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## FISH FOOD ON A TREE BRANCH: HIDDEN MEANINGS IN BUGIS POETRY<sup>1</sup>

The report following below is, in fact, a report from the past. There are no indications (according to the well-informed Bugis scholars Prof. Dr. Fachruddin Ambo Enre and Drs. Muhammad Salim, whom I interviewed on this subject in March 1991) that the genre which is described in this article still forms part of a living tradition, either oral or written. Fortunately its peculiarities have not escaped the attention of scholars interested in Bugis literature. It was B.F. Matthes, the well-known pioneer of Bugis and Macassarese studies, who was the first to refer in two contributions published in 1857 to a cryptic kind of speech known as *Basa To Bakkeq*, meaning literally 'language of the Bakkeq man' (Matthes 1857:552; 1943:183).<sup>2</sup> Over the years he came back to the subject again on a number of occasions, mostly by citing examples of *Basa To Bakkeq* (especially Matthes 1883). From his first observations of the phenomenon it was clear to Matthes that there existed a particular link between this *Basa To Bakkeq* and a poetic genre called *élong*. Since Matthes' exploratory work, no new research has been done on the subject – at least as far as I know.<sup>3</sup> The following comments thus are based primarily on materials collected over 130 years ago.

I shall deal first with some points pertaining to Bugis literature, to *élong*, *élong maliung bettuanna*, and *Basa To Bakkeq*, and to the Bugis script. Then I shall discuss the techniques for decoding the messages this form of speech is meant to convey by solving the connected poetic riddles. The two

<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this article was presented as a paper at the Sixth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu, May 20-24, 1991.

<sup>2</sup> It will probably not be superfluous to note here that at the present stage of research it is explicitly not my intention to establish correspondences with similar phenomena in other languages, such as Javanese *wangsalan*.

<sup>3</sup> The only known more recent publication in this field (Rahman Daeng Palallo 1968) is basically a long quotation from Matthes' work on the subject. Mattulada (1985:13-5) cites a few examples of *Basa To Bakkeq* without identifying them as such.

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appendices at the end of the paper list some 200 utterances in *Basa To Bakkeq* arranged according to subject, each with an explanation of its literal meaning and its allusion.

*Bugis literature: A (very) brief survey*<sup>4</sup>

The literary products of the Bugis-speaking people of South Sulawesi (presently estimated at 2,500,000) rank among the most interesting in Southeast Asia, on the point of both quality and quantity. A wide variety of genres are represented in texts such as, amongst others, myths, local histories, ritual chants, law books, Islamic legends and tracts, journals, genealogies, adages, and folk-tales. Mention should be made especially of the vast La Galigo epic myth, which is probably the longest work in world literature. Bugis literature has been handed down both orally and in written form. As has been argued by Pelras (1979:288, 296), the distinction is irrelevant in Bugis literature, since most texts exist in both an oral and a written form, with the various versions sharing elements borrowed from each other. Written texts often contain traces of an oral narrative tradition, while many orally transmitted texts appear to be based on written material. Consequently the boundaries between oral and written literature are vague.

In Bugis poetry two factors play an important, interrelated role: metre and archaic vocabulary. These are mutually dependent to the extent that metric texts are invariably written in 'the old language' and that texts using these archaic words are always metrical. The metre of Bugis poetry is syllabic; stress within the metre is irrelevant (Sirk 1986:282). There are three types of metre: pentasyllabic (used in the La Galigo epic myth) and octosyllabic (used in other narrative poetic texts) metres, and the so-called *élong* metre, consisting of eight, seven and six syllables per line. All poetry is set apart from non-poetical utterances on the point of vocabulary<sup>5</sup> and the use of rhetoric devices such as metaphors, symbols, formulas and other figures of speech and formal characteristics. This poetic language is highly conventional in character and is capable of being adapted by means of some simple devices to the metre required by the appropriate genre.

*Élong*

In most cases *élong* are stanzas of three lines of eight, seven and six syllables respectively. In a recent publication, Salim (1990:3-5) distinguishes no fewer than 14 types of *élong*, classified according to content, occasion or formal peculiarities. There are *élong* dealing specifically with family matters, religion, and advice, whereas others are purely entertaining in character. A number of them are intended for special occasions, such as lulling a baby to sleep, soothing smallpox patients, or, less peacefully,

<sup>4</sup> Based on Tol 1990:1-34.

<sup>5</sup> For instance the use of the word *walinono*, 'sun', for neutral *mata esso*; *cokkong*, 'to sit', for *tudang*; *tijjang*, 'to stand', for *tetiong*.

pepping up the troops before going into battle. The poems of the last-mentioned type (*élong osong*, 'war songs') can be quite lengthy and often are associated with a particular hero of the glorious past. Furthermore, there are *élong* which, like Malay *pantun berkait*, consist of a number of triplets connected to each other through word- or line-sharing. Some types of *élong* display idiosyncrasies such as each stanza starting with a consecutive letter of the alphabet or with the name of a day of the week. Indeed, as will become apparent, *élong* are a suitable medium for playing language games.

*Élong* occur both in oral and in written texts. As the name indicates (*élong* literally means 'song'), they are of oral origin. Sometimes the songs are performed to a musical accompaniment on the cither, violin and flute, whereas on other occasions they are simply chanted without any accompaniment (Sikki 1978:xi). Salim (1990:5) mentions now no longer occurring performances of *élong* in a contest-like context during which there was probably heavy drinking and copious eating. Still extant is the practice of conversing in *élong* during marriage proposals. The negotiations are conducted by representatives of the two parties involved, who can show off their skill at reciting this type of *élong*, called *élong madduta*, 'songs of proposal' (personal communication Fachruddin Ambo Enre, March 1991). According to Sikki (1978:xi), the recitation of *élong* is currently confined to the villages in the interior. Since Sikki's report is now 14 years old, it is not unlikely that this practice has now vanished entirely. It is probably no coincidence in this connection that the most recent publication on *élong* (Salim et al. 1990) bears the subtitle 'examination of Bugis manuscripts'.

Many *élong* have been preserved in writing, both in private and in government-sponsored publications (among others, Salim 1969-71, 1990; Sikki 1978:277-323) and in manuscripts, the latter usually written in the indigenous script. The most important collections of *élong*, however, are Matthes 1872a:370-409<sup>6</sup> and Matthes 1883.

### *Élong maliung bettuanna*

One type of *élong* has, very curiously, not been mentioned in Salim's classification.<sup>7</sup> Presumably it is considered as belonging to a distinct category of its own. This type is commonly known under the name *élong maliung bettuanna*, 'songs with a hidden meaning'.<sup>8</sup> In addition to the features of the more common categories of *élong*, viz. the typical metre, figures, symbols, and the like, they possess the characteristic of being couched in a kind of crypto-language, referred to as *Basa To Bakkeq*. In

<sup>6</sup> Translated and commented upon in Matthes 1872b:143-8, 152-243.

<sup>7</sup> Salim does, however, refer to it in another context (Salim et al. 1990:2).

<sup>8</sup> *Maliung* means 'deep', and *bettua* 'meaning'. In the present context this phrase refers simply to the difficulty of discovering the meaning, rather than to the profundity of the utterance (personal communication Fachruddin Ambo Enre, March 1991).

this way the songs acquire the character of a kind of riddle-poem. To quote an example from Matthes (1883:27):

<i>Ké ga na mumaberrekeng,</i>	Which do you prefer,
<i>buaja buluqédé,</i>	a mountain crocodile
<i>lompuq walennaé?</i>	or river silt?

