Folklore Fellows'
NETWORK

Handing down
and writing down

Management and loss
of narrative knowledge
in the 'Guided Islands
and Conducted Lands'

Developing Albanian
folklore studies
in Kosova

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CONTENTS

Cover photo by Pekka Tolonen, 2011.

PEKKA HAKAMIES

Dear Folklore Fellows

This is the last *FF Network* newsletter printed on paper to be sent to all Fellows, as well as to many others in the field of international folkloristics. In future the *FF Network's* paper circulation will be limited to institutions, libraries and departments and to colleagues who have requested it. In the summer questionnaire for readers of the *FF Network*, 65 % of replies indicated a preference for an internet journal, and 35 % wished to continue with a paper journal. Internet connections vary across the globe, and technological difficulties were the primary reason for people to request a paper version. The rest will receive the journal by email instead of in printed form; a link will be provided to the latest version on the internet. Few recipients of the journal in fact responded to the questionnaire, and it would be good if anyone concerned about the validity of their contact details would communicate their latest email address to the editorial desk.

New technology offers manifold opportunities to Folklore Fellows other than in the area of the newsletter publication. Previously this field has been characterised by working groups, for example in epic research or investigation of ethical questions. It is now possible to establish a discussion forum in which current materials can be discussed on line, without the need to wait for the next shared workshop arranged alongside an academic conference. Nor is there anything to stop dedicated writers maintaining blogs on the FFC site.

What could people write about in web discussions? Ideally, the forum pages would be used for lively engagement with current topics in folkloristics, for questions affecting broad groupings of researchers, or else discussion groups could be formed focusing on specific areas, which others interested in the topic could follow. But the web forum could also serve less lofty purposes of information dissemination; for example institutes could briefly present new dissertations and other significant publications, research plans and people engaged in new projects. As a result of the changed methods of communication, all the world's folklorists are now easier to meet, and more engaged with each other than ever, and many would benefit from hearing news from the various corners of the world.

This will all be possible if the readership is sufficiently active and the editorial team capable enough. Above all, there must be a natural need, so that such activity begins without being forced. Folklore Fellows' executive committee needs expressions of interest in this from other Fellows and an indication of its use in folkloristics forums. If this is not forthcoming, then the idea may be left to smoulder and await a better moment.

Do we have enough in common? What unites a textual researcher scanning motif type indexes, an analyser of net lore and a scholar of ritual dance? There is perhaps no need to strive to present a definition of the deepest essence of folklore and begin to limit groups of folklorists on that basis. Instead, we need to offer a means of communication for all who are interested in what is taking place in the academic field called folkloristics. It is everyone's own business whether they identify themselves as a folklorist sufficiently to want to be on board such a network as Folklore Fellows. Independent institutes and chairs in folkloristics are scarce in the world, but there are many teachers and researchers in various faculties and institutions who view their own work as at least partially folkloristics.

It is well known that folklorists follow keenly discussions elsewhere than in their own field: questions of literary research interest some, while sociology and psychology have increased their attractiveness within folkloristics since the early 1960s. Linguistics has always been a closely allied field to folkloristics, and cultural anthropology has given it a wealth of background theory and concepts. History, as well as geography, lay behind the Finnish School, and once oral history had become part of folkloristics history took on new significance as a related point for discussion. These are examples, and do not exhaust the list. Sometimes it is difficult for a folklorist to define a precise related field. A folklorist interested in the phenomena of nationalism may need materials from many fields, without being able to point to any single field outside his/her own whence inspiration or a fresh viewpoint or concepts focal to his/her own research have sprung.

Folklorists have many different fellows, and the question may be posed: is there any longer any sort of folkloristics which unites us all? Or has folkloristics hollowed itself out, so that there is no core to it? I think of the concept of family resemblance: one member is reminiscent of another in some way, while the latter resembles a third, who in turn has a similarity to a fourth, and so on, without there being any feature that unites them all. Yet we may need to hold onto the connection and make use of the fact that some link exists between us all. FF Network is one means of realising this link—let us maintain it. ■

Handing down and writing down

Gaps and continuities in a performing tradition

TIMO KAARTINEN

This article[1] is concerned with the reproduction, transmission and learning of verbal forms. It refers specifically to the verbal arts and traditional knowledge I have studied in the Eastern Indonesian islands of Maluku since the 1990s. My recent visit back to the field last year made me aware of continuing efforts to reproduce these traditions by people who no longer had access to most of the elderly people who specialized in performing it during my earlier fieldwork in 1994–6. My basic approach to this material is based on the idea of folklore as a system of communication in which each song and narrative is identified with a particular genre, a specific type of expression which responds to certain expectations of form and content among the audience. People's idea of performance as a communicative event tends to change over time, and therefore genres are also subject to change. Even so, there are conventional elements, such as formulaic expressions, story motifs and stylistic forms, which make it possible to adapt their performances to new historical situations and audiences. The reproduction of tradition as a whole draws from such expressive resources (Siikala & Siikala 2005: 81).

The question of learning is raised at the start of Albert Lord's book *The Singer of Tales* (1960). He suggested that the singers of epic narratives relied on specific techniques of composition which made it possible to perform large-scale works of oral literature without written records. In Lord's account, therefore, tradition is handed down and learned as specific speech forms rather than as a corpus of texts. Soon afterwards, ethnographers of speaking (Hymes 1964) began to argue that specific verbal repertoires, formulaic expressions and the organization of speech context as performance are central to making speech appear as tradition. This paved the way for the view in which tradition as a whole, and the consciousness of what it means, 'emerges' in the diverse contexts of performance. But it is still necessary to ask what produces the historically continuous, 'received' quality of tradition. In this article, I address this question with reference to the stable and shifting elem-ents of language which are identified with traditional verbal arts.

The ethnographic focus of this article is on a relatively small ethnolinguistic community, some 5,000 people whose ancestors escaped the Dutch colonial conquest of Banda, a group of islands in Central Maluku, in the early seventeenth century. The exiles from Banda settled in several parts of the Eastern Indonesian archipelago. My fieldwork in the 1990s was focused on Banda Eli, one of two Banda-speaking villages in the Kei Islands. This site is known as the centre of oral historical knowledge about the ancestral migration from Banda almost four centuries before. In spite of its remote location, it remained part of ancient networks of maritime trade, and from the 1960s it has been the point of origin for new migrations to the ports and urban centres of the area. In this mobile, diasporic context, the problem of cultural reproduction is not simply how to preserve and retain a body of ancestral knowledge, but how to make it significant in new situations and how to perform it in the presence of diverse, foreign audiences.

These questions have a certain urgency to educated, urban generations, who still affirm their claim to Bandanese ancestry culture. The Bandanese language is rapidly giving way to the national language, Indonesian, and aspiring singers do not have access to contexts of performance similar to those in which previous generations of singers and speakers acquired their skills. Old people have some interest in handing down the tradition, but they recognize that only a select few of their children and grandchildren are likely to develop into true performers. As young people, on the other hand, eagerly study the tradition, they begin by writing it down in order to adapt it to new contexts of use. Ultimately, the cultural continuity these people struggle to maintain is signified by ancestral names, song lyrics, and emblematic objects and ancestral personalities. The question is what makes these signs internally meaningful: what do people have to do in order to turn them into a specific stance in their society and world?

Text and context

Recent advances in folkloristics and linguistic anthropology have brought us far beyond the idea of tradition as an unchanging set of discursive knowledge.

Traditions consist of performing arts which have to be learned; nobody can personify tradition without certain skills of communicating and manifesting it. In the 1990s I worked with a number of revered performers of ancestral songs, who had mostly passed away when I revisited the field in 2009. Even though these old people always differentiated between their biographic experience and the content of their songs and narratives, they boasted of the effect of their past performances on an actual audience. To quote Elizabeth Tonkin (1992: 43), their histories of performance constituted an 'implicit autobiography', much harder to acquire than the lyrics and tunes of the songs which children and grandchildren tape-recorded and wrote down. Performance, celebrated by the ethnography of speaking in the 1970s, is the internal aspect of the song genres which people of Banda identify as the core of their cultural knowledge.

In order to go beyond this obvious point, let me introduce briefly some concepts which have been developed in recent literature and have a bearing on this paper. The first is entextualization, the sense in which traditional performances produce an idea of discourse as having some objective existence, by virtue of an enduring connection between words and ideas outside the present communicative situation. Joel Kuipers (1990: 4) describes it as a 'process by which a speech event (or a series of speech events) is marked by increasing thoroughness of poetic and rhetorical patterning and growing levels of (apparent) detachment from the immediate pragmatic context.' In other words, the artful use of formal language creates the sense that the performer is communicating with some other party than his or her present audience.

Entextualization implies that there is an ideological view of the ongoing speech or song as part of a larger textual entity, talk that can be reproduced in other situations. It means also that the speaker is responsible not only to the actual, present audience but also to an invisible audience of ancestors, spirits or God. His or her talk gains authority and multiple, potential meanings from this ideological assumption, which is evoked by its formal qualities. One consequence of this is that people pay special care in following canonical forms of linguistic expression and reproducing them in precisely the same form in which they have been heard before. Obscure, familiar expressions which recur again and again accumulate significance each time they are used; people are aware of them as parts of a text-like discourse which has been read and interpreted many times over. Some scholars who have explored this phenomenon compare it to a geological process in which past uses of language remain in people's awareness like a sediment on the floor of an ancient sea (Silverstein & Urban 1996). In order for this to happen, there must be conscious notions about what this special kind of speech is like. An early

article of Greg Urban is called 'speech about speech in speech about action' (Urban 1984). In it he discusses a myth which deals with the commands received from a dead person and argues that the myth is really about the authority of storytelling, a special kind of power that the myth ascribes to itself.

The Banda Eli performers, boasting of a powerful chief impressed by their songs or a wedding audience which was moved to tears, might be seen to promote similar ideas about the special, affective powers inherent in their songs. Their sustained reputation is not only based on their successful performing acts, but also on a metadiscourse about traditions and the persons in which it is embodied. This kind of talk is crucial for certain strategies of reproducing tradition. When particular speech genres are identified as powerful it makes sense to repeat them; this in turn encourages their classification as lasting cultural forms. In this way, a history of performance lies at the root of what some scholars have called 'heritage' (Hoskins 1993: 308), a set of expressive resources which can be adapted to new contexts without a total loss of meaning.

From another theoretical angle, the enduring significance of expressive forms is based on their ability to refer to life experience, people's practical and cognitive awareness of their world. In this view, the key to the power of language is not just linguistic ideology but *narration*, the creative use of conventional expressions to make sense of new situations. Stories do not live on simply by being repeated; mere repetition evokes the question 'so what?' from the audience. Good narrators anticipate this question by including an evaluative component in their story, indicating how it is meaningful for the here and now. Anna-Leena Siikala (1990: 33) uses the word dramatization in reference to the various ways in which storytellers bring in an interpretive agenda in their performance. Their personal agenda cannot be the starting point, however. Successful storytellers appeal to their audience's sense of what is interesting and begin from 'common, generally known and favored meanings of narratives' (1990: 176). Folkloric communication, in this view, is a collective process which elaborates and refers to culturally shared concepts and prototypical ideas about what passes in human life.

