

ABSTRACT: THE ROTINESE

This thesis is an ethnographic study of some of the principal social categories of the Rotinese, a population of approximately 100,000 living in the Timor area of Eastern Indonesia. Roti, the home land of the Rotinese where over 70,000 Rotinese still live, is a small island with a relatively high population density. Unlike other islands in Indonesia, Roti, the southernmost island of the archipelago is a dry land with few natural springs and subject to an irregular and inadequate monsoon rain. Because of this lack of water, the Rotinese are tappers of the lontar or palmyra palm (*Borassus flabellifer* L.). Yet they also cultivate rice, which is for them a prestige food, in both wet and dry rice fields, as well as a variety of mixed crops, including millet, sorghum and maize in well-fenced fields and gardens and they keep herds of water buffalo, sheep, goats, and horses which roam freely on unfenced land.

Traditionally, the island of Roti is divided into eighteen self-ruling domains. From the early records of the Dutch East India Company, it is evident that most of these domains have existed as independent states for well over 250 years. In modern Indonesia, these same domains remain the administrative units of the island. Each domain is governed by its own Lord, who together with the lords of the various clans that make up the domain, presides at a flourishing court and makes decisions based upon the customary usage of that domain. Discourse and dispute are the first loves of the Rotinese.

Rotinese society is hierarchical, with fixed classes of nobles and commoners. Nobles are ranked in status and belong to one of two clans, the clan of the Male-Lord and the clan of the Female- or Sister-Lord. The Male-Lord who presides at court is the highest noble of the domain and is its political head, but he shares his temporal power with a Female-Lord or Lord-fetor. A dignitary, the Head of the Earth, of a commoner clan, traditionally regarded as the oldest clan of the domain, is the Male-Lord's ritual superior and, at court, is the traditional authority on customary usage.

Each named clan recognized at court is distinguished by its separate traditions, rights, and privileges. Clans are compared to trees and like trees are of different size. Noble clans with their named lineages (or 'branches') are far more differentiated than are commoner clans. Some clans are highly endogamous for reasons of status or size; some are preferably exogamous; while other clans, not larger than small lineages, are strictly exogamous. A child's membership within his lineage is established by his father's payment of his mother's bridewealth. A woman, for whom bridewealth is not paid, contributes children to her brother's lineage.

Marriage on Roti is not prescriptive, but the Rotinese do have alliances (described as the 'tying' of various kinds of bonds) and they do have preferred forms of cross-cousin marriage. The clans of the Male and Female Lords should, it is felt, be joined in alliance but each domain has its own special alliances between

particular groups. Women, ranked according to the status of their lineage and their clan, are accorded different levels of bridewealth and are exchanged among descent groups to the formation of alliances. Alliances, once established, endure for three generations and the former wife-givers, a person's matrilineal affines, are his obligatory ritual protectors throughout his life. A person's matrilineal affines are spoken of as the 'roots' by which a person grows and prospers; these all important relations are described by a variety of metaphors involving the imagery of planting and growing.

The prefatory remarks outline some of the problems considered in the thesis: the concern with the control of water and women; the equation frequently drawn between women, water, and the moon; the distinction between marriageable and unmarried women; the categories of male and female as used to order society; the problem of dyadic and triadic classification and the pervasive metaphor of plant and tree.

Chapter I is a general introduction, describing the island of Roti and its political divisions, the distribution of the population and the linguistic position of Rotinese with its many dialects. The Rotinese, in fact, possess two languages: an ordinary language and a ritual or poetic language. The ritual language, used on formal occasions, is based on an ordered pairing of all words and expressions. This language of dualism with its established corpus of chants and sayings is a collective expression of Rotinese wisdom. On the basis of statements in both ordinary and ritual language,

Chapter I offers an analysis of the primary co-ordinates of the symbolic order and of the Rotinese concepts of order and perfection.

Chapter II is a study of Rotinese modes of livelihood: the classification of the 'nine seeds' or crops of the Rotinese, the male and female lontar palm, the various sacrificial corporations that organize work in the fields and the annual agricultural cycle. The lontar palm is given special attention because of its crucial importance to subsistence and also because of the symbolism it provides. Chapter II includes a discussion of the use of fencing in the establishment of land ownership or membership in a field corporation. The structure of the sacrificial corporations that control water is shown to be analogous to the structure of power and authority in the domain.

The first half of Chapter III provides an examination of Rotinese ideas about the structure of the domain: the nature of social classes, the place of ritual authority, the division of temporal power, the structure of the court and the quality of 'maleness' which hierarchically orders the society. The second half of this chapter considers in detail the organization of a single domain, that of Temamu. A summary is made of the principal legends of each clan and the rights and privileges these legends are said to validate. The ideal structure of the domain is compared with the actual existing organization.

The first half of Chapter IV offers an analysis of the subdivisions of the clan: the lineages that regulate marriage and

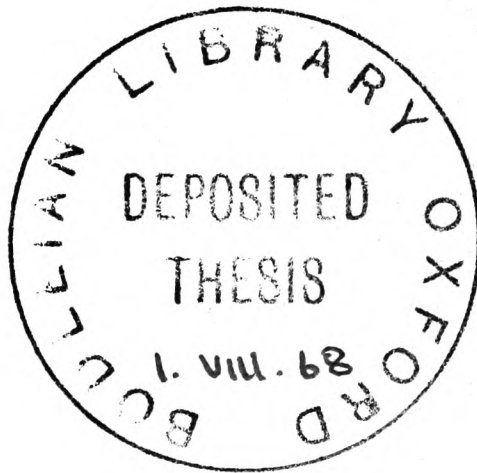
the individual property holding houses found scattered wherever there is sufficient water to maintain a household. The role of women and the incorporation of clients is also discussed. The second half of this chapter again deals with the domain of Termaru: the subdivisions of its clans and lineages. Detailed data are provided on the incorporation of a single client line and on a village area of the domain.

Chapter V is an examination of marriage and alliance among the Rotinese. Agnatic relations are distinguished from affinal relations, particularly the matrilateral relations of the former wife-givers. Rotinese ideas on marriage are discussed as is the all important ritual role of the mother's brother. Finally the Rotinese relationship terminology is considered as a system of reference, address and sentiment.

One appendix gives the ritual names of the island of Roti and its domains, while another appendix gives two variant legends which argue the ritual ownership of a source of water in Bañ, a small domain of central Roti. The thesis includes a comprehensive bibliography of Roti and a brief additional bibliography of other works used in the preparation of the thesis.

THE ROTINESE

A Study of the Social Organisation
of an Eastern Indonesian People



James J. Fox

University College

and

The Institute of Social Anthropology

Oxford

April 1968^{TT}

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Maps and Illustrations	iv
Note on Orthography.....	v
Prefatory Remarks	vii
Chapter I: The Rotinese: A General Introduction.....	1
1. The Island and its Divisions	1
2. The Distribution of the Rotinese Population.....	9
3. The Dialects of Rotinese and Cultural Diversity	17
4. The Ritual Language of the Rotinese	22
5. The Ritual Names for Roti and its Domains	32
6. The Symbolic Order and its Primary Co-ordinates.....	40
7. The Universe as Tree: A Ritual Chant	53
8. Order and Perfection: The Concepts of <u>Tetu-Tema</u>	60
Chapter II: Rotinese Modes of Livelihood	70
1. The Concern with Water in a Dry Land	70
2. The Foods of the Rotinese: The <u>Pule Sio</u>	75
3. The Lontar Palm: <u>Tua Manek</u> and <u>Tua Fetok</u>	82
4. The Fields of the Rotinese: <u>Lala</u> , <u>Manek</u> , <u>Tina</u> and <u>Osik</u>	93
5. The Agricultural Cycle	107
6. The Metaphor of Planting and Growing : A Ritual Chant	113
Chapter III: Domain and Clan	120
1. The Meanings of the Word, <u>Nusak</u>	120
2. Class and Status: <u>Mane-ana</u> , <u>Laus</u> , and <u>Mane-sui-kala</u> ..	123
3. Ritual Authority: The <u>Dae Langak</u>	129
4. The Division of Temporal Power: The <u>Manek</u> and <u>Fetor</u> ..	132
5. The Lord and the Structure of his Court	136

6. The Place of the Lord in the Hierarchy of Maleness	147
7. The Clans of Teramaru and their Legends	151
8. The Rights and Privileges of the Clans	165
9. The Pairing of Clans in Teramaru	175
10. The Present Structure of the Court of Teramaru	180
Chapter IV: Clan and Lineage	186
1. The Vocabulary of Clan and Lineage	186
2. Descent and the Role of Women	193
3. Clientship and Incorporation in the Lineage	198
4. House and Village Area	208
5. The Clans and Lineages of Teramaru	219
6. The Noble Clans of Teramaru	230
7. Biredoko Line of Fola-Tein	243
8. The Village Area of Ufa-Len	256
Chapter V: Marriage and Affinal Relations	274
1. Agnatic Descent and Affinal Relations	274
2. Ideas of Marriage and Alliance	280
3. The Idiom of Affinal Relations	289
4. The Ritual Role of the Mother's Brother	299
5. Relationship Terminology	333
Concluding Remarks	361
Appendix to Chapter I	362
Appendix to Chapter IV	365
Bibliography of Roti	378
Additional Bibliography	390

LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

A Rotinese Lord with his mother	after title page
Map: The Lesser Sundas	after page 1
Map: The Island of Roti	8
An elder of Teramaru	146
Horsemen in Teramaru	31
Some men of Teramaru listening to evidence in a dispute	51
A woman weaving	61
The crown of the lontar / A man climbing the lontar	82
Table X, Vol.I, Book VIII, Chapter IX, page 52 of Rumphius, <u>Amboinsche Kruidboek</u> : The Lontar Palm	86
Inflorescences of the male lontar / A man squeezing the inflorescences with his <u>kakabik</u>	92
A girl cooking lontar syrup	109
The Head of the Earth in Teramaru	129
The lords and elders of Teramaru gathered to hear a dispute	146
An elder of the <u>fetor</u> clan	164
Map: The village area of Teramaru	184
A clan lord seated on a platform in his house	192
Two views of the Rotinese house	208
The roofing of a house with lontar leaves	218
Rotinese seated beneath the roof of a house	243
Map: The village area of Ufa-Len	257
A Rotinese beside his gin still	273
Women at a well in Thie	288
A child after his hair-cutting ceremony	305
A noble wedding procession	315
Girls dancing in Thie	332

Note on Orthography

The Rotinese in this thesis has been written with the following signs:

vowels:	a, e, i, o, u
consonants:	k, ngg, ng
	t, d, nd, n
	p, b, f, m, (mp, mb)
	l, (r)
	j, w
	s
	h.

Wherever possible in this thesis, I have endeavoured to conform my spelling of Rotinese words to J.C.G. Jonker's established (1908) orthography. I have deviated from this orthography only slightly, following the directions set in the writing of modern Bahasa Indonesia. Where Jonker distinguished between the two allophones of the vowel e [e, è] and between the two allophones of the vowel o [o, ò], I have written a single e and o. Those who wish to learn the rules effecting the distribution of these allophones may consult Jonker (1915:2-3).

A peculiarity of Jonker's orthography, which I have retained through this thesis, concerns the diaeresis. Many words, such as feö, suü, toä, etc., occur with a diaeresis over their second vowel. This does not indicate a distinct vowel sound but is rather the sign of a slight glottal check between the two vowels. Alternatively, feö, suü, toä might have been written fe'o, suu, to'a.

The glottal check in Rotinese is due to the elision or metathesis of a middle consonant. A difficulty in Rotinese is that the metathesis of the middle consonant, especially the middle k, is dialectically variable. Thus, for example, the word toäk, meaning 'roof beam', occurs as toäk (dialect of Termanu), toä (dialect of Korbaffo), and toka (dialect of Ringgou). The significance of final consonants, particularly the metathesized k, is a complex problem which Jonker (1906) has only partially elucidated. In brief, most Rotinese nouns in the abstract (in the dialect of Termanu) end in a final k or are modified by an adjective or compound that must end in a k. Thus the k or ka is roughly equivalent to a definite or indefinite article. Throughout this thesis whenever I analyse the root of a Rotinese word, I omit this final k. Elsewhere this same word may be written with its final k.

PREFATORY REMARKS

I

I offer this study of the island of Moti as a specific contribution to the ethnography of the Indonesian peoples. I hope, however, that as a dissertation in social anthropology, it may also contribute to the development of the discipline. The whole of this work was written in the conviction that societies require systems of ideas to order the behaviour of individuals. It was written with the further conviction that what constitutes the distinctiveness of social anthropology is its study of ordinary language usage - figures of speech, categories, and systems of classification - in relation to social action.¹ The study of language without proper concern for its social use or the study of behaviour (and social interaction) without concern for the ideas influencing this behaviour is either illusory or the province of other academic disciplines whose aims and methods are unlike those of anthropology. While it remains to be determined whether certain modes of thought are so common as to be fundamental to the nature of man or whether certain instruments of the natural world offer themselves as prevalent means to conceptualization, it seems that valid comparative statements within anthropology must be based

1. For this reason, the ordinary language philosophy of J.L. Austin seems, to my mind, to offer an admirable introduction to the anthropology of the English-speaking peoples.

upon a discernment of the elementary social categories of men. This thesis, then, is concerned with the study of categories and their ordering of social action.

One of my intentions in this thesis is to confront a problem of considerable importance within the tradition of Dutch ethnography on Indonesia. My choice of an obscure island in the east of Indonesia, as an area for investigation, was far from fortuitous. I was led to Roti, because of certain ideas and theories developed in Leiden by anthropologists, most of them students or colleagues of J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong. Despite the little that was then known about the island, Roti was one of the islands that figured prominently in the speculations of this group of anthropologists.² F.A.E. van Wouden, for example, included Roti in his dissertation, Sociale Structuurtypen in de Groote Oost written under the direction of J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong. The theory of the Leiden anthropologists was somewhat involved and was given different emphases by different writers on the subject. In general, its aim was to discover what might have been an ancient Indonesian social organization based upon the correlation between an elaborate system of complementary dualism and certain forms of connubium - the fixed exchange of women among the genealogical segments of a

2. While in Leiden, before going to Indonesia, I was given the opportunity to glance through some of the short papers on Roti that had been submitted to the seminars of J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong.

society. This system of connubium was said to require the intertwining of patrilineal and matrilineal principles of descent in such a way as to form a single 'double unilineal' mode of descent. For some writers, dualism and connubium became so confounded that evidence of complementary dualism was regarded as proof of the presence (or former existence) of a parallel system of connubium. Nevertheless, on the whole, this body of theory made a considerable advance in analysis of Indonesian societies and had Dutch anthropologists not been prevented by the war from carrying out further field investigations, there might well have been even greater advances. Had the war not occurred, Roti would certainly have been one of the first islands designated for study.

More recently, P.E. de Josselin de Jong in his introduction to the English translation of Schärer's Ngaju Religion has rephrased one of the major hypothesis of the Leiden anthropologists. He writes:

"It was the working hypothesis of several Leiden-trained anthropologists of the 'thirties and 'forties that a dualistic opposition of male and female (and associated concepts) so often encountered in Indonesia, might, in the field of social structure, be related not only to genealogical and/or territorial moieties, but also to an awareness (even among peoples with unilineal or cognatic kinship systems) of the opposition between the patrilineal and the matrilineal principles of descent, succession, and inheritance, and the latent, if seldom manifest combination of the two".³

3. Hans Schärer: Ngaju Religion, The Hague, 1963, preface p.VIII.

Unfortunately, the proliferation and complexity of the ethnographic evidence on Indonesia has far outstripped the theoretical ability to analyse it. Although Schärer, for example, relied upon this dualistic hypothesis, the tremendous richness of his material on the Ngaju (much of which has not yet been published) seems to demand a greater theoretical sophistication to deal with it. One of the minor implicit contentions of this thesis is that supposed 'principles of matrilineal and patrilineal descent' have outlived their analytic usefulness and now often tend to obscure social realities.⁴ My objection is not to the concept of lineality which is a vital analytic (and logical) tool. (In this thesis, I retain what can be a perfectly neutral term, the word 'lineage'). My objection is to the more confusing pigeon-holing of aspects of a society into 'principles' of (matrilineal or patrilineal) descent, or the alleged combination and interrelation of these two 'principles'. In the case of Roti and, I suspect, other Indonesian societies, there is more to be gained by abandoning these 'principles' in the search for more useful and perhaps more elementary concepts.

While I may reject certain aspects of the Leiden hypothesis, my intention is not to abandon it entirely because it provides an

4. There is nothing remarkable in this position. Leach (1961:1-27) has already convincingly argued this case in favour of a sociological algebra or typology; but, in my opinion, the first step in this direction must be to define the elementary categories that order each society.

insight into Indonesian social structure. On Roti, as in other Indonesian societies, the concepts of male and female are strikingly and almost inescapably evident. The difficulty is that 'male' and 'female' may be used concretely to refer to the sexual particularities of individuals and, at the same time, may be used to refer to highly abstract cosmological notions. 'Male' and 'female' are, in Levi-Strauss' terms, 'concrete classifiers'. They can and do refer to all levels of human experience. The question, therefore, that this thesis asks is this: If, as Dutch anthropologists have recognized, the conceptual categories of 'male' and 'female' are so fundamental to Indonesian societies, how, then, - in the case of Roti - do they order society?

II

To discover forms of complementary dualism, polarity, or dyadic opposition among an Indonesian people is scarcely remarkable. To be oblivious to these dual oppositions would make one's ethnography suspect. In the first chapter of this thesis, after a general description of the island, I endeavor to show how this dualism is formalized within the conventions of Rotinese ritual language. Given the rule requiring that all statements be phrased in 'dyadic sets', there exists no limit in theory to the number of dyads upon which the Rotinese might seize to express their meaning. Thus ritual language has, as all languages do, the potentiality to

be astonishingly creative. Yet on the other hand, this language has an established vocabulary of dyadic terms. On the basis of my corpus of some forty ritual chants, I estimate that an adequate dictionary for ritual language would contain a minimum of 10,000 dyadic sets.

Since the study of ritual language became one of my main concerns while on Roti, I should say something more about this language. Before leaving for Indonesia, I had prepared a thesis on Roti and the neighbouring island of Savu,⁵ based on material from the Dutch archives and other literary sources. There is an excellent dictionary on Rotinese ordinary language, by the Dutch scholar J.C.G. Jonker. This enabled me to begin to learn some Rotinese before arriving on the island. Besides this, by the time I reached Roti, I was nearly fluent in Indonesian, which many Rotinese now understand. On my first day in the field, at the court of the Lord of Termanu, I could ask specific questions about matters that had puzzled me in writing my thesis.

One of the things about which I was curious was ritual language. Although Jonker collected and translated texts from ordinary language, he neglected ritual language. In his book of texts (1911:97-102), he did include a funeral chant (Manu-Kama /

5. Roti and Savu, A Literary Analysis of Two Island Societies in Eastern Indonesia (276 pp), 1965.

Tepu-Nilu) in what he called the "poetic" language, but, although he provided some commentary, he left the chant untranslated. From this and other hints in the ethnography, I gathered that ritual language was of fundamental importance to the Rotinese and, therefore, once my wife and I were settled in our first village, I set about trying to gather texts. There is an ancient tradition on Roti, much like the medieval German tradition, of poetic contests between rival chanters held at the court of a Lord or the house of a noble. Eventually I was able to exploit these rivalries and once I sponsored a minor contest between two chanters. Initially, however, I had difficulty in recording a text and once I had recorded several good chants with my tape-recorder, I had further difficulties in transcribing them, because the young school teacher who helped me in ordinary language knew little of ritual language. From my rough transcription of my first chant I constructed the original text and after repeated questioning, I managed to translate it and understand some of the conventions of ritual language. To reach this stage took me over three months while carrying on normal field research. I followed this up by translating the untranslated chant in Jonker's collection and thereafter the whole task of collecting and translating chants became considerably easier. I usually worked on my texts with lords and elders after the court sessions in Termanu and of all my informants, the dae langak or 'Head of the Earth' of Termanu, S. Adulanu, was the most help to me. He was the person who really taught me ritual language.

On Roti, every mature individual knows some ritual language. The old know more than the young. (The Rotinese possess a society where a man may still be called a boy, tae-anak, at forty). Although men are more articulate than women, it is doubtful whether men necessarily know more ritual language than women. Nearly always, however, it is men who are recognized as chanters, but this is a fluid category of individuals established by ability and inclination and not by heredity. In dancing the circle dance at funerals and house consecrations and at formal ceremonies for negotiating bridewealth or for receiving the bride, women are also required to use ritual language.

The chants, songs, and short poems in ritual language are important because they are the abstractions of conventional wisdom. Unlike other peoples, but quite typical of an Indonesian people, the Rotinese are prone to speculate about their own society and the world about them.⁶ Ritual language embodies this speculation. It is, as they say, the "language of the ancestors". And wise men, as they grow old, are reputed to abandon ordinary language and speak only in ritual language. The language expresses more clearly than ordinary language the values and categories of the society.

6. In my opinion, this native model of Rotinese society is a better model than one an ethnographer might impose. The model is self-fulfilling because it is used to order the society. It seems to me to be my task as an ethnographer to discover this model and show how it orders - or in some cases fails to order - the society. The Rotinese recognize that a discrepancy exists between ideal and reality. Tetu ta nai batu poi, tema ta nai dae bafak: "Order is not of this world, perfection is not of this earth", they frequently say in ritual language.

Yet one of the intriguing factors of Rotinese culture is that, despite all its emphasis on dualism, the number three - not two - is the ritually and symbolically efficacious number. Nine, the multiple of three, is the number always used to express totality. Another of the unavoidable tasks in Rotinese ethnography is therefore to trace the interrelation of the dyad and the triad. Running the risk of tautology, it seems that dyads on Roti denote complementarity, while triads denote hierarchy. While complementarity is one ordering principle of life, the Rotinese also recognize and value a hierarchy based on status, wealth, privilege and ultimately authority.⁷ Thus the debate over whether the dyad takes precedence over the triad or the triad over the dyad cannot be settled. In the southern domain of Thie, I once listened to a casual dispute among various elders and lords over whether that domain was, in reality, divided into two or three groups. In Thie there exists a system of moieties but one moiety is further divided into two groups. Hence the question was truly irresolvable. One moiety saw itself in opposition to two groups; the other moiety recognized only its opposite.

7. It is possible and not at all contradictory to have a complementarity of socially and symbolically unequal halves. Nobles and commoners, although socially unequal, believe that their respective and immutable classes require and complement each other.

III

For a Rotinese the pleasure of life is talk - not simply vague idle chatter, but the more formal taking of sides in endless dispute, argument, and repartee or the rivaling of one another in eloquent and balanced phrases at ceremonial occasions. (Even minor occasions such as the drinking of gin together may lead to grandiloquent poetic recitations and rival toasts between a host and his guest). This emphasis on verbal ability is the ideal of the nobles and elders, who congregate at court to hear disputes; yet everyone, even the young, enjoys involving himself in some form of litigation. The Dutch ethnologist and naturalist, ten Kate, was struck by this characteristic of the Rotinese during his brief tour of the island in 1891. He justly observed: "Nearly everywhere we went on Roti, there was a perkara [litigation or dispute] over this or that. The native, to wit the Rotinese, can ramble on over trivia like an old Dutch granny. I believe that his loquaciousness is partially to blame for this, for each perkara naturally provides abundant material for talk" (1894:221).

Verbal prowess is expressive of a basic Rotinese value. To offer an analysis of Rotinese society in terms of a selected number of moral values would be entirely misleading. For a Rotinese,

life is fine etiquette of appropriate behaviour.⁸ To accuse a man of being a thief would be less meaningful than to accuse a man of being ignorant. All emphasis is on conceptual order and the maintenance of proper forms - even in the face of glaring discrepancies. An offense against the rules of proper behaviour creates less a sense of moral guilt than of shame. (Often the person offended is more shamed than his offender). When an offense occurs, there is the tendency, first, to deny the existence of a breach in behaviour, then, to absolve it (in Rotinese terms, 'to wash it away' as one washes away dirt) and finally, to reassert and express the formal rules of conduct, as if no offense had occurred. Saying formally that something is so tends to make it so.⁹

This etiquette might best be illustrated by an occurrence that happened while I was doing field work. I happened to be visiting a clan lord at the very moment when one of his daughters was caught by her brother sleeping with a boy in a neighbouring house.

-
8. Children, as they grow up, are taught to make ever finer discriminations in their behaviour. This is phrased as learning to distinguish the right or 'knowing hand' from the left or 'ignorant hand'. Growing into knowledge requires a life-time. Even mature men with children are labeled as ignorant by the elders.
 9. This same formalism is a feature in most rituals. Things are what they are said to be, not what they actually are. A gift of a bowl of rice may actually be the gift of a rice field or a small knife may be given and spoken of as a string of gold. An ethnographer would be forced to make two different descriptions of the same ceremony if he only saw the ritual or only heard it.

This caused a tremendous uproar, people running and shouting, the girl trying to flee her brother, the brother attempting to beat his sister, others trying to separate the two, only a few yards away from the platforms on which the father of the girl and I sat talking. The father made no move to interrupt our conversation nor gave any sign that there was anything amiss. I, in my turn, was also obliged to maintain this pretence, although people were practically falling over us to join in the *mêlée*. After some ten or fifteen minutes, the lord excused himself formally - although, in fact, we knew each other quite well - on the grounds that he had matters to attend to. The confusion quickly subsided; in a few days negotiations over bridewealth were concluded through intermediaries; an overgenerous payment was made by the boy's side 'to wash away' the father's shame and in less than five days, the girl was led away to her husband's house amid a flurry of grandiloquent speeches, the father of the girl claiming an alliance over generations of his clan with the clan of the groom, and actually praising the marriage as conforming to an ideal.¹⁰ Throughout the affair there was a studied attempt by the parties concerned (others, of course, gossiped) to avoid the mention of any failure in rules of proper behaviour. Perhaps more than certain western or African

10. In this case, this claim of alliance had some basis, but on the whole was somewhat tenuous. Given a certain fluidity, it is always ^{possible} to discover evidence for an existence of a marriage alliance.

societies, Rotinese society relies upon a rule of conduct which can be tolerant of deviation by formally refusing to acknowledge its existence.

IV

I have chosen to examine, in this thesis, the Rotinese concern with women and with water. (This is wholly a man's point of view since the majority of my informants were men and since this is, in fact, the view which dominates the society). An interest in the control and distribution of the two commodities, women and water, may be seen as a purely practical concern. Both are necessary to maintain a 'house', the basic unit of the society. But the interest in women and water is far more involved than this.

Both women and water are symbolically associated.

Occasionally this equation can be drawn directly. Water in general equals women in general. Once unsuspectingly, for example, I was drawn into a conversation in praise of the purity of Rotinese water, only to discover that the subject of conversation was the purity and excellence of Rotinese women.¹¹ In other contexts, the terms, women and water, of this equation are linked through a third term,

11. The Rotinese distinguish themselves from the Belu of Timor whose water, they say, is sullied. The fact is that some areas of Belu have a high incidence of venereal disease. Using the metaphor of water, 'drinking', as opposed to 'eating' or 'chewing' becomes the euphemism for sexual intercourse. In Belu, it is said, too many men drink from the same spring.

the moon. The moon is feminine and effects the physiology of women and the course of the tides. Hence in a complex cyclical fashion the analogy is drawn between women, the tides, and the moon. In the ceremony for receiving the bride into her husband's house, the girl is addressed as the moon, and she is asked '...to bring the water [juice] of the lontar palm ...the abundance of the sea'.

In discussing the symbolic usages of the Rotinese there is one difficulty. We are taught to avoid mixing metaphors. The Rotinese, however, labour under no such constraints. They revel in the mixing of metaphors and the proliferation of allusions. Not only are symbols 'polysemous' as Turner has argued, but the language of metaphor and analogy (as used by the Rotinese) is so intricate and so open to elaboration that no single metaphor is ever sufficient on its own. This language reflects a basic attitude of the Rotinese themselves. It is both tolerant and loosely syncretic. It adds and reconciles, rather than rejects. To say that a woman is [like] the moon, the tides, the nine seeds of rice and millet, the nitas or the delas tree, a parakeet, a parrot, or the rudder of a boat is not contradictory. Each equation develops a different analogy and since no one analogy is exclusive, all of the equations are acceptable. Context alone sets some constraint on the use of metaphor.

In this thesis, I do not examine all the variety of metaphors and symbols that the Rotinese make use of, especially in their

major rituals. That undertaking will require several monographs at a later date. There is one image, however, that is fundamental and recurrent. This is the image of the tree or plant. In chapter one, I discuss the imagery of the waringin tree as a model of the universe. In chapter two, I examine the special symbolic properties of the lontar palm in order to demonstrate, in later chapters, how the lontar palm serves as a model for clan and lineage. Also in chapter two, I introduce a chant to illustrate how the life cycle of the human person can be described by the use of the metaphors of tree and plant. In a subsequent chapter, I endeavor to show that the metaphor of 'planter' and 'planted' pervades even the relationship terminology of the Rotinese. The imagery of plant and tree is intimately linked with water and women: blood, semen, and seed.

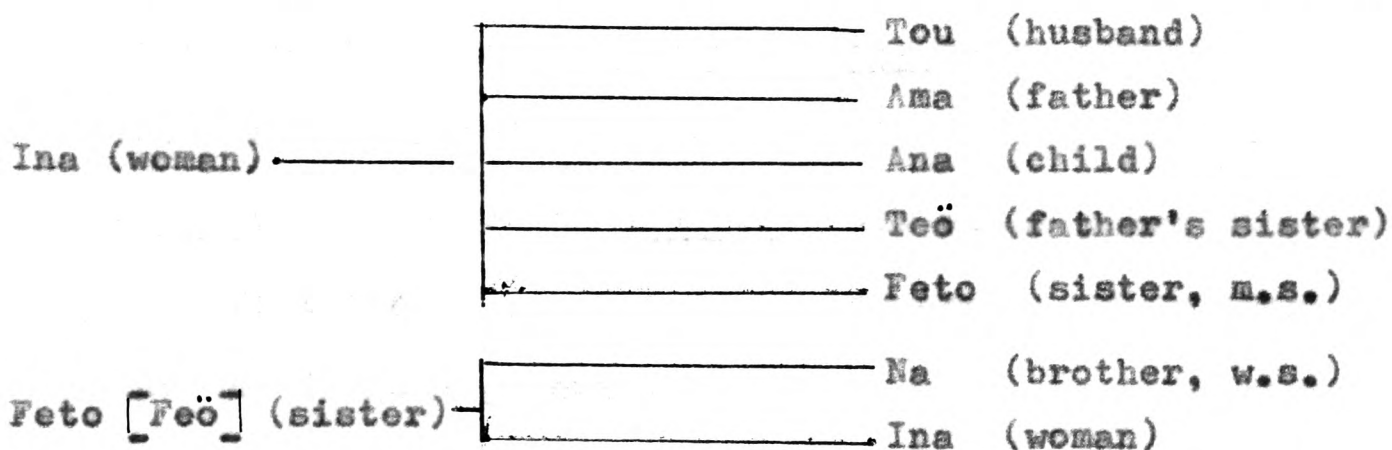
It is necessary at this point to discuss the semantic structures of the words for women in Rotinese, in order to give an outline to one of the problems I treat in the thesis. Ignoring for the moment the word for father's sister, teö, which according to Jonker (1908:623) is a variant of feö/feto, there are only two words for all classes and categories of women, ina and feto. It is possible to make an exhaustive list of all the relations in which these two words appear as one half of a contrastive pair because their number is limited and what is more significant, because the Rotinese themselves, in discussing relationships, designate these

relations in terms of contrastive pairs. In other words, the contrastive pairs I list below are not my constructs but common Rotinese categories.

The list is as follows:

- 1. Ina - Tou¹² : Wife - Husband or Woman - Man
- 2. Ina - Ama : Mother - Father
- 3. Ina - Ana : Mother - Child or Large - Small¹³
- 4. Ina - Teo : Mother - Father's Sister
- 5. Ina - Feto : (marriageable) Woman - Sister
- 6. Feto - Na : Sister - Brother

This list might better be represented diagrammatically as follows:



For a man, there are two aspects to femininity: women (ina) who have 'married in', including a man's wife and his mother and women (feto/teö) who have 'married out', including a man's sister

- 12. The diminutive of this is ina-ana/tou-ana or ina-ana/tae-ana.
- 13. Ina/Ana, mother and child, provides the paradigm for the abstract concepts of large and small, implying both the relationship of dependence of the smaller on the larger, and the idea of generation of the smaller from the larger, its mother. Ina/Ana, when used as adjectives in this way, associate great size and bulk with the female sex. In the house, for example, the di ina may be translated as 'great poles', 'female poles' or 'mother poles' while the di ana may be either the 'lesser poles' or the 'baby poles'.

and his father's sister. All women, in general all unrelated marriageable women, are classed as ina.¹⁴

This same bifurcation of femininity is maintained in the terms indicating masculine and feminine gender. There is one term, mane, for the masculine gender whether this refers to humans, animals, or the lontar palm. (A major part of this thesis is devoted to a full examination of the implications of this single term, mane.) For the feminine gender there are two terms: ina and feto/feö. Animals because of their indiscriminating sexuality are divided according to gender as mane or ina. The lontar palm, however, is divided according to gender as tua-mane and tua-feto: male and female or 'brother' and 'sister' lontars. Similarly for humans, a man's son is ana mane, his daughter ana feö; all other young girls are ina-ana (cf. footnote 12). One of my concerns in this thesis is to examine the following contrast:

<u>Mane</u> (masculinity)	{	<u>Ina</u> (feminine fertility: accessible)
	}	<u>Feto</u> (feminine fertility: restricted)

As I intend to show in this thesis, this bifurcation of femininity pervades Rotinese society, effecting the classification of clans and lineages and the ordering of political office.

14. There is a diminutive term or expression, ina-feö-ana, used for young girls which implies that the girl is either potentially a spouse or potentially a sister and will eventually grow into one or another of these categories. This I discuss later.

V

An ethnographer has a responsibility to the people he studies as well as to his own discipline. While living among the Rotinese, I was accepted as the historian to the Lord of Termanu and later to the Lord of Korbafo. It was generally recognized that I was to record the language and customs of the people and that this was to be entered in a book.¹⁵ To most Rotinese this recording of their culture was as it should be.

The task of the ethnographer is to achieve some balance between the clarity and elegance of his argument and the catalogue of detailed information he has recorded. The question is one of the relation of the general to the particular. The sheer record of accumulated detail is both confusing and boring but if ethnographic information is not reported, there is the evident danger that this information will be lost. In an earlier draft of this thesis, I concentrated perhaps excessively on the recording of detail. In this final version of the thesis (which may still appear to lose itself in a welter of particularity), I have pruned away over a third of my original thesis. Much of this deleted material will appear as a separate monograph on Dutch archival history and local dynastic legends. More of this material should

15. I had taken with me a copy of my earlier thesis on the island to demonstrate what a book about Roti might look like. Initially, some informants would offer me information and inquire whether this was already in my book. With the spread of literacy among the young, this book struck many elders as a way of personally instructing their grandchild, after they, the elders, have died.

appear in a long article on the hus-cycle, the major agricultural feast of the Rotinese. Furthermore in the thesis I have limited myself mainly to an examination of a single Rotinese state, one among eighteen states on the island. To my mind, Rotinese culture is not susceptible to easy summary.

VI

It seems relevant in this introduction to give some outline of the circumstances of field research.

My wife and I arrived in Kupang on Timor - an area which is heavily Rotinese in population - in March, 1965. Here I began my actual field research, although from the day after my arrival in Djakarta in January, I was in the company of or could meet with educated and literate Rotinese, some of whom still retained some command of their native language. In April, we sailed to Roti and lived in the small administrative town of Baá as guests of the Lord of Termanu, E.J. Amalo, who was also the District Officer (tjamat) of Central Roti. Early in May, we moved to the village of Ufa-Len, Termanu, to reside in a house built in expectation of the marriage of the son of the Lord of Ingu-Beuk, J. Kiuk. We lived in our house in Ufa-Len without interruption for nearly seven months until mid-November when we returned to Baá and found a small native sailing boat to take us to Kupang. The following month of December, spent in Kupang, was one of my busiest in Indonesia.

I had notes to type and texts to put in order. I had two Rotinese boys helping with the transcription of several chants from my tape-recorder and I began gathering information on the peoples of Savu and Semaun and additional information about the people of Ndao. So by the 2nd of January, we were anxious to return to the tranquility of a Rotinese village.

On returning to Roti, we lived some weeks in Baä while I made several trips on horseback to Termanu and to Korbaffo and eventually arranged to move to the village of Ola-Fulihaä, Korbaffo. There we lived until April with the Lord of Korbaffo, Ch. Manubulu. During my time in Korbaffo, I found it impossible to separate myself from my friends in Termanu. And as Ufa-Len was only two hours ride from Ola-Fulihaä, I journeyed there frequently. (I was always - inescapably - identified with Termanu wherever else I lived on Roti. The Termanu dialect of Rotinese I had learned identified me immediately). In April and May, we once more lived in the town of Baä and I made frequent journeys on horse to both east and west Roti. Although I never resided there, I concentrated my attention on the village of Oe-Handi, Thie where I had found admirable informants.

In June, we left Roti in another small sailing boat, some months earlier than we had planned because I was troubled and weakened by recurrent attacks of a malaria which had begun in March. In June and July, I did more work among the Rotinese of

the Kupang area and in July, we sailed for Surabaya on Java. In all, I spent approximately 14 months on Roti, 17 months on Roti and Timor and nearly 20 months in Indonesia.

When we arrived on Roti, we were the only Europeans on the island. In July we were joined by Pater P. Konijn, S.V.D. who resided in Baä but visited us every few weeks until he was invalided by severe eczema and confined to Baä. On three occasions, we stayed with him in his residence in Baä and when he left Roti for Kupang he allowed us to remain in his residence during our last weeks on the island. In Kupang, we stayed in great comfort in the home of D. Yoder of the Mennonite Agricultural Mission to Timor. Yet for most of our time, my wife and I lived in Rotinese dwellings, eating the simple rice and sugar diet of Rotinese nobles, and gorging ourselves on meat and rice at feasts. From the day I arrived in Ufa-Len until the day I left the island, I never once wore trousers or shoes; I chewed sirih-pinang incessantly and once I had hardened to it, I spent as much time on horseback as any Rotinese noble. When I left Roti, although my control of ordinary language was far from perfect, I had achieved a reputation for my knowledge of ritual language.

My research was supported by a Public Health Service fellowship (MH-23, 148) and grant (MH-10, 161) from the National Institute of Mental Health and was conducted, in Indonesia, under the auspices of the Madjelis Ilmu Pengatahuan Indonesia and the

Departemen (Lembaga) Urusan Research Nasional. I am also indebted to the Rhodes Trust for my scholarship in the preparatory year preceding my journey to Indonesia and in this final year of thesis writing. I am grateful to my wife, Irmgard, for accompanying me and to Dr. Rodney Needham for six years of tutorial and supervision.

VII

As a conclusion to this introduction and as a prelude to one of the themes of this thesis, I present here the tale of Teluk-Ama Lailona and Hak-Ama Mepedae. The name Teluk-Ama Lailona means 'Three-Father [who] suspends the heavens' and the name is taken here to refer to the High God. Hak-Ama Mepedae means 'Four-Father [who] maintains the earth'. He is said to be an ancestor of man. Just as odd numbers are superior to even numbers or as heaven is superior to earth, so too Teluk-Ama demonstrates his superiority over Hak-Ama by his control over the sources of water.

Teluk-Ama Lailona and Hak-Ama Mepedae

In a former time and long ago, heaven and earth borrowed fire from each other; they erected a ladder, so that [those who lived in] heaven and earth could ascend and descend between the sky and the earth. At that time, heaven was not yet as high as it is now, but was low. The man who ruled in heaven was named Teluk-Ama Lailona and the man who ruled on earth was named Hak-Ama Mepedae. Each

year there was a heavy rain as if poured out from heaven to earth so that the face of the earth was full of wealth and bounty. One day then Teluk-Ama descended from heaven to view the beauty and loveliness on the face of the earth. Then he encountered Hak-Ama and the two spoke with each other and told each other their names. While they were conversing, Teluk-Ama spoke to Hak-Ama, saying: "Look, I have given all that grows and sprouts on the face of the earth and an abundant rain; the face of the earth is full of bounty and wealth and those on the face of the earth are greatly overjoyed". When Hak-Ama heard this, he grew exceedingly angry and said "Although you bestow [water] from heaven, if I did not maintain [things] on the face of the earth, then nothing would grow." Then the two disputed and argued with each other, each eager to contend with the other [but] wishing to hold to his own opinion. Because of this, Teluk-Ama spoke to Hak-Ama, saying: "We have no Lord here to decide and to give judgement on our dispute; then let the two of us remain calm so that I may return to heaven". After that, Teluk-Ama said: "Brother, let us not grow angry with one another for I am returning". As he was leaving, he promised Hak-Ama, saying "I am going to heaven for three years; then I will come to visit you again at this place so that we two may view the beauty and loveliness on the face of the earth". When he reached heaven, he shut tight all the sluice gates; thus not the slightest rain fell upon the face of the earth during the course of three years.

After that, he descended to the face of the earth and he encountered Hak-Ama at their former meeting place. When they met, Teluk-Ama asked Hak-Ama, saying "How goes it?" Then Hak-Ama spoke to Teluk-Ama, saying: "Ah, during the course of three years, not one drop of rain has come to earth and thus we sit. Look, all the grass and shrubs have completely died and not a grain of food is there to be had and in addition, the herds of the rich have died for there is no water nor grass, and look at me, friend, I have grown terribly thin, not at all as I used to be". When Teluk-Ama heard these things, he spoke to Hak-Ama, saying "Ah, how is it that you did not maintain things firmly so that all would not die and disappear and how is it that everything died and food did not grow? For formerly you said it was you who ruled the face of the earth". When Hak-Ama heard this, he did not reply, but only hung his head. Now he knew and understood that truly Teluk-Ama was the father and Great Lord of Heaven who had power over heaven and the face of the earth with its water and all that it contained. After that, Teluk-Ama returned to heaven, leaving Hak-Ama behind. When he reached heaven, he opened wide all the sluice gates and the rain was released and the earth grew rich and bountiful again as it was in the beginning. From this, Hak-Ama observed and realized that his power was not as complete or as firm as that of Teluk-Ama. Now Hak-Ama rightly understood that his [power] was the force of his thighs and the strength of his arms and that his power could decrease and cease, not like that of Teluk-Ama who was the Great Lord of Heaven without whom

nothing grew. Because of this many of the men whom Hak-Ama ruled, their hearts soured and they turned their backs; they neither followed nor trusted the rule of Hak-Ama, but instead they chose the 'rewards' of Teluk-Ama for the welfare of their body and their spirit. Thus it [the tale] ends.

CHAPTER I

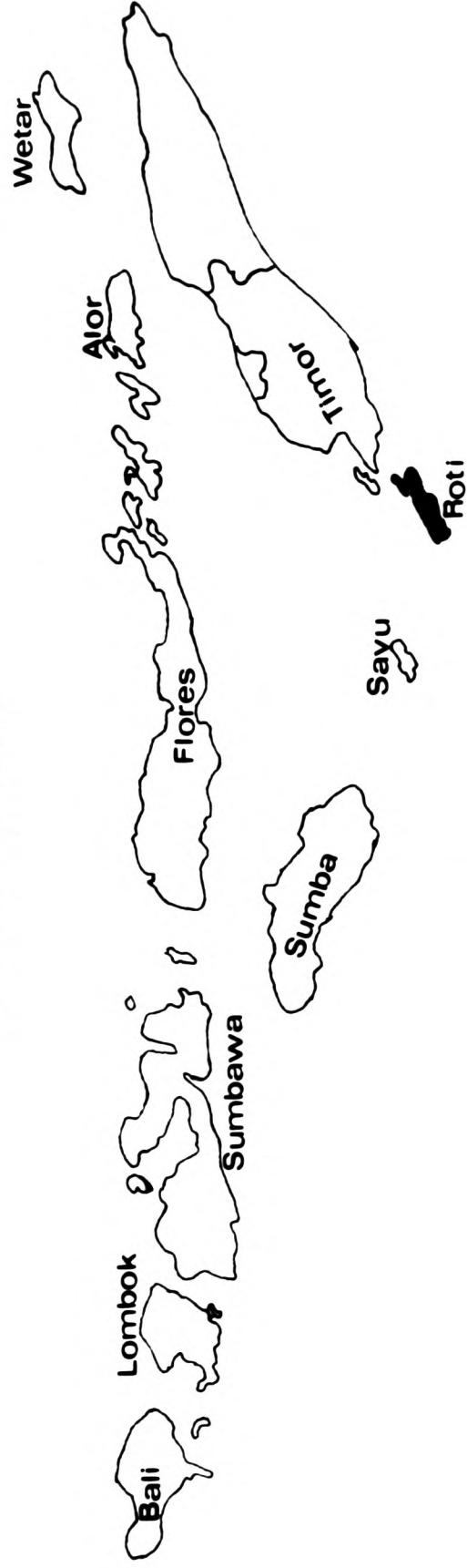
THE ROTINESE : A GENERAL INTRODUCTION1. The Island and its Divisions

The island of Roti¹ lies off the south-western tip of the larger island of Timor. It is the southernmost island in the Indonesian archipelago. The island measures some 80 km in length from southwest to northeast while, at its widest, it is never more than 25 km in breadth. The surface of the land, including several off-shore islands scattered along the coast, is approximately 1250 sq. km.²

Roti falls within the outer arc of the Lesser Sundas and therefore in contrast to the richer volcanic islands to the north and west, Roti is a dry hilly land rifted with limestone reefs and marls³.

1. In the literature, Roti is alternatively referred to as Rotti, Rotte, Rottij, Rote. In the Kupang area, the island is generally referred to as Rote but in the majority of Rotinese dialects, Roti becomes Lote. The use of the word, Roti, has the general advantage of being the most widely recognized term for the island, both within Indonesia and through the world.
2. These figures are general estimates. Wichmann (1892:97) gives the island a length (SW-NE) of 82.5 km and a breadth never exceeding 25 km, with a total area of 1670 sq.km. Simons in his unpublished Nota over de Onderafdeeling Roti (1916:1) estimates the length of the island to be 78 km and its surface area to be 1250 sq. km. This figure agrees with Ormeling's figure of "about 1200 sq. km." (1956:142) and the figure of 1223 sq. km. arrived at by the Kantor Perantjang Tata Bumi, Timor for the 1954 census.
3. A detailed geological description of the island may be found in H.A. Brouwer Geologische Onderzoekingen op het Eiland Rotti (1921)

THE LESSER SUNDA'S



500 Miles

The central areas of Roti are elevated and reach their highest point (430 meters) in Talae and Keka on the south central coast. Stretches of primary forest can still be found in this area, in the southern reaches of Termanu, near the small lake of Peto, and in Landu at the eastern end of the island. The rest of Roti consists of level pieces of cultivation, bare rolling hills, palm or acacia savannas, and occasional areas of secondary forest. Everywhere the island is strewn with loose grey-black chunks of limestone.

The year is divided into two seasons. The east Monsoon brings a dry season that begins in April and may continue through November. These winds reach their peak in July and August when the island suffers an almost continual but still gusty dry, hot wind. During this season, nearly all the rivers of the island dry up and the countryside becomes progressively more sere and brown. The arrival of the west Monsoon, which brings the rainy season, is irregular. It may begin at any time between November and January. Usually by December, the land has become so stone dry that when the rains arrive, they cannot penetrate the soil and flow off, in flash floods, to the sea. At this time, Roti becomes covered with a light grass and planting is begun.

Despite its barren appearance, Roti is a heavily populated island. Along with Savu which has a still higher population density (83 per sq.km.), Roti has one of the highest population densities in eastern Indonesia. Census figures for the year 1961 record the population of Roti at 70,568, which gives the island an average

population density of 58 persons per sq. km. The total Rotinese population in eastern Indonesia is certainly, however, nearer 100,000. Emigrant settlements of Rotinese are found on several islands of eastern Indonesia and particularly in Kupang and on the Babauw-Pariti plain of the north-west coast of Timor. A census for the year 1951, which classified the Rotinese as a separate group, put the number of Rotinese on Timor at 22,200. (Ormeling, 1957: 148).

This influx of Rotinese to Timor began in the 18th century when the East India Company began using Rotinese as auxiliary troops to defend the fortress of Concordia in Kupang against the warring Atoni who remained under Portuguese influence. By the Treaty of Paravicini, signed in 1756, the regents of Roti agreed to send 780 cavalry and 685 infantry for the defense of Kupang. In 1815, Hazaart, the Dutch resident of Kupang, initiated a policy of re-settling Rotinese on the plains surrounding Kupang to act as a buffer against the Atoni. In 1816-1817, 300-400 Rotinese from Termanu were settled in Babauw and in the following two years, another 200 Rotinese, again from the area of Termanu, were settled in Pariti. (Niks 1888: 96-97). Here on the Babauw-Pariti plain, the Rotinese have prospered by opening much of the land to wet-rice cultivation. This thesis will confine itself to a consideration of the Rotinese on Roti. The Rotinese of Timor have made many adaptations to Indonesian national life while the Rotinese of Roti remain more traditional. Yet the two populations are not separate and connections between Roti and Timor are of great importance.

Whether on Roti or Timor, the Rotinese are a distinctive people. In contrast to the mountain Atoni, the Rotinese are perhaps somewhat smaller and more lightly built, and with their long lank hair they resemble the populations further to the west and north. Several commentators (Kruyt: 1921 and ten Kate: 1894, in particular) regard the Rotinese as a western extension of the Belu peoples who are found in eastern and central Timor, and van Bork-Feltkamp (1951) considers the Rotinese racially to be a more 'Malay' type of Belu. Rotinese men can easily be recognized by their remarkable wide palm-leaf hats, probably modelled after the hats of the 'Black Portuguese' of Timor⁴ in the 16th and 17th century (Bühler 1940). On horseback with their traditional hats and wearing their customary cloth draped over the left shoulder, the Rotinese present a Mexican appearance. As for the women, it is interesting to note, that in Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea, Aronnax reports that when the illustrious Captain Nemo sailed the Nautilus past the island of Roti, he remarked at length on the beauty of its women, a fact upon which most of the commentators on Roti agree.

Before discussing either the population or the language of the island of Roti in detail, one must consider its essential groupings.

-
4. The Black Portuguese were a race of native converts and the offspring of Portuguese soldiers, sailors and sandalwood traders, who controlled much of the sandalwood trade between Timor and Macao. These Black Portuguese acted independently and often in defiance of the Portuguese of Goa. According to Boxer (1947), the Black Portuguese called themselves Gente de Chapeo in Portuguese and were known as Topee Walas, 'Hat men' in Hindustani.

The first of these groupings divides the island into two territorial divisions: one of the East and the other of the West. The Division of the East is called Lamak-anan, the Children of Lamak and the Division of the West is called Henak-(or Hendak-)anan, the Children of Henak. The Indonesian frequently used to describe these same divisions is Matahari naik, sunrise, for the eastern half of the island and Matahari turun, sunset, for the western half of the island. The traditions about Lamak-anan and Henak-anan are not particularly clear and at present these divisions are of little significance except as a means by which the Rotinese describe or explain differences that do exist on the island. The common explanation of the names Lamak-anan and Henak-anan is that lamak, which means grasshopper, refers to the fact that the people of the East eat grasshoppers which they regard as a delicacy; while henak, which means pandanus, refers to ^atime when the people of the West were said to eat the seeds in the fruit of the pandanus. The first half of this explanation is fact. The Rotinese in the East do eat grasshoppers. The second half of this explanation is more accusation than an observation since the Rotinese in the West do not normally eat pandanus but are only said to have done so once as punishment during a famine. The names imply a superiority of the Eastern division over the Western, just as sunrise is superior to sunset. What is important here is the differences these divisions reveal. One very old informant who was a member of the Western Division explained it in this way: "When the inhabitants grew numerous then this island was divided in two parts:

Henak-anan and Lamak-anan, according to the colour of the earth. The dividing line began at Kola-Lanioen, Termanu (and went) to Keka; then the eastern black earth was called Lamak-anan: the people who eat grasshopper. And the western red earth was called Henak-anan: people who eat the pandanus fruit.⁵ The knowledge of many skills arose in the western part and much poetry arose in the eastern part. There is more agriculture in the west and more livestock in the east." This is certainly an accurate description of the island. Kola marks the beginning of an extensive plain that continues with several interruptions, through most of eastern Roti. The earth is frequently a dark limestone. To the west are found most of the island's rice-, corn-, and millet-fields. The earth is somewhat redder and more full of clay. By the far western coast, in Oenale, there exists an excellent clay for pottery. To the west, the Rotinese attribute, among other things, the knowledge of making pottery, skill in tapping lontar palms, cooking lontar sugar, and roofing a house with alang-alang grass, while to the east, the Rotinese attribute great ability in the ritual or poetic language of the island. The west has more cultivated land, the east more pastoral land. Similarly, as we will see, the west is more densely populated than the east. This

5. Here my informant was hesitant since he felt gewang was more appropriate than pandanus. In Ringgou, hena (Jonker 1908:110) refers to the outer layers of the gewang leaf. Hena is itself an interesting word, as a verb, often used in poetry it means "to want" or "to expect". It is coupled with dae (dae-hena) to mean "earth", and in east Roti, though not in the west, dahena is the word for man.

contrast between pastoralist and agriculturalist is largely one of degree for the west has its herds of livestock and the east fine rice fields, but the difference is important in understanding the diversity in Rotinese life.

Traditionally, Roti is further divided into 18 self-ruling domains called nusak. Each domain is governed by its own Lord who, together with the lords of the various clans that make up the kingdom, presides at a law court and makes decisions based upon the customary usage of his domain. Although borders have always been disputed, it is clear from information in the Dutch archives that most of these domains have existed as independent states for over 300 years. In modern Indonesia, these domains remain the primary administrative units (keradjaan) of the island.

There is some disagreement among the Rotinese about whether certain domains belong to Lamak-anan or Henak-anan. In any classification, the domain of Termanu has a crucial position because the traditional dividing line between the two Divisions runs through its eastern territories. Many Rotinese consider Termanu and, with Termanu, the domains of Keka and Talae which formerly were part of Termanu, to belong to Lamak-anan. The argument is that Termanu has the finest pasture land of any state and by far the largest herds of livestock; particularly horses and water-buffalo. Others argue that the traditional centre of Termanu, the residence of its Lord, lies to the west of the dividing line as do some of the finest wet rice fields of the island. This is the view taken by most elders of

Termanu and for this reason I have grouped Termanu, Keka, and Talae with Henak-anan. It is clear, however, that from its centre, Termanu has, in the last 200-300 years, expanded eastward and westward and has come to include territory within both Lamak-anan and Henak-anan. About the other domains there is no disagreement on their classification. The following is a list of the domains of each Division:

Lamak-anan: 1. Landu

2. Cepao

3. Ringgou

4. Bilba

5. Diu

6. Lelenuk

7. Bokai

8. Korbaffo

Henak-anan: 1. Termanu

2. Keka

3. Talae

4. Baä

5. Dengka

6. Lelain

7. Loleh

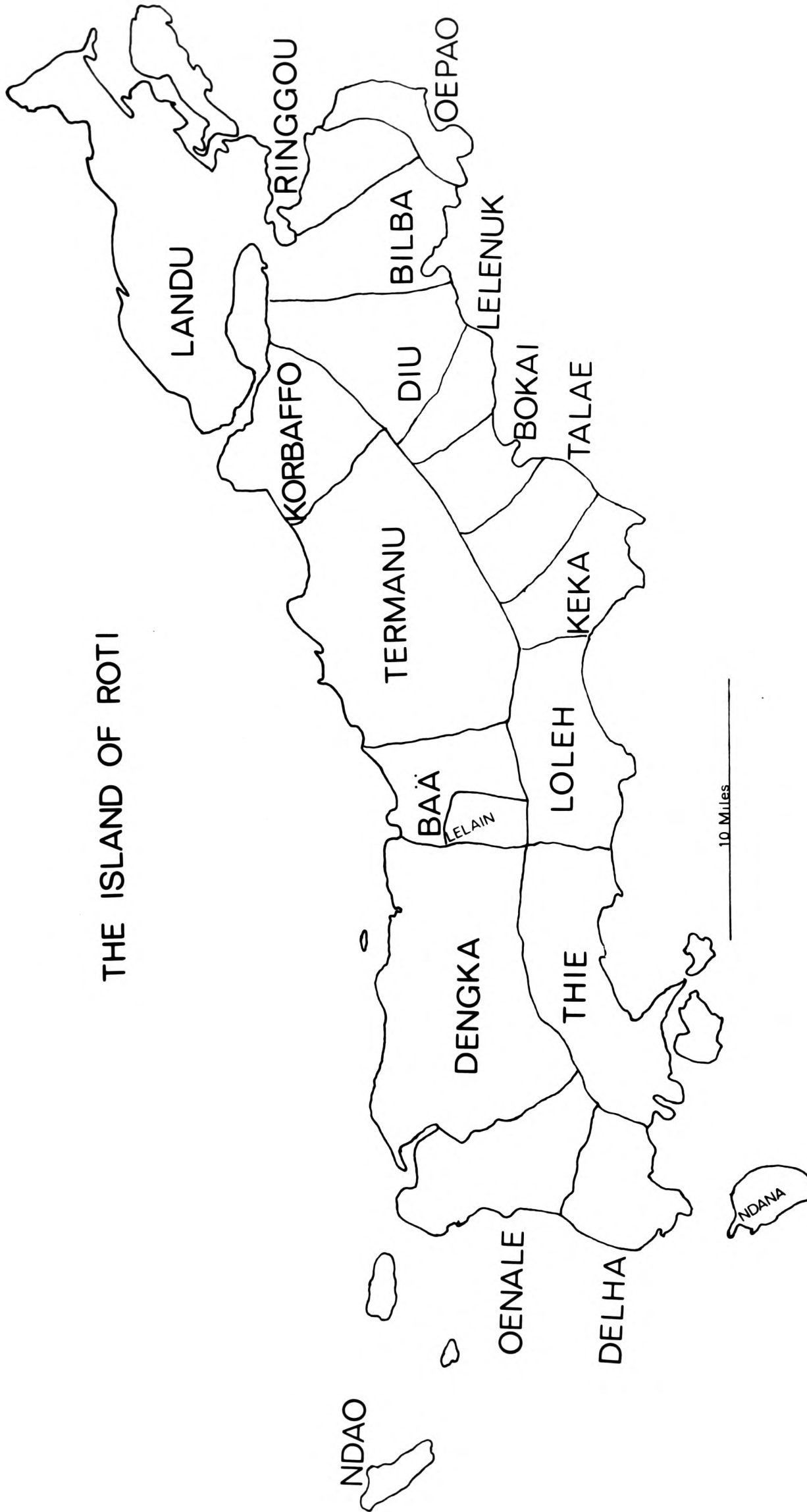
8. Thie (Ti)⁶

9. Delha

10. Cenale

6. Ti is traditionally written in the Dutch manner: Thie.

THE ISLAND OF ROTI



2. The Distribution of the Rotinese Population

The following figures summarize the population data for Roti and give a good indication of the variation among the domains of the island. Landu, with its large area and still unopened primary forest, has a population density of 16 while Thie on the south coast is a well-cultivated land with a population density of 130. Some domains like Oepao with a population of 561 and Lelain with a population of 650 are hardly more than a village or two, while Dengka with a population of over 13,500 is made up of dozens of villages. Termanu comprises an area of 177 sq. kilometers but Lelenuk has an area of only 25 sq. kilometers. These figures only suggest some of the diversity on the island. Soil, terrain, and availability of water are equally variable. The central domains have more water for cultivation than do the other domains. Thus Termanu, Ioleh, and Baä produce more wet-rice than other areas, while the large domains of Thie and Dengka rely more on a variety of crops: wet and dry rice, maize, millet and sorghum. Both Thie and Dengka produce the largest quantities of palm syrup. Because of its fine red clay, Oenale produces cooking pots for west Roti⁷ and exchanges these for food supplies. Talae has sufficient water to support extensive sirih-pinang gardens while Delha, usually regarded as the poorest domain on

7. Another site for pottery is Kola in Termanu. Kinggou, I believe, also produces pottery.

the island, has the best coconut groves. Korbaffo has several good wet-rice complexes while Diu, the neighbouring domain is mainly savannah. Bilba is dominated by the hill of Lakamola, which is regarded by many as the site of first cultivation on Roti. Often men from Thie and Dengka journey to some of the eastern domains particularly Termanu, to work either in building houses or extending rice fields and gardens; and they are paid either in goats for smaller jobs or in water buffalo for house building. Men from Talae may travel in east Roti trading sirih-pinang for food. During the east monsoon, families from Bokai and Delenuk come from the south and camp on the north coast to fish along the shore and trade their fish for other foods.

The Domains of Roti
and
their population.

	Square kilometers	Pop. 1954	Pop. 1961	Pop. density
1. Landu	169	2476	2745	16
2. Oepao	25	498	561 ¹	22
3. Ringgou	32	3511	3761	117
4. Bilba	59	3396	3613	61
5. Diu	61	2028	2260	37
6. Lelenuk	25	748	806	32
7. Bokai	27	1045	1131	41
8. Korbaffo	60	3429	3358 ²	56
9. Termanu	177	5606	5759	33
10. Keka	42	1855	1972	47
11. Talae	33	1461	1462	44
12. Baä	48	5310	6134 ³	128
13. Dengka	178 ⁴	13997	13678	80
14. Lelain			650	
15. Loleh	77	5080	5609 ⁵	73
16. Thie	93	11631	12116	130
17. Delha	44	1827	1951	44
18. Oenale	64	3288	3002 ⁵	47
Total	1224	67186	70568	58
Lamak-anan ⁶	468	17131	18235	39
Henak-anan	756	50055	52333	69
Ndao	9	2094	2156	240

Existing Population Data on Rotinese on Timor⁷

	1930	1951
Subdivision Kupang	14383	16300
Town of Kupang	1721	4200
Subdivision South Central Timor	598	800
Subdivision North Central Timor	137	500
Subdivision Belu	307	400
Total	17146	22200

1. The large population increase for Oepao in relation to its size is due mainly to the increase in the trading population of Pepela, a village which has easy access by perahu to Kupang and handles much of the trade in East-Roti.
2. The decrease in population for Korbaffo, I think, is due in part to migration across the border into eastern Termanu. The areas around Ce-nitas and Kola in Termanu have received many of these immigrants from Korbaffo.
3. The domain of Baä includes the trading and administrative centre for the island. I have no figures for the exact population of this centre which is the only real town on the island, but I would estimate this population at over 2000. This population includes a large number of Chinese and Mohammedans, as well as Rotinese, Ndaonese, Savunese and more recently Florinese. The population density of the domain itself, excluding the town, is probably below 80 persons per sq. kilometer. The large increase in the population of Baä is due to the increase of government officials for the administration of the island.
4. Lelain, a small but separate domain in Dutch times, became incorporated within the territory of Dengka. The census of 1954 treats these two domains as one but sometime before 1957, Lelain was again recognized as an autonomous domain. I have no separate figures for the area of Dengka or Lelain and I have therefore computed their composite population density.
5. I know little about the local circumstances of Loleh, a relatively rich domain, and therefore can offer no explanation for its large population increase, nor can I offer a satisfactory explanation for the considerable decrease in population for Oenale, a very poor domain. Also according to these figures, Talae's population is static.

6. These figures show the difference in area, population, and population density for the two Divisions. Termanu, Keka, and Talae have a total area of 262 sq. kilometers, a population of 9193 for 1961 and a population density of 35 persons per sq. kilometer, well below the average for the island as a whole. If Termanu, Keka, and Talae were grouped with Lamak-anan, one would get the following figures:

	sq. kilometers	pop. 1961	pop. density (1961)
Lamak-anan:	730	27428	38
Henak-anan:	494	43140	87

7. These figures are taken from Ormeling (1957: table 3, p.148). Subdivision Kupang includes the area around Kupang but excludes the town itself.

In considering these population figures, it is important to note that there is a considerable movement of Rotinese between Roti and the Kupang area of Timor. A large part of this movement involves visits by Rotinese of the island to their relatives on Timor. These visits afford an opportunity to trade on Timor and therefore usually occur after the harvest when the Rotinese can bring with them maize, rice, or palm syrup to sell in Kupang. But at the same time there is definitely a migration, particularly among the younger Rotinese, to Kupang either to continue their education above primary school level or in hopes of finding work. Migration is facilitated by having relatives in the Kupang area. Yet this migration to Timor is not the same for all domains. For one thing, access to Kupang is easier from the north coast than it is from the south, from the eastern rather than the western halves of the island, but tradition plays an equally important part. Fewer people from Landu in the east or Korbaffo on the north east coast of the island, for example, emigrate or have emigrated in the past than people of Dengka or Termanu. Termanu, in particular, has contributed greatly to this migration to Timor. Once traditional connections have been established on Timor immigration becomes easier. This is not the point at which to discuss Rotinese settlement patterns on Timor but it is enough to mention that settlement follows traditional groupings. The majority of members of any Rotinese village is made up of Rotinese from a single domain. Thus, for example, Tuasene is composed largely of immigrants from Thie, Sulamo of immigrants from Bilba, Biboki of

immigrants from Oenale, Babauw of immigrants from Termanu, and Oepura of immigrants from Dengka. In this way, customary activities and local dialect are maintained.

A mention must be made of the non-Rotinese population on Roti. Besides the Chinese merchants and Indonesian government officials in the town of Baä and the largely Islamic trading community in Pepela on the south east coast, there exists also an Islamic sailing and trading community at Oelaba in Dengka on the north coast. This is made up largely of Makassarese and Buginese from whom the Rotinese, without a doubt, have learned to improve their sailing skills. There are also two small settlements of Badjo Laut fishermen, one near Cape Tongga in Oenale and another at Oenggai in Korbaffo. But the people of importance in Rotinese history are the men of Ndao, from the island just off the western tip of Roti. Administratively, Ndao has always been part of Roti but the inhabitants of this island speak a different language and have a separate origin from that of the Rotinese. According to some sources (van Lynden, Wichman), the people of Ndao are reputed to have come from Sumba. Other sources list the people of Ndao as Savunese; others regard them as a mixed Rotinese-Savunese population while still others assume them to be Rotinese. It is impossible for the ethnographer on Roti to avoid studying the Ndaonese since, during the dry season, the men of the island travel throughout Roti working as gold-and silversmiths and taking their hire in rice or maize. From the small corpus of texts,

I have gathered in Ndaonese, it is evident that Ndaonese has close linguistic affinities with Savunese, but sociologically whereas Savu maintains a system of nonlocalized matrilineal moieties (which do not seem to regulate marriage) and dozens of small localized patrilineages, the Ndaonese have something of a reverse of this system. The Ndaonese have patrilineages grouped within two patrilineal moieties that regulate marriage, ideally, by direct exchange. Their relationship terminology suggests a simple two-section classification but interestingly it consists of terms similar to those in use on Savu with important borrowings from Rotinese. The island itself has an area of only 9 square kilometers. In 1961, the population was 2156. The island had therefore a population density of 240 persons per square kilometer. With this population the Ndaonese are forced to migrate. Historically they have always migrated and become absorbed within Rotinese society. In studying Rotinese legend, history, or political structure, one is repeatedly forced to consider the relationships between the Rotinese and the Ndaonese.

3. The Dialects of Rotinese and Cultural Diversity

Rotinese is a Malayo-Polynesian language which, according to Jonker (1915: Intro. xii) shares its closest affinities with Timorese⁸, Kupangese (Belong), Middle and Eastern Tettum and Saloli. It has more distant affinities with the languages of Lisar, Leti, Moa, and Roma, and still more distant affinities with the languages of Sikka on Flores, of Solor as well as of Ambon and Buru. The subfamily to which Rotinese belongs is most closely related to the neighbouring subfamily to which belong the languages of Savu, East Sumba, West Sumba, Bima and Ende. Jonker also argues that no other Malayo-Polynesian language has as many points of similarity with the so-called Melanesian languages as does the subfamily of languages to which Rotinese belongs.⁹

Linguistically, Roti is surprisingly diverse. The Rotinese usually say that each domain has its own language but by this they

-
8. Although he admits a similarity between Rotinese and Tettum (or Belunese) in vocabulary, Jonker argues that on grammatical grounds (particularly a) in the genitive construction; b) in the loss of suffixes; and c) in the use of final consonants, Rotinese is more closely related to Timorese. My own opinion is that Rotinese is clearly more closely related to Tettum than to Timorese. Curiously, it is the dialects of Lengha, Belha and Cenale at the far west of the island that show some similarities to Timorese, but where Rotinese differs greatly from Timorese is in its lack of metathesis, a phenomenon common to Timorese and Belong.
9. After Jonker, both Capell (1944: 313) and Hiddelkoo (1950: 458) have called attention to the similarities of this group with Melanesian languages, especially in regard to the frequent placing of the object before the verb.

mean that each state cultivates its own dialect. Although there are considerable differences between the dialects in the far east and those in the far west of the island, all dialects are mutually intelligible. (The Rotinese of the eastern and central domains complain that it is only the language of Delha in the south west that is exceedingly difficult to understand). Jonker (1908, 1913) following Manafe (1889) distinguishes nine dialects. These are:

1. The dialect of Ringgou, spoken in Ringgou, Oepao, and Landu.
2. The dialect of Bilba, spoken in Bilba, Diu, and Lelenuk.
3. The dialect of Korbaffo, spoken only in Korbaffo.
4. The dialect of Bokai, spoken in Bokai.
5. The dialect of Termanu, spoken in Termanu, Keka, and Talae.
6. The dialect of Baä, spoken in Baä and Loleh.
7. The dialect of Thie, spoken in Thie.
8. The dialect of Oenale, spoken in Oenale and Delha.
9. The dialect of Dengka, spoken in Dengka and Lelain.

The first four of these dialects are spoken in Lamak-anan, the last five in Henak-anan. Jonker (1913: 527) states that linguistic evidence seems to confirm the Rotinese legends of two separate migrations of a similar people to Roti, forming the basis of Lamak-anan and Henak-anan. The dialect of Termanu has now become the principal dialect of the island and this increase in the importance of Termanu's dialect seems part of a general tendency of the eastern dialects to influence those of the west which, phonetically, show the most similarities to Timorese.

Dialect variation is one of the most intriguing aspects of Rotinese culture. Some of the more prominent phonetic characteristics that distinguish the dialects are the use of 'r' in the place of 'l', the use of 'mb' or 'mp' for 'p' and the use of 'ngg' for 'k'. Yet phonetic differences are only part of the problem. Differences exist in the lexicon, in syntax, and in the use of final consonants for nouns (Jonker: 1906).

In this thesis, all quotations, unless otherwise noted, will be from the dialect of Termanu. Here, however, I would like to give a simple example of dialect variation to illustrate the linguistic difficulties the ethnographer can encounter. My example is taken from the domains of Baä, Termanu, and Korbaffo, in all three of which I have done field research. Baä borders on Termanu, Termanu borders on Korbaffo and it is only 30 km. from the very centre of Baä through Termanu to the centre of Korbaffo.

My example concerns ties of maize. After the harvest, some maize is removed from the cob and stored in palm leaf baskets but most of the maize, which is to be kept for months in the house or is to be taken to the town of Baä to be sold, is left on the ear and is tied into rings of gewang leaf. (Corypha utan Lamk). In Baä, a tie of maize consists of twenty ears and is called an ekek. Each ekek consists of two rings of ten ears of maize each, called an eke ndelik (ndelik meaning a 'ring'). Two and a half ekek or five eke ndelik form an imbuk, the largest tie of maize in Baä. In Termanu, a tie consists of 25 ears of maize and is called a lanek.

