

# The River Civilization of the Balinese and Dayakese Legends: A Comparative Study on Anthropological Linguistics

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## Abstract

Legend is a kind of traditional knowledge which consists of various explanations reflecting the ethnic world views and social practices of a community. It is also considered as a very simple knowledge product of traditional community although it sometimes has very broad meanings. Legend texts of *Tirta Solas* and *Tampara Tatum* belonging to the Balinese and the Dayakese (Dayak Ngaju people) in Central Kalimantan, which use rivers as the setting of stories, can reveal the embryonic knowledge of local cultures. Based on anthropolinguistics, this article discusses the river civilizations of the two ethnic groups have socio-cultural similarities and differences in religious systems – as the two native ethnic community groups share the livelihood of taking advantages of a river and practice the Hinduism based – the Balinese refers to India and the Dayakese to native people beliefs; social organization, which also influences their arts closely related to their beliefs; and livelihood system in taking advantages of a river.

**Keyword:** river civilization, folktales, and socio-cultural values

## Abstrak

Legenda merupakan salah satu tradisi berpengetahuan yang merefleksikan berbagai pandangan suatu etnik tentang berbagai aspek dunia, praktik sosial dan juga pandangan ideal suatu komunitas. Legenda juga dipandang sebagai produk pengetahuan yang sangat sederhana namun terkadang memiliki wilayah makna yang cukup luas. Teks legenda *Tirta Solas* dan *Tampara Tatum* yang berasal dari etnik Bali dan Dayak (Dayak Ngaju) di Kalimantan Tengah

memiliki kesamaan, yaitu berlatar (*setting*) sungai. Kedua legenda tersebut merupakan embrio pengetahuan yang mengandung nilai-nilai budaya lokal tentang peradaban sungai. Dilandasi teori Antropolinguistik, artikel ini membahas peradaban sungai kedua etnik mempunyai kesamaan dan perbedaan nilai-nilai sosial kultural, yaitu pada sistem religi – keduanya memeluk agama Hindu walaupun berbeda secara administratif dan sejarahnya – Hindu Bali berasal dari India dan Hindu Kaharingan merupakan kepercayaan komunitas setempat, sistem organisasi sosial yang kemudian mempengaruhi system seni dan budaya yang memang erat hubungannya dengan sistem religi, dan sistem mata pencaharian dalam memanfaatkan sungai bagi kehidupan kedua etnik.

**Kata kunci:** peradaban sungai, legenda, nilai sosial budaya

## 1. Introduction

One part of local wisdoms that belongs to an ethnic group is the mother tongue, which functions as a valuable tool for communication and for passing down the culture to inter-generations, as culture is similar to a mother who cares for her infant. Indeed, every ethnic group has its own cultural frame. Therefore, one of the cultural elements is the knowledge system of the group members, which is passed down from one generation to another through the medium of a language. It can be said that language as a cultural element has a very important position in the culture of a community.

The important aspect of a language in the concept of *parole* is because of the dynamism and productivity of a language in representing ideas and human thoughts. Meanwhile, language in the concept of *langue* and historical dimension can be aligned with the culture sites and artefacts that they align with the elements of other cultures (Sutrisno, 2009: 50). Moreover, the nature of a language is a tool for thought reflection. Human thinks through language and the process of thinking has a sequence that is known as reasoning. Reasoning is represented through a concept of lexicon, grammar, and semantics of an individual or

a social member. The theory of reasoning focuses on a text of a language. In systemic-functional linguistics, the text records the thoughts and they are represented as lexico-grammar (Eggins, 2004), while the semantic representations lay on meanings and cultural value records as proposed by Folley (2012).

In ancient civilization history, Egypt has the River Nile with a 700 mile length and 15 miles width. In summer, this river flows up in most the regions for about 3 months. The water consists of sediments, and after the flood subsides, the alluvial would be very fertile for farming. The farmers will get the benefits from this condition. In this case, the Egyptians owe their lives to the River Nile. Honouring the river, the Egyptian created songs,

Greeting to thee, O Nile, who hast revealed thyself throughout the land, who comest in peace to give life to Egypt. Does it rise? The land is filled with joy, every heart exults, every being receives its food, every mouth is full. It brings bounties that are full of delight, it creates all good things, it makes the grass to spring up for the beasts (Seignobos, 2006).

