

Idealized Abstraction of the Concept of Human in Dayak Kanayatn's Byword and Its Importance in Dissolving Ethnic Conflicts in West Borneo

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Abstract— The Dayak Kanayatn's byword, “*Adil ka' Talino, Bacuramin ka' Saruga, Basengat ka' Jubata*”, is becoming more and more popular nowadays, thanks to its massive use in local Borneo formal and informal meetings. Deep structural analysis shows apparent traits of universality in each of its element and concept inferring the inclusive nature of the tribe. However, the violent historical background of the tribe as revealed in our recent observations, focus-group-discussions and in-depth-interviews demonstrated just the opposite. The conflict between this tribe and other ethnics has not been completely dissolved yet. As the Post-Structuralists insist, the existentialist experiences define the disruption of human nature. This paper intends to dissolve the dichotomy or at least tries to rationalize how the idealized abstraction derived from the byword did not always correspond with the real social encounters, either between this tribe and the others or even among themselves.

Keywords— human; Borneo; Dayak; Kanayatn; violence; conflict; post-structuralism

I. INTRODUCTION

Words and phrases are arbitrary, for each one of them is product of consensus. They are perceived, created and even defined by their very own anthropological and social context. Nevertheless, the result of the ever-changing meaning(s) of words doesn't necessarily render them implausible. Words and phrases are at the same time rational, for each one of them is product of mind (ratio). All knowledge of human being is formulated, imparted, reserved and inherited in words. One can argue some of the knowledge are already conceived in basic instincts and intuition of human. However, even those instincts and intuition are products of human mind (i.e. brain impulses) and then translated into words.

Words are absolute means necessary to communicate. As a logical consequence of this proposition, words must be reasonable (can be rationalized). Despite that, words are often

misunderstood because of many reasons; to say a few of them: demographical, sociological, psychological, emotional, spiritual, etc. Therefore, study of words is never obsolete and at the same time, never unidimensional. At this point, Structuralism comes strong to provide deep analysis on words with their idealized abstraction as starting point. Structuralists claim that at the background of every word, unique and distinct idealistic meaning must be evident for every human being using the same particular language (langue) in the same particular context.

This paper is an effort to understand the concept of human according to Dayak Kanayatn Tribe, not only in its structural and idealized context, but also to grab the possibilities of disruption of the concept as plausible result of their social encounter with the other tribes. The idealized abstraction itself can be found crystallized in their byword “*adil ka' talino, bacuramin ka' saruga, basengat ka' Jubata*”. The byword itself has been already recognized by Dayak Tribes universally as their shared philosophical byword and greeting, which is not a simple matter considering the vast differences in their customs and traditions, not to mention the diversities of their dialects. The purpose is to offer more understanding of the principle idealized values behind the phrase and thus, dissolve prejudices about the phrase. It appears among scholars that linguistics study of languages in Borneo is challenging. Problems rise mainly because of the enormous variants of the languages, yet somehow, they sprout from undefined cultural homogeneity and lexical similarities (King, 1982; Sorente, 2014). This situation is ideal for structuralism synchronistic approach. Nevertheless, the more diachronistic approach should also be elaborated in concern with the several intertribal conflicts occurred in the tribe's territory.

II. LAND OF CONFLICT

The Dayak Kanayatn territory along the western coast of West Kalimantan Province of Indonesian part of Borneo has

long been a conflict area. The most recent major conflict was just a decade ago between the ethnic of Dayak and the ethnic of Madura (1999). These conflicts were not caused by a stand-alone reason. The multifaceted social problems rendered this area tenuous against provocation. Poverty and slow economic growth bring about several complex socio-economic issues, such as illegal logging, illegal mining, human trafficking, drugs dealing and many other crimes. Globalization and rapid development of information and communication technologies

Poverty and slow economic growth in this area creates complex socio-economics issues. Illegal and non-environmental gold-mining, human trafficking, drug smuggling and massive deforestation are only some of the currently problems occur, sometimes on daily basis. These problems cannot be solved by simple equation. The poverty is worsened by problems in education of this district. Net Enrollment Rate (NER) of the Regencies alongside the western coast of West Kalimantan are far from decent. For example, the NER of Regency Bengkayang for primary school is 95,75%, which is not bad. However, the number declines significantly for intermediate students, 54,76%. Furthermore, the NER for high school students is only 40,37%. This number is far worse than national average NER, 77,95% for intermediate school and 59,95% for high school (Source: www.bps.go.id, accessed on April 21st, 2018). The slow economic growth might have just been the reason for the low NER in this district, but it isn't wrong to conclude otherwise, the low NER causes the slow economic growth.