How this riddle acquires the meaning 'which do you prefer, an intelligent woman or a pretty one?' will be explained below.

### *Basa To Bakkeq*

*Basa To Bakkeq* literally means 'language of the Bakkeq people'. With the latter, as tradition has it, is associated a certain Datu Bakkeq, 'Prince of Bakkeq' (place in Soppéng). Whether this person was a historical figure remains uncertain, as the only reference to him states no more than that 'he gained great fame in the past by his wit and intelligence' (Matthes 1857:552; 1872b:145; repeated in Rahman Daeng Palallo 1968, 11:7). The word 'language' here is quite misleading, since what we have here is not a language distinct from Bugis, but rather a specific use of the Bugis language as a vehicle in riddle-like contexts. The term 'language game' is more appropriate here. In the course of this game the hearer or reader is expected to undertake a series of interpretative actions in order to discover the meaning of these songs. *Basa To Bakkeq* is mostly used in *élong maliung bettuanna*, but may occasionally be found in other genres, such as in the twentieth-century historical poem *Toloqna Arung Labuaja* (edited by Tol, 1990; see e.g. pp. 19, 33-4, 88-9, 104, 127).

### *The Bugis script*

There is a close relation between *Basa To Bakkeq* and 'literacy' in a twofold sense, namely in the sense of 'erudition' and of familiarity with the letters of the Bugis script.<sup>9</sup> Related to many other Southeast Asian scripts of Indian origin, it is syllabic in character, with each grapheme representing a syllable, and possesses a number of characteristic features. The Bugis syllabary is largely a defective one. Distinctive phenomena such as geminated consonants, glottal stops and final velar nasals are never represented in writing, whereas in many cases prenasalization is not indicated, either. Texts written in this script are therefore open to a variety of interpretations. Theoretically, one letter may be interpreted in nine different ways. For instance, the character for the syllable 'pa' may be read as 'pa', 'ppa', 'pang', 'ppang', 'paq', 'ppaq', 'mpa', 'mpang', or 'mpaq', although generally the number of legitimate interpretations is small. However, ambiguity and

<sup>9</sup> The Buginese share this alphabet (with minor variations) with the Macassarese and the Mandarese of South Sulawesi.

poly-interpretability are built-in characteristics of the Bugis script, and it is precisely these factors that are exploited in *Basa To Bakkeq*.

*The technique of the riddle*

As was mentioned above, every utterance in *Basa To Bakkeq* contains elements that are cryptically formulated. These elements, for which I use the term 'statement' here, form the key to the solution of the riddle. In the course of time most of these statements seem to have become conventionalized, so that Matthes, with the assistance of his informants, was able to indicate their meanings, as is testified in his dictionary (Matthes 1874). This work indeed proved to be the principal source of *Basa To Bakkeq* material. Once the solution to the riddle was known, the analysis of the decoding process was of course greatly facilitated, since examination of the data could take place starting at the end.

In order to solve the riddle, one needs to go through a relatively simple sequence of actions. They comprise three stages, viz.:

- (a) identification of the statement,
- (b) explanation of the words and their reference, and
- (c) clarification of the allusion.

In the *élong* cited above, we come across two cryptic passages: *buaja buluqédé*, 'mountain crocodile', and *lompuq walennaé*, 'river silt'. The identification of these phrases as riddles and their isolation for further consideration is the obvious first step. Then the cryptic message has to be deciphered and the riddle solved. Sometimes this is quite easily done, but in other cases it requires an intimate knowledge of Bugis culture in the widest sense. In the above poem the phrase 'mountain crocodile' has to be explained as referring to 'tiger' and 'river silt' as pointing to 'sand'.

What distinguishes these *élong* from ordinary riddles is that an extra interpretative phase is required in order to be able to assign a certain meaning to them. Even when the riddles posed by the words have been solved, an *élong maliung bettuanna* still will not have a logical meaning. The last stage of interpretation cannot be described uniformly, as there are different options open here. We can discern two main techniques, whereby the 'consumer' functions as either a hearer or a reader. The secondary meaning of the *élong* quoted above is the result of a successfully executed letter game. 'Tiger' in Bugis is *macang*, spelled Ma.Ca.<sup>10</sup> (note that the final velar nasal is not represented in Bugis script). This spelling Ma.Ca., however, may also be interpreted as standing for *macca*, 'intelligent', because it is also a feature of Bugis script that consonant gemination is not indicated. The same principle of 'reading differently' can also be applied to the other riddle in our *élong*. 'Sand' in Bugis is *kessiq*, spelled Ke.Si. (in

<sup>10</sup> A capital letter in the transliteration stands for the consonant grapheme, with the following small letter standing for the vowel, which in Bugis script is indicated by a diacritic in the case of e, é, i, o, and u, and is graphically absent in the case of 'a'.

Bugis script, as was indicated above, neither consonant gemination nor the glottal stop is indicated). Thus evidently Ke.Si. can also be the spelling for the word *kessing*, 'pretty'. So, by mere substitution with these new meanings, we arrive at the secondary meaning of the poem: 'Which do you prefer, clever or pretty?'

In other cases a graphemic approach will not be adequate in unravelling *élong maliung bettuanna*. Then the poem may only be interpretable by taking recourse to assonance or 'associative hearing' as clue. Take for instance the phrase *liseq tuluq*, 'inside of a rope'. This is explained by referring to *ureq caq*, denoting a kind of cord made from lontar leaves, which is spelled U.Re.Ca. It – again – suggests the word *macca*, 'clever', spelled Ma.Ca. Here the solution is found only by taking account of assonance between the final syllables, *caq* and *ca*.

More or less ambiguous are the cases expressing a notion that is usually expressed by an adjective or verb in Bugis, thus a word prefixed with *ma* – or *maG*(emination) – respectively. So, in the first example above, the correct adjectival form of the word for 'beautiful' actually is *makessing*, with *kessing* as root.

Considering these two main techniques of denotation in *élong*, it is obvious that 'associative reading' always implies 'associative hearing' as well, whereas the opposite is not the case. We may conclude, then, that 'associative hearing' is the main interpretative device in unravelling the meaning of riddle statements, reinforced by the peculiarities of the Bugis script in a large number of cases.

#### *The riddle statement: Topical patterns and other conventions*

As we have seen, the heart of the *élong maliung bettuanna* is constituted by the one or two riddle statements which it contains. Once these have been solved and interpreted, the meaning of the poem is revealed. In the riddle statements some distinct topical patterns are discernible, in particular in respect of 1) geographical, 2) botanical, and 3) zoological topics. In the context of the riddle these conventional patterns function at the same time as signals to the consumer that the relevant utterance is in *Basa To Bakkeq*.

1) A very frequent type of statement is that containing a geographical orientation. The common pattern here is:

{NAME OF A POINT OF THE COMPASS} OF {TOPONYM}

An example is *ri lauqna Palakka*, 'east of Palakka'. This statement refers to the settlement Pinra, which is located east of Palakka, and thus suggests the verb *pinra* (*mappinra*), 'to change'.

A nice example of this is provided by the following *élong* (Matthes 1872a:403; 1872b:218), in which this convention is even used twice:

<i>Toddanna Tangka nataro,</i>	North of Tangka he neglects,
<i>toddanna Palangiseng</i>	north of Palangiseng
<i>nalao pura i.</i>	he will complete.

