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Suti Solo do Bina Bane: A Version from the Domain of Landu

I recorded this version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* from the poet Alex Mada from Landu during the second recording session on Bali in October 2007. Although it was hard to gauge his age, Alex Mada is, I suspect, the oldest Rotenese poet whom I have recorded—probably even older than Old Meno. Small and sprightly and without his teeth, he spoke with a quiet, clear voice. His trip from Landu on Rote to Sanur in Bali was for him, an extraordinary adventure. He confided to me that flying above the clouds in the plane that brought him to Bali was like travelling to heaven. He was an enthusiastic participant and was particularly happy to offer his version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*.

The traditions of Landu are somewhat problematic among the domains of Rote. In 1756 in a bitter dispute with the Dutch East India Company, Landu's population was ravished. Its settlements were destroyed and hundreds of men, women and children were captured and sold into slavery. Those who escaped this onslaught dared not return to their homes. Landu became, for decades, a no man's land and only began to be resettled in the nineteenth century. Gradually, Landu's dynasty re-established itself and re-established the domain with settlers from many other domains—from as far away as Dengka but predominately from its own remnant population and that of the neighbouring domains of Ringgou and Korbaffo. Its traditions reflect this history.



Figure 15: Alex Mada

My student Lintje Pellu, who was born in Termanu, wrote her ANU PhD thesis on Landu in 2008. This thesis, 'A Domain United, A Domain Divided: An Ethnographic Study of Social Relations and Social Change among the People of Landu, East Rote, Eastern Indonesia', is a critical ethnography that documents the tragic history and eventual reconstitution of Landu. During Lintje's fieldwork, Alex Mada became one of her key

informants and she was able to record a version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* from him, which she included in her thesis. This version is a slightly longer recitation of this same chant.

Suti Solo do Bina Bane

The Rice and Millet Ripen in the Fields

Alex Mada's recitation begins by naming the woman Noa Bafo and the girl Lole Ora. She guards her ripening fields. The women are considered a pair who speak to each other, preparing for the harvest that will require a *fua poi* / *peda bafa* offering.

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| 1. | <i>Ina Noa Bafo</i> | The woman Noa Bafo |
| 2. | <i>Ma feto a Lole Ora</i> | And the girl Lole Ora |
| 3. | <i>Feto ma-nea tine</i> | A girl who watches her field |
| 4. | <i>Ma ina ma-sala rene</i> | And the woman who guards her garden |
| 5. | <i>Ina ma-nea rene</i> | The woman who watches her garden |
| 6. | <i>Ma feto ma-sala tine</i> | The girl who guards her field |
| 7. | <i>Na-nea neu tine</i> | She watches over her field |
| 8. | <i>Ma na-sala neu rene.</i> | And she guards her garden. |
| 9. | <i>Boe ma mete i no ona</i> | She looks north and south |
| 10. | <i>Ma relu dulu no muri</i> | And she spies east and west |
| 11. | <i>Bete-ka kaboa</i> | The millet puts forth grains |
| 12. | <i>Fo kaboa e'etu</i> | Grains ready to be plucked |
| 13. | <i>Ma hade-ka modo peda</i> | And the rice grows green tips |
| 14. | <i>Fo modo peda o'oru.</i> | Green panicles to be harvested. |
| 15. | <i>Tehu, duas dede'a leo</i> | But the two talk with each other |
| 16. | <i>Ma telus o'ola leo:</i> | And the three speak with each other: |
| 17. | <i>'Kaboa e'etu</i> | 'Grains ready to be plucked |
| 18. | <i>Ma modo peda o'oru</i> | And panicles ready to be harvested |
| 19. | <i>Tehu fua poi bei ta'a</i> | But the <i>fua poi</i> ritual has not been held |
| 20. | <i>Ma peda bafa bei ta'a.'</i> | And the <i>peda bafa</i> ceremony has not been done.' |

Lole Ora and Noa Bafo prepare their scoop-nets with lontar leaf stalks and Ndaonese cotton.

