For the third recording session in Bali—in the last week of October 2008—I was able to invite several poets from Dengka. Two of these poets, Simon Lesik and Frans Lau, proved to be true master poets, but were remarkably different in their approach to recitation.

Simon Lesik was a simple farmer and herdsman but a firm upholder of Rotenese traditions who seems not to have fully identified himself as a Christian. He was stunningly fluent and recited rapidly with personal authority and confidence. He completely dominated the recording session on Bali with his various recitations.

Simon Lesik’s recitations were exuberant and revelatory, each casting a glimpse on Dengka’s canonical traditions. The narrative of these recitations, however, was not particularly well structured. In fact, many of his recitations appeared to lack coherence because in the midst of a recitation he would go off on some interesting tangent. In his various recitations, Simon Lesik would proceed less by direct narrative and more by invoking elements of a tradition that he took for granted and assumed his listeners were aware of. His recitations consisted of bits of narrative with a succession of lines that variously alluded to different aspects of Dengka's oral traditions. These recitations were dense and difficult and I had to rely on Frans Lau, who had been a schoolteacher for most of his
life, to assist me with the transcription, translation and exegesis of his outpourings. Simon Lesik saw no problem in offering two versions of the same chant, adding to his second version material that would seem to change the perspective of his earlier version. He did this in particular with his recitations of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*.

Figure 23: Simon Lesik
In this chapter, I have included two recitations by Simon Lesik. The first of these versions is a fragment of a recitation that went off on a tangent to describe the illness and death of a particular chant character. After concluding, he recognised that this had happened and, for this reason, he recited a second version, which was slightly more focused. The two versions, at best, hint at an account that links the shells to their origin in the creation of the implements for dyeing.

In these versions, Suti Solo do Bina Bane undergo a name change—or, more precisely, the names of the shells are shortened: instead of Suti Solo do Bina Bane, they become Suti Saik do Bina Liuk (‘Suti of the Sea or Bina of the Ocean’). More significantly, they are identified as female creatures.

### Simon Lesik’s First Version of *Suti Saik ma Bina Liuk*

This first version has various lines that are by no means clear. At the outset it offers specific references to chant characters whose significance is not explained elsewhere in the recitation. Thus, for example, references are made at the beginning of this recitation to the orphan Ola Oen and the widow Laba Daen, the orphan Ndule Daen and the widow Ndule Oen, but nothing more is spoken of them. Following this, the woman Tau Tenggu Bulan and the girl Kudu Henu Ledo are introduced. Although it is rare that ritual names are fully decipherable, most names contain elements that allude to that character’s significance. In this case, the elements *Bulan*//*Ledo* (‘Moon’//’Sun’) indicate that these women are the heavenly children of the Sun and Moon (Ledo do Holo). More significant are the elements *Taul*Kudu (‘Indigo’//’Morinda Dye’). These terms identify Tau Tenggu Bulan//Kudu Henu Ledo as one of the chief characters involved in the chant of the origin of weaving and dyeing. In this first version, Tau Tenggu Bulan and Kudu Henu Ledo are the women who descend to the sea with their fishnets and scoop up Suti Saik and Bina Liuk.

1. *Fai ia,*  
   This day,
2. *Fai fua nafade*  
   Day dawns, they say
3. *Ma ledo so’u nade’a.*  
   And sun rises, they speak.
4. *Boe ma tonggo langga,*  
   They go to meet,
5. *Ta tonggo*  
   But do not meet
6. *Ma nda lima,*  
   They go to encounter,
In these lines, when Tau Tenggu Bulan and Kudu Henu Ledo scoop up Suti Saik and Bina Liuk, there occurs a succession of lines that describe how the two shells danced before they were struck by the storm. Neither the dancing nor the cause of the storm is explained but instead the power of the storm is described: flattening everything especially coconut and areca palms and causing the shells to lose their insides.