The two arguments outlined here suggest that communicative practices as well as shared, cultural lifeworlds can account for people's ability to reproduce traditions. But patterns of language are no more historically stable than forms of collective life. The interest of genre, the awareness and classification of specific kinds of linguistic expression, is that it combines the two. In one sense, it refers to conventional expressions adapted to new communicative situations; in another sense, it refers to dialogic communication in which relatively stable forms of language are combined in new ways. In

Mikhail Bakhtin's terminology (1986: 61), these relatively stable expressions are the primary genres which provide the material for more complex discursive forms, ones which people under certain ideological conditions identify as 'literature', 'tradition', 'history' and so on.

Anna-Leena and Jukka Siikala (2005) argue that the notion of culture continues to have salience if it is applied to such fields of cultural production. At this level of analysis, the expressive products of a given system of genres do not simply reflect political subordination and historical assimilation. New genres which evolve in the interaction between national and local languages, spirit beliefs and universalizing religions, or written and oral forms of expression, may point to the most interesting sites of cultural reproduction, in which specific groups and life-forms assert themselves.

The discussion in this paper is divided into three parts. In the first I will describe briefly the folkloric genres I encountered during my first fieldwork in Maluku in the mid-1990s. The point I want to make concerns the socially constituting effects of performance. The songs foreground communication as the substance of certain social categories and personal relationships. They are iconic of the self-knowledge produced in sudden encounters between long-lost relatives in a mobile, diasporic society. In the second part of the paper I ask what happens to these semiotic effects when the tradition is removed from its former, socially grounded settings. Writing has provided a new means of handing it down, with some possibilities of retaining its revealing effects. In the third part I address current efforts to acquire tradition by 'writing it down' and restoring some of its meanings in new performative contexts.

Production

I found a diversity of performing arts were practiced in the village of Banda Eli, my field site in 1994–6. Major rituals and public feasts culminated in men's Arabic-style dancing called *samrah*, which was accompanied by a singer and a band playing tambourines and a lute called *gambus*. Later on women would play larger tambourines and recite the tradition of the Prophet's birth until the morning. Children were interested in popular, religious songs called *kasida*, with lyrics in the national language, Indonesian. It is easy to notice that these entertainments and observances are imported, globally distributed forms: their performance is addressed simultaneously to global and local audiences in a way which has come to be called 'public culture'.

My main interest was genres performed in local languages and oriented to more local audiences. I recorded several types of songs in the language of *Evav*, a South-East Maluku language spoken by some 100,000 people in the Kei Islands. On a yet smaller scale, people of Banda Eli identified the core of their ancestral knowledge with songs performed in Turwandan, their own ances-

Timo Kaartinen

Offerings have been prepared for a house-construction ritual at sunrise.

6

tral language, which is only maintained among 5,000 or so people in their village and another Bandanese settlement one day's travel away.

It is obvious that the conditions for maintaining and transmitting these genres are very different. Local types of songs must be adapted to new forms of mass distribution, such as studio-made tape recordings and more recently CDs and DVDs, in order to gain an audience beyond the inter-village festivals in which they used to be performed. There is a whole industry of such records for urban people who still maintain an interest in their background among local ethno-linguistic groups. The price of this transmission is that songs change completely their character: a whole range of sacred, tragic, playful and sometimes scandalous folk poetry turns into a generic nostalgia for the home village.

I do not want to play down the emotional or entertaining value of this nostalgia; many songs now identified as 'traditional' were also written as entertainment. The point I want to make is that former contexts of large-scale performance involved people who were interested in their mutual differences and social boundaries. An old male singer I used to work with had gained his fame by singing in the Evav language, surprising people in other villages with his skill in performing what was already popular there. In his youth, perhaps until the 1950s, linguistic and social boundaries between villages, kinship groups and social classes were a machine for producing new expressive forms. The Bandanese and the Keiese had distinctive styles for performing the same lyrics, and the resulting performances were identified as different genres.

Keiese (Evav) songs address themselves to a far larger local audience than verbal arts which use Turwandan, a language which is only spoken in two large villages which lie at a whole day's travel from each other. The people of Banda Eli recognized and performed half a dozen Keiese genres, but a variety of songs in their own language were classified as one genre called *onotani*, which translates as 'weeping'. Some of the more popular *onotani* are in fact not sad at all: they celebrate ancestral figures and places in a simple verse structure which allows group performance, and they are often performed to accompany dancing. Other *onotani* can be characterized as lullabies, brief songs which old women sing while putting their grandchildren to sleep. The association of *onotani* with sacred cultural knowledge is borne out by larger compositions which may take up to half an hour to perform. These songs narrate the sea voyages of a particular ancestral figure whose arrival in a new location is the basis for the existence of currently existing social groups.

The ownership of these songs by specific patrilineal groups creates an interesting problem for their transmission. The songs are not performed by men who claim to descend from the ancestor, but by women who typically change their affiliation in patrilineal groups at marriage. A skilled performer of *onotani* will know the ancestral songs of the clan in which she was born, as well as the songs associated with her mother's patrilineal group, those of her husband, and possibly songs which relate to several allied or subordinated groups as well. A particular woman's repertoire of *onotani* songs is therefore an index of her place at the centre of a House, a complex social category formed around marriage alliances and hierarchical relations.

Towards the end of my fieldwork in 1996, I was invited to record *onotani* songs with Mustika Latar, born into the clan of Borut, whose mother came from the clan of Takartutun—a group which is known elsewhere but almost extinct from Banda Eli. In the 1960s her husband functioned as the *imam*, or Islamic leader of prayers, in Efruan, a subsidiary hamlet inhabited by people of common status. Lower status in Banda Eli is generally associated with kinship ties to the surrounding Kei Islands society, but certain common clans claim that they, like the superior clans, originate from the Banda Islands. In several cases the office of *imam* appears to have produced close, affectionate ties between people separated by the class boundary. Whereas other chiefly offices in the village depend on the recognition by the state for actual authority, the relationship between subordinate people and *imams* is the basis of mutually recognized collective existence and claims to land. Mustika's repertoire includes songs in which the true origin of particular subordinate groups in Banda is recognized: in this sense, their constituting importance for social relationships extends beyond intermarrying high-status groups.

Mustika's performances did not include lengthy narrative songs, which I had come to associate with ancestral, mythical narratives. In fact I was offered the chance to record such songs by the mother of the current village headman, a woman who likewise knew a large number of *onotani* owned by different patrilineal groups. Her interest in organizing the performance of these songs was no doubt a reflection of her son's political position, a wish to justify his claim to some of the most illustrious, and always disputed, founders of the village. Remarkably, however, the house-group surrounding this chief's office began to form some generations earlier around Mustika's mother and her mother's brother—still remembered as nurturing figures by several groups who were now peripherally associated with the chief's office. I believe therefore that Mustika's songs provide valuable insight into their generic properties, the internal sense of belonging and self-knowledge which people continue to associate with *onotani*.

I first recorded the song discussed here on a rainy evening at Mustika's house shortly before leaving the

village in March 1996. The audience consisted of her children and their families: she clearly did not want the kind of larger audience of neighbours who usually came around when I was taping songs. Her dress and posture suggested that it was a prepared occasion. She had covered her head with a dark scarf, which she usually did not wear going out, and sat by the wall, avoiding the small talk with which her children greeted me. A dozen short songs, including the one I will discuss here, were recorded on this occasion. I was lucky to meet her again during my repeat field trip in spring 2009, and recorded another version of the same song when I came by her house. One of these songs exemplifies the stylistic features which are typical of *onotani* as a performed genre. One of them is the opening formula, a greeting addressed to a 'meeting' of ancestors and to God. Before fixing their topic on a specific, personal figure, *onotani* always represent the ancestors as a collective, anonymous entity, with the implication that their narratives describe the differentiation of the world from an underlying unity. The opening formula evokes a sense of human, social life as an outcome of cosmological differentiation—a theme found in many Eastern Indonesian societies.

Another formal feature is repetition. Many studies of Eastern Indonesian ritual language have focused on canonical parallelism, the skill of combining metaphorical expressions in prescribed ways, as the hallmark of adequate performance. Parallelism is not absent from Banda Eli verbal art, but in *onotani* performances it often plays a second part to repetition, the precise reiteration of a particular line in the song. In this example, *tabea Mahamud njoron tasik*, roughly, 'greeting to Mahmud, lord of the seas', and *Mbutak Mboifulan inani kai inamu aku*, 'Mbutak and Mboifulan, my mother's people' occurs twice when the song begins. In lengthy songs repetition is a compositional device which begins each segment of the narrative and helps embed diverse, simple motifs to a larger plot.

My view is that this formal device also serves the entextualizing effects of performance. Repetition emphasizes the singer's claim to ancestral figures, events and expressions; familiar expressions, images and motifs are woven into a statement of a distinct, and somewhat inaccessible domain of meaning and experience. Ultimately the rehearsal of a particular image throughout the song distinguishes the whole song as a distinct message. On trying to produce translations of similar songs I found that people who helped me kept adding parallel images to the text, as if to improve the poetic qualities of its language. In fact, they were dissociating themselves from the idea of the song as a singular piece of discourse, avoiding the claim which is made through repetitive expressions in an actual performance.

A third characteristic of *onotani* is something I call

elaboration. A line is repeated and a further expression is added to it. There are several examples of this in the song:

Lines 4–5
I send you a message and I cry for you with Lam and Alif [Arabic], with Bandanese
I send you a message and I cry for you with Lam and Alif [Arabic], with Bandanese, looking for a golden ring [Ind.], looking for a ring [Ban.]

Lines 6–7
If you go far the *haji* must stay with me
If you go far the *haji* must stay with me and care for me

Lines 8–9
The little girl Sambalain keeps crying
The little girl Sambalain keeps crying because it is dark

Line 10
She wants to be lulled, she wants to be cradled

Lines 11–12
She pulls at the *destar* until I give it to her
She pulls at the *destar* and screams until I give it to her and put it on her head

Line 13
'Thank God' I say inside my ear

The two examples of this song give some indication of the conditions under which the genre retains its stability. In the first version, the singer's plea to her ancestors shifts artfully into a playful narrative in which an old man is trying to put a screaming child to sleep. At the beginning there is a childlike yearning for valuable objects, which signify the might of the ancestors; at the end, a child is trying to grasp objects which substitute for the mother's nurturing figure. Notice the three-way shift in voice: we first hear the singer plead to her ancestors, then the child pleading to her mother, and finally the old *haji* speaking to himself.

When I last met her, Mustika repeated several of her songs in such a confident manner that I thought she simply knew them by heart. A closer comparison of different versions of her songs, however, makes it clear that a full performance takes some concentration and preparation. What I have called 'elaboration' involves formulaic expressions which emerge from the preceding line, as if by afterthought, but actually as skilfully used devices for carrying on the story.

