

Kandan: A traditional oral genre of the Uut Danum of West Kalimantan and its use in shamanic rites

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Kandan is a sung genre practiced by the Uut Danum of Indonesian Borneo for entertainment and ritual purposes. As a literary genre, it is used to narrate a cycle of epic songs known as *kandan kolimoi*. As a ritual genre, it is used mainly to sing invocatory chants in the context of shamanic ceremonies, where it also serves as a means of communication with spirits. This article describes the basic linguistic and stylistic features of *kandan* and presents some hypotheses regarding its relationship with related literary genres of neighbouring societies, primarily the *basa sangiang* of the Ngaju. It also compares the formulaic style and versification patterns of *kandan* with those of other Uut Danum poetic genres. Finally, it illustrates the use of *kandan* as a spirit language during shamanic possession séances.

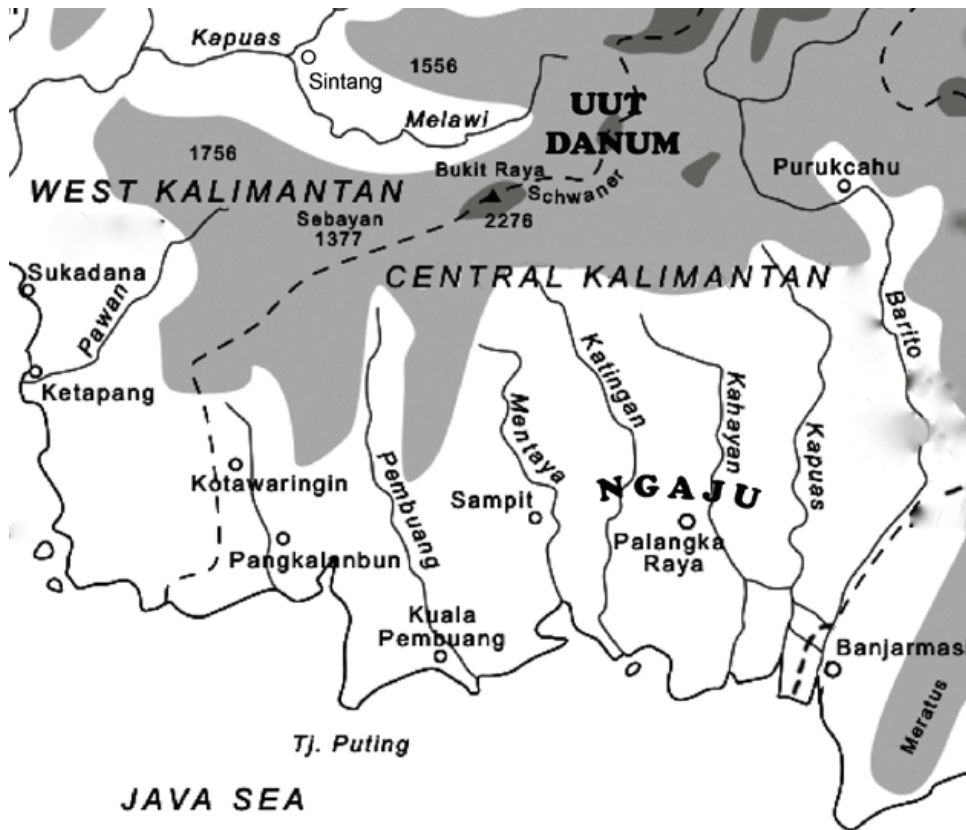
1. Introduction

This article¹ presents an introduction to a little-studied oral genre of the Uut Danum of West Kalimantan, based on materials collected on the upper Melawi river, mainly in the Ambalau and Lekawai areas. Dohoi, originally the name of one of the major subgroups constituting the Uut Danum family (Avé 1972, Couderc 2012), is the language spoken by all Uut Danum in West Kalimantan, and is also used as a language of communication among non-Uut Danum people of the middle and upper Melawi. In Central Kalimantan, where resides a larger Uut Danum population, a dialect of Dohoi is spoken mainly on the upper Samba, Kahayan, Kapuas and Barito (Joloi) rivers (Map 1). In the Kahayan area, this dialect is now known as Kadorih and has been the object of extensive research by linguist Kazuya Inagaki. Meanwhile, *kandan* has not received much anthropological nor linguistic attention so far. It shows, however, many similarities with the sacred language of the Ngaju, or *basa sangiang*, which has been well described in existing literature since the pioneering work of Hardeland (1858, 1859). It is one of the goals of this article to present material for a comparison of the two genres.

Kandan is, along with *parung* and *tahtum*, one of three major sung genres traditionally practiced by the Uut Danum for entertainment and ritual purposes. While *parung* and *tahtum*, which share important stylistic features, are usually sung by men, *kandan* is an almost exclusively female domain, with relatively few adult men mastering its language and vocabulary, and fewer still actually performing it.² (On the other hand, a competent female *parung* or *tahtum* singer is not something unusual.) As a literary genre, it is used to narrate a cycle of epic songs known as *kandan kolimoi* (*kolimoi* means ‘story’, ‘tale’), whose main characters are inhabitants of the sky, god-like beings distantly related to

¹ I am grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their detailed and relevant comments.

² This is at least the situation that can be observed in the upper Melawi region. Among the Uut Danum of the upper Kapuas river (Central Kalimantan), as in the neighbouring Siang country, *kandan* is also sung by men.



Map 1: Kalimantan, Situation of the Uut Danum

Source: Bernard Sellato, by permission

mankind. Its male counterpart is *tahtum*, the ancestral epic which relates the adventures of the Uut Danum heroes Bungai and Tambun and shares some of the *kandan kolimoi*'s heavenly characters, as well as a number of its themes and formulas. As a ritual genre, *kandan* may be used in a variety of contexts (weddings, secondary funerals, etc.) to sing prayers, invocations, or praise songs. In one given ritual occasion, the same invocation or song will typically be delivered – sometimes in turn or simultaneously – by men in *parung* and by women in *kandan*.

The main arena for the ritual use of *kandan*, however, is that of shamanic rituals (*hobolian*), which range from simple curing rites (*nyandah*) to the multipurpose, larger-scale rites of the *nyakai* category. In this context, *kandan* serves as a medium of communication with upperworld (and other) spirits named *songiang*, hence it is also referred to as the '*songiang*'s language' (*auh songiang*). During possession seances, when the *songiang* speak, or rather, sing through the mouths of female shamans (*jaja*) while treating patients, they do it in *kandan*, shifting occasionally to Dohoi to address members of the audience directly. *Kandan* is also used by the shamans to address the *songiang* in invocatory chants that describe a cosmic travel undertaken by the souls of their patients, a travel in the course of which they are healed by various spirits of the upperworld and underworld in parallel with actual shamanic healing. The most elaborate and lengthy versions of these chants, performed in particular during *nyakai* rituals, overlap significantly with the *kandan kolimoi* epic songs, with both types of narratives being set in the same cosmic geography and mentioning the same characters, whom the shamans summon in their chants to descend to this world as ritual guests. The chants are performed either in a solo (*kandan* proper) or responsive singing mode

(*timang*). Sung in solo, *kandan* is characterised by a continuous, unstructured flow of sentences, with short breathing pauses. Once in a while, the singer makes a longer pause, preceded by a raising of the voice on the last word of the sentence, and a prolonged “*Ehe, ae, ae*” is uttered in chorus with the listeners. *Timang* breaks this flow in discrete verses which are sung twice, first by the lead *jaja*, and a second time by one or several female responders (usually joined by the lead singer on the second part of the verse). The form and length of *timang* verses are modulated according to the pattern of a rhythmic accompaniment played on drums by the singers.

While as musical forms *parung*, *tahtum*, *kandan* and *timang* all differ from each other, as speech genres *parung* and *tahtum*, on the one hand, and *kandan/timang*, on the other, have distinctive features, the latter being notably more distant from everyday language than the former.

2. *Auh kandan*: the *kandan* ‘language’

Kandan is readily described by the Uut Danum as a ‘language’. *Auh* (literally ‘speech’, ‘voice’, ‘word’, ‘language’) has a wide semantic range since it also covers all kinds of speech genres, including particular types of spells or magical formulas (e.g., *auh tondek*, *auh kaji*) or some musical coded messages mentioned in oral literature. In the case of *kandan*, this denomination reflects both the mythological representation of the upperworld spirits as a people whose language it is, and the comprehensiveness of its lexicon, which allows some women to sing or even speak freely in *kandan* in peculiar circumstances outside its proper context of use (i.e., to make jokes or asides in conversations). The same holds of *basa sangiang/sangen*, the close equivalent of *kandan* among the Ngaju, which is also used for singing both ritual invocations and mythological narratives (Kuhnt-Saptodewo 1993, Schiller 2005). As noted by August Hardeland in his Ngaju-German dictionary, quoted in Baier (1987:vii), some Ngaju had a propensity for using the *Sangiang*’s language in ordinary verbal interactions (1859:218, see entry for *kambahan*, in particular the word *pangambahan*, “*Who always speaks in the Sangiang language to others*”). Many words of the common language, including people and place names, have their counterpart (*tomalik*, from *malik*: ‘change’) in *kandan*. Some *tomalik* are single words pertaining to basic vocabulary. For instance:

- ahui: ‘lost’ (Dohoi *lajat*)
- behas: ‘husked rice’ (Dohoi *bojah*)
- belai: ‘all’ (Dohoi *paring*)
- dalah: ‘blood’ (Dohoi *daha*)
- hanyang: ‘carnelian stone’ (Dohoi *sambon*)
- jali: ‘finger’ (Dohoi *iking*)
- jangai: ‘insufficient’ (Dohoi *tahpas*)
- lujan: ‘cooked rice’ (Dohoi *bari*)
- lihkew: ‘nibung palm’ (Dohoi *divung*)
- lihkun: ‘under’ (Dohoi *pinda*)
- lundung: ‘house’ (Dohoi *lovu*)
- mandui: ‘to bathe’ (Dohoi *monus*)
- mejow: ‘far’ (Dohoi *macu*)
- monyokean: ‘to smear with blood’ (Dohoi *nyahki*)
- monyokiow: ‘to call’ (Dohoi *naah*)
- ngate’: ‘to sit’ (Dohoi *tuot*)
- ngenan: ‘to eat’ (Dohoi *kuman*)

pongondien: 'tiger' (Dohoi *horomaung*)
 sukan: 'previously, first' (Dohoi *holu*)
 telun: 'rope', 'string' (Dohoi *tali*)
 tira': 'not' (Dohoi *eam*)
 tisip: 'full' (Dohoi *tuvi*).