The phrase 'north of Tangka' refers to the place Lébureng, which suggests *lébureng*, 'pristine, virgin'. The second geographical indication, 'north of Palangiseng', refers to the place Baringeng, evoking the word *ringeng*, 'light, frivolous'. The message of this *élong* – which like so many others is erotic in content – accordingly is: 'he is indifferent to a chaste woman, but is marrying a harlot'.

Also quite frequent within such geographically oriented statements are constructions such as:

VASSAL OF {TOPONYM}  
RICE FIELD OF {TOPONYM}  
WELL OF {TOPONYM}  
BESIDE, NEAR {TOPONYM}.

Examples of this are:

*paliliqna Soppéng*, 'vassal of Soppéng'. This refers to the domain of Mario, evoking the word *mario*, 'happy'.

*galunna Mario*, 'rice field of Mario', bearing a reference to the territory of Pakali, evoking the word *pakkali*, 'spade'.

*bujung to Boné*, 'well of the Boné people'. This refers to the well-known well of La Cokkong<sup>11</sup> and suggests the word *cokkong*, 'to sit'.

*balinna Madello*, 'alongside Madello', referring to the place Takalasi, which evokes the phrase *takkala ni*, 'there is no way back'.

A combination of the features described is of course also possible, e.g.:

*bujung ri attanna Mado*, 'well south of Mado', referring to the well named Sanniq, which suggests the word *sanniq*, 'to issue from the nose'.

As will be obvious to those who take a look at Appendix I, quite a few other combinations with toponyms are possible. In the statements concerned we also encounter elements such as *saloq*, 'river', *ukkaju*, 'vegetables', *turung-eng*, 'landing-place', *tappareng*, 'lake', and others.

2) Also numerous are the riddles containing references to botanical items.

<sup>11</sup> Also mentioned in the *Toloqna Arung Labuaja* (Tol 1990:138, 306).



Quite a few include the word *pénrang*, 'wood'<sup>12</sup>, *wunga*, 'flower', or *ukkaju*, 'vegetables'. Examples of each type are (note that the first one combines items from both the botanical and the geographical category):

*pénrang to Tanété*, 'wood of the people of Tanété'. This refers to the variety of wood called *sita* and alludes to *sita*, 'to meet'.

*wunganna panasaé*, '*angka* flower', used with reference to *lempuq*, 'catkin of *angka* tree'. It alludes to *lempuq*, 'true, sincere'.

The following examples with *ukkaju*, 'vegetables', are remarkable in that they all three share the same allusion:

*ukkaju to tana mailiq*, 'vegetables on collapsing ground';  
*ukkaju sama ireq tennarua piso*, 'vegetables cut evenly without a knife';  
*ukkaju mappanrasa-rasa*, 'vegetables that cause suffering'.  
 All these phrases suggests the word *pippiq*, 'fungus', and allude to *pippiq*, 'to pinch'.

Among the other statements containing botanical references we come across the counterpart of the above-mentioned '*angka* flower', e.g.:

*anrinna lempuqé*, 'younger brother of a *angka* catkin', referring to *panasa*, '*angka* tree', and suggesting *manasa*, 'to wish'.

3) The third type of conventional pattern in riddle statements is animal-related. Combinations with *balé*, 'fish', *manuq*, 'chicken', and *manuq-manuq*, 'bird', are among the more frequent ones. A familiar example (which could also have been cited in the preceding paragraph) is:

*anréang balé monro ri takké ajué*, 'fish food on a tree branch', referring to *pippiq*, 'fungus', and alluding to *pippiq*, 'to pinch'.

The next 'fishy' statement is found regularly:

*balé temmassessiq*, 'fish without scales', referring to *massapi*, 'eel', and suggesting *massapiq*, 'to replace'.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Pénrang* probably occurs only in *Basa To Bakkeq* (cf. the examples given in Matthes 1874:117). The neutral word for 'wood' is *aju*.

<sup>13</sup> A variant form, *lénrong mpalenna*, 'river eel', with the same reference and allusion, is found in the *Toloqna Arung Labuaja* (Tol 1990:261, 337).

So is *anré manuq*, 'chicken feed', containing a reference to *benniq*, 'rice grit', and evoking *mabbenni*, 'to spend the night'.

Besides these topically related statements, there are a number of cases which have an extra trait in common in that they refer to an aspect of Macassarese culture. In order to understand these cases, familiarity with Macassarese is a must. This phenomenon has also been observed by Rahman Daeng Palallo (1968, 13:10), who cites the following *élong* (also in Matthes 1872a:405; 1872b:226):

<i>Parijannang ni mai</i>	Bring to the west of
<i>Matajang mupalalo</i>	Matajang
<i>paréwa tékéqmu.</i>	your carrying-device.

Its interpretation is as follows: to the west of Matajang lies the capital of Boné, which is usually called 'Boné' as well. The last step in the interpretation of this part takes us through Macassarese: in that language the word *boné* has the meaning 'contents, filling', which in Bugis is denoted by the word *liseq*. The second statement in the *élong* follows the normal pattern: 'carrying-device' suggests the word *adang*, 'planks of a carrying-device', which alludes to *ada*, 'word'. The meaning then is 'give content to your words', or 'keep your promises'.

The other examples I found do not belong to the categories mentioned above. Some of them do share a particular topic together, but are numerically too insignificant to be grouped together. Others seem to be quite unique in that they do not bear any relation to any other statement. Nevertheless, they may occur quite frequently, as witness popular statements such as:

*bélo kanuku*, 'nail decoration', referring to *pacci*, 'henna', and alluding to *pacing*, 'pure';

*paréwa panré*, 'smith's implement', referring to *sauang*, 'pair of bellows', and alluding to *sau*, 'pleasant'.

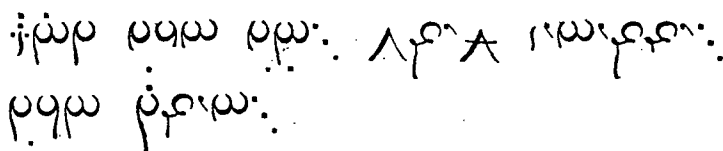
Given the nature of these statements within the riddle context and the ambiguity of the Bugis script, it comes as no surprise that a fairly large number of them may have more than one meaning. So the earlier mentioned statement *toddanna Tangka*, 'north of Tangka', may refer not only to Lébureng, which brings us to *lébureng*, 'pristine, virgin', but also to Lappaq, and thus denote *lappaq*, 'calm, collected'.

The opposite of this phenomenon, i.e. the occurrence of various expressions with the same allusion, should also be noted here. A number of

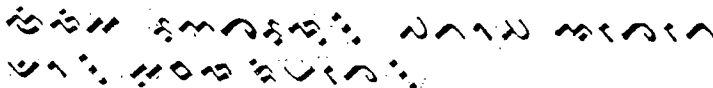
examples of this is given in Appendix II. We witness here a play with conventions. In cases such as these the allusion is most probably already known from the context. As a phrase such as the above-mentioned 'river silt', evoking the concept 'beautiful', is probably all too familiar to the consumer, the text producer tries to find elegant ways of varying his statement. Indeed, a very popular allusion is that to *kessing*, 'beautiful', which, via the reference to *kessiq*, 'sand', may be achieved by, among other phrases:

*batu marenniq*, 'tiny stone';  
*bacu-bacu saloqé*, 'small river stones'; and  
*batu nalarongié paria to Mampu*, 'stone which is twisted by the *paria* plant from Mampu'.