25. **Neu boe ma ana ndai nala.** When she arrives there, she fishes.
26. **Bina ma-edo nggi** Bina, who exudes her pods
27. **Ma solo nala** And she scoops
28. **Suti mana-loko isi.** Suti, who issues forth her insides.
29. **Tē hu ana sole bebeu ein** But she dances on her leg
30. **Ma ana lendo lalai liman.** And she turns quickly on her arm.
31. **Tēhu ana lendo nalesi sain** But she turns outside the sea
32. **Ma ana sole nalena liun.** And she dances beyond the ocean.
33. **Boe ma lae:** So they say:
34. **‘Tō! Tē ina bek ka ia?’** ‘Oh! But what woman is this?’
35. *De ana sole na lena liun* - She dances beyond the ocean
36. *Ma ana lendo na lesi sain.'* - And she turns outside the sea.’
37. *Sanggu nala liun dale* - A storm strikes the ocean’s depths
38. *Ma lulik nala sain dale.* - And a cyclone strikes the sea’s depths.
39. *Sanggu tao bela-bela* - The storm flattens everything
40. *Ma lulik tao mefu-mefu.* - And the cyclone strikes everything.
41. *Mbuu ma-nggi lesu* - The areca palm with firm inflorescences
42. *Ladi lesu na* - Snaps its inflorescence
43. *Boe ma no ma-oka o* - The coconut with deep roots
44. *Foi hun na boe.* - Uproots its trunk.
45. *Suti Saik ko loko isin na* - Suti Saik exudes its insides
47. *Tèhu Suti la-loko isin* - But Suti exudes its insides
48. *Tèhu ela Suti loun* - Leaving only Suti’s shell
49. *Ma Bina la-edo nggi nala* - And Bina turns outs its pods
50. *Tèhu ela Bina nggin.* - Leaving only Bina’s pods.
51. *Ala haladoi tungga namo* - They suffer, passing through the harbours
52. *Ma sisi tungga meti.* - And are in pain, passing through the tides.

The next lines recount attempts to find shelter for the suffering shells. These lines resemble some of the ‘placements’ that occur in other versions of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* where the location of each placement proves imperfect and therefore unsatisfactory. In these lines, however, Suti Saik ma Bina Liuk do not engage in extended dialogue, as is often the case in other versions of this chant. Instead they speak only once, indicating where they wish to be placed. The lines that describe the placement of the shells on the ‘hill of black buffalo and the field of white goats’ are in fact repeated. Following these lines, the shells are taken to the west of Rote, to the domain of Delha, Dela Muli ma Anda Kona.

53. *Leo na ka boe ma* - Because of this then
54. *Leu ndai lendi se [sia]* - They go, fish and carry them
55. *Leu boe ma mbeda se [sia]* - And go and place them
56. *Mia eno telu mandak* - On three appropriate paths
57. *Ma dala dua i’ifan.* - And two cradled roads.
58. *Tehu hataboli fe’a momolo*  
   But men still step [there]  
59. *Ma andiana fe’a tatabu.*  
   And people still tread [there].  
60. *Ala fe’a sisi*  
   They are still in pain  
61. *Ma ala fe’a hala doi.*  
   And they still suffer.  
62. ‘*Tendi sa lisi mok a leu*’  
   ‘Let us be carried to the field  
63. *Ma lete a leu*  
   And to the hill  
64. *Ata bambi sa mok a.*  
   So that we may hide in the field.  
65. *Taa bambi sa Mbila Fume Lete*  
   Let us hide at Mbila Fume Lete  
66. *Ma ta’a sulu sa Nau Langga Loe Lesu.*’  
   And let us take cover at Nau Langga Loe Lesu.’  
67. *Tehu: fai nama tua dulu*  
   But the day grows great in the east  
68. *Ma ledo nama hana langga*  
   And the sun grows hot at the head  
69. *Boe ma Suti loun fe’a sisi*  
   Suti’s shell is still in pain  
70. *Ma Bina nggi fe’a haladoi.*  
   And Bina’s pod still suffers.  
71. *Boe te hu ala e’o selu fai*  
   So they shift them again  
72. *Lisi lete ngge-nggeo kapa*  
   Carrying them to the hill of black buffalo  
73. *Ma mo mumuti bi’in.*  
   And the field of white goats.  
74. *Lete nalu mana’a*  
   The hill is indeed high  
75. *Ma mo loa malole.*  
   And the field is truly wide.  
76. *Leu mbeda ma lete*  
   They go to place them on the hill  
77. *Ma mbeda ma mo.*  
   And place them on the field.  
78. *Boe nau langga napa lesu*  
   The tall grass withers  
79. *Do nama sesu neu bu’un na boe.*  
   Or bends toward its base.  
80. *Ala bambi ho.*  
   They hide you.  
81. *Fai nama tua dulu*  
   Day grows great in the east  
82. *Ma ledo nama nalu langga.*  
   And the sun grows long at the head.  
83. *Boe ma Suti lou na fe’a sisi*  
   Suti’s shell is still in pain  
84. *Ma Bina nggi na fe’a haladoi.*  
   And Bina’s pod still suffers.  
85. *Boe ma ala e’o selu sala*  
   They move them badly again  
86. *Lete ngge-nggeo kapa nala*  
   The hill is black with water buffalo  
87. *Ma mo mu-mutu bi’in.*  
   And the field is white with goats.  
88. *Na letek ia, lete nalu mana’a*  
   This hill is indeed a high hill  
89. *Ma mok ia, mo loa malole.*  
   And this field is truly a wide field.
Simon Lesik’s Second Version of *Suti Saik ma Bina Liuk*

