

On old Buginese and Basa Bissu

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2) Concentrating his attention on a single Bugis language, U. Sirk (Oriental Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences) is here particularly interested in the vocabulary which the Dutch linguist Matthes, a hundred years ago, qualified in his corpus as "archaic" or belonging to the language of the bissu. First of all, the author tries to clarify these two concepts of "archaic language" and "language of the bissu" for which Matthes gives no precise definition. This is not easy, for the words characterized as archaic may be found in relatively recent texts especially poetical ones, without it being necessarily true that the "poetic language" is an "archaic language". Moreover words belonging to the "bissu language" may be found in the ancient littérature in a completely neutral context, whereas one would expect that they would be employed above all in a magico- religious context. The link between these two languages is demonstrated by the fact that texts with a dominantly bissu vocabulary also contain a high percentage of archaic terms.

The author concludes by emphasizing the relationship existing between this archaic strata and certain languages of central and south-eastern Celebes. This remark is quite interesting when one recalls that of R. Mills on a hypothetical linguistic substrata in the languages of southern Celebes.

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ON OLD BUGINESE AND BASA BISSU

by Ů. SIRK

The great Buginese-Dutch dictionary compiled by B.F. Matthes (Matthes 1874) still remains the most important source of information concerning the vocabulary of the Buginese language. As regards a considerable number of the lexical units included, Matthes's dictionary gives some information about their spheres of functioning. To this purpose author frequently marks words (or root morphemes) with O.B. and B.B. According to a rough estimate, no less than 5-6 per cent of the lexical units included in the dictionary carry one of these two marks, the mark O.B. being several times more frequent than B.B. (a precise calculation would hardly be of interest here). In the list of abbreviations used in the dictionary (p. V), O.B. is deciphered as "Oud Boegineesch" (Old Buginese) and B.B. as "Basa-Bissoe, of Bissoe-taal" (Basa Bissu, or Bissu language), but none of these terms receives any further definition or explanation in the book.

As regards Old Buginese, some explanatory notes can be found in the "Introduction" to the "Buginese Grammar" published by Matthes a year later (Matthes 1875). There Matthes pointed out a difference "between Old Buginese and the Buginese language in general use nowadays" (tusschen Oud-Boegineesch en dat Boegineesch hetwelk nog heden ten dage algemeen in gebruik is) (p. VIII). According to Matthes's statement, "the old language" (i.e., apparently, Old Buginese) is to be found, above all, in "Lagaligo", but the words and expressions borrowed from the language of that poetical work (an epic cycle. — Ů.S.) can be met with in various other, more younger, poetical works.

For the other term, Basa Bissu, I have found no explanation in Matthes's publications. Nevertheless, that author here and there writes upon the language used by Buginese Bissus (priests of high social status) at his time. First of all, one has to consider a remark made in the voluminous article concerning the Bissus (Matthes 1872 : 2). According to that remark, the so-called divine language (*godentaal*), which, as the Bissus say, is breathed into them by somebody from the heaven, shows in many respects similarities with the Buginese of the ancient heroic epic (i.e., obviously, "Lagaligo"). According to another remark of the "Introduction", "the ancient language" (*de oude taal*) was used mostly in the ceremonies carried out by the Bissus and in their chants. To our regret this remark is worded too vaguely. It is not clear whether the ancient language mentioned here must be understood as being identical with the Old Buginese (*het Oud-Boegineesch*) which had been discussed in the foregoing passages in connection with the Buginese poetry.

Among the few linguists who after Matthes have paid attention to Buginese, apparently only R. Brandstetter has tried to give a definition to the terms Old Buginese and Basa Bissu. In his booklet dealing with the characteristic features of Buginese from the comparative point of view Brandstetter defines Old Buginese (*das Altbugische*) as "such Buginese lexicon (*Sprachgut*), which is no longer in use in contemporary living language and can be found only in ancient writings (*alte Geschriften*)" (Brandstetter 1911 : 70). An elementary discussion of Old Buginese (less than two pages) is given in a separate chapter of the booklet, where the author does not state any explicit connection between this notion and the notion of style. In contrast to Old Buginese, Basa Bissu is described in a paragraph included in the chapter headed "The Style" (the other paragraphs of that chapter deal with the metaphorical poetic style, the euphemistic style and the "symbolic language", or cryptolaly, called *Basa-To-Bakka'*). Basa Bissu is defined as "the language used by the priests-sorcerers Bissus to perform their chants". Along with this, Brandstetter draws the attention to some lexical differences of Basa Bissu with the "ordinary Buginese", giving parallels between the first and the Basa-Sangiyang of Ngaju Dayaks (*ibidem* : 67-8).