Referring to the texts of the ancient civilization for the River Nile, the Egyptians honoured to this river highly. The symbiotal relationships between human beings and their environment created a great civilization.

As sites and artefacts, language can be said as a text based on the concept of Systemic-Functional Linguistics. Cultural texts belonged to an ethnic group, such as legends or folktales, might represent recorded language events which consist of natural thinking, perspective or knowledge systems of the ethnic members of a community. Therefore, the Balinese natural thinking can be traced through the culture of Balinese language. Similarly, the natural thinking of the Dayakese (of the Dayak Ngaju community) can be drawn from the culture in the Dayak Ngaju language. So, cultural texts of legends or folktales are the cultural products which record the ethnic group's cultural values. One of the ethnic cultural values is river civilization. In their traditional dimensions, the Balinese and the Dayakese

exploit rivers as the medium of knowledge expressions for creating ideas and opinions of cultural products framing their life. These cultural texts of folktales or legends consist of lingual expressions that have valuable meanings.

The legend of *Tirta Solas* ‘eleven rivers’ mentions 11 pure or sacred water springs (sacred: for ritual purposes) that belong to the Balinese community in Medahan village, of Blahbatuh Gianyar District in Bali, and the legend of *Tampara Tatum* ‘first ancestor’ belongs to the the Dayak Ngaju community in Central Kalimantan (called CK) are the two important texts from the perspectives of anthropological linguistics, which can be used to find out the cultural values, especially of the river civilizations, of the two ethnic communities.

From the discussion above, research questions are as follows: (1) what are the lingual expressions of the legends of *Tirta Solas* and *Tampara Tatum*?; (2) what are the river civilizations included in the two legends?; (3) what are the similarities and differences of socio-cultural values between the two ethnic communities?

## 2. Methodology

This research applies the framework of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (Eggins, 2004: 21), which explains that linguistic systems of a language realize as words/ sounds (graphology/ phonology) as the expressions along with their grammar (lexico-grammar) and the contents of the language realize on their meanings (semantics). The data were selected from the expressions/ lexical items of the legends of *Tirta Solas* and *Tampara Tatum* to have their contents/ meanings. Then, a meta-analysis method (Marzano, 1998) was used to compare the expressions and their contents found in the legends with the characteristics of two ethnic communities, the Balinese and the Dayakese, so that the river civilization can be revealed to show the socio-cultural values of both ethnic groups.

### 3. Data

#### *a. Legend of Tirta Solas*

The legend is originally from Bali which tells about *Ida Pancaka Tirta* who came down from heaven to the district Keramas Blahbatuh, Gianyar, laid in east side of Tukad Pakerisan 'river pakerisan'. Then, Ida started his travelling from *Dalem Pingit* 'temple for the Hindu' in the upstream of River Pakerisan. He found many shapes and conditions of the river branches, so that he acknowledged the rivers as the conditions, such as *Tirta Mumbul* 'water fountain' (*tirta* can be 'water for ritual' or 'river'), *Tirta Sumedi* (Sumedi 'yoga') as Ida did yoga in the river, and *Tirta Naga Kunci* 'river dragon key' as he saw a big stone like a dragon head. All of the rivers flowed downstream and were called *Tukad Aud-audan* 'river so many' or *Tirta Solas* 'eleven rivers' (originally written in Balinese by Suryaningrat et.al., 2009)

#### *b. Legend Tampara Tatum*

This legend was previously broadcasted in the Indonesian Radio (RRI) in 2008, and in 2010 it was written by Nahan and Rampai in a similar version. The legend is about the ancestors of *Tambun Bungai* who decided to move to a safe place after being attacked by the enemy from the Mahakam River area (East Kalimantan). Before moving, they held a ceremony of *Manajah Antang* 'a ceremony using a mediator of *antang* bird' to ask God which place they had to go. As the bird indicated *River Rungan* was the best place, the people moved to the areas along that river. To detect whether the places along River Rungan were suitable to live or not, the leader brought a magically powered cock *Atung Sempung*. So, by the cock crowing, each family got off from *lanting* 'a big traditional boat' and occupied an area along the river. The areas of each family, then, became villages, acknowledged as the ancestor of *Tambun Bungai* (Nahan and Rampai, 2010)

#### 4. Findings

The inhabitants of the hundreds of islands in Indonesia have similar characteristics between or among their beliefs. Bali and Kalimantan (especially for CK) are separated by oceans but they have similar characteristics in their beliefs: Hinduism, although they are quite different in some ways. While the Balinese commonly use the term of *Hindu Bali* for their beliefs, the Dayakese (native people of CK) use *Hindu Kaharingan*. Hinduism is regarded as a religion/ belief that is closely related to the environment: they use water, flowers, rice, and other animated equipment in conducting prayers or rituals.