Simon Lesik’s second version of *Suti Saik ma Bina Liuk* takes an entirely different direction in the telling of this chant. The intersection of the two versions occurs in Delha with the woman Seu Dela and the girl Fale Anda. The first version can be considered as the prelude to the second; however, the retrieval of the shells from the sea is done by another two women.

This second version begins, somewhat confusingly, with the birth of the woman Sina Kona and the girl Koli Mola, whose mother, it is mentioned, is Seu Dela. She is described as a woman who prepares cloth and who dyes thread. (The short genealogy is, however, flawed because lines 8–9 do not provide a proper succession of names—from father to daughter.) In any case, it is the mother, Seu Dela ma Fale Anda, who becomes the focus of the recitation.

In this telling, Sina Kona and Koli Mola go directly to the house of the Great Lord of the Sea, Langga Lena Liu and Manatua Sain, and there they scoop up Suti Saik and Bina Liuk and bring them to Delha.

1. *Tēhu touk ia mana bonggik*  
   But this man, he begets
2. *Ma tā’ek ia mana laek*  
   And this boy, he brings forth
3. *Ana lae ela Sina Kona*  
   He brings forth Sina Kona
4. *Ma ana bonggi ela Koli Mola.*  
   And he begets Koli Mola.
5. *Ana bonggi nala ina esa*  
   He brings forth the one woman,  
   *Sina Kona*
   Sina Kona
6. Ma fetoaia Koli Mola. And this girl, Koli Mola.
7. Ma ala habate And they celebrate
8. Anda Kona anan Anda Kona’s child
9. Boema Sina Kona na And Sina Kona’s [child]
10. Inan na Seu Dela Whose mother is Seu Dela
11. Ina ma bo’a lafe A woman who prepares cloth
12. Ma fetomo futu abas. And a girl who dyes threads.
13. De fain na neu ndai tasi One day she goes to fish in the sea
14. Ma ledo na neu seko meti And one time she goes to scoop in the sea
15. Ala seko ma mia Langga Lena Liu loan They scoop at Langga Lena Liu’s home
16. Ma Manatua Sain umen na. And at Manatua Sain’s house.
17. Leu boema ala seko lala Suti Saik They there scoop up Suti Saik
18. Ma ndai lala Bina Liuk And they fish forth Bina Liuk
19. Ndai lendi Bina Liuk Fish and carry Bina Liuk
20. Ma seko lendi Suti Saik. And scoop and carry Suti Saik.
21. Boema lendi se leu. They carry them and go.
22. Te hu Bina na, bina madait But Bina is a restricted bailer shell
23. Ma Suti na, suti manoit. And Suti is a prohibited nautilus shell.
24. Leu losa daen henda. They go to the human land.
25. Boema ladai do la noi. They are restricted or prohibited.
26. Boema ala tu’u sa lisi Dela Muli They take them to Dela Muli
27. Ma ala lali sa lisi Anda Kona leu. And they move them to Anda Kona.
28. Hu Bina madait. But Bina is restricted
29. Ma Suti manoit. And Suti is prohibited.