Two lamék make an ipuk which corresponds to the largest tie of maize in Baa'. In Korbaffo, a tie of corn consists of 10 ears and is called a lamék, like Termanu's unit of 25 but the lamék are ordered in groups of ten, ten lamék forming one lopek. Linguistically, however, things are somewhat more complex since the words ekek and lopek occur with variant meanings in the dialect of Termanu. Ekek in Termanu is used to indicate the thick ring of wound palm leaf on which cooking pots are placed to cool. And it is likely that this term is derived from the word eke-nak which refers to the outer layers of the gewang leaf. In Baa', eke-nak becomes heke-nak.¹⁰ The verb lope in Termanu has various meanings depending on context. It may have the meaning 'to sway or swing' (as, for example, the arms when one walks) or it can mean 'to string something on a cord'. Thus the noun lopek might refer to a string of tobacco leaves hung to dry. These variations are represented on the following grid.

Baa'	Termanu	Korbaffo
1. ekek: 20 ears of corn from heke-nak	ekek: pot rest eke-nak: outer gewang leaf	-- eke-na'
2. --	lamék: 25 ears of corn	lamék: 10 ears of corn
3. imbuk: 50 ears of corn	ipuk: 50 ears of corn	--
4. --	lopek: from lope: 'to string s.t'.	lopek: 100 ears of corn

10. In the dialect of Thie, eke-nak becomes aki-nak.

What the ethnographer is confronted with is not different languages but shifting shades of meaning. (Perhaps if I knew more of the dialects of Baä and Korbaffo, I might fill in the above grid). What I have therefore resolved to do in this thesis is to present material on only one domain, that of Termanu. The little that has been written on the Rotinese suffers from being an ill-formed composite picture of life on the island, a collection of fragments that neither indicates the variations found on the island nor makes sense as a structural whole. There is indeed a great deal of structural similarity throughout the island but to arrive at this similarity it is first necessary to describe meaningful units which will admit of comparison. Two domains on the south coast regulate marriage, among other things, by means of direct exchange between moieties, a fact which I discovered late in my stay after long residence in three domains on the north coast where no moieties exist. A composite description of Rotinese culture could hardly make sense of such divergence yet once these northern and southern domains have been analyzed separately and in detail, a remarkable similarity between the moiety system of the south and the special pairing of clans in the north becomes, if not clear, at least suggestive. Another reason I am wary of attempting some composite description of Roti is simply that I lack the data. I have gathered the barest fragments about the domains of, to name a few, Landu, Lelenuk, or Delha and the variations I have already encountered make me certain that any of these domains would provide a fresh field of research.

Confining this thesis to a study of Termanu presents one problem. Often the gaps that exist in my description of Termanu can only be filled by references to information from another domain, usually Baä or Korbaffo. This is especially true of my description of the modes of livelihood on the island since I was in different domains at different seasons. When, however, I use material from domains other than Termanu, I hope to make this clear in the text.

4. The Ritual Language of the Rotinese

Amid the diversity of dialects on the island, there is a form of language that overcomes diversity and in some cases utilizes this diversity to its own end. This is Rotinese ritual or poetic language. Although chants in ritual language do vary from domain to domain, this variation (largely in phonology) is less than the variation that occurs among the dialects of ordinary language. Ritual language is also able to make use of the dialect variation in ordinary language. The word for 'man' (to cite one example among many) in west Roti is hataholi (or hatahori) while the word for 'man' in east Roti (Bilba, Ringgou; but not Korbaffo) is dahena (or dahenda). In ritual language, the words hataholi/dahena are coupled together to form (what I refer to as) a dyadic set. All of ritual language is composed of dyadic sets. Nothing (as I intend to illustrate) can be expressed in ritual language without a coupling of complementary or contrasting terms. (A full study of this language, with texts, will eventually require an extensive monograph as well as a separate

dictionary and here I can only outline the language's structure and use).

The Rotinese distinguish tutuik, tales, from sosodak, songs, and bini, poems or chants. Tutuik are told in ordinary language.¹¹ Sosodak often use ritual language while bini always use this language. Traditionally ritual language is required at all ceremonies and, together, the collection of all poems in ritual language forms the standardized core of Rotinese collective experience.¹² Learning to understand this language is part of growing up on Roti. All adult Rotinese understand some of the language but only a few, as they grow older, are able to use this language actively. Ritual language is really regarded as the speech form of the elders and one often

-
11. The Rotinese further distinguish between simple tutuik and tutui-teteëk, 'true tales'. Tutuik may embody a moral, or may simply be a good story; tutui-teteëk are the clan legends of what are believed to be historical events that occurred on the island and were performed by named ancestors.
12. I am reminded here of J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong's article, Oost-Indonesische Poezie (1941) where he contrasts culture change in Middle Buru (Rana) with that on Wetan in the Babar group of islands. It is clear from his texts that Buru (a language which has distant affinities with Rotinese) has poetic forms (Inga-Fuka) similar to Bini on Roti. Wetan, on the other hand, where song and dance are more frequent, has only improvised song. According to de Josselin de Jong, Buru still maintains the core of its native culture despite influences from Ambon while Wetan retains only traces of its former culture though it has been subject to lesser influences from other islands. Of course, this contrast may go far deeper and may, in fact, be part of the greater difference between eastern Indonesian language and culture and Papuan or Melanesian language and culture. Yet the retention of these poetic forms may help to explain why despite 200 years of Dutch Christianizing influence, the Rotinese retain their traditions.

hears stories of ancestors who, as they grew old, abandoned ordinary speech, and spoke only in ritual language. The men who are fluent in ritual language are recognized as manahelo, 'those who chant'. For Termanu with a population of over 5000, I would put the number of acknowledged manahelo at about 10, though there are many more individuals, women as well as men,¹³ who use ritual language in ceremonies. Among the chanters, there is always a rivalry in which both age and fluency are criteria and again one hears stories of great contests between ritual chanters, often from separate domains. (On a lesser scale, many ceremonies, especially the formal discussion of bridewealth, become minor duels with ritual language). Ritual language should be used at all formal ceremonies: in requesting a girl from another lineage, in discussing her bridewealth, or receiving her into one's lineage house, in the circle dance to celebrate the consecration of a new house, on receiving the new rice and millet into the house, and most important of all, in the circle dance at funeral feasts. It also provides set forms with which a boy can make advances to a young girl and provides other forms by which a girl may accept, reject, or simply encourage his offer. But it is not necessarily a religious language since in addressing the ancestors, making an offering, or driving away an illness ordinary language is sufficient.

13. The title of manahelo applies only to men, though in certain ceremonies women are required to use ritual language.

In using ritual language, there is much room for elaboration but little for improvisation. The forms of the language, as we will see, are highly structured and a canon of appropriate texts is fixed to fit wide categories of events. For example, to name a few texts within the canon: At the death of a young male noble, the bini, Pau Balo ma Bola Lungi, must be chanted; similarly at the death feast of a young unwed girl, the bini, Meda Manu ma Lilo Losi; for someone who has suddenly died of disease, the bini, Modo Olak ma Nati Longok; at the death of a rich commoner, the bini, Ndi Lonama ma Laki Elokama; for the death of a baby or young child, the bini, Pinga Pasa ma See Leli; for the death of an orphan, the bini, Manu Kama do Tepa-Nilu or perhaps, the bini, Suti-Solo do Bina-Bane. (In all of these bini, the dead person is compared to the figure in the poem and then the life, exploits, or difficulties of this figure are recited). For receiving the new rice and millet, Doli do Lutu must be chanted while at the consecration of a new house, Patola Bulan do Mandeti Ledo is required. There are other bini for receiving guests, for separating from friends or relatives, and still others for making a request to a Lord.

What is most interesting about ritual language is its structure. All Rotinese bini consist of verse couplets of similar or, often, near identical meaning. Whatever is stated in the first verse is repeated in the second. This is done by a prescribed dyadic coupling of all words in the language. There is no word in ritual use that does not have its corresponding term.

To give some idea of this language, I present a number of these dyadic sets. Uma (house in ordinary language) is coupled with lo (a word used exclusively in ritual language), busa (dog) is coupled with asu¹⁴, sao (the noun for 'spouse' or the verb 'to marry') is coupled with tu, bongi (the verb, 'to give birth') with lae, ofa (boat) with tona. (But with this last set, we reach a further degree of elaboration, a dualism within dualism, since while ofa may be coupled with tona, it is more common to link tona and ofa and pair these words with balu-paun: tona-ofan ma balu-paun). In these preceding dyadic sets, one term found in ordinary language is coupled with another used only in ritual language, but there are other means of forming dyadic sets. Words from ordinary language with similar sense may also form a dyadic set. Thus fai (day) is coupled with ledo (sun), sosa (first) with ulu (eldest), osin (dry garden) with mamen (wet garden), tae (young boy) with tou (adult male). Still other sets consist of words, which in ordinary language have opposite meaning, but within ritual language they come to have a single sense. Ina (marriageable girl/wife) is coupled with feto (unmarriageable girl/sister) with either meaning possible

14. Asu is a common word for dog in many Indonesian languages: Atoni or Javanese for example; but it is not a word used by Rotinese in everyday language. There exists, the word, meo-asu but it is no longer clear whether this word once referred to a species of wild cat that has now become extinct on Roti or whether this is the Rotinese translation for tiger. Meo-asu means literally, cat-dog, cat (the size of) a dog. What is curious from a comparative point of view is that the Rotinese word for dog, busa, means cat in other eastern Indonesian languages.

depending upon context, ama (father/father's brother) is coupled with toö (mother's brother) again with either sense or sometimes both senses possible. Odd and even numbers form sets: esa (one) with dua (two), telu (three) with ha (four), falu (eight) with sio (nine). Lima, which means both 'five' and 'hand' combines with ne, the word for 'six', to form the dyadic set meaning 'hand'. But it is impossible here to enumerate all dyadic sets since on the basis of my corpus of bini, I would estimate that Rotinese ritual language has a lexicon of many thousand dyadic sets (a minimum of 10,000 dyadic sets).

To illustrate this language, I quote the opening lines of the long chant, Pau Balo ma Bola Lungi, sung on the death of a young nobleman. I follow this with a rough translation and then an analysis of some of the dyadic sets within these verses. I should make clear at the very outset of this poem that names too form dyadic sets: Pau Balo is one name and Bola Lungi is another but both refer to one man. It might appear that the poem is about two individuals, but this the Rotinese are quick to insist is not true. Everything is treated dyadically, even single individuals. For this reason, singular and plural, which in ordinary language are made clear by pronoun and verb, are irrelevant to ritual language and one occasionally comes upon passages where the chanter uses the singular pronoun (ana: he/she) and the plural pronoun (ala: they)

quite indiscriminately¹⁵.

These opening lines tell of the marriage of Hena Elu and Bula Sao with Lai Lota and Sina Kilo. Hena Elu and Bula Sao then has a child, Malungi Lai and Balokama Sina. This child grows up and becomes as big as his father. He then begins to think of marrying and he decides to go with his boat to the island of Savu in search of a wife. When he reaches Savu he finds that the extra women have married and so he returns in his perahu to Roti.

The Rotinese insist that it is impossible to translate a poem in ritual language. By this they do not mean to imply that ritual language has no meaning and therefore cannot be translated, but rather that rendered into Indonesian, the only language they are acquainted with, any poem becomes quite absurd. Certainly these same difficulties of translation hold for English, since this tradition of ritual language has no parallel within our language. What follows here is therefore only a poor approximation of a beautiful Rotinese chant.

15. When I was first gathering texts and had no idea of their meaning, this disregard of singular or plural forms drove me to near distraction. The Rotinese insist that it is admissible and may even be admired in ritual language. Often ana (he/she) can be considered to form a dyadic set with ala (they), just as ami (exclusive we) may form a set with ita (inclusive we), though this is infrequent.

Pau Balo ma Bola Lungi.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1. Soku-la inak-a Hena Elu | 1. They asked for the girl, Henu Elu |
| 2. Ma ifa-la fetok-a Bula Sau | 2. And they requested the maid,
Bula Sau |
| 3. De ana tu touk-a Lai Lota | 3. She married with the man Lai Lota |
| 4. Ma ana sao taäk-a Sina Kilo. | 4. And she wed with the boy Sina
Kilo. |
| 5. Boe te bongi Malungi Lai | 5. And gave birth to Malungi Lai |
| 6. Ma lae Balokama Sina. | 6. And brought forth Balokama Sina. |
| 7. De ana tona kale hade mai | 7. He grew like a head of rice |
| 8. Ma leä buü bete mai | 8. And stretched like the tip of
a millet stalk |
| 9. Nama nalu no aman | 9. And became as tall as his father |
| 10. Ma nama tua no toön | 10. And as big as his mother's
brother |
| 11. Touk-a Lai Lota | 11. The man, Lai Lote |
| 12. Ma taäk-a Sina Kilo. | 12. And the boy, Sina Kilo. |
| 13. Faik esa manunin | 13. On a certain day |
| 14. Ma ledö dua mateben | 14. And at a definite time
[literally: 'at two true sun'] |
| 15. Boe ma touk Malungi Lai | 15. The man, Malungi Lai |
| 16. Ana dodo sao sosan | 16. He thought about a first wife |
| 17. Ma taäk Balokama Sina | 17. And the boy, Balokama Sina |
| 18. Ana nda-nda tu ulun na | 18. He pondered about a principal
spouse |

Pau Balo ma Bola Lungi.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 19. Fo sao sosa ulu matan | 19. A wife to flirt with |
| 20. Ma tu dede idu pedan na. | 20. And a spouse to touch noses. |
| 21. Boe ma ana tunga sanga ina lena | 21. So he planned to seek a (another) girl |
| 22. Ma neu afi sanga fetu lesik. | 22. And he thought to seek an (extra) maid. |
| 23. De ana sefe loe-loe tonan | 23. He paddled his boat steadily |
| 24. Ma tuku dae-dae balun | 24. And rowed his craft easily |
| 25. Leo Seba-Iko neu | 25. Toward Seba's tail |
| 26. Ma leo Safu Muli neu. | 26. And toward Savu in the west. |
| 27. Tehu ina lena Seba Iko la | 27. But the (other) girls of Seba |
| 28. Sao lama dai so | 28. Had already married |
| 29. Ma fetu lesi Safu Muli la | 29. And the (extra) maids of Savu |
| 30. Tu lama nou so. | 30. Had already wed. |
| 31. Boe ma touk Malungi Lai | 31. So the man, Malungi Lai |
| 32. Ma taäk Balokama Sina | 32. And the boy, Balokama Sina |
| 33. Ana pale uli nasa fali | 33. He guided the shifting rudder, returning |
| 34. Ma leko la diku dua | 34. And watched the flapping sails, going back |
| 35. Leo Kale dale mai | 35. Toward the heart of Kale |
| 36. Ma leo Lote dale mai. | 36. And toward the centre of Roti. |

These 36 lines of Pau Balo ma Bola Lungi utilize exactly 30 different dyadic sets. From among these sets, I have selected here several dyadic sets for more detailed consideration.

1. soku/ifa (verse 1/2) refers to all the ceremonies involved in acquiring a girl in marriage. Ifa in ordinary language means to take upon one's lap or carry held in the lap. Soku, to my knowledge, exists only in ritual language. Often soku forms a set with lali which in ordinary language means to move oneself, to change a house site. In ritual language, soku/lali refers to the transfer of a girl from her father's house to her husband's house.
2. Hena Elu/Bula Sau. These names imply nobility or royalty since in ritual language, only the nobility take names from the upper world. Elu is from elus, rainbow. Bula is from bulak, moon. A common feature of ritual language is the shortening of noun and verb forms and the omission of final consonants. Lai Lota/Sina Kilo (verse 4/5) also suggest nobility: lai from lalais, heaven and sina possibly from bula-sina, moon-beam. The Rotinese, like many Indonesian people, retain the first name of the father as the last name of the son. Hence Lai Lota's son is Malungi Lai, Sina Kilo's is Balokama Sina. Later Malungi Lai/Balokama Sina has a son, Bola Lungi ma Pau Balo.
3. Hade/bete (verse 7/8). This set is taken from ordinary language: hade is rice, bete is millet. There is another set, used only in ritual language, for rice and millet. This is doli/lutu.
4. Ina lenak/Feto lesik. This is normally the set used to refer to any woman after the first wife or any woman with whom it is possible to have intercourse. It is customary that when a man wants to take a second wife, he must make a payment to his first wife, called danga lena, literally the payment 'to stalk another'. It is in fact two sets: Ina/Feto and Lenak/Lesik. Lenak means more or extra and is used in forming the Rotinese comparative. Lesik, its coupled term, is found only in ritual language. Lena-lenak/Lesi-lesik form a quite different set and may mean any higher authority, a Lord, a lord of the clan, or a council of elders.
5. Seba Iko/Safu Muli (verse 25/26). This is the name in ritual language for the island of Savu. Seba is the principal settlement on Savu, which lies to the west of Roti, hence the name of the island is literally 'Seba's tail and Savu west'.

This is enough, I think, to make clear some of the formal structures of Rotinese ritual language and to suggest a fundamental dualistic mode of symbolic classification for the entire culture. It is necessary, however, to go further, at this point, and to discuss briefly certain terms of orientation and reference which occur with such frequency at all levels of Rotinese thought that they must be regarded as the primary co-ordinates of Rotinese classification. Preparatory to considering these primary co-ordinates, I return to a discussion of the names for the island of Roti, but in this case, I consider the ritual names for the island of Roti and for each of its domains.

5. The Ritual Names for Roti and its Domains

Every name in ritual language must form a dyadic set. This holds true for all proper names of individuals, for all island names, for the many names of each domain, and for local place names and for the names of important wet-rice complexes.

The island of Roti has several names. The first (the most ancient, for some Rotinese) and most important name for the island is Lino do Ne, which means literally "Still or Silent". This name is significant because the symbolic alternation between noise and silence is fundamental to the Rotinese. There exists a contrast between internal tranquility and silence and external argument and noise. Silence is enjoined at the crucial moments of all rituals.

(Strikingly these crucial moments appear to be liminal states, periods of transition). The planting and harvesting of rice must be done in silence; the journey to another house to request a girl in marriage or to negotiate bridewealth or to pay this wealth - all these journeys must be done in silence; the journey from the house to the tree where a child's placenta is to be hung - this too must be done in silence. These and other instances of enjoined silence are intrusions into and transitions through the outside world of noise. Similarly Roti is an island of silence in a dinful world of noise.

Another common name for the island of Roti is Lote do Kale. Kale is the area of Landu which is linked to the main land, Lote, by a narrow isthmus. Together these terms form a simple dyadic set. A longer variant of this same set is Lote Lolo-ei do Kale Ifa - Lima which means literally, "Lote of the Out-stretched Legs or Kale of Arms [cradled] in the Lap." This body position of a person seated with his legs outstretched and his arms folded in his lap is a recurrent, complex symbol for peace and rest. At funerals (that I have seen), the corpse was always laid upon its back but I learned that pagan Rotinese who are recognized as "offerers" (manasongo) are even to this day laid out with legs extended and arms folded in the posture of tranquility, with their backs resting against the Di Kona, the 'Right Pole' of the house.

Another name for the island, which has fallen into some discredit with the conversion of the Rotinese to Christianity, is Ingu Manasongo Nitu ma Nusa Manatangu Mula, "The Land that offers to the Spirits and the Island that sacrifices to the Ghosts" (Jonker 1911:91). This name is composed of three sets. Ingu/Nusa: land/island (domain); Songo/Tangu and Nitu/Mula. Songo means to offer, nitu refers to the ancestral spirits, both good and evil. Tangu and mula do not occur on their own in ordinary language and therefore have meaning only in ritual language as dyadic opposites of songo and nitu.¹⁶

Other islands and places of importance near the island of Roti also have names in ritual language. I have already mentioned Savu's name: Seba Iko do Safu Muli. Just off the north west coast of Roti is the tiny island of Ndao. This island is known as either Ndao Nusa do Folo Manu or Ndao Dale do Folo Manu. To the east of Roti

16. Not all names in ritual language are easily analyzed. Some are immediately clear and unequivocal; others, like many proper names, are no longer fully intelligible or they are so ambiguous that they become susceptible to numerous interpretations. Many of these names are therefore, for the Rotinese themselves, a source of common speculation. This concern with etymology is almost an obsession among the Rotinese. Most folktales are - among other things - attempts to explain the meaning of particular words. This proposition might equally well be reversed. Certain words are 'etymological' proof of the truth of the folktales. Nearly all of these ad hoc attempts at folk etymology are linguistically fallacious, but yet symbolically significant. Therefore, for the rest of the names which I intend to list, I will attempt a translation only where this translation is absolutely clear and where it is not, I can only mention one or another Rotinese interpretation. For many names, I can do no more than give the name.

is the large island of Timor and the tiny island of Semau. Together these islands are called Helok do Sonobai. Helok refers to the Helong or Kupangese people of the island of Semau and the Kupang coast, while Sonobai refers to Sonbai, the traditional ruler of the Atoni peoples of Timor. Sina do Koli refers to the Chinese and is now taken as a reference to the lands of the Chinese. (Sina from tjina meaning Chinese: Koli from kuli, meaning coolie labourer). Originally Sina do Koli appears to have referred to the Chinese settlement at Atapupu on Timor but is now applied loosely to all Chinese towns. The Chinese settlement in the administrative town of Baä is Sina Dale do Koli Dae. "Inner Sina or land of Koli". The harbour of Baä is Balu Fua do Lenga Uli. "Lift [launch] the Boat or Dry dock the Rudder". (This name is succinctly ambiguous. Balu is a ritual name for a native sailing boat and uli is the word for rudder. Fua might mean either the launching of a boat or the lifting of it onto dry land, while lenga probably alludes to the dry docking, turning over, of a boat for repair). The Islamic trading village of Oelaba in Dengka is spoken of as Ola Oe do Laba Dae, "The Water of Ola or the Land of Laba." Kupang on Timor, according to Jonker (1908:542), has the delightful name of Si Seu ma Soe Dode, literally "Tear [then] Sew and Scoop [then] Cook", for in Rotinese eyes the people of the town neither weave nor sow but they have both cloth and rice.

Another important ritual name is Sela Sule ma Dai Laka [Dae Langa]. This name has been taken to indicate the homeland of the Rotinese. Earlier commentators on Roti (among them, Kruyt) interpreted this name as an indication that the Rotinese originated from the island of Ceram (Sela = Cera) but I found no confirmation of this among Rotinese elders. All of the best Rotinese chanters agreed that Sela Sule ma Dai Laka, when it occurs in the chants, refers to any distant land across the sea.

Lamak-anan or East Roti is Dulu Oen ma Langa Daen, "The Water of the East and the Land of the Head". (In numerous Indonesian languages, it is the convention to refer not just to one's land but one's land and water. In Indonesian, for example, one's homeland is tanah-air; in Rotinese, it is Oe-Dae). Another name for Lamak-anan is Timu Dulu ma Sepe Langa, "East wind of the East and Light Red of the Head". This is not an unambiguous name. Both timu and dulu mean east but timu is used only in connection with the east wind: Sepe has various meanings. It refers to the light red dye colour obtained from a certain tree (Indonesian: kaju sepan), certain narrow design strips in traditional woven cloths, and to a type of ritually important basket. According to the Rotinese, sepe means 'light-red' in this context, the colour of the dawn.

Menak-anan or West Roti is Muli do Iko, "West or Tail" or Muli Loloe Olin ma Iko Bekute Tasin, "West [land] descending to the Estuary and Tail [land] sloping to the Sea". There are no rivers that run down to the west but it is a convention of ritual language

that oli, estuary, forms a dyadic set with tasi, sea, to mean the water or sea in general.

The following list gives the principal name for each domain on the island, in the dialect of Termanu: [Termanu: Tada Muli ma Lene Kona; Thie: Tada Muri ma Rene Kona.] (In an appendix to this thesis, I present a complete list of these ritual names).

- | | |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Landu | Soti Mori ma Bola Tena |
| 2. Cepao | Fai Fua ma Ledo Sou |
| 3. Ringgou | Londa Lusi ma Batu Bela |
| 4. Bilba | Pengo Dua ma Hilu Telu |
| 5. Diu | Pele Pou ma Nggafu Lafa |
| 6. Lelenuk | Lenu Petu ma Safe Solo |
| 7. Bokai | Medi do Ndule |
| 8. Korbaffo | Tunga Oli do Namu Ina |
| 9. Termanu | Koli do Buna |
| 10. Keka | Tufa Laba ma Neë Feo |
| 11. Talae | Pila Sue ma Nggeo Deta |
| 12. Baa | Pena Pua ma Maka Lama |
| 13. Dengka | Dae Mea Iko ma Oe Ange Muli |
| 14. Lelain | Nggede Ke ma Donda Mamen |
| 15. Loleh | Ninga Ladi ma Hengu Hena [Heu Hena] |
| 16. Thie | Tada Muli ma Lene Kona |
| 17. Delha | Dela Muli ma Ana Iko |
| 18. Oenale | Tasi Puka ma Li Sonu |

The majority of these names are difficult to comment upon. Some, however, are quite clear: Cepao's name, Fai Fua ma Ledo Sou, means "Day arises and Sun appears" because Cepao is the eastern domain in which it is first possible to observe the dawn. Korbaffo's name, Tunga Oli ma Namu Ina, means literally "Follow the Estuary and the Great Harbour" and refers to the wide natural harbour off the coast of the domain. Dengka's name, Dae Mea Iko ma Oe Ange Muli, is simply "Red Earth [at the] Tail and Swimming Water [in the] West. Dengka's other common name has a similar sense: Dae Mea ma Tete Lifu, "Red Earth and a Thousand Dams". (This refers to the damming of rivers to divert their waters to wet-rice fields). Oenale's name, Tasi Puka ma Li Sonu can be translated as "The Sea Breaks and the Waves Splash". Some names can be translated but I cannot explain their full significance. Diu's ritual name, Pele Pou ma Nggafu Lafa, means "Hang the [female] sarong and flutter the [male] cloth." This has reference to the flying of a flag but is probably an allusion to the union of north and south Diu. Bilba's name, Pengo Dua ma Hilu Telu can be translated as "Turn Twice and Swerve Thrice". Several Rotinese have suggested that this name alludes to the contrary nature of the people of Bilba, swinging from one extreme to another, from one allegiance to another. Some names are the subject of speculation. Talae's Pila Sue ma Nggeo Deta means "Red Ring/Armband and Black Dip". One Rotinese interpreted this as an allusion to Talae's wealth in sirih-pinang. (Keka and Talae produce a large

proportion of the sirih-pinang grown on Roti). The "Red Armband" is the red mouth and "Black Dip" are the blackened teeth that come from chewing sirih-pinang.

Besides these ritual names for the domains, there are three other absolutely fundamental ritual names which occur and recur in all Rotinese chants, myths, and tales. These dyadic names refer to the Three Worlds, the Three Realms of Life. The Heavenly World is Lain do Poin, the Earth is Dae Bafak do Batu Poik, and the Worlds Beneath the Sea is Liun do Sain. (I hope eventually to devote a separate study to a discussion of these Three Worlds. Here I can only mention them briefly). Lain do Poin (lai means above, poi refers to the top or peak of something) is ruled by Ledo do Bulan, the Sun and the Moon and is inhabited by the noble children of Sun and Moon. Liun do Sain is ruled by Iü ma Foek, Shark and Crocodile and includes a wide variety of sea creatures. Dae Bafak ma Batu Poik ("The Earth's Mouth and Rock's Point") is the realm of men. On coming to the earth, both the creatures of the Heavenly World and the World Beneath the Sea assume human form. In many myths and tales there appears to be no essential difference between these creatures and men. The Rotinese, especially the noble Rotinese, claim descent from the Sun and the Moon and they regard themselves as allied by marriage with Shark and Crocodile. (This proposition is not as simple as it appears. Sun and Moon, according to the most important of ritual chants, are allied by marriage with Shark and Crocodile. Noble Rotinese are descended from Sun and Moon

and therefore have Shark and Crocodile as ancient affines. According to other myths in ordinary language, other Rotinese, usually of commoner or of fetor descent, have also married with the Sea Crocodile). Now that I have introduced the chief ritual names used by the Rotinese, it is possible to proceed to the discussion of the primary co-ordinates of Rotinese classification.

6. The Symbolic Order and its Primary Co-ordinates

Like all Indonesian peoples, the Rotinese value order. Order, however, is a reality which is only achieved at the cosmological level. For men, order is a conceptual ideal which only approximates the order of the heavenly sphere. It is because the Rotinese stress that order is primarily conceptual that they are able to tolerate or simply ignore the discrepancies that exist between what, it is said, should be and what actually occurs. To know the conceptual order is more important than merely subscribing one's actions to it.

A ritual may not follow its proper sequence; certain elements in a ceremony may have been omitted or simply forgotten in the confusion of events. Nevertheless, nearly everyone can state, with amazing agreement, how a particular ritual should be performed. A house may not be oriented in exactly the proper direction or some part of the house, perhaps a ladder, may not be positioned as it should. (This, however, for many Rotinese is an invitation to disaster. I have heard men ascribe past misfortune or predict

future misfortune on the basis of some misalignment of the poles or ladders of a house). A Lord of a domain may not conform his actions to the ideal and he may even violate the rules he enforces among his subjects, perhaps marrying contrary to the norm. In this case, the Rotinese say bisu manek nabo ta: "The sores of a Lord have no smell". The ideal exists despite its violation. Conceptual order is an ideal that underlies all social action, but is unaffected if social action fails to conform to it. It is the task of lords and elders to strive to attain order, but, as the ritual chants so often repeat, order and perfection cannot be achieved in this world. Political events - seen as cosmological events - can effect a change in the conceptual order. This change is a matter of balance or of a rearrangement of certain elements within the conceptual order. The ideal of order itself is unaffected by these changes.

It is necessary in an introduction to the Rotinese to discuss conceptual order and examine the primary symbolic co-ordinates of this order, the basis of Rotinese classification. The first of these co-ordinates form a system of orientation. They refer to the four quarters: east (dulu), west (muli) south (kona) and north (ki). Several of the ritual names for the domains of Roti indicate that the island is regarded as having a head (langa) and a tail (iko). In ritual language, head is synonymous with east (dulu) and tail is synonymous with west (muli). There is also the clear indication that the eastern end of the island is higher than the western end,

since West Roti (Henak-anan) is described as 'descending' and 'sloping' (loloe/bekute) to the sea. This is as much a statement of symbolic pre-eminence as it is of physical height. The Rotinese are explicit that east is superior to west and they possess aphorisms that express this relation in near syllogistic form, Dulu nalu muli, te-hu ledo neme dulu mai, de dulu baü lena muli: "The east is as broad as the west, but the sun comes from the east, therefore the east is greater than the west". In this aphorism, the east is stated to be superior to the west because it is the position of origin of the sun, but Jonker (1913:613) has recorded (in the dialect of Oepao) another aphorism which gives a further reason for this superiority of the east over the west: Dulu baü muri boe, te hu bubu oe nai dulu, de dulu baü lena muri: "The east is as great as the west, but water wells up in the east, therefore the east is greater than west". The 'water welling up in the east' may conceivably refer to the various natural springs in East Roti but there are also springs in West Roti. Furthermore the rains of the wet season come from the west. It is therefore difficult to interpret this aphorism as a description of the physical world. It is more an assertion of the symbolic pre-eminence of the east. (There is the association of water, 'the water of well-being' (oe sodak) perhaps, with the east and by implication, the association of fire and earth with the west. In the house, for example, the water vat is always to the east of the cooking fire). Another way in which the Rotinese state this superiority^{of}/east over

west is the simple statement that the east wind has a greater force than the west wind.

From other ritual texts it would seem that the island of Roti with its head in the east and its tail in the west may be conceived as a crocodile,¹⁷ or as a water buffalo, or even as a man (since all three are sacrificially commutable) while the embracing sea surrounds this floating creature: tasi feo nusa Lote. Termanu is sometimes said to be the navel and Loleh the stomach or abdomen of the island.¹⁸

17. To the Rotinese, man, monkey, and crocodile are similar in that they all are said to have hands and feet.

18. The full poem about Termanu is:

Koli nai talada	Koli is in the middle
Buna nai use boson	Buna is at the navel
Teö nai tutulin	A father's sister at [the place of] passing by
Ma inan nai laladin	And a mother at [the place of] travelling through
De lope tuli teö dae	Therefore swinging one's arms, stop at the father's sister's land
Ma lao ladi inan dae	And going along, visit the mother's land

In this poem, Termanu (Koli do Buna) is compared to a mother (or mother's sister) and to a father's sister, a place of rest in the midst of one's journey or difficulty.

The poem - which is itself a fragment - about Loleh is far more obscure.

<u>Tukai Suki, Fatu Fili:</u>	Tukai Suki, Fatu Fili:
Tukai Suki bei nai Ninga	Tukai Suki still in Ninga [Loleh]
Ma Fatu Fili bei nai Hena	And Fatu Fili still in Hena [Loleh]
Bei nai hena-huk	Still at the abdomen (grotch?)
[Fatu Fili bei nai Ninga]	[Fatu Fili still in Ninga]
Bei nai tei dalek	Still inside the stomach.

I do not pretend to understand the significance of this poem. Tukai Suki and Fatu Fili are proper names - they are characters probably in a long ritual chant. The ritual name for Loleh is Ninga Ladi ma Hengu Hena; but there is play on the word, hena. Loleh is in Henak-anan; hena-huk might refer to the base or stalk of the pandanus (hena) but according to my informants it also refers to the grotch or lower half of the abdomen and forms a dyadic set with tei-dalek, 'the inside of the stomach'.

By this analogy, north is left and south is right. The word ki in Rotinese means both left and north and the word kona means both right and south. In this way, all distinctions between right and left are integrated with and inseparable from the categorization of the four quarters. The south/right is superior to the north/left as knowledge is superior to ignorance (or in another sense, as spiritual authority is to temporal power). The right hand is the lima-malelak, 'the knowing hand'; the left hand is the lima nggoa, 'the foolish or ignorant hand'. (Those with a natural bias for the left hand are mockingly called kode-ki, 'monkey-left' handed persons). The south, the Rotinese say, is superior to the north because it is the quadrant of 'power'. (The association of this quadrant with the Lord of a domain is discussed in a later chapter). The period of Dutch rule, however, did not accord with this conception since the Dutch claimed to originate from the north. This period of rule reversed the orders of symbolic primacy making the north or left superior to the south or right. Jonker (1908: 235) records this syllogistic aphorism of the period: Ki no kona beke bebaük, te hu Koponi nai ki, de ki baü lena kona: "North/left and south/right are the same greatness, but the Company is in the north/left, therefore the north/left is greater than the south/right". As one old, nearly blind, chanter from the domain of Baä explained: "With Independence, power returned to the south".

To the four quadrants, there corresponds a congruent system of colour categories. East is white (fulak), west is black (nggeo), south is red (pilas) while north is blue-green-yellow (modo). These are the primary units of colour for the Rotinese and they exhibit the same symbolic primacies as do the four quadrants. White is superior to black and red is superior to blue-green-yellow. Although they form a system congruent to the system of the four quarters, colours as symbolic categories can be used independently of the quadrants to express meaning. Here it would not be possible to give a detailed catalogue of the various associations for each of these colours. White, for example, is in certain contexts the colour of the Sun (and Moon), the colour of some of the offerings given to one's matrilineal kin (MB + WB), the colour of health and well-being; red is the colour of real blood, power, of male bravery and of the deity, Tou Mane ('the Male-Man', God of Lightning); black is the colour of death, the ancestral spirits, and fertility (as well as women and the moon in certain contexts). An elder brother is said to have red blood, a younger brother black blood. Blue-green-yellow is the colour of witchcraft, sorcery, and the spirits of the bad death.¹⁹

19. I have discussed in detail the symbolic associations of this quadrant in a long paper entitled: "On Bad Death and the Left Hand".

One of the features of this four-point system of classification is that it can be reduced to a simple polarity. This the Rotinese do in many myths and chants. The reduction is in terms of right and left (usually spoken of as 'the right path' and 'the left path'). In this way, the associations of white are fused with those of red and contrasted with those of black and blue-green-yellow. This four-point system may also be expanded to a five-point system of classification: the four quarters and the middle; or a six-point system: the four quarters, the high heaven and the earth below. This expansion of the system, however, involves a transformation of a two-dimensional model of the universe to that of three-dimensional model. To understand this, we must first consider some of the other primary co-ordinates of Rotinese classification. These are dae/lai and dae/dale.

The co-ordinates, lai and dae, are the Rotinese radicals for the basic orientation, up and down. An insistent ordering of experience into these categories is of great importance to the Rotinese, but the distinction between lai and dae is more than just the distinction between up and down, or above and below. Where other Indonesian peoples distinguish upstream from downstream or 'the head of the river' from 'the mouth of the river' by means of special terms, the Rotinese use the co-ordinates lai and dae: upstream is neme dae leo lain while downstream is neme lain leo dae. The rivers of Roti, in the rainy season, flow in a north-south

direction, streaming down from the centre of the island.²⁰ Lain, the high point of the island, is its central ridge. (At Ingu-Fao, on this central ridge, are said to be the stony remains of the first steps of the ladder that once linked heaven and earth). Lai is thus the root of the noun, lain and the reduplicated noun, lalain (adjectival form: lalais). Both of these nouns mean 'the above', 'heaven' or 'the heavens', while dae as a noun means 'earth.' (The full ritual name for heaven is Lain do Poin, while the name of the earth is Dae Bafak do Batu Poi). The distinction then between lai and dae is also the distinction between heaven and earth, the heavenly sphere and the earthly sphere. But the Rotinese are not satisfied to contrast these two spheres; they assert that heaven is superior to earth: Lain loa Dae, Dae loa Lain, te hu Manetua nai Lain, de Lain loa lena Dae: "Heaven is as broad as the Earth, Earth is as broad as Heaven, but the Great Lord is in Heaven, therefore Heaven is broader than the Earth." At the beginning of this century, Jonker (1913: 613) recorded this earlier syllogism: Lain loa Dae boe, te hu dano-ina nai Lain, de Lain loa lena Dae: "Heaven is as broad as the Earth, but a great lake is in Heaven, therefore Heaven is broader than the Earth". Again water or the possession of water is associated with superiority and pre-eminence. The contrast between lai and dae is also expressed in terms of the contrast

20. Several Rotinese tried to impress upon me the simple, observable fact that it rains more in the mountains than on the coast.

between the colours, white and black. When drinking, it is the custom (so simple and matter of fact that it hardly attracts attention) to spill a drop or two from one's glass as an offering - according to one elder - to Dae Nggeo, 'the Black Earth', that the earth may be watered from above.

It is possible to see the six points of this system or orientation as three axes analogically related to one another in terms of the elementary polarity: superior and inferior.

Thus:	Superior	Inferior
	1. Lai(n)	Dae
	2. dulu	muli
	3. kona	ki (reversed during Dutch rule)

Similarly these axes may be represented by the colours:

Superior	Inferior
1. white (fulak)	black (nggeo)
2. white (fulak)	black (nggeo)
3. red (pilas)	blue-green (modo)

A further means of expressing this system of classification and opposition is by means of the metals: silver (tin), gold, copper, lead. Silver is lilo fulak, 'white lilo', gold is lilo pilas, 'red lilo'. Greenish copper is liti. Lead is enge nggeok, 'black enge' in contrast to tin, enge fulak, 'white enge'. In the underworld, for example, the house of the crocodile and shark is described as mandela liti data do nasaä enge oe, "flashing like ancient copper and shining like wetted lead".

Superior	Inferior
1. silver	lead
2. silver	lead
3. gold	copper

In the formula for swearing an oath in Termanu²¹, the six points of orientation are addressed as powers or deities, pala²², and they are called upon to witness crucial testimony given at court. The oath is as follows:

Lai Pala, Dae Pala

Dulu Pala, Muli Pala

Ki Pala, Kona Pala

Tino malamula, maku matalolo

Loi fefeno, hona makamasu.

Power Above, Power Below

Power of the East, Power of the West

Power of the North, Power of the South

-
21. The oath is sworn outside the Lord's house, on the west, the place for resting the coffin (pepeda kopak) before carrying it into the house. A bit of earth is scraped up with the tip of a sword and is mixed with native gin. The man swearing the oath, holds the glass containing the earth and gin in his left hand, raises his right hand above his head and extends his index finger. He then recites the oath, lowers his hand before drinking his potion, and gives his testimony.
22. (Pala is a difficult word to translate precisely. One of the meanings of pala is 'old' or 'ancient'; another meaning is 'substitute' or 'equivalent' as in ina-pala, 'step-mother' or pala, the term used among unrelated women who have married within the same lineage. One of the glosses I was given for pala, used in the context of an oath, was ketuhan, 'divinity' or 'deity'. Another gloss was 'jang beri', 'he who gives' because of the fact that pala may form a dyadic set with bae, to give, share or divide: Lain pala ma poin bae: "Heaven gives and the heights share/divide").

Stare with peering gaze, watch with open eyes

Penetrate deeply, stamp heavily²³.

(From one elder I learned that the word, mata could be substituted for pala in this formula. Thus the oath would be addressed to 'The Eye Above, the Eye Below.....')

This system of classification can be further transformed by means of two other co-ordinates (another axis) of Rotinese symbolic classification. These co-ordinates are dea and dale, 'outside' and 'inside'. Because these co-ordinates figure so prominently and so explicitly at all levels of Rotinese conceptualization, I must here consider their application at greater length than I have considered other co-ordinates, but even this is only a summary of the main uses of these important categories.

At the level of the individual, a Rotinese will often preface some well considered opinion or reflection with the remark that it comes from 'within' (neme dale-na) or that this is something he has pondered on within himself (afi nai dale-na). In this sense, dale refers to the inner core of a man, his person, what Jonker (1908:72) translates, not incorrectly, as the 'heart' (although, in fact, this inner sentiment may be physically located within the stomach, teik). A common Rotinese admonition to be sincere and trustworthy is Boso ma-dale dua ma boso ma-tei telu, which, translated literally,

23. This last line is extremely difficult and I am uncertain of this translation. The Rotinese said it referred to the curse or punishment that falls on those who give false testimony.

advises "Do not have two hearts and do not have three stomachs". There are any number of other compound expressions (Jonker 1908: 72-74) that utilize this sense of the word, dale: with malole (good), dale-malole: to be 'good hearted', 'friendly'; with sala (wrong); dale-sala: 'to be greedy', 'envious'; dale-hi: 'to desire intensely'; dale-loloa: 'to comfort', 'console someone'; or nata-dale: 'to be glad', 'overjoyed'.

In contrast to this use of dale is the conscious, often artful show of words in which all Rotinese delight. But this verbal play does not belong to the essential inner level of things 'of the heart'. It manifests itself for example in what, to the observer, appears as interminable disputes and law cases. Not to be involved in some dispute is hardly to be Rotinese. In fact, the Rotinese have gained the reputation of being the most disputatious people of the Timor area. To the Dutch colonial administration, the island was indeed a trial and testing ground for young administrators. Yet to the Rotinese, it seems, the point of many disputes lies in the conduct of the argument itself. All forms of this externalized verbal display from minor quarrels to major court cases, heard by the Lord of a domain, are described as dedeäk. They are classified, in some way, as things of the outside. In another sense, conflict belongs to the realm of things of the outside.

Many Rotinese folktales involve trickster-like heroes. In translating these tales, it is clear that much of their humour lies in the listener's knowledge of both what the hero thinks to himself

(nai dale-na) and what he says (dedeä) to achieve this deception.

The categories of inside and outside have innumerable further applications. Here I wish to consider a few common usages of the term, outside, deak. The word for the domain is nusak. A man of a particular nusak regards the other domains of the island as nusa-dea and other strange Rotinese (hataholi feëk) as hataholi nusa-dea, 'men of the outside nusak'. This is sufficiently clear but the same man applies the category, dea, to any uninhabited wood or grassland, any area of his own domain removed from human settlements. Here the meaning is 'the bush', the wilderness in which it is possible to encounter wandering spirits. Dea has the further sense of 'in back of' or 'behind'. A man's back is his deak; 'to turn back' or 'return' is fali deak; the clients and followers of a lord are referred to as mana tunga deak, 'those who follow behind'. In certain contexts, deak has the added meaning of something 'secret', something done 'behind the back'. One defecates nai deak, at some distance from the house and a more polite expression for the verb to defecate (tei) is nanga-deak which can be translated as either 'to make outside' or 'to make backward'. In yet another common usage, the open sea, as opposed to the shore lines along which the Rotinese fish and sail, falls within this category of dea. Not unexpectedly, the Rotinese wary of sailing out into the open sea and they leave deep sea-fishing to small colonies of Badjo-Laut on the island.

These categories of inside and outside are also applied to the order within the house. The western, female side of the house is the uma dalek; the eastern male side of the house is the uma deak. (That the inner core of the Rotinese house is centered about the woman, with the man on the periphery is a very crucial concept in understanding the Rotinese. Within the house, the female is 'inside', the male 'outside'. Both, however, are within the house). Similarly the spirits of the dead are divided into the nitu dalek, the spirits of the good dead incorporated within the house, and the nitu-deak, the dangerous spirits of the bad death who remain without.

7. The Universe as Tree: A Ritual Chant

For the Rotinese there is no one system of classification. There are a variety of systems of classification. Classification may be dual. The co-ordinates of classification may be the terms 'right' and 'left' or 'inside' and 'outside'. (It should be noted that the co-ordinates right and left and inside and outside do not produce coincident or concordant classifications. What is right is not automatically inside, nor is left automatically outside. Each application of these co-ordinates must be judged individually to discover its meaning from context). Classification, it might be assumed, can be triadic. The Rotinese do range or rank things in triads, but there are, to my knowledge, no established linguistic co-ordinates in Rotinese for ordering triads, save possibly the model

of the three spheres, the Heavenly sphere, the Earthly sphere, and the Sphere beneath the Sea. This model, while it may be the basis for certain classification, does not apply to all triads. Classification in triads therefore remains a problem in Rotinese ethnography.

Classification may be quadratic in terms of the four quarters and this form of classification may be further expanded by the co-ordinates of 'above' and 'below' to form a six-point system of classification. But ultimately this system may be reduced to the simple dyadic co-ordinates upon which it is based: east and west, south and north, above and below. When, however, the co-ordinates inside and outside are superimposed upon the basic orientation system, this system becomes transformed. The four quarters are on the outside and stand opposed to 'above' which is centre or inside. The normal equations of superior and inferior are also transformed. All of the four quarters are the directions of evil and danger, while the centre alone is good. This transformation involves a change of what is basically a two-dimensional model of classification into a three-dimensional model. For the Rotinese this three-dimensional model of the universe is represented as a world tree, a great waringin, with four or eight branches pointed outward and a single branch of the tree ascending upward. The model is a five or nine point system, since dae, below, or what would be the tree's trunk roots, is neglected. To illustrate this

system of classification, I quote a long Rotinese admonition in ritual language. It is a description of a waringin tree and an enumeration of the five paths upon the tree. Although only five paths are actually enumerated and although the number eight is mentioned - it is required by the conventions of ritual language to form a dyadic set with nine - it is evident that for the Rotinese this tree represents a nine point system of total classification, for nine is the number of totality.

A Rotinese Admonition in Ritual Language²⁴

Sa Lepa-Lai nunun ²⁵	The Waringin tree of Sa Lepa-Lai
Ma Huak Lali-Ha kekan ²⁵	And the Banyan Tree of Huak Lali-Ha
Keka mabaë faluk	The Banyan has eight branches
Ma nunun mandana siok	And the Waringin has nine boughs.
De dalak ko sio boe	These are the nine roads

24. This ritual text was recited for me by Manoeain Tua (L.T. Manoeain) an old man of well over sixty and nearly blind, one of the most renown chanters on Roti. The text is in the dialect of Baä.
25. The Rotinese distinguish at least seven kinds of Keka. The Keka is one of the great trees commonly chosen for sacrifices as for example, the naë ola before beginning the work within a rice complex. The kinds of Keka are 1) keka sela; 2) keka busa; 3) keka bu; (this keka will often have bees' nests); 4) keka dedita or keka lole (This keka is alluded to in other ritual texts. It exudes a sticking resin which is used to patch lontar haiks and, is said, to be used to catch the koa and nggia birds); keka sina (the Chinese keka which also exudes a resin). Besides these, Jonker (908:228) lists the 6) keka losi and 7) keka suli. I know little about the nunu, except that it forms a dyadic set with keka and that the Rotinese refer to it as a waringin in Indonesian. In the chants, keka/nunu forms a dyadic set which often contrasts with the set of nita/dela (kelumpang/dedap trees: *Sterculia foetida*/*Brithrina* spp).

Ma enok ko falu bee	And these are the eight paths
Fo dala sodak nai ndia	The road of well-being is there
Ma eno mamates nai na	And the path of death is there
De sulii malamumula	Therefore watch with care
Ma mete makananae	And look with attention
Ndanak esa dulu neu	One branch points east
Ma boso musik ndia	But do not follow that
Te fiti-ngge ledon dalam ndia	For this is the road of the fiti-ngge spirit of the sun
Ma telu-tae bulan enon ndia	And this is the path of the telu-tae spirit of the moon
De fiti-ngge fiti-fiti	The fiti-ngge thrusts and thrusts
Ma telu-tae tati-tati	And the telu-tae chops and chops
De nggelo lesuk nai ndia	There it breaks the neck
Ma ladi puk nai ndia	And there it snaps the thigh
Ndanak esa muli neu	One branch points west
Boso musik ndanak ndia	Do not follow that branch
Te nitu hitu dalam ndia	For this is the road of seven spirits
Ma mula falu enon ndia	And this is the path of eight ghosts
De mate nituk nai ndia	The death of the spirits is there
Ma lalo mulak nai ndia	And the decease of the ghosts is there
Ndanak esa ki neu	One branch points north (left)
Boso musik ndanak ndia	Do not follow that branch
Te pila bii-late dalam ndia	For this is the road of the red 'goat's grove' spider.
Ma modo bolau enon ndia	And this is the path of the blue- green poisonous spider.
Ma lolo ciw no yin	

De peta-aok nai ndia	The swelling of the body is there
Ma bina-talek nai na	And the festering wound is there
Ndanak esa kona neu	One branch points south(right)
Boso musik ndanak ndia	Do not follow that branch
Te manufui tela dalam ndia	For this is the road of forest bird
Ma kukuha nau enon ndia	And this is the path of four taloned grass birds
De o leno kada telas dale	You only wander within the forest
Ma o pela kada nau dale	And you only turn within the grass
Te ndana esa lido-lido lain neu	But one branch goes forward toward Heaven
Ma dape-dape ata neu	And [one branch] goes straight to the Heights
Na musik ndanak ndia	Then take that branch
Te dala sodak nde ndia	For this is the road of well-being
Ma eno molik nde ndia	And this is the path of life
Fo nini o mu losa kapa sula soda daen	To bring you to the "buffalo-horn" land of well-being
Ma mu nduku pa-dui molik oen	And to the "flesh and bone" water of life.
Dae sodak nai ndia	The land of well-being is there
Ma oe molik nai na	And the water of life is there
Fo o hambu soda sio	For you will find the well-being of nine [The fullness of well-being]
Ma o hambu moli falu	And you will find the life of eight [The completeness of life]
Ma dua lolo ei	And [with] legs outstretched
Ma kala ifa lima	And [with] arms cradled on the lap
Fo ifa limam no limam	Rest your arms upon your arms
Ma lolo eim no eim	And stretch your legs over your legs. [Assume a position of rest].

The specific imagery of this admonition deserves comment. The elder who recited this poem for me explained that the world is a waringin (*Ficus religiosa?*) tree, and life is a journey along its branches. This use of eight and nine indicates that the tree forms a totality, just as - at the end of the poem -, the "well-being of nine" (soda sio) and the "life of eight" (moli falu) represent the fullness of well-being and the completeness of life. On the eastern branch of the waringin is the telu-tae/fiti-ngge spirit. Both the sun and moon are here classified on the east (although in other ritual contexts, the sun is assigned to the east, the moon to the west). Telu-tae is the spirit of incest (the word for incest in West Roti is simply telu-tae) and the telu-tae is said to bring illness and death on those who marry incestuously. Physically, the telu-tae is a crustacean (located by the Rotinese in the category, poe, with shrimp and lobsters and from various descriptions, telu-tae may possibly be a cray-fish). Similarly the fiti-ngge is another crustacean. Jonker (1908:137) lists the fiti-ngge as a kind of shrimp, poe fiti-ngge. (I have not heard of any special significance attached to the fiti-ngge and I suspect its purpose in this context is to form the dyadic set with telu-tae). Thus the associations of the east with water and life, the sun and the moon, are maintained, but their evil aspects (incest, retribution) are emphasized. On the western branch of the waringin are the spirits and ghosts of the dead. This is consistent with all Rotinese symbolism but it is highly significant that these dead

are referred to as "seven spirits and eight ghosts". The use of seven and eight indicates that these spirits are a majority but not a totality. This is because only the good dead are assigned to the west, while the bad dead (those who have died a violent death) are believed to go to the north, from which quarter they come to seek vengeance upon the living. On the northern branch of the waringin is the red 'goat's grave' spider or the blue-green poisonous spider. The reference here is not to two distinct spiders, but a single spider. This association of a red spider with the north is only superficially anomalous because the 'goat's grave' spider is, in fact, a reddish colour. It is also a poisonous spider and a sign of sorcery and therefore, despite its colour, it is symbolically assigned to the north and referred to as a modo bolan, a blue-green, poisonous spider. (Modo, in Rotinese, means both 'blue-green' and 'poisonous'. In ritual language, blue-green/red (modo/pila) and black/white (nggeo/fula) form dyadic sets of contrasting oppositions.). On the southern branch of the waringin is the forest bird and the four-taloned grass-bird. Apart from the implied immensity of this southern forest, I am unable to explain the significance of this poetic imagery. 'Forest bird' (manufui tela) is a general term, not a species name for a type of bird. The four-taloned grass-bird is something of a prodigy in that it is a terrestrial bird. Finally on the branch leading upward is the water of life and the land of well-being and in this land, one assumes the posture of tranquility

(the shape of the island of Roti: Lote lolo ei ma Kale ifa lima) with legs outstretched and arms cradled in the lap.

The great waringin tree with its intricate branch roots presents the most complex instrument for classification that exists on Roti. Yet the great complexity of this tree which mirrors the complexity of the universe is symbolically reduced to a conceptual model of nine branches. In effect, these nine branches are five branches and these five branches are divided in two: the four inferior branches leading to the four quarters and the single superior branch leading upward. In the end, even the great waringin tree is reduced to a dyadic contrast of certain primary symbolic co-ordinates.

8. Order and Perfection: The Concepts of Tetu-Tema

The symbolic co-ordinates, tetu-tema, do not refer to a system of orientation. They refer instead to the ideals of order and perfection, rectitude and completeness. In the Heavenly sphere, these ideals are achieved as the sun and the moon progress along their established courses. Among men, a plea for justice is expressed as a request to a Lord and his court that 'the widows and orphans' [the metaphor for the subjects of a Lord] 'be ordered' (tetu) and 'be perfected' (tema). Yet despite this quest for order and perfection, the most frequent refrain in Rotinese ritual chants, especially the funeral chants, is simply:

Tetu ta nai batu poi "Order is not of this world
 Tema ta nai dae bafak. Perfection is not of this earth".

As a conclusion to this chapter, I wish to discuss the efficacious relation that exists between the order and perfection of the Heavenly sphere and the ideals of order and perfection among men. (In chapter III, I discuss these ideals in relation to the justice of a Lord within his domain). Before proceeding to the wider meanings and connotations of the words tetu-tema, it is necessary to remark on the specific meaning of these words.

The word, tetu, may refer to objects (usually long and slender objects) that stand erect or in vertical position in relation to the ground. Thus the Rotinese say (cf. Jonker 1908:627): di-a napadeik na-tetu: "The pole stands erect" or pelak-ala latetu-la ao-n so: "The maize holds itself erect". The word, tetu, also means 'to be precisely balanced' and hence 'even'. Thus, for example, the Rotinese say: mei-a ta napadeik na-tetu fa: "The table does not stand straight (i.e. is uneven)" or dae-a natetu: "The earth is even (flat)". The word, tema, on the other hand, refers to anything that is 'whole', 'full', 'undamaged' or 'unopened'. In its most common usage, tema is applied to whole pieces of cloth. In fact, the word, tema, as a noun means a broad uncut piece of cloth. Thus the Rotinese can say (cf. Jonker 1908:616): boa ka-temak, "the whole fruit"; lafa ka-temak: "a full man's cloth"; teu ka-temak: "a full year" or tema pilas: "the red cloth". As a verb (naka-tema) the word, tema, means 'to close', 'shut' or 'make

tight or whole', and by a perfectly sensible extension of this idea, temak, may refer to a 'thicket' or a 'dense wood', nula makatemak. Another extremely significant use of the words tetu-tema (which I cannot consider here) is this: One erects a house (naka-tetu uma) but the feast and sacrifices to consecrate the house are referred to as: naka-tema uma: "to close the house, to make the house whole". The union of flag and flag-pole, the ancient symbol of legitimate rule, is also a union of tetu-tema objects.

In the Heavenly sphere, the goal of the sun is tetu; the goal of the moon is tema. During the course of each day, the sun rises to the 'zenith' (ledo-tetuk) and then falls into the sea; while during the course of each month, the moon grows to 'fullness' (bula temak or bula-tema-inak) and then slowly sinks and disappears. For the Rotinese, the growth of the moon provides (in fact, governs) the pattern for all growth on the island. The verb, moli, 'to grow', refers to the waxing of the moon, the life of men and the growth of plants. The daily progress of the sun requires far less elucidation than the complex cycle of the moon.

The Rotinese reckon a month of thirty days but, since the final days of the month are subject to readjustment, a month, in practice, need not have thirty days. To be more exact, the Rotinese consider a month to be divided into two cycles of fifteen days each. For fifteen days the moon waxes and during this time, days are counted, using the word for 'day', faik: fai esak, fai duak,

fai teluk... After the full moon, as the moon begins to wane, the Rotinese say that the moon sinks (nasa-bolo) and days are counted using the root of the verb 'to sink', bolo: bolo esak, bolo duak, bolo teluk... (One can also say of the moon, ana ke, 'it cuts'). When the moon is no longer visible, she has disappeared (mopo). If the new moon (bula-moli-beuk) appears before the fifteenth day of the 'sinking' bolo-cycle, this presents no problem. Counting according to the old cycle is discontinued and days are reckoned in the faik-cycle again. (Similarly if the moon begins to wane before the fifteenth day of the faik-cycle, counting is begun according to the bolo-cycle).

The Rotinese always regard the moon in its relation to the sun. The moon is at its fullest when, at about six in the evening, the moon rises in the east just as the red sun sets in the west. The red sun illuminates the white of the moon turning it to pink. Of this the Rotinese say idiomatically: bula pila la-nda, "The red moon, they confront [each other]" or simply, pila la-nda, "Red, they confront [each other]". Similarly in the early morning, the dawning sun appears in the east as the moon sinks in the west and the two together are red. During the waxing of the moon, the Rotinese faik-cycle, the sun and the moon are not to be seen occupying the sky together, but gradually the sun gains upon the moon. At the end of the faik-cycle when the moon is full, the setting sun appears together with the rising moon. Thereafter,

during the bole-cycle, the sun and the moon occupy the day-time sky together for an increasing length of time until finally when the moon disappears, the Rotinese say: Ledo no bulak-a so: "The sun has led the moon away". (The same verb, no, may be used to refer to a girl who is escorted to her husband's house).

The progress of the sun and moon is seen as a cycle. When the sun sets it circles beneath the sea and reappears in the east. The moon too circles beneath the sea but its cycle around the earth is also a cycle of growth and decline. This waxing and waning of the moon consists of two distinct trajectories. During the faik-cycle, the moon goes through three named phases. The new moon is bula-moli-beuk, 'the new growing moon'. The second phase of the moon is the half moon. The half moon occupies a position in the zenith and for the Rotinese, during this phase, the moon has assumed the proper position of the sun. For this the Rotinese say: bula namatetu: "The moon becomes erect". Finally the moon reaches its goal and becomes the 'full moon', bula temak. The trajectory of the bole-cycle is toward disappearance. The moon wanes from a full moon to a half moon (bula namatetu), when again it assumes the position of the sun, and finally disappears (mopo).

The waxing and waning of the moon effects the cycle of the tides. The Rotinese recognize the moon's effect on the tides but for them it is the moon in inseparable conjunction with the sun that causes the tides. (Here the subject becomes extremely complicated

and detailed examination of the twelve tides of the month and their significance would distract from the main argument of this discussion of tetu-tema). The Rotinese name the tides by their first ebbing, for only as the sea recedes can they fish their permanent fish-weirs along the sea shore. Each named tide occupies an interval of two to three days. The succession of the tides is fixed but the duration of each tide allows a certain flexibility. The tides of the faik-cycle are the meti molik, 'the growing tides'; the tides of the bolo-cycle are the meti daek, 'the under tides'. The tides are as follows:

- Meti moli:
1. Tasi lede sulu: "The sea of the shaded sun". The tide recedes just as the sun has set. (Approx. 6 pm)
 2. Tasi pepele leodae: "The sea of the evening torch". The tide recedes in the early evening and fishing is by torch light. This is a time of excellent fishing. (Approx. 7 or 8 pm).
 3. (Tasi) Mamok: During the two or three days of mamok, the recession of the sea is so insignificant that the Rotinese claim there is no tide: meti ta.
 4. Meti nituk: "The spirit tide". The tide recedes in the middle of the night and fishing is by torchlight. (Approx. 12 pm).
 5. (Tasi) pepe lole balaha: [Baä: Mbele lole mbilak]: "The sea of the dawn torch". The tide recedes in the early hours of the morning but fishing is still by torchlight. (Approx. 3 or 4 am).
 6. Meti beuk: "New tide". The tide recedes at about dawn. (Approx. 5 am).

At this time begin the meti daek, the tides of the bolo-cycle:

1. Seko koa kako: "Scoop-net fishing [when] the koa-bird sings". The tide recedes quickly. (Approx. 5.30 am).
2. Seko ledo todak: "Scoop-net fishing [as] the sun appears".
3. Tasi ledo hanak: "The sea of the hot sun". The tide recedes very slowly as the sun moves toward the zenith. At this time, according to the Rotinese, there occurs the best fishing of the month.
4. (Tasi) Mamok: Again there is no tide.
5. Tasi ledo laik: "The sea of the sun above". The tide recedes in the early afternoon (Approx. 3pm).
6. Tasi ledo nosok: "The sea of the afternoon sun". The tide recedes in the late afternoon (Approx. 4 to 5 pm). During this time, it is also possible to fish the shore weirs in the morning.

Thus in the course of a month, there are two periods of excellent fishing: tasi pepele leodae and tasi ledo hanak. These the Rotinese call meti ina: 'the great tides' or 'the female tides' and they are each followed by a period of mamok, when there is no tide at all. All fishing activity ceases. All of this long discussion has led up to this one point, upon which the Rotinese are insistent: mamok occurs when the feminine moon assumes the position of the masculine sun. When the half moon is in the tetu position, at the zenith, the tides cease and neither women nor female animals are capable of giving birth. During this period of cosmic reversal, there is a lull upon the earth - a suspension of normal growth - and only at the resumption of the tides can women and female animals once more give birth. (By the logic of this thought, one could assume that most births should occur during the periods of meti ina but unfortunately I have never heard a Rotinese confirmation of this

idea). There is another point upon which the Rotinese are equally emphatic. When the moon is full (tema), then is the time for planting coconut-trees, banana-trees, and pinang-trees. The rest of this thesis is concerned to elucidate the significance of this simple statement.

The Rotinese are explicit about the association or analogy of a man with the sun and a woman with the moon. As evidence of this, I need only quote one short Rotinese poem:

Au amang leo ledo	"My father is like the sun
Au inang leo bulak	My mother is like the moon
Ti tuda leo ledo	Rising and falling like the sun
Moli mopo leo bulak.	Growing and disappearing like the moon.

When the words, tetu-tema, are applied to a man and a woman, they have a special sense. A virgin girl is called ina-ana ao-temak, 'a girl whose body is intact'. More commonly, a virgin is referred to as mata-temak, a girl with 'whole (or intact) eyes'. In Rotinese, mata, eye(s) is a euphemism for the genitals and the expression koö mata, "to cup the eyes" means "to cover the genitals" (cf. Jonker 1908:151). Similarly a young boy may be spoken of as mata matetuk, a boy with 'upright eyes'. This expression has definite sexual connotations but it may be used widely as a term of approbation for any 'upright young man'. When, as commonly happens on Roti, a boy and a girl are discovered as having had intercourse, a marriage is usually arranged immediately. The boy's house is,

however, obliged to make a payment to the parents of the girl to wash away their shame. One term for this payment is nalou oek: "to wash [the face] with water". Another - and in this case a more significant - term for this same payment is matetu matak: literally "having or bearing upright eyes".

If one returns to the recurrent Rotinese refrain: Tetu ta nai batu poi / Tema ta nai dae bafak, it can be shown that this refrain has further, entirely sexual connotations. One hears this refrain frequently in the joking conversations of Rotinese boys and young men. The poem, Pau Balo ma Bola Lungi whose opening lines I quoted earlier in this chapter, is a long recitation of the loves and seductions of a young noble. After each seduction until the final destruction by lightning of Pau Balo ma Bola Lungi, the refrain about the lack of order and perfection in the world is repeated. Given this context, it seems perfectly legitimate to retranslate these lines in a literal but more suggestive sense:

Tetu ta nai batu poi Erection is not of the pointed rock

Tema ta nai dae bafak. Virginity is not of the earth's mouth.

The implication of these lines is that not only are the ideals of order and perfection impossible to achieve but also that, inevitably, the ideal of virginity is a state that is impossible to maintain.

The Rotinese are concerned with the virginity of their women. One of the features that clearly distinguishes nobles from commoners is the relative inaccessability of noble women. Noble women are

more closely watched and they themselves maintain a strict rule of conduct in their association. Their bride-wealth is far more costly than that of a commoner. For the Rotinese of Termanu, there are three types or levels of marriage, each requiring a greater exchange of wealth on both sides, more feasting, and more ceremony. The most costly and prestigious form of marriage is sao elok. This form of marriage demands that the girl be conducted to her husband's house as a virgin and elaborate symbolic means are taken to emphasize this. Below her waist, the bride is bound tightly in a girdle of coarse black cord. This cord is tied, knotted (the daughter of a Lord has the right to nine knots) and thickly smeared with bees' wax. In the presence of an old woman, the groom is obliged to undo the waxed knots of his wife's girdle without either breaking the thread or forcing the knots with his teeth. To undo these knots, the groom is permitted to use only the thumb and index finger of his left hand.

CHAPTER II:

ROTIANESE MODES OF LIVELIHOOD1. The Concern with Water in a Dry Land.

In the dry season, at the end of the harvest is the 'running' of the hus. The word, hus, is derived from the root, hu, meaning the 'cause', 'source', 'root', 'trunk', or 'origin'. The hus comes at the end of the old year but the Rotinese see it rather as the beginning of the new year. In Termanu, there are nine separate hus feasts and in ritual language, sio, nine, the auspicious number of totality forms a dyadic set with the term, hus.

At the hu-ina, the great hus of the clan of the Lord of Termanu, the officiating manehanas ('the Lord of Heat') wraps the hahalik¹ cloth around his waist and dragging this cloth behind him, he approaches the nitas² tree with raised spear. Stabbing the tree three times, he calls upon the moon saying:

Kona, bulan, kona	Descend, moon, descend
Kona, bulan, kona	Descend, moon, descend
Kona, bulan, kona	Descend, moon, descend
Kona musik nitas-a boboa kona ³	Descend on the right side of the nitas-tree

1. The hahalik is a long narrow piece of cloth and should ideally be of fine patola cloth.
2. The nitas is the Indonesian kelumpang (*Sterculia foetida*). The nitas and the delas (Indonesian: dedap, a kind of *Erythrina*) are the two trees associated with women, the moon, and rain.
3. The word, kona, is the verb, 'to descend' but it is also the word for 'right' (hand, side, etc.) and for the direction 'south'. This invocation derives much of its poetic beauty from the multiple related meanings of kona.

Muni meti ma-isi	Bring the abundance of the tide
Muni tua ma-oe	Bring the juice of the lontar-palm
Muni bafi mana-bongi-siok	Bring the nine farrowed sow
Muni manu tutu natuk	Bring hundred pecking chickens.

In the dance that accompanies the hus, the chorus renews the invocation of the manehanas. By the conventions of ritual language, the sun must be mentioned with the moon, the sword with the spear, despite the fact that in this case the symbolic action is directed with the spear toward the moon. As they dance in a circle, the dancers sing:

Sio bafi latola	The pigs of the Feast of Nine appear
Ma hu kapa ladadi	And the buffalo of the Feast of Hus grow up
Besak-a ala soku lala bulan ten	Now they lift up the spear of the moon
Ma ala ifa lala ledo tafan-a	And they carry (in ceremony) the sword of the sun
De lalo neu bulan	They call upon the moon
Ma langgou neu ledo, lae:	And they address the sun, saying:
Kona, mai	Come, descend
Fo muni dini oe manahaik	To bring sufficient moist dew
Ma aü oe manancük	And ample dampening water
Fo tete dae bafak	To rain down upon the earth
Ma totoli batu poi	And pour down upon the world
Ma fe tua ma-oe	And give the juice of the lontar-palm
Ma tasi ma-isi	And the abundance of the sea
Ma kale duak	And two grains
Ma pule teluk	And three seeds
Fo kalen-na didiu	That the [heavy heads] of grain might bend
Ma pulen-na loloso	And the seed [shoots] might creep along [the ground]

Fo ela ana-mak lamahena To allow the orphans to hope
 Ma falu-ina lakabani And the widows to trust⁴

The invocations addressed to the moon in the hus are for rain, for the fruits of the sea, for the juice of the lontar, for an abundant harvest, for the fertility of animals and the health and strength of men. Yet the hus is run in the dry season, after the harvest and months before there is the prospect of renewed rain. In this then, the hus looks forward to the new year, not thankfully back on the old year. The hus does, however, occur just before the height of the lontar tapping season and in the midst of the best fishing time of the year.

The concern with water and rain is the predominant concern of the entire Rotinese year. The Rotinese divide the year (teuk) into two seasons, each characterized by an alternate monsoon wind. The fai-oe-fak ('days of oe-fak') is the wet season dominated by the west monsoon, the ani mulis or ani-fak, the west wind. This season extends from the month of November through the month of April, but the rain during this 'wet' season is unreliable and unpredictable. In a year of abundant rain (which is perhaps only the ideal conception of the Rotinese), there is a light rain in November, heavy rains in December and January, occasional substantial rains in

4. It is customary among the Rotinese for a petitioner to refer to himself as an orphan and widow who is dependent on the generosity of the person petitioned. This is further elaborated in that all subjects are orphans and widows (the dependants) in relation to the Lord of a domain and all men are orphans and widows in relation to the Divinity (Lamatua Lain).

February followed by consistent gentle rains through April. The reality is far more grim and a concern with water and rain is without a doubt a major preoccupation in Rotinese life.