The topography of these two regions is also similar as they have many rivers, although Central Kalimantan has more in number and size. The two ethnic community groups use the river water for rituals and other daily needs. They also have texts of legends with rivers as the setting of stories. The lexical items used in the two legends can reveal the similarities and differences of socio-cultural values of the two ethnic groups: the Balinese and the Dayakese.

##### a. *Lexical Items on the Legends of Tirta Solas and Tampara Tatum*

The legends of *Tirta Solas* and *Tampara Tatum* are included in narrative text within the prose genre. The narrative text usually tells a fictional story of a hero, a special experience, or a place that can be related to the present day circumstances although there are some distortions within. It means that the historical evidences in a legend can be traced up to now. Similarly, *Tampara Tatum* is a legend with the participants and circumstances which are relevant to the present day facts (Luardini, 2008).

The generic structures of the two legends are also similar; they have *opening-body-closing*, similarly as the orientation – complication – resolution. However, the two legends are focused on the segmentation of a trip: *Tirta Solas* is the travelling of a specific participant of *Ida Pancaka Tirta* from the upstream in *Tukad Pakerisan* to the downstream in *Tukad Aud-audan* or *Tirta Solas*, while *Tampara Tatum* is a cruising of community members

to find a safe place to live along the river of *Rungan*. The aim of such texts varies from entertaining, educating, and providing information as the texts usually consist of local cultural values of the legend owners.

Based on the language artefacts in *Tirta Solas* legend, some prominent lexical items are:

- *Tirta* 'sacred water'
- *Tirta Solas* 'river eleven'
- *Ida Pancaka Tirta* 'god of water'
- *Timba lesu* 'bucket shape'
- *Tirta mumbul* 'sacred water in fountain shape'
- *Tirta Keris* 'sacred water in *Keris* shape'
- *Tirta Perancak* 'sacred water of Peracak'
- *Tirta Suranadi* 'sacred water of river Suranadi'
- *Tirta Sumedi* 'sacred water of river Sumedi'
- *Tirta Naga Kunci* 'sacred water of river Naga Kunci'
- *Tirta Abais* 'sacred water of river Abais'
- *Tirta Bulan* 'sacred water of river Bulan'
- *Tirta Gelung* 'sacred water of river Gelung'
- *Tirta Pangeger* 'sacred water of river Pangeger'
- *Tirta Sudamala* 'sacred water of river Sudamala'
- *Tirta Suang Salukat* 'sacred water of Salukat'
- *Anak Agung Maruti* 'king of Maruti'
- *Pura Masceti* 'Masceti temple'
- *Pura Prajurit* 'temple for soldiers'
- *Nunas toya ajeng* 'take drinking water'
- *Yadnya* 'religious ceremony'
- *Tajen jangkrik* 'gambling on crickets race'
- *Arja* 'art of Arja/ happiness'
- *Ngenteg Linggih* 'a ceremony for god of water'

The prominent lexical items from *Tirta Solas* legend have revealed the denotative and connotative meanings. The lexical item *tirta* has the meanings of (1) religion, that there is a Tirta religion, an other name for old Hinduism as this religion adores water as the manifestation of God through the existence of *Wisnu*, (2) sacred water for ritual and mundane water with *Ida Pancaka Tirta* as the god of water, and (3) river. The lexical item *solas* or 'eleven' symbolizes a number above 10 (ten), or unlimited number. It can be assumed from the expression of *Eka Dasa Rudra*

(*eka* ‘one’ *dasa* ‘ten’ = eleven Rudra ‘face’ or similar as *wiswarupa* or thousand faces. *Tirta solas*, then, means many water-springs or at least more than ten. Moreover, the lexical item *tirta* includes not only sacred water but also a place for prayer or a Hindu temple. Every place with the first name of *Tirta*, such as *Tirta mumbul* or *Tirta Naga Kunci* has the meaning of a sacred place that uses water for its religious functions. It is the reason why Hindu temples are usually built by using local beautiful design and ornamentation.

