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► **To cite this version:**

Dana Rappoport. Time to Sing. Musical Practices and Perception of Time in Eastern Indonesia (Lamaholot, Flores Island). *Anthropos: International review of anthropology and linguistics*, 2024, 119 (1), pp.43-58. <10.5771/0257-9774-2024-1-43>. <halshs-04733251>

**HAL Id: halshs-04733251**

**<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-04733251v1>**

Submitted on 14 Oct 2024

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**Time to sing**  
**Musical practices and perception of time in Eastern Indonesia**  
**(Lamaholot, Flores Island)**

This article addresses the question of time through the prism of orality in a small society in Eastern Indonesia.<sup>1</sup> Tanjung Bunga, a peninsula on the eastern tip of the island of Flores in Eastern Indonesia with a population of approximately 12,000, is composed of about twenty villages scattered along the coast. The inhabitants live mainly from the cultivation of rice and corn, which is dependent on annual rainfall. The inhabitants' time appears to be mainly regulated by the growth seasons of those crops, punctuated by numerous rituals, each characterized by different songs. This musical variety raises the question of how songs, every one linked to a specific ritual occasion, would affect the perception of time. The question concerns traditional songs, not those imported from the West. Since the second half of the twentieth century, conversions to Catholic monotheism have imposed another system of time measurement on the villagers, which has been superimposed on the traditional agrarian timeline.<sup>2</sup> Formally absent from the vernacular,<sup>3</sup> importation of the week as a temporal unit marked by the hymns of the Ordinary of the Mass along with the extraordinary rituals of the great offices (Easter and Christmas) has modified the relationship of the people to time to an extent that warrants study, but such study exceeds the limits of the present analysis.

Why analyze the perception of time through musical forms? On the one hand, because the majority of musical practices in Tanjung Bunga depend on a very flexible ritual calendar whose dates are never fixed in advance; on the other, because music is the art of rhythm *par excellence*, which is a fundamental component of what in the West is called "time." However, while this truism is self-evident, we rarely question the way in which music influences the perception of time. Music immerses those who make it and who listen to it in a temporal flow, which characterizes any musical arrangement and determines what is referred to as "musical time." Measured or not,

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<sup>1</sup> It is the result of several field missions conducted since 2006 in the Tanjung Bunga district in the east of Flores Island. I would like to thank Grégory Mikaelian, Cécile Barraud and Philip Yampolsky. This paper has been published in French under the title: "Le temps de chanter. Pratiques musicales et perception du temps dans l'Est indonésien (Flores, Indonésie), in *Temporalités khmères : de près, de loin, entre îles et péninsules*, edited by Nasr Abdoul-Carime, Eric Bourdonneau, Grégory Mikaelian, Joseph Thach Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford: Peter Lang, p. 167-195, 2021.

<sup>2</sup> The majority of the Lamaholot follow the Catholic faith, the region having been Christianized by the Portuguese as early as the sixteenth century (Steenbrink 2003:7). Nevertheless, the cult of the Virgin (Bunda Maria) is celebrated only in Larantuka and Wuré, by Malay-speaking populations of Larantuka, whereas pre-Christian ancestral rituals predominate farther inland.

<sup>3</sup> One week corresponds to the expression "already seven days" (*leron pito kaé*).

musical time manifests itself through rhythms, meters and periods.<sup>4</sup> It is structured by events and transformations, for example, variation of melodic patterns. The musical time in question here relates to a cyclic music, formed of more or less long phrases, made up of the same musical content repeated by different pairs of singers. The musical repertoires, almost exclusively vocal, are distinguished from one another by their melodies and their words.

I wish to introduce this reflection on time with two preliminary remarks stemming from my experience in the field. First, the ethnographer must give up her watch. Although watches are common enough, making an appointment with an interlocutor at a precise time is of little use. If two parties agree on a precise meeting time, we know in advance that it will never be respected. People do not meet at a specific time but within a time frame—in the early morning, or in the morning, in the afternoon, in the late afternoon, in the evening. The approximate period is therefore always more important than a specific time, even if people know how to read the time (now constantly displayed on their cell phones). Second, the ethnographer may be surprised by the time given to events: a song can last twelve hours in a row, a ritual several weeks, an interview an entire day.

In order to grasp how music affects the perception of time, I will examine both musical practices and musical repertoires according to several scales of observation: the macro scale of the agrarian year, the micro scale of an agrarian day and finally, the scale of a myth sung four times a year. Before diving into the observation of the practices themselves, it is useful to make a detour through the vocabulary relating to time.

### *Vocabulary*

In Western Lamaholot,<sup>5</sup> two terms correspond to the general notion of time, *nuan* and *ekan*.<sup>6</sup> Used alone, *nuan* designates a period of time in the past (“formerly, in my childhood”); coupled

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<sup>4</sup> In music, a period is defined as a “loop of time based on the return of similar tones at similar intervals”. It serves as a temporal framework for rhythmic events (Arom 2007 : 287).

<sup>5</sup> The Lamaholot language group has been segmented into eighteen languages and thirty-three dialects spanning several islands, from the eastern tip of the island of Flores to the islands of Adonara, Solor, Lembata and including the coasts of Pantar and Alor islands. It has been divided into three subgroups: the west (Flores), the center (Solor and Adonara) and the east (Lembata). The dialects of the west are considered dominant (Keraf 1978: 8–10).

<sup>6</sup> In this article, the terms preceded by the abbreviation ind. are in Indonesian, while the others are in Lamaholot (Tanjung Bunga dialect). In this region, all the inhabitants are bilingual.

with a determiner, it designates periods of the year (*nuan warat* “rainy season,”<sup>7</sup> *nuan kolin'* “dry season,” *nuan nobo* “time to sit,” referring to the free time after the harvest). The second term, *ékan*, is polysemous and encompasses both a place and a time: a place (*ékan amun'* “empty space,” *tana ékan* “the earth” as space) but also a time, an atmosphere (*ékan kolin'* “palm season, dry season,” *ékan gulen* “morning,” *ékan miten* “darkness,” *ékan owa* “the end of the day,” *ékan nokok* “the night”). When the two terms (*nuan* and *ékan*) are affixed, they are synonymous (*nuan ékan kolin'* “the dry season,” *ékan nuan matung nalan* “the season of weeding and transgression”<sup>8</sup>), which would seem to indicate that time is conceived together with space.

The association of space with time, as seen with the term *ekan*, is common. For example, “distant space” (*ekan doan*) can refer not only to a distant place but also to “ancient time,” and thus to temporal distance. The combination of space and time arises in this well-known saying for signifying one’s connection to a loved one:

<i>Doan one' kodi hukut</i>	Far within interiority recollection lingers
<i>léla matik sama péten</i>	for a long time in the depths remains the memory <sup>9</sup>

This octosyllable couplet, with paired terms, evokes the feeling of attachment intensified by the separation of beings in space and maintained by memory. Space is associated with time to imply a distance, whether temporal or spatial, through the association between *doan* “far” and *léla* “a long time.” The use of spatial remoteness to evoke an extended time span produces a sustained emotional effect.