Just recently, the distress signal towards social conflict is becoming more obvious because of the expansion of the palm-oil plantation companies. Many Dayak Kanayatn farmers sold their ancestral land to these companies. This major disruption towards ecosystem renders the traditional nomad farmers of Dayak Kanayatn tribe difficult to fulfill their mere basic needs. Furthermore, the large-scale palm-oil plantation causes the reduced amount of clean water. A mere unidimensional approach will not be enough. Pahlevi reports that in 2014 the total concession of palm-oil plantation in West Borneo had reached 4.9 million hectares. From that number, 841.610 hectares or about 17% of the plantation used to be rainforest [1].

The economic, education and ecological turbulent in an area defined its stability. For this fact, the Dayak Kanayatn tribe inhabiting their areas can be its witness. In the last decades, from 1962-1999, there were at least five major riots in District of Bengkayang and its neighbor, District of Sambas: (1) between the ethnic of Dayak and the ethnic of Chinese, in 1967 Regency of Sambas (consisted of nowadays Regency of Sambas and Regency of Bengkayang); (2) between the ethnic of Madura and the ethnic of Dayak, in 1979 District of Samalantan (now is part of Bengkayang Regency, formerly part of Sambas Regency); (3) between the ethnic of Madura and ethnic of Dayak, in 1996-1997 District of Sanggau Ledo (now is part of Bengkayang Regency, formerly part of Sambas Regency); (4) between ethnic of Madura and ethnic of Malay, early 1999 District of Sidas, Regency of Sambas; and (5) between ethnic of Madura and ethnic of Dayak, March 1999 District of Samalantan. The casualties of these five riots

reached thousands in number, with tens of thousands were forced to flee from their hometown. The material lost was in billions, but the real lost is the decline economic growth that eventually comes after.

Speaking of the last three riots above, Suparlan claims that they were unavoidable for several reasons. First, the injustice confiscation of cultural rights by the ethnic of Madura. Second, decades of negligence or even support by the authoritative power towards the injustice. Third, categorical relational



Figure 1

Split Skulls in the Segonde Village, District of Bengkayang;
Evidence of the Died-Out Practice of *Bakayau*

pattern (segregation) between the ethnic of Madura and other ethnics, which became base of the creation and infusion of each ethnic's stereotypical appellation. Fourth, the culture of violence among the Madurese itself worsened by their exclusivity in socializing and religious behavior. With these reasons in mind, Suparlan argues that the last three riots were not caused simply by economics discrepancy nor the differences in ideology, let alone religion [2]. Suparlan's argument needs further explanation, especially when he adds that the conflict is not resolved completely yet. Although each conflict was always ended by formal peace treaty, the future friction was never rendered impossible. In fact, during our observation and interview towards the Dayak Kanayatn tribe living in small villages, some of them isolated, the negative stereotyping and sentiment towards Madurese is still firm.

Poor socio-economics condition, low NER and ecological problems are the main correlated external factors in heightening the conflict risk in the area. If these reasons correspond with the violence nature of the people, the conflicts will be seemingly unavoidable. The Dayak Kanayatn Tribe has in fact, violence historical background. For example, during one of our observation trips, December 3rd, 2017, to a village called Dusun Segonde, Desa Pisak, Regency of Bengkayang, we found out that the inhabitants still preserved human skulls, silent evidence of their now no longer practiced tradition, *ngayau* or *bakayau*.