It seems likely that the experienced consumer of such statements will automatically associate an element such as '(small) stone' via 'sand' with 'beautiful'. He would then fully appreciate a variation on the well-known convention which would offer him another, original avenue to the familiar allusion effected through a playful modification of the part following 'stone'.



*An élong maliung bettuanna concealed in cipher script (Matthes 1883:18)*



*The same élong in standard Bugis script (Matthes 1883:27)*

*Transliteration:*

NYi.Li.Ka. Bu.Wa.Ja.Bu.Lu./ Pa.To.MPa. AJé.Té.Do./ Ku.Sa.La.Ri.Ma.Jé.

*Transcription:*

Nyiliq kaq buaja buluq / pattompang ajé tédong / kusala ri majé.

*Translation:*

I see a mountain crocodile/abrasive substance for cleaning buffalo  
 hooves/I'm almost in the underworld.

*Secondary meaning:*

I nearly die at the sight of that clever, beautiful woman.

*Further elaboration*

The obscure character of *élong maliung bettuanna* was emphasized by a curious publication by Matthes (1883). In this booklet he published some 200 *élong* written in a very uncommon script based on Arabic numerals. After the script was deciphered, the text proved to contain quite normal *élong*, which could all be explained along the usual lines of interpretation: they were only provided with an extra layer of wrapping in order to conceal their meaning one degree further (see illustration above).

In the following curious example of an *élong maliung bettuanna*, interpretation can only take place by taking account of the peculiarities of the Bugis syllabary. Although an interesting phenomenon, it nevertheless appears to be a marginal one, as there are only two known examples of it<sup>14</sup>, which are to a large extent related, viz.:

<i>Gellang riwataq majjékko,</i>	Copper stretched in a curve,
<i>inanréna Menreqé,</i>	the food of Mandar,
<i>bali ulu balé.</i>	the opposite of fish's head.

To begin with, the familiar interpretative lines have to be followed: 'copper stretched in a curve' refers to a fish-hook, *méng*. 'The food of Mandar' is bananas, *loka*. And the opposite of a fish's head is a tail, *ikkoq*. Now, these elements should not be treated separately. In Bugis script they should be joined together, viz.: Mé.Lo.Ka.I.Ko. This sequence of letters also spells the words *méloq kaq iko*, 'I love you'. Similarly we find:

<i>Inungeng mapekkeq-pekkeq,</i>	A sour drink,
<i>balinna aseqedé,</i>	the opposite of above,
<i>bali ulu balé.</i>	the opposite of fish's head.

The sour drink referred to is tea, *téng*, 'the opposite of above' is 'down', *awa*, and the words in the last line again denote a tail, *ikkoq*. Written together, these words are Té.A.Wa.I.Ko., to be read as *téa waq iko*, 'I don't want you'.

Even more peripheral is a riddle quoted by Matthes (1872b:145). Wholly non-verbal, this involves the action of laying one's hand on one's chest (*aro*) with the intention of asking 'what is that' (*aga ro*), and belongs to the domain of sign language.

*Some concluding remarks*

One may wonder why there is such apparent uniformity in the solutions of riddle statements. After all, in theory a statement such as 'west of Soppéng' can refer to a dozen geographical items. Why, then, is only 'Manipi' the right one here? No doubt the reason is that the allusions are

<sup>14</sup> Both cited by Rahman Daeng Palallo (1968, 13:11). Pelras (1975:246) and Mattulada (1985:15) only mention the first.

for the most part wholly conventional in nature, and are based on tacit literary conventions. However, in order to maintain some sort of creativity in the game and break away from the strict rules of convention, sometimes poets would think up two possible solutions to a riddle. Likewise quite a few (sometimes bizarre) variations on well-known themes are allowed. Both phenomena may be observed in the examples listed in the appendices below.

An interesting phrase, which according to Matthes (1874:815) enjoyed a high frequency, is *bali atakka*, 'partner of the *atakka* tree'. This refers to *siri*, 'kind of bush', which in old poems is usually mentioned in combination with *atakka*. The allusion then – not surprisingly – is to *siriq*, 'shame'. In order to understand this reference (in contrast to just recognizing it), one obviously requires a considerable degree of literacy and familiarity with traditional literature. Matthes' remark suggests that such literacy was, in fact, common among the students of *élong maliung bettuanna*. Persons who met the requirement of literacy were to be found in the social environment of royalty, in particular among the female members of these circles.<sup>15</sup> Matthes himself made extensive use of female royal informants in his research; on at least two occasions he mentioned these in connection with their proficiency in *Basa To Bakkeq*.<sup>16</sup>

*Basa To Bakkeq* not only bears testimony to a carefully cultivated literary tradition, but has the added advantage of being able to exploit the peculiarities of the Bugis script. This it does by turning its defectiveness and capacity for poly-interpretability into a powerful device.

<sup>15</sup> In a report to the Dutch Bible Society of a journey he went on in 1856, Matthes writes: 'Perhaps you will wonder why I have sought mainly female assistance in the effort to discover the meaning of the indigenous poems; however, it is only too true that generally the female natives, especially the queens, are much better versed in Bugis literature than the men, who are only capable of conversing about cock-fighting, gambling, opium-smoking, war, theft, and murder' (Matthes 1943:183-4).

<sup>16</sup> For instance in his above-mentioned report he refers to the help he received from the old Queen of Sidénréng (Matthes 1943:182-3). In his Supplement to the dictionary he refers to an interpretation by the Queen of Tanété (Matthes 1889:45).

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## Appendix I

*Riddle statements in Basa to Bakkeq*

The riddle statements listed below have been taken from Matthes 1872a, 1872b, 1874, 1883 and 1889, Salim et al. 1990, and Sikki 1978. Considering the overlap between the cases cited in these publications, this list may be considered to be exhaustive – at least it contains all the examples known to me. These are arranged according to subject, as follows:

- geographical
- botanical
- zoological
- remainder.

A limited number of examples may be found classified and described under two different headings. The arrangement of the descriptions per headword is as follows:

STATEMENT: LITERAL MEANING > REFERENCE > SECONDARY MEANING

**Geographical**

- Alangiseng, toddanna -: 'north of Alangiseng' > Baringeng > ringeng, 'light (not heavy)'  
 Alitta, galung to -: 'rice field of the people of Alitta' > Tawang > tawa, 'part, share'  
 Amali, paliliqna -: 'vassal of Amali' > Macading > maccading, 'to long for'  
 Amali, ri ajanna -: 'west of Amali' > Cakkoridi > ridiq (ri idiq), 'to you/us'  
 Ancung, manianna -: 'south of Ancung' > Pajalélé > paja lélé, 'to stop moving'  
 Bakkeq, ri aja -: 'west of Bakkeq' > Padangeng > pada-pada, 'together'  
 Bakkeq, ri lauk -: 'east of Bakkeq' > Lita > malita, 'to cling to'  
 Bakkeq, saloq to -: 'river of the people of Bakkeq' > soloq, 'stream' > loq, éloq, 'to wish'  
 Balang, ri attanna -: 'south of Balang' > Appéang > eppéang, 'to throw'  
 Batiling Béroanging, ri pallawangenna -: 'between Batiling and Béroanging' > Matampa > mattampa, 'to call'  
 Berruq, minangana -: 'river of Berruq' > Padongkoq > madoko, 'to be ill'  
 Berruq, ukkaju to -: 'vegetables of the people of Berruq' > bémprésuq > péso, 'to touch'  
 Béru, bubung to -: 'well of the people of Béru' > Palisu > palisu, 'to cause to return'  
 Boné, bujung to -: 'well of the people of Boné' > La Cokkong > cokkong, 'to sit'  
 Bowong, kabbaqna -: 'the jungle of Bowong' > Siballé > bellé-bellé, 'deceit'  
 Bukiq, sadda -: 'sound of Bukiq' > lo, 'stopgap in dialect of Bukiq' > loq, maéloq, 'to wish'  
 Bulu-bulu, paliliqna -: 'vassal of Bulu-bulu' > a) Lappaq, b) Sanjai > a) lappaq, 'calm', b) sajaiq, 'to sew together, to unite'  
 Buttué, ri ajanna -: 'west of Buttué' > Lipukasi > lipu kasi, 'poor land'  
 Canru, ri ajanna -: 'west of Canru' > Paméraq > méraq, 'betel'  
 Cilella, ri lauk -: 'east of Cilella' > Lisu > lisu, 'to return'  
 Goa, balanca to -: 'money from the people of Goa' > pisiq, 'k.o. Balinese penny' [with a hole in the centre] > masisiq, 'true'  
 Jampu, ri attanna -: 'south of Jampu' > Atumangé > pattumaé, 'wedding gift'  
 Jawa, bélo -: 'adornment of Java' > waju-waju, 'k.o. coat with short sleeves' > tiwajo, 'a little while'  
 Jawa, béppa tulisiq -: 'Javanese script cakes' > cicuruq kanaré, 'k.o. cakes' > riancurukeng alé, 'totally destroyed'  
 Kalamiseng, ajéna -: 'north of Kalamiseng' > Makarawa > karawa, 'deflowered'  
 Kalolang, galung to -: 'rice field of the people of Kalolang' > La Sugiq > sugiq, 'rich'  
 Kampiri, ri lauk -: 'east of Kampiri' > Cempa > cempa, 'tamarind'  
 Lamuru, ri attanna -: 'south of Lamuru' > Singkerruq > massingkerruq, 'to knit, to bear in mind'  
 Lancaq, ri laukna paliliqna -: 'east of the vassals of Lancaq' > a) Lebba, b) Belléanging > a) lebba, 'cool', b) bellé-bellé, 'deceit'  
 Lennga, minangana -: 'river of Lennga' > Palécé > pallécé, 'to flatter'  
 Lénrang, ri lauk -: 'east of Lénrang' > Parotoq > rotoq, 'to crack one's fingers'  
 Lipukasi, turungenna -: 'mooring-place of Lipukasi' > a) Pamasarang, b) Garessi > a) pammasareng, 'underworld', b) makessing, 'beautiful'  
 Lipukasi, balinna -: 'alongside Lipukasi' > a) Maténé, b) Padaéloq > a) macenning, 'sweet' [Macassarese 'sweet' = matéqné], b) pada éloq, 'mutual love'

- Luwuq, majang -: 'spadix of Luwuq' > sisurung [Luwurese], 'spadix' > sisurung, 'to die together'
- Luwuq, limpona -: 'village of Luwuq' > Sallolo > malolo, 'young'
- Luwuq, galunna -: 'rice field of Luwuq' > Sallolo > malolo, 'young'
- Madello, balinna -: 'alongside Madello' > Takalasi > takkala ni, 'it is done'
- Mado, anréang to -: 'food of the people of Mado' > alála, 'k.o. shellfish' > kalala, 'to have various partners'
- Mado, galung ri attanna -: 'rice field south of Mado' > La Soroq > soroq, 'to retreat'
- Mado, bujung ri attanna -: 'the well south of Mado' > Sanniq > sanniq, 'to be discharged from the nose'
- Mado, ri attanna: 'south of Mado' > Pabuno > wuno, 'to kill'
- Malisé, galung to -: 'rice field of the people of Malisé' > La Téa > téa, 'unwilling'
- Maménteng Sulubalang, bali buluqna -: 'near the mountains of Maménteng and Sulubalang' > Tongeng > tongeng, 'true'
- Mampu, batu nalarongié paria to -: 'stone which is twisted by the *paria* plant from Mampu' > kessiq, 'sand' > kessing, 'beautiful'
- Mario, galung to -: 'rice field of the people of Mario' > Pakali > pakkali, 'grave-digger's spade'
- Mario, paliliqna -: 'vassal of Mario' > Atakka > ata, 'slave'
- Maruq, limpona -: 'village of Maros' > Buttatoa > matoa, 'old'
- massada langiq, 'with a voice of heaven' > letté, 'thunder' > Paletté, 'place in Boné'
- Matajang, ri ajanna -: 'West of Matajang' > Boné > boné [Macassarese], 'full'
- Menreq, daramé -: 'stubble of Mandar' [supposedly only bananas are consumed in Mandar] > bura, 'bark of a banana tree' > bura maliq, 'to roam about'
- Menreq, inanré -: 'Mandarese rice' > loka, 'banana' > loq, méloq, 'to wish'
- Népo, balinna -: 'near Népo' > Palanro > Palanro, 'Creator'
- Padangeng, buluqna -: 'mountain of Padangeng' > a) Botingeng, b) La Upeq > a) mabbotting, 'to marry', b) maupeq, 'fortunate'
- Padongkoq, ri attanna -: 'south of Padongkoq' > Mattoanging > mattoanging, 'to relax'
- Pakali, manéang -: 'south of Pakali' > Pacora > maccora, 'to radiate'
- Palakka, ri lauqna -: 'east of Palakka' > Pinra > pinra, 'to change'
- Palangiseng, toddanna -: 'north of Palangiseng' > Baringeng > ringeng, 'light, easy'
- Palanro, ri attang -: 'south of Palanro' > Mattoanging > mattoanging, 'to relax'
- Pammasareng, ri lauq -: 'east of Pammasareng' > Barammasaré > amaséang, 'to have pity'
- Pancana, ri awa -: 'north of Pancana' > Alupang > allupa, 'to forget'
- Pancana, maniang -: 'South of Pancana' > a) Béraru, b) Ampuno > a) raruq, 'to show up', b) mpuno, 'to kill'
- Pancana, balinna -: 'alongside Pancana' > a) Alupang, b) Lipukasi > a) allupa, 'to forget', b) lipu kasi, 'poor land'
- Pannyulaq, buwung to -: 'well of the people of Pannyulaq' > Taureng > tauq, métauq, 'to fear'
- Pattojo, ri attang -: 'south of Pattojo' > La Cokkong > cokkong, 'to sit'
- Sanjai, liliqna -: 'vassal of Sanjai' > a) Kajang, b) Kaloling > a) rigajangi, 'to be stabbed with a creese', b) lolliq-lolliq, 'to sway'
- Sidénréng, tappareng ri -: 'lake of Sidénréng' > tamparang labaya [Macassarese], 'the fresh-water lake' [= lake Témpe] > lebba, 'cool, indifferent'
- Sikapa, balinna -: 'near Sikapa' > Padaéloq > pada éloq, 'mutual love'
- Soppéng, pakkota to -: 'betel of the people of Soppéng' > mécéq, 'k.o. areca nut' > a) méncéng, 'to expand', b) madécéng, 'good'
- Soppéng, paliliqna -: 'vassal of Soppéng' > Mario > mario, 'happy'
- Soppéng, ri aja -: 'west of Soppéng' > Manipi > manipi, 'underworld'
- Suppaq, paliliqna -: 'vassal of Suppaq' > Rappeng > rappeq, 'to come close'
- Tajong, 'place on Bali' > Bali > baliq, 'to turn'
- Tanété, balanca to -: 'money of the people of Tanété' > werreq, 'rice' > werreq, 'heavy'