Many *tomalik* go by synonymic pairs, which occur in parallel segments of speech. One member of the pair may be a regular Dohoi word:

tisip/penu': 'full' (Dohoi *tuvi*)
 monyokiow/monyomava': 'to call' (Dohoi *naah*)
 munduk/ngate': 'to sit' (Dohoi *tuot*)
 telun/tali(n): 'thread, rope' (Dohoi *tali*)
 sali'/balai: 'house' (Dohoi *balai*, 'guest house, temporary ritual edifice').

A large number of *tomalik* consist of groups of words, usually two or three of them. For instance (parentheses indicate that a word is optional in a formula):

bangun lambang: 'house' (*lovu*)
 (bulow) jevai etang: 'life soul' (*morua*)
 bukai lunjan: 'slave' (*jihpon*)
 ihkan bolikat akan: 'python' (*ponganon*)
 kamben duhung: 'pig' (*urak*)
 karing nindan lambang: 'house ladder' (*honjan*)
 kening tingang: 'eyebrow' (*bulun kolunuk*)
 lauk boleteng lahu': '*dungan* fish'
 lauk nanduk pulang: 'cow' (*sahpi*)
 lauk topelung bulan: 'tortoise' (*kolop*)
 liak lavew: 'word' (*auh*)
 liu' likai langit: 'sun' (*mahtanondow*)
 motali' daven lahing: 'to smoke cigarettes' (*moluhku*)
 nusung eling maluh lavung: 'to drink rice wine' (*ngorih boram*)
 panow mu': 'you' (*ihko*)
 patai pinang: 'areca quid' (*sihpa*)
 puhkang jalin tingang: 'hand' (*longo*).
 sambang ajun tingang: 'small shaman's drum' (*kotambung*)
 tambang lavah bulow: 'leg' (*paa*)
 tesak melang tingang: 'roof' (*sahpow*)
 undew konomalai: 'fine sunhat' (*takui daro*)
 (utang) kalung tingang: 'chicken' (*manuk*)

Such formulas, that is, groups of words regularly employed to express the same ideas, often have a poetic or figurative meaning which can be easily made sense of: 'cow' (*sahpi*) is the 'animal – (whose) horns – (are) swords'; 'house ladder' (*honjan*) is 'ivory – leaning on – house frame.' Others have a more conventionalized meaning, and even competent singers do not know the literal meaning of their component words (see Hardeland 1858:210). Formulas also often form synonymic dyads:

sambang ajun tingang/luhing livew lunuk : 'small shaman's drum' (*kotambung*)
 liu' likai langit/lupung palui bulow : 'sun' (*mahtanondow*)
 (bulow) jevai etang/(lupung) somenget samben : 'life soul' (*morua*)
 bukai lunjan/levin keting : 'slave' (*jihpon*)
 patai pinang/potalin (daven) lahing : 'areca quids and cigarettes' (*sihpa somahku*).

Formulas may in turn be regularly combined with other terms to produce more complex formulas, or second-order formulas, which, as we will see, provide the units of *kandan* prosody. The first formula usually stands for a noun, to which a verb is combined to obtain a second-order formula, which is a verbal phrase. Thus, *akan tonokanan* ('clothes') may be combined with the verb *ngomujui* ('to straighten', Dohoi *ngohinut*) to create a formula meaning 'to straighten one's clothes' (Dohoi *ngohinut hati' pokajan*). The same first-order formula may be combined with another verb to create a different second-order formula (e.g., *nihpuk akan tonokanan*, 'to sprinkle the clothes [with oil or curcuma]'). In turn, the same verb may appear in a different second-order formula, for instance: *nihpuk + danum kohoringan belum* = 'to sprinkle Water of Life'. Table 1 lists a few second-order formulas of common use.

Table 1. First- and second-order formulas

	first-order formula (in italics)		
ngomujui	<i>akan tonokanan</i> = hatin pokajan: clothes	:	to straighten one's clothes
penu'	<i>ulek depang samben</i> = dohpang sambon: row of carnelian stones	:	satiated with food
jurang-juri'	<i>bandung ilui duhung</i> = boat	:	the boat moves back and forth
ngunjung	<i>tendung bulung</i> = longo': hand	:	to raise the hand
ngoluhkuh	<i>tohilan tuku'</i> = nyihpo': teeth	:	to rinse one's teeth
pamba'	<i>sambang ajun tingang</i> = kotambung: shaman's drum	:	(the) beating (of) the drum
ngehtu'	<i>utang kalung tingang</i> = manuk: chicken	:	to kill a chicken
nelu'	<i>kamben duhung</i> = urak: pig	katu-katung	: to lift a pig high in the air
nambang	<i>lauk nanduk pulang</i> = sahpi': cow	:	to catch a cow
monyokean	<i>bulow jevai etang</i> = morua': life soul	:	to anoint a soul with blood

However extensive the repertory of *tomalik* and the number of ideas they are used to express, *kandan* is not a language of its own, at least not one expressing all the nuances of the common language. The range of its expressive possibilities is bound by the limits of the *kandan* corpus, both in respect to vocabulary (not all Dohoi words have a *tomalik*) and to the morphologic/stylistic features of the genre.

Kandan relies on ordinary Dohoi language in different ways. First, many formulas partly, or even wholly, consist of (more or less) common words, used metaphorically or ornamentally. In the following examples, Dohoi words are written in italics.

<i>motali'</i> to twine (a rope)	(daven) <i>lahing</i> leaf nipah palm	: 'to smoke cigarettes' (Dohoi <i>moluhku'</i>)
<i>liu'</i> rainbow	likai (<i>langit</i>) areca nut sky	: 'sun' (Dohoi <i>mahtanondow</i>)
karing ivory	<i>nindan lambang</i> to lean on rectangular frame	: 'house ladder' (Dohoi <i>honjan</i>)
bolingin banyan	<i>tingang</i> hornbill	: 'banyan' (Dohoi <i>lunuk</i>)
<i>bulow</i> gold	jevai soul	: 'life soul' (Dohoi <i>morua'</i>)
<i>purun</i> <i>cyperaceae sp.</i>	<i>bulow</i> gold	: 'mat' (Dohoi <i>kahcang</i>)

On the other hand, some formulas made up only of original *kandan* words are word-for-word translations of common Dohoi expressions.

tira' hunang/panjang : *eam tahi'* ('not long', of time)
ngate' tene-teneng : *tuot toni-tonih* ('sit silently')
lihkun andow : *pinda' ondow* ('under the daylight', i.e., the inhabitants of earth).

Words such as *tingang* (hornbill), *bulow* (gold), *duhung* (ritual knife), *bulan* (moon), *karing* (ivory), and other potent or mythologically significant words are often used in an ornamental fashion. Here is a sample of formulas including the word *tingang*, in addition to those already mentioned (in some of them its presence may be motivated by the search for rhyme):

(*puhkang*) jalin *tingang* (*puhkang tendung tingang*): 'hand' (Dohoi *longo'*)
lendang *koselan tingang*: 'oil' (Dohoi *koselan*)
tulah tingang, badi' tingang: '*tulah*', '*badi*' (types of supernatural dangers)
pendam *tingang*: 'fever' (Dohoi *pondam*)
behas nyangen *tingang*: 'husked rice' (Dohoi *bojah*)
lunjan *tingang*: '*bolanga*' (type of heirloom jar)
sambang ajun tingang: 'shaman's drum' (Dohoi *kotambung*)
(utang) kalung *tingang*: 'chicken' (Dohoi *manuk*)
tesak melang *tingang*: 'roof' (Dohoi *sahpow*)
liang nyangen tingang: 'house yard?' (Dohoi *dohopan*)
kening *tingang*: 'eyebrow' (Dohoi *bulun kolunuk*)
nyingan *tingang*: *kolatung* (type of gong)
tuhkang hanyang (*tingang*): '*sambon*' (oblong carnelian stone)
suling lingun tingang: 'flute' (Dohoi *suling*)
buhtah lunjan tingang: '*buhtah*' (type of basket)
topahtah lunjan tingang: '*topahtah*' (intermediary platform fronting the house door)
landan *asin tingang*: 'help' (Dohoi *kavat*).

As with the Ngaju *basa sangiang* (Hardeland 1858:4–5, see Fox 2005), some words have a somewhat different meaning than in everyday language:

	<i>Kandan</i>	Dohoi
nambang:	to take, to lift (?)	to go towards, to intercept
kandan:	word, to say	an oral genre
(mo)nyoreling:	to move along	to twine around ±
nasai:	to walk	to dance <i>tasai</i>

Some words have a conventionalized meaning unrelated to their meaning in Dohoi, such as *bulan* ('moon') and *lunuk* ('banyan'), which are used in some formulas to designate female and male characters respectively.

Second, while the lexical register of *kandan* is rich in original (non-Dohoi) words for nouns and verbs, grammatical elements, such as prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, or pronouns, seem to be less represented. These words serve to contextualize the meaning of a sentence, indicating for instance by whom an action is performed, or by whom or to whom words are addressed. If the singer needs such words, she may turn to Dohoi. Among those frequently heard are pronouns and pronominal or possessive enclitics (e.g., 1stSG *ahku'* and *-ku'*, 2ndSG *ihko'* and *-mu'*).

(1) Nai tira' panjang hunang (K)AKU' nihtih Lavang Bahen Duhung:
INTJ not long (time) to hover± 1SG (to sing) Place Name

"I do not wait any longer (in order) to besing the village/people of Lavang Bahen Duhung."

A few *tomalik* designating pronouns do exist in *kandan*, however. One of them is *panow*, which is combined with possessive enclitics of everyday language to produce singular pronouns: *panow ku'* ('I'), *panow mu'* ('you'). I have not elicited the exact meaning of *panow*, but, like another term frequently met in the *parung* genre (*bakang*), it may be translated as 'self, person'. Another is a formula which can be declined with different numerals to designate a group of persons: *situng due'* (*kulun*) (2 persons), *situng telu'* (*kulun*) (3 persons), *situng epat'* (*kulun*) (4 persons). It is usually combined with Dohoi pronouns:

- boro'* situng due' kulun: the two of you
- doro'* situng due' kulun: the two of them
- koro'* situng due' kulun: the two of us (exclusive)
- ihito'* situng telu' kulun: the three of us (inclusive)
- ihkam* situng epat kulun: the four of you

Other grammatical elements borrowed from everyday language that are frequently heard in *kandan* include:

- (i)jo'*: a relative pronoun and nominalizing particle (closely similar to Indonesian *yang*)
- ahkan*: 'in order to', 'for' (prep.)
- kono'i*: 'like this'
- kavun*: 'then',
- kuvoh*: 'how', etc.

