed, unreliable, dishonest; laleng digen (good interior) calm, comfortable, well disposed, trustworthy, honest. Anger is also expressed by rahe, rahe buren, or buren bahuq. Not surprisingly laleng and >oneq are linked to each other in various phrases in ritual language, such as kara >oneq pana, kara laleng buren, do not be angry, do not become enraged, or >oneq >udeq, laleng hama, of one heart, the same interior, which indicates general accord; >oneq urang laleng neong, unhappy (lit. heart lacking, innermost not enough); >ata ma >oneq >udeq, laleng >udeq, these people are of one heart, one feeling. In some uses, >oneq also seems to mean memories. Memory, especially empathetic memory, is indicated by the word kēlèn or kēlèn kauq, to think, to remember, to think of. Thus, >ei kēlèn o rasa means I love you, literally I think of you a lot. Binen kēlèn nare kēlèn requires that brothers and sisters retain affection for each other, literally sisters remember, brothers remember. Love or affection is roho or roho obaq, which cover the range affection, love, regret, be sorry for someone, and sobaq or sobaq sayang. Both phrases are joined the couplet roho obaq sobaq sayang. The phrase roho obaq tata maqing means affection for father’s sisters, while ine roho, ame roho, translates love mother, love father. Kara >oneq pana wèq, paq sobaq sayang wèq means do not hate each other, but love each other. To love or be in love is also kiol or kiol kaol.

People may wish or want something, pigr or pigr biitq. On the other hand they may not want something, ohaq pigr. They may refuse or reject something daeq or daeq doyaq. They may annoy someone, laha lengaq; make trouble, laha susa; or misbehave, laha riko, laha rako. Distress causes people to cry, sob and weep, dareng, dareng idaq, kueq, or kueq dareng or nueq. Someone may be shy or shamed, iwīq, miang, iwīq miang, or miang iwīq. A woman who is withdrawn or reclusive after losing a child is iwīq >anaq. People may also be frightened, tauq.

Intellectual functions are generally not covered by >oneq and laleng, but by nuan or nuan eten, to know, be conscious of. Eten is guess, suppose, suspect, contemplate, riddle, puzzle. Tada lalang also means to know, find out, recognize. Both tada and lalang by themselves mean to know, but tada also means a sign (obviously a borrowing from Bahasa Indonesia tanda). Tuben tuben ohaq nuan etenq translates even when explained repeatedly you do not understand. Someone who is clever is bisa. Other aspects of knowledge or knowing are indicated by verbs relating to seeing and hearing, such as boraq, to look at, ebeng or ebeng boraq, to watch, tomo, to look up to, listen to, honour, adore, worship, tomo wèq, bangèr wèq,
to look at each other, pay attention to each other, dèngèr or dèngèr bèing, to listen, to hear, to understand (a language), and ui (conjuga-
gated), to see, to know. Ebeng also means pay attention to, examine. Ebeng boraq wèg is to pity one another. Dèngèr and bèing are also used occasionally to express demands for obedi-
dience, dèngèr nute, bèing toyeq, listen to the words, hear the words, dèngèr rian, bèing baraq, listen to the great, hear the heavy, i.e. the rian baraq, a figure of leadership and au-
thority, such as a king or chief. Both phrases mean pay close attention. Another expression for obedience is tomo tauq raya, honour the raja. Obedience is also indicated oy dei, which also means to follow someone or something, to travel a path, and to come later. Thus, we have dei koq èuq, follow my voice (obey me). Someone who is loyal or obedient is neten. The functions of seeing and hearing are sometimes joined to express the act of comprehension, til dèngèr, mato nui, acquire direct knowledge, your (plural) or our (exclusive) ears hear your (our) eyes see. Buying and selling is ui >ui eten lala, literally, I see the market, contemplate the path. To smell is naèq. Naèq muhu is to smell a smell.

Opposed to knowing is not knowing, ohaq muan, ohaq ui; not thinking or remembering, ohaq kèlèn; not seeing, ohaq boraq, ohaq ui; not hear-
ing or understanding, ohaq dèngèr; forgetting, upe; and to be doubtful, dubious, worried, anxious, confused, weng wang, wing wang, or wang weng. An admonition not to forget each other is >oneq kara upeq wèg. Kara upe >eqi means do not forget me. Someone who is stupid is balenger, bodo, and bukeq. To be disoriented, lost or confused about where you are is weng wang >ul ìq (>uliq means place). Those who are unable to hear are til bukeq, ears deaf. The deaf and dumb are bukeq bekeq. The blind are mato munaq (eyes solid, presumably clouded over), mato daten (bad eyes), and kisuq. Someone who is insane is kamunger, kamunger hokil, or kamunger mahuq.

To believe, put one’s faith in, trust is doraq, as in the phrase ahin tutuq kara doraq, do not believe other advice. The need for caution in believing others arises of course from the fact that some people sometimes play around or trick people, >ayung, while others lie or deceive, pade. Pade >ayung means to joke, lie, deceive, cheat, covering a range of intentions therefore from the mischievous to the malevo-
 lent. The same meanings are conveyed with the hybrid compounds akal pade and pade akal formed with the Indonesia/Arabic word akal. The opposite of telling a lie is telling the truth, namur. One frequently hears the ques-
tions, usually good natured, ‘O pade o?’, ‘are you lying?’, or ‘Namur paq pade o’, ‘is that true or are you lying?’