The second version of the above song, recorded in 2009, is somewhat truncated. *Cari cicin cari mamba*, 'Looks for ring, looks for ring', on line 5 is a parallelism which carries the word *cincin* lifted from Indonesian

8

1996 version:	2009 version:
1. Sanggara tuano te Allahu tabea o tabea	1. sanggara tuano te Allahu tabea o tabea
2. Tabea Mahamud nyoron tasik a mbutak Mboifulan inani kai inamu aku	2. Mahamud njoron tasik a mbutak Mboifulan ina
3. Mahamud nyoron tasik a mbutak Mboifulan ina ni ka inamu aku	3. mbutak mboifulan ina ni kai namu aku faku surat e faku rau
4. fa kusurat e fako rau te lam alef m turi wandan	4. faku surat te fako rau te lam alif ma turi wandan
5. faku surat e fako raut te lam alef m turi wandan cari cicin cari mamba	5. lam alif ma turi wandan cari cicin cari mamba njifo rau nufa kai
6. ji mbo rau nufa kai haji rinik ifa aku	6. haji rinik ifa aku njake aku fa muruk
7. ji mbo rau nufa kai haji rinik ifa aku njaki aku	
8. fa muruka Sambalain jaga m raut	7. sambalain dagam raun fa munjia raron sini
9. fa muruka Sambalain jagam raut fa munjia raron sini	
10. re ndoro fa keno-keno te ndolo fa salo-salo	8. fa munjia raron sine re ndoro fa keno-keno te ndolo fa salo-salo
11. ndoro destar e in tenein fa ku ndili	9. ndoro destar e in kami fa ku ndili
12. ndoro destar e in kanggit fa ku ndili saron nafu ke reliliki	10. saron nafu ke reliliki e re alhamdulillah
13. ire Alhamdullillah i rarono taninga	11. rarono taninga

The comparison between the 1996 and 2009 versions of an *onotani* performed by Mustika Latar.

and the word *samba* from Bandanese: it is one of the formulas which occurs elsewhere in Mustika's songs. After this line, the narrative frame shifts from ancestral time to the time of narration. In the 2009 version, this shift does not take place through poetic elaboration of the previous figure but uses a more literal expression, spoken from the mother's perspective (line 6: *haji rinik ifa aku njake aku fa muruk*, 'Haji is close if I put down my child for a while'). Another formula, found in several of Mustika's performances, is *munjia raron sini*, literally 'it is night in here', line 9. Similar formulas are found in both versions, but in the second version they are used as memory-aids. As a result of this, line 6 emerges as an outside comment on the narrative, not as a smooth transition.

I have suggested that full performance of *onotani* is based on a 'special technique of composition', as Albert Lord (1960: 17) suggested for Serbian singers, and that repetition and elaboration are central parts of it. Performance in front of different audiences is necessary in order to master such techniques. Lord (1960: 21) describes the learning process as taking place in three stages: listening and absorbing (which Banda Eli singers begin as small children); the period during which one begins to apply one's skill by fitting one's expression to specific rhythmic patterns; and finally performing in front of a critical audience. What I have called elaboration in fact follows a rhythmic pattern: shorter phrases alternate with longer ones; the next theme emerges dreamlike from the previous one. Virtuosos are able to keep this flow going, and also to punctuate longer songs with repetitions, which convey the interpretive agenda of the song as a whole.

Transmission

People who have moved to cities are at a double disadvantage in trying to master this technique of composition. In spite of conscious efforts to maintain the Bandanese language in urban settings, the main domain of use is conversation. Much of the specialized vocabulary used in *onotani* songs, as well as the ability to maintain a clear boundary between Indonesian and Bandanese, is being lost. Another disadvantage is the scarcity of performing arenas in which aspiring singers can develop their skill. Recent anthropological literature has given plenty of attention to language shift, a process in which local languages do not entirely disappear but come to be used in increasingly limited domains. Even the most earnest efforts to learn them result in translating meanings from the dominant language into the local one. Ultimately, as Webb Keane (1997: 52) suggests for the local languages of Sumba, there may be no point in using the local language since it no longer represents a distinct semiotic resource, capable of carrying meanings which differ from the national language.

I could not avoid this pessimistic view on observing how aspiring singers began by writing down the songs from tape recordings made with people from the older generation. Instead of beginning as peripheral participants of a living verbal art, as their predecessors had done, they seemed to follow a model of rote learning, which was mostly picked up from schools. We should, however, be cautious with drawing a boundary between written and oral literature. The coastal peoples of Maluku have in fact been part of a literary culture at least since the fifteenth century, the time of the Islamization of the main trading centres. A central part of the Muslim ritual is recitation, the singing delivery of Arabic-language texts, which the singers recognize as meaningful even if they do not understand their exact words. I would suggest that the same goes for the Bandanese songs. They are full of words and phrases which remain obscure to someone fluent in conversational Bandanese. At least to contemporary audiences such phrases present a riddle to solve.

In 2006, I experimented with transcribing formerly unprocessed material with people from the Bandanese community who had lived in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, for most of their adult lives. On first hearing a taped song they were just as puzzled as I was about its exact meaning; after a while, however, someone would work out a possible interpretation of its main themes and motifs, helping others to guess the normal form of a wry or unclear wording. One example is *mamba* which replaces *samba*, 'ring', in the song discussed earlier. Much of the interpretive burden is therefore on the audience, while the stability of expression remains the singer's responsibility. From this point of view, writing down grandmothers' songs and attempting a precise reproduction and delivery of them makes more sense.

There is another reason why we should take 'writing down' seriously as a practice of cultural reproduction. People do not just write down lyrics in order to possess some hidden knowledge. They are involved in producing actual performances which are oriented to a wide range of audiences and situations. At one end of the continuum are dramatizations of ethnic history by urban student groups. In 1990, a group of Bandanese students and civil servants residing in Ambon had recently met in a café and founded an association called Sanggar Wandan Jadi, 'Society of Becoming Bandanese'. Its folkloric performances involved *onotani* songs performed in Indonesian: what marks these out as ethnic heritage was the rehearsal of ancestral names celebrated in the performances. The point of such revitalizing efforts is not to reproduce an authentic, normative model of ethnic culture but to create an inclusive Bandanese community, one that is not limited to those who still know the language.

During my fieldwork in 2009, a new generation of students decided to found another cultural society, called the 'Association of Bandanese Students'. The older association was suffering from factional divisions in the community after its officials were appointed to important government positions. One purpose of founding the new association was to heal such divisions and demonstrate that they would not involve the younger generation. Even so, founding the association was a lengthy process: it took a couple of months before its organizers had gained the recognition of their elders, who represented various groups of urban Bandanese. This suggests to me that the folkloric performances staged by the association are not just generic signs of an ethnic identity. A genuine reproduction of ancestral culture goes hand in hand with the creation of a responsive audience, people whose mutual recognition the performance itself signifies.

A different case of 'writing down' are the attempts by some people to revitalize forms of mutual recognition between villages and local groups. Certain kinds of tra-

A Haji wearing the *destar* headdress of pilgrims to Mecca.

ditional songs used to be performed during collective visits to former military or trade allies. Before a visiting boat could land, a man standing in the bow had to perform a song, which drew the appropriate response from another singer on the shore. Such relations of amity between local groups of different faith were appreciated during the ethnic warfare which broke out in Maluku after the fall of the Suharto government in 1998. While the two songs used different linguistic registers and performing styles, people specialized in performing them were usually able to perform both the reply and the response. Studying lost family heritage is therefore possible by tracing the people among the allied groups and learning the songs from them. Again, in my experience, this process involves the use of writing but does not stop there. I recently watched a video of an impressive public performance which built on such practices of transmission.

The lesson to be learned from these examples might be that the object of 'writing down' is not a precise item of cultural information or discourse, but its assumed power to affect an audience and generate a response. As Keane (1997: 41) puts it, this power does not reside so much in the semantic content of archaic songs and ritual speech but in the intersection of their formal properties, which produce a sense of timeless authority, and the speakers' capacity to mobilize them skilfully and performatively in order to engage in dialogue with others. Even people who do not have access to continu-

ous, performed tradition tend to hold on to ancestral names and to puzzling, obscure words, which often are creatively borrowed from other languages. This is evidence of a language ideology which affirms that the vanishing language, which resists translation to a dominant language, is still in existence, however impossible it may be for us to understand its messages.

Authors and owners

I have suggested that the present-day pattern of transmission relies on a sense of tradition as texts. This is not necessarily a complete shift from earlier, ideological notions. Banda Eli ancestral songs frequently refer to themselves as 'messages', or literally 'letters' from the ancestors. There is some evidence of an indigenous interest in the written documentation of origin myths in the 1920s or 1930s, possibly to the benefit of diasporic groups attempting to restudy the local traditions of places they came from (van Ronkel 1945; Ellen 2003: 85). My most intriguing case of 'handing down' tradition in writing concerns an old man with whom I worked intensely for several months in 1994. Throughout my fieldwork he kept writing down the traditions of his village in school notebooks, using the Malay language and Arabic script. I came in contact with him after I had explained my interest in ancestral history to an assembly of old men, who seemed a little nervous, as if they expected they would need to address difficult, politically charged questions. They were visibly relieved when it turned out I would only have to go to Kende, the famous scribe, who already had their history in writing. A substantial part of my early fieldwork turned into a kind of office work: I spent long hours with Kende, typing stories from his dictation and reproducing the original pages by photography. Carbon copies of what I typed stayed with Kende, adding to his hand-written volumes. When it seemed we were done, he invited me to go and ask others if they agreed with his account of the events. But here is the catch: I was not allowed to show my copies of the chronicle to anyone in the village. In fact I struck a formal deal with him, promising the writings would stay undisclosed unless all of them were published together as a book.

Later Kende qualified this requirement by saying that I was free to discuss his chronicle in scientific conferences and publications, and pretty much with anybody who did not live in his village. I am not sure if he anticipated the ethical dilemma I would face when I later met an increasing number of villagers who now spend most of their time in a second home in urban settings. I have thought of the issue along similar lines to Deborah Tannen, quoted by Bente Alver and Ørjar Øyen (2007: 37). Tannen argues that ethical responsibility does not extend to a 'third party', those people who are not their informants but whose reputation is at stake in recorded

Timo Kaartinen
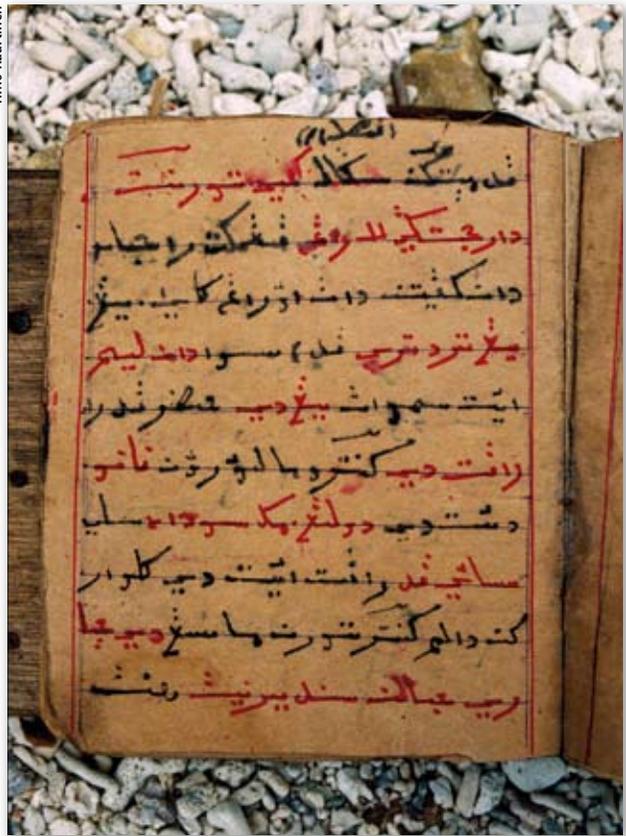
A page of Malay narrative recorded in Jawi (Arabic) script.

folkloric material. The reasoning behind this argument is that the meaning of the material is always constructed in new kinds of dialogue. I imagine Kende was against disclosing his writings in the village because they built on orally transmitted information about contested hierarchical relations and land claims. He alone was able to take responsibility for presenting the material in this way to the people concerned. Outside the village, the situation was different: people were silent about disagreements going on among resident groups, and on occasion urban relatives warned me not to mention that there had been a fight.