The above-cited definitions are given by Brandstetter without any reference to other authors. Therefore the following question arises : is the meaning ascribed to the expressions "Old Buginese" and "Basa Bissu" by Brandstetter the same as that ascribed to them by Matthes ?

First of all, it must be stressed that in his marking concrete words with O.B. or B.B. (21 lexical units receive such marks, out of them

15 are marked with O.B.) Brandstetter is in complete concordance with Matthes. This seems to be an argument for a positive answer to the question asked, at least as regards Old Buginese. However, if we accept that Brandstetter's Old Buginese is identical with Matthes's one, then the definition given to this term by Brandstetter becomes a puzzle. It is difficult to conceive how Matthes's notion of Old Buginese can be restricted to ancient writings. Matthes has noted the existence of numerous relics of Old Buginese in the contemporary language (*tegenwoordige taal*) of Luwu' region (Matthes 1875: VIII). Furthermore as is known the vocabulary marked with O.B. by Matthes is employed in the literary works of certain genres that belong basically to the folklore and can hardly be interpreted as *alte Geschriften*. Such genres are the *elongs* (several varieties; see Matthes 1875: IX, and the *elongs* edited by him) and the *paupau-rikadong* (as for the folklore nature of the last genre see Noorduyt 1955: 33; an example of a sentence from the *paupau-rikadong* containing O.B. words is presented in Brandstetter 1911: 71).

It becomes clear that Brandstetter's definition of Old Buginese, far from being acceptable for us, does not correspond to Matthes's concept. In all probability, this definition is given by Brandstetter in a deliberately oversimplified form (this would be quite expectable in a work putting forward chiefly comparativistic tasks and so limited in scope as Brandstetter's booklet).

As regards the definition of Basa Bissu, we may, of course, expect a similar oversimplification. However, to verify this is not possible as long as we are not familiar with the Bissu chants. In all the publications of Buginese literature accessible to me there are no trustworthy examples of this genre. At least a part of the words marked with B.B. in Matthes's dictionary can be met with in various literary works (by the way, the definition of Basa Bissu given by Brandstetter, which, in contrast to his definition of Old Buginese, contains no categorical limitation, is not in contradiction with such a usage of the B.B. words). As for the conditions and limits of using Basa Bissu outside the (hypothetical) Bissu chants and its stylistic function there, none of these is discussed by Brandstetter.

The only way to elucidate the problems connected with Old Buginese and Basa Bissu would be to research in detail the word usage peculiar to the Buginese traditional literature and folklore, provided that Buginese dialects and neighbouring languages have become satisfactorily described. Nowadays, at the embryonal stage of Buginese philology, such a research can be imagined only as a task of a distant future.

The aim of this article is to render some observations that may be of interest as regards the meaning of the terms Old Buginese and Basa Bissu used by Matthes. These observations are based (along with Matthes's dictionary) on a limited corpus of texts including the following;

1) from epic poetry: the texts of "Lagaligo" (about 130 pp.) and "Menrurana" (6 pp.) edited by Matthes in the vol. II of his "Buginese Reader" (Matthes 1864-72; below referred to by B.R., the following Roman figure marking the volume); furthermore the tolo "Daen Kalə' bu'" (13 pp.) (Matthes 185...) and some fragments of the tolo "A poem about the first campaign against Bone in 1859" (Matthes 1862);

2) from other poetical works: the Sabos (3 pp.), "Eloŋ Masagala" (12 pp.) and various elongs (about 10 pp.), all from B.R. II; furthermore the elongs edited in Matthes 1883 (8 pp.);

3) from prose: "Paupau-Rikadoŋ" (B.R. I), "Sultanul-Iñjilai" (B.R. I), the attoriolong of Wajo' in Noorduy'n's edition (1955); some fragments of "Latowa" (B.R. II), of various texts from B.R. I and of the attoriolong of Tanetə in Niemann's edition (1883) — about 250 pages of prose in sum.

