Words and Expressions: Notes on Parallelism in Leti

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The islands in the extreme southwest of the Indonesian province of Maluku constitute a string that traditionally belongs to a region called *Nohpaikra // Raipiatatra* 'Guided Islands and Conducted Lands'. Parallelism is a well-attested phenomenon in East Indonesian languages. Whereas parallelism seems to be confined to ritual speech in the languages of the Timor area to the west, it appears to involve the entire language (both lexically and grammatically) in the Southwest Maluku. This study offers preliminary insights into the structure and function of parallelism in *lirmarna* 'royal speech' and *lirasniara* 'sung speech' by analyzing text samples from a Leti (Moa) myth, prayers (from Riedel 1886), and a few songs.

1. Introduction

The many publications by James J. Fox on ritual languages in East Indonesia have made lexical parallelism—the pairing of words—one of the best known features of the languages in the region of Timor. While many data are available on parallelism in Nusa Tenggara Timur, less is known about this phenomenon in the languages directly east of Timor. This study presents results of ongoing research on parallelism in Western Leti, a Central Malayo-Polynesian language spoken on the island of Leti off the easternmost tip of Timor, in Southwest Maluku.[1]

Western Leti (hereafter simply Leti), is spoken by approximately 4,600 people who mainly live in the domains of Tutukei, Tomra, and

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Nuwewang on the West Side (Wielwiarta),[2] a strip of land located between Cape Tutukei to the north and Cape Nuwewang to the southwest. Leti speakers distinguish two languages in this area: *lirleti* 'Leti language', the language brought to Leti by the so-called "boat owner" clans *(oraspou),* and *lirnusa* 'land-language', which represents the language of the "aboriginal" clans, such as Aalleti (Tutukei) and Peri-Muaniaana (Tomra), who were already there when the "boat owners" arrived. Two speech styles are distinguished in Leti: (1) *lirmetrialma* 'inside-reef-language', a secret speech style for fishing purposes on the islet of Luang, which seems to be absent on Leti,[3] and (2) literary speech, subdivided into spoken speech, called *lirmarna* 'royal language', and 'sung language', *lirasniara.*

In the following paragraphs, I will discuss the form and function of Leti literary language by analyzing a speech by a Tutukeian official, Istifanus Taluta; a Moa text recorded by J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong; and a Tomra prayer from Riedel (1886). For brevity, I will refer to these three texts as Taluta's speech, the Moa *ttui,* and the Tomra prayer.

2. Form and meaning of Leti parallelism

The pairing of lexical items is the main feature of *lirmarna.* This phenomenon was first observed in the Leti language by Rev. Geerlof Heijmering, who represented the Timor division of the Dutch Missionary Society *(Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap)* in Serwaru. He wrote, "Another, to me different, beauty of the language is its diversity of words, with which it can express one and the same thing by alternating words that sound differently" (1846: 41). Although research is still ongoing, some preliminary remarks can be made on the form of these lexical pairings.

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[2]Batumiau on the East Side and Tutuwaru on the South Side fall within the western dialect group. Traditionally, they are not domains, but "detached properties" of the domain Tutukuei // Sondawa (according to Tutukeian and Luhulelian tradition).

[3]I found some remnants in Tomra, where an old woman belonging to the "aboriginal" clan of Wurwola spontaneously gave me *lirmetrialma* equivalents of the reef fish that she had caught. For many clans—not only the "boat owners"—*lirnusa* is also a secret speech style (not a separate language) that is used for witchcraft.

2.1 Form: Rules and tendencies

The Leti data show many combinations in which both lexical items mean the same thing. However, a closer look at these specific pairs reveals that only one word in the combination is preferred in Leti daily speech. Its counterpart appears to come from an (extra)insular isolect. A similar phenomenon was attested in (Termanu) Rotinese by Fox (1974), where he speaks of dialects rather than isolects. In the following examples, Lakor refers to isolects spoken on Lakor Island and in Moain (East Moa), while Moa refers to isolects spoken in East Leti (Luhuleli and Laitutun) and on West Moa (Kaiwatu up to at least Pati toward the east). (The fact that the Leti items occur second in the following pairs is accidental.)

r-meslima (Lakor) *// ra-saawa* (Leti)	'they marry'
liola (Moa) *// puorsa* (Leti)	'door'
usu (Moa) *// lai* (Leti)	'(sea)bank'
na-riwa (Moa[4]) *// na-ksau* (Leti)	'he cherishes'
na-doona (Moa) *// n-takra*	'he sees'

Some of these pairs contain items that are explicitly identified as exclusive to *lirmarna.* They do not occur in Leti daily speech. In the other dialects I studied, too, they were only attested in *lirmarna.* Starred items among the following examples are confined to *lirmarna.*

*tirka // llena	'lightning'
na-kropna // *na-kreetu	'he limps'
*kaperi // kapansa	'ill'
-liiru // *-tawu	'backside'
r-wutu // *r-kesa	'they bind'

In these combinations, the starred words are all explained as possible *lirmarna* equivalents of the daily speech items (as in the case of *r-wutu // r-kesa*) and sometimes even as the only possible *lirmarna* equivalent (as in the case of *tirka // llena*).

In some cases, both items are identified as *lirmarna.* Neither member of the pair occurs independently in daily speech.