Lole Ora and Noa Bafo Make their Fishing Nets

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| 21. | <i>Beka rae: tua esa nai Safu</i> | They say: a lontar on Savu |
| 22. | <i>Fo beba esa nai Safu</i> | With its leaf-stalk on Savu |
| 23. | <i>Ma rae: abas esa nai Rao</i> | And they say: a cotton plant on Ndao |
| 24. | <i>Fo pena esa nai Rao.</i> | With its cotton tufts on Ndao. |
| 25. | <i>Boe ma besak ka</i> | Now then |
| 26. | <i>Fetok ka Lole Ora</i> | The girl Lole Ora |
| 27. | <i>Ma inak ka Noa Bafo</i> | And the woman Noa Bafo |
| 28. | <i>Tati neni beba esa</i> | She cuts a leaf-stalk |
| 29. | <i>Ma sesa neni laka esa</i> | And slices its head |
| 30. | <i>Teri kokondo rai</i> | She ties tightly a scoop-net |
| 31. | <i>De rai ea aba don</i> | A scoop-net of cotton |
| 32. | <i>Ma ane bubui se'o</i> | And she binds closely a fishnet |
| 33. | <i>De se'o bui fepa dean.</i> | A fishnet of thick lontar leaf. |
| 34. | <i>Se'o bui a dadi</i> | The scoop-net is made |
| 35. | <i>Ma rai ea mori.</i> | And the fishnet is ready. |

Before dawn, the two women go to the sea and begin their fishing—throwing and thrusting their nets, then scooping up their contents. In the process, they scoop up Suti Solo and Bina Bane.

Lole Ora and Noa Bafo Go Fishing in the Tidal Waters

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| 36. | <i>Boe ma rae:</i> | So they say: |
| 37. | <i>Meti bei koa kako</i> | The tide before the rooster crows |
| 38. | <i>Ma tasi bei dulu pila</i> | And the sea before the east reddens |
| 39. | <i>Feto a Lole Ora</i> | The girl Lole Ora |
| 40. | <i>Ma ina Noa Bafo</i> | And the woman Noa Bafo |
| 41. | <i>Neu nama rai rarano</i> | Goes to thrust and fish |
| 42. | <i>Ma nama-se'o toto'o</i> | And to throw and to scoop |
| 43. | <i>Nama-se'o toto'o</i> | To scoop by throwing |

44. *Ma nama-rai rarano.* And to fish by thrusting.
 45. *De rae:* They say:
 46. *Tasi bei koa kako* The sea before the friarbird sings
 47. *Ma meti bei dulu pila* And the tide before the east reddens
 48. *De sua se'ò neu laka* She mounts the scoop-net on her head
 49. *Ma rae rai neu aru* And she rests the fishnet on her shoulder
 50. *Nama-se'ò toto'o* To scoop by throwing
 51. *Ma nama-rai rarano* And to fish by thrusting [in]
 52. *Meti leo lifu dale* The tide like a water pool
 53. *Na mada nama-tutu* As it dries steadily
 54. *Ma tasi leo nusa lai* And the sea becomes like raised land
 55. *Na meti nama-sesele* As the tide recedes
 56. *Se'ò to'o, se'ò to'o* Scoop throw, scoop throw
 57. *Ma rai rano, rai rano* Fish thrust, fish thrust
 58. *Rai ra Suti Solo* She fishes Suti Solo
 59. *Ma se'ò na Bina Bane* And she scoops Bina Bane
 60. *Se'ò toto'o heni* Scoops and throws away
 61. *Ma rai rarano heni.* Fishes and thrusts away.
 62. *Rali lifu ma pinda meti* Shifts pool and changes tides
 63. *Tehu leo na ko se'ò a* But even as she scoops
 64. *Nama-se'ò toto'o* She scoops and throws
 65. *Ma nama-rai rarano* And she fishes and thrusts
 66. *Se'ò na Bina Bane* She scoops Bina Bane
 67. *Ma rai na Suti Solo* And she fishes Suti Solo
 68. *Se'ò toto'o heni* She scoops and throws away
 69. *Ma rai rarano heni.* And she fishes and thrusts away.