I imagine the content of Kende's writing did not consist of family secrets. Before his appointment as a village headman he, like Mustika's husband, had been the *imam* of Efruan, and some of his narratives originated from his close association with lower-status villagers. Most other parts of his chronicle consisted of well-known stories, names and other information which must have been public knowledge to different villagers. The ethical issue arises from the semiotic difference between oral and written accounts. The genre-specific expectations on different kinds of oral discourse mean that it is finalized with certain communicative situations in mind. Outside its expected context of performance, a song or myth does not have full consequences as a communicative act. A piece of writing, on the other hand, is

designed to transcend specific contexts. The puzzling style of Kende's chronicle resulted from the fact that multiple genres were deliberately mixed in it. An anecdotal story from decades ago included precise hours at which somebody said something, as if it were a modern court record. Aside from this documentary style, one finds formal incantations characteristic of ritual speech. The manuscript was a package of all different kinds of powerful speech, designed to evoke an evaluative response in any kind of audience Kende had met during his long life.

Kende did not have any problem showing what I wrote to visiting relatives who lived elsewhere. One was the head of freight services at Bali airport; another was a soldier living in Borneo, and a third worked for a foreign company in Central Maluku. The only real secret was the compilation, the entire chronicle. Kende's house had a little window from which people could see his head at sunset, reading aloud what he had written during the day. His writing was a public performance. In 2009 I found out what had happened at his death ten years before. The writings were divided and given to family living outside the village. I met one of his relatives on a visit to Waisarisa, a sleepy industrial settlement on the coast of Seram. He looked me deep in the eyes and asked what Kende had given me. I gave a quick outline of the topics of the writings I had copied. 'Did he give you this one?' he asked, showing me a pile of foolscap manuscripts I had typed fifteen years earlier.

Kende's life-long performative act had produced a textual object with a vast range of potential meaning. In this sense its effect was not entirely unlike the entextualizing effect of some oral performances which dwell on the possibility of communicating with the ancestors and drawing out a message from them. I was a little sorry when Kende's relatives complained that reading the manuscript made no sense to them. But the point was that his writings existed in sensual, material form, as something which could be given to the next generation to study. Kende's intention was to pass them on to people who would not find them familiar. At the same time, he gave his narratives such titles as 'genealogy' (*silsilah*) and 'history' (*sejarah*), which point to foreign genre categories. His basic wish was not to pass on specific stories, but to inscribe his own personal life in some form of written record which would be valued outside the village. This is an ingenuous reproductive strategy because it clearly anticipates reception by an audiences who live in an entirely different reality from his own.

We should also recognize in Kende's writings a similar mobilizing agency as that found in Mustika's songs. By being dispersed across the archipelago, the writings invite people to look for their own past. Travellers are invited to seek dialogue with people who possess the writings but do not, perhaps, understand them—at least

not in the same way as the new reader. My broader argument is that cultural reproduction in this case hinges on categories that describe different positions in a dialogue. A nomadic society is recreated by engaging with its past messages.

If this is true, it supports a broader view of tradition and collective memory as a metadiscourse which mediates its content through different movements and positions in space and time (Siikala & Siikala 2005: 90). We are not talking about the authenticity of a particular song or narrative, but about poetics and performative actions which make traditional items meaningful in a particular situation. The big issue is what it takes to achieve this in the current situation, in which the community addressed here is undergoing another historical cycle of dislocations, dispersals and resettlements. Some traditional materials are still available for study, and certain people are interested in studying them with a distinctly collective reproductive agenda in mind. ■

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Management and loss of narrative knowledge in the 'Guided Islands and Conducted Lands' (East Indonesia and East Timor)

AONE VAN ENGELENHOVEN

The major vehicle for the transmission of cultural knowledge in Southwest Maluku (East Indonesia) and Tutuala (East Timor) used to be storytelling. Names and songs are the coordinates with which the audience evaluates the narrations and determines their truth value. After an ethnographic introduction, the function of names and songs in narratives is elaborated, exemplified by the ritual names of Leti Island and its main cultural hero. After discussing its management, it will be argued that the mystification of storytelling inevitably results in the irreversible loss of narrative knowledge in Southwest Maluku and Tutuala, and among its migrant communities abroad.

Introduction

Geographical and ethnographic background

The extreme southwest of the Indonesian province of Maluku contains about fifteen islands, which on maps dating from before the independence of the Republic of Indonesia were labelled the *Zuidwester eilanden* ('Southwestern Islands'). In Dutch colonial times there was one central administration for the entire region, initially placed in Serwaru (Leti Island), but later relocated to Wonreli (Kisar Island). At present the islands have been regrouped into the independent regency of *Maluku Barat Daya*, 'Southwest Maluku', consisting of eight districts: East Babar (the eastern part of Babar Island and the islands of Marsela, Dawera and Dawelor), the Babar Islands (the western part of Babar Island and the islands of Wetan and Dai), Mdona Hiera (the islet of Luang and the island of Sermata), Moa-Lakor District (the islands of Moa and Lakor), Leti Island, the Southernmost Islands (Kisar Island and Roma Island), Wetar Islands (the island of Wetar and the islet of Liran), and Damar Island. According to the latest census, the regency has 70,372 inhabitants, with most people living in the Southernmost Islands District and the fewest in Mdona Hiera.

In the south, Southwest Maluku borders on the Republic of East Timor. Its easternmost sub-district, Tutuala, has a population of 4330 that live in seven villages.[1]

Southwest Maluku was under Dutch colonial rule from 1665 (Riedel 1886: 368) until Indonesia's independence in 1945, while Tutuala was officially under Portuguese rule until 1975, although it was only firmly under Portueguese control from 1896 (Pannel 2006). From 1975 until 1999 it was under Indonesian rule and only since 2002 has it become a sub-district in the independent Republic of East Timor.

In local folklore, most of these islands are combined into one economical network called 'The Guided Islands and Conducted Lands'[2]. Andrew McWilliam (2007a) suggests that the District of Lautém, to which Tutuala belongs, may also have been involved in this network. Several narratives (for example Josselin de Jong's [nd] Moa texts) indicate that Tutuala through its harbour of Loikere was part of this network.

From an anthropological perspective the inner islands of this network are strikingly uniform. Tradition distinguishes two groups of inhabitants: 'land-owners'—the original population—and 'boat-owners'—migrant clans from either Timor, Kei or Luang. The latter brought the so-called Luang 'Umbilical Cord' way of life to the islands. Local folklore has it that the migrants from the latter island imposed their own cultural framework—referred to as the 'Luang Umbilical Cord'—on to the societies of the islands they migrated to. Other important cultural features in the region that are generally identified as characteristic are the organisation of the clan into four semi-independent lines of descent (called 'houses') and the special vernacular for sung poetry.

Local folklore considers the alliance of the Guided Islands and Conducted Lands as the main product of the Luang 'Umbilical Cord'. Interestingly, whereas Tutuala's link to the Guided Islands and Conducted Lands is very clear, its inhabitants are not really aware of a 'Luang way of life', although the cultural frameworks on both the 'mainland' and the offshore islands are very

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1 Information provided by Edegar da Conceição Savio (Leiden University).

2 *Nohpaikra–Raipiatatra* in the Sung Language. The islands of Dai, Dawelor, Dawera east of Babar Island, Wetar and Damar are generally considered not to be part of the network.

Irma-Riitta Järvinen

Studying the transformations of medieval hagiography in folklore: St Katherine of Alexandria

The hagiographic legends of the Catholic Church and their vernacular interpretations are exemplified by the development of the folk traditions venerating St Katherine of Alexandria in Finland.

St Katherine was one of the most popular female martyr saints in medieval Europe. Her earliest hagiography dates from the 9th century. The cult of St Katherine was originally established in the East, when the monastery on Mount Sinai was named after her. Her cult then spread to Western Europe with the Crusaders.

The cult of St Katherine was strongly promoted in the Diocese of Turku from the 14th century, particularly by the Dominican Order, which had a strong presence there. A chapel in the Cathedral of Turku was dedicated to her, along with at least three churches; statues and paintings depicting her legend could be seen in 23 medieval churches in Finland, and her feast day, November 25th, was commemorated as part of the General Roman Calendar. Her hagiography was known in Finland, as it was included in *Legenda aurea* (The Golden Legend) and at least three copies of this text existed in medieval Finland, according to the findings of Tuomas Heikkilä and his group, who have studied medieval parchment fragments.

How was the Catholic Church's teaching about the saints received by the Finnish laity, and how did people interpret and adapt that teaching to their everyday needs? Popular perceptions about the saints have been passed down through the centuries in folklore and ritual practices, continuing to endure despite the denunciation of the position of the saints in Protestant Sweden in 1544.

How was St Katherine interpreted in Finnish folklore, and how did the popular view of her differ from that of the Catholic Church? The available textual materials, which are Finnish folklore sources dating from the 17th to the 20th century, pose a methodological challenge for researchers wishing to make connections to the medieval tradition. The legend of St Katherine was familiar in Finland in the form of an epic poem in the same metre as the Kalevala, known as 'The Burning of Katrina' (manuscripts from the early 1800s). This epic was roughly based on her standard hagiography, but was transformed into a tale about a maiden who was persecuted and put to death by a villainous King Ruotus (Herod). Many features of the hagiographic legend emphasising Katherine's steadfastness in her faith as a bride of Christ and her ability to defeat fifty philosophers in religious argumentation were omitted from the vernacular tradition.

Katherine's name appears in ritual folklore as well: in Finland, she has been venerated by women as the protector of cattle and sheep. The earliest ritual descriptions of St Katherine's Day celebrations date from the end of the 17th century, but the ritual was still known in the 19th century, mainly in eastern parts of Finland. The ritual involved eating a shared meal of porridge and cooked meat and drinking beer in the holy space of the cowshed and praying to St Katherine for the welfare and protection of the cattle and sheep. Katherine was known as *lambajumal* ('sheep god') in Estonia as well, whereas in various Western European vernacular traditions (e.g. France, England) young women prayed to her in the hope of finding a good husband.

Features of the hagiographic legends of saints and their pictorial representations in ecclesiastical art have often acquired particular interpretations in vernacular traditions. St Katherine came to be associated with sheep via the wheel that was used to torture her: this was linked with the image of a spinning wheel. Milk was flowing from her wound when she was beheaded – thus making her the protector of cows.

Oral and Literary Culture in the Medieval and Early Modern Baltic Sea Region: Cultural Transfer, Linguistic Registers and Communicative Networks

This research project (2011–2014) will study the interactions of oral and literary culture around the Baltic Sea – in particular in Finland, Estonia, Karelia and Ingria – from 1200 to 1700. The interdisciplinary project will make use of folklore, literary studies, communications, and network research as well as ideological and socio-historical concepts.