Suti Saik and Bina Liuk initially ask to be used as a kind of noise-maker, knocking against rock and wood, to drive away pigs and monkeys. But when the shells speak again, they assert their prohibited status and so, instead, they are carried to Delha, where they meet Seu Dela ma Fale Anda.
30. Le na, Suti Saik nafade ma nae: Then Suti Saik speaks and says:
31. ‘Mendi au fo tende au u ai.’ ‘Take me to knock against some wood.’
32. Boema Bina Liuk nafade: Then Bina Liuk speaks:
33. ‘Mendi au fo toto au u batu ‘Take me to bump against some rock
34. Fo au bengu-benggu no fatu So that I sound with the rock
35. Fo o tine to no sa be So where your field boundary lies
36. Ma o lane dae na sa be na, And where your land border lies,
37. Kode afi neu habai The monkey considers abandoning it
38. Ma bafi afi neu sosoi.’ And the pig considers ignoring it.’
39. Tehu Bina Liuk nafade nae: But Bina Liuk speaks, saying:
40. ‘Au Bina madait.’ ‘I am Bina, the restricted.’
41. Boema Suti saik nadea no nae: Then Suti Saik talks and says:
42. ‘Au ia Suti mano’it.’ ‘I am Suti, the prohibited.’
43. Boema ala seu leni sa lesi Anda Kona So they bear them to Anda Kona
44. Ma ala e’o leni sa lesi Anda Kona And they carry them to Anda Kona
45. Ma tonggo langga leu tonggo And they meet head to head
46. Lo ina a Fale Anda With the woman Fale Anda
47. Ma feto a Seu Dela. And the girl Seu Dela.
48. Boema la dai fai They are still dangerous
49. Ma la noi fai. They are still threatening.

Suti Saik and Bina Liuk question Seu Dela about beautiful cloth patterns. The questioning is in fact repeated and leads to lines 67–68, which are crucial: ‘Suti is made for indigo and Bina for dyeing threads.’ Thereafter, the lines that follow are somewhat repetitious until the concluding lines of the recitation: ‘The pattern comes out from the sea and goodness comes out from the ocean.’ At a linguistic level, there is a verbal play in these lines using three different but related dyadic sets—dula//lada, dula//lole and lole//lada—to describe the beauty and attractiveness of the cloth patterns.

50. Te hu fai na nafade Seu Dela: But on that day she speaks to Seu Dela:
51. ‘Mala au enangga ‘Take me to
52. Fo dula bek ka Where there are patterns
53. Ma lole bek ka. And where there is loveliness.’
54. Ana sia Seu Dela She goes to Seu Dela
55. Ma sia Anda Kona And to Anda Kona
56. Hu na ala habate ina So they celebrate Fale Anda
      Fale Anda
57. Ma ala kokoni fetø Seu Dela. And they commemorate Seu Dela.
58. ‘Lole ala sa na ‘There is loveliness
59. Boema na lada a sa na.’ So is there attractiveness.’
60. Ina ma nendi dulak a sa The woman who brings the pattern
61. Ma fetø mana nendi ladak And the girl who brings attractiveness
62. De fetø ma nendi lole The girl who brings loveliness
63. Ma ina sa Seu Dela And the woman Seu Dela
64. De ala fe sa leu Seu Dela They give them to Seu Dela
65. Ma ala fe sa leu Fale Anda And they give them to Fale Anda
66. Fo ela leo be na And so it is that
67. Suti nala tau do na Suti is made for indigo
68. Ma Bina nala futu aba. And Bina for dyeing threads.
69. Hu na na Because of this
70. Boema soa neu fetø se ka It is necessary for a girl
71. Liman nae adu lolek Her hand must create well
72. Ina beka nae sangga dula For any woman who seeks a pattern
73. Na leu sangga sa Dela Muli They must go to search in Dela Muli
74. Ma leu sangga sa Anda Kona And they must go to search in Anda Kona
75. Na dei fo ina mana futu aba For the woman who dyes threads
76. Ma fetø mana tau do. And the girl who prepares indigo.
77. Hu na na Because of this
78. Basana lole ia la All this is good
79. Ma lada ia la. And [all] this is fine.
80. Mana nendi a The one who carries
81. Lendi sa de de sa leu Carrying, they go
82. Ina Fale Anda The woman Fale Anda
83. Ma lali sa leu Shifting, they go
84. Fetø a Seu Dela. The girl Seu Dela.
Losa besa kia
Up until now

Hu na dei be bea mesan mae:
Whoever may say:

Bilba Ringgou hela leo be na
Whether Bilba or Ringgou

Mita lole na heu
Look at the goodness on offer

Mete lada na mbeda.
Regard the attractiveness here.

