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Poetic Authority and Formulaic Composition

Termanu was among the first Rotenese domains given recognition by the Dutch East India Company in 1662 and, for most of the past 350 years, it has enjoyed a considerable degree of political autonomy under a continuing ruling dynasty. For centuries, even after the beginnings of Christianity in the domain, Termanu has been a single 'ritual' community with its organised succession of 'origin ceremonies'. This continuity in social and ritual life underlies a sharing of poetic traditions that are both rich and varied.

On an island with considerable linguistic diversity, Termanu is a single-speech community. The various versions of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* presented with authority by recognised master poets in the previous chapters are a good illustration of the diversity of interpretative possibilities within this tradition. They cover a period of nearly 45 years from the first recitation to the last recitation and thus also give evidence of changes that have occurred in this period.

As a start, to appreciate this diversity, it is useful to review the narrative structures of the various chants. In this summary, I have followed a simple convention. I refer to all double-named chant characters in the singular but refer to Suti Solo do Bina Bane, who are differentiated as bailer shell and nautilus shell, in the plural.

Variations in the Narrative Structures of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*

Version I: Old Meno's (Stefanus Adulanu's) *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*

Version I embeds its narrative within the ambit of an account of the 'origins' of things—the ritual telling of how things began in a world divided between the powers of the Heavens and Depths of the Sea. Version I begins with a genealogical introduction: the marriage of Hali Siku of the Woods//Manu Koa of the Forest with Bane Aka of the Ocean//Solo Bane of the Sea, a marriage that gives rise to Bina Bane//Suti Solo.

Bane Aka//Solo Bane holds a lively origin feast. Po'o Pau Ai//Latu Kai Do ('Mouldy Pau Tree'//'Withered Kai Leaves') comes to the feast and asks to dance with Suti Solo//Bina Bane. Suti Solo and Bina Bane reject her and Po'o Pau Ai//Latu Kai Do is deeply shamed. This causes the Heights to grow angry and the Heavens to rage. A storm strikes the sea. Suti Solo and Bina Bane flee and are washed away to a place called Tena Lai//Mai Oe.

On Rote, Manupui Peda//Kokolo Dulu wishes to hold an origin feast but the feast cannot be celebrated without an offering of two particular ritual fish: Dusu La'e//Tio Holu. The woman Nggiti Seti//Pedu Hange is sent out with her scoop-net to find these fish. Nggiti Seti//Pedu Hange is the wife of Holu Ama Daek//Bafa Ama Laik; their daughter is Lole Holu//Lua Bafa, who eventually becomes the close companion of Suti Solo do Bina Bane.

While fishing at Tena Lai//Mae Oe for the required ritual fish, Nggiti Seti//Pedu Hange encounters Suti Solo and Bina Bane. When she eventually agrees to scoop the shells up, Suti Solo and Bina Bane initiate a dialogue by asking what would happen if the leaf bucket in which they are being carried were to break. Nggiti Seti//Pedu Hange tells Suti Solo and Bina Bane that if this were to happen, to go with the syrup vat and rice basket. This sets off the symbolic journey of the shells from syrup vat and rice basket to the millet grains and ears of maize and from there to the lontar palm's shadow and the tree's shade, and further on to boundary tree and border stone and finally to the forest cuckoo and river watercock. This final move signals a return to the sea.

On their return to the depths of the seas, Suti Solo and Bina Bane discover Po'o Pau Ai//Latu Kai Do still dancing. The shells declare that Lole Holu// Lua Bafa is now their partner.

Following this it is Lole Holu//Lua Bafa's turn to search for the ritual fish for the celebration of Manupui Peda//Kokolo Dulu's feast. She is described as a skilled weaver of tie-dyed cloth and she makes her way into the sea to dance as partner to Suti Solo and Bina Bane.

The chant concludes with allusions to other key origin chants, particularly the chant known as *Pata Iuk ma Dula Foek*, which recounts the death of Shark and Crocodile that gives rise to the different patterns on Rotenese textiles.

Version II: Eli Pellondou's (Seu Ba'i's) Version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*

Version II begins with the Manupui Peda//Boko Dulu's origin feast, which cannot be properly performed. Nggiti Seti//Pedu Hange is sent to search for the two ritual fish required as ritual offerings. She goes to Tena Lai//Mai Oe but only encounters Suti Solo and Bina Bane. At this point, the narrative's progress of the chant is interrupted to offer a genealogy for Suti Solo and Bina Bane. (Bane Aka//Solo Bane marries Manu Koa//Hali Siko, who brings forth Suti Solo//Bina Bane.)

Suti Solo and Bina Bane beg Nggiti Seti//Pedu Hange to scoop them up. Nggiti Seti//Pedu Hange does so and brings them to the upper house and inner cooking fire of her house. Immediately, Suti Solo and Bina Bane begin to sob, calling for Lole Holu//Lua Bafa.

A dialogue is begun on where the two shells should be located. The first proposal is the syrup vat and rice basket (within the house). The boundary tree and border stone are invoked next. Then red *kumea* grass and the black *kuku* shrub are invoked, and this is followed by forest cuckoo and river watercock, which signal the onset of the monsoon and lead back to the sea.

Suti Solo and Bina Bane return to the sea where they bob and drift like *boa* wood and *piko* wood. In the depths of the sea, there is a feast at which Mila Ama Daik beats a drum and O Ana Selan strikes a gong. Suti Solo and Bina Bane are made to dance, though they are unable to

do so; they are joined by the woman Po'o Pau Ai//Latu Kai Do and are shamed. This causes the Heights to rage and the Heavens to grow angry. And the two shells lose their insides.

This version appears to be an attempt to imitate Stefanus Adulanu's recitation. Its narrative structure is less well constructed and its ending is abrupt. The chief characters' names are the same as those in the Adulanu recitation, with the exception of Boko Dulu for Kokolo Dulu. Mila Ama Daik//O Ana Selak is a new named character who does not appear in the Adulanu version.

Version III: Petrus Malesi's Version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*

Version III begins with the storm that carries Suti Solo and Bina Bane to Tena Lai ma Mae Oe. At the time, Teke Hulu Hutu//Sio Pale Enge is preparing to hold a feast and has selected Lole Holu//Lua Bafa to perform the *peda-poi*//*fua-bafa* ritual. Sama Dai//Kuku Nou is designated to prepare a scoop-net and to go to search for the ritual fish required for the ceremony. She fashions the fishnet and goes in search of the Tio Holu//Dusu La'e fish at Tena Lai ma Mae Oe. She encounters Suti Solo and Bina Bane, who beg her to scoop them up. This initiates a dialogue. Sama Dai//Kuku Nou tells the shells to go to house post and floor beam and then, in succession, to the syrup vat and rice basket, boundary tree and border stone, *kumea* grass and *kuku* shrub, the forest cuckoo and river watercock and finally to the river's bank and the estuary's edge. Suti Solo and Bina Bane return to the sea, bobbing like *boa* wood and drifting like *piko* wood.