However, the formulaic style of *kandan* seems to make prepositions, conjunctions, and the like relatively dispensable. As a matter of fact, the borrowing of such words to Dohoi occurs to a greater extent in performances which involve some degree of improvisation – for instance, when spirits converse with the audience during possession séances – than in the more measured and standardized *timang* invocations. Often, these

words appear redundant, or could be removed or replaced by a proper *kandan* term without affecting the meaning of the sentence in which they appear. In the following excerpt of a solo incantation sung during a *nyakai* ritual, the relative pronoun *jo* ' is used to introduce a verbal predicate.

- (2) Horolusan lajung tavui jo' mesew monyoreling telun hiting:
 turus [bachelor tavui] REL ngavus ngahasu' ± [talin hiting]
 * [...]: formulas
- “The spirit of scattered rice (who) keeps paddling following the (celestial) string.”

Such a construction, in which *jo* ' is used expressively to emphasize the subject, also occurs in common speech:

(Dohoi sentence) *Umbot do' dalo', kavun do' jo' ngahtuh ngoruh:*
 “After celebrating *dalo'*, they celebrated the wedding.”

Such sentences would have exactly the same meaning without *jo* '. Indeed, later in the same *nyakay* ritual, the above-mentioned sentence (sung by the same singer) appears again, this time in a *timang* invocation and without *jo* ':

horolusan lajung tavui (x 2)
mesew monyoreling telun hiting (x 2).

The use of such Dohoi grammatical elements seems often inspired by the singer's need for variation, expression, or ornamentation, and as such appears to be primarily ruled by the requirements of musical prosody. In the following sentence, taken from a *kandan kolimoi* narrative, the word *kono*i (Dohoi ‘like this’), occurring in a sequence of four-syllable segments, is useful to fill the meter.

- (3)
- | | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|-----------------|--------------------|------------|------------|--------|
| Sepai | hapus | komujui | bandung do-monama' | ku' rih | sengiang | tepu' |
| umbot | hapus | kohinut | [| ahku' orih | [songiang | tepu'] |
| finished | all | to put in order | large boat | 1SG this | master | |
| <i>Kono</i> i | kandan | bukai lunjan | Tavai | | Lahing: | |
| konoi | auh | [jihpon] | river bank | vegetation | nipah palm | |
| like this | word | slave | | Place Name | | |
- * [...]: formulas

“I have finished loading the ship, my lord, said the slave (at) Tavai Lahing.”

In these metric conditions – where four syllables are needed – other formulas could have been used by the singer to express the same idea, i.e., quoting words, without resorting to everyday language. One available formula is *liak timang*, which like *kono*i *kandan* may be postposed to the reported speech:

Muda' etang saow sanang liak timang Meling Penyang:
 “May the soul be safe-and-happy, said Meling Penyang.”

Similarly, a range of meaningless particles (e.g., *ki*, *lu*, *do*) are available to the singer when she needs to make even an odd number of syllables (e.g., *do-monama'* in the same example, which allows to obtain a group of four syllables).

On the contrary, a Dohoi word or group of words which are unrequired metrically might come up in unstressed parts of the prosodic rhythm, with a function then similar to that of a musical ornament. This is what happens in the same example with ‘*ku' rih*’, an abbreviated form of the locution ‘*ahku' orih*’, standing for the 1st person singular pronoun (‘I, me’). The singer quickly utters these words between two stressed syllables in the course of her singing (stress is indicated by $\hat{\text{}}$):

“...do-]mo-o-na-]ma’[-ku’rih-]se-]ngia-ang-te-]pu’-ko-]no-oi-kan-]dan...”

The rhythmic pattern of this singing passage, a dotted rhythm alternating a short unstressed and a long stressed syllable (“mo-o”), would have one expect: “do-]mo-o-na-]ma-a’-se-]ngia...”

The inclusion of the subject pronoun *ku’* in this sentence is not required either to understand its meaning since the context already indicates that the action described by the verb *komujui*, i.e., loading the ship, is performed by the slave. For this reason, the expression of the subject in reported words is mostly omitted, especially in *timbang*, whose style is more synthetic than that of *kandan* singing (see below). Or it can be inserted in the middle of a formula, as in the following example (from a shamanic invocation in *kandan*) where the formula (*landan asin tingang*) is the object of the transitive verb *bolahku’* in the second clause. In this formula, the word *asi’* (‘love, affection’) is taken figuratively to refer to material help, such as, for instance, a gift of charms.

(4)

Peka’	sukan	ko’	rih	bulan	mina’
tohka’	holu’	ihko’	orih	bulan	mina’
go down first	2SG	this	moon	aunt	
		[aunt]	

do-bolahku’	landan	ku’	rih	asin	tingang.
nyavot	koik	ahku’	orih	asin	tingang
to request	small	1SG	this	love	hornbill
	[help]	

*[...]: formulas

“(Please) come down, aunt, I (came to) ask for help.”

3. *Kandan* and *basa sangiang*

Before going further with the description of the *kandan* style, let us address the question of the relationship between *kandan* and related literary genres in South Borneo. The Siang, an important upriver group closely related to the Uut Danum and speaking like the latter a Northwest Barito language, also have a speech register named *kandan*. Siang proficiency in *kandan* is acknowledged by the Uut Danum, as appears in the following *tahtum* motif:

Aro’ jo’ ngunjung kajun parung, aro’ jo’ ngahtang kandan Siang.

“Some raised a song in *parung*, some lifted a song in *kandan* (like the people of) Siang.”

A review of available published sources (Riwut 1958, Mihing et al. 1978/79, Haryanto 2006, Nuraini et al. 2012, Harrington 2014a and 2014b) and internet resources suggests a strong connection between the two genres, Siang *kandan* being notably used in the same circumstances as its Uut Danum homonym, and being as the latter also identified as a spirit language (*bahasa sangiang/sangiyang*). The same remark applies to the Ngaju priestly language *basa sangiang* (bs) and its literary counterpart, *basa sangen* (which is to the former what *kandan kolimoy* is to *kandan/auh songiang*), although on a musical level the Siang and Uut Danum genres seem even closer to each other than they are to the Ngaju ritual chants. Since no texts of Siang *kandan* have been published, I will limit the comparison to the Uut Danum and Ngaju speech genres.

The similarities between *kandan* and *basa sangiang* are unmistakable, yet difficult to ascribe to simple causes. The factors to be considered to elucidate the origins of these similarities should include the following:

- the genetic relations between the two mother languages, Dohoi and Ngaju, which both belong to the Western Barito language group (Hudson 1967, see Inagaki 2008, 2013);
- the close similarities between the oral traditions of the Ngaju and Uut Danum people, in regard to religion, mythology, ritual;
- the complex historical background of relationships between the two (groups of) people, the Dohoi speaking Uut Danum (Ot Danum) on the one hand, and the various Ngaju speaking groups of Central Kalimantan, on the other;
- the influence of Ngaju language on Dohoi as currently spoken in Central Kalimantan (see Inagaki 2008 on upper Kahayan Kadorih), but not, or less so, on Melawi Dohoi due to its geographical remoteness;
- Ngaju influence on several aspects of Uut Danum culture (e.g., funerary architecture) in recent times (from the end of the 19th century), and the possible role of the Ngaju as intermediaries for the diffusion of Hindu-Javanese cultural traits among the Uut Danum, and even for the acquisition by the latter of rice agriculture (see Sellato 1986:254–257), earlier on;
- conversely, the sharing of Uut Danum origin myths by some upriver Ngaju groups (Couderc 2012), and the acknowledgement by these groups that the Uut Danum are their cultural forebears (Avé 1972:186).

In this section, I merely illustrate some of these similarities, using as comparative sources Hardeland's Ngaju-German dictionary (1859) and the texts published in the *Sangiang*'s language by Hardeland (1858), Hans Schärer (1963, 1966), and Sri Kuhnt-Saptodewo (1993), as well as Martin Baier's (1987) compilation of *basa sangiang*'s terms. For Dohoi, I rely on my own materials as well as on the wordlists collected in the upper Kahayan region by Karl Epple (n.d.) and Kazuya Inagaki (2008).³

Three main processes may be identified in the formation of a speech genre like *kandan*. The first is an inward process of lexical borrowing. Like other ritual or sacred languages of Borneo and beyond (Hardeland 1858:4, Metcalf 1989:22, Sellato 1991:125, Fox 2005:90, Herrmans 2011:48), *kandan* derives part of its lexicon from words borrowed from other languages. The second is an outward process of linguistic creation using the resources of regular language, through morphological or semantic/poetic alteration of already existing words, or both. Many words of the Ngaju *basa sangiang* are based on regular Ngaju words to which affixes are attached (Hardeland 1858:4, Schärer 1966:8). Unusual prefixes, such as *mono-*, *horo-*, *koro-*, *ngoro-*, *boro-*, *tono-*, also typically occur in *kandan*, but they are often affixed on bases which do not pertain to common language. Some of them are shared with *basa sangiang* (see, e.g., *horolusan*, *monyokiow*, *ngororaju*, *tonokanan* in the appended tables and examples).

The third process is a process of retention, whereby some words disappear from common language while they are retained in the literary language. Schärer (*ibid.*, quoted in Baier 1987:viii) observed that some Ngaju words he met with only in *basa sangiang*

³ In citations from Hardeland and Schärer, e, c, j replace ä, tj, dj. I have maintained o in the final syllables of a number of words, although the corresponding sound is usually written 'u' in modern transcriptions.

still belonged to spoken language at the time of Hardeland 70 or 80 years before. In practice, it is not easy to distinguish such disappeared words from loanwords and assess the proportion of each category in the original lexicon of the genre.

