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Semantic parallelism in Rotinese ritual language

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SEMANTIC PARALLELISM IN ROTINESE RITUAL LANGUAGE

"Now parallels or like relations alternately relieve each other, when neither will pass asunder, yet are they plausible together; their mutual concurrences supporting their solitary instabilities."

Sir Thomas Browne (1646)

The object of this paper is 1) to discuss the semantics of Rotinese ritual language, 2) to offer an exemplary text with translation and analysis, and 3) to consider some directions in the study of this language form.¹ Rotinese ritual language is a form of oral poetry characterized by the required coupling of virtually all semantic elements. The language is formal, formulaic, and parallelistic. Semantic elements comprise prescribed dyadic sets; these sets are structured in formulaic phrases; and as a result, composition generally consists in the production of parallel poetic lines. While simple in structure, elements of this language are of sufficient number, variety and complexity to allow considerable scope for stylistic elaboration but little scope — if any at all — for individual improvisation. A knowledge of these ritual forms is essential to an understanding of Rotinese social classification.

I. PARALLELISM AND ITS INDONESIAN OCCURRENCE

This linguistic phenomenon, which Roman Jakobson (1966 p. 403) has aptly described as "canonical, pervasive parallelism" is of widespread, general comparative significance. Robert Lowth, who in publications on ancient Hebrew poetry between 1753 and 1779 first articulated the concept of *parallelismus membrorum*, distinguished

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between "parallel lines", the parallelism of conjoined verses, and "parallel terms", "the words or phrases, answering one to another in the corresponding lines" (*Isaiah* 1779, p. ix). Since Lowth's early observations, biblical scholarship has painstakingly examined the 'repetitive parallelism' of Hebrew poetry and, in tracing its relation to Ugaritic and Canaanite forms, has demonstrated that Lowth's "parallel terms" constitute, in the Semitic oral traditions of Syria and Palestine, a standardized body of conventionally fixed word-pairs by means of which verse forms were composed (Newman and Popper 1918; Gevirtz 1963).

The study of parallelism, originally inspired by these Hebraic parallels, has become a subject of research among the oral literatures of the world. Major studies have been made on the languages of the Ural-Altaic area, particularly on Finnish-Karelian folk poetry and on the epics and songs of the Turkic and Mongolian peoples; on Chinese "parallel prose"; on Russian and other Slavic folk traditions; and on the "polar-expressions" in ancient Greek literature.² Emeneau (1966) has recently published an article on "formulaically fixed pairs of song units" among the Toda which suggests parallelism may be of wider occurrence within the Dravidian language group.³ Parallelism was

² Jakobson, in his article "Grammatical Parallelism and its Russian Facet" (1966) presents a short discussion of the development of the study of parallelism. Chief among the numerous studies he cites are the following: For the Ural-Altaic area: 1) W. Steinitz: 'Der Parallelismus in der finnisch-karelischen Volksdichtung', *FF Communications*, No. 115, 4 (Helsinki 1934). 2) J. Lotz: 'Kamassian Verse', *Journal of American Folklore* 67, pp. 374-376 (1954). 3) V. Schirmunski: 'Syntaktischer Parallelismus und rhythmische Bindung im alttürkischen epischen Vers', *Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Volkskunde und Literaturforschung - Steinitz Festschrift* (Berlin 1965). 4) N. Poppe: 'Der Parallelismus in der epischen Dichtung der Mongolen', *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, 30 pp. 195-228 (1958). For Chinese: 1) G. Schlegel: 'La loi du parallélisme en style chinois démontrée par la préface du 'Si-yu-ki' (Leiden 1896). 2) B. Tchang Tchong-Ming, *Le parallélisme dans les vers du Cheu King* (Shanghai-Paris 1937). 3) J. R. Hightower: 'Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose', *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren* (Copenhagen 1959). To these may be added M. Granet's more sociologically oriented study *Fêtes et Chansons anciennes de la Chine* (Paris 1919) which contains an appendix with some twenty further citations on similar antiphonal poetic styles throughout east Asia. An important study on ancient Greek literature is E. Kemmer, *Die polare Ausdrucksweise in der Griechischen Literatur* (Würzburg 1903) and, from a different viewpoint G. Lloyd: *Polarity and Analogy* (Cambridge 1966). Newman in part I of his *Studies in Hebrew Parallelism* (1918) discusses some of the evidence for parallelism in Egyptian, Babylonian and Arabic.

³ Ritual texts like those of Rosner (1961) from the Sadars of Jashpur, Madhya Pradesh would clearly seem to substantiate this suggestion.

also evidently characteristic of ancient Maya poetry (Thompson 1950, pp. 61-63) and is still preserved in the oral traditions of the modern Maya (Gossen 1970, pp. 315-361).

Yet this sheer accumulation of studies on parallelism, in its varied metric, syntactic, and semantic appearances, seems, at times, to reduce the phenomenon to nothing more than a device of stylistic repetition, an ornate redundancy (cf. Gonda 1959), whereas what certain facets of 'compulsory' semantic parallelism may offer is a means to formal research on the 'metaphoric correspondences' of particular speech communities (Jakobson and Halle 1956, pp. 76-82). The parallelism prevalent — often in priestly or esoteric speech forms — among many of the Indonesian peoples provides an extensive field for comparative research on this form of binate semantics.

The Bible translator Hardeland, in his *Versuch einer Grammatik der Dajackschen Sprache* (1858), was the first to note the Hebraic parallels in Dajak "spirit language" (*basa sangiang*): "Der Charakter der *basa Sangiang* ist poetisch, voll Sinnbilder. Die Form ähnelt der Hebräischen Dichtersprache hinsichtlich des Rythmus und der kurzen parallelen Glieder . . ." (1858, p. 5). As an illustration of this language, Hardeland included as an appendix to his grammar, a long text with translation and commentary. The text was, in some ways, a curiosity since it consisted of a running German translation with Dajak words inserted, singly or in pairs, above their appropriate German equivalents, making it difficult, if not impossible, for anyone unacquainted with Dajak to construct the verse parallels. But the recent posthumous publication of Schärer's two volume, *Der Totenkult der Ngadju Dajak in Süd-Borneo* (1966) has provided an enormous corpus of texts in Dajak *basa sangiang*. Had Schärer completed his intended five volumes with its promised lexicon, his research would have been a unique monument in the study of parallelism.

Parallel language forms are not confined to this one area of Borneo. Of considerable importance also, from the Mualang and Kendajan Dajak groups, are the ritual and cosmological texts published by Dunselmann (1949a, 1949b, 1950a, 1950b, 1954, 1955, 1959a, 1959b, 1961). Evans, in his study of the Tempasuk Dusun (1953), made a short analysis of Dusun "sacred language" and provided several exemplary texts in this language. And over many years Harrison and Sandin have recorded numerous Iban chants, many of which give evidence of a traditional parallelism (cf. Harrison 1966).

Of special importance, because it derives from a people outside the

immediate Indonesian area who yet pertain to the Indonesian language group, is the magnificent Rhade epic, in parallel verse, *La Chanson de Damsan*, translated by Sabatier (1933).

An outstanding collection of rigorously parallel ritual verses originates from Nias and the Batu Islands. The collection includes a "hero epic" and a selection of verses from women's ceremonies, by Lagemann (1893, 1906), some translated but unexplicated texts by the dictionary compiler Sundermann (1905), two long "priestly litanies" and some forty "songs", most of which vary in length from 200—400 verse couplets each (with Dutch translations and copious philological and ethnographic commentary) by Steinhart (1934a, 1934b, 1937, 1938, 1950, 1954). As Lagemann first observed: "Die Form dieser älteren Ueberlieferungen ist eine poetische, und zeigt durchweg einen Parallelismus der Verse, wobei es weniger auf den Reim als auf einen gewissen Rhythmus ankommt" (1906, p. 341).

Another area remarkable for its parallel ritual verse is the Celebes. Adriani, despite the fact that neither he nor Kruyt actually published any long ritual texts,⁴ noted in several important articles (1932, Vol. II, pp. 190-215; Vol. III, pp. 1-21; 167-175) that the prayers and invocations of the Bare'e Toradja *tadu*-priestesses were highly formulaic: "Almost always they are parallel" (Vol. II, p. 205). His analyses, however, concentrated on the sound changes, word exchanges, ellipses, archaisms, and borrowings that distinguish elements in this language form from those in ordinary language. To these transformations, he attributed an "animistic magic" which made this ritual language central to Toradja life.

Dunnebie, in his linguistic work on Bolaang Mongondow (1938, 1953), has provided some short examples of parallel verse from the northern area of Celebes but the finest collection from the Celebes is Van der Veen's excellent and well annotated Sa'dan Toradja texts (1929, 1950, 1965, 1966) which, together with his *Tae'-Nederlandsch woordenboek* (1940) provide both excellent specimens of Toradja ritual

⁴ Van der Tuuk (1867: v-vi) in his classification of Batak speech forms mentioned differing forms of "ornamented" speech for mourning, divination, and cosmological instruction by *datu*-priests. Similarly Matthes produced a meticulous — near model — study of the certain Bissu rituals of the Buginese (1872). But as Adriani has observed (1932, vol. III, 6), neither of these men published extensive texts in these special languages. What remains puzzling is why Adriani who was acquainted with Toradja sacred language and who, in addition, recognized the importance of the study of this speech form, did not himself record a corpus of his own.

verse and the means for their thorough study. As he noted also, in all these texts, "two lines of a strophe are linked by parallelism, i.e. more or less the same content being expressed in both lines though with different words" (1966, p. 17). What is most strikingly apparent in these verses — as with those of Nias — is their thoroughgoing, consistent binate semantics.

In eastern Indonesia, parallelism has been evidenced in several publications (cf. Arndt 1933; Onvlee 1934; Josselin de Jong 1941; Vroklage 1952). But the only large, critical corpus of parallel verse is the collection of funeral chants translated by Middelkoop in *Een Studie van het Timoreesche Doodenritueel* (1949).⁵

For Rotinese,⁶ the linguist Jonker published a single text in parallel verse "*Ana-Ma Manu Kama ma Falu-Ina Tepa Nihu*", a funeral chant for orphans, widows or strangers. Jonker added this chant, together with a paraphrase in ordinary language, to his collection of Rotinese folk-tales (1911, pp. 97-102) to provide "an example of the poetic style" which he characterized as marked by "sustained parallelism" (1911, p. 130). He admitted the chant was "obscure" and hence he limited himself to translating only the paraphrase and adding notes to various words in the chant itself. These notes, although sometimes incorrect, seem to indicate that Jonker had partially grasped the organizing principles of Rotinese semantic parallelism. This present analysis may therefore, I hope, be regarded as a continuation of his investigations on Rotinese.

II. RITUAL LANGUAGE AND THE SPEECH FORMS OF THE ROTINESE

The Rotinese pride themselves on being an articulate, contentious, talkative people. The skillful manipulation of their language in all its

⁵ These texts are extraordinary in one respect. They are translated and annotated by a man whom many Atoni regard as practised master of their ritual speech. As some Atoni point out, one of the chief reasons for the rapid spread of Christianity on Timor in the past decades is Dr. Middelkoop's adaptation of Atoni ritual speech in his Bible translations and hymnal. (For a discussion of the problems of translation raised by native Sumbanese verse and Hebrew parallels, see Onvlee 1953, pp. 16-23; Lambooi 1922 pp. 139-144.)