Bakayau was an act of cutting off enemy's head. The cutting could be done on the neck or on the upper half of the



Figure 2

Panyugu Pangancong Otak, Untang Village, District of Landak

head. According to the Chieftain of Desa Untang, another Dayak Kanayatn village in the Regency of Landak, there were several purposes in *bakayau*. First, it was a form of tribal self-defense towards their enemies. However, at one time of intense competition to gain more fertile territories, the tribes obliged their young males to bring back their enemies' skull as part of their coming to age ceremony. In some cases, *bakayau* was executed even among the males of the same village, especially when they were fighting over a girl.

Another evidence to violence historical background of Dayak Kanayatn is a traditional monument nearby a swamp area within a forest of Desa Untang. They called the stone monument as *panyugu pangancong otak*, literally means "brain exposing monument", but the phrase cannot be translated literally. I translate *panyugu* as "monument", but the complete meaning of the word is "dwelling place of the ancestral spirits". As for *pangancong otak*, it has connotative meaning which refer to possessed people. The Dayak Kanayatns expose their brain to the spirits, so they can be possessed. According to the elders of the village, the *panyugu* was erected in 1930 as a ritual place before they went to war or battle. They believed that it was there and then spirit of their ancestors possessed them and granted them the power to defeat their enemies. Following their victories, they brought back the skulls of their fallen foes and then presented them in another ritual before disposing the skulls into a swamp nearby. The swamp where the skulls are disposed into is called *danau pangancong otak*, which can be translated as "lake of the possessed ones". In normal situation, entry to this 'lake' area is strictly prohibited to the villagers, let alone outsiders. The last usage of the swamp was during the riot between the Dayak ethnic and Madura ethnic in 1999.

As obvious as the evidences might seem, some may question if the Dayak Kanayatn people really are violent in nature. We asked our respondents¹ which one was the utmost

important of these four options: (1) Living safely and prosperously; (2) Living culturally and well-mannered; (3) Living kindly and just towards others; and (4) Living in peace with nature and other people. The answers were almost evenly divided: 23% chose the first; 21% chose the second; 26% chose the third; and 29% chose the fourth; while the last 2% chose others. Living kindly towards others and living peacefully were two of the popular answers, with living safely and prosperously being the next popular one. According to one of the prominent leaders of Dayak Kanayatn, Jacobus Luna, Dayak Kanayatn is by nature a peaceful tribe. However, at the same time they demand to live safely and prosperously (*Luna, in-depth-interview*, October 16th, 2017). The result of the survey seemed to confirm or at least did not contradict Luna's insight. Being a Dayak Kanayatn himself, from Bekati subtribe, this former Regent of several Regencies in West Borneo continues to say that during the struggling era of the Dayak Kanayatn Tribe for survival, safety was absolute. Safety here means all necessary means to survive, such as food, water, houses etc. Therefore, the main concern of the men of Dayak Kanayatn tribe was to assure the safety of their own village, actively by killing the best warriors of neighboring village in *bakayau*, and in defense system towards their crop fields and village. When the Dayak Kanayatn tribe's safety as a whole suffered threat from foreign tribe, they passed around the infamous *mangkok merah* (red bowl) from village to village as an act of summoning allies to war.

From the historical view of the Dayak Kanayatn tribe, it seems plausible that threat to their safety could be a valid cause for them to renege their peaceful and kind nature. This somehow balance, and down-to-earth view of life has been crystallized beautifully in their byword: *adil ka' talino, bacuramin ka' saruga, basengat ka' jubata*. The byword was not casually made. The spirit behind its meaning was enough to make the entire tribe replies in agreement: "*Arus, arus, arus!*" which means: "Amen, it must be done as it!" The three times repetition speaks volume of their approval. What is the meaning of the byword? How far does its influence go beyond the border of the Dayak Kanayatn Tribe's territories? I hope that after the discussion below this byword might offer peaceful solution towards conflict between this tribe and the other tribes.

III. DAYAK KANAYATN'S FAMOUS BYWORD

The name "Dayak" is a relatively modern constructed idea. It only came to surface at the end of nineteenth century in the context of Dutch-colonialization (Maunati p. 59). At first, this appellation was an insult. The word "Dayak" and some of its variants has the meaning of "headwater". The word was then adopted by settlers to insult the local indigenous people as "people from headwaters". However, the title was gradually had evolution of meanings. Nowadays, native tribes living in Indonesian part of Borneo are generally identified as "Dayak" [3].