While *nuan* and *ékan* refer to time in general, the Lamaholot use other words to measure periods of time such as day (*ara*, *leron*), morning (*gulen*), noon (*leron*) and afternoon (*punget*, *baun*, *owa*), hour (*dahu'* “to strike”), the moons or months (*wulan*), the year or age (*sun*), the past (*kaé*, *léla*, *nolon*, *wia*), the future (*semuri* “in a moment,” *nian* “later,” *bauk*, *beta* “tomorrow,” *bauk rua* “after tomorrow”) and the present time (*kia'*, *pali*). In addition, there is an explicit segmentation of the moments of the day corresponding to the degree of intensity of the sun,<sup>10</sup> a segmentation which will be discussed below.

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<sup>7</sup> Literally, the western season.

<sup>8</sup> The month of February corresponds to the weeding season.

<sup>9</sup> Literally “far inside to always remember, long in the depths without ceasing to remember” (Bapa' Kobus, personal communication, 2011).

<sup>10</sup> This segmentation is also noted among the Kédang neighbors of Lembata Island, by Barnes 1974: 113.

### *Seasons and constellations*

On this peninsula, the inhabitants coordinate themselves with time according to the alternating climatic seasons and (much less often now) according to the constellations. The year is composed of two seasons: the rainy season (from December to April) and the dry season (from May to November). In December, the wind picks up and storms arrive from the west, which is why they call it the “western season” (*nuan warat*). April then gives way to long months of drought during which the population endures heat and a lack of water. The first five months of the calendar year (from growth to rice harvest) are named after agrarian activities: January is the weeding moon (*wulan matun*), February is the transgression moon (*wulan nalan*), March is the corn tassel moon (*wulan kasa*), April is the good moon (*wulan muren*), and May is the lontar flower and dry earth moon (*kolin' wai' tana mara*). From June onwards, the next seven months are named by numbers corresponding to a count of the days of alignment between the moon and two particular constellations, the Pleiades (*Wuno*) and Scorpius (*Pari*).<sup>11</sup> The months are then called “moon eleven,” “moon nine,” “moon seven,” “moon five,” “moon three,” “moon one” and finally “hungry moon” (see Annexes, figure n°1). The reference to lunations is therefore not systematic: it is only used half the year, to mark the return of the rainy season.

As in many places in Indonesia and other parts of the world (Barnes 1974:117), the seasons are considered in terms of astronomy, in relation to two main constellations: the Pleiades (*Wuno*) and Scorpius (*Pari*). In the Lamaholot villages, the change of seasons is in line with the two constellations' appearance and disappearance. In the dry season, the Scorpius constellation (*Pari*), made up of five stars, rises in the sky and then gradually descends to end up “drowning” in the sea in October, followed by the appearance in November of the seven Pleiades (*Wuno*), announcing the planting season.

The movement of these two constellations is constant and progressive; each month they appear at a different point in the sky, without ever crossing. When Scorpius is rising, the Pleiades are setting. “When *Wuno* rises at the new moon, they say, *Pari* descends to set” (*Wuno gitan Pari lodo' léré*). This countermotion is indicative of change, and therefore space—as relating to the

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<sup>11</sup> On the importance of the conjunction between the moon and the constellation of Scorpio as an indicator of the cosmological computation of time, see Cécile Barraud 2021.

position of the constellation—is a temporal marker. The counting of the months begins with the dry season, starting in June when the sky is completely clear, and is based on the alignment between the lunar crescent and these two constellations. It is therefore necessary to calculate the number of nights before the conjunction between the constellation of Scorpius (*Pari*) and the “fingers of the moon” takes place. From the first crescent moon, it takes 11 days for *Pari* to be in the fingers of the moon, then 9, then 7, then 5, then 3. These counts are not always the same according to the reckonings, but the pattern remains the same: a decreasing and odd count anticipates the rainy season. The disparity is not based on a physical factor but on cultural principles relative to incompleteness (Barnes 1974, 1982).

This general presentation of the vocabulary and ways of counting the months of the year does not yet allow us to grasp the relationship of the Lamaholot to time. For this reason, and because vocal practice in this society is closely associated with time, I now invite the reader to observe the way people sing throughout the year. Three cases will be highlighted, each presenting a particular link to the perception of the passage of time. The distinction is based on a triple approach: first, observation of musical practices according to the seasons; second, examination of the melodies accorded to particular hours of the day within a single repertoire; and finally, analysis of the semantic content of the ancient myth of rice sung at four specific times a year.

### *Anteriority and posteriority in musical language*

First of all, it is important to underline the specificity of the singing tradition in western Lamaholot: people sing only in polyphonic duets. The art of duets, mentioned as early as the 1930s (Kunst 1942:8), then described and periodically recorded in two villages (Messner 1989, Yampolsky 1995), is performed in a variety of ways in six musical dialects (Rappoport & Simonnot 2010). This form has been called “the Balkan-sounding style of Tanjung Bunga,”<sup>12</sup> because the quality of the intervals and the weaving of the voices produces a musical language that is similar to certain polyphonies of the Dinaric Alps and western Bulgaria (Messner 2013:224). Two-voice singing is practiced in all vocal forms, and even in mythical narrations.<sup>13</sup> Most of the

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<sup>12</sup> “Indonesia/General/Musical Overview/Genres and ensembles,” Grove Music Online, Philip Yampolsky, consultation 6 February 2008.

<sup>13</sup> Examples are available in RAPPOPORT, D. & SIMONNOT, J. Ibid, p. 10 and on the open access web, [https://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/collections/CNRSMH\\_I\\_2011\\_012/](https://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/collections/CNRSMH_I_2011_012/)

time, two or more pairs of duo alternate<sup>14</sup>. The alternation follows rules of complementarity which are different according to the repertoires. One main principle is to share the words between duets to produce a meaning, but not always. The idea is to complete something through verses, by opening and ending, to produce unity in meaning. How do they share music and lines between them? Everything is possible: half line, lines, dyads, triads, four lines. Sometimes also, the first duet sings two lines and the second one just repeats exactly what has been sung. Each duo sings in a special order: one begins, one follows. The duo who begins is called *ana' puken*: “child trunk”, and the one who follow is called *ana' wutun*: « ending end ».