⁶ Wetering has recorded a number of parallel verse excerpts from the marriage rituals of the Rotinese (1925). One of these (pp. 640-641), a twelve line excerpt from the marriage ceremonies of Thie in southern Roti so pleased my own chief instructor in ritual language, S. Adulanu, when he had heard me read it, that he made me recite it to him repeatedly until he had committed it to memory.

facets is highly prized and their *dedeäk* ('language, speech, dialect, litigation') may be classified into a variety of subtly interrelated speech forms, each distinguished by some intersection of specific criteria, those of subject, style, context or usage. Thus, for example, 'mockery speech' (*aäli-oölek*), usually marked by two individuals' repartee from what is, in effect, a relatively circumscribed set of short, insulting phrases, differs as much from 'ordinary conversation' (*kokolak*) as a more conventional folk genre such as 'riddles' (*neneuk*) differs from 'tales' (*tutuik*) or that subset of tales which, when linked to specific genealogies, are regarded as 'true tales' (*tutui-teteëk*) and serve as charters for political practice (Fox 1971). What these various speech forms do is signal different standardized social contexts, each with separate conditions and expectations on the use of semantic elements. The study of these speech forms (now in progress) may approximate an ethnography of Rotinese social life.

Ritual language is confined to two speech forms in Rotinese: *bini* 'poems, chants' and *sosodak* 'song'. Although the Rotinese frequently speak of ritual language as if it were a separate language, "the language of the ancestors", with its own unique vocabulary and rules of utterance, it might more accurately be described as a poetic style characteristic of the *bini*. All *bini* are, by native definition, in ritual language, but not all songs. Songs in ritual language are precisely those whose verses might equally well be recited as *bini*. The distinction is one in manner of performance. Short *bini* may be either recited or sung (*soda*) while long *bini* are publically chanted (*helo*) at ceremonial gatherings. But this distinction, too, is by no means rigid. In ritual language, the verbs *soda* and *helo* form a single dyadic set.

Ritual language ought to be used on all formal occasions when individuals or groups come together.⁷ There exist, therefore, standard *bini* for greeting strangers, for bidding farewell, for making requests to superiors, for all the crucial stages of courtship, for initiating or facilitating bridewealth negotiations, for the installation of a Lord, at hair-cutting rituals, for house building ceremonies, formerly at the annual *hus* feasts, for weddings, and particularly for funerals. Although

⁷ The use of Indonesian, especially an oratorical or Biblical style of Indonesian, by young school teachers and some native preachers, as an equivalent of ritual language at ceremonies has tended, in recent times, to restrict the use of ritual language. But the issue is not all clear cut. Many native Christian preachers have adopted ritual language forms and some are outspoken exponents of its use. Furthermore some ceremonies involve the use of Indonesian for Christian phases of the ritual and Rotinese for traditional phases.

used at ceremonies, ritual language is not primarily a religious language. Unlike 'special' languages in other areas of Indonesia, it is not a vehicle for communication with the spirits who should properly be addressed in the speech form (-*seseo*) nor is it a vehicle for the preservation of ancestral histories which are told in ordinary language in the form of *tutui-teteëk*. Ritual language is simply the language of formal social or ceremonial interaction.

It is for funerals, the most complex rituals of Rotinese ceremonial life, that the repertoire of *bini* is most elaborated. These *bini* are either chanted in praise of the deceased or danced to in a circle-dance with leader and surrounding chorus.⁸ The repertoire seems intended to delimit all possible categories of deceased persons. With the exception of those who have died a violent, inauspicious death, there are particular funeral *bini* for nobles or for commoners, for young noble men, for rich commoners, for someone who has died a lingering illness, for a girl who has died as a virgin 'unripe', for a widow or for an orphan, for an eldest child, or for a child who has died shortly after birth. These funeral *bini* have a general format. The deceased is compared to a chant-character and then the stereo-typed genealogy and life course of this chant-character are told. In most instances, the chants explain the reasons and circumstances of the chant-character's death; in some instances, the chant-character describes his illness or admonishes his descendants; and most chants conclude with the mourning and funeral of the chant-character.

Since ritual language is desired in all formal interaction, it can not be the exclusive preserve of any class or priesthood of Rotinese. Women evidence almost as much knowledge of ritual language as men and their active use of this language is especially required at various stages of the marriage ceremonies. Although youth are not socially expected to betray a serious interest in ritual affairs, many — in spite of their

⁸ The "round-dance" is reported for many areas of eastern Indonesia. A good, short description of an evening of Rotinese dancing observed in Oenale in 1908 may be found in Lekkerkerker (1910). Lekkerkerker describes both the rivalry between chanters who took their place at the center of the circle and the repetition of the chanter's verses by the chorus of surrounding dancers. He indicates, however, that women began the dance and were later joined by men. In all the round-dances I observed or participated in, in Termanu and in Baä, men and women danced together from the start. Since Granet, for one, has claimed to discover the origin of parallelism in the customary antiphonal rivalry of festival choruses, I should emphasize that however appealing this hypothesis may be, the round-dance is an important but by no means the exclusive context for the use of ritual language.

own disclaimers — show a surprising knowledge of proper dyadic sets and have usually memorized some short *bini* and songs. Participation in the circle-dance with its antiphony between leader and chorus is an effective means of social instruction.

There are, however, individuals who are popularly regarded as master poets or composers of *bini*. These are the 'chanters' (*manahelo*). They are usually male elders, personally jealous of their abilities and privately disparaging of their rivals' knowledge. Since the title, *manahelo*, is not conferred but is the popular attribute of a fluid consensus, it is impossible to number the chanters on the island.⁹ To judge from the folktales, Lords used formerly to challenge each other by sponsoring rival chant contests between their domains and to some extent, any ceremonial gathering¹⁰ may erupt into a competitive performance between *manahelo*.

III. INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXT

The text¹¹ for analysis is a funeral chant from the domain of Termanu for a first child, of noble family, who dies around the age of three months. The child is likened to Dela Kolik and Seko Bunak and the chant recounts the following events 1) the marriage of the woman, Pinga Pasa and Soë Leli, to the man Kolik Faenama and Bunak Tunulama; 2) the onset of Pinga Pasa and Soë Leli's pregnancy and her various cravings which culminate in the theft of an egg from

⁹ I recorded, in the domain of Termanu, long ritual texts from seven acknowledged *manahelo*, one of whom was a woman. I met, heard perform, or was told about several other *manahelo*. I would estimate, for Termanu with its population of just under 5800 persons, there were approximately 15 recognized chanters in the domain. On the other hand, I gathered shorter *bini* from numerous individuals and many of these persons within their own village area might, at times, be praised as *manahelo*. Although not yet capable of long composition, many of these individuals would also be described as *hataholi ma-lalak*: "persons who know".

¹⁰ Any recitation of ritual language requires a ceremonial context. A minimal ceremonial context, for the Rotinese, involves the giving of native lontar gin ("the water of words") to one's guest. I was never able to tape-record a chant without first offering this gin. A practice, among elders and especially among chanters on visits to each other, is to recite short *bini* at each other between successive rounds of gin. These minor contests often end in excited incoherence. Some ancestral figures, I was told, as they grew older abandoned ordinary language entirely and spoke only in ritual language.

¹¹ The way in which I came to be given this text should be explained. Sometime after I had settled in Termanu, I was visited by the chanter, A. Patola. Some men from my village area chided him by claiming that there was no chant

the eagle and hawk, Tetema Taoama and Balapua Loniamia; 3) the birth of Dela Kolik and Seko Bunak and his swift abduction by the eagle and hawk; 4) Pinga Pasa and Soë Leli's pursuit of the eagle and hawk, first toward east Roti (as is implied by the use of certain proper names) and then to the westernmost domain of the island, Delha; 5) the flight of the eagle and hawk seaward, then upward to the sun and moon, thus ending the possibility of further pursuit; and finally 6) the return of the eagle and hawk and the gathering and burial of Dela Kolik and Seko Bunak's remains. The chant suggests that the primary disposal of the corpse was once left to carrion birds and that a secondary burial was performed thereafter on the bones of the deceased. Although similar practices have been reported for some of the neighbouring islands of Roti, there is no evidence for such burials from the ethnography of the island's recent past nor did the chanters who provided exegesis to the text remark on this possibility.¹² The present chant is now performed at a funeral ceremony for the interment of the entire corpse.

An initially confusing feature of all ritual language texts is the freedom of alternation in singular and plural forms. Several eminent chanters insisted that singular and plural were irrelevant in ritual language. One chanter advocated a convention, which he did not consistently follow in his own performances, of always coupling a single

he could tell me which I did not already know. In the situation, I was unable to intervene. He left but returned, unannounced, late one night several weeks afterwards and recited for me a chant about the eagle and hawk (*tetema // balapua*). With the help of J. Pello, I was able to transcribe this chant from my tape and in search of a translation and exegesis, I visited my principal instructor in ritual language, S. Adulanu. He was a lively man, well over seventy, and at the time, a younger chanter, a man of about fifty, Eli Pelando, was spending much of his time with him in a relationship which might be characterized as a further 'apprenticeship'. Both chanters criticized A. Patola's version of the chant and rather than provide me with help in understanding it, they offered to give me the 'correct' version. Several days later, they presented me with the chant I publish here. Although S. Adulanu assumed — as was his due — the credit for this version, it is almost certainly the joint composition of the two chanters. Furthermore, the chant has, in fact, been 'influenced' by A. Patola's version. Eventually I hope to publish this version which, though it rambles and then ends abruptly, is in excellent ritual language. A comparison of the two chants may offer some insight into variation and composition among chanters.

¹² I am not excluding this as an ancient practice. Ritual language preserves many references to practices that have long since ceased. The hunting with bow and blowpipe, often mentioned in the chants, has waned to a mere child's game since the introduction of firearms in the 16th century.

pronoun with a plural pronoun, a 'we-inclusive pronoun' with a 'we-exclusive pronoun', thereby transforming Rotinese pronominals into a number of dyadic sets. The reason for the variation of singular and plural is that all personal names, all place names, all objects, actions and events are dyadic while their reference, as in the case of elaborately allegorical funeral chants, is often to a singular individual and event. Therefore rather than claim that a dyadic set is either a unity or merely the union of its elements, the chanters commit themselves to the view that it may be both.

Some chanters insist that whereas anything can be "translated" into ritual language, ritual language itself can not be "translated". By this they do not mean that ritual language is unintelligible or meaningless. Rather it is simply that they can take specimens of Indonesian (the medium of which they conceive of translation) and cast them into ritual verse, but Indonesian — as it is known on Roti — possesses none of the conventions of ritual language. Dyadic sets are haphazardly formed and thus lose their standard yet particular 'metaphoric' qualities. The following translation, therefore, is as literal as is possible to demonstrate the chant's pervasive parallelism.

IV. THE TEXT: DELA KOLIK MA SEKO BUNAK

Lae:

1. Soku-la Pinga Pasa
2. Ma ifa-la Soë Leli.
3. De ana sao Kolik Faenama
4. Ma tu Bunak Tunulama.
5. De tein-na daä-fai
6. Ma suü-na nggeo-lena.
7. Boe-te ana ma-siu dodoki
8. Ma metu-ape uüna.
9. De ma-siu bote aten
10. Ma metu-ape tena ban.
11. De ala dodo bote-la leu
12. Ma paü tena-la leu
13. De hoi-la bote aten
14. Ma hoi-la tena ban.
15. De dode seök no hade
16. De hade lutu bui-nggeo
17. Ma hopo balik no tua
18. De tua batu meni-oek.
19. De naä te bei boe ma-siu
20. Ma ninu te bei boe metu-ape.