The complex interaction between these three processes can be illustrated with one example. The word *luting* appears in a number of *kandan* (as well as *parung* and *tahtum*) formulas designating bodies of water, either literally (e.g., *luting laut nyaling*, ‘river/sea of the dead’) or metaphorically (e.g., *puhkang luting huang*, ‘inner feeling or desire’). Its most consistent pairing in *kandan* is with *lavang*, ‘lake’ (e.g., *lavang kalu’/luting sati*: ‘lake of talismans’), which is also the definition of *luting* given by Karl Epple in his Dohoi-Ngaju lexicon compiled during the 1920s. On the upper Melawi, during the 1990s, it was not commonly used in ordinary speech, apart from a few historical toponyms (e.g., Luting Mingan, a toponym of the Gilang river area). The verb *ngoluting* (or *moluting*) was used in two expressions carrying the meaning ‘to extract a liquid or juice’, i.e., from ichthyotoxic roots in connection with *tuba* fishing (*ngoluting tuvo*), and from rattan and other sour or astringent fruits in order to prepare fruit salad. A Ngaju cognate, *runting*, also occurs in *basa sangiang*. In the consulted corpus, it seems to appear in only one formula (*runting pajahon burong*), which designates scented oil used to perform ritual anointment (Hardeland 1858:272, 344; Schärer 1966:617). This formula has its exact counterpart in *kandan* (*luting tojahun bulung*). Hardeland mistakenly translates *runting* as ‘oil’ (*ibid.* and 1859:484), conflating the meaning of the word with that of the formula. The frequency and variety of use of *luting* in *kandan* and its attested presence in common language formerly and until now, and the corresponding rarity of *runting* in *basa sangiang*, make it reasonable to hypothesize in this case a loan into *basa sangiang*, if not from *kandan* or Dohoi, at least from a related language in which *runting* had the same meaning(s).

Other potential Dohoi loanwords into *basa sangiang* are mentioned below. However, the bulk of the borrowing appears to be in the opposite direction, namely from Ngaju to *kandan*, while another essential part of the corpus of *kandan* words and formulas is shared with (and might thus also partly originate from) the Ngaju *basa sangiang*.

Table 2. Some Malay loanwords

<i>Kandan</i>	Dohoi	Ngaju	<i>Basa Sangiang</i>	
bangun lambang / bongunan tujang	lovu’	bangunan (“building”)	bangunan	house
bolingin	lunuk	lunok, baringen	baringen	banyan tree
binyak	koselan	minyak/undus	haselan	good-scented oil/oil
dalah	daha’	daha	darah	blood
ihkan	ohcin	meto		animal
jali	iking	tunjok	jari	finger
kulang	eam (‘not’)	ela (‘do not’)	kurang	
panjang	ombu’	panjang	panjang/ambo	long
penu’	tuvi’	kontep	peno	full
rivu’	kujan	koyan/ribu	riwon (Hardeland 1858)	thousand

As Malay (Banjar) is an important source of borrowed words in *basa sangiang* (Hardeland 1858: 4), it is also likely that the latter – or Ngaju – has been the vehicle for the introduction of a number of Malay words in *kandan* (Table 2).⁴

Elements of Javanese courtly culture made their way upriver in South Borneo during the Majapahit period (or after) and left their imprint on language. Such elements include for example names of supernatural beings such as *nahka'* (< *naga*), *jahta'*, *lobahta'* (< *devata*), possibly *songiang* (< *Sang Yang*, see Venz 2012); ritual paraphernalia such as *pola(h)ka'* (< *palangka*), *sakai* (< *sanggar*); and musical instruments such as *solokanong* (< *kenong*), *sorunai* (< *sarunai?* *saron?*), *somotuhtung* (< *tongtong*). All these Dohoi words, except *lobahta'* (translated as *jata* by Epple), have Ngaju in addition to Javanese cognates; some of them also occur in *kandan*. One such potential Javanese loanword which does not occur in common language, and was possibly introduced in *kandan* through *basa sangiang*, is *nyingan* (bs *janjingan*), standing for 'gong' (Dohoi *kolatung*). It may derive from *klenéngan*, the name of a Javanese percussion ensemble (Jaap Kunst, cited in Bouvier 1994:42). The word *kandan* itself has cognates in old Javanese (Haryanto 2006:51), as well as in the languages of Iban and related people of West Borneo like the Mualang, in which *kana* refers to sung narrative poetry (Richards 1981:137; Dunselman 1955:8).

Table 3 presents a sample of *kandan* words of apparent Ngaju origin, some of which also derive ultimately from Malay (e.g., *bitang*, *bulung*, *monama'*, *ngomucui*, *pinang*, *samai*). A Ngaju (i.e., Southwest Barito), or at least a borrowed origin, is certain for words which have the same form and meaning in *kandan* and Ngaju, especially if they are not related to their Dohoi (D.) exact synonyms. For instance: husked rice (*behas*, D. *bojah*), areca (*pinang*, D. *kahat*), to row (*mesew*, D. *ngavus*),⁵ river mouth (*tumbang*, D. *olung*), or numerals like seven and eight (*uju'*, *hanya*; D. *pihtu'*, *jalu'*). It cannot be excluded that some of them come from non-Ngaju languages. Sehai, an Ot Danum dialect spoken on the upper Serawai and Katingan rivers, which appears to share more cognates with Ngaju than Dohoi, has *kinan* (irregular passive form of *kuman* 'to eat', see Hardeland 1858:57; D. *ukun*), which is related to *nengan* (*kandan*, 'to eat').⁶

Ngaju loans that have Dohoi cognates (appearing on a green background in Table 3, see also Table 5) raise an issue. The adaptation of foreign words to native pronunciation is a common phenomenon, which occurs among the Uut Danum both in ordinary⁷ and in

⁴ With the exception of *ihkan* (Malay *ikan* 'fish'), which is not attested in Ngaju.

⁵ In upper Kahayan Dohoi, *ngavus* was still attested in the 1920's (*ngawus*, Epple, n.d.) but has since been supplanted by *mesew* (*meseu*, Inagaki 2008), as a result of Ngaju influence. Other manuscripts left by Epple show that, at the same time, *mesew* was already used in oral literature (*viz.* in *tahtum*).

⁶ *Nusung* ('to drink'), which has no cognate in Dohoi (*ngorih*) or Ngaju (*mihup*), is another potential Sehai loanword into *kandan*. Uut Melahui, another Ot Danum dialect of the upper Melawi, may also be mentioned since it exhibits the same e <=> o correspondence with Dohoi that exists between Ngaju and Dohoi (e.g., *due'*, *telu'*, *ehpat*, *umbet*). However, given its eccentric position and the small number of its locutors, it is unlikely that it has influenced *kandan*. Non-Barito languages of the Melawi could also have contributed some words, such as *hingan*, which occurs in Serawai and Melahui (*behingan*), two languages spoken by close neighbours of the Uut Danum (source for Melahui: Bernard Sellato's unpublished wordlists collected in the Melawi river area during the 1980's, communicated personally). Note however that *Hingan* has cognates in Ngaju and *basa sangiang* (*bahing*, *bambahingan*).

⁷ For instance, *polihitik* (plastic, Engl.), *sehebar* (gezaghebber, Dutch), *sesow* (chainsaw, Engl.), *Paracih* (Perancis, Indonesian).

Table 3. Ngaju loanwords

<i>Kandan</i>	Ngaju	Dohoi	Meaning (in Ngaju)
a(h)ken	aken	ahkon	nephew/niece
andow	andau	ondow	day
belum	belum	bolum	to live
behas	behas	bojah	husked rice
bitang	bintang	potion	star
bolahku'	b(a)laku	nyavot	to request
bulung	burong	ohcin naang	bird
daren	daren	daron	patterned plaitwork
daven	dawen	daun	leaf
de(h)pang	repang	dohpang	row
deleh	dereh	doroh	thin wood stem, beam
due'	due	duo'	two
e(h)pat	epat	ohpat	four
etang	entang	otang	carried in a sling
eteng	enteng	otong	bravery
hanya	hanya	jalu'	eight
helu'	helo	holu'	before
henjan	hejan, tangga	honjan	notched ladder
injek	maninjek	ninjok	to touch (food)
jari	jari	uas, umbot	already
karing	garing		ivory
kuleh	kules	kulos	to turn around
lauk ('animal')	lauk	ohcin (danum)	fish
laung	raung	duni'	dug-out coffin
lehteng	leteng	lohtong	to sink
lenyuh	lenyoh	lonyuh	to melt
liak	riak	lujak	wave
lihkew	rigei	divung	palm sp. (nibung)
likin	ringkin	lihpak	wavelet
mahtanandow	matanandau	mahtanondow	sun
mandui	mandoi	monus	to bathe
manjung	manjong	nuhkat	to climb
matew	matei	mahtoi	dead
mating	mamanting	nyahkah/muhkah	to throw
me(h)teh	mameteh	mara'/nyuhu'	to give s.o. an order
menyow	menyau	muhi'	to wash (hand, plate)
mesew	mesei	ngavus	to row
meteng	mameteng	mohtong	to tie round
monama'	banama		ship
(mo)ngotau'	mangantau	ngotou'	on/with the right
(mo)yohalow	mahalau	nokalow	to pass by
(mo)nyolakah	malangkah	ngolahka'	to step over

munduk	mondok	tuot	to sit
ngenan/nginan	nginan (Kah.) ⁸ , kinan	kuman, ukun	to eat (to be) eaten
ngetan	mintan (Kah.)	ngomin	to bring
ngimbit	mimbit	ngomin	to bring
(ngo)mucui/(ngo)mujui	mambujur	ngorong, ngohinut	to straighten, to put in order
ngomuri'	(ma)ngamburi	ngolai'	to steer
ngopendeng	mampendeng	motombok	to erect
nitih	manitih	napih	to beat (drum, gong)
notahpew	nantapei	notahpoi	to raise (hair, clothesà
nyakew	nyakei (Kah.)	nuhkat	to climb
nyame/nyaman	nyame (nyaman)	bau'	mouth
nyepai	manyampai	dahpot/docok	to arrive somewhere
pandak	pandak	ivak	short
petak	petak	tana'	earth
pinang	pinang	kahat	areca
pole(h)kang	palekang	polohkang	bamboo tube for chalk
samai, semai	sama	paring	all
selem	selem	nyolong	to go into
telu'	telo	tolu'	three
teluk	telok	toluk	river bend
telun	telon		handle (basket, etc.)
tende'	tende	tondo'	to stop
tumbang	tumbang	olung	river mouth
uju'	uju	pihtu'	seven
ulek	ulek	ulok	whirlpool
umbet	[u]mbet	umbot	finished

literary language. In the case of Ngaju loanwords in *kandan*, this adaptation logically reflects regular sound correspondences between Ngaju and Dohoi, such as a/o (e.g., *banama/monama*), word-final au/ow (e.g., *andau/andow*), word-final s/h (e.g., *kules/kuleh*), NT/T⁹ (e.g., *mamanting/mating*, *manyampai/nyepai*), T/hT¹⁰ (e.g., *mamete(h)me(h)teh*, *aken/a(h)ken*) (see Hudson 1967:26, 50; Inagaki 2005, 2013), r/l¹¹ (e.g., *raung/laung*), word-final ei/ew (e.g., *mesei/mesew*). When such loans have Dohoi cognates, however, the resulting *kandan* words are hybrid forms mixing Dohoi and Ngaju (e.g., *mahtanandow*, *pole(h)kang*). The question then arises whether some of them, even a small minority, are not actually original Dohoi words pronounced in a way that mimics Ngaju pronunciation or, more exactly, the phonological features of actual Ngaju loanwords. Proving this hypothesis would require eliciting *kandan* words which

⁸ Kahayan dialect.