These recurrent terms for naming not only the singers but also the couplets mark the importance, in Lamaholot's musical language, of the complementarity between anteriority (the one who begins) and posteriority (the one who follows). It is *mise en abyme* at three levels: at the level of a duo (one singer always starts before the other), at the level of the relationship between duos (one duo always starts before another) and at the level of the spatialization of the songs on the lines of agrarian work (the men sing a repertoire at the “source” (the head of the line) and the women sing another repertoire “at the end” of the line), always from left to right (the reason being that the women must be close to the end which is the center of the field where the rice maiden has been sacrificed, Rappoport 2014). The precedence in musical actions has correspondences beyond the framework of musical language. For example, the sovereign clans (*raja tuan*) of a customary territory can never begin activities at the same time: one begins, the other follows. This principle is called *nika leun nika doré* “sow before, sow after.” The clan named ‘lord of the land’ begins, the younger clan follows. The perception of time may depend, in a more general framework, on a relationship of authority between individuals, between clans.

### **1. Singing the sequences of the agrarian activities**

In this remote region, the majority of the population lives from the cultivation of rice and maize, two cereals whose growth depends on a series of agrarian activities, from slash and burn to harvest. Each of the agrarian periods is marked with distinct songs. The seasonal aspect of the music, which

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<sup>14</sup> For example, during harvest, ten pairs of singers are distributed in a line into the field that is being harvested, and each pair sings one after the other, from left to right.

is the most immediately perceptible to the ethnographer, provides a starting point for addressing the multiple dimensions of the regional perception of time.

The agricultural cycle begins at the end of the dry season, with the opening of new fields. In August, the land is still dry, so there is time for hunting. Until October, new plots of land are cleared; while trees and shrubs are felled, the “felling song” (*berasi tiné*) is performed by the men in the fields. One field is distinguished from the others, that opened by the sovereign clans (each sovereign clan opens a large field which is the place for all ritual activities during the agrarian season). Then the wood is cut and burned; the ashes are subsequently used to fertilize the land, and men sing the “slash and burn song” (*berasi buko*). At the end of October, the planting season begins, using the seed store from the ritual granary, at which time the origin myth of the rice is sung by the clan community.<sup>15</sup> In this myth, a young sister is killed by her brother and then metamorphoses into rice (Rappoport 2014).

When the monsoon arrives in December, it is time for the ritual of sowing (*sikat tubak* “sowing in rows”). The night before, clans gather in the dance square to sing and dance the origin myth of rice. The next day, men and women sow in the ceremonial field before doing the same in their own fields. Using long sticks, the men poke holes in the earth to be filled with seeds dispensed by the women. Men and women sing separate songs: the men first move towards the field performing the “road song” (*berasi panalaran*) and then sing their “sowing song” (*berasi sikat*), the women following while singing theirs, *berasi naruk*. The maiden embodying the rice is brought to the middle of the field as an offering—although the actual sacrifice is that of a beheaded pig.

By the end of January-beginning February, barely a month after planting, rice and corn seedlings appear alongside weeds. The weeding (*batun keremet* “weeding the grass”) gives rise to the weeding songs (*berasi keremet, goé*). Around April, the rice is ready to be harvested (*geta tahan*, “to harvest the rice”), but it is necessary to wait for the signal of the opening ritual of the harvest by the sovereign clan. If the harvest is abundant, the people may decide to organize a more important ritual (*polo' man*) during which the origin myth of the rice is chanted again for an entire night. The next day, all clans come to harvest in the ceremonial “big field.” As they work, men and women sing distinct polyphonic repertoires (*berasi panalaran, najan, lian kenolon, berasi ina waé, berasi, lian naman*) from morning to night. They sing in the same field, simultaneously, men

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<sup>15</sup> The ritual is called *buka keban*, “opening the rice granary” or *dokan gurun*, “wrapping and enclosing the seed.” The chant is called *opak gurun gawak be'ola tugu* (“Narrative of the wrapping up of the results of working in the field.”).

located at the head of the line, and women at the end. A portion of the freshly harvested rice is immediately stamped upon by young men who sing in a round (*haman* repertoire, “to thresh”), and then the rice is stored in a granary in the center of the field. Between July and September, the rest of the rice is threshed (*pula' tahan*, “threshing”), an activity that is again accompanied by the origin myth of rice and the *lian semogon* song.

In total, from October to April, ten vocal repertoires are practiced during the stages of rice cultivation, each relating to a particular activity (see Annexes, Figure 2). Most of them share similarities in form (two-voice songs made up of repeated short musical phrases) and content (relating to the rice origin myth). Only one among the ten differs considerably from the others as it is performed four times during the year; the origin myth of rice is sung at the time of sowing, harvesting, threshing and storage. It mobilizes the largest number of people. and through its linear form it induces another time that will be described below.

The songs that have just been named sound the opening of collective activities; every two months (October, December, February, April, June), they mark a collective synchronization whose measure is the growth of rice. The cues for this synchronization are always given by the sovereign clan (*raja tuan*) lord of the land (*tuan tana*)<sup>16</sup>, whereby it manifests its authority and are usually promulgated from the ceremonial field<sup>17</sup>. Each year, each sovereign clan is responsible for the clearing and opening of a new ceremonial field (*man bélen* “large field”), whose rituals will be valid for the other fields of the customary territory and whose cultivation is ensured in turn by each lineage of that sovereign clan. The ceremonial field, site of convocations, songs and animal offerings throughout the agrarian year, involves substantial expenditures.<sup>18</sup>

Alongside this marking of the seasons with music, the year is conceived according to the *puro léa'* principle of “prohibition liberation” which consists more or less of “closing” and then “opening” the customary territory. The period of closure of the customary territory, the “season of weeding and transgression” (*ékan nuan matun nalan*), begins before sowing, with an animal sacrifice preceded by a versified ritual word. The objective is to protect the tranquility of *Tono Wujo*, the deity of rice, so that it can grow in peace. January is the month of weeding (*matun*), and

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<sup>16</sup> Every ceremonial domain (or territory) of Tanjung Bunga is made up of two groups of patrilineal clans: *raja tuan* (‘sovereign lord’) and *nipa' talé'* (‘supports). Between the *raja tuan* clans, one is ‘lord of the land’, or often considered as elder.

<sup>17</sup> This idea of synchronization as one of the traits of authority is found in many places, see Iteanu 2021.

<sup>18</sup> If a household of the sovereign clans does not have sufficient reserves to perform all the rituals of the year in the ceremonial field, then no rituals are performed, and no one sings during that year.

February is the month of transgression (*nalan*). Considered as the month of misfortune and despair, February is the least favorable month for births (considered unfortunate). It is the time of waves on the sea and wind on land, while in the fields, nothing has yet emerged. People, often hungry, start to steal from fields and the houses; they also “steal” women (ind. *curi perempuan* “to steal a woman”), committing adultery (ind. *bawa lari* “to take and run”). In this difficult period, which is defined by scarcity and constriction, a series of prohibitions are enforced: all entertainment is forbidden, no music is allowed, the fields are no longer bloodied by animal offerings, one must not discuss the upcoming weddings,<sup>19</sup> one must not go fishing in the sea and it is forbidden to light a fire on the beach. Not knowing yet if the rice will ripen, humans live this time of uncertainty in a dysphoric state, which explains the pain perceived in the songs of sowing and weeding (Rappoport 2014).