They say:

- They carry Pinga Pasa
- And they lift Soë Leli.
- She marries Kolik Faenama
- And weds Bunak Tunulama.
- Her womb enlarges
- And her breasts darken.
- Her tongue craves for odd bits
- And her mouth waters for assorted things.
- The tongue craves goat's liver
- And the mouth waters for buffalo's lung.
- They slaughter goats
- And stab buffalo
- They take the goat's liver
- And take the buffalo's lung.
- They cook and mingle rice
- Black-tipped grains of rice
- And dissolve and mix lontar sugar
- White rock lontar sugar.
- She eats but still the tongue craves
- And she drinks but still the mouth waters.

21. De ma-siu fani-ana	The tongue craves bees' larvae
22. Ma metu-ape bupu-ana.	And the mouth waters for wasps' larvae.
23. De leni fani-ana mai	They bring bees' larvae
24. Ma leni bupu-ana mai.	And they bring wasps' larvae.
25. De ala dode seök no hade	They cook and mingle rice
26. Fo hade lutu bui-nggeo	Black-tipped grains of rice
27. Ma hopo seök no tua	And dissolve and mingle lontar sugar
28. Fo tua batu meni-oek.	White rock lontar sugar.
29. Te-hu naä bei ma-siu	She eats and the tongue still craves
30. Ma ninu bei metu-ape.	And she drinks and the mouth still waters.
31. Boe-te ma-siu bia keak	The tongue craves chunks of turtle [meat]
32. Ma metu-ape lola luik.	And the mouth waters for strips of sea
33. De touk Kolik Faenama	The man Kolik Faenama [cow [flesh].
34. Ma taëk Bunak Tunulama	And the boy Bunak Tunulama
35. Ana ule sini tua-na	He winds a lontar bundle
36. Ma tata pele nanamo	And splits a nanamo torch
37. De neu pele lelelu kea	He goes around to torch-light fish for turtle
38. Ma neu loti teteo luik.	And goes about to search for sea cow.
39. De leni bia keak mai	They bring chunks of turtle [meat]
40. Ma leni lola luik mai.	And bring strips of sea cow [flesh].
41. De naä te-hu bei ma-siu	She eats but still the tongue craves
42. Ma ninu te bei metu-ape.	And she drinks but still the mouth waters.
43. De ma-siu tema tolo	The tongue craves hawk's ¹³ egg
44. Ma metu-ape pua ana	And the mouth waters for an eagle's ¹³ child
45. Fo Tetema Taoama nai	Tetema Taoama on top of the Nitas-
nitas-sa lain	[tree ¹⁴
46. Fo Taoama Dulu nitan	Taoama Dulu's Nitas-tree
47. Ma Balapua Loniamana nai	And Balapua Loniamana on top of the
delas-sa lain	[Delas-tree ¹⁴
48. Fo Loniamana Langa delan.	Loniamana Langa's Delas-tree.
49. De ana lino tolo nai lai	He spies an egg above
50. Ma ana mete ana nai lai	And sees a child above
51. Te-hu masa-keni kakodek	But the tree is as slick as a Kakodek-tree
52. Ma manga-moi lalanok.	And as slippery as a Lalanok-tree.
53. De ela lima tekek bai dei	It needs the hands of a lizard
54. Ma ela kala kodek bai dei	And needs the chest of a monkey

¹³ A classification of Rotinese birds remains to be worked out. The principal criteria for native classification seem to be, in order of importance, size and colour markings, feeding and nesting habits, and cry or song. The same Linnaean species in different developmental phases may be classified under separate terms while several different Linnaean species may be included under the same term. Both *balapua* (*pua*) and *tetema* (*tema*) include a number of subcategories: *balapua langa fula*, *balapua nggeok*, *tema nggelak*, *tema ndük*, and also *selu* or *selu kolo*. The *balapua langa fula*, "white-headed *balapua*" can, however, be identified as the "white-headed sea eagle" or "brahminy kite", *Haliastur indus (intermedius)* in its adult phase.

¹⁴ The Delas-tree is the Indonesian, *dedap*, *Erythina Spp.* and the Nitas-tree is the Indonesian, *kelumpang*, *Sterculia foetida*.

55. Fo dei laba kae-nala lain To mount and climb upward
 56. Ma tinga hene-nala lain. And to step and ascend upward.
 57. De ala dodo doak lon They think carefully
 58. Ma ala ndanda sota lon. And they ponder deeply.
 59. Besak-ka lada hade ma- Now with tasty new ripening rice
 modon-na
 60. Ma lole tua oe-beun-na And with good freshly tapped lontar juice
 61. Ala solo neu teke ei-kuü telu They buy a three toed lizard
 62. Ma upa neu lafo ma-nisi And hire a two toothed mouse
 duak
 63. Besak-ka kae-nala nitas lain And now climb the Nitas-tree
 64. Ma hene-nala delas lain. And mount the Delas-tree.
 65. Boe-te ana tete tetema ein He cuts the hawk's leg
 66. Ma nggute balapua lidan. And snips the eagle's wing.
 67. De tetema na-lai The hawk flees
 68. Ma balapua tolongu. And the eagle escapes.
 69. Besak-ka neni tetema tolon Now he brings the hawk's egg
 70. Ma neni balapua anan. And brings the eagle's child.
 71. De fe Pinga Pasa naä He gives Pinga Pasa to eat
 72. Ma fe Soë Leli ninu boe. And gives Soë Leli to drink.
 73. Ma ta ma-siu And the tongue no longer craves
 74. Do metu-ape sok. Or the mouth ceases to water.
 75. Besak-ka tein-na nama-sela Now her womb grows larger
 76. Ma suün-na nama-tua. And her breasts grow bigger.
 77. De ana nggeo-lena They enlarge
 78. Ma ana daä-fai. And they darken.
 79. De bongi-na popi-koak She gives birth to "a cock's tail feathers"
 [a male child]
 80. Ma lae-na lano-manuk. And she bears "a rooster's plume"
 [a man child].
 81. De loke lae Dela Kolik They call him Dela Kolik
 82. Ma hule lae Seko Bunak. And they name him Seko Bunak.
 83. Faik esa manunin On one definite day
 84. Ma ledok dua mateben And at a second certain dawn
 85. Boe-te inan-na Pinga Pasa His mother Pinga Pasa
 86. Ma teön-na Soë Leli And his aunt Soë Leli
 87. Iifak Dela Kolik Carries Dela Kolik out
 88. Neme uma tisa-tetetin From under the thatch of the house
 89. Ma kokoök Seko Bunak And cradles Seko Bunak
 90. Neme lo hedahu-hohonan. Away from the ladder of the home.
 91. Boe-te Tetema Taoama Tetema Taoama
 92. Nafa-ndele lololo Continually remembers
 93. Ma Balapua Loniamia And Balapua Loniamia
 94. Nasa-neda ndanda Constantly recalls
 95. Neu tolon-na bai Her egg again
 96. Ma neu anan-na boe. And also her child.
 97. Boe-te ana la memeli mai She flies down quickly

98. Ma tena mese-mese mai And sweeps down rapidly,
 99. De lau neni Dela Kolik Seizes and carries off Dela Kolik
 100. Ma tenga neni Seko Bunak And grasps and carries off Seko Bunak
 101. Leo nitas-sa lain Toward the top of a Nitas-tree
 102. Fo Sepe Ama-Li nitan Sepe Ama-Li's Nitas-tree
 103. Ma neu delas-sa lain And to the top of a Delas-tree
 104. Fo Timu Tongo-Batu delan. Timu Tongo-Batu's Delas-tree.
 105. De ana mamaman leo mafok She chews it like half-ripe fruit
 106. Ma mumumun leo latuk. And sucks it like a ripe plant.
 107. Boe-te inak-ka Pinga Pasa The woman Pinga Pasa
 108. Ma fetok-ka Soë Leli And the girl Soë-Leli
 109. Ana sue totoko tenen She strikes her ribs in anguish
 110. Ma ana lai babako paun. And she beats her thighs in distress.
 111. De neu tunga balapua She goes to follow the eagle
 112. Ma neu sanga tetema And she goes to seek the hawk
 113. Fo ela no falik Dela Kolik To bring back Dela Kolik
 114. Ma no tulek Seko Bunak. And to return Seko Bunak.
 115. De neu nitan ma neu ndan She goes to see him and goes to meet him
 116. Nai Sepe Ama-Li nitan lain High in Sepe Ama-Li's Nitas-tree
 117. Ma nai Timu Tongo-Batu And high in Timu Tongo-Batu's Delas-
 delan lain. [tree.
 118. Boe-te inak-ka Pinga Pasa The woman Pinga Pasa
 119. Ma teön-na Soë Leli And his aunt Soë Leli
 120. Boke ein neu nitas Kicks her foot against the Nitas-tree
 121. Ma bapa lima neu delas, And slaps her hand against the Delas-
 122. Fo ela Dela Kolik, ana tuda That Dela Kolik, he might fall [tree,
 123. Ma Seko Bunak, ana monu. And Seko Bunak, he might drop.
 124. Boe-te tetema na-hala Then the hawk answers
 125. Ma balapua na-fada, nae : And the eagle speaks, saying :
 126. "O sue anam leo bek, "However you love your child
 127. Na au sue anang leo ndiak So I love my child
 128. Ma o lai tolom leo bek, And however you cherish your egg
 129. Na au lai tolong leo ndiak boe. So I love my egg also.
 130. De o muä au-anang-nga so You have eaten my child
 131. De besak-ia au uä o-anam-ma Now I eat your child
 132. Ma o minu au-tolong-nga so And you have drunk my egg
 133. De au inu o-tolom-ma bai." So I drink your egg also."
 134. Boe-te tetema la seluk Then the hawk flies once more
 135. Ma balapua lapu bai. And the eagle takes wing again.
 136. De neu Taoama Dulu nitan She goes to Taoama Dulu's Nitas-tree
 137. Ma neu Loniamama Langa delan And goes to Loniamama Langa's Delas-tree
 138. Ka neni Dela Kolik Chewing, while carrying, Dela Kolik
 139. Ma mumu neni Seko Bunak. And sucking, while carrying, Seko Bunak.
 140. De ala boe tungan They go to follow her
 141. Ma leu sangan. And they go to seek her.
 142. Te tetema na-helen But the hawk grips him fast
 143. Ma balapua na-nepen. And the eagle holds him tight.