Of course, the conclusions that I shall try to make on the basis of a so limited amount of material can be only preliminary.

First of all, let us pay attention to Matthes's dictionary.

The system of arranging material accepted in the dictionary is, on the whole, the following: to unite the words having the same root morpheme in one entry. The marks O.B. and B.B. are met with behind the head lexemes (words, morphemes) of entries as well as behind the words subordinate to them within the entries. Here are two examples:

1) The entry *jari*(2).¹⁾ The head root *jari* (given in brackets;

(1) Our system of spelling Buginese is on the whole similar to the system applied by J. Noorduy'n (1955). The differences are as follows:

| Noorduy'n 1955 | Sirk 197 | Noorduy'n 1955 | Sirk 197 |
|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|
| ng | ŋ | nj | ñ |
| tj | c | j | y |
| dj | j | ě | ə |

Furthermore, in this article I, in contrast to Noorduy'n, write the glides *y* (after *i* and *e*) and *w* (after *u* and *o*). In words cited from Matthes's dictionary the geminated consonants and glottal stop are written in accordance with the original. A bracketed Arabic figure following a word reproduces the number of an entry in Matthes's dictionary.

this perhaps means "not used as an independent word") and the derivative *pajari* (instead of translating, equated with *lima* 'hand') carry the mark B.B., but the third member of the entry, the word *ta'pajari* (according to the dictionary, = *karawa*, i.e., 'to touch') is marked with O.B.

2) The entry *ulu*(1). In the vast entry, only one derivative *akuluwan* carries a mark. This is O.B., and the derivative is equated with *akanulun* 'head pillow'; the last word is given without any mark (in the same entry).

Very often a mark is found only behind the head lexeme, but not behind the subordinate members of an entry. E.g.:

atu', B.B. = *jiji'* (i.e., 'row, rank')

ma'katu' 'to stand (also: to move. — Ü.S.) by rows, by ranks'

tabu(3), O.B. 'food'

riyatabu 'to be used (or: to be suited) as food'

laja'(1), O.B. = *sompə'* (i.e., 'sail')

palajarən 'mast'

Judging from our material, *makkatu'* (Matthes: *ma'katu'*) occurs in poetical texts. *Riyatabu* (*riyattabu*?) seems to be stylistically marked (see below). However, *palajarən*, unlike these two derivatives and unlike the rootword *laja'*, is stylistically neutral.

Very often Matthes instead of translating a word, equates it with a synonym (using equation mark =). This practice can give rise to vagueness. It seems natural to expect that the sign of equation is an indication of complete equivalence, mutual interchangeability. Nevertheless, in the examples given here we could already see marked words (with O.B. or B.B.) equated to neutral synonyms (*lima*, *sompə'* etc.). But what is about the stylistic characteristic of a word presented in the dictionary without any mark and equated to a marked word? Such a question arises, e.g., in connection with *tameŋ*. According to the dictionary, *tameŋ* = *taməŋ*; some lines below can be read: *taməŋ*, O.B. = *eŋkaliŋa* (i.e., 'to hear').

In order to determine the sphere of word functioning, Matthes not only uses standartized marks, but includes also more or less verbose comments in the entry. It is the comments that can be formulated as statements "occurs in poetry (in gedichten)" and "occurs in ancient poetry (in oude gedichten)" that are especially interesting for our theme.

Such comments are mostly made in connection with separate meanings of polysemous words or with subordinate words within entries. In both cases the lexical meanings seem usually be of meta-

phorical nature. E.g., *læbbo'* (intransitive verb) means: '1) to melt; 2) to go to ruin, to perish'; in connection with the second meaning Matthes adds an note: "NB! Only in poetry". As to the verb *mpi-seyaŋ*, whose basic meaning is 'to move (something) by means of paddling' he notes that it is employed in poetry with the meaning 'to lead, to rule (over the folk)' (s.v. *wise*). According to Matthes, the compositum *lisə'-jakula*, literally 'content of turban', renders the meaning of 'head' in poetry (s.v. *jakula*). Nevertheless, a correlation of the "poetry-indicating" comments with metaphorization is not always observable. E.g., such a comment is made regarding *wəkkə'* 'great' (this word is perhaps conceived by the compiler as *wəkkə'/mpəkke'* in a peculiar usage²⁾ and regarding *baja-baja* (explained as: in poetry = *əssə-əssə*, i.e., 'daily'; the word *baja* without reduplication means 'the following day, tomorrow'; *əssə* 'day').