In mid-March, when the rice is ripe, the end of the prohibitions (*lea* “to free from prohibitions”) marks the opening of an extended period of rejoicing called “the good time” (*nuan murén*).<sup>20</sup> Once subsistence is assured, the land is opened (*buka duli pali* “to open the cultivated fields”). People are then allowed to sing, to harvest, to do whatever they want; they can now plan the construction of their ceremonial house, anticipate the next marriage alliances and settle conflicts that have been left unresolved. Some refer to this period as the “sitting time” (*nuan nobo*) because, freed from the fear of hunger after the harvest, the elders once invited the young to sit or lie down on the bamboo platforms in order to repeat the harvest songs (*najan*).<sup>21</sup>

The two-phase conception of the year is described by one farmer as follows:

From October to March, we are closed down, in a period of uncertainty. We think about this season, wondering what our fate will be, what the result of the harvest will be; we are as if in mourning. But in March, we know if the harvest has given or not. The rice, which has already bloomed, is turning golden. Then the people can come alive. The time when we are closed down prevents rejoicing because one does not know if one will be able to eat. We cannot go looking for shellfishes, nor go hunting. We leave the

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<sup>19</sup> In eastern Indonesia, *belis* refers to the price of the bride, exchanged in Lamaholot country for one or more elephant tusks (ind. *gading*).

<sup>20</sup> *Lea*: release from the prohibition period, resumption of social exchanges.

<sup>21</sup> Since the 1980s, as a result of spatial recomposition and new economic needs pushing farmers to seek alternative livelihoods, farmers no longer “sit around” after the harvest.

animals alone, both in the sea and in the forest; we let them live happily, with the aim that game and fish will abound when we “open.” Moreover, during this closing time, we are obliged to stay in the fields to guard the rice, we can only sing the weeding song (*berasi kremet*) which is a sad song, a song where we ask for help, but we cannot in any case sing the *najan*, a repertoire strictly forbidden during this period, this one being associated with the harvest. This closing time is ended by a ritual (*puro léa'*) which opens the fields (*buka duli léa' pali*) so that people can sing, come alive, hunt, so that they can go to mark the tide.<sup>22</sup>

Specific songs thus characterize the two main periods of the year: at the closing of the territory, the songs of sowing and weeding (*berasi sikat* and *kremet*) are used, and at the opening of the year, almost all the other repertoires are performed (cf. Appendices, figure n° 2). This succession thus distinguishes two strictly separate aesthetic sets, which never overlap. Both the form (through the melodic-rhythmic structures) and the content of the songs (through the lyrics) reflect opposite emotional states.

The growth of rice is thus socially organized according to an order of succession, marked, on the biological level, by the development of the plant, and on the social level, by the ritual of which music is an integral part. The succession of these stages with different content (both in terms of activity and emotions) is itself encompassed in two major phases, the phase of prohibitions and the phase of reopening exchanges (cf. Appendices, figure no. 1).

## **2. Singing the phases of the day**

If the music initially appears to reveal an operation of synchronization of the clans based on the rhythm of the growth of plants and the revolution of the stars, it can also segment shorter sequences. For all the repertoires, the melodies and lyrics vary according to the sun's place in the sky, in sequences of from three up to eight time segments. At a minimum, the repertoires segment the day into three parts according to the light: morning (*gulen*), noon (*leron*), and end-of-day (*owa*, *punget*) songs. These three time periods are further subdivided during the harvest.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, I

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<sup>22</sup> Bapa' Krowé, personal communication, Waiklibang, April 2017.

<sup>23</sup> The increased sequencing of the day during harvest time compared with other agrarian phases is perhaps because it is the most labor-intensive and physically demanding activity from dawn to dusk.

will now explain the close relationship between music and the times of day during the harvest. While the Indonesian language divides the day into five parts, a day on the Tanjung Bunga peninsula is divided into eleven parts, almost all of which are marked by separate songs at harvest time. The *najan* repertoire (men's harvest songs) is made up of eight songs that differ according to the position of the sun in the sky, making it possible to delimit eight separate times of day: dawn, sunrise, warming sun, full sun, pause, declining sun, setting sun, and twilight (cf. Appendices, Figure 3).

*Hogo ko* ("Get up") is sung at dawn, *Lero weli géré* ("The sun rises there") afterwards at sunrise. Then, throughout the morning, *Wajako* ("Bring the areca nut quickly") is exchanged between duettists, a song that demands mouth stimulants to endure the strain of performing. When the full sun (*lera leron*) arrives, the song *Adé koli'* circulates between all the voices. As the sun begins its slow decline, around two or three in the afternoon, they sing *Ongeno* ("Call off the dogs"), and then, around 4 p.m., they switch to *Kukak maten tobi turu'* ("The blackbird sleeps on the tamarind tree"). "When the sun is already cold," the end of the day having arrived, *Kolo turu'* ("I go home to sleep") is sung, then, at dusk, the singers address a supplication to their sister, transformed into an edible plant, in the song *Biné' koré' léro* ("Sister, when the sun sets"). At night, another repertoire is sung until dawn, the origin myth of the rice. Although the repertoires are named differently in various places, this relationship between music and "hours" prevails everywhere on this peninsula.

In the repertoire of harvest songs in male duets described above, time is marked semantically by certain words: the dawn song invites people to wake up (*Hogo ko*, "get up"). The second song evokes the sun that has already risen (*Wéli géré, géré lera*, "the sun has risen"), the heat of midday is evoked by the dryness of the palm leaf (*Adé koli' tepo*), the homecoming call heralds sleep and the desire to return (*Kolo turu'*, "I want to return"), and finally, the evocation of the setting sun closes the day with the saddest song (*Biné koré' lero lera*, "My sister, when the sun sets"). The temporal flow is sensitive to actions to be carried out (to get up, to return) but also to sensations of variation of heat. The songs, which incidentally evoke the course of the sun, synchronize the humans in their physical and emotional perceptions; they give rhythm to a succession of phases linked to the sun, which in turn make it possible to measure the passage of time.