Beside *tirta*, the other prominent lexical item is *Anak Agung Maruti*. The expression of *Anak Agung* means ‘the powerful man’ or ‘king’, and *Maruti* is a human name. The other is *Pura Pajurit*, in which *pura* ‘temple’ and *prajurit* ‘soldier’, so that this expression is closely related to a kingdom.

The other lexical item is *arja* or ‘a traditional art’ and *tajen jangkrik*; *tajen* ‘traditional gambling’ *jangkrik* ‘cricket’ or a gambling game using crickets as the medium. At the end of the story, there is a phrase of *nunas toya ajeng* ‘take water continuously’, which means that the community lived along the riverbank can take the *toya* ‘water’ along the year for farming irrigation and daily needs. There are three lexical items for water written in the legend; *tirta*, *toya* and *banyu*; which *tirta* is the highest term for religious functions and *banyu*, *toya* – other is *iyeh* – are the lexical items for water in common use but they can be placed in higher level based on the contextual use.

Furthermore, the lexical items in *Tampara Tatum* legend of the Dayak Ngaju community can be listed as follows.

- *Tatum* ‘ancestors’
- *Lewu Rangan Marau* ‘village Rangan Marau’
- *Ngaju* ‘headwater’
- *Sungey Joroy* ‘river Joroy’
- *Sungey Barito* ‘river Barito’
- *Kawan* ‘fellowship’
- *Mandup* ‘hunting’
- *Sungey Mahakam* ‘river Mahakam’
- *Rombongan* ‘group’
- *Pindah* ‘move to’



- *Manajah Antang* 'ceremony of Manajah Antang'
- *Sungey Kantingan* 'river Katingan'
- *Sungey Samba* 'river Samba'
- *Sungey Kahayan* 'river Kahayan'
- *Mananjung* 'walk away'
- *Lanting* 'traditional boat' or 'floating house'
- *Namuei* 'warder about'
- *Atung Sempung* 'a cock name/ Atung Sempung'
- *Manuk jagau* 'cock'
- *Masuh* 'go downstream'
- *Mambesai* 'have a sail'
- *Mamantau* 'beating'
- *Garantung* 'traditional music tool of gong'
- *Gandang* 'traditional drum'
- *Konong* 'traditional music tool of kenong'
- *Lompat* 'go up'
- *Tumbang* 'estuary'
- *Manampa* 'seek'
- *Pabelum* 'life'
- *Tumbang Rungan* 'estuary of river Rungan'
- *Tumbang Miri* 'estuary of river Miri'
- *Himba* 'forest'
- *Hamusu* 'hostile'

The lexical items in this legend reflect a meaning that the Dayak Ngaju community has river knowledge from the upstream to downstream shown by the lexical items of *sungey* 'river', *ngaju* 'upstream' and *masuh* 'go downstream', and *tumbang* 'estuary'. Then, the related lexical items of *kawanan* 'a group of people', *pindah* 'move', *namuei* 'warden' or 'nomad', *manampa* 'seek', and *pabelun* 'life' have a unity meaning of an ethnic community group living in riverbanks by doing shifting cultivation (warden) or hunting in the jungle, and have sufficient knowledge of rivers as their mode of transportation for moving, as evidenced by the use of *lanting* 'traditional boat'.

Moreover, the lexical items of *Sungey Joroy* 'River Joroy', *Sungey Barito* 'River Barito', *Sungey Mahakam* 'River Mahakam' and *himba* 'forest/ jungle' can represent the area of this community spread across the Borneo Island which *River Joroy* is used as the borderline of CK and West Kalimantan; the River Mahakam for CK and East Kalimantan; River Barito for CK and

## West Kalimantan.

Next, lexical items *manuk jagau* ‘cock’ *Atung Sempung* and *batuah* ‘having magic power’ have a close relation to supernatural beings – comparable to *londong* ‘cock’ in Toraja language and beliefs, which represents God. In addition to the cock, there are also lexical items, such as *mamantau* ‘beat’, *garantung* ‘traditional music tool of gong’, *kanong* and *gandang* ‘traditional music of kenong and drum’ which represent arts. Moreover, the lexical items of *Manajah Antang* ‘ceremony of asking God for making decision by using *Antang* media of bird’, *Atung Sempung* and the cock as the symbol of supernatural beings indicate a religious culture within the community.