Tanété, bilaq to -: 'lightning of the people of Tanété' > sulo to Tanété, 'torch of the people of Tanété' [made up of *sita* wood] > *sita*, 'to meet'  
 Tanété, paliliq to -: 'vassal of the people of Tanété' > Lipukasi > tau kasi, 'poor person'  
 Tanété, pénrang to -: 'wood of the people of Tanété' > *sita*, 'k.o. wood' > *sita*, 'to meet'  
 Tanété, ri attanna -: 'south of Tanété' > Ponréwata [mountain] > pong réwata, 'divine provenance, king'  
 Tangka, toddanna -: 'north of Tangka' > a) Lé bureng, b) Lappaq > a) lé bureng, 'pristine, virgin', b) lappaq, 'calm, collected'  
 Témpé, ri toddang -: 'north of Témpé' > Paduppa > madduppa, 'to encounter'  
 Timusu, ri awa -: 'north of Timusu' > Lebba > lebba, 'cool, indifferent'  
 Wagé, turungenna -: 'mooring-place of Wagé' > Lappa > lappaq, 'calm, collected'  
 Wajoq, maniang -: 'south of Wajoq' > Paria > paria, 'k.o. bitter plant'  
 Walénrang, toddanna -: 'north of Walénrang' > Pacing > pancing, 'pure'  
 Wétang, attanna -: 'south of Wétang' > Patangaq > tanngaq, 'to see'

### Botanical

aju maddara tau: 'man's blood wood' > seppang, 'sappan wood' [red] > seppa, 'to beat'  
 ampiri tekkéleseq: 'empty *kemiri* nut' > kapa, 'empty' > kapang, 'to think, to suppose'  
 anréang balé monro ri takké ajué: 'fish food on a tree branch' > pippiq, 'fungus' > pipiq, 'to pinch'  
 anréang temmonro: 'perishable food' > terruq, 'to go on' > terrung, 'eggplant'  
 anrinna lempuqé: 'younger brother of *lempuq*' [locus of male flowers of the *nangka* tree] > panasa, '*nangka* tree' > manasa, 'to wish'  
 asana kalawingeng: 'carried *asana* wood' > kattang, 'betel box of *asana* wood' > akkatai, 'to plan'  
 até unnyiq: 'heart of curcuma' > ridi, 'yellow' > ridiq [ri idi], 'to you'  
 ati rumpia: 'pith of sago tree' > tawaro, 'sago flour' > a) tawaku, 'my fate, part', b) ritawari, 'bargained'  
 bakké werreq: 'dead body of rice' > tai, 'excrement' > taia, 'forearm'  
 bali atakka: 'partner of the *atakk*a tree' > siri, 'k.o. shrub' [in old poems usually mentioned together with *atakk*a] > siriq, 'shame'  
 batu apeq: 'cotton seed' > tulang, do. > tula, 'to divorce'  
 batu nalarongié paria to Mampu: 'stone which is twisted by the *paria* plant from Mampu' > kessiq, 'sand' > kessing, 'beautiful'  
 bélo pénrang: 'wood decoration' > pippiq, 'fungus' > pipiq, 'to pinch'  
 bué malolo: 'young bean' > kaddoq, 'rice' > kado, 'to agree'  
 lipu rampingeng: 'land of beans' > pusa, 'bean basket' > pusa, 'confused'  
 majang Luwuq: 'spadix of Luwuq' > sisurung [Luwurese], 'spadix' > sisurung, 'to die together'  
 onro bué: 'bean basket' > pusa, do. > pusa, 'confused'  
 pakkota to Soppéng: 'betel of the people of Soppéng' > mécéq, 'k.o. areca nut' > a) méncéng, 'to expand', b) madécéng, 'good'  
 pammiring asé dareq: 'border of garden rice' > bata, 'stone fence' > bata-bata, 'to doubt'  
 panngeppiq wisésa: 'spray on rice' > siri, 'k.o. shrub' > siriq, 'shame'  
 passelleq lawangeng: 'sth. placed in an uninhabited area' > a) lalupang, 'k.o. bush', b) cina guri, 'k.o. bush' > a) alupai, 'to forget', b) cinna, 'desire'  
 passissiq wisésa: 'sth. planted among rice' > bataq, 'k.o. millet' > bata-bata, 'to doubt'  
 pénrang wisésa: 'rice wood' > aro, 'rice straw' > aro, 'breast'  
 pénrang pakawaru: 'medicine wood' > siri, 'k.o. shrub' > siriq, 'shame'  
 pénrang makkureq manaiq: 'tree with aerial roots' > a) méng, 'fishing rod', b) boccoq, 'royal bed curtains' > a) diméng, 'to love', b) liseq boccoq, 'princess'  
 pénrang to Tanété: 'wood of the people of Tanété' > *sita*, 'k.o. wood' > *sita*, 'to meet'  
 rampingeng lolo: 'young bean' > akokoreng, do. > okkoreng, 'to bite with'

takké lonré: 'branch of a *lonré* boat' > atiq, 'outrigger' > ati, 'heart'  
 tikao: 'k.o. tree' > uqdani [Macassarese], do. > uddani, 'to long for'  
 ukkaju mappanrasa-rasa: 'vegetable that causes one to suffer' > pippiq, 'fungus' > pipiq, 'to pinch'  
 ukkaju passalesseq to matinro: 'vegetable for covering up a sleeper' > parampaq, 'spread' > parapa, 'k.o. vegetable'  
 ukkaju sama ireq tennarua piso: 'vegetable cut evenly without a knife' > pippiq, 'fungus' > pipiq, 'to pinch'  
 ukkaju to Berruq: 'vegetables of the people of Berruq' > bémpésuq > péso, 'to touch'  
 ukkaju to tana mailiq: 'vegetables on collapsing ground' > pippiq, 'fungus' > pipiq, 'to pinch'  
 utti: 'banana' > loka, do. > lokka, 'to go' [cf. above section, *Menreq*, *inanré* -, for other signification of the word *loka*]  
 wangung ota: 'betel stake' > wangung mpellé, do. > bellé-bellé, 'deceit'  
 wélareng tasiq: 'sea *wélareng*' [k.o. creeper] > a) renreng, 'anchor cable', b) lawi-lawi, 'k.o. seaweed' > a) marenreng, 'to reside', b) malawi, 'sweet'  
 wunga madduri: 'flower with thorns' > asasa, do. > usesseq, 'I regret'  
 wunganna panasae: '*nangka* flower' > lempuq, 'locus of male flowers of the *nangka* tree' > lempuq, 'sincere'

