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lived with are descendants of a former ruling house, although the Brahmana are related very distantly to Ksatrya, the former kings’ estate. The Head of Baturujung and his descent group used to say that before they were Ksatrya. I did not reside with these people.

With Brahmana, I studied metaphysics and theology, *inter alia*; in Baturujung I worked and otherwise lived like villagers. This is not remarkable. I mention it only because Cederroth tries to contrast the circumstances of my fieldwork and my conclusions with Gerdin’s. I appear though to have had the broader experience of Balinese life. Further, I made no comment upon Gerdin’s fieldwork, except to express the fond way in which the people she lived with remembered her. This expression is reinforced by Cederroth’s report of Gerdin’s “cremation ceremony”. The point at issue in the review, anyway, was not how much Gerdin did or did not know about the people she lived with; it was that her study does not take what she knew seriously.

Cederroth’s commentary is based upon incorrect information; it needs must therefore traduce by misrepresentation, surmise, and assertion. To put it as kindly as possible, it is clear that neither is Cederroth unbiased and (far more seriously) nor is his writing scientific. This lack of rigour characterizes also Gerdin’s presumptuously and misleadingly entitled book.

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**GREGORY FORTH**

**KAMBERA TEMPORAL CLASSIFICATION: A NOTE ON AN EARLY REFERENCE**

The purpose of this note is to rectify an unfortunate omission from my recent article entitled ‘Time and Temporal Classification in Rindi, Eastern Sumba’ (*Bijdragen* 139-1, pp. 46-80). In an earlier draft of the paper I had mentioned a list of phrases for parts of the day from the Kambera dialect of eastern Sumbanese recorded by D. K. Wielenga (1913:4, n. 5). In the subsequent process of revision and typing, however, all reference to this early source was inadvertently deleted from the text, and by the time I became aware of what had happened the paper had already been set up in type, so that it was no longer possible to make any substantial alteration to it.

In the footnote referred to, Wielenga, who at the time of writing was fluent in Kambera, the major dialect of eastern Sumba, correctly observes that Sumbanese is rich in terms for various “hours” of the day. He then goes on to list nine such expressions with glosses, and in some instances the approximate clock times to which they correspond, as follows (here I retain the orthography employed by Wielenga. For the sake of comparison the phrases I recorded in Rindi which appear to agree with those given by Wielenga are written to the right):
Kambera terms (Wielenga 1913) Rindi terms (Forth 1983)
1. bara kiri awang, 'the horizon
becomes white'
2. nanaroe lodoe, 'the sun is
just visible'
3. tarakoe lodoe, 'to send out the first
rays'
4. pera doea pahé, 'climbed halfway'
   (9 o'clock)
5. tidoeng lodoe, 'to carry the sun on
   the head'
   (12 o'clock)
6. pihil lodoe, 'the sun begins to turn'
   (± one o'clock)
7. hapoengoe kokoer djangga na,
   'as high as a
   coconut tree'
   (± 4 o'clock)
8. hapoengoe kokoer pandak na,
   'as low as a
   coconut tree'
   (± 5 o'clock)
9. tama loendoeng, 'completely set'

As can be seen, Wielenga's list corresponds closely with my own. The only thing I would question is his translation of expressions (7) and (8), where it seems that more accurate glosses of the terms 'kokoer djangga' and 'kokoer pandak' are 'tall coconut tree' and 'short coconut tree' respectively ('hapoengoe' is a conjunction of 'one' and the numerical classifier for trees). If this is indeed the case, then the expressions would appear to refer to the times of the day when the sun has descended as far as the tops of tall and short trees, as do their Rindi equivalents.

Although Wielenga's list is not nearly as extensive as the one I recorded in Rindi (see Forth 1983, Table 1), which contains some 26 terms for parts of the day and 18 for parts of the night, the author does state that there are in addition many other words with a temporal reference which are more 'general' in meaning, and as examples of these he mentions the following (the comparable Rindi terms are again given on the right):

Kambera terms (Wielenga 1913) Rindi terms (Forth 1983)
10. hadnroedoe, 'early in the morning
   'hada roedoe
   'hada ru dungu
   when it is still
   dark'
There are three points worth making with regard to the foregoing data. First, while the description is indeed applicable to the other terms listed just above, it is far from clear how ‘hada roedoeng’ and ‘mandalora’, both of which refer to quite specific segments or junctions of the 24-hour cycle, could be construed as ‘general’.