It is useful to contrast the rains of the two seasons I was on the island. In the first year, the rains began early; there was considerable rain in November, after which the rains ceased for nearly a month, but in January and February there were once more heavy rains which continued well into March. The result of this was a poor maize and millet crop but the better rice growing areas of the island had a magnificent rice harvest. In the following year, there was virtually no substantial rain until the last week of December and only irregular rain thereafter. According to many Rotinese, it was the worst rainy season in living memory. In many areas, rice fields were left unworked for lack of rain and in those fields dependent on natural springs, most of the rice that was planted withered. By contrast with the previous year, the rice harvest failed entirely, yet there was a good harvest of maize and millet in some areas, especially in the hilly central regions of the island.

The fai-hanas ('days of heat') is the dry season, dominated by the east monsoon, the ani timu,⁵ the east wind. Often this season is spoken of as fai-timu or simply timu. Unlike the fai-oe-fak, the

5. The word, timu, meaning east (Indonesian: timur), in contrast with the more common word dulu is used in only a limited number of contexts. Timu, not dulu, is applied to the east wind and dae timu (or dae timu-sonebai) is the word for the island of Timor.

fai timu is predictable and unvaried. The dry west wind begins in April and increases in intensity through July and August after which it subsides considerably. In July and August, the days are hot, dry and gusty while nights are chilly and occasionally cold. At this time of year, the rivers dry up, the soil becomes rock-hard and fissured, and the island turns an even more monotonous, uncompromising brown. This then becomes fai-fanuk which continues until the first substantial rains of the fai-oe-fak.

The Rotinese regard the fai-fanuk as a continuation (possibly an intensification) of the fai-hanas, although the east wind has subsided and by late fanuk ceased entirely. This is the period of increased activity after the hus,⁶ the time for lontar tapping and the cooking of lontar syrup. With the first showers of rain, the uda poli afuk ('the rain poured on the ashes' [of the syrup cooking fires]), tapping and cooking should cease and the final clearing of the fields and gardens should be completed.

My first concern in this chapter is to describe all the varied seasonal modes of livelihood of the Rotinese. I do this by examining the way in which the Rotinese conceive of and categorize their food crops, their trees, and their fields and I also consider, in some detail, the progression of the annual agricultural cycle. This examination is not an end in itself. It serves to advance the

6. In Termanu and Dengka, the hus is held in August, just prior to what is generally regarded as the beginning of fanuk. But according to some informants, the hus or rimba/limba of Delha and Cenale, at the western end of the island, is held much later, apparently in the period of fanuk.

general discussion of this thesis. The categorization of the 'nine seeds', the 'male' and 'female' lontar, and the various 'fields' of the Rotinese form part of a wider system of thought and each contributes an additional symbol to a rich metaphorical language. Although I cannot elaborate, at this point, upon the symbolic significance of the 'nine seeds', the lontar, or all of the field systems, I nevertheless conclude this chapter with a discussion and exegesis of a chant which illustrates the pervasive use of the metaphor of planting as well as the analogy of man and plant.

2. The Foods of the Rotinese: The Pule Sio.

In the inner room (uma dalek) of the Rotinese house, the female half of the house, there is usually placed a small lontar basket of grain (either rice or millet) beside the ladder leading up into the loft. This basket is called the soka pule sio: 'the soka-basket of the nine seeds'. Originally this cult of the nine seeds was specifically a cult of rice and millet. In many instances the nine seeds are still referred to in this exclusive sense, but in other instances the symbol of the nine seeds, although still represented by rice and millet, is interpreted as the symbol for all the food sources of the Rotinese. This has led to^a conscious attempt to classify all food sources on the island within a nine fold system of categories. These nine foods are alternatively called lakamola anan, 'the nine children of Lakamola'. Lakamola is a prominent hill in the eastern domain of Bilba. The following are the nine categories:

1. hade : rice
2. betek : millet
3. pelak : maize
4. pela-hik : sorghum
5. ufi : various kinds of tubers: sweet potato, cassava
6. fufue: various kinds of peas, peanuts, and beans
7. nggelas : pumpkin
8. tulis : a kind of green bean
9. lena : sesame

This classification is consistent throughout the island, although there are slight dialect variations in plant names. The list I have quoted above is in the dialect of Termanu. In Thie, for example, pela-hik is mbela-hiek while the word for pumpkin (nggelas) is timu langga duik. In areas where sesame (lena) is unimportant, lontar palm, tua, is substituted to fill out the list.

1. Hade : rice. There were once more than 30 types of rice planted on Roti.⁷ Most of these were of the hade ina ('great rice' or

7. According to Jonker (1908:151) who was in a far better position to record the variety of Rotinese rice, the following are some of the kinds of Rotinese rice. In wet fields: 1. hade ana kase; 2. hade biik; 3. hade bugis ('Buginese rice'); 4. hade engeles ('English rice'); 5. hade henak; 6. hade isi nggeo; 7. hade kase; 8. hade ledo mata; 9. hade makasa ('Makassarese rice'); 10. hade makasa iko-muku (another Makassarese rice); 11. hade no-sala; 12. hade oe-koa (a glutinous rice); 13. hade pulu (a specific kind of glutinous rice but also the general term for other glutinous rice); 14. hade pulu fulak (white glutinous rice); 15. hade pulu nggeo (black glutinous rice); 16. hade pulu pilas (red glutinous rice, possibly the same as hade dima); 17. hade isi fulak (white grained Savunese rice); 18. hade isi pilas (red grained Savunese rice). In dry fields: 1. hade anafoak; 2. hade eko-elo; 3. hade ana kase daek; 4. hade bonak; 5. hade bugi-daek; 6. hade isi-nggeo daek; 7. hade nggala-nggitik; 8. hade pila ndalak; 9. hade pulu daek.

'mother rice') type whose total growing time was 120 days or more. This century has seen gradual replacement of hade ina rice by hade ana ('lesser rice' or 'child rice') which has a growing time of 90 days or less. This replacement of hade ina by hade ana has rendered obsolete the traditional agricultural planting calculations based upon the appearance and disappearance of the Pleiades (in Rotinese, hitu, 'the seven') and the three stars of the Orion's belt (in Rotinese, the ndu manalepa bafi, the three 'stars that carry the pig').⁸ How extensive this substitution of hade ana has been throughout the island, I am unable to say but in Termanu, which has considerably increased its rice production in the past fifty years, the substitution, according to my informants, has reached all the rice fields of the domain.

2. Betek : millet.⁹ This is the other traditional staple grain of the Rotinese. In the better wet rice growing domains on the island (Termanu, Baä, Loleh, Korbaffo and Bilba), rice is

8. The verse about the Pleiades and the three stars is as follows:
 Hitu manahela [manahela?] hade The seven which choose [draw] the rice
 Hele hade betee [beku-te or beu-te] Choose [draw] the rice that bends [its head]
 Ndu manalepa bafi The stars that carry the pig
 Lepa bafi de boi [bei boi?] Carry the pig still bouncing.
 Kruyt (1921:317-318) provides an explanation for this somewhat puzzling verse by way of a tale about seven heavenly maidens and their three brothers.
9. Jonker (1908:47) records four kinds of millet: 1. bete tali-aik; 2. bete lai (a fast growing millet which is compared with kase-ana rice in the rituals); 3. bete nggio-boak, and 4. bete pulu. According to the naturalist, Wichmann (1892:100), betek is Pennisetum macrochaeton, Jacq.

cultivated almost to the exclusion of millet, but in the poorer wet rice areas, where rice is cultivated on dry fields, millet is as important as - and in certain areas even more important than - rice.

3/4. Pela and Pela-hik: maize¹⁰ and sorghum.¹¹ Here maize and sorghum are classified together, although pela-hik ('real pela') is distinguished from maize, pela or pela sina ('Chinese pela') as being the older form of pela (in much the same way as the goat, biĭ-hik, is contrasted with the sheep, biĭ-lope as the older of these two domestic animals). While the harvested grain of pela-hik is similar in appearance to the grain of betek (I myself commonly confused the two), there is no mistaking the distinctive stalks of growing pela-hik.

-
10. Jonker (1908:477) records the following varieties of maize:
 1. pela-haök; 2. pela-ina; 3. pela-lai; 4. pela liaisonak;
 5. pela pa-dak; 6. pela-supu. In recent years, a hybrid American maize (actually developed in Bogor) has reached Roti from Timor where it was first introduced by a Mennonite agricultural mission.
11. According to ten Kate (1894:214), this sorghum is *Sorghum vulgare* Pers. There is, however, some confusion in the literature on this point. Wichmann (1892:99-100) thought that djagung Roti and pela-hik referred to separate strains of sorghum. Djagung Roti, he identified, as *Sorghum vulgare*, Pers, while pela-hik he classified as *Sorghum saccharatum* Pers. The confusion lies in the assumption that since the Rotinese word exists, it must be directly translatable into a Latin equivalent on the basis of a single sample of grain. In fact, the Rotinese recognize a variety of pela-hik though whether these names would form the basis of Latin taxonomy remains to be seen. Jonker (1908:477) records the following kinds of pela-hik for Termanu: 1. pela-hi dele nggeok; 2. pela-hi kumea; 3. pela-hi lakiminak; 4. pela-hi ode; 5. pela-hi pane, and 6. pela-hi pulu. For Thie, I recorded the following kinds of mbela-hiek: 1. mbela-hie akilenak (a large white grain); 2. mbela-hie rete (black seed cover, but white inside); 3. mbela-hie dara iko (red seed cover, white inside) and 4. mbela hie hade (white seed cover, white inside).

These stalks are over seven feet in height and some reach a greater height. Throughout the Timor area, this type of sorghum is referred to (in Indonesian) as djagung Roti, 'Rotinese maize'. In my experience, however, maize (pela) which is grown both in dry fields and in house gardens, is now a far more important food crop than sorghum, which is usually confined to small sections of the house garden.

5. Ufi: various kinds of tubers. The two common tubers eaten on Roti are the sweet potato, generally referred to as ufi, and cassava, ufi ai. The Rotinese also know of the small potato, grown on Timor. This they call the ufi sina, the 'Chinese ufi'.¹² I have also seen large tubers, remarkably like the yam, called the ufi nula, the 'forest ufi'. These, however, are fed only to pigs. Tubers, of whatever variety, are not grown in great quantities on Roti. Sweet potato and cassava are usually boiled, peeled and eaten with lontar syrup and, at most, add an occasional supplement to the main diet.
6. Fufue: various kinds of peas, peanuts and beans. The most common fufue on Roti is the peanut, fufue dae. Of far less importance is the fufue lutu, a kind of green pea (Indonesian: katjang idjo) found mainly in the southern domain of Loleh. A red bean called the fufue ngga (dialect of Thie) is grown in small quantities in

12. Jonker (1908:664) offers an alternate set of names for these tubers: ufi edak, ufi langa lutu, and ufi sina. Ufi edak is probably cassava, ufi langa lutu the sweet potato while the ufi sina is the small Timorese potato. The ufi sina I have also heard called the ufi patatas.

various parts of the island. Usually this bean is served mixed with millet or sorghum to add some taste to a meal.

7-9. Nggelas, Tulis, and Lena: pumpkin, a green bean, and sesame.¹³

None of these three plants is of major subsistence value to the Rotinese, yet they are nonetheless important with the ritual pule sio.

This list of the nine significant foods of the Rotinese does not exhaust the kinds of foods grown on the island. In fact, several of the food plants omitted from this list are of more subsistence value than, for example, tulis or lena. Onions (laisona pilas) and garlic (laisona fulak) - along with tobacco (modok) - are grown in specially tended gardens in the dry season¹⁴. The Rotinese also have a variety of red peppers (kulus)¹⁵, a small berry-sized tomato (mata bai Lote)¹⁶, several cucumbers (timu-tei, patola),¹⁷ and a kind of

13. The varieties of pumpkin on Roti, according to Jonker (1908:437), are: 1. nggela-delak; 2. nggela-langa-duik; 3. nggela-lidik; and 4. nggela-pa-oe. Curiously in the dialect of Thie, the generic word for pumpkin, timu langga-duik, is related to the specific term in the dialect of Termanu, nggela-langa-duik. Tulis, according to de Clercq, is *Lajanus indicus*. Sesame, lena, according to Wichmann (1892:100) is *Sesamum indicum*.
14. For the Rotinese, this improper seasonality of onions, garlic, and tobacco is one of the reasons why these plants are associated with the sinister spirits of the outside.
15. The varieties of red pepper, according to Jonker (1908:257), are: 1. kulu bii-susulak; 2. kulu-fales; 3. kulu-kok; 4. kulu-lutu.
16. This mata bai Lote (literally, 'Rotinese ancestor's eye') is contrasted with the larger tomato known on Timor, the mata bai Olana, the 'Dutch ancestor's eye'.
17. The cucumber, timu-tei, is classified with the papaja, titimu, and the watermelon, titimu-dafa.

small watermelon (titimu dafa). Besides these, there are the fruit trees. The principal fruit trees are the banana (huni),¹⁸ the papaya (titimuk), bread-fruit (suük)¹⁹, the nangka (suu maboa baëk), the djeruk orange (delo),²⁰ the mango (pao)²¹ and the coconut (no).

The pule sio is supposed to represent the totality of plant life on Roti. The soka pule sio is assigned to the female half of the house, the uma dalek, and traditionally it was the woman's task to carry, in silent ceremony each year, the new rice and millet of the pule sio up into the house. The association of the woman with the pule sio is unmistakable. When the groom's party comes to the bride's house to claim the bride, they come to request the pule sio. A woman is identified with the pule sio particularly during her transfer to the house of her husband. Her transfer is the transfer of her fertility.

-
18. The varieties of banana are:
1. huni madeëk; 2. huni puak; 3. huni bataholik. (Jonker 1908:197)
19. The varieties of breadfruit are:
1. suü sek; 2. suü madeëk or suü kodek, (the 'monkey breadfruit'); and 3. suü boda. The nangka is also classified as a suük.
20. The two kinds of djeruk are:
1. Delo makek, the djeruk manis and 2. delo sina, the mandarin [?].
21. The varieties of mango are:
1. pao kai-delak; 2. pao kai-lele; 3. pao lasi; 4. pao manga. (Jonker 1908:468). Among the Atoni of Timor, the mango is the first fruit of the wet season and the small water melon the first fruit of the dry season. This is also true on Roti, though I have never heard these fruits referred to as harbingers of the seasons.

3. The Lontar Palm: Tua Manek and Tua Fetok.

There is one tree, which is occasionally included among the pule sio. This is the lontar (or palmyra) palm (Rotinese: tuek; *Borassus flabellifer* Linn). Usually, however, this tree is kept distinct from the pule sio because it is assigned its own separate position within the house. The soka pule sio is laid beside the ladder leading up into the loft. In the loft, positioned directly above the soka pule sio is bou nitu inak: 'the great spirit vat'. Within the great spirit vat is kept the cooked syrup of the lontar palm.

Life on Roti is dependent upon the lontar palm. In the long history of European contacts with the island and in the Dutch descriptions based on these contacts, the distinguishing feature of Rotinese life to all observers has always been this remarkable dependence on the lontar. (Only the Savunese, on an island to the west of Roti, are more dependent upon the lontar). Ruaphius' eighteenth century description of the principal means of livelihood on Roti remains valid today. His classic description is written in a somewhat archaic Dutch:

"Those from.....Rotthe use the tapped Sura more to make sugar therefrom than to drink, cooking from it likewise first a Syrup (called Gula) which thereafter is left to dry in small baskets and tiny saucers, though on Timor and Rotthe much is also utilized to drink - this they name tua - and there they are much attached to it, saying, that it serves them both as food and drink; they mix it, for daily use, with a certain quantity of water and grow healthy and fat from it, preserving the same in containers which they make from the

leaves of the Sariboe [?],²² these they hang in their houses and any one who comes there may freely taste of this and with it satisfy his thirst, thus also respect is expressed by someone, which is an act of politeness and custom in that land."²³

As Rumphius has described, the juice of the palm (tua matak) is drunk on its own, fresh from the tree; it is cooked to a thick syrup (tua nasu) which is kept in vats in the house. This syrup is then mixed with water to make a sweet drink (tua hopo) which provides the normal sustenance of most Rotinese households and is offered freely to guests and visitors to the house. The syrup is also left to harden in tiny baskets to form a crystallized sugar (tua batu). Rumphius fails, however, to mention that this same syrup is fermented to make a beer (lalu) and that this beer, in turn, is distilled to

22. The containers for lontar syrup are, in fact, made from the leaves of the lontar palm.

23. "Die van....Rotthe, gebruiken de getapte Sura, meer om zuiker daar van te maaken, dan tot het drinken, kookende daar van insgelyks eerst een Syroop (Gula genaant) daar van, diese dan daar na in Korfjes of schootelties laten opdrogen, dog op Timor, en Rotthe werdtze nog al veel tot drink genuttigt, diese Tua noemen, en daarze ook veel van houden, zeggende, datze hun dient te gelyk tot spys en drank; zy mengen hem tot dagelyks gebruik met een zekere quantiteit water, en worden daar gezout en vet van; bewarende dezelve in vaaten, diese maaken van blaaderen van Sariboe, daarze hem ook mede voor in haare huizen ophangen, en een yder, die daar in komt, magze vryelyk aantasten, en zyn dorst daar mede verslaan, ja ook zelve eer by iemand groet, 't welk zoo een beleftheit en gebruik is van dat lant". (Rumphius, Amboinsche Kruidboek, Deel I, Boek VIII, Hoofdstuk IX, p.51).

make a fine sweet gin (ala).²⁴

The juice of the palm is only one product of the tree. The full fan-leaf of the palm is bent, shaped, and tied to make various sized bucket-like containers (haik) for carrying water, syrup, or honey. The separate sections of the leaf are plaited to make all manner of basketry, sirih-pinang containers, mats, and even the distinctive hats of the Rotinese men. The full leaf is the principal roofing material of the house, while tiny sections of the leaf are rasped and thinned to make a cigarette paper for smoking. The long hard leaf-stalks are sliced, whittled, and then twined to make ropes and bindings (the traditional house is bound, pegged and jointed), harness, bridles, and the belts for men. Whole, the leaf-stalks are interlaced to make fences or bound together to make the walls and partitions of the house. The wood of the palm makes a much used but inferior plank for the floor and walls of the house and the hollowed-out trunk of the tree is the usual coffin of the Rotinese. Only the fruit of the female palm seems neglected.

24. The lontar palm of the Rotinese is the palmyra of the toddy tappers of South India and Ceylon. The uses made of the lontar by the Rotinese are similar to the uses made of the tree by Indian toddy tappers, although the techniques of tapping seem somewhat variant. There appears sufficient Indian data on palmyra tapping for an eventual comparison with Rotinese methods. Interestingly, the Rotinese term, ola, which refers to the dried leaf of the palm, plaited to form a three-pronged representation of the ancestral spirits, appears to be derived from the Indian (probably Tamil) word, ola, which refers to strips of dried lontar leaf used as writing material. The term, ola, has been borrowed by both Javanese and Malay to refer to these same writing materials. According to the Tamil poem, Tala Vilasam, the lontar was created by Brahma, on Siva's direction, "to supply the wants of the people of the earth".

Although regarded as eatable, it is rarely eaten and the ripe fruit are allowed to litter the ground where they are eaten by pigs. The only use, which I saw, consistently made of the orange flesh of the fruit was as a capping for the cooking pot in distillation. This is what probably gives the best of Rotinese gin the barest hint of sweetness.

Since this tree provides a model for the distribution of power within the political domains, the racemes in the crown of the tree provide an image of social groupings, and the fruit a link with the realm of the sea, it is necessary to describe this tree in Rotinese terms. (Much of this description will be of significance for discussions in subsequent chapters).

The lontar palm is a solitary stemmed, fan-leaved palm with a trunk in diameter slightly wider than the coconut palm and in height (at maturity) far taller. The male and female trees are clearly recognizable; the male by its long narrow (and quite phallic) racemes, the female by its round dark cluster of fruit. To the Rotinese, the male tree is tua manek, the female tree, tua fetok. This distinction is, however, not precisely that of male and female. A bull water buffalo, for example, is kapa manek, the female kapa ina(k). Ina-mane is the usual contrastive set for male and female as is ina-tou, 'husband and wife' or 'man and woman'. Feto means sister or female cousin (as a kin classification, this term is discussed in a later chapter) and the application of feto-manek to the lontar implies that the two types of tree are a sibling pair rather than sexually united pair.

A Rotinese vocabulary of the principal parts of the tree is as follows (cf. The photographic illustration):

1. The trunk of the tree is tua-huk; huk being the 'counter' term for trees (tua-huk hitu, 'seven trunks of lontar').
2. The leaf-stalk on its own (the petiole proper) is beba tua or tua-beban.
3. The young leaf-shoots are tua-polok and these develop into the full fan leaf, the sosonga (also songa-dok or sosonga-dok).
4. The spine or back of each leaf section of the full fan is the lidak and as such lidak is used as the 'counter' term for leaf-sections (sosonga lidak hitu, 'seven sections of leaf', the number needed to make a certain type of basket).
5. The open sheathing spathes around the peduncle are the tua-tapis or tapi-tua.
6. The inflorescence of the male tree with its branches and its spadices or spikes is the tua-nggi.
7. The spadices are the tua-pule.
8. The tiny flowers of the tree are the tua-buna; while the fruit of the female tree is called saiboa.
9. The fibrous flesh of this fruit is the saiboa sesek and its seeds saiboa deek.

Rarely do the Rotinese count their trees; instead they speak in terms of productive tree clusters. These are nanga.²⁵

25. There are more trees on the island than could possibly be tapped. I would hazard a guess that there are more than 500,000 trees but I would not be surprised if the actual count reached 750,000 or even a 1,000,000 trees (including palms in all stages of development). On the basis of my experience in Termanu (an agriculturally rich and therefore not particularly assiduous lontar tapping domain when compared with Thie or Dengka), I would say that one man would tap from 20 to 35 trees, but often far less. Trees are individually owned although most trees are in the hands of the nobles and rich who have only the vaguest idea of the number of trees they possess. The higher nobles, clan lords and the rich rarely tap their trees. Some claim, as a sign of status, that they would be incapable of climbing a tree. In contrast to these, there are many poor commoners who own no trees at all and more who own only a few. Most commoners, unless physically disabled, tap trees. With a vast surplus of trees (a generalization based on observation in Termanu), the poor who own no trees are not at a great disadvantage, since there is a competition among the rich to find men to tap their trees. The tapper makes a payment to the owner of the trees of cooked lontar syrup called kefek. The traditional payment of kefek varies from domain to domain and in general is somewhat lower in Termanu and in East Roti than in West Roti, particularly Thie and Dengka. In Termanu, the traditional payment is said to be one blek of syrup (approx. 14

The implements for tapping (ledi) the tree are simple. They are the 1. kakabik, 2. boboik, 3. kikik, 4. kakaik, 5. dope, 6. three kinds of haik, and 7. the kepisak.

1. The kakabik is a pair of wooden tongs, roughly a yard in length and tied at one end to form an effective squeeze or pressing instrument.
2. The boboik is a simple water container made from the hollowed shell of a coconut into which is inserted a long neck or spout of bamboo.
3. The kikik is a short broom-like instrument, made from a section of the lontar leaf-stalk by beating and fraying one end of this fibrous stalk.
4. The kakaik is a double hooked piece of buffalo horn. One end of this piece of horn is tucked over the belt of the tapper, while on the other end hang the kakabik, boboik and haik.
5. The dope is a convenient hand-size knife with small sharp blade.
6. Of the three haik (carrying buckets made of lontar leaf), the smallest is the hai seseluk which is hung in the tree to catch the lontar-juice; the second is the hai kuneuk which is carried by the climber to the crown of the tree to gather the juice of the various hai seseluk; the third haik is the hai sasalik into which is poured the combined juice from numerous ascents.
7. The kepisak is a small rude basket of lontar leaf in which is inserted each hai seseluk for support while hanging in the crown of the tree.

According to the Rotinese, both the male and the female tree may be tapped, but in my observation, the male tree is tapped almost to the exclusion of the female. In selecting his trees, the tapper chooses trees with well developed inflorescences ("tua nggi nanda"), all of whose spadices have developed or come forth ("basa-basa nggi pulena kalua nala deak") and have already begun to produce tiny individual

25. liters) per ten trees or one blek per season. Usually, actual kefek is decided after some bargaining between the tree owner and the tapper. This lower kefek payment is one of the attractions to migration to Termanu for the poorer dispossessed commoners of Thie, Dengka, and even Korbafo.

flowers (nggi pulena nabuna kikisa).²⁶ Work on preparing a tree is done in several stages. On his first ascent,²⁷ a tapper cleans the crown of the tree, cuts away awkward or broken leaf-stalks and removes thorns from the sides of those that remain. To each of the inflorescences he is likely to use, the tapper ties a leaf-stalk for additional support. He then waits for the flowering of the spadices and climbs again to cut away the interfering spathes and breaks off those spadices which he does not intend to tap. The spadices that remain he takes between the tongs of his kakabik and softens by squeezing. (This is likened to the castration of goats to which the same term, kabi, is applied since the same instrument, the kakabik, is used to crush the testicles of the poor animal. It is similar also to a man's circumcision which is performed by attaching a tong to the tightly drawn foreskin until it has dried and can be easily cut away). The spadices are left for two or three days and are then squeezed again. The second squeezing is called the na-male tua, 'the softening or weakening of the lontar'. After this final 'weakening', the spadices of each inflorescence are tied together

26. Those trees not selected for tapping are frequently stripped of all leaves and leaf-stalks to provide material for basketry, mats, and house-roofing.
27. Even the methods of tree climbing vary from area to area on Roti. In West Roti (Henak-anan) including Termanu, trees are notched for climbing. According to the myth, this notching was done by a man from the sea with the dyadic name Nggeo-Nggeo Sain ma Fula-Fula Liun (literally, 'Black-Black Sea and White-White Ocean') who began notching trees in Ndao and ended in Termanu when his machete grew dull. (This is a simple ad hoc explanation of clearly observable practices). In East Roti (Lamak-anan), the leaf-stalks from either the gewang or the lontar are tightly bound to the trunk of the tree to form a kind of ladder. The alternative method of climbing in East Roti is by means of circlet of fibre or buffalo hide (lalabak) into which one slips the two feet to mount the tree.

and left to remain for another day or two. The next stage is called dulun, 'the tying together'. The description of this process is somewhat confusing. The bonds holding the bundle of spadices are undone and the spadices are retied in groups of two; the peduncle or base of the inflorescence is broken or bent so that all the spadices of the inflorescence hang downward. One Rotinese described this stage by saying: "Basa-basa tua nggi mbulena lakabubua nokabali nana atu dua-duak-ka."²⁸ "All the spadices of the lontar's inflorescence are gathered together as if arranged in two's".

(This concept of an orderly arrangement of spadix pairs is metaphorically significant when discussing lineage and clan relations). When the spadices begin to droop, ready for tapping, their tips are sliced off evenly to begin the flow of juice²⁹. At each subsequent ascent, an additional sliver is sliced from each spadix to continue the flow of juice.

28. This quotation is in the dialect of Basa. The word, atu(r) is an Indonesian borrowing but is used grammatically as a Rotinese root form.

29. The juice of the lontar is actually a "sweet sap which results from the conversion of the starch reserves into sugar for the growth of the stem-apex or the inflorescences" (Corner, The Natural History of Palms, 1966: 125). According to Corner (126), this sap is 10% sugar, but the physiology of sap circulation in the palm has been insufficiently studied. According to Bose, J.C. (The Physiology of the Ascent of Sap, London, 1923), the cutting of the spadices is essential in inducing a flow of sap. Also according to Bose (quoted in Corner: 285) the yield of large lontar palms varies from eleven to twenty liters a day and in his estimation, a single palm can give 120,000 liters of sap during its tapping life!

The Rotinese tap their palms twice in a day, in the early morning and in late afternoon. (In Termanu, this idea of tapping twice in a day is seen as an innovation introduced by one of the clans of the domain. Formerly according to the elders, tapping was done only once in a day or otherwise at irregular intervals).

The tapper ascends the tree, carrying a small knife, his boboik, his kikik and a medium-sized haik. When he reaches the crown, he pours out the lontar juice from all the smaller haik suspended in the tree into his carrying haik. Each of the smaller haik, he cleans with water from his boboik container, brushing the inside of the haik with his kikik-brush. At each producing spadix pair are hung two haik which are used alternatively, allowing the other haik to dry. This the Rotinese say is to prevent the juice from souring. In the crown of each tree, there are usually two, three or four producing spadix-pairs. By the morning ascent, each spadix pair will have produced roughly two liters of juice (at the height of the dry season). By the evening ascent, these same spadix pairs will each have produced a liter of juice. When he has emptied all the haik and cut a sliver from each spadix tip, the climber descends.

It is the man's task to gather the lontar juice; it is the woman's task to cook it. Cooking must be done immediately since the lontar juice has a tendency to grow sour quickly. This means that, in season, the fires are kept going during the day to cook the morning's juice to syrup and often late into the night to cook

the juice of the late afternoon. Once it has been cooked, lontar-syrup is exclusively a woman's concern and it is preserved either in a large vat in the loft to which only a woman has access or in smaller pots in the female half of the house. In many wealthier households, a man may enjoy one or more meals of rice, maize, or millet while his wife may content herself with tua hope, lontar syrup mixed with water. Rice and to a lesser extent millet are regarded by the Rotinese as ideal and proper foods: these are the only foods, which along with great quantities of meat, may be served at feasts or given to honoured guests. Lontar syrup, however, remains the staple without which life - in its present manner - would hardly be possible on the island.

This detailed description of the lontar and the methods of tapping it is necessary for several reasons. One reason is that there exists, to my knowledge, no detailed description of lontar tapping for any Indonesian people and since techniques of tapping do vary, it provides the first Indonesian description of lontar tapping that can be compared with the many descriptions of palmyra tapping in South India. A more important reason for this description is that the lontar provides a natural instrument for symbolic classification. The male and female of the species are conceived of as 'brother' and 'sister'. The long, phallic inflorescences of the male palm (tua-nggi) must be 'circumcised' before the tree is fit to produce. These inflorescences (tua-nggi)

are tied in pairs and their juice - or as the Rotinese say, their 'water' (tua-oe) - drips into the same haik. The most common expression for the lineages of a clan is nggi-leo-nggona-haik. This complex expression is difficult to translate. It refers to lineages ordered like inflorescences (nggi) whose birthcaul (nggona) is a single lontar bucket (haik). In Rotinese, one can also refer to one's kin as those who literally 'drip together'.

The lontar is still more significant. I have already discussed some of the associations of women and water. On the basis of this analogy, there exists an association of women with the wet season and men with the dry season. The male lontar with its phallic inflorescences is the predominant 'water' producer of the dry season. The greater the intensity of the sun's heat, the greater the flow of lontar juice. Appropriately, this juice is produced or tapped by men. Men surrender their juice to women who cook it to syrup and store this syrup in the female half of the house, the 'inner house'. Even this subtle metaphor does not exhaust, however, the potential for symbolic classification which the lontar provides.

It is possible to phrase another of the questions of this thesis in terms of the lontar. The male palm is tapped almost to the exclusion of its 'sister'. Yet there are always a few 'sister' lontars (tua fetu) that are also tapped. The question in sociological terms is this. Under what circumstances do sisters contribute their fertility to the lineage of their brothers?

4. The Fields of the Rotinese: Lala, Mamek, Tina and Csik.

The organization of the agricultural fields of the Rotinese is a subject of considerable complexity. Underlying this organization is the implicit assumption that land is not owned;³⁰ it is only properly fenced and used. There are no acknowledged clan lands or lineage lands; house sites and their accompanying gardens tend to shift in the course of a generation or two and although wet rice field or dry field complexes remain relatively constant, what is essential is not the ownership of land but the right of membership within the complex - and in the case of wet rice fields - the right to receive water for one's fields. In contrast to land, what grows on the land or what occupies particular segments of land is owned.³¹

The practice of fencing (paä) lies at the heart of most Rotinese ideas about the control of land. (Behind this is a complex

-
30. Although land is not owned in any exclusive sense, there exists in every domain the office of Dae Langak, 'Head of the Earth'. This individual is conceived of as exercising a spiritual authority over the land of the domain. He is described as the manasongo nusak, 'the offerer [or sacrificer] for the nusak'. His actual power within the domain is now minimal but even this obscure position of power is part of (what appears to me to be) an ancient symbolic opposition between the Lord of a domain and the Head of the Earth. I discuss this symbolic opposition in a later chapter; it is enough to note that the ritual silence of the Head of the Earth contrasts with the deciding voice of the Lord of a domain. The Head of the Earth's presence, knowledge, and sacrificial ability insure the fertility of the land and the prosperity of the Lord's rule.
31. To some extent, this concept of ownership is now changing, since within the last few years, the Rotinese are being forced to register the 'lands' they own. The Government threat is that no court cases will be heard concerning land or property that has not previously been registered.

symbolically expressed concept of boundary. The definition of boundaries seems to be one of the major concerns of Rotinese thought). Although the island is far too dry to be regarded as ideal agricultural land, Roti does provide adequate grazing land for herds of water buffalo, horses, sheep, and goats.³² This land, spoken of

32. There exist village corrals for water buffalo (kapa) to which the animals are herded at night during the wet season and at the beginning of the dry season, but as the land grows drier, the animals are left to roam even at night. A herd of water buffalo will include the buffalo of all the men of a village area. Each Rotinese owner of water buffalo recognizes one female buffalo as the head of his herd, the ina lai or ina tali, from whom all other buffalo are said to be (symbolically at least) descended. The concept of a matriline, in this sense, is not foreign to Rotinese thought.
- Horses (ndala) are left to roam widely and stallions, which are the only animals a man may properly ride, are caught when they are needed before a journey. Horses, even more than water buffalo, are the prestige animals of the Rotinese nobles, clan lords, and wealthy commoners. While water buffalo herds are conceived of as organized around a central female, horse herds are organized around a dominant stallion. Water buffalo, horses (and also goats) are regarded as a man's animal as opposed to the pig which is a woman's animal.
- The horse is an ideal male symbol. A small bone is removed from the tail of a stallion to make the tail stand erect when it trots. (It is considered improper to gallop a horse, since galloping is likened to the running of a dog and is hence a confusion of categories. All stallions are trained to maintain a prancing trot or canter). The erect tail of a fine trotting horse is compared to a fluttering flag and by implication to an erect penis. The value of a horse is not dependent just on its speed in trotting, but on the beauty of its erect tail. In contrast to the European horse, the Rotinese horse must be mounted from the right side.
- Sheep and goats are categorized together. The goat is bii-hik, the 'real bii' and the sheep is bii-lopo, the 'trousered bii'. Sheep have to be herded to and from the house and often an old man or young boy must watch them. The goat, the Rotinese say, is more intelligent than the sheep because goats roam about during the day but return at night to their pen beneath or beside the house.
- The care of pigs is a woman's task. Pigs are sometimes fed on the protein-rich inner trunk of the gewang tree and during the lontar cooking season on the accumulated frothy waste removed from the cooking pots. For most of the year, pigs are left to scavenge for their food.

in Rotinese as naü-oe, 'grass and water', is open to all animals for grazing. Even the boundaries between particular domains are open to grazing animals and a man of one domain may make a small payment, also called naü-oe, to the Lord of another domain for the right to graze his entire herd in that domain.

It is only man who erects and recognizes physical and symbolic boundaries. This means that to establish his ownership a man must erect a fence against intruding animals. If a fence is not sufficiently strong to prevent an animal from intruding, it is the man who is at fault. If a fence is judged reasonably strong and still an animal intrudes, the animal must be sacrificed. A man who plants coconuts and protects the young shoots by a fence establishes his ownership. Lontar trees, on the other hand, are never planted. There are too many and they take a long period to become productive. Yet the Rotinese acknowledge that a man who fenced and protected the growing shoots would be the owner. Similarly the owner of a rice field within a rice complex who fails to repair his section of the complex's fence forfeits his right to plant the field to any man who undertakes to do so. The only thing that it is possible to own along the shore are the stony fish walls that jut into the sea to trap fish as the tide recedes. This, too, is no more than a fence in the sea.

The Rotinese have not one but many kinds of fields for planting. The following is a simple typology of fields according to Rotinese classification:

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|--|--|
| 1. | Lala | { Hade-Oe
{ Tete-Le
{ Oe-Mata
{ Hade-Dano | Rice |
| 2. | Mamen | | Fruit trees, palm trees |
| 3. | Tina-Osin | | Maize, millet and the other
<u>pule-sio</u> |

This typology is basically simple. All rice is grown in rice complexes called lala. These lala are distinguished according to whether they are dry rice fields (hade-dano) or wet rice fields (hade-oe). Wet rice fields are further classified on the basis of their source of water supply: whether their water comes from diverting a river or stream (tete-le) or whether their water comes from a natural spring (oe-mata). Mamen are watered garden complexes for fruit trees: principally pinang, coconuts, bananas. Tina are dry fields (ladang in Indonesian) at some distance from the house while osin are smaller, individually fenced, 'dry gardens' near the house. Except for osin, all Rotinese fields are organized as corporations in which individuals hold membership.

In discussing the fields of the Rotinese, it is best to begin with the wet rice (hade-oe) lala. In contrast to the land which is open and free, water is scarce and, as the Rotinese repeatedly point out, it is water that opens up the land for human use. On Roti, the control of all important sources of water (for irrigation) is vested in particular clans or in the more powerful lineages of large clans.

It is possible to say in Rotinese (using the term, mano, to indicate possession) that some clan 'owns' this or that source of water; speaking very generally, it would also be possible to say that some clan 'owns' the land irrigated by its water; but it would not occur to use this same expression for land in general.

The control over water is exercised through the lala. According to Jonker (1908:460), lala is a shortened form of paa-lala: 'the fenced lala'. Although I have never heard this longer expression, it is almost certainly correct because lala refers to any named, well-fenced complex of individual rice fields which share a single source of water for irrigation. The fence or wall is as essential as the water. Individual rice fields within a lala are indicated by the counter-term, lai, and the members of a lala are referred to as lai-langak, 'the heads of the lai or individual rice fields'. Membership within a lala is not restricted to persons of a single clan or lineage and it is usual to find persons from most of the clans of a domain represented within each lala. It is still possible to find in certain lala a predominance of membership from the clan which owns the water of the lala, but since rice fields can be disposed of by individual householders in payment of ritual obligations, the membership of a lala is relatively fluid. Furthermore, a man may join a lala by clearing a field at the lala's outside periphery and by extending the fence or wall to enclose his newly cleared field. His field is the furthest removed field from

the source of water and is less well irrigated than those fields closer to this source but if the water is sufficient, the field may still be productive.

The lala is in no sense a voluntary association of individual rice planters. Control of the lala, its water, its walls, and its members is exercised by three figures: a manasongo, 'he who offers or sacrifices'; the manake, 'he who cuts or decides' and the manakila-oe, 'he who supervises [the distribution] of water'. The office of manasongo is inherited within the clan or lineage owning the water used to irrigate the lala. The position of the manasongo within a lala is analogous to that of the dae langak within the nusak. The task of the manasongo as offerer is to conduct the sacrifices at the source of water (naä oek)³³. The manasongo also establishes the time for clearing the irrigation canals and sluices and for repairing the fence of the lala. In fact, however, the manake, although symbolically subordinate to the manasongo, directs all the actual work in the lala. The manake is always said to act on orders from or in the name of the manasongo. Together the manake and manasongo may perform another sacrifice (naä fala-dae) beside the specially designated faladae tree of the lala. During the feast that accompanies this sacrifice, most plans

33. For the naä oek, 'eating [at] the water', the usual sacrificial animal is a goat and a small quantity of rice (kau ndunak) is contributed by each member of the lala. For naä faladae, 'eating at the faladae tree', the usual sacrificial animal is a small female pig. Nowadays both of these minor feasts are often combined to form one feast at which prayers are read by a Christian preacher.

for work in the lala are discussed and agreed upon. (At one such feast which I attended the manake entirely dominated and directed discussion while the manasongo remained silently in the background). The office of manake, to my knowledge, is not inherited. The manake is always some prominent individual chosen, with the manasongo's consent, from among the lala members. Using a variety of sanctions and considerable ability in persuasion, the manake can compel all members to their assigned work in the lala. As his title indicates, it is he who makes the decisions within the lala. Subordinate to - and often chosen by - the manake is the manakila-oe whose task is the everyday supervision of water distribution during the irrigation period. The manake decides who is to receive water, for how long, and in what order. The manakila-oe sees to it that water is distributed as directed. After the harvest, the manasongo receives from each member of the lala a portion of his harvest (dae-osa) and the manasongo in turn apportions a share of this dae-osa to both the manake and the manakila-oe. The tribute of an extensive well-watered rice complex can be considerable.

It is impossible here to go into great detail on the organization, sanctions, or working of a lala nor into the inevitable litigation that arises over the intrusion of animals or the accusations about the diversion of water from one field to another. Here I mention a number of the rules - which, subject to discussion and interpretation, form the basis for the governing of a lala. All work

on damming the river and clearing the irrigation channels is done collectively at a time designated by the manasongo. Repairing the lala fence is done at the same time but individuals have responsibility for sections of the fence. Failure to co-operate in the collective work of the lala or to repair a section of the fence makes one liable first to a fine (foa buik: 'lifting the end') levied by the manake. Foa buik is usually a female sheep and if this animal is not paid and the work still not accomplished, the delinquent member of the lala loses his field or fields within the lala for a period of three years to any person who is willing to pay his fine and perform his work.

Work on the individual fields within a lala is not done collectively, although several householders may co-operate in driving the water buffalo. This running of a herd of water buffalo (in a counter-clockwise direction) to churn the fields to deep mud replaces the need for ploughing. In any lala after the rains, one can usually encounter several herds of circling buffalo.

After the churning of the fields, the dikes which divide the fields must be re-made. Scooping up the mud to raise the dikes makes the channels for the flow of the irrigation water. Driving the buffalo and raising the dikes is the work of the men; planting is the work of women. This division of labour between the sexes is part of a complex system of order and precedence which must be observed between men and women within the fields. It is also the

subject of suggestive love banter between young boys and girls.

A girl may say to a boy:

Tapa totolu opak	Raise well the slippery dike
Ela opa dale malole	That the inner dike be full (good).

At which the boy should answer

Sele dadale hade	Plant deep down the rice
Ela hade hu mandak	That the rice stalk be firm (fine).

When the fields have been planted and each householder's work completed, the lala is closed to all its members, save the manakila-oe who is delegated to regulate the irrigation system. This is an essential aspect of the lala, since the lala is described by Rotinese as a corporation of those who share the same fence, irrigate with the same water, and recognize the same prohibitions (papadak). The manasongo formerly closed (tao pada babatak) the lala with a sacrifice and marked the lala as closed by hanging several lontar leaf representations (ola) of the spirits (nitu) at the main sacrificial tree of the lala.³⁴

In theory, no one may enter a lala without the permission of the manasongo but, in fact, there are constant accusations about the apportionment of water. (These disputes involve the manake and manakila-oe; the manasongo as ritual and sacrificial head of the

34. Now that Christian ceremonies have been added to traditional ones, this ritual erection of the ola is not always observed by special sacrifice, but I have never seen a lala on Roti without a few ola in it. Individuals now hang ola to protect their own fields, if the manasongo does not do this for the lala as a whole.

lala remains aloof from such petty quarrels). It is a common assumption among Rotinese that 'others' violate the prohibition on entering the lala in order to steal water from their neighbour's fields or that these same 'others' connive with the manakila-oe to gain water at the expense of other lala members. As one Rotinese admitted, with typical candid humour, during a conversation:

"The work of a planter never stops; all day he works in his fields and all night he steals others' water".

Every year, during the time of the functioning of the lala (and sometimes long afterward since litigation is interminably drawn out), lala-disputes become the major form of dedeäk of the Rotinese. When a case cannot be settled by the manake, it must ultimately be decided at the court of the Lord.

What is significant about the lala is that it presents a system of order symbolically comparable to the order within a domain. The lala, like the nusak, is a clearly bounded unity whose rule is conceived of in terms of the triad of ritual authority (manasongo), decisive power (manake) and effective agency (manakila-oe).

The Rotinese describe the organization of their other field corporations as if they were much like that of a lala. These other corporations are certainly similar but they have not the complexity of the wet rice lala. Even the dry rice (hade dano) lala has a far simpler organization since there is no irrigation water that requires sacrifice and distribution. Hence there is no need for the

manasongo and the manakila-oe. The head of a dry field lala is the langa-mok, 'the head of the field' and he is chosen from among the members of the field. His task is to supervise the repair of the fence and possibly carry out some sacrifice at the faladae-tree, if the field has one. Since there can be no theft of water, the major source of dispute concerning a dry field has to do with the intrusion of animals (usually water buffalo). As with a wet field, if it can be shown that the fence was adequate, the meat of an animal killed within the field must be divided equally between the owners of the various damaged fields and the owner of the animal concerned. If the fence can be proved (at court) to have been inadequate, the animal's owner can claim compensation³⁵.

Some Rotinese nobles and wealthy commoners own their own small dry rice fields. Usually these individuals are wealthy enough to employ several men to tend the fence and possibly do all the other

35. Virtually all intrusions by water buffalo occur at night. The animal must be killed while it is within the fence. If the animal escapes, the man whose field has been damaged has no right to compensation from the animal's owner, even if the animal can be identified. To avoid risk, when the fields are ripening, owners of water buffalo try to corral all their own beasts at night while rice-growers keep guard over the fields with their single-shot breech-loading rifles. In Termanu, I have taken part in these nightly vigils and had a chance to observe one unsuccessful attempt to shoot an intruding water buffalo. It is extremely difficult to identify an animal in the dark and therefore it is conceivable that a man may shoot his own water buffalo. I have also seen a wounded water buffalo that had escaped being killed within a lala. In this case, although the animal was clearly marked by the hole in its side, the man whose field had been damaged and who had fired the shot could not claim compensation.

necessary agricultural work in return for a share in the harvest. Strictly speaking these privately fenced dry rice fields (hade-dano) are equivalent to individual dry gardens (osik) except for the fact that osik are never used for rice cultivation. These fields are referred to as hade-dano but they are not part of the lala system.

A mamek is a well-watered garden in which grow coconuts³⁶, pinang, and banana trees. The trees within a mamek are all individually owned but the water used to irrigate the mamek is not - to my knowledge - claimed by any clan or lineage. The head of a mamek - chosen in theory every three years - is the manaholo whose duty, as his name suggests, is to act as 'warden' over the garden. A mamek is co-operatively fenced and is compared to the lala in that all its members recognize the same prohibitions (papadak) against entering without the permission of the manaholo. The manaholo may levy a fine called lao lenak on those who enter without his consent and receives for his services a small payment called pua dae-do hoholok, 'the sirih-pinang of wardenship'.

A tina is co-operatively fenced dry field cleared at irregular intervals by methods of slash and burn. Compared to the Atoni of Timor for whom slash and burn agriculture is of major importance, the Rotinese make little use of this method of cultivation. I have

36. Coconuts - and for that matter, any other tree - need not grow within a mamek. More coconuts are found outside mameks than are actually found within them. The essential thing to establish ownership is to fence the young coconut shoots when they are most vulnerable.

observed relatively few tina on Roti and in those fields I have observed the clearing was incomplete: large trees were left to stand and planting was done among the trees. My informants assured me that tina are used for only a year or two and allowed to stand fallow for seven or more³⁷.

In ritual language, the words tina-osi may form a dyadic set. An osi is an individually owned and individually fenced dry field but whereas a tina is always at a distance from the house, an osi is always near the house and sometimes is laid out surrounding the house. Almost all householders without exception will have one or more osi. Maize is the principal food grown in the osi; millet is of lesser importance. The osi are planted so that after the maize and millet is harvested, the sorghum and turis will grow up. Pumpkins are usually grown among these cereal crops while certain osi are reserved for growing peanuts. In the dry season, separate osi, usually near a source of water, are allotted for the cultivation of onions, garlic and tobacco. These osi require watering by the women twice in a day.

37. In all my time in Korbaffo and Termanu, I saw only one tina that was actually planted and, at that, only sparsely. It may be that I missed these fields during my first season because they were harvested at about the time I arrived on the island and during my second season, because severe drought prevented their proper use. It is almost certainly true that West Roti makes more use of tina-cultivation than East Roti but nevertheless it is apparent that despite the role that this type of cultivation may have had in the past it is of less importance to present-day Rotinese.

The foods of the Rotinese are varied³⁸ and the modes and organization of their subsistence activities are relatively complex. The Rotinese are first and foremost lontar tappers but in a dry land, they are remarkably successful in their use of water for growing wet rice which is for them the most prestigious of all foods. They have garden-orchards and a variety of fields for unirrigated cultivation. They keep herds of water buffalo, sheep, and goats and raise chickens and pigs. They gather honey and occasionally hunt deer, wild (unowned) pig and small birds. A part of nearly every day of the dry season is devoted to river or off-shore fishing or to the gathering of edible seaweed and agar-agar. The people of East Roti eat grass-hoppers in season and all the peoples of Roti gather mushrooms after the first month or two of rain. This variety of foods is a source of pride to the Rotinese. As they say, "food is never cut": there is no break or period of famine when all foods are scarce. Yet, on the other hand, no one food - not even the lontar syrup - is sufficiently abundant to be relied upon exclusively. To maintain their life in a poor, dry land, they are forced to depend upon variety. They have not organized social life around a single dominant mode of livelihood. Instead they punctuate their social life with a varied cycle of food producing activities.

38. This statement is subject to some qualification, since - as I have already said,- the far east and west of Roti, particularly Landu, Delha, and Cenale, are extremely poor. Other Rotinese claim, for example, that the people of Delha live on coconuts alone.

5. The Agricultural Cycle.

The agricultural cycle begins with the hus feast in August. July and August, the months which follow the harvest, are months of slackened agricultural activity. Some Rotinese continue to tap their lontars during these months but climbing is dangerous because of the strong east winds. The winds agitate the haika and spoil the juice and a climber must also contend with swarms of bees that gather about the open haika. Other Rotinese who possess well-irrigated rice fields attempt to grow a second crop of rice. Usually the manasongo in consultation with the other members of the lala, decides whether or not the lala is to be used for dry season rice or whether the lala is to be opened to allow the animals to graze on the stubble. This decision is absolutely necessary for the larger lala but in the smaller lala a few individuals may decide to attempt a second crop while other individuals decide against this. In growing a second crop of rice, the main concern is for the water buffalo. Driving the water buffalo (to reduce the fields to mud) may so overtax them that they will not survive the dry months of September and October when grass is scarce. (The driving of the buffalo must also be done with care since the soil is too dry to reconstruct trampled dikes). Finally the yield of a rice field in the dry season is far less than in the wet season and often these rice fields are attacked by walang sangit. As the Rotinese say, what a man is able to grow during these months "depends upon his

skill or cleverness" (Hambuk nai hataholi-a malela-na dalek.

Dialect of Baä). The main agricultural work of the women is the cultivation of a small field with a mixed crop of tobacco, onions, and garlic.

Formerly, in July and August, the Rotinese were obliged to give a number of days of labour to the Lord of their domain. This was devoted to repairing roads, the Lord's house, or the school(s) of the domain. Today, July and August are the main months for building, repairing or reroofing one's own house. It is also possible to begin the heavy clearing of a dry field, although this labour can be postponed until later.

Principally, however, July and August are the months for feasting on the island. This is the time of the hus; the time for requesting a girl in marriage, for celebrating a marriage, or for the paying of bridewealth; and the time for the consecration feast of a new house. There is no necessity that celebrations be confined to July and August but since all feasts require rice, the period after the rice harvest is the natural time for feasting. At this time, all the animals - especially the water buffalo - are well-fattened and ready for the feasting.

By September, the driest time of the year (fanuk) has begun. Fanuk is divided into three periods which correspond closely to the months of September, October and November. The beginning of fanuk is fanu pedak ('the end or point of fanuk'), the height of

fanuk is fanu pesak ('the steady fanuk'), and the final period of fanuk is fanu loek ('the lowering or lessening of fanuk').³⁹

During this time of year, the Rotinese tap their lontar trees intensively. This is the period of tua fanuk as opposed to tua timu. There is little time for other activities, except possibly for an hour or two of fishing during the day. (Women with their scoop-nets do more fishing than men with their throw-nets and fishing spears). The herds roam freely in search of scarce grass; the water buffalo have only a few mud holes to wallow in; while the women's "cooking fires [usually arranged in sets of three] grow soot black" (lao-la bala nggeo) boiling lontar juice to syrup until late in the night. This activity continues up to the first rains about mid-November which "wet the ashes" of the cooking fires (uda poli afuk).

The first rains (the Rotinese say) are a reminder to finish the work of clearing the dry fields and gardens (tina-osi), the firing (dedes) of these fields and their fencing. After the first substantial rains have fallen to soften the stone-hard earth, the ground of the tina-osi must be broken and turned with the short-handled hoe or adze (taka). To dig in the ground, the Rotinese also use simple pointed iron bars or stocks (possibly a modern replacement for the traditional digging stick found elsewhere in

39. This final period of fanuk, in November, coincides with the period of change between the monsoons. The east wind has ceased, the west wind has not yet begun and the sea is calm. This is also the time when the flowers of the tamarind (ninilu) blossom and is called ninilu ango. The Rotinese say: Ninilu ango na tasi-a mate: "When the ninilu blossoms, the sea is dead [calm]".

Eastern Indonesia).

In late November, December, or even early January (depending upon the rains) the manasongo of the wet-rice lala and the langa-mok of the dry rice lala give the orders to repair the fences, walls, and irrigation networks of the various lala. In late December, baskets of rice seed are wetted (ene) to make the seed germinate and then this rice is planted in seed/beds (tao nuk) for three to five weeks, prior to planting in the wet rice fields. (The wetted seed grain for dry fields is simply allowed to sprout for several days before sowing).

Usually in early January, the planting of maize, millet, sorghum and other foods is begun in the dry fields and gardens. In a year of good rain this is followed by the sowing (nggali) of dry rice in the hade-oe dano rice complexes. In a poor year, there is often no attempt to sow these fields with seed. (The Rotinese generally recognize that in years of substantial rain, rice will be successful while in years of poor rain, maize, millet or sorghum will be more successful than rice).

When the dry fields have been planted, all attention is directed to work in the wet rice fields. The driving of the water buffalo, the rebuilding of barriers between individual fields, the rechanneling of the irrigation passages, and eventually the planting (sele) by hand of the rice sprouts taken from seed/beds - this labour occupies much of the months of January and February. By February,

grass and weeds must also be cleared and pulled from all the dry fields.

The maize that ripens first is the maize of the osi. For many Rotinese, for whom the osi is far more important than the tina, this harvest of maize is the major crop of the dry land and for those who are not Christians, a simple meal and invocation to the ancestor spirits (called: kai dae: 'tree and earth') is made before the harvest "to ask the spirits to come and harvest with the living" (noke nitu fo ala mai sengi sama-sama). The maize ripens gradually and cobs of young maize may be taken from the osi even before the harvest proper.

In contrast to the tina, there are no prohibitions about entering the osi. (And in many cases such prohibitions would clearly be impossible since some osi are laid out around the house). The maize of the tina usually takes longer to ripen but when it is harvested, it is harvested at one time rather than over several days or weeks. Pumpkins and peanuts are harvested from these same tina at this time and several weeks later, there is a second harvest period for millet or sorghum.⁴⁰ In all, the harvest time for the dry fields and gardens lasts from mid-March through the month of May. In May, the tulis and green peas have yet to be harvested from the osi and various tubers have to be dug from these same gardens.

40. By most accounts, East Roti favours a mixed grain field of millet and maize while West Roti favours a mixed field of sorghum and maize but I have not travelled widely enough in the harvest season to confirm this. In the areas of Termanu and Korbaffo which I do know, there is less mixing of these two grains and maize alone is of major importance.

In ritual language, kolu-ketu form a dyadic set, meaning 'to harvest'. One 'breaks' (ketu) the maize, but one 'plucks' or 'pulls' (kolu) the rice. In ordinary language, sengi ('to break off', as of a stalk or stick) is more commonly used for the harvesting of maize while kolu in ordinary language remains the verb for harvesting rice. There are numerous prohibitions attached to the harvesting of rice but these vary - as do actual harvesting procedures - from area to area. The most general ritual procedure is that harvesting, just as planting, must be done in complete silence by two women. In West Roti, particularly in the domain of Baa, the two women must begin their work before sunrise and cease work before the sun has reached its zenith. These women must pluck the head with the rice grain from the rice stalk and they themselves stamp upon the rice to separate the grain from the rest of the stalk. In Termanu, where the harvest rituals are less strictly observed, however, the women who harvest do not always start before sunrise nor stop at mid-day. They either pull the whole rice stalk from the ground or actually cut it and they themselves do not stamp on the rice to separate it from the stalk. This is the work of young boys. For each pair of women, there is one boy to do the stamping of the rice. All of this labour is done in silence.

The first period of lontar tapping (tua timu) begins in April when the winds are slight and usually continues through the month of

June. In some areas of West Roti, in Thie and Dengka for example, this early juice of the lontar is often cooked to syrup but elsewhere the juice is gathered to be drunk immediately or smaller quantities are cooked to syrup and then the syrup is made to harden in flat pad baskets for storage as tua batu.

After the rice harvest, the only crops to be grown are tobacco - which is first planted in a seed bed - onions, and garlic. These are grown together in osi near the house and require watering or sprinkling both in the morning and in the late afternoon. Eventually these osi are harvested well into the dry season, prior to the 'running' of the new hus.

6. The Metaphor of Planting and Growing: A Ritual Chant.

Planting is an agricultural activity that offers, to the Rotinese, the imagery for a complex and pervasive social metaphor. I conclude this chapter on Rotinese modes of livelihood with a short chant which illustrates this metaphor of planting and growing. (My object here is not to analyze this imagery and discuss its social significance - a task which requires more information on the Rotinese than I have as yet provided - but to introduce further evidence on a subject which I develop in subsequent chapters of this thesis).

The chant, which is in ritual language, requires some exegesis. It appears to be about a fine garden that is destroyed by a tropical

cyclone. By the conventions of ritual language, the garden is both a mamek and an osik, a 'wet garden' and a 'dry garden'. Although there is hardly any mention of a human being, this chant is, in fact, a funeral chant for a young child who has suddenly died. The chant establishes the analogy of man and plant but in typical Rotinese fashion, it is not content to develop this analogy in terms of any single plant. Instead it elaborates its metaphor in terms of four distinct plants. The child is [like] the banana, the sugar-cane, the taro and the tuber. All are destroyed by the storm as the walls that surround the garden tumble down. Despite an effort to restore the plants, they are destroyed and beyond recovery. The concluding lines, "tears ran from the eyes and mucus fell from the nose", are a common refrain in most funeral chants

Lae:⁴¹

They speak of:

Amang mame nakaboin

My father's well-cared for wet garden

Ma toong osi nasamaon-na

And my mother's brother's well-kept dry garden

41. The choice of these four plants presents certain difficulties. Banana (huni) is a common Rotinese plant and there is even a variety of banana known as huni hataholik: '(hu)man banana'. Sugar-cane (tefu), however, is not a common Rotinese plant and I only encountered it in one mamek in the village area where I lived in Termanu. Tale and fia are a real puzzle because I never encountered either of these plants and I am not certain of their identification. The reason I translate tale as taro is because the informant who gave me this chant, S. Adulanu, translated tale for me as talas, the Indonesian for taro. For fia, all he could do was explain that this was a kind of ufi, tuber. Jonker says that tale is "a kind of water plant with large leaves" (1908:591) while fia, he says, is also "a kind of water plant" (1908:696).

Ala sele huni lai dalek	They planted bananas within it
Ma tane tefu lai dalek	And they sowed sugar-cane within it
Boe te tale make tuak	And also taro as sweet as lontar sugar
Ma fia malada hadek	And tuber as tasty as rice
Sele lai ndia boe	Were planted there too
Ma tane lai na boe.	And were sown there too.
Boe ma ala toli oe fafain	They poured water in the morning
Ma ala fuä dae leodaen	And they turned the earth in the evening
De hum--na laifata	Thus the trunk grew into full stalk
Ma don-na eloaka	And the leaves grew into fine bloom
Boe te huni lalapa lusi	The banana tree had blossoms of copper
Ma tefu langgona lilo	And the sugar-cane had sheaths of gold
Ma tale lamaloa do	And the taro grew broad leaves
Ma fia lamatua hu.	And the tuber grew long stalks.
De tao neu namahenak	This gave great hopes
Ma tao neu nakabanik	And offered fine promise
De malole-la so	That things were good
Ma mandak-kala so	And things were correct
Nai fai makabuin	In that former time
-----42	[line missing]

42. I think it is safe to assume that this missing line would be: nai ledo makahulun: "in that by-gone period [literally: sun]"; since these are the appropriate words required by the dyadic conventions of ritual language.

Te hu sanga tao leo ndia	But suddenly there
Ma noi tao leo na	And unexpectedly there
De faik esa manunin	On one certain day
Ma ledo esa mateben	And at one definite time
Boe te sangu mai heheli	A storm came striking
Ma luli mai dedele.	And a cyclone came pounding.
De ana heheli	Thus it struck
Amang mamen nakaboin	My father's well-cared for wet garden
Ma ana dedele	And it pounded
Toong osi nasamaon.	My mother's brother's well-kept dry garden.
Boe te hau feon-na ngga	The surrounding stones came loose
Ma lutu ndulen-na kono	And the encircling rocks fell down
Boe te huni malapa lusik-kala	And the banana tree with copper blossoms
Kono lapanai saon	Dropped its blossoms in its shadows
Ma tefu manggona lilok-kala	And the sugar-cane with golden sheaths
Olu nggona leu hun.	Shed its sheaths around its trunk.
Boe te tale make tuak-kala	The taro as sweet as lontar sugar
Lona oka	Let droop its tendrils
Ma fia malada hadek-kala	And the tuber as tasty as rice
Male polo boe.	Let wither its shoots.
De ala toli oe lahelen	They poured water steadfastly
Ma fua dae lanepen	And they turned the earth constantly
Te hu toli oe tunga seli	They poured water on one side

Ma kono lapa tunga seli.	Yet it dropped its blossoms on one side.
Ma olu nggona tunga seli	And shed its sheaths on one side
Boe ma fu-a dae tunga seli	They turned the earth on one side
Ma lona oka nai seli	Yet it let droop its tendrils on a side
Ma male polo nai seli.	And let wither its shoots on a side.
Boe ma sangu nala amang mamen	The storm had taken my father's wet garden
Ma luli nala toöng osin	And the cyclone had taken my mother's brother's dry garden
De huni malapa lusik	The banana with copper blossoms
Ma tefu manggona lilok	And the sugar-cane with golden sheaths
Boe te tale make tuak [-kala]	And the taro as sweet as lontar sugar
Ma fia malada hadek-kala	And the tuber as tasty as rice
Ta dadi namahenak	Did not grow to a great hope
Ma ta dadi nakabanik.	And did not grow to fine promise.
Boe te lu lamasasi mata	But tears ran from the eyes
Ma pinu lamatuda idu	And mucus fell from the nose
De leo faik ia boe	As on this day too
Ma deta ledok ia boe.	And as at this time too.

Season	Month	Wind	Rain	Agricultural Activity	Other Activities
Fai oe-fak (wet season)	January	Ani mulis (west wind)	Usually best rain of the year	Planting of rice, maize, millet, sorghum and other foods in dry fields (<u>tina-osi</u>).	Herds feed on new grass. Gathering of mushrooms.
	February		Occasional rains	Driving of water buffalo to work the wet rice fields; rebuilding of walls and channels in these fields. Planting of wet rice. Clearing grass and weeds from dry fields.	
	(mid-)March	Slight variable winds but danger of tropical cyclones.	Occasional light showers.	Harvest of quick maturing maize from <u>osi</u> . Harvest of later maize from <u>tina</u> ; pumpkins, peanuts from separate <u>tina-osi</u> . Harvest of millet or sorghum from <u>tina</u> .	Water buffalo frequently corralled at night.
	April			Start of the first lontar tapping period (<u>tua-timu</u>).	
Fai hanas (dry season)	(mid-)May	Ani timu (east wind)		Harvest of tulis, green peas; digging of tubers from <u>osi</u> . Seed-bed for tobacco.	Fishing begins.
	June		No rain	Rice harvest.	

Season	Month	Wind	Rain	Agricultural Activity	Other Activities
Fai hanas (dry season)	July August	Strong gusty wind	No rain	Planting / watering of tobacco, onions, garlic. Dry season rice in well- irrigated fields or lontar tapping or clearing of dry fields.	Occasional hunting. Fields opened to allow animals to graze on stubble. <u>Lamak</u> open for gathering of pinangs, bananas, coconuts, etc. House building / repairing. Formerly time of obligatory service for Lord. Feasting / Running of the <u>hus</u> .
Fai fanuk: fanu pedak fanu pesak fanu loek	September October November	Slackening east wind calm Slight west wind	First showers rain	Harvest of tobacco, onions, garlic. Start of intensive lontar tapping (<u>tua-fanuk</u>). Ryru cooking. Clearing of dry fields / harvest of dry season rice.	Money gathering. Herds roam widely in search of grass (animals grow thin). Mango season. Fishing ends.
Fai oe-fak (wet season)	December	Ani mulis (west wind)		Burning of dry fields. Repairing of fences, dams, irrigation channels. Planting of rice in seed-beds. Soaking of rice seeds for dry fields.	No pinang, few coconuts or papaya gathered (during rainy season).

CHAPTER III

DOMAIN AND CLAN1. The Meanings of the Word, Nusak

Nusa(k), the word which I translate as 'domain' in most contexts, has a number of interrelated meanings. First, the word can mean 'island'. The Rotinese refer to their island as Nusa Lote, 'the island of Roti' and they refer to the island of Ndao as Nusa Ndao. Secondly, the word can refer to the independent political subdivisions of the island, the states which I describe as 'domains'. The Rotinese say: Nusak sanahulu falu lai nusa Lote-a: "There are eighteen domains on the island of Roti". Each of these domains is designated by its colloquial name: Nusa Pada, Nusa Bilba, Nusa Baä.

Another use of the word, nusak, occurs in the expression, nusak-lain, which is commonly shortened to simply nusak. Nusak-lain, 'high-nusak' is literally as well as figuratively the high point or centre of a domain. Within each domain, the nusak-lain is the village in which the Lord of a domain has his principal residence. In the case of Termanu, the nusak-lain is the village of Feapopi. It is on a high hill overlooking the sea and it was once walled (though now these walls are in disrepair) and fortified with small Portuguese and Dutch cannon. Kota-Leleuk was the harbour village below Feapopi. Although Termanu is somewhat unusual in the extent of its former

fortifications, several of the nusak-lain in other domains are situated in positions, often on hill tops, that could be secured against attack. Other nusak-lain were moved to more accessible areas during the peace of the Dutch period.

The nusak-lain is the seat of a Lord's¹ court. This court is also called nusak and is usually held each week² in the courtyard of the house of the Lord. The court is the centre of Rotinese political life and the chief duty of a Lord with his councillors is to hear law cases (dedeä nusak) and to act as judge over his realm. By further extension, the word nusak may also be used as a re-duplicated collective noun, nusa-nusa-kala, to refer to the population of the domains. In this sense, it may mean simply 'the

1. Throughout this thesis, I have adopted the convention of capitalizing the word, Lord, when it refers to the Lord of a domain to distinguish this Lord from other lords: clan lords and lineage lords. Further on in this chapter, I examine the meaning of the Rotinese word for Lord.
2. During the Dutch period and continuing on until now, the court of Termanu was always held on Monday. Hence in Termanu, the court's session is sometimes called "Hari Mandak", from the Malay word for day, hari and the Dutch word for Monday. The Lord of Termanu has a huge and impressive house in the Dutch style, with thick cement walls, polished floor, and tin roof. Normally the court is held on the wide veranda of this house; the Lord and his clan lords sit on this veranda and commoners often stand or sit below. The Lord has another house, a traditional Rotinese house, now in disrepair some 50 yards further up the hill from his present house. This house is built on high poles and court was once held beneath this house with the commoners spilling out into the courtyard in front. The Lord of Korbaffo has three residences. All are built on high poles. The court is held below his residence in Olafulihaä.

inhabitants' or 'the people'³.

The nusak, as court, is presided over by a Lord (manek), a Lord-fetor (mane fetor, or simply fetor), and by the lords (mane sio) of the clans that make up the domain. Among the clan lords is the lord who holds the title of 'Head of the Earth' (dae langak) and another lord who holds the now somewhat obscure position of Lord of the Knife (mane dope). In addition to these lords the court may be attended by the nobles (mane-ana) of the Lord's lineage or clan and by the lesser nobles (sometimes called: mane-ana, sometimes called mane-feto-ana) of the fetor lineage or clan. Finally, there are always elders (tou-lasi-kala) who attend court and participate in the discussion on questions of customary usage (hadak). Among these elders there are inevitably men who hold the position of lineage lord (mane leo). This rank, although it does not entitle a man to an official position at court, does carry with it considerable authority and influence. The court is thus representative of the entire domain. All clans are represented; the opinion of the elders is represented; and the classes, both noble and commoner,

3. There is still another meaning of the nusak which, though it may well be correct, I hesitate to include here since I have gathered this from a single informant and have found no confirmation of it either from other Rotinese or in the corpus of linguistic texts that I have gathered. According to my informant, nusak may be applied to a tree at which the ancestors are believed to gather and to which offerings are given. Thus nusak-lain refers to the principal tree of the state but each village area within the domain may have a special tree designated as nusak. In several dialects, nusa (Indonesian: rusa) means 'deer' but to my knowledge, the Rotinese find no symbolic significance in this homonym.

are represented. The court is, in fact, a physical expression of a very subtle concept of hierarchy.

My object in this chapter is to examine all of the elements that make up the political system of the Rotinese. The chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, I consider the basic Rotinese conceptions about rule, hierarchy and social order, and I illustrate my discussion with evidence from a number of Rotinese domains. The system, which I describe, is general enough to apply to all of the domains on which I have done research. It is, however, an ideal system - a conceptual statement about social order and an extended discourse on dyads and triads, opposition and hierarchy. The second part of the chapter is a descent into particularity. In it, I begin the detailed examination of the domain of Termanu and consider how an ideal system exists in reality. The Rotinese are remarkably aware of both the ideal system and the real system but for them the ideal system is the important system and the one which shapes the real.

2. Class and Status: Mane-ana, Laus, and Mana-sui-kala

Two classes on Roti are fixed and unalterable. These two established classes are the noble class (the mane-ana and mane-feto-ana) and the commoner class (the laus). The root, lau-, from which the word laus is derived, is also the root for the term manga-lauk (intensive form: manga-lalauk) which means 'bad', 'rotten', 'foul' or

'filthy'. Lau- is also the root of the verb, naka-lalau, meaning 'to do servile labour'. Hedi-laus is the dyadic set for 'illness and disease'; pute-laus is the dyadic set for 'ill-luck and misfortune'. The word for the commoners of a domain, the majority of the population, is therefore unmistakably derogatory and in conversations with the Rotinese, I found it was the commoners themselves, even more than the nobles, who were disparaging of their class.