Suti Solo do Bina Bane speak, telling Lole Ora and Noa Bafo not to throw them away but to take them home.

The Beginning of the Dialogue with Suti Solo do Bina Bane

70. *Boe ma Suti Solo dedè'a* So Suti Solo speaks
 71. *Ma Bina Bane nafada, nae:* And Bina Bane talks, saying:

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| 72. | <i>'Boso se'ò toto'ò heni</i> | 'Don't scoop and throw [me] away |
| 73. | <i>Ma boso rai rarano heni</i> | And don't fish and thrust [me] away. |
| 74. | <i>Uma tala uma teu</i> | Let us go to your house |
| 75. | <i>Ma lo tala lo teu.</i> | And let us go to your home. |
| 76. | <i>Boe ma uma rala uma</i> | Houses are houses |
| 77. | <i>Ma lo rala lo.'</i> | Homes are homes.' |

The dialogue begins with Suti Solo do Bina Bane. Lole Ora and Noa Bafo suggest that the two shells go with sea refuse and ocean flotsam; the shells consider this but decline the offer.

The First Dialogue Directive

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| 78. | <i>Boe ma nae:</i> | It is said: |
| 79. | <i>Lole Ora nafada</i> | Lole Ora talks |
| 80. | <i>Ma Noa Bafo dede'a, nae:</i> | And Noa Bafo speaks, saying: |
| 81. | <i>'Mo tere tasi leo</i> | 'Go with the sea refuse |
| 82. | <i>Ma mo hambau leo.'</i> | And go with the flotsam.' |
| 83. | <i>Boe ma Suti Solo nafada</i> | So Suti Solo talks |
| 84. | <i>Ma Bina Bane dede'a, nae:</i> | And Bina Bane speaks, saying: |
| 85. | <i>'Tere tasi o,</i> | 'Oh the sea refuse |
| 86. | <i>Malole la boe</i> | May be fine |
| 87. | <i>Ma hambau o</i> | And the flotsam |
| 88. | <i>Mara a boe</i> | May be proper |
| 89. | <i>Te leo timu rasa-rua dulu</i> | But if the monsoon comes again
to the east |
| 90. | <i>Fo koka heni hambau</i> | To sweep away the flotsam |
| 91. | <i>Ma fa rasa fali laka</i> | And the west monsoon returns
to the head |
| 92. | <i>Fo fa heni tere tasi,</i> | To flood away the sea refuse |
| 93. | <i>Ma au asaedu o bea</i> | Then with whom will I sob |
| 94. | <i>Ma au amatani o bea?'</i> | And with whom will I cry?' |

Lole Ora and Noa Bafo then propose that the shells go with the harbour crabs and shore molluscs. But the harbour crabs and shore molluscs are the target of night-time fishing so, weepingly, Suti Solo do Bina Bane again decline this possibility.

The Second Dialogue Directive

95. *Boe ma Lole Ora dede'a* So Lole Ora speaks
96. *Noa Bafo nafada, nae:* Noa Bafo talks, saying:
97. *'Sona mu mo ni namo* 'Then go with the harbour crabs
98. *Ma mu mo kuma dae.'* And go with the shore molluscs.'
99. *Boe ma Suti Solo dede'a leo* So Suti Solo speaks forth
100. *Ma Bina Bane nafada leo, nae:* And Bina Bane talks out, saying:
101. *'De tata pele laka namo* 'Then if the fishing torch is unwound
102. *Ma [Fo] loti heni ni namo* To torch-fish away the harbour crabs
103. *Ma fule no do dae* And coconut leaves are unbound
104. *Fo pele heni kuma dae* To night-fish away the shore molluscs
105. *Na u o bea bali?'* Then with whom will I be once more?'
106. *Suti nasa-edu boboto* Suti sobs weepingly
107. *Ma nama-tani bobolu* And cries tearfully.

Lole Ora and Noa Bafo then propose that they go with the *boa* trees in the harbour and the *pi'o* (*piko*) trees in the estuary. These soft-wooded trees are easily split apart by the monsoon, so again Suti Solo and Bina Bane decline this proposal.