⁹ NT represents a nasal and voiceless stop sequence.

¹⁰ hT represents a medial voiceless stop preceded by an aspiration or /h/ sound. Although distinctive of Dohoi among Barito languages, hT often freely varies with T when a phonemic contrast is not involved, as observed by Inagaki (2005:35). *Kandan* makes no exception; thus, *lehteng* (*kandan*, 'to sink') contrasts with Dohoi (and *kandan*) *leteng* 'crosswise stripe' (Ngaju *renteng*).

¹¹ In Dohoi words, 'l' represents an alveolar flap.

have cognates in Dohoi but no known cognates, or more distant ones, in Ngaju. Table 4 presents a number of words potentially fulfilling this requirement, but the limitation of our lexical data does not allow to conclude safely that we deal here with ‘invented’ Ngaju words. Instead they could belong to upriver Ngaju dialects, which are the likeliest source of Ngaju loanwords in *kandan*. Such upriver dialects, now almost extinct, are sparsely documented in Hardeland’s dictionary, which is based mainly on the *bara dia* dialect of the lower Kapuas river area.

The hypothesis is that the use in *kandan* of such ‘Ngaju-sounding’ words, not only the putative neologisms but also the actual loans may in some cases be motivated mainly by stylistic concerns. As may be noticed, almost all of these words vary with their Dohoi cognates by a simple e/o change, which is the most productive vowel correspondence between Ngaju and Dohoi. Such terms, particularly when used freely as opposed to formulaically, function as stylistic markers differentiating *kandan* from ordinary speech or other speech genres. This is especially true of grammatical elements such as prepositions (*te[h]kan* ‘from’, D. *tahkan*) or adverbs (*helu* ‘before’, D. *holu*), which could very easily be replaced by their Dohoi cognates. This stylistic contrast can be observed when a shaman shifts from a genre to another during the same ritual performance. For instance, she will say “*due*,” “*telu*,” “*ehpat*,” “*mahtanandow*,” “*belum*” when singing invocatory chants (in *kandan*), and “*duo*,” “*tolu*,” “*ohpat*,” “*mahtanandow*” and “*bolum*” when she utters the same words (in Dohoi) in a *mohpas* prayer accompanying the killing of a chicken. Even some formulas seem to be calqued on formulas found in other genres, adapted to give them a *kandan* touch. For instance, *due’ lapai telu’ bambai*” (‘two side by side, three in a row’) recalls a formula encountered in *tahtum* (*pihtu’ mambai jalu’ rapai*, ‘seven in a row, eight side by side’). The difference is that the *kandan* formula makes use of Ngaju numerals (that have Dohoi cognates) while the *tahtum* one makes use of Dohoi numerals. In that case, the formula’s internal rhyme, a contrastive characteristic of *tahtum* (see next section), adds to the odds that it is influenced by the *tahtum* formula rather than the opposite.

Table 4. Original Dohoi words whose pronunciation may be influenced by Ngaju

<i>Kandan</i>	Ngaju	Dohoi	Meaning (in Dohoi)
delak	kambang (pahalelak, bs)	dolak	flower
henjan	hejan, tangga	honjan	notched ladder
jehi’	jih	johi’	post
(mo)ngomulew	panyambilei (bs)	ngomuloi	on/with the left
ngoripeh	manatap/manyimpan	ngoripos	to pack up
nguseh	manggusak?	ngusoh	to wipe off (wind, water)
pendam	kahaban	pondam	fever, sickness
Samben	lamiang (samben, bs)	sambon	oblong carnelian stone
te(h)kan	bara	tahkan	from
tesak	sirap, tasap (Kat.) ¹²	tosak	roof shingle

Similarly, *ngoripeh kule-kuleh* (‘to pack up swiftly’), although possibly borrowed from Ngaju, is more probably a modification of *ngoripos kulo-kulos*, based on Dohoi words and also found in *tahtum*. Other *kandan* terms that have Ngaju cognates could be original Dohoi words which have ceased to be used in everyday language among

¹² Katingan dialect of Ngaju. Source: Stokhof 1986: 69.

Melawi Uut Danum – or escaped my attention (Table 5). Some terms which my informants described as pertaining to literary speech, namely *nganduh*, *masui*, *ngotimbang* and *nihpuk*, appear in Epple’s lexicon, suggesting that they were still of common use among the upper Kahayan Uut Danum in the 1920’s (*nganduh* being described as ‘old’ by Epple). Others (*ngoraju’*, *nokehpan*) are still in use among Dohoi-speaking groups of Central Kalimantan (Inagaki 2008; Napa Awat, pers. comm., 2018).

Table 5. Words gone out of use in Melawi Dohoi

<i>Kandan</i>	Ngaju	Dohoi	Meaning (in Ngaju)
masui	masoh	[masui] nyalut	to flow (river)
nganduh	(haga) gadoh	[nganduh]	to protect, to look after
nihpuk	manipok	[nihpuk] nosai’/noposik/nohta’	to spatter, spray with water
ngonaju’	kandayu (Kah., BS)	nimang/ngandan	to sing (ritual songs)
ngo(ro)raju’	marayo	[ngoraju’]	to talk, sing, laugh together
nokehpan	mangkepan, manakepan	[nokehpan] nyoloh	to put on (clothes, ring)
ngotimbang	ngatimbong	[ngotimbang]	to ripple (water)

Beside these Ngaju loans and cognates, another sizable portion of the lexicon of *kandan* is made up of words which are shared with its Ngaju counterpart, *basa sangiang*, while they differ from their synonyms – or the words by which they are translated – in both mother languages. Table 6 presents a number of such words, whose origin is not always easy to determine. Some were actually used both in *basa sangiang* and in common Ngaju at the time of Hardeland (e.g., *manambawa*, based on *mambawa*; *tarantang*), suggesting their presence in *kandan* as loans. A borrowed origin may also be indicated by morphological features: thus, although *haring* is found both in Dohoi and Ngaju, *kohoringan* (also: *tohoringan*), which is derived from it, has to be a loan since the *-an* suffix does not exist in Dohoi. The close proximity between Dohoi and Ngaju, which have a cognate percentage of 58% (Hudson 1967:64),¹³ makes it probable that at least some of these words were shared by the two languages, even though their original meaning may be lost (when known, it is included between quotation marks in the fifth column of the table). Some words have a slightly different meaning in *kandan* and in *basa sangiang*: *santi* refers to incense in *basa sangiang*, while its cognate in *kandan* (*sati’*) rather refers to a talisman (e.g., *nihpuk kalu’ monyokuhku’*, *mandui sati’ monyorivu’*, “sprinkled with numerous charms, bathed with thousand talismans”). The often figurative way in which words are used in these genres makes it difficult to infer their literal meaning when the latter has not been preserved, and consequently to distinguish such shared words or cognates from words which could be borrowed from other languages. An additional difficulty in this connection is that words which are components in a formula may transport the meaning of this formula in other word

¹³ This figure is based on a lexical comparison between Dohoi and Katingan, a Ngaju dialect of the middle Katingan river. A comparison with upriver Ngaju dialects of the Samba, Kahayan or Kapuas areas would possibly yield higher rates.

combinations where they appear, making the link with their literal meaning even more remote. For instance, the human soul or life force is commonly referred to in shamanic chants with the formula *bulow jevai etang* (or *bulow jevai, jevai etang*, or simply *jevai*), which is usually paired with another formula of the same meaning (*lupung somenget samben*). The three elements it comprises mean respectively ‘gold’ (*bulow*), ‘soul’ (*jevai*, possibly related to Malay *jiwa*), and ‘carried in a sling’ (*etang*, D. *otang*). A plausible interpretation of this formula is that it refers to the materialization of the patient’s soul in rice grains which, at an important juncture in the curing ritual, are carried in a cloth (*kain otang morua*) by the lead shaman in a state of possession. From a verb form, *etang* becomes a substantive designating the soul in various other instances of *kandan* speech (e.g., *ngucan etang hanak utang*, ‘spraying the children’s souls’; *etang korolendang*, ‘the glittering soul’). Remarkably, the counterpart of *etang* in *basa sangiang* (*entang*) does not denote the patient’s soul but the participants themselves, the people for whom a ritual is celebrated and who, according to Schärer (1966: 892), are compared to small children that their mothers (i.e., the priest or priestess) carry in a shawl. Although *etang* looks like a loan, it is likely that in this case the Uut Danum cultural reference is the one which provides the key to understanding its meaning and origin.

Another example is *tambang*, which Hardeland glosses as *basa sangiang* for ‘foot, leg’. Since this meaning is also attested in *kandan* (e.g., *minda’ tambang*, ‘to lower the leg’, i.e., to walk), one could be tempted to see it as an original word belonging to an older layer of language or borrowed from another language. However, at least in *kandan*, *tambang* rather appears as the abridged version of a formula (*tambang lavah*, often completed by *bulow*) which designates the leg through a metonymical reference to a band woven from palm fibres (D. *lavah*), which was traditionally worn above the calf (see Schwaner 1853/54, I:222, 223). *Tambang lawah* (Schärer 1966:472; see Baier 1987:27), as well as *lawah* used alone (Hardeland 1858:261, 293), are also found in *basa sangiang*, both with the same meaning of ‘leg’. My hypothesis is that *tambang lavah* could be originally a verbal periphrase meaning ‘wearing the *lavah* band’, based on the verb *tambang* (*nambang/manambang* in the active voice). This verb, which has a wide semantic range, including figurative uses found in oral literature (‘to ambush, to go to meet, to greet, to present, to take, to hold’), is shared by Dohoi and Ngaju.