Class is an unquestioned fact of existence established by birth. A noble, however destitute and misfortunate he may be, never ceases to be a noble. A poor noble may be indistinguishable from an ordinary commoner and may even have married as a commoner but at times of crisis (when, for example, a lawcase is presented at court) members of the poor noble's lineage and clan will come forward to defend him and the honour of their clan. By this same rule, a wealthy commoner on Roti (there are many such wealthy commoners on the island) however well he has married, however lavish his feasts, however closely he is able to approximate the behaviour of the highest nobles, never ceases to be a commoner⁴. These two classes

4. The fixity of Rotinese statements about the two classes belies the facts. Certainly no commoner can raise himself or his lineage to noble status. For the nobles, however, there is a gradation of status in terms of one's descent from the royal lineage. Although this process may take centuries, ultimately certain lineages must cease to be noble. In Termanu, for example, there are lineages of the noble clan that are only grudgingly accorded noble status. Other lineages of the noble clan, rumoured to be descended from concubines of former lords, have no noble status. Leach (Man 1960:no.6) refers to a similar situation among the Kachin and Lakher.

are said to complement and require each other, just as the sharpest of arrowheads requires its wooden shaft. Tanek lamakokoun ela ai hunun dei: "Sharp steel is not shot without its wooden shaft".

The rigidity of these two immutable classes is tempered by the fact that the Rotinese, when they describe their own society, often speak of three classes: the nobles, the commoners, and the rich (mana-sui-kala). By the rich is meant precisely those wealthy commoners who are capable of acting like nobles. The rich are favoured people. Wealth and good fortune (ua-nalek) are gifts from a Divinity which cannot always be distinguished from an impersonal fate or power. The rich are treated as nobles as long as their wealth lasts. By the payment of enormous bridewealth, they may marry noble women and even women of the royal lineage. Their opinion and judgement is respected at court and their presence at feasts is sought. But the rich do not form an established class; their obligations force them to great expenditures and their daughters cannot command the same bridewealth as their mothers, so that in the end, the wealth of the rich is all too easily squandered and they revert to their positions as ordinary commoners.

Thus status, as opposed to class, is contingent and highly variable. (By status, I mean no more than what a Rotinese might mean in evaluating the quality of a man's name). Status varies for both nobles and commoners. In this sense, a wealthy commoner may have more status (prestige may be a better word) than a destitute

noble. Although it is difficult to isolate the various factors that make up any man's status or prestige, it seems permissible to state that for the Rotinese status is based upon the interrelation of 1. class; 2. ancestry or descent; 3. wealth; 4. the ancestry of the women who have married into one's house; 5. the prestige and purity of one's own women; 6. political office; 7. knowledge; and 8. ability, especially verbal ability. All of these factors are so closely interrelated that they cannot easily be separated. One implies the other.

Status is more important to the nobles than it is to the commoners. In each domain, there are two noble clans: the clan of the Lord (manek) and the clan of the Lord-feter. The clan of the Lord is the higher of these noble clans and in some domains with traditions of powerful Lords, the prestige of the Lord's clan eclipses that of the Lord-feter's clan. (For the moment, I confine myself to a discussion of the clan of the Lord, although I believe my statements about this clan hold true, in a less marked degree, for the clan of the Lord-feter).

For reasons of status, the royal lineage is clearly distinguished from the other noble lineages and there is always a rough hierarchy of lineages within the noble clan based, in part, upon the descent of these lineages from the royal lineage. Yet even this hierarchy is subject to various subtle contingencies and it does occur that a descent line of the royal lineage may have less prestige

than other descent lines of a noble clan. In some instances, certain lineages of the noble clan are only grudgingly accorded noble status. Other lineages, although within the noble clan, are simply not accorded noble status. The members of these lineages are not distinguished from the members of commoner clans. The ranking therefore of lineages within a noble clan can only be discussed in terms of each individual domain.

One point, however, is essential. A noble within his domain, is identified by his lineage. A commoner is identified by his clan. The noble clan is highly differentiated by status and segmented into numerous lineages. These differences between lineages are known both to nobles and commoners alike. Many commoner clans are also segmented into lineages but there is virtually no status differentiation between these lineage segments and the knowledge of these divisions is not commonly held by members of other clans. This knowledge is only relevant when a man marries within his own clan; to a man of another clan the knowledge is irrelevant and commoner clans tend to be regarded as undifferentiated wholes.

What distinguishes nobles from commoners is the prestige and purity of noble women. What distinguishes one noble lineage from another is the even more subtle prestige of its women. For this reason, bridewealth is of such importance in Rotinese society. It serves to rank and order all lineages and clans within a domain. During the early prosperous years of this century, bridewealth

payments reached such enormous proportions that the Dutch government intervened to establish a formal system of bridewealth payments. This graded system, based upon the female water buffalo or its equivalent in Dutch rupiahs (1 water buffalo = 25 rupiah), was intended to determine the maximum bridewealth payment that could be demanded for a woman depending upon her lineage, clan or the political rank of her family. This system has remained in use until the present day, but instead of determining the maximum bridewealth payment it establishes an index of minimum payment. The system is the following:

1. Daughters of the royal lineage of the Lord's clan: 100 rupiah or 4 full grown female water buffalo
2. Daughters of the noble lineages of the Lord's clan and Daughters of the noble lineages of the Lord - fetor's clan: 75 rupiah or 3 water buffalo
3. Daughters of all clan lords : 50 rupiah or 2 water buffalo
4. Daughters of all commoner clans : 35 rupiah or 1 full grown water buffalo and 1 year old water buffalo⁵

In discussing class on Roti, it is necessary to mention that there was once a class of slaves (ata). Unlike the institution of slavery on the island of Sumba, slavery on Roti does not appear to have been of fundamental importance and with the abolition of slavery the descendants of former slaves were absorbed within the clans.

5. The bridewealth for the women of those lineages, within the noble clans that lack noble status is the same as the bridewealth for the women of commoner clans.

It is impossible today to discuss this former institution, but it is perhaps significant that the word for slave (ata) is related to the word for thing or possession (hata). This suggests that slaves may have held a position outside of the defined world of men.

3. Ritual Authority: The Dae Langak

The Lord of a domain is the most important figure in the realm but in certain ritual affairs he is subordinate to the Head of the Earth. The Head of the Earth is recognized as the foremost authority on the customary usage (hadak) of the domain. Although it is the Lord who decides cases at court, the judgement of the Head of the Earth is sought and often required before a decision is made on important law cases. The Head of the Earth has the authority, I was always assured, to reverse or annul the decision of the Lord. Formerly, the consent of the Head of the Earth was required for the installation of a new Lord or a new clan lord. His approval was also required before the domain could go to war or make a raid on another domain. The Head of the Earth was also the chief sacrificer in times of disaster or epidemic and still today his office is occasionally described as manasongko nusak, the 'sacrificer of the domain'. The Head of the Earth would also sacrifice at the opening of any new rice field. Until the 1870's the Head of the Earth kept within his own house the staff of office which the Dutch East India Company had conferred upon each Lord of a domain. Only when the Lord

was to meet the Dutch Resident would the Head of the Earth, after proper sacrifices, convey this staff of office to the Lord. After each meeting, the staff was once more returned to its proper position in the house of the Head of the Earth. It was the Dutch Resident Wijnen, after one of his inspection tours of Moti, who ordered that the staff of office should be handed over by the Head of the Earth to be held henceforth by the Lord of a domain (Jackstein, 1873:352). Several of the Lords took this occasion to claim their staff of office.

Formerly, in some domains, the Head of the Earth had the right to receive the hindleg of a sacrificed water buffalo in payment for the grave (Jackstein 1873:353) and in Termanu, well into this century, the Head of the Earth had the right to go about the domain at sugar-cooking time to receive, from each fire, a small haik of lontar syrup. In Thie, the Head of the Earth received the head of a water buffalo for each feast held in the domain and all the members of his clan(s) had the right to demand a small share of the harvest from each household. This payment was called tefa taka, 'to pay for the hoe'. These payments were a recognition of the Head of the Earth's ritual authority over the earth. At present, however, the Head of the Earth no longer has a right to tribute nor to special ceremonial privileges; yet in most all of the domains (which I have visited), the Head of the Earth still retains his position as the foremost authority on customary usage.

There exists a traditional antagonism between the Head of the

Earth and the Lord of a domain. Each domain has its own particular legend to explain this antagonism. What is surprising is that these different legends all emphasize the foolishness of the Head of the Earth. Although he is acknowledged as the ultimate authority on Rotinese adat, the Head of the Earth is spoken of as 'stupid' (nggoa) because his ancestor, the first human to inhabit the domain, allowed himself to be deceived by the ancestor of the Lord and thereby surrendered his rule over the domain. The Lord of the Earth thus lost his secular power but retained his ritual and religious authority.

The ancestor of the Lord established his clan as the noble clan and relegated the clan of the Head of the Earth, despite the heavenly origin of its founder, to commoner status. Members of these two clans do not normally intermarry. In some domains, this lack of intermarriage is formulated as a strict prohibition. In Korbaffo, where such a prohibition is observed, members of the former lineage of the Head of the Earth, Kan-Lain, may not enter the house of any member of the royal lineage, Ndeo-Tein, nor may members of Ndeo-Tein enter the house of members of Kan-Lain. According to the legend, Kan-Lain attempted to re-establish itself as the royal lineage and sought revenge for the deception perpetrated by the royal ancestor, by killing all male members of the royal lineage. The men of Kan-Lain managed to kill all the men of Ndeo-Tein, except for one baby boy, Koli Bulu, who escaped

detection disguised as a girl. This child succeeded in refounding the dynasty. Because of the enmity between Kan-Lain and Ndeo-Tein, the Kan-Lain's ritual office was transferred to another lineage, Kao-Ama, within the same clan so that a Head of the Earth could sit at court in the house of the Lord.

4. The Division of Temporal Power: The Manek and Fetor

Unlike the unity of spiritual authority, temporal power on Roti is dyadically disposed. There exists, ideally, in every domain a Lord (manek) and a Lord-fetor (fetor). The Rotinese see the manek and fetor as a primal pair. Manek means 'The Male'. There is some doubt about the origin of the title, fetor. It may have been a title introduced by the Portuguese or may be related to the widespread Indonesian title, peter. The Rotinese associate the word fetor with the word, feto, meaning 'sister' or in some contexts 'female'. The manek and fetor are thus related to each other in the same way as are the 'male' and 'female' lontar, tua manek and tua fetok. The expressions which are used to describe the relationship of the fetor to the manek suggest a brother and sister or male and female relation. The Lord decides, the Lord-fetor acts. The Lord-fetor is called the working hand of the Lord. Using the metaphor of a household, the Lord is likened to a husband who gives orders, the Lord-fetor to a wife who carries them out. Each is sovereign within his own sphere, but ultimately the manek is superior to the

fetor as a man is to a woman or as decision is to act.

In each domain, the position of the Lord-fetor and his clan varies. In many domains, the Lord-fetor has under his more or less direct control a number of clans other than his own clan. In Termanu, which has always been remarkable for its powerful Lords, the Lord-fetor has under his control only two clans: his own clan Kota-Deak and the clan of Ingu-Nau. He would often hear disputes concerning these clans and had the right to expect from them a tribute of food and of labour. In Thie and Loleh, the position of the Lord-fetor was considerable. These domains are divided into moieties. The clans of one moiety are headed by the Lord; the clans of the other moiety by the Lord-fetor.

During periods of interregnum, the Lord-fetor is supposed to rule the domain in the place of the Lord. In at least one state, the domain of Talae, a succession of Lord-fetors have ruled for so long as to be, in effect, the actual Lords of the realm. In another state a quarrel between a Lord and a Lord-fetor has led to a division of the domain. Thus the fetor clan of Oenale seceded from Oenale and established itself as the royal line in the independent domain of Delha. For this reason, Delha and Oenale have no office of Lord-fetor.

Members of the clan of the manek should marry members of the clan of the fetor. At first sight, this statement appears to contradict my earlier statement that the manek and fetor clans are

conceived of as a primal pair - 'brother' and 'sister'. Marriage between them should be regarded as incest. The fact is that these two statements are perfectly consistent and relate to Rotinese conceptions which I discuss in the later chapter. It should be sufficient at this point to state that the Rotinese appear to regard brother and sister as part of a primal unity. They represent a division which must be overcome and reunited, not necessarily by incestuous marriage but by the union of the children of a brother and sister. This is the clearly stated ideal affecting Rotinese marriage. It is a rule which expresses a preference, not a prescription. All such unions are described by metaphors of body imagery: 'tying the hands', 'tying the legs [feet]', 'tying the waistband'. Thus the members of the clans of the manek and fetor (whatever the actual genealogical relation between these clans) are like the children of brother and sister.

In Thie and Loloh, the ideal of marriage between manek and fetor has reached its fullest development. These domains are divided into marriage moieties with one moiety headed by the Lord, the other by the Lord-fetor. Although the system is more complex than I make it appear here, the rule is that each moiety must marry with its opposite. (Marriages contrary to this rule, though tolerated, are despised and no bridewealth can be paid). In other domains, the ideal of manek and fetor marriage is confined to the lineages, not the clans, of the Lord and Lord-fetor. In Korbaffo,

the marriage of members of the royal lineage with members of the fetor lineage constitutes the highly preferred form of marriage alliance, while in Bilba, the preference for marriage between these two lineages amounted, in practice, to a near prescription. In Termanu, on the other hand, the marriage of members of the lineages of manek and fetor frequently occurs. These marriages have, however, been given a privileged but not a preferential status.

The structure of power and authority within the domains can be abstractly analyzed. There is the dae langak as 'ritual head', the manek as 'deciding lord', and the fetor as 'acting lord'. This structure closely parallels the ideal structure of a lala or rice complex with the manasongo as 'ritual head', the manake as the 'deciding head', and the manakila-oe as the 'acting head'. Some lala's do without a manakila-oe, just as some nusek can do without a fetor. Dyadically, the dae langak with his ritual authority stands opposed to the manek, just as the manek with his decisive power stands opposed to all other lords of the domain whether they be the Lord-fetor, the clan-lords, or even the dae-langak in his role as one of the clan lords. For any particular domain, however, the significance of these titles and the power attached to them depends upon the structure of the clans within the domain and the relative strength or weakness of the clans from which these titles are derived.

5. The Lord and the Structure of His Court

The Lord is the pre-eminent political figure within the domain. His court is the centre of political life. Because of their delight in verbal elegance, dispute, and argument, the court is the focal point of Rotinese attention. The principal function of the Lord is to act as judge, since the Rotinese recognize that, without a judge, dispute is likely to be interminable. In several tales about the earliest times, the ancestors are faced with the dilemma that there exists no judge to settle their dispute. For example, in a tale which I have already quoted, Teluk-Ama says to Hak-Ama: "We have no Lord here to decide and to give judgement on our dispute". This is a frequent statement put into the mouths of the early ancestors. With the coming of the Lord came order and judgement, for the decision of a Lord is final. As the Rotinese say, when a Lord decides, "heaven lightnings" (lalais ndendela).

Formerly, the power of the Lord was considerable. On any case that reached the nusak court, the decision of the Lord was fully binding and all fines - invariably paid in livestock - were divided among the Lord and his court. The Lord with his court acted as witness to all inheritance settlements and a fee (paku, literally 'nail') was levied according to the size of the inheritance division. This fixed the inheritance division as final, whereas an inheritance that was not divided before the court could become the source of later disputes. Formerly the Lord had the right of fo-ai (a shortening of

foa-ai). He could demand from his subjects livestock and rice to give feasts in honour of guests of the domain. Many of the Lords of Roti adopted the Dutch custom of celebrating one's birthday and this celebration could be subject to fo-ai. The Lord (and to a lesser extent the Lord-fetor) had the right to the produce of certain publicly worked wet rice fields (hade-oe nusak) as well as maize or millet fields (tina nusak). Besides the labour in working these fields, the Lord had the right to the labour of his subjects in building and repairing his own house and the guest house of the domain and also the right to labour for clearing roads (these are wide horse-paths) and in maintaining the bridges of the domain.

In recent times, the power of the Lord has been somewhat circumscribed. The Lord is still officially recognized by the Indonesian government as the principal government representative with judicial powers within his domain, but this position involves him in the administrative and, at times, the narrow bureaucratic work of a minor government official. However, his court remains and flourishes, though there is now a further court of appeal for the entire island in the town of Baä. A Lord can still claim fines - usually quite small - for decisions in cases involving customary usage and he still has the right to paku fees. The right of fo-ai has been abrogated, but a Lord must still give feasts to guests of the domain and this would be onerous without support from the domain. In most domains, the traditional birthday celebration of the Lord

continues and the custom of gifts to the Lord at this time still persists. A Lord must organize all public labour within his territory. He no longer retains the legal right to the produce of the hade-oe nusak or tina nusak, but frequently the exact legal status of these fields is disputed and thus these fields remain the property of the Lord's court. In practice, the power of the Lord is still considerable.

As evidence of the pre-eminent position of the Lord within his realm, I quote here a short Rotinese poem, in ritual language, in praise of the Lord. The imagery of this praise poem is certainly more obscure than some of the other poems I have already cited. The poem involves a double imagery. The word, Lord, is never mentioned. The implicit (if somewhat improbable) comparison implies that a Lord is like a typical Rotinese beer pot (boboik). A boboik is made from a coconut shell, into which is inserted an eight or nine inch section of bamboo. To this long bamboo spout is attached a simple cord to suspend the boboik. When left to stand on its own, a boboik is usually inserted in a small ring of gewang leaf (eke) of the kind I discuss in the introductory chapter. In this poem, as each part of the boboik is enumerated, it is given the name of a specific function or duty of the Lord. These names illustrate the kind of mixing of metaphors in which the Rotinese revel. The first two names compare the rule of a domain to the guiding and reining of a horse. (Diu ma Kana is the ritual name of a domain in eastern Roti.

Here the name is used abstractly to refer to any domain). The third name makes use of plant imagery; the fourth and fifth names refer to general qualities of knowledge and understanding. The last two names involve a common Rotinese metaphor. The subjects of a Lord are described as 'widows' and 'orphans'. They are dependent on the Lord's generosity. (This is a frequent metaphor used in petitions by an inferior to a superior). The poem is as follows:

Lae: Faiama Belok nggeton-na nade bebelok Diu
 Ma Tefa Lanoek lalun-na nade hihiluk Kana
 Isa loloe lalun-na nade nggi ina leo
 Eke nakateten-na nade ndolu ingu
 Soe lalu titikon-na nade lela leo
 Ndola mata titikon-na nade ana ma ingu
 Bafa sasali lalun-na nade falu ina leo.

They say: Faiama Belok's brewing pot is called the Guide of Diu
 And Tefa Lanoek's lontar beer [pot] is called the Reins
 of Kana
 The cord that suspends the beer [pot] is called the great
 Stalk of the clans
 The [pot's] supporting palm ring is called the Knowledge
 of the realm
 The coconut shell for pouring [the beer] is called the
 Understanding of the clans
 The spout for pouring [the beer] is called a Realm for
 orphans
 The mouth from which flows the beer is called a Clan for
 widows.

Because the imagery of this poem seemed obscure, I was given a further series of statements (in this case, in Indonesian) which were intended to clarify the poem. These statements are themselves quite formal (conceivably close translations of other Rotinese praise statements about the Lord) and I offer them here as an extended commentary on the short poem I have just quoted.

1. It is the Lord who guides [and] orders the land well and properly.
2. The Lord is like a great stalk that offers support to its fruit [which are] like the common people, the widows and orphans.
3. The Lord is the compassionate shelter of the people and he considers carefully all their affairs.
4. The Lord is like the compass that leads the people to safety and prosperity.
5. The Lord is always willing to receive [hear] the troubles of the people, the widows and orphans, that he may settle them with honesty and peace of mind.
6. The Lord is the prop [and] support for the people, the widows and orphans, in their many wants and miseries.
7. The people must be faithful and obedient to their Lord as fruit adheres to its stalk.
8. The people are an aid to their Lord, with all their strength in any favourable affair like a glass used to drink beer.
9. The people are like the roots and branches that come forth from a Lord, like the vessels that hold beer.
10. The mouth of the Lord gives forth the words of command to the people, just as the spout of a beer flask pours forth [drink] for the drinker.

11. The wisdom and ability of the Lord is like a firm bridge along which the people travel to maintain their land, like a beer pot filled with palm syrup and fermented with roots and medicines that strengthen the body.

As a further example of the kind of formal phraseology that can be directed to a Lord and his court, I quote a Rotinese petition in ritual language. This petition is of particular interest because it touches upon some of the important images that the Rotinese have about 'order' and 'perfection' (tetu-tema).

The subjects of the domain, 'the orphans and widows' require constant attention as does the pot of cooking lontar syrup or the crown of a lontar palm. This request is not that the froth and leaf stalks be thrown away but that they be attended to. The request is that 'the orphans and widows' be ordered and perfected "like a thick wood" and "like a dense forest". The image of a virgin forest with great erect trees so closely set that, as the Rotinese explain, "the branches of one tree touch and overlap with those of another" this for the Rotinese is a symbol of lasting order and perfection.

Lena-lena ngala lemin	All you great ones
Lesi-lesi ngala lemin	All you superior ones
Sadi mafandendelek	Do remember this
Sadi masanenedak	Do bear this in mind
Fo ana ma tua fude	That the orphans are the froth of the cooking palm-sugar

Ma falu ina beba langa la	And that the widows are the heads of the palm-leaf-stalks
Tua fude dua kako na	The froth spills over twice
Kako kao mala sila	Then you scoop it out
Ma beba langa telu te na	And the stalk's head droops thrice
Te tenga mala sila	Then you lop it off
Fo ela-ana ma bei tema	So let the orphans still be perfected
Ma falu-ina bei tetu	And let the widows still be ordered
Fo leo tema toe ao lasin na	To be perfected like a thick wood
Teman losa don na	Perfected for a long time
Ma tetu lelei nulan na	And ordered like a dense forest
Tetun nduku nete na	Ordered for an age.

Around the Lord are the members of his court. These members of the court are supposed to be clan lords (mane sio), each representing a single clan. The foremost of the lords at court is the mane dope, Lord of the Knife. In Termanu, the office of mane dope was vested in the clan of Ulu-Anak. This title was therefore coincident with the title of clan lord. In other domains, the office of mane dope is vested in some particular lineage of the noble clan. Throughout Roti, the Lord of the Knife, whose precise duties are now somewhat obscure and for whom only a title remains, once held a special position in relation to the Lord. Although the office carried with it no privileges in matters of marriage and bridewealth, the Lord of the Knife had the right to carry the Lord's kris (dope)

and sirih-pinang pouch and would accompany the lord on all official rides through the domain. He would represent the Lord at gatherings outside the realm and could, on occasion, deliver judgements in the Lord's name. (The literal meaning of the Rotinese verb, ke, 'to decide' a court case is 'to cut' and this is a reason for the association of the mane dope's knife with the Lord's decisive power).

In Termanu, the mane dope had his residence in the Lord's nusak-lain, the village of Feapopi, but unfortunately the clan of Ulu-Anak is now virtually extinct and it is no longer possible to ascertain specific information about the relation of the mane dope to the Lord.

In Korbaffo, on the other hand, the office of mane dope originated in the relation of mother's brother to sister's son. When the lineage of the Head of the Earth, Kan-Lain, attempted to kill all male members of the royal lineage, Ndeo-Tein, the male child who survived detection dressed as a girl was sheltered by his mother's brother from the lineage, Nggongo-Tein. When in the end this child, Koli Bulu, succeeded in becoming Lord, Nggongo-Tein was established as hereditary lineage of the mane dope. The mane dope preserved the girlish clothes of Koli Bulu and each successive son of royal descent is dressed in these clothes at a special ceremony. Furthermore in Korbaffo, the Lord of the Knife rather than the Head of the Earth is the traditional holder and preserver of the royal staff of office. Unlike Termanu where the mane dope is the lord

of a separate clan, the mane dope in Korbaffo is only the head of a separate lineage within the noble clan.

In other domains, the title, mane dope, exists but is fitted to specific local relations. In Thie, the mane dope is a title within the noble clan, Mbura-Lai, while in Loleh, there exist two mane dope, one of the Lord, the other of the Lord-fetor.

The title of mane sio which I have until now translated simply as 'clan lord' raises certain questions. A mane sio should be a clan lord. It might be better to translate this title as 'court lord' because in many instances now, a mane sio is not necessarily a clan lord. He is distinguished from the prominent lineage heads of his clan who are referred to as mane leo, 'lineage lords'.

Literally mane sio means 'lord of nine' or perhaps 'one of nine lords'. The word may be used to refer to a single clan lord or to all the assembled clan lords. Nine, as I have frequently pointed out, is a ritually significant number. Three is the simplest ritual number and nine is three times three, a totality. It would seem therefore the number nine in the title mane sio conveys the sense of a ritually significant totality rather than simply denotes a group of nine lords.

In Fermanu, there are exactly nine court lords but in other domains such as Korbaffo, with four lords, Baá with five lords, or Thie with a total of twenty-seven lords, the title mane sio may also be used. However, the title of temukun (Indonesianized to temukung

in recent years) originally used by the Dutch to refer to clan lords is now as common as the title mane sio. In an early Dutch reference to Roti (1741) there is already mention of a Tomneginsin, probably meaning a 'Temukun gezin', 'a temukun's family' and it is conceivable that the title of mane sio originated in Termanu and spread through the island as this domain increased its influence and its dialect became the standard for the island. Another more obscure word for mane sio is the term mane lutu. This term was given to me in response to questioning and I have never heard it used in everyday speech. Lutu is a stone seat and the mane lutu were the clan lords who each had their own seats when the court of Termanu was held beneath the nitas tree of the Lord.

Besides the clan lords at court, there are the representatives of the nobility - both of the Lord and the Lord-fetor and these often formed opposing groups. In Termanu, the chief representative of the Lord's clan was chosen from the lineage, Muskanan-Tein. He was the mane-ana Muskanan-Teik but could also be called the temukun manek. The representative of the fetor clan was the mane-ana Solu-Teik who was also called the temukun fetor.

In addition to the titled members of a court, there are the elders (tou-lasi-kala). The class of elders includes the mane leo or 'lineage lords' but it is not a fixed class and can include any old man whose age and understanding give him a valued opinion at court. The distinction between old man (tou-lasik) and young man

(tae-anak) is fundamental to Rotinese society. All court proceedings, ritual affairs, or any other discussions of significance are pre-eminently the affairs of old men (dedeä tou-lasik). At times the presence of young men is tolerated, if they remain silent; at other times they can be told to leave. If one were to judge from what the elders say, youth is an ignorant carefree time, when men think only of courting and making love⁶. It is the task, therefore, of the old men to see to it that the young men do not shirk their work: the work in the fields, the herding of the animals, the tapping of lontar palms - in fact nearly all the heavy manual labour not performed by women.

The distinction of elder versus younger is not one of adult as compared to youth. An adult man of 40 with a large family may still be classified as a youth. It is only after a man's children are themselves nearly adult, as they approach marriageable age, that a man begins to be considered a tou-lasik. But the transition is gradual. A man, who can depend on his son's labour to support him,

6. I must admit that in the early months of field work I was taken in by this stereotype of youth. The old men say that the young know nothing of customary usage and they bemoan the fact that, for this reason, custom will shortly disappear. After some time, I discovered this was simply not so. I found a number of young men between the ages of 25 and 35 who, though silent in the presence of the elders, were among themselves highly articulate and possessed a considerable knowledge of customary usage. I would almost be willing to venture the assertion that the men now raising families on Roti were more tradition minded than their elders. Many elders see some conflict between Christianity and native beliefs while the youth, who are now Christian, accept as Christianity many aspects of the older spirit beliefs. Most of my information about the nitu and the way they act was given to me by men under thirty.

can devote his time to ritual affairs and the endless talk that makes up much of the life of an elder. Here there are other influencing factors. In general, a noble man may often be regarded as an old man at an earlier age than a commoner, a rich man earlier than a poor man. And some poor commoners, with or without sons, often remain tae-anak until their deaths. To participate in the discussions at court there is a quality required which elevates the nobles above the commoners, the rich above the poor, the clan lords above the elders, and the elders above the young men.

6. The Place of the Lord in the Hierarchy of Maleness

Among the Rotinese, there is a hierarchy of 'maleness'. To understand this, it is necessary to consider the individual and from the individual proceed upward to the High God.

The Rotinese word for an individual's life spirit is samanek. This is the spirit or quality that vitalizes the body and that disappears when the body dies (mopo samanek). The word, samanek, is a cognate of the widespread Indonesian or Malay word, semangat or sumangat which also means life spirit or vital principle. The transformation of semangat (or what was once its ancient proto-Indonesian form) into samanek cannot be regarded as wholly fortuitous since the word samanek has developed to a Rotinese model. By folk etymology, the word samanek can be analyzed into two parts: sa- from esa, meaning 'one' and manek, meaning 'male'. Thus each person's vitality is literally his 'maleness'.

I had little success in my inquiries about what precisely the samanek is. One elder gave me a limited explanation which received the general assent of a number of other elders who were present at the time. He explained that each person had not one, but three samanek: a samane ki, a 'left samanek', situated at the left temple of the skull; a samane kona, a 'right samanek', situated at the right temple and a samane langa lai, a 'top of the head samanek' or a samane masodak, a 'samanek of well-being' situated beneath the fontanelle. The top of the skull, it was said, was like the roof of a house and when the samane langa lai "calls" the other two samanek (apparently to depart by way of the fontanelle), a person dies. For fear of losing his samanek, a Rotinese man will never stray far from his house without wearing his hat. (Women, however, frequently travel bare-headed). For this same reason, the tuft of hair over the fontanelle of a child can not be cut at the hair-cutting ceremony. Apart from this information which only suggests the outline of an interesting psychological theory, I learned no more about the samanek.

The implication of this information is that, whatever the number of samanek, everyone, including women, possesses a certain degree of 'maleness'. Men possess far more than women and they are more liable to lose their 'maleness' unless they take special care.

Prominent men possess more than ordinary men⁷.

The hierarchy of lords and nobles is an expression of this 'maleness'. As I have already indicated, the word, mane(k), which I have translated as 'lord' in most contexts means 'male'. The quality of 'maleness' is synonymous with power and political position. At the head of every lineage, there is a person who is generally acknowledged as its effective head. This man is the mane lee, the lineage lord (literally: 'the male of the lineage' or 'the male-lord of the lineage'). His duty is to arbitrate disputes between members of the lineage and to negotiate all bridewealth settlements on behalf of lineage members. Above him is the 'male-lord of the clan'. He is distinguished by the specific name of his clan as, for example: Mane Sui, 'Male-lord of Sui' or Mane Dou-Danga, 'Male-lord of Dou-Danga'. Or he is known by the court title, mane sio, 'male-lord of nine'. As male-lord of nine, he represents the totality of his clan. Together the assembled clan lords represent the totality of the commoner population.

-
7. A man's hat serves to protect his samanek. There is a definite correlation between a man's status and the width of his sombrero-like hat. Formerly certain political offices had their own large distinctive hats. In Termanu, today, there are only two broad categories of hat styles: tii-langa tou-lasik: 'hats of the elders' and tii-langa tae-anak: 'hats of the young men'. The elders' style of hat is, according to several informants, the hat that was once worn exclusively by the mane dope. It is now worn - in varying sizes - by all prominent men: elders, nobles, clan lords, and some lineage lords. All young men and most poor commoners wear the hat of the young men. Fortunately I was alerted to the importance of these hat styles and politely refused to wear a young man's hat. Eventually the acting Lord of Termanu ordered an old man's hat to be made for me and thereafter to many in Termanu I was known simply as tou-lasik, 'the old man'.

Above these lords are the nobles who are the mane-ana-kala. This term means literally 'children of the Male-Lord' or 'lesser male lords'. Nobles are divided into two categories: those of the Lord's clan and those of the Lord-fetor's clan. Those of the Lord-fetor's clan are usually spoken of as mane-feto-ana-kala: 'daughters of the Male-Lord'.

At the head of the domain is the manek, 'The Male-Lord'. Here 'maleness' is unqualified. When the Lord gives his decision at court, it is said that "heaven lightnings". In his decisive aspect, the Lord represents the god of lightning and thunder whom the Rotinese speak of as Tou Manek, 'The Male-Man'. Above all of these and now highly Christian in conception is the High God, Mane-Tua-Lain (literally, 'The Great Male-Lord in Heaven'.) Thus the pervasive concept of 'maleness' divides, distinguishes but also unifies, in an hierarchical order, the whole of the Rotinese universe.

Having considered in the abstract the conceptions about rule, order and hierarchy within the domain, it is necessary at this point to examine the interrelation of these ideal conceptions in the actual governing of a domain. The Rotinese are quick to discuss the ideal order but it takes a considerable effort to penetrate behind these ideals to discover the actual workings of the system. The rest of this chapter is devoted to a detailed examination of the domain of Termanu. Subsequent chapters continue this examination in further detail.

7. The Clans of Termanu and their Legends.

Ideally, Termanu is said to be governed by a Lord, a Lord-fetor, and nine clan lords. Each of these men represents a clan (leo). The Lord represents the clan, Masa-Huk; the Lord-fetor the clan, Kota-Deak. Each clan lord represents a specific commoner clan. The following is a list of the nine clan lords of Termanu:

1. Mane Ulu-Anak
2. Mane Meno
3. Mane Sui
4. Mane Dou-Danga
5. Mane Ingu-Naü
6. Mane Ingu-Beuk
7. Mane Nggofa-Laik
8. Mane Kiu-Kanak
9. Mane Ingu-Fao

The Mane Ulu-Anak holds the title of mane dope, Lord of the Knife, while the Mane Meno is the dae langak, Head of the Earth.

One of the most important features of the clan is its continuity. Unlike the lineages within a clan, the Rotinese regard the clan as fixed and established. Although demographic developments within the domain have now seriously undermined this view, the men of Termanu if asked to describe their state, represent it ideally as consisting of nine clans ruled over jointly by a lesser fetor clan and a greater manek clan.

The stability of the clans of Termanu (and of Roti in general) is not an unreasonable assumption on the part of the Rotinese. There exist in the Dutch literature two very early lists of the clans of Roti. The first dates from the year 1851 and was published by the then resident of Timor, D.W.C. Baron van Lynden. In this report, Baron van Lynden lists the domains on Roti, the names of the "radja" and "feter" of each domain, and what he calls the "principal villages" (voornaamste kampongs) on the island. These villages, however, turn out to be the clans of the island. His list for Termanu is as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. Masa hoek | (Masa-Huk) |
| 2. Kioek anak | (Kiu-Kanak) |
| 3. Soe iek | (Sui) |
| 4. Inggoe naoeh | (Ingu-Naü) |
| 5. Dau dangah | (Dou-Danga) |
| 6. Inggoe faoh | (Ingu-Fao) |
| 7. Oeloe anak | (Ulu-Anak) |
| 8. Menoh | (Meno) |
| 9. Inggoe beuk | (Ingu-Beuk) |
| 10. Gofa laik | (Nggofa-Laik) |
| 11. Lelik | (Leli) |

Except for the exclusion of Kota-Deak and the inclusion of the former clan Leli, this list gives the names of all the clans of present-day Termanu.

The other list of the clans of Roti was published in a curious short article by F.S.A. de Clercq in the year 1874. In this article, de Clercq who gathered his information from Heer Rozet, the posthouder in Baä, gives a long list of the names of villages on Roti and adds to this a further list of what he identifies - quite properly - as the descent groups of the island. But, as he says, in his list he records both the "clans" (geslachten) and occasionally the "descent lines" (zijlinien) of these clans without distinguishing between the two. His list of clans for Termanu is as follows:

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Masahoek | (Masa-Huk) |
| 2. Meno | (Meno) |
| 3. Leli | (Leli) |
| 4. Dodanga | (Dou-Danga) |
| 5. Kioekanak | (Kiu-Kanak) |
| 6. Kotadeak | (Kota-Deak) |
| 7. Soei | (Sui) |
| 8. Ingondaes | (Ingu-Ndaes) |
| 9. Oeloeanak | (Ulu-Anak) |
| 10. Gofalaik | (Nggofa-Laik) |
| 11. Ingoebeek | (Ingu-Beuk) |
| 12. Deko | (Ndeko) |
| 13. Endae | ? |
| 14. Ingofao | (Ingu-Fao) |
| 15. Botokameng | (Boto-Kama) |
| 16. Ingonae | (Ingu-Naü) |

This again is an accurate list of the clans of Termanu. It includes the eleven clans that make up the present-day domain, as well as the clan, Leli. Further it lists the somewhat anomalous descent groups (discussed below), Ingondaees and Ndeko, now considered as part of Kota-Deak. Boto-Kama is a minor lineage of the noble clan, Masa-Huk, but, to my knowledge, Endae is not the name of a descent group.

Each of the ancient clans of Termanu has its varied and separate tradition. In a future monograph (already partially written and originally intended for inclusion in this thesis) I intend to consider the history of the island of Roti and the various legends associated with the clans of Termanu. Here I summarize some of the more relevant of these legends.

The Rotinese have a sense of history. History for them is not a sequence of dated events, but rather a genealogical succession of individuals and their achievements. This genealogical succession of individuals is not necessarily the succession of one's own ancestors. It is the succession of the royal ancestors of the Lord. Their achievements have established the order of the realm. Thus history, for the Rotinese, is dynastic history. All significant events derive their importance in relation to the royal lineage of the domain. A commoner, for example, may not know his own genealogy yet he will almost certainly know something of the genealogy of the Lord of his domain.

Here I wish to avoid an involved discussion of the intricacies of the royal genealogy of Termanu. I propose to take each clan in turn and consider the legend which links it to the noble clan, Masa-Huk. I consider these legends in the sequence in which, according to the succession of the royal genealogy, they are said to have occurred. Each legend contains a wealth of symbolically significant statements but I must, for brevity's sake, treat each legend exclusively in terms of its political charter.

By all accounts, each clan originally formed its own separate realm. Each occupied a defensible hill-top location. The history of Termanu is the history of the expansion of the noble clan, Masa-Huk, situated at Peapopi, its conquest of certain clans, its alliance with other clans, and the eventual formation of a unified state under the warrior Tola Manu, who is recognized as the first true Lord of Termanu. The events that link the clans are supposed to have begun even before the arrival of the first royal ancestor on Roti.

1. Masa-Huk: Kiu-Kanak

The royal genealogy lists twelve ancestors before the ancestor, Kai Lilo ('Gold Tree'), whose sons, Bula Kai ('Moon Tree') and Fala Kai ('Fala Tree') caused the first segmentation in the genealogy. Bula Kai became the ancestor of Masa-Huk, Fala Kai the ancestor of Kiu-Kanak. This differentiation is supposed to have occurred before the arrival of the Rotinese on the island because Bula Kai's son, Ma Bulan, is recognized as first royal ancestor to arrive on Roti.

About ten generations later, the clans, Masa-Huk and Kiu-Kanak were joined by royal marriage, in a special affinal alliance.

2. Masa-Huk: Meno

When Ma Bulan, the ancestor of Masa-Huk arrived in Termanu, he encountered Pada Lalais ('Heavenly Pada'), the founding ancestor of the clan Meno. Despite all appearances to the contrary, Ma Bulan insisted that he was the first to arrive in Termanu and Pada Lalais was the intruder. Since they had no Lord to decide their dispute, the two agreed to three contests to decide who had come first. The first contest involved the planting of small trees. The man whose tree sprouted was to be the winner. Pada Lalais planted a fast-growing branch of red damar. Ma Bulan planted a branch of the slow-growing hard-wooded bubuni tree. When his branch died, Ma Bulan reversed the branches and claimed he had won but Pada Lalais refused to accept this. The second contest involved the calling of the sea. In his ignorance about the sea, Pada Lalais called the sea as the tide was going out. Ma Bulan (Bulan means moon) waited for the tide to come in before he called the sea and thus won the second contest. The third contest involved an inspection of the thatch of each other's houses. Pada Lalais' house was thatched with lontar leaves which are not easily blackened by the smoke of the cooking fire. Ma Bulan quickly thatched his house with the bark of the eucalyptus tree (nggelak) and smoked his fire for three days. When Pada Lalais went to inspect Ma Bulan's house it was sooty black.

This decided the issue. Pada Lalais' clan was recognized as the clan of the Head of the Earth while Ma Bulan's clan became the noble clan of the Lord of Termanu.

3. Masa-Huk: Ingu-Beuk and Nggofa-Laik

In the fourth generation after Ma Bulan is the royal ancestor, Leki Kelu; in the sixth generation after Ma Bulan is the ancestor Tola Manu (or Tolamanu Analo). In the legends which I possess there is a genuine disagreement about whether certain events are to be attributed exclusively to Tola Manu or whether some of these events involved his grandfather Leki Kelu. For simplicity's sake and because the conquests of Tola Manu form a consistent cycle, I ascribe all these legends to Tola Manu.

In Tola Manu's time, there were six Lords in the territory of Termanu. Tola Manu occupied the hill at Feapopi called Ingu-Lai ("High-Realm"). To the west of him were the Lord of Ndeko at Hoi-Ledo and the Lord of Leli, Leli Lalais, at Solobe-Lain. The traditions of these two Lords are closely associated. Together they suffered a similar fate. To the east of Tola Manu were the Lord of Ingu-Beuk, Kuüpana Telik, on the hill of Ingu-Beuk-Lain and the Lord of Nggofa-Laik, Bobok Telik, on the hill of Nggofa-Laik-Dale. These two Lords were brothers. At some distance to the south-east of Tola Manu was the Lord of Ingu-Fao at Batu-Lain.

According to the legend, Tola Manu called upon all these Lords to form a single domain. Only the Lords of Ingu-Beuk and Nggofa-

Laik accepted his offer of alliance. They became clan lords and were given the title of 'warrior' (palani) under the 'great warrior' Tola Manu. Their duty was to guard the centre of the domain while Tola Manu waged war. Thus the clans of Ingu-Beuk and Nggofa-Laik became incorporated within the domain of Termanu.

4. Masa-Huk: Dou-Danga and Leli

The dispute between Tola Manu and the Lord of Leli began over the use of a natural spring at the foot of the hill of Feapopi. The men of Leli used this spring to supply themselves with drinking water and to irrigate their rice fields. They denied its use to the people of Termanu or Pada. Because Leli's village was well fortified, Tola Manu was forced to seek the aid of Tule Nara, an ancestor of the clan Dou-Danga. Tule Nara was a goldsmith who had access to Solobe-Lain. (This suggests a Ndaonese origin and, in fact, the alternative name given for this ancestor is Ndao Sepe). When he had gained the confidence of the men of Leli, Tule Nara requested a meeting for a certain night and notified Tola Manu of his plans. Tola Manu ordered an unbroken colt to be tied with lontar leaf fibers and tiny bells and led the animal to the gates of Leli. In the middle of the council, Tola Manu who, with his men was hiding outside the walls, lit the leaves on the colt's back and drove the animal into the walled village, where it ran wild. In the confusion, the men of Leli began killing each other; those who tried to escape were captured by Tola Manu.

In reward for his assistance, the descendants of Tule Nara were given the land at So-Meo-Dale and the spring and wet rice fields at Ongelus. In this way, the clan of Dou-Danga became incorporated within the domain of Termanu. Dou-Danga, however, is a complex clan and various lineages within the clan claim separate origins, many of them from the domain of This. The descendants of Tule Nara form the lineage, Linihanak-Tein. There are numerous traditions about the technical innovations which the ancestors of Dou-Danga discovered and introduced into Termanu: fishing by torch light; the roofing of houses with alang-alang grass in place of lontar leaf; the tapping of the lontar tree twice daily; and the cooking of lontar syrup in clay-lined hollow ovens dug in the ground.

In Termanu today there are no descendants of the former realm of Leli. According to the Daghregisters of the Dutch East India Company, the Company led a punitive expedition against Leli in 1681, destroying it and killing an estimated 500 persons. As I have indicated, Leli had the status of a separate clan of Termanu until at least 1874. The Rotinese told me simply that the clan of Leli died out and the few remaining members of the clan migrated to Timor or to other domains on Roti. A lineage in Korbaffo, I discovered, claims descent from Leli as does the lineage of the Lord-father of Ringgou.

5. Masa-Huk: Sui and Ndeko

To conquer the Lord of Ndeko at Hoi-Ledo, Tola Manu sought the assistance of Baä Anin, the ancestor of the clan Sui. Baä Anin was on good terms with the people of Ndeko and, like Tule Nara, he requested a meeting one night, informing Tola Manu about this beforehand. Before the meeting, Baä Anin took a boboik (a coconut vessel with bamboo spout) and defecated into it; then he plugged the boboik and fastened it tightly to his body. During the council, with Tola Manu and his men positioned outside the walls, Baä Anin removed the stopper of the boboik and the smell of his stools filled the house of the Lord. The men of Ndeko immediately accused each other of passing wind. This turned to a fierce argument and the men of Ndeko began killing each other. Those who attempted to escape from Hoi-Ledo were captured by Tola Manu.

In reward for his assistance, the descendants of Baä Anin were given the water and rice fields at Bau-Dale. Thus Sui became incorporated within Termanu. There are other traditions about Sui, including an alternative legend about how Sui received the water and rice fields of Bau-Dale. Sui is associated with the western boundaries of Termanu, where Termanu borders with Baä. In Baä, there is a clan Suki (Sui and Suki are cognate words) and it seems plausible these two clans were once a single clan. I have heard of no definite tradition linking them, except for vague references to Sui Dulu (Eastern Sui) and Sui Muli (Western Sui).

This legend about the conquest of Ndeko closely parallels the previous legend about the conquest of Leli. Other traditions about Ndeko link this realm with Leli and it is conceivable that Ndeko and Leli once formed a single domain. While there are no descendants of Leli, there remains a tiny lineage in Termanu, Ndeko-Ndaos, which claims descent from Ndeko. This lineage has now been incorporated within the clan, Kota-Deak⁸. Interestingly the spring which according to the previous legend caused the dispute between Tola Manu and Leli Lalais is today ritually 'owned' by Ndeko-Ndaos.

-
8. Another tiny lineage incorporated within Kota-Deak is the lineage - now consisting of only a few families - of Ingu-Ndaos. One of the significant features of the clan, Kota-Deak, is its association with Ndao. It seems that for centuries, Roti has incorporated the surplus population of Ndao. Nearly every domain on Roti has a clan or large lineage explicitly called by the name "Ndao" or simply referred to as Ndaonese. Most of the members of these groups are true Rotinese whose distant descendants came from Ndao, but because of their connection with Ndao these groups are the most likely to incorporate further immigrants from the island. On the other hand, Ndaonese can be incorporated into other lineages through marriage (the mechanisms for this form of clientage will be discussed in detail in the next chapter). Still other Ndaonese marry Rotinese women, live on Roti, but act as Ndaonese usually by continuing to work - either full-time or in their spare-time - as gold and silver smiths. In Korbaffo, for example, Ndaonese are incorporated within the lineage, Manatunga, of the noble clan. These manatunga ("those who follow") are the means by which the Lord can increase the size and strength of his clan. The same seems to be also true of the fetor clan, Kota-Deak, in Termanu, although the connection is not explicitly stated as such. There is first the evidence that the hus of Kota-Deak is called Hu-Ndao. It is further evident in that the lineages with Ndaonese names Ingu-Ndaos and Ndeko-Ndao have become part of Kota-Deak. While I was on Roti, the Ndaonese, who had come from the island with their Lord for the dry season, settled in Termanu at Bau-Dale. The Lord of Ndao lived with a man of the clan Ingu-Nau. This clan is also linked with Kota-Deak.

As it happens there exists some historical information about Ndeko at Hoi-Ledo. The missionary Niks (1888:96-97) in a note on Rotinese settlements on Timor reports that in 1818 or 1819 nearly the entire population of the village of Hoi-Ledo (at least 200 persons) agreed to be transported by the Dutch to the Pariti plain on Timor. The population, Niks reports, moved to Timor to escape the severe oppression which they suffered within the domain.

6. Masa-Huk: Ingu-Fao

The legend of the conquest of Ingu-Fao is told briefly. Tola Manu's warriors, the ancestors of Ingu-Beuk and Nggofa-Laik, led the attack on Ingu-Fao. These clans claim control over bees, wasps, adders, scorpions and all other forms of stinging and biting creatures and according to the legend, they directed these creatures into the fortifications of Ingu-Fao, forcing the defenders to take refuge outside, whereupon they were immediately taken prisoner.

Like the other clans of Termanu, Ingu-Fao claims its own separate traditions. Ingu-Fao is distinguished by the fact that it is the only clan in Termanu whose members make no funeral payments to their affines. (The reason for the usage is told in a humorous legend involving the purchase of a corpse and the crime of killing a cat).

Ingu-Fao has long been a source of agitation in Termanu and was, for a time, involved in a dynastic dispute between two lineages of the noble clan. According to the Dutch records, Ingu-Fao

attempted to secede from Termanu in 1785 and finally because of this long-standing dispute a large portion of the population in the village area around Ingu-Fao agreed, in 1818, to be transported to Babauw, near Kupang on Timor (Niks: 1888).

The word, Ingu-Fao, has three referents. It refers to the former domain that was conquered and incorporated within Termanu. It refers to a village area in the south-eastern corner of Termanu. It also refers to a clan which was once represented by its own clan lord. Today members of the clan, Ingu-Fao, can be found living scattered throughout the domain, just as members from all the clans of Termanu can be found in the village area of Ingu-Fao. According to the Rotinese, each clan was originally a local residence unit marked by its own internal subdivisions, but this conception of the clan (if it ever once existed) has given way to a more abstract conception based upon representation at court, separate traditions, and claims to certain rights and titles.

7. Masa-Huk: Kota-Deak, Ingu-Nau and Ulu-Anak

Kota-Deak is the clan of the Lord-fetor. This clan takes its origin from the segmentation of Masa-Huk, after the death of Tola Manu. I have a short legend which explains this division and rather than summarize this, I offer the whole of this legend because it introduces another aspect of Rotinese social organization which I intend to discuss in the following chapter. The legend is as follows:

The Lord, who was named Tola Manu, had only two sons; one was named Lusi Tola, the eldest child and one was named Seni Tola, the youngest child. These two children divided the wealth of their father, Tola Manu; and Seni Tola, the younger brother and child, received the house.

After the two had divided everything, then Lusi Tola, the eldest child, made a separate house to live in, leaving Seni Tola, the youngest child and brother, to live in the great house inside the wall (kota). Therefore when Seni Tola asked and called for Lusi Tola, he spoke of 'the man outside the wall' [outside the wall = kota deak]. Thus this manner of speaking was the reason which holds to this day - for calling the descendants of Lusi Tola, Leo Kota Deak.

According to adat, the youngest child receives the house which is called the spirit house (uma nitu). Therefore whenever a grandchild of Lusi Tola and Seni Tola died, the elder and younger brother [together] carried him up into the house.

From this comes a certain adat-saying which goes like this: "The eldest brother sees the wealth [property] and the youngest brother takes the house". This holds not only for Lusi Tola and Seni Tola, but for each and every clan [or lineage] in the domain of Pada or Termanu; each has its own spirit house (uma nitu), the adat house, the spirit house for the burial feast, [the house] into which the deceased is carried.

(At this point the tale goes on to list the subdivisions of the clan Kota-Deak. These will be considered in the next chapter).

The Rotinese claim to have no fixed rule on how the Lordship should be inherited. Any member of the royal lineage may be chosen by the lords at court and approved by the Head of the Earth. If, however, one examines carefully the sequence of succession to the Lordship of Termanu over the past three centuries, it is clear that, despite certain vicissitudes the Lordship has consistently gone to the youngest son. The same appears to be true for succession to other political offices, but the Rotinese do not generalize this into a strict rule of ultimogeniture. They say only that the youngest must inherit the house. A house is synonymous with a

minimal descent group; an established house includes a core of ancestral spirits. A house thus provides the youngest child with a position of wealth and power over his elder brothers. In the legend which I have just quoted, what is not explained is the fact that Seni Tola, the youngest child, became the Lord of the domain while Lusi Tola, the eldest, became the first Lord-fetor in Termanu.

As regards Ingu-Naü, I know of no legend linking this clan with Masa-Huk. Ingu-Naü takes its origin from the segmentation of Kota-Deak and the two clans, Kota-Deak and Ingu-Naü, are joined in a special relationship. When the Lord was absent from the domain, the Lord-fetor assumed his duties and the clan lord of Ingu-Naü assumed the duties of the Lord-fetor.

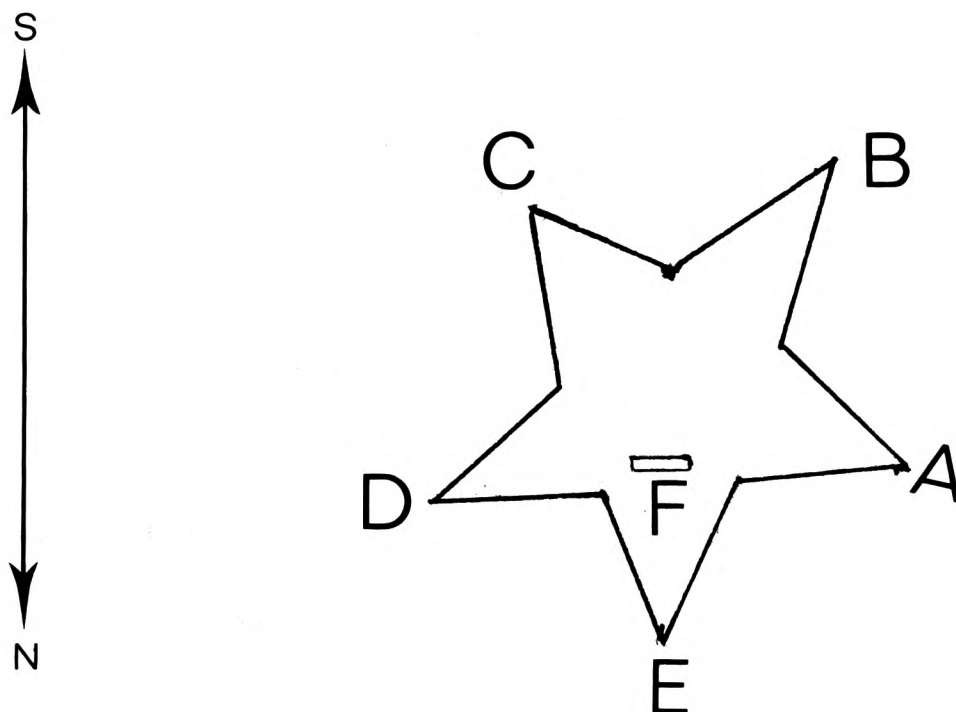
The clan of Ulu-Anak ('Foremost Child') is now virtually extinct and although I made repeated attempts to learn the legends of this clan, I found no one, not even the Head of the Earth, who was familiar with them.

8. The Rights and Privileges of the Clans.

The village of Peapopi is the centre, the nusak-lain, of the domain of Termanu. It is built on a hill-top and was once well-walled. Unlike other Rotinese villages, it was closed to free-ranging goats. Only easily herded animals, such as sheep and water buffalo, were allowed within its walls and these were kept stalled or stabled. Jasmine flowers grew everywhere within the

walls and in January when the flower blossomed, the village presented an extraordinary sight. It is possible that the ritual name for Termanu, Koli do Buna is an elliptical description of Feapopi. Feapopi is Koli because its walls were built with coolie labour and Buna because of the flowers (buna) within these walls. In recent times, Feapopi's walls have not been tended and although their outline is clear, they are now in general disrepair.

Feapopi was laid out in the form of a star (nduk) with five points. This star formed a model of the domain. Its points were entrances to the village. In time of war, at each point two clans (or at some points a clan and a particular lineage) were given the right to stand guard. The following outline sketch illustrates the ground plan of Feapopi



- A. Lelesu Ina: 'The Great Gate'. This was the gate that opened on to the road leading to Baä where the Dutch representative had his residence. At this gate, the clan Ulu-Anak took precedence over the clan, Meno. Ulu-Anak held the right (south) side of the gate while Meno held the left (north) side.
- B. Lahamek Ein: This is the point which bears the footprint of the Lahamek who, it is said, separated heaven and earth by his great size. (As he stepped across Roti, he left traces of his footprints at odd points on the island). This point was guarded by the clan Kiu-Kanak and the clan Sui.
- C. Kota Ingu-Fao: This point of the wall (kota) was guarded by the clan Ingu-Fao and a royal lineage, Loe-Tein.
- D. Kota Kuli: About this point in the wall there is some confusion. The lineage Ndao-Manu-Tein, definitely, had the right to stand guard here but who kept guard along with Ndao-Manu-Tein is not clear. Some argue that Ulu-Anak had the right to guard here rather than at Lelesu Ina.
- E. Lelesu Keleu: This is the "winding entrance" that opens on to the road that proceeds first north east and then due east across the domain. This entrance was guarded by the clans Ingu-Naü and Dou-Danga.
- F. Tulle Lelesu: This is another entrance or gate but it is within the walls of Feapopi and was assigned to the lineage, Tulle-Tein, of the clan Kiu-Kanak. (It is possible that the lineage Nilu-Tein of the noble clan also kept guard here. Whether or not, it actually maintained a guard, the lineage, Nilu-Tein, held a special position within the walls as did the lineage, Boto-Kama, of Masa-Huk which had the right to guard the Lord's house).

In contrast to the other clans (and lineages) of Termanu, the fetor clan Kota-Deak as its name indicates was outside the walls. Kota-Deak kept guard at a place called Padale-Mok, while Ingu-Beuk and Nggofa-Laik were assigned the duty of making the rounds of the village.

This then presents a concrete, though not entirely simple, model of the arrangement of the clans in the domain. Certain aspects of this model will be developed gradually and the significance of certain points must await a discussion of royal marriage alliances and the subdivisions of the noble clan. It illustrates an important aspect of the nature of the clan on Roti. The clan is a collection of titles, rights and privileges. I have already discussed some of these rights and privileges. They include:

1. the right to court titles and offices;
2. the right to expect a certain standard of bridewealth;
3. the right to ritual ownership of certain sources of water;
4. the right to a specific position in the defense of Feapopi.

Many of these rights are quite specific but it is exceedingly difficult to discuss them without recourse to a corpus of long clan legends. To illustrate the specificity of some of these rights, I will enumerate a few: Dou-Danga had the right to fire the first shot in war; Sui had the right to the second shot but no war could begin without the approval of the dae langak of clan Meno. Sui has the right to the head of a water buffalo sacrificed at every funeral feast of a member of the royal lineage and may exchange prize horses with the Lord. Members of Dou-Danga (especially members of the lineage Linihanak-Tein) may not be punished physically by the Lord. They may only be fined. Tulle-Tein of the commoner clan, Kiu-Kanak, has the right to numerous noble prerogatives.

Admittedly the word 'rights' is not an adequate description for many of the legendary characteristics and prohibitions that distinguish the clans. Ingu-Beuk and Nggofa-Laik claim control over bees, wasps, and vipers. Members of these clans may not have rice fields at Peto and Lela. Members of the royal lineage may not build their houses too near the sea, nor are members of the royal lineage supposed to have rice fields at Bau-Dale. Members of Ingu-Fao need not pay funeral fees to their affines.

Most important of all these clan rights were the ceremonial rights to hold celebrations in the hus cycle of origin feasts. This is not the point at which to discuss in detail the cycle of the hus. It is essential, however, to give some idea of the order of precedence in this cycle and the different privileges associated with each clan's hus celebration. In Termanu, these ceremonies have not been performed publicly for almost a generation yet rights in this ceremonial cycle are still cited as part of the prestige of certain clans.

There were nine hus celebrations in the ceremonial cycle of Termanu. These began with the new moon in the month of August or September and were performed in fixed sequence at an interval of several days until the ceremonial cycle was completed. Here I am concerned only to examine the distinguishing features of the

individual hus celebrations as an aspect of clan prestige⁹.

The first and last hus were each distinctive and unlike all the other hus. These hus marked the transition in and out of the period of hus celebration. The first hus began with ceremony and sacrifice; the last hus ended in disordered ritual combat and permitted sexual license. The second through the sixth hus were regarded as 'lesser hus' because they lacked the horse racing of the next two hus. The second through the fifth hus were further distinguished from the next three by the fact that at the earlier hus, there was only a single female ritual dancer (manasole) from the clan performing the hus, while at the next three hus, the ritual dancers from all the hus performed together. At all the hus, the ancestors of the clan were called by drumming to attend the feast of their clan.¹⁰

-
9. Briefly, the hus was celebrated after the harvest. In Termanu it consisted first of an invocation of the clan ancestors, a period of ritual dancing by one or more young girls of the clan, a considerable amount of feasting, an invocation to the moon to request rain, palm juice, and the propagation of livestock. The final ceremony at the great hus was usually a horse race at which a number of coconuts were skewered on a stake one after another and a rider would race past and attempt to split a coconut with a single stroke of his sword, while calling out the name of a man of a different domain. It seems that the hus began in August or September when the evening star came into conjunction or near conjunction with the crescent moon, so that it appeared that the star lay within the orbit formed by the horns of the moon.
10. It is impossible to establish all aspects of ceremonies which are now no longer performed, yet so many informants have described these celebrations and their descriptions have been so detailed and consistent that I feel fairly certain that this description is largely correct. I have gathered several texts of the ritual formulae used during these celebrations and they also form a consistent picture.

The first hus of the cycle was the hus of the clan Ingu-Nau. This was also called Hu-batu or Hu-bafi, because at this hus an offering of a pig was made to the large boulder, Sua-Lain,¹¹ that juts into the sea near the village of Bau-Dale. After this, there followed in order the hus of Ingu-Beuk, Nggofa-Laik, and Dou-Danga. Next followed the hus of the Lord-fetor's clan, Kota-Deak. This hus was also called Hu-Solo-Teik because it belonged to the fetor lineage of Solu-Teik. It was also called Hu-Ndao, which suggests that this ceremony was not of native origin, but was imported from Ndao and incorporated within the clan, Kota-Deak. After the celebration of Hu-Ndao, there followed the hus at which all the manasole were permitted to dance. The first of these was the hus of the clan, Sui. After this hus, there came the hus of the Head of the Earth, clan Meno. Hu-Meno was the first hus at which there

-
11. There are two rocks off the coast of Termanu. Sua-Lain is an enormous outcropping that juts out from the land into the sea. A second rock, Batu-Hun, is smaller and is about 50 yards off the coast. These rocks are said to have wandered from Timor to Roti and along the coast of Roti until they settled at Termanu and became the object of a rain cult for the clan Ingu-Nau. (Sua-Lain is female, Batu-Hun is male). Each year, Sua-Lain is said to give birth to another child: another small rock formed by the action of the sea at its base. Apart from the hus if, during the rainy season, there is a long rainless period further offerings are made to Sua-Lain and particularly to the dedap tree (Roti: delas) on the rock. While Sua-Lain is a woman and the dedap tree is invariably associated with the moon, the sea, and women; Batu-Hun, its companion rock, must receive offerings that are red in colour and red is invariably the colour of the south, lightning, and men.

could be horse-racing, but this racing was not comparable to the racing at the Hu-Ina, the 'Great Hus' of the noble clan, Masa-Huk. Apart from horse-racing and the dancing of all the manasole, this hus involved a complex series of rituals, including the ritual recitation of the long bini, Doli do lutu and the invocation of the moon. This was the hus of the entire domain and the only one that was witnessed and actually described by missionaries, government officials, or occasional travelers to the island.

The concluding hus of the ceremonial cycle was the Hu-Hoi-Ledo because it was held in the village of Hoi-Ledo. This hus belonged to the now tiny lineage of Ndeko-Ndao. Formerly it was the hus of a separate clan. This hus was also called Hu-Lakimola because at it, members of the domain engaged in ritual combat, throwing at each other cakes and lumps of food made from the agricultural products harvested during the year. These food stuffs, the pule sio, are the children of Lakimola.

There are three clans in Termanu that made no claim to the possession of a hus ritual. They are the clan of Ulu-Anak, the clan of Ingu-Fao, and the large commoner clan of Kiu-Kanak. It is possible to rank the clans of Termanu on the basis of their ritual privileges in the hus cycle. Only the hus of Ingu-Nau and Ndeko-Ndao are anomalous in this rank order.

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 1. Masa-Huk: | 9 dancers; horse-racing; long ritual recitations |
| 2. Meno: | 9 dancers; horse-racing |
| 3. Sui: | 9 dancers |
| 4. Ingu-Nau: | sacrifice to Sua-Lain |
| 5. Ndeko-Ndao: | ritual combat to Lakimola |
| 6. Kota-Deak: | 1 dancer |
| 7. Dou-Danga: | 1 dancer |
| 8. Nggofa-Laik: | 1 dancer |
| 9. Ingu-Beuk: | 1 dancer |
| 10. Kiu-Kanak: | no <u>hus</u> |
| 11. Ulu-Anak: | no <u>hus</u> |
| 12. Ingu-Fao: | no <u>hus</u> |

Another means by which the clans of Termanu are ranked is the formal system of bridewealth which I have already discussed. This system not only distinguishes the clans but also makes discriminations within the noble clan. Each lineage or clan can, on the basis of this system, expect a certain minimum bridewealth for its women. This system as applied in Termanu ranks the clans and lineages as follows: (25 rupiah = 1 full grown water buffalo)

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| 1. Daughters of the royal lineages of Masa-Huk: | 100 rupiah or |
| Fola-Tein and Muskanan-Tein: | 4 water buffalo |
| 2. Daughters of the noble lineages of Masa-Huk: | 75 rupiah or |
| Loe-Tein, Haliti-Tein, Ndao-Manu-Tein, Nelu-Tein: | 3 water buffalo |
| Daughters of the noble lineages of Kota-Deak: | |
| 3. Daughters of the clan lords: | 50 rupiah or |
| | 2 water buffalo |

4. Daughters of all commoner clans:

Ingu-Beuk, Nggofa-Laik, Dou-Danga,	35 rupiah or 1 full grown
Sui, Meno, Ingu-Fao, Ingu-Nau,	and 1 year old water
Ulu-Anak and Kiu-Kanak:	buffalo

Included in this system as if they were equivalent to commoner clans, are several of the lesser lineages of Masa-Huk plus the lineages of Ingu-Ndaos and Ndeko-Ndao in Kota-Deak.

There is no one simple principle for ordering or ranking the clans of the domain. Each clan has reason to claim some distinctive traditional position in the realm. The noble clan of Masa-Huk has, in general, an overall superiority over the other clans because of its political position and the status of its women. Nevertheless Masa-Huk can not dispense with nor disregard the other clans of the domain. Masa-Huk's position is therefore qualified and when (in the next chapter) one considers the sub-divisions of this clan, this position can be shown to be still further qualified. In discussing the clans of Roti, there is always the problem of perspective. Although each clan may offer the appearance of considerable solidarity in the face of the claims of other clans, internally most clans are riven by the dissension of their competing lineages. For this reason, I have purposely postponed the clan's claims to ritual ownership of water until I have introduced the various lineages of the clans.

9. The Pairing of Clans in Termanu.

There is one final aspect of clan structure in Termanu which I must discuss here. This is the pairing of some of the clans of the domain. The following clans in Termanu are paired:

1. Masa-Huk : Kiu-Kanak
2. Suí : Meno
3. Kota-Deak : Ingu-Naü
4. Ingu-Beuk : Nggofa-Laik

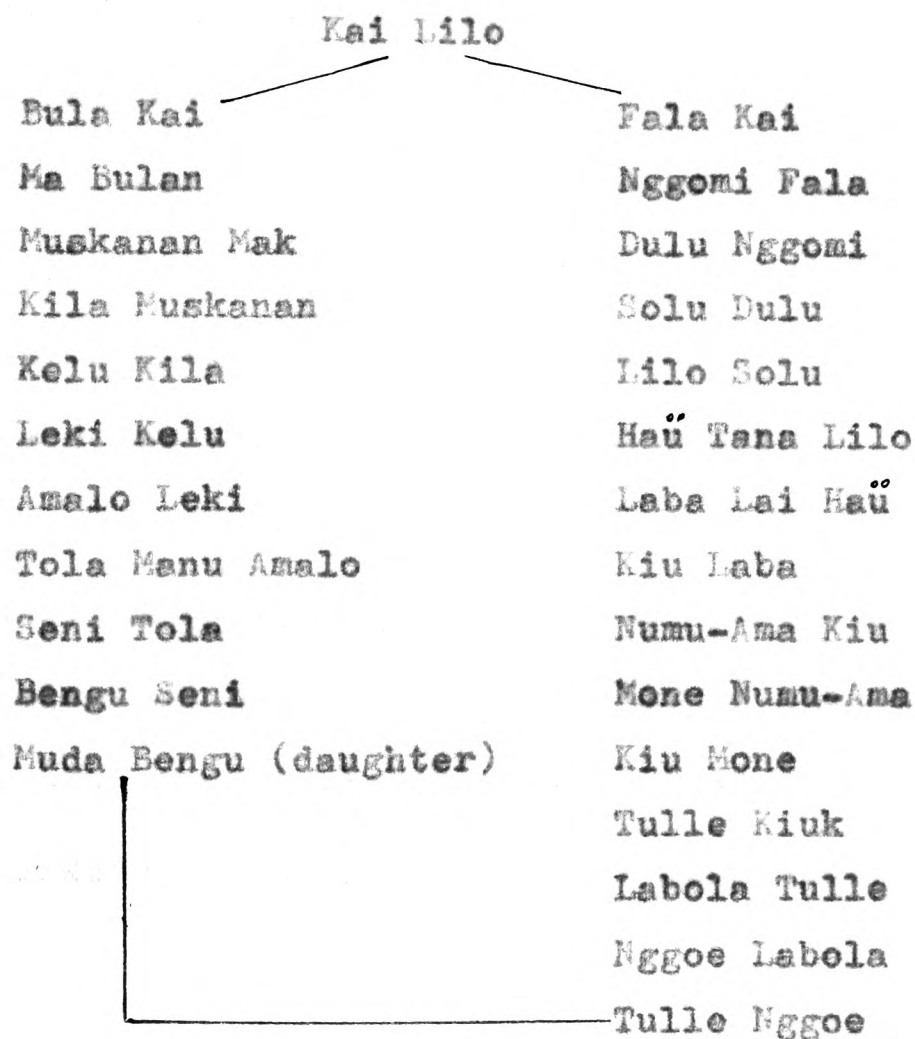
None of the other clans in Termanu are paired and the nature of this 'pairing' is somewhat difficult to establish. No single principle is given for the establishment of these pairs. Each pairing is explained in terms of specific past events and more recent events have contributed to the further transformation of these relationships.

1. Masa-Huk : Kiu-Kanak

This relationship is based upon both descent and affinal alliance. Masa-Huk and Kiu-Kanak are the largest clans of Termanu. (Although I have no statistical data on the relative size of each clan, it is said that half of the present population of the domain belongs to Kiu-Kanak). According to their genealogies, Masa-Huk and Kiu-Kanak share thirteen ancestors in common through Kai Lilo. Of Kai Lilo's two sons, Bula Kai is the founding ancestor of Masa-Huk and Fala Kai is the founding ancestor of Kiu-Kanak. This ancestral link is usually given as the reason for the pairing of

these two clans but it does not constitute the only grounds for this special relationship. (By similar genealogical links, Masa-Huk is joined with Kota-Deak, through the two sons of Tola Manu. Similarly, the clans Ingu-Nau and Dou-Danga claim ancestral links with Masa-Huk).

The relationship between the clans Masa-Huk and Kiu-Kanak was also established by marriage. I cite here the relevant genealogical material given as the explanation of this marriage, beginning with the ancestor Kai Lilo and omitting all of the other extraneous descending lines. (It does not seem significant to the Rotinese that in the descent from a common ancestor there are fifteen generations for one line and only eleven generations for the other).