Besides the generalizing comments of the type "in (ancient) poetry" there are also comments of more concrete nature, attributing a given fact of lexicon to some literary genre *sensu stricto*, most usually to "Lagaligo". E.g., within the entry *ulu*(1) it is said that the derivative *seulu*, or *siyulu*, is employed in "Lagaligo" in order to denote "two things of equal size". As regards *səbbu-kati* (s.v. *səbbu*), Matthes notes a specific meaning rendered by this compositum in "Lagaligo": 'child of royal blood'.

The marks O.B. and B.B., as well as several kinds of comments discussed, belong to the system which indicates the spheres of functioning of lexical units. This system includes also various indications to social limitations of word usage, to territorial dialects, and the mark *Basa Surə'*, i.e. 'literary language(?)', the last occurring only two or three times. Thus the system is rather complicated, but obviously not consistent (I refer to the above-stated irregularities regarding the place of the marks O.B. and B.B.).

Apart from this system of indicators of the spheres of word functioning, Matthes's dictionary includes references to Buginese liter-

(²⁾ The etymology of *wəkkə'* 'great' is not clear. Cf. the corresponding root(s) in Macassarese: Mac. *bakka'* 'to grow'; Mac. (Salayar dialect) *bakka'* 'big' (according to Matthes 1885). Along with this, a connection of Bug. *wəkkə'* 'great' (and Salayar *bakka'* 'big' too) with Bare'e *baŋke* 'big' and Tontemboan *waŋkəŋ* id. cannot be excluded.


ature, either to separate literary works or to genres ⁽³⁾. Such references are very frequent there (more frequent than comments of any kind, and even more frequent than the marks O.B.). They may concern both lexemes and examples of word usage. The lexeme with such a reference may carry, besides the reference itself, the mark O.B. or may have a comment to the effect that it is poetic or belongs to a concrete literary genre. E.g., we can read: *manro*, O.B. = *kedo* (i.e., 'to move'); further a reference to "Lagaligo" follows. Similarly, in connection with *mpiseyaŋ* and *wəkkə* in their "poetic" meanings "Lagaligo" is referred to. Not seldom a word concerning which reference is made carries neither mark nor comment. Such words are, e.g., *pewajo* 'to see' (s.v. *wajo*), *calikərɾa* 'chains', *attə* ⁽⁶⁾ according to the dictionary, = *antara*, i.e., 'to give a present to a respected person'); the references are to "Lagaligo".

The main task of the references to Buginese literature is not to outline spheres of word functioning, but to document words and expressions. E.g., in connection with *ma'lagənni* (s.v. *lagənni*) and *waji* ⁽²⁾ (*mawaji* should be included there too. — U.S.) references are given only to "Lagaligo" although in *Daen Kalə' bu'* — an epic which was familiar to Matthes — can be read: *RiBuLu MaLaGaNiYe* ⁽⁴⁾ (Matthes 185... : 21) 'into the vast mountainous region'; *NaDəNiYaRi MaWaJi* (ibidem : 16) 'and the daybreak was beautiful'. However, it is likely that the references are applied usually to words rarely used in spoken language. Consequently they are of interest for our theme.

Now we shall consider the Buginese literature.

The words marked with O.B. in Matthes's dictionary (further we call them O.B.-words mainly occur in poetical texts. The material

(3) It is not always clear what is meant by Matthes in these cases. There is no doubt when the reference includes an indication of the page (and line) — such reference could be given only to the texts already published up to the time when the dictionary was being edited. In such cases an individual literary work was referred to. However, that work might bear the same name as a genre (such is the case with "Lagaligo", "Latowa" and "Paupau-Rikadoŋ", not to mention the elongs of various kinds (as for the notion "Lagaligo" see: Kern 1939: 2 ff.).