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[4]Tutukei follows the Moa dialects here, according to de Josselin de Jong (n.d.). The form *na-riwa* means 'he keeps in his lap' and *na-ksau* 'he carries on his back'. In Tomra and Nuwewang, *na-ksau* has replaced *na-riwa* and there is no longer any difference between these two meanings. The same happened in Tutukei, where *na-riwa* has replaced *na-ksau.*

*na-wiru // *na-kawi	'he arranges// orders'
*dupla // *mawla	'witchcraft'
*n-dutarleta // *l-leluktani	'he founds a domain'[5]

It seems difficult at this stage to establish definite rules for parallelism. However, closer examination shows that some items appear in other combinations, and always in the same position. In other words, the positioning of the items seem to be lexically fixed. This is shown by -*tawu 'back', which always occupies second position.

lerliiru // lertawu	'in early days'
n-rei // n-tawu	'he withdraws'
tukar-nu // taw-nu	'his back'

Such fixed combinations seem to imply that lexical items cannot be paired freely. The speaker of *lirmarna* must know the positions of the words if he wants to produce acceptable *lirmarna.* This does not mean, however, that each item has a lexically defined position. In the following example, the suffix -*liiru* fills the final slot; in the example above, it occupies the initial position in the pair.

R-sopl-ulu   // r-sopal-liiru ...
3pl-sail-head   // 3pl-sail-back
'They sailed ahead // sailed behind ...'

Rules can be detected for those items that also occur in daily speech. *Uera* 'water', for example, must always be in initial position:

uera // watu	'water // stone'
uera // waresra	'water // provision'
uera // tali	'water // rope'[6]

A combination where 'water' and 'seawater' *(taski)* would be linked as *taski // uera* is not acceptable. It must be *uera // taski.* The word for 'pig' *(wawi),* on the other hand, must always occupy final position:

pipi // wawi	'goat // pig'
siwi // wawi	'chicken // pig'
asu // wawi	'dog // pig'

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[5]*Leta* and *tani* mean 'village' and 'soil', respectively. The verbs -*dutra* and -*lelku* are not really understood, but could be interpreted as 'walling the village' (cf. *lutru* 'stone wall'), and thus 'fencing the soil'.

[6]Compare *ueruera // taltiali* 'watery // ropelike', meaning 'bendable'.

Although the arrangement of items seems defined purely on lexical grounds (and as such more or less unplanned), a semantic analysis may provide some hints. It is the task of anthropologists to place the outcome in a cultural framework.

The arrangement of the paired items seems often to reflect antonymic concepts. For instance, items that name small objects or female objects precede those that name nonsmall or male objects, respectively.

SMALL REFERENT // NONSMALL REFERENT
kokkoi // lalawna   'child // grown-up (lit. 'big')'
loi // spou   'proa // (sailing) boat
pua // nura   'betel // coconut'
wesi // waani   'scull // oar'
koni // maanu   'grasshopper // bird'

FEMALE REFERENT // MALE REFERENT
puata // muani   'woman // man'
ina // ama   'mother // father'
*nara // *siali*[7]   'sister // brother'
iera // ria[8]   'sister-in-law // brother-in-law'
ttei // ddalu   'female animal // male animal'

SEAWARD // LANDWARD
liora // riaa   'seaside // landside'
ueeta // loka   'estuary // river'
tutu // lowna   'cape // plains'
nusa // rai   'island // land (lit. 'continent')'
tioruna // taniarta '*bintangor*-tree stem[9] // soil's border'
eni // wuura   '(beach) sand // mountain'

HIGH // NOT HIGH
tul-lu // lawan-ne   'his height // his bigness'
wuwar-nu // nain-ni 'above // under[10] '
koam-ne // uaar-ne 'its [a tree's] crown // its root'

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[7]For female speakers, *ela // nara.* The daily speech word for *siali* is *ali.*

[8]For female speakers, *oi // iera.*

[9]The *bintangor* is a tree found near the sea and used as a landmark between domains. (See also Jonker 1932:166.)

[10]Lit. 'its skull // its underside', as in *lo lianti wuwar-nu* 'above the sky (= on the sky's skull)', *lo lianti nain-ni* 'under the sky (= on the sky's underside)'.

Some nominal sets refer to parts and wholes. Their arrangements seem lexically fixed and as such unpredictable. Reversing the order in one of the sets appeared not to be acceptable for my informants.

wuura // kawru	'mountain // slope'
riwta // pepna	'fence // garden'
ruma // lewu	'house // bench'
liina // raaru	'hearth-stone // fireplace'

An observable phenomenon that needs further research is a kind of vowel harmony, especially in verbs. According to this (for the time being hypothetical) rule, lexical items would be arranged according to the quality of the vowel that carries main stress. Items with stressed high vowels precede items with stressed nonhigh vowels and items with stressed front vowels precede those with stressed nonfront vowels, according the following hierarchy: i < u < e < o < a. (The phonemic distinction between long and "short" vowels and between mid and mid-low vowels is irrelevant here. For a discussion, see Van Engelenhoven 1995a, or Van der Hulst & Van Engelenhoven 1995 for a generative alternative.)

This is exemplified below by *-toli* 'to see'. Note that its position in the sets depends on the quality of the stressed vowel in its paired item. (For convenience, stress is indicated by an acute accent.)

n-kíli // n-tóli	'he looks back // he sees'
n-tóli // n-tákra	'he sees // he looks (at)'
l-léésa // n-tóli	'he reads // he sees'

The verb *-keri* 'to scratch' is another case where vowel quality determines relative position in the pair.

n-kíkri // n-kéri	'he saws // he scratches'
n-kéri // n-kói	'he scratches // he scrapes'
n-kói // n-kártu	'he scrapes // he scratches'

2.2 The impact of parallelism on Leti syntax
The formal feature of parallelism, pairing lexical items, is reflected in Leti syntax. 'And' conjunctions, or amplifications (Van Engelenhoven 1995a: 209–211), feature the enclitic *na* or *ne* 'and', as in (a).

(a) *N-toli   asu-ne   muani.*
     3sg-see   dog-and   man[11]
     'He sees the dog and the man.'

Items that form lexical pairs, however, are simply juxtaposed, as in (b).

(b) *Puate // muani   r-oone iine.*
     woman // man   3pl-eat fish
     'The woman and the man eat the fish.'