All the lexical items and their symbolical meanings show that the Dayakese have an extensive control over territory with a wide and long river, in which the river has given the community a system of culture as well as a livelihood. Indeed, the lexicon of *lanting* ‘traditional boat’ denotes the implementation of high technology as this boat was able to ferry so many people. In summary, all lexical items of the two legends show the river civilization through socio-cultural values of the Balinese and the Dayakese.

### b. *River Civilization on the Legends*

Civilization derives from a verb *civilize* with one of the definitions of “an advanced state of human society, in which a high level of culture, science, industry, and government has been reached”. More specifically, river civilization in this article refers to the community members’ knowledge in recognizing their existences and positions in making use of the benefits of rivers as a part of their daily life. Cosmologically, the existence of a river is balanced to other resources, such as human beings, animals, plants, or air.

Modern civilization is easily recognized by its physical evidences, while old civilization is relatively difficult to discover depending on the remaining artefacts. So as for the river civilization of the Balinese and the Dayakese ethnic groups which have very limited physical artefacts, the language artefact

constitutes one of the valuable artefacts that can be found through the legend texts. Language as a part of a culture might record the ideas and opinions of the owners and can be used to trace the cultures through the semantic analysis of lexicogrammar to reveal the meanings, values, and ideology of the civilization itself. The river civilization existed in the legends of Balinese *Tirta Solas* and Dayakese of *Tampara Tatum* can be analyzed from the meanings of lexical items.

Based on the prominent lexical items' explanation of the legends, the river civilization can be described on the table below.

Table: River Civilization within *Tirta Solas* and *Tampara Tatum* Legends

No.	River Civilization	Legends	Lexical Items
1	Religious system	Tirta Solas	<i>tirta</i> 'sacred water, <i>pura</i> 'temple', and <i>Ida Pancaka Tirta</i> 'the god of water' <i>Ngenteg Linggih</i> 'a ceremony for god of water'
		Tampara Tatum	<i>Manajah Antang</i> 'ceremony of <i>Manajah Antang</i> ' and <i>manuk jagau Atung Sempung</i> 'a magically powerful cock of <i>Atung Sempung</i> '
2	Social system	Tirta Solas	<i>Anak Agung Maruti</i> 'king of Maruti' and <i>Pura Pajurit</i> 'temple for soldier'
		Tampara Tatum	<i>kawanan</i> 'a group of people', <i>pindah</i> 'move', <i>namuei</i> 'warden' or 'nomad', <i>manampa</i> 'seek', and <i>pabelun</i> 'life'
3	Art system	Tirta Solas	<i>arja</i> 'traditional art' and <i>tajen jangkrik</i> 'cricket gambling'
		Tampara Tatum	<i>mamantau</i> 'beat', <i>garantung</i> 'traditional music tool of gong', <i>kanong</i> and <i>gandang</i> 'traditional music of kenong and drum'
4	Livinghood system	Tirta Solas	<i>nunas toya ajeng</i> 'take water continuously'
		Tampara Tatum	<i>namuei</i> 'warden' or 'nomad', <i>manampa</i> 'seek', <i>pabelun</i> 'life', and <i>himba</i> 'forest/ jungle'

Of the four river civilizations' items taken from the *Tirta Solas* legend, the religious system is the most prominent. Quantitatively, the number of lexical items related to religious functions is the most dominant, especially in dealing with the field of narrative text and the participants. It is also based on the fact that the River Pakerisan is very deep, steep, and serpentine like the shape of *keris* 'creese' or 'ceremonial knife of the Balinese and Javanese'. Indeed, this river is suitable for religious purposes due to the sound of the creek and its topography. On the other hand, river civilization on *Tampara Tatum* legend is dominated by social system based on the characteristics of the field and participants who live along riverbanks and gain the advantages from these rivers.

The socio-cultural values derived from the river civilization of *Tirta Solas* and *Tampara Tatum* legends are drawn as the following.

