

CHAPTER X

Conclusion

Many religions of small-scale societies are a seamless part of the life and culture of the society. While Kayan religion retains this characteristic, the people of the Baluy area have begun to see their religion as a distinct institution. There are several reasons for this self-conscious recognition. At the time of fieldwork in 1970, the Baluy Kayan had largely ignored Christianity and Islam; however, they had heard enough about these world religions to recognize a concept of religion. The rise of *adat Bungan* at the end of the Second World War was triggered in part by missionary activity in the Kayan river area. The spread of *adat Bungan* to the Baluy area and its effective replacement of the old religion between the late 1940s and the mid-1960s focused people's attention on the topic of religion. *Adat Bungan* was still new enough to be cherished as a valuable gift, as 'the good, straightforward, religion'.

The differences between *adat Dipuy* and *adat Bungan* are evident. *Adat Dipuy* was burdened by omens and taboos; it called for lengthy and expensive rituals. The removal of these burdens revolutionized and simplified the daily life of the Kayan. However, *adat Dipuy* and *adat Bungan* retain basic similarities.

1. Most beliefs have been carried over seamlessly from *adat Dipuy* to *adat Bungan*. The world is populated by myriads of spirits, including the spirits of the deceased; animals, plants, natural features, and artefacts have souls which can become detached from their material counterparts. Rituals manage the link between soul and body, and they insure the benevolence of spirits, who must be cajoled, bribed, and befriended through offerings of eggs, chickens, pigs, cloth, swords, beads, and gongs.
2. The distinction between priests and shamans has been retained; shamans have a limited role as curers, while priests carry out the bulk of the rituals, including some curing rituals. Priests are respected members of the community, while shamans occupy a less significant position.
3. The sequence of the annual ritual cycle has remained unchanged and provides a framework around which communal life is organized. Communal rituals mark the autonomy and integrity of the community. This is marked for instance by the avoidance of outside influences (visitors, fresh produce) during communal rituals.
4. The *dayong* is still the basic familial ritual, held both as a calendrical and a curing ritual.

5. The rituals of the life cycle have kept the same structure and continue to mark the distinction between aristocrats ('good people') and commoners ('bad people').
6. Ritual forms are largely unchanged. Imitative rituals are prevalent both in *adat Dipuy* and *adat Bungan*. Hooks serve to attract souls, stones are markers of stability, flowing water takes away impurities, cleansing boughs sweep away evil influences. Although *adat Bungan* has done away with most of the old taboos, it retains the belief that success is achieved through restraint; a number of minor prohibitions remain. As in many religions of the Indonesian archipelago, the number 4 has ritual significance: eggs and cloth are offered in units of four, many ritual gestures are repeated four times or a multiple of four. Besides symbolic acts and rituals, Kayan religion relies significantly on language in order to communicate with spirits. Prayers – some in a poetic language, others in the vernacular – have remained essentially unchanged in *adat Bungan*. Both styles are marked by alliterative repetitions.

The similarities between *adat Dipuy* and *adat Bungan* are a consequence of a power struggle between traditionalists and reformers during the initial period of religious reform. At first, *adat Bungan* was almost devoid of rituals, without priests, and independent of the structure of authority. It rejected all aspects of *adat Dipuy* which buttressed the stratification system. It started as a religion of commoners revealed by a commoner prophet; then aristocrats and priests regained control over religion. While accepting the inevitability of religious change, they managed to reinstate most aspects of the old religion which supported the social system while endorsing the rejection of the most onerous aspects of *adat Dipuy*. Some commoner *adat Bungan* die-hards feel that the reform was perverted, but most people are happy with the new dispensation.

The evolution of the Bungan reform differentiates it sharply from cargo cults. While the disturbances of the Second World War and the presence of Christian missionaries in the Apo Kayan undoubtedly were triggers, central Borneo was not faced with a sudden influx of outside influences. Pre-existing conditions were a strong impetus towards change once the possibility of change was recognized: on the one hand, the old religion was burdensome, on the other an exploitative system of stratification was justified by religion. The religious reform was successful in eliminating the former but failed in the latter: *adat Bungan* was adapted to the existing socio-political system.