(4) In cited examples from the texts written in the Buginese = Macassarese script I introduce a transliteration based on following principles. The independent symbols (*ina-surə*) of that script are rendered by capital letters in accordance with our system of spelling Buginese. Besides the separate capital letters, the combinations *ŋK*, *MP*, *NR* and *NC* are used. The *ina-surə*  (indicating zero of consonant with the possible exception of glottal stop) is rendered by *Q*. The vowels are rendered by small letters; the "implied" vowel *a* is also written.

accessible to me leaves no doubt at this point. Apparently the O.B.-words are especially typical in the epic poetry: in "Lagaligo" (judging from the text of B.R.), in "Menrurana" (judging from the fragment *ibidem*), in "Daen Kalə' bu'" and to a lesser degree in "A poem about the first campaign against Bone in 1859". The O.B.-words are frequent in the Sabos and in a part of the "profound elongs" (elon maliyuŋ bəttuwanna), but rare in the "simple elongs" (elon bawan) and in "Elon Masagala". The Buginese prose, in general, does not make frequent use of them. At least in some cases the O.B.-words included in prosaic works make the style exalted (e.g., *matadəttiya*, *walinono* 'sun' in "Paupau-Rikadoŋ", B.R.I: 5; *kanna* 'shield' instead of the neutral synonym *kaliyao* in various places of the attoriyolong of Wajo', Noorduy 1955). Sometimes the use of the O.B.-words in prose may apparently be also explained by a dialectal nature of the text.

By no means, the lexical material characteristic for poetry or employed only in it is not exhausted by the O.B.-words. Quite naturally, we must also consider here the words, in connection with which Matthes makes comments meaning "in(ancient) poetry" or which he attributes to certain poetical genres. Apparently, in majority of cases Matthes's reference to a poetical work also guarantees that the word has a "poetical nature" (e.g., *malagənni* 'vast, bread').

From our materials it appears that the "poetical tint" is also held by a number of words which Matthes gives without any marks, comments or references; *pemaga* 'to see' *tijaŋ* 'to stand; to stand up (from sitting)', *tokkoŋ* 'to rise (from lying)', *seliŋerəŋ* 'brother, sister', *wero* 'lightning' etc. Moreover there are words derived on the basis of O.B.- or B.B.-words that Matthes's dictionary does not include, e.g.: *cabeŋi* 'to come (to someone)' ("Lagaligo") from O.B. *cabeŋ* 'to come'; *wowolaŋi* and *ma'bowolaŋi* 'rising up as high as the heaven' ("Daen Kalə' bu'") which uses B.B. *wowo* 'top, head'.

Wide use of synonyms is very typical in epic poetry. The synonymic row taken from an epic poem or observed in a genre may include O.B.-words and other words with indubitable poetical tint, but very often their neutral synonyms as well (as for the term "neutral synonyms", means the synonyms usually employed in the prosaic literature and in the spoken language of the central and southern parts of the Buginese territory; I have no information about the spoken language of Luwu'). E.g., in the texts of "Lagaligo", "Menrurana" and "Daen Kalə' bu'" edited by Matthes the meaning '(there) is, exists' is most often rendered by *rini* (O.B.), but nevertheless the neutral *əŋka* can be also found (in some pages of "Lagaligo" the last word is even more frequent than *rini*). The words *baje'*, *salarəŋ* and *ranənriŋ*, all of them marked with O.B. and equated to the neutral *aŋŋiŋ* 'wind' in the

Dictionary, are in common use in "Lagaligo"; notwithstanding *aŋŋiŋ* is not absent there (LeQaŋiŋe 'the wind', B.R.II; 487). Among the synonyms that mean 'to eat', (*ma'*)*jəllə'* (O.B.) is the most frequent; but cf. PaDiSəŋəNa MaNReMaTəMi ("Lagaligo", B.R.II: 520) 'their (esoteric) science of eating and drinking', where *mmanre* can be seen. To render the meaning 'on, on top of' the epic poetry most often uses *rimene'* from O.B. *mene'*; the neutral *riwawo* is presented, e.g., in the expression RiWaWoWəLə 'on the mat' ("Lagaligo", B.R.II: 480) (*wəllə'* 'mat' is O.B.). 'Water' is usually *palojaŋ* in "Lagaligo", but in a number of composita we find the neutral *uwae*: e.g., *uwae-diyo* 'bathing water', *uwae-mata* and *uwae-ñili'* 'tear' (as to the last parts of the composita, they are formed by neutral words in the first and second cases and by an O.B.-word in the third case).⁵⁾ Analogically, in "Daŋ Kalə' bu'" the normal word for 'man, person' is *jaləmma* (O.B.); the neutral *tau* occurs in fixed word-combinations and very rarely outside of them (Matthes 185...: 18). It would be interesting to note that the synonym most frequently used in an epic can be neutral as well. E.g., for denoting 'fighting cock' "Lagaligo" employs usually the neutral word *manu'* (with some attribute: MaNuKaRaJa, literally 'great (?) cock' etc.), and the O.B.-word *tanriŋəŋ* occurs there rarely (BaKeTaNRiŋə 'corpses of fighting cocks', B.R.II: 520).