This version has various chant characters with different names from those of Versions I and II. Lole Holu//Lua Bafa is, however, specifically named, but her function is that of the ritual performer for the origin ceremony.

Version IV: Petrus Malesi's Second Version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*

Petrus Malesi began his recitation by recounting the storm that sets Suti Solo and Bina Bane bobbing in the sea. He then stopped and began his recitation again.

Version IV begins by recounting Kali Dulu//Kule Langa's plans to celebrate a feast. Sama Dai//Kuku Nou is sent to search for the ritual fish, Tio Holu//Dusu La'e, at Tena Lai ma Mae Oe. Sama Dai//Kuku Nou finds Suti Solo and Bina Bane and scoops them up. However, at a crossroads, three winding paths//two rounding roads, she throws them away. This initiates a dialogue between Sama Dai//Kuku Nou and Suti Solo do Bina Bane. Sama Dai//Kuku Nou advises Suti Solo do Bina Bane to go to the syrup vat and rice basket, then to the forest cuckoo//river watercock, then to the lontar palm's shadow//tree's shade, and to the river's bank//estuary's edge before finally returning to the sea.

After a few lines describing the shells being carried away in the sea, Malesi interrupted his recitation, and when he resumed, he redirected his narrative.

This redirected narrative introduces the woman Pasa Paku//Finga Fiti, the wife of Manupui Peda//Kokolo Dulu, whose gardens are planted with indigo and cotton. She goes to the sea, finds the two empty shells and brings them back. She uses Bina's shell as the base on which to mount the spindle for spinning cotton and she uses Suti's shell as a receptacle to hold indigo dye.

This narrative introduces the woman Kuku Dulu//Lima Le'u, who is able to dye cloth in indigo-blue and *morinda*-red. She goes in search of a woman who can weave.

She goes to eastern Rote, Dulu Balaha//Langa Mangaledo ('Tomorrow East'//'Dawning Head'), to the domain of Diu Dulu//Kana Langa to a place named Lata Nae//Pinga Dai, where she asks the woman Adu Pinga//Leo Lata if she is able to weave. When Adu Pinga//Leo Lata explains that she cannot weave, Kuku Dulu//Lima Le'u goes further east to where she encounters Menge Solu//Li Pota, who sits beside the *delas*//*nitas* trees of her father, Solu Oebau//Pota Popo. Kuku Dulu//Lima Le'u gives her dyed bundle of threads to Menge Solu//Li Pota, who weaves a woman's cloth with a *selu-kolo* pattern and a man's cloth with a *tema-nggik* pattern.

The narrative ends with a recitation of the ritual names of places (domains) in eastern Rote that retain this traditional pattern: Diu Dulu//Kana Langa (Diu), Bolo Tena//Soti Mori (Landu), Londa Lusi//Batu Bela (Ringgou), Tua Nae//Selu Beba (Ringgou), Fai Fua//Ledo Sou (Oepao), and Oe Manu//Kunu Iko (Bilba?).

Version IV is basically two versions of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* in a single narrative: the first part of the recitation recounts the gathering of Suti Solo and Bina Bane and the progression of the shells through a variety of 'symbolic locations' back to the sea. This progression is not without its flaws: the recitation of locations should ideally, as in other chants, move from and through the house to the area around the house with its lontar palms and shade trees and then outward, eventually to forest cuckoo and river watercock, whose song signals the monsoon floods that flow to the sea. Malesi has these slightly out of sequence but in the end the narrative leads Suti Solo do Bina Bane back to the sea. This narrative is broadly similar to Versions I, II and III—Malesi's initial recitation of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*. Lole Holu//Lua Bafa, however, is not mentioned and the woman who scoops the shells from the sea is named Sama Dai//Kuku Nou, not Nggiti Seti//Pedu Hange, as in Versions I and II.

When Malesi resumed his recitation, the narrative turned to reveal the traditional underpinnings of the *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* chant, whose original purpose was to provide a ritual basis to initiate the processes of spinning and dyeing. In this narrative, Suti Solo and Bina Bane are scooped from the sea to be used as the base for turning the spindle and as the receptacle for holding the indigo dye. This narrative introduces new chant characters. Pasa Paku//Finga Fiti is introduced as the wife of Manupui Peda//Kokolo Dulu. Manupui Peda//Kokolo Dulu, whose origin feast is recounted in Version I, is here cited for his gardens of cotton and indigo. A key figure is Kuku Dulu//Lima Le'u, who is able to do tying and dyeing of the cotton threads. Equally important is the weaver woman Menge Solu//Li Pota, the daughter of Solu Oebau//Pota Popo. (Also mentioned is the woman Adu Pinga//Leo Lata, who is unable to weave.) This part of Version IV fills out, in detail, elements that Meno only hints at in the conclusion of his version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*.

Version V: Mikael Pellondou's First Version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*

Version V introduces a slight name variation for its main chant character and provides a new setting for the narrative. The new chant character is the woman Fua Bafo//Lole Holu (instead of Lua Bafa//Lole Holu). Her millet and maize fields are the ones ripening and require a feast to celebrate the harvest. She prepares a scoop-net and then goes to fish for the ritual fish at a site, Fopo Sandika//Teli Noe Mina, on the coast of

Termanu (rather than at Tena Lai ma Mai Oe in Landu at the eastern end of the island). When she encounters Suti Solo and Bina Bane, the shells tell her to gather them up and fasten them to wood and stone so that they may be shaken to drive away the monkeys and pigs that are eating the millet and maize in her fields. When the fields are harvested, she urges the shells to go home, telling them first to go to *kumea* grass and *kuku* shrub and then to *titi'i* shrub and *kai-hule* bush and then with the *dini* grass (*dini* grass is not paired). Finally, Fua Bafo//Lole Holu tells the shells to go with the woman Po'o Pau Ai//Latu Kai Do at the river's lip and the estuary's edge. The shells take this advice to return to the sea: to bob like *boa* wood and float like *piko* wood. They descend into the sea where an origin celebration is under way (apparently at Nggusi Bui//Pinga Dale). The women of the sea are dancing but they shame the two shells, who return once more to the domain at the western end of Rote, Dela Muli ma Ana Iko. There Suti Solo and Bina Bane acquire a friend and companion, Ka Lau Ao//Tena Hu Dulu, and decide to remain in Delha.