Kayan religion plays a significant role in justifying and supporting the social system. It helps unite the community. It requires that all organized rituals (agricultural rites, *dayong*, rites of passage) take place in the longhouse rather than at farmhouses. This religious injunction plays an important role in counteracting the community fragmentation which could follow from dispersed farm dwellings. It gives the message that the community is effective

only when it is physically together. The obligation to return to the longhouse when a community member is born or dies reminds villagers that they form a close-knit network. Furthermore, the agricultural rituals which structure the year are under the control of the village chief. In secular matters, the chief has paramount authority; in religious matters, he occupies a privileged position in relation to spirits.

The community is made up of households which are the basic economic units of Kayan society: households, not individuals, own the product of labour; contracts take place between households, not individuals. Religion underlines the fundamental importance of the Kayan domestic unit in *dayong* and rites of passage, both of which follow the principle that the fortunes of an individual are coterminous with those of his or her domestic unit.

Kayan rituals mark the distinction between 'good people' and 'bad people' which provides an ideological justification of the stratification system. Ritual status markers naturalize social differences; they emphasize the intrinsic superiority of aristocrats whose position is set apart by supernatural sanctions. There is a subtle difference between the theory and practice of aristocratic rituals. In theory, all aristocrats are ritually equal. In practice, aristocratic rituals give a special position to the chiefly family. Thus, while agricultural rituals first take place in aristocrats' fields, commoners participate only in the chief's rituals, not those of other aristocrats, and they are required to provide corvée work only to the chief. These rituals are the occasion to conflate ideological and economic inequality. The chief's agricultural rituals establish an intrinsic link between hierarchy, authority, and the unity of the community, because every household must be represented in the ritual.

Kayan religion is integrated with the social system in its support of community and household unity, stratification, and chiefship. It also marks other social distinctions. The gerontocratic slant of Kayan social life is echoed in the belief that elders, like aristocrats, are imbued with supernatural power; lack of respect towards them brings the risk of supernatural sanction. On the other hand, Kayan religion, like other cultural factors (such as dress, jewellery, and deportment) marks the contrast between genders more strongly than one would expect from an observation of gender relationships. The souls of adult men are deemed stronger than those of women and children. Because of this principle – which integrates gender and age – some rituals are reserved to men. While the Kayan have a gender-based division of labour, men and women share many activities, especially in agriculture; gender distinctions are de-emphasized in the decision-making process. In a comparative context, the Kayan are not a sexist society, but their religion marks gender differences. Political leadership is based on stratum ascription rather than gender; chiefship is the joint duty and prerogative of male and female members of the ruling stratum, although incumbents usually are men. The Kayan belief system is not an exact mirror of

this situation, because it gives a prominent position to two female spirits, Dipuy and Bungan. There is no reason why beliefs should parallel exactly the social system, but it is not inconceivable that the prominence of these two sisters might be related to the preference for uxorilocality among the Kayan: in the same way that women are the core of the domestic unit, Dipuy and Bungan are the focus respectively of *adat Dipuy* and *adat Bungan*. Another possibility (suggested by Sellato, pers. comm.) might be that one can expect a rice-growing society to emphasize female spirits, because the padi itself is female, but this is a question for comparative analysis.

The extent to which Kayan religion varies from one village to the other is a consequence of the relationship between religion and society. On the one hand, rituals contribute to the unity of the community; on the other, each community has its set of rituals. Ritual differences between communities are minor (in the same way as there are modest dialectal variations between Kayan villages), but they are recognized as markers of community identity. Some differences are systematic (Uma Aging observes more taboos than Uma Bawang); other dissimilarities refer to specific items (in Uma Bawang, the whole community stays away from rice fields on the day when a community member is born or dies; the practice is absent in Uma Nyaving Long Mejawa). As villages are isolated from each other, ritual variation is not unexpected. Some changes are a consequence of forgetfulness, others are introduced by innovators. Thus, the people of Uma Bawang forgot the myths of origin which other villages have retained; on the other hand, they have adopted another set of myths which an Uma Bawang aristocrat learned during an extended trip to the Mahakam river area. Dreams and divination also allow for ritual change. Finally, occasional scepticism about the validity of beliefs and rituals is an impetus for experimentation. The first stages of *adat Bungan* exemplify these processes: the prophet Jok Apuy received his revelations in dreams. Enjoined by Bungan to abandon the old taboos, he followed her advice; the success of his harvest demonstrated its validity.