When the order is reversed, the parallellism is broken, and the enclitic *na* or *ne* is again required.

(c) *Muani-ne   puate   r-oone iine.*
     man-and   woman   3pl-eat fish
     'The man and the woman eat the fish.'

'Or' conjunctions, or alternations (1995a: 211–213), feature the concatenation (indicated with =) of the adjective *duma* 'some' to the first element.

(d) *Uur=duma wawi e'lo sasre.*
     uuru=some pig   it.at forest
     'An *uuru*-bird or a pig is in the forest.'

The adjective is paratactic between items that are identified as a lexical pair, for example, *asu // wawi* 'dog // pig'.

(e) *Asu duma wawi   e'lo sasre.*
     dog some pig   it.at forest
     'A dog or a pig is in the forest.'

When the order is reversed, the construction is no longer a lexical pair and the adjective is concatenated to the first word.

(f) *Waw=duma   asu   e'lo sasre.*
     pig=some   dog   it.at forest
     'A pig or a dog is in the forest.'

Although these parallelisms are lapsing into disuse among the youngest speakers going to school, they still prevail in the speech of older people. As such, they play a grammatical role in conjunctions.

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[11]Lack of space forces me not to indicate the indexer suffix in the glosses. For the semantics of this suffix, see Van Engelenhoven 1994, 1995a.

Coordinative constructions refer either to simultaneous or sequential events (Van Engelenhoven 1995a: 245–246). Simultaneous coordination is constructed by simple juxtaposition of the clauses, or by means of *na/ne* 'and', whether any of the constituents can be identified as lexical pairs (g) or not (h).

(g) *A-sie   loi(-ne)   n-sie   spou.*
    1sg-make   proa(-and) 3sg-make   boat
    'I made the proa and he made the boat.'

(h) *A-sie   loi(-ne)   n-sie   diembatne.*
    1sg-make   proa(-and) 3sg-make   bridge
    'I made the proa and he made the bridge.'

In simultaneous coordination, where the members of lexical pairs occur in reverse order, the connector *na/ne* is obligatory.

(i) *N-sie   spou-ne   a-sie   loi.*
    3sg-make   boat-and   1sg-make   proa
    'He made the boat and I made the proa.'

This latter pattern was explicitly observed in the speech of certain (old) individuals of high esteem in the community of Tutukei. More research is needed to determine whether this is another illustration of the grammatical impact of parallelism or not. For the time being, the influence of parallelism is considered to be a matter of pure stylistics, and not of grammar.

2.3 Meaning: Referential extension and reduction

Leti speakers are compelled to place their messages in a spatiotemporal framework, although the language lacks the morphological devices to do so. Instead, it has an elaborate deictic system to specify space, time, and empathy (Van Engelenhoven 1994). Parallelism is equally deictic, in that it locates referents within the timeframes of (local) history. This is exemplified by the variety of names for Leti Island, as shown in the chart below. Location in time also implies social and geographical determination of the referent. This aspect of parallelism will be discussed elsewhere. (See Van Engelenhoven, forthcoming.)

	NAME	INDICATION IN TIME
1	*Nusleti // Ralieti* Leti Island // Leti Land	present time, after the establishment of the Interinsular Alliance (*Nuspaitra // Rapiatatra* 'Guided Islands // Arranged Lands') that determines the rights and obligations of interinsular trade

2	*Tuniina // Kalora*
	Roast fish // Kalura
	[= raw fish side dish]
		from the Destruction of the Luang Continent until the establishment of the Interinsular Alliance (cf. Van Engelenhoven 1995c)

3	*Nuspuuti // Ratiawnu* Floating Island // Backside Land	before the destruction of Luang during aboriginal settlement
4	*Komeelu // Komtutnu* Bay-crunching // Cape-crunching	creation of Leti after the genesis of the world

Meanings are also paired to create new designations out of their shared semantic components. (See Ebeling 1978, 1994, for terminology and notation.) For instance, the pairing *koni // maanu* below can refer to any entity categorizable as |flying| and |animal|, whether it be a grasshopper, bird, or bat. As such, the separate components of the lexical pair are hyponyms of the new meaning. This effect can for the time being be labeled referential extension.

LEXICAL PAIR	PAIRED MEANINGS	NEW MEANING
koni // maanu	'grasshopper // bird'	'flying animal'
nusa // rai	'island // land'	'archipelago'
pipi // wawi	'goat // pig'	'domestic cattle'
leli // masa	'ivory // gold'	'treasure'
ora // ai	'bamboo // wood'	'timber'

The opposite effect, which we might call referential reduction, occurs when *all* semantic components of the paired meanings make up the new meaning. For instance, the new referent 'fort' features both |hill| and |stone|.

| LEXICAL PAIR	PAIRED MEANINGS	NEW MEANING
ili // watu	'hill // stone'	'fort'
puata // muani	'woman // man'	'sex (gender)'
ruma // lewu	'house // bench'	'household'
leta // rusnu	'village // 'territory'	'domain'
elwa // *puona[12]	'field // nest'	'plantation'

3. Functions of Leti parallelism

A look at three sample texts will help elucidate the functions of parallelism in Leti.

3.1 Istifanus Taluta's speech: Emphasis

Istifanus Taluta was a prominent figure in Dutch–Letinese contacts during the 19th century. As a member of the Prirulu clan in Tutukei, he could claim the title of *pati* (Riedel 1886, Van Engelenhoven 1995a). Not only was he a devoted helper to the Dutch missionaries, he was also the principal (if not the only) intermediary available for the colonial government for all the islands from Leti up to Babar (Van Eijbergen 1864, Neurdenberg 1876).