Version VI: Mikael Pellondou's Second Version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*

Version VI is similar to Version V with similar chant characters and a similar narrative structure. Version VI begins with Fua Bafo//Lole Holu, whose ripening millet and maize fields are being attacked by pigs and monkeys. She prepares a scoop-net and goes to fish for Tio Holu//Dusu La'e at Fopo Sandi-kala//Teli Noe Mina. There she encounters Suti Solo and Bina Bane, who ask her to scoop them up and attach them to rock and wood so that they can serve as clappers to drive away the pigs and monkeys that are eating her millet and maize. (Here at the outset of the dialogue sequence with the shells, Mikael Pellondou mentions the names Po'o Pau Ai//Latu Kai Do instead of Fua Bafo//Lole Holu but reverts to the use of Fua Bafo//Lole Holu just a few lines later.) Fua Bafo//Lole Holu suggests a number of directives: to go with *titi'i* bush and *kai-hule* shrub, then to go with *dini* grass and then with the red *kumea* grass and black *kuku* shrub, and finally with the forest cuckoo and river watercock, whose song follows the monsoon flood to the sea. Then she tells the shells to go to meet Po'o Pau Ai//Latu Kai Do at the river's lip and the estuary's edge. Suti Solo do Bina Bane return to the sea, bobbing like *boa* wood and drifting like *piko* wood. There is a celebration in the sea at which women

dance but they shame the shells, who return to Dela Muli ma Ana Iko at the western end of Rote. There Suti Solo and Bina Bane gain a companion (who, in this version, is not named).

In addition to the slight change in the main female character's name—Fua Bafa instead of Lua Bafa—these two versions break with other earlier versions in situating the place of encounter with the shells in Termanu rather than at Tena Lai//Mai Oe. Version VI includes a sequence of dialogue directives and the eventual return of the shells to the sea. It mentions the shaming of the shells at the feast in the sea and their return to Delha in the west of the island.

Version VII: Joel Pellondou's Version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*

Version VII offers yet another name for the chief chant character who fishes Suti Solo and Bina Bane from the sea. In Version VII, which is a particularly short version of the chant, the woman Ole Masi//Bisa Oli takes up her scoop-net and goes in search of the ritual fish, Tio Holu//Dusu La'e. She encounters only the two shells, who ask to be scooped up. She tells them that she will give them to the woman Titi Letek//Huule Mok ('Titi of Hill'//'Huulu of the Field'). Suti Solo and Bina Bane insist they will be lonely on hill and field, so Ole Masi//Bisa Oli directs them to red *kumea* grass and black *kuku* shrub. Thereafter, she directs them to the woman Po'o Pau Ai//Latu Kai Do at the mouth of the river and edge of the estuary and then to the river watercock and forest cuckoo, who follow the monsoon floods to the sea. Suti Solo and Bina Bane return to the sea, bobbing like *boa* wood and floating like *piko* wood.

Version VIII: Esau Pono's First (2008) Version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*

Version VIII and Version IX are similar. Version VIII introduces the woman Mo Bisa//Ole Masi as the woman who takes up her scoop-net and goes to fish for Tio Holu//Dusu La'e. She gathers up Suti Solo and Bina Bane. When she comes to where two roads circle and three paths cross, the two shells begin to speak, asking to be cared for as human beings.

The shells address Mo Bisa//Ole Masi as mother and aunt and ask to be taken home. However, Mo Bisa//Ole Masi directs the shells first to where two roads circle//three paths cross, then to the lontar's shadow and tree's shade, then to syrup vat and rice basket, then to the high hills//wide fields, then to the river's edge and the estuary's side, and finally to the forest cuckoo and river watercock to descend with the monsoon floods to the sea. When Suti Solo and Bina Bane return to the sea, they bob like *boa* wood and float like *piko* wood. The chant recounts that the shells are never found with any content but only as empty shells.

Version IX: Esau Pono's Second (2009) Version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*

Version IX is a close approximation of Version VIII but it offers yet another name for the woman who scoops Suti Solo and Bina Bane from the sea: instead of Mo Bisa//Ole Masi, the woman is named Mo Bisa//Masi Tasi. Mo Bisa//Masi Tasi scoops up the shells, who ask to be taken home; instead Mo Bisa//Masi Tasi proposes leaving them where two roads cross and three paths circle, then directs them to the lontar's shadow and tree's shade, then to rice basket and syrup vat, then to long field and mountain ridge, then to the side of the river bank and the edge of the estuary, then to follow the forest cuckoo and the river watercock to the sea. They bob like *boa* wood and drift like *piko* wood in the sea. They are washed back to land and made into the base for spinning and a vessel for indigo dye.

Version X: Zet Apulugi's Version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*

Masi Bisa//Bisa Oli goes to fish for Dusu La'e//Tio Holu and encounters Suti Solo and Bina Bane. (The location of this encounter is not mentioned.) Most of this recitation is taken up with discussion of the distressed situation of the shells. Masi Bisa//Bisa Oli scoops them up, stating in a long reply that she does not know how to relieve their distress. The shells answer in a long reply, claiming that they will be better on land than at sea if they have someone to care for them. They add that they expect to be returned to the sea. Finally, Masi Bisa//Bisa Oli realises that it would be better to return the shells to the sea. She explains in another

14 lines that though they may be companions, the shells have no affinity with the earth and would be better in the sea. On return to the sea, the shells are said to prosper.

The Pattern of Development in *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* Compositions in Termanu

If one recognises that the first of these recitations was gathered in 1965 and the last of them in 2009 and that these 10 recitations have been arrayed in a sequence spanning nearly 45 years, it is possible to discern a development in their composition. The earliest recitations—particularly those by Old Meno and his understudy Seu Ba'i, but also those by Pe'u Malesi—are told primarily as origin chants that allude to and describe relations with the humans on the earth and creatures in the ocean. For example, Old Meno's recitation describes two origin feasts: one on the land, the performance of which requires two ritual fish, Tio Holu//Dusu La'e, and another in the depths of the sea, which determines Suti Solo and Bina Bane's fate. It is the interrelation between these worlds that is crucial to the narrative structure of the recitation. Seu Ba'i's recitation is a less coherent rendering of this same origin account. Similarly, Pe'u Malesi's two recitations both give initial emphasis to the need for Tio Holu//Dusu La'e fish for the performance of an origin feast. And as in the versions by Old Meno and Seu Ba'i, these fish must be gathered at the ritual site Tena Lai//Mai Oe. Pe'u Malesi, in his second recitation, goes on to link the shells to the dyeing required in the weaving process—an aspect of Old Meno's recitation that is only alluded to. To do this, the shells must once more be scooped from the sea after having returned to the ocean.