While ritual variation may be the result of accidental changes, it can become a social marker. Uma Bawang is the amalgamation of three villages which kept their respective rituals in *adat Dipuy*. The contrast between two of these sections has persisted since the Bungan reform. However, idiosyncratic ritual features are not permanent markers of community identity, because no one 'owns' rituals. Rituals can be borrowed or copied; variants exist side by side. While priests are members of specific communities, they may officiate anywhere. Therefore, innovations spread from one village to another. Priests adopt new rituals when they seem to be effective. This adaptability counteracts the ritual distinctiveness of each village; it is an important factor in maintaining a high degree of homogeneity in Kayan religion.

The close network of Kayan aristocrats also counters the random variability

which could develop from the isolation of Kayan villages. Aristocrats often visit each other and religion is a frequent topic of conversation among them. Because they are in contact with each other and participate in each other's rituals, Kayan aristocrats contribute to maintain the unity of Kayan religion. They are not aiming at maintaining cultural uniformity; rather they make choices on the basis of their self-interest. The power of Kayan chiefs is based on their role as the managers of inter-community relations. Chiefs remain powerful as long as they are part of a network of their equals. On the other hand, the position of the chiefly estate is justified ideologically by religion. Thus, it is not surprising that a coherent religious system is articulated with the structure of authority which it justifies. While villages have a high degree of autonomy in their daily life, the main carriers of the religious system – priests and aristocrats – maintain a broader outlook which corresponds to their self-interest.

The articulation between religion and stratification is the reason why Kayan religion (both the old *adat Dipuy* and the current *adat Bungan*) partakes both of shamanism and hierarchical religions, the two aspects being linked to each other in a dynamic way. In shamanism, supernatural revelation is open to anyone. In established churches, religious specialists are part of a social system which validates their role; through formalized rituals they mediate communication with the supernatural. Shamanism is consistent with an egalitarian ethos because, at least in theory, everyone has equal access to the supernatural. As secular power becomes concentrated in the hands of a minority, all resources must be controlled, including religion. The Kayan are a small-scale society whose members are not divorced from the means of production, but their stratification system supports the power of hereditary chiefs. Kayan religion leaves a place for shamans who experience an immediate contact with their spirit helpers; more generally, every Kayan may receive revelations through dreams. However, this direct contact with the supernatural is devalued: shamans occupy a marginal position in Kayan religion. Furthermore, while anyone can dream, only priests – in their role as diviners – can establish whether dreams are significant. Spirit guides remain a prerequisite to priesthood, but the relationship between human and spirit is impersonal: priestly spirit helpers are identified through divination and spirits are propitiated through formalized procedures. While Kayan religion is not an exact image of Kayan society, they are organized similarly. There is a correspondence between the rigidity of Kayan social structure and the normalization of Kayan rituals. A rigid social system fosters standardized rituals managed by priests trained in their correct performance. The transmission of rituals through a pedagogical process ensures standardization.

Keesing (1982:44) contrasts local and world religions: 'A fundamental contrast between religions of classless tribal societies and religions of class-stratified societies seems to lie in [a] perspectival, as opposed to universal,

view. The latter view has characteristically been a product of priestly classes devoted to systematizing a cosmology into a theology.' By 'perspectival', Keesing refers to the seamless integration of 'tribal' religions to a culture, unlike world religions which set themselves apart from their social setting in order to spread their influence. Kayan religion does not fit comfortably in this dichotomy. On the one hand, it is a 'local' religion which forms part of a small-scale society; there has been little conscious effort in systematizing a cosmology and, until the Bungan reform, the Kayan had no desire to export their religion. However, the emergence of ritual specialization and the ideological role of religion in justifying the stratification system have produced the first stages of systematization. The Bungan reform has carried the process further: in a few years, it spread through conscious proselytization. At the time of my fieldwork, some of the initial enthusiasm remained and many Baluy Kayan were convinced I was studying their religion for the purpose of making it known in the West. In a sense – although not in the way they expected – I hope I have been successful.