The Third Dialogue Directive

108. *Boe ma Lole Ora nafada* So Lole Ora talks
109. *Ma Noa Bafo dede'a, nae:* And Noa Bafo speaks, saying:
110. *'Sona mu mo boa namo* 'Go with the *boa* trees in the harbour
111. *Ma mu mo pi'o oli.'* And go with the *piko* trees in the estuary.'
112. *Boe ma Suti nafada bali* So Suti talks once more
113. *Ma Bina dede'a bali, nae:* And Bina speaks once more, saying:
114. *'Te leo pi'o oli malole so* 'The *piko* trees in the estuary are fine
115. *Ma o boa namo mara a so* And the *boa* trees in the harbour are proper
116. *Te leo timu rasa-rua dulu* But if the monsoon comes again to the east
117. *Fo seki heni boa namo* To split apart the *boa* trees in the harbour
118. *Ma fa rasa-fali laka* And the west monsoon returns to the head

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| 119. | <i>Fo bea heni pi'o oli</i> | To pull apart the <i>piko</i> trees in the estuary |
| 120. | <i>Au o u bea bali?</i> | With whom will I be once more? |
| 121. | <i>Au ama-tani o bea?</i> | With whom will I cry? |
| 122. | <i>Ma au asa-edu o bea?'</i> | And with whom will I sob?' |

Lole Ora and Noa Bafo then propose that they go with the house post and old beam. These lines appear to conflate house post//old beam with syrup vat//millet basket. As a result, there are four lines here that, though paired, do not make clear sense.

The Fourth Dialogue Directive

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| 123. | <i>Boe ma Lole Ora nafada</i> | So Lole Ora talks |
| 124. | <i>Ma Noa Bafo dede'a nae:</i> | And Noa Bafo speaks, saying: |
| 125. | <i>'Sona mu mo timi di</i> | 'Then go with the house post |
| 126. | <i>Sona [mu] mo balo tua.'</i> | Then go with the old beam.' |
| 127. | <i>Boe ma [Suti] nae:</i> | So Suti says: |
| 128. | <i>'O balo tua a malole a so</i> | 'Oh the old beam is good |
| 129. | <i>Ma timi di ho mara so</i> | And the house post is proper |
| 130. | <i>Te leo bou tua hene lo*</i> | But if the lontar vat ascends the home* |
| 131. | <i>Ma fati bete ae uma*</i> | And the millet basket rises in the house* |
| 132. | <i>Seki heni bou tua*</i> | And splits apart the lontar vat* |
| 133. | <i>Te [hea] heni balo tua*</i> | And tears apart the old beam*, |
| 134. | <i>Na o u bea bali?'</i> | Then with whom will I be once more?' |

These next lines correct the preceding lines (130–33): Lole Ora and Noa Bafo tell the shells to go with the lontar (syrup) vat and the millet (not the rice) basket, but if visitors come and take from the vat and basket, it will be emptied.

The Fifth Dialogue Directive

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| 135. | <i>Boe ma Lole Ora nafada</i> | So Lole Ora talks |
| 136. | <i>Ma Noa Bafo dede'a, nae:</i> | And Noa Bafo speaks, saying: |
| 137. | <i>'Sono mu mo fati bete</i> | 'Then go with the millet basket |
| 138. | <i>Ma mu mo bou tua.'</i> | And go with the lontar vat.' |
| 139. | <i>Boe ma [Suti] nae:</i> | So Suti says: |

140. *'Te leo pa'u raonda mai* 'But if visitors arrive
 141. *Ma fui na ranoko mai* And strangers come
 142. *Fo hai heni bou tua* To take [from] the lontar vat
 143. *Ma hai heni fati bete* And take [from] the millet basket
 144. *Ma au u bea bali?* Then with whom will I be once more?'

Lole Ora and Noa Bafo tell the shells to go with the border stone and boundary tree, but if a hundred goats and a thousand buffalo come, they will kick over the boundary tree and trample the border stone, leaving the shells on their own.