According to tradition, Muda Bengu was the only child of Bengu Seni. She was married to Tulle Nggoe. Tulle Nggoe, although not a noble, was the wealthiest commoner in the domain. His lineage of Kiu-Kanak controlled the water which irrigated the finest wet rice complex of the entire island, that of Lela. There is a saying in Rotinese about his wealth, after paying the enormous bridewealth demanded of him: Lilo benu kapa langa bei nai Tulle Nggoe uman lain: "There is still gold as heavy as a water buffalo's head in Tulle Nggoe's house".

It was established that the eldest male child in each generation descended from this marriage had the right to be considered a noble (mane-ana). The wealth from Bengu Seni was passed on through Muda Bengu to her eldest child. This marriage is another reason for this pairing of Masa-Huk and Kiu-Kanak. By this marriage, Masa-Huk can be considered as the mother's brother (toök) to the (entire) clan Kiu-Kanak, which is therefore sister's child (selek). It established furthermore a precedent by which future marriages in each generation could occur between members of the royal lineage, Fola-Tein, and the commoner lineage Tulle-Tein. Any marriage between the two lineages is regarded auspiciously and can be referred to in Rotinese as tuti-kali-ke, 'a tying of the waist-band'. This same expression may be applied generally to all other marriages between Masa-Huk and Kiu-Kanak, although in practice there is a marked preference on the part of other noble lineages to marry

exclusively with the lineage Tulle-Tein. It is not therefore surprising that just as the Rotinese say that there must always be a woman from Tulle-Tein within the royal house, the lineage, Tulle-Tein, is assigned the defense of a gate, Tulle-lelesu, within the walls of Feapopi.

2. Sui : Meno

This relationship is based entirely upon alliance. Any marriage between these clans is also tuti-kali-ke. According to the Head of the Earth, this pairing was established when the ancestor of Sui gave his daughter, Dela Mele, to Pada Lalais. In this case, Sui is mother's brother to Meno.

This is somewhat different from what is usually defined as connubium because this relationship was established once for all time by a particular ancestral marriage. The relationship is seen to exist at the clan level and not to be an alliance between specific descent groups, although such an alliance is not necessarily precluded. Future marriage is not prescribed (either by terminology or by practice) with the linked clan, but when such a marriage does occur it is treated as an auspicious reaffirmation of an ancestral event; and the relationship established by the first marriage, whereby one clan was the mother's brother and the other was sister's child, is the relationship which remains despite the fact that successive marriages are bilateral, either clan being wife-giver or wife-taker for any particular marriage.

3. Kota-Deak : Ingu-Naü

Kota-Deak is paired with the clan Ingu-Naü. Unfortunately I never succeeded in obtaining specific information about the reasons for this pairing. Ingu-Naü originally segmented from Kota-Deak and I suspect the reason for this linkage would be this fact of common descent. Like the members of other paired clans, the members of Kota-Deak and Ingu-Naü were once obliged to position themselves by each other's side in battle and are still today obliged to assist each other in time of danger. The clan lord of Ingu-Naü may assume the duties of the Lord-fetor when the Lord-fetor has assumed the duties of the Lord during his absence from the domain.

4. Ingu-Beuk : Nggofa-Laik

The founding ancestors of Ingu-Beuk and Nggofa-Laik were two brothers, Kuüpana Telik and Bobok Telik. One of the reasons given for this pairing is common descent. Yet according to an elder of Ingu-Beuk this relationship was also established by a marriage between these clans (though the elder was uncertain of the names of the ancestors who contracted the marriage).

The changes which this relationship has undergone are extremely instructive. Originally these clans were allowed to intermarry. Marriage between these clans was the preferred marriage. Demographically, however, both clans have suffered serious declines, the clan of Nggofa-Laik declining even more than that of Ingu-Beuk.

At sometime in this century, it was decided by the clan lords and the elders that marriage between the clans should be discouraged and that thereafter these clans should act as a single clan. Their hus, which were run consecutively, were fused to form a single hus. Today neither clan has any lineage divisions, since neither clan possesses a membership comparable to that of a lineage in another clan. Defined by the criteria of exogamy, these two clans now function as a single lineage.

This leads inevitably to the uncomfortable position that the ideal structures, with which the Rotinese are concerned, do not conform to actual relations. Ideal models and the claims of the ancestral past obtrude upon the present and tend to overshadow it. It is these ideas that shape the present and make it intelligible. It took me many months of learning about the traditions of clan and court before I realized that the present court of Termanu does not conform to its ideal structure. It has accommodated itself to demographic changes within the domain and to Dutch ideas about rule.

10. The Present Structure of the Court of Termanu

The Dutch on Roti conceived of no other form of rule than that based upon local residence. The island was an administrative sub-division with a single Dutch resident. Ideally the island should have been divided into units of equal size and then further subdivided down to each individual village with its own head man.

This conception, although consistently applied, was virtually unworkable on Roti.

As early as 1851, van Lynden listed the clans of Roti as its "principal villages" (voornaamste kampongs). In this century, the Dutch attempted to appoint village heads for the villages of Roti. Settlement on Roti is, however, extremely scattered and it is all but impossible to determine where one village ends and another begins. Furthermore even if it were possible to distinguish actual villages, each village would be composed of members of many clans and it would be impossible to develop a concept of village identity. (More recently the Indonesian government decreed that balai desa should be erected in all the villages of Roti to serve as meeting houses. In only a few domains have these balai desa actually been built and there they stand as empty structures entirely unused serving only as a sign of co-operation with the central government's demands). Although they maintained the scheme of village heads for some years, the Dutch were eventually forced to modify it.

In 1911, the Dutch attempted to join the domains together to form larger administrative units. This encountered so much opposition that in the end the Dutch were forced to recognize the domains as the only practicable administrative units on the island. They did however retain these larger units as administrative conveniencies. Thus today Roti remains divided administratively into four ketjamatan: East Roti, Central Roti, South Roti, and

West Reti. Each has its tjamat or district officer, who is usually also the Lord of the largest domain of the ketjamatan.

In the twenties, the Dutch abolished the official payment of tribute and substituted for this a percentage of the head tax which was levied on all heads of households. This was to be paid to the Lord, the Lord-fetor and clan lords.¹² For the collection of this tax, the larger domains were divided into a number of subunits comprising several villages. This scheme had a considerable effect in the larger domains whereas the smaller domains, which were too insignificant to be further subdivided, were better able to maintain their ancient system.

Demographic factors have also contributed to the reordering of the ideal structure of the court of Termanu. As I have already indicated in the course of this chapter, Ulu-Anak is extinct; Ingu-Beuk and Nggofa-Laik have become small enough to function as a single lineage. The clans of Meno and Ingu-Nau have also diminished to the point where they too can function as undifferentiated exogamous lineages. On the other hand, the clan of Kiu-Kanak has grown extremely large as has the noble clan of Masa-Huk. (The membership of the royal lineage alone is probably greater than the combined membership of Ingu-Beuk, Nggofa-Laik, and Meno). While these demographic factors have not obscured nor abrogated the traditional rights of the clans, they have nevertheless had an effect

12. 22% of the tax went to the Lord, 10% to the Lord-fetor, and 8% was divided among the mane sio. I have discussed these various administrative schemes in my B. Litt. thesis (1965:54-59).

in changing the relations between the clans. In the process, the noble clan, although considerably segmented, has increased its control over the domain.

While I was on Roti there were nine lords who attended the court of Termanu. Few of these men were strictly speaking clan lords. Each of these men, although he represented a clan or lineage, had administrative charge of a number of villages in the domain. Of the nine men, there was a clan lord of Sui, a clan lord of Meno, a clan lord of Ingu-Beuk, two lords from Kiu-Kanak, and four lords from Masa-Huk. Of these four lords, one lord came from the lowly lineage of Longo-Tein, one from the noble lineage of Nelu-Tein, and two lords from the royal lineage, Fola-Tein. Because the true Lord of Termanu was also tjamat of Central Roti, another member of the Lord's lineage served as the acting Lord (wakil manek) of the domain, in place of the Lord-fetor.

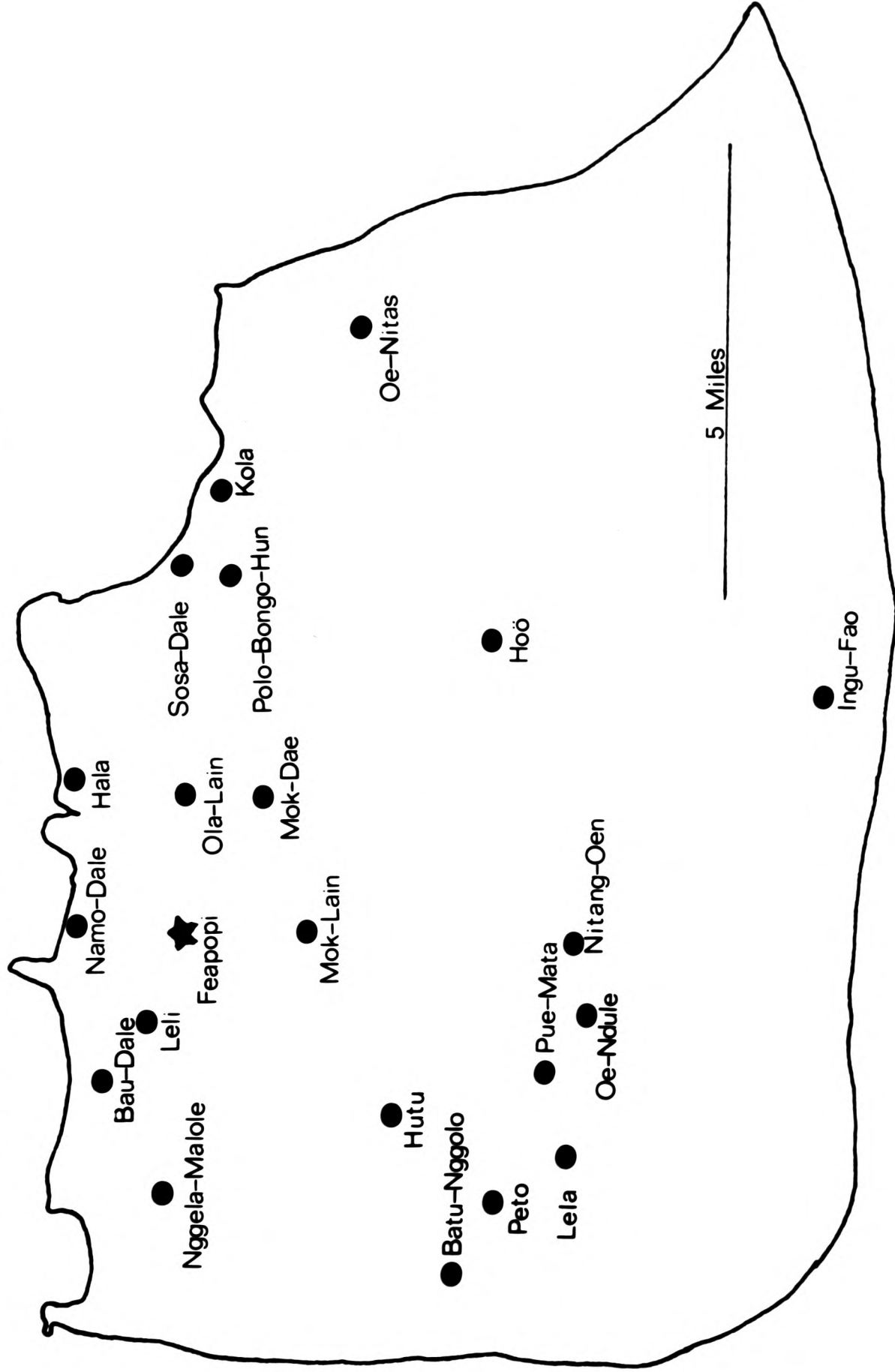
The domain is divided into nine areas and one lord must come from each of these areas. This imposes a criterion of residence in the choice of a lord. The following are the nine areas of Termanu. Each area includes several villages and can be designated by any one of these villages. The practice is usually to designate an area by the village in which the lord of that area actually resides. I list first this principal village (as of 1965-66), followed by the other important villages of the area and then the clan or lineage of the lord chosen from this area. Since these

areas have different relative populations, I list them in order of their population, the largest first:

1. Hutu, Lela, Peto, Batu-Nggolo : Kiu-Kanak
2. Nitang-Oen, Ce-Ndule : Masa-Huk: Longo-Tein
3. Hoö, Ingu-Fao, Pana-Kamen : Masa-Huk: Fola-Tein
4. Sosa-Dale, Kola, Polo-Songo-Mun : Ingu-Beuk
5. Mok-Dae, Mok-Lain : Neno
6. Pue-Mata, Bau-Bafan : Masa-Huk: Fola-Tein
7. Feapopi, Leli, Namo-Dale : Masa-Huk: Fola-Tein
8. Bau-Dale, Hoi-Ledo, Nggela-Kalole: Sui
9. Hala, Ola-Lain : Kiu-Kanak

This appears to have little relation to my preceding discussion of Rotinese ideas about rule. These appearances are deceptive. Besides the criterion of residence, the other criterion, influencing the choice of who is to be lord at court, is that all clans of the realm be represented. Ulu-Anak will never again be represented nor, I fear, will Nggofa-Laik. While I was on Roti, a lord from Kiu-Kanak (chosen from Hala) resigned. The effective mane leo of Ingu-Beuk was proposed and rejected. Other candidates were being considered at the time I was about to leave and there was the possibility that the man chosen would be from Ingu-Nau. Similarly a man of Dou-Danga living in Nitang-Oen does much of the work of the present lord from that area. This man attends court more regularly than the official lord of Longo-Tein. There was talk in Termanu

The Village Areas of Termanu



that this lord should resign in favour of the man of Dou-banga. This would bring the court further in line with the ideal order.

On the day I arrived in Termanu, I was told that the present situation in the domain was inadequate. The Lord should either cease to be tjamat and return to rule his realm or he should resign and allow a successor to be appointed. Just before I left Roti, I was assured that a new Lord was soon to be chosen and proper order reasserted in the domain. (There was also speculation that the present Lord would resign as tjamat and return permanently to Termanu). I have been unable to learn what has happened since my departure. One can be certain that rule in Termanu will never again conform to the ancient ideals which the elders portray, if ever it once did. There will always be change and accommodation, a dialectic between practical realities and ideal structures.

CHAPTER IV

CLAN AND LINEAGE

1. The Vocabulary of Clan and Lineage

A clan is an idea the Rotinese have about themselves. This idea implies other ideas about descent, about alliance, and about the means of inheritance. Clans can not be circumscribed. A clan - except in the case of the very smallest clans - does not regulate marriage. It is not an exogamous unit. It does not own land or property. The members of most clans live scattered throughout the village areas of the domain. They spend as much of their time with members of other clans as they do with members of their own clan. With the abandonment of the hus in some areas of Roti, members of one clan will rarely, if ever, gather together. While all members of a clan claim descent from some pivotal ancestor,¹ they tacitly recognize more than one mode of incorporation within the clan. Yet despite the apparent lack of any concrete semblance of unity, it is only at the level of the clans that there exists an ideological order. To an outsider, the clans are unified. They are the only groups within the domain. The Rotinese describe each clan as 'one man' (hataholi esa). For this reason, they insist that ideally each

1. In general, nobles claim precise, detailed knowledge about the connections among members of their clan, while commoners, who are less interested in these matters, are often confusing and contradictory, in giving information about these connections.

clan should be represented at court by a single lord.

A clan is a collection of titles, of rights and privileges, and of separate traditions shared - in most cases - by a varying number of lineages. Seen from without, traditional privileges are shared by all members of the clan; seen from within, they are a subject of distinction and dispute among the lineages.

When one begins to consider these lineages, the unity of the clan disappears in a confusing array of descent groups and these groups, too, become further divided into the actual property-owning 'houses' that make up the clan. Disputes within the clan can be (and often are) more bitter and more enduring than those disputes between clans. These disputes lead, however, to further segmentation of the clan rather than separation from it.²

The object of this chapter is to examine the composition of the clan. I begin by discussing the various terms by which a lineage is distinguished from a clan and the imagery used to describe the lineage. I then discuss the various modes of incorporation within the lineage and clan. Ideally, this is through men, but, in fact, women may also serve in providing a means of incorporation. After discussing clientship I conclude the first half of the chapter with a consideration of the house, as the property-owning unit of the society.

2. The clans are the political units of the society. A new clan can only be created through the official recognition of the Lord's court. Without this recognition, existent clans are subject to indefinite segmentation. Thus the imbalance of the present court of Termanu could be rectified by the decisive power of the Lord of the domain.

The second half of the chapter is devoted to a thorough examination of the lineages of Termanu. I deal at length with the marriage strategies over six generations of one client lineage of the noble clan and conclude with a discussion of the village area of Ufa-Len in Termanu. (As an appendix to this chapter, I quote two versions of a legend about a dispute over the ritual ownership of a spring in Baa. The first version tells the legend from the perspective of the clan; the second tells the same legend from the perspective of a lineage within the clan).

To discuss their clans and lineages, the Rotinese can use a variety of terms and metaphors. The word for clan is leo. This is derived from the verb, leo, 'to live' or 'to dwell', as used for example, in the short sentence: Ana leo nai Batu-Bongo: "He lives in Batu-Bongo". It is possible that at one time each clan had its own territory and recognized an ancestral village. One finds statements to this effect in legends, but at present, the members of a clan live scattered through a domain and settlement is itself so scattered that it is virtually impossible to determine the boundaries of any village.

Each clan is specified by name and therefore the word leo is commonly linked with a proper name: Leo Meno, Leo Kiu-Kanak, Leo Ingu-Beuk. It is equally possible, in Rotinese, to use leo to specify a lineage as opposed to a clan. This is in no way ambiguous because the meaning of leo is made clear by context. Since lineages,

as well as clans, are named groups, the word leo followed by a lineage name, as for example Leo Taililo or Leo Felama, makes the matter perfectly clear. To indicate the lineage there are other expressions, some confined to ordinary conversation, others to formal speech.

A common metaphor applied to the clan is that of a tree with its branches. The clan is spoken of as being the trunk (hun) of a tree and its lineages are said to be its branches (ndanak). There are as many branches to a tree as there are lineages within a clan.

More commonly still the Rotinese describe the lineages of a clan as nggi or nggitak. Both of these words mean much the same thing and are derived from a longer form, nggi-nggitak, which refers to certain clusters of fruit that hang from a tree. Bananas (huni), pinang (pua) and mangoes (pao) all hang in clusters (nggitak). On the other hand, the more usual term, nggi, refers to the cluster of inflorescences of the male lontar tree. These are the tua-nggi. The palm-tapper ties these tua-nggi into groups of two (and sometimes three), slices the tip of each individual inflorescence and hangs a lontar-leaf bucket (haik) beneath each cluster. From the tua-nggi, the sap of the lontar drips (titi or nosi) into the haik. This image of the lontar appears to form the basis of two other expressions which the Rotinese apply to their lineage. The first of these is the difficult expression, nggi-leo-nggona-haik. Nggi-leo is a common expression for the lineage; nggona refers to the

caul that envelops the foetus; and haik, refers to the lontar leaf container hung beneath the tua-nggi.

The lineages of a clan are compared to the ordered arrangement of inflorescences on the male lontar palm, whose juice drips into a single lontar container, their birthcaul.

Another expression for the lineage is da tititi-nonosik: 'the blood that drips and drops'. This too is used to refer to agnates although not, it would appear, exclusively. One's blood comes through one's mother and the da tititi-nonosik may refer to those to whom a man is related through his mother. Other expressions that apply exclusively to affines (dadadik, selek) will be discussed in the following chapter.

Yet another term for a lineage is bobongik, from the verb, bongi, 'to give birth'; 'to beget'. Occasionally bobongik may be used to distinguish separate descent lines within a single lineage. Using this term, a Rotinese can distinguish actual brothers or sisters (feto bongik, na bongik) from parallel cousins, the sons or daughters of a father's brother (feto daek, na-daek). But bobongik is not always used in this restricted sense and the compound term, nggi-leo-bobongik, is the most common single expression for the idea of the lineage.

The Rotinese have still another way of distinguishing the lineage from the clan. A leo is divided into teik or tei-dalek. The word, teik, means 'stomach', 'intestines', 'insides'. Thus

when a Rotinese uses Indonesian, instead of saying simply suku saja ("my group"), he will say perut saja ("my stomach") when referring to his lineage. This use of the word, teik, is an aspect of the important Rotinese distinction between inside (dalek) and outside (deak).

The word, teik, is rarely used on its own; it must be affixed to a proper name. Unlike the term, nggi-leo or nggi-leo-bobongik, which can be used in the abstract, one must use teik to specify a particular lineage. Thus one normally speaks of Fola-Teik, Loe-Teik, Ndao-Manu-Teik, etc., but not of teik in general. The proper name used to designate each lineage is usually, though not always, taken from the name of the ancestor who is regarded as pivotal in the formation of the lineage. Fola Sin-Lae was the ancestor of Fola-Teik, Loe Sin-Lae of Loe-Teik and Ndao-Manu Sin-Lae of Ndao-Manu-Teik.³

The defining characteristic of the lineage is its exogamy. Unlike the clan, the lineage is always exogamous. If a marriage does occur within a lineage and is allowed to remain, this is indicative that a further stage of segmentation has occurred. A single lineage has segmented into two lineages. Ideally, each

3. Final k, as I have indicated, is a suffix indicating abstraction and is equivalent to a definite or indefinite article. Final n (cognate of nja in Indonesian) indicates possession. Normally, Rotinese, when speaking of lineages, use the n suffix: thus Fola-Teik is Fola-Tein; Loe-Teik is Loe-Tein. Both forms do occur, however. When listing lineage names, I record them with the n suffix.

lineage is headed by a lineage lord (mane leo). The most important task of the lineage lord is to attend and often to conduct the bridewealth discussions of members of his lineage. His other task is to settle disputes within the lineage. It is considered unseemly if a quarrel or dispute within a lineage is brought out in the open and has to be settled ultimately at court. Just as the task of the clan lord (mane sio) is to settle disputes between lineages within a clan, the lineage lord must arbitrate on matters within the lineage. This too is another aspect of the idea of order based upon a distinction of within and without.

In the smaller domains of Baä and Korbaffo, the lineage lord is a clearly recognized individual. There is little dispute about who is the proper lord of a lineage, but in Termanu the figure of the lineage lord is less easily recognizable. In this case, one must reverse the proposition. It is the man (usually an elder) whose attendance at a bridewealth discussion is felt to be necessary and whose arbitration is sought to settle an internal quarrel who is, in effect, lord of the lineage.

2. Descent and the Role of Women

Most members of a lineage inherit their lineage membership through their father. This is indicated by the ordered succession of names in a genealogy. All children have their own first name but take, as their last name, their father's first name.

Genealogies are a succession of such names:

```

      Pello Pello
      |
      Lana Pello
      |
Pello ———— Lana and Sopa ———— Lana.
  
```

Both men and women take their names from their father. In the sequence I have just cited, Pello Lana is a man, Sopa Lana a woman. These names are what the Rotinese call 'hard names' (nade balakai). Unlike another variety of names, called 'soft names' (nade manganau), these names are not altered. During life they fix and identify persons within a lineage and after death, they locate them within a hierarchy of ancestors. Ideally, therefore, descent among the Rotinese is patrilineal.

In Rotinese, there are two categories of women. There are sisters and daughters (feto/feö) whom a man may not marry and who consequently marry outside the lineage; and there are women, including mothers, wives and potential wives (ina) who marry into the lineage. Women who marry in exchange for bridewealth are said to lali leo, 'move lineage'. The verb, lali, which may also be used to refer to the temporary move to the fields at harvest time,

does not imply the permanent transfer of a woman from one lineage to another. What is transferred is her prestige. What is truly essential to the Rotinese is the affinal connection that a woman establishes. Even after a woman has divorced her husband and died, her children will maintain and cherish their affinal connection with their mother's lineage. This affinal connection endures over generations.

There are two means by which a woman can contribute her fertility to her own clan, thereby establishing a line of descent within her own lineage rather than an affinal connection with another lineage. Of these two means, the first may be easily discussed. The second involves a more complicated discussion of clientage on Roti.

All children of a woman for whom bridewealth is not paid become members of their mother's lineage. This, too, is indicated by the succession of names in a genealogy. Children, for whom bridewealth has not been paid, take as their last name their mother's first name, thus assuming membership within her lineage. If a woman marries someone else after she has had a child, her husband's bridewealth does not purchase her previous child. The child remains within his mother's brother's lineage. Of a woman who bears children for her own lineage the Rotinese say nailu leo fo bongi fe ama nak, that she "is pregnant [in] the lineage to give birth for [her] father and brother".

A fatherless child becomes in effect the son of his mother's

brother. He can and often does inherit from his mother's brother, but his position within the lineage is incomplete since the contrasting roles of father and mother's brother are assumed by a single individual. (In the case of a girl, this single individual will receive both the mother's brother's and the father's portion of her bridewealth payment). In this way, the child's affinal connection becomes his lineal connection - the one that determines his descent - and consequently the child possesses no proper affinal connection with another lineage. Since this affinal connection is essential to a full Rotinese life, women who have become members of their mother's brother's lineage may often marry below their proper status and their brothers may often initiate lesser lines within the lineage.

There is a variation on this rule when a woman has married but her bridewealth has not been paid. When it comes time for this woman's first daughter to marry, the woman's brother may claim the girl's entire bridewealth - the portion which belongs to the mother's brother and the portion that would normally go to the father and brother of the girl. The Rotinese say of this that "the daughter pays the mother's bridewealth" and she and her other brothers and sisters may then be recognized as members of their father's lineage.

On Roti, sons inherit from their father. The youngest receives the house and the rest of the inheritance - fields, trees, gold, water buffalo, etc., - is divided equally among all the sons

of a principal wife. The sons of lesser wives appear to receive a smaller share of the inheritance division. Daughters, who have brothers, may inherit some jewelry which they take with them to their husband's house at marriage, but they have no right to a proper inheritance (what the Rotinese now call pusaka). If, however, a daughter has no brother, then she alone has the right to the full inheritance. If this daughter marries a man within the domain, then her inheritance must be transferred to her children, who belong to another lineage. In this way, the property of the household is lost to another lineage and a descent line comes to an end. The situation of a Rotinese man with only daughters is desperate and, as many Rotinese describe it, a pitiful state indeed. In the previous chapter, I alluded to the legend about the marriage of Tulle Nggoe of Kiu-Kanak with Muda Bengu of Masa-Huk, the only daughter of Bengu Seni. This marriage ended Bengu Seni's line within the royal lineage and all his wealth was transferred to his daughter's children who were members of their father's lineage, Tulle-Tein of Kiu-Kanak.

There are two possibilities open to a man with only a daughter to enable him to continue his line of descent. It is impossible in Rotinese eyes for a man of another lineage of the same domain 'to marry into' his wife's lineage, to renounce his own lineage connection and become a member - or raise his children as members - of his wife's lineage. Although some Rotinese are aware that other

peoples of Eastern Indonesia, such as the Belu and Manggarai, permit this form of marriage, the Rotinese reject this form of kawin masuk marriage as unfeasible. Within the domain the lineage connection of even the poorest Rotinese will eventually predominate. If a man himself can not pay his wife's bridewealth, his first daughter will provide the bridewealth for her mother.

What a man can do, however, is keep his daughter in his house and not allow her to marry. If she does have relations with someone and has a child for whom no bridewealth is paid, this is formally a shame to her father; but if her child is a son, then the line is preserved and the inheritance will descend to him. While I was in Termanu I learned of three cases where this strategy was being attempted. One case was rather striking, since the father of the girl was wealthy by Rotinese standards and when his daughter became pregnant, a boy of another lineage came forward to negotiate the bridewealth. The father refused to negotiate his daughter's bridewealth. Unfortunately his daughter gave birth to another daughter rather than a son. So the girl remains in the house of her father, young, nubile, and unmarried. She seems certain to remain so until she has born a son for her lineage.

If, on the other hand, a man comes from another domain or more preferably from another island, he has no lineage connection within his new domain. These men make excellent clients and may marry with daughters who are due to inherit from their fathers. Rather than consider this form of clientship in isolation, it is necessary at this point to consider the institution of clientship in general.

3. Clientship and Incorporation in the Lineage

The question of clientship is one of the most sensitive subjects for discussion among Rotinese. I soon learned that this is not a subject open to frank discussion. Instead, what I learned about clientship, I learned in bits and pieces from occasional intimate revelations, from confidential but intentionally slanderous remarks, and from the general observations of individuals within the society. Only in the case of a few former client lines within noble clans did I encounter anything that approached frankness.

I frequently encountered the accusation that this or that prominent individual was actually a client of two or third generations' standing. In most cases, it is impossible to determine the truth of each and every accusation. It would have been tactless to inquire directly and any accusation would certainly have been denied. (An insult to a man on his origin is sufficient cause for a case at court). The fact that accusations of this kind are so common leads one to assume that within any lineage the incorporation of client lines is quite common.

Besides the common metaphor of a tree with its branches which the Rotinese use to describe the lineages of a clan, there is another expression applied to some lineages of a clan. In discussing his clan, a Rotinese may say of this or that lineage: Ana mai de ana tai neu leo matus: "he [it] came and attached himself [itself] to the clan". The use of the expression, ana tai,

is common when speaking of client lines. Tai may have several meanings depending upon context. It always implies 'a being physically next to' or 'a being dependent upon' someone or something. Tai may mean 'to border on', 'to grip physically', 'to attach oneself', 'to depend upon for sustenance'. The houses in a settlement cluster, surrounding one's own house, are the uma-tataik, the 'neighbouring houses' and although these clusters may not be made up of men of a single lineage (in fact, usually are not), it is expected the members of the houses of a cluster will co-operate and assist each other in daily affairs. Jonker (1908:587) provides a use of the word, tai, in the parallel phrase, tai-tapa. Manatai-manatapak, Jonker translates, as someone who lives with (and works for) another, a kind of servant. The verb form of this word nakatai, also means 'to live with' or 'to live near' someone else.

In the ritual language, the client may be referred to in the same way as a petitioner by the dual phrase, ana-mak ma falu-ina, 'the orphan and the widow'. The Lord of a domain is the supreme protector of 'the orphan and the widow'. His clan is capable of incorporating the largest number of clients but every Rotinese lineage also receives these dependants. At the four corners of the Rotinese house is a spar supporting the roof. Since it is at the corner of the house, it is at some remove from the other spars and is called the di ana-mak, 'the orphan spar'. As one Rotinese informed me, if this spar were out of line, no orphans [clients] would approach the house and the household would not prosper.

There are two ways in which client lines are formed. An entire family may cross a border and establish residence within a new domain or a single man may migrate to another domain or island, settle there, marry and eventually become part of his wife's lineage and clan. The forming of client lines is not a single act but rather a long process and one can not hope to observe all the stages of incorporation during a short stay in an area.

Clans, on Roti, are localized within a particular domain. There are no clans that have branches in two domains.⁴ Nor is there any exact equivalence between clans in the various domains, except in that each domain has a number of clans with roughly similar ritual or political significance. Thus there is always a noble clan, nearly always a fetor clan, a clan of the Head of the Earth and finally a large number of commoner clans. Usually, therefore, a single man or the head of a family who migrates will seek incorporation within a clan equivalent in status to the one he has left. Since this process has been going on for centuries, there exists a wealth of former traditions on which any individual can base his claim for incorporation. It is possible for some individuals to migrate to a clan and lineage where formerly other kinsmen (or sometimes other men of one's domain) have already attached themselves. One also finds that in the noble clans where

4. There are clans with similar names in domains bordering on one another and it is possible to speculate that such clans were once one clan. (I have already mentioned one example of this. There is the clan Suki in Baä and Sui in Termanu). Clans with similar names are, however, entirely politically independent and rarely claim a common relationship. A clan has meaning only in terms of its own domain.

there is a considerable pride in descent, certain lines and even lineages admit and proclaim their noble origin from another domain. In other cases, individuals may claim to be returning to their ancestral domain. It may also be possible (although on this I have no accurate data, only a general impression) to disavow one's former clan origin to forge new relations of higher status in a different domain.

One gets the impression that, formerly, there was a greater movement of men among the domains. Because of disputes and feuds, men were frequently forced to leave their domain and seek refuge in another. To gain protection, they were forced to attach themselves to established lineages within their new domain. At present there is less feuding and consequently less migration. Yet while migration may have lessened, it has hardly ceased. Termanu, for example, has received a number of men (with their families) from Korbaffo. These men have moved a short distance over the border and their emigration from Korbaffo appears to be the result of a long-standing feud.

What appears to have changed is the pressure for immediate incorporation and identification with a particular lineage within the new domain. There is perhaps less need of protection and hence less need of identification. There were a number of households within the area of Ufa-Ien where I lived that had no formal connection with any lineage or clan. Among these were the new arrivals from

Korbaffo; a household of husband and wife from Dengka who did, however, live under the protection and within a house of the acting Lord of Termanu whose lontar trees they tapped; two Savunese men and a Belunese all of whom had married Rotinese women but continued to use their own native names. Two of these men were poor and had an inferior marginal status while the other had married well and had grown old, rich, and was, apart from his Savunese name, indistinguishable from a native Rotinese. Yet his household was not identified with another lineage and his children used a Savunese name. In other parts of Termanu, I encountered unattached Ndaonese households.

The existence of these unattached households forces one to the conclusion that the incorporation of a client is a generational process, that a household may remain in an undefined position for many years and that only in a succeeding generation, the generation of an immigrant's children, is the question of lineage affiliation settled. It is worth noting that nearly all the unattached households I have encountered are recent arrivals within the domain; for some it is uncertain whether they intend to remain in the domain; in all instances, the immigrant founder is alive and the head of his household. With the possible exception of the one Savunese household where a son has already married and possibly one Korbaffo household, I have found no instances of a second generation, unattached immigrant family. Instead I heard various, supposedly

confidential, revelations about the origins of households in the area.

The modern-day equivalent of the unmarried immigrant from another domain is the school teacher (Indonesian: guru; Rotinese: mesen). The national government maintains a system of local village schools with a six year curriculum based on Indonesian. There were five such village schools in Termanu. Virtually all the school teachers on Roti are themselves Rotinese. These teachers, the majority of whom are young men, are often assigned to schools in a domain other than their native domain. These assignments are usually temporary, of only a few year's duration, before the school teachers are moved to another school. I have recorded instances, however, where a teacher has married with a girl of a different domain, attached himself to her lineage, and settled there permanently.

I encountered several cases of the migration of an entire family during my stay in Termanu because I lived in a village area about two miles from Termanu's border with Korbafo. In recent years, because of a dispute in western Korbafo a number of families have moved into Termanu (the areas of Kola, Sifi-Dae, and Oe-Nitas), built substantial houses, and have given every indication that they intend to reside permanently within the domain. How these families will be incorporated was not clear. At feasts of importance they maintained their affinal ties with lineages in Korbafo. On the

other hand, I know that the clan lord of Ingu-Leuk sent food and animals to some of these families on the occasion of important feasts and he admitted to me that he would recognize them as kin. Whether some of these families become part of his clan remains to be seen. In general, the process has begun. The question of how it proceeds will be decided in the next generation.

In another case, a family moved from Baä to Termanu, claimed a relationship with an important lineage of the noble clan and was accepted. Rotinese told me that they were willing to accept this family as members of the lineage. It was uncertain, however, whether the family intended to remain permanently in Termanu.

For young men who come and marry within a lineage, the problem is simpler but far more sensitive. Most frequently a young client is accepted as a solution to a problem of descent and inheritance. When he has married, a young client will not live within his father-in-law's house. He will build a house of his own probably near the house of his father-in-law. The Rotinese regard it as a necessity that every man who has married should have his own house. (The Rotinese phrase this by saying that every wife should have a house left of her own. The woman more than the man is associated with the house). The relationship between father-in-law (ali-ama) and son-in-law (mane-feuk: 'new male') in Rotinese society is usually a difficult one hedged with feelings of constraint and near avoidance. For a client, it is even more difficult since he is entirely

dependent upon his father-in-law⁵.

A man who has come from outside the domain can never be fully accepted during his life-time. Although he can, as clients frequently do, hold positions of importance in the domain during his life-time, I found that in general, a man would still be described by his original domain. In Termanu, a man from outside remains a man of, for example, Loleh or Korbaffo, Baä or Savu. What happens in the following generations, with his children and grandchildren, is structurally significant in terms of lineage definition.

On the evidence of genealogies I have gathered, it seems that children of a client take, as their genealogical last name, the first name of their mother. Thus the children of a man with no lineal connections within a domain are incorporated within the lineage (and clan) of their mother. The really important question is how these children and, after them, their children marry. The

-
5. I have been told that the appropriate phrase of mockery for a man dependent upon his father-in-law is bia kapa langa which means "chop the water buffalo's head". I was never given an explanation of why this phrase was so grossly insulting. Later I learned that the day following the burial feast is also called bia kapa langa. On the day of the burial the members of the dead man's lineage may not eat. They spend their time serving their guests at the funeral feast. A head of a water buffalo, slaughtered on this day, is saved until the next day, when it is cooked to make soup-like gravy that is mixed with rice. Bia kapa langa refers to the preparation of this head. Since the eating of this head breaks the fast, after the pollution of death has been lifted, the implication is that whoever eats this head observes the rules of an agnate rather than an affine. The imputation is that a client is more agnate than affine.

preferred marriage is with their mother's brother's children but in the case of a client's children, their mother's brother's children are of the same lineage and such a marriage, if it were allowed, would force a segmentation of the lineage. Therefore the children of a client marry as proper members of their mother's lineage. They marry outside the lineage and often reaffirm the alliances which their mother's lineage or clan maintains. In this way, within a generation or two, these former client lines may become indistinguishable from older lines within the lineage.

On the other hand, I have heard it said of marriages, which occurred within a lineage and therefore appeared to be incestuous, that they were permitted only because they were contracted with the descendants of a former client. Otherwise these marriages would not have been attempted. This then is another cause of lineage fission.

A lineage may segment after several generations' descent from a common ancestor or it may segment - in a shorter period of time - by the separation of a client line from the other lines of the lineage. In either case, it is usually one or two marriages that force the issue.

When descendants of a former client marry with the members of other lineage lines, they are in effect repeating and reaffirming the alliance begun by their client founder. The Rotinese recognize this and take the marriage of client founder as precedent for their

present practice. In subsequent generations, marriages will be continued and form the basis for a firm alliance between client line and patron line. In the end, this results in two separate lineages linked in affinal alliance within the same clan. Since this is a process, it may occur that for some time a client line will form an endogamous sub-unit within the same lineage. When a client line begins to marry within its lineage, the first stage is a change of name. The client line often adopts the name of its client-founder or a name in some way suggestive of its origin and separate identity. This too requires a period of adjustment and eventually, at some time, the line, if it prospers, comes to be regarded as a separate -teik or nggi within the clan (leo).

Needless to say, data on client lines that have identified themselves with their patron lineages are difficult to obtain since the accusation of a client origin is usually made in secret and normally denied by the lines in question. When, however, a former client line establishes itself as an independent lineage and remarries with its patron lineage, data on these clients are easier to assemble. Clear instances of this are confined to lineages within the noble clan where it is possible to acknowledge, without losing status, a noble ancestor from another domain. It is common to find within any of the noble clans, one or two lineages that acknowledge origin from the ruling clan of another domain. Later in this chapter I record the data I was able to gather on one such lineage within the noble clan of Termanu.

4. House and Village Area

The house (uma) is the centre of Rotinese life. In ritual language, it is referred to by the dyadic set: uma ma lo. Although houses may vary in size (according to the wealth and nobility of their owner), they are remarkably similar in structure. The house proper is a rectangular structure raised on heavy poles. A normal house is usually four or five feet above the ground while a noble house may be raised seven to nine feet from the ground. Inside, the house is divided by a partition into a male and a female half. The male half which is always on the eastern side of the house is called the 'outer house' (uma deak); the female half which is always on the western side is called the 'inner house' (uma dalek). In the uma dalek is the ladder that leads to the loft (uma hunuk lain). In baskets in the loft are kept all the valuables of the house. It is only the woman of the house who has proper access to them.

The roof of the Rotinese house extends downward to only a few feet above the ground. Often there is a low fencing that runs round the house and rises to meet the roof. This provides adequate protection from the winds. The whole structure gives the impression of an immense haystack under which one must stoop to enter. On entering, there is a wide space in front of the ladder that leads up into the house. In this area are a number of long broad platforms (loa-anak) raised a few feet from above the ground. On them, a man may either sit or recline. It is here that Rotinese men spend most

of their free time talking and entertaining their guests. The head of a house will always occupy the loa-anak at the eastern end of the house and his visitors will range themselves on the other loa-anak in some relation to their host. Strangers will sit to the west. Here too there are one or more tables for serving food. A Rotinese house is a substantial structure of considerable social and symbolic importance. Some of the old houses I have seen on Roti, with iron-wood poles and beams, I would estimate to be well over a hundred years old. It is a common practice to replace systematically worn or rotten beams and thereby retain indefinitely the essential structure on the same site. If a house requires considerable rebuilding, a man will give a feast to reconsecrate it or 'to make the house whole': nakatema uma. Even to replace the roofing of a house requires a feast. For the oldest Rotinese houses, there is no one now who was alive when they were built⁶. But most houses, I would estimate, endure for 15 to 20 years and then have to be entirely rebuilt⁷. Although there is some variation depending on

-
6. This is not to say that the Rotinese do not date their houses. For example, an old man may say that this or that house was built when his father was still a boy or when his aunt (now dead) was about to marry. Houses are connected with the history of individuals and their descendants.
7. The roofing on a house, on the other hand, must be changed every few years. This roofing is of two kinds. Lontar leaf roofing is said to last for about three years and will probably need some repairing each year; roofing of alang-alang grass may last for five years and needs less attention in the meantime. The abundance of lontar leaves and the relative lack of (and the effort required to accumulate) alang-alang grass makes lontar leaf roofing the more common of the two types of roofing.

whether a man is an elder or a younger brother, it is safe to assert that most men will build or rebuild two houses in their life-time. It is of greatest importance to a man's status that his house be a substantial enduring structure.

The house (or household) is the proper property-holding unit within Rotinese society. To the clans belong the distinctions as to class, to rank, and to political or ceremonial position at the court of the domain. Clans (or if these are segmented, then major lineages within the clans) hold water-rights at important wet rice fields. Lineages are the proper exogamous units within the society. A man may speak of the wealth of his clan or lineage. This wealth is held not corporately by the lineage but by the individual houses that make up the lineage. Similarly it is the house rather than the lineage as a whole that decides on the marriages of its members. (The lineage unites only to prevent or dissolve an undesirable marriage or it may split over just this question). There is no lineage land held in common for all members nor is there any other common lineage property. Both clans and lineages are non-localized and have no specific centre of origin or seat of power. It is only when one reaches the level of individual houses that there is evidence of a clustering and localization (though not particularly marked) of the descent group.

A house or household consists of a man and his family and centres around a man and his sons. For each of his wives, a man

must have a separate house, preferably well-separated from each other in different village areas. If a man has several wives living in separate houses, this still constitutes a single house, a single property-holding unit. Or if one or more of a man's sons have moved out and built a house of his own, it is still the father's house that retains control of property but a man with several sons is powerless to prevent the division of his property among several houses after his death.

While the house is owned by a man and inherited by one of his sons, the house is basically feminine and associated with the woman. A man may possess his house but he surrenders the control and management of the house to his wife. There are innumerable symbolic reasons why the house should be regarded as feminine. According to Rotinese tradition knowledge of house building originated from the sea and was given by the Lord of the Sea Depths as a portion of his bridewealth payment. The woman is associated with the ordinary cooking fire in the 'inner house', with the pule sio also stored there and with the bou nitu inak filled with cooked lontar syrup in the loft. Moreover she is associated, in her role as mediator, with access to the loft and the valuables kept above.

One knowledgeable informant put forward the proposition that every (married) woman must have a loft of her own. (This explains why the several wives of a noble or wealthy Rotinese must each have their own house and loft). I was told that once a man has married,

he may no longer climb into the loft of his house without his wife's permission. It is true that if a guest arrives when the woman of the house is away, a man can not offer his guest food to eat. It is also true that if another man is found alone in the house, at any time, with a woman when her husband is not present, this is taken as a sign of adultery and is certain grounds for divorce. When a woman is at home alone, another man (excepting the woman's brother, but not her husband's brother who, theoretically, may call her 'wife') may not even enter under the roof of the house. The woman is so closely identified with the house (and its 'purity' or 'wholeness') that for a lone man to have entered the house is tantamount to having 'entered' the woman.

The Rotinese sum up this attitude toward the house with the saying: Touk uma kenik ma inak uma uli: "The husband is the keel of the house and the wife the rudder of the house"⁸. By this it is meant that while a man must support his house, his wife will supervise and direct it. As has already been pointed out, this relationship is analogous to the ideal relationship that should exist between the manek and fetor within the domain. The manek proposes, the fetor disposes.

8. While the house has no plank or beam actually called the uli, 'rudder', it does have a kenik, a 'keel'. This is the lolo kenik, the ritually important centre beam on the floor of the house. It runs the length of the house from east to west and supports the beams and planks that run north to south. In a properly ordered house, it is the middle lolo (usually the 4th out of seven) and marks the exact centre of the house.

There is a pattern to the formation of a household. At marriage, a man must have his own house. Therefore a boy may begin assembling the lumber for a house a year or two before his marriage or after he is married, he may reside temporarily with his parents (never his wife's parents) while he prepares his own house. The elder sons of a household are, in Rotinese eyes, in an unenviable position. They must move out and establish their own household. While still subservient to their father, they lack the support that their younger brothers seem to enjoy. This is one of the main reasons for dissension between brothers. In Thie, I have heard the expression: kida kaäk: "The skinny elder brother!" His position is contrasted with that of his youngest brother: muri mananeni uma: "The youngest who takes the house". The youngest son resides with his father even after marriage and when the father dies, the youngest inherits the house. If a father dies before the youngest marries, a married elder brother may remain resident in the house. The Rotinese assured me, however, that such an elder brother would have to move out when his youngest brother married. One informant said that the father guarantees the bridewealth of the eldest son while the eldest son guarantees the bridewealth of his younger brother.

In Termanu there is the saying: Kaäk manita hata ma fadik maneni uma: "The eldest sees the property (literally: things, objects), the youngest takes the house". In fact, apart from the house, an

inheritance is divided equally among all sons. (In the case of polygamous marriage the sons of a principal wife receive a larger inheritance than the sons of lesser wives. All sons, however, receive some inheritance). There is this difference. The eldest son assumes the social position of his father in relation to other lineages. As a mother's brother (toö-huk) or a mother's mother's brother (bai-huk), he and he alone has the right to the ritual payments due to him by his affines. At the outset then, the youngest child has a considerable advantage over his elder brother(s) since he possesses a substantial house to which the Rotinese attach considerable status. It is not uncommon therefore to encounter a young man, newly married, residing in a solid old house while not far away from him, his elder brother lives in a hut or makeshift house while he collects material for a better dwelling. In the course of time, an elder brother, especially if he is the representative of an important descent group, should continue to enhance his status. He will be an elder (tou-lasik) before his younger brother and have children of his own to support him.

The Rotinese house is more than a simple residence and therefore its inheritance represents a stage in the development of the descent group. Here the Rotinese distinguish between an uma ('house') and an uma nitu ('a spirit house'). When an older child marries and builds his own dwelling, his house is simply an uma. His father's house remains the uma nitu.

Formerly, as part of the death rituals, the Rotinese would cut a lontar leaf (maik) to represent the ghost or spirit (nitu) of the deceased. This was hung within the house. The maik of a man was hung at the east end of the house; the maik of a woman at the west end. In the case of an old house, each maik was added to a collection of former maik which represented what the Rotinese describe collectively as the nitu dalek, 'the spirits of the inside'. These spirits are opposed to the odd and ill defined collection of potentially dangerous spirits, the nitu deak, 'the spirits of the outside'.⁹

As a class, the spirits of the inside are clearly defined. They are a circumscribed class of named beings, the immediate lineal ancestors of the living. These spirits are represented as the protectors of their descendants, but if they are neglected, they are capable of causing illness. The Rotinese describe many houses as uma nitu, 'spirit houses'. The sense of this designation depends upon the referent to which the term is applied. Any house or household able to support the expense of a burial feast is necessarily an uma nitu. In this sense, an uma nitu defines a descent group of limited extent. Two brothers, who have divided an inheritance on the death of their father, may be regarded

9. I have discussed these spirits of the outside in a paper entitled, "Bad Death and the Left Hand" to be published in Left and Right (ed. by Rodney Needham). These spirits of the outside are said to be the spirits of those who have died a bad death; these spirits are either accorded an inverted funeral (ie. the proper order done in reverse) or no funeral at all; physically these spirits are supposed to be themselves inverted.

as having separate uma nitu. The youngest son, however, inherits the house and initially it is his inherited cult of nitu which is regarded as the more powerful. In the folktales, it is the youngest of the two brothers who has the closer relations to the world of the spirits. In the larger clans, certain houses, whose owners possess or exercise a claim to the cult of an apical lineage ancestor, are regarded as particularly powerful uma nitu. The owners of these houses are spoken of as mane nitu, 'spirit lords' or manasongo nitu, 'those who offer to the spirits'. Often, although not necessarily, these titles are coincident with the title of mane leo, lineage lord or the title of mane sie, lord of nine. For those clans that possess a hus or origin feast, the term uma nitu is applied to the house to which all ancestors of the clan are called during the night of drumming (bapa) before the 'running' of the hus. To the Lord of the domain, as the possessor of the most important of these hus feasts, belongs the most powerful of all uma nitu. What one encounters on Roti is not a hierarchy of ancestral houses but also a hierarchy of nitu.

Today, the cutting of the maik is no longer an acknowledged part of the funeral ceremonies. Yet as one man said in response to my questioning: "Who knows what a man does within his house when he has locked his door". The formal end of this practice seems not, however, to have affected the use of the term uma nitu nor to have lessened the prestige of an old house (uma-lasik) that

has been inherited for several generations and therefore may have a considerable collection of maik. While each older brother's house becomes the potential centre of a new ancestral cult, the youngest preserves and continues the oldest cult.

The division of a man's household between two sons¹⁰ is a stage in the development of two minimal descent groups - two new houses. This leads to a bifurcation of the social position of the father's household. The eldest son inherits the right to represent his father's house in relation to all his father's affines. The eldest performs ritual services for his affines and in return receives payment for his services. He retains control over his sisters and their descendants. The youngest receives the house and inherits the representation of his father's spirit and spirits of his father's ancestors. Thus the eldest maintains his father's affinal alliances but must create a new cult of ancestors. The youngest must establish new alliances, but maintains the ancestral cult of his father. It is interesting to note that while the Rotinese have no strict rule about the inheritance of political office, political office tends to follow the line of the spirits.

I have used the expression village area to describe Rotinese

10. In their aphorisms, sayings, and folktales, the Rotinese have recourse to a convention that recognizes two brothers. This is probably because the eldest and youngest of a series of brothers have such markedly distinctive social roles. Their separate roles form an opposition that excludes the rest of the series.

settlements. The Rotinese themselves use the word, nggolok, to refer to a village. This same word, however, may refer to any outcropping of land, a promontory, the snout of an animal, the beak of a bird, the muzzle of a gun. In ritual language, nggolok forms a dyadic set with taduk and borrowing from this language, one can, in ordinary language, refer to a settlement as a nggolo-taduk. The use of the word, nggolok, may date from the time when, according to the Rotinese, each clan was confined to a separate defensible village poised on some hilltop. Certainly the walls of Feapopi indicate there was once a time when at least some villages on the island were discrete and clearly defined entities.

By contrast, today, residence is scattered. Where there is an adequate source of fresh water, one finds a cluster of dwellings. These dwelling clusters could be described as hamlets. There is no order to these settlements and no boundary to a hamlet. Houses are strung out in all directions and one hamlet shades into another. Thus it is now virtually impossible to define and isolate a Rotinese village. Yet important village names persist. These names have become established, I feel, because the Dutch once attempted to demarcate certain villages as sub-units within the domain. Now these names cover administrative areas, although settlements have continued to shift and expand. It is best therefore to describe Rotinese settlement as a continuous network of loosely scattered houses - found wherever there is sufficient

water - here and there hamlets of a few houses with many isolated houses strung between successive house clusters.

In Termanu, according to the papers we were issued, we lived in Sosadale a recognized village for administrative purpose. More properly speaking, we lived in Ufa-Len, still more specifically, in a cluster of houses at Batu-Bongo. Sosadale shades into Batu-Bongo, Batu-Bongo into Ufa-Len; Ufa-Len is only a few minutes walk from Kola on one side and Polo-Bongo-Hun on the other. Kola shades into Sifi-Dae and Sifi-Dae leads on to Oe-Nitas, which borders with Korbaffo. Polo-Bongo-Hun, at one end, is a short distance from Ola-Lain and at another end only a five minute walk from the first houses of Taka-Daen. In travelling on Roti, one is never more than a few minutes walk or ride from the next house, though there are some stretches of land in nearly every domain that are uninhabitable for lack of water. For this reason, I prefer to use the term village area. At the conclusion of this chapter I isolate for special consideration the village area of Ufa-Len.

5. The Clans and Lineages of Termanu

A knowledge of the demography of Termanu prevents any simple, ideal analysis of this domain. The small domains of Baä and Korbaffo or even the larger domains of Thie and Dengka present a far more orderly (and in this sense ideal) field of study. In Termanu, however, certain relations (which the elders of Termanu

regard as an ideal order that should exist between clans and lineages) have undergone modification because of the pressure of population change and distribution.

In discussing their domain, the elders of Termanu describe it as consisting of nine commoner clans and two noble clans. This is the ideal structure and the one that should obtain at court. Until very recently this was the pattern at court, despite the growing disproportion in size between the clans.

The simple fact is that of the eleven clans that compose the ideal order, two clans, the noble clan of Masa-Euk and the commoner clan of Kiu-Kanak, now make up by popular reckoning well over half of the total population of the domain. One of the eleven clans, Ulu-Anak, has become extinct. Two other clans, Ingu-Beuk and Nggofa-Laik, once joined in affinal alliance, have now fused to form a single clan¹¹. This conscious structural accommodation to

11. It might be more accurate to say that Nggofa-Laik, which has now diminished to only a few houses, is being absorbed by the other small clan Ingu-Beuk. Ingu-Beuk and Nggofa-Laik are represented at court by a single clan lord chosen from Ingu-Beuk. Both clans have separate mane leo and both these mane leo usually attend each others' bridewealth negotiations.

While I was in Termanu, there occurred an interesting case of an attempted marriage between Ingu-Beuk and Nggofa-Laik. A boy of Nggofa-Laik abducted a girl of Ingu-Beuk whose father had recently died and who, because she had no brothers, had received her father's inheritance. The elders intervened forcibly but the girl returned to the boy and the couple eventually settled down to live together. The question was argued on numerous occasions and all discussions broke down. The boy could cite ancient precedent although the elders refused to accept this. The lord of Ingu-Beuk was extremely reluctant to receive bridewealth from Nggofa-Laik and other observers explained to me what shame it was for the mane leo of Nggofa-Laik to have to attend these negotiations. Finally the elders agreed to accept bridewealth on condition that a fine was paid. At the last discussion I attended, the boy refused to pay this large fine.

demographic realities entailed the prohibition of marriage between these clans and has forced them to form in effect a single exogamous unit. The clan, Meno, is another diminutive clan. Although I have no exact figures I would estimate there are no more than a dozen or so adult men in the clan. There has been no corresponding diminution on the part of Sui, the clan affinally allied with Meno. Hence these two clans maintain their formal alliance although actual marriages between them have decreased. The clan, Ingu-Naü, is in a position similar to that of Meno. Ingu-Naü is a diminutive clan linked with a larger clan, Kota-Deak. These two clans still claim to maintain their formal alliance¹². Of the other clans of the domain, Dou-Danga, Ingu-Fao, Kota-Deak and Sui, none has a membership comparable to that of Kiu-Kanak or Masa-Huk.

The result of this difference in the membership of the various clans is that not all the clans of Termanu are composed of lineages nor, if they are composed of lineages, do they possess the same number of lineages. Neither Meno, Ingu-Beuk, nor Nggofa-Laik are

-
11. The couple continued to live together, somewhat ostracised by members of their clans. After the initial failure of the use of force, no attempt was made to separate the couple. Formerly a union of this kind could have been dissolved by a decision of the Lord. In fact, the acting Lord of Termanu attended some of the discussions on this case but he took no decision, perhaps because the problems of Ingu-Beuk and Nggofa-Laik are somewhat exceptional.
 12. Given simply the present factors and a continuing decrease in the membership of Meno and Ingu-Naü, one could speculate that just as Nggofa-Laik has fused with Ingu-Beuk, so too Meno might fuse with its affinal clan Sui and Ingu-Naü with Kota-Deak.

segmented into lineages. Thus these clans are strictly exogamous (Ingu-Beuk and Nggofa-Laik forming one exogamous unit). No other clans in Termanu are similarly exogamous; each possesses, instead, a number of exogamous lineages. The clan Ingu-Naü has only two lineages. The clans, Dou-Danga and Ingu-Fao, five lineages each; the clans Kota-Deak and Süi, six lineages each. For these clans, marriage outside of the clan is definitely preferred and is of common occurrence. Marriage within the clan, however, is tolerated.

There is an aphorism that the elders of Termanu quote when they discuss the size of the clan Kiu-Kanak. They say: Kiu-Kanak ana lima ma nggeo telu-hulu, "Kiu-Kanak [has] five children [sons] and thirty followers". The word, nggeo, means 'black' but in various contexts also denotes a 'horde of men', 'a group', 'a following'. It may also be applied to what I have called a client. This aphorism refers to the major lineages of Kiu-Kanak and to its wealth of further divisions or descent lines. Kiu-Kanak, as the largest clan of the domain, appears to have incorporated the largest number of clients.

I quoted earlier the genealogy of Kiu-Kanak when I discussed the alliance relationship that exists between Kiu-Kanak and Masa-Huk. Here I repeat that genealogy from Kai Kilo to the point where the major segmentation of the clan is said to have occurred. The genealogy is as follows:

Kai Kilo
 Fala Kai
 Nggomi Fala
 Dulu Nggomi
 Solu Dulu
 Lilo Solu
 Haü Tana Lilo
 Laba Lai Haü
 Kiu Laba
 Numu Ama Kiu
 Mone Numu Ama
 Kiu Mone

Tulle Kiu Baä Kiu Beä Kiu Sangu(ana) Kiu Ndu Kiu

Kiu-Kanak takes its name (Kiu-k-anak: "Kiu's children") from these five sons of Kiu Mone. Each of the sons of Kiu Mone is the founding ancestor of a lineage. Tulle Kiu is the founding ancestor of Tulle-Tein, the lineage with a claim to noble prerogatives. I found that it was possible to elicit a further list of descendants from Tulle Kiu and establish the descent lines within this lineage. But I had great difficulty and little success in my attempts to distinguish accurately the descent lines within the other lineages of the clan. Only Tulle-Tein maintains a genealogy like that of the noble clan with which it marries. Apart from the large lineage of Tulle-Tein, the clan Kiu-Kanak comprises the vast majority of commoners in Termanu and it is therefore appropriate and, in fact, inevitable that they should marry among themselves. Marriage within the clan is of common occurrence.

The noble clan of Masa-Huk is highly differentiated and is composed of (at least) sixteen named lineages. Only within Masa-Huk (and to a lesser extent Kota-Deak) are lineages ranked within the clan. For members of the noble clan, to marry a member of a commoner clan or a member of a lesser lineage of their own clan involves a loss of prestige and status. Members of the noble clan therefore either marry nobility from another domain, marry a member of the lineage Tulle-Tein of Kiu-Kanak or to a lesser degree a member of the fetor clan of Kota-Deak, or marry members of the high status lineages of their own clan. Although there are prohibitions on marriages among certain lineages within Masa-Huk, the clan is large enough to permit a considerable endogamy.

Defined in terms of marriage and exogamy, the clans of Termanu differ among themselves. Some clans are rigorously exogamous; other clans are preferably exogamous; still other clans, for reasons of necessity or status, tend to be endogamous.

The following is a list of the clans of Termanu with their constituent lineages. (The first nine lineages of Masa-Huk are listed in order of their status; the remaining seven lineages are of roughly the same status).

- | | |
|--------------|-------------------|
| I. Masa-Huk: | 1. Fola-Tein |
| | 2. Muskanan-Tein |
| | 3. Loe-Tein |
| | 4. Ndao Manu-Tein |
| | 5. Edo-Tein |
| | 6. Nelu-Tein |
| | 7. Hailiti-Tein |

8. Kila-Tein
9. Muloko-Tein
10. Deta-Tein
11. Longo-Tein
12. Muda-Tein
13. Kiumama-Tein
14. Botokama-Tein
15. Pedu-Tein
16. Lusitola-Tein

II. Kota-Deak:

1. Solu-Tein
2. Nade-Tein
3. Bengkila-Tein
4. Patola-Tein
5. Ingu-Ndaos
6. Ndeko-Ndao

III. Kiu-Kanak:

1. Tulle-Tein
2. Beä Tein
3. Baä Tein
4. Ndu-Tein
5. Sanguana-Tein

IV. Sui:

1. Toumeluk-Tein
2. Bale-Tein
3. Olilako-Tein
4. Denga-Tein
5. Salapoi-Boafu
6. Kolo-Tein

V. Dou-Danga:

1. Linihanak-Tein
2. Kukuhak-Tein
3. Lupalole-Tein
4. Dope-Tein
5. Nggus-Tein

- VI. Ingu-Pao: 1. Boda-Tein
 2. Masek-Tein
 3. Fuak-Tein
 4. Baluk-Tein
 5. Palouk-Tein
- VII. Ingu-Naü: 1. Dodo-Tein
 2. Kole-Tein
- VIII. Meno
- IX. Ingu-Beuk
- X. Nggofa-Laik
- XI. Ulu-Anak

Although it is claimed that clans control the water that irrigates the important wet rice fields, it is actually certain lineages within these clans that maintain ritual ownership of the sources of water¹³. From these lineages the manasongo's of the various lala's are chosen. Only in the case of the smaller unsegmented clans do clans control water. The wealth derived from ritual tribute (dae osa) and from securing the best irrigated fields of the lala have contributed to the prestige and position of these dominant lineages.

The following is a list of the fifteen sources of water which irrigate the major wet rice fields of Termanu:

13. In an appendix to this chapter, I illustrate this difference in point of view about whether the clan or the lineage 'owns' water, by means of two tales which argue the ownership of an important source of water in Baä.

Source of Water or Wet Rice <u>Lala</u>	Clan	Lineage
1. Lela	Kiu-Kanak	Tulle-Tein
2. Peto	Kota-Deak	Solu-Tein
3. Batu-Nggolo-Ki	Ingu-Naü	[Dodo-Tein?]
4. Batu-Nggolo-Kona	Masa-Huk	Muskanan-Tein
5. Nggeo-Keka	Kiu-Kanak	Tulle-Tein
6. Bala-Fia	Masa-Huk	Nelu-Tein
7. Bau-Dale	Sui	Toumeluk-Tein
8. Leli	Kota-Deak	Ndeko-Ndao
9. Onge-Luak	Dou-Danga	Linihanak-Tein
10. Oe-Leak	Ingu-Naü	[Dodo-Tein?]
11. Oe-Meno	Meno	
12. Ose-Bolok (Taka-Daen)	Masa-Huk	Ndao Manu-Tein
13. Ose-Bolok (Lamak-Len)	Kiu-Kanak	Baa-Tein
14. Sosa-Dale	Ingu-Beuk	
15. Oe-Nitas	Masa-Huk	Fola-Tein

This list is not exhaustive for there are many other minor sources of water that irrigate lesser fields. Wells which supply drinking water and which can not be used for irrigation are not owned. The list does, however, cover the major sources of water. Peto and Lela are the largest, best irrigated rice complexes in Termanu; both produce two rice crops in a year. After Peto and Lela come Batu-Nggolo, Bau-Dale, Ose-Bolok (Taka-Daen), and Nggeo-Keka. These fields usually produce one good crop and in some years,

Batu-Nggolo and Bau-Dale may yield a lesser crop of dry season rice. Nggeo-Keka is irrigated by the water that follows down from Lela; Leli is an excellent source of water but is too near the sea to irrigate an extensive stretch of land. Ose-Bolok (Lamak-Len) and Sosa-Dale are comparatively poor sources of water. During my first year on Roti - a year of an excellent rice harvest - both fields had disappointing yields.

The ownership of water confirms the importance of certain dominant lineages in Termanu. It does not explain their position. Four lineages of the noble clan control major sources of water: Fola-Tein, Muskanan-Tein, Ndao Manu-Tein, and Nelu-Tein, but the springs controlled directly by the royal lineages Fola-Tein and Muskanan-Tein are far from being the most valuable in the domain. The single most important source of water is held by Tulle-Tein, a lineage which despite certain prerogatives remains a commoner lineage. Possession of the water of Lela is undoubtedly the reason why Tulle-Tein has been the preferred marriage partner of the royal lineages as well as of other noble lineages of Masa-Huk and Kota-Deak. Through the bridewealth of their women and other affinal exchanges, the members of the royal lineage have secured

numerous individual rice fields within their affine's lala¹⁴.

Other clans appear to be dominated by a single lineage: Solu-Tein in Kota-Deak, Toumeluk-Tein in Sui and Linihanak-Tein in Dou-Danga. Ingu-Naü has two sources of water. I was never told which lineage of Ingu-Naü actually controlled this water because the clan is small enough to be discussed as if it were unsegmented. Only very late in my research did I discover that it was composed of two lineages, the most important of which was Dodo-Tein. Both Meno and Ingu-Beuk have relatively unimportant sources of water. There are other springs in the area of Ingu-Fao on which I failed to gather data. From what little I did learn I suspect that one source of water in this area is controlled by Masek-Tein of Ingu-Fao which has

14. I was never able to make a detailed study of individual rice fields in any one lala. The Rotinese who usually never cease talking on most subjects are notorious for their reluctance to discuss their wealth. All my attempts to gather systematic information on this subject were met with silence or open hostility. On one occasion, I was bluntly told that I was asking questions like the police. Persistence on these matters would only have served to alienate my best informants. Eventually in the course of living among the Rotinese, I was able to learn in unsystematic fashion a great deal about who owned what. In fact, on several occasions I sat in silence while wealthy Rotinese recited a tale of poverty to some visiting government official. Once I heard a Rotinese explain to an official who required the use of a horse that all the horses of the area had died in the previous anthrax epidemic, when only the week before I had seen no less than forty horses rounded up in this same man's courtyard.

The geographer Grmeling encountered similar difficulties in the early fifties when he attempted to gather information from Rotinese living on Timor. He writes of "an undeniable tendency to evade all government control.... Rotinese community's reluctance to resign itself to official instructions is especially noticeable during the annual tax assessment. Many Rotinese cannot be found when, in the dry season, the tax commission travels around estimating the harvest to ascertain the population's annual income. In tax registers the name of Rotinese Kampung residents is often followed by the official remark lari (bolted). The Rotinese who are found and

always been at the centre of the opposition to Ingu-Fao's incorporation within Termanu. The vast majority of the lineages in the domain of Termanu make no claim to the ritual possession of water.

6. The Noble Clans of Termanu

Although certain lineages within the commoner clans possess a favoured position by right of their control of water, none of the lineages of these clans is ranked according to status in the same way as are the lineages of the noble clans. For all women of the commoner clans, bridewealth is the same. For the women of the noble clans Masa-Huk and Kota-Deak, there is a differentiation in bridewealth. As I have already described in the previous chapter, for women of the royal lineages of Masa-Huk four water buffalo constitute the minimum bridewealth; for women of the noble lineages of Masa-Huk (Loe-Tein, Ndao Manu-Tein, Hailiti-Tein and Helu-Tein) and the noble lineages of Kota-Deak (Solu-Tein and Nadek-Tein) three water buffalo constitute the minimum bridewealth; while for women of the other lineages of these noble clans, bridewealth is the same as that for commoner women. These discriminations produce a triadic status structure in the clan Masa-Huk and a dyadic status

-
14. questioned usually pass themselves off in an extremely talented way as being needy and penniless. In flourishing Rotinese Kampung in lontar areas, where palms grow by the thousands, amazingly few of these trees are reported as productive" (1957:224-225).

structure in Kota-Deak. Not all members of the noble clans are themselves nobles.

On the following two pages I reproduce the royal genealogy of the Lord of Termanu to the foundation of his lineage. To reach the founding ancestor of the Lord's lineage requires the recitation of the successive names of twenty-six ancestors. The recitation of a further five names would be necessary to reach the present Lord of Termanu. On Roti when a genealogy is recited, the ancestors of divergent lines are disregarded so as to arrive directly at the man about whom the genealogy is given. In this case, however, I have included those pivotal ancestors who have established divergent lines. The first page lists the founders of the clans Kiu-Kanak and Kota-Deak. The second page lists the names of the founders of noble and supposedly noble lineages of Masa-Huk. Using (e) for 'elder' and (y) for 'younger' brother, I have indicated that this royal genealogy follows a course of ultimogeniture. The issue is in fact more complex than it seems, because both Pello Kila, an elder brother, and Ndao Manu Sin-Lae, another elder brother, were for a time Lords of Termanu, according to the histories told of the succession to this Lordship. (It would be irrelevant to discuss these histories. My concern here is with the composition of the clan Masa-Huk).

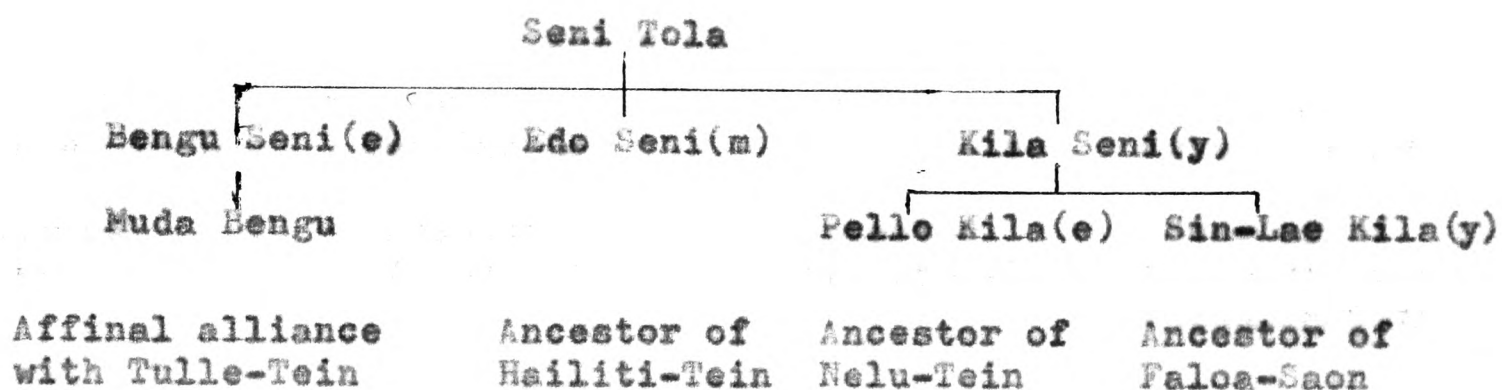
Ancestors of Royal Line	Ancestors of Divergent Lines	Clans
1. Paki Dae		
2. Hu Paki-Paki		
3. Dae Hu		
4. Ndesi Dae		
5. Eda Ndesi		
6. Damai-do Edak		
7. Paliko Damai-do		
8. Sain Paliko		
9. Nggeo-Nggeo Sain		
10. Putu Nggeo-Nggeo		
11. Bui Putu		
12. Kilo Bui		
13. Kai Kilo		
14. Bula Kai	Fala Kai	→ Kiu-Kanak
15. Ma Bulan		
16. Muskanan Mak		
17. Kila Muskanan		
18. Kelu Kila		
19. Leki Kelu		
20. Amalo Leki [Manu Leki] ¹⁵		
21. Tola Manu Amalo [Tola Manu] ¹⁵		
22. Seni Tola (y)	Lusi Tola (e)	→ Kota-Deak

15. Amalo Leki and Tola Manu are names that appear to have been altered by recent generations. The members of the present royal lineage now use the Christian surname Amalo. It is therefore convenient that this name should occur among the early ancestors of the royal line. It would seem that originally Amalo Leki was Manu Leki and that Tola Manu Amalo was simply Tola Manu.