A major change in the telling of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* comes with Mikael Pellondou's recitations. His recitations, like most others, mention the search for Tio Holu//Dusu La'e but he shifts the ritual site for this search from Tena Lai//Mai Oe to Fopo Sandika//Teli Noe Mina on the coast of Termanu. At their conclusion, his recitations describe an origin feast held in the sea depths; it is at this feast that the shaming of the shells occurs, providing the occasion for the return of the shells to Rote. Although not entirely coherent, his versions still maintain a degree of connection with the origin format of this chant.

Joel Pellondou's rendition of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* is relatively short. He retains mention of the search for Tio Holu//Dusu La'e but there is no further connection with any origin chant. In the end, the shells simply return to the sea. In comparison, Esau Pono's two recitations are somewhat longer. They both mention the search for Tio Holu//Dusu La'e and the return of the shells to the sea. The second of Esau Pono's recitations does mention that the shells are washed ashore again and used as a base for spinning and as a vessel for indigo. Finally, Zet Apulugi's recitation, though it mentions the search for the ritual fish, consists of an extended dialogue between the shells and the woman who scoops them up.

Except for Zet Apulugi's recitation, all of the other Termanu recitations feature a dialogue in which the shells are directed to different symbolic locations. These 'dialogue directives' are as much a part of Old Meno's recitation as they are of other recitations. However, progressively, these dialogue directives tend to dominate the narrative structure of the composition to the point that they constitute most of the narrative structure. By the time of Esau Pono's recitation, little remains of its underpinnings as an origin chant. Both recitations consist primarily of a dialogue with a succession of directives.

The clearest expression of the detachment of the *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* narrative from its original embedding in an ancestral origin narrative is the progressive diminution of the number of ritual chant names. Old Meno's recitation cites nine ritual chant characters including Suti Solo and Bina Bane; Seu Ba'i's version has seven; and Malesi's second version has nine along with Suti Solo and Bina Bane. Thereafter the citation of ritual chant characters diminishes: in addition to Suti Solo and Bina Bane, Mikael Pellondou cites just two or three ritual chant characters; Joel Pellondou three; and Esau Pono and Zet Apulugi both just one—the woman who fishes the shells from the sea.

The Second Return of the shells

All of the recitations of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* recount the arrival of the shells from the sea and their return to the sea, but a number of recitations provide a sequel to the return of the shells to the sea that involves a second return of the shells to land.

Old Meno's recitation is ambiguous on this second return. The shells return to the sea depths, where they declare that Lole Holu//Lua Bafa is their partner. The recitation then asserts that Lole Holu//Lua Bafa: 1) is a skilled weaver; 2) is tasked with carrying out a new search for the ritual fish; and 3) enters into the sea to dance with Suti Solo do Bina Bane. Seu Ba'i's recitation, which closely resembles that of Old Meno, recounts that after the return of the shells to the sea, there is a feast in the ocean at which the shells are shamed but there is no mention of their second return to Rote. Pe'u Malesi makes no mention of a second return of the shells in his first recitation but in his second, the chant character, Sama Dai// Kuku Nou, scoops up the empty shells and makes them into a spinning base and an indigo vat. Mikael Pellondou's two recitations make explicit what Old Meno and Seu Ba'i hint at in their recitations. In his account, the shells return to the sea, where they are shamed and therefore return to Delha at the far end of Rote, where they acquire a new companion. None of the other Termanu recitations makes any mention of a second return, though Esau Pono does offer the observation that when the empty shells are found they are made into a base for spinning and a container for indigo dye.

As is evident, only the earlier recitations—those that purport to be origin chants—touch on the idea of a second return of the shells. This feature is significant in the telling of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* in other domains on the island.

Dialogue Directives

The dominant—and perhaps the most memorable—feature of the recitations from Termanu is the sequence of 'dialogue directives'. These directives are formulaic and the different poets call on many of these directives. They all designate a significant symbolic space and, because they are formulaic, they can be identified by their constituent dyadic sets.

There are roughly 12 formulae that serve as directives—one of which is just a slight variant on another. Most poets cite five directives in their compositions; Mikael Pellondou has either three or four, while Esau Pono has six directives. In the recitations by Old Meno and Seu Ba'i, the woman who shames Suti Solo do Bina Bane is Po'o Pau Ai//Latu Kai Do ('Mouldy Pau Trees'//'Withered Kai Leaves'). Curiously, in his recitations, Mikael Pellondou directs the shells to go to the woman Po'o Pau Ai//Latu Kai Do,

who lives near the shore, before they re-enter the sea. Joel Pellondou also directs the shells to go to the woman Titi Letek//Huule Mok, as if this were a kind of location.

The most popular of the directives is the one that enjoins the shells to go with the 'rice basket and the syrup vat' and the one, just before the shells descend into the sea, that directs them to go with the 'forest cuckoo and river watercock'. (Mikael Pellondou is the only poet not to use this directive in one of his recitations.) Table 3 gives an idea of the range of these directives and their use in different recitations.

Table 3: Dialogue Directives in *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* Compositions in Termanu

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
[*Titi Letek//Huule Mok*]							x		
Three Paths//Two Roads (*Enok Telu//Dalak Dua*)				x				x	x
Timi Post//*Lungu* Beam (*Timi Di//Lungu Tua*)			x						
Rice Basket//Syrup Vat (*Neka Hade//Tua Bou*)	x	x	x	x				x	x
Millet Grain//Ear of Maize (*Bete Pule//Pela Po'o*)	x								
Lontar Shadow//Tree Shade (*Sa'o Tua//Mafo Ai*)	x			x				x	x
Boundary Tree//Border Stone (*Peu Ai//To Batu*)	x	x	x						
Red *Kumea*//Black *Kuku* (*Pila Kumea//Nggeo Kuku*)		x	x			x	x	x	
Titi'i Shrub//*Kai-Hule* Bush (*Titi'i Letek//Kai-Hule Mok*)						x	x		
High Hills//Wide Fields (*Lete Nalu//Mo Loa*)								x	x
[*Po'o Pau Ai//Latu Kai Do*]						x	x		
Forest Cuckoo//River Watercock (*Doa Lasi//Koloba'o Le*)	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
Estuary's Edge//River's Bank (*Oli Titian//Le Tatain*)				x				x	x
Estuary's Edge//River's Lip (*Oli Tatain//Le Bibia/Bifa*)					x	x	x		