Musically, the six melodic patterns of this repertoire can be distinguished in terms of the progression of the light.<sup>24</sup> In marking the advance of the sun, the songs intensify specific emotions. If until noon the morning emotions are generally euphoric, as soon as the sun begins to cool, it is different. Among the different periods of the day, the songs of the setting sun have a particular quality. The song of the women in Keka', *tuan nuan* (“the day is falling”) or *banu léko owa* (*banu léko* in the afternoon), evokes a particular moment:

<i>Piku nuan pé kaé</i>	The time has come
<i>lera pelau' bunu bauk</i>	the sun is setting
<i>Go balélé ilé raé</i>	I see the mountain over there
<i>nuan pelau' lodo nokok</i>	the moment darkens
<i>Go balélé woka raé</i>	I see the hill over there
<i>tuan nuan o tana bajo</i>	the day falls on the land of Bajau
<i>tobi légo bala légo</i>	<i>tobi légo bala légo</i> <sup>25</sup>

Standing alone, the speaker watches the sun set in the distance. While this moment would be glorified by a Westerner, the feeling here is quite different. The place and the moment generate a reflection on oneself, an awareness of a here and an elsewhere and of the inescapable weight of our finitude for perception which crystallizes at the end of the day. By widening the observation to all the repertoires sung, it appears that the twilight songs arouse dysphoric emotions because they “sound” the hour of the separation between the people and the plant, considered as a dear relation (a child or a sister). At the moment of the decline of the sun, around four o'clock, the change of luminosity announces the return to the village, and thus heartache. All the crepuscular songs deal with this return, which, contrary to what one might suppose, is not experienced as a moment of relaxation or of slackening or stopping work. A loved one, a sister (the rice) is left behind in the field. This moment marks a double separation, the individual from the young sister

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<sup>24</sup> The other musical repertoires segment the days into three: morning, noon and afternoon (*gulen, leron, owa*).

<sup>25</sup> Verse whose meaning is ambiguous, used as a vocal ornament.

(the rice) and the sister (the rice) from her companions in song and work, sending each back to solitude. The remedy for this impending sorrow is yet more song.

The twilight songs (*najan perawi*, *banu leko owa*, *punget*), performed as the light fades, constitute a category in themselves, although each varies according to agrarian activity.<sup>26</sup> Considered the saddest, these songs are an address (*perawi*) to the dear relation. The lyrics evoke separation (“your brothers ask to leave; you fold your legs and wait”). At sunset, with these songs, heartache and melancholy are felt. It is not only the supplication that makes one sad, but it is the song associated with the moment itself, with the passage from day to night, which is conducive to dysphoric emotions, as I observed during listening sessions with the singers. During these sessions, which consisted of ascertaining their appreciation of music, I noticed that their responses varied according to the time of day. If the sessions were held at dusk around six o’clock in the evening, music could trigger tears—such was the case, to my surprise, for a Bob Dylan song (*Blind Willie McTell*) on a quiet evening in July.

This shift in emotions, rooted in the relationship of humans to the anthropomorphized plant, is crystallized by the synchronization of song with the course of the sun. In other words, the music triggers emotions that were just waiting to arise. Moreover, it also enables perception of the passage of time:

When we sing, we sing with our own feelings and most often we are sad, extremely sad. Because we think of the times that have passed, of the old times. Today, we are only in the present, and the past, we let it go. *Goé* and *Leko Lau* are the saddest songs, which speak about the situation of our era. By singing, we propel ourselves into the old times, and when we sing about them, it grieves us, like old stories (...). Remembering the old times makes us sad. When we sing, we imagine, we meditate, we feel sad (Bapa' Lego, personal communication, 19 January 2007).

The song generates nostalgia by reactivating memories of the past, thanks to the power of music to conjure up two temporalities simultaneously, present and past.

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<sup>26</sup> *Wodon gokok* at sowing, *Oé Bala* at weeding, *Khonga punget* at harvest.

### 3. Singing the origin of rice

Among the ten or so repertoires sung in Waiklibang, one is *opak moran*,<sup>27</sup> “sung narration.” Performed several times a year, this repertoire refers to ancient times. It is composed of three narratives: the song of the origin of rice (*opak moran laran Tono Wujo*), the song of the origin of the clans (*opak usu asa*) and the song of sharp weapons (*opak suri' kada*) (Rappoport 2016). The repertoire is distinguished by the size of the narratives, which exceed two to three thousand verses organized in hexasyllabic distiches. These narratives constitute stories of journeys: that of the rice which under the guise of a young woman progresses from West to East and that of the migrations of the clans until they settle on the customary territory. In these societies with an oral tradition, history is not written; only the sung narrative fixes the history of the clans through the recitation of sequences of names of places traveled during the migration, places that one is unsure really existed or not. Knowing how to recite the narrative in the right order without omitting any stage of the journey is a challenge to the speakers; they risk their lives in the case of error.

These stories, sung according to the same unique musical form, involve seven singers and thirty dancers and a complex succession of voices. From 10 pm through 6 am, speakers, assisted by pairs of singers, succeed one another in an alternation of narrative sequences and different songs. Each song is distinguished by its name, its variety of steps, its melodic-rhythmic configuration, and its choreographic structures which evolve along a disjointed centripetal line.

The story of the maiden killed then transformed into rice, which I call the “origin myth of rice,” exemplifies the long term. Sometimes called the “tale of the road of Tono Wujo” (*opak moran laran Tono Wujo*), after the young woman, the song of the origin of the grains develops a myth having many versions across Southeast Asia; the killing of a human (child, woman, or man) who is then transformed into an edible plant (Mabuchi 1964). Among the Lamaholot, this story is organized around a primordial issue: the survival of a society threatened with extinction by famine. In the past, humans, still unaware of agriculture, were hungry; they ate beans and their own excrement and drank urine (Tukan 1996: 97). To ensure the survival of the group, a girl (with multiple names: Tono Wujo, Nogo Ema, Nogo Gunu, Bési Paré, biné ana') decided to sacrifice herself. After having prepared the field, taking care to cut down and burn all the trees in the field, she ordered her seven brothers to put her to death. Her youngest brother stabbed her to death, and

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<sup>27</sup> Also called *Opak bélun*, *bélun* could be derived from *bélén'* “big.” *Opak bélun* would then mean “great story.”

then eight days later her corpse turned into rice and other edible plants. From the harvest of this field, the brothers filled seven granaries; with the sale of this rice, they bought elephant tusks (to marry). Thus, a woman paid the way for seven men to take wives. However, the seven brothers did not get along. They fought, and so Tono Wujo, ashamed, departed to share herself with all the villages. This is the core of this sung myth.

In this 2,200-verse narrative, it is important to note that the dramatic climax does not appear until verse 1052. Before that, the myth devotes itself to Tono Wujo's ancestors. Daughter of Pati Sogen La Galio and Tonu Gowin Bura, she is the granddaughter of Koka Tuli Sanganara and her grandmother, Kluke Sina Jawa Mau, an earth spirit (*nitun*). She is also the great-granddaughter of Resi Doan Dowo Homo and Uto Watan in Lio. Much of the story is about the genealogy of her father, grandparents and great-grandparents. Eventually, Tono Wujo is the result of the union of a human with a *nitun* on her mother's side. Thus, half of the myth concerns the founding period when humans were not yet human but "earth spirits" (*nitun*), evoked by naming Tono Wujo's ancestors four generations before her as well as their places in a distant time and space. For example, at the beginning of the narrative, the place of the rice maiden's paternal grandfather is recalled using the names of the ceremonial domain, ancestors, ceremonial stones, spirits, mountains and lands. Then the story details her journey from west to east, from Lio to the speaker's location. The memory of the routes is fixed by the recitation of migration sequences, defined by place names listed in a fixed order, of which the following is an example:

<i>Lewo Wato Maé</i>	Village of the Altar Stone
<i>tana Belan Burak</i>	land of the White Bamboo
<i>Raja Pati Mangu</i>	Raja Pati Mangu
<i>Tuan Boli Lio</i>	Sovereign Boli Lio
<i>Tonu Osé Longo</i>	Tonu Osé Longo
<i>Wujo Laju Burak</i>	Wujo Laju Burak
<i>Nuba Sogé Sara Boro</i>	[Stone] Nuba Sogé Sara Boro

*béla Kéwa Kala Midi* [stone] *béla Kewa Kala Midi*<sup>28</sup>

*Guna Siga Buga* [Spirit] *Guna Siga Buga*  
*déwa Tuli Nara* [spirit] *déwa Tuli Nara*<sup>29</sup>

*Ilé Wato Téna* Mountain of Stone Boat  
*woka Wai' Wuri* mountain of the river Wuri

*Duli Kébo Lolon Buto* Site of the Eight Palms  
*pali Hulu Hala Lolon* site of the Warm Leaves

Excerpt from the sung narrative *opak bélun gurun gawak béola tugu*, verses 143–156 (recorded in Ratulodong, *dokan gurun* ritual, 8 November 2006)<sup>30</sup>

The names of villages, mountains, rulers, cultivated fields and the mention of attributes of sovereignty (planted ceremonial stones [*nuba nara*] and movable auxiliary stones [*guna dewa*]) refer to an ancient time, that of Tono Wujo's grandparents. The village of Wato Maé in Lio (thus far from the place of enunciation) is the village of Tono Wujo's grandfather. There is no temporal determinant, only the names of places and beings referring to ancient times.<sup>31</sup> Given that Tono Wujo's ancestors are from the Lio region during the whole first part, the narrative takes place there between the two villages of the paternal (Wato Maé) and maternal (Kajo Tapo) grandparents, the second village being located underground. It is only after the metamorphosis of Tono Wujo into rice, around verse 1462, that she leaves Sikka, far to the west of Tanjung Bunga, passing through many villages. Nine places, from west to east, are listed, using long place names.<sup>32</sup> Each place name is associated with a sovereign. During her journey, the girl is raped several times. From one of the rapes, a child is born, then thrown into the sea. Never feeling at ease in the villages, she

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<sup>28</sup> Name of the ceremonial stones in a customary territory.

<sup>29</sup> *Guna déwa* refers to the auxiliary spirits of a person, a clan or a group of clans.

<sup>30</sup> [https://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/items/CNRSMH\\_I\\_2007\\_006\\_001\\_232/](https://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/items/CNRSMH_I_2007_006_001_232/), consulted 18 December 2018.

<sup>31</sup> As in Kei, the list of place names allows one to recall the past, see Barraud 2021.

<sup>32</sup> Lewo Krowé Tana Tukan Henga Rua Hama (near Maumere), then Lewo Peli Bugit Bojan Tana Peli Tulé Walén, then Lewo Keluok Wojon Tobo Tana Napen Hapén, then Lewo Raé Tapo Toban Tana lewo Rahang and finally Kawaliwu, Lewotala, Oka, Wéru, Watuwiti, Riang Koli and Lamanabi.

continues her journey until she arrives at the narrator's place of enunciation. The narrator then evokes, at the end of the story, his own ancestors, who would have met the young woman. In this way the sung myth is connected to the lived reality.

The primary function of this topography is to establish a group's precedence over the land, and its secondary function is to store knowledge about the relationships and interconnections between past events, secret names of spirits and the places traveled through during migrations. James Fox uses the term "topogeny" to refer to an ordered succession of place names, showing that in eastern Insulindia societies topogenies are as common as genealogies, and that certain Austronesian societies prefer topogeny to genealogy, because generational successions are only perceived through the migration of people through space (Fox 2006: 89).

A singer of this myth explained to me that this story, aiming at increasing the fertility of the fields, is sung in order to welcome the rice deity in these places.

We want to greet Tono Wujo in her home village. Thus, we fly there, not walk. Once there, we move from Lio to the east of Flores, so that the story that ends in our village begins with the story of its clans, its temple, its beach, its mountains, its spirits (*nitun*), its days; we tell it all, there can be no mistake, which is why only one man knows it. (Anton Siku Mukin, 68, p. c., Karawutun, March 2006).

In Flores, this myth is danced, sung, and also "represented" by one or two girls who personify the grain, from sowing to harvesting. Through this ritual, which enables the dramatic plot to be re-enacted, ancient time suddenly becomes reality by means of a *mise en présence*. Everything happens as if the ritual, through the narrative and the personification, is making the past current. In this way the origin myth of the rice is connected to the individual history of each village where the rice personified as a young woman arrived.

### **What music does to the perception of time**

The ethnologist Robert Barnes notes that in the Kédang society, neighbor of the Lamaholot, the concept of cycle does not exist. Their time, he says, is oriented going in one direction: irreversible, yet repetitive. Things move forward along a path without ever turning back. "The orderly way to

return to the starting point is by proceeding through a sequence to its completion without ever reversing the direction.” (Barnes 1974: 128). It is perhaps the same on the peninsula of Tanjung Bunga where time is perceived in terms of sequences and succession of sequences that music delimits. The recurrence of the same thing every year is not, to my knowledge, represented in the form of a cycle.

The study of vocal repertoires reveals a distinction between three types of temporality: that which links to the rhythm of rice cultivation, that which links to the rhythm of an agrarian workday, and that of the distant past of myth. In the first two cases, the song essentially acts as a clock sounding the collective’s movements during the different stages of rice cultivation. This time is punctuated by a succession of recurring musical repertoires which are inserted into a macro-period<sup>33</sup> formed by the closing and opening of the territory (*puro-léa*). In these first two cases, the song also isolates and colors each of the agrarian sequences with a different emotional nuance, synchronizing the emotions of individuals and creating a community of emotions. Each repertoire produces a type of affect linked to collective representations of nature (sunshine) and agrarian culture (the maturation of rice). Finally, in the third case, the account of past migrations since the origins of man, the song marks out a territorial succession and no longer a chronological one. However, this territorial itinerary is combined with the names of the ancestors of the rice deity in a succession of toponyms and patronyms, thus making it possible to grasp a temporal depth, in the manner of the “topogenies” widespread across Southeast Asia.