Communication

Communication of any kind, including of course exchanging information, commonly takes place by talking or conversing, tutuq. Conversation or language in general is tutuq nanang, where nanang otherwise means to weave. The specifically Kedang language is the language of the mountain, tutuq nanang wela. In certain ceremo-

nies, one may relate genealogies and the doings of the ancestors, tutuq >ine >ame méti keu, talk of the ancestors above, or marriage alliances and obligations, tutuq >ine >ame, tèhèq binen maqing, talk of the wife givers, speak of the wife takers. In this last phrase, tutuq is paired by tèhèq, to say. In a phrase referring to narrating legendary history, tutuq >uli, pau koda, tell of the place, narrate the history, it pairs with pau, which means search for ancestral knowledge or genealogical background. Koda is the crown of the Kedang mountain where the original village of mankind is located. Conversation makes use of words nute, toyeq or toyeq nute. Speech is not only the me-
dium of everyday communication. It also is used
to address gods and spirits in ceremonial chants, which, as is usual in Indonesia, typically make use of semantic parallelism of phrases and binary pairings of words (Fox 1988). Such chants usually end with statements to the effect that the words are now over. Words are conveyed by the voice, èuq or èuq wowo. Wowo is the opening of the mouth, but also means voice. Wowo pairs with nuwu in the expression nuwu wowo, mouth and voice. In a ceremony to reconcile two people who have been quarrelling, a twisted strand of red, black, and white threads representing nuwu wowo takes up the bad feeling and is then thrown away. Lines from the accompanying chant speak of taking back the mouth, breaking off the voice, and dividing the words, loosening the words.

In a chant for a rain ceremony, which of course calls for rain to supply the crops and eventually bring an end to the hunger season, the stomach and the mouth are paired, paro botin, baq wowo, feed the stomach, feed the mouth. Another ritual phrase refers to the opposed monsters of the mountain and the sea, èuq > ular naga, wowo > ara bora, voice of the dragon, voice of the sea monster. Voice then alludes to spirit, and may in relevant contexts refer to the voice of ordinary people, the voice of the chanter or of the spirits themselves.

Persons and spirits may be summoned, called or ordered, hoing or ata, asked dahang, requested, hoing dahang, or, invited, > ameg or > ameg, hoyan, etc. They may also be informed, notified, loeng, or loeng lereng, as in the make known the alliance ceremony, loeng nobol teqa to inform the ancestors of bridewealth settlements. They may incur the wrath of their superiors or ancestors by failing to obey, ohaq dengèr ria, bèng baraq, did not hear great, listen heavy, by failing to negotiate a marriage properly or inform the ancestors of marriage alliance matters, ohaq tutuq nobol, ohaq loeng teqa, did not discuss alliance, inform the ancestors.

Negative features

Children are given to misbehavior, riko rafo, and rowdiness, dëmul dëqël. Some people are wicked, daten ohaq (just bad). People may also abuse, insult or curse one another, olaq, olaq ron, pake, pake bie or olaq ron pake bie. To damn or curse is ron or ron tohon.

The greatest deviation from human decorum is exhibited by witches, maq molan. Maq is closely related to maqo, to steal. A witch is the reverse of a normal human in that he is ‘outside-in’, obi taleng, because he speaks well, but has evil intentions. His hair is tangled, his clothing disordered, and his face dirty. A witch is also called odo korong, red anus. A witch is half blossom (i.e., human), half witch, puhun hidir, maq hidir, thus a witch is called puhun maq. The soul of a witch, eqong leaves the body and returns by way of the anus. While the soul is away, the body is incapable of moving and shows no reaction if shaken. The eqong takes the form of a crow, rat or snake. Someone possessed by an eqong is like a corpse (Barnes 1974:210-213).

Spirit

As Evans-Pritchard (1956:4) comments, wind or air is a metaphor for God found throughout the hierological literature of the world. In Kédang the wind is thought to have or be spiritual power. It is called to clean the village in the annual village cleaning ceremony. It is requested to remove illness, bring rain, etc. It is also capable of bringing plagues and illness. Illness is attributed to the wind having entered the body. Following the village cleaning ceremony and just before a four day period of restriction, the doors of the village are closed so that the soul of the village cannot go out and so that the wind cannot enter (Barnes

---

3 Uq nuwu, bai wowo, take the mouth, break off the voice.

4 Bake mute, newar toyeq, divide the words, loosen the words. Bake mute, newar toyeq, divide the words, loosen the words.
1974:136, 138, 170). The souls of persons who have died a bad form of death are said to be permanently trapped in this world, where they stay on the horizon, the trunk of the sky. They come back to the village on the wind from time to time to cause misfortune. If someone has a priest perform a ceremony to harm another person, he may hide the cloth and stone used in the ceremony in some rocks, where they will cause the wind (nukun angin) to come during the rainy season and do the damage desired (Barnes 1974:203, 217, 227). Wind as an expression of spiritual power is expressed by nukun or nukun angin. Nukun also means ancestral wisdom. In various ceremonies, such as that accompanying the construction of a village temple, the village cleaning ceremony, or sometimes in a guardian spirit ceremony, the priest will recite nukun, which means that he will recite the descent lines down from God to the living children of each clan. I reported (1974:56) that the last person who could possibly do this had died before I began my field research. However, since then my friend Kewa Payong has become a priest, the village cleaning ceremony has been reestablished on an annual basis at the initiative of a village head who is a former Catholic seminarian, and Kewa does recite these genealogies (with some difficulty I am told). Nukun therefore is used in a variety of ways, each of which show its connection with the spiritual, and therefore physical, wellbeing of the community. In so far as it has a characteristic physical manifestation, that is as wind.

Conclusion

Needham (1972:188) writes that 'the essential capacities of man have yet to be empirically determined by comparative research'. Space and limitations of knowledge do not permit a complete account of Kedang language of inner states, nor is there space for any extensive comparison with other Indonesian languages. Comparison would, however, show many similarities and no doubt indicate that for the most part Kedang characterization of inner states is similar to those of speakers of any language.

References

Arndt, P.

Barnes, R.H.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E.

Fox, J.J. (ed)

Heider, K.G.