Dayak Kanayatn Tribe is the indigenous inhabitant of West Kalimantan, one of the Indonesian provinces of Borneo. The origin of the name "Kanayatn" is still in debate. [3]. The name was first mentioned by Dutch Catholic Missionary, Fr. Donatus Dunselman OFM.Cap In his classic publication

Dunselman refers the name Kendayan or Kanayatn to Dayak tribes living within the hills areas [4]. Kanayatn means hill, thus Dayak Kanayatn literal meaning is Dayak of the Hills. They live in area which nowadays includes several regencies in West Kalimantan, namely: Regency of Pontianak, Regency of Mempawah, Regency of Landak, Regency of Bengkayang, and Regency of Sambas [5].

Recently, the role of the Dayak Kanayatn Tribe in the Dayak societies nationally and internationally is prominent. While the rise of Dayak at the end of last millennia was triggered by sporadic movements throughout Borneo, it was at the heart of Dayak Kanayatn's territories the movements gained momentum. Many prominent leaders emerged from these areas. The euphoria of unity among Dayak tribes propelled figure like Cornelis, former regent of Landak Regency, towards Governorship of West Kalimantan (he reigned for two periods: 2008-2013 and 2013-2018). It was a great achievement from the perspective of Dayak in West Kalimantan. Cornelis was the second Dayak Governor since Oevaang Oeray reign from 1960-1966.

Albeit their important roles in the dynamics of political movements in West Kalimantan, the more important role of the Dayak Kanayatn Tribe derived from their philosophy. Their byword "*adil ka' talino, bacuramin ka' saruga, basengat ka' Jubata*" is one of the most expressed greetings in tribal meetings in Kalimantan. According to Jacobus Luna, one of the prominent figures of the tribe, this byword was introduced since the '70s as tribal philosophy and greetings in Dayak Kanayatn meetings, especially in the District of Sengah Temila, Regency of Landak and the District of Mempawah Hilir, Regency of Mempawah (Luna, *in-depth-interview*, October 16th, 2017). From its frequent use this byword gained its popularity and eventually it was announced on May 26th, 1985 at the First Official Ceremony of the Custom *Naik Dango* (the feast of first harvest of the year) at Anjongan, Regency of Pontianak, as the endorsed greeting in any tribal and cultural meeting among the Dayak in West Kalimantan. However, it took almost a decade for "*adil ka' talino, bacuramin ka' saruga, basengat ka' Jubata*" to be officially acknowledged in the Articles of Association (1994) of the West Kalimantan Council for Dayak Customs and Traditions as the formal byword and greeting among all Dayak tribes in West Kalimantan.

The achievement of the byword simply did not end in West Kalimantan. On November 12th, 2001, eminent leaders of Dayak community which represented West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, East Kalimantan and South Kalimantan, declared the establishment of the National Council for Dayak Customs and Traditions at Balikpapan, East Kalimantan. At that time there wasn't any agreement regarding common byword. Only on September 2006, during the Second Assembly of the National Council for Dayak Customs and Traditions, after some disputes, the byword was accepted nationally by Dayak communities throughout Indonesia. And finally, on August 9th, 2010, at the Borneo Dayak Forum in Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia, "*adil ka' talino, bacuramin ka' saruga, basengat ka' Jubata*" was approved as the common byword and greeting of Dayak communities worldwide.

IV. SYNCHRONISTIC MEANING OF THE BYWORD

What are the reasons for the byword to be acknowledged so widely? The way of the synchronistic approach can be aptly utilized to analyze these three philosophical principles of Dayak Kanayatn. Evidently, there are several semiotics questions derived from casual reading of it. For example, the first word "*adil*" is already a loanword. Nevertheless, this paper will not entirely exclude historical insights of the byword as it has been discussed above.