Contrasting with these examples, other words shared by the two genres are not only loans but also exact synonyms of the words for which they stand. We have already mentioned some Malay and Javanese loanwords and the fact that most of them were probably introduced in *kandan* via Ngaju or *basa sangiang*. This seems consistent with the long-standing historical links between the Ngaju and coastal Malay populations and the more isolated situation of the Uut Danum, who in Central Kalimantan are settled upriver from the Ngaju on rivers flowing into the Java Sea. The Uut Danum may have played the same role of mediators for the introduction in *basa sangiang* of *kenyoi* (‘brahminy kite’), a word which has cognates in the languages of the Schwaner-Müller Mountains area (Kereho *konyu*, Hovongan *konyu*, Aoheng *konyü*, Seputan *konyü*, Kayan Long Blu’u *konyiu*).¹⁴

Table 6. Shared words or cognates

¹⁴ Source for Kereho, Hovongan, Seputan, Aoheng, Bernard Sellato (pers. comm.); for Long Blu’u, Barth (1910:252).

<i>Kandan</i>	<i>Basa Sangiang</i>	Ngaju	Dohoi	
akan	anggan	pakaian	hati', pokajan	clothes
ahui	ahoi	layang	lajat	lost (astray)
bahing	(bam)bahing(an)	auh	auh	voice, words
ehing	ihing	tambon	lobahta'/ tambun	watersnake
enun	enon	ambon	havun	cloud
haring	haring	belum	bolum	to live (lit. 'spontaneous regrowth')
danum kohoringan	danom kaharingan			elixir of life
hanyang	hanyang	lamiang	sambon	carnelian bead
kenyui	kenyoi	atang	atang	brahminy kite
keleng	kereng	bukit, kereng (Kat.) ¹⁵	puruk	mountain (Dohoi korong, 'hill')
lajung	rayong	bujang	hovang	bachelor
kundai	gundai	balau	balow	hair (lit. 'hair bun'?)
lakang	rangkang	ungko	oko'	old (of people)
landan	randan	korik	koik	small
lavew	rawei	auh	auh	word
laving	rawing	bajai	bajo'	crocodile
lumba'	lomba	bajai	bajo'	crocodile
lundung	rundong	lewu	lovu'	house/village
lunjan	runjan	blanga	bolanga'	type of heirloom jar
luting	runting			body of water (lake, river)
mohanyam	bahanyam	imbungas	pios	decorated (Ng)/ beautiful (D)
monosekan	nasekan	misek	ngisok	to ask
(mo)nyokiow	(ma)nangkiaw	mangahau	naah	to call
(mo)nyomava'	(ma)nambawa	mangahau, mambawa	naah	to call
ngumban	(mang)umban	ayun	ngomahui	to swing
nisui	manisoi	hamauh	nuhtui	to speak
ning	maninting	manyarita etc.	nyorita', etc.	to tell
pongondien	pangandien	harimaung	horomaung	tiger
sati'	santi	garo	kalu'/ ponyang	incense (Ng)/ talisman (D)
sihung	sihong	garing	(karing)	ivory
situng	sintong	haiak	sinong/havoi	all, together
sinow	sinau	bane	bosai	husband
sukan	sungka	solake	holu'	first, previously
tambang	tambang	pai	paa'	leg
tisui (tesui)	tisoi	auh	auh/tuhtui	word
<i>Kandan</i>	<i>Basa Sangiang</i>	Ngaju	Dohoi	
tolatang	tarantang	anak	anak	offspring (lit. 'small tree

¹⁵ Katingan dialect of Ngaju (Hudson 1967:88).

				grown from a fallen fruit')
tolicet	tarinjet	misik	monyun	to awake (lit. 'to tremble')
tonokanan	kangkanan	pakaian	hati', pokajan	clothes
tonyuhkuh	hatantogoh	misik	monyun	to awake (lit. 'to shake')

Some *kandan* words or formulas, even whole formulaic phrases, form dyadic sets which have their close counterparts in *basa sangiang* (Table 7). These shared dyadic sets confirm the deep affinity that exists between the two genres.

Finally, Table 8 lists a number of *basa sangiang* terms collected by Hardeland that have clear semantic connections with Dohoi cognates but no attested cognates in regular Ngaju. One should not conclude too hastily that these are Dohoi loans, however, except for *pajahon* which is ascribed by Hardeland (1859:98) himself to the language of the 'olo ot', a name by which he actually refers to the Uut Danum (see Hardeland 1858:2). Here again, the immediate origin of several of these terms might be found in upriver Ngaju dialects, such as Kahayan, which are geographically closer to Dohoi than the lower Kapuas dialect documented in Hardeland's dictionary. An alternative scenario is that such terms were retained in *basa sangiang*. The verb *mengan*, for instance, is glossed by Hardeland (1859:363) as *basa sangiang* for *hamburong*, 'to hunt for birds'. However, in his Dohoi-Ngaju wordlist collected on the upper Kahayan, Epple (n.d.) translates *mongan* (same meaning, more exactly rendered as 'to blowpipe hunt') by *mengan*, which suggests that *mengan* was still commonly used in upper Kahayan Ngaju 60 years after the compilation of Hardeland's dictionary. It is reasonable to think that at some point *mengan* was replaced by *hamburong* in the Kuala Kapuas dialect (and later in the Kahayan dialect) as a result of Malay influence, but retained in the priestly language. Another example of the same process of replacement/retention is *tangkalingau*, meaning 'to forget' in *basa sangiang* (Hardeland 1859:568), which also has a Dohoi cognate (*tolingaw*). In common Ngaju, *tangkalingau* still coexisted with, but was already being superseded by a verb of Malay origin (*kalapean*). The same remark could be made concerning other words of this list, although Hardeland does not explicitly mention that they are Malay loans (e.g. *panjang*, *pandak*, *manyawut*, *sampai*).

Table 7. Shared dyadic sets

<i>Kandan</i>	<i>Basa Sangiang</i>	
songiang/tepu'	sangiang/tempo	master (of slave)
havun/enun	ambon/enon	cloud
nyokiow/nyomava'	nangkiau/ma(na)mbawa	to call
tusang/tiling	nusang/niling	to go down
kandas/kasak	hakandas/hakasa	to grind/to rub
kolatung/nyingan	garantong/janjingan	gong
utung (l)ivak/avin pandak	ontong pandak/sangkarama iwa	misfortune
lendang koselan tingang/ luting tojahun bulung	bangkang haselan tingang/ runting pajahon burong	good-scented oil
bahui tolavang/ bulow daren litung	papan talawang/ bulau daren lintong	flying shield, soulship
ahkan panjang talin pongonarin/ ambu' tohilan talin nyaman	bahaseng panjang/ banyame ambo	"Long be (their) breath" = wishing a long life
hopulow tingang takui balow/ nusa' bungai suping kundai "The hornbill feathers worn as hats assemble, the hornbill feathers worn as headdresses gather"	sangelang renteng tingang sangiang/ dengan riak bulau pating sumping (Schärer 1966:524) "The hornbill feathers (men) mix with the golden earrings (women)"	= a gathering of people
tisip deleng pometeng penyang/ penu' ulek kinjang sangen "Filled like a ring of talismans, full like a shawl tied around the waist"	nyanyuang kumpang duhung/ penu guntu ulek benteng penang (Kuhnt-Saptodewo 1993:107) "Filled like a dagger sheath, full like a ring worn on the middle of the arm"	= satiated with food
ku' mononyuri' lenda jehin kandan/ mononyukuh haui do-sopundun tesui "I spill out the bamboo-pillar of the chant, the bamboo-post of the words"	mananjuri ganan tandak/ balua bulau pantar tatak (Schärer 1966:586) "The spirit of the chant flows out between the gold-encrusted posts"	= the words come out of the singer's mouth (teeth)

The case of *luja* is a bit different, although it is included in the table. Here it is the link between the common meaning of the term and its meaning in *basa sangiang* which is lost to the Ngaju – or at least to the translators – while it is still perfectly clear for the Uut Danum. As its Dohoi cognate, *luja* literally means 'spittle' and is translated as 'to flee' (*dari*) in *basa sangiang* (Hardeland 1858:302; Schärer 1966:593). The formula in

which it typically appears (*luja liau*, i.e., ‘flee, spirits of the dead!’) is uttered at the beginning of a chanting session in order to prevent spirits of the dead from interfering with the chants and more generally the progress of the ceremony at hand. I hold that this formula, which has its counterpart (*ngoluca’ liow*) in Uut Danum similar chanted invocations, draws its meaning and origin from a rite which consists in spitting (D. *ngoluca’*, Ng. *maluja*) on a small vegetal effigy or another object in order to ward off the spirits of newly deceased relatives (saliva being a surrogate for one’s soul).

Table 8. Potential loanwords or archaisms in *basa sangiang*

<i>Basa Sangiang</i>	Ngaju	Dohoi
ambo ‘long’	panjang	ombu’ ‘long’
bahuwong ‘shack’	pasah	uvung ‘rice barn’
ganggerang ‘thunder’	nyaho	kokorang ‘thunder’
haselan ‘oil’	undus	koselan ‘(coconut) oil’
hawon ‘sky’	langit	havun ‘cloud’ (kandan: ‘sky’)
iwa ‘short’ (Hardeland 1858:311)	pandak	ivak ‘short’
johau ‘lewd’ (in language)	jawah	bojohow ‘lewd’ (in language)
kalambahan ‘width’	kalumbah	kolambah ‘width’
karani ‘close’	tokep	doni’ ‘close’
luja ‘to flee’ (Ngaju ‘spittle’)	dari	ngoluca’ ‘to spit on’, (fig.) ‘to send off’
(paha)lelak ‘flower’	kambang	dolak ‘flower’
manentang ‘to be visible’	mamala	notang ‘to shine, be clear’ (Inagaki 2008)
mejen ‘to stay’	melai	mohcon ‘to stay’
mengan ‘to hunt for birds’	hamburong	mongan ‘to blowpipe hunt’
nansupit ‘to pull out’	manyawut	nosohpit ‘to pull out’
pajahon ‘oil’	undus	tojahu’ ‘oil’ (kandan, tahtum)
panala ‘moon’ (Hardeland 1858:63)	bulan	tala’, botala’, tala’-tala’, ‘shining’
pulang ‘knife’	pisau	pulang ‘war knife’
puruk ‘summit of mountain’	tantan	puruk ‘mountain’
runi ‘coffin’	raung	duni’ ‘dugout coffin’
samben ‘agate stone’ (Hardeland 1859:43)	lamiang	sambon ‘carnelian stone’
sembang ‘till’, ‘to meet with’	sampai	sombang ‘to find, to meet with’
tangkalingau ‘to forget’	kalapean	tolingaw ‘to forget’

4. The style: *kandan* and *tahtum*

It is now clear that *kandan* as a verbal genre is formulaic in the sense that formulas constitute its basic units of composition. The second principle of *kandan* composition is parallelism (Fox 2005), that is, the regular pairing of formulaic phrases (or second-order formulas) to produce larger units of narration. In *timang* shamanic chanting, with its

clearly demarcated and rhythmically measured lines, parallel segments typically occur in successive lines:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>hotopihtu' nusang jalin tingang</i> | seven times (they) lower the fingers |
| 2. <i>hotohnya' ngunjung tendung bulung</i> | eight times (they) raise the hand. |

However, the grouping of formulaic segments is affected by the rhythmic/melodic pattern (*locut*) of the singing. Some *locut* allow the production of longer lines which encompass a pair of parallel segments:

ngehtu' utang kalung tingang nehpas lauk nanduk pulang
(they) slit the chickens, slash the cows.