As for the words marked with B.B. by Matthes ("B.B.-words"), a small number of them have a wide currency in the epic poetry. It is not likely that when used there they may have a special shade of meaning distinguishing them from the O.B.-words. Such B.B.-words are, first of all, *aratiga* 'candle', *lakko* 'gold, golden' and *rakilə'* 'lightning'. The word *paboja*, explained in Matthes's dictionary (p. 640) as: B.B., = *mata* (i.e., 'eye'), is very frequently used within a poetical formula *ala kede(ga) (le)pabojae* 'how quickly a moment flies away'.

Judging from our material, the absolute majority of the B.B.-words are not widely used in epic poetry. So far there are no texts "Basa Bissu *par excellence*" abundant with B.B. vocabulary at my disposal. I have only some texts, which are characterized by higher content of B.B.-words as compared with other poetical texts. Such "Basa Bissuizing" texts are: 1) some fragments of "Lagaligo", first and foremost the dialogue of wandering Masters of Abysm (Punnae-

⁽⁵⁾ In the text of "Lagaligo" given in B.R. II *palojaŋ* usually means the water of some natural sources (or the source of such water itself: e.g., a lake etc.). Therefore a difference between *palojaŋ* and *uwae* might be imagined. However, the example to be found in Matthes's dictionary sub vocem *palojaŋ* (with reference to "Lagaligo") does not conform to such an interpretation.

Liyuŋ) with Larumpammega (B.R. II : 425-6 ; about ten lines only) and 2) the magic songs Sabos (ibidem : 364-6). As to the number of word-occurrences, even in these texts the B.B.-vocabulary is inferior as compared with the O.B.-words (in the Sabos the dominant role of the neutral vocabulary is evident).

It is difficult to draw conclusions on the basis of such a scarce material. Nevertheless, it would be natural to compare the Sabot with "Enloŋ Masagala" (the latter is of rather impressive length). "Eloŋ Masagala" is to be considered a typical magic song : it is sung at the bed of a man ill with smallpox — thus in a rather dramatic situation. Compared with "Enloŋ Masagala", the Sabos, aiming at the propitiation of the souls of felled trees, are undoubtedly of a more ceremonial nature. However, as regards the vocabulary, "Eloŋ Masagala" seems quite "neutral" : the B.B.-words are almost lacking, the O.B.-words being rare, too. What follows from this comparison is : at least in Matthes's time the B.B.-words were not an indispensable attribute the magic exorcistic songs.

At the same time, among all the Buginese texts familiar to me, the most high percentage of B.B.-words is observed in the short dialogue between the Masters of Abysm and Larumpammega in "Lagaliŋ". It is not likely that the Masters of Abysm and Larumpammega pursue some magic aim there. As regards the theme and the situation, this dialogue between the members of the "Lagaliŋ" pantheon is completely parallel to a number of dialogues where no use of the B.B.-words is made.

In view of the confrontations made here it is obvious that Basa Bissu was not simply a "magic vocabulary", but — in conformity with its name — a "vocabulary of Bissus". We ought to remember what Matthes wrote about the divine language (godentaal) used by the Bissus who were inspired from heaven (his expression "godentaal" is perhaps nothing other than a calque of Buginese *ada-dewata*). It may be supposed that abundant use of the B.B.-words was a characteristic feature of the "inspired" speech of Bissus and other high-ranking persons who, no matter why, wanted to become similar to them. Quite naturally, it was not obligatory that such an inspired speech pursued a magic aim ; that speech was possible in other situations too (by the way, Matthes tells us nothing about the limits the divine language had in society). As it appears from the dialogue with Larumpammega, at least in some situations there were allowed the O.B.-words (and other synonyms with poetical tint) together with the B.B.-words.