- (1) How the Balinese and the Dayakese envisage the natural for their living and their future as the legends reported that the two community groups had engaged in positive actions in relation to the rivers and water. The Balinese regarded water as a sacred entity, along with the need to maintain the gift from God.
- (2) The perception on space and time as they realized and considered water as a vital natural resource that should be preserved for their future generation.
- (3) The natural relationship among human beings as they have collateral and horizontal orientation and community ligament.

The three aspects of socio-cultural values above can be analyzed from the similarities and differences of both ethnic community groups.

## 5. Comparison and Contrast of the Socio-Cultural Values

To have a clear description about the similarities and differences of socio-cultural values taken from the two legends

of the Balinese and the Dayakese, it is important to know the setting of those legends.

#### 1. The Setting of *Tirta Solas*

Bali has at least 30s big and small rivers which can be found in every regency. Gianyar Regency has a big river named River Pakerisan. This river flows from Lake Batur in Bangli Regency and it never dries. From the upstream to the downstream, this river has many historical sites but the most popular site is Tampaksiring site in which Pura Tirta Empul is used for several religious functions.

The downstream flow of River Pakerisan from Medahan District to Gianyar beach is famous by the name of *Tirta Solas* 'river eleven'. Although there are eleven rivers in the downstream of Pakerisan River, culturally they are seen as one mainstream.

#### 2. The setting of *Tampara Tatum*

CK has more than 20 big rivers and hundreds of river-branches. Most of the rivers are interconnected to each other, which make a network of river transportation lines. Often, these river intersections are used as places for public activities, such as traditional markets, or even end up becoming towns, such as Kuala Kapuas or Muara Teweh.

One of the biggest rivers in CK is the Kahayan River with the upstream originated in the Schwanner Mountains of West Kalimantan and the downstream in Sebangau coastline of CK. This river is used as the setting for *Tampara Tatum* legend as well as its branch and sub-branch rivers of Rungan and Miri. The language artefacts show that the community occupying along these riverbanks are actually from a single ancestor.

From the explanation of river civilization and setting of the legends, the comparison and contrast of socio-cultural values can be discussed based on four aspects: religious system, social, arts, and livelihood.

### a. Religious System

The two ethnic groups claim the name of their beliefs of Hinduism, although they are different in many ways; *Hindu Bali* for the Balinese and *Hindu Kaharingan* for the Dayakese in CK. The *Hindu Bali* is originated from India, and *Hindu Kaharingan* was previously a native culture of the Dayakese. However, the two communities use the same animated entities, such as rice, flower, and water to hold prayers and other religious ceremonies, although these entities are taken from and used for differently by the two community groups.

Related to the existence of rivers, the Hindu Bali believes that some water/ rivers are sacred entities; therefore, they should be preserved and maintained. To preserve the water or river, the community build *pura* ‘Hindu temple’ in each sacred river and use its *tirta* ‘sacred water/ river’ for religious purposes. Based on the *Tirta Solas* legend, there is a trinity concept within three lexical items: *tirta* ‘water’, *pura* ‘temple’ and *Ida Pancaka Tirta* ‘the god of water’ which means the sacred place to ask for water – *tirta*, the sacred water belonging to *Ida Pancaka Tirta* is preserved and maintained in a temple to provide the people with water for prayer. The people who ask water from a temple have to bring *sesajen* ‘offering’ for the God. This old trinity concept is popular as *Brahmana* civilization (see: a social caste of the Balinese). However, another common name for god of water is Wisnu, and so the Balinese conduct *Ngenteg Linggih* ‘religious ceremony to honour Wisnu’ each year.

Similarly, *Hindu Kaharingan* is derived from *Danum Nyalung Kaharingan Belum* (*Danum* ‘water’ *Nyalung* ‘water’ *Kaharingan* ‘life’ *Belum* ‘life’). So, this belief system also considers water as an essential part of living. However, *Hindu Kaharingan* does not adopt the existence and rules of the Hindu as *Kaharingan* was previously a native culture/ belief up to 1972 when the native people struggled to have the government acknowledge this belief, so that it could be associated with one of five official religions in Indonesia. The closest ritual services and rules to *Kaharingan* are found in Hinduism, and so it becomes *Hindu Kaharingan*.