The Sixth Dialogue Directive

145. *Boe ma sona, Lole Ora nafada* So then Lole Ora talks
 146. *Ma Noa Bafo dede'a nae:* And Noa Bafo speaks, saying:
 147. *Mu mo to batu* 'Go with the border stone
 148. *Ma mu mo peu ai.'* And go with the boundary tree.'
 149. *Boe ma Suti nafada leo* So Suti talks out
 150. *Ma Bina dede'a leo, nae:* And Bina speaks forth, saying:
 151. *'Te leo bulan bibi nara mai* 'But if the moon's goats come
 152. *Fo bibi natu ara mai* A hundred goats come
 153. *Fo fetu heni peu ai* To kick over the boundary tree
 154. *Ma ledo apa nara mai* And the sun's buffalo come
 155. *Fo apa rifun nara mai* A thousand buffalo come
 156. *Fo hake heni to batu* To trample the border stone
 157. *Na o bea bali?* Then with whom will I be once more?'

Again, Lole Ora and Noa Bafo make another proposal: that the shells go to sacred forest groves—the *buta* of the wood//*luli* of the forest. But if these are cut down, the shells will be alone once more.

The Seventh Dialogue Directive

158. *Boe ma nafada bai* So she talks again
 159. *Lole Ora dede'a* Lole Ora speaks
 160. *Ma Noa Bafo nafada:* And Noa Bafo talks:
 161. *'Sona mu mo nura buta* 'Then go to the sacred grove

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| 162. | <i>Ma mu mo lasi luli.</i> | And go to the forbidden forest.' |
| 163. | <i>Boe ma Bina Bane nafada</i> | So Bina Bane talks |
| 164. | <i>Ma Suti Solo dede'a nae:</i> | And Suti Solo speaks, saying: |
| 165. | <i>'Au u o nura buta</i> | 'I will go to sacred grove |
| 166. | <i>Ma o lasi luli</i> | And to the forbidden forest |
| 167. | <i>Te leo atu asa oli</i> | But if the sharpened chopping knife |
| 168. | <i>Na lo'o beni nula buta</i> | Cuts down the sacred grove |
| 169. | <i>Ma sosa do tei sina na</i> | And the adze with its Chinese blade |
| 170. | <i>Huka beni lasi luli</i> | Opens up the forbidden forest |
| 171. | <i>Na o bea bali?'</i> | Then with whom will I be once more?' |

Once again, the women make a proposal. This time, they urge the shells to go with the people of the land and clansmen of the mountain, but if these people shift, the shells will again be abandoned.

The Eighth Dialogue Directive

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| 172. | <i>Boe ma ana dede'a bali, nae:</i> | So she speaks once more, saying: |
| 173. | <i>'Sona mu mo nusa iku</i> | 'Go with the people of the land |
| 174. | <i>Ma mu mo lete leo.'</i> | And go with the clansmen of
the mountain.' |
| 175. | <i>Nae:</i> | [Suti] says: |
| 176. | <i>'Au o lete leo o malole a so</i> | 'My going with the clansmen of the
mountain is good |
| 177. | <i>Ma au o nusa iku o mara a so</i> | And my going with the people of the
land is proper |
| 178. | <i>Tehu leo lete leo a hiru</i> | But if the clans of the mountain shift |
| 179. | <i>Ma nusa iku a hai</i> | And the people of the land move |
| 180. | <i>Na u o bea bali?'</i> | Then with whom will I be once more?' |

Finally, Lole Ora and Noa Bafo propose that the shells go to be joined with a *gewang* (Corypha palm) trunk and a lontar (Borassus palm) stalk and set in fields to serve as clappers to drive away birds that attack the growing fields. With this suggestion, the recitation comes to an end.