On the Semantics of Oral Composition in Termanu

The formulaic directives are certainly among the most prominent features of the recitations, but there are other key dyadic sets that are used in all of the recitations. These sets are intimately connected with the telling of the chant. They include any number of familiar sets such as *fai//ledo* ('day'//'sun'), *feto//ina* ('girl'//'woman'), *dede'a//kokola* ('to speak'//'to talk'), *liun//sain* ('ocean'//'sea') and *ndai//seko* ('to scoop'//'to scoop fish'). All of these sets and hundreds like them in these compositions can be described by the simple formula: *(a, b)*. Similarly, where two sets are linked to form a formula, this can be described as: *(a + b, c + d)*. Examples of such formulae are numerous. In addition to the formulae of the directives, such as *neka hade//tua bou* ('rice basket'//'syrup vat') or *pila kumea// nggeo kuku* ('red *kumea* grass'//'black *kuku* shrub'), a frequent double-set formula is *dae bafok//batu poik* ('earth'//'world': literally, 'face/mouth of the earth'//'pointed rocks'), Dusu La'e//Tio Holu ('Dusu La'e fish'//'Tio Holu fish'), or the verbal pair *dei-dongo//nene-fino* ('stand and wait'//'stop and listen'). Some of these formulae can be 'deconstructed' into their constituent elements. For example, *dae//batu* can occur separately but not with the meaning of *dae bafok//batu poik*. The formulaic expression for the ceremony involving the ritual fish, *fua bafa//peda poi*, can be literally deconstructed as 'to place on the mouth'//'to set on the top', but many of the identifying formulae for textiles, *pana dai//tola te* or *busa-ei//pana-dai*, cannot.

Most formulae consist of a combination of two distinct dyadic sets but occasionally some formulae can be considered to be made up of three sets: *(a + b + c, d + e + f)*. An example of this might be the formula *pila kumea letek//nggeo kuku telas* ('the red *kumea* grass on the hill'//'the black *kuku* in the underbrush'). Another example might be *dala dua bobongo//eno telu tia-lolo* ('two roads that circle'//'three paths that cross'). In my writings, I have referred to all of these formulae—whether longer or shorter—as 'complex sets'. They are variously formed and need to be considered in the context of their production.

The combinatorial semantics of dyadic language is, however, more complex than these examples might indicate. It is possible for a semantic element to combine with more than one other semantic element. Thus, one can encounter: *(a, b), (a, c), (a, d) …* This capacity of any particular

semantic element to combine with other elements, I describe as the 'range' of that element. Most semantic elements have a limited range. In fact, the majority of semantic elements in dyadic language combine with only one other element—in other words, form only a single set and hence have a range of one.

The 10 recitations in the first half of this volume, all of them recounting a similar chant, can provide only a limited conspectus of the full range of the semantics of Rotenese ritual language. Nevertheless, the dyadic sets from the current recitations provide numerous examples of the formation of sets with a range of one. Consider, for example, the dyadic set *seko//ndai*. This is a set used in all of the recitations. *Seko* in this pair is the verb 'to fish with a scoop net'; *ndai* is the noun for 'fishnet' but is used in ritual language as a suitable verbal pair with *seko*. The dyadic set *seko//ndai* is a highly specific, similar, if not synonymous pair; neither of its constituent elements forms a set with any other element. It is thus a good example of a dyadic set with a range of just one. Other examples abound: *babi//sulu*, *bonu//ele*, *daehena//hataholi*, *hapa//heta*, *lu//pinu*, *mafo//sa'o*, *sao//tu*, *uma//lo* and more.

A significant number of semantic elements (or lexical terms) out of a total ritual language vocabulary have a range greater than one. In the recitations, for example, the semantic element *lete* ('hill, mountain') forms a set with both *mok* ('field') and *telas* ('underbrush'). The occurrence of *lete* in a large corpus of other Termanu chants appears to confirm that *lete* combines only with *mok* and *telas*; hence it has a simple range of two.

Consider the relationships among numerals in Rotenese ritual language. Interestingly, *dua* ('two') forms a set with both *esa* ('one') and *telu* ('three'); in turn, *telu* forms a set with *dua* ('two') and *ha* ('four'), whereas *ha* forms a set only with *telu* and not with *lima* ('five'), while *lima*, as a numeral, forms a set with *ne* ('six'). (The fact that *lima* also refers to 'hand' means that it has a wide semantic range of connections forming sets from *langa*, 'head', to *eik*, 'foot', and more.) In ritual language, the numerical pairing of semantic elements follows a strict pattern: *hitu//falu* ('seven'//'eight') form a dyadic set, as do *falu//sio* ('eight'//'nine'). Generally, *hitu//falu* is an inauspicious number set while *falu//sio* is a particularly auspicious set, representing 'totality'. *Natu* ('hundred') forms a set with *lifu* ('thousand'). Basically, therefore, while some numbers have a range of two, other key

numbers form only single pairs. Knowing the rules of lexical pairing is essential. These relationships can be represented as follows. (The symbol > means 'forms a set with'.)

Formal Relationships among Numerals in Rotenese Ritual Language

esa > dua   (1 > 2)

dua > esa, telu   (2 > 1, 3)

telu > ha   (3 > 4)

lima > ne   (5 > 6)

hitu > falu   (7 > 8)

falu > hitu, sio   (8 > 7, 9)

natu > lifu   (100 > 1,000)

This is a disjunctive semantic field in which (*esa – dua – telu – ha*) form a mini-network, while (*hitu – falu – sio*) form yet another distinct network. Neither *lima//ne* nor *natu//lifu* are linked with either of these networks.

Another simple example of semantic connectivity can be illustrated with the word *tasi* ('sea'). In the recitations of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*, it forms a dyadic set with *li* ('wave'), with *meti* ('tide'), with *namo* ('harbour') and with *oli* ('estuary'). As such, it has a range of four.

In the *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* recitations, *bafi* ('pig') forms a set with *kapa* ('water buffalo') and with *kode* ('monkey'), but based on more extensive textual evidence, *bafi* also forms a set with *manu* ('chicken') and *kue* ('civet cat'). Thus, on the evidence of a large corpus of compositions, *bafi* can be shown to have a semantic range of four. Each of these pairings, however, casts the significance of 'pig' in a different light. With buffalo, pig is a form of wealth; with monkey, 'wild pig' is implied. With chicken, pig is used as a signifier in a formula to mark the feeding time at the end of the day; whereas paired with 'civet cat', pig takes on special ritual significance in the most important of Rotenese origin chants.