Secondly, the fact that Wielenga writes ‘etcetera’ twice after ‘midnight’ might be taken to imply that he was aware that the eastern Sumbanese possess a large number of terms besides mandalora (and hadas rudungu) for indicating parts of the night. This, however, is not certain, and even though at this stage Wielenga’s knowledge of Kambera was well advanced, it is equally possible that he had yet to discover the numerous ways in which the eastern Sumbanese are able to articulate the passage of time between sunset and sunrise. Nevertheless, the fact that the Sumbanese have a word for ‘midnight’ is evidence against Nilsson’s claim, published some seven years later, that for primitives night is ‘an undivided unit, a point’ (Nilsson 1920:17).

Finally, it may be worth noting that in spite of the artificiality of the procedure, the clock times given by Wielenga for several of the expressions he records match rather well with my own (see Forth 1983, Table 1), which are in part based on estimates provided by Rindi informants with knowledge of clocks. In fact, the only identical term whose translation is manifestly at variance with that given for a Rindi term is ‘maling’ (malimg). This Wielenga glosses as ‘evening, night’ (Dutch avond), whereas in Rindi at present the word is commonly used to refer in a general way to the later part of the afternoon. Assuming that Wielenga has registered the full range of reference of the word in Kambera, taken with other evidence (see Kapita 1982:144, who translates malimg both as ‘night’, BI malam, and as ‘afternoon’, BI petang), this discrepancy might suggest that the temporal reference of malimg has changed somewhat since Wielenga’s time, and, as an additional possibility, that the current use of the term may reflect the influence of the Bahasa Indonesia word sore (‘late afternoon, early evening’). On the other hand, though, the difference may be due to nothing more than variation in usage between the Kambera and Rindi dialects.

Forth, G. L.

Kapita, Oe. H.
In a recent article in *BKI*, Penny van Esterik (1984:77-91) has argued convincingly, to my mind, that “objects that are used as symbols have proper or literal meanings of their own, and these literal meanings are the material out of which symbolic significance arises” (p. 80). To substantiate her more specific suggestion that “technological operations must be extensively thought about, and these thoughts may provide analogies for other things which people must think about” (p. 81), she focussed on the archaeological, ethnographic and Buddhist contexts of pottery vessels in South-East Asia, especially Thailand. Her analysis also relied very much on the realization that an important property of symbolic systems is their openness, and that the meanings of symbols are frequently vague, ambiguous and discordant. I should like to make some additional comments on Van Esterik’s article, since it fits admirably with my present research on Borneo material culture in general, and, in particular, that of the Maloh of West Kalimantan, among whom I conducted fieldwork in 1972-73.

What I found of special interest was Van Esterik’s remark that the process of manufacturing and using a pot may be connected to “the process of human development”, and therefore to the broader concept of creation. Elements which come together here are water and earth (clay), which are moulded into shape and “fired to maturity” (p. 85). Air might be a further element to be considered. Van Esterik touched on the connection between jars and fertility, but I think she could have made more of the importance of fire in pot manufacture. Fire is, in one sense, very much linked to notions of fertility in various Borneo cultures. Rodney Needham, for example, has already noted in a Borneo context, and beyond for that matter, that certain symbols such as fire and stone are “archetypal” or “natural” symbols (Needham 1967:281). In a partly complementary study, which is based on psychoanalytic methods, Derek Freeman further remarked that “in mythology, fire and lightning are symbolically identified not only with urine and destructiveness but also with semen and fertility”, and that Sir James Frazer has provided “many examples of the kindling of fires to promote fertility” (Freeman 1968: 369). It is also surely relevant that one of the central symbols in Borneo material culture is the dragon (*naga*) (e.g. among the Maloh, Kayan,