The two segments of a pair usually express the same idea (eating together in the first example, killing sacrificial animals in the second). Beside such synonymy at the level of segments, other relationships of semantic complementarity are found between the component words of each segment (seven/eight, lower/raise, hornbill/bird, finger/hand in the first example above). *Basa sangiang* is similarly structured (Hardeland 1858:210, Usop 1982, Kuhnt-Saptodewo 1999).

Some additional features of the *kandan* style can be highlighted by a comparison with *parung* and *tahtum*. The primary requirement for composing in *parung* or *tahtum* is rhyme (*torutung*). A verse is acceptable as long as it includes one or several internal rhymes.

(5)
Havun no' nimang ihkam tepun kupang ngindoi tarang bulan jo' hila' diang
"Tomorrow again I will besing you, owner of the shield (=Bungai), when the moon shines above"

Eam hombu' ku' nuhtui lovu' Pulow Bunu' paras orih noh timang tihth.
"I do not bespeak any longer the village of the spears, so far for my song."

It is often possible to break down the narrative flow, that of *tahtum* particularly, into groups of four words, and often of eight syllables, linked by an internal rhyme, in which the essential ideas of the verse are expressed:

<i>Havun nimang Tepun Kupang</i>	tomorrow sing owner shield
<i>Ngindoi tarang bulan diang</i>	when bright moon above
<i>nuhtui lovu' Pulow Bunu'</i>	tell village island spears
<i>Paras orih timang tihth.</i>	till here song song

This characteristic of the prosody sheds light on an essential aspect of the formulaic style of *tahtum*. *Tahtum* nominal formulas (*tomalik*), including the pseudonyms or titles (*kelan*) by which characters are named, as well as place names, are often comprised of three words – or six syllables – with a rhyme between the first and the third.

bahtang luting jalang: spear (*lunju'*)
boang tosak asang: patterned sunhat (*takui daro'*)
tihkang dolong ponang: leg (*paa'*)
bujon nohkan Acon: Sangen (name of character)
patai danum lendai: Kahayan river
lovu' Pulow Bunu': village of Pojangew (Pajangei)

Such formulas, hundreds of which are memorized by singers, provide ready-made rhymed units which can be completed at will with a verb (or another word category) to produce a verse or segment of verse: *nuhtui [lovu' Pulow Bunu']*. Some passages of

tahtum songs corresponding to often visited themes are entirely delivered in verses which strictly comply with this pattern.

A tendency to structure sentences around groups of four words or eight syllables can also be observed in *kandan*, although maybe to a lesser degree than in *tahtum* (Table 9). What mainly differentiates the two genres is the higher reliance of *kandan* on parallelism and of *tahtum* on rhyme. Although three-word rhyming formulas, some of which appear to be shared with *tahtum*, are frequent in *kandan*, rhyme is not a requisite of *kandan* versification. A partial explanation for this difference may reside in differing conditions of text production and apprenticeship. The *tahtum* singer is a creator/composer, in the sense of Milmann Parry’s and Albert Lord’s Oral Theory (Lord 1960), who critically relies on memorized formulas to produce his song in the moment he performs it. Rhyme is useful as a mnemonic device allowing the singer to learn and quickly mobilize a large number of formulas, and more generally as a technique of composition. In particular, it enables the singer to add rhymed segments at the end of a verse if he needs time to prepare the next one. Although *kandan* composition is also essentially formulaic, the conditions of the performance, at least in the case of *timang*, where each verse is repeated twice, may make it easier to recall complex unrhymed formulas. The more systematic use of parallelism by *kandan* may also have a signification in this respect.

Table 9. The four-words versification pattern (formulas are underlined)

Jurang-juri’ <u>bandung ilui duhung</u>	The boat goes back and forth
konuseh <u>pamba’ ajun tingang</u>	shaken by the sound of drums
ahkui lavew <u>laca’ munding hiting</u>	“Ahkui”, says the master of the ropes
nyokiow <u>ngenan lujan bulow</u>	“they are calling us to eat.”
bokohitat laca’ Bahtang Lika’	The chiefs of Bahtang Lika’ raise up
<u>ngomujui akan tonokanan</u>	straighten their clothes
nokele’ <u>bulow lakun suvang</u>	arrange their golden earrings
nokele’ semai tonokanai	arrange all their clothes
nokele’ <u>latow deleh bulow</u>	arrange their swords
ngomujui <u>lating depang samben</u>	straighten their strings of carnelian stones
nokele’ <u>satang anduh kundai</u>	arrange their hairpins

To conclude this section, I present excerpts of songs and invocations which exemplify how a given narrative theme is differently treated by *kandan* on the one hand, and by *tahtum* or *parung*, on the other. The first example concerns the so-called ‘straightening-up langsung tree’ (*lihat mohpit*), which stands in the way to the land of the dead, moving alternately up and down to prevent passage. The *parung ngitot liow*, a chant in the *parung* style performed to accompany the spirits of the dead to the afterworld, narrates the crossing of this obstacle by the newly departed spirit trying to obtain entry into the afterworld. The motif is also mentioned in the chants performed during some shamanic rituals concerned with rescuing a patient's soul, in order this time to call back the soul of a living person from the land of the dead where it might have gone astray. In the following examples, square brackets are used to highlight groupings of four words/eight syllables; parallel lines are marked by ‘>’, ‘>>’, ‘>>>’; numbers 1 and 2 are used (after Metcalf 1989) to mark synonymous lines in the translation.

Theme 1: The straightening-up langsung tree

a. *Parung ngitot liow*

...[erih boro'] docok luting laut nyaling
 nyihing tovit lihat mohpit
 [erih kohamang boro'] pongeran tahpew tuhan
 lunak nasai lating leai
 [erih jo'] nyohpit pulang [boro'] nakui sambang
 nohtos tovit lihat mohpit
 sonopirang [boro'] dolong diang...

... erih boro' docok luting laut nyaling
 so you two to arrive [river sea spirits] *[:...]: formula
 "The two of you reach the river of spirits (= the afterworld of the dead),"

nyihing tovit lihat mohpit
 to go past [treetop? langsung tree to straighten up]
 "go past the straightening-up langsung tree,"

erih [ho]kohamang boro' pongeran tahpew tuhan,
 so to compete in speed you two [pseudonym for Bungai]
 lunak nasai lating leai
 [pseudonym for Tambun, "who walks on the silver landing raft"]
 "Swiftly the two of you, Bungai and Tambun,"

erih jo' nyohpit pulang boro' nakui sambang
 so REL to pull [war knife (you two) wear a hat flared?]
 "pull your war knives,"

nohtos tovit lihat mohpit
 to cut [straightening-up langsung tree]
 "cut the straightening-up langsung tree,"

sonopirang boro' dolong diang...
 PASS.slash upward you two' obstacle± above
 "slash an upper branch(?)."

b. *Timang*

... nyokiow [ka'] etang [jo'] haja-hajang >
 tekan tavai lihat mohpit >>
 nyomava' samben [jo'] ahui-ahui >
 tekan lundung inai palai henda' >>
 nyokiow [ka'] etang [jo'] haja-hajang >
 nyomava' samben [jo'] ahui-ahui >
 tekan tusut tana' dalai... >>
 from the collapsing hill...

... nyokiow ka' etang jo' haja-hajang
 naah ka' morua' jo' lajat
 to call also soul REL lost (astray)
 "(You) also call the lost souls" (1)

tekan tavai *lihat mohpit*
 tahkan tavai [lihat mohpit]
 from river-bordering vegetation
 “from the straightening-up langsung tree,”

nyomava’ samben jo’ ahui-ahui
 to call soul REL lost (astray)
 “call the lost souls” (2)

tekan lundung inai palai henda’
 tahkan lovu’ [inai palai henda’]
 from house mother (plant part) curcuma
 “from the house of Mother Palai Henda”

nyokiow ka’ etang jo’ haja-hajang
 “also call the lost souls” (1)

nyomava’ samben jo’ ahui-ahui
 “call the lost souls” (2)

tekan tusut tana’ dalai
 tahkan [tusut tana’ dala’3RD]
 from to crumble earth dissolved
 “from the collapsing hill”...

Theme 2: Up to the sky across layers of clouds

The second theme, shared by *kandan* and *tahtum*, describes an ascension to the sky through successive layers of clouds. Some of these clouds are named after the cries of familiar animals, from the cock’s crow, to the gibbon’s scream, the hornbill’s roar, up to the abode of a female hawk located at the entrance of the sky.

a. *Tahtum*

... [ki] *turus ngahtang anak atang*
[umba’] ari’ Lambang nokuh diang,
[erih jo’ nai] daiw hindai [poh] nulo’ Bungai,
norus havun pihtu’ nurun,
umbot havun kukuk tondun anu’ [=manuk]¹⁶,
kavui havun kuak acun,
umbot havun kuak acun,
havun nyorian ondow ucan,
ang konuan tepun lunjan tavai pandan daiw anan...

... the young hawk
 takes Lambang’s younger cousin further up,
 the orphan Bungai,
 breaks through seven layers of clouds,
 (first) the cloud of the cock’s crow,
 then the cloud of the gibbon’s scream,
 after the cloud of the gibbon’s scream,

¹⁶ *Anu’* (‘uh’) here replaces the word *manuk* (‘chicken, cock’), which must be the name of one of the singer’s in-laws of ascending generation. (Among the Uut Danum, it is taboo to pronounce the name of parents-in-law.)

the clouds changing into rain,
(this is) done by the owner of the precious jar...

b. *Kandan* (ritual solo chanting)

... *horolusan lajung tavui [jo'] mesew*
monyoreling telun hiting >
ngakai uhak do-bolamban >
monyohalow havun kukuk utang sendung >>
nyolakah havun kuak acun >>
monyohalow havun sokohang acah bavin tingang >>
botikow sali' inai Solopendi >>>
botala' balai bavin acah...>>>

... the spirit of scattered rice goes on paddling
along the (celestial) thread (1),
along the (celestial) thread (2),
goes by the cloud of the cock's crow,
goes past the cloud of the gibbon's scream,
goes by the cloud of the hornbill's roar,
the house of Solopendi's mother glitters,
the house of *bavin acah* [a heavenly shaman] shines...