A closer look on one of his speeches (see Appendix 1) reveals four main paragraphs in the text: an opening (sentences 1–5), a core (sentences 13–16), and a conclusion (sentences 30–36), and a Leti translation of the "Our Father" at the end of the text. These paragraphs are respectively labeled A, B, C, and D on the horizontal axis in Figure 1. The

Figure 1. Lexical pairs in Taluta's speech

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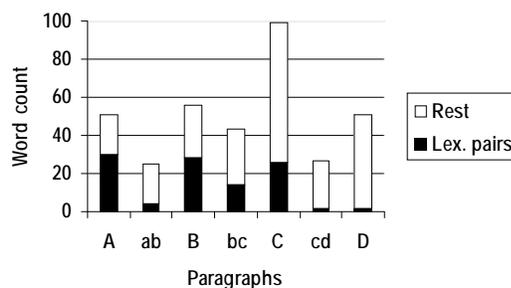
[12]In daily speech: *ppuna.*

transitional sentences are labeled ab, bc, and cd. The vertical axis indicates the number of words.

Parallellism is first a manifestation of the speaker's erudition. This is shown by the high proportion of lexical pairs in paragraph A, the opening. By creating many parallelisms here, the speaker tries to capture the attention of the hearer(s).

The crux of the message—going to church and observing the teachings of the Christian scriptures as explained by the minister—is packed into paragraph B, where about half of the words are paired. Parallelism is used here to emphasize the importance of the message.

A third function can be detected in the transitional sentences. Here, parallelism reflects Taluta's standing as a leading noble in Leti society.

3.2 The Moa *ttui*: Historiographic value

One of the two main genres in Leti (and Moa) oral tradition is the *ttui,* which has a historiographic and explanatory function. It describes the history of a place, a clan, and so forth, but it also provides a framework for the audience to determine their place and role in the world and society (Van Engelenhoven 1995a: 23).

The second text is a *ttui* (from de Josselin de Jong n.d.: 19–33) from Eastern Moa, an isolect that is genetically close to Leti (Van Engelenhoven 1995b). This is graphed in Figure 2. Again, four paragraphs are distinguished: a prologue (A), the arrival of the main character on East Moa (B), the foundation of Klis (C) and the foundation of Tounwawan

Figure 2. Lexical pairs in the Moa ttui
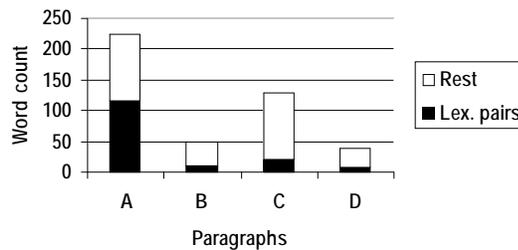
(D). Again, the total number of words is indicated on the vertical axis.

Although the title promises a story about the foundation of the domain Tounwawan on East Moa, the bulk of the *ttui* discusses where the founder of the older domain Klis came from (paragraph A). Another major part of the story discusses how Klis was founded (paragraph C). Most lexical pairs occur in paragraph A. As in paragraph A of Taluta's speech (3.1), parallellism offers proof of the storyteller's erudition.

Most lexical pairs are names of persons, places, and ships. The number of parallelisms is about the same in paragraphs B, C, and D. These indicate the historiographic truth value of the respective paragraphs and locate their narrated events within the entire history of Moa (see 2.3).

3.3 The Tomra prayer: Sacredness

Nowadays praying (in the Christian sense) is always done in Indonesian and never in one's native language. Riedel (1886) is one of the few sources available where prayers can be found from the "premissionary" period. (See Appendix 3.)

This prayer to Uplera, the Lord Sun, asks for a good harvest for the Western Leti domain Dai // Tiomraa, encompassing the entire *desa* Tomra (traditionally without the quarters of Nuswelwieli) on the West Side. This domain is referred to by two of its "pagan names": *leta Naiaka // rusnu Nonsiala* 'Naiaka village // Nonsiala territory' (1886: 374). (A pagan name is called *nama hindu* 'Hindu name' in local Malay and *naanmelmela* 'dark name' in Leti. For a discussion of toponyms, see Van

Figure 3. Lexical pairs in percentages
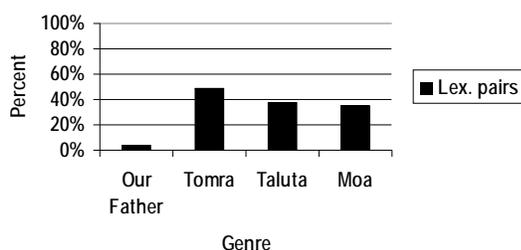
Engelenhoven, forthcoming).

There is little difference between this text and either Taluta's speech or the Moa *ttui* with regard to lexical pairs. The "Our Father" has been

taken from Taluta's speech and added as a separate text for comparative reasons. Whereas prayers would seem to be an outstanding register for parallellism, this assumption is countered by the strikingly low score of parallelisms in the "Our Father"—one lexical pair in 51 words. This must reflect the speaker's inability to transpose these outlandish words into acceptable *lirmarna.*

4. Conclusions

4.1 Leti parallelism: Between pragmatics and verbal art
Leti parallelism is above all a pragmatics-based phenomenon. It functions as a means to focus on the central message in a text, whether this is in simple discourse (3.1), in narrative (3.2), or in more ritual contexts (3.3). The indication of historiographic truth (3.2.) and sacredness (3.3) can safely be considered implications of this pragmatic function.

The sociolinguistic element of parallelism is its confirmation of the speaker's standing within society. This means that each clan needs a *lirmarna* specialist to be its spokesman in the domain's assembly. All houses (lineages) also require such a "voice" in clan-internal meetings. Clans and houses who lack a gifted "voice" borrow one from their allies.

The only component in parallelism that cannot be attributed to pragmatic or sociolinguistic considerations is the idea of erudition. Knowledge of and fluency in *lirmarna* are essential for certain positions within the clan and the domain. However, as can be seen in the appendices, one only needs to fill the appropriate lexical pairs in the corresponding slots to produce proper *lirmarna*. As such, parallelism has little to do with verbal art.