It is possible to extend this analysis and consider the more complex network associated with *bafi* ('pig'). This semantic network encompasses all of the animals associated with household life as well as the main categories of domestic wealth including various forms of gold objects. The network in which these elements form a recognisable cluster links, link this cluster to a larger network of semantic relationships.

Formal Relationships Associated with the Semantic Element *Bafi* ('Pig')

bafi > kapa, kode, kue, manu	(pig > buffalo, monkey, civet cat, chicken)
kapa > bafi, bi'i, lilo, manu	(buffalo > pig, goat, gold, chicken)
kode > bafi, kue, teke	(monkey > pig, civet cat, lizard)
kue > bafi, fani, kode, meo	(civet cat > pig, bee, monkey, cat)
manu > bafi, kapa, busa, koa	(chicken > pig, buffalo, dog, cock's comb)
bi'i > kapa	(goat > buffalo)
lilo > kapa, besi, habas, lusi, pota, tena, batu	(gold > gold, iron, braided gold, copper, gold bead, large livestock, rock)
teke > kode, lafa	(lizard > monkey, mouse/rat)
fani > kue, bupu	(bee > civet cat, bumblebee/wasp)
meo > kue	(cat > civet cat)
busa > asu, manu	(dog > 'dog' [synonym], chicken)
koa > manu, pau	(cock's comb > chicken, chin hair/goat's beard)
besi > lilo, leti(k), ai	(iron > gold, hard/stiff, tree)
habas > lilo, lidak	(braided gold > gold, gold string)
lusi > lilo	(copper > gold)
pau > koa	(chin hair/goat's beard > cock's comb)
pota > lilo	(gold bead > gold)
tena > lilo, bote	(large livestock > gold, small livestock)
lafa > teke	(mouse/rat > lizard [gecko])
bupu > fani	(bumblebee/wasp > bee)
asu > busa	(dog > dog [synonymous pair])
bote > tena	(small livestock [goats] > large livestock [buffalo])

The arrangement of these semantic elements and their linkages to one another highlight a feature of Rotenese ritual language. The arrangement shows clearly the variable range of the semantic connections of different semantic elements. It is notable that the elements of the same dyadic set may each have a different range. For example, for the dyadic set *bi'i//kapa* ('goat'//'buffalo'), *kapa* has a semantic range of four whereas *bi'i* has a semantic range of one, forming a set only with *kapa*. Similarly, for the

dyadic set *kue//meo* ('civet cat'//'cat'), *kue* has multiple semantic links—a range of four—while *meo* forms a set only with *kue*. *Lilo* ('gold') has an even wider semantic range but its pairing with 'copper' is unique. Whereas many of the terms for key animals—pig, buffalo, chicken and civet cat—have a range of four and include links to one another, the category *lilo* ('gold') has a range of seven and thus creates yet wider associations. The linkage of *lilo* to *batu*, which, on Rote, is a category of measurement for gold, and of *batu* to *ai* ('tree') links the semantic field focused on animals and wealth to a much wider network of relationships.

Many semantic elements that have multiple links with other elements can interlink with one another to form wider networks of relationships, which can be considered as interrelated semantic fields.

A small group of semantic elements—like *batu* ('rock') and *ai* ('tree'), but also *dae* ('earth') and *tua* ('lontar palm'), among others—has an extended range. These particular elements with their extended range of semantic linkages connect not just with other elements but with one another as well. They thus form an interconnected core network within a larger network of semantic relations.

The following are some of the links among these four basic elements.

ai > batu, besi, boa, dae, di, do(k), na'u, oe, tali, tua …	tree > rock, iron, fruit, earth, post, leaf, grass, water, rope, lontar palm …
batu > ai, dae, lilo, lutu, nesuk, te, tena	rock > tree, earth, gold, rock pile, mortar, spear, large livestock …
dae > ai, batu, dale, de'a, dulu, loe, muli, oe, tua …	earth > tree, rock, inside, outside, east, lower, west, water, lontar palm …
tua > ai, bete, dae, feto, hade, masi, meti, le, tasi …	lontar palm > tree, millet, earth, female, rice, salt tide, river, sea …

Thus, for example, in the *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* recitations, *ai* forms a set with *batu* ('rock') and *tua* ('lontar palm'). In other ritual language compositions, it pairs with *boa* ('fruit'), with *dok* ('leaf'), with *na'u* ('grass'), with *oe* ('water') and with *dae* ('earth'). *Ai* has one of the widest ranges of semantic connectivity in ritual language; it includes among its linkages other basic terms—*batu* ('rock'), *tua* ('lontar'), *boa* ('fruit'), *na'u* ('grass'), *oe* ('water') and *dae* ('earth')—with similarly wide semantic connectivity.

At the present stage of an analysis based on the steady compilation of a *Dyadic Language Dictionary* (for Termanu), networks emerge that are of varying sizes. Among them is one network of semantic relationships that is larger than the rest, consisting of 470 connected vertices. At an earlier stage in this analysis, I attempted to identify a 'core' to this emerging network of semantic relations in ritual language (see Fox 1975; 2014: 162–64). I did this by taking those semantic elements with the widest semantic range and tracing the linkages they had to each other. The diagram of this earlier network can be seen in Fox (1975; 2014: 164). Subsequent analysis has only heightened and focused on the 'core' of this network. Since deciding just how widely to draw this core may be arbitrary, for present purposes, I have chosen to present the set of 18 semantic elements that has remained at the centre of that network. This core is represented in Figure 11.1.
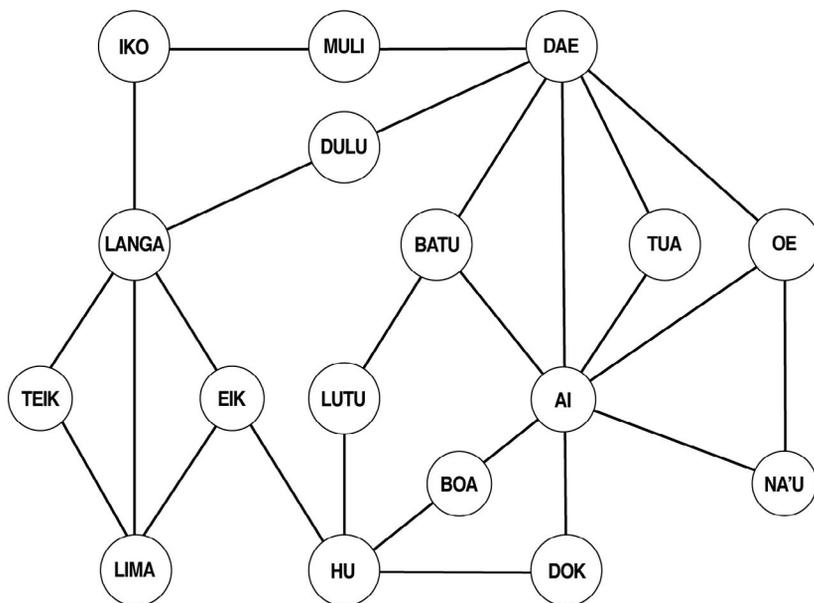
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Figure 11: Core Semantic Categories in Termanu Ritual Language