Study Group
Responsible Director: Adjunct Professor, Secretary General Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen
Researchers: Irma-Riitta Järvinen (Folklore), Linda Kaljundi (History), Kati Kallio (Folklore), Ilkka Leskelä (Social History), Senni Timonen (Folklore)

www.finlit.fi/english/research/baltic_sea.htm

Saints and Sainthood around the Baltic Sea: Orality, Literacy and Communication in the Middle Ages
Conference in SKS, Helsinki, October 2011

The twelve conference papers focused on the formation, reception and politics of the cults of saints, both medieval and contemporary. Case studies and broader typologies, based on archaeological, written and oral evidence, were used to show how saints and the cults of saints framed and transformed people's physical and mental landscapes.

One of the recurring themes was how the presence of saints was projected onto places and stories to accommodate and enhance local and national belonging. Such categories, especially the national context, are seldom very clear, and they were discussed in great depth at the conference. Instead of national interpretations, a more locally defined competition between emerging power centres was suggested as an

explanatory context. On the other hand, the canonisation of St Dorothea of Montau in Prussia in 1976 was preceded by centuries of contention between the German and Polish interpretations.

A topic that was considered in several presentations was how local aspects of saints differed from the canonical texts. Indeed, saints were regularly merged and mixed. It seems this practice was widespread in local cults as well as in oral folk belief, with examples ranging from confusions between St Canute Lavard and St Canute the King in Denmark to the image of St Katherine of Alexandria in Finnish oral poetry.

Professor Lars Bisgaard, University of Southern Denmark, Odense

Project website:
www.finlit.fi/english/research/baltic_sea.htm
Programme:
www.finlit.fi/tutkimus/Saints_programme.htm

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Folklore, myths and traditions in Post-Soviet Russia

Why are Khanty shamans still active? What are the folklore collectives of Komi? Why are Ud-murtian rituals performed at cultural festivals? In their insightful ethnographic study, Anna-Leena Siikala and Oleg Ulyashev attempt to answer such questions by analysing the public and private performance of religious traditions, myths and songs. Their book is the result of long-term fieldwork undertaken during the 1990s and 2000s in three different places: the Northern Ob region in Northwest Siberia and in the Komi and Udmurt Republics. It sheds light on how different traditions are favoured and transformed in multicultural Russia today.

Anna-Leena Siikala and Oleg Ulyashev, *Hidden Rituals and Public Performances. Traditions and Belonging among the Post-Soviet Khanty, Komi and Udmurts.* SF Folkloristica 19. SKS 2011.
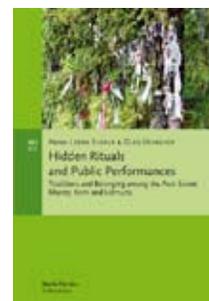
Mantinádes: A Short, Rhymed Poetic Tradition on the Island of Crete

The Cretan rhyming couplets known as *mantinádes* are short, compact poems which contain an independent message created either for a particular occasion or to encapsulate a larger proverbial, philosophical or lyrical idea. As a result, this short-form rhyming poetry, largely neglected by scholars in earlier research paradigms, can now be seen in a new light – specifi-cally as dialogic poetry – through its extended, multi-layered dialogic properties.

Venla Sykäri, *Words as Events. Cretan Mantinádes in Performance and Composition.*
SF Folkloristica 18. SKS 2011.
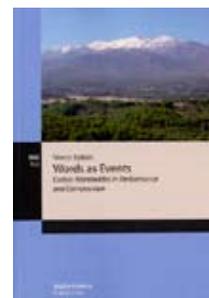
SKS SKS is an academic society and a research institute.

similar (McWilliam 2007b).[3]

It can safely be stated that Southwest Maluku and Tutuala remained unexplored for a relatively long period, owing to the geographical remoteness and supposed economic unattractiveness.[4] Before the arrival of European traders in the seventeenth century, the Banda Islands in Central Maluku had developed as a centre of the spice trade. The routes to these islands ran mainly along the north and east coasts of Borneo, past Ambon. An alternative route went along Timor Island, west of Wetar. The limited foreign influence found in Southwest Malukan culture, for example the barter of Indian cloth, most probably reached the Babar archipelago via Banda. The lack of any economic profit prevented the establishment of an east–west route from Kei to Timor passing the islands of Southwest Maluku. In the second half of the seventeenth century the Dutch East Indies Trading Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, VOC) managed to set up an agency on most of the islands. Although the Christian faith usually followed in the trail of the Company, it took until the first half of the 20th century before the Malukan Protestant Church managed to achieve a fixed position in Southwest Malukan society.[5]

Languages and speech styles

Except for the non-Austronesian Oirata (Kisar Island) and Fataluku (Tutuala), all languages in Southwest Maluku and Tutuala are descendants of Proto-Austronesian through either Proto-Timoric or Proto-Babaric. They dispersed throughout the region in three offshoots: the languages of Wetar, of Babar, and the Luangic-Kisaric isolects. The latter form a dialect chain extending from Wetan (in the Babar archipelago) in the east to Leti in the west, plus three other languages spoken on Kisar, Roma and Damar.

After independence the Indonesian government started a successful campaign to promote Indonesian Malay as the national language. An irreversible and complete allegiance shift from the indigenous languages towards Indonesian appears to be one of its consequences in Southwest Maluku. The type and degree of endangerment are governed mainly by the number of speakers. Meher on Kisar Island, whose speakers are rated near 10,000, is fairly stable. Indonesian influence is detected in its lexicon rather than in its grammar. The languages of the Babar archipelago are among those that are most dramatically in peril. On these islands, where languages are found with fifty speakers or less, people easily exchange their native tongue for a vernacular more adapted to modern times: Indonesian Malay.

The language situation in Tutuala is slightly different. Its indigenous Austronesian language, Makuva, became a register in the non-Austronesian Fataluku language in the ritual domain. In all other domains, Fataluku became the dominant language. For contact outside Lautém Indonesian is used, although Tetum, one of the co-official languages of East Timor, is gaining more and more ground.

For many languages elaborate systems of speech styles are attested. In general a distinction is made between informal 'domain-talk', or daily speech, on the one hand and secretive and literary languages on the other. 'Land-owner' clans, for example on Leti Island, are often said to have a secretive language that is referred to either as 'former talk' or 'island-talk'. Among 'boat owner' clans this—sometimes imaginary—language is often perceived as an instrument for sorcery. The speech of the 'boat owners' appears to lack any special register, which could be labelled secretive. A possible exception is the Luang hunting jargon, *lirmetrialma* or 'inside-reef-speech', to which no equivalents are found elsewhere in the region.[6]

The main element in the literary or ritual languages, referred to as 'royal speech', is parallelism: the extensive pairing of lexical items. Elsewhere (Engelenhoven 1997, 2010), I have elaborated how in Southwest Maluku, unlike the situation reported from Tutuala, parallelism is a feature of the entire language and permeates both the lexicon and the grammar. Lack of space and time obliges me to eschew the matter here.

A special type of literary language is the so-called 'Sung Language', which is said to be identical from Marsela Island in East Babar District up to Kisar and Roma in the Southern Islands District. Notwithstanding its important function in the region's narrative tra-

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3 Whereas place names like *Romon* ('Roma Island') are well known among Tutuala people, not everybody realises any longer that they refer to islands off-shore. This is nicely shown by the name *Leti-Otova,* which derives from the Makuva lexical pair *Leti–Iotova* that refer to the islands of Leti and Kisar (*Iotovava* in many off-shore languages).

4 It took till the early 1980s before gold was discovered on Wetar Island. Since then regional infrastructure has been continuously improving. That notwithstanding, access to most of the islands is still very difficult. Tutuala can only be reached over land by the road that links Tutuala to Baucau further to the west.

5 In the second half of the nineteenth century the Dutch Protestant Mission undertook a serious attempt to impose Christianity on the islands. Its campaign, under the supervision of both the Kupang and Ambon Mission Societies, turned out to be a complete failure, for which reason it was terminated in 1841.

6 By chance I heard a possible equivalent of the Luang hunting jargon on the reef near Tomra (Leti Island), where fishing women referred to certain kinds of fish by the names of land-animals. Whether this is a remnant of a Luangic speech behaviour or a local innovation, however, remains to be investigated.

dition, this speech style is now on the verge of sinking into complete oblivion among the younger generations. As such it is expected to have disappeared within the next twenty years. The following paragraphs elaborate the consequences of this loss for the management of traditional knowledge in the region's societies.

Verbal arts: remembering the past and understanding the present
Introduction

Southwest Maluku, like all regions of East Indonesia, has a predominantly oral tradition.[7] Notwithstanding its linguistic and anthropological similarity to the neighbouring Timor region and Tanimbar archipelago, Southwest Maluku displays a divergent type of verbal art. Since the turn of the 20th century many scholars have confirmed how in the eastern parts of Indonesia local histories are transmitted through extensive narrative poems structured around lexical parallelisms. In Southwest Maluku, however, it is stories by which history is remembered.[8] These tales were supported by small pieces of sung distichs composed of lexical parallelisms.

Correspondingly, I distinguish two types of oral tradition that are distributed complementarily: narrations and sung poems. The first mentioned are classified in local tradition as either sacred *ttui* or profane *tuni*[9] along a sliding scale (following the genre classification of Straver 1993: 43–65). The audience determines the sacredness and truthfulness of a story. Its appreciation is guided by the number of clichés (*ktunu*) and the sung distichs (*tiatki*). The latter are perceived as summaries of a tale or part of a tale; the former are considered references to related tales. Both are necessary for the audience to locate the story being told within its frame of reference.

### Tiatki: sung certification of narrated truth
Songs summarise (parts of) a narration and are sometimes constructed in 'Sung Language', depending on the

Hans Straver & Ludolf Boelens: *Atlas Maluku.* Utrecht 1998.

Indonesian map of Southwest Maluku.

context of performance. In principle songs are distichs composed of parallel lines in daily speech. This is exemplified by the following lines that summarise the Creation of the World:

(1a)

Lanti mpupnuale rai/	The sky covers the land/
iaari nkadwetu sletna,	the waves enfold the ocean,
Mpupnuale nuspaitra/	it covers the Guided Islands
nkadwetu rapiatatra ne.	they enfold the Conducted Lands.

The main function of songs, however, is to guarantee the trustworthiness of the narration. When the truth of a narration is challenged—because of the story itself, but sometimes also because of the storyteller's status—the words of the song need to be adapted.[10] As exemplified in (1b), this phenomenon, which I label 'literary fraud',

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7 The only written contribution I know of is the *Hikayat Leti* ('The Leti Chronicles'). This is an Indonesian version of the *Tui Pieri* ('The History of Peri') by Upa Marcus Denu II about the foundation of the Luhuleli domain on Leti Island. This text meets a generally felt need throughout Maluku to safeguard local histories for the generations to come. Similar 'literary' products are recorded for Kisar and Kei and are published on a regular basis in the Moluccan community in the Netherlands, for example Rahail 2000.

8 Whether there has been a tradition of extensive poetry in Southwest Maluku or not, is not yet clear. J. P. B. Jonker (1932) did mention the *tniana* lamentation in his Leti wordlist. However, in 1989 it had become fully obsolete and was replaced by 'funeral speeches'. Both lamentation and 'funeral speech' feature extensive parallelism. Only the first, however, was sung.

9 The available terminology differs from language to language. Therefore Leti terminology will be used in this paper, unless explicitly stated otherwise.