Ai lili afi, misi ngganggo.
Don't forget, don't be mistaken.

Dula ma sain nea
The pattern comes out from the sea

Ma lole ma liun nea.
And goodness comes out from the ocean.

The Language of Simon Lesik’s Two Versions of Suti Saik ma Bina Liuk

Simon Lesik’s first version of Suti Saik ma Bina Liuk has 99 lines and is composed of 51 dyadic sets; his second version has 92 lines and is composed of just 25 dyadic sets. The two versions share seven dyadic sets in common, so together these two recitations are made up of 69 dyadic sets. The shared sets are some of the most common sets found across the dialects of Rotenese ritual language: 1) fai//ledo (‘day’/‘sun’); 2) feto//ina (‘girl’/‘woman’); 3) meti//tasi (‘tide’/‘sea’); 4) liun//sain (‘ocean’/‘sea’); and 5) ndai//seko (‘to fish’/‘to scoop with a fishnet’). Other sets are in Dengka dialect: 6) de’ai//fade (‘to speak’/‘to talk’); and 7) hatel//konii (in semi-reduplicated form: habatel//kokoni) (‘to remember, recognise’/‘commemorate’).

Although there is a variety of dyadic sets that identify these recitations as belonging to the dialect of Dengka—as, for example, loal//ume (where Termanu has lol//uma for ‘home’/‘house’) or andianal//hataboli (where Termanu has daehena//hataboli for ‘human’/‘person’) — the overwhelming majority of sets are recognisable as part of an island-wide dyadic repertoire.

What makes these recitations distinctively representative of Dengka dialect is the use of a variety of elements—that I have described as ‘connectors’—that constitute the syntax of expression. Among these connectors is Dengka’s use of sia or sa where Termanu has nai (singular) and lai (plural) for ‘in or at’; Dengka’s use of fe’a where Termanu has bei(k) for ‘still’; and Dengka’s reliance on different verbal connectors, as in the use of mendi, nendi and lendi in these recitations, where Termanu has
muni, neni and leni (‘to bring with, to carry with’). Similarly, the second recitation ends with a unique Dengka verbal connector, nea, meaning ‘to come out’, for which there is no Termanu equivalent.

These two recitations provide a glimpse of Dengka’s canonical traditions concerning the origin of weaving and dyeing. However, neither version is entirely coherent and there would appear to be some discrepancies between versions—particularly regarding the woman who is credited with scooping the shells from the sea.

What these versions share in common is mention of the gathering of the shells from the sea and short accounts of their travails until they are eventually carried to Delha. The first version recounts the shells’ placement on the ‘hill of black buffalo and field of white goats’; the second version alludes to the shells being taken to the ‘field boundary and land border’. It is instructive to consider and compare critical aspects of these two brief interludes in Simon Lesik’s recitations with other similar versions of these passages.

In both of his recitations, Esau Pono invokes the image of the ‘hill of buffalo and a field of goats’. This segment from Pono’s first recitation, which includes a dialogue with the shells, offers an interesting point of comparison. Pono’s version consists of the following 11 lines:

‘Mu mo lete nalu kala’
‘Go be with the high hills

‘Mu mo mo loa kala.’
‘And go be with the wide fields.’

Boe ma nae:
‘So he [Suti] says:

‘Ndia boe malole
‘That would be good

Ma ndia boe o manda-kala
‘And that would be proper

Tehu neu fai-na fo bote-la mai
‘But some day a flock of goats will come

Ma neu ledo na tena-la mai
‘And at a certain time a herd of buffalo will come

Fo ala heheta [ami]
‘They will trample us into the mud

Ma bahapa ami
‘And they will tread us into the dirt

Na ami dede’ak mo se
‘Then with whom will we speak

Ma ami kokolak mo se?’
‘And with whom will we talk?’