Source: © The Australian National University CAP EMS 15-207 JS

The semantic elements in this core network highlight the cosmological nature of Rotenese ritual language. These elements include the following interrelated sub-clusters:

1. Basic elements:	rock (*batu*), tree (*ai*), earth (*dae*), water (*oe*), lontar palm (*tua*), fruit (*boa*), leaf (*dok*), grass (*na'u*), trunk (*hu*) and piled rock (*lutu*)
2. Orientation + body parts:	east (*dulu*), west (*muli*), head (*langa*) and tail (*iko*), stomach/inside (*tei*), hand (*lima*), foot (*eik*)

Although the *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* chant is just one among a large corpus of ritual texts, it would be expected that even in the recitations of this single chant, most of the basic core terms would tend to appear. An assessment of the entire array of dyadic sets used by the different poets of Termanu in their compositions reveals the following list of eight dyadic sets with both core terms: *ai//batu, ai//tua, batu//dae, dulu//langa, ei//lima, hu//lutu, iko//langa, iko//muli*.

Oral Formulaic: The Dyadic Sets Used in the Compositions of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*

The 10 Termanu versions of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* are composed of a total of 227 dyadic sets. At the end of this chapter, I have attached the full list of these dyadic sets as used in each of the Termanu recitations. Here I want to focus on those sets that occur in at least nine versions of the chant.

The whole idea of the 'formulaic' depends on the recurrent use of identical linguistic forms and there can be no better evidence of this formulaic usage than the recurrent use of a host of similar dyadic sets. Not surprisingly, the most frequently used dyadic sets reflect the content of the narrative. Nonetheless, the recourse of all the poets to these same dyadic sets highlights their formulaic use of ritual language.

One dyadic set that is used in all the recitations is *dede'a//kokola*, the formulaic expression for 'speaking' and 'talking'. Another set in all the recitations is *fai//ledo*, the expression for 'time' or 'day/sun'. Yet another

set in all recitations is *feto//ina*, the expression for 'girl' and 'woman'. Still another set in all recitations is *liun//sain*, the formula for the 'ocean' and 'sea'.

Other dyadic sets that occur in almost all recitations relate to the specifics of the search that leads to the discovery of the shells. These sets include names for the ritual fish, Dusu La'e//Tio Holu, the verbal pair *ndai// seko* (for 'scoop-net and scoop-net fishing'); paired terms *le//oli* (for 'river' and 'estuary'); and sets such *hamu//tei* and *besi//lilo*, used to describe the scoop-net: *seko ma-tei besik ma ndai ma-hamu lilok* ('scoop-net with iron-weighted insides and a fishnet with a gold-weighted belly'). These sets also include the complex formulae *bonu boa ma ele piko* ('to bob like *boa* wood and drift like *piko* wood').

Altogether there are 35 dyadic sets that are used in five or more recitations. Taken in reference to the entire Termanu corpus, all of the dyadic sets that occur in *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* are formulaic; all of them occur in other recitations and are part of the stock-in-trade by which poets create chants in ritual language.

The List of Dyadic Sets Used Five or More Times in the Compositions from Termanu

1)	*ai//batu*	'tree'//'rock'
2)	*bafa//poi*	'mouth'//'top, point'
3)	*ba'o//doa*	'*ba'o*'//'*doa*': the sound of two birds
4)	*besi//lilo*	'iron'//'gold'
5)	*bete//pela*	'millet'//'maize'
6)	*bifa//tai*	'edge'//'side'
7)	*boa//piko*	'*boa*'//'*piko*': two kinds of tree
8)	*bonu//ele*	'to bob'//'to drift'
9)	*bu'u//kalen*	'joint'//'knob, top'
10)	*dasi//hala*	'voice'//'word'
11)	*dede'a//kokola*	'to speak'//'to talk'
12)	*doa//kolobao*	'*doa*'//'*kolobao*': two kinds of bird
13)	*dua//telu*	'two'//'three'
14)	*dulu//langa*	'east'//'head'
15)	*Dusu La'e//Tio Holu*	'*Dusu La'e*'//'*Tio Holu*': two kinds of fish

16) *-edo//-toko*   'exudes'//'expels, throws away'

17) *fak//timu*   '(west) monsoon'//'east monsoon'

18) *fal//uda*   'monsoon'//'rain'

19) *fai//ledo*   'day'//'sun'

20) *feto//ina*   'girl'//'woman'

21) *hamu//tei*   'belly' of a fishnet//'inside' of a scoop-net

22) *isi//nggi*   'inside'//'pods'

23) *-kedu//-tani*   'to sob'//'to cry'

24) *kuku/kumea*   '*kuku*'//'*kumea*': two kinds of wood shrub

25) *lasi//le*   'forest'//'river'

26) *le//oli*   'river'//'estuary'

27) *lek//lifu*   'waterhole'//'harbour'

28) *lete//telas*   'hill'//'wood'

29) *liun//sain*   'ocean'//'sea'

30) *-lole//-nda*   'good'//'proper'

31) *meti//tasi*   'tide'//'sea'

32) *nalu//tua*   'long'//'large'

33) *ndai//seko*   'to scoop fish'//'to fish with a scoop-net'

34) *ndano//toko*   'to catch, to thrust'//'to throw'

35) *nggeo//pilas*   'black'//'red'

Table 4: Dyadic Sets in All Versions of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane* from Termanu

Dyadic sets	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
aba//do	x	x	x	x						
ae//lole		x			x	x	x			
ae dasi//lole hala		x			x					
ae-ana//fui-ana								x	x	
afi//du'a									x	x
ai//batu	x	x	x		x	x				
ai//nula						x				
ai//tua	x			x				x	x	
alu//langa	x				x	x				
ana-ma//falu-ina	x							x	x	x
ane//teli	x	x				x				