Of course, the layer of vocabulary that stylistically distinguished "a priest's inspired speech" could not be completely homogeneous. As

regards the words current in epic poetry (e.g., *aratiga*), provided we believe the mark given by Matthes, it follows that they have a wide range of stylistic valence.

On the other hand, among the words marked by Matthes with O.B., some, judging from my material, are characterized by frequent co-occurrence with B.B.-words within one phrase. E.g., in "Lagaligo", in the dialogue discussed above as well as in other places, a compositum *TaBuMaLoWa* 'abundant food' is found. According to Matthes's dictionary, *tabu* 'food' is O.B. and *malowa* 'many' is B.B. Co-occurrence of *tabu* with B.B.-words is also demonstrated by numerous, but unfortunately not documented examples given within that entry (pp. 298-9). The derivatives *riyatabu* 'to be used (or: to be suited) as food' (given in the same entry) and *mattabu* 'to eat' (not found in the dictionary) belong apparently to the same stylistic layer as *tabu* (as for *riyatabu* see the examples in the dictionary; as for *mattabu*, e.g., *LeMuWaTaBu TaBuMaLoWa* 'and you will eat abundant food' in the above-discussed dialogue with Larumpammega, "Lagaligo").⁶⁾ Among words that have the tendency to enter Basa Bissu vocabulary are also *lona* (according to Matthes: = *wanuwa*, i.e. 'country') and *kuta* (Matthes: O.B., = *bola*, i.e. 'house'), the latter word obviously only outside of the compositum *sao-kuta* 'house of a respected person or of a deity', which frequently occurs in "Lagaligo".

To determine the origin of the lexical layers formed basically by the words that Matthes marks with O.B. and with B.B. is a complicated problem. Here I am able to give some suggestion only regarding the first, "Old Buginese" layer. This layer has apparently been brought about by the "Lagaligo" tradition. As regards the original homeland of this tradition, there are various considerations putting forward Luwu' region. However, such a hypothesis cannot as yet be founded linguistically: much more data about Buginese dialects and neighbouring languages are needed to prove it. Nevertheless, already at present it seems that there are isoglosses linking the "Old Buginese" layer with the languages of Central and Eastern Sulawesi. The following parallels are interesting: O.B. *eyo* 'day' — *eo* id. in a number of languages of Central Sulawesi (a specific development of the etymological root* (q)ajaw); O.B. *ranənriŋ* 'wind' — *ranindi* 'cold' in Toraja languages; O.B. *tapide* 'shield' — Bare'e (Pu'umboto dialect) *tampide*, Banggai *tompide* id.; O.B. *kunawe* 'buffalo' — Bare'e (priests' language)

(⁶⁾ The examples supplied by Matthes's dictionary, and the text of "Lagaligo" too, produce an impression that the B.B.-words are especially frequently used regarding the food.

gonawe 'water'; O.B. *siwo* 'to drink' — Bare'e (priests' language) *sibu* id.; O.B. *walinono* 'sun' — Sa'dan *balinono* 'rainbow-like ring round the sun'.

It may be taken for granted that in the epic texts that have reached us we cannot see the "Lagaligo" tradition in its pure shape. Obviously the language of epic poetry has been influenced by the Buginese language of the regions south of Luwu'. Some of these regions, and most probably Bone ⁽⁷⁾, have played a leading part in giving birth to the traditions of Buginese prosaic literature.

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(7) The link between the prosaic tradition and Bone is of course to be regarded as a preliminary hypothesis. However, the few dialectical features of the language of Bone which are not shared by the literary language (the features noted by Matthes in his grammar and dictionary) cannot form a decisive argument against the Bonean origin of Buginese prosaic tradition, since it does not follow from Matthes's works that these features were characteristic of the language used in the whole historical region of Bone and by all the strata of its population. Besides, it should not be forgotten that the origin of the linguistic standard of Buginese prose antedates Matthes's scarce notes about Buginese dialects.

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