### Zoological

anaq baloé: 'young mice' > éré, do. > wéré, 'to give'  
 anré manuq: 'chicken feed' > benniq, 'rice grit' > mabbenni, 'to spend the night'  
 anréang balé monro ri takké ajué, 'fish food on a tree branch' > pippiq, 'fungus' > pipiq, 'to pinch'  
 balé tekkésessiq: 'fish without scales' > awu-awu, 'k.o. fish' > awu, 'k.o. exclamation'  
 balé temmassessiq: 'unscaled fish' > massapi, 'eel' > massapiq, 'to replace'  
 bali ulunna balé: 'opposite of fish head' > ikkoq, 'tail' > iko, 'you'  
 bocci walenna: 'k.o. fish' > bungo, do. > bongoq, 'stupid'  
 bola manuq-manuq: 'bird house' > sarang, 'bird's nest' > sara, 'sorrow'  
 buaja buluq: 'mountain crocodile' > a) macang, 'tiger', b) tampusissiq, 'k.o. snake' > a) to macca, 'clever person', b) to masisiq, 'clever person'  
 doang tasiq: 'sea prawn' > kalaora, do. > makkora-ora, 'to dehydrate'  
 jangang tappareng: 'lake chicken' > lauling, 'k.o. bird' > lao uling, 'to go repeatedly'  
 lénrong mpalennaé: 'river eel' > massapi, do. > massapiq, 'to replace'  
 mabbola ri boláé: 'to construct a house in a house' > rojong, 'wasp' > taddojong-rojong, 'to totter'  
 manuq-manuq makkeda tau: 'bird with human speech' > kaluku, 'k.o. bird' > kaluku, 'k.o. tree'  
 pabbuno balé: 'fish killer' > tua, 'k.o. fish poison' > tuaq, 'palm wine'  
 pallawangenna tédong makkajoanngé: 'device for plough between two buffalos' > watan-rakala, 'plough shaft' > watakkalé, 'body'  
 pattompang ajé tédong: 'abrasive substance for cleaning buffalo hooves' > kessiq, 'sand' > kessing, 'beautiful'  
 tédong tenriampiq: 'untended buffalo' > lampaq, 'wild buffalo' > lampaq, 'classifier of thin, flat objects'  
 uliq tédong pura sangeq: 'buffalo-skin thong' > lariq, do. > lari, 'to flee'  
 uninna dongiqé: 'sound of the *dongiq* bird' > cidi, do. > idi, 'we'  
 wélulang pura risangeq: 'buffalo-skin thong' > lariq, do. > lari, 'to flee'

### Remainder

anaqna La Galigo: 'son of La Galigo' > a) La Panganro, b) To Manipi > a) mannganro, 'to beg', b) ri nipié, 'in dreams' [not: 'underworld', cf. *Soppéng*, ri aja -]

- anré api: 'burnt' > telloq, do. > tellong, 'to look through window'  
 anu sebboq tellaloé: 'something like a hole, but not through and through' > cawaq, 'dimpled cheeks' > éccawa, 'to laugh'  
 ati camming: 'heart of a mirror' > rasa, 'mercury' > manrasa, 'to suffer'  
 bacu-bacu saloqé: 'small river stones' > kessiq, 'sand' > kessing, 'beautiful'  
 barateng lonré: 'part of a *lonré* boat to which outrigger is attached' > atiq, 'outrigger'  
 batu marenniq: 'tiny stone' > kessiq, 'sand' > kessing, 'beautiful'  
 bélo malolo: 'adornment of young people', or  
 bélo mulampekkeq: 'adornment of adolescents', or  
 bélo anaq dara: 'adornment of a virgin' > waju rawang, 'k.o. see-through blouse' > patta-rawang-rawang, 'to shiver'  
 bélo baruga: 'decoration of meeting-hall' > nipa, 'k.o. palm' > lipaq, 'sarung'  
 bélo musuq: 'war decoration' > babuq, 'k.o. coat of mail' > babua, 'belly'  
 bélo kanuku: 'nail decoration' > pacci, 'henna' > paccing, 'pure' [see also above, Jawa; bélo -]  
 cappaq bulia: 'extremity of a blow-pipe' > gala, 'pitch' > sagala, 'rare beauty'  
 cappaq pabbéwungeng: 'extremity of a roof' > passiring, do. > posiriq 'to uphold s.o.'s honour'  
 cappaq barateng: 'support of an outrigger' > atiq, 'outrigger' > ati, 'heart'  
 cappaq lollosu: 'top of a mast' > a) takalaq, 'tackle', b) padati, 'tackle pulley' > a) takkala ni, 'it is done', b) pada ati, 'mutual liking'  
 céulé ajé: 'foot game' > raga, 'k.o. ball' > raga-raga, 'to comfort'  
 cökkong ri wiring tennung: 'to sit beside cloth' > passakkaq, 'piece of bamboo used to indicate width of cloth' > sakkaq, 'to deny'  
 déq winruq kusala: 'I don't make any mistakes' > mappanré aq, 'I am clever' > panré aq, 'give me food'  
 inanré risireq: 'sheaf of rice' > bokong, 'supplies' > bokori, 'to leave behind'  
 jakka galung: 'comb of the rice field' > salaga, 'harrow' > sagala, 'rare beauty'  
 jelleq to mapépeq: 'food for persons in distress' > bokong, 'supplies' > bokori, 'to leave behind'  
 jelleq temmanasu: 'uncooked food' > berreq, 'rice' > maberreq, 'nice'  
 jellerreng pattudang: 'food for maid of honour' > janci, 'quota of rice for maid of honour' > janci, 'promise'  
 léjjaq mata dettiaé: 'to step on the sun' > laq esso, do. > laso, 'penis'  
 léttéq ri manipi: 'to move to the underworld' > telloq, 'dead' > tellong, 'to look through a window'  
 liseq tuluq: 'inside of a rope' > ureq caq, 'k.o. fibre from *lontar* leaves' > macca, 'clever'  
 lodung sampuq: 'to take off one's sarong (and fold it)' > leppeq, 'to fold' > leppeq, 'unbound'  
 lompuq walennaé: 'river silt' > kessiq, 'sand' > kessing, 'beautiful'  
 mabbokoq tangeq: 'to be behind a door' > tuda, 'threshold' > tudang, 'to sit'  
 mancéngeng renring: 'wall prop' > adada, 'vertical wall bamboo' > ada, 'word'  
 mappamula pajeq: 'to begin a rattan saucer' > lisu, 'crown, centre' [the place where one starts braiding the rattan] > lisu, 'to return'  
 maté: 'dead' > telloq, do. > tellong, 'to look through a window'  
 pabbekkeng mpisésa: 'strap for tying rice stems' > waruq, 'k.o. tree' [bark used for making rope] > pakkawaru, 'medicine'  
 paccora lima: 'substance for making the fingers shiny' > pacci, 'henna' > paccing, 'clean, pure'  
 paddai wéwungeng: 'addition of a roof' > passisiq, 'k.o. roofing material' > masisiq, 'clever'  
 paddaianna pinceng: 'addition to saucers on a tray' > bellé-bellé, 'spill' > bellé-bellé, 'fraud'  
 paddénréng asué: 'dog cart' > tottoq, do. > totoq, 'fate'  
 pallangga mariang: 'undercarriage of a cannon' > padati, 'carriage' > pada ati, 'agreement, mutual care'  
 panngawang lonré: 'float of a *lonré* boat' > atiq, 'outrigger' > ati, 'heart'  
 paraluaq bissu: 'ceremonial implement of a shaman' > a) dupa, 'incense', b) majang, 'flower spadix' > a) madduppa, 'to meet', b) majaq, 'bad'