Dyadic sets	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
ane-ana (?)//hataholi										x
ate-lasi//oba-tula										x
bafa//fude	x	x								
bafa//poi	x	x	x	x						x
babi//sulu	x									
bafi//kapa	x									
bafi//kode	x	x			x	x				
-bani//-hena	x								x	
ba'o//do(a)		x	x			x	x	x		
batu//dae					x					x
batu//enggak					x	x	x	x		
bebi//tato	x									
beku-te//lol										x
bela-bui//kokolo		x								
bengo//toto						x				
bengu//kolo						x				
besi//lilo	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
bete//hade										x
bete//pela	x	x	x	x	x	x				
Beu//fe'e							x			
bi//mae	x	x			x	x				
bifa//tai	x	x			x	x	x			x
boa//piko	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
bolu//dopo										x
bongi//lae	x	x						x	x	
bongo//lona										
bonu//ele	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
bou//neka		x	x					x	x	
bou//soka	x	x						x	x	
bote//tena										
busa-ei//pana-dai	x									
buluk//(na)-lelak						x				
bu'u//kalen		x	x		x	x				x
bu'u//langa							x			
-da'a//-nggela									x	

Dyadic sets	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
dadi//tola	x									
daehena//hataholi						x	x	x	x	
dala//eno								x	x	x
dale//lai		x			x	x				
dale//tei										x
dasi//hala		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
dao//lai	x									
dea//lutu	x	x		x						
dede'a(k)//kokola(k)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
dedein//mata-boa		x								
dei-dongo//nene-fino	x	x								
delu//sali		x								
deta//sama		x			x	x				
dilu//loe	x			x				x	x	
-dilu//-sesu	x	x	x			x				
dipo//ifa	x									
do(n)//pena		x								
-doa//-ba'o						x				
doa//koloba'o	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	
do-se//oku-bolu		x			x	x				
-doto//-se	x	x				x				
dua//esa						x				
dua//telu dudua//telu	x		x	x	x			x	x	x
dula kakaik//sidi soti	x									
dulu//langa	x	x	x	x	x	x				
dusu//tio	x	x			x	x		x	x	x
dusu la'e//tio holu	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
du'u//eke										x
du'u lalu//eke nggeto										
edo//pode				x					x	
-edo//-toko	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		
ei//lima	x	x								
eke//lalu										x
eki//hika	x									

Dyadic sets	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
elo//tolesi						x				
fa//epo	x									
fak//timu		x	x	x	x	x	x			
fa//uda	x	x			x	x	x			
fada//nosi	x									
fai//ledo	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
fali//tule						x			x	
fal//-na'a (?)										
feto//ina	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
foki//hopo		x								
fua//peda	x	x	x	x						
fua bafa//peda poin	x	x	x	x						
hade//tua								x	x	
hai-pai//lepa-sola	x									
hamu//tei	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
hapa//heta								x	x	
hene//kae								x	x	
henge//tenu	x									
heok//hiluk								x	x	
-hilu//-keko	x		x							
holu//lai?	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
-hope//-seti		x								
hu(s)//lipa				x						
hu//lutu	x	x								
hu(s)//sio	x	x								
hu//tebe		x								
hu'a//silu	x	x								
huka//si						x	x			
huka//silu						x				
huka//si'u							x	x	x	
huka papa//si unu						x	x		x	
huas//nakas	x									
ifa//souk	x									
iko//langa										x
iko//muli										x

Dyadic sets	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
ina//te'o								x	x	x
isa//pa'u						x				
isi//nggi	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
ka'a//ketu	x	x								
kai-hule//titi'i						x				
kai-tio//ko-boa										
-kako//-lua	x	x								
kani batu//lea te	x									
kedi//pena	x	x	x							
-kedu//-tani	x	x	x	x						x
ketu//na'a						x				
ki//kona	x									
kila//koasa	x									
kolo//seko						x				
kokolo//seko-bui (balu-bui)	x	x								
kuku//kumea		x	x		x	x	x			
labu//meko	x	x								
(na-)lai//tolomu	x					x				
lalo//sapu										x
lao//uma		x								
lao dale//uma lai		x								
lapu//pela						x				
lasi//le	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	
lasi//nula	x	x								
le//oli	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
lek//lifu	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x
lek//namo								x		
le'a//tona										
lelu//lipa						x				
lena//sali	x					x				
leno//foti						x				
leno//pela	x	x			x	x				
lepa//nalu									x	
lete//mok						x	x	x	x	
lete//telas		x	x		x	x	x			

Dyadic sets	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
li//tasi										x
-li//-mu	x									
lili//neka										x
lima-ku'u//pu-lete	x									
lima//lolo		x		x						
lipa//mete										x
liun//sain	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
lo//uma						x		x	x	
loa//lu'a										x
loa//nalu								x		
loe//soko										x
(ma-)lole//(ma-)nda	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
lolek//ine	x									
lole hala//selu dasi			x	x						
longe//pela	x	x			x					
longe//sodo		x								
losa//nduku		x				x		x	x	
lu//pinu										
luli//sangu	x		x	x						
lunu//tono	x	x	x							
lutu//sopu						x				
mada//meti										x
mafo//sa'o	x			x				x	x	
masu ndalu//pila nuli								x	x	
mata-dale//setele	x		x							
mau//pole	x	x								
meti//namo			x							x
meti//tasi		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
mole//soda										x
molo//tabu								x	x	
monu//tuda	x									
-mula//-nae						x				
na//ndia									x	
-na'a//-pena	x									
nale//ua	x									

Dyadic sets	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
-nalu//-sesu						x				
-nalu//-tua		x	x	x	x	x				x
namo//tasi								x	x	
-nasa//nggele	x	x		x						
na'u//tela										x
-neda//-ndele						x		x	x	
neka hade//tua bou	x	x								
neka hade//bou tua			x	x						
nene-fino//dei-dongo	x	x								
-nosi//-titi										x
nda//soa						x				
nda//tongo		x			x	x				
ndae//su'u	x				x	x				
ndai//seko	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
ndano//solu						x				
ndano//toko	x	x			x		x	x	x	x
-ndu//-sa'a		x								
nggafu//sodo						x				
-nggao//dama	x									
nggao//tenga							x	x	x	
nggama//tenga		x								
nggape//sodo	x									
nggeo//pilas		x	x	x	x	x	x			
-nggeo//-tana										x
nggolo//tadu						x				
oli//tasi										x
pana-dai//tola-te	x									
papa//unu							x	x		
peu//to	x	x	x							
po'o//pule	x									
posi//unu	x									
pou//lafa	x			x						
pou//sidi	x									
sao//tu	x	x		x						
seli//sudi	x									

Dyadic sets	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
sena//tia	x				x	x				x
soti//leu	x									
tai//tia								x	x	
-talada//-ton		x								
(ma)-te'ek//(man)-unin						x	x	x		x
(ma)-teben//(man)-unin	x	x								