A. *Adil ka' Talino*

Adil (*noun, nominative, neuter*). *Adil* is clearly a loanword from Indonesian *adil*, which comes from the Arabic homophone derived from *عَدْل* ('adala) "to act justify". There is no word in Kanayatn Tribe's languages, such as *Banana'-Ahe*, *Badamea-Jare*, *Baampe* and all their other variants. (Rufinus et al., 2003) which has the same sense as *adil*. In its syntaxes context, this word should be a noun, instead of an adjective. In Indonesian, *adil* as noun usually attached to affixes "*-ke-*" and "*-an*" to produce the word *keadilan*, which means "just traits (in acts, behaviour, etc.)" (Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, www.kbbi.web.id accessed on November 29th, 2017). It is usually and rightfully translated into "justice". *Keadilan*, and thus *adil* in Kanayatn Tribe's languages, has broad sense: "to act just", "to behave just", "to live just", "to be just", and even "to exist just". Hence, the word doesn't only have ethical sense, but also social, existential, and philosophical senses.

Regarding the Aristotelian categorisation of justice, *keadilan* seems to include all these meanings: (1) *iustitia commutativa*: in sense that everyone should receive compensation in accordance with the value of thing(s) she/he gives or trades; (2) *iustitia distributiva*: everyone should receive justice in accordance with her/his professionalism, sacrifice, merit and contribution; (3) *iustitia legalis*: everyone has the same rights and obligation in front of the law for the merit of *bonum commune*, (4) *iustitia vindicativa*: everyone should recompense to any wrongdoings she/he does corresponding to the degree or/and impact of her/his crime in front of the law, (5) *iustitia creativa*: everyone has the same right to express their creativity in arts and culture free from any outer repression; and (6) *iustitia protectiva*: everyone is protected by the law from any wrongdoings that targets her/him. Moreover, there are still some addition meanings of the word *keadilan*, which correspond to reflective consequences. One must be just or truthful toward herself/himself. Only by being truthful or just toward herself/himself one can truly takes full responsibility in every deed she/he conducts.

Ka' (*preposition*). The preposition *ka'* in Kanayatn Tribe's languages cannot be univocally translated. Its function is highly depended on the context. In the phrase "*adil ka' talino*", the preposition can be translated as "toward" and/or "for".

Talino (*noun, accusative, neuter*). The noun *talino* can be simply translated as "human". However, the meaning of *talino* is deeper than mere about humanity. It is the first realm of three realms that arrange the natural order. The other two are

sabayatn (*Saruga*) and *Jubata* (Thomson, 2000). *Talino* is the realm on earthly order, social structure where people dwell.

The social structure of Dayak Kanayatn Tribe is somehow egalitarian [6]. They do not recognize class or strata division in their societies. Instead of appointing their tribal and cultural leaders according to their family background, they choose to elect them democratically [7]. People of Dayak Kanayatn Tribe in general incline toward pacifism. They would openly accept any stranger with great hospitality, even to live among them. Indeed, in the past several bloody conflicts between Dayak Kanayatn Tribe and other ethnics occurred. However, the riots were always due to large social-economic disruption background, especially, when blood related *adat* (heavy customs) was concerned.

To discuss more about the egalitarian nature of Dayak Kanayatn Tribe, the nouns in its languages do not have gender. They do not have gender segregation in formulating their pronouns either. For instance, the pronoun for third person singular, either for a man or a woman, is just simply “ia”. In their society, man and woman are treated as equal, regardless their different function and task in their society due to their physiology [8]. When asked about the meaning of *talino* during our survey, 97% respondents agreed that people from other tribes are *talino* as well.ⁱⁱ Therefore, “human” in Dayak Kanayatn Tribe’s view consists of all humanity.

With idealized abstraction through above syntax and semantics analysis, “*adil ka’ talino*” attains its very own personal, ethical, social and universal elements:

- 1) *Personal*. To be just to the others, one needs to be truthful first towards herself/himself.
- 2) *Ethical*. The phrase promotes fair and just way of life.
- 3) *Social*. To act just, to behave just, to be just, to exist just, not just toward everything, but toward human. This part of the byword is social in nature.
- 4) *Universal*. “Human” in the phrase refers to every man or woman and all nation in strong non-discriminative senses.