The Ninth Dialogue Directive

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| 181. | <i>Boe ma Lole Ora nafada</i> | So Lole Ora talks |
| 182. | <i>Ma Noa Bafo dede'a, nae:</i> | And Noa Bafo speaks, saying: |
| 183. | <i>'Sona mo isi tula</i> | 'Then go with the <i>gewang</i> trunk |
| 184. | <i>Ma mu mo londa fepa</i> | And go with the lontar stalks |
| 185. | <i>Fo era etu mu londa fepa</i> | To be bound with the lontar stalks |
| 186. | <i>Ma puru mo isi tula</i> | And attached to the <i>gewang</i> 's trunk |
| 187. | <i>Nai tine a dale</i> | Within a dry field |
| 188. | <i>Ma nai rene a dale.'</i> | And within an irrigated field.' |

The poem ended with Alex Mada's follow-up explanation that the shells were to become 'clappers' to drive away the birds (*manea manupui ra*).

Analysis of Alex Mada's Version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*

Alex Mada's version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* consists of 69 dyadic sets. This number includes several formulaic sets that cannot be decomposed into simpler dyads. Of these 69 dyadic sets, a majority are dyadic sets shared with Termanu and would appear to belong to a widespread—possibly island-wide—core of ritual pairs. Many of these sets are basic and are recognisable despite phonological differences in the dialects of the two domains.

Some of these dyadic sets with similar phonology that are immediately recognisable are, for example: 1) *betellhade* ('millet'/'rice'); 2) *bulan//ledo* ('moon'/'sun'); 3) *dualltelu* ('two'/'three'); 4) *falltimu* ('west wind/monsoon'/'east wind'); 5) *fetollina* ('girl'/'woman'); 6) *lifullmeti* ('pool'/'tide'); 7) *lolluma* ('home'/'house'); 8) *lotillpele* ('[to fish] by torchlight'/'[to fish] by leaf-torch'); 9) *metilltasi* ('tide'/'sea'); 10) *namolloli* ('harbour'/'estuary').

Other sets, which may be less easily recognised because of Landu's dialect phonology, still form part of this wider core of shared ritual terms. They are the same terms as used in Termanu. Some examples of these dyadic sets are the following—for example, in contrast to Termanu, Landu lacks initial 'k'. Hence the following transformations:

Table 9: Termanu–Landu Dialect Comparisons I

Termanu		Landu	Gloss
<i>kapas//tua</i>	>>	<i>abas//tua</i>	'cotton'/'lontar'
<i>ketu//kolu</i>	>>	<i>etu//oru</i>	'to pick'/'pluck'
<i>kedu//tani</i>	>>	<i>edu//tani</i>	'to sob'/'weep'
<i>kil//kona</i>	>>	<i>il//ona</i>	'left'/'right'

Landu also lacks medial 'k', while on the other hand, Landu retains certain medial consonants that Termanu lacks:

Table 10: Termanu–Landu Dialect Comparisons II

Termanu		Landu	Gloss
<i>boa//piko</i>	>>	<i>boa//pi'o</i>	'boa tree'/'piko tree'
<i>kapa//bi'i</i>	>>	<i>apa//bibi</i>	'water buffalo'/'goat/sheep'

Medial 'ng' in Termanu becomes 'k' in Landu, while some initial and some medial 'l' become 'r'; hence these transformations:

Table 11: Termanu–Landu Dialect Comparisons III

Termanu		Landu	Gloss
<i>alu//langa</i>	>>	<i>aru//laka</i>	'shoulder'/'head'
<i>ane//teli</i>	>>	<i>ane//teri</i>	'tie'/'bind/plait'
<i>dadil//mori</i>	>>	<i>dadil//moli</i>	'happen'/'occur/become'
<i>dulu//langa</i>	>>	<i>dulu//laka</i>	'east'/'head'
<i>dulu//muli</i>	>>	<i>dulu//muri</i>	'east'/'west'
<i>leo//ingu</i>	>>	<i>leo//iku</i>	'clan'/'land'
<i>natu//lifu</i>	>>	<i>natu//rifu</i>	'hundred'/'thousand'
<i>nula//lasi</i>	>>	<i>nura//lasi</i>	'wood'/'forest'

Medial 'nd' in Termanu becomes 'r' in Landu:

Table 12: Termanu–Landu Dialect Comparisons IV

Termanu		Landu	Gloss
<i>ndae//sua</i>	>>	<i>rae//sua</i>	'to rest on shoulder'/'mount on head'
<i>ndai//seko</i>	>>	<i>rai//se'o</i>	'to scoop'/'fish with scoop-net'

Despite these phonological differences, the semantic value of these dyadic sets is retained across both dialects. It is possible—though admittedly sometimes difficult—for speakers of one dialect to adjust to the sound shape of the other dialect and thus follow a ritual recitation.