In addition, music marks a contrast between lived time and figurative time. When music accompanies agrarian rituals, the song structures lived time: it punctuates the seasons and the hours of the day relative to cosmic time. It refers to a shared experience of the seasons. However, when music, at the time of agrarian rituals, convokes the origin myth of rice, the song no longer corresponds to a lived time but rather to an ancient “imagined” time (Ricoeur 1983 : 330), for everything that is recounted in the song is extraordinary: the communication with spirits, the metamorphosis of a woman into an edible plant, the non-human ancestry of Tono Wujo, the descendant of earth spirits. Nevertheless, lived and imagined time combine at the end of the mythical narrative—what Ricoeur calls the interweaving of fiction and history. Indeed, the myth singer, his words musically embellished by a singing partner, inscribes the sovereign clans of the

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<sup>33</sup> In musicology, a macro-period forms a cycle constituted by the recurrence of periods of various dimensions (AROM, S., loc. cit., p. 289).

place of enunciation in the continuity of imagined time by linking them to Tono Wujo, the spirit of the rice. Thus, despite this apparent dichotomy between lived time and imagined time, the three temporalities evoked (that of the plants, that of the stars and that of humans) combine during the ritual by overlapping in the same day.

The harvest repertoires (*najan* for men and *banu leko* for women) are sung exclusively once a year, in April-May, by the peasants in a “harvest line.” At the head of the line, the men sing the *najan*, while at the back of the line (or end), the women sing the *banu leko*—the head (*puken*) always being more important than the “end” (*wutun*). Varying according to the progress of the sun, the songs inscribe humans in the agrarian time of rice cultivation and simultaneously in the immediacy of the present by giving rhythm to the march of diurnal time. Consequently, several songs are sung on the same line throughout the day. When night falls, the origin myth of rice, sung through the night, no longer engages the present; it evokes the past represented through a linear sequence according to the territories separating the place of enunciation from the place of foundation, in a progression from the distant past to the present of the enunciator.

Performed in the same social space, the various musical formations of time—the sounding of the present, the reminiscence of the past—play out across varied scales. In singing, humans are enmeshed in different temporalities. During the day, they convey their present emotions, which are turned towards the anticipation of the difficulties of the future (that of separation), whereas at night they connect with the past, rooting their present in a long-term history. This superimposition of temporalities through musical practice introduces a range of awareness, both of oneself and of the group. It acts by sharing visions and common emotions varying according to the seasons, thereby intensifying the consciousness of belonging to the group. It inscribes the group as a whole (the alliance of clans in the same customary territory) in a relationship with the past by connecting it to the present—a double present: the present of the progression of the agrarian seasons and the immediate present. The songs suggest several forms of presentification of time: that of the seasons (according to the moons) and that of the moment (according to the sun).

Study of this music reveals that here the song participates in the construction of three types of temporalities. It not only sounds the periods of the growth of the rice, but it also sounds the hours from dawn to dusk of a day’s work in the field, and finally sometimes activates the reminiscence of an ancient time whose depth is expressed by space. These three temporalities, which can be superimposed, produce a variety of shared collective affects and representations. However, the

time for singing depends not only on the growth of a crop but also on the authority of the sovereign clan, lord of the land, who decides on the beginning of collective actions and on the opening and closing of the territory (*puro léa*). In addition, the rapid disappearance of musical practices on this peninsula is giving way to another way of perceiving the temporal flow of collective existence, probably more centered on the life of Christ; one which is also accompanied by songs and is punctuated by the alternation between dysphoric and euphoric emotions, with Easter and Christmas becoming the two poles of this new time. Another type of authority, beyond the sovereign clans, has been added to the control of customary time. Nevertheless, the notions of complementarity—between “source” and “end,” anteriority and posteriority, and before and after—clearly remain in the rituals, which indicates their importance in the balance of this society, one founded on the “social peace” between the clans, between those who begin and those who follow, a minimal hierarchical pair essential to the maintenance of social order.

## Annexes

Figure n°1: Names of the months in Waiklibang (*Wulan-wulan kiwan*)

<b>Moon names</b>	<b>Translation</b>	<b>Notes</b>
<i>Wulan matun</i>	Weeding moon	January. Weeding. Entertainment prohibited. Weeding songs <i>béras</i> <i>krémet</i> , <i>goé</i> .
<i>Wulan nalan</i>	Transgression moon	February. Entertainment prohibited. Food shortage inciting people to steal. Multiple bans.
<i>Wulan kasa</i>	Corn tassel moon <sup>34</sup>	Mid-March. Ceremonial opening of the fields ( <i>lea'</i> , <i>buka duli pali</i> ). First corn, first vegetables. Preparation of the harvest. Activities can resume.
<i>Wulan muren</i> <sup>35</sup>	Good moon	Mid-April. <i>Muren</i> '“just, good, well.” Between the rain and the dry season, all the products of the earth appear: corn, rice, palm wine and others. Entertainment allowed, <i>najan</i> , <i>bau léko</i> , <i>opak moran</i> repertoires. Sense of liberation.
<i>Kolin' wai' tana maran'</i>	Lontar flower and dry earth moon <sup>36</sup>	May. Beginning of the hot season.
<i>Wulan pulo to'un</i>	Moon 11	June. The constellation of Scorpius ( <i>Pari</i> ) crosses the crescent moon on the 11th day of the new moon.
<i>Wulan hiwan</i>	Moon 9	July. The constellation <i>Pari</i> crosses the crescent moon on the 9th day of the new moon.
<i>Wulan piton</i>	Moon 7	August. The constellation <i>Pari</i> crosses the crescent moon on the 7th day of the new moon. Land animals roam. Month when subsistence is ensured by hunting (ind. <i>cari nasib</i> “to seek a [good] fate”).

<sup>34</sup> *Wata' kasan'*: “corn tassel”

<sup>35</sup> Also, *wulan maran'* (“dry moon”), or *wulan balu* (at Keka’).

<sup>36</sup> *Besi wolo wuan tuak duli wai'*.

<i>Wulan lema</i>	Moon 5	September. The constellation <i>Pari</i> crosses the crescent moon on the 5th day of the new moon.
<i>Wulan telon</i>	Moon 3	October. The constellation <i>Pari</i> crosses the crescent moon on the 3rd day of the new moon. Beginning of the prohibitions ( <i>puro</i> ). Song <i>berasi tiné- buko</i> .
<i>Wulan to'u</i>	Moon 1	November. The constellation <i>Pari</i> appears for one day in the crescent of the new moon. Appearance of the Pleiades ( <i>Wuno</i> ); the rain arrives. Songs of sowing <i>berasi sikat</i> .
<i>Wulan gan také'</i>	Hungry moon	December. The constellation <i>Pari</i> has “sunk into the sea” and is no longer visible.