144. De leu ndukun ma losan. They reach her and approach her.
 145. Boe-te tetema lapu seluk. The hawk takes wing once more
 146. Ma balapua la bai. And the eagle flies again.
 147. De neu Loma-Loma Langa Nitas- She goes to Loma-Loma Langa's Nitas-
 nitan [tree]
 148. Ma Pele-Pele Dulu delan. And Pele-Pele Dulu's Delas-tree.
 149. Te inak-ka Pinga Pasa. The mother Pinga Pasa
 150. Ma teök-ka Soë Leli. And the aunt Soë Leli
 151. Bei boe neu tungan. Still she goes on following her
 152. Ma neu sangan. And goes on seeking her.
 153. De losan ma ndukun. She approaches her and reaches her.
 154. Boe-te tetema lapu seluk. But the hawk takes wing once more
 155. Ma balapua la seluk. And the eagle flies once more
 156. Kakaäk Dela Kolik. Continuously chewing Dela Kolik
 157. Ma mumumuk Seko Bunak. And continuously sucking Seko Bunak.
 158. De la Ana Iko neu. She flies to Ana Iko [Delha]
 159. Ma lapu Dela Muli neu. And takes wing to Dela Muli [Delha].
 160. Leo ndia te Pinga Pasa boe. So Pinga Pasa also follows her
 tungan
 161. Ma Soë Leli boe sangan. And Soë Leli also seeks her.
 162. De neu losa Dela Muli. She goes toward Dela Muli
 163. Ma neu nduku Ana Iko. And goes until Ana Iko.
 164. Te tetema ta poïn. But the hawk does not loose him
 165. Ma balapua ta nggalin. And the eagle does not scatter him.
 166. De tetema la seluk. The hawk flies once more
 167. Ma balapua lapu bai. And the eagle takes wing again.
 168. De leo sain posin-na neu. Toward the sea's sandy edge, she goes
 169. Ma liun unun-na neu. And toward the ocean's rocky reef.
 170. Te boe neu tungan. She also goes to follow her
 171. Ma boe neu sangan. And she also goes to seek her.
 172. De neu posi maka-mu mekon. She goes toward the edge resounding like a
 173. Ma unu ma-li labun-na. And the reef rumbling like a drum. [gong]
 174. Boe-te tetema la seluk. But the hawk flies once more
 175. Ma balapua lapu bai. And the eagle takes wing again.
 176. De neu liun sasalin. She goes toward the overflowing ocean
 177. Ma neu sain loloen. And toward the receding sea.
 178. Boe-te inak-ka Pinga Pasa. The mother Pinga Pasa
 179. Ma teön-na Soë Leli. And his aunt Soë Leli
 180. Ta neu lena li. Can not wade the waves
 181. Ma ta neu ladi nafa. And can not cross the swell.
 182. De ana falik leo uma mai. She returns to the house
 183. Ma tulek leo lo mai. And goes back to the home.
 184. De ana lu mata. She lets drop tears from the eyes
 185. Ma pinu idu. And mucus from the nose
 186. Nai uma ma lo. In the house and home
 187. Tunga faik ma nou ledok. Each day and every dawn [sun].
 188. Te-hu nai liun sasalin. But on the overflowing ocean
 189. Ma nai sain loloen-na. And on the receding sea

190. Ai ta nai ndia	There is no stick
191. Ma batu ta nai na.	Nor is there stone.
192. De tetema ta saë	The hawk does not perch
193. Ma balapua ta luü	And the eagle does not brood
194. Fo ana kakaä Dela Kolik	So she may chew Dela Kolik
195. Ma ana mumumu Seko
Bunak.	And she may suck Seko Bunak.
196. Boe-te ana la leo lain neu	So she flies to the heavens
197. Ma lapu leo poin neu	And takes wing to the zenith
198. De neu losa bulan nitan	And goes to the Moon's Nitas
199. Ma neu nduku ledö delan.	And goes to the Sun's Delas.
200. Besak-ka ana lino baë	Now she rests on a branch
201. Ma saë ndanak.	And perches on a limb.
202. De ana kuḱuta Dela Kolik	She continues to munch Dela Kolik
203. Ma mumumu Seko Bunak.	And continues to suck Seko Bunak.
204. De naä na-mada man	She eats to dry her tongue
205. Ma ninu na-meti apen-na	And drinks to slake her thirst
206. De henu tein-na boe	To fill her stomach
207. Ma sofe nutun-na boe	And to satisfy her gizzard
208. De ela kada dui manun	Leaving only chicken bones
209. Ma ela kada kalu kapan.	And leaving only buffalo sinews.
210. De ana lino na-helen	She rests gripping him
211. Ma luü na-nepen	And broods holding him
212. Nai bulan nitan lain	On top of the Moon's Nitas
213. Ma ledö delan-na lain.	And on top of the Sun's Delas.
214. Faik esa manunin.	One definite day
215. Ma ledö dua mateben	And a second certain dawn
216. Besak-ka Tetema Taoama	Now Tetema Taoama
217. Ma Balapua Loniamä a	And Balapua Loniamä
218. Nafa-ndelee dae-bafok	Remembers the earth
219. Ma nasa-neda batu-poin.	And recalls the world.
220. De ana la falik	She returns flying
221. Ma ana lapu tulek.	And she wings her way back.
222. Besak-ka la neni dui manun	She flies carrying chicken bones
223. Ma lapu neni kalu kapan	And wings her way carrying buffalo
224. Fo Dela Kolik duin	The bones of Dela Kolik. [sinews]
225. Ma Seko Bunak kalun.	And the sinews of Seko Bunak.
226. De ana mai Sua-Lai tolek
mafon	She comes to Sua-Lai's dark shadow
227. Ma Batu-Hun modok saön.	And to Batu-Hun's green shade.
228. Besak-ka tetema tapa henin	Now the hawk throws him away
229. Ma balapua tuü henin.	And the eagle casts him away.
230. Boe-ma inak-ka Pinga Pasa	The mother Pinga Pasa
231. Ma teön-na Soë Leli neu	And his aunt Soë Leli
232. De tenga dö hele nenin.	Takes or picks him, carrying him.
233. De la-toi dui manun	They bury the chicken bones
234. Ma laka-dofu kalu kapan.	And they cover with earth the buffalo
[sinews.]

In this analysis,¹⁵ the distinction is developed between the expression of dyadic sets in parallel verse and the underlying semantic organization of the elements of these sets. I discuss the relation of dyadic expressions to ordinary language forms, their arrangement in lines of verse, and their formation in complex expressions and formulaic chains. I then consider, more briefly, some directions for research suggested by the preparation, in its initial stages, of a dictionary of ritual language. These concern the combinatorial possibilities and potential range of elements of sets and the means for specifying an element as a locus of semantic relations.

V. DYADIC SETS AND ORDINARY LANGUAGE

The only explicit native rule concerning the *bimi* is that words must "form dyads". This is usually phrased, in Rotinese, using the verb, *laka-dudua*, formed from the root, *dua*, two. In Indonesian, the rule is commonly paraphrased by statements that words must "be paired" (*berpasang*) or that the ancestors were always "balancing or comparing" (*membanding*). The consistent application of this rule is evident in the chant.

Omitting proper names and complex sets, the chant, *Dela Kolik ma Seko Bunak* (D.K. *ma* S.B.) is comprised of just under 120 dyadic sets. A list of these sets with simple glosses is included in the appendix. In general, nouns (*ana* // *tolo*: 'child' // 'egg'; *ate* // *ba*: 'liver' // 'lungs'), verbs (*bapa* // *boke*: 'to slap with the hand' // 'to stamp with the foot'; *bongi* // *lae*: 'to give birth' // 'to bear'), adjectives (*beu* // *modo*: 'new' // 'ripening green'; *-keni* // *-moi*: 'slippery' // 'smooth') and adverbs (*doa* // *sota*:- 'carefully' // 'painstakingly'; *lololo* // *ndanda*: 'constantly' // 'continually') all form dyadic sets. However, a precise, predetermined syntactic specification of elements of speech presents, at least at this stage, considerable difficulty.

In ordinary language, root elements, usually with the aid of prefixed or suffixed morphemes, can take on an array of syntactic forms. In

¹⁵ This analysis is of the semantics of ritual language and leaves undiscussed important problems of metrics. This is not intended to neglect nor slight this fundamental aspect of ritual language. Metric constraints do not, to my mind, directly affect the semantics of ritual language but they have important bearings on what, from an exclusively semantic viewpoint, appear to be 'optional' morphological variants. I hope eventually to devote a separate article to these considerations.

ritual language, these morphemes may often be dispensed with entirely.¹⁶ Hence (1) the membership of an element in a particular dyadic set and (2) the context established by the word order of a line serve to define an element's use and its possible semantic significance. But judgements on a word's use, based upon its use in ordinary language, can be misleading since ritual language derives much of its 'poetic character' by systematic deviation from ordinary language usage. The following examples are intended to illustrate aspects of this relationship of ritual language to ordinary language. These examples do not constitute a systematic presentation but have been chosen to cover a variety of relationship which may be discussed by reference to *D.K. ma S.B.*

In lines 31 and 32, 39 and 40, *bia* // *lola* form a dyadic set. Context as well as native exegesis establish these elements as nouns with the meaning 'chunks or pieces' // 'strips' (of meat). In ordinary language (cf. Jonker 1908, p. 48), *bia* serves as a verb meaning 'to cut or chop into small pieces': *ana bia naka-lulutuk pa-a*: "he cuts the meat into chunks". A piece of chopped meat is *pa bibiak*. But the shortened form, *biak*, meaning 'piece' of meat can also occur: *ana ke pa-a neu biak dua*: "He cuts the meat into two pieces". In ordinary language (cf. Jonker 1908, p. 322) *lola* takes the partially reduplicated form, *lolola*, and as verb means 'to cut into slices or long strips': *ana lolola pa*: "He cuts the meat into strips". *Lolola* may be used in an adjectival sense as in the expression, *pa lololak*, "meat cut into strips", but no shortened adjectival form, *lola(k)**, occurs nor is the word used as a noun. In ritual language, however, *lola* takes its form by analogy with *bia* and both serve as nouns, representing the results of their respective verbal actions.

31. Boe-te ma-siu bia keak The tongue craves chunks of turtle

32. Ma metu-ape lola luik. The mouth waters for strips of sea cow.

The formation of one element by means of analogy with its paired member is a characteristic process in the creation of numerous dyadic sets.

A somewhat different example occurs in lines 35 through 38:

35. Ana ule sini tua-na He winds a lontar bundle

¹⁶ I avoid any claim that ritual language is simply a morphologically 'bare' form of ordinary language. Though superficially suggestive, the claim would then have to ignore certain verbal (cf. below) and adverbial stylized reduplications which are characteristic only of ritual language.

36. Ma tata pele nanamo And splits a nanamo torch
 37. De neu pele lelelu kea He goes around to torch-light fish for turtle
 38. Ma neu loti teteo luik. And goes about to search for sea cow.

The crucial element is *pele*. In ordinary language, *pele* may refer to 1) the dried leaves used to make a torch, 2) the torch itself and, as a verb, 3) the act of hunting or fishing by torch-light. In lines 35 and 36, *pele* forms a set with *sini*, 'bundles of dried leaves' (usually used for thatching a roof). The significance of the set and its use as a noun is clear. But immediately following these lines *pele* forms a set with *loti*, a verb which in ordinary language means 'to look for something by torch-light'. The significance of this set and its use as a verb is also clear. The polysemy of *pele* in ordinary language is resolved into separate dyadic sets of ritual language.