10 The presence of a minister among the audience may be an example of why a performer prefers the 'older' (1b) over the 'modern' (1a). The minister, as an authority on the Bible, might want to challenge the traditional perception on the basis of the biblical version. The unassailable truth value of the Bible in Southwest Malukan society would make singing of the (1b) variant the only possible method to endorse the traditional story.

replaces certain sounds of the words in order to make the song look older, and thus more trustworthy then if it were presented in daily-speech form.

(1b)

Lanikie pupiniale rai/	The sky covers the land/
ioirie kadwekie letna,	the waves enfold the ocean,
pupiniale nohpaikra/	it covers the Guided Islands/
kadwekie rai piatatra ne.	they enfold the Conducted Lands.

Because of their reputed truth value these summarising distichs, or *tiatki*, have become important, if not decisive, arguments in traditional lawsuits. The more *tiatki* one knows, the better one can advocate one's point. Consequently, 'literary fraud' is an intrinsic feature of perjury.

Ktunu: coordinates in a narrated framework
'Wade-Leti': personal names as epitomes

Another associated element by which to evaluate narrations is the phrases or *ktunu* ('clichés'). Important *ktunu* in a narration are names of characters and locations, to be exemplified separately in two subsequent paragraphs by dialogues from the *TuLieti*, the narration on the creation of Leti Island according to the perception of the 'land-owner' Upa Simon (Pai/Waru) Manina. This narration recounts how Tiwurlety, the mythical creator of Leti Island, emphasises his name when Slerlety, the founding father of the Prirulu clan, consents to remain there:

170. You are a *marna* ['ruler'] from Malay/Piatuala. You moved to Leti.
171. You moved to Leti. However, listen to my speech, which is this.
172. Use my rank and position to get (yourself) a living. . .
175. However, I really ought to say to you, that this (place) is called Leti Island / Leti Land and my name is **Tiwurlety/Paislety**. That is it.

By mentioning his name, the original inhabitant of Leti elucidates his status for the newcomer. As can be construed from his name, Tiwurlety as its creator is the actual owner of Leti Island:

98. So, that is (the meaning of) his name: **Tiwurlety** [Bail Leti] / **Paislety** [Ladle Leti].[11]
99. Because he bailed it and ladled it up. Therefore the drainer belonged to the plan of God.

11 Because Tiwurlety laid the island bare by bailing and ladling away the sea water, he is perceived in local tradition as the creator of Leti Island.

Tiwurlety is confined to this episode in the island's history. After conferring Leti on the new owner, Tiwurlety withdraws from the narrated scene without leaving any offspring. His name, however, epitomises how he created the island. A closer inspection of the names of his heir, Slerlety, reveals the 'tale-summarising' function of names. Whereas Tiwurlety has typical mythical characteristics in this tale and in its variants (being a giant, immortal etc.), Slerlety is clearly a human being, the first immigrant-settler on Leti Island and the founding father of the Prirulu clan and its farm Iadum. As pointed out by the 'land-owner' storyteller, Slerlety is not his genuine name:

111. Then as he crossed it, the water reached up to his knees.
112. It was kind of dry all right, but the soil was still liquid.
113. So he waded through the water thither and climbed up to listen. And then he was given his name and he was called **Slerlety** (Wade-Leti).
114. That's the way it must be, Lordship!
115. He was called Slerlety, because when he disembarked from the boat he waded through water.
116. But that is his Letinese name. His Timorese name though is **Sairmalay** (Stick-Timor).
117. He was a native from that mainland.

However, further on he mentions one other name:

188. It may have been hereafter, that the *marna* of Prirulu, their forefather **Sieruliona** (Leave-Luang), that is, gets involved.

In other words: when Slerlety founded the Prirulu clan he had a different name: Sieruliona. This name epitomises his departure from the mythical Luang continent.

As can be seen from these three names, proper names in Southwest Malukan narratives have at least one underlying explanation that summarises an event the name-bearer has been involved in. This explains why storytellers feel compelled to arrange names. Their order reflects the chronology of the events summarised in them. The name mentioned first be the most recent, the last-mentioned the oldest, hence: Slerlety–Sieruliona–Sairmalay.[12] Any other arrangement violates the chron-

12 Note, however, that because the storyteller had forgotten the Sieruluona part in the first instance, this name appears last, at the end of the quotation, after Sairmalay. The fact that this particular storyteller insisted on Slerlety's old name Sairmalay is understandable when we take into consideration that a 'boat-owner' storyteller was in the audience. By only using the hero's Timorese—original—name the storyteller actually indicates that the tale takes place in a period which can only be narrated legitimately by landowners whose forefathers were contemporaries of the narrated hero. At the time there were no other witnessing 'boat-owners' whose descendants might add to the present narration. Besides, his narration focuses on the time before the name Slerlety was actually introduced.

ology of the events and thus falsifies the authenticity of the underlying explanations.

'Fish-roasting/kalura': place names as epitomes and epithets
Southwest Malukan toponyms too may summarise an event, again exemplified by a fragment in the *TuLieti*. Recall Tiwurlety's remark to Slerlety mentioned above:

175. However, I really ought to say to you, that this (place) is called **Leti Island / Leti Land** and my name is Tiwurlety/Paislety. That is it.

Leti Island / Leti Land is a simple parallelism of *nusa* 'island' and *rai* 'land'. As such it need not be an informative cliché like the anthroponyms discussed above. Whereas on Leti they are perceived as inherent elements of the island's ritual name, their occurrence in island names in other languages, for example *nohMoa / Rai Mioa* ('Moa Island / Moa Land', Josselin de Jong, nd) suggests these lexical pairs form an ordinary parallelism that functions as an emphatic marker. However, when the storyteller provides the following pair, toponyms too are related to historical events:

182. So this was what it (the island board of Luang) advised.
183. 'We have nothing to eat / we have nothing to drink.
184. However, there are reefs / there are shoals.
185. Look for *kalura* [a side-dish made of fish] and sagwire and use it to eat and drink and to inhabit the island and farm the land.'
186. And then they spoke and said: 'Leti Island / Leti Land, Fish-roasting/*Kalura*.
187. Roast fish and eat it too, then drink sagwire.'

This pair of names, however, deviates from the general toponym pattern. It metaphorically refers to Leti's role in the Interinsular Alliance: the production and trade of liquor (distilled sagwire).[13] The following pair is again an epitome that metonymically hints at Leti's condition in the days of Slerlety, thus implying the latter's endeavours that contributed to the ultimate shape of the island:

189. Just after that he (Slerlety) happened to fetch Raitawung (Land in the Rear), after which they linked and joined, bound and tied it. And then they named the land and said: 'Leti Island / Leti Land, Fish-roasting/*Kalura*, **Floating Island / Land in the Rear**.'
190. And he pronounced its six names.
191. That is it, the track of Leti.

13 See footnote 2.

The order shows the same chronological principle that applies to personal names: recent names precede older names. Certain toponyms, however, are epithets rather than epitomes; cf. Sairmalay's initial reply to Tiwurlety's invitation:

57. I travel eastward to the Mother of Islands / the Father of Continents. That is Luondona/Wietrily.

Luondona/Wietrily is the first set of parallel names of Luang Island. The first mentioned parallelism, *Nusinne/Raiamne* 'The Mother of Islands / the Father of Continents', is more like an epithet. This parallelism metaphorically signals Luang's leading role in regional politics. The same parallelism applies to other nuclear islands, as for example Timor and Kei, which, too, are centres of insular trade and insular power. For Timor and Kei this parallelism is merely a reference to their respective function in the region and as such it is more like a title to be transferred elsewhere when the political situation in the region changes. For Luang 'The Mother of the Islands / the Father of Continents' has become one of its three name pairs. Interestingly, there seems to be no consensus on its place among the other names, *Nislely/Matmaha* 'Ivory Tooth / Golden Eye', which it may either precede or follow. This is elaborated in the following paragraph.

'Liberated Golden Plate':
obsolescence and loss of narrative 'chunks'
As can be seen, names of persons and places interrelate separate plot patterns within a single narrated frame of reference. These plot patterns, or narrative 'chunks' (Sweeney 1987: 165), are lexically stored in the minds of the audience as *ktunu*. The audience therefore determines the contents of a story. Put differently, the audience perceives a story as a set of narrative 'chunks'. This fact may explain J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong's (1937) observation of Oirata storytellers, who were arguing about the order of narrated episodes but did not at all question their respective authenticity. It comes as no surprise that a Southwest Malukan audience will be preoccupied with the interpretation of the names rather than with the logic and truth value of the entire story they occur in.

Names have properties similar to proverbs. As has been discussed elsewhere (Engelenhoven 2008), semantic bleaching is one of the most prominent characteristics of proverbs. This implies that they are rather unsuitable for the memorisation of narratives. The above-mentioned disagreement on where to put 'Mother of Islands / Father of Continents' in the list of Luang's ritual names is a reflection of this finding. Beginning or finishing with this pair indicates the historiographic recentness or chronological remoteness of the

name, respectively. This pair of names, however, is still comprehensible for the audience. When it is no longer understood it is automatically perceived as 'ancient', as for example with *Komelu/Komtutnu*, which is found in Riedel 1886. When suggested to a Leti audience in 1990, everybody recognised *Eelu*, 'Eul', the name of a beach at Leti's southern shore. Consequently, and in accordance with the rules of lexical parallelism, the element *tutnu* was understood as 'cape' or 'its cape'. Although nobody could interpret the *kom* element in both parts of the name, the pair was immediately added to the series of known names of Leti discussed above: *Nusleti/Ralieti, Tuniina/Kalora, Nuspuuti/Ratiawnu, Komelu/Komtutnu*. The final position of the new name in the list indicated its antiquity with respect to the other names: it had to refer to a period before the coming of Tiwurlety and Slerlety.

How does the audience manage its knowledge? In order to solve this question I will compare the presentation of certain names in the above-mentioned *TuLieti* with the ones found in a current story owned by the Prirulu clan, whose lineages died out in the present half of the 20th century. Consider the information by a storyteller, related to Prirulu via the patriline:[14]

21. Well, at Surmiasa now, that house we talked about, concerning Surmiasa's men, one of their leaders was named **Karaslewang**, one **Slerlety**, one **Lewnatrila** and one **Patullena**.
22. So afterwards it was this Lewnatrila whom they ordered to fetch the fire and whom they ordered to turn into a bird in order to get at the fire.
23. Then they stayed there (first), and then they came hither, you know.

The enumeration of these names is fixed. On inquiry, the storyteller dismissed any other order, which at first sight suggests a chronology of names. Since the number of names is four they cannot refer to one person, in which case one would expect three. Whereas Karaslewang (*Karaslewna*), 'Liberated Golden Plate', and Slerlety, 'Wade-Leti', are transparent, Lewnatrila is obscure. The fixed enumeration therefore suggests that the four names actually refer to two persons, Karaslewang/Slerlety being one of them. Later on in the text the storyteller reminds the audience that before he settled on Leti, Slerlety (Sieruliona, that is!) stole a piece of gold on Sermata. This event is clearly indicated by the name Karaslewang, 'Liberated Golden Plate':

62. Afterwards they happened to bring along a piece of gold, which the man (Slerlety) had swallowed on Sermata once. . .

In the perception of the storyteller the four names refer to four separate men, clearly representing the four lineages of the clan (see above). His failure to recognise the story epitomised by the name Karaslewang relegates the plot of the golden-plate theft to a disengaged detail, noted in passing.

This misunderstanding is explained in the first place by the non-transparency of the names. A second reason may very well be the dwindling knowledge of 'royal speech' (see above), notwithstanding the acknowledged skill of this particular storyteller. This loss of knowledge is even more apparent in the narration of the other storyteller:

204. And they were with six on their own.
205. **Soratmalay** (Remember Timor) / **Sairmalay** (Stick to Timor), **Resimalay** (Win over Timor) / **Talumalay** (Overcome Timor), **Iwarmalay** (Discuss with Timor) / **Woarmalay** (Challenge Timor).
206. And that younger sister: Lelmalay (Timor Spirit).

The storyteller discards the parallelism of the names and alludes to the unusual number of six brothers and one sister. Taking the parallelisms into account, they are better analysed as three brothers and one sister,[15] which is the traditional number and composition of offspring according to the Luang 'Umbilical Cord' (see above). This perception safeguards the narrative logic of the story: one brother migrates to Leti (Soratmalay/ Sairmalay, alias Slerlety), one brother remains on Timor (Iwarmalay/Woarmalay) and the one who is second in rank (Resimalay / Talumalay) is killed when he wants to join his brother on Leti.

If a plot pattern is memorised through a name, it is obvious that a diminishing understanding of names implies the obsolescence of the underlying narrative 'chunks', as exemplified by Karaslewang, eventually leading to a total loss, as in the case of Soratmalay.

Management of narrative knowledge
The mystique of songs and names
The preoccupation with names and their correct use in tales can clearly be seen as an element of the Southwest Malukans' awareness of the inherent feebleness of this storytelling technique in terms of memorisation and reproduction. As a consequence there is a tendency among some of the islanders to collect as many tales

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14 Leti tradition is matrilineal, and patrilineal descent is not valid in local customary law (see above).

15 The fact that only one name of the sister is mentioned fits with the tradition. Feminine double names are confined to ancestral clan mothers.

Rou on a traditional cloth of Jen i La'i Ratu clan (Tutuala).

and songs as possible, whether they can be linked to other narrations or not.

Because of the taboo on interruption, singing is a powerful tool in discourse, as is borne out by the performances in lawsuits. Without singing, a story will inevitably be set aside as a 'fantasy tale', unless the storyteller convinces his audience of his expertise. A song of the *tiatki* type, like a name, is principally a summary of a narrative 'chunk' and guarantees the historiographical truth of a tale. This inherent quality of providing evidence evokes a diametrically opposed sentiment when a *tiatki* is encountered without a tale. Such songs are collected for magical purposes.

The application of these songs often has a benevolent intention. They may be whispered in a patient's ear to take away his or her illness. Certain experts (referred to as *isuona*, 'witches') are said to use them for evil practices, because songs whose tales are lost are said to enable killing over huge distances.[16]

Similar features are imputed to traditional names, or 'pagan names' as they are termed in local Malay. Like the distichs mentioned above names are related to historical events. The latter, however, are even more powerful than songs, because they are 'one-word' abstracts of plot patterns. The use of such names as a term of address is therefore acceptable only if they are only partly pronounced. Enunciating a name in its entirety implies the narration of the story of which it is an abstract. As in

16 This 'dark' aspect consequently accelerated a definite and acute abolition of traditional singing among Southwest Malukan migrants in the Netherlands in their attempt to adapt to the concept of 'pure' Christianity as advocated by the Moluccan churches and in their wish to match up to the *Alifuru* concept, which defined the archetypical inhabitant of a free Republic of the South Moluccas.

singing, each tale must be finished, or risk severe psychological and sometimes even physical damage for either the audience or the performer. This perception obviously discourages or simply prohibits the memorisation of names whose stories are not known or are forgotten.

Instruments of memorisation

The observations in the last paragraph imply that storytelling in a Southwest Malukan context is a dangerous task, which needs to be handled with care.

Crystallising a story through names seems an elegant method to memorise narratives. Each name, however, in principle only represents one story. The more characters or locations are involved in one story the more names will surface, each one entailing another story.

Tradition holds that in the early days of Christianisation storytellers used wooden 'puppets' as instruments for the memorisation of names. These statues represented a deceased clan-member and were automatically carved each time somebody in the clan died, after which they were stored in the attic of one of the four clan-houses. The storyteller, a member of that clan-house, was solely responsible for the storage. Because of this the attic was forbidden territory for everybody except the storyteller. He was the only one who knew whom the statues represented and consequently where the statues of narrated persons were located.

Enquiries among Kisarese and Letinese informants who had witnessed such performances in their childhood revealed that storytellers narrated with the help of the ornaments carved on the statues. A distinction was made between ordinary ornaments, *wona*, for pure decoration and special motifs, *rou*, whose 'copyright' was exclusively reserved for the proprietor clan. The painstaking description of one of these statues by the German ethnographer W. Müller-Wismar (1914) shows that this latter type of ornaments, shaped as dugongs, ships, etc., carried names of their own. Unintentionally he thus elucidated the mnemonics of these motifs for storytellers.

Mnemonic potential was also assigned to the environment, which is more or less implied by the importance of place names. Mountains, rocks, rivers and trees all have individual names and thus comprise their own history. For a migrant, therefore, one would presume inevitable obliteration of narrative knowledge, because he would have to leave all his mnemonic icons behind. However, during the 1960s one could still find Southwest Malukan migrant families in the Netherlands whose grandfathers were able to narrate clan histories. The performer reproduced the stories either by means of pointing at the corners of a table, or by walking through the room, stopping at each corner to elaborate on the meaning of a name.

Mystification, frustration
and the loss of narrative knowledge

As can be inferred from the discussion above, the lexical storage of plot patterns as names, either with or without the authorising support of songs, forms the pragmatic genius of Southwest Malukan storytelling. The world-renowned handicraft of the islanders, the statues, the textiles and the goldsmith work primarily functioned as means to fix the motifs and ornaments by which the narratives were memorised. On this view it is understandable that those artefacts whose importance was well acknowledged by the islanders were easily sold or bartered. The artefacts themselves could easily be replaced by newly made ones. The *rou*, however, being the counterparts of names on artefacts, were not for sale.

Because the region remained undisturbed for a long time, its inhabitants failed to assess the new influences of Christianisation and modernisation. The Dutch missionaries perceived the statues and the rituals that went with them as exponents of the idolatry they meant to eradicate. The islanders were encouraged to give up the statues, which were donated to missionaries and ministers, or simply destroyed. The last collective destruction took place in Tutukei (Leti Island) in the late 1960s, when all remaining statues were piled up in front of the Serwaru church and then burned. The know-how of their production was not transmitted to younger generations and consequently disappeared with the last practising generation.

The only remaining medium to transmit knowledge on *rou* appears to be traditional textiles, which are still very much favoured in the region. Women, to whom weaving has traditionally been assigned, still learn how to make the motifs and dye them onto the cloth. The link, however, between the name of a *rou* and the 'narrative chunk' that goes with it has been lost.

Southwest Malukans are very much aware that they have lost part of the knowledge that was stored in the artefacts they used to make and the stories they used to tell. Even so, they acknowledge the power of names and songs. This awareness evoked an elevation of everything that could be regarded as a remnant from the past. This is especially salient on Kisar Island, the main centre of textile production in the region, where the status of one's clan rather than the price one wants to pay determines what kind of cloth the client may expect.

The Southwest Malukan migrants in the Netherlands, on the other hand, had other problems to face. Being a complex minority within a group of exiles, they felt compelled to adapt to the Central Malukan majority, who aspired to a Free Republic of the South Moluccas (RMS). This ideal required the full support of the entire exile community, which led to the re-evaluation of the *Alifuru* concept, the Seramese mountain tribes as the prototypical inhabitants of the Moluccan state. In order to adhere to this concept all elements expressing a Southwest Malukan divergence needed to be concealed or adapted. Parents persisted in speaking Malay to their children, discouraging any use of the indigenous language. The mystique of the names (see above), however, did fit in. Being former soldiers, the exiles were acquainted with the healing practices of the Seramese mountain tribes through the reciting of mantras, commonly referred to as *fufu*. Whispering sets of names into the ears of a patient was a fashionable practice among Southwest Malukans, who were even consulted by Central Malukans. The knowledge of names was nevertheless perceived as heathen and thus evil, so that it was never passed on to the younger generations.

The only principle that was transmitted touched upon the obligation attached to storytelling, paraphrased as *jangan sembarang*, 'no indifference'. However, no distinction could be made between genuine historical narratives and fairy tales. Consequently even the latter are only told after great hesitation when one is convinced of the audience's good intentions.

The awareness of the importance of storytelling and the loss of narrative knowledge inevitably evokes a feeling of great frustration among the second and third generations. In their search for roots more and more Southwest Malukan migrants return to their islands of origin to find the knowledge that they have lost. In Southwest Maluku they cannot be helped any further. Not only are the respective life styles in the Netherlands and on the Southwest Malukan islands too great a gap to bridge, but also the present inhabitants too are aware of the increasing obsolescence of narrative knowledge. As a consequence researchers are more and more advised to look for answers among the migrants in the Netherlands.

Conclusion

In the twenty-first century it is becoming ever clearer that Southwest Malukan narrative traditions as they are may not survive into the next century. A quick glance across the border in Tutuala shows what the future may hold for Southwest Maluku.

Tutuala's original language, Makuva, became a ritual register within the dominant Fataluku and as such managed to survive as a secret language. Consequently, Makuva names are now highly sacred and the stories related to them are only known to a very small group of 'insiders'.

The traditional songs—*vaihoho*—are nowadays only sung by four or five elderly women in the nearby village of Mehara. Although there are still people who may now the texts, nobody except those five still know how to sing them. The mythical itinerary of the ancestors is now all chanted in Fataluku, with all original names adapted to Fataluku.

My recent visit to Tutuala and Leti Island in July 2011 revealed that local names of places—and consequently their related histories—are being forgotten by almost everyone. Put another way, traditional history is disappearing together with the last storytellers and before long the memory of the Guided Islands and Conducted Lands will be gone for ever.

Recent publications in the field of linguistics and anthropology have convincingly shown the importance of this unique region for science. It is hoped that folklorists can help to record as much data as possible before the wonders of this particular way of living have disappeared. ■

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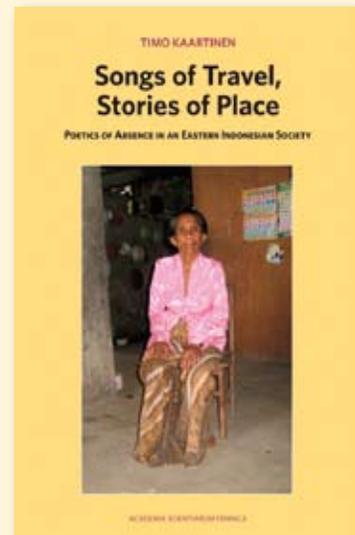
Songs of Travel, Stories of Place
Poetics of Absence in an Eastern Indonesian Society
by
Timo Kaartinen

This book explores the narratives of people who trace their origin to Banda, the famous Nutmeg Islands of Eastern Indonesia. They were displaced from their ancient homeland by the Dutch colonization of Banda in 1621 and carry on their language and traditions in the village described in this study. The Bandanese continue traveling to distant places in pursuit of recognition by their ancestral allies. They bring their past into life through rituals and verbal arts which commemorate absent travelers and anticipate their return.

The expressive genres of the Bandanese force us to ask what counts as history and how people's own interpretations of world-scale political events shape their predicaments and possibilities of action. This book argues that ethno-history can be a source of exemplary acts which inform collective responses to new circumstances. The folk poetry of the Bandanese is neither a subaltern reaction to colonial contacts and state interventions nor evidence of their hegemonic effects. It places real, historical events in several chronotopic frameworks in which they are relived as memory and given a total meaning as history. By analyzing poetic expressions and their effects on society this book contributes to the efforts of anthropologists to historicize the ethnographic realities they study.

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Developing Albanian folklore studies in Kosova

ARBNORA DUSHI

Albanian folklore studies in Kosova (Kosovo) first began to be published in the daily newspaper *Rilindja*, as well as in journals such as *Jeta e Re*, *Përparimi* and *Jehona* published in Prishtina, the capital of Kosova. In 1953 three volumes of folk songs were published. These were considered the first volumes of published folklore. Albanian folklore studies obtained its own journal, *Gjurmime Albanologjike*, the first issue of which was published in 1968. This scientific journal marked the first step of Albanology by including articles and proceedings from the fields of linguistics, literature, folklore, ethnology and history. The authors were Albanian and international Albanologists who kept up to date with their field of studies in other Slavic countries and brought new knowledge to bear. Kosovan Albanologists, however, were not allowed to communicate with scholars from the state of Albania except in very rare, official cases, because of strained relationships between Tito's Yugoslavia and Enver Hoxha's Albania. As a consequence, the science of Albanology developed separately and took two directions, even though the source was one: Albanian folk culture produced by the same national group but living in two states.

The establishment of the Institute of Albanology in Prishtina in 1967 gathered together Albanologists who had studied in other Yugoslavian universities and later in Prishtina (after the opening of the university there in 1970). Folk culture first became a programme in the Faculty of Philology of the Department of Albanian Literature and Linguistics. Later, a Department of Folklore was established in the Institute of Albanology in Prishtina, which institutionalized the study of Albanian folklore in Kosova.

The first steps in this work were the collection, the editing and the publishing of folk materials from the field. The main architect of this production was the scholar Anton Çetta. His collaborators, beside his colleagues in the department, were primary- and secondary-school teachers from the villages, as well as other enthusiasts. Through their hard work on transcribing, decoding and categorizing the collected material, they managed to edit and publish twenty-five volumes of oral tradition. These published volumes are: heroic epic songs, legendary-epic songs; historical songs from different periods; lyric wedding songs; lyric love songs;

Present building of the Institute of Albanology in Prishtina (since 1977).

children songs; lullabies; laments; fairytales; ballads and legends; short stories; anecdotes, folk stories and other small forms of oral prose. For various reasons, the publication of these volumes took four decades. As in other cultural areas, the institutionalization of Albanian folklore served as a solid base for the folklore studies that came later. The Albanian folklorists of Kosova considered their work the fulfilment of a national obligation, and they documented the oral tradition first, and studied it later.

The 1974 Kosova Constitution guaranteed autonomy within the Yugoslav Federation and provided Albanians with better opportunities to develop the study of their national culture. Many more students had a chance to complete their higher education inside and outside Yugoslavia and attend international conferences and congresses. Contacts with a wider literature and with international folklore scholars resulted in a larger intellectual production for Albanian scholars, who published a number of analytical books on folklore as well as editing monographs. Although there were only rare monographic publications, articles on folklore were published regularly in the scientific journal *Gjurmime Albanologjike* ('Albanological Researches') published by the Institute of Albanology from 1971 in three series,[1] one of which was the series Folklore and Ethnology. Al-

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[1] Since then the annual scientific journal *Gjurmime Albanologjike* (in three series: folklore & ethnology, philology, history) has recently published its 40 issue.

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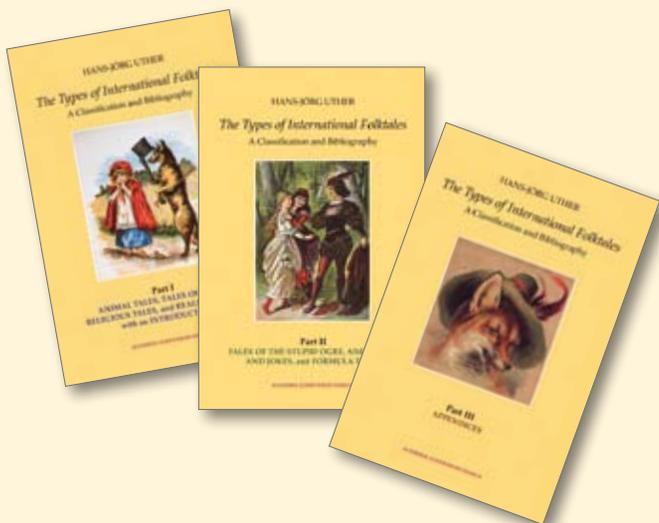
The Types of International Folktales

by

Hans-Jörg Uther

The catalog of international tale types (ATU) based on the system of Aarne/Thompson constitutes a fundamentally new edition with extensive additions and innovations. The descriptions of the tale types have been completely rewritten and made more precise. The essential research cited for each type includes extensive documentation of its international distribution as well as monographic works or articles on that type. More than two hundred and fifty new types have been added. Types with very limited distribution have been omitted. A detailed subject index includes the most important subjects, actions, and other motifs, including actors and settings.

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banian folklore studies grew with this journal. The articles published in *Gjurmime* treated folklore analytically. The producer of oral culture was highly regarded as a folk genius and his art was qualified as a treasure of national culture and heritage. But for Albanians in Kosova, living under the administration of a Slavic country, the high regard for national culture was linked with nationalism more than with socialism, because by admiring national culture they were compensating for the spiritual deficiency that they felt in being separated from their motherland of Albania.

The development of Albanian folklore studies in Kosova made progress until the beginning of the 1990s, when it started to decline. From 1989 and for the entire succeeding decade, Albanians faced very difficult times and their very existence was threatened by the Milošević regime. Kosova's autonomy was revoked, and Albanians were excluded from all levels of education, health services, and government jobs. This meant the interruption of all scientific activities. Albanologists were expelled from the building where their institution, the Institute of Albanology, was located. Like all other educators and researchers, they decided to organize their work privately, but because the Serbian state left them without finance they were forced to raise funds, a very difficult task in those circumstances. At a time when even their existence was in jeopardy, folklorists published only some small issues of *Gjurmime Albanologjike*, thanks to the financial help of the Albanian diaspora in Europe and the USA.

In those unfavourable circumstances, Albanian folklorists in particular and intellectuals of Kosova in general moved closer to folk culture and the people, and farther away from science. Organising themselves against the repressive Serbian regime that jailed Albanians every day, they used the reconciliation of blood feuds as an intellectual weapon. Blood feuds were very much present in the rural areas, the areas most targeted by the Serbian regime, and intra-ethnic reconciliation and unity became the biggest self-defence weapons. Professor Anton Çetta joined students and other intellectuals and led a movement that reconciled a very large number of feuds. It was a very difficult challenge that was successfully managed by Kosova Albanologists, intellectuals and students.

The new century for Albanians in Kosova was the beginning of a new era. After the war and the suspension of Serbia's sovereignty over Kosova, a United Nations-led international administration allowed Albanians to develop their national culture freely. The war had seriously damaged Albanian education and science, and the economic hardship of the post-war period became a further obstacle. Yet the possibilities for research expanded, also thanks to open and free communication with Albania. Studies were published on the previously archived and

http://maksia.eu/Rugova.htm

Albanian rhapsodist, Ise Elezi, from Kosova, who still sings Albanian heroic epic songs with the traditional instrument, the lute, and wears the traditional costumes from the Rugova region.

published folk materials and on the connection between written and oral work. The impossibility of continuing with the fieldwork, owing to the unsafe post-war conditions, offered the opportunity to publish archived work.

Although today access to the literature and communication with the people of Albania is available, fieldwork is feasible, and the chance to study abroad more open, Kosova folklorists still face numerous problems, the most significant being the small support offered by the state or the international administration. The international discourse on Kosova, a new independent state since February 2008, is that Albanians in Kosova have a new, Kosovar, identity, shared with other nationalities living in the country. The Kosovar identity is based on territory and not on the nation, and denies the existence of the identity of 90 % of the population of Kosova. Furthermore, it denies that the Albanians of Kosova have built their history, tradition, sacrifice and folklore on Albanian identity. But against such political pressure, often associated with the economic crisis, the national identity of Albanians in Kosova will continue to be the only identity that accurately characterises them and Albanian folklore will be their only national oral culture. Even though recently there have been promises and expectations of more support, there still remains much to be done. ■

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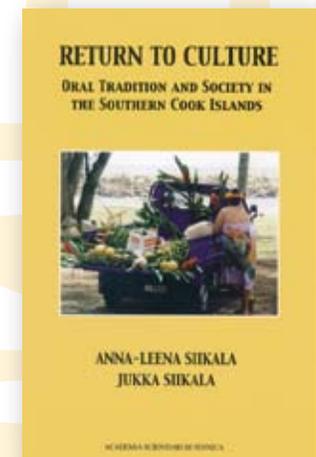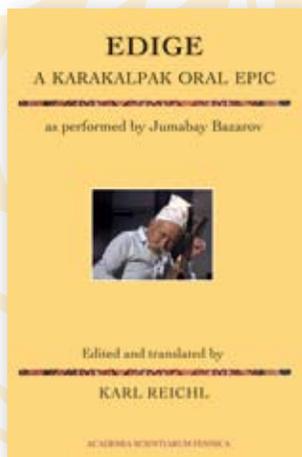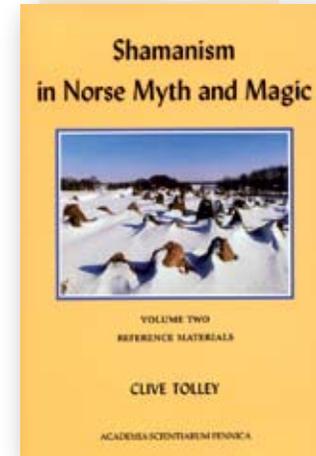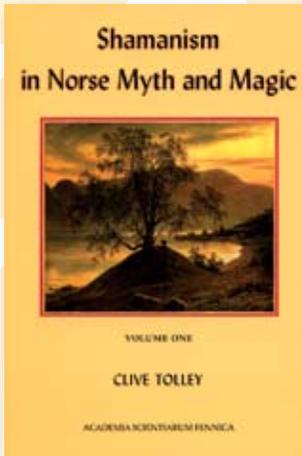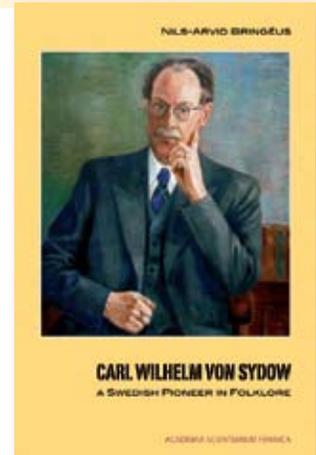
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