B. *Bacuramin ka’ Saruga*

Bacuramin (*verb, reflexive, all-person, neuter*). The word “*bacuramin*” is yet another loanword from Indonesian. It comes from the root word “*cermin*” which literally means “mirror”. This is a borrowed idea because the indigenous people of Borneo didn’t have original knowledge nor technology to make mirror. As a verb *bercermin* in Indonesian, other than “to look in the mirror for oneself reflection”, can also mean “to look/to gaze/to contemplate upon someone or something or event as (good or bad) example or lesson or goal” (KBBI, 2017). Semantically, *bacuramin* in the byword context can only mean the latter.

Ka’ (*preposition*). Here the preposition has sense “to” or “upon” or “toward”.

Saruga (*noun, accusative, neuter*). Another loanword from Indonesian, “*surga*” derives from Sanskrit *svarga*, स्वर्ग. According to Benediktus, instead of Hinduism or Buddhism concept, its true meaning was borrowed from Christianity

concept of “heaven” [9]. This claim is plausible concerning the mutual influences between *adat* Dayak and interpretation of Gospel in West Kalimantan, Indonesian Borneo [10]. The choice from the elders to use the word *saruga* instead of the original word of the second realm *sabayatn*, furthermore supports the argument. In its original meaning, *sabayatn* means the dwelling place of the deceased human spirits. It is an indifferent spiritual realm, where the deceased dwell temporarily in a journey towards *Jubata*. The human spirit in *sabayatn* can still linger with the living, and even can be summoned. There are possibilities at some point some of the spirits turned malevolently toward human and become evil. *Saruga*, however, is a final destination for every good spirit.

Idealized abstraction of the phrase “*bacuramin ka’ saruga*” reveals eschatological (from *eschatos* Greek: last/final) element of Dayak Kanayatn Tribe. The phrase presupposes the hope of better life after death. The idea of gazing upon heaven makes an impression of steady and intense will for life eternally in happiness. At this point, even not all believe in eternity of soul, quest for wellbeing is every man ideal way of life.

C. *Basengat ka’ Jubata*

Basengat (*verb, reflexive, all-person, neuter*). This reflexive verb is a metaphysical word. It is rather difficult to translate. The word is usually translated literally as *bernapas* to Indonesian. The noun *napas* in Indonesian has deeper root in نَفْسٌ *nafs* in Arabic or נֶפֶשׁ *nephesh* in Hebrew. The Indonesian word *napas* has only one meaning: “air inhaled through nose or mouth and then exhaled from lungs” (KBBI, 2017). Hence, as a verb, *bernapas* simply means “process of inhaling and exhaling air”. However, the noun *sengat* has meanings closer to the Arabic word *nafs* or Hebrew word *nephesh*. In Arabic *nafs* (masculine) means “self” (individuality, identity), which includes soul, psyche, spirit, mind, etc. (www.livingislam.org, accessed November 29th, 2017). The Hebrew noun *nephesh* (feminine) is biblical and has meaning “a soul, living being, life, self, person, desire, passion, appetite, emotion” (www.biblehub.com, accessed November 29th, 2017). *Sengat* in its full sense also has meanings “breath, soul, spirit, life, life force, life essence, psyche, mind, etc.”. Because of these various meanings of *sengat*, the translating of the verb *basengat* becomes problematic. It can mean “to project one’s soul”, “to integrate oneself”, “to inhale/take”, or simply “to breathe”. But, in the context of the byword, its function is everything but simple.

Ka’. In its non-simplistic context, it is difficult to discern the unique function the preposition. It can be translated as “to”, “as”, “toward”, “in”, “into”, or even “from”.

Jubata. This is another problematic word. In Dayak Kanayatn Tribe, the word *Jubata* generally accepted as the third realm of natural order. However, there is no consensus yet, and may never be one, about what it is. *Jubata* can be plural and singular. There are several *Jubata*, but it exists one *Jubata* who is higher than all the others. *Jubata* is the destination for spirits of the dead, but at same time there are *Jubata* who dwell in things, such as mountain, hills, tree, river, river banks, cave, big stone, fork in paths, entrance to the village, and even the peak

of the roof of *rumah radakng*, the traditional long house of the Tribe [10]. *Jubata* is/are indeed sacred, but not omnipresent and not a singular being in its full terms.