5. Language interplay in shamanic possession

To end, let us turn to the context in which *kandan* actually becomes a 'language of spirits' (*auh songiang*). During shamanic possession rites, the spirits which have been invoked during chanting sessions come down to possess shamans (*jaja'*) and perform curing and other acts similar to those described in the chants. Several *songiang* usually descend in turn into the *jaja'* in the course of a seance, introducing themselves with *kandan* formulas indicating their name and/or place of origin. The shaman's assistants or other women of the audience act as intermediaries between the spirits and the audience, conversing with the former and forwarding their demands to the people in charge of the ritual. One *songiang* asks for a 'betel quid' (*patai pinang*), another requests a 'chicken' (*kalung tingang*), 'husked rice' (*behas nyangen tingang*), 'oil' to rub their head with, a 'plucked-lute' or a 'drum' to dance, etc. These demands are greeted with conventional formulas asking the spirits to wait while people scramble to bring the required objects:

hokolendai!: "be patient!" (D. *danda-dandah*)

honong bolajai!: "we are still searching (for it)" (D. *honong ngurah*).

These preliminary exchanges and others occurring later in connection with the performance of ritual acts (curing, soul retrieval, sacrifices, prayers, etc.) are typically conducted in *kandan*. The women intermediaries translate any important information mentioned in the *songiang*'s chant – an explanation about the origin of a patient's suffering, a recommendation about taboos to be respected by the patient in the future, a new request by the *songiang* – for the benefit of the audience. At one point, usually soon before announcing their departure and being succeeded by another spirit, the *songiang* may shift to ordinary language to engage in an unmediated conversation with the audience. Communication then often takes on a ludic turn. This shift to Dohoi allows to communicate more easily and without the restrictions of a formalized genre, but the fiction, not only of the presence of the *songiang* (*they talk*), but of their

foreignness (*kandan* is *their* language) has to be maintained. Language is indeed an identity marker for the categories of spirits involved in shamanic possession, so that for instance spirits from the sea regions (*ulun laut*) will talk in Indonesian, and Kahayan spirits in Ngaju. The *songiang*, which are first and foremost spirits from the upperworld (*ulun langit*, *ulun diang*), conceived of as a parallel society of superhuman beings, cannot speak Dohoi the way the Uut Danum do.

This sense of foreignness, or of an innocent unwordliness of the *songiang*, is conveyed by several characteristics of their speech. First, they talk with a gentle, childlike, often nasalized voice (Herrmans [2011:62] observes a similar phenomenon about Bentian spirit possession). This intonation is used for instance in the following sentence, uttered by a newly arrived *songiang* which pretends not to know why he has been called down (note that it includes a *kandan* formula, *lihkun andow*, which is a metonymic designation for the people attending the ritual):

Anyu', inon ke naing ki ti ko', kisok uong uras naing kekai, inon jo' konuan lihkun andow, earo' ulun taso' nanji'?

Which, freely translated, means:

“Say, what is this about – sorry for asking stupid questions – what are the people under the daylight up to? No one has summoned us.”

Second, they often hesitate, ask for the right Dohoi words; utter unusual exclamations (“*nia nia nia nia nia!*”) or high-pitched little screams; deform words by changing a sound in them: e.g., *anyu'* for *anu'* (‘uh, say’), *nyu'* for *nu'* (2nd S. poss.), *ana'* for *ara'* (‘don’t’) *bokona'* for *bokena'* (‘handsome’), *pacanan* for *pacaran* (Ind., flirting), *bolop* for *kolop* (‘tortoise’), etc. In the following exchange, a *songiang* asks the Dohoi word for tortoise, whose *tomalik* in *kandan* is *lauk topelung bulan*, in order to suggest to the ritual’s sponsor that he should taboo this food in the future:

S – Yes, and what do you people under the daylight say for *lauk topelung bulan*? We say: [with both /l and /k overly nasalized] “*ngolop.*”

Audience, rectifying – *Kolop!*

S – *Bolop?*

Audience – *Ko-lop!*

S – Yes indeed. Don’t (*ana'*) you eat it, alright?

The sponsor – But it is sweet! ...

Some mispronounced words or language errors create puns which trigger the audience’s laughter, especially if they have an obscene connotation. The fact that Uut Danum shamans are women is meaningful in this regard, since several of these jokes concern the male genital parts. For instance, a *songiang* wants to request the sacrifice of a fat castrated pig, but instead of saying: “Do not choose one with testicles’ (*tutang lahtak*), s/he says: “Do not choose one with *your* testicles’ (*tutang lahtakmu*). Another *songiang* announces that s/he and their company are about to leave. Mispronouncing the verb *buli'* (‘to return’) for *bula'* (‘penis’), s/he actually says:

Anu', kani' bula' ihkai pahari'!

“Uh, we want penis, cousin!”

To what another *songiang* (possessing another medium) replies: *Havoi kani' bula'* – “We too want penis.”

Another characteristic of *songiang*’s speech – and behavior, more generally – is inversion, which is a common feature of spirit talk in Borneo. Inversion occurs in many

forms, including the inappropriate use of time adverbs and terms of address, or nonsensical sentences like:

Anu', haus ekai. Doni' macu' unuk ekai!

“Uh, we are thirsty. We have come a short long way (lit. “our place is near far!”)”

For this reason, when addressing the *songiang*, people may say the contrary of what they really mean. For instance, to encourage the spirit possessing the shaman to remove invisible particles from the surface of the patient’s body, an operation which is performed repeatedly in order to rid the latter of all disease, a woman intermediary will say: “Do not remove them all!” (*ara' tii-tiih!*).

Kandan is a sung genre rarely heard in spoken form. When quoting from *kandan* in a conversation, women typically adopt a declamatory intonation which marks off the quoted words. As a rule, possessed shamans either sing in *kandan* or talk in Dohoi. Occasionally, however, the *songiang* guests may address their human interlocutors directly in *kandan*, or in a mix of *kandan* and Dohoi, as if the latter were upperworld spirits, thus momentarily blurring the linguistic and ontological boundary separating them. After one or two sentences like the following one, in which a *songiang* tells to the main patient what animals should be sacrificed later during the ritual, the shaman resumes chanting.

(6)

Helu', ngehtu' kalung tingang... Umbot ngehtu' kalung tingang, kavun
holu' [munu' manuk] umbot [munu' manuk] kavun
nehpas ahtah tujang,
[munu' urak]
ngehtu' lauk nanduk pulang:
[munu' sahpi']

* [...]: formulas

“First, you kill the chickens... Once you have killed the chickens, you kill the pigs, you kill the cows.”

6. Concluding remarks

This article is intended as a preliminary description of *kandan* based on materials collected in a limited area of the upper Melawi area. More research would be needed in order to clarify, in particular, the relationship between *kandan* and its Siang and Ngaju counterparts.

Describing the Ngaju *basa sangiang* as the “Dayak Sanskrit or Kawi”, Hardeland observed that it was no longer pure – “if it ever was” – but mixed with a very large number of words originating from everyday Ngaju and from Malay (Hardeland 1958:4, 210). The hypothesis of a “lost literary language” on Borneo was also pursued by Aichele and Dempwolff, from a different perspective, and dismissed by Dyen (see Dyen 1956). The Ngaju themselves refer to *basa sangiang* as “the language of earlier times” (*basa helo*), whose origin they situate in a mythical era in which the ancestors of humanity and those of the Sangiang lived together in heaven (Schärer 1966:7–10). A similar view is held by the Uut Danum, whose cosmological conceptions and ritual practices are closely related to those of the Ngaju. Schärer recasts this mythological account of the origin of *basa sangiang* within a hypothesis inherited from the Leiden anthropological tradition, arguing that the liturgic genre should be seen as the language associated with the matrilineal half of a former system of dual organization. Parallel versification would have its origin in the religious interdependence between two

moieties which periodically come together to perform a ritual service, each speaking in its own language (Schärer 1966:10). In this way would be explained not only the grouping of verses in parallel pairs, but the fact that the first verse of a pair (referred to as ‘male’ by some ritual specialists) includes mainly words from everyday language while the second (‘female’) includes more words belonging to *basa sangiang* strictly understood (Schärer 1966:6; Hardeland 1858:210; Kuhnt-Saptodewo 1993:44–45). While Schärer’s historical conjectures in support of his theory are unrealistic (Baier 1987:xv), the image of collaborating moieties aptly depicts the type of interaction taking place between the Ngaju – and for that matter the Uut Danum – and their heavenly alter egos during shamanic and other rituals.

Speech genres like *basa sangiang* and *kandan*, however, are not mere repositories of old language; as we have seen, they are both conservative and innovative. Whatever its link with cosmological dualism – according to Fox (1971:248), dual cosmology could actually *result* from verse parallelism – the latter is primarily a rule for composition, and as such has a deep influence on the lexicon of these genres. Since it basically requires a speaker to express the same idea twice in different ways, the rule creates the conditions for the multiplication of lexical resources, including old and new words, synonyms, words used figuratively or arranged in evocative formulas, and words borrowed from other languages.

With respect to *kandan*, which borrows extensively from common Ngaju, the question arises whether the genre as such should also be considered as borrowed from the Ngaju. However, one does not need to believe in the mythical account of the origin of *basa sangiang* to be convinced that it plunges its roots in a remote cultural past and that this past is probably common to the Ngaju and the Uut Danum. It can be observed in this respect that the use of *basa sangiang* was widespread among all Ngaju subgroups (Schärer 1966:7; see Santoso et al. 1991:xix) – and that this was well before the postwar rise of the Hindu Kaharingan religion and the publication of its holy book, the *Panaturan*, which is written in *basa sangiang*. Since *kandan* occurs among the Uut Danum and the Siang, who are the two main representants of the Northwest Barito language subgroup, it means that varieties of the ‘Sangiang’s language’ are found among most if not all West Barito speaking groups. In a forthcoming study (Couderc n.d.), I have suggested that the *tahtum* epic genre is based on a historical tradition which must have predated the differentiation between the Uut Danum and their Ngaju neighbours of the upper Kahayan river, who were *Baranare* speakers. It cannot be ruled out that a portion of the *kandan* lexicon shared with the Ngaju *basa sangiang*, including dyadic sets, and possibly even Malay or Sanskrit loanwords, similarly predates the separation between Northwest and Southwest Barito.

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