The sung counterpart of *lirmarna, lirasniara* 'sung language' can be considered one type of verbal art in Leti, as for example in *tiatki. Tiatki* are distichs that generally summarize a *ttui* and warrant the trustworthiness of the story they belong to (Van Engelenhoven 1995a: 24). However, they are also created extemporaneously—in a song contest, for example. The following distich is such a *tiatki* and refers to the love between a girl (the areca) and a boy (the coconut). The artistic component here is the intertwining of lexical pairs into separate lines, which is a feature of *tiatki*. Members of the same lexical pair have been marked with identical subscripts. Lack of space prevents me from pursuing the

matter here. It is discussed at greater length elsewhere (Van Engelen-hoven 1996).

Pu'$_1$ tou$_2$ pu'$_{(1)}$ lapliapi$_3$ // nura$_1$ mera$_2$ nura$_{(1)}$ sersieri$_3$.

Idamme llapi$_3$ tiemn' ida // idamme nseri$_3$ tiemn' ida ne.

'The bulging areca is an overhanging areca //
  the red coconut is a leaning coconut.
They overhang each another //
  they lean on one another.'

4.2 Topics for further research

The importance of parallelism in a language like Leti is evident. Not only does it have pragmatic and sociolinguistic functions, it also has an impact on grammar. This suggests that parallelism cannot simply be ignored as a stylistic feature, but must be incorporated into an overall analysis of the language.

The compatibility of lexical items is one of the topics that needs further study. A cognitive approach as suggested by Langacker (1991) and Wierzbicka (1996) will certainly add new information on how Leti speakers conceptualize their world.

Parallelism is also indispensable for comparing both language and culture in the Timor region. Not only does parallelism reveal archaic lexemes. It can also show the genetic relation between isolects that look quite different because of divergent sound changes.

A comparison of parallelism will surely add to the anthropological knowledge of this area. A quick glance at De Josselin de Jong's (1937) data reveals, that the (non-Austronesian) Oirata language community on Kisar uses many lexical pairs that are identical to the ones used on Leti island, further to the east.

OIRATA	LETI	GLOSS
rusunu // raini	*loi // spou*	'proa[13] // boat'
wadu // wanat	*lera // mela*	'day // night'
ira // ada	*uera // ai*	'water // wood'
lukunu // wiisara	*kota // wawa*	'word // talk/speech'
tuhuru // nami	*puata // muani*	'woman // man'

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[13]De Josselin de Jong (1937: 270) actually translates it as 'canoe'.

What kind of relation between language and culture is reflected in parallelism? 'Ivory' and 'gold' are equally compatible in the closely related languages of Leti and Wetan in the Babar archipelago (De Josselin de Jong 1987), whose cultures both participate in the Interinsular Alliance.

WETAN	LETI	GLOSS
leli // maa	*leli // masa*	'ivory // gold'

The occurrence of the same lexical pair in the non-Austronesian Oirata language on Kisar can be explained the same way. However, Meher, the Austronesian counterpart on the northern side of the island, quite unexpectedly displays the opposite order.

OIRATA	GLOSS	MEHER	GLOSS
odo // lawan[14]	'ivory // gold'	*maha // leli*	'gold // ivory'

Why does Meher, which belongs to the same subgroup as Leti, have a different order here? Kisar is located at the extreme west border of the Interinsular Alliance. The lexical pairing in the non-Austronesian Oirata can be explained as a reflection of Kisar's participation in Southwest Maluku interinsular trade, or perhaps even better, of Oirata's alliances with such members of the Interinsular Alliance as Leti (De Josselin de Jong 1937). 'Ivory' and 'gold' are respectively associated with female and male in Southwest Maluku (de Jonge & van Dijk 1995). Their reverse order in Meher may very well reflect a cultural divergence between the Luang-oriented, matrilineal cultures to the east (Leti, Moa, Luang, Sermata, etc.) and the Timor-oriented, patrilineal culture of the Meher people (Filomeno Jacob Abel, S.J., pers. comm.).

After an interval of seventy to a hundred years, Southwest Maluku has managed once again to gain the attention of the scientific community. Kisar, Damar (Pannell 1991), and the Babar archipelago are or have been recently studied by anthropologists. Several Southwest Maluku languages (Luang, Leti, Kisar, Wetar, and Roma) are being studied in the framework of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. However, there is still no overall picture of the languages and cultures in this region. Practically nothing is known of its early precolonial history or its mythology.

Very salient and intriguing areal features, such as parallelism and metathesis (the reversal of vowels and consonants) can only be studied thoroughly by comparing data from different sources. Therefore, more

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[14]cf. De Josselin de Jong (1937: 70).

research is needed on oral traditions in the region. Local stories are necessary to track the boat travelers from the mythical Luang Continent who wandered through the entire archipelago as far as Australia (Ian McIntosh, pers. comm.).

APPENDIX 1. TALUTA'S SPEECH (3.1)

SOURCE: Jonker 1932: 57–59 (from Heijmering 1846: 71–78).