In ritual language, the numbers combine to form dyadic sets. In *D.K. ma S.B.*, there are two such sets: *esa* // *dua*: 'one' // 'two' and *dua* // *telu*: 'two' // 'three'. An odd number must occur with an even number and their combination might be expressed by the formula: $X // X + 1$. However, this rule must exclude use of the numbers, five (*lima*) and six (*ne*). The set, *lima* // *ne* does occur in ritual language but never in a context where its significance could possibly be numeric. This is because, *lima*, in ordinary language, has two meanings: 'five' and 'hand'. Thus in ritual language, *lima* may form a set with *ei*, 'foot' as in lines 121 and 122:

121. Boke ein neu nitas (She) kicks her foot against the Nitas-tree
 122. Bapa lima neu delas And slaps her hand against the Delas-tree

Wherever, *lima* // *ne* occur, *lima* is always used to mean 'hand' and *ne* must be interpreted to mean 'hand' or 'other hand'. Hence in ritual language, the polysemy of *lima* is suppressed in the very form that might best express it.

It is evident from the preceding examples that one element of a set may be used to clarify the form and the meaning of its pair.¹⁷ In ritual language, there exist a class of sets, one of whose elements does not appear to occur in ordinary language. Some examples of these sets in *D.K. ma S.B.* are 1) *sao* // *tu*: 'to marry' // 'to wed'; 2) *bongi* // *lae*:

¹⁷ For many sets, it may be analytically useful to distinguish between a dominant element that tends to establish the meaning or form for the set and a dependent element whose meaning or form can only be interpreted by reference to its paired element.

'to give birth' // 'to bear (a child)'; 3) *fali* // *tule*: 'to return' // 'to turn back'; 4) *bote* // *tena*: 'goat' // 'buffalo' [small // large, female animal].

The initial elements of the first three sets, *sao*, *bongi*, *fali*, are common ordinary language verbs while the second elements of these sets, *tu*, *lae*, *tule*, neither occur nor appear to be related to any forms in ordinary language. Most native commentators, therefore, argue on formal grounds that set membership and context make it apparent that the unknown element must be interpreted in terms of its known pair. Some commentators, however, suggested conceivable ordinary language forms to which unknown elements might be related. (*Tu*, it was remarked, might be related to *-tu*, 'to sit'). That some of these suggestions were implausible, even to those who made them, ought not obscure the fact that the Rotinese assume that ritual language elements derive from ordinary language. Elements, or some portion of these elements, however obscure, are not regarded as some special 'secret' vocabulary. Furthermore, unknown or unrelated elements decrease in number as knowledge of ordinary language and of the rules for the derivation of ritual elements increases.¹⁸

The set, *bote* // *tena*, offers further problems in exegesis. According to Jonker (1908, p. 620) *tena* is a classifier for the young, female animals and can apply to any animal whether buffalo or chicken. Native commentators insisted (to me) that *tena* could only apply to large, female livestock (horses or water buffalo) and in the context of sacrifice that this could only mean a water buffalo (*kapa*), while *bote*, for which there seems to be no ordinary language form, designated smaller livestock, especially the goat (*bū-hik*) and the sheep (*bū-lopo*). The assuredness with which these commentators provided their exegesis is probably based on the fact that *bote* // *tena* occurs in other chants in a more complex form: *bote būk* // *tena kapak*. Here again, it is set membership that resolves any obscurity of meaning.

Analytically, there is another class of sets, whose member elements are synonymous dialect variants. The dialect situation on Roti is complex. On phonetic grounds, Jonker (1913) recognized nine dialect

¹⁸ It is possible that many of the sets with an element unrelated to some form in ordinary language would be clarified, if the dialect variations of ordinary language were better known. In fact, it seems difficult to distinguish in all cases between sets with an 'unknown' element and sets composed of dialect variants.

groupings on the island. But each of Roti's eighteen domains vie among each other to possess some distinguishing speech characteristics. It is regarded as appropriate that each domain have its own 'language' (*dedeäk*). In addition, the Rotinese conceptually divide their island into two named territorial divisions, an eastern division, *Lamak-anan* and a western division, *Henak-anan*. The natively recognized dividing line for these divisions cuts through the middle of the expansionist domain of Termanu. These divisions are said to be distinguished by a variety of supposed characteristics, one of which is a broad difference in key dialect words. Certain ritual language sets utilize, and consequently correspond with, this bipartite dialect division. These sets combine an element from the eastern division with an element from the western division. In ritual language, for example, the dyadic set for 'man' is *hataholi* // *daehena* (*dahena*). *Hataholi* is 'man' in Termanu and in west Roti; *daehena* (*dahena*) is 'man' in most domains of east Roti. Examples of these kinds of sets in *D.K. ma S.B.* are *henu* // *sofe* and *li* // *nafa*. *Henu* is 'to be full, sufficient, satisfied' in Termanu and in east Roti but is replaced by *sofe* throughout most of west Roti. *Li* is 'wave, waves (of the sea)' in Termanu and west Roti, while *nafa* takes its place in areas of east Roti. Although Termanu may or may not be the most strategic area for the recognition of sets of this kind, it should be noted that these sets, composed of dialect variants, are those about which ordinary Rotinese (and not just the chanters) readily offer exegesis, labeling elements as either eastern or western terms. Dialect difference is a subject of common awareness and ritual language exploits this knowledge.¹⁹

¹⁹ In his study of Dusun "sacred language", Evans (1953, pp. 495-496) distinguished five classes of words that made up this sacred language: 1) "ordinary Dusun words"; 2) "special but easily recognizable forms of ordinary words — poetic forms — derived from ordinary Dusun words"; 3) "words not usually current in the village.... but found in other villages, near or far away"; 4) "loan words from Malay"; and 5) "words used, as far as known, only in the 'sacred language', for which derivations are not obtainable." This classification resembles that of Hardeland (1858, pp. 4-5). He distinguished: 1) Ordinary or slightly altered Dajak words; 2) Malay words, also slightly altered; and 3) special words, whose meaning or form, confined them to sacred language. But Hardeland used the term, *basa sangiang*, to refer both to the sacred language as a whole and to its distinctive, special words, which comprise only a part of its total vocabulary. In his dictionary (1859), he included about 900 of these *basa sangiang* words. Schärer (1966, p. 8) using Hardeland's textual material discovered that ordinary Dajak words of Harde-

On the basis of these preceding examples, it is possible to make a number of comments on the general nature of ritual language. 1) Ritual language is a developed and elaborated speech form and its dyadic sets are astonishing rich, varied vehicles of expression. Its occurrence can not be attributed to some simple reiterative mentality. 2) All dyadic sets are formulaic in the sense that each set is a traditionally fixed unit. It is from the stock of these units that the *bini* are composed. Although it is impossible to demonstrate this by recourse to just one text, it is possible to assert that all the sets in *D.K. ma S.B.* recur in other texts. They are neither unique nor confined to this single chant. 3) Ritual language is 'poetic' and 'metaphoric' but its metaphors are systematically ordered and constrained by their dyadic structure. The ambiguity in use of elements in ritual language is often less than the use of those same elements in ordinary language. 4) The semantic study of any language raises problems of polysemy, homonymy, and synonymy. What ritual language provides is a highly formalized native reflection on ordinary language. Ritual language may suggest a means of resolving problems in the semantics of ordinary language. 5) Finally, it seems that dyadic sets are not simply systematically derived from related elements in ordinary speech, but are also systematically related among themselves. As research proceeds, this area offers the most promising possibilities.

land's time had come to be regarded, within a hundred years and in the areas where Schärer worked, as special *basa sangiang* terms. (This observation does not necessarily imply that the vocabulary of *basa sangiang* as a whole had changed radically — in fact, Schärer makes several statements to suggest that it had not — but rather that, as changes occurred in the ordinary language and culture of the Ngadju groups, the relation of *basa sangiang* to ordinary language had altered.) It appears that what Schärer intended to include as the conclusion to his fourth volume was a word list of special *basa sangiang* terms. Two points ought to be emphasized. 1) The philological concern with the origin of particular words in these Indonesian sacred languages tends to obscure their essential dyadic structure. Schärer (1966, p. 6) indicated that his principal means of translating obscure words was by reference to their parallel elements. In this way, he was able to 'translate' all but five words of his enormous corpus. 2) Judgements on the origin of particular words (whether as altered or ancient ordinary words, dialect or Malay loan words, or special terms) is fraught with difficulty and can never be made certain. Working with a number of chanters from different dialect areas and many elders, it is possible to obtain some explanation of nearly all elements of ritual language. This does not, however, always make clear the origins of these elements.

VI. DYADIC SETS AND PARALLEL VERSE

Whereas the Rotinese are emphatic on the need for the pairing of elements in ritual language, they themselves do not formulate explicit rules about the arrangement of these pairs into poetic lines of verses. Consequently any assessment of poetic form must be based upon observed regularities in the texts. First of all, it is apparent that dual structure does not encompass all words. There exist a limited number of recurrent elements that do not form dyadic sets. The single text, *D.K. ma S.B.*, contains a high proportion of all such unpaired forms. They may be classed as follows: 1) connectives such as *ma*: 'and'; *de*: 'or'; *te* (*te-hu*): 'but'; *de*, *boe*, *boe-ma*, *boe-te*, which, if translated at all, may be glossed by 'and', 'then', or 'also'; 2) pronouns, such as *au*, *o*, *ana*, *ala*: 'I', 'you', 'he, she, it', 'they'; 3) inflected "prepositions" (Jonker's term) such as *nai / lai* (3rd pers. sing / pl.): 'to be at, on, upon'; *no / lo*: 'to be with'; *neni / leni*: 'to bring with'; *neu / leu*: 'to go toward'; and 4) invariable, uninflected elements, such as *be*: 'what'; *bei*: 'still'; *leo*: 'to, toward'; *kada*: 'always, still' and the exclamation *na*. (A fuller list of these elements is included in the appendix.) For some elements, dyadic sets are optional. *Boe*, when used as a 'filler', in the middle and especially at the end of a line, may form a set with *bai*: 'again'. The demonstrative pronoun, *ndia*: 'there', may form a set with the demonstrative *na*: 'there', but this is variable within the same chant and even within successive lines. The verb *fe*: 'to give', rarely forms a dyadic set. Nor does the negative *ta(k)*. Whether or not these elements form dyadic sets is, to judge from discussion with chanters, a matter of individual style. The chanter's goal is not to produce a monotony of parallel forms in successive lines.

In composition, the overwhelmingly most apparent poetic form is the distich or couplet. Nearly the whole of *D.K. ma S.B.* consist of either consecutive or alternative parallel lines. Using *a*, *a*¹, *b*, *b*¹ to designate lines (and not elements of sets), these two forms may be illustrated as follows:

<i>a</i>	1. Soku-la Pinga Pasa	They carry Pinga Pasa
<i>a</i> ¹	2. Ma ifa-la Soë Leli	And they lift Soë Leli
<i>b</i>	3. De ana sao Kolik Faenama	She marries Kolik Faenama
<i>b</i> ¹	4. Ma tu Bunak Tunulama.	And weds Buna Tunulama.
<i>a</i>	15. De dode seök no hade	They cook and mingle rice
<i>b</i>	16. De hade lutu bui-nggeo	Black-tipped grains of rice

a ¹ 17.	Ma hopo balik no tua	And dissolve and mix lontar sugar
b ¹ 18.	De tua batu meni-oek.	White rock lontar sugar.

Elements that form dyadic sets should, in parallel lines, correspond exactly in position and, as far as is possible, in morphological structure. An element that does not form a dyadic set may, in the second of two parallel lines, be omitted and its sense is understood. (In lines 3 and 4, the pronoun *ana*, 'she' is not repeated. Other instances of this tendency may be seen in lines 11/12, 25/26, 35/36, 55/56, etc. of the text.)