Ancestors of Royal Line	Ancestors of Divergent Lines	Noble Lineages of Masa-Huk
----------------------------	---------------------------------	-------------------------------

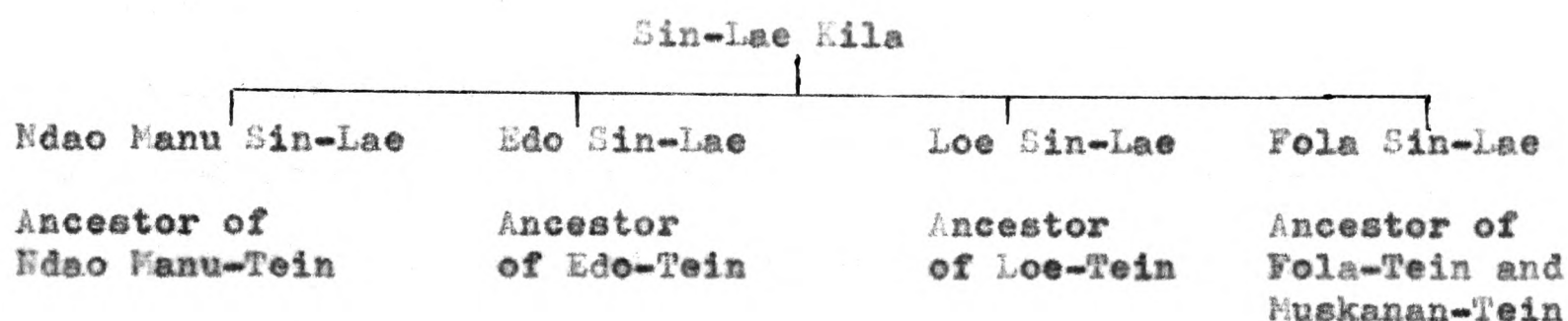
23. Kila Seni (y)	Edo Seni	→Hailiti-Tein
24. Sin-Lae Kila (y)	Pello Kila (e)	→Nelu-Tein
25. Fola Sin-Lae (y)	Ndao Manu Sin-Lae (e)	→Ndao Manu-Tein
	Edo Sin-Lae	→Edo-Tein
	Kila Sin-Lae	→Kila-Tein
	Muloko Sin-Lae	→Muloko-Tein
	Loe Sin-Lae	→Loe-Tein
26. Muda Fola (y)	Muskanan Fola (e)	→Muskanan-Tein
		→Fola-Tein

The clan Masa-Huk is formed of all those who are regarded as the descendants of the royal ancestor Seni Tola. The name Masa-Huk is derived from the place name, Masa-Hu-Dale, an open space in Feapopi where the entire clan was once accustomed to gather. The first relevant segment of the royal genealogy is as follows:



Bengu Seni, the eldest son of Seni Tola, had only a daughter, who married Tulle Nggoe. This marriage initiated the affinal alliance with Tulle-Tein. Edo Seni, the second son, became the founding ancestor of Hailiti-Tein while Kila Seni, the youngest son, had two sons, Pello Kila who became the founding ancestor of Nelu-Tein and Sin-Lae Kila who became the founding ancestor of Faloa-Saon. Faloa-Saon consists of those who trace their descent from Sin-Lae Kila. The name Faloa-Saon means "the shade of the Faloa tree" and has reference to the tree around which the descendants of Sin-Lae Kila once used to gather to separate themselves from the other members of Masa-Huk. This segmentation accounts for three descent groups in the clan, two of which are exogamous lineages: Hailiti-Tein,

Nelu-Tein and Faloa-Saon. While Hailiti-Tein and Nelu-Tein have undergone no further significant segmentation, Faloa-Saon, the descent group that maintained the title to royal succession, has undergone considerable segmentation and now embraces a large membership of Masa-Huk. Again the relevant genealogical segment is as follows:



About these four sons of Sin-Lae Kila, one can gather some information. An elderly noble woman of Fola-Tein told me that the mother of Ndao Manu Sin-Lae was a princess from the domain of Bilba; that the mother of Edo Sin-Lae was a princess from Bokai (and that the boy Edo Sin-Lae was raised in Bokai) and that the mother of Loe Sin-Lae and Fola Sin-Lae was a princess from Dengka. I was told that originally these four ancestors swore an oath that they would not intermarry. The strongest prohibition was on marriages between the ancestors of Loe Sin-Lae and Fola Sin-Lae who shared a common mother. This prohibition has since been abrogated in practice. Marriages among these lineages do occur, especially since the women of Ndao Manu-Tein, Edo-Tein, and Loe-Tein (along with the women of Hailiti-Tein and Nelu-Tein) have equal status in the clan. Yet some

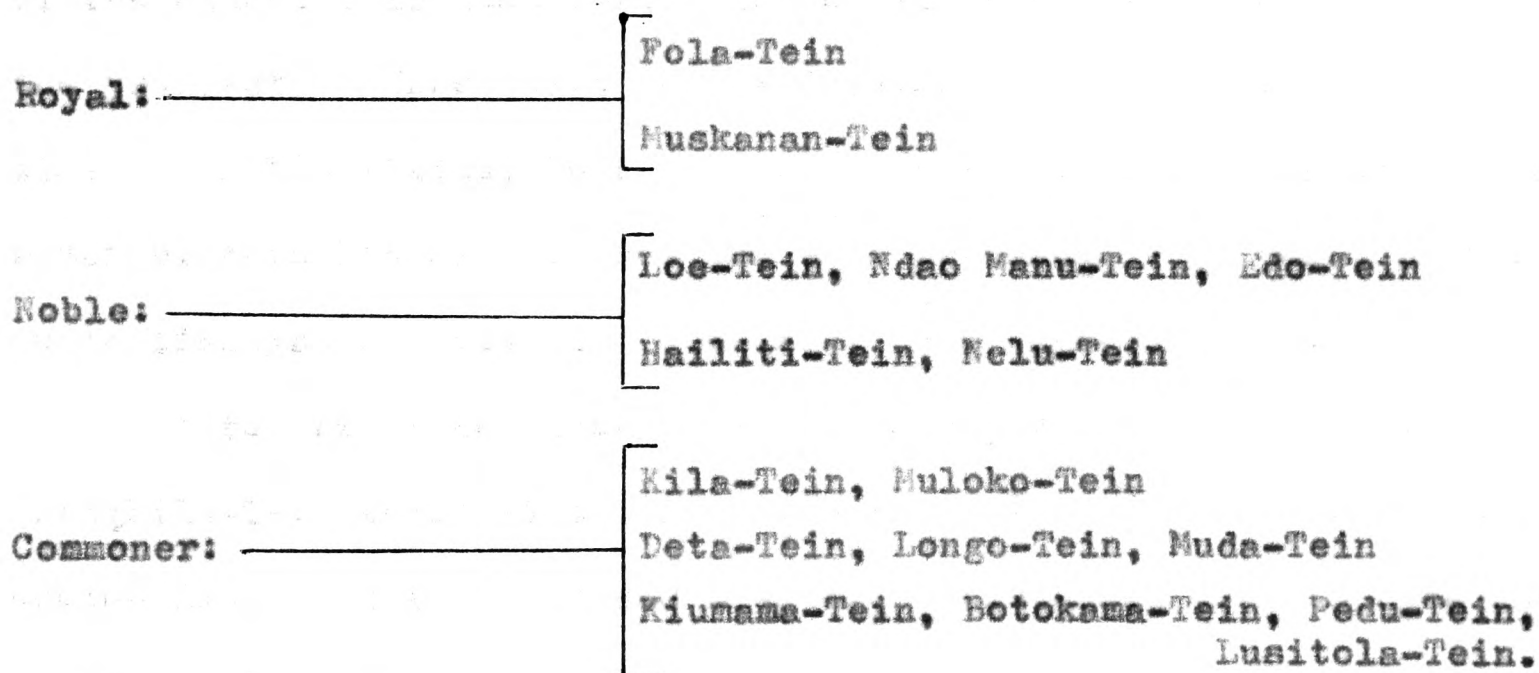
of the stricter elders regard a marriage among these lineages as undesirable. One old traditionalist remarked that such marriages could not be fruitful because the couples who contracted these marriages "would die young or suffer some illness". Still further segmentation has occurred among the descendants of Fola Sin-Lae since the separate lineages of Muskanan-Tein and Fola-Tein are now recognized. Marriages between these two lineages are also regarded as undesirable by some elders but they do occur. The lineages of Muskanan-Tein and Fola-Tein are the royal lineages of the clan. The bridewealth for women of these lineages is higher than the bridewealth for other noble women. Given the normal processes of segmentation, it is only a matter of time before Muskanan-Tein comes to be regarded as a noble rather than a royal lineage. To some extent this is already occurring as Fola-Tein grows larger and is on the verge of further segmentation.

It is generally agreed among the elders that Sin-Lae Kila had two other sons: Kila Sin-Lae and Muloko Sin-Lae. The descendants of these sons form the tiny lineages of Kila-Tein and Muloko-Tein. The members of these lineages are only grudgingly accorded noble status. Their descent, it is claimed, is difficult to trace and the implication is that their ancestors were born of concubinage. No bridewealth was paid for the mothers of their ancestors.

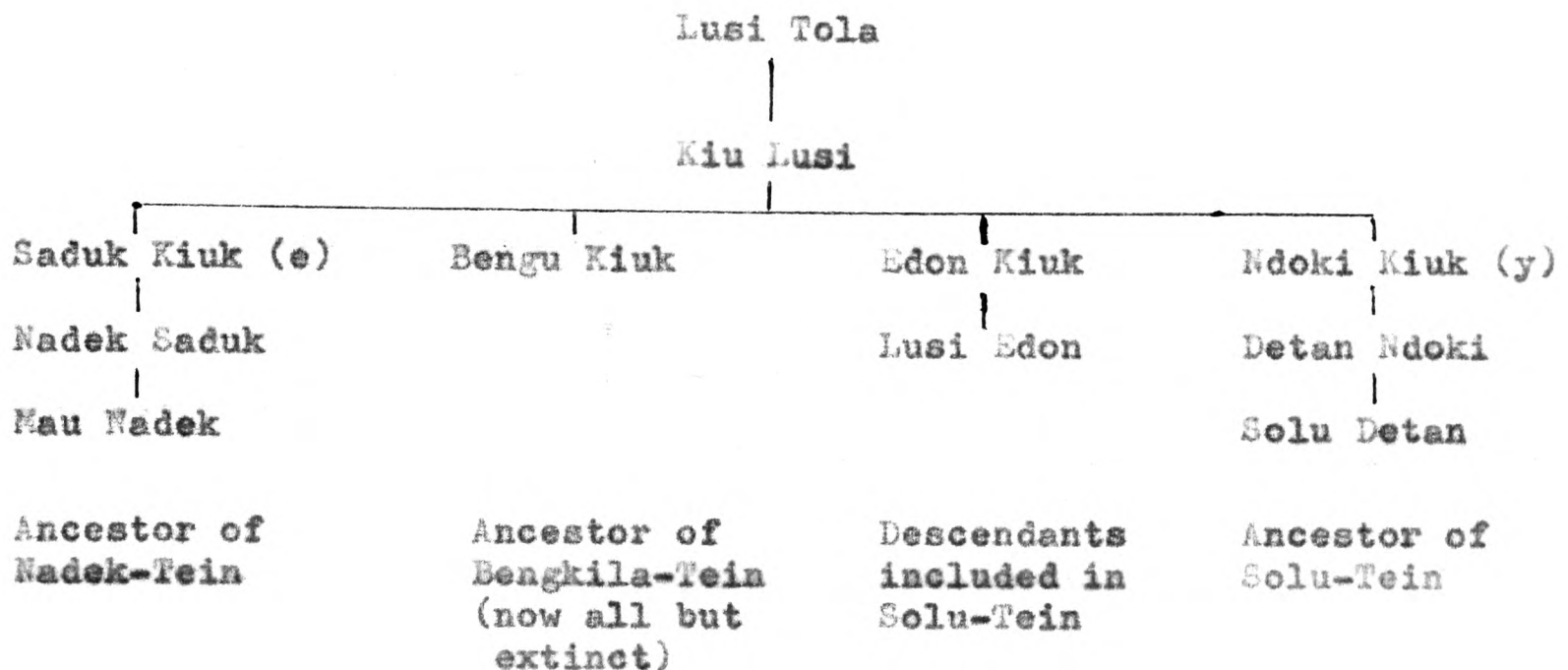
There are over a half dozen other lineages in Masa-Huk which are accorded no noble status whatsoever. Like many commoner

lineages, these lineages make no claim to complicated genealogies and unlike noble lineages, their descent is impossible to trace. The only remark I heard about the origin of these lineages was that they arose from royal concubinage with slave women.

The lineages of Masa-Huk are therefore arranged in a triadic structure based upon royal, noble, and commoner status. This status is expressed by the bridewealth of the women of these lineages. This triadic structure organizes what is in effect a gradation of lineages in the clan since Fola-Tein is superior to Muskanan-Tein; Loe-Tein, Ndao Manu-Tein and Edo-Tein are somewhat superior in descent to Hailiti-Tein and Nelu-Tein; while Kila-Tein and Muloko-Tein fall somewhere between noble and commoner rank. The lineages of Masa-Huk may be ordered triadically according to status as follows:



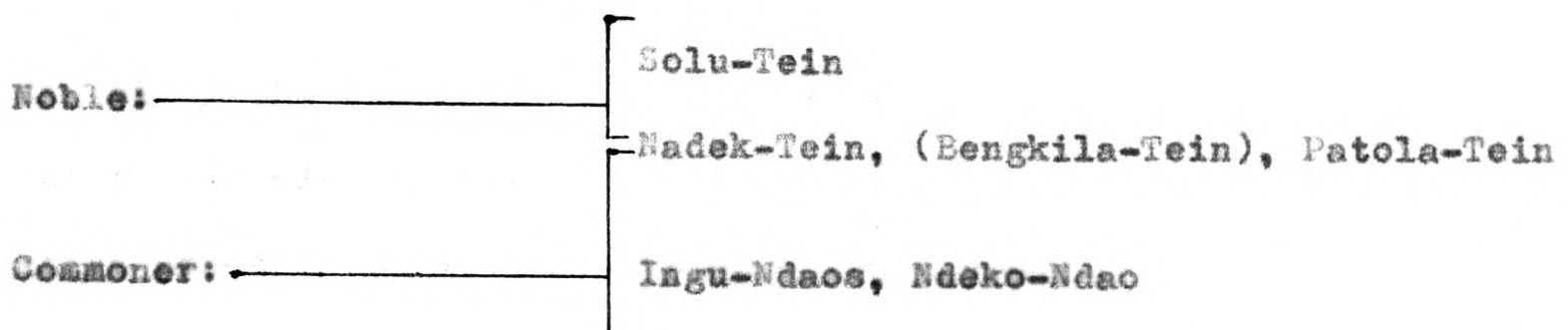
Rank order in Kota-Deak is a simpler matter. The relevant genealogical segment, beginning with Lusi Tola, is as follows:



By a process similar to that which occurred in Masa-Huk, succession to the Lord-fetorship has been transferred from the line of the eldest (the last Lord-fetor being Saduk Kiuk) to the line of the youngest. Thus while both Nadek-Tein and Solu-Tein have some claim to noble status, Solu-Tein alone has true noble status. The women of this lineage command the same bridewealth as women of the noble lineages of Masa-Huk (Loe-Tein, Ndao Manu-Tein, etc).

There are three other lineages incorporated within Kota-Deak (Bengkila-Tein being virtually extinct): Patola-Tein, Ingu-Ndaos and Ndeko-Ndao. In the previous chapter, I discussed the lineages Ingu-Ndaos and Ndeko-Ndao. Patola-Tein presents a different problem. Although I never succeeded in learning the origin of this lineage,

I suspect that it was once a client line in Nadek-Tein or possibly in Solu-Tein. Some members of this lineage have grown rich and married as if they were lesser nobles. Members of the lineage appear to have as much status as members of Nadek-Tein who make some claim to noble status. The lineages of Kota-Deak may be ordered dyadically according to status as follows:



The prestige of any member of a noble lineage is as dependent upon how he and his past ancestors have married as it is on his actual descent. Within all of the noble lineages of Masa-Huk there are greater and lesser lines. Even within the royal lineages of Fola-Tein and Muskanan-Tein there are these lines. A man maintains his position within the lineage by marrying well. Marriage as well as descent is a factor in maintaining prestige. If a noble were to marry below his status, his children do not cease to be nobles but they might constitute the start of a lesser line within their own lineage. This quest for marriageable women of proper status allows for some fluctuation in the fortunes of the various descent lines within a noble lineage.

There is more to this than simply the quest for women of

proper status. Paying an increased bridewealth for a woman of high status (obligating, of course, a correspondingly high counterprestation) enhances one's prestige. This fierce rivalry in expenditure on bridewealth among nobles was precisely what the Dutch attempted to quell by establishing what they hoped would be the maximum level of bridewealth for the various lineages and clans on the island. To a large extent the Dutch did succeed in arresting the spiraling costs of bridewealth payments but they never succeeded in fixing a maximum bridewealth. Even today, one gains prestige by generous bridewealth payments.

To marry, for example, a girl from the royal lineage Fola-Tein now requires the established bridewealth payment of four water buffalo. If, however, as formerly did happen in the case of a certain noble, a man paid not four but forty water buffalo to marry the same girl, his prestige would be vastly enhanced and in the following generation his sons' and daughters' position, when it came time for them to marry, would be considerably altered. The daughters, in particular, could claim higher bridewealth (though certainly never forty water buffalo). Their position would ideally approximate that of their mother and there would be only a limited number of acceptable suiters who might hope to claim them. Most marriage alliances imply some equality of status between the exchanging partners. When this equality does not exist, bridewealth serves to bridge the discrepancy. A wealthy commoner

who wishes to marry a woman of a noble lineage is obliged to pay bridewealth in excess of what would be required if a noble were to marry the same woman. The commoner pays heavily for the privilege of having noble affines. For a noble lineage to give women, on occasion, to men of commoner lineages does not result in a loss of prestige, but to exchange women with these commoner lineages inevitably causes a loss of status. The same processes that effect a differentiation of lineages in noble clans effect a more subtle differentiation of descent lines in noble lineages.

In Termanu, marriages between commoners and nobles do occur yet when one traces these out, they lead to what I call the 'greater' and 'lesser' lines in each noble lineage. (I have found that many of these lesser lines are those descended from secondary wives of a royal person or high noble). Contrary to what one might expect lesser noble lineages as a whole do not appear to marry more frequently with commoner lineages than do higher noble lineages or royal lineages. Instead within every royal or noble lineage, there are a few lesser lines of the lineage which usually marry with commoner lineages. Members of greater lines consistently marry among themselves, with noble lineages in other domains, and rarely or not at all with commoners. Only infrequently do they marry with the lesser lines of other noble lineages in their clan. Lesser lines marry more frequently with commoners or with others of lesser lines than they do with the greater lines. To cite one example of

this, there is a lesser line in the royal lineage Fola-Tein whose members often marry commoners. The status of this line, although it can claim royal descent, is known to be less than that of many greater lines in noble lineages¹⁶.

Another reason for paying an high bridewealth is to resolve the problem of a dubious status. In noble clans, when a client line separates from its patron line, eventually to become a separate lineage, it can assert its identity by paying an high bridewealth for women of its patron lineage. This is to overcome, by a rivalrous excess in expenditure, any possible inequality that might exist between patron and client. I suspect that Patola-Tein of Kota-Deak has established itself by this means but I have no certain proof of it. There is, however, a client line, the Biredoko line, in the royal lineage Fola-Tein which is in the process of separating from its patron line. This line does not yet claim to be a separate lineage, although for three generations it has married with its patron. Members of this line are proud of their origin and secure in their position within the domain. I was therefore able (in fact, urged) to gather data on this important client line.

16. There are other factors that create greater and lesser lines within a lineage. (I note here that the Rotinese have no terms to denote these greater or lesser lines). Some of these factors are accidents of birth. The half-wit son or daughter of a greater noble line may only be able to contract a marriage with some commoner. (I have cases of this in my data on marriage alliances. These cases appear as troubling exceptions to normal marriage strategies until one discovers their cause). Other factors are accidents of wealth. Loss of wealth may lower a greater line and in general, acquisition of wealth will - if used in bridewealth - raise a lesser line.

7. Biredoko line of Fola-Tein

These data on the Biredoko line cover six generations and include over 85 marriages. After the initial marriage, there were two (remembered) marriages in the second generation, eleven marriages in the third generation, thirty marriages in the fourth generation, twenty-eight in the fifth and some fifteen marriages to date in the present generation. (Most of the members of this generation have not yet married). Besides these marriages, I have recorded a few other marriages by women of the Biredoko line for whom a precise location within the genealogy of the line is uncertain¹⁷. The data illustrate not only the development of a client line but also the general strategy of noble marriage alliance in Termanu.

The Biredoko line is a prominent aristocratic line in the royal lineage Fola-Tein. During my stay in Termanu, the acting Lord of the domain was a member of this line. His father before him had also served, for a time, as acting Lord of the domain. The ancestor of the Biredoko's was Doko Bire, a Savunese noble, who arrived on Roti six generations ago and married the only daughter of Fola Amalo, Sia Fola. The genealogical connection is given as

17. This uncertainty is in no way surprising. The normal Rotinese recitation of his ancestors is confined to naming male descendants. After three generations - as I hope to make clear in the next chapter - female ancestors begin to be forgotten. This is even more true for women of one's own lineage who have married out. Hence my informants were uncertain whether this or that woman was the child of this or that man. Usually they remembered whom she married rather than whose child she was.

follows:

Fola Hin-Lae
 Muda Fola
 Amalo Muda
 Fola Amalo
 Sia Fola = Doko Bire
 Tuni-Ama Siak

The son of Sia Fola and Doko Bire, Tuni Ama Siak, (who took his final name Siak from his mother) is said to have inherited his wealth from his grandfather, Fola Amalo. Either Doko Bire or Tuni Ama Siak (or perhaps both) is also said to have become wealthy by acting as the trading agent in Termanu for a (Chinese) inter-island merchant. The Biredoko's are generally credited with importing the first sets of fine Semarang gongs from Java.

Tuni Ama Siak is believed to have had several wives but only two of his marriages are remembered. His first wife was from Tulle-Tein of Kiu-Kanak. In other words, he contracted a marriage proper to a member of the lineage, Fola-Tein and in accordance with the alliance that exists between Kiu-Kanak and Masa-Ruk. His second wife was a woman from the clan of Ingu-Fao.

As is characteristic of Rotinese genealogies, there is some disagreement about the birth order of Tuni Ama's sons and about their actual mothers. All sons may therefore be regarded by their descendants in succeeding generations as eldest sons of a primary marriage. In all, Tuni Ama was succeeded by six sons and had - as far as is remembered - two daughters.

One effect of polygamous marriages on Roti is that these marriages tend to scatter common descent lines throughout a domain. Only the nobility and the wealthy are able to contract polygamous marriages since, for each wife, a man must build a separate house. In no case, may two wives share the same house and in general it is felt that wives should not share the same settlement cluster or village. Ideally then, each of a man's wives should live in a separate village and to my observation, I have found this is nearly always the case (though on occasion one wife may temporarily live as a 'guest' in another wife's house).

Of Tuni Ama's sons, three are said to have lived in the coastal area of Hala and Namo-Dale (the descendants of these sons later moved to other village areas) and three sons lived in the area of Sosa-Dale, Kola, and Polo-Bongo-Hun. (The areas of Hala, Namo-Dale, Sosa-Dale, Kola and Polo-Bongo-Hun refer to different 'clusters' within areas of continuous settlement and it is therefore quite impossible to discover whether these sons belonged to two or more households). In Tuni Ama's generation, the Biredoko line (then undistinguished from other lines in Fola-Tein) became scattered.

Of Tuni Ama's sons, five took women from the fetor clan, Kota-Deak, as their first wives and the one son in Namo-Dale took a woman of the commoner clan, Sui, as his wife. Later one or another of these sons married with women of Tulle-Tein repeating

their father's marriage, and with Nelu-Tein of their own clan, Masa-Huk. A daughter married a man of Ingu-Fao, also continuing an alliance her father had established. The second daughter is said to have married a man from Sanguana-Tein of the clan Kiu-Kanak. (This is the one marriage that appears to make no sense in terms of marriage strategy since Sanguana-Tein is an undistinguished lineage of Kiu-Kanak and in succeeding generations there is no repetition of this marriage. Similarly the marriage with Sui, contracted in this generation, was never again repeated).

It was in the next generation that this client line became an independent subdivision within Fola-Tein by remarrying with its patron lineage. Several elders in Termanu told me that the first of these marriages was initially opposed, but was achieved through the payment of an enormous bridewealth. (My informants claim the payment required 35 - 40 water buffalo). Subsequent marriages in this same generation with Fola-Tein or with Muskanan-Tein (at that time only recently segmented from Fola-Tein) required equally large payments of bridewealth. At this point, the Biredoko client line, I was told, changed its fam name¹⁸ from Amalo to Fola in allusion to

18. A fam name (probably derived from the Dutch word, familie) is the 'family' surname adopted, in addition to genealogical names, by Rotinese Christians. In the near future, I hope to write an article on the various systems of Rotinese personal names.

their ancestress, Sia Fola. The fam name of the other members of Fola-Tein continued to be Amalo.

The marriages, whereby Biredoko men married Amalo women, thus initiating the separation of patron and client, were reciprocated in this same generation when the then Lord of the domain married first one, then another Biredoko woman. In all there were six marriages in this generation between patron and client (each took three women from the other) and four equally prestigious marriages with Muskanan-Tein. (Muskanan-Tein was wife-giver in all three marriages). Other marriages in this generation included six with either Solu-Tein or Patola-Tein of Kota-Deak, three with Tulle-Tein of Kiu-Kanak and two with Ingu-Fao. All of these marriages could be regarded as continuing alliances established in previous generations. There were two marriages contracted with other lineages within Masa-Huk, two marriages in which Biredoko women married outside the domain and an entirely new alliance established with the commoner clan, Ingu-Beuk. At first sight, this marriage seems curiously inappropriate to a client line that was willing to pay enormous bridewealth to confirm its noble status within Masa-Huk. On this marriage, however, I was able to gather further information. In this case, the Biredoko line had the status of wife-giver. The girl, given in marriage, was not the daughter of a first wife and she happened to marry the eldest son of a powerful clan lord of Ingu-Beuk, a clan which, though small, is concentrated

in the area shared by several Biredoko houses. In succeeding generations, this alliance with Ingu-Beuk has been maintained, but it is worth noting that all marriages in this alliance have been contracted by Biredoko's who were children of secondary wives.

In the fifth and following generation, there was an increase in the Biredoko marriages outside the domain. Marriages outside the domain were once the prerogative of the higher nobility, particularly of the Lords of the domain who used these marriages to form temporary political alliances. Significantly one Biredoko woman married the Lord of Korbaffe and another the Lord of Diu. Some of these marriages also reflect the general Rotinese movement to Kupang where several Biredokos have married and settled. (There are twice the number of marriages of Biredoko women than marriages of Biredoko men recorded here. Statistically this would seem improbable but in this relatively small sample there is one individual who has had nine daughters and only one son. And of these daughters, five have married men from outside the domain).

Besides the marriages outside the domain, the majority of marriages continued the alliances established in earlier generations. Within the clan Masa-Huk there were marriages with Fola-Tein, Muskanan-Tein, and Nelu-Tein and a new alliance was begun with Ndao Manu-Tein; there were further marriages with

Patola-Tein of Kota-Deak¹⁹ and with Tulle-Tein of Riu-Kanak. The alliance with Ingu-Beuk was also continued. These account for all the marriages of this generation.

Data on the sixth generation are yet inconclusive because most of those in this present generation have not yet married. The same general pattern is evident (with the possible exception that a marriage has occurred with the commoner clan, Dou Danga). In this generation, there has been another marriage with Ingu-Fao. There was no such marriage in the previous generation but allowing for a reasonable overlap in the relative ages of members of these two generations, it is possible to maintain that the alliance with Ingu-Fao has never lapsed.

A further stage in the separation of patron and client should, however, be mentioned. The Biredoko's now use a Savunese fam name Biredoko. Before this, they used the name Fola and before that the name Amalo. The cause for this further change of name arose out of a quarrel during the celebration of a hus festival several years before the Japanese invasion. During the running of the horses, a Biredoko was accused of striking another rider; this led to a quarrel and an Amalo made some

19. In the following charts, I have not broken down the Biredoko marriages with Kota-Deak according to lineage because my informants found it difficult to identify the Kota-Deak women in the early generations by their lineage. The first Biredoko marriage with Kota-Deak was with a woman of Solu-Tein. I have already suggested that Patola-Tein may once have been a client line of another lineage. Recent Biredoko marriages with Kota-Deak have usually been with this lineage.

remarks about the Biredoko origin. The then Radja of Savu, himself married to an Amalo, happened to be present and at his instigation, the Biredoko's met and agreed to assume the Savunese name of their ancestor, Doko Bire. Several members of the line dissented and refused to use the name Biredoko. Hence even today a few members still retain the fam name, Fola, while others in the domain regard them and refer to them as Biredoko. After over a century on Roti, the Biredoko's are Savunese in name only; now, however, when they speak of their former ancestors, these ancestors are given the name Biredoko. As is characteristic of any genealogy, there is always some degree of reinterpretation of the past by each succeeding generation.

Biredoko LineChart I

Abbreviations:

M.H. = Masa-Huk

K.K. = Kiu-Kanak

Generation

I	1 Fola Tein (M.H.)
II	<u>2 marriages</u> 1 Tulle-Tein (K.K.) 1 Ingu-Fao
III	<u>11 marriages</u> 1 Nelu-Tein (M.H.) 5 Kota-Deak 2 Tulle-Tein (K.K.) 1 Sanguana Tein (K.K.) ? 1 Ingu-Fao 1 Sui
IV	<u>30 marriages</u> 6 Fola-Tein (M.H.) 4 Muskanan-Tein (M.H.) 1 Loe-Tein (M.H.) 1 Hailiti-Tein (M.H.) 8 Kota-Deak 3 Tulle-Tein (K.K.)

Outside the Nusak:

2 Ndao (Mangga)

1 Bilba

1 Ringgou

Generation

IV

30 marriages

- 2 Ingu-Fao
- 1 Ingu-Beuk

V

28 marriages

- 4 Fola-Tein (M.H.)
- 2 Muskanan-Tein (M.H.)
- 1 Nelu-Tein (M.H.)
- 2 Ndao Manu-Tein (M.H.)
- 2 Kota Deak
- 4 Tulle-Tein (K.K.)
- 1 Ingu-Beuk

Outside the Nusak:

- 1 Lord of Korbaffo
- 1 Lord of Diu
- 3 Korbaffo
- 2 Loleh (Foe-Nalle)
- 1 Ndao
- 2 Kupang
- 1 Savu (in Kupang)
- 1 Makassar

VI

15 marriages

- 1 Fola-Tein (M.H.)
- 2 Ndao Manu-Tein (M.H.)
- 1 Kiumama-Tein (M.H.)
- 1 Kota-Deak
- 1 Tulle-Tein (K.K.)
- 1 Ingu-Fao
- 2 Ingu-Beuk
- 1 Dou-Danga

Outside the Nusak:

- 1 Kiu-Kanak(in Kupang)
- 1 Loleh
- 1 Belu
- 1 Savu
- 1 Flores (in Kupang)

Biredoko LineChart IIWife Giver / Wife Taker

Generation	Biredoko Line as wife-Taker from:	Biredoko Line as Wife-Giver to:
I	1 Fola-Tein (M.H.)	--
II	Men: 2 marriages 1 Tulle-Tein (K.K.) 1 Ingu-Fao	--
III	Men: 9 marriages 5 Kota-Deak 2 Tulle-Tein (K.K.) 1 Nelu-Tein (M.H.) 1 Suĩ	Women: 2 marriages 1 Sanguana-Tein (?) 1 Ingu-Fao
IV	Men: 16 marriages 3 Fola-Tein (M.H.) 4 Muskanan-Tein (M.H.) 1 Loe-Tein (M.H.) 4 Kota-Deak 1 Tulle-Tein (K.K.) 1 Ingu-Fao ----- 2 Ndao (Mengga)	Women: 14 marriages 3 Fola-Tein (M.H.) 1 Hailiti-Tein (M.H.) 4 Kota-Deak 2 Tulle-Tein (K.K.) 1 Ingu-Fao 1 Ingu-Beuk ----- 1 Bilba 1 Ringgou

Generation	Biredoko line as wife-Taker from:	Biredoko line as wife-Giver to:
V	<p>Men: 9 marriages</p> <p>2 Ndao Manu-Tein (M.H.)</p> <p>1 Muskanan-Tein (M.H.)</p> <p>1 Kota-Deak</p> <p>1 Tulle-Tein (K.K.)</p> <p><u>1 Ingu-Beuk</u></p> <hr/> <p>2 Korbaffo</p> <p>1 Savu (In Kupang)</p>	<p>women: 19 marriages</p> <p>4 Fola-Tein (M.H.)</p> <p>1 Muskanan-Tein (M.H.)</p> <p>1 Belu-Tein (M.H.)</p> <p>1 Kota-Deak</p> <p><u>3 Tulle-Tein (K.K.)</u></p> <hr/> <p>1 Lord of Korbaffo</p> <p>1 Lord of Diu</p> <p>1 Korbaffo</p> <p>2 Loleh (Foe-Nalle)</p> <p>1 Ndao</p> <p>2 Kupang</p> <p>1 Makassar</p>
VI	<p>Men: 5 marriages</p> <p>1 Kota-Deak</p> <p>1 Tulle-Tein (K.K.)</p> <p>1 Ingu-Fao</p> <p>1 Ingu-Beuk</p> <p>1 Kiu-hanak (in Kupang)</p>	<p>Women: 10 marriages</p> <p>1 Fola-Tein</p> <p>2 Ndao Manu-Tein</p> <p>1 Kiumana-Tein</p> <p>1 Ingu-Beuk</p> <p><u>1 Dou Danga</u></p> <hr/> <p>1 Loleh</p> <p>1 Belu</p> <p>1 Flores (in Kupang),</p> <p>1 Savu</p>

Biredoko LineChart III

Total Marriages: 87

1. Marriages Masa-Huk:	27
a) Fola-Tein	12
b) Muskanan-Tein	6
c) Ndao Manu-Tein	4
d) Nelu-Tein	2
e) Lee-Tein	1
f) Hailiti-Tein	1
g) Kiumana-Tein	1
2. Marriages Kota-Deak:	16
3. Marriages Kiu-Kanak:	13
a) Tulle-Tein	11
b) Sanguana-Tein	1 (?)
c) other : Kupang	1
4. Marriages Ingu-Pao:	5
5. Marriages Ingu-Beuk:	4
6. Marriages Sui:	1
7. Marriages Dou-Danga:	1
8. Marriages outside:	20

I. No marriages are recorded with 1) Meno; 2) Ulu-Anak;
3) Nggofa-Laik. 4) Ingu-Naü.

II. Noble marriages either within Masa-Huk or with Kota-Deak or Tulle-Tein account for 54 out of 87 marriages, 62% of all marriages.

III. Marriages outside the domain account for 20 out of 87 marriages, 23% of all marriages.

IV. Marriages with members of commoner clans account for 13 out of 87 marriages, 15% of all marriages.

8. The Village Area of Ufa-Len

The village area of Ufa-Len, in the northwest of the domain of Termanu, offers a convenient area²⁰ for an analysis of Rotinese patterns of settlement. Ufa-Len, although it is not situated directly beside the sea, forms a part of a stretch of habitable land that skirts the north coast of the island. Water is essential for the location of any house and the houses scattered throughout the area of Ufa-Len draw their water from the river of the same name. Ufa is a species of tree, probably the Indonesian djambu, a kind of 'water guava' tree. Le means 'river'. Ufa-Len is 'the river of the ufa tree'. (The Ufa-Len is called Lamak-Len further to the south where it waters a wet rice field of that name and this river name has found its way onto the Dutch maps of the island). Strictly speaking Ufa-Len refers to the settlement area enclosed between the two arms of the Ufa-Len but there is an additional cluster of houses at a spot named Batu-Bongo, on the other side of the Ufa-Len, which is generally regarded as part of Ufa-Len. Batu-Bongo, meaning 'round rock', takes its name from a large circular rock located directly in the middle of the Ufa-Len near where it passes this cluster of houses.

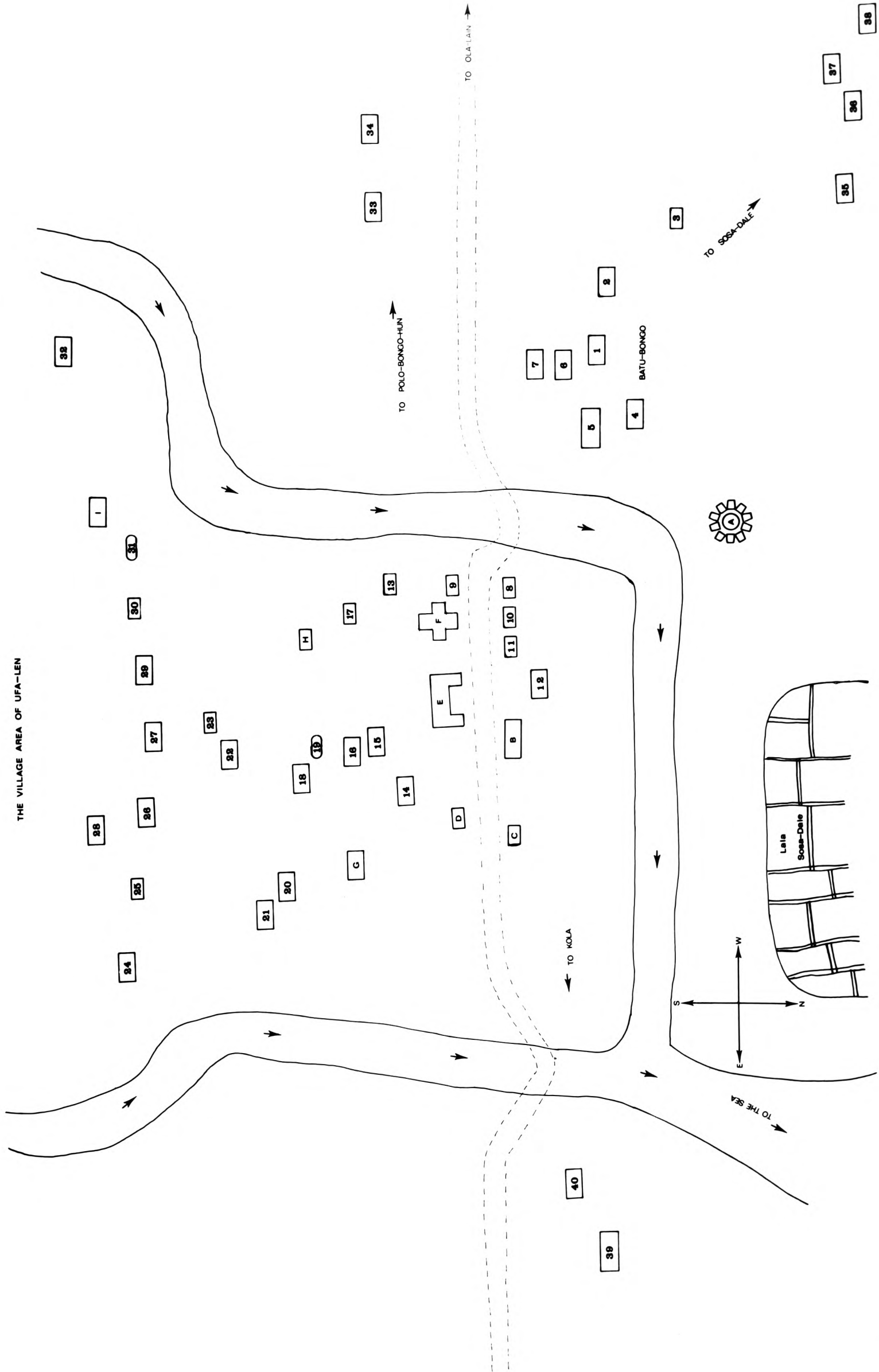
20. Except for visits of a day or two to other parts of Roti, my wife and I lived without interruption in Ufa-Len for nearly seven months.

For most of the year, the Ufa-Len is dry. Only for short periods in the wet season does this river-bed become a torrent, carrying the rains from the hills to the sea. About ten years ago, according to my informants, some kind of geological change occurred which caused the river-bank of the Ufa-Len to retain some seepage of water throughout the dry season. It is possible now to dig shallow holes at several points in the river bottom. These holes slowly fill with water. Some of these holes provide a pure water for cooking. Other large holes offer pools of shallow water for bathing and washing clothes. This meagre source of water has probably been the main reason for the slow shift of houses to Ufa-Len. All of Ufa-Len is an area of relatively recent settlement. One or two of the houses at Batu-Bongo are older than any of the houses in Ufa-Len.

On the following page, I offer an outline map of the area locating and numbering each of the thirty-one houses of Ufa-Len and Batu-Bongo. To this map, I have added a further nine houses on the outskirts of the village area. These houses are the start of other named village areas. In Chart I, I list each house on the map, by number, and give the clan and (when known) the lineage affiliation of both husband and wife. In Chart II, I analyse the composition of the various households²¹. These data plus a number

21. I make one reservation about this chart. I probably failed to count all the children under 15 in the village area, since children seem always to be moving about, visiting one or another of their relatives especially their grandparents or their mother's brothers. I confess to a failure in sorting out all the young children in the area.

THE VILLAGE AREA OF UFA-LEN



of short genealogies, which I do not present here, form the basis for my discussion of Ufa-Len.

Houses in the Village Area of Ufa-Len

Chart I

[] = deceased

House number	Husband Clan	Lineage(if known)	Wife Clan	Lineage(if known)
1.	Ingu-Beuk	Ethnographer, living in a house of....		
2.	Kiu-Kanak		Ingu-Beuk	
3.	[Kiu-Kanak]	[Beä-Tein]	Masa-Huk	Ndao Manu-Tein
4.	Ingu-Beuk		Kota-Deak	Nadek-Tein
5.	Ingu-Beuk		[Masa-Huk]	[Fola-Tein: Biredoko]
6.	Ingu-Beuk		Dou-Danga	Dope-Tein
7.	[Dou-Danga]	[Dope-Tein]	Kota-Deak	Nadek-Tein
8.	Kiu-Kanak	Tulle-Tein	noble girl from Ringgou	
9.	Kota-Deak	Nadek-Tein	Ingu-Beuk	
10.	School teacher and wife from Baä			
11.	School teacher from Baä			
12.	Kiu-Kanak		Ingu-Beuk	
13.	[Ingu-Beuk]		Masa-Huk	Hailiti-Tein
14.	Kiu-Kanak		Kota-Deak	Nadek-Tein
15.	Ingu-Beuk		Dou-Danga	Linihanak-Tein
16.	Kiu-Kanak		Masa-Huk	Kiumama-Tein
17.	Kiu-Kanak		Kota-Deak	Nadek-Tein
18.	Ingu-Beuk		Masa-Huk	Ndao Manu-Tein
19.	[Masa-Huk]	[Ndao Manu-Tein]		?
20.	Kiu-Kanak	Beä-Tein	Kiu-Kanak	

Houses in the Village Area of Ufa-LenChart I (cont.)

[] = deceased

() = has left Roti

House number	<u>Husband</u>		<u>Wife</u>	
	Clan	Lineage(if known)	Clan	Lineage(if known)
21.	Ingu-Beuk		Kiu-Kanak	
22.	Masa-Huk	Fola-Tein: Amalo	[Masa-Huk]	[Fola-Tein: Biredoko]
23.	Kota-Deak	Nadek-Tein	Masa-Huk	Fola-Tein: Amalo
24.	Dou-Danga	Dope-Tein	Kota-Deak	Solu-Tein
25.	Kiu-Kanak	preparing a house in order to marry		
26.	Kota-Deak		Kiu-Kanak	
27.	Kiu-Kanak		Kiu-Kanak	Beä-Tein
28.	Kiu-Kanak		Ingu-Fao	
29.	Ingu-Beuk		Kota-Deak	Nadek-Tein
30.	[Kota-Deak]	[Nadek-Tein: Elisama]	Kota-Deak	Nadek-Tein: Saduk
31.	[Masa-Huk]	[Muskanan-Tein]	Masa-Huk	Fola-Tein
32.	Masa-Huk	Fola-Tein: Biredoko	Masa-Huk	Ndao Manu-Tein
33.	Kota-Deak	Nadek-Tein	?	
34.	Masa-Huk	Muskanan-Tein	?	
35.	Kota-Deak	Patola-Tein	?	
36.	Nggofa-Laik		Kota-Deak	Patola-Tein
37.	Masa-Huk		Kota-Deak	Nadek-Tein
38.	Masa-Huk	Fola-Tein: Biredoko	Ingu-Beuk	
39.	Masa-Huk	Fola-Tein: Biredoko	Kiu-Kanak	Tulle-Tein
40.	A man from Loleh		Masa-Huk	Fola-Tein: Biredoko

In three houses of the village area of Ufa-Len, married children are living with their parents: two recently married sons and one married daughter whose husband has left Roti. The clan and lineage affiliations of these couples are:

12.	Kiu-Kanak		Kiu-Kanak	
15.	(Kota-Deak)	(Solu-Tein)	Ingu-Beuk	
39.	Masa-Huk	Fola-Tein: Biredoko	Kiu-Kanak	Tulle-Tein

The Composition of the Households in the Village Area of Ufa-LenChart II

[] = recently deceased

() = temporary residence

House	Man	Woman	Children over 15	Children under 15	Grand-children	others
1.	ethnographer	wife				
2.	husband	wife	2 sons 1 daughter		(2)	
3.		widow		1		
4.	husband	wife		5		
5.	widower		unmarried daughter			(sister's son)
6.	husband	wife	son and daughter	2		
7.		widow		1		
8.	husband	wife		3		
9.	husband	wife				
10.	husband	wife		2		
11.	bachelor					
12.	husband	wife	2 sons			(son's bride)
13.		widow		1		
14.	husband	wife		2		
15.	husband	wife	(married daughter)		(4)	(brother's orphaned daughter and brother's son)
16.	husband	wife				
17.	husband	wife				
18.	husband	wife		2		
19.		widow	unmarried daughter		1	
20.	husband	wife	son	3		husband's mother
21.	husband	wife				

The Composition of the Households in the Village Area of Ufa-Len

Chart II (Cont.)

[] = recently deceased
() = temporary residence

House	Man	Woman	Children over 15	Children under 15	Grand-children	others
22.	widower		unmarried daughter			daughter's daughter of marriageable age
23.	husband	wife		4		
24.	husband	wife		3		
25.	bachelor					
26.	husband	wife		3		
27.	[husband]	wife		2		
28.	husband	wife		3		
29.	[husband]	wife		3		
30.		widow		1 or 2		
31.		widow		2 or 3		
32.	husband	wife				
33.	husband	wife			(2)	
34.	husband	wife	son	2 or 3		
35.	husband	wife				
36.	husband	wife	unmarried daughter		1	
37.	husband	wife	son	1 or 2		
38.	husband	wife	2 daughters	2		orphaned child of Sawunese parents
39.	husband	wife	son and daughter	5		(son's bride)
40.	husband	wife		4		

Notes on the Map of the Village Area of Ufa-Len

The village area of Ufa-Len is situated between the village areas of Kola and Polo-Bongo-Hun shown on the previous map. To give some idea of scale on this map, I estimate that the direct distance between house no.24 and house no.35 is approximately half a mile. On this map, there are a number of structures marked by a letter of the alphabet. These are as follows:

- A. A water buffalo corral.
- B. A simple roofed structure serving as a church.
- C. A disused house, the former residence of a schoolteacher of Kota-Deak.
- D. A house in near total ruin, the former residence of another schoolteacher.
- E. The elementary school.
- F. The framework for a future church.
- G. The new house, nearly completed, of the present residents of house no.23.
- H. The framework of the former house of the present residents of house no.21.
- I. A house in need of extensive repair, the former residence of a widow living nearby in a makeshift dwelling, house no.31.

In Ufa-Len there are members of seven clans of the domain: Masa-Huk, Kiu-Kanak, Ingu-Beuk, Nggofa-Laik, Kota-Deak, Ingu-Fao and Dou-Danga; but no members from Ingu-Naü, Meno, or Sui. The village area is unusual only in that it is the location for a large number of houses of the tiny clan, Ingu-Beuk. No other village in Termanu would have this number of houses of Ingu-Beuk. The forty houses of Ufa-Len belong to the particular clans as follows:²²

1. Kiu-Kanak: 11
2. Ingu-Beuk: 9
3. Masa-Huk: 8
4. Kota-Deak: 6
5. Dou-Danga: 2
6. Nggofa-Laik: 1
7. School teachers from Baä: 2
8. Client from Loleh: 1

Analysed according to lineage affiliations, it is evident that each clan is represented in the area by one or another principal lineage. Kota-Deak is represented largely by Nadek-Tein; there is one householder of Patola-Tein and two women of Patola-Tein and Solu-Tein. Ingu-Beuk has no lineages yet it is useful to note that nearly all the members of Ingu-Beuk in Ufa-Len use a single fam name, Kiuk. Masa-Huk is represented principally by the royal lineage, Fola-Tein. Although there are other members of

22. I consider the houses, where widows are raising their children for their husband's clan, as belonging to the clan of the husband.

Fola-Tein in the area, the lineage is itself represented mainly by members of the Biredoko descent line. Members of Muskanan-Tein and Ndao Manu-Tein are also found in Ufa-Len. Dou-Danga is represented by Dope-Tein and Kiu-Kanak by Beä-Tein.

Kiu-Kanak, however, presents further difficulties. In Ufa-Len there are a number of members of Kiu-Kanak for whom it is difficult to specify some lineage affiliation. Most of these members use one fam name, that of Mauk. Several members of the fam Mauk have married with Beä-Tein or others in Kiu-Kanak. That certain members of Kiu-Kanak can not be identified according to lineage is not troubling to the Rotinese. This is precisely what they themselves contend. I have quoted the aphorism that Kiu-Kanak is composed of "five children" [the lineages] and "thirty followers" [the clients]. The fam Mauk is what would be regarded as part of these thirty followers²³. The proposition that a genealogy might be drawn up for the entire clan Kiu-Kanak was, when I proposed it, considered laughable. Not only would the task be impossible; it would also be irrelevant for this large commoner clan.

There is little to be learned from the marriages contracted between the members of the various clans. Though certain clans are said to be paired in what may once have been a special form of

23. I gathered a genealogy of limited depth which suggests a client origin of this fam some five generations ago.

affinal alliance, this alliance is today not based upon the frequency of marriage between these paired clans. The clan is a political unit and in most cases the clan is too large a unit to be relevant for an analysis of specific affinal alliances. I present this analysis, however, because it permits a number of remarks about the relative endogamy-exogamy of the clans.

1. Kiu-Kanak

	Clan	Number of marriages		Clan	Number of marriages
	Kiu-Kanak	3		Kiu-Kanak	3
Wife-Giver to:	Masa-Huk	2	Wife-Taker from:	Ingu-Beuk	3
	Kota-Deak	1		Kota-Deak	2
	Ingu-Beuk	1		Masa-Huk	2
				Ingu-Fao	1
			Ringgou	1	

2. Ingu-Beuk

	Kiu-Kanak	2		Masa-Huk	3
Wife-Giver to:	Kota-Deak	2	Wife-Taker from:	Kota-Deak	2
	Masa-Huk	1		Dou-Danga	2
			Kiu-Kanak	1	

3. Masa-Huk

	Masa-Huk	3		Masa-Huk	3
	Ingu-Beuk	3		Kiu-Kanak	2
Wife-Giver to:	Kiu-Kanak	2	Wife-Taker from:	Kota-Deak	1
	Kota-Deak	1		Ingu-Beuk	1
	Loleh	1			

	Clan	Number of marriages		Clan	Number of marriages
4. <u>Kota-Deak</u>					
	Ingu-Beuk	2		Ingu-Beuk	1
	Kiu-Kanak	2		Masa-Huk	1
Wife-Giver to:	Dou-Danga	2	Wife-Taker	Kiu-Kanak	1
	Masa-Huk	1	from :	Kota-Deak	1 (?)
	Nggofa-Laik	1			
	Kota-Deak	1 (?)			
5. <u>Dou-Danga</u>					
Wife-Giver to:	Ingu-Beuk	2	Wife-Taker	Kota-Deak	2
			from :		
6. <u>Nggofa-Laik</u>			Wife-Taker	Kota-Deak	1
			from :		

Although the sample is small, this analysis of the marriages of Ufa-len according to clan suggests a proposition (which is indeed true) that all the clans of Termanu exchange women with each other. These few marriages also suggest that the members of Masa-Huk and Kiu-Kanak contract as many marriages within their own clan as they do with members of any other clan. (For Masa-Huk, I suspect that more marriages are contracted within the clan than are contracted outside of it). But none of these statements is in need of complicated statistical proof since they are precisely what the Rotinese explain about themselves. As I have attempted to explain earlier in this chapter, Masa-Huk tends to be endogamous to preserve the high status of its noble lineages while Kiu-Kanak, with the exception of Tulle-Tein, tends to be endogamous because of its size and also because of its lack of status. That the

other smaller clans either tend to be exogamous or are strictly exogamous is also true but is only hinted at by these data²⁴.

Among the Rotinese, there is no institution of prescriptive alliance but nevertheless the Rotinese do speak about alliances ("tying the waist-band") sometimes between lineages and sometimes between the descent lines of lineages. Since all clans exchange women among themselves, the possibilities for claiming an alliance are innumerable.

The following are the principal alliances which I have heard the villagers of Ufa-Len claim. To begin with, as I have already indicated in the previous section of this chapter, Fola-Tein: Biredoko claims alliance with Fola-Tein: Amalo. This is confirmed by one marriage in the village. Fola-Tein also claims alliance with Tulle-Tein of Kiu-Kanak. Both father and son in house no. 39 have married women of Tulle-Tein. Fola-Tein claims a further alliance with Ndao Manu-Tein, another noble lineage of its own clan.

24. The marriage of house no. 30 is an exception to this and appears to violate the rule of lineage exogamy. According to what I was told by an informant from Ingu-Beuk, the widow, now living with her young children, of the lineage Nadek-Tein and using the fam name Saduk was said to have married a man, now deceased, also of Nadek-Tein but who used the fam name Elisama. Unfortunately I recorded this information but did not have the sense to question the old woman herself about her marriage. This marriage may be an indication of a client line within Nadek-Tein or - as is possible - my informant may have been mistaken.

This alliance is evidenced by the marriage in house no.32 and while I was in Ufa-Len, on the basis of this alliance, the marriage of a daughter in house no.38 was negotiated with Ndao Manu-Tein. Fola-Tein: Biredoko admits but does not boast of its alliance with Ingu-Beuk. Ingu-Beuk is, on the other hand, proud of this alliance. While I was in Ufa-Len, on the basis of this alliance with Fola-Tein: Biredoko, a wealthy member of Ingu-Beuk was hoping to negotiate the marriage of his son with a girl of Fola-Tein: Amalo (in house no.22).²⁵ There was, however, another suitor for this girl from a house of Tulle-Tein, which is better allied with Fola-Tein. At the time, when a girl of Ingu-Beuk (originally in house no.5) married a young man (in house no.9) of Nadek-Tein of Kota-Deak, the alliance of Ingu-Beuk and Nadek-Tein was spoken of in words of great eloquence. The marriages in houses no.5 and 29, as well as an important marriage in a previous generation, were cited as firm grounds for this alliance. There is also good evidence of a marriage alliance between Ingu-Beuk and Dope-Tein of Dou-Danga and Ingu-Beuk and the Mauk fam of Kiu-Kanak but never did the opportunity arise for calling attention to these potential alliances largely, I suspect, because no new marriage between these groups was immediately contemplated. For the resident members of

25. My wife and I profited from this situation by temporarily occupying the house prepared in expectation of the marriage of this boy from Ingu-Beuk. During our stay, he moved to his father's brother's house, no.15.

Kiu-Manak, it was pointed out to me that the fam Mauk was allied with Bea-Tein of its own clan (cf. the marriages in house no. 20 and 27) and with Nadek-Tein of Kota-Deak (cf. the recent marriages in houses no. 14 and 17). These, then, are the principal marriage alliances I have heard discussed in Ufa-Len. Potentially there are many more. The opportunity for claiming an alliance arises whenever some new marriage is contemplated. The claim to a favourable marriage alliance is a claim to status and it is, therefore, a form of marriage strategy.

The examination of the composition of the households in Ufa-Len in Chart II supports the basic Rotinese contention that the household is organized around a woman. Except for the houses of two young bachelors, the rest of the households in the village are composed either of a husband and wife (with or without children), a widow and her child(ren), or an older unmarried daughter and her widowed father²⁶.

26. There is virtually no adoption of children on Roti. The idea of adoption would run contrary to the firm Rotinese ideas about bridewealth fixing the descent of a child, his membership in a lineage and clan. The child in house no. 38 is an exception. This child is of Savunese parents and has been adopted by - or at least taken into the house of - a Biredoko, because of the Savunese connections of this descent line. In house no. 15, an orphaned daughter has been living for some time with her father's brother. When she marries, her bridewealth will go to this man but since she was the only daughter of her father, if she has no son before she marries, her inheritance will pass to her husband's lineage.

A surprisingly high proportion of households are headed by a widow. There are widows in houses no. 3, 7, 13, 19, 30, and 31 and to this number can be added two women who were widowed while I was on the island. They are in houses no.27 and 29. This accounts for one fifth of the houses of the village. One realizes why the Rotinese appear to be obsessed with the image of 'the widow and orphan' which recurs not only in funeral chants, but in poems of all sorts and in folktales. (Hardly a folktale begins without the traditional opening: "Once upon a time, there was an orphan who ...", though frequently this orphan lives not with his mother but with his grandmother).

Not all of these widows are elderly women. Some of these women, especially those in houses 3 and 29, are relatively young and not unattractive. Probably only two or three of these widows are too old to marry. Some widows do remarry. The woman in house no.23 married a man of her deceased husband's lineage. In Rotinese society, however, many widows retain control of their husband's house and raise his children for his lineage. If she has children, a widow will rarely return to live in her father's or her brother's house.

One of the themes in the many chants and folktales about widows and orphans is the difficulties which the widow faces in raising her children. She is refused help by her husband's brothers and struggles to support her sons until they are capable

of working in the fields and tapping trees. Some of the widows of Ufa-Len do live in poverty. The widow in house no.3, slightly crippled by some illness, lives a meagre existence by gathering firewood and cultivating a small dry garden. The widow in house no.19, recently moved from Polo-Bongo-Hun, has erected a rude hovel near the house (no.18) of her daughter's husband. There she, with her unmarried daughter and one grandchild, cooks lontar syrup and performs other tasks as an uncomfortable adjunct to her married daughter's household²⁷. Some widows in Ufa-Len with young children also have older sons to support them. Some, I know, actually receive assistance from their deceased husband's brothers or his close agnates. And one widow owns a large number of productive lontar trees and has several young men tapping these trees for a share of lontar juice²⁸.

27. This highlights a rule of Rotinese residence. Normally, a mother may continue to live in the house of her youngest son once he has married. She usually allows her son's wife the right to manage the house, surrendering, as the Rotinese phrase it, her right to the loft. But a mother may not live in the house of her daughter once she has married. In house no.19, a mother has had to build an inadequate hovel beside her daughter's house while nearby in house no.20, another mother is resident in the house of her son and his wife.

28. As I have already explained in a previous chapter, the number of lontar trees in Termanu so vastly exceeds the number of men available to tap them that there is a competition among palm tree owners to find men to tap them. The same holds true in finding women to cook lontar juice to syrup and it is from their cooking that many widows can earn their living.

Two houses in Ufa-Len are composed of an unmarried daughter and a widowed father. These are houses no.5 and 22. In house no.22, this arrangement has existed for many years and the unmarried daughter has a daughter of her own who has assumed the name and lineage affiliation of her mother. Socially it is women, not men, who maintain a house.

The majority of houses in Ufa-Len are composed of a husband and wife and a number of children²⁹. This is the normal Rotinese household formed by a marriage. For a Rotinese, to marry is to establish a house. The ideas of marriage and of the house are so closely related that, in ordinary as well as in ritual language, an expression for marriage is na-uma, na-lo: 'to have house and to have home'. The house then is the basic unit of Rotinese society.

This present chapter has been concerned with the composition of the clan and it has attempted to analyse all of its sub-divisions to this most basic unit, the house. In the following chapter, I am concerned to examine the relations that are established by marriage. Although Rotinese often speak as if affinal relations existed between clans or between lineages, the fact is that affinal relations define a portion of Rotinese society, larger than the single household but often smaller than the lineage.

29. One point worth noting is that in forming their households actual brothers tend to separate from each other, although they usually live in the same village area. In Ufa-Len, for example, houses in pairs no.4 and 18, 5 and 15, 2 and 12, and 14 and 17 were formed by two brothers. In choosing a site for his house, a man may prefer to settle near more distant agnates (father's brother's sons) or affines rather than near the house of his brother.

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE & AFFINAL RELATIONS1. Agnatic Descent and Affinal Relations.

On Roti, a man's agnates are his ama-kaä-fadik. This compound term, consisting of three separate relationship terms, refers to a man's father, his father's brothers and his own elder and younger brothers. The application of this term may have varying levels of specification. The word, leo, for example, which I have translated to mean 'clan', may also in some contexts be used to refer to lesser sub-divisions of the clan. A certain fluidity in the application of the word is essential to the functioning of Rotinese society. Its use is never confusing because the word's meaning is either evident from context or can be qualified by alternative terms (nggi, nggitak, -teik). As a final resort, there exist distinct lineage names, as well as clan names, to clarify the meaning of the word, leo. Much of this same degree of fluidity applies to a man's use of the term, ama-kaä-fadik. The term can be applied to all the male members¹ of a man's clan, but it is very rarely used in this sense when a man is a member of

1. Here I am discussing the lineage from the point of view of a male ego. The term, ama-kaä-fadik for a woman refers to her father, father's brothers and her elder and younger sisters. The terms, kaä-fadik, are used among siblings of the same sex.

one of the larger, segmented clans. More properly, it may refer to the men of a man's lineage or the men of his descent line. Most specifically, this term may refer to a man's closest agnates, his father and actual brothers. These men, while their father is alive, hold and work their property jointly.

Rotinese society is agnatic in ideology, but a man does not belong to his lineage simply by reason of his descent from his father. In this sense, 'descent' is not a rule or principle. A man belongs to his lineage because his descent has been established through the bridewealth paid by his father to the lineage of his mother. Nor do formal payments to affines cease with the conclusion of the bridewealth settlement. On Roti, payments to affines continue for generations.

I have until now discussed bridewealth as if this payment were made exclusively to the lineage of the bride, either to her father or her brother or both. In fact, a set portion of all bridewealth is paid to the mother's brother of the bride. Thus, a man's descent, in his own lineage, is established by payments to two different lineages, to the lineage of his direct affines and to the affinal lineage of these direct affines.

Whereas bridewealth payments establish a person's descent, funeral payments establish the heirs of a dead man. There is a simple and invariable rule among the Rotinese: the person, who pays the affines of a dead man for their ritual services at the

funeral feast, inherits from the deceased. In practice, this means that a father buries his sons and unmarried daughters and pays their affines. In the same way, sons share the burial costs and pay the death payments for their parents, since they claim the right of inheritance.²

Funeral payments in the case of a married woman are particularly instructive of Rotinese attitudes toward lineage membership and the right of inheritance. A father or brother will bury an unmarried daughter or sister. When a girl marries, she is taken to the spirit house (uma nitu), of her husband and formally introduced to the objects in the house: the rice, the fire, the water, the loft. As long as her bridewealth has not been paid, her father or brother may still claim the right to bury her if she dies and he may also reclaim whatever she brought with her at the

-
2. Occasionally disputes can arise about who has the right to bury some elder member of the lineage who has left no immediate lineal descendants. In one such case in Termanu, an old man from Kiu-Kanak, who had been living with (or near) some agnates in the area of Nitang-Oen, moved to Oe-Nitas to live with some other agnates. He died in Oe-Nitas and his relatives there quickly prepared a feast to bury him and pay the mother's brother. His closer agnates from Nitang-Oen came, however, and claimed the right to bury their relative. There was a fearsome dispute for some hours between these two groups of agnates and in the end the men from Nitang-Oen forced their way to the coffin, hoisted it on their shoulders and returned to their village area where they buried the dead man and claimed his property. In this dispute, I was never certain whether the two principals who both claimed the right to bury the old man were the sons or grandsons of two brothers. There was no question but that these men were members of the same lineage (they also used the same fam name) and would in other circumstances have co-operated and have attended each others' funerals as members of the same lineage.

time of her marriage plus half the property she and her husband accumulated during their marriage. After bridewealth has been paid, a husband buries his wife and pays her affines for their ritual services.

Sons have the right to bury their mother and if a woman has had children by more than one husband, the children of the first marriage have the right to bury her, even if she happens to be living at the time of her death with the children of her second marriage.³ A more difficult case arises when a childless old married woman dies whose husband has already died. By right the closest members of the woman's own lineage should bury her and pay the funeral payments. But a great deal depends upon whether there is property at stake. If the woman leaves property of some value, both her lineage and the lineage of her husband may dispute over burial rights. In the end, whoever succeeds in burying the woman

3. A case of this sort arose shortly after I arrived in Ufa-Len. An Amalo woman from Fola-Tein had married with a Biredoko and had a son. Later she married with a man from Tulle-Tein and had children. Her first husband's child was living in Hoö while the second husband's children lived in Hala. The son in Hoö buried his mother and paid her mother's brother and mother's mother's brother at an enormous funeral feast. Since Rotinese funerals involve a whole series of feasts, it was agreed that the children of the second marriage could give the feast on the 40th day. I also attended this second feast which rivaled the feast given in Hoö on the day of the burial.

and paying her affines has the right of inheritance.⁴

A Rotinese is, therefore, identified⁵ by reference to three descent groups: his own lineage or clan (the lineage or clan of his agnates if the bridewealth of his mother has been paid), the direct affinal lineage or clan of his mother's brother (toö-huk), and the further affinal lineage or clan of his mother's mother's brother (bai-huk). There is, however, this important distinction in the identification of a commoner and a noble. A man, if he is

4. I know of two such cases which occurred while I was on Roti. One case involved an old woman of the Biredoko line of Fola-Tein. This woman had married a man from Kota-Deak but had had no children. She had her own house but was forced to stay with her relatives because she could no longer care for herself. When she died she was living with Biredoko's in Sosa-Dale. She was buried, therefore, by these Biredoko's, who claimed her possessions, a wealth of gold jewelry. In another case, in Namo-Dale, an old woman from Kota-Deak died while she was living among a number of her husband's family from Dou-Danga. Dou-Danga expected Kota-Deak to come forward to bury the woman, but when they did not, Dou-Danga buried her, paid the woman's affines and claimed, at court, the right to her possessions. In this case, Dou-Danga's claim was granted. Both of these situations could only have arisen in Termanu because in Baä and Korbaffo (as well as in many other areas of Roti) there exists a slightly different customary usage in regard to the widow. When a woman's husband dies in Baä or Korbaffo, her mother's brother performs songgo aok: "to offer for the body". This ceremony either accompanies or follows the funeral ceremony and formally marks the reception of the woman back into her own lineage. In Termanu, a ceremony of the same name is only performed to receive a divorced woman back into her lineage.
5. I use the word 'identified' intentionally because it would often happen that when I inquired about a certain individual, I would be told the man's lineage or clan and then immediately the lineage or clan of his mother's brother and mother's mother's brother. A Rotinese is, in fact, 'identified' by these three separate descent groups.

a commoner, is normally identified by reference to his clan. No mention is made of his lineage membership since all the lineages of commoner clans are regarded as equal in status. But if a man is a noble, he is usually identified by reference to his lineage because there is considerable differentiation in status among the lineages of the noble clans.

In Termanu, a man of the noble clan Masa-Huk is usually identified by his lineage: Fola-Tein, Ndao Manu-Tein, Hailiti-Tein and so on. A commoner is identified by his clan whether or not this clan is further subdivided into exogamous lineages. The position of the feter clan Kota-Deak is somewhat ambiguous. In general, members of this clan are identified by clan rather than lineage, but occasionally members of Solu-Tein, the most noble lineage of the clan and the lineage from which the Lord-feter is chosen, are identified by lineage. The clan Kiu-Kanak, provides another example of this usage. Members of Tulle-Tein, the lineage linked in affinal relations with the royal lineage, are nearly always identified by their lineage rather than their clan, while all other members of Kiu-Kanak are simply identified by clan without lineage differentiation.

My object in this chapter is to examine not the lineal but the affinal connections by which a Rotinese is identified. These are the connections (the Rotinese would say 'roots') by which a man is made to grow and prosper. I now return to some of the

earlier concerns of the thesis: the pervasive metaphor of planting, the model of the tree, the influence of the moon on growth, the importance of women and the union or reunion of opposites. I begin with a discussion of Rotinese ideas about preferred marriage. I, then, consider Rotinese conceptions about the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother and devote a long section of the chapter to a summary of the various ritual services performed by these affines (especially by the mother's brother). And I conclude the chapter with a detailed discussion of the Rotinese relationship terminology, the metaphor that informs it, and the formal sentiments with which it is associated.

2. Ideas of Marriage and Alliance.

Whenever a Rotinese discusses a marriage alliance, whether this alliance is said to exist between clans, between lineages, or between houses, he normally cites a specific marriage which established the alliance. This immediately reduces the discussion of alliance to its simplest terms and allows each alliance to be phrased in a vocabulary of elementary relations. Whatever the allied groups, all alliances are described on a model of a relationship between the children of a brother and a sister.

One Rotinese noble, after long consideration, suggested that the real rule governing marriage was the rule that "one should always marry someone with whom one has already married". The idea

behind this statement is that all marriages should repeat former alliances. The statement is neither as contradictory nor as rigid as it might appear. Except in the case of a few specific prohibitions on marriage, most lineages or clans have at some time in the past given or taken women from one another and these past marriages usually provide a sufficient number of precedents on which to base a claim to alliance. Since no alliance is obligatory in character, when it is possible for two groups to conclude a desirable marriage, it is always possible to discover a precedent for the marriage.