1	*Ou,*	'Oh,
	amku // sialkiomanni,	my fathers // my brothers,
	[-*komanni* 'mine altogether?' is said to be extremely archaic]	
	inku // narkomanni,	my mothers // my sisters,
	puate // muani,	women // men,
	sarani // kantiu,	Christians // heathens,
	kokkoi // lalawne!	children // grown-ups!
2	*Mimsiorsuoru msiertiaru tninmipo*	You all, fix your ears
	mitnina // mitailmaiau,	and hear // listen to me,
	totpo aukota ita Matrumne	for I talk (about) our Lord
	makresi // klawna,	who wins // is great,
	makpupnu // kkadwela	who shuts // closes
	lianti wuwarnu // malianti nainni itdedendi.	on top of the sky // under the sky where we stay.
3	*Ita Matrumnede,*	Our Lord then,
	hantulruesi // nrurriesi.	He is the highest // the strongest.
4	*Iow,*	Yes,
	ntolpiaasa // ntakarpaasa	He sees through // looks through
	lianti wuwarnu // lianti nainnidipo	above the sky // under the sky
	nwakdiori.	and goes around.
5	*Iow, ntoli momuou:*	Yes, He sees everything:
	rimormiorira sniolli // lietne,	the living // dwelling [= traditions] of the living [man],
	duparne // iewasne,	their conduct // their behaviour,
	iatiatne // kallenne.	their badness // their goodness.
6	*Ita Matrumne nassuorsuoru.*	Our Lord knows (it) completely.

7	*Iena miweratla rarammila*	Do not think in your heart,
	ita Matrumne olietela rimormiori	that our Lord is far from the living
	inonne.	[man's body].
8	*Hetaemseo.*	That is not so.
9	*Siapo tsiiatede Enatu?*	Why does He know it, when we do
		bad things?
10	*Tutnu // unne nwakruanima*	Its tip // its trunk [= cause] is, that
	rimormiori iteme.	He comes nearer to the living people
		who we are.
11	*Etansurtapninu // nsawaploi*	He does not forget // remembers
	saido.	everything.
12	*Enassuai sorsuoruo.*	He knows this thoroughly.
13	*Noramma ardomiku ululude,*	So, it was last week [lit. 'old weeks'],
		that you,
	puate // muani,	women // men,
	kokkoi // lalawne,	children // grown-ups,
	kantiu (//?) sarani	heathens (//?) Christians [cf.
		Christians // heathens in sentence 1]
	makamtietanma	who sat in
	ita matrumne rumne nainnide	the house of our Lord,
	mitnina // mitailsalmekla	heard // listened to
	Pandita, ita Matrumne	the Minister, the messenger of our
	sopsopanne, salululide.	Lord, who is holy.
14	*Naltieri ita Matrumne*	He talked about
	lirne // ktunnu,	the language // the sayings and
	inioone // iniatnu,	the advice // the message and
	riorne // tniawne	the commands // the prohibitions of
		our Lord,
	nkekeera // ntatatre	which He carved // arranged for
	halmekpo mitnina // mitail.	you to hear // listen [= obey].
15	*Mande mimsiorsuoru*	For if you all
	mbiawarmela atmi // wurmi,	bear it in your liver // your breast,
	pele mbiaili snioli // iewse	you will choose a lucky // good
	kalleda // mokmoko.	life // behavior.
16	*Totpo // mande*	Thus [in order to // for],
	msioli // mbiewsene	you will reside // behave while
	snioli // iewse iatiate	its bad life [=traditions] // behavior
	pele mpiaallia tukaro.	you will throw behind.

17	*Mande // totpo*	Thus [for // in order to],
	ita Matrumne raramne nenmio.	the heart [lit. 'insides'] of our Lord will take you.
18	*Nararamniatmio.*	He will have compassion with you.
19	*Totpo // mande*	Thus, like that
	mliernene kallennema	you will find His luck
	nusdi wawanne //	on this island //
	lalianti wuwarnu emse walio.	on top of the sky [= in heaven].
20	*Nene tuwu nsoruo.*	Till the end of times.
21	*Noramma mkiarmieke lera woneme.*	Just work for six days, then.
22	*Ede misnia // mitnunio.*	Then you garden // burn.
23	*Mkierta // mkiaito.*	You tap // cut.
24	*Mkiastiani // mpialtianio.*	You dig soil // turn soil.
25	*Mliaawla lioro.*	You go seaward.
26	*Rimormiori muani rkari snio.*	The men do the gardens.
27	*Rimormiori puate rlawaro.*	The women make sarongs.
28	*Rwatiaio.*	They cut wood.
29	*Rpipara // rwatetio.*	They cook // chop.
30	*Rasikru // rasnurano.*	They spin // twine.
31	*Ita Matrumne*	Our Lord
	nanoa // nanatu rimormiori	advises // sends [advice] to us humans
	itmomuou masialo tpealnembo	together, that we must be diligent, for then
	tlernene ita apannu wniotne.	we will receive the contents for our stomach.
32	*Noramma*	So,
	ita Matrumne inioonede paetnu // parsamnepo	the purpose // the motive [= the reason] of our Lord's advice
	ita unatnu nmeso.	is only (for) our benefit only.

APPENDIX 2. A MOA *TTUI* (3.2)

SOURCE: De Josselin de Jong n.d.: 29–33.

1	*Rwaktunnohri rimormiori meksolulu Tounwawna.*	They tell about the people who first lived in Tounwawan.