The only potential exception to the rule of position in *D.K. ma S.B.* is the dyadic expression *ma-siu // metu-ape*. The expression is composed of two dyadic sets. *Ma // ape* 'tongue' // 'saliva' form a set as does *siu // metu*. *Siu* is the verb 'to crave' (said of a pregnant woman); but *metu* corresponds to no recognizable ordinary language verb and, according to the chanters, only has the meaning 'to salivate or crave' in the expression *metu-ape*. Hence, while *ma // ape* may occur on its own (as in lines 204 and 205) *siu // metu* may not. Since *ma-siu // metu-ape* is an unalterable expression, *ma* and *ape* do not violate the positional rule on the arrangement of dyadic elements in parallel lines. The poetic play on this expression and its component set is used with great effectiveness in *D.K. ma S.B.*. The eagle and hawk's devouring of the child revenges the cravings of Pinga Pasa ma Soë Leli. The lines, 19/20:

19. De naä te bei boe ma-siu	She [Pínga Pasa] eats but still the
tongue craves
20. Ma ninu te bei boe metu-ape	She [Soë Leli] drinks but still the
mouth waters

are answered by lines, 204/205:

204. De naä na-mada man She [the eagle] eats to dry her
tongue
205. De ninu na-meti apen-na She [the hawk] drinks to slake
her thirst

The rule on the parallelism of morphological structures does not necessarily include number. Although, singular forms usually parallel each other as to plural forms, singular forms may occasionally and acceptably combine with plural forms. Morphological parallelism may best be illustrated by the reduplication of verbs. (In general, the partial reduplication of verbs, with or without prefix, indicates an intensified,

repetitive or continuing action.) *Ka* (*kaka*) // *mumu*: 'to chew' // 'to suck' form a dyadic set. The set is first used in unreduplicated form (lines 138/139) and thereafter in reduplicated form (lines 156/157, 194/195):

138. <i>Ka neni Dela Kolik</i>	Chewing (while carrying) Dela Kolik
139. <i>Ma mumu neni Seko Bunak.</i>	And sucking (while carrying) Seko
[Bunak.
156. <i>Kakaäk Dela Kolik</i>	Continuously chewing Dela Kolik
157. <i>Ma mumumuk Seko Bunak.</i>	Continuously sucking Seko Bunak.

Any element, whose pair is expressed in reduplicated form, must also be similarly reduplicated. This rule extends to adverbs although, unlike verbs, partial reduplication may parallel total reduplication. In lines 97/98, for example, the set *meli* // *mese*: 'quickly' // 'rapidly' is expressed as *memeli* // *mese-mese*.

The rule of morphological parallelism is of considerable importance given the processes by which ritual language both dispenses with standard morphological forms of ordinary language and develops its own elaborate forms. In lines 92/94, 218/219, the set *neda* // *nde**le*: 'to remember' // 'to recall' is expressed as *nasa-neda* // *nafa-nde**le*. Each element of this expression would pass as an acceptable ordinary language usage. But in other chants *neda* // *nde**le* is expressed more emphatically as:

<i>De neda masa-nenedak</i>	Recall, do continually recall
<i>Ma ndele mafa-ndendelek</i>	And remember, do continually remember

Such a distinctively styled expression can only occur in ritual language.

The length of a parallel line and the number of its constituent dyadic elements is rigidly fixed. Disregarding elements that do not pair, the maximum number of dyadic elements of any line of *D.K. ma S.B.* is four:

a	b	c	d
a ¹	b ¹	c ¹	d ¹

An example of this is:

b ¹	<i>Ala solo neu teke ei-kuü telu</i>	They hire a two toothed mouse
b ²	<i>Ma upa neu lafo ma-nisi duak</i>	They buy a three toed lizard

The majority of lines in *D.K. ma S.B.* have either two elements or three elements:

a b	a b c
	or
a ¹ b ¹	a ¹ b ¹ c ¹

Several examples of three element lines have already been quoted: lines 1—4, 15—18, 204—205. Examples of two element lines are:

11. De ala dodo bote-la leu	They slaughter goats
12. Ma paü tena-la leu	And stab buffalo
67. De tetema na-lai	The hawk flees
68. Ma balapua tolu	And the eagle escapes

But there also occur, in *D.K. ma S.B.*, several single lines that have no parallel. Some of these lines are:

153. De losan ma ndukun	She approaches her and reaches her
186. Nai uma ma lo	In the house and home
187. Tunga faik ma nou ledok	Each day and every dawn (sun)
232. De tenga do hele nenin	Takes or picks him, carrying him

These lines are neither incomplete nor incorrect, stray forms. Rather each is composed of one or more dyadic sets which makes it complete and entire in itself. The form of these lines is either: a a¹ or a b a¹ b¹. The fact that these single lines are acceptable demonstrates that parallel line structure is not primary in Rotinese. It is the product of composition in terms of dyadic sets.

VII. DYADIC SETS AND COMPLEX EXPRESSIONS

To this point, discussion has centered on the formulaic features of dyadic sets as traditionally fixed units of expression. One of the further features of these simple dyadic sets is that they are neutral, unordered pairs.²⁰ Although chanters tend to establish patterns for themselves in their compositions, it is largely irrelevant which element of a set occurs first or second in a single line or in parallel lines. Thus, for example, the verbs of the set *la // lapu* may be interchanged:

145. Boe-te tetema lapu seluk	The hawk takes wing once more
146. Ma balapua la bai.	And the eagle flies again.
174. Boe-te tetema la seluk	The hawk flies again
175. Ma balapua lapu bai.	And the eagle takes wing again.

²⁰ A possible exception to this statement is the expression of ritual numbers. A lower number seems always to precede a higher number in expression.

But dyadic sets may also combine in more complex sequences. These expressions may vary from double dyadic expressions to longer formulaic chains. In complex expressions, the combination of sets and the ordering of elements within them are constrained and, depending on the type of expression, these follow recognizable patterns.

A double dyadic expression involves the combination of two simple dyadic sets. It is possible to distinguish three types of these expressions: 1) unrestricted expressions whose component sets are freely separable and whose significance is not altered in separation; 2) restricted or idiomatic sets whose significance is dependent on an unique combination of sets and whose meaning can not be derived by analysis of its components and 3) names whose component sets have their own rules of ordering.

An example of an unrestricted double dyadic expression in *D.K. ma S.B.* is the following:

55. Fo dei laba kae nala lain To mount and climb upward
 56. Ma tinga hene nala lain. And to step and ascend upward.

The components of this expression are *laba // tinga*: 'to climb' (a tree using a back-strap) // 'to step' (up a tree, using carved niches) and *kae // hene*: 'to ascend' (in short steps) // 'to mount' (often used in the sense of increase). Each of these sets may be used separately (as, for example, *kae // hene*, in lines 63/64) but commonly they occur as a complex unit. Another example of this type of expression is *tona ofa // balu pau* which is composed of two dyadic sets, each of whose elements is another name for a kind of boat or water craft. The way in which the verbs, 'to bite', 'to chew', 'to suck', 'to munch', occur in *D.K. ma S.B.* suggests that possibly *kakaä mamama // kukuta mumumu* might also be a double dyadic expression.

Examples of idiomatic double dyadic expressions are: *daä-fai // nggeo-lena*: 'to enlarge' (said of the womb) // 'to darken' (said of the breasts); *ma-siu // metu-ape*: 'to crave with the tongue' // 'to salivate'; *bui-nggeo(k) // meni-oe(k)*: 'black-tipped' // 'white sugared'; *popi-koak // lano-manuk*: 'a cock's tail feathers' // 'a rooster's plume', the ritual expression for a male child, (the equivalent expression for a female child is *ke-fetok // tai-inak*); and *dae-bafok // batu-poik*, the ritual expression for the earth (literally, 'the earth's mouth or valley' // 'the rock's points'). These double expressions must be considered as wholes since any literal analysis of their dyadic components renders them incomprehensible. Furthermore, a rearrangement of the elements of

these components (such as *daä-lena* // *nggeo-fai**, *popi-manuk* // *lano-koak**, *dae-poik* // *batu-bafok**, or *bui-oek* // *meni-nggeok**), although strictly correct by rule of the ordering of simple dyadic sets, is unacceptable in ritual language.

Names form by far the largest class of double dyadic expressions. Personal names always assume this form, while place names usually assume it. Rotinese names are complex and most individuals have a minimum of three distinct names accorded them by several interrelated naming procedures. Naming in ritual language resembles the system of Rotinese 'genealogical naming'. Ordinary genealogical names are binomials and, provided that bridewealth is paid, a person receives the first element of his father's binomial as the second element of his binomial. (The first element of a person's binomial is determined by divination from a large selection of former ancestral names.) The difference between ordinary names and ritual language names is that, in ordinary naming, a person has a single binomial while, in ritual language, a chant-character has two binomials or, in other words, a double dyadic name. Another feature of ritual naming, not found in ordinary genealogical naming, is the frequent use of place name dyadic sets at components of personal names. Thus ritual names often suggestively locate as well as distinguish a chant-character.

Features of ritual naming are well illustrated in *D.K. ma S.B.* To begin with, the set, *Buna* // *Koli* (in the name, *Buna Tunulama* // *Koli Faenama*), is the ritual name for the domain of Termanu or Pada. *Pasa* // *Leli* (in the name, *Pinga Pasa* // *Soë Leli*) is the ritual name for an area on the north coast of Termanu (including the present village area of Leli)²¹ near two conspicuous coastal rock formations, known both in ritual language and ordinary language, as *Batu Hun* // *Sua Lain*. The set, *Dulu* // *Langa*: 'East' // 'Head' (in the name, *Loniama Langa* // *Taoama Dulu*) and the set, *Sepe* // *Timu*: 'Pink, the colour of the dawn' // 'East, the direction of the island of Timor' (in the name, *Sepe Ami-Li* // *Timu Tongo-Batu*) indicate that the pursuit of the eagle and hawk, which begins in Termanu, turns first toward the eastern end of the island and then moves towards Roti's westernmost domain, Delha, known in ritual language as *Ana Iko* // *Dela Muli*. (The set, *Muli* // *Iko*: 'West' // 'Tail' which matches *Dulu* // *Langa* is indicative of the Rotinese cosmological conception

²¹ Historically it is interesting to note that *Pasa* // *Leli* was formerly (in the 17th century) a separate domain which eventually became incorporated within Termanu. (Fox, 1971.)

of their island as a creature, a crocodile, with its head in the east and its tail in the west.) In *D.K. ma S.B.*, the context in which action occurs is clearly implied by the names used in the chant.

Thus a man from Termanu, *Buna Tunulama // Koli Faenama* marries a girl from Leli, *Pinga Pasa // Soë Leli* (native exegesis supplied the further information that *Pinga Pasa // Soë Leli* is the child of *Pasa Boboi // Leli Kekeo*). Their child receives the first elements of his father's binomials and is named *Dela Koli // Seko Buna*. By this same system the eagle and hawk (*balapua // tetema*) is named *Balapua Loniamama // Tetema Taoama* and is the child of *Loniamama Langa // Taoama Dulu*. Although no native commentator mentioned this obvious fact, it is clear from the rules of the naming system that another character in the chant, *Loma-Loma Langa // Pele-Pele Dulu* is the sibling of *Loniamama Langa // Taoama Dulu*.