In several accounts, the idea of polytheism and even animism remain deep within Dayak Kanayatn Tribe's conscience. However, recently Andasputra and Vincentius clearly state that there is only one *Jubata*. In their account of the creation of human they explain that even though there are three persons who create human: *Jubata Ne' Panitah*, *Jubata Ne' Patampa/Jubata Ne' Pajanji*, and *Jubata Ne' Pangedokng*, there is only one *Jubata*. The one who utters the creating word is *Jubata Ne' Panitah*. After the creation *Jubata Ne' Patampa/Pajanji* is the one responsible to make the human in the image of *Jubata*. While, *Jubata Ne' Pangedokng* is the one who breathe into the human the breath of life. Thus, *Ne' Adam* and *Ne' Siti Hawa* is created. From the respondent of our survey's view, 67% agreed on this account of creation, that human was created by one God and the first human were Adam and Eve (*Hawa*). Even the next popular answer (21%) believed that human was created by *Jubata*.ⁱⁱⁱ This concept of creation is very similar, but still not the same as the account of Judaism, Christian, and Islam [5], especially in the term of *Jubata*.

If we are to translate *Jubata* into "God", especially the monotheistic God of Judaism, Christian, and Islam, the byword would be simpler to comprehend, yet not at all easy. Combined with *basengat*, the phrase will have spiritual and theological meaning, such as "breath together with God", "to integrate oneself into God", or "to project oneself toward God". Herein, one should question why the Tribe decided to choose *saruga* over *sabayatn* but prefer to preserve it (*Jubata*) in the byword. Probably behind this choice they still have unresolved conscience that they might still cling on their animistic and polytheistic views on natural order. Our survey shows that even most of our respondents were christian, more than a third (38%) still participated in their traditional customary animistic and polytheistic ritual at least once a year in these last five years. The others (23%) admitted they still went to those rituals at least three times a year. Only 10% of the respondents said they never participated in any of those rituals in these last five years.^{iv}

V. IDEALIZED ABSTRACTION AS A SOLUTION?

The byword is an effort from Dayak Kanayatn Tribe to communicate their ideal abstraction and concept of natural order into words known by modern societies. Many loanwords and loaned concept from different cultures and beliefs are used to impart these natural principles. The effort itself reveals the natural character of this Tribe, which is keen to open themselves to the world, to make themselves known universally.

The byword itself is about natural order. The main subject of the principles is human. Behind these words lies a call for every human being to achieve wellbeing and the means of achieving it. To achieve it, safety and justice must be obtained first. The flexibilities and arguably, universal nature of this byword makes it easily accepted as common truth by other Dayak communities. Likewise, it is not difficult for other people of different tribes and cultures to admit the truth of the

same ideal. However, some problematic and unsolved concepts within the byword remain, especially surrounding the word "*Jubata*". Probably, it is yet another form of their defense mechanism towards safety. They still want to preserve their unique identity and their pride by firmly holding their *adat* (heavy custom).

The Dayak Kanayatn tribe of West Borneo has an excellent position to propose conflict dissolution not only between their own tribe and the other tribes, but also among all humanity. They have the momentum, derived from their risen political power in West Borneo. They also have a strong idealized abstraction crystallized in their byword. This byword has been already accepted as common byword of all other Dayak tribes in the world. However, the opposite can also be said. The paradox is still there. The byword has a universal feeling in it, but also a keen sense of tribal pride and desire to maintain its identity. It is not a negative sense all the way, but it can be one of the stumbling blocks towards the dissolution of stereotypical stigmas between the Dayak Kanayatn tribe and its counterparts.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First, we would like to thank God for His providence in our research. We also want to give our gratitude to the Department of Religion of Republic Indonesia for sponsoring our research in the territory of the Dayak Kanayatn Tribe. We would also want to thank our institution for supporting our research in many ways, especially our colleague lectures and students during the observation. This research paper could not have been done without all the supports.

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ⁱⁱ *Ibid.*, question no. 3.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Ibid.*, question no. 2.

^{iv} *Ibid.*, question no. 7.