2	*Nommede muan' ida nwawe Terkiei ndela letid' nanni let' Surmiaha // loi Torlelila nohni Kei.*	So, once a man called Terkiei lived in a village with the name village Pouring Gold // proa Polishing Ivory on his island Kei.
3	*Muandi'i nore letni wniotni rawo'ornohri i'ine kniaitni // emne wniahni.*	This man quarreled with the people of his village about the cutting of the fish // the slicing of the eels.
4	*Noramma nwateti loini // hpogni pe niwre nsopalla Romna // Piatna.*	Then he cut his proa // his boat and wanted to sail to Roman // Piatan (Roma).
5	*Noramma nwatetie hpogni nwawe Wo'orei // Darimiahape rmai rlerla Sera // Rwawnala letid' nanni Wiunu // Liera.*	Then he cut his boat called Close Mountain // Golden Descent for them to go to Beach // Sermata to a village called place of Pleiades // the Sun.
6	*Irmaidie ralla niaiapnie romide nwawe Rehiliotu // Talpuakta, orromdide nwawe Rurwana // Pohitiau.*	And when they came, they were building a house called Gaining Slaves // Winning Servants, the owner of the house now, he was called Rurwana // Pohitiau.
7	*Onni mekle wure nloi // done nsai, noramme nakotle Terkiei nore hpogwiniotni:*	Because the oil got few // and the *dona* got less, (then) he said to Terkiei and his crew:
8	*"Mpieimeka ne gla goweli wura // donle noh' Dama // rai Dama."*	"You just wait and I go buy oil // *dona* on (the) island of Damar // (the) land of Damar."
9	*Noramme Rurwana // Pohitiau rora an'ani Hleki // Wo'o rwateti hpogni Rikleta // Sollieta rodie la Dama.*	Then Rurwana // Pohitiau cut his boat Village Destroying // Village Dwelling together with his son Hleki // Wo'o and took it to Damar.
10	*Noramme kwialiarni nsorune Hleki // Wo'o nwakla amni Rurwana // Pohitiau totpe nalaulmuai Sera // Rwawna, mere amni namsena nakotniwre:*	Then (when) the trade was done Hleki // Wo'o asked his father Rurwana // Pohitiau permission to go ahead to Beach // Sermata, but his father refused saying:
11	*"Iana pleini pele itlarewrewa totpe todie hri'ina Lgona // rella Lgona."*	"Let's not be split up and go together in order to travel in Luang Spirit // Luang Soul" [= according to Luang traditions].

12	*Mere an'ani Hleki // Wo'o namsenmemna, nakotniwre:*	But his son Hleki // Wo'o truly refused, saying:
13	*"Agolaulpe golewannohrie itromni iapni."*	"I go ahead to take my turn at the construction of our house."
14	*Noramme nsortenie ammeka hpogida nwawe Sorteni // Teniapi pe nsa'a le pe nodie nmai Sera // Rwawna.*	Then he made a sand-drawing in the form of a boat called Sorteni (Sand-Drawing) // Teniapi (Construction try-out) after which he embarked to take it to Beach // Sermata.
15	*Noramme amni nlokre nakotniwre:*	Then his father cursed him saying:
16	*"Ian' modie irhutepteplu // raramsagsagru made.*	"Don't you carry a boiling breast // a cooking inside like that.
17	*Mluananpe mluernane lolhede."*	After you have gone you will get over there."
18	*Noramme ndele hletnane nponala // nmahgala nohkernepe aitia nlawali Rwawna lorlorpe nmai Mioa.*	Then he was at sea and there was fog// there was smoke and a dry island, so he had not returned to Beach // Sermata but had come straight to Moa.
19	*Nere amni Rurwana Pohitiau nodie hpogni nwawe Rikleta // Sollietpe nwallie Sera // Rwawne// Wiunu // Liera*	And so his father Rurwana Pohitiau took his ship called Village-Destroying // Village-Dwelling back to Beach // Sermata // Pleiades location // Sun's location.
20	*Noramme rte'e ne raiapdioinie roni Rehiliotu // Talupakta.*	Then they arrived and continued to build their/his home Winning Slaves // Conquering Servants.
21	*Noramme Terkiei nora hpogni winiotni rakottarle Rurwana // Pohitiaupe rsopla.*	Then Terkiei and his crew stated to Rurwana // Pohitiau they would sail.
22	*Irsopalde rwetle Romna // Piatna, mere rsorusalle nohkernepe arsue nsurierpe lorlorla Woitier' serni // Msawner' namni.*	They mentioned Roman // Piatan when they sailed, but in the end it was (to) a dry island (where) the stream brought them, straight to the bank of (the) Woiti (people) // the bank of (the) Msawan (people).

23   *Noramme marna Msawna nwawe Loiahu // Tarrekna nanetierpe rsolwutu // rletwutu.*

Then the *marna* of Msawan called Loiahu // Tarrekna protected them and they lived together // dwelled together.

24   *UpTerdi'ide nor' narni ida nwawe Lurkuei.*

As for Sir Teri now, he was with a sister of him called Lurkuei.

25   *Li'iru ne Terkiei nmaipie nsollie Kiera.*

Afterwards Terkiei came to live in Kiera.

26   *Mere marna Kiere nwawe Poiklaka // Lelsioirur'a // Ruru-latna // Laklatna, irse rla rale Terkiei hdi'i le Msawanpe rodie rmai Kiera.*

But the people of the Kiera *marna* called Poiklaka // Lelsioirur'a // Rurulatna // Laklatna, they went to take this Terkiei from Msawan and brought him to Kiera.

27   *Noramme Terkiei nore marna Kiereri rsolwutula romni nwawe Rehilieti // Talleti.*

Then Terkiei lived together with these *marna* of Kiera in their house called Winning Leti // Conquering Leti.

28   *Noramme leridane Terkiei hdi'i rmai rahnia // rkeratle ornida nwawe Lowna Taklena (e)la(e) Klihletni onni, rorwutge ornoho Klihe rwawe Dilteti // Wo'oteti.*

Then one day Terkiei and his people came to "plough" // tap in a forest called Field // Taklena near Klis village with the landowners of Klis called Dilteti // Wooteti.

29   *Leridane irla'alorane rado'one ari ida nla'alora // nmai ria nwawe Lairomana // Katiliariamna (Lai // Seli // Kati // Rioo).*

One day as they went to the seashore, they saw a man going seaward // coming landward called Lairomamna // Katilia-ramna (Lai // Seli // Kati // Rioo).

30   *Noramme rpolgepe rore, merenamsena nakotniwre: "mlia'awepa reparnanpe itla'a likta."*

Then they called him to go together, but he refused, saying: "Go, we'll go to the garden tomorrow."

31   *Noramme reparpe rlasoklorane rorepe rmai likta (Lowna // Taklena).*

Then in the morning they went ashore again and came to the garden (Field // Taklena) with him.