The importance of ritual names and the lengths to which these names are elaborated can not be overemphasized. Whole chants (those on the origin of rice and millet and on weaving) consist largely of what seems to be a boring recitation of names. Each of the eighteen domains of Roti has several ritual names and each domain, in turn, is subdivided into numerous ritually named areas.

One reason for this concern with names is that the chanter's are the genealogists for the Rotinese, especially the noble Rotinese. The sharpest criticism in any chanter's collection of deprecating remarks about his rivals is that the man confuses names. In some chants, a succession of marriages and births is recited before the birth of the main chant-character. The following six generation, double dyadic genealogy gives some idea of length of this elaboration in ritual naming:

In this genealogy, the simple dyadic sets (*Bula* // *Ledo*: 'moon' // 'sun'; *Patola* // *Mandete*: the names of two 'noble' cloth motifs; *Mata* // *Idu*: 'eye' // 'nose'; *Buna* // *Boa*: 'flower' // 'fruit') are regularly ordered and systematically transmitted. In the analysis of ritual language, what is significant about naming is that it forms an highly important subsystem within the language with its own rules, formulae, and constraints on the combination of simple dyadic sets.²²

Rotinese ritual language is formulaic at yet another level. Simple dyadic sets are fixed units; double dyadic expressions further constrain the ordering of simple dyads. But in addition, there occur certain lines that vary so little from chant to chant that they can only be interpreted as standardized formulaic chains. These formulaic chains are particularly important in beginning and ending chants and in indicating new episodes or new stages of events within chants. The simplest example of this in *D.K. ma S.B.* is the three set chain that occurs in lines 83/84 and again in lines 214/215 and, at each point, announces a further development in the narration:

83/214	Faik esa manunin	On one definite day
84/215	Ma ledo dua mateben.	And at a second certain dawn (sun).

To introduce the main chant-character, most funeral chants begin with the marriage of the character's mother, her pregnancy and the eventual birth of the main character. Some chants elaborate this through several generations (i.e. the marriage of the grandmother, her pregnancy, the birth of the father, the marriage of the mother and father, the mother's pregnancy, the birth of the main character, etc.). These genealogical introductions constitute a necessary but highly standardized format in many funeral chants. The formulaic chains of lines 5/6 or lines 75/76 appear, in many chants, as part of formats of this kind.

5.	De tein-na daä-fai	Her womb enlarges
6.	Ma suü-na nggeo-lena	Her breasts darken
75.	Besak-ka tein-na nama-sela	Now her womb grows larger
76.	Ma suün-na nama-tua.	Now her breasts grow bigger.

Similarly, because a mother's cravings are regarded as indicators of an unborn child's character, the repeated lines about Pinga Pasa and

²² Names will comprise a separate subsection in the dictionary of ritual language. While many elements of names are intelligible and occur also as elements outside the naming system, many elements are obscure and become the subject of multiple, speculative exegeses on the part of the Rotinese.

Soe Leli's desiring various foods are also formulaic chains. What differs from chant to chant are the foods that are craved.

Most interesting of all, from the point of view of composition, are those formulaic chains which relate the marriage and birth of specific chant-characters. In each of these lines, there occurs the name of a new chant-character. Nearly always these chains consist of three sets, one set of which is a verb and two sets of which are components of proper names. To illustrate the formulaic pattern of genealogical introductions, the following six lines are rendered in an alphabetic notation that may be applied to express correctly any genealogical introduction. The fact is, however, this notation expresses only one format upon which there can be several variations.²³ The lines are:

1. Ala soku-la Pinga Pasa	They carry Pinga Pasa
2. Ma ifa-la Soë Leli	And they lift Soë Leli
3. De ana sao Kolik Faenama	(Then) she marries Kolik Faenama
4. Ma tu Bunak Tunulama	And she weds Bunak Tunulama
5. De ana bongi-na Dela Kolik	(Then) she gives birth to Dela Kolik
6. Ma lae-na Seko Bunak	And she bears Seko Bunak

The notations are: 'C' is a connective; 'IC' is an initial connective such as *de*, *boe-ma*, *besak-ka*, etc.; 'SC' is a subsequent connective, either *do* or *ma*; '()' indicates that the element is optional, with the understanding that in theory, any element that is not part of a dyadic set is potentially optional; 'P' is a pronoun and may be either singular or plural; 'a¹' // 'a²', in this genealogical introduction, stands for *soku* // *ifa*. The suffixed morpheme *-la* or *-nala* which, in ordinary language, involves singular/plural, subject/object agreement is variable and optional in ritual language and for the moment not considered in the notation; the same is true of the suffixed morpheme for *bongi* // *lae*. 'b¹' // 'b²' stands for *tu* // *sao*; 'c¹' // 'c²' stands for *bongi* // *lae*. It makes no difference which element of a set occurs first. '[]' indicate a complex or double dyadic set; the 'N' preceding these brackets indicates that the elements enclosed are names. The letters 'i', 'j', 'k', 'l', 'm', etc. stand for any dyadic sets in the naming system. The formulation in this notation would be as follows:

²³ Variations which might be inserted one after the first and the other after the second line are:

Fo Pasa Boboi anan:	Pasa Boboi's child
Fo Leli Kekeo anan:	Leli Kekeo's child.

(IC)	P	a ¹	N[i ¹ j ¹]
SC	(P)	a ²	N[i ² j ²]
IC	P	b ¹	N[k ¹ l ¹]
SC	(P)	b ²	N[k ² l ²]
IC	P	c ¹	N[m ¹ k ¹]
SC	(P)	c ²	N[m ² k ²]

VIII. RESEARCH DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF RITUAL LANGUAGE

A further crucial aspect of the analysis of ritual language relates not to the expression of dyadic sets in parallel lines but to the organization of elements in dyadic sets. An element is not restricted to inclusion in only one dyadic set. In fact, it is common for an element to form dyadic sets with more than one element. The combinatorial possibilities of any element vary and these combinatorial possibilities constitute its *range*. Included in an element's range are all those other elements (and only those elements) with which it forms dyadic sets. Its full range may be expressed by the number of all sets with which it combines.²⁴

On the basis of present texts, a dictionary of ritual language, including all the sets of the naming system, may consist of several thousand (perhaps 4000 +) dyadic sets. The 120 some sets of *D.K. ma S.B.* are therefore hardly sufficient to do more than illustrate the limited ranges of selected elements. The simplest illustration is that of the numbers 'one' (*esa*), 'two' (*dua*), 'three' (*telu*), 'four' (*ha*). *Esa* has a range of 1; it forms a set only with *dua*; *dua*, however, has a range of 2 since it may form sets with both *esa* and *telu*. *Telu*, in turn, also has a range of 2 since it may form sets with *dua* and *ha*. But *ha* is confined to a range of 1; it forms a set only with *telu*, since *lima*, 'five', is not included in the number system of ritual language.

Elements seem to vary considerably in range. Certain elements have highly restricted (sometimes 'unique') ranges while other elements have wide (potentially 'open') ranges. Then names for animals, for example, in certain sets which are central to Rotinese cosmology, appear to be highly restricted. (It is possible that their occurrence in sets of the naming system may belie this appearance.) Thus the elements of sets

²⁴ A possible means of dealing with those elements, such as *bei*, *boe*, *ndia*, etc., which may optionally form dyadic sets would be to allow the combination of an element with itself to be included in its range.

such as *foe* // *iu*: 'shark' // 'crocodile'; *kea* // *luik*: 'turtle' // 'sea cow'; *koa* // *nggia*: 'black bird' // 'parrot' have a narrow range while animal names such as *kapa*: 'water buffalo', *manu*: 'chicken', *kode*: 'monkey' have a much wider combinatorial range.

The study of the combinatorial range of elements in dyadic sets also provides a formal means of tracing the (systematic) interrelation of sets and their elements. In *D.K. ma S.B.*, *batu*: 'rock, stone' has a range of 3. It forms sets with — // *dae*: 'earth, ground', — // *ai*: 'wooden stick, tree' and with — // *lutu*: 'pebble, grain, granule'. In ritual language, each of these elements, in turn, forms sets with other elements. *Dae* forms a set with — // *lai(n)*: 'sky, heaven' which, in turn, forms a set with — // *poi(n)*: 'point, heights'; *dae* also forms a set with — // *oe*: 'water, liquid' which, in turn, forms a set with — // *tasi*: 'sea'. *Ai* combines with — // *naü*: 'grass, straw, tinder' and *lutu* with — // *dea*: 'stone, sea-wall'. An illustration of the simple network of semantic elements linked to *batu* would be the following:

In this way, it is possible to construct networks of related elements based solely upon a criterion of their occurrence in dyadic sets. Every element in ritual language can thereby be specified as a location or node in a particular network of semantic relations. Research on this form of semantic specification is proceeding in hand with the development of a comprehensive dictionary of Rotinese ritual language.

IX. CONCLUSIONS: DYADIC LANGUAGE AND DUAL COSMOLOGIES

In Indonesian mythological studies, scholars have focused attention on coordinate systems of complementary dualism. Wherever these systems are most impressively evidenced (Nias, Ngadju, Toradja, Sumba, Timor and the islands of eastern Indonesia), their means of expression is an elaborate tradition of pervasive parallelism. Of enormous importance is research into the relationship of these dual cosmologies to their medium of expression in dyadic language.

Some descriptions of the religious and cosmological systems of the

Indonesian peoples rely upon the analysis of a select number of important complementary dual oppositions. Thus, for example, Rotinese ritual language includes, among its dyadic sets, such familiar dual oppositions as:

sun	//	moon	right	//	left
sky	//	earth	male	//	female
land	//	water	elder	//	younger
east	//	west	red	//	green
odd number			//	even number	

An even longer selection of such oppositions would, however, hardly do justice to the parallelism of ritual language. To do this would require a list of all dyadic sets, a column of several thousand units. Furthermore, an emphasis on a limited number of these sets renders rigid and static what is, in fact, a flexible system of symbolic classification. Dual elements need not be confined to a single form of complementary opposition. Their range, though always constrained, may add appreciably to their symbolic potential. Contrarily, a parallelism, however pervasive, does not, on its own, constitute a dual cosmology. A dual cosmology is characterized not by the simple pairing of elements but by the analogical ordering of elements within pairs according to some criterion of asymmetry. The rules of parallelism provide no such criterion. Dyadic sets are essentially neutral pairs; one element in a set is not 'superior' to another element and either element may proceed the other in expression. Extra linguistic evaluations are required to transform the elements of dyadic sets into the elements of a dual cosmology.

Rotinese annunciate such evaluations, some of which are explicitly, almost syllogistically, formulated. The following two aphorisms provide some idea of the native criteria by means of which elements of sets may be analogically ordered. For the set, *dae* // *lain*: 'earth' // 'heaven' there is this aphorism: *Lain loa dae, dae loa lain, te-hu Manetua nai lain, de lain loa lena dae*: "Heaven is as broad as the earth, earth is as broad as heaven, but the Great Lord is in heaven, therefore heaven is broader than earth." For the set *dulu* // *muli*: 'east' // 'west', there is this aphorism. *Dulu nalu muli, te-hu ledo neme dulu mai, de dulu baii lena muli*: "The east is as long as the west, but the sun comes from the east, therefore the east is much greater than the west." Using similar aphorisms based upon the native concept of 'greater than' (*lena*),

it is possible to construct the ordered directional coordinates of Rotinese cosmology (Fox, 1968, pp. 40-69; Fox, in press). These provide a basis for a further ordering of other sets and the systematic foundation for a dual cosmology. But not all sets can be linked to these directional coordinates. For some sets, other criteria are invoked and for many sets — perhaps a majority of sets — there appear to be no clear criteria for ordering. Hence, whereas linguistic parallelism may offer the underlying basis for dual cosmology, not all elements of this language need necessarily be taken up and ordered within this framework. But here much more work must be done to clarify the issue.