paréwa musuq: 'instrument of war' > babuq, 'k.o. coat of mail' > babua, 'belly'  
 paréwa panré: 'smith's implement' > sauang, 'pair of bellows' > sau, 'pleasant'  
 paréwa tékéq: 'carrying-device' > adang, 'planks of a carrying-device' > ada, 'word'  
 paréwa tennung: 'weaving utensil' > jakka, 'card' > majaq, 'bad'  
 passebboq pitu: 'implement for piercing corral bars' > paq, 'chisel' > panga, 'thief'  
 pattompang mpélua: 'hair cleaner' > langiq, 'k.o. shrub' [used in the manufacture of traditional shampoo] > langiq, 'sky'  
 ri awana béngki: 'under a *béngki* [k.o. water jar] > lekkeq, 'pillow on which *béngki* is placed' > lekkeq, 'to hide'  
 ri munrinna wéttoéng tellu: 'behind the three stars' > Saralauq, 'name of star' > sara, 'sorrow'  
 ri olo pallajareng: 'before the mast' > pangasi-asi, 'part of sail' > kasi-asi, 'poor'  
 tana maileq: 'collapsed ground' > pepping, 'steep bank' > peppi, 'k.o. small shrimp'  
 tellu genneq bali: 'three and three again', or  
 wékkadua tattellu: 'two times three' > enneng, 'six' > manenneng, 'sad'  
 téqné malalatung: 'rising sweet' > dupa, 'incense' > madduppa, 'to meet'  
 tettut: 'to pound' > lampuq, do. > ulampu, 'mosquito net'  
 to maté: 'dead person' > tula, 'to die before' > tulang, 'cotton seed'  
 to madoko: 'sick person' > madang, 'to die' > ada, 'word'  
 ulampu seddé bola: 'mosquito net at side of house' > passiring, 'extremity of a roof' > posiriq, 'to uphold s.o.'s honour'

## Appendix II

### *Different statements with the same allusion*

#### ADA, 'WORD'

mancéngeng renring: 'wall prop' > adada, 'vertical wall bamboo'  
 paréwa tékéq: 'carrying-device' > adang, 'planks of a carrying-device'

#### ATI, 'HEART'

barateng lonré: 'part of a *lonré* boat to which outrigger is attached' > atiq, 'outrigger'  
 cappaq barateng: 'extremity of outrigger support' > atiq, 'outrigger'  
 takké lonré: 'branch of *lonré* boat' > atiq, 'outrigger'

#### BELLÉ-BELLÉ, 'DECEIT'

kabbaqna Bowong: 'the jungle of Bowong' > Siballé  
 ri lauqna paliliqna Lancaq: 'east of the vassals of Lancaq' > Belléangang  
 paddaianna pinceng: 'addition to saucers on a tray' > bellé-bellé, 'spill'  
 wangung ota: 'betel stake' > wangung mpellé, do.

#### COKKONG, 'TO SIT'

bujung to Boné: 'well of the people of Boné' > La Cokkong  
 ri atang Pattojo: 'south of Pattojo' > La Cokkong

#### KESSING, 'BEAUTIFUL'

bacu-bacu saloqé: 'small river stones' > kessiq, 'sand'  
 batu marenniq: 'tiny stone' > kessiq, 'sand'  
 batu nalarongié paria to Mampu: 'stone which is twisted by the *paria* plant from Mampu' > kessiq, 'sand'  
 Lipukasi, turunggenna: 'mooring-place of Lipukasi' > Garessi  
 lompuq walennaé, 'river silt' > kessiq, 'sand'  
 pattompang ajé tédong: 'abrasive substance for cleaning buffalo hooves' > kessiq, 'sand'

**LARI, 'TO FLEE'**

uliq tédong pura sangeq: 'buffalo-skin thong' > lariq, do.  
wélulang pura risangeq: 'buffalo-skin thong' > lariq, do.

**MACCA, 'CLEVER'**

buaja buluq: 'mountain crocodile' > macang, 'tiger'  
liseq tulug: 'inside of rope' > ureq caq, 'k.o. fibre from *lontar* leaves'

**MAJAQ, 'BAD'**

paraluq bissu: 'ceremonial implement of a shaman' > majang, 'flower spadix'  
paréwa tennung: 'weaving implement' > jakka, 'weaving card'

**MATTOANGING, 'TO RELAX'**

ri attanna Padongkoq: 'south of Padongkoq' > Mattoanging  
ri attang Palanro: 'south of Palanro' > Mattoanging

**MADDUPPA, 'TO MEET'**

paraluq bissu: 'ceremonial implement of a shaman' > dupa, 'incense'  
ri toddang Témpé: 'north of Témpé' > Paduppa  
téqné malalatung: 'rising sweet' > dupa, 'incense'

**PACCING, 'PURE'**

bélo kanuku: 'nail decoration' > pacci, 'henna'  
paccora lima: 'substance used for making the fingers shiny' > pacci, 'henna'  
toddanna Walénrang: 'north of Walénrang' > Pacing

**PADA ÉLOQ, 'MUTUAL LOVE'**

balinna Lipukasi: 'near Lipukasi' > Padaéloq  
balinna Sikapa: 'near Sikapa' > Padaéloq

**PIPIQ, 'TO PINCH'**

anréang balé monro ri takké ajué: 'fish food on a tree branch' > pippiq, 'fungus'  
bélo pénrang: 'wood decoration' > pippiq, 'fungus'  
ukkaju mappanrasa-rasa: 'vegetables that cause suffering' > pippiq, 'fungus'  
ukkaju sama ireq tennarua piso: 'vegetables cut evenly without a knife' > pippiq, 'fungus'  
ukkaju to tana mailiq: 'vegetables on collapsed ground' > pippiq, 'fungus'

**RIDIQ, 'TO YOU/US'**

ri ajanna Amali: 'west of Amali' > Cakkoridi  
até unnyiq: 'heart of curcuma' > ridi, 'yellow'

**SAGALA, 'BEAUTY'**

cappaq bulia: 'extremity of a blow-pipe' > gala, 'pitch'  
jakka galung: 'comb of ricefield' > salaga, 'harrow'

**SAPIQ, 'TO REPLACE'**

balé temmassessiq: 'unscaled fish' > massapi, 'eel'  
lénrong mpalennaé: 'river eel' > massapi, 'eel'

**SARA, 'SORROW'**

bola manuq-manuq: 'bird's house' > sarang, 'bird's nest'  
ri munrinna wéttoéng tellué: 'behind the three stars' > Saralauq, 'name of star'

**SIRIQ, 'SHAME'**

bali atakka: 'partner of *atakk*a tree' > siri, 'k.o. shrub' [in old poems usually mentioned together with *atakk*a]

cappaq pabbéwungeng: 'extremity of a roof' > passiring, do.

panngeppiq wisésa: 'spray on rice' > siri, 'k.o. shrub'

pénrang pakawaru: 'medicine wood' > siri, 'k.o. shrub'

ulampu seddé bola: 'mosquito net at side of house' > passiring, 'extremity of a roof'

#### SITA, 'TO MEET'

bilaq to Tanété: 'lightning of the people of Tanété' > sulo to Tanété, 'torch of the people of

Tanété' [made up of *sita* wood]

pénrang to Tanété: 'wood of the people of Tanété' > sita, 'k.o. wood'

#### TELLONG, 'TO LOOK THROUGH A WINDOW'

anré api: 'burnt' > telloq, do.

léttéq ri manipi: 'to move to the underworld' > telloq, 'dead'

maté: 'dead' > telloq, do.