32   *Noramme raisoi raitianiele: "letmu elameia?"*

Then they interrogated him asking: 'Where is your village?'

33   *Nakotniwre: "let'u ehse Klihdi."*

He said: "My village, that's Klis over here."

34	*Mere Klihdide, marna Kierida nwawe Riwuntora enanpe nsoliulu Klihdi'.*	But this Klis then was the property of a Kiera *marna* called Riwuntora, because he was the first to live in this Klis
35	*Noramme irmogmogpe rla rsarlie orlete Riwuntordi pe rwakpe rsolwutu // rletwutu.*	Then they all (went to) appear(ed) to this village owner Riwuntora to ask to live together // stay together.
36	*Leridane Terkiei hdi' hialli nalle tipurpe nmai.*	One day a brother of this Terkiei came from the east.
37	*Nallae Sera // Rwawna // Wiunu // Liera.*	He came from Beach // Sermata // Pleiade's location // Sun's location.
38	*Nma nwahaknohri hialli Terkiei hdi'i; nanni Aitiawimeha (Aitiapmeha).*	He came to trace this Terkiei who was his brother; his name was Aitiawimeha (Aitiapmeha).
39	*Noramme norwutge hialli Terkieine muanidwali nwawe Sairdama, irwotelge rso'ota Klihdi, mere rso'otmelmelepe rale wirtawie //murlaile rso'ote.*	Then he accompanied his brother Terkiei and another man called Sairdama and the three of them measured Klis here, but as they measured at night, they used *bira* leafs // *mura* stalks to measure with.
40	*Rdenmekle nale leridane rla rwakle marna Kierida nwawe Pohi // Kau // Ioka // Rei, totpe nodie hri'ina Kiera // rella Kierpe rodiele rso'ota hwa'ana Klihdi.*	They just stayed there and one day they went to ask a Kiera marna called Pohi // Kau // Ioka // Rei to measure Klis rightly with the Kiera Spirit // Kiera Soul.
41	*Noramme rso'otepe nsorune irmomoge rsoli // rlete Klihdi.*	And when they finished measuring they all lived // dwelled in Klis.
42	*Leridane tuwgarie lernine nsalnohri // niatnohri Paliokluwni nanki raarpe rawlaripie rma rsollie Tounwawandi'i.*	One day later one sinned // mistreated the trunk of Palioka, after which they made war and fled to live in Tounwawan here.
43	*Mere Tounwawandi'ide letidta'a hdi'i.*	But this Tounwawan then, this was not a village.
44	*Lutru // ripattoini hdi'a.*	It was walls // fences.
45	*Pipioa // wawikrahnida hdi'i.*	It was a goat shed // pig sty.
46	*Mere UpTiwalkilu nore UPonmehu irse, rmaie rso'ote letdi'i.*	But it was Sir Tiwalkilu and Sir Wonlaimehu who came measuring this village.

| 47 | *Mere rodie hri'ina Kiera // rella Kierepe rale dotarletdi'i.* | But they built the village with the Kiera Spirit // Kiera Soul. |

APPENDIX 3. A TOMRA PRAYER (3.3)

SOURCE: Riedel 1886:373.

1	*Ei Uplera, mkuerunma nuunu upasnu // kakperni; lisarni ida // laani ida, rwaloome.*	Oh, Lord Sun, descend in the butts // the twigs of the banyan; its bran // its (dry) branches, they collected.
2	*Kadu // wawitnorna; amietma mpolwutu; spou liarnu // spou wooni*	Rice-sacks // tied pigs; the black wood (*porka* pole)*;* summon the boat's stern // the boat's bow.
3	*Leta worua // rusnu worue; rodwutu // rateme pempuenu // tepteparo.*	The two villages // the two gardens; are assembled // are collected fully // entirely.
4	*Rpollua Uplera // Orporke; rtetpio naana // rrerlaepo nemnu; rkukumpo naana // rpapalpo nemnu.*	They call the Lord Sun // the Owner of the *porka* pole; they chop for him to eat // they collect for him to drink; they herd him to eat // they cultivate for him to drink.
5	*Nensalmeke resra suouoone // wukru suouoone.*	That he just takes the right victuals // the right harvest [lit. 'to reap']
6	*Simmiatepo leli // po rrei wawliaanu mkuakarse.*	The chicken-eye, it is like ivory, // so they tear the pig's liver [which] you cut.
7	*Nodi nusriela lolola loruma woate // aana woate.*	Bring the island people to the path at the four houses // the four children.
8	*Rpollua Uplera // rwakla Uplera; nawiru // nwakawi; leli sniaani // masa sniaani; sutra sniaani; pipiaana worua // wotelu; marne liawanne // wusru liawanne.*	They call Lord Sun // they ask Lord Sun; to arrange // to order the products of ivory // the products of gold; the products of silk; two // three baby goats; and the *marna*'s greatness // the *wusru*'s greatness.
9	*Pele nsernu // pele nwalse; pimmiati // wammiati; liola napuuriate, kauniatiate.*	To exchange // to answer; the dead goats // the dead pigs; the trunks having vicious bugs, the bad betel leaf.

10	*Nodi nmai // ntemne lla; spou liarnu // spou uoone; mutusieri // muturiarma; ndurumlola // nsakarlole; ntetliola // ntoplole.*	To bring hither to // to fix thither to; the rear of the boat // the front of the boat; outsiders // insiders; to distribute // to divide [with]; to cut // to fold [with].
11	*Ioonutki nmamu pele, rasoi rawenu // tiokusmiemetme nmamu pele, rtitki rawenu.*	The food-mat is empty, may they fill it through shaking [trees] later // the black toddy pot is empty, may they fill it through gathering later.
12	*Leta worua nawerwerna // rusnu worua ntertero.*	May the two villages expand // the two territories be rank.

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