The fact is, however, that marriage alliance is more than just a convenient manner of speaking; there are definite preferences in marriage based upon marriages in the recent past. There exists also the idea that, in some cases, marriage alliances must be initiated. The expression for initiating an exchange of women between two groups is laselu kakau pingak: 'to exchange plates of cooked rice'. This expression deserves some exegesis. In Rotinese marriage exchanges, the wife-givers send cooked rice and pig's meat, along with the bride, to the house of the groom. (This is given in return for a bridewealth of live water buffalo). An exchange of cooked rice would mean that each side in the exchange is wife-giver to the other. An alliance based upon the direct exchange of women implies an equality of status between the exchanging groups. Or as the Rotinese phrased it: De ina kaduak

sila belis beke babauk: "Thus the two women's bridewealth is equally balanced".

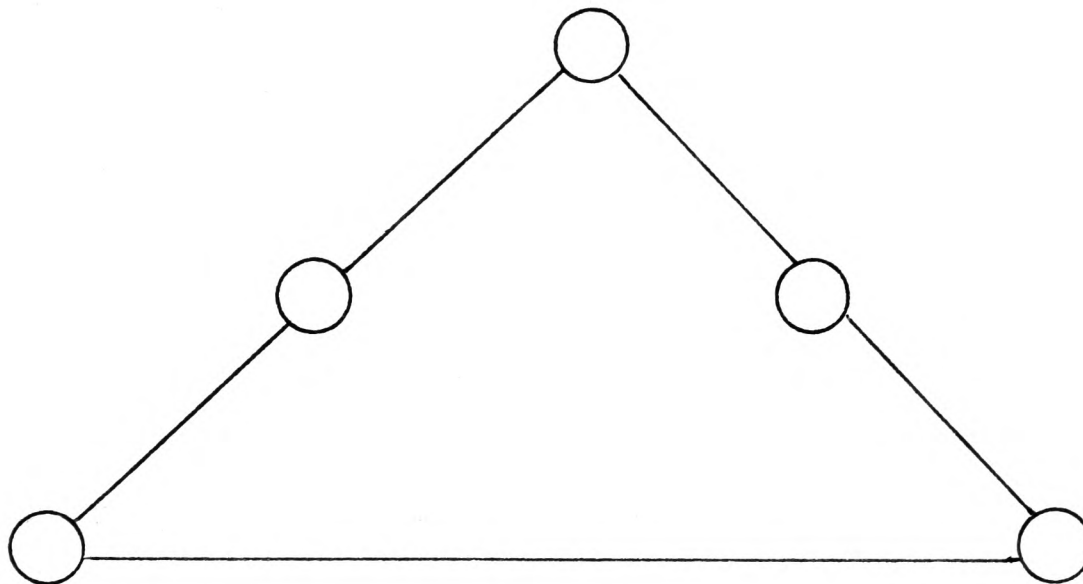
A single exchange of women is insufficient in itself to establish an alliance. For this reason, 'the exchange of plates of cooked rice' is a prelude to 'tying the waist-band' (tuti kali-ke). In Rotinese eyes, an alliance is possible only after a sister has married into another group and thereby provided the means by which a link can be made with the other group. An alliance is always described as a reunion of brother and sister. 'Tying the waist-band', the commonest expression for an alliance, refers (at least, in Termanu) to the marriage of the children of a brother and a sister. The often quoted rule for this ideal marriage is: Nak ana manen ana feön bole sao fetok ana manen ana feön: "A brother's son [or] daughter may marry a sister's son [or] daughter". The striking feature of this ideal of marriage is that Rotinese describe it as if it were a marriage of a brother and sister. They represent it as a sao feto-nak: 'a marriage of brother and sister'. This expression is not to be taken in its literal sense for an actual marriage of brother and sister would be incestuous. The expression does, however, suggest certain ideas that the Rotinese have about marriage.

Another term for the marriage of the children of a brother and sister is sao uma-na: 'a marriage of the house'. This term can be best explained by a longer saying which has the same meaning:

Uma deak leu uma dalek, uma dalek leu uma deak: "The uma deak [outer, male half of the house] goes to the uma dalek [inner, female half of the house], the uma dalek goes to the uma deak".

The Rotinese house is divided into two halves. The eastern half of the house, called the uma deak is associated with a man and is the place where sons sleep; the western half of the house, called the uma dalek, is associated with a woman and is the place where daughters sleep. The marriage of brother and sister's children can therefore be expressed as the union of the two complementary halves of the house.

It occasionally happened that a Rotinese would offer to draw a diagram to illustrate this ideal of marriage. What was remarkable was that several informants independently drew roughly the same diagram, which can be illustrated as follows:



The first circle represents a man; the second two circles represent a brother and sister; the third circles represent the children of this brother and sister and the line between them indicates marriage. The point of this diagram, it seems, is to unite what has been separated.

Besides the propensity to categorize in terms of dyads, as is well exemplified by Rotinese ritual language, there is a further Rotinese propensity to assume that dyads or complementary opposites should be reunited. In ritual language, for example, it often happens that the two terms of one dyadic set assume a unitary sense in opposition to two terms of another dyadic set.

At the heart of Rotinese society, there is the distinction between two aspects of femininity. While masculinity has a single aspect (mane), femininity is considered either as ina or as feto. For every man, a woman is either an ina who may potentially marry into one's lineage or a feto who should marry out. The Rotinese see no contradiction in the fact that some feto raise children for their own house and lineage. In certain instances, this is highly desirable. On the other hand, an ina, who marries in and to whom every Rotinese man surrenders the management of his house, is never fully a member of the group into which she marries. An ina always remains to some extent a member of another lineage and provides the essential link which establishes a chain of affinal relations. The bond between a man and his feto is quite unlike

that between a man and his ina. The bond between a man and his sister is a formal, indissoluble jural bond. The bond between a man and his wife or mother (both classified as ina) can be more easily severed because divorce is common on Roti. An ina provides her fertility and is thereby a means of establishing affinal connections which, once established, can exist without her. Furthermore the sentiments attributed to the relation of a man and his ina and the relation of a man and his feto are markedly different.

It would seem, therefore, that the marriage of brother and sister's children is a way of overcoming the distinction between ina and feto, by symbolically reuniting a brother and sister, the two complementary halves of a house, in a new union. The same desire to unite a primal pair would seem to be the reason why it is felt by the Rotinese of all domains that the clans of the manek and fetor should exchange women. The marriages unite the two halves of the domain, the two aspects of complementary sovereignty.

The aspect of property is sometimes given as a reason for the preference toward the marriage of brother and sister's children. But this reason can also be quite misleading. As long as the allied groups are of equal status, the exchanges between them should be approximately equal. In the case of a direct exchange of women the ritual objects, especially the sword and the spear, that accompany the bridewealth payments may return to their

original owners. There is a short poem, in ritual language, which urges this kind of direct exchange. In the poem, Holo Hi and Lafa Dale are the names of individuals who may represent any persons who exchange women.

Sao kada Holo Hi	Marry only Holo Hi
Ma tu kada Lafa Dale	And wed only Lafa Dale
Fo ela kapa kada Holo Hi	So that only Holo Hi's water buffalo
Ma lilo kada Lafa Dale	And only Lafa Dale's gold
Fo ela he cek	May be milked
Fo basan ninu	For all to drink
Ma ela fei	And may be brought out
Fo basan pake	For all to wear
Fo tafa leme sosodon	So that the swords remain stuck [in the roof]
Ma te leme bekundaen.	And the spears remain aslant [in the corner]. ⁶

-
6. The reference to sword and spear in these two lines requires some explanation. In chapter II, I quoted a chant in which the moon is invoked with sword and spear. In formally requesting a girl and later in the marriage ceremonies, a girl is addressed as the moon and is asked to descend from her house to journey to the house of the groom. In another ceremony, called te-tafa: 'spear [and] sword', which precedes (by a day) or accompanies the actual paying of the bridewealth, the groom's party sends a sword and spear, through an intermediary, to the house of the bride. These ritual objects are carried directly into the house. The sword is stuck into the roof at the south east corner of the house beside the Di Kona, the 'Right Post'. The spear is placed aslant in this same corner.

Equal status permits the exchange of women and, theoretically, the retention of property within the exchanging groups. This can explain why nobles tend to marry among themselves and commoners among themselves. But other marriages on Roti occur between groups of unequal status. In the alliances based upon these marriages, the wife-giver of high status prefers to give women but is reluctant to accept women from his wife-taker, except as secondary wives. The retention of property can not here be the major reason for these marriages because the bridewealth of women of high status far exceeds the bridewealth of women of lower status. Consequently, only the wife-giver of high status is well rewarded for women he gives.

On Roti, there is no prescriptive alliance and no one system of marriage. There are instead a variety of marriage strategies. The exchange of women may be symmetric favouring neither of the allied groups or it may be asymmetric favouring the bride-giver who is of higher status. In Termanu, no categorical distinction is made concerning the marriages of brother and sister's children. Either child of a brother may marry either child of a sister. Any such marriage is described as tuti kali-ke, 'tying the waist-band'. In Baä, however, there is a categorical distinction in kinds of marriages. This is explained, in Rotinese terms, as follows: The daughter of a brother may marry the son of a sister. This alone in Baä, is called tuti kali-ke. The son of a brother may

marry the daughter of a sister. This is called tuti eik, 'tying the legs'. As in Termanu, both kinds of marriage are permitted but unlike Termanu, there is a stated preference for matrilateral asymmetric alliance (tuti kali-ke) among all classes of the domain.

Since women, regardless of class, should be equally fertile, the question is what does a Rotinese gain by marrying a woman of high status. Commoners can not conceivably change their class nor the class of their children by marrying noble women and only in the case of certain client lines is any ambiguity of status resolved by such marriages. Any possible prestige that might be gained by marrying a noble woman can not long be retained. Yet this question, for a Rotinese, is easily answered. The significance of this answer requires considerable explanation. By a marriage with a lineage or clan of high status, a Rotinese gains noble affines - a chain of affines who by their ritual presence bestow life and prosperity. On Roti, all wife-giving affines are givers of life. But just as noble men (mane-ana) are possessed of that vital spiritual quality of maleness (mane) which is synonymous with their lordliness, so too noble women, though fully feminine, are possessed of their maleness. They are ina-mane-ana: ina indicates their female fertility; mane-ana their share of maleness. Since life consists in the possession of sa-mane, 'vitality', nobles of themselves are capable both of bestowing and of maintaining this life more fully than mere commoners. Nobles

are therefore favoured affines. It is necessary at this point to examine the significance of affinal relations for the Rotinese.

3. The Idiom of Affinal Relations.

Besides his own descent group, a Rotinese is identified by reference to two other descent groups: that of his mother's brother (toö-huk) and that of his mother's mother's brother (bai-huk). Collectively, these affinal descent groups are spoken of as the toö-bai-kala. This designation includes all of an individual's mother's brothers and mother's mother's brothers. Together these individuals form a special category: they are the honoured affines, the former wife-givers.

Every Rotinese must have one mother's brother. This man is called the toö-huk. Toö means mother's brother. Huk here means 'origin', 'cause', 'trunk' (of a tree), 'root'. (Hu- is also, for example, the stem of the word hus, the term applied to the annual harvest feast of the Rotinese). One Rotinese in attempting to render the meaning of the word, toö-huk, into Indonesian called his mother's brother his akar besar: his "great root". Toö-huk is the title to a role that is inherited from father to son. Toö-huk normally refers to the mother's eldest brother. When this man dies, the title passes to his eldest son. The toö-huk is the man who actually performs the rituals required of the mother's brother in relation to his sister's child. He alone will

bring the proper gifts and receive, at various intervals, the traditional payments made to a mother's brother. At death, he will receive the funeral payments for his sister's children and, of course, in the following generation, he will become the mother's mother's brother (baï-huk) to the children of his sister's daughters. For these individuals he will continue to have ritual services to perform.

The toö-huk, the actual mother's brother, is distinguished from all other mother's brothers, toök, that a man may have. The same degree of fluidity that applies in the use of the term, ama-kaä-fadik, exists in the application of the term, toök.⁷ In

7. The terms, such as ama, kaäk, fadik, or toök, are relationship terms and together they form a consistent system. They are forms of speech and not rigid definitions of individuals. It is up to any Rotinese speaker how he is to apply them. Their application in each instance indicates his meaning. To give an idea of how widely the word, toök, can be used, I relate an example of the use of this word. Termanu and Korbaffo border one another. Formerly these two domains disputed the location of their borders. Korbaffo claimed that its territory began at Nama-No which is to the west of Ufa-Len while Termanu claimed the border was at Nama-Ho over two miles east of Nama-No. At present, there is a to(u), a phallic wooden boundary marker in the shape of a man at Nama-Ho, but while in both domains I have overheard discussions about this disputed border. Now, however, the Lord of Korbaffo is the mother's brother of the Lord of Termanu; hence the question of the border can no longer be publicly discussed. The Lord of Korbaffo told me that it would be improper to argue about this with his sister's son. Because of this relationship, in a certain manner of speaking, the domain of Korbaffo is the mother's brother of the domain of Termanu. When once the elder brother of the Lord of Korbaffo visited me in Ufa-Len and was entertained by the manesio of Ingu-Beuk and the maneleo of Nggofa-Laik, he began, in rather flowery terms, to explain for my benefit that all those present, including the various lords, took their origin from him. At first I thought he meant that all those present had originally come from Korbaffo but in fact he explained that

practice, the same distinction between the use of this term for a commoner and noble applies here. If a person's mother's brother is a noble, the term toök is applied to all members of that noble lineage but is not normally, in my experience, used to refer to all the men of the noble clan. If, however, a person's mother's brother is a commoner, then the word toök may be used for all the men of his clan. This usage does not apply if, through a marriage within the clan, a man has his mother's brother in his own clan. Then toök is applied to the men of the affine lineage. (There is a definite preference among some commoner clans to marry outside the clan to avoid precisely this situation). At the lowest level of specification, a man's toök are all his mother's actual brothers and their closest agnates, their kaä-fadik. When a man gives a feast, all these men will attend as honoured guests.

The Rotinese say of the mother's brother that he plants (sele) his sister's children and as they grow (dadi), he must act as their protector. This pervasive metaphor of planting and growing dominates the Rotinese conception of affinity. Their relationship terminology, which I discuss below, divides all individuals into 'those planting' and 'those growing'. What is significant is the metaphoric concept of planting and growing. The particular plant used to convey this metaphor is sometimes of secondary

-
7. as mother's brother to the Lord of Termanu, he was also mother's brother to all the inhabitants of Termanu. He developed this argument at great length and every one agreed. In another usage, the compound relationship term, meaning mother-father (ina-ama) or its Indonesianized equivalent mama-bapa is the word for any government or ruling power. A Lord is ina-ama to the people of his domain and formerly, the Dutch Government was spoken of as Ina-Ama Kompani: 'Mother-Father Company'.

significance. For this reason, in the ritual chant I quoted in chapter II, a child could be compared simultaneously to a planted banana tree, a stalk of sugar cane, a taro and a tuber. A child may also be compared to the shoots from a coconut or the sprouts of pinang and because a child springs from its mother, a woman is frequently compared to a coconut or the fruit of the pinang palm, both in poetry and in ritual. Similarly in Thie, when the groom's group comes to take the bride to her new house, they ask not for the girl but for the pule sio, 'the nine seeds'. In Termanu, the expression, leo nggen: 'to look for seed grain' means to look for a woman to marry.

The most common term of address and reference used among affines is tola-no. Tola means 'to penetrate', 'to come forth'. In the ritual language, this verb is used with dadi to mean 'to grow up', 'to sprout forth'. No as a verb means 'to accompany', but as a noun no means 'coconut'. These two forms of the word no have separate linguistic derivations but their homonymy offers a means of elaborating a traditional metaphor, since a woman (or her womb) may be compared to a coconut. The Rotinese say that the use of this term tolano among affines means that these affines have all come forth from one womb (ndunuk esa). They are, in other words related through a line of women. In his dictionary, Jonker (1908:641) offers this explanation of the word tola: "tola ndunuk (or neme ndunuk mai), to break forth from the womb, to be

born (hence bongi): au o au tola-no-ng-ala tola meme ndunuk esa mai, I and my brothers, we have come forth from one womb".⁸ The only correction I would make to this explanation is that "my brothers" is a far too limited application of the term tolano, since the term is used widely among affines.

As a further illustration of this metaphor of growth from coconut and pinang, I quote a short ritual chant from the traditional marriage ceremony of Thie. In the marriage ceremony which takes place at the house of the bride, a coconut, referred to as "the coconut of heaven, the moon's coconut and the sun's coconut", is split in two. Its milk (the Rotinese describe the milk as the coconut's water) is sprinkled about 'to cool' the ritual proceedings and to bring life and prosperity on the married couple. One half of the coconut is given to the bride, the other half to the groom. The bride, however, receives the seed of the coconut and this she must bring with her to the house of her husband. One of the chants that should be recited at this time is as follows:

8. Jonker (1908:641): "U.d. Tola ndunuk (of: neme ndunuk mai), uit de baarmoeder heenbreken, geboren worden, (vgl. bongi): au o au tola-no-ng-ala tola meme ndunuk esa mai, ik en mijne broeders, wij zijn uit één schoot voortgekomen".

No ia, tadak lima	This coconut has five layers
Mbunu holu seen	The bark embraces the shell
Seen holu isin	The shell embraces the meat
Isin holu oen	The meat embraces the milk
Ma oen holu mbolon	The milk embraces the germ
De ela leo be na	May it be the same
Ana touk no ana inak ia	For this young man and this young woman
Ela esa holu esa	Let one embrace the other
Ma esa lili esa	And let one cling to the other
Fo ela numbu non ana dadi	That the germ of the coconut may grow
Ma sadu mbuan ana mori	And the shoot of the pinang may sprout
Fo ela bonggi sio lai sio	That she may give birth to nine times nine children
Ma rae falu lai falu.	And that she may bring forth eight times eight children. ⁹

In this metaphor, a woman is the coconut¹⁰ from whose seed

9. This excellent example of a Rotinese ritual chant was first quoted in van de Wetering (1925:640-641). I took a copy of the text of this chant with me to Roti, corrected it, and learned about other variant chants of the same type. The translation is my own.
10. In the full marriage rituals, this analogy of the coconut and woman (or her womb) is given even greater development. In chapter I, I explained how in the highest form of marriage (sao elok) a man must use only two fingers of his left hand to pluck away the cords of the girdle that protect his bride's virginity. The same precautions must be taken with the marriage coconut. Someone (not the husband) must carefully remove its fibrous bark without touching the nut. There is therefore a close analogy between the removing of the bark from the coconut and the removing of the girdle from the bride. But because of the requirements of ritual language, there is always the double analogy of the coconut and the pinang (areca nut). If the girl has proved to be a virgin, her husband must present the girl's family with whole pinang; if she were not a virgin, these pinang would be broken before being given.

germ come the children of her husband's lineage. In Rotinese eyes, it is not a woman's husband but her brother who plants (sele) this coconut and it is the mother's brother who is constantly required to tend the shoots that grow from it. In a remarkable continuation of this analogy as part of the funeral rituals for a sister's child, the mother's brother must bring a coconut whose milk is sprinkled on the close agnates of the deceased to remove the pollution of death and in partial payment for his services, the mother's brother is given a full grown coconut palm to compensate for the loss of his sister's child.

A proper Rotinese ethnography would have to devote more than half of its pages to the place of the mother's brother in the society, if it were to do justice to the importance which the Rotinese attach to this role. In this chapter, after I have made some further brief remarks about the mother's mother's brother, I want to return to a discussion of the role of the mother's brother. I want to sketch, in summary fashion, the chief obligations involved in the relationship of the mother's brother to the sister's child, beginning with the child in the womb and continuing until the final payments at the funeral feast. There is, however, one difficulty in this procedure. Often this relationship of mother's brother to sister's child is expressed by the performance of certain actions within a far wider ritual context. The presence, for example, of mother's brother is

essential to a funeral ceremony but the whole of a funeral ceremony, extending over several days, is an extraordinary complex ritual. This is not the point at which I intend to describe the rituals of the Rotinese and it may well be that the funeral ceremony alone will require a separate monograph. My object is therefore to summarize the major aspects of the mother's brother's role in relation to the development of his sister's child. First, however, I must continue my discussion of the mother's mother's brother.

The other descent group by which a Rotinese is identified is that of his mother's mother's brother (bai-huk). The descent group of the bai-huk is structurally two generations' remove from an individual's own descent group and hence the bai-huk is grouped within the class of 'grandfathers'. Bai is 'grandfather'. (Bei is grandmother). The bai-huk is thus a grandfather but his role is distinguished by the addition of the stem, hu(k), indicating that he is the 'origin', 'root', or 'trunk' of his sister's daughter's children. Baik may, however, be applied to other mother's mother's brothers and at its broadest specification may apply to all the men of the clan or lineage to which the bai-huk, always a single individual, belongs.¹¹

11. I discovered in Termanu that one of the ways by which the Rotinese tend to classify the different domains on the island is on the question of whether or not funeral payments are made to the mother's mother's brother. Termanu, Keka, and Talae all make payments to the MMB. In Baä, the MMB still retains a position of importance; he is feasted but apparently he is no longer always paid for his ritual services. Thie and Dengka no longer pay the MMB, though certainly in Thie, the MMB was once paid. From what I have been able to learn about Delha, the position of the MMB is extremely important since he, as well as the MB, has a right to a share in the bridewealth of

Compared with the role of the toö-huk, the bai-huk has a rather limited ritual role to perform. Of course, the bai-huk is always feasted but it is only at a funeral feast that the bai-huk has a prominent role. At this feast, the bai-huk receives an important payment, roughly half that which the toö-huk receives, for his ritual services.

It may be asked why it is that a man is identified in relation to the descent group of his mother's brother and that of his mother's mother's brother: by, in other words, those wife-giving groups from whom a man traces his affinity, but not by reference to those clans to whom a man has, in turn, given women and to whom he is himself either mother's brother or mother's mother's brother.

-
11. his sister's daughter's daughter. In East Roti, the system is perhaps more interesting. Korbaffo does not use the term bai-huk for the MMB but rather bei-huk. Bei is the term for grandmother and in this way, the MMB, because of his link through the mother's mother, is grouped with the class of 'grandmothers'. In Korbaffo, the bei-huk is feasted but is not paid nor according to all my informants, was the bei-huk ever paid in the way the bai-huk is in Termanu. Further east in Bilba, the term bei-huk is also used for the MMB but Bilba also recognizes a chain of four linked clans or lineages: a man's own clan or lineage, that of his mother's brother (toö-huk), that of his mother's mother's brother (bei-huk) and finally the clan or lineage of his mother's mother's mother's brother who is called bai-solok. At a death feast, a representative of the bai-solok lineage or clan should be present and receives a division of water-buffalo meat. This division of meat is called soe-ajuk, literally 'skull and shoulders'.

The answer, I think, is evident. The Rotinese do not have a prescriptive system of marriage. Therefore while a man has only one mother's brother (toö-huk) and only one mother's mother's brother (bai-huk), he may have sisters' children in a number of other clans or lineages. And if a man has several of these relations, then by themselves they cannot serve to locate or identify him within the society. In general, when the Rotinese talk of three descent groups they mean those of their ama-kaä-fadik, toö-huk, and bai-huk and these three groups can be reduced to a dyadic opposition, since the ama-kaä-fadik are normally contrasted with the toö-bai-kala.

The terms, toö-huk and bai-huk, which I have translated as mother's brother and mother's mother's brother respectively, describe inherited structural positions within Rotinese society. It should be apparent that in most instances a mother's elder brother cannot be expected to outlive his sister's children and that it would be virtually impossible for a mother's mother's brother to outlive his sister's daughter's children. The role of the toö-huk is inherited by his son on his death and then eventually by his grandson. Only when a man has no male issue, is this role inherited by another of his brothers and then by his brother's son. The same rule of inheritance holds true for the role of the bai-huk. But it would be wrong to say that toö-huk means both mother's brother and mother's brother's son, since the mother's brother's

son can only become toö-huk at the death of his father. (while the mother's brother is alive, there is another term that a man uses toward his mother's brother's son). The term toö-huk and bai-huk describe affinal relationships that continue between descent groups over three generations.

The immediately striking consequence of this system is that as a man grows older, his toö-huk and bai-huk eventually become younger than he. It is arresting to someone who is unaware of this system to have a Rotinese elder point out some young man and explain that he has 'grown' from or 'originated' from that young man.

4. The Ritual Role of the Mother's Brother

Since one must begin somewhere, I have chosen to begin with the child in the womb (although one might also begin with the division of the bridewealth of the mother). Again I emphasize that my intention here is not to provide a complete description or analysis of any of these rituals. An analysis of ritual symbolism requires a previous detailed analysis of the structure of the Rotinese house in which many of these rituals are performed. Here I wish to illustrate the fundamental importance of the mother's brother for his sister's children.

1. Kekela Teik

I have never seen this ceremony but I have been given descriptions of it for Baä and Termanu. (There is also a concise

and accurate description of this ceremony by the missionary, Meijaering, for the year 1843). Kekela teik, 'to cut the stomach', is performed once for each woman late (the Rotinese say the 7th month) in her first pregnancy. I was given various explanations of why the ceremony is performed: "to keep the child from harm", "to facilitate the birth" and "to make the child whole or perfect". The name itself would seem to have a double meaning. The verb, kela, means 'to cut or to slice indentations or notches' usually in a lontar leaf and in fact, the cutting of a lontar leaf is an essential part of the ritual. The noun, kela, is the term of reference and address used between a man and his wife's brother. In this ritual, it is the wife's brother who, as mother's brother to the unborn child, actually performs the rite.

Unlike marriage ceremonies or funeral ceremonies, kekela teik is a simple ceremony, performed at night, in which only close kin participate. A man might kill a pig or more likely a goat or sheep but not a buffalo. The time of the ceremony is determined by the moon. The object is to assure that the child is 'whole' and healthy and thus the child's 'growth' must be brought into conjunction with the development of the moon. Therefore kekela teik is performed on a night when the moon begins to approach fullness, but it may not be performed on the actual night of the full moon because in Rotinese eyes on the next day, the moon will begin to diminish. As one of my best informants from Baä explained

it:ela mete bulak fo ana sangga nakatema, sueka kekela
basana ana nakatema leon fo ela malole. Ia ndia bena fai kekela
tei malole, boe na ta bole tao lae bulak-ka pas nakatema....,
boe na nai bulak-ka metema lae nakatema na ta malole, nenik anii
ana ndia ana ta dadi, tungga bulak-ka ana dadik bibiak seluk:
 "....one must look to the moon, when it begins to become full (tema),
 then after the 'kekela' is performed, it will still continue to
 become full which is good. This then is the best day for kekela
tei, but it may not be done when the moon is exactly at its fullest
If the moon is full, it is not good because the child will
 not grow; following the moon, he will diminish again".

The ceremony consists of a single meal for which a white cock
 is sacrificed: this should be offered to Manasulak. (Heijmering
 reports that a red cock is offered to Mane-Sulak-Lai). In Baä,
 the meal is eaten near the cooking fire in the uma dalek, the female
 division of the house where the birth will eventually take place.
 (In Termanu, I was informed that the ceremony occurred in the uma-
tena-dalek which is the centre of the house as one climbs the house
 ladder; this is within the male division of the house). Brother
 and sister sit opposite each other; the woman's husband may not
 be present but he is represented by his brother, a close agnate or
 even his mother's brother's son or father's sister's son. In fact,
 anyone who is classified as tolano. This representative takes his
 meal beside the pregnant woman but opposite her brother.

Rotinese Christians also perform this ritual, the white cock is still essential, but a preacher or minister will be invited to attend and pray for the health and well-being (soda-molek) of the woman and her child.

An essential feature of this ritual is the cutting of a lontar leaf. A representation is cut in a portion of a leaf about eight inches long and three inches wide. It consists of two similarly notched sections joined in the middle by the rib of the leaf. This is called a maik. This maik is then attached below the floor boards, to the first lungus beam on the left side of the house, almost directly beneath the place where the pregnant woman sleeps at night. An informant cut one of these maik to show me. Although the leaf with its pointed ends and its several notches running along one side (when the leaf was folded along its rib) seemed to me unrepresentational, several of my informants assured me that it represented a shark (iu). One explanation of this was that it facilitated the birth of the child who would then slide forth from his mother's womb like a shark through water. Since this ceremony of kekela teik is performed only once before the birth of the first child, one might interpret the symbolism of the maik in another way. In Rotinese ritual language, a man is compared to or spoken of as a shark or crocodile while a woman is either a black koa bird or a green nggia parrot. Hence the cutting of the maik may be a ritual means by which women are induced

to bring forth male children.

2. Safe Dak

The next ritual requiring the mother's brother is called safe dak: 'to cleanse the blood'. In Termanu, the full name of this ritual is: fe safe dak ma noke naä: 'to give the cleansing of the blood and to ask to eat'. In Termanu this ritual is optional. It is only performed when a child (perhaps only the eldest male child) is ill, is continually crying or, is seen to eat its own excrement. In Baä this same ritual is obligatory; it must be performed sometime after the birth of the eldest child.

The following brief account is based on customary usage in Baä. What is remarkable about this ritual is that it does not involve a ceremony but rather a ritual exchange between two houses (that of the mother's brother and that of the sister's child) during which it is strictly enjoined that the two participant parties may not meet. Again the symbolism of this ritual is extremely complex, involving various different beams inside and outside the house as well as positions within the house. Here I only summarize the principal features of the ritual.

After the birth of the eldest child, the mother's brother is notified through an intermediary that the first prestation of the exchange will be made. The mother's brother then prepares sirih-pinang for chewing and leaves this outside of his house beside the right post of the house's entrance. He also makes an opening in

the leaves of the roof on the left side of the house and prepares a stake for tying an animal beneath the floor boards on the left side of the house. (In Termanu, no stake is erected because the animal is tied to a specially designated post supporting the house).

Early in the morning, a male intermediary brings a white ram with black eyes (in Termanu, these eyes are called mata meok: 'cat's eyes'); he steps before the entrance of the house, chews sirih-pinang and then brings the animal to the opening in the leaves on the left side of the house, from which the animal is pulled in and tied beneath the house. No word is spoken. In fact, a requirement of the ritual is that the intermediary and those in the house of the child remain silent until the intermediary has returned. (If money is given instead of a ram then this money is enclosed within a fifiluk, a small lontar leaf container, and this fifiluk, like the ram, is tied to the appropriate stake beneath the house).

A return prestation is made three days later. This consists of two cooking pots of rice (which should not have spilled while cooking), two pieces of meat, sirih-pinang and, covering this gift which is carried in a cooking pot, a piece of red cloth called the lesu safe dak: 'the cloth that cleans the blood'. This gift is carried in silence to the house of the child by a female intermediary and hung within the house on the right side of the ladder if the child is a boy and on the left if the child is a girl.

This gift of food may not be eaten by the members of the household and is therefore given away. What is important is the red cloth and this is saved. Again, after an interval of three days, the woman who brought the cooking pot returns to fetch it and is given a gift of money (left inside the pot) for her services. This ends the exchange.

The exchange is symbolic of the relationship of the wife-giver to the wife-taker and of the relationship of the mother's brother to the sister's child. The exchange is remarkably similar to the exchange that occurs during the marriage rituals. At one level, there is an exchange of colours: white is exchanged for red. At another level, a live animal is exchanged for cooked meat and rice. The male intermediary of the wife-taker remains outside (dea) the house and his gift is received on the left side of the house. The female intermediary of the wife-giver enters beneath the roof and deposits her gift within (dale) the house proper. Most important is that this exchange recognizes the fact that the mother's brother is the protector, in fact the custodian, of the child's blood. That this ritual is performed once makes it apparent that what is implied is not an individual act protecting one child but an established and continuing relationship.

3. Nggeu langak.

The next ritual requiring the mother's brother is the nggeu langak: 'to cut the hair'. In Baä this ceremony also involves

the giving of the name and is called: kedi manu balatola do fenu nadek: 'to cut the balatola cock¹² or give the name'.

In Termanu, I attended several nggeu langak ceremonies. The feast given for the nggeu langak itself may be quite simple, but if - as frequently happens now - the nggeu langak is combined with the baptism of the child, then the feast can be quite elaborate. Several hundred people may attend. I was never able to observe the actual hair-cutting of the child. Twice I went to a feast expecting to witness this and when I arrived I discovered the hair-cutting had already been performed. This I suspect is in keeping with Rotinese usage.

My best informant on personal ceremonies told me that the hair-cutting should be done at night and within the house proper. Several objects are laid out on a mat in the house in front of the mother who holds the child on her lap. They are a bowl (mangok), a small knife (dope or dope seselik), a whetstone (batu nase) and

12. I am uncertain of the meaning of the word, balatola, though it apparently comes from the verb, tola: 'to penetrate', 'to pass through the womb', hence 'to be born'. Tola is used in the term, tola-no, the term of reference and address between affines.

at least one Dutch silver coin (doi lupia fulak).¹³ The mother's brother then cuts the hair of the child. It is not uncommon for him to demand a further payment for this service, claiming that the knife is dull or the whetstone too small. This is expected and the payment (in the form of money) is often laid out on the mat with the other ritual objects. The bowl is filled with water and the silver coin placed in the bowl just before or during the hair-cutting. When the ceremony is concluded all the objects become the property of the mother's brother. For the meal after the hair-cutting, the mother's brother should have brought some animal for slaughter although the kind of animal (whether buffalo, pig, or goat) is left unspecified, since, I suspect, this prestation is not obligatory. At the hair-cutting feasts I

-
13. This ceremony is normally performed within a few months after the birth of the child but may be postponed for several years. In this case, several children may have their hair cut together. For each child, a separate set of ritual objects (knife, bowl, whetstone, and silver coin) must be laid out. To judge from the names of some of these objects, there may once have been a further significance attached to this ritual. Many 'cultural goods' of the Rotinese are believed to have originated from the sea. Eventually they return to the sea which is synonymous with the underworld. I think this applies to children or more properly their souls. In some cases, this is explicit. Souls of dead children take the form of shellfish. It is therefore significant that the knife used to cut the hair is called dope seselik or simply seselik which is also the word for a certain kind of shell that apparently can be used as a scraper or cutter. The whetstone is the nase or batu nase; it is a soft (sand?) stone found in river-beds. But nase also refers to a round flat fish (in Kupang called ikan belanak) that burrows in the sand. The cutting of the hair might be interpreted as the ritual separation of the child from his place of origin which is the sea. Objects that originated in the sea but have left it are used to facilitate this separation and transference. That the bowl is filled with water and the hair is submerged within this water would be a further confirmation of this idea. It is customary to give this hair

attended the child appeared completely shaved, but in Baa I have seen children shaved except for a forelock over the fontanelle, where the soul is believed to reside. Leaving the soul protected by a tuft of hair has been stigmatized by Rotinese Christians as a pagan practice.

It is common for Rotinese Christians to combine the nggeu langak ceremony with the baptism of the child. What is illustrative of the integration of Christian practice and customary usage is that the mother's brother and his wife usually act as the godparents of the child.

In Baa, the hair-cutting and naming apparently form single ceremonies at which a cock is sacrificed. I have not been able to get a satisfactory explanation of this sacrifice but I think it must be similar to a practice which is beginning to lapse in Termanu. At the giving of the Rotinese ancestral name, another lontar (gewang?) leaf representation (maik) is cut, a cock is sacrificed, and the ancestors are informed of the name of the child. This maik with several feathers of the sacrificial chicken is then attached to a particular spar supporting the roof (on the right if the child is a boy, the left if the child is a girl).

-
13. and the dried remains of the umbilical cord to someone sailing to Kupang. In the straits of Puku-Afu between Roti and Timor, these 'remains' will be thrown into the sea.

Since I never observed this ceremony in Baä, I asked my informant to tell me the appropriate ritual poem used on this occasion. What he gave me is hardly a good example of ritual language but several lines of this poem are illustrative of the idiom that is used to describe the relation of mother's brother to sister's child. The mother's brother, after announcing the name of the child and asking that this name (which establishes a relationship with a deceased ancestor) bring the child health and well-being, requests:suek-a ela leo bena sama leo ai esa, te ana bisa meli, boe na namatua do nabuna nabea do hu-na ana lati-fata do do-na ana loloaka, fo ana dadik neu sea so-na do haikaik so-na ita na ina anak losa do nduku do-na.: "..... that he [the child] may be like a tree, that he may be able to grow, that he may become great and have flowers and fruits, and that his trunk may send forth roots and his leaves may be broad so that he may grow to serve the needs and wants of us all and [especially] his parents for all their time". It is always this same idiom that pervades the relationship of the mother's brother to sister's child. The mother's brother plants the child and is required to see that his seedling grows and prospers, bears fruit and flower.

4. Lange.

The practice of lange involves only those children who require special protection. Certain lineages, because of some murder committed by one of their ancestors, are regarded as cursed

('haunted' might be a best description). This murder the Rotinese describe as sele ai teas: 'to (have) planted a hard(wood) tree'. The ghost of the dead man may appear to the descendants of the murderer and is prone to attack his children. Using another metaphor, the Rotinese say of the continuation of this curse that "blood follows blood" and this they describe as nee' lutu nana namafafa: "fine (red) ants that pass from generation to generation".

According to my informants, this curse affects only male children and usually only the eldest male child. Therefore only this child requires lange. On the other hand, I have encountered at least one case of lange involving a girl. I suspect that lange could be utilized in the case of any sickly child. The child of a woman who has lost previous children may also require lange, since according to the Rotinese (at least in Baä), the spirits of the previous children (ndafe) attack the new-born child.

Lange involves 'the selling' of the child to the mother's brother. As 'payment' for the child, the mother's brother gives lange. The word, lange, refers to two crossed pieces of wood or bamboo that are fitted over the neck of overactive animals to impede their movement.¹⁴ As one might almost predict, lange also

14. I have seen lange applied to goats and once to a dog but lange may also be used on pigs and water buffalo. Jonker in his dictionary (1908:278) includes in the category of lange any object attached to the neck to impede movement, even a coconut tied to the neck of a cat! The lange I have seen attached to the neck of a goat consisted of two crossed pieces of wood that hung down so that the wood struck and bounced against the forelegs of the animal if it began to run.

refers to a part of the house. The lange are the crossed pieces of wood on the roof-top of the house. They begin near 'the neck' of the house and continue along 'the back bone'. Their function is to secure the leaf-roofing at the top of the house. Finally, lange refers to a protective necklace.

The gift of the mother's brother is, in fact, this kind of necklace. It consists of a string of red henu (muti-salah) beads,¹⁵ with a single black nggau-se bead in the middle. The significance of the nggau-se is rather complex. The nggau-se is a thorny shrub (nggau: 'thorn') with small hard black seeds. Normally a fine necklace of red henu would have one or more gold beads to it. For lange, the nggau-se bead is used as the substitute for a gold bead. This substitution is symbolically appropriate because an nggau-se is the smallest unit of gold measure on Roti.¹⁶ But the nggau-se is used for another reason. The nggau-se and in particular the nggau-se kebau-teik is considered an ai kena nitu: "a shrub or tree that 'closes off' the spirits". The nggau-se can protect and drive off spirits because, while its flowers have a fragrant smell,

15. These henu (muti-salah) beads are 'female' goods. A girl, at marriage, may bring a string of them with her to her husband's house. In Kerbaffo, it is customary to give a string of these beads to the groom attached to a (silver) lime or tobacco case. Muti-salah are of great value throughout the Timor area, as they once were, in ancient times, throughout all of Indonesia. The origin of these beads is still unknown.

16. The Rotinese weights for gold are as follows: 10 oma = 1 batu (3 oma = 20 grams), 4 bono = 1 oma, 2 nggau-se = 1 bono.

its roots have a putrid odour. Furthermore it has thorns. When men are walking at night, they may put the root of this plant in their hat; when there is an epidemic, it is worn around the arms or hung at the edge of the roof at the four corners of the house.

The symbolism of lange is therefore clear. The nggau-se bead is a substitute for gold on the string of henu beads. At the same time, the nggau-se is capable of driving away the spirits and protecting the child. The 'buying' of the child is symbolic of the protective aspect of the mother's brother's role. The buying is symbolic. It does not affect the status of the child who remains a member of his father's lineage. But all gifts made by the mother's brother must be reciprocated. Since lange is intended to protect the person for life, the repayment to the mother's brother is made only at the death feast of the person who has been 'bought' with lange. According to customary usage, this payment must be one female water buffalo.

5. Nasu Fifuluk

A fifuluk is a small container plaited from the leaf of the lontar. There are a variety of fifuluk used for different purposes. Most fifuluk are used to carry a small quantity of rice on a journey. The expression, nasu fifuluk, means 'to cook rice in a fifuluk'. By nasu fifuluk, the Rotinese include all the gifts of cooked food that a mother's brother gives a sister's child when that child comes to visit. It may also include the

food that a mother's brother gives for the child to take home. Properly all such gifts must be reciprocated. This is called tifa fifiluk: 'to pay for the fifiluk'. Again according to informants this payment should be in live animals and as such it is a continuation of the exchanges begun at marriage.

6. Fe Dak and Nafuli Dak.

Fe dak (literally: 'to give blood') means 'to give a payment for the blood'. This payment is always made to the mother's brother. Fe dak is given whenever a man injures himself, spilling his own blood. He must pay his mother's brother for the loss of his own blood. Fe dak is also demanded when one individual is struck by another (even though blood does not flow). The mother's brother will demand payment from the individual who struck his sister's child and can carry his claim to court. Whatever is given - and in this there is no fixed payment - is called dak, 'the blood'. It is a substitute for the blood spilled, the injury to the flesh.

In my experience, the most common instance of fe dak is that in which a man has struck his wife. Striking one's wife is usually grounds for divorce. If, however, a man does not wish to divorce his wife and she is reluctant to leave him, the husband must pay compensation to the woman's mother's brother. In this

the father of the girl takes no part.¹⁷

When a child falls and hurts himself, the father of the child must fe dak. Or when a man wounds himself, he must pay his own mother's brother. The case is complicated if blood has been spilled in a dry field, a wet rice field or in a clump of lontar trees. Then the mother's brother must in turn perform nafuli dak: 'to drive away the blood'. Just as in the case of a murder, the blood is described as alive. One informant called it: da kalauk, da manamatungak: "the foul blood, the blood that follows after".¹⁸

-
17. I can illustrate this with a case I attended. This case was heard by the acting Lord of Termanu, the Head of the Earth, and a number of elders, not at court, but during the funeral feast of a boy from Ingu-Nau. A husband had struck his pregnant wife in anger but certainly did not want a divorce. The couple were reconciled but dak had to be paid. In this case the woman's mother's brother demanded payment for the blow that the woman had received and the woman's brother (the mother's brother of the unborn child) demanded payment for the blow which the child in the womb had received. Hearing the case required only a few minutes since from all appearances, the parties involved were fully reconciled. The husband remained silent throughout and had with him a few thousand rupiahs which he offered as payment. This, though minimal, was accepted and the members of the court had only to formalize a reconciliation that had already taken place.
18. This I can best illustrate with a case that occurred while I was living in Ufa-Len. A man from Kiu-Kanak gashed himself badly with a machete while clearing leaf-stalks from a lontar palm. The tree was within the fence of a dry garden, not far from his house, and blood soaked both the tree and the field. The man's mother's brother belonged to the clan Kota-Deak and lived in the area of Oe-Nitas. It happened, however, that this old man was in turn visiting his own mother's brother, a man from Ingu-Beuk who lived in Ufa-Len. I was therefore able to question the elder from Kota-Deak on how he proposed to drive away the blood. The first stage he said was 'to cool' the blood in the dry garden with the milk (in Rotinese terms, the water) of a red coconut. He would then take a red cock to a nggala feti tree. Others, he admitted, used a leak, a nitas, or a bubuni sela tree but he had always used a nggala feti.

7. Belis.

Under this heading I wish to discuss the part played by the mother's brother in the division of the bridewealth. I will only summarize the role of the mother's brother in the ritual. He is present at all bridewealth negotiations and must be consulted before a final settlement can be reached. He should also be present at the formal paying of the bridewealth. At the marriage ceremony itself the mother's brother's wife has the right to arrange the bride's hair and the mother's brother is the one who escorts the girl to the house of the groom.

Bridewealth involves the most complex exchange on Roti. The Rotinese recognize four levels of bridewealth exchange depending upon whether a counter-prestation is required and, if it is required, the size of the mutual prestations. The simplest exchange requires only the payment of bridewealth (belis) in return for the bride; more complex exchanges range from oe-ai through dode-diku to the most elaborate of all exchanges, that of sao elok.

Here I will confine myself to the minimal division involved in every bridewealth exchange. The names for these divisions vary

18. Along with the cock, he would bring a fifiluk with cooked rice and some sirih-pinang. He never said much at the tree, only: Nggala feti sipok ma dak ia leon, boso boe fen fali bai: "Nggala feti receive this blood then, do not give it back again". After this he would sacrifice the cock, cook it and eat the rice and meat, leaving behind him in a coconut shell hung in the tree some sirih-pinang and the leaf of the fifiluk. The wounded man was a Christian and so this ceremony - as is often the case - was performed in secret. Later when the wound healed, a preacher was invited at night to pray at the wounded man's house and a simple meal was eaten.

from domain to domain but bridewealth nearly always involves a division among three parties. In Termanu, the bridewealth division is as follows:

- I Tata manas which is given to the mother's brother: toök
- II Tafa isa which is given to the girl's father: amak
- III Huka bafak which is given to the girl's brother: nak

In everyday conversation, these divisions are spoken of simply as toök, amak, and nak.¹⁹ (Often ama-nak is described as one division in contrast to that of toök). These designations are intelligible throughout Reti while the formal names, such as tata manas and tafa isa of Termanu, might not be understood outside of

19. It would be misleading, however, to suggest that these three divisions are negotiated separately. All negotiations are conducted at one time through male intermediaries at the house of the girl. These intermediaries are the mane leo (if this title is used) or their structural equivalent, the informally recognized head of the lineage. Neither father, brother, nor mother's brother speak during the negotiations. They would feel 'ashamed' to do so. They may or may not be present. In one instance, the father and mother's brother waited in a neighbouring house, the brother in still another house, while the girl whose bridewealth was subject of the negotiation sat hidden upstairs in the house, listening to the proceedings. The boy involved waited a few hundred yards from the house; he was in his late twenties or perhaps early thirties and had lived in Kupang for some time; his father was dead and he already had property. Therefore he took an active part - although at a distance - in directing his negotiator. At frequent intervals throughout the negotiations, the two sides called a halt and went off to discuss matters with their principals. Before the boy's party arrived, I attended the 'briefing' session that the father of the girl held with his negotiator. He set a minimum standard of what he would accept and also directed his negotiator on how to proceed, what price he should first demand, etc. In this case, various other payments were also involved. When the bridewealth was agreed upon, the negotiator was then directed to offer a counter-prestation from the father. This was an oe-ai, 'water and wood', prestation. In this case, negotiations broke down completely but were later resumed. The bridewealth was agreed upon but the boy's side refused the oe-ai counter-prestation since acceptance

this domain. The fact is that I was never able to discover the meaning of the expression, tata manas. Tafa isa is the cord of a sword while huka bafak means 'to open the mouth'. This last expression alludes to the time when a girl's upper teeth²⁰ were filed (fola nisi) on the day before her marriage. Now teeth filing is performed virtually without ceremony by whoever happens to be proficient in performing this operation. After a girl's teeth have been filed, she is allowed to begin chewing sirih-pinang. Teeth filing is regarded as a sign that a girl is of marriageable age and thereafter may be requested in marriage through the formal exchange of sirih-pinang.²¹

There exists a bridewealth standard established at court according to which the women of all the clans and lineages are ranked. This establishes a minimal standard and actual payments are the subjects of long formal negotiations. There exists a relatively clear idea of what proportion of bridewealth should be allotted in each division. The mother's brother (toök) should receive approximately half what is given to the brother (nak).

-
19. would have meant an obligatory addition of more buffalo to the bridewealth.
 20. The Rotinese like various other Indonesian people allow only the upper teeth to be filed while a person's parents are alive. When they have died, the lower teeth are filed.
 21. The Rotinese consider the chewing of sirih-pinang as symbolic of the sexual act: the pinang is female, the sirih is male.

One informant gave the example of a division of 30 buffalo - the number required for a sao elok marriage. Of 30 buffalo, the father would receive 15, the brother 10, and the mother's brother 5. In a commoner marriage whose negotiations I attended, both the father and brother received a full-grown female buffalo, the mother's brother a young female. One strategy in bridewealth negotiations - though certainly not the only one - is to agree on the amount to be paid to the mother's brother first. This then establishes a limit to the amount that either the father or the brother may demand. The Rotinese told me that the mother's brother may prevent a marriage by refusing to accept his division of bridewealth. Although I was told that this could occur, during my stay, I never encountered nor was I ever told of a specific case of this happening.

Bridewealth on Roti is thus divided between the members of two descent groups that of the wife-giver and that of the wife-giver to the wife-giver. As a system it is structurally similar to what Leach has described for the Lakher (1961:114-123). I was told that in Delha²² the bai-huk, the mother's mother's brother, also receives a share in the division of bridewealth. This practice in Delha is contrasted with the general practice found

22. The political situation in 1965-1966 made it virtually impossible for me to carry out investigations in Delha nor was I able to visit this domain.

elsewhere in Roti. It adds the claim of an additional wife-giver to that of the other affinally related groups. Yet if this information is correct, it is a perfectly consistent extension of the system of bridewealth payment.

Another feature of this division of bridewealth is that it distinguishes between a woman's father and her brother. It recognizes a joint jural authority over the woman given in marriage. For the children born of the marriage, the brother - even during the life-time of the father - has an important ritual position. In terms of property, a son, in practice, remains subordinate to the father but the bridewealth division allows him a special claim to certain animals in his father's herd. Since it is the eldest son who is the too-huk, 'the mother's brother of origin', the eldest receives a larger division of buffalo when his father's herd is divided. This division of bridewealth recognizes that the wife-giving house may, by the time that a young girl is of marriageable age, consist of more than one actual uma.

8. Peo Poik

Besides certain recognized counter-prestations, a girl, when she marries and goes to live with her husband, may bring with her three categories of gifts. According to one informant these are:

- I Tua boboik: 'A coconut-shell of lontar syrup'
- II Hade lalalik: 'A basket of husked rice'
- III Pela inuk: 'A tie of maize'

According to another informant these same gifts are:

- I Tua boboik: 'A coconut-shell of lontar syrup'
- II Kakau pingak: 'A plate of cooked rice'
- III Pela lalamek: 'A tie of maize'

There is, in fact, no discrepancy in the naming of these three gifts. The terms are slightly variant ways of referring to the same thing. The first of these gifts, tua boboik meaning literally 'a coconut-shell of lontar syrup', refers to a small clump of lontar trees. A lalalik, in the term hade lalalik, is a flat circular lontar basket in which rice is placed after it has been pounded so that it can be shaken and sifted to separate the kernels from the chaff. Hade lalalik therefore signifies a small quantity of rice. The alternative term for this gift is kakau pingak: 'a plate of cooked rice'. Both terms refer, in fact, to a small rice field. Both pela inuk or pela lalamek are 'ties' of ears of maize. In Termanu, an inuk has double the ears of a lamek (cf. chapter I). Both of these terms refer to a small dry field for maize.

These gifts are optional and nowadays they are rarely given.²³

23. While I encountered no marriage gift of a rice field to an affine, I did witness the outright sale of a rice field to an affine. In principle, if a man is forced to sell a rice field, he should sell to a member of his lineage, or failing that, a member of his clan. But it appears that it is just as common to sell a field to an affine. The gift of a rice field to the mother's brother or mother's mother's brother as a funeral payment is still quite common among the nobles and the wealthy.

What is significant is that these gifts of fields and trees are not regarded as gifts given by the father of the bride to his son-in-law. They are gifts given by the mother's brother to nourish the children of the marriage, his sister's children.

These gifts are not given in perpetuity. At the death of the sister's child (presumably the eldest male child, although one informant insisted that it was at the death of the mother, the mediator between mother's brother and sister's child), the gifts revert to the mother's brother unless they are paid for with one or more water buffalo. This repayment is called kedi nduna ise, 'to cut the cord of the rice basket'. As in all other prestations between mother's brother and sister's child, the rule is observed that (cooked) food is given in return for live animals.

These gifts may have another important function in the structure of Rotinese relationships. They can serve to validate a mother's brother - sister's child relationship.²⁴ I have referred to these gifts as feo poik. Feo poik, it would seem,

24. I know of cases in which a toö-huk has voluntarily relinquished his position in favour of another. In one case, a man from Meno relinquished his role to a parallel cousin, because his sister's daughter proved too troublesome for him. The girl was continually involved in lawsuits in which her mother's brother was required to defend her. This man surrendered his position to the Lord of Meno who as Head of the Earth is a powerful and influential figure at court and therefore better able to protect his new 'sister's daughter'.

is the general expression for the gifts given by a mother's brother to his sister's child. These gifts need not be confined to the three categories I enumerated. Feo means 'to wrap around', 'to entwine', 'to encircle', 'to surround'; while poik refers to any erect or pointed object. Poik here has a wider significance. Feo poik was translated for me as meaning "to place a cloth on the head and shoulders". Cloths, like necklaces of henu beads, are 'female' goods and are given with the bride at marriage. The wife-givers' practice, called nandae, of draping a cloth over the shoulder of the groom is an important feature of even the simplest forms of marriage. The implication is that to be under someone's cloth is to be under his protection.

The act of giving feo poik can also establish a mother's brother - sister's child relationship. This is essential for the proper functioning of Rotinese ceremonials, since, although a man may have innumerable mother's brothers he must have one toö-huk, 'mother's brother of origin'. In most cases, this is the mother's eldest brother. If, however, this toö-huk were to die without issue or if he were to migrate, a situation could arise in which there would be several claimants among the other toök to the role of toö-huk. The gift of feo poik to a sister's child by one of

these took can make him the child's too-huk.²⁵

25. The giving of feo poik can establish a relationship for a client who has migrated from one domain to another. One of the great difficulties for a client in a new domain is that he may lack a mother's brother. By his marriage, a client creates mother's brothers for his children, but he will have no mother's brother of his own in the domain. Some clients who have virtually severed their links with their patrilineal kin in an old domain may still attempt to retain the relationship to their mother's brother in the domain they have left. The alternative to this is to establish by gift exchange a new relationship with someone within the domain.
- This can be illustrated by an incident that occurred while I was resident in Termanu. On one night there was a small feast at the house of an old man from Fola-Tein. A number of people of the village area were invited, among them a client from Loleh who had married a Biredoko woman. In the course of the evening's drinking, the client from Loleh called a man from clan Kota-Deak his too-huk. This occurred several times and as a retort, the man from Kota-Deak said that if that was the way the man from Loleh wanted it, he would feo poik with him the next morning. At this another man from Kota-Deak, who has a long-standing feud with the client from Loleh and has already been fined a water buffalo by the court of Termanu for insulting remarks he has made about the origins of this map then joined in with the taunt that he would then have to have reciprocate feo poik with the gift of a four or five year old water buffalo. To this the man of Loleh said nothing and his assailant pressed the issue, suddenly striking him several times. Soon the two men, both well past forty, were struggling with each other and rolling about on the ground. Eventually the younger men separated them, but instead of producing an atmosphere of hostility among the various assembled elders, the whole incident provoked nothing but laughter. (The incident was a source of amusement for several days and could still cause tears of laughter to those describing how the two combatants rolled about on the ground. What was ludicrous, I was told, was that two older men could not argue their case with words and instead had to make a spectacle of fighting each other). In the end no feo poik was given. If it had been given, I was told that a quantity of rice, of lontar syrup, a pig, a man's cloth and a few bottles of native gin (the distillation of fermented lontar syrup) would have been sufficient. (The gin was added to the list of possible feo poik gifts because the client from Loleh was a notorious but delightful drinker and the man whom he had called his 'mother's brother' had the most productive still in Termanu). The exchange prestation would have had to have been a large female water buffalo.

9. Songgo Aok

In Termanu, the mother's brother plays no part in songgo aok. The ceremony of songgo aok, in Termanu, occurs when a woman divorces her husband, and returns to her brother's or her father's house. Songgo aok is performed either by a father or a brother to receive the woman back into her own descent group. The following therefore is an outline of songgo aok as it occurs in Bää. This ceremony in Bää conforms to a more general Rotinese usage. Certainly the practice of songgok aok in Korbaffo and Bilba is closer to that of Bää than to that of Termanu.

Songgo (in Termanu, this word is songgo) means 'to make offerings or sacrifices', usually to the nitu, the spirits of the dead. Aok is the Rotinese word for the body as a whole. Songgo aok would therefore mean 'to make offerings for the body'. It was also translated for me to mean "to free the body" or possibly "to purify the body". It may also be regarded as an announcement to the nitu of a change of state or status. In Bää, songgo aok is performed in two different but related circumstances. When a woman is divorced from her husband, songgo aok must be performed. When a woman marries, she is regarded as 'moving clan [or lineage]' (lali leo); in divorcing her husband, she returns to her own lineage or clan and her body must be cleansed.

The other instance of songgo aok is at death. The surviving partner of a marriage, either the man or the woman must be cleansed.

(Here there is a slight discrepancy. My best informant insisted that the ceremony was performed for both men and women, but the case I encountered and all the cases that were told me by informants involved widowed women). An animal (the preferred animal is a pig but this is not obligatory: a goat or sheep is satisfactory) is taken to the house of the mother's brother where the mother's brother sacrifices it and divides the meat. Children born to a widow after songgo auk once more become members of her own descent group.

In the case of divorce, a portion of this meat (called langgak: 'head') along with cooked rice is carried by an intermediary to the former husband's house where it is hung. (This meat is a sign of divorce²⁶ and may not be eaten by the husband and his

26. The mba langgak in Baa is pa langgak in Termanu. Literally pa langgak means 'head meat', the principal meat. In Termanu, this pa langgak is given by the father or brother of the girl to the former husband as a sign of divorce. Frequently when a divorce is settled at court, the girl's side makes a small cash payment, called pa langgak to the husband instead of sending the required meat and rice. Despite the fact that pa langgak may be given in cash, a small feast is invariably held for the divorced woman and at least one animal, usually a pig, is sacrificed. It is not uncommon among the Rotinese that a man may wish to remarry his wife after songgo auk has been performed. The rule is then that he must pay a water buffalo in exchange for the animal sacrificed for songgo auk. I can illustrate this with an interesting case. On a normal court day, instead of holding court, the members of court including among others the acting Lord of Termanu and the Head of the Earth went to hear a divorce case at the house of a man of the noble lineage Loe-Tein. The man, young and obviously a noble of wealth, was rightly suspected by his wife, a girl of Kota-Deak, of wanting to marry again. He had said nothing to his wife nor had he offered her the traditional payment (danga lena: 'to stalk another') before proceeding to find another wife. In any case, the woman refused to allow

household. It is later given away to someone else). In the case

26. him another wife and claimed that he had struck her, a claim which, if substantiated, would have been sufficient grounds for divorce. When the lords and the elders had assembled, the girl stated her grievances while her husband sat sulking, refused to speak and, although he did not want the divorce, would not co-operate with the elders in urging her to withdraw her request. In the end after a long and unsuccessful hearing, the court adjourned without granting the divorce, since there was no way of proving the girl's claim that she was struck by her husband.

By the morning of the following day, I heard that the girl had so provoked her husband that he did beat her, that she demanded an immediate divorce and left his house, and that the court - in this case, only the Lord of Termanu and the Head of the Earth - had granted the divorce.

As it happened, the girl's father was living with his own mother's brother of Ingu-Beuk in the house next to our own in Ufa-Len. He had fled there after a fierce quarrel with his son over a coconut tree. When he was certain his daughter's divorce was granted and that she was returning home to Oe-Nitas, he was forced to gather his things and hurriedly return home to prevent his son from performing the songo auk in his place. It was the general consensus among the Rotinese I talked to that there was need to hurry with the songo auk because, they felt, the husband would wish to reclaim or remarry his wife. She was, in Rotinese terms, an excellent wife, young, strong and she had recently born her husband a son. Everyone seemed to feel that as soon as tempers had cooled, the husband would attempt to reclaim his former wife and would have to pay a water buffalo for each animal, whether pig or goat, killed for her songo auk. Some members of Baa' now, like those of Termanu, allow the songo auk of a divorced woman to be performed in the house of her father but never in the case when death has ended the marriage. Songgo auk must always be performed for the surviving partner. This must still be performed at the house of the mother's brother. Many Christians now invite a preacher to say prayers at the songgo auk but he does this under the auspices and within the house of the mother's brother.

of death, the meat is hung in the house of the former marriage partner.

10. Feta Mamates: Pa Buik, Lilo Mangok, Nangapeë Nok.

The final ceremony requiring the mother's brother is the funeral feast. Rotinese funeral rituals, like Rotinese marriage rituals are extremely elaborate. Here, as in my discussion of other rituals, I limit myself to the mere outline of the role of the mother's brother. For the Rotinese, the mother's brother's role in the funeral ritual is the epitome of the entire relationship of mother's brother to sister's child. When the Rotinese speak of "paying the mother's brother", they refer always to the funeral payments made to the mother's brother.

When a death occurs, word is sent immediately to the mother's brother (toö-huk) and to the mother's mother's brother (bai-huk). Both bring gifts. The mother's brother brings rice, an animal for slaughter, and a cloth (in some but not all domains) to wrap the corpse. The first task of the mother's brother is to see to it that a tree is cut and a coffin prepared for his sister's child. The task of the mother's mother's brother is to see that the grave is dug. On the night before the burial, the toö-huk and the bai-huk are assigned ritual positions within the house. The corpse is laid out in the uma langak (a division of the uma deak) with his head to the east. The toö-huk and bai-huk sit on either side of

the ladder leading up into the house. (These positions in everyday use are the sleeping places of the husband and wife of the house). The toö-huk sits nearer the corpse at the sosoi dulu (the man's sleeping place) while the bai-huk sits opposite him at the sosoi muli (the woman's sleeping place). It is here that they should take the meal served during the evening. Nowadays it is more common for meat to be placed at these two positions and for the toö-huk and bai-huk to take their meal at the head of the serving line of honoured guests. It is regarded as essential that the toö-huk and bai-huk eat first at any meal served on this night and on the day of burial.

On the day of burial, the role of the toö-huk and bai-huk is less obtrusive, unless of course the coffin is not yet prepared or the grave is not yet dug. These tasks must be directed by toö-huk and bai-huk respectively. In the afternoon - but always before the burial - there is another feast at which the toö-huk and bai-huk must eat first. After the burial, comes an important (in fact absolutely essential) division of water buffalo meat. At this division, the toö-huk receives the hind-leg of the water buffalo (no distinction is made between the right or left leg) and the bai-huk receives the foreleg. While in some domains there is no gift of meat to the bai-huk, the gift of the hind-leg to the toö-huk is, as far as I was able to learn, a general usage throughout Roti. For this reason, the mother's brother may refer

to his sister's child not by the relationship term, sele-dadik, but by the term, pa-buik, 'hindleg of meat'. The sister's child is the mother's brother's hind~~le~~ of meat. This gift is the only prestation of 'raw meat' (pa) ever made to the mother's brother.

On the day after burial, the mother's brother's role is indispensable. Before the burial, the family of the deceased may eat nothing of the food offered to their guests. (In general, this prohibition is extended to all members of the deceased's lineage. These lineage members spend their time before the burial, preparing food and serving their guests. Usually after the burial, they will eat. The prohibition surrounding the household of the deceased is far more stringent although I have encountered some instances where members of the household have eaten - especially when the deceased was a child. Nevertheless, the fiction is maintained that they do not eat). Ideally there are animals (usually not a water buffalo, but a goat, sheep or possibly a pig) set aside to be eaten on the day after the burial by the family and close agnates of the deceased. From the day before, only the head of the water buffalo is retained and cooked to make a soup for pouring on the rice.

Before this meal can be taken, however, the mother's brother must free the family of his sister's child from the pollution (salak: 'evil') of death. In Termanu, the mother's brother brings

several coconuts whose milk is used to wash the heads of the close kin. This is called nangapeë nok: 'the rubbing with coconut'. In return for this final ritual service, the mother's brother receives a mature coconut tree to compensate for the loss of his sister's child. In Dengka, the mother's brother of the deceased must bring a small amount of three kinds of food to relieve the fast of the close kin of the deceased. These three foods are cooked rice, cooked meat, and lontar syrup, the three ideal and basic foods of the Rotinese.

In Baa, the mother's brother of the surviving spouse also purifies his sister's child. This is classified as songgo auk and requires a sacrifice at the house of the mother's brother.

The day after burial is usually the day on which all payments are made to the toö-huk and bai-huk, although again these payments may be reserved for the death feast on the ninth day or fortieth day after burial. The payment to the toö-huk is called lilo-mangkok. Lilo is a string of braided gold or silver; mangkok is a bowl. The payment of the bai-huk is called te-dope. Te is a lance; dope is a short knife. The actual objects given as payment are usually not the objects suggested by the names for these prestations. The objects given depend largely on the wealth and status of the members of the deceased's house. Among nobles, a gift of a string of gold (lilo) and a wet rice field (i.e. a bowl of rice) are common, although similar gifts may be given to the

bai-huk as well. Other objects given as payment are money, plates, cups, silverware, lamps. Whatever is given is usually the subject of some negotiation but when these gifts are given, they are always referred to by their traditional names: lilo-mangok or te-dope.

It is difficult to interpret whether in the funeral ritual, the mother's brother's role is to reclaim the body (i.e. the blood and flesh) of his sister's child or whether the funeral ritual is the last ritual service of protection he offers. The rituals, I feel, suggest this last possibility. The mother's brother is supposed to bring a cloth that is hung over the corpse in the house. In my experience, this cloth is only hung over the corpse of an adult and usually only an elder. It is called the lafa solo-huk. It also has another name, the tema lalais 'the heavenly cloth'. It is this cloth that is suspended over the corpse within the house. When, however, the body is removed from the house to be carried to the grave, the bai-huk must tear it down, carry it outside and throw it onto the roof. This is the last ritual act that the bai-huk performs for his sister's daughter's child. If this is the last of his sister's daughter's children, the protecting link between his lineage and that of his sister's daughter's child is ended.

For those who refuse to pay the mother's brother and mother's

mother's brother,²⁷ there exists this short saying:

Moli au memengok I wax like the memengok

Dadi au boalelak I grow like the boalelak.

The memengok and boalelak are both epiphytic plants that entwine themselves about large trees. According to the Rotinese, neither of these plants has roots (hun). Like the memengok and boalelak, the man who does not recognize his too-huk or his bai-huk is rootless and without proper origin.

27. While I was on Roti, I neither encountered nor heard of any instance in which payment was refused to the mother's brother. The contrary is occasionally the case when two houses dispute about who is to bury the corpse, pay the mother's brother, and thereby be recognized as the heir of the deceased. Or it may occur that two men dispute who has the right to receive the payment of the mother's brother. Apparently, however, in the 1920's and perhaps before that, there was an attempt by the Dutch Reformed Church to abolish bridewealth as well as funeral payments to the mother's brother. This policy was opposed by native Christians as well as the native Rotinese preachers and ministers. In the end, the policy was abandoned and in any case, it proved largely unsuccessful, although it is customary for some Christians to claim that they no longer pay bridewealth (belis) but rather 'mother's milk' (suü oek: originally a subdivision of the belis payment). Apart from the name, there is no distinction in fact between bridewealth and mother's milk. Both of these payments are the subject of long negotiation and payments are made in gold or water buffalo. The saying, moli au memengok, dadi au boalelak, I first heard from a Christian minister from Bilba who told me how hard he had struggled to see that the payments to the mother's brother were allowed by the Church. Invariably, I found that the old Christian ministers on the island were the staunchest of traditionalists.

5. The Relationship Terminology

The Rotinese relationship terminology consists of three related and yet distinct systems. The terminology is first a system of reference, a way of ordering and classifying individuals within the society. As a system of reference, it is remarkably flexible. Its categories are capable of establishing relations of considerable extension. And instead of inexorably fixing all individuals in the society, the terminology may often be utilized to create or even alter relationships, when this is required. Secondly, the terminology is a system of address. For the Rotinese, this system of address varies somewhat from the system of reference and appears to be a basic simplification of this system. Thirdly, the terminology is a system of attitudes of conventional behaviour and appropriate sentiment. Again this system of attitudes need not directly reflect the system of reference. The following is the Rotinese terminology:

The Rotinese Relationship Terminology: Termanu I

The system of reference.

	<u>Terms:</u>	<u>Specifications:</u>
1.	Baik ¹ Bai-huk	FF, MF, MMB MMB → MMBS → MMSS
2.	Beik	FM, MM
3.	Anak ² Ama matuak or Ama kaäk Ama takaladak Ama anak or Ama fadik Ama teök	F, FB FeB FmB FyB FEH

	<u>Terms:</u>	<u>Specifications:</u>
4.	Ina ² Ina matuak or Ina kaäk (Ina takaladak) Ina anak or Ina fadik Ina toök Inak Ina-anak	N, MZ, FBW MeZ MZ MyZ MBW W, BW, (WZ) young girl, lover, fiancée
5.	Teök	FZ
6.	Toök Toö-huk	MB MB→MBS→MBSS
7.	Kaäk	eB (m.s.), eZ (w.s.); FeBS (m.s.), FeBD (w.s.)
8.	Fadik	yB (m.s.), yZ (w.s.); FyBS (m.s.), FyBD (w.s.)
9.	Fetok Feto bongik Feto daek Feto selek Feto dadik	Z (m.s.) FBD (m.s.) MBD (m.s.) FZD (m.s.)
10.	Nak Na bongik Na daek Na selek Na dadik	B (w.s.) FBS (w.s.) MBS (w.s.) FZS (w.s.)
11.	Tolanok ³ Tolano selek Tolano dadik	B, FBS (m.s.), Z, FBD (w.s.) MBS (m.s.), MBD (w.s.) FZS (m.s.), FZD (w.s.)
12.	Anak Ana manek Ana feök (Ana tolanok) ³	C S, BS D, BD BC

<u>Terms:</u>	<u>Specifications:</u>
13. (Sele-)Dadik	EC
14. Upuk	SC, DC, BDC, EDC
15. Touk ⁴ Tou-anak	H (used in opposition to inak) young boy, lover, fiancé (used in opposition to ina-anak)
16. Saok ⁴	spouse, (noun formed from the verb, <u>sao</u> , 'to marry')
17. Ali-anak	WF, HF
18. Ali-inak	WM, HM
19. Ali-baik	WFF, WMF
20. Ali-beik	WFM, WMM
21. Mane-feuk or Mane-feu- toug ⁵	DH
22. Feto-feuk or Mane-feu- inak ⁵	SW
23. Kela or Kela-baik ⁶	WB, ZH
24. Hiäk	HZ, BW
25. Pala	used among women who have married into the same lineage
Ama-pala	'step-father'
Ina-pala	'step-mother'
Ana-pala	'step-child'
Na-pala	'half-brother'
Feto-pala	'half-sister'

Preliminary Notes on the Terminology

1. Most Rotinese nouns in the abstract end in a final k or are modified by an adjective or compound that must end in a k. This becomes inflected, for example, as follows for the root, bai - hence baik, 'the grandfather'; au bainga, 'my grandfather', o baim, 'your grandfather'; bain, 'his grandfather', and so on. For three relationship terms, as far as I can ascertain, the abstract form has no final k. There is a distinction in the abstract between ina, meaning 'mother', 'mother's sister' and inak meaning 'wife'. This my informants were quick to point out but yet in the inflected forms no distinction exists. It may well be that this distinction is a recent conscious development.
2. Among Rotinese Christians and the higher nobles, bapa (from the Indonesian) has begun to replace anak, especially in address and mama (also the Indonesian) has begun to replace ina. The terms bapa and mama are regarded as appropriate to someone of higher status. Much of the influence causing this change comes from the Rotinese population on Timor, where Indonesian or rather a special dialect of Indonesian called 'basa Kupang' is spoken.
3. Tolanok is becoming a widely used word, almost the equivalent of the Indonesian word, saudara. In sermons, Rotinese Christians use tolanok in the sense of 'brethren'. The word can occasionally be used in an adjectival sense, as for example, ama tolanok, meaning father's brother in distinction to father or ana tolanok, meaning brother's child in distinction to one's own child.
4. Touk means man as opposed to inak which means woman. Touk also means husband, while inak means wife. Saok need not be regarded as a relationship term. This noun meaning 'spouse' is derived from the verb to marry, sao; although I have never heard these terms in everyday discourse, there exist two terms to indicate one's spouse's elder or younger brother (w.s.) or sister (m.s.), thus: Sao kaäk: WeZ, HeB
Sao fadik: WyZ, HyB.