Robert Lowth, in the first study on parallelism, distinguished three sorts of parallels: 1) synonymous parallels, 2) antithetic parallels, and 3) synthetic parallels. It might be further possible to subdivide Lowth's antithetic parallels into complementaries, contraries, and contradictories. But the overwhelming majority of parallels in Rotinese are "synthetic". They reflect the correspondence of elements recognized by a specific speech community, its stock of prescribed social 'metaphors'. What is important in ritual language is neither the form — which is dyadic — nor the content of compositions — which may vary — but the overall and highly detailed view of the world communicated by the structure of thousands of dyadic sets.

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VBG	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Bataviaas Genootschap.
VG	Verzamelde Geschriften.
VKI	Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut.
VKNAW	Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.

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APPENDIX

SIMPLE DYADIC SETS

1. *ana* // *tolo*, child // egg.
2. *ape* // *mā*, spittle // tongue.
3. *ate* // *ba*, liver // lungs.
4. *baē* // *ndana*, branch // limb.
5. *bafo* // *poi*, mouth, valley // tip, peak.
6. *bako* (*babako*) // *toko* (*totoko*), to clap // to slap.
7. *balapua* (*pua*) // *tetema* (*tema*), eagle // hawk.
8. *bai* // *boe*, again // also.
9. *bai* // *seluk*, again // once more.
10. *balī* // *seō*, to blend // to mix.
11. *bapa* // *boke*, to slap // to stamp.
12. *batu* // *ai*, stone // stick.
13. *batu* // *dae*, stone // earth.
14. *batu* // *lutu*, stone // grain, pebble.
15. *beu* // *modo*, new // green.
16. *bia* // *lola*, to cut into chunks // to slice into strips.
17. *bongi* // *lae*, to give birth // to bear (a child).
18. *bote* // *tena*, female goat // female water buffalo.
19. *bula* // *ledo*, moon // sun.
20. *bupu* // *fani*, wasp // bee.
21. *Dela* // *Nita*, Delas-tree (*Erythrina* Spp.) // *Nitas*-tree (*Sterculia Foetida*).
22. *do* (*dodo*) // *nda* (*ndanda*), to think // to ponder.
23. *doa-* // *sota-*, carefully // painstakingly.
24. *dode* // *hopo*, to cook (rice) // to mix (*lontar* syrup).
25. *dodo* // *pau*, to cut the throat // to stab.
26. *doki* (*dodoki*) // *una* (*uūna*), all sorts (of things) // all kinds (of things).
27. *-dofu* // *-toi*, to fill with earth // to bury.
28. *dua* // *esa*, two // one.
29. *dua* // *telu*, two // three.
30. *dui* // *kalu*, bone // sinew.
31. *dulu* // *langa*, east // head.
32. *ei* // *lida*, foot // wing.
33. *ei* // *lima*, foot // hand.
34. *ei-kuū* // *nisi*, toe // tooth.
35. *-fada* // *-hala*, to speak // to say.
36. *fai* // *ledo*, day // sun.
37. *fali* // *tule*, to return // to turn back.
38. *feto* // *ina*, girl // woman.
39. *hade* // *tua-oe*, uncooked rice // *lontar* juice.
40. *heda-hu* // *tisa*, ladder // roof thatch (of a house).
41. *hele* // *tenga*, to pick up // to grasp.
42. *-hele* // *-nepe*, to hold tight // to make firm.
43. *hene* // *kae*, to mount // to ascend.
44. *henu* // *sofe*, to be full // to be sufficient.
45. *hona* (*hohona*) // *teni* (*teteni* or *titini*), foot of ladder // edge of roof.
46. *hoī* // (*laē*), to take // to touch.
47. *hule* // *noke*, to ask // to call.
48. *hu* // *lai*, trunk, origin // top.
49. *ifa* (*ūifa*) // *koō* (*kokoō*), to cradle in the lap // to carry in the arms.
50. *idu* // *mata*, nose // eye.
51. *iko* // *muli*, tail // west.
52. *ka* (*kakaū*) // *kuta* (*kukuta*), to bite // to munch.
53. *ka* // *mumu*, to bite // to suck.

54. *kakodek* // *lalano*, kakodek-tree // lalano-tree.
55. *kapa* // *manu*, water buffalo // chicken.
56. *kea* // *luik*, turtle // sea cow.
57. *-keni* // *-moi*, slippery // smooth.
58. *koa* // *manu*, cock's tail feather // chicken, cock.
59. *kode* // *teke*, monkey // gecko lizard.
60. *kuta* // *mumu*, to munch // to suck.
61. *la* // *lapu*, to fly // to take wing.
62. *laba* // *tinga*, to climb // to step.
63. *labu* // *meko*, drum // gong.
64. *lada* // *lole*, tasty // good, pleasing.
65. *ladi* // *lena*, to cross // to wade through.
66. *lafo* // *teke*, mouse // gecko lizard.
67. *lai* // *sue*, to love // to like.
68. *lain* // *poin*, heaven, heights // top, peaks.
69. *lai* // *tolomu*, to flee // to run away.
70. *lali* // *soku*, to move // to leave, to lift.
71. *lano* // *popi*, feather plume // lontar leaf garland.
72. *latu* // *mafo*, ripe // half-ripe.
73. *laü* // *tenga*, to seize in flight // to grasp.
74. *lelu* (*lelelu*) // *teo* (*teteo*), to glance // to look around.
75. *li* // *nafa*, wave // wave, swell.
76. *-li* // *-mu*, to sound (of drum or gong) // to resonate, hum.
77. *lima* // *kala*, hand // chest.
78. *lino* // *luü*, to rest // to brood (of birds), to settle.
79. *lino* // *mete*, to spy // to watch.
80. *lino* // *sae*, to rest // to sit (of birds).
81. *liun* // *sain*, sea // ocean.
82. *lo* // *uma*, house // house.
83. *loe* (*toloe*) // *sali* (*sasali*), receding // overflowing.
84. *lolo* (*lololo*) // *nda* (*ndanda*), constantly // continually.
85. *losa* // *nduku*, toward // up to.
86. *loti* // *pele*, to search by torch-light // to fish by torch-light.
87. *lu* // *pinu*, tears // mucus, snot.
88. *-mada* // *-meti*, to dry // to ebb.
89. *mafo* // *saö*, shade // shadow.
90. *mama* (*mamama*) // *mumu* (*mumumu*), to chew // to suck.
91. *meli* (*memeli*) // *mesi* (*mesi-mesi*), quickly // rapidly.
92. *modo* // *tole*, green // dark.
93. *monu* // *tuda*, to fall // to drop.
94. *na* // *ndia*, that there // there.
95. *naü* // *ninu*, to eat // to drink.
96. *nanamo* // *tua*, nanamo-plant // lontar palm.
97. *-neda* // *-nde*, to remember // to recall.
98. (*n*)*ita* // *nda*, to see // to meet.
99. *noü* // *tunga*, each // every.
100. *nutu* // *tei*, gizzard // stomach.
101. *nggali* // *poi*, to scatter // to loose.
102. *nggute* // *tete*, to snip // to cut.
103. *pau* (*pu*) // *tene*, thigh // ribs.
104. *pele* // *sini*, palm leaf torch // dried leaves.
105. *pinga* // *soë*, plate // coconut shell dish.
106. *posi* // *unu*, shore's edge // reef.

107. <i>saë // tai</i> , to sit (of birds) // to grip, hold on.	112. <i>solo // upa</i> , to pay // to hire.
108. <i>sanga // tunga</i> , to seek // to follow.	113. <i>suü // tei</i> , breast // stomach.
109. <i>sao // tu</i> , to marry // to wed.	114. <i>taë // tou</i> , boy // man.
110. <i>-sela // -tua</i> , to be large // to be big.	115. <i>tapa // tuü</i> , to throw // to cast.
111. <i>sepe // timu</i> , dawn red // east.	116. <i>tata // ule</i> , to split, chop // to wind.
	117. <i>tebe // (n)uni</i> , true // certain.

COMPLEX DYADIC EXPRESSIONS

Unrestricted expressions:

118. *laba kae // tinga hene*, to climb, ascend // to step, mount.

Restricted expressions:

119. <i>batu-poik // dae-bafok</i> , earth // world.	122. <i>lano-manu // popi-koa</i> , male child // boy child.
120. <i>bui-nggeo // meni-oe</i> , black-tipped // white sugared.	123. <i>ma-siu // metu-ape</i> , to crave with the tongue // to salivate.
121. <i>daä-fai // nggeo-lena</i> , to enlarge (of the womb) // to darken (of the breasts).	

Personal names:

124. <i>Balapua Loniama // Tetema Taoama.</i>	128. <i>Loniama Langa // Taoama Dulu.</i>
125. <i>Buna Tunulama // Koli Faenama.</i>	129. <i>Pinga Pasa // Soë Leli.</i>
126. <i>Dela Koli // Seko Buna.</i>	130. <i>Sepe Ama-Li // Timu Tongo-Batu.</i>
127. <i>Loma-Loma Langa // Pele-Pele Dulu.</i>	

Place names:

131. <i>Ana Iko // Dela Muli</i> , Domain of Delha.	132. <i>Batu Hun // Sua Lain</i> , Twin rock formations in Termanu.

CONNECTIVES, PRONOUNS, PREPOSITIONALS, AND INVARIABLE ELEMENTS

Connectives:

1. <i>besak-ka (besak-ia)</i> , now.	2. <i>boe (boe-ma, boe-te)</i> , then, and, but, also.
3. <i>de</i> , then.	

4. <i>do</i> , or.	6. <i>ma</i> , and.
5. <i>fo</i> , that (indicator of an appositional phrase).	7. <i>te</i> (<i>te-hu</i>), but.

Pronouns:

8. <i>ala</i> , they.	10. <i>au</i> , I.
9. <i>ana</i> , he, she, it.	11. <i>o</i> , you.

Prepositionals: (3rd per. sing./pl. forms only)

12. <i>nae/lae</i> , to speak to.	15. <i>neni/leni</i> , to bring with.
13. <i>nai/lai</i> , to be at, on, upon.	16. <i>neu/leu</i> , to go toward.
14. <i>neme/leme</i> , to come from.	17. <i>no/lo</i> , to be with.

Invariable elements:

18. <i>be</i> , what.	24. <i>leo</i> , to, toward.
19. <i>bei</i> , still.	25. <i>mai</i> , to come.
20. <i>dei</i> , well, so, first (emphatic particle).	26. <i>na</i> (exclamation!).
21. <i>ela</i> (<i>fo-ela</i>), so that.	27. <i>ta</i> , no, not.
22. <i>fe</i> , to give.	28. <i>so(k)</i> , finished (indicator of past action).
23. <i>kada</i> , always, still.	