Figure n°2: Waiklibang agrarian and musical calendar

MONTH	NAME	ACTION	SONGS	DESCRIPTION
August	<b>Héwan hoton</b>	Hunting	Ø	
	“Hunting, emerging”	“Seek its true destiny.”		
	<b>Bulun</b>	Marking field boundaries	Ø	
September	<b>Tiné’</b>	Clearing trees	• <i>Berasi tiné’ buko</i>	Male song with two voices. Each pair sings an octosyllable of a distich on a matrix of 10 beats.
	“Cutting”		“Slash and burn song”	
	<b>Seru’ man</b>	Burning	Ø	
	“Field burning”			
	<b>Putun</b>	Clearing the ashes	• <i>Berasi tiné buko</i>	<i>idem</i>
	“Cleaning ashes”		“Slash and burn song”	
October	<b>Dokan gurun</b> “Wrapping and enclosing the seed”	Seed sowing	• <b>Haman opak belun</b>	Chain dances on the dance floor on the origin myth of rice. Song organized in three groups 2+2+1 ( <i>opak, hode’ ana, nukun</i> ).
			• <i>Nama nigí</i>	Female chain dance on a 16-beat matrix.
			• <i>Nama neron</i>	Female chain dance including the songs <i>lian kenolon, lelen, lian maneron</i>
			• <i>Go’ok</i>	Male song with two voices. The first voice sings the words, the

				second sings an ostinato without words.
			• <i>Soka</i>	Collective female dance to the sound of the gong and the drum at dawn
			• <i>Hédung</i>	Collective male dance to the sound of the gong and the drum
Next day	<i>Ulan awo</i> “Burnt remains” “Ready to sow”  <i>Lete rauk duli pali</i> “Cooling the fields”	Clear the fields	<i>Goé</i>	Male song in two voices (also practiced during weeding)
	<i>Puro lewo</i> “Prohibit the village”	Closing until April		
December	<i>Sikat tubak ou</i> <i>Sikat man</i> “Sow in pockets”  <i>Helonikat</i>	Seed sowing	• <i>Haman opak belun</i>  • <i>Berasi sikat</i> Sowing song	Myth of the origin of rice in a long chain dance, with a special request to bring rain.

	“Renew the seedlings”			
			• <i>Berasi panalaran</i> “Walking song”	Singing in two voices on an unmeasured beat, in a high tessitura and in a contrapuntal polyphony
			• <i>Go'ok</i>	Male song with two voices. The first voice sings the words, the second one in ostinato without words
January	<b><i>Batun kremet</i></b> “Weeding”	Cleaning field by weeding	• <i>Goé</i>	Male repertoire in parallelism, 4 distinct melodies according to morning or afternoon ( <i>Déo Kébo, Obarik, Batu Puken ua lolon, Wuan Koli</i> ).
February	Call for rain		• <i>Gokén</i>	Unison chorus with male duets
March	<b><i>Rekan kawo</i></b> “Eat new corn”	Harvest corn	Ø	
April	<b><i>Uten' lakan</i></b> “Restrain, prohibit”	Hold back the unripe rice	Ø	Preparation for the opening of the harvest, requests for authorizations from the spirits
April or May	<b><i>Geta'</i></b> or <b><i>polo man</i></b> ( <i>piton hora</i> “spitting on the baskets”)	Harvest rice	<b>MEN</b> • <b><i>Haman opak bé lun</i></b>	Myth of the origin of rice in chain
			• <i>Gokén</i>	Chorus with duet, myth of the origin of rice
			• <i>Lian semogon</i>	Two-part male song with chorus in response

	<i>léa'</i> “Break of the bans”		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•<i>Najan</i> Male repertoire for two voices—8 melodic-rhythmic patterns according to the time of day</li> <li>•<i>Berasi panalaran</i> Male walking song in two voices in counterpoint</li> <li>•<i>Haman</i> Young men’s threshing song repertoire</li> <li>•<i>Go’ok</i> Repertoire of male two-voice singing with ostinato</li> </ul>
			<p><b>WOMEN</b> Female duets consisting of <i>Léko</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Berasi geta'</i> <i>lau, Epan puken, Témoa, Kakako, Bau léko léra géré, To kéto, Musang...</i></li> <li>• <i>Lian kenolon</i> Women’s duets and chorus</li> </ul>
July	<i>Pula’ tahan</i> “Treading the rice”	Threshing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>Haman opak belun</i></b> Song of the myth of the origin of rice, chain dance</li> <li>• <i>Lian semogon</i> Male song in two parts with chorus in response</li> <li>• <i>Go’ok</i> Male song with two voices</li> </ul>
August	<i>Rekan wata wu’u</i> “Eat the new corn”	Feeding the <i>guna dewa</i> stones	Ø

Figure n°3: Waiklibang harvest song (*najan*) according to the time of day

Lamaholot	Time	Translation	Repertoire Names and Song Titles
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<i>Nokon mo</i>	3 am	Still the night	<b><i>Lian naman</i></b> , “Songs in the dance space”
<i>Gulen wati, Ekan dahé’</i>	5 am	Not yet morning, dawn.	<b><i>Najan gulen wati</i></b> , “Call of the dawn” Song: <i>Hogo ko</i> , “Get Up”
<i>Gulen, Lera géré kia’</i>	7–8 am	Morning Sunrise	<b><i>Najan gulen</i></b> , “Call of morning” Song: <i>Léro weli géré</i> , “The sun rises there” Song: <i>Honi hora o mako-mako</i> , “Ready the baskets”
<i>Tonga widé, Lera plate</i>	10 am	Look up, hot sun	<b><i>Najan wajako</i></b> , “Call of the areca nut” Song: <i>Wajako wua Tonu béra wajak kaé</i> Song: <i>Limako-limako</i> Song: <i>Raé ilé o ilé</i> Song: <i>Tuen duli-duli</i>
<i>Leron, Rera lega’</i>	12 pm	Noon sun, midday sun	<b><i>Najan lera leron</i></b> , “Call of midday” <b><i>Najan kolin’ tepo</i></b> , “Call of the palm leaf” Song: <i>Adé koli’ tepo</i> Song: <i>Woi é kuna soko</i>
<i>Ketohé</i>	2 pm	Loud voices	<b><i>Najan ketohé</i></b> , “Call of loud voices” Song: <i>Ongéno ié asu obon balik</i> Song: <i>Ténalé ténalé to Ema’ olé Bapa’</i>
<i>Lera owa, Owa</i>	3 pm	Afternoon sun, afternoon	<b><i>Najan lera owa, lera lere’</i></b> , “Call of sundown” Song: <i>Kukak maten tobi turu’</i> , “The blackbird sleeps in the tamarind tree”
<i>Wai doé nuan</i>	4 pm	Far away water	Ø (still time to fetch water from a certain distance)
<i>Rera baun lera léré</i>	5 pm	Low sun, falling sun	<b><i>Najan lera lere’</i></b> , “Call of sunset” Song: <i>Kolo turu’ ko ho</i> , “I go home to sleep”
<i>Ekan béruren</i>	6 pm	Moment of darkness, twilight	<b><i>Najan perawi’</i></b> , “Call of the supplicant”

			Song: <i>Biné' koré' léro lera</i> , “Sister, when the sun sets”
<i>Nokon</i>	7 pm	Night	<i>Lian naman</i> , “Songs in the dance space”
<i>Nokon doan</i>	3 am	Far Night	<i>Lian naman</i> , “Songs in the dance space”

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