5. Mane-feuk and feto-feuk are probably the more common terms in Termanu. Mane-feu-touk and mane-feu-inak are terms I have heard in eastern Termanu where they have been borrowed from Korbaffo. Feuk is almost certainly an archaic form of beuk meaning 'new'. Translated literally, the Korbaffo terms for son- and daughter-in-law seem peculiar: "male-new-man" and "male-new-woman". Had Korbaffo once had uma mane / feto sawa relationships as the Belunese of Timor still have, the literal meaning of these terms might make more sense.
6. Kela and kela-baik are alternative terms with the same specifications. Kela-baik is felt to be more respectful and may once have been applied only to the wife-giver, the wife's brother.
7. The succession of generations can be indicated in Rotinese as follows:

Bai-solok (bai-kisak)
 Baik
 Anak
 Anak
 Upuk
 Solok
 Meluk
 Kaik

The order of the last three generations, I found, was sometimes confused because there is virtually no opportunity to use these terms.

The first feature of this terminology that deserves discussion is the classification of relatives that occurs in ego's own generation. The idiom of planting and growing that pervades the relationship of mother's brother to sister's child is contained within the terminology itself. Here the use of terms depends upon the sex of the speaker. Feto - nak are used toward members of the opposite sex, while tolanok is used among members of the same sex. The matrilateral relatives are classified as selek, from the verb 'to plant' or 'to sow' while patrilateral relatives are classified as dadik, from the verb 'to grow' or 'to become'. Lineal relatives are distinguished from both patrilateral and matrilateral relatives either as bongik, from the verb 'to be born' or 'to give birth' or daek which is a word that, depending upon context, means 'beneath', 'under', or 'earth'. The classification of daek is capable of the widest extension within the lineage and clan but bongik defines an extremely limited descent line of brothers and sisters of the same parent. The group it defines is usually synonymous with that of the uma, house or household considered as a descent group.

The bobongik is a short-lived descent group that continues for roughly two generations before it segments. While it exists, the bobongik shares the same set of patrilateral and matrilateral connections. All members of the bobongik recognize the same toö-huk and bai-huk and through their father's sisters (teö) -

those whom their father calls feto-bongik -, they share the same set of patrilateral relatives. Those on the matrilateral side are those who have 'planted' the bobongik; those on the patrilateral side are those whom the bobongik has planted and who 'grow' with the protection of the bobongik. Significantly no relationship term other than baik is applied to members of the mother's mother's brother's group. The sisters of the men of the bobongik, when they marry, need not marry into the same group or groups as their father's sisters and, even if they were to marry into these same bobongik, these bobongik are involved in the same processes of segmentation as their own bobongik.

Through their sisters (the feto-bongik), the men of the bobongik share the same patrilateral connections, but when the daughters (ana feö) of the bobongik marry new patrilateral lines are formed that are no longer shared by the former bobongik. It is simply that the different ana feö (daughters of brothers) recognize different na bongik and these na bongik will serve as toök to their sister's children. Similarly, the children of two brothers will usually recognize different matrilateral lines of relation through their respective mothers. The concept of descent remains; the two bobongik become two separate houses within the same leo.

When a Rotinese asks another: o selem? he is asking about the other's affines, his matrilateral line of relation: "who has

planted you?" When a Rotinese asks: o sele-dadi-mala, he is inquiring about the entire line of relation established through women: "who have planted you and whom do you make grow?" (Literally, the question is "who plants [and] grows?") The term for a sister's child is dadik but occasionally the compound term sele-dadik is used. The noun form to indicate the female line of relation is not as one might expect seselek or sesele-dadadik, neither of which occur in Rotinese, but simply dadadik. In this case, dadadik seems to have the sense of 'those growing together' since mother's brother and sister's child are inseparable; they are of the same root, of the same growth.

Another way of defining the bobongik is in terms of its dadadik. As long as the bobongik recognizes the same dadadik, it is a unity but when a bobongik ceases to share the same dadadik, it ceases to be a bobongik. By the time that the final funeral payments are made to the bai-huk, the original bobongik of the deceased has ceased to exist.

Another feature of the Rotinese terminology that deserves comment is the classification according to relative age. In contrast to the categories of mother's brother (toök) and father's sister (teök) to whom no relative age criteria apply, members of the categories of father (amak) and mother (ina) are distinguished according to their (relative) age. (Relative superiority would be a more satisfactory term, since it is superiority that is the

concomitant of age on Roti). Here there are two systems that can be applied: an 'absolute' system and a 'relative' system. According to the 'absolute' system, anak or ina are classified as 'great' (matua), meaning the eldest, 'middle' (takaladak), an open category, and 'little' (anak), meaning the youngest. According to the 'relative' system, all anak or ina are classified as either elder (kaäk) or younger (fadik). This application of terms depends entirely on how the members of those categories, anak and ina, refer to each other. In this case, an ego adopts the same perspective as his father or mother and refers to his father's brothers or mother's sisters as father and mother refer to them. In this way, the age or superiority classifications of one generation are maintained by the next generation.

In an ego's own generation, what is remarkable is that relative age classification is only applied to members of the same sex. In this way, a male ego ranks his own brothers and father's brothers (as kaäk or fadik) but never his sisters to whom such ranking by age is irrelevant. The same holds true of a female ego. She ranks her sisters but never her brothers. (This then is carried on into the next generation: father's sister is an undifferentiated category as is also mother's brother). If there is a dispute about who is to act as toö-huk in regard to a sister's child, it is brothers who dispute among themselves not a brother with a sister.

The category of tolano(k) is extremely flexible in usage. Christians use it with the meaning of 'brethren'. One can also use it to establish rapport with a stranger. Mainly it is used among relatives of the same sex. A man may apply it to his own brother (although this would be somewhat unusual), to his father's brother's son, to his mother's brother's son and to his father's sister's son. Since these relatives are related through a line of women and since tola-no is interpreted to mean those who have passed through the same womb [coconut], the term is not used exclusively by members of the same descent group but by members of the same female line of relation.²⁸ The qualifying terms, selek and dadik, can serve to specify the exact relation of this tolanok within the female line of relation.

Among the Rotinese, the system of address varies from the system of reference. The system of address is basically a simplification of the system of reference. The following is the Rotinese system of address:

-
28. The term, tolano(k), in ritual language is transformed, in typical fashion, into the dyadic set: tola-tunga ma dudi-no. Dudi is a word that has a meaning similar to tola; dudi means 'to go out of' (a door, for example) or 'to pass through' (a hole). Tunga means 'to follow' or 'to trail after'; no means 'to go with' or simply 'with'. Hence tola-tunga and dudi-no have nearly the same literal meaning as tola-nok. The word tola-nok itself does not occur in ritual language.

The Rotinese Relationship Terminology: Termanu IIThe System of Address.²⁹

<u>Terms:</u>	<u>Specifications:</u>
1. Baï	FF, MF, MMB; WMF, HMF, WFF, HFF, any male elder to whom respect is shown
2. Bei	FM, MM; WFM, HFM, WMM, HMM, any female elder to whom respect is shown
3. Ama	F, FB, FZH, WF, HF
4. Ina	M, ME, MBW, W, BW, WM, HM
5. Teö	FZ
6. Toö	MB
7. Kaä	eB (m.s.), eZ (w.s.) / FeBS (m.s.), FeBD(w.s)
8. Fadi	yB (m.s.), yZ (w.s.) / FyBS (m.s.), FyBD(w.s.)
9. Feto	Z, FBD, MBD, FZD (m.s.)
10. Na	B, FBS, MBS, FZS (w.s.)
11. Tolano	B, FBS, MBS, FZS (m.s.) Z, FBD, MBD, FZD (w.s.)
12. Ana	S, D, BS, BD, WH, HW
13. (Sele-)Dadi	ZC
14. Upu	SC, DC, BSC, ZDC; all children of second descending generation
15. Tou	H
16. Kela or Kela-baï	WB, ZH
17. Hiä	HZ, BW

29. With terms of address, the final 'k' of the abstract reference is dropped.

As a system of address, the Rotinese relationship terminology has a far more cognitive appearance. MB ≠ FB and FZ ≠ MZ but between members of the same generation there is no distinction of address among siblings and cousins: B = FBD = MBD = FZD (m.s.); B = FBS = MBS = FZS (m.s.) and similarly B = FBS = MBS = FZS (w.s.); Z = FBD, MBD, FZD (w.s.). This lack of distinctive forms of address is an important and obligatory aspect of Rotinese usage. As one informant told me, after a long and detailed explanation of all the terms of reference within the category of feto: "But you must never forget that in everyday life or address, they are all our feto and may not be separated!" He elaborated this further: "But in everyday association or everyday address, never have I called them feto-selek or have they called me na-dadik because according to adat, this would mean separating them from the feto-bongik and this attitude of separating, according to adat, is not a good attitude".

There is this fundamental difference. A man may not marry his feto-bongik nor his feto-daek (although a distant parallel cousin is sometimes permitted as spouse, after the performance of a sacrifice or the payment of a fine) but a man may marry a woman in the category of feto-dadik or feto-selek. In fact, a woman in either of these categories is a preferred marriage partner, since the Rotinese ideal is for the children of a brother and

sister to marry.³⁰

The question is, therefore, how do these practices and preferences accord with the Rotinese distinction between feto and ina. The answer is simple. If a girl and a boy who address each other as feto-na wish to marry and if this marriage has been arranged for them by their parents, then they cease to use the terms feto-na toward each other and substitute instead the terms ina-ana, 'little wife', and tou-ana, 'little husband'. When eventually they marry, ina-ana becomes ina, 'wife', and tou-ana becomes tou, 'husband'. Formerly when a marriage was agreed upon between the parents of two young children - a practice which is becoming rare now - these children grew up using the terms ina-ana and tou-ana to each other. Ina-ana and tou-ana are the reference terms also used among unrelated individuals of approximately the same age but of opposite sex. The use of these terms implies that these individuals are potential marriage partners.

30. Categorically a man and his female cross cousins are feto-nak to each other and therefore the expression sao feto-nak need not be interpreted literally to mean 'the marriage of an actual brother and sister'. Yet this is precisely how the Rotinese explain it because for them a marriage is not seen as an arrangement between a boy and a girl but as an arrangement between their parents. Therefore an ideal marriage is an arrangement between a brother and sister: feto-bongik and na-bongik. But because cross cousins of the opposite sex are also categorically feto-nak to each other, the marriage between their children can also be an ideal marriage. For a somewhat similar conception of ideal marriage among another Indonesian people, see J.J. Fox: The Tanala: An 'African' Two-Section System. (Recently submitted for publication).

The distinction between ina and feto is always maintained. As long as there is no likelihood of marriage between them a man can continue to call his female cross cousins, feto; when marriage becomes a possibility, these women are called ina or ina-ana like the other unrelated women whom a man may know. A man marries his ina, not his feto.

Another striking transformation that comes about in the Rotinese system of address is in affinal categories of parent-in-law and son- or daughter-in-law. Ali-ama becomes ama; ali-ina becomes ina while mane-feuk and feto-feuk become ana. These transformations require some qualification. (At least one elder Rotinese has told me that he felt these usages showed a lack of knowledge of proper distinctions but whether, in fact, these usages reflect relatively recent changes in the Rotinese terminology I cannot say). Certainly the transformation of ali-ama to ama or ali-ina to ina is not marked. Nor are the transformations of mane-feuk ('new male') or feto-feuk ('new female') to ana particularly remarkable since one's own son is ana mane and one's daughter ana feö (feto and feö are cognate terms). Furthermore there is diffidence (a Rotinese would say bibik, 'fear', and mamaek, 'shame') between parent-in-law and child-in-law. As the subordinate, a child-in-law may be reluctant to address his or her parents-in-law as ama or ina - or address them at all for that matter - while parents-in-law are more apt to address their child-

in-law as ana. This diffidence between parent-in-law and child-in-law is not unlike that diffidence which exists between parent and child.

Consideration has also to be given to the Rotinese relationship terminology as a system of conventional attitudes. Here the system of address serves as a transition from the system of reference to the system of attitudes. Lévi-Strauss (1958:37-62; 1964:40-51) has isolated for consideration a configuration of conventional attitudes which Needham (1962:33-34) has written in the following equational form: MB/ZS : B/Z :: F/S : H/W. This Lévi-Strauss regards as "the element of kinship". "This structure", he writes, "is the simplest kinship structure which can be conceived and which can exist" (1958:56; 1964: 48). Certainly this configuration of conventional attitudes is basic to Rotinese society but it does not exhaust the range of relationships established within the terminology. Therefore my purpose here will be to discuss in some detail this elementary configuration of Rotinese attitudes and then to proceed to examine what Lévi-Strauss calls "the more complex structures" of the system.

The configuration (MB/ZS : B/Z :: F/S : H/W) can be rewritten in Rotinese as follows:

Toök/Dadik : Nak/Tetok :: Anak/Ana Manek : Touk/Inak.

+

-

-

+

I Toök / Dadik:

This relationship need no further elaboration. I have already discussed it in considerable detail. This is the warmest, most positive relationship in Rotinese society. To judge from Rotinese statements and from the cultural elaboration involved in this relationship, it is the most important relation within the society.

It can be pointed out the mother's brother protects his sister's child not only from illness or from attack or from the anger of his father but also from any curse he may have inherited through his father's line. Never have I heard it suggested that a mother's brother could curse his sister's son, although a father has the power to do this to his son.

In the Rotinese terminology there exists no formal distinction between the sister's son and the sister's daughter. Both are sele-dadik or simply dadik and both have equal rights to the protection and affection of their mother's brother.

II Nak / Fetok:

The categories, feto-nak, may cover more relations than those of brother and sister. In general, the relationship of feto-nak is a negative one, but it is subject to change at the peripheries. Here I limit myself to na-bongik and feto-bongik, actual brother and sister. The relation of brother and sister is definitely a negative authoritarian relation. It is a jural

relation that can not be severed. In many ways, this relationship runs parallel to that of the father to his son. The brother receives a portion of his sister's bridewealth; if she marries after the death of her father, the brother is responsible for the negotiation of her bridewealth and receives his father's portion as well. He must also provide the counter-pretation. The brother must also guard his sister's virginity and is personally offended at her misconduct. A brother may fly into a rage when he discovers his sister sleeping with another man, while the father of the girl, although shamed, should remain calm and self-controlled. (The father's relation to his daughter is far more positive than that of the father to his son. A brother may strike his sister; a father will rarely strike his daughter).

III Amak / Ana-Nanek

A father holds great authority over his son. The relation between a father and son is also a jural relation. As a Rotinese has explained to me: "You may beat a son, and he may run away; but he has nowhere to go. He must come back. He can inherit from no one else". (On the other hand this same Rotinese explained: "If you beat a daughter and she runs away; she will not come back"). Another way the Rotinese express this is by saying that a man must honour his father more than his mother's brother.

Father and son are joined in one house as long as the father

lives. A son is formally a member of his father's house even after he has married and built his own dwelling. The two are linked by property and it is usually this aspect of the relation that the Rotinese speak of when they talk about father and son.

In Rotinese eyes, a son should be obedient to his father; but here there is an interesting aspect to this relation that reflects its fixed jural nature. If a son quarrels with his father, the father cannot in turn disinherit his son. The son still retains the right to his father's property.³¹

IV Touk / Inak:

For the Rotinese, this is a very close affectionate relationship. Initially I was undecided from what I had observed, whether a man was closer to his sister or to his wife. I therefore put my problem to one of my best informants, phrasing the question in terms of "closeness" or "nearness" of feeling. The answer I was given was immediate and unequivocal: "A man is closer to his wife than his sister". The reasons my informant

31. I have known of a case of a son who had in anger driven his elderly father from his house. The father sought refuge with his own mother's brother. What emerged from this difficult dispute was the fact that the father had no redress against his own son and in the end, after several months, he was forced to accept this fact and return home. In another case, a boy in a fit of spite cut the tongues of some goats who had drunk his lontar juice and overturned his haik. These goats, as it turned out, were his father's goats and therefore his own. The father was furious with his son and demanded of the court of Termanu that the boy be jailed in Baa. The court, however, ruled that the boy should apologize to his father and pointed out to the father that if the son were jailed, the father would lose the boy's service and labour. There was no question of retribution since the boy had in fact injured his own property.

gave were traditionally Rotinese, formulated in terms of the house. "If a man marries and still has a sister in the house, the sister no longer has any 'power' in the house. The wife is given control over the boxes or lontar baskets in which the house valuables are stored. She alone may climb into the loft". The wife stores her belongings in the loft, a sister must store her own things elsewhere in the house or give them to her brother's wife (an uncommon practice) for storage in the loft. In Rotinese terms, the wife has control of the uma dalek (the inner room) where the fire and water of the house are guarded and much of the household's food is stored and of the uma hunuk lain (the loft) where food is also kept. Most of a man's life is spent outside the house or below it, but he always withdraws within the house when he is ill, tired, or uneasy.

A brother may strike his sister, especially to discipline her, without in any way rupturing the relationship that exists between them, but for a husband to strike his wife is sufficient grounds for divorce. On Roti, it is invariably the woman who petitions for a divorce. A man would be considered mad³² to

32. There was one case I heard of in which a man requested a divorce. It occurred while I was in Termanu but I did not attend the court hearing. The man was spoken of by all who discussed the case as having gone mad and he was, some days later, deserted by his second wife.

request a divorce, except for adultery (for which offense a woman loses all that she brought with her to her husband's house). At court, the woman has only to show that she has been struck by her husband, to obtain a divorce.³³

It should be evident from the discussion of this elementary configuration of attitudes that, for the Rotinese, relations of descent are marked by feelings of respectful formalism. These are relations of authority and power. Those affinal relations which the Rotinese characterize in terms of plant and seed are on the other hand close and affectionate.

If one were to extend this discussion by the corollary equation $F2 / BD : B / B :: M / D : Z / Z$ this configuration would tend to confirm the rule of sentiments established by Lévi-Strauss' elementary equation. For the Rotinese, this configuration would

-
33. Who eats with whom gives some indication of Rotinese attitudes. Men as a rule eat never in public with women, although now some of the more progressive Rotinese women (usually from Baä or Kupang) eat with the elders and prominent guests at a feast. My wife, for example, or the wife of the Lord of Termanu, or the daughters (who lived either in Baä or Kupang) of the Lord of Korbaffo were always among the first to be served food at a feast. Traditionally, though, men never ate with women; therefore a husband never ate with his wife nor a brother with his sister. In the home, however, a wife may sit near her husband while he eats. A son will never eat in the presence of his father and rarely in the presence of any of his father's brothers. A son will remove himself, if his father joins a group of feasting men. This is the closest one comes to an avoidance behaviour among the Rotinese. A mother's brother will, however, eat with his sister's son.

be as follows:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{FZ} / \text{BC} & : & \text{B} / \text{B} & :: & \text{M} / \text{C} & : & \text{Z} / \text{Z} \\ (+) & & - & & (+) & & - \end{array}$$

The difficulty with this equation is that the relationship of a father's sister to her brother's children or a mother to her children is not as unambiguous as the relationship of a brother to his brother or a sister to her sister.

The relationship of father's sister to either her brother's son or daughter is not as easily characterized as the others I have already discussed. The father's sister is neither entirely within the lineage nor entirely without. In Rotinese terms, she has lali leo, 'moved lineage'. The father's sister will take an active part in feasts of two lineages and she is as much concerned with maintaining the proper behaviour of members of her natal lineage as she is with that of her husband's lineage. As a consequence, the relationship of a person to his father's sister is not as close and as affectionate a relation as that of a person to his mother's brother but it is certainly not as formal as that of a person to his father. A child who is troubled or in difficulty may go to the house of his father's sister and on the other hand, it is possible for a father's sister to take over the rearing of her brother's children,

if they are orphaned.³⁴

A mother's relationship to her children is the converse of the relationship of the father's sister to her brother's children. It is generally characterized by affection, especially between a mother and her son. But it can also be a relationship of some authority. Both mother and daughter share the same house, until the daughter marries. A woman may divorce her husband and when the children are old enough surrender them to the house of her husband or if her husband dies, she may remain in her husband's house and raise her children for her husband's lineage. The relationship of a mother to her children is potentially ambiguous.

34. I learned about this from a court case in Termanu. The orphaned twins were of a noble lineage, the lineage of Ndao-Manu, and their inheritance was being held for them. The husband of the woman, who was raising her brother's boys, had slaughtered one or two of the boys' goats and claimed he had taken the goats as payment for the clothing that he himself had provided for the boys who were living in his house. The husband and wife both were in their late forties; their marriage - which was recent - was actually a later secondary marriage for both of them. To complicate the case, the wife requested a divorce because of her husband's behaviour toward her brother's children's property. The court ruled that the husband had to compensate the boys for the goats he had killed. If the children lived with him, he was responsible for providing them with clothes. They were in the category of ana mak (orphan) and whereas he provided for them, they were already old enough to assist him in some of his work. The court deliberately postponed a decision on the divorce, but it seemed to be the feeling that a woman who brought her brother's children to her husband's house to be raised [not adopted] put unusual strain on a household. From my experience, I would also judge this situation to be somewhat unusual.

The relationship between brothers or between sisters is extremely important because siblings of the same sex are expected to co-operate among themselves. Yet these two relationships are always governed by the categories of relative age: kaäk ('elder') and fadik ('younger'). There is no way in the Rotinese language for a brother to say simply brother; a brother is always elder or younger. The same holds true among sisters. On the relationship of brother to brother, Rotinese folktales clearly reflect conventional attitudes. In the tales, as in real life, there exists between elder and younger brother a certain co-operative rivalry. The elder brother is the commanding figure, somewhat malicious, meddling but often the fool, deceived by his own attempt at deception; the younger is submissive but always the more clever. The younger brother is something of a trickster figure and of the two, the younger has a closer relation to the spirits, from whom he frequently receives benefits. In the tales, the relation between elder and younger sisters is similar but not identical to that between brothers. The relation is far more bitter; it is often a jealous rivalry. The elder sister is the commanding figure, the younger is the submissive figure whose suffering is rewarded by good fortune. In many tales about sisters, the elder sister is punished and killed; but in the tales about brothers, nothing so drastic happens to the elder brother; occasionally he is given a share in the good fortune of

his younger brother. Sisters marry out, separate and are eventually lost to the lineage; brothers, however much they quarrel, remain members of the same lineage and clan.

There is still a further configuration of relationships that requires discussion. These are the recent affinal relations established at marriage. The categories for these relations are ali-ama, ('father-in-law'), ali-ina, ('mother-in-law'), mane-feuk ('son-in-law') and feto-feuk ('daughter-in-law'), kela (used among men who are wife's brother and sister's husband to each other) and hiä (used among women who are brother's wife and husband's sister to each other). One could simply characterize these relations as negative but this would hardly be an adequate description of Rotinese attitudes. These relationships are not negative in the sense I have described for a father and a son or a brother and a sister. The Rotinese consistently use two different verbs to describe their feelings toward these affines. The first is the verb, bi, 'to fear', 'to be wary of' and the second is the verb, mae, 'to be embarrassed', 'shy' or 'ashamed'. In ritual language, these two verbs form a dyadic set and describe a complex attitude of diffidence, respect, hesitation, and apprehension. In the marriage rituals, when either party of the marriage goes formally to the house of the other party, the new arrivals are told:

Boso bi ma boso mae	"Be not afraid and be not ashamed
Kae kali-kali mai	Come, mount [the ladder] at ease
Hene hoko-hoko mai....	Come, climb [the ladder] content...."

When one is discussing the terms kela, hiä, or even ali-ama and ali-ina, what is striking are the various homonymous meanings of these words. It is possible to recognize what Turner has called "fictitious etymology", i.e., "increasing the senses possessed by a word by adding to them those of a word of the same form but different derivation" (Turner 1967:286). On Roti, this kind of fictitious etymology is intended to achieve homonymy.

I. Kela: wife's Brother : Sister's Husband

Kela, as a common term for male affine, has recognizable cognate forms throughout eastern Indonesia. Sika has kera; Buna: kela; Sumba: gera; Kodi: ghera; Bima: hera; Manggarai: kesa; Ende: edja; and some Toradja: era. Besides kela which is the dialect of Termanu, Roti has also kera (dialect of Cenale) and era (dialect of Ringgou).

I have already mentioned the play on the term kela in the ritual of kekela teik, which a wife's brother performs for the child in his sister's womb. During this ceremony, his sister's husband, his kela, should not be present.

More relevant to Rotinese attitudes are two other usages of the word kela. In the first usage, kela, means 'to hate someone', 'to be suspicious of or angry with someone': au kekela-n: "I hate him". (Jonker 1908:229). In the second usage, kela, is the root of an adjectival form, makelas, which refers to an uneasy, 'prickly' feeling. Jonker (1908:230) translates makelas as a ticklish

feeling. It can be used to refer to a bodily sensation (ao-na makela) or figuratively to an attitude of mind; in Rotinese terms it is something within the heart (dalek): Ana hapu dale makelas: "His heart is makelas".

This sentiment or feeling of ma-kelas well characterizes the uneasy attitude between a wife's brother and his sister's husband. Their mutual bond is a woman whose social position is ambiguous. To her husband, the woman is ina. Conventionally this relationship should be close and affectionate, for a husband has little power of coercion over his wife. To her brother, however, the woman is feto. To him she is bound by an obligation of formal respect, for a brother holds authority over his sister.

II. Hiä: Husband's Sister : Brother's Wife

Hiä is formed by metathesis from iha. In its various cognate forms, it, like kela, is a common term for affine in Indonesia. The Indonesian is ipar; Manggarai has ipar; Tanembar: ifar; Helong: iha; Sumba: lajia. On Roti, the term ia occurs in the dialect of Bilba.

In Rotinese, this term hiä/ia used between a husband's sister and her brother's wife has come to resemble the verb hia which means 'to be afraid or fearful of someone' as in: ans ia au, "she is afraid of me" (Jonker 1908: 182) and the similar term iä which also means 'to be afraid or anxious' (Jonker 1908:199-200). The reason for this, I suggest, is that to the Rotinese, this feeling of fear

(hia or iä) is the appropriate attitude between hiä/ia. Again it would seem to be the ambiguity of their social position - neither fully in one group nor the other - that contributes to this attitude of fear and suspicion between husband's sister and brother's wife.

III. Ali-ina / Ali-ama: Mother-in-law : Father-in-law

In the case of ali-ina / ali-ama, the interesting feature of these terms is the form, ali, prefixed to ina-ama. In Rotinese, the term ali has two meanings. The first meaning is 'to cut', as for example, "to cut meat from a bone"; but in another sense the verb means 'to castrate' and can be used adjectivally to describe castrated animals: kapa nana-alik, 'a castrated buffalo'. The other very common use of ali means 'to mock, scold, insult', as in the expression: Au ali o leo dae sopuk, "I'll mock you to fine powder".³⁵ Hence one might interpret - though I have heard no Rotinese say this - ali-ina / ali-ama to mean 'the cutting, scolding, mocking parents'. Whether or not, the ali-ina / ali-ama are ever consciously thought of in this way, the designation 'mocking parents' comes close to the conventional Rotinese view of his parents-in-law. The prescribed periods of residence with both the bride and the groom's parents before the establishment of their

35. For the Rotinese, who place great value on linguistic ability, on the ability to use language cleverly, the language of mockery, for the most part rather crude, is of great importance. The vocabulary of mockery was one of the first things the old men of Roti felt I should learn if I wanted to conduct myself properly.

separate residence is a difficult period for many young natives.

The object of marriage is the establishment of a new house away from one's parents-in-law and with the birth of children a further bond is created between initial affines. A mother's brother has effectively planted his sister's children and thereafter he is obliged to see that they grow and prosper.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis is only a partial study of some of the principal categories of the Rotinese. Apart from my general introduction, I have limited myself to an examination of modes of livelihood and certain aspects of social organization, confining my analysis largely to the domain of Termanu, one domain among eighteen on the island. The Rotinese are neither taciturn nor uninteresting and they provided me with a profusion of information about themselves. In the face of this wealth of material, I am all too aware of the shortcomings of this present study. My greatest problem, after that of interpretation, has been one of selection and emphasis. There is much that I have left undiscussed and of what I have written, there is much, I suspect, that has not been given its proper perspective. An adequate description of the Rotinese, on the basis of the material I have gathered, will certainly require many years' work and possibly several monographs. I offer this thesis as a contribution toward a fuller ethnography of an interesting Indonesian people.

Appendix to Chapter I

Common Ritual Names

Roti	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lino do Ne 2. Lote do Kale 3. Lote Lolo Ei ma Kale Ifa Lima 4. Ingu Manasongo Nitu ma Nusa Manatangu Mula
Savu	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Seba Iko ma Safu Muli
Ndao	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ndao Nusa do Folo Manu 2. Ndao Dale do Folo Manu
Timor	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Helok do Sonobai
Kupang	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Si Seu ma Soë Dode
Baä (Chinese settlement) (harbour)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sina Dale do Koli Dae 2. Balu Fua do Lenga Uli
China (Chinese, Atapupu)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sina do Koli
Oelaba in Dengka Land over the Sea	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ola Ce ma Laba Dae 1. Sela Sule ma Dai Laka
Landu	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Soti Mori ma Bola Tena 2. Pia Heu ma Faka Ndolo 3. Tena Lai ma Mae Oe
Oepao	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fai Fua ma Ledo Sou 2. Meda Afe ma Fai Nggenge 3. Pao Kala ma Pena Ufa
Ringgou	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Londa Lusi ma Batu Bela 2. Tua Nae ma Lele Beba
Bilba	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pengo Dua ma Hilu Telu 2. Kai Tio ma Lebi Osin 3. Belu Ba ma Langa Mamen

- Diu
1. Pele Pou ma Nggafu Lafa
 2. Diu Dulu ma Kana Langa
- Lelenuk
1. Lenu Petu ma Safe Solo
 2. Safe Solo ma Buni Tea
 3. Buni Tea ma Lenu Petu
 4. Soni Manu ma Koko Te
- Bokai
1. Meda do Ndule
 2. Koö Solo ma Nilu Foi [?]
- Korbaffo
1. Tunga Oli ma Nama Ina
- Termanu
1. Koli do Buna
 2. Pinga Dale ma Nggusi Bui
 3. Ngginu Iä ma Ngganu Pa
 4. Pesa Nesu ma Te Alu
- Keka
1. Tufa Laba ma Neë Feö
 2. Dai Dulu ma Koa Mai [?]
- Talae
1. Pila Sue ma Nggeo Deta
 2. Longa Pa ma Feö Neë
- Baä
1. Pena Pua ma Maka Lama
 2. Tanga Loi do Oemau
- Dengka
1. Dae Mea Iko ma Oe Ange Muli
 2. Dae Mea ma Tete Lifu
 3. Holo Tula ma Boa Sole [?]
- Lelain
1. Nggede Ke ma Danda Mamen
 2. Tefu Buna ma Nggafu Huni
- Loleh
1. Ninga Ladi ma Hengu Hena [Heü Hena]
 2. Ninga Ladi ma Hena Heti
 3. Teke Dua ma Finga Telu
 4. Lona Henu ma Fiko Lilo

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Thie | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tada Muli ma Lene Rona 2. Tuda Meda ma Do Lasi 3. Tula Pingga ma Nggeu Nggusi 4. Deta Manu ma Huru Bibi [dialect of Thie] |
| Delha | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dela Muli ma Ana Iko |
| Oenale | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tasi Puka ma Li Sonu 2. Nale [Oe] ma Lado Dano [?] |
| Heavenly World | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poin do Lain |
| Earth | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dae Bafak ma Batu Poin |
| World beneath the Sea | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Liun do Sain |

Appendix to Chapter IV

The Ritual Ownership of Oemau: Two Legends

It is not uncommon for an ethnographer to encounter variant forms of what appears to be a single legend. Frequently these variations are significant of divergent perspectives of particular individuals within the society. The following are two legends that argue the ritual 'ownership' of an important fresh water spring, Oemau, in the domain of Baä. The water of Oemau irrigates an extensive wet rice complex, the lala of Ndu-Dale.

The first legend recounts the somewhat devious means by which one clan of Baä came to possess the water of Oemau and gave it its name.¹ The perspective taken in recounting this legend is that of the clan. The three characters involved are identified as the ancestors of three of the clans of Baä: clan Suki, clan Modok, and clan Kunak.² In the end, clan Kunak claims control of Oemau. The legend is a statement on clan relations in Baä.

-
1. The naming of the waters of Oemau is all important because the Rotinese are accustomed to cite their own folk etymologies of native words to substantiate claims of ownership or ritual priority.
 2. Baä, the setting of these legends, is a domain on the north central coast of Roti. It has a population of over 6000. Although the first legend speaks of three clans, Baä now has five clans: Ene, Modok, Suki, Kunak, and Kohu. The reason the legend tells of only three clans is because Ene, the present noble clan, is said to have come in ancient times from the eastern domain of Korbaffo. Kohu, on the other hand, has only recently separated itself from clan Kunak and had its own clan lord (manesio) recognized by the domain as a whole. Hence the first legend deals with what are regarded as the original three clans of the kingdom.

The second legend has a quite different perspective. The initial episodes of this second legend are strikingly similar to the events which occur in the first legend yet no mention is made of the ancestors of the other clans. The argument of this second legend concerns the now more devious means by which one lineage of the clan Kunak, Felama, was able to gain control of Oemau from another lineage Taililo. The legend is a statement on lineage relations within the clan Kunak.

The remarkable feature about these two legends is that they were gathered some sixty years apart, during which time the clan Kunak has undergone a process of segmentation. The first legend was recorded by Jonker around the turn of the century. The text of this legend appears in Jonker (1905:408-409 with Dutch translation: 456-458).³ The legend was given to Jonker by an elder of clan Kunak, J. Fanggidaej. As an elder of Kunak, he seems to have been concerned primarily with validating his clan's claim to Oemau over that of clan Suki, which is regarded as the eldest clan in Baa. The second legend was told to me in 1966 by another man of clan Kunak, M. Fanggidae, a lineal relative of J. Fanggidaej. (J. Fanggidaej appears to have been M. Fanggidae's FFB). Instead of arguing the clan's claim to Oemau, this second

3. I have made my own translation of this legend from the Rotinese but this differs in no appreciable way from Jonker's translation.

legend is primarily concerned to demonstrate that the younger lineage Taililo, though it has lost actual control over the waters of Cemau, still retains the right of a prior claim to that of the elder lineage, Felama. Lineage relations, rather than clan relations, are crucial in this legend. The following are the two legends of Cemau:

The First Legend

The elders tell of the first ancestors of Baä: (there were) three ancestors; the first was the ancestor of Suki named Tanek Lolena; then came the ancestor of Modok named Selek Nde'ama, the last was the ancestor of Kunak named Nau.⁴

4. One point that would be evident to any Rotinese who heard this legend should be clarified here. This concerns the seniority of the ancestors: The ancestor of clan Suki is the eldest, then comes the ancestor of clan Modok and the youngest is the ancestor of clan Kunak. All this is implicitly stated in these first lines but it is again made clear in the division of the domain. Suki receives what are called the southern lands which border with the domain of Loleh; Modok the northern lands which border with the domain of Pada and Kunak the south-western lands which border with the domains of Thie and Dengka. For a Rotinese, this is a complex statement for geographically while Loleh lies directly to the south, Pada lies directly to the east of Baä. And although Baä now no longer shares a border with Thie (because of the formation of the small domain of Lelain from territory of Thie and Dengka) had there once been a border this would lie more to the west than the south since Dengka is directly to the west of Baä. Hence in fact, Suki received the south, Modok the north-east - a confirmation of this is the fact that Modok's dwelling place is called Modo-Dulu: Modo east and Kunak the west. All of this is a working out of Rotinese directional classification just as south is superior to north, so Suki is senior to Modok; similarly as east is superior to west, so Modok is senior to Kunak.

At that time men did not know how to make houses; instead they lived in great caves. Nor did they know how to work the fields or tap trees. Their main occupation was hunting. The three ancestors decided among themselves and they divided the land that the three of them possessed. Ancestor Suki took, for his part, the eastern possessions to the border with Loleh; ancestor Modok took for himself the northern possessions to the border with Pada; and ancestor Kunak took for himself the southern and western portions to the border with Thie and Dengka. Each ate the fruits of his land, but the three gathered together at the centre. Ancestor Suki's dwelling place until now is called Suki-Lain; ancestor Modok's dwelling place: Modo-Dulu and ancestor Kunak's dwelling place: Kunan.

One day ancestor Suki went hunting with his dog but it was in the dry season and all the water had dried up. At mid-day, Tanek Lolena was unbearably thirsty; he could find no water at all to drink and in the shadow of a tree, he stopped to rest. After a while his dog appeared and his snout and paws were wet. Then Tanek Lolena said: "Where has this dog gone and found water; he has drunk his fill and I am unable to find a thing". He called his dog and went to look for the water. But the ancestor's dog had drunk enough water, so he did not return again to the water, and Lolena found not a thing. And so on after many days, Lolena still had not found the source of the water.

Just on the day when ancestor Suki's dog went and first found the water, that day, ancestor Kunak went hunting without a dog, for he had no dog. He saw ancestor Suki's dog go and dig at the spring and then drink. After that ancestor Kunak went and covered it over with dirt and he placed a flat stone on top of it.

One day ancestor Suki met with ancestor Kunak and ancestor Suki spoke to ancestor Kunak saying: "I don't know where my dog found water; I went hunting with him and at mid-day he went off

and drank, but I haven't seen a trace of it". Then ancestor Kunak said: "Perhaps your dog went and drank my water".

Then ancestor Suki asked, saying: "Where is your water?" Ancestor Kunak said to ancestor Suki: "If you wish to see it, come let us go and I will show you". So ancestor Suki followed ancestor Kunak and they went to see the water. When they came to the spring, ancestor Kunak lifted away the flat rock and cleared away the small stones and then the water flowed out from within and it's mouth was like the sea. Then ancestor Mau picked up the flat rock and he set it over the spring but he opened it a little so that the water could trickle out.

Ancestor Suki and ancestor Modok actually thought that ancestor Kunak had seen the water first; they decided that it was ancestor Kunak's water, but they did not say: Mau-oen [Mau's water], father they said Oe-Mau.

The Second Legend:⁵

1. In former times in Baä there was not yet a great source of water as there is now.
2. Where Oeman is now, there was still dense forest and there was no water there.
3. The ancestors of Baä, in former times, were all pagans for they still carried on sacrifices.
4. They had not yet gone to school and they could only hunt in the forest each day.
5. One day, then, there were two men and they went hunting in the depths of the forest for they were mere hunters.
6. These two went hunting deep into the forest but they found nothing.

5. The numbering of lines in this legend corresponds to divisions in the Rotinese text. Not every line is grammatically a full sentence.

7. Of the two men, one was named Teë-Taililo and the other was named Mau-Felama.⁶
8. Both men brought their own dog.
9. The two men hunted until mid-day and their dogs became thirsty but there was no water and so the dogs went off to look for water to drink.
10. First of all, Teë-Taililo's dog went off to look for drinking water.
11. The dog went on and on and then he came upon water coming from beneath a rock.
12. The dog put his head beneath the rock and drank the water below the rock; his four paws touched the water and became soaked.
13. When the dog had finished drinking, he returned to his master.
14. When he reached his master, his master saw that his four paws were wet.
15. Teë-Taililo thought within himself: "So, where has my dog found the drinking water that could soak him wet?"
16. Teë-Taililo showed the dog affection; he embraced it and touched his nose to the dog.
17. He took the dog in his lap and spoke to the dog saying: "Where have you found water? in a moment, go drink again".
18. After that, he sought a method to be able to find the water.
19. And he found a way like this.
20. He plaited a small container from lontar palm leaves and he scooped up ash and filled the container until it was full.

6. This legend also makes clear the seniority of the ancestors. In line 55, these two ancestors are said to be brothers, literally 'elder' and 'younger' brothers. It is not at all clear at the outset who is elder and who is younger. It becomes clear, however, in line 85 when Mau-Felama appropriates the place of the elder (ulu) and plants his branch on the east (dulu) side of the spring; Teë-Taililo, as the younger (muli) of the two, plants his on the west (muli) side of the spring.

21. Then he tied the container to the dog's neck and ordered the dog to go off.
22. The dog went off toward the water with the container hanging from his neck.
23. The man had tied the container to the dog's neck with the intention that whatever way the dog went, the ash would pour out leading the way to the water.
24. Whatever way the dog went, the ash spilled out, trailing the dog to the spring.
25. After the dog had gone off, Teë-Taililo followed the dog because he was terribly thirsty.
26. When he went through the forest, he did not go through open fields or keep to paths; he watched only where the ash had fallen and he followed.
27. And if the ash went through the underbrush, he followed through the underbrush.
28. [This was] because the man neither knew nor saw where the water was.
29. Therefore he let the dog show him the way to the spring.
30. As he went, he hoped that when the ash stopped, there would be the water.
31. After he had gone on and on, he came to the end of the ash and there he saw the dog standing near the spring.
32. He came closer and he observed the water beneath a flat rock.
33. After that, he lifted the flat rock and the water flowed out and he took it and drank.
34. After he drank the water, he covered the stone over the water again so that no other person, only he alone, could find the water.
35. After this, Teë-Taililo called his dog and the two of them returned home, for he said, later, he would come back to clear the spring and make it into a spring fit for drinking.

36. The next day, Tee-Taililo became sick and he did not go hunting; only Mau-Felama, with his dog, went hunting again.
37. Mau-Felama went hunting and at mid-day, his dog grew thirsty.
38. So the dog went to look for water to drink.
39. He went on and on and he came to the source of water which Tee-Taililo's dog had found.
40. He drank and after he drank, he returned to Mau-Felama but he had mud and water on his four paws.
41. When he had come back, Mau-Felama saw the mud and water on his dog's paws and he thought to himself: "Where has my dog found water; he has drunk and brought back mud on his paws.
42. It is better that I search for this water so that I can find it and drink a little".
43. After this, he embraced the dog, rubbed noses and instructed him saying: "In a moment, return and drink the water again; go and find it.
44. After Mau-Felama had said this to his dog, he plaited a small container of lontar palm, scooped up some ash and filled it full.
45. Then he called his dog and tied the container to the dog's neck and ordered the dog to go off.
46. The dog went off and the man followed behind.
47. All along the way the dog went, the ash fell out, little by little, until the spring.
48. The dog went on and on to the water and there he stood waiting for his master.
49. His master followed the ash; where it went, there he went.
50. Walking on and on until the ash ended, he saw the dog standing and guarding the water and there the dog drank.
51. Mau-Felama came closer and he took away the flat stone and he saw the water and straight away he drank.
52. He was overjoyed because he thought to himself that he alone had found this water, and that no other person had seen this water.

53. Then Mau-Felama called his dog and they went back but he thought to himself that still he alone had found this water and therefore he would return and scoop it out to make a spring.
54. He lay the stone on top and went away.
55. On the third day, Tee-Taililo and Mau-Felama went hunting again because these two were brothers [elder and younger] and they were hunters.
56. The two came together in the woods and stopped to rest and talk with each other.
57. While they were talking together, they felt thirsty and their two dogs also grew thirsty.
58. But there was no water there for them to drink.
59. So Tee-Taililo addressed Mau-Felama, saying: "Brother, I have found a spring over there, let us go with our dogs and drink".
60. But Mau-Felama said: "Where is the water, brother, where did you see it?"
61. And Tee-Taililo explained: "The water is over there beneath a flat rock and it is pure as gold.
62. The day before yesterday, while we two were hunting at mid-day my dog grew thirsty and he went in search of water and he found this water.
63. When he came back, he brought mud and water on his four paws and I filled ash in a container and tied it to his neck and made him go look for the water again.
64. When he had gone, I followed behind and I observed the trail of ash following wherever it led.
65. And I found a spring but it was beneath a flat rock".
66. Then Mau-Felama said to Tee-Taililo: "You are lying for I am the one who found this water and at mid-day my dog went and found this water.
67. You say you saw this, then what sign did you put there?"

68. And Teë-Taililo answered: "No, I did not place any sign but I am the one who saw it first".
69. Then Mau-Felama said: "No, I do not believe you; I am the one who saw the water first.
70. When I went there, the water was still beneath the rock and there was no man's footprint there and yet you say you saw it".
71. Teë-Taililo answered Mau-Felama, saying: "You are lying and I do not believe you for what sign did you put by the water since you say you are the one that saw it first".
72. The two argued and quarreled and they exchanged harsh words with each other.
73. Then Teë-Taililo spoke to his brother Mau-Felama, saying: "Brother, it is better for the two of us that we do not become angry and exchange harsh words with one another.
74. Let us two not overwhelm each other, for this is to no purpose nor is it right because we have not yet seen the water.
75. Since we have not yet been to the spring, let us two be at peace and go and see the water".
76. Mau-Felama accepted Teë-Taililo's words, the two agreed with each other and they went to the water.
77. When the two of them reached the water, they sat down near the water and examined it.
78. After that, they lifted away the flat stone that cut off the water and it poured forth to the outside in full stream.
79. The two agreed that they would clear the spring for the water was deep within; they dug, widening the mouth and it became a spring for drinking.
80. When the two finished clearing and digging, they rested.
81. While they rested, they spoke with one another, saying: "What is to be done?
82. We have finished, now who gets it?"
83. Then they sought to find a way like this:

84. They cut off branches of a waringin tree and planted them by the water.
85. Tee-Taililo planted his cutting on the west side of the spring and Mau-Felama planted his cutting on the east side of the spring.
86. They planted the two cuttings to be a test so that whoever's grew, he would be the owner of the water.
87. After they had planted the cuttings, they went away but they promised on the third day that the two of them would come and see whose cuttings had grown.
88. These two cuttings came from the same tree; they were cut on the same day and planted on the same day.
89. From the moment they went back (home), Tee-Taililo's cutting grew and took root but Mau-Felama's cutting died and dried up.
90. Why did the cutting become like that? Because Tee-Taililo actually saw the water first and his words were true.
91. But Mau-Felama saw it afterwards; he lied saying he had seen it first.
92. When they had reached home, Mau-Felama thought to himself that his words were lying words.
93. Clearly his branch, like it or not, would die and not take root, thus his heart was divided.
94. On the second day, Mau-Felama went off; he went to the water.
95. When he reached the water, he saw that it was as he had thought at home.
96. His branch was dead and Tee-Taililo's had grown and taken root.
97. He pulled out the two branches and he took his own and he planted it in the hole of Tee-Taililo's branch for it was dead and dried.
98. And he took Tee-Taililo's branch which was growing and he planted it, replacing it in the hole of his own branch.
99. Therefore the cutting on the west-side of the water died; that is, Tee-Taililo's and the cutting on the east grew well, that is Mau-Felama's.

100. He planted them and he went home.
101. On the agreed upon day, the third day, Tee-Taililo went with Mau-Felama; they went to inspect the cuttings according to their agreement.
102. Tee-Taililo asked Mau-Felama: "Have you gone to inspect the cuttings or not; perhaps we will go and they will both be dead".
103. Mau-Felama answered saying: "Not yet. Since we went home, I have not been over there".
104. After that, the two went off; they went to the water and they saw the two cuttings.
105. They looked closely for the cutting on the east edge of the water grew and was healthy, that is Mau-Felama's cutting.
106. Then they examined Tee-Taililo's cutting, the one on the west edge of the water; it was dead and dried.
107. So Mau-Felama spoke saying: "Now what, brother? I said to you that I was the one who saw the water first and you did not want to believe me".
108. Then Tee-Taililo answered saying: "Although, brother, it is yours, still it is for all of us.
109. Just as long as it is within the clan (leo) and in Baä, within the domain".
110. So the two of them decided to give the water to Mau-Felama as his possession; he would sacrifice.
111. But Mau-Felama said: "I have this as my possession and I will make the sacrifices but you must co-operate with me in the sacrifices, therefore the two of us sacrifice".
112. When they sacrificed at the water, they gave the water a name.
113. The two of them gave the water the name, Oemau, [thus 'the water Mau'], with the meaning that it was Mau's water.
114. This name accords with Mau-Felama's name.
115. The name Oemau has been used continuously until now.

116. The water is a clear water, not muddied at all; they do not say this but they say the water is like gold.
117. They take this word gold (lilo) from the name Tai-Lilo until now and they say: Oemau's water is like gold (lilo).
118. This saying comes from the ancestors who gave it the names of Mau-Felama and Teë-Taililo.
119. When they began to sacrifice to the water, the source of the spring grew greater and its flow was great indeed.
120. Until its stream became a great reservoir and its water increased and it flowed watering an entire field.
121. Mau-Felama erected stones as a place of sacrifice called "Lutu Oemau".
122. For they call these stones "Lutu Oemau" or "Limba Oemau" that they might feast and race horses each full year until the new year.
123. At Oemau, the stream waters all the gardens in Baä and it waters one field called Ndu-Dale.
124. This field, until now, has been a single wet rice field called Lala Ndu-Dale.
125. About Teë-Taililo and Mau-Felama again: one is the ancestor of Taililo and one is the ancestor of Felama.
126. But the two are in one clan called Kunan.
127. Therefore these two men are one man.
128. Each has his own name, for the lineage Taililo is called "Fanggidae" who is of Baä.
129. And the lineage Felama is called "Bessie" who is of Baä.
130. Thus Taililo and Felama are lineage names but they are stems or branches from clan of Kunan, because the clan has one trunk, which is Kunan.
131. Because of this, Oemau in Baä is the water of Felama or Bessie but in truth it is Taililo's, that is Fanggidae's water.
132. This origin story of Oemau I have told truly to this point according to what I know or what I heard from the elders.
133. That is all.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ROTI.

Bastian, A.

1885 Timor und umliegende Inseln. Berlin

Bickmore, A.S.

1868 Travels in the East Indian Archipelago. London

Boer, D.W.N. de

1936a De herkomst van de Rottineesche bevolking. Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XXV; 317-330.

1936b De gang van zaken op Roti onder Nederlandsche Suzereiniteit. Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XXV: 385-398; 509-519.

1936c De oorzaken van het verzet tegen de huidige bestuursorganisatie op Roti. Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XXV: 622-633.

Bork-Feltkamp, A.J. van

1951 A contribution to the Anthropology of Timor and Roti. After Data Collected by W.L. Meyer. Amsterdam.

Boxer, C.R.

1947 The Topasses of Timor. Koninklijke Vereeniging Indisch Instituut, Mededeling No. LXXIII, Afdeling Volkenkunde No.24.

Brouwer, H.A.

1921 Geologische Onderzoekingen op het Eiland Rotti. Leiden. (From Ned. Timor-Expedition vol. III)

Buddingh, S.H.

1859-61 Neerlands Oost-Indië. 3 vols. Rotterdam.

Bühler, A.

1937 Bericht über die im Jahre 1935 auf Timor, Rote und Flores angelegten ethnographischen Sammlungen. Verhandlungen der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft von Basel, XLVIII: 13-37.

1939 Die Herstellung von Ikattüchern auf der Insel Rote. Verhandlungen der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft von Basel, L: 32-97.

1939 Kosmetisch gereedschap uit Timor en Rote. Ciba Tijdschrift, XII: 390-392.

- 1940 Rotenesian Hats. Ciba Review, XXXV: 1276-1278.
- 1959 Patola Influences in Southeast Asia. Journal of Indian Textile History, IV: 1-43.
- Buettikofer, J.
- 1892 On a Collection of Birds from the Islands of Flores, Sumba, and Rotti. Notes Leyden Mus. Vol. 14: 193-206.
- Capell, A
- 1943-45 Peoples and Languages of Timor. Oceania, XIV: 191-219; 311-337, XV: 19-48.
- Chijs, J.A. van der
- 1879 Het inlandsch onderwijs in de Residentie Timor. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, XXV: 1-51.
- 1872 Koepang omstreeks 1750. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde XVIII: 209-227.
- Clercq, F.S.A. de
- 1874 Allerlei over het eiland Roti. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, XXI: 291-312.
- Coolhaas, W.Ph.
- 1964 General Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaalen Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, Deel II. 's-Gravenhage.
- Coolsma, S.
- 1901 De zendingseeuw voor Nederlandsch Oost-Indië. Utrecht.
- Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum in Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
- 1907 vol. 73, part I
- 1931 vol. 87, part II
- 1934 vol. 91, part III
- 1935 vol. 93, part IV
- 1938 vol. 96, part V
- Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum, part VI (1753-1799), ed. F.W. Stapel,
- 1955 's-Gravenhage.

- Daghregister gehouden in 't casteel Batavia, anno 1624-1682.
1896-1931 31 vols. Batavia.
- Dam, P. van
1931 Beschrijvinge van de Oost-Indische Compagnie. ed. F.W. Stapel, IIe boek, deel I, 's-Gravenhage.
- Dampier, Capt. William
1703 A Voyage to New Holland in the Year 1699, Vol.III, pt.2. London.
- Dijk, L.J. van
1924-34 De zelfbesturende landschappen in de Residentie Timor en Onderhoorigheden, De Indische Gids, XLVII: 528-540; ii, 618-623; LVI: 708-712.
- Donselaar, W.M.
1882 De Christelijke zending in de Residentie Timor. Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendeling-genootschap, XXVI: 269-289.
- Fanggidaej, J.
1892 Rottineesche spraakkunst. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, XLI: 554-572.
1895 Het Evangelie van Lucas vertaald in het Rottineesch door... Amsterdam.
- Fox, J.J.
1965 Roti and Savu: A Literary Analysis of Two Island Societies in Eastern Indonesia. (unpublished B.Litt. thesis).
in press Bad Death and the Left Hand. (Right and Left ed. by R. Needham).
- Francis, E.
1838 Timor in 1831. Tijdschrift voor Neerlandesch-Indië, I, i: 353-369, 374-400; ii: 25-53.
- Frans, C.
1912 Tutui-doki-dokik (verschillende verhalen in het Rottineesch, vertaald door Frans). Leiden.

- Galestin, A.A.
 1908 Huwelijksrecht en huwelijksgebruiken in den
 Timoreeschen Archipel. De Indische Gids, XXX,i,
 594-613.
- Gebuis, L.
 1939 Ontwikkeling van den Timor Archipel. Koloniale
 Studien, XXIII: 264-278.
- Graafland, N.
 1889 Eenige aantekeningen op ethnographisch gebied ten
 aanzien van het eiland Rote. Mededeelingen van wege
 het Nederlandsch Zendeling-genootschap, XXXIII: 351-375.
 1889 Het eiland Rote. Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch
 Zendeling-genootschap, XXXIII: 239-277.
 1890 Die Insel Rote (Rotti). Mitteilungen der
 Geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena,
 vol.8: 134-168.
- Great Britain, Foreign Office, Historical Section:
 1920 Dutch Timor and the Lesser Sunda Islands. London.
- Gronovius, van den Dungen
 1858 Eene landbouwonderneming op het eiland Rotti.
 Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië: 65-76.
- Gyanto,
 1958 Pulau Roti. Pagar Selatan Indonesia. Seri: Kenallah
 Tanah Airmu, no.7. Djakarta.
- Heijmering, G.
 1842-43 Zeden en gewoonten op het eiland Rottie. Tijdschrift
 voor Nederlandsch-Indië, V, ii, 531-549; 623-639;
 VI,i, 81-98; 353-367.
 1846 Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het eiland Timor.
 Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, IX, iii: 1-62;
 121-232.
- Hogendorp, W. van
 1825-26 Beschrijving van het eiland Timor. Verhandelingen van
 het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en
 Wetenschappen, I: 192-214; II: 405-434.

Hollander, J.J. de

1895 Handleiding bij de beoefening der land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië. 2 vols. Breda.

Jackstein, A.

1864 Bijzonderheden omtrent den toestand der bevolking van het eiland Rotti. Koloniale Jaarboeken IV: 265-283.

1873 Eenige notizen over Rotti en de Rottinezen. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, XX: 350-356.

Jonker, J.C.G.

1905 Rottineesche Verhalen. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, LVIII: 369-464.

1906 Over de einde-medeklinkers in het Rottineesch en Timoreesch. Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, LIX, 263-343.

1908 Rottineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek. Leiden.

1911 Rottineesche teksten en vertaling. Leiden.

1913 Bijdrage tot de kennis der Rottineesche tongvallen. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, LVIII: 521-622.

1915 Rottineesche Spraakkunst, Leiden.

Kam, E.E. van der,

1933 Afkomst, volksordening en adatbestuur der Rotineezen. Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XXIII: 585-599.

1935 Roti onder Nederlandsche suzeriniteit. Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XXIV: 176-186.

1935 De heidensche godsdienst der Rotineezen. Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XXIV: 248-276.

1935 Het rechtswezen op Roti en Savu. Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XXIV: 477-481.

1936 Huwelijks- en erfrecht op Roti. Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XXV: 72-82.

Kate, H.F.C. ten

- 1894 Verslag eener reis in de Timorgroep en Polynesie. Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, 2e s., XI: 195-246; 333-390; 541-638; 659-700; 765-823.
- 1894-95 Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Timor Gruppe. Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, VII: 242-249; VIII: 1-15.
- 1913-16 Mélanges anthropologiques. L'Anthropologie, XXIV: 651-661; XXVI: 519-564; XXVII: 393-406.

Keers, W.

- 1948 An Anthropological Survey of the Eastern Little Sunda Islands, the Negrito's of the Eastern Little Sunda Islands, the Proto-Malay of the Netherlands East-Indies. Amsterdam.

Kern, H.

- 1890 Rotineesch-Maleisch woordenlijst. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, XXXIX: 1-26.
- 1893 Nederlandsch-Rottineesch samenspraken. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, XLII: 71-102.
- 1894 Fabelen in't Rottineesch. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, XLIV: 450-460; 662-711.

Kleian, E.F.

- 1894 Lijst van woorden in het Maleisch, Hollandsch, Rottineesch en Timoreesch. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, XXXVII: 209-284.

Koopmans, B.

- 1921 Memorie van overgave van de Onderafdeeling Roti: Afdeling Zuid Timor en Eilanden. Baa, April 1921. Unpublished.

Kruyt, A.C.

- 1921 De Rotineezen. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, LX: 266-344.

Lange, W.

- 1688 Unpublished letter received Batavia 23 Dec. 1688: 'Vertooghen en standt der sacken van 't Eijlandt Rotti, Timor, en Solor door den gewezen onderkoopman, secunde en pl. gezaghebber aldaer..... (Catalogus van de Handschriften in Westerse Talen, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1963).

Le Grand, G.J.H.

- 1900 De zending op Roti. Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendeling-genootschap, XLIV: 361-377.

Lekkerkerker, C.

- 1910 Mededeelingen over het Keblai der Rotineezen. Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, LXIII: 111-114.

Lynden, D.W.C. van

- 1851 Bijdrage tot de kennis van Solor, Allor, Rotti, Savoe en omliggende eilanden. Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, II: 317-336; 388-414.

Manafe, D.P.

- 1889 Akan Bahasa Rotti. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, XXXVIII: 634-648.

Manafe, D.

- 1961 Adat Lembaga Perkawinan di Roti - Lelenuk. Bahasa dan Budaja, no.9: 45-57.
- 1961 Tiga Buah Tjeritera dari Roti Lelenuk. Bahasa dan Budaja; Madjalah Ilmiah Populer, No.5/6, Tahun IX: 247-253.

Meyer, W.L.

- 1936 Anthropologische und odontologische Untersuchungen auf den Kleinen Sunda-Inseln Timor und Rote. Sonderdruck aus der Festschrift der Odontologischen Gesellschaft Basel, 1936: 141-195. Zürich.

Müller, S.

- 1857 Reizen en onderzoekingen in den Indischen Archipel, 2 vols. Amsterdam.

- Niemann, G.K.
- 1890 Nog iets over het eiland Rotti of Rote. Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendeling-genootschap, XXXIV: 43-44.
- Nieuwenkamp, W.O.J.
- 1921 Twaalf dagen op Roti. Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, 2e s., XXXVIII: 567-584.
- 1923-24 Mijn bezoek aan Roti. Nederlandsch-Indië Oud en Nieuw, VIII: 277-284; 295-302.
- 1924-25 Van een zerftocht door Timor en Onderhoorigheden. Nederlandsch-Indië Oud en Nieuw, IX: 143-155; 175-191.
- 1925 Zwerftocht door Timor en Onderhoorigheden. Amsterdam.
- Niks, J.F.
- 1888 De Rottineesche nederzettingen op Timor. Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendeling-genootschap, XXXII: 95-97.
- 1891 Het eiland Rotti (Rote). Nederlandsch Zendingstijdschrift IIIde jaargang: 321-343.
- Ormeling, F.J.
- 1957 The Timor Problem, 's-Gravenhage.
- Pello,
- 1890 Woordenlijst. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, XXXIX: 1-26.
- Raffles, Sir Stamford,
- 1821 Short Account of Timor, Rotti, Savu, Solor etc. Proceedings of the Agricultural Society established in Sumatra, vol. I, in the Papers of Sir Stamford Raffles: 18-19.
- Rahm, Th.
- 1923 Boschtechnisch verslag over het eiland Roti. Baä. Unpublished.
- Rhijn, L.J. van
- 1851 Reis door den Indischen Archipel (in het belang der Evangelische Zending) Rotterdam.

Riedel, J.G.F.

- 1889 Note sur l'île Rote. Compte-rendu du IV Congrès Internationale des Sciences Geographiques à Paris.

Roo van Alderwerelt, J.de

- 1904 Aanteekeningen over Timor en Onderhoorigheden, 1668 tot en met 1809. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, XLVII: 195-226.

Rumphius,

- 1741-1755 Amboinsche Kruidboek, Deel I, Boek VIII, Hoofdstuk IX.

Sarasin, F.

- 1935-36 Beiträge zur Prähistorie der Inseln Timor und Roti. Verhandlungen der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft von Basel, XLVII: 1-59.
- 1938 Über Spuren einer früheren weddoiden Bevölkerung auf der Insel Roti bei Timor. Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde, VII: 251-254.

Simons, D.L.

- 1916 Nota over de onderafdeeling Roti: Afdeeling Z. Timor en Eilanden, Residentie Timor en Onderhoorigheden. Baä, December 23, 1916, unpublished.

Vinckers, J.A.Beckering

- 1914 Landschap Ringgou. Nota van Toelichting. Baä, August 10, 1914. Unpublished.

Vorderman, A.C.

- 1888 Het Journaal van Albert Colfs. Batavia.

Wetering, F.H. van de

- 1922 De afkomst der Roteneezen van het eiland Rote. Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelingengenootschap, LXVI: 312-326.
- 1923a De naamgeving op Rote. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, LXIII: 402-419.
- 1923b Het Roteneesche huis. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, LXII: 452-495.
- 1924 Het tatoueren op Rote. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, LXXX: 23-32.

Wetering, F.H. van de

- 1925 Het huwelijk op Rote. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, LXV: 1-36; 589-667.
- 1929 Supa-So. De eed; eene bijdrage tot de dynamische beschouwing der Roteneezen. Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen bij gelegenheid van zijn 150 jarig bestaan, 1778-1928, II: 418-422.

Wichmann, A.

- 1892 Die Insel Roti. Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen, XXXVIII: 97-103.
- 1892 Bericht über eine Reise... nach dem Indischen Archipel. Timor und Roti. Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, vol.9: 161-257.

Wiggers, H.D.

- 1893 Gewone eed der Timoreezen en Rottineezen. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, XXXVI: 279-280.
- no date Aardrijkskunde Schets van het Eiland Rotti. Tale from: Oud Gewestelyk Secretaris van genoemde residentie. Semarang - Cheribon.

Wijnen, R.

- 1864 De eilanden Rottie en Savoe. Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië. XXVII: 448-451.

Wouden, F.A.E. van

- 1935 Sociale Structuurtypen in de Groote Oost. Leiden.

author unknown

- 1882 Eenige Mededeelingen betreffende Rote. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, XXVII: 549-556.

author unknown

- 1879 Lijst van boekjes, vroeger in de Rottinesche scholen in gebruik. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, XXV: 70-71.

author unknown

- 1873 Lijst van Rottinesche woorden, gebruikelijk in het Koepangsch Maleisch. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, XX: 357-363.

Other unpublished documents (unsigned) from the archives of the Museum voor de Tropen:

Documents concerning Roti:

1. Bijzonderheden over het jaar 1930 ten behoeve van de samenstelling Militaire memorie te Timor Koepang. Koepang June 1, 1931.
2. Bijzonderheden over het jaar 1931 ten behoeve van de samenstelling Militaire memorie te Timor Koepang. Koepang June 1, 1932.
3. Afschrift no. 432/38, Koepang January 27, 1932.

Documents from the former Ministerie van Koloniën (presently in the Ministerie van Binnenlandsche Zaken) and from the Algemeen Rijksarchief.

Nijs Bik, E.H.de

- 1934 Memorie van den aftreden Resident van Timor en Onderhoorigheden, 2 vols. June 16, 1934.

Karthaus, P.F.J.

- 1931 Memorie van den aftreden Resident van Timor en Onderhoorigheden, 2 vols. May 6, 1931.

Knaap, A.J.

- 1922 Reisrapport v/h Hoofd v/h Kantoor voor de bestuurszaken der Buitengewesten naar de res. Timor en Onderhoorigheden. March 4, 1922. no.12.

Rietschoten, C.H. van

- 1913 Memorie omtrent den toestand van het gewest Timor en Onderhoorigheden tijdens het bestuur van ondergeteekende van einde Juli 1911 tot begin August 1913 en het bijzonder op het tijdstip der overgave. Timor, Koepang, July 25, 1913. (in Le Roux Collection in Algemeen Rijksarchief).

de Rooy

1908 **Memorie omtrent den toestand van het Gewest Timor en Onderhoorigheden tijdens mijn bestuur over het tijdvak Juni 1905 tot Juni 1908.**

Schultz, C.

1927 **Memorie van Overgave van den afgetreden Resident van Timor en Onderhoorigheden; en Bijlagen. June 13, 1927.**

Unsigned documents:

Memorie van Overgave ingevolge het Gouvernements besluit, 12 Mei 1916. (in Le Roux Collection in Algemeen Rijksarchief).

Copies of letters making Gerardus Frederik Sjoen, radja of Noesalai (Rotti) May 1926.

Additional Bibliography

(References cited in the text or used in the preparation of the thesis).

Arndt, P.P.

- 1933 *Gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse im Sikagebiet (östl. Mittel-Flores). Ende, Flores.*

Berthe, Louis

- 1961 *Le mariage par achat et la captation des gendres dans une société semi-féodale: les Buna' de Timor central. L'Homme, Tome I, Sept-Dec. 1961, no. 3: 5-31.*

Cunningham, C.E.

- 1964 *Order in the Atoni House. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 120: 34-68.*
- 1966 *Order and Change in an Atoni Diarchy. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 21: 359-382.*
- 1967 *Atoni Kin Categories and Conventional Behaviour. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 123: 53-70.*

Drabbe, P.

- 1940 *Het leven van den Tanembarees. International Archives of Ethnography. 1940: 144-145. Leiden.*

Dumont, Louis

- 1957 *Hierarchy and Marriage Alliance in South Indian Kinship. Occ. Papers Royal Anth. Institut, no. 12.*
- 1957 *Une Sous-Caste de l'Inde du Sud: organisation sociale et religion des Pramalai Kallar. the Hague.*

Evans-Pritchard, E.E.

- 1962 *Essays in Social Anthropology. London.*

Fischer, H.Th.

- 1935 *De aanverwantschap bij eenige volken van de Nederlands-Indische Archipel. Mensch en Maatschappij XI: 285-297; 365-378. Amsterdam.*
- 1957 *Some Notes on Kinship Systems and Relationship Terms of Sumba, Manggarai and South Timor. International Archives of Ethnography, vol. XLVIII, no. 1: 1-31.*

- Fox, J.J.
The Tanala: An 'African' Two-Section System. (submitted for publication).
- Grijzen, H.J.
1904 Mededeelingen omtrent Beloe of Midden-Timor. Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, LIV.
- Hertz, Robert
1960 Death and the Right Hand. Glencoe, Ill.
- Josselin de Jong, J.P.B.de
1935 De Maleische Archipel als Ethnologisch Studieveld. Leiden.
1941 Oost-Indonesische Poesie. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde C 235-254.
1947 Studies in Indonesian Culture: The Community of Erai (Wetar). Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde.
- Leach, E.R.
1960 "Descent, Filiation and Affinity". Man, January, article no.6.
1961 Rethinking Anthropology. London.
- Lehman, F.A.
1963 The Structure of Chin Society. Urbana.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude
1949 Les structures elementaires de la parente. Paris
1958 Anthropologie structurale. Paris.
1964 Structural Analysis in Linguistics and Anthropology. In Language in Culture and Society, ed. Dell Hymes. New York.
- Mathijssen, A.
1907 Tettum-Hollandsche woordenlijst met beknopte spraakkunst. Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, LVI.

Middelkoop, P.

- 1931 Gegevens over het Timoreesche adathuwelijk. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, LXXXVIII:239-286.
- 1950 Proeve van een Timorese grammatica. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, CVI: 375-517.
- 1958 Baumata. Kadjalah untuk Ilmu Bahasa, Ilmu Bumi dan Kubudajaan Indonesia, djilid LXXXVI: 3-21.
- 1963 Head Hunting in Timor and its Historical Implications, Oceania Linguistic Monograph, no.8, parts 1,2 and 3.

Needham, Rodney

- 1957 Circulating Connubium in Eastern Sumba: a literary analysis. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 113: 68-78.
- 1962a Structure and Sentiment: a test case in social anthropology. Chicago.
- 1962b Genealogy and Category in Wikmunkan Society. Ethnology, vol.I: 223-264.
- 1963 Symmetry and Asymmetry in Prescriptive Alliance: further comments on an alleged fallacy. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 119: 267-283.
- 1966-67 Terminology and Alliance. Sociologus 16: 141-157; 17: 39-54.
- 1967 Right and Left in Nyoro Symbolic Classification. Africa 37: 425-452.

Onvlee, L.

- 1930 Opmerkingen over verwantschapsbetrekkingen bij de Soembaneezen. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, LXX: 343-347.
- 1949 Naar aanleiding van de stuwdam in Mangili (Opmerkingen over de sociale structuur van Oost-Soemba). Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, CV: 445-459.

Rassers, W.H.

- 1959 Pañji, the Culture Hero: A structural study of religion in Java. the Hague.

Schärer, H.

- 1963 Ngadju Religion: The conception of God among a south Borneo people. the Hague.

Turner, V.

1967 Forest of Symbols. Ithaca.

Vlekke, B.H.M.

1959 Nusantara: A History of Indonesia. the Hague.

Vroklage, B.A.G.

1953 Ethnographie der Belu in Zentral-Timor, 3 vols. Leiden.

Wortelboer, W.

1955 Zur Sprache und Kultur der Belu (Timor). Anthropos, vol.50. Salzburg.