More significant are the dyadic sets in which there occurs a shift in semantic terminology.

It is with these sets that we encounter levels of difference between ritual recitations in Landu and Termanu.

It is useful to focus on a few clear examples.

One example is the slight difference between Landu and Termanu in reference to the offerings that are supposed to be made at origin/harvest ceremonies. Where Termanu has *peda poil/fua bafa*, Landu has *fua poil/peda bafa*—a simple reversal of the terms *fual/peda* ('to lift'/'to place').

Another example of a minor difference is in the terms for the house: Malesi uses the expression *timi dil/llungu tua* ('house post'/'cross-beam'), while Landu has *timi dil/balo tua* ('house post'/'old beam'). There is, in fact, variation among the naming of house parts in different domains and, as a consequence, variations among poets on the island in their references to parts of the house.

Another good example is where several poets of Termanu use the expression *bou tual/neka hade* ('lontar syrup vat'/'rice basket'), while Landu has *bou tual/fati bete* ('lontar syrup vat'/'millet basket'). Termanu is noted for its rice fields; Landu for its extensive millet cultivation.

In reference to growing rice and millet, Mikael Pellondou uses the formulaic expression *hade la modo pedal/betekala dio hu'u* ('the rice is green-tipped'/'the millet has ripened grains'), whereas Alex Mada's expression is *hade-ka modo pedal/bete-kaboa* ('the rice grows green tips'/'the millet puts forth grains').

In Termanu, *nil/poek* ('crab'/'shrimp') form a pair; in Landu *nil/kuma* ('crab'/'mollusc') form a pair. They appear to be used in similar contexts.

Other differences occur but may appear to be less immediately apparent.

In Alex Mada's recitation, the woman Lole Ora//Noa Bafo offers nine separate directives in her dialogue with the shells. Several of these directives given to the shells are distinctive. Thus, for example, initially Lole Ora//Noa Bafo tells the shells:

<i>'Mo tere tasi leo</i>	'Go with the sea refuse
<i>Ma mo hambau leo.'</i>	And go with the flotsam.'

These words would be understood in Termanu but no poet of Termanu uses this formula as one of his directives. (As will be seen, however, this expression is used in other domains, particularly Bilba.)

Again, in her second directive, Lole Ora//Noa Bafo urges the shells:

<i>'Sona mu mo ni namo</i>	'Then go with the harbour crabs
<i>Ma mu mo kuma dae.'</i>	And go with the shore molluscs.'

This, too, is a distinctive directive.

Similarly, Loe Ora//Noa Bafo tells the shells:

<i>'Sona mu mo boa namo</i>	'Go with the <i>boa</i> trees in the harbour
<i>Ma mu mo pi'o oli.'</i>	And go with the <i>piko</i> trees in the estuary.'

In Termanu, virtually all versions of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* allude to the shells floating in the sea like *boa* and *piko* driftwood but in no recitation is there a directive to the shells to join these two soft-wooded coastal trees.

The fourth directive, 'house post and old beam', and the fifth directive, 'lontar syrup vat and millet basket', are variants on Termanu's directives; the sixth directive, 'border stone and boundary tree', is a common formulaic expression in Termanu. The seventh directive, '*huta* stand and *luli* grove' in the forest, is distinctive, while the eighth directive could be considered a variation on various formulaic expressions in Termanu.

The final directive is that the shells attach themselves to *gewang* palm trunk and lontar palm stalk to become a kind of sounding clapper to drive away birds and animals from the fields. This is reminiscent of some of the dialogue in Mikael Pellondou's recitation and will occur again in Ande Ruy's recitation from Ringgou.

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