*Hindu Bali*, which is similar as Hinduism in India, uses *Weda* 'Veda' as its holy text, while *Hindu Kaharingan* uses *Panaturan* which is released in 2003 in Dayak Ngaju language and Indonesian. While *Hindu Bali* acknowledges some gods, such as *Dewa Wisnu*, *Dewi Saraswati*, or *Dewa Ruci*, *Hindu Kaharingan* admits its beliefs that all natural places, such as earth, river (water), and air have their own super-power which possess the areas, as stated in *Panaturan* (Majelis Besar Agama Hindu Kaharingan, 2003) article 1.

... penguasa alam atas bernama Ranying Mahatara Langit (Ranying Hatalla) bersama istrinya Jatha Jalawang Bulau, penguasa alam bawah, sepakat untuk menciptakan dunia, dengan diawali penciptaan Batang Garing.

'... the chief of universe is Ranying Mahatara Langit (Ranying Hatalla) with his wife Jatha Jalawang Bulau, the commander of down natural, make agreement to create the earth through Batang Garing 'living tree'.

So, rivers in *Hindu Kaharingan* beliefs have *Jatha* 'crocodile', a manifestation of god, who takes control of rivers and any water-beings. It is the reason that *Hindu Kaharingan* does not build prayer places along the riverbanks.

It can be said that Hinduism for the Balinese and the Dayakese in CK are different religion systems historically and administratively.

### **b. Social System**

The two legends show different social systems of the Balinese and the Dayakese within their lexical items. In *Tirta Solas*, the lexical items of *Ida Pancaka Tirta* 'god of water' *Anak Agung Maruti*, *Anak Agung* 'the powerful man' or 'king', and *Maruti* 'Maruti' and *Pura Pajurit* 'temple for soldier' indicate that the Balinese has strata or castes in its social system. These lexical items describe the civilizations of *Brahmana*, *Ksatria* and *Waisya*, and *Sudra*. (1) *Brahmana* 'the highest caste/ priest', indicated by the lexical item of *Ida Pancaka Tirta*, has the implication that everyone asks *tirta* to conduct prayers and only this caste can

possess a *pura* 'temple' for serving the people and for meditation, (2) *Ksatria* 'the knight/ noble' and *Waisya* 'the guard', indicated by the lexical items of *Anak Agung Maruti* 'the king of Maruti' and *Pura Prajurit* 'temple for soldier' are those dealing with government and economic affairs, and (3) *Sudra* 'the lowest caste/ common people', indicated by lexical items of *nunas toya ajeng* 'take water continuously', *arja* 'traditional art' and *tajen jangkrik* 'cricket gambling', are those who continuously ask water from Brahmana caste for religious purposes and for daily needs. Also, *arja* and *tajen jangkrik* are two kinds of arts which are held by and for common people.

Another concept of caste systems is derived from four castes that are based on birth and occupation '*catur warna*': (1) *Sudra* for the slaves and the like by birth, such as the farm workers, (2) *Waisya* for economical decision and the like, such as merchants and public officers, (3) *Ksatria* for the government officers and similar positions, such as the governors, soldiers, and similar positions, and (4) *Brahmana*, the highest level, for the religious tasks, such as priests and other holy men. There is also another concept regarding the two groups of castes: (1) group 1, *triwangsa* 'three groups' which consists of *Brahmana*, *Ksatria* and *Waisya*, and (2) group 2, *jaba* 'common people' or 'people with no caste'. This caste system is closely related to the version of Hinduism that is found in India.

On the other hand, the lexical items in the *Tampara Tatum* legend mention that all families of a village moved to other safe places by using a big traditional boat of *lanting*, and one of the families was led by a lady. The verse indicates that all of the people in the legend were of equal rights. Furthermore, every family occupied villages along the River Rungan, from upstream of *Tumbang Rungan* 'Rungan estuary' to downstream in *Tumbang Miri* 'Miri estuary', it indicates that the social-system and kinship can be traced from the river they lived near. Anthropologically, the Dayak family name of a community group can be traced from the river's name, as in the Dayak Katingan 'the community from River Katingan' or the Dayak Kapuas from River Kapuas.



It can be said that the social system of the Dayakese is more closely related to the river civilization as they live in riverbanks, so as they are sometime called by river community (Luardini et.al., 2013).