Simon Lesik (in the first poem) initially creates the image of ‘hill and field’ in lines 72 ff. and then repeats this image again in lines 86 ff. Here are 11 lines (lines 86 through 96) of this passage, which can be compared with Pono’s lines:
19. TWO VERSIONS FROM THE DOMAIN OF DENGKA

86. Lete ngge-nggeo kapa nala The hill is black with water buffalo
87. Ma mo mu-muti bi’im. And the field is white with goats.
88. Na letek ia, lete nalu mana’a This hill is indeed a high hill
89. Ma mok ia, mo loa malole. And this field is truly a wide field.
90. De leu mbeda ma lete They go to place them on the hill
91. Ma mbeda ma mok. And place them in the field.
92. Tēhu fai na ala hahate But one day they realise
93. Lete ma nggeo kapa The hill of black water buffalo
94. Ma mok mumuti bi’i. And the field of white goats.
95. De bote bi’in fe’a fefetun The flock of goats still treads
96. Ma tena kapan fe’a hahangge. And the herd of buffalo still tramples.

Both compositions rely on a common core of similar dyadic sets: both refer to letel/mo (‘hill’/‘field’) and both describe this ‘hill and field’, nalul/loa (‘high and wide’). Simon Lesik uses the set kapa/bi’i for ‘buffalo and goat’, while Esau Pono uses the specific term ‘flock’ (bote), which applies to goats, and tena (‘herd’), which applies to buffalo. In his concluding line, however, Simon Lesik also uses these collective terms: bote bi’in/tena kapan.

Simon Lesik’s imagery is more striking. He uses the partially reduplicated forms for ‘black’ (nggeo > ngge-nggeo) and white (muti > mu-muti) to emphasise the colours of the buffalo and goats. Esau Pono uses the set malole/mandak in Suti Solo’s reply to indicate what is ‘good and proper’; Simon Lesik uses a similar set, malole/mana’a, to give emphasis to the height of the hill and the width of the field: nalu mana’al/loa malole. The two poets use verbs—both in semi-reduplicated forms—from their different dialects for ‘treading and trampling’: Pono uses hēta > hebeta/hapa > habapa, while Lesik uses fetu > fetetu/hangge > hahangge. The comparison of these short passages provides a good illustration of the combination of common dyadic sets and distinctive dyadic sets that is at the core of different dialect recitations.

More interesting, from a comparative perspective, is the brief passage in lines 35–36 that mentions specific boundary markers in Simon Lesik’s second recitation:

Fo o tine to no sa be So where your field boundary lies
Ma o lane dae na sa be na And where your land border lies
References to boundary markers occur in virtually all recitations of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* but dialect terms for such markers vary from domain to domain. Such references occur in various versions from Termanu. Thus, for example, in one of Pe’u Malesi’s recitations, this directive is simply expressed:

‘*Mu mo peu ai*’
‘Go with the boundary tree

‘*Ma mu mo to batu.*’
‘And go with the border stone.’

Alex Mada from Landu has the same directive in his recitation of the chant:

‘*Mu mo to batu*’
‘Go with the border stone

‘*Ma mu mo peu ai.*’
‘And go with the boundary tree.’

In Ande Ruy’s recitation from Ringgou, this directive has a different phrasing:

‘*Nea mo opa loa*’
‘Shelter with the wide embankment

‘*Ma tama mo e naru.*’
‘And join with the long boundary.’

In the Pah–Ndun recitation from Thie, there occur two variants of this formula:

‘*Mbeda ai miu to batu*’
‘Take us to the boundary stone

‘*Ma na te ndae ai miu lane tiner*’
‘And carry us to the field’s border …

*Nai omba hade dei*’
‘At the rice field dike

*Nai lane tiner dei.*’
‘And the dry field boundary.’

Because these are complex sets, there is a double transformation that occurs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Phrase 1</th>
<th>Phrase 2</th>
<th>Phrase 3</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Termanu</td>
<td>to batu</td>
<td>peu ai</td>
<td>tol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landu</td>
<td>to batu</td>
<td>peu ai</td>
<td>tol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thie</td>
<td>to batu</td>
<td>lane tiner</td>
<td>tol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dengka</td>
<td>tine tol</td>
<td>lane dae</td>
<td>tol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thie</td>
<td>omba hadel</td>
<td>lane tiner</td>
<td>omba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ringgou</td>
<td>opa loal</td>
<td>e naru</td>
<td>opal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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This simple example gives an indication of the continual minor variation that characterises ritual language usage across the dialects of Rote.