Glossary

The spelling of Kayan words follows the conventions of Malay and Indonesian. In addition, the glottal stop is represented by an apostrophe ('). E between consonants is a shwa; it is é in final position. O in medial position is ɔ; it is o in final position or before a final glottal stop. In this glossary, some words are described as a 'nominal form'. The grammatical reality is somewhat more complex (see Clayre and Cubit 1974).

Kayan words are spelled according to the pronunciation of Uma Bawang, thus *kayo*, warfare, instead of *kayau*, which would correspond to the Baram pronunciation. Likewise, I spell other central Borneo words according to the Uma Bawang pronunciation; thus, Apo Kayan rather than Apau Kayan, Jok Apuy rather than Juk Apui. In his various publications, Nieuwenhuis transcribes Kayan words according to German or Dutch spelling rules, as the case may be. In quotes, I have transcribed these terms to conform to the new orthographic rules (Cubit 1964). There is no mark of plural in Kayan. In order to avoid convoluted sentences, I sometimes use Kayan words in a way that does not correspond to Kayan grammar; e.g. I may refer to 'a *melo*' *benjen* ritual', although *melo*' is a verb.

Throughout this book, the scientific nomenclature of plants and animals is tentative. Except for a few plants which I brought to the Kuching Herbarium, plants and animals were identified by looking at pictures with informants. In some cases, I have relied on identifications made by other authors, especially Sellato, Nieuwenhuis and Hose. Thus, only the Kayan names of plants and animals can be taken to be accurate; Latin and English names are noted only to give a general idea.

<i>adat</i> (or <i>adet</i>)	customary practice. <i>Adat Bungan</i> : the new Kayan religion under the power of Bungan. <i>Adat Dipuy</i> (or <i>adat Apo Lagan</i>): the old Kayan religion under the power of Dipuy
<i>ahi</i>	<i>uro' ahi</i> (<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>)
<i>akong</i>	round frame
<i>alan</i>	road, way
<i>aleng</i>	which, who
<i>amin</i>	1. apartment; 2. domestic unit
<i>amoh</i>	pretence, lie
<i>anyi'</i>	a tree, also called <i>kayo' dayong</i>
<i>apo</i>	tableland
<i>arak</i>	store-bought spirit (from Malay)
<i>aran</i>	name

- asi
aso'
atek
awang
avong
avun
awang
aya'
batang
bato'
bato' ulo'
bela
belahabong
belateng
belatok
belawan
belawing
belepok
beliing
bengen
beni
betong
bilit
biasu
bian
blua'
bluan
bok
brok
bukang
bulit
Bungan
bunu
buo
busong
but
daha'
dahin
dahot', dahun
dange
danum
daput
- honey buzzard (*Pernis ptilorhynchus*)
dog
totally, utterly
1. *Cordyline terminalis*; 2. *illipe, tengkawang*; 3. ambush fruit tree (*Nephelium* sp.). *Avong lo*: an *uro'* *kaping*
white cloud
opening
1. big; 2. old
1. log; 2. classifier for long objects, including rivers
stone, boulder, rock-face
helmeted hornbill (*Rhinoplax vigil*)
red
snake with a red tail and head and a black body, maybe *Simotes octolineatus*
crosswise
banded red woodpecker (*Picus miniaceus*)
a tree thought to be immortal because it sheds its bark and grows new bark (*Tristania* spp.)
kajo' *belawing*: a decorated staff
to be struck by
round. *Belling jiu*: full moon
epidemic
rice seeds
swelling, swollen
partition set up during rituals
bleached cotton (from Malay *belachtu*)
bridewealth (from Malay *berian*)
soul
possessive form of *blua'*
hair
monkey, macaque
rufous piculet (*Sasia abnormis*)
rice fragments
1. the major deity of *adat Bungan*; 2. rituals of *adat Bungan*. *Bungan pang*: ritual at the end of the harvest; *Bungan tana*: first ritual of the agricultural year
victim of murder or headhunting (from Malay?)
a tree, possibly *Guioa bijuga*
to spit blood as a consequence of incest or a breach of blood-brotherhood
1. crow pheasant (*Centropus sinensis*); 2. side dish (same meaning as Malay *sayur*)
they (many)
1. with; 2. and
language
end-of-year festival
river (in poetic language)
the act of covering, of hiding from view

- dayong
dengah
dipen
duman
dungan
ep
garo'
guru Bungan
halap
hida
hipun
hipuy (or *hipuy 'ok*)
hisit
hnda'
hudo'
hunge
ilep
ilo
ingen
isang
ita'
iu
ioun
jia
ji'ek
jilupang
joh
jok
juman
kading
kalong
kaluy
kame'
kanen
kap
kaping
kawit
kayo
kayo'
kelong
kelalam
kelam
1. a category of spirit helper; 2. a ritual specialist (priest or shaman); 3. a ritual (see Chapter VII)
news
slave
year. *Duman lebo*: year's end
a fish (*sebarau* in Malay)
mist
Aquilaria malaccensis, an aromatic wood (*gaharu* in Malay)
'lay preachers' of *adat Bungan* ('*guru*' from Malay)
a fish (*Barbus bramaoides*)
below
to own, to have
lower aristocrat
spiderhunter (*Arachnothera longirostris*)
counterpart, someone with the same name as Ego
motif, drawing, sculpture, mask. *Hudo' kaluy*: statue used to represent a person in a *dayong hudo' kaluy*
river
small dried fish
to look for
basket. *Ingen lali*: basket containing various charms and keepsakes
palm-leaf decorations (*Licuala* spp.) (see *sang*)
one (the indefinite pronoun) (also *ta'*)
knife
Daho' ioun: secret language which animals and spirits do not understand
good, refined
bad, inferior
a plant, possibly *Urena lobata*
in a file
altar for a *dayong* ritual
an area between the confluence of two rivers
goat (from Malay *kambing*)
pattern, drawing, representation
nominal form of *ngaluy*
we (many) (incl.)
cooked rice
uro' kap: a plant (*Cassia alata*)
nominal form of *ngaping*
hook
1. warfare; 2. headhunting ritual
1. tree; 2. wood. *Kayo' uba*: soft wood
head
Do kelalam: day of ritual inactivity after a ritual
small tortoise. *Inu kelam*: large striped beads used for the *leku dayong*

- kelamo'* 1. scaleless fish with a spike; 2. forest fruit with a dark skin (possibly *Amoora* sp.)
- keliman* easy (of life), without effort
- kelo'* you (a few people)
- keluman* human being. *Keluman aya'*: elder, politically important person (including aristocrats)
- keluno* harvest
- kemihing* nominal form of *ngemihing*
- kenep* thoughts, feelings, consciousness
- kepusan* the influence of death (from *usan*, 'rain', a euphemism for death).
To' kepusan: spirits of those who met a violent death thing, something
- ket* harvest (this term is used in ritual contexts; see *keluno*)
- ketam* bread-tree (*Artocarpus* sp.).
- kiltan* maroon woodpecker (*Blythipicus rubiginosus*)
- kihing* 1. coffee; 2. tin (because the first tins in the Baluy area were coffee containers)
- kopi* 1. a marriage prestation which allows a woman to visit her parents-in-law; 2. a gift to the child during the naming ceremony
- ku'an* 1. man, male; 2. As a prefix to a person's name, indicates that the person is a grandfather, or at least of grand-parental age
- lake'* courageous
- lakin* 1. scorched by fire; 2. curse
- lala'* 1. a major ritual; 2. the taboos which must be observed during a major ritual; 3. ritual (adj.)
- lali* place of gathering
- lasan* clothesline
- lave* head-band. *Lavong tedek*: an element of women's tattoos on the forearm, near the elbow
- lavong* 1. to shoot rapids without unloading the canoe; 2. the farm which is sowed first
- lazu* to the top. *Lebo duman*: year's end
- lebo* end-of-year festival
- ledoh* to cut the underbrush
- lemirik* see *liwa*
- lemiva* to sprinkle
- liwa* cigarette (from Malay *rokok*). *Na loko'*: to smoke and, by extension, to flirt
- loko'* 1. the confluence of two rivers; 2. Caladium (*Aroidae* sp.); 3. a kind of song
- long* the edible Caladium
- lu'e* bamboo container used to cook food; rice pastries made in such containers
- lukuh* farm
- luma'* a parasitic fig tree (*Ficus* spp.)
- lunok* bamboo container
- lusan* bamboo container
- malem* night

- maru* to address, to speak to
- maran* 1. high aristocrat, ruling estate; 2. haughty, arrogant
- maro'* hard wood whose bark is used to clean wounds (possibly *Parashorea* sp.)
- mati* to fence
- matih* kingfisher (possibly *Ceyx erithacus*)
- meju* to lift
- meke* an aromatic leaf, possibly *Albertisia papuana* (Sellato, pers. comm.)
- melah* 1. to ebb, of a river; 2. to propitiate
- melien* which brings death; from *lien*, famine
- melo'* 1. to stay; 2. in ritual contexts: to observe a period of inactivity enjoined by a ritual or an omen
- mengiling* Brahminy kite (*Haliastur indus intermedius*)
- men* 1. in relation to; 2. from; 3. to
- menyirem* to conceal, to hide
- metok* to set up, to connect
- musoh* to practise magic (of non-Kayan origin)
- na* to do
- na'* his, he, hers, she, its, it
- napo'* make an egg offering (in principle on a stick); see *tapo'*
- nasam* to leave the longhouse ritually after a ritual which requires remaining in the house
- nawo* to weed
- nawoi* to call. *Nawoi bliuan pare*: a *dayong* during the sowing; *nawoi bliuan ugo'*: a *dayong* during the harvest
- nenong* to divine with an egg placed on a sword
- ngatuy* to change something, to change one's clothing, to exchange something for another
- ngaping* 1. to fan; 2. to wave away dangerous influences
- ngayo* 1. to wage war; 2. to perform the headhunting ritual
- ngelasan aya'* a curing ritual. *Ngelasan* is derived from *lasan*, 'place' to strengthen
- nugan* to sow, sowing
- nyalo* an *uro' kaping* (Sombroek n.d.2 glosses *nyalo* as 'rice thrown to the spirits')
- nyaran* a fish (in Malay, *semah sungat* or *semah ulu*)
- nyeho'* augury; also the Brahminy kite (*Haliastur indus intermedius*)
- nyineng* 1. to look; 2. to look after
- nyinngem* to cool down. *Pelah nyinngem*: a curing ritual
- nyura'* to go in the opposite direction (to someone else); can refer to a breech presentation at birth
- 'ok* small
- pajian* greater yellow-eared spiderhunter (*Arachnothera flavigaster*)
- pakan* to feed
- pala* to exchange. *Pala do*: to cooperate
- pali* an incapacity
- pang* gathering

<i>tapang</i>	pole); 3. pole erected at the headhunting ritual
<i>tedek</i>	elevated burial for a commoner
<i>tekna'</i>	tattoo
<i>tela' u</i>	spirit
<i>teloh</i>	muntjac (barking deer', <i>Muntiacus/Cervulus muntjac</i>)
<i>tepalia</i>	egg. <i>Teloh manok</i> : just before or after the full moon
<i>tevo'</i>	a large fish
<i>tevuko' (or tevuko')</i>	sugarcane
<i>tingang</i>	1. a length of rattan with knots to mark the number of days until a meeting; 2. the first ritual of the harvest festival
<i>to'</i>	rhinoceros hornbill (<i>Buceros rhinoceros</i>)
<i>tua</i>	(possessive form: <i>tun</i>) 1. spirit; 2. euphemism for 'deceased'
<i>tuken</i>	merely, simply, alone
<i>tulah</i>	pole. <i>Tuken do</i> : gnomon
<i>tulan</i>	the supernatural force inherent in people with high status which causes misfortune to those who defy them or show a lack of respect
<i>tuman</i>	animal
<i>tutong</i>	joint
<i>ubak</i>	to burn
<i>ugo'</i>	dry-fried rice eaten at harvest time
<i>ujong</i>	rice chaff
<i>uli</i>	the apex, the top. <i>Ujong parong</i> : storage space above the apartment
<i>uma</i>	to come back, to return
<i>'un</i>	longhouse
<i>urip</i>	source
<i>uro'</i>	life
<i>usang</i>	plant. <i>Uro' kaping</i> : purifying plant
<i>usum</i>	nominal form of <i>musang</i> , to come out. It can refer to the act of giving birth
<i>usut</i>	above
<i>utam</i>	1. rubbing (nominal form); 2. offerings, which are rubbed onto the object receiving the offering
<i>uting</i>	spirit helper
<i>uven</i>	domesticated pig
	a harsh stormy wind brought by the Thunder, which may result in petrification

<i>panyin</i>	commoner. <i>Panyin jia</i> : 'good commoners' (well-to-do commoners with some aristocratic ancestors)
<i>pare</i>	padi
<i>parit</i>	supernatural danger which calls for avoidance
<i>payo</i>	sambur deer
<i>pedo</i>	wait for auguries (from <i>do</i> , 'day')
<i>pejamun</i>	dangerous beings who attack people (from Malay <i>orang penyamun</i>)
<i>pelah</i>	nominal form of <i>melah</i>
<i>pelaring</i>	civet cat with brown and white stripes (<i>Paradoxurus hermanii</i>)
<i>peluit</i>	<i>phroditus</i>)
<i>pengaroh</i>	white-eye (<i>Zosterops</i> sp.)
<i>pesupa'</i>	charms, heirlooms with supernatural power
<i>petah</i>	to curse (from Malay <i>sumpah</i>)
<i>petutong</i>	a tree with edible pungent beans (<i>Parkia speciosa</i>)
<i>pe' un</i>	to perform a cleansing ceremony (possibly from <i>tutong</i> , to burn, although Sellato (pers. comm.) notes that in Aoheng, 'petotong' means 'to circumscribe, to limit'; it is not impossible that both meanings are conflated here)
<i>pit</i>	the base, origin, beginning. <i>Pe' un dem</i> : the phase of the moon after <i>kamat</i> ; lit. 'the beginning of darkness'. <i>Pe' un tebing</i> : the section of the field where the ritual sowing takes place
<i>pitoh</i>	a bird (<i>Munia</i> sp.)
<i>putuh</i>	boiled rice pastry wrapped in leaves
<i>pusang</i>	nominal form of <i>muluh</i> : to spear, to stab
<i>putam</i>	to come out; in a ritual context: to emerge from a period when some activities were prohibited
<i>sahapen (or kesapen)</i>	human being with a spirit helper; see <i>utami</i>
<i>sang</i>	The supernatural retribution for flirting with someone about to be married to someone else
<i>sape'</i>	a palm (used primarily in the headhunting ritual; see <i>isang</i>)
<i>selo</i>	three-string musical instrument
<i>sekliah (or sakliah)</i>	1. to rise rapidly (of river); 2. to disappear rapidly (of supplies)
<i>selukong</i>	the effect of negative supernatural influences, especially incest
<i>sepirang abit</i>	boiled rice pastry wrapped in leaves
<i>sepkang</i>	an <i>uro' kaping</i> . Sombroek (n.d.2:101) identifies it as a [wild] raspberry bush
<i>silit</i>	stick split in two lengthwise
<i>songho</i>	an <i>uro' kaping</i> (<i>Phacelophrynium maximum</i>)
<i>ta'</i>	parasitic plant used as <i>uro' kaping</i>
<i>talam</i>	one (the indefinite pronoun) (also <i>ita'</i>)
<i>talang</i>	flat gong
<i>tana</i>	a sago palm (<i>Arenga undulatifolia</i> , maybe also <i>Caryota</i> sp.)
<i>tanyit</i>	earth, land, area
<i>ta'o</i>	the <i>tapang</i> tree (<i>Koompassia excelsa</i>)
<i>tapo'</i>	right-hand side
	1. pole; 2. egg offering (from <i>napo'</i> , 'to place something on a pole' (this applies also to egg offerings which are not placed on a

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