### c. Arts

The two legends show some lexical items that indicate the kinds of arts: *arja* 'traditional art' and *tajen jangkrik* 'cricket gambling' in *Tirta Solas* legend, and *garantung* 'traditional music tool of gong', *kanong* and *gandang* 'traditional music of kenong and drum' in *Tampara Tatum*. In regards to music and traditional dances, the two ethnic groups share a similarity in which some traditional dances, usually called as sacred dances, are associated with the community religion/ beliefs: there is *pendet* dance for celebrating *God Yadnya* in Bali, and *Balian Dadas* dance for *Balian* ritual, a ritual in curing a patient by asking *Ranying Hatalla* 'Almighty God' favour and using traditional medicine.

However, the language systems of the two ethnic groups are quite different, as the Balinese has its own traditional scripts called as *aksara hanacara* beside Latin alphabets, but the Dayakese only use the Latin alphabet. Furthermore, the Balinese has *sor singgih* 'levels of language use' consisted of *alus singgih* 'the highest level of language use', *alus madya* 'the middle level', and *alus sor* 'the lowest level' (Adnyana, 2014). In *Tirta Solas* legend, there are four lexical items for water: *tirta*, *banyu*, *toya*, and *iyeh*, in which lexical item *tirta* is the highest level as functioning for religious purposes, while *iyeh* is the lowest. The Dayak language does not have strata, but its poetic style happens in semantic repetition, such as in the expressions of *Danum Nyalung Kaharingan Belum* (*Danum* 'water' *Nyalung* 'water' *Kaharingan* 'life' *Belum* 'life'), *muhun mandui* (*muhun* 'go down' *mandui* 'take a bath'), or *mihop babusau* (*mihop* 'drink', *babusau* 'drunk of alcohol').

The social system and religion rite influence the strata/ level in language use as evidenced by the fact that the Balinese practice a caste and the Dayakese adopt egalitarian system.

#### d. Livelihood

Based on the setting of the two legends, the two areas are surrounded by rivers, and the lexical items mention that two ethnic groups took advantages from the rivers: *nunas toya ajeng* 'take water continuously in *Tirta Solas* legend, and *masuk 'go downstream' mambesai 'sailing' in *Tampara Tatum* legend. Therefore, rivers in Bali and in CK have different uses as natural resources: Bali is famous for its natural beauty as part of its tourist attractions, while the natural resources in CK, such as rainforests are massively logged out for commercial purposes. The woods from CK are shipped out to Bali for making statues and furniture, but at the some time there is no widespread woodworking industry in CK except for the plywood companies.*

While each river in Bali is protected by building *pura* for the people to pray, some rivers in CK are destroyed by traditional gold mining. Tracing the places mentioned in the *Tampara Tatum* legend which said *Tumbang Miri* was the last community group, but now the community has spread back to upstream of *Miri River* at *Tumbang Tuwe* 'Tuwe estuary', the sub-branch of *Miri River*, directly downhill of *Pintik* with the reason of traditional gold mining (Luardini et. al, 2008). The damage of the rivers from illegal mining is aggravated by some negative practices of throwing household garbage to the river (Luardini et. al, 2013). These people actually realize that the river is an essential living source for fish or for transportation, but they neglect to preserve the river from harmful activities.

For the summary, lexical items written and implied in the two legends can describe the livelihood of the two ethnic community groups in different perceptions.

## 6. Conclusion

Based on the discussion of the two legend texts, this article concludes that the text of legends are cultural artefacts in the physical language, since they serve as a historical depository for all of the ethnic civilizations and help to preserve the local socio-

cultural values. The river civilization derived from lexical items on *Tirta Solas* of the Balinese and *Tampara Tatum* of the Dayakese share socio-cultural similarities and differences in the areas of

- (1) religion system in which both are Hindu but they have different historical and administrative aspects,
- (2) social system in which the Balinese adopts a caste system while the Dayakese is more egalitarian,
- (3) both ethnic community groups practice sacred dances as a form of art, and each uses different languages to perform these rituals as the Balinese has strata in its language systems but not for the Dayakese,
- (4) despite being surrounded by rivers, Bali does not have natural resources and CK has abundance of natural resources, which in turn, shape the respective communities' perspectives on how to preserve and maintain the natural resources.

Finally, further comparative studies are important in order to have a holistic picture and to broaden horizons toward the development and dynamism